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XVII ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT CONFERENCE ZAGREB 2010

24TH - 27TH MAY, 2010

RADOVI XVII. ROMEC-A
Rimska vojna oprema u pogrebnom kontekstu

PROCEEDINGS OF THE XVIITH ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT CONFERENCE
Weapons and Military Equipment in a Funerary Context

AKTEN DER 17. ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT CONFERENCE
Militaria als Grabbeilage

M. Sanader / A. Rendić-Miočević / D. Tončinić / I. Radman-Livaja (ur.)

Zagreb, 2013.

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INHALT

PREDGOVOR

S velikim veseljem završavamo urednički posao na zborniku XVII. međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa o rimskoj vojnoj opremi i naoružanju, *XVII Roman Military Equipment Conference – ROMEC*, koji je od 24. do 27. 5. 2010. održan u Zagrebu, u impozantnoj neorenesansnoj konferencijskoj dvorani Muzeja Mimara. Domaćini skupa bili su Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu i Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu.

Jedna od prepoznatljivih tradicija ROMEC-a, koji se održava od 1983., jesu zadane teme pojedinih skupova. Kako se čini, tema zagrebačkoga skupa *Rimska vojna oprema u pogrebnom kontekstu* bila je vrlo intrigantna jer je privukla velik broj sudionika. Na kongresu je sudjelovalo stotinjak znanstvenika, stručnjaka za rimsku vojnu opremu i naoružanje, koji su svoj recentan istraživački rad predstavili s 43 predavanja i 25 postera. Izlaganja su bila na visokoj znanstvenoj i stručnoj razini, pa će objavljena u ovome zborniku doprinijeti dosadašnjim saznanjima o rimskoj vojnoj opremi.

Zagrebački arheološki muzej u svojim je prostorijama povodom skupa upriličio izložbu *Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj*. Autori izložbe uspjeli su sakupiti relevantnu vojnu opremu koja se čuva u hrvatskim muzejima, od koje su pojedini primjerci prvi put bili predstavljeni stručnoj i zainteresiranoj javnosti. Rezultati istraživanja i analiza izloženih predmeta objavljeni su u opsežnu katalogu, koji je uručen i svim sudionicima skupa.

Organiziran je i jednodnevni izlet na jadransku obalu, u čijem su zaleđu, na rijekama Cetini i Krki, Rimljani sagradili legijske logore *Tilurium* i *Burnum*. Prilikom arheoloških istraživanja tih lokaliteta, koja se sustavno provode već više od desetljeća, došlo je do zanimljivih, čak senzacionalnih nalaza vojne i civilne arhitekture. Pokretni nalazi s istraživanja Tilurija čuvaju se u Muzeju triljskog kraja u Trilju, a oni iz Burnuma u Arheološkoj zbirci Burnum u sastavu javne ustanove Nacionalni park Krka, pa su sudionici izleta posjetili ne samo logorske lokalitete nego i obje muzejske ustanove.

Održavanje skupa financijski je pomoglo Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta Republike Hrvatske, čija je pomoć, kao i pomoć Grada Zagreba, omogućila i tiskanje ovoga zbornika. Na podršci zahvaljujemo i Hrvatskoj turističkoj zajednici te upravi Muzeja Mimara, posebno ravnatelju Tugomiru Lukšiću. Za uspješan i ugodan izlet zahvaljujemo svim kolegama arheolozima koji su pomogli u njegovoj organizaciji. Posebno zahvaljujemo svim onim sudionicima skupa koji su nam poslali čestitke na besprijekornoj organizaciji. Na iskazanu gostoprimstvu zahvaljujemo gradonačelniku Trilja Ivanu Šipiću i tadašnjemu ravnatelju Nacionalnog parka Krka Željku Bulatu.

Urednici

VORWORT

Mit großer Freude bringen wir die Arbeit an den Akten der 17. Roman Military Equipment Conference (ROMEC) zu Ende. Die Konferenz wurde vom 24. bis 27. Mai 2010 in Zagreb, im bemerkenswerten Konferenzraum des Museums Mimara, abgehalten. Die Veranstalter der Konferenz waren die Abteilung für Archäologie der Philosophischen Fakultät der UNI Zagreb und das Archäologische Museum in Zagreb.

Einer der bekanntesten Traditionen der Roman Military Equipment Conference, die 1983 ins Leben gerufen wurde, ist das Hauptthema der Konferenzen. *Die Militaria als Grabbeilage*, das Hauptthema der XVII ROMEC Zagreb 2010 scheint sehr intrigant gewesen zu sein, da es zahlreiche Teilnehmer angelockt hat. An der Konferenz haben mehr als hundert Wissenschaftler und Experten für römische Militaria teilgenommen, die die Ergebnisse ihrer laufenden Forschungen in 43 Vorträgen und auf 25 Poster vorgestellt haben. Vorträge und Poster hatten ein hohes wissenschaftliches Niveau, und wir sind davon überzeugt, dass sie Dank dieser Akten, zu unserem gegenwärtigen Verständnis der römischen Militaria beitragen werden.

Das Archäologische Museum in Zagreb hat im Rahmen der Konferenz die Ausstellung *Finds of the Roman Military Equipment in Croatia* organisiert. Den Autoren der Ausstellung ist es gelungen die relevante, und zum Teil den Experten und Wissenschaftlern nie vorgestellte, Militaria aus allen kroatischen Museen an einem Ort zu vereinen. Die Ergebnisse der laufenden Forschung und die Analyse der vorgestellten Militaria wurden im unfangreichen Ausstellungskatalog veröffentlicht, den alle Kongreßteilnehmer erhalten haben.

Im Rahmen der Konferenz wurde auch eine eintägige Exkursion organisiert. Diese hat an die Adriaküste geführt, in deren Hinterland an den Flüssen Cetina und Krka die Römer die Legionslager *Tilurium* und *Burnum* errichtet haben. Die archäologischen Grabungsarbeiten in diesen zwei Lagern, die mittlerweile mehr als ein Jahrzehnt andauern, wurden äußerst interessante, zum Teil sogar sensationelle militärische, aber auch zivile Bauten entdeckt. Die Kleinfunde der Grabung in *Tilurium* werden im Museum der Region Trilj in Trilj aufbewahrt, und jene der Grabung in *Burnum*, in der Archäologischen Sammlung *Burnum* im Nationalpark Krka.

Die Konferenz wurde vom Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Bildung und Sport der Republik Kroatien und der Stadt Zagreb unterstützt, die damit die Veröffentlichung dieser Akten ermöglicht haben. Für ihre Unterstützung sind wir der Kroatischen Zentrale für Tourismus und dem Museum Mimara, insbesondere dem Herren Direktor Tugomir Lukšić zum Dank verpflichtet. Wir danken auch allen Kollegen Archäologen die an der Organisation der erfolgreichen und angenehmen Exkursion teilgenommen haben. Ganz herzlich wollen wir uns auch an allen Kollegen bedanken, die uns nach ihrer Heimkehr an der makellosen Organisation der Konferenz gratuliert haben. Führ ihre Gastfreundlichkeit danken wir den Bürgermeister von Trilj, Herrn Ivan Šipić, und dem damaligen Direktor des Nationalparks Krka, Herrn Željko Bulat.

Die Herausgeber

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ROMAN MILITARY TROPAEA FROM DALMATIA

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Tropaea were a form of public monumets representing military successes erected on various stages of wars or on other places chosen by the triumphant side. The custom of marking the victory in the war is very old, but it developed through centuries. Such monuments had two main purposes: to comemorate a victory (especially the most important ones) as well as to be the serious warning (*memento*) to the defeated side and to show the military supremacy of the winner.[1] Obviously, a *tropaeum* could be permanent or temporary. They consist of a tree with cut off the branches dressed in an armour with attached weapons which were seized from the enememy or were used in the battle by the winner. These became the common immagery of the *tropaea*. Weapons and standards seized from the defeated side were usually gathered on heaps and reprwswnted the war booty. The trophies with standards and weapons were carried on *fercula* in the triumphal ceremony in Rome.[2] The captives were very often shown bound to the *tropaeum* tree representing the defeated side, but it was not obligatory. The *tropea* iconographically differ, since they developed through centuries and especially when land or marine victories were in question. [3] A *tropaeum* could be a portable one as a kind of *insignium*. In this case it was small since only one figure bears it on the shoulder (for example Mars[4] or Victoria[5]). *Tropaea* which are dealt this paper are either a proper building or a sculpture in the whole round. The godess Nike (Roman *Victoria*) was the symbol of victory and her image often appeared as evident iconographic personification thus linking her with *tropaea*.[6]

Greeks started with the erecting such military trophies.[7] The only archaelogical evidence of such a *tropaeum* in Dalmatia was found at Stari Grad (Pharos), a colony of Parians (from the island in the Aegean) on the island of Hvar. Unfortunately it is badly damaged on the top and bottom. Approximately a rectangular block with the inscription: ΦΑΡΙΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΙΑΔΑΣΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΑΧΩΝ ΤΑ ΟΠΛΑΑ is only preserved (Fig. 1).[8] The translation: Pharians /dedicated/ the waepons of the victory over Iadasinians and their allies. The last two lines are erased which is suggested by slight remains of some illigible letters. Very probably the change of the text occurred after the inscription was inserted into the monument, since it does not seem the error of the stonecutter. Unfortunately, it is unknown why they were cut off, but obviously because of some very serious reasons. Very likely the weapons (swords, daggers, spears, shileds, armours etc) were placed and dedicated to a god or godess in the native town (probably in a temple). Several naval battles were waged in the eastern Adriatic during last centuries BC. But only one was very important for the city of Pharos, which occurred shortly after the foundation of the

[1] HÖLSCHER 2006, 27-49.
[2] BEARD 2007, 107-142.
[3] Cf. for example Nike of Samotrace. Cfr BOL 2007, 137-141, fig. 45, 46, pl. 155 a-c.
[4] SIMON 1990, 242, fig. 313.
[5] SIMON 1990, 243, fig. 14.
[6] About Victoria cf. HÖLSCHER 1967; KOORTBOJIAN 2006, 184-217.
[7] PICARD 1957, 13-100.
[8] CIG II, no. 1837 (ed. Boeckh); BRUNŠMID 1898, 28, no. 3. GAFFNEY - KIRIGIN - PETRIĆ - VUJNOVIĆ 1997, 236-237, no. 2.
[9] Diodorus XV, 13-14.

Fig. 1. Trophy of the Victory of Pharians over Jadasinoi, Pharos, Archaeological Museum Zagreb. After J. Bnrunšmid, Inschriften und Münzen griechischen Städten Dalmatiens, Wien 1898, photo on the p. 28.

Fig. 2. Coin of Octavian with a Trophy on the Reverse. After M. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage, Cambridge 1985, fig. 497/3.

Fig. 3. Coin of Triumvir Marc Antony with a Trophy on the Obverse. After M. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage, Cambridge 1985., 373.

city. Historical records mentioned that Parian colonists were forced to defend their recently established settlement from the nearby Illyrians.[9] The native people were Iadasinians (Liburnians from Iader/Iadassa or an Illyrian tribe from the vicinity of Salona).[10] These indigenous people was defeated according to Diodorus in 385/4 BC, since Dionysos from Syracuse sent the fleet (or from Lissos or Issa) to help Parians. Thousands of Illyrians were killed or captured. This victory was extremely important for the Greek colonists so it is quite normal that they decided to commemorate such a victory. Slightly different opinion was expressed by S. Čače who dated the attack of the Liburnians on Pharos after the break of Syracusaean domination in the Adriatic several decades later. Since only this inscription remained, it is not known how the entire monument looked like. However, it probably consisted of a stone monument that contained the arms seized from the enemy were its most impotant part as the inscription verbatim states.

Romans started to errect *tropaea* in the period of social and political development in the 4th century BC and the rise of Roman official elite involved in the state services.[11] The province of Dalmatia was the stage of rather numerous very outstanding war events in the period of Roman pacification of south-eastern Europe (*Illyricum*). Undoubtedly the Roman military *tropaea* were built in Dalmatia on several sites when Roman commanders had succesful military campaigns in this area. The triumphs were allowed only to some successful commanders. The first one was over Illyrian king Gentius crushed in 168 BC.[12] Very probably the monument was not erected on the site, because after the deafeat of Gentius the new ruler, Ballaios by name, was installed as a kind of Roman vasal (ruled until 135 BC).[13] This new ruler edited the coins with his portraits, among them some very fine stuck.[14] Scipio Nasica also waged successful wars against *Delmatae* when he seized their centre *Delminium*. The triumph was allowed to him in 155 BC.[15] Such a success could not have been crowned by a trophy in very *Delminium*, the capital of *Delmatae*, since the *Delematae* were far from being utterly defeated. The triumph was also allowed to L. Caecilius Metellus who waged wars against *Delmatae* in Dalmatian hinterland in 119 BC.[16] Since the Roman art was at the very beginning in Illyricum then, it is very likely that there were not skilled craftsmen in Dalmatia who could construct a building in the Roman manner. In any case the provisory *tropaea* could have been erected because they excercised a certain propaganda effect on the defeated peoples in Daalmatia. It is quite natural that provisory *tropaea* could not survive longer. The correspondence between Vatinius and

[10] NOVAK 1940, 123; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950, 9-34; SUIĆ 1976, 5-28; ČAČE 1994, 33-54; ZANINOVIĆ 1996, 102.

[11] HÖLSCHER 1980, 351.

[12] The first one was the triumph of Lucius Anicius Gallus over king Gentius and Illyrians. Cf. Fasti triumphales..... : /L. Ani/cius L.f.M.n. Gallus pro pr/aetore/ de rege a. ĐXXCVI /Gen/fio et Illurie/is/ Quirinalibus. Cf. KÜNZL 1988, 59, fig. 34.

[13] Ballaios was not mentioned by any ancient writer, but big quantity of silver and bronze coins with the legend βασιλεύς evidenced his rule. Cf. BRUNŠMID 1898, 88-98; WILKES 1992, 177.

[14] BRUNŠMID 1898, 88-98, pl. V-VII; CAMBI 2000, 25-27, figs 12-15.

[15] WILKES 1969, 31; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 298-302.

[16] WILKES 1969, 220, 441; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 306-311. Metellus got the title Delmaticus.

Fig. 4. Trophy from Tilurium (Gardunski tropej), Archaeological Museum Split. Photo: Tonči Sesar.

Cicero informs us that the former, the comanader of Roman army garrisoned in Narona, longed for the triumph but it was not allowed by Caesar.[17] Vatinius described his deeds in the mentioned letters, but he got the triumph only after the Caesar's death.[18] Possibly this success was marked by a *trophaeum* in Narona or in one the of many battle stages (Dalmatian hillforts), but there is not archaeological evidence untill now. Even the coins issued by *triumvir monetalis* Numonius Vaala (later the governor of the Roman province of Dalmatia), show the capture of one of numerous Dalmatian hill-forts.[19]

Different situation was in Illyricum after the Octavian's successful campaigns in 35/32. BC.[20] There is an opinion that *Delmatae* were depicted on the fragmentarily preserved Augustan Arch on the forum in Rome.[21] August mentioned in his *Res Gestae* that he succeeded in returning the standards captured by the Illyrians, previously lost by another commander (Gabinius). August deposed these insignia in the temple of Mars Ultor on his forum in Rome.[22] The wars in Dalmatia were a good possibility for Octavian to show his military skills. According to G.Ch. Picard a reverse of an issue of Roman coins show the *tropaeum* and one legionary eagle (*aquila*) flanked by two legionary standards (*vexilla*) of Octavian in Illyricum. Picard thought that the coin was minted before december of 32 BC, when Octavian still had bore the title of *triumvir* which he rejected afterwards (Fig. 2).[23] But this *denarius* was struck by a military mint during Octavian sejourn in Greece in 42 BC.[24] The imagery of Octavian's reverse had been intro-

[17] CAMBI - PASINI 1980, 279-283.

[18] Exactly on 31. July 42 BC. Cf. WILKES 1992, 194-195.

[19] CRAWFORD 1985, 514, 2.

[20] OLUJIĆ 2007, 85-102.

[21] COARELLI 1992, 263, fig. 60 and 265, fig. 62, while the Partian Arch was towards the north of the tempel of Divus Julius and inserted in the front of Basilica Iulia. About the Augustus' Arch of Partians cf. DE MARIA 1988, 269-272, no. 59, figs 46-49.

[22] Res Gestae Divi Augusti, 29.

[23] PICARD 1957, 251, no 2 reffering to COHEN 1880, 97, no. 248. Picard's opinon is not quite clear.

[24] CRAWFORD 1985, 497/3; SYDENHAM 1995, 1320.

Fig. 5. Fragment of the front side of the Gardunski tropej. Tilurium. Museum of Centinska krajina. Photo: N. Cambi.

Fig. 6. Trophy from Tilurium (Gardunski tropej). Right Side. Archaeological Museum Split. Photo: N. Cambi.

duced by Mark Antony's legionary coins with the same form and arrangement of three *insignia* but without a central trophy (Fig. 3).[25] So the Octavian's trophy on the reverse could not chronologically reffer to his success over the Illyrians. But, anyway, this Illyrian event was very significant for the future emperor since it belonged among his outstanding deeds *ob signa recepta* which he mentioned in the Res Gestae.[26] Undoubtedly, this event in Illyricum must have been commemorated with the monument on the very war stage. It is not known whether it was a provisonary image or a structure. Octavian was that commander who removed the stain from the Roman army for the loss of its *insignia*. Unfortunately, it is not known where this Illyrian trophy (possibly *Siscia*) was originally placed. The Roman art began in Illyricum in several last decades of the 1st century BC. Skilled workes (masons, stone masons and monumental masons, sculptors etc) came in the main settlements and cities in Dalmatia.[27] Accordingly, such monuments and many others constructions could be easily ercted by local craftsmen in the second half of the 1st century BC.

[25] Cf. CRAWFORD 1985, 373, 386, 387; cf. ŠEPAROVIĆ 2008, 269-274, fig. 1 (about such coins in northern Dalmatia).

[26] Octavian forced Illyrians to get back the *signa* seized from Gabinius in 48 BC (Apian, Illyrica, 25), cf. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 347-353.

[27] CAMBI 2005, 7-10.

At the end of the 19th century fragments of a *tropaeum* were found within the territory of the Roman military camp (7th Roman legion *Claudia Pia Fidelis*) *Tilurium* on the river Cetina, in the small village of Gardun some 30 chilometres northern from Split (Dalmatia). The fragments of the *tropaeum* were discovered during agricultural works. There are an entire slab with the inscription panel which is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split (Fig. 4). Another smaller fragment is kept in the Museum in Cetinska Krajina Sinj (Fig. 5). Obviously both of them belonged to the revetment of the concrete nucleus of the monument. Unfortunately, the site was not excavated, although the very site of discovery is known.[28] The entire slab belonged to the right corner of the front. The inscription panel shows only the last letter (O) of he first line, very likely: IMP(eratori) CAESARI DIVI FILIO AVGVST(O). On the right of the inscription there is a trophy (a tree with Roman cuirass showing dolphins on the breast and *pterigae* arranged in three rows. A helmet (unfortunately damaged) is on the top of the tree. A cloth (very probably *paludamentum*) is hanging on both shoulders, while two shields, four spears and

[28] KLEMENT 1890, 6; ABRAMIĆ 1937, 7-19; GABRIČEVIĆ 1955, 9; PICARD 1957, 217, 252, pl. XII, 2; CAMBI 1984, 77-92; CAMBI 2005, 24 (more complete literature in the n. 52). About the site of discovery cf. CAMBI 1980, no 11.

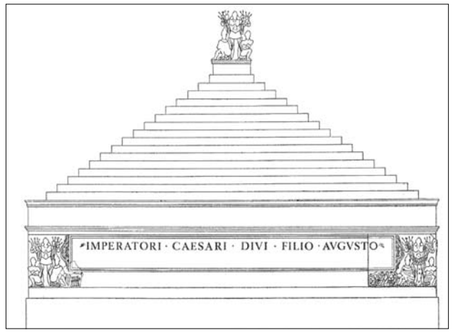

Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the Gardunski tropej. Front side. Authors: N. Cambi-B. Pender.

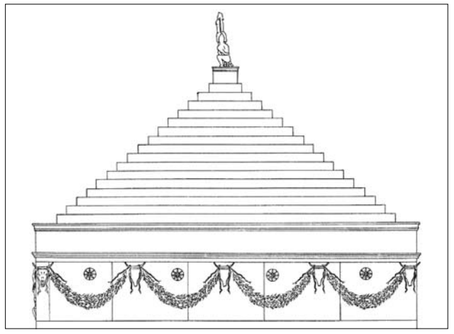

Fig. 8. Reconstruction of the Gardunski tropej. Right Side. Authors: N. Cambi-B. Pender.

a trumpet were simetrically arranged on both sides of the armour. Such type of trophy reveals that the victory monument was conceived antropomorphically. A small model of the trophy in the Berlin Charlottenburg Museum demonstates how the parts were attached to the tree.[29] The arms on the Gardun tropaeum are Roman (not barbarian) symbolizing victory of Romans. At the bottom of the *tropaeum* two barbarbians, seating on the stone heaps, are chained to the tree. Their costumes are different. The left is wrapped only in the cloak. He wears a local type of fur cap (šubara, known even today among local people in the Dalmatian hinterland). The cloak is clasped with fibula of the late La Tene type.[30] The barbarian on the right side of the trophy wears breeches. The upper part of the body is naked. He is seated on the cloak with the same type of fibula as his companion. Both barbarians wear local type of sandals.

The second (smaller one) belongs to the left side of the inscription. Obviously the same motif was represented (the knees of the barbarian is still visible) on this badly damaged fragment. As usualy the barbarians were depictd in the antithetical symmetry on both sides of the *tropaeum* inscription. On the lateral sides a *bucranion* and ribbons of a garland are depicted (Fig. 6). So the *bucrania* and garlands were represented on the right and left side of the monument.[31] The preserved details clearly show that huge garlands were hung on horns of *bucrania* which was a very common motif of altars indicating to the performed sarcifices. Owing to the

[29] SIMON 1986, 223, fig. 280.

[30] About this type of *fibulae* cfr. VINSKI 1956, 19-30, figs 1a, 6-8.

[31] Such a decoration very probably is the influence of *Ara pacis*. Cfr. SIMON 1986, 30-46, figs 26, 29, 33. SETTIS 1988, 400-426, fig. 180-183, 226-227.

parallels of trophies preserved in the other parts of the Roman world these two fragments allow a reliable reconstruction of the lower part of the *tropaeum*, but the upper could be only approximately supposed (figs 7, 8). Tilurium *tropaeum* was constructed, as usually, of the concrete core covered with above mentioned limestone slabs. G. Picard suggested that the *tropaeum* from Gardun belongs to the period of the second triumvirate or several years later.[32] This suggestion is based on the analysis of the armour appearing on the entire plaque, especially of the the cuirass with *pteryges*, but without leather straps. The cuirass has also long metal straps on shoulders reaching almost to the belt. According Picard the cuirass is of Hellenistic type, differing from the Roman imperial ones, which have much shortrer shoulder straps, which are similar to epolettes. That is the reason why Picard attributed the relief to the Octavian's victory in 35/33 BC. However, it is much more likely that the *tropaeum* is later, since the accantus scrolls of the *ansae* of the tabula are very close to those of *Ara Pacis*.[33] There is a console from the Jader forum with similar scrolls of local workmanship from the Augustan period (Fig. 9). The dolphins on the breast of the cuirass are also a hint to the marine Actium victory. So the Gardun plaque must belog to the later Augustan period[34] and consequently the *tropaeum* must have been built in honour of the victory over the so called „Two Batos'" rebellion from 6th to 9th AD (*Bellum Batonianum*).[35] Tiberius and

[32] PICARD 1957, 217.

[33] Cf no 25. Also SIMON 1986, 30-46, figs 26, 29, 30, 37; HANNESTAD 1985, 62-75, figs 42, 43, 44. Lit. In the note 89, Augustus und verlorene Republik 1988, 371-373, no 204.

[34] CAMBI 2005, 56-56, fig. 75.

[35] WILKES 1969, 68-77; ZANINOVIĆ 2007, 23-26; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 168-176.

Fig. 10. Stele of Lucius Fabius. Tilurium. Archaeological Museum Split. Photo A. Verzotti.

Fig. 9. Console. Jader (Zadar). Forum. Photo: N. Cambi.

Germanicus celebrated the triumph over the Illyrians and Panonnians on 23 October of 12 AD in Rome.[36] If so the defeated barbarians probably represent two main rebellious peoples (*Delmatae* and *Pannoni*). In my opinion the barbarian to the left, should be a Pannonian while that to the right a Delmatian. Under the inscription panel there is a frieze of armours connecting both sides of the front part. What the back side of the tropaeum looked like, is not known, since there is not even a slight remain. But very likely the same motif and the same inscription (the back was also the façade) were reproduced. The style of the decoration of the inscription *ansae* (acanthus scrolls) reveal the strong impact of Ara Pacis.[37]

Unfortunately, it is possible only to reconstruct the approximate measures (about 8 m or little bit more on the front , while about 7, 50 on both sides).[38] The form of the upper part of the *tropaeum* causes much greater problem, since there are not elements for reconstruction.[39] Probably the Gardun *tropaeum* was constructed by craftsmen engaged by the 7th Roman legion. The frieze of weapons has been a very characteristic for architraves of soldiers' stelai from Gardun and its vicinity. Obviously the frieze of arms is an echo of the tropaeum iconography (figs 10, 11).[40] The stelai and *tropaeum* very likely must have been the product of the same workshop.

[36] Inscriptiones Italiae XIII, 2, 134. The Varro's horrible defeat in Germany was the reason why the celebration was postponed.

[37] Cf. no 25. SIMON 1986, 30-46, figs26, 29, 30, 37; HANNESTAD 1985, 62-75, figs 42, 43, 44. Lit. note. 89. SETTIS 1988, 371-373, no 204.

[38] CAMBI 1984, 80.

[39] CAMBI 1984; 81, sl. 4, 5; FLORESCU 1959, 268 i d., pl. IX.

Fig. 12. Frieze Showing Military Equipment. Unknown Site in Dalmatia. Archaeological Museum Split. Photo N. Cambi.

There is another limestone relief plaque in the Split Archaeological Museum showing the frieze with Roman arms. The plaque was a part of a big monumet, very probably a *tropaeum* (Fig. 12).[41] Only Roman arms and war equipment were represented. But, unfortunately, the site of its discovery is unknown and it is not possible to establish the precise chronology of the relief because the latter is not of the same quality. This relief also lacks the polish of the surface. But, anyway, it could be a part of the Gradun *tropaeum* (frieze of the upper part of a monument). It is also possible that this relief belongs to another monument of such a type.[42]

The Illyrian triumphs probably appear on some other reliefs comming from other parts of Roman empire, especially from Rome. Judging from the type of barbarians the frieze of the temple of Apollo Sosianus represents one of such Illyrian triumphs (Fig. 13).[43] The famous Gemma Augustea also depicts the erecting of trophy over Illyrians, showing barbarians under the symbol of the victory (below left) too (Fig. 14).[44]

[40] CAMBI 2005, 54-55, figs 69, 70, 71, 72.

[41] CAMBI 1984, 86-88, fig. 6.

[42] CAMBI 1984, 87, no. 66.

[43] Cf. ZANKER 1989, 74-75, fig. 55.

[44] SIMON 1986, 156-161, figs 206-208, tab. 10; SETTIS 1988, 371, no 204.

Fig. 11. Stele of Quintus Mettius, Salona, Archaeological Museum Split. Photo A. Verzotti.

Fig. 13. Frieze showing Thrimphal Procession, Apollo Temple near Marcellus' Theatre in Rome. After B. Andreae, L' art de l' ancienne Rome, Paris 1973, fig. 237.

Fig. 14. Geamma Augustea. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. After H. Kähler, Rimsko carstvo, Novi Sad 1970, fig. on p. 73.

Two cuirasses of Roman emperors, found in Dalmatia, show in the centre of the breast the Roman *tropaeum*. The first is kept in the Archaeological museum of Zagreb (Fig. 15). It was found in Issa (today Vis). This is the same type of *tropaeum* as on the Gardun monument. Under the tree covered by armour and helmet two barbarians are seating on heaps of arms (obviously not Roman ones) in contrast to Gardun monument where barbarians sit on stones which are better suited for Dalmatian landscape. Both men, very probably dressed in the same type of robe, are bound to the tree. Another difference is also the depiction of flying Victorias with wreaths on both sides of the trophy with helmet.[45] The barbarians are of the so called Northern type but they are mostly used for Illyrians. K. Stemmer dated Zagreb cuirassed torso in the Claudian period after the types of *pterygae*.[46] The other cuirassed torso of the emperor was kept in a private collection in Graz (Fig. 16).[47] Recently the torso was sold at Southby's, but unfortunately the new owner is unknown. This torso is of the remarkable quality of workmanship. This cuirass shows the same type of trophy topped by the helmet and two shields under the *Sol quadria*. Trophy is flanked by two winged Victories (not flying). There are no barbarians under the tree. According to Stemmer this torso is from the Tiberian period. W. Schmid, who

[45] STEMMER 1978, 78, VII 5, pl. 51, 3-4.

[46] STEMMER 1978, 78.

[47] STEMMER 1978, 56-57, pl. 34, 1.

Fig. 16. Torso of an Emperor, Salona. Unknown buyer. After Sotheby Auction Catalogue.

was the first to publish the torso, proposed the same chronology. In my opinion both torsos are Tiberian and show the *tropaeum* erected somewhere (Gardun-Tilurium ?) in Dalmatian hinterland after the defeat of Illyrians and Pannonians (6-9 AD).[48] Since both statues belonged to the two different of imperial shrines (Issa[49] and Salona[50]), it is possible that they belonged to the same emperor celebrating his same Dalmatian success. Claudius on the other side was not engaged in war operations in Dalmatia.[51] He had only problems with his own legions (the rebellion of province governor and their commander Scribonianus) in Dalmatia.[52]

[48] SCHMID 1924, 45-53; pl. 5; STEMMER 1978, 56; POCHMARSKI 2009, 112, fig. 1-10, pl. 5.

[49] IVČEVIĆ 1998, 75-83.

[50] CAMBI 1998, 459-52.

[51] Claudius had military successes in Britannia. Cfr. KIENAST 1996, 91-95; CLAUSS 1997, 67-76.

[52] CAMBI 2009, 63-79.

Fig. 15. Torso of an Emperor. Vis. Archaeological Museum Zagreb, Photo N. Cambi.

So, it is not to expect the cuirassed imperial statues with the same type of *tropaeum* and same type of barbarians from Claudius and later in these regions.

Recently a fragment of a trophy, unfortunately badly damaged, was found in the vicinity of the forum in Narona, a Roman colony in the central Dalmatia (figs. 17, 18, 19).[53] It depicts the prow (*prora*) of a war galley with a heavy iron spike (or spikes) on the pole (*rostrum*). A part of the prow is broken. On both sides

[53] DAVISON - GAFFNEY - MARIN 2006, 75-76, figs 2, 3.

Fig. 17. Actian Trophy, Narona, Archaeological Museum Narona. Photo: Archaeological Museum Narona.

Fig. 18. Actian Trophy, Narona, Archaeological Museum Narona. Photo: Archaeological Museum Narona.

Fig. 19. Actian Trophy, Narona, Archaeological Museum Narona. Photo: Archaeological Museum Narona.

Fig. 20. Coin with the Head of Octavian on the Obverse. Burnum. Gradski muzej Drniš. Photo: M. Glavičić.

Fig. 21. Coin with the Actian Trophy on the Reverse. Burnum. Drniš City Museum. Photo: M. Glavičić.

Fig. 22. Coin of the Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus with the Trophy of a Naval Victory. After M. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage, Cambridge 1985, 519/2.

Fig. 23. Funerary Monument in the shape of a Roman cargo Ship. Rome. Museo Nazionale delle Terme Roma. Photo: N. Cambi.

there are the same depiction: a woman's head and an eagle carryinig a wreath in its claws. The woman who wears tunica with loose right shoulder is either godess (Victoria ?[54]) or an Amazon.[55] On the upper part of the galley there is the circular surface with connecting hole, very probably for attaching a vertical element. The best parallel for such a monument is the Octavian's trophy over Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium (Nikopolis) clearly represented on Octavian's coins and several other representations.[56] It consists of the war ship prow and the curved keel above with anchor, and the trophy fixed to the vessel. The Actium trophy shows a common form: the tree covered by a cuirass and topped by crested helm. To the left there are spears and a shield to the right. Below there are not chained enemies. A silver coin of Octavian found in the military building near the amphitheatre in Burnum (castrum of the Roman 11th legion) shows young Octavian (portrait of so called Actium type[57]) in the profile (to the right) on the obverse, while the Actium *tropaeum* on the reverse (Fig. 20, 21). This coin was struck in Italy 29 to 27 BC.[58] S the separate element on the Naronitan fragment might have been armed tree of the *tropaeum* of similar shape as Actium type. Similar type of the Actium trophy was developed about ten years earlier (Fig. 22: cf. the reverse of the coins of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus[59]).

[54] Victoria has very often loose side of the garment. Cf. SIMON 1990, 244, fig. 220.

[55] For better moving with arms in combata the Amazones had open right side of the beast.

[56] PICARD 1957, 253-274, pl. VIII, 2, XI, XII, 1.

[57] Cfr. ZANKER 1978, 13-33, pl. I-XXIX.; BOSCHUNG 1993, 11-18, pl. I-XII. The latter author the first type called La Alcudia or A type.

[58] The coin was found on 8. October 2008. For data about the coins I am indebted to my colleague Miroslav Glavičić I am very thankful to him. About this type cf. *RIC* I, 265.

[59] CRAWFORD 1985, 519/2; SYDENHAM 1995, 1177.

Is it possible that a copy of the Actium trophy in a much smaller scale was erected in Narona? It is, in my opinion, very likely. This monument is of high quality and made of Proconnesian marble. Most probably it was erected in Naronitan forum in order to commemorate the Octavian's victory and might be associated with the foundation of the colony in early Augustan period,[60] as well as the founding of the imperial cult in this city of municipal character.[61] A hint to his naval victory at Actium, appears in the centre of the cuirassed statue of August in the Naronitan shrine (Nereids riding the sea horses and dolphins[62]). Octavian's monument at Actium (Nicopolis) by which the winner of the battle marked the central place between East and West where Octavian saved the unity of the Roman empire.[63] It is interesting that several decades earlier the brothers Gaius Papius Celsus and Marcus Papius Kanus dedicated an inscription in honour of Octavian's victory over Sextus Pompeus (*ob Sicilia recepta*) in the vicinity of Narona (Tasovčići also on the river Neretva, in Herzegowina).[64] So it is possible that Naronitan colony commemorated the Octavian's victory over Mark Antony and Kleopatra, but in more luxury way than the mentioned brothers.

The Actium *tropaeum* type had rather strong impact on Roman art. Since it, for example, appears on an antefix, now in the Museum in Bonn[65] and a marble tombstone from Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme[66] shows the onerary ship with the base for column is under the strong iconographic influence of the Actium trophy (Fig. 23), although in a little bit modified way. These images are the evidence of the longevity and popularity of this iconographic pattern. These early *tropaea* there are not more evidence of later monuments in Dalmatia. It is very likely due to the fact that in later centuries Dalmatia was a pacified province. The Roman imagery of the war and trophies deeply influenced later representations of victories.

[60] WILKES 1969, 245-251.

[61] The imperial cult developed from the Augustan period. Cfr. MARIN - VICKERS 2004, 154-157.

[62] MARIN - VICKERS 2004, 148-150, figs 154-157

[63] HÖLSCHER 2006, 33.

[64] CIL III 14265; CAMBI 1989, 37-45. Only inscription, which is only a part of the much complex monument, is preserved.

[65] PICARD 1957, pl. XI; ZANKER 1989, 88-91, fig. 64.

[66] As far as I know the monument was found in Rome.

ABBREVIATIONS:

CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum
RIC = Roman Imperial Coins in the British Museum

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EARLY ROMAN GRAVES WITH WEAPONS IN SLOVENIA: AN OVERVIEW

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1. INTRODUCTION

The gradual spread of the Roman influence to the south-eastern Alpine region started with the foundation of the Roman colony of *Aquileia* in north-eastern Italy in 183/181 BC and ended by the end of the Augustan period, when the whole territory of present-day Slovenia was under Roman control.[1]

The involvement of the Roman army in the process seems logical and is also indicated by archaeological finds. Among them, the hoard of weapons from the Iron Age hillfort Grad near Šmihel is the earliest,[2] probably from the period that followed the foundation of *Aquileia*. The hillfort controlled the important pass of Razdrto (Roman *Ocra*) on the main route from *Aquileia* to *Nauportus* and further to the Balkans, as well as to the middle Danube. *Ocra* was under Roman control from the end of the second century BC onwards at the latest.[3]

Later finds of pre-(middle) Augustan Roman military equipment comprise a few items from the River Ljubljanica[4] and Ljubljana,[5] as well as artillery missiles such as catapult bolts, lead slingshots, arrowheads, and other finds from Grad near Reka and Gradišče in Cerkno in the mountainous region around Idrija (western Slovenia). Finds from these two sites indicate Roman military actions, which were most probably related to Octavian's Illyrian wars of 35/33 BC.[6] The same applies to the hobnails from Žerovniščak.[7]

Roman weapons and other military equipment from the middle and late Augustan period or the first half of the first century AD are much more frequent. They come from military sites such as the forts at Obrežje and Čatež-Sredno polje along the River Sava in the Brežice Gates area (south-eastern Slovenia),[8] from the two successive forts recently excavated at the right bank of the River Ljubljanica at Ljubljana/*Emona*,[9] from Ptuj/*Poetovio*, where in the first century AD a fortress was situated at a not (yet) determined exact location on the western bank of the River Drava,[10] and further from prehistoric hillforts (e.g. Žerovniščak,[11] Ambroževo gradišče[12]), Roman settlements (e.g. Vrhnika,[13] Ljubljana[14]), unknown archaeological contexts (e.g. a dagger from the vicinity of Štanjel[15]), and graves. The latter shall be discussed in detail.

[1] HORVAT 1999, 218-219; HORVAT 2009; ISTENIČ 2006, 42-43; ISTENIČ 2009a, 861-862.

[2] HORVAT 2002.

[3] HORVAT - BAVDEK 2009.

[4] ISTENIČ 2009b, 86, fig. 85; ISTENIČ 2009c, cat. 67.

[5] VIČIČ 1994, 48-49, pl. 1: 10: 8-10.

[6] ISTENIČ 2005

[7] LAHARNAR 2009, 107, 115, pl. 5: 1-17.

[8] Obrežje: MASON 2006; MASON 2008; MIŠKEC 2009, 288-289, figs. 7, 8 (dating of the coins); small finds, including the items of Roman military equipment, have not been published yet.
Čatež-Sredno polje: GUŠTIN 2002.

[9] Short description of the forts: HVALEC et al. 2009, 3, 4 (small finds, including the items of Roman military equipment, have not been published yet, except for two photographs in o.c., p. 4). Cf. also military finds from an alleged fabrica: VIČIČ 2002, 195-196, pls. 12-13.

[10] HORVAT et al. 2003, 156, 173; Roman military equipment: MIKL 1960-61, 156-157, pl. 3: 1; KÜNZL 1996, 454-455, M 11, pl. 53: 2; 2010.

[11] LAHARNAR 2009, 106-108, pl. 5: 4-17.

[12] HORVAT 1995, pl. 14: 11-22 (presumably Augustan); LAHARNAR, in this volume.

[13] HORVAT 1999 pl. 23: 1, 3, 5, 6 (perhaps from the Ljubljanica); ISTENIČ 2009b, cat. 51 (presumably Augustan).

[14] GASPARI 2010, pls. 5: 14, 23, 27, 28, figs. 52, 54; VIČIČ 1994, 49-50, t. 3: 20, 21; VIČIČ 2002, 195-196, 200-201, 203-204, pl. 12, 13: 6-7, 9-12.

[15] ISTENIČ 2009d.

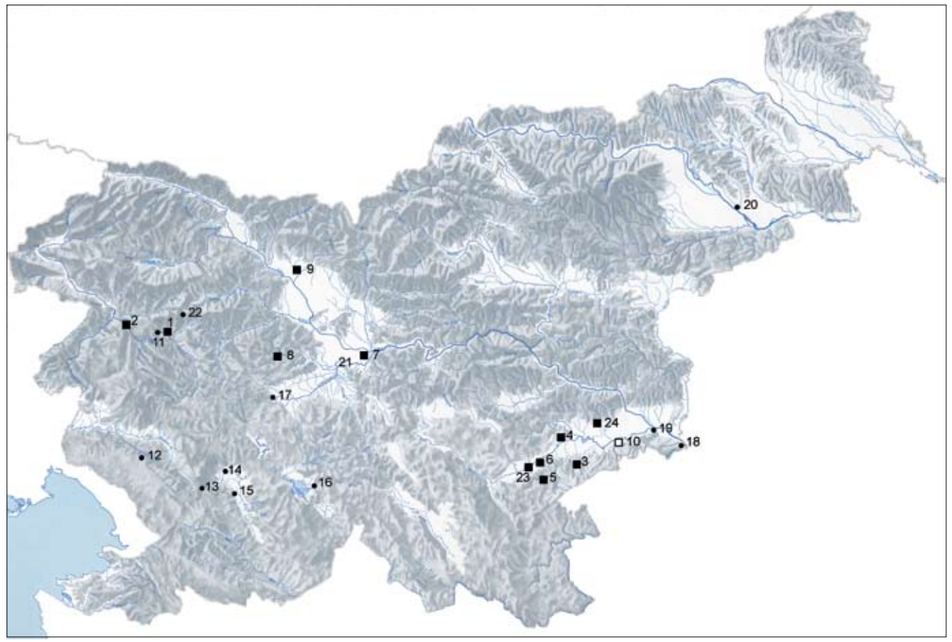

Fig. 1. Slovenia, sites with graves which comprise early Roman weapons (■;□) and other sites with items of Roman military equipment mentioned in the text (•). 1. Reka near Cerkno, 2. Idrija pri Bači, 3. Mihovo, 4. Strmec above Bela Cerkev, 5. Verdun near Stopiče, 6. Smolenja vas near Novo mesto, 7. Ljubljana, 8. Polhov Gradec, 9. Bobovk near Kranj, 10. Stari Grad nad Podbočjem, 11. Grad near Reka, 12. vicinity of Štanjel, 13. Razdrto, 14. Grad near Šmihel, 15. Baba pri Slavini, 16. Žerovnišček, 17. Vrhnika, 18. Obrežje, 19. Čatež-Sredno polje, 20. Ptuj, 21. the River Ljubljanica, 22. Gradišče in Cerkno.

Graves with early Roman military equipment come mainly from two regions of present-day Slovenia, that is, the mountains around Idrija in western Slovenia and Dolenjska (roughly southern Slovenia; Fig. 1: 1-6).

In western Slovenia graves with early Roman weapons are known from two cemeteries, Reka near Cerkno and Idrija pri Bači (Fig. 1: 1, 2), excavated in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century. Both include the La Tène period and early Roman graves.[16] Their grave-groups consist of items that are chronologically inhomogeneous, a feature that seems to be characteristic of the Idrija group.[17]

[16] GUŠTIN 1991. The finds are kept in the Naturhistorisches Museum and the Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte at Vienna and in Musei Civici di Storia ed Arte at Triest.

[17] Cf. TURK et al. 2009, 48-54, 61.

The cemetery of Reka near Cerkno (14 cremations were excavated) is situated immediately below the site of Grad near Reka (see above). Roman weapons were found in two graves. In addition to tools, a metal vessel, and other items, Grave 3 comprises Celtic (La Tène) and Roman military equipment: a Celtic sword in a Roman scabbard, probably of early Mainz type (both the sword and the scabbard were intentionally bent),[18] two spearheads,[19] and a Celtic shield buckle[20] which has parallels in Grave 169 from Beletov vrt, dated to La Tène D1,[21] as well as metal parts of Roman and Celtic belts (Fig. 2).[22]

[18] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 30: 1; the flat knob at the end of the scabbard resembles the "fan-shaped" knobs (cf. the example from Magdalensberg, dated between ca. 30 and 20 BC: DOLENZ 1998, 49-53, pl. 1: M1) and suggests a rather early dating.

[19] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 30: 2, 3.

[20] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 30: 4.

[21] KNEZ 1992, pl. 61: 2; dating: BOŽIČ 1999, 198; BOŽIČ 2008, 112.

[22] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 31: 8, 10.

In Grave 11 a shaft and a boss of a Roman shield,[23] a brooch of the Aucissa type,[24] a helmet of the Port type,[25] a non-Roman brooch characteristic of the northeast Adriatic hinterland in the last two centuries BC,[26] and also, according to Guštin, a head of a pilum (Fig. 3)[27] were found. In our opinion it would be very surprising to find a pilum in a grave, as they seem to have been used exclusively by Roman legionaries.[28]

In the Idrija pri Bači cemetery 47 cremations, spanning Late Early Iron Age to the Augustan period, were excavated.[29] Two of them, Grave 11/12 and Grave 17,[30] comprise items of Roman military equipment.

A sword and metal remains of the associated scabbard, both of the Mainz type, were found in Grave 11/12 (Fig. 4).[31] The round hand-guard (turned upside down on the drawing) finds parallels among the items from the ship that in the middle-Augustan period sunk at Comacchio (northeastern Italy).[32]

In addition to non-Roman items, such as the brooch of the Idrija type and the tools, Grave 17 includes items of Roman military equipment: a helmet of the Weisenau type, a sword and scabbard of the Mainz type (with a circular hand-guard[33]), a shield-buckle, a buckle, a brooch of the Alesia type, and button-and-loop fasteners (Fig. 5).[34]

In southern Slovenia (Dolenjska) graves comprising early-Roman military finds come from the cemeteries at Mihovo, Strmec above Bela Cerkev, Verdun near Stopiče, and Smolenja vas near Novo mesto (Fig 1: 3-6).

[23] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 33: 15, 34: 2; cf. DEMETZ 1998, 84, pl. 18, 19, M 220-223.

[24] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 34: 5.

[25] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 34: 1.

[26] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 34: 4; cf. BAVDEK et al. 2010, 47.

[27] GUŠTIN 1991, 26, pl. 33: 14.

[28] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 225-259.

[29] GUŠTIN 1991, 30-33, pls.1-27.

[30] GUŠTIN 1991, pls. 11: 5-14, 12: 3, 15-17.

[31] GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 12: 3.

[32] INVERNIZZI 1990, 101, 103, 258, 260, fig. 3, pl. 68: 227; dating: BERTI 1990, 72-75; for the problems regarding the possible remains of the associated scabbard cf. ISTENIČ 2000a, 176, fn 4; Istenič 2000b, 6, fn. 33.

[33] Cf. fn. 32.

[34] GUŠTIN 1991, pls. 15-17. For the buckle (GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 17: 12) cf. DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 66-67, pl. 40. For the brooch of the Idrija type see BOŽIČ 2008, 98-100, 104-105, 110, fig. 50: 4, and for the head and bow fragment of the Alesia type brooch (the foot on the drawing GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 17: 10: cannot be part of the brooch, but the fragment in the form of a bird's head, GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 17: 11, might represent the foot of the brooch) see BOŽIČ 2008, 106-109.

At Mihovo around 400 graves from the Early and Late Iron Age as well as from the Roman period were excavated in the nineteenth century.[35] They were the subject of a PhD thesis[36] which remained unpublished; it includes a catalogue of the grave goods with rather schematic drawings and very brief descriptions. Roman military equipment from the cemetery comprises swords of the Mainz type and typologically earlier swords with or without scabbard remains,[37] the remains of a hilt of a sword,[38] and one or two shield-bosses.[39] Other weapons from the graves follow the La Tène tradition.[40]

Early Halstatt period, Late La Tène, and Roman graves from the cemetery Strmec above Bela Cerkev, situated on the southern slopes of the hillfort at Vinji vrh, were excavated in the nineteenth century.[41] The excavations were poorly documented, neither of the two institutions keeps records of grave-groups, and only a few could be (partially) reconstructed.[42] This is also the case of a grave which includes remains of a Mainz-type sword scabbard and a shield handgrip (Fig. 6).[43] A fragment of a Mainz-type sword sheath and perhaps also a dagger typical of the early Principate[44] might also come from the cemetery.

More than 200 graves spanning the second half of the first century BC to the second century AD were excavated at Verdun (Fig. 1: 5). Unlike the graves mentioned earlier, the ones from Verdun were excavated about 20 years ago and are well documented. From the published evidence,[45] which is preliminary and includes only a few graves,[46] it seems that the cemetery comprises several graves with Roman weapons such as swords, remains of shields (bosses and handgrips), helmets, and spears from the middle Augustan period to the first half of the first century.

[35] History of research, topography, and archival sources: see DULAR 2008, 111-121 (with quoted earlier publications). Most of the finds are kept in the Naturhistorisches Museum at Vienna.

[36] WINDL 1975.

[37] WINDL 1975, Grave 1656/59, pl. 21:1, Grave 1657/16, pl. 28:1, Grave 1846/3, pl. 61: 5; cf. also pl. 74:1.

[38] WINDL 1975, Grave 1657/59, pl. 43: 2.

[39] WINDL 1975, pl. 80: 5 and perhaps also Grave 1657/16, pl. 27: 3.

[40] Ex. helmets of the Novo mesto type - see MIHALJEVIĆ - DIZDAR 2007, 124 (for their dating also ISTENIČ 2010, 140-142).

[41] DULAR 1991, 54-59, 87-97; BOŽIČ 1999, 208. The grave goods are kept in the Naturhistorisches Museum at Vienna (DULAR 1991, pls. 51-82) and in the National Museum of Slovenia at Ljubljana (STARE 1973).

[42] DULAR 1991, 87-97, pls. 51-52, 55-62.

[43] BOŽIČ 1992, 75, pl. 17: 1-6.

[44] DULAR 1991, 81, 98-99, pls. 41: 1, 63: 9.

[45] BREŠČAK 1989; 1990.

[46] See BREŠČAK in this volume.

A Mainz-type gladius (Fig. 7) and a spearhead were found in a cremation grave in Smolenja vas near Novo mesto (Fig. 1: 6).[47] The gladius was subsequently acquired by the Dolenjski muzej.[48]

The remains of a blade of a Mainz-type gladius from Stari grad above Podbočje (Fig. 1: 10),[49] acquired by the National Museum of Slovenia in 1897, might also come from a grave.[50]

From other parts of Slovenia there are three Roman cemeteries with graves that comprise early Roman weapons, namely from Ljubljana, from Bobovk near Kranj, and from Polhov Gradec (Fig. 1: 7-9).

During rescue-excavations at Kongresni trg in Ljubljana (Roman *Emona*; Fig. 1: 7), on the left bank of the River Ljubljanica, in 2010/2011 two graves with Roman military equipment were discovered. The grave goods of one of them comprised a sword of the Mainz type with remains of the scabbard, an umbo, and two spearheads; a brooch of the Aucissa type and two speaheads were found in the another grave.

At the Bobovk cemetery, situated near Kranj (Fig. 1: 9), 29 cremations were reported to have been excavated.[51] One of them, Grave 1, contained a rich grave assemblage. In addition to a sword of the Mainz type (without any remains of the scabbard; Fig. 9) it comprised a glass urn, two glass vessels, imported thin-walled pottery, a poor quality oil lamp of the Loeschcke IX type, knives, and many metal remains of what was probably a wooden box.[52] The oil lamp and thin-walled pottery suggest that it may be dated to the Flavian period or the first half of the second century, and that the sword was an old object when it was deposited in the grave.[53] It is the latest Principate grave with weapons from the territory under discussion.

[47] The author would like to thank Dragan Božič for drawing her attantion to the find and for the invaluable unpublished information regarding the grave.

[48] KRIŽ et al. 2008, 334, No. 22. The author would like to thank Borut Križ for providing the photograph of the sword and the permission to publish it in this paper, as well as for the information regarding the circumstances of the acquisition of the sword.

[49] GUŠTIN et al. 1993, 12, 34-35, fig. 20: 20.

[50] BOŽIČ 1993, 139.

[51] PETRU - VALIČ 1958-1959.

[52] PETRU - VALIČ 1958-1959, 133-136, pls. 1-4; PETRU 1958-1959, 15, fig. 2.

[53] For the dating of the lamp see ISTENIČ 1999, 150-151.

At Polhov Gradec (Fig 1: 8) several high quality ceramic, glass, and metal vessels and lamps, dated mostly to the period between the end of the first century BC and the first half of the first century AD, were found in 1913 and 1914. Iron finds include a shield-boss and three spearheads (Fig. 8).[54] The finds probably originate from several graves,[55] not from a single very rich grave.[56]

CONCLUSIONS

Graves with early Roman weapons in the southeastern Alpine region are concentrated in two regions: Dolenjska and the region around Idrija, which are associated with the Mokronog and Idrija cultural groups in the La Tène period.[57] Dolenjska was inhabited by the *Taurisci*, while the Idrija region was probably the easternmost territory of the *Carni*.[58]

Graves with Roman weapons from Dolenjska and the region around Idrija come from cemeteries which comprise Late La Tène burials with Celtic weapons. In most of the graves, Roman weapons are associated with Celtic weapons or other items that follow the indigenous, pre-Roman tradition. From this it can be concluded that these graves with Roman weapons should be linked to indigenous men, partially or completely (as indicated by the published graves from Verdun) armed with Roman weapons, which would suggest they were auxiliary soldiers. Fan-shaped ending on the sword scabbard from Grave 1657/16 at Mihovo[59] and a similar ending from Grave 3 at Reka near Cerkno might suggest that the earliest among them may have joined the Roman army in the early Augustan period.[60] The majority of graves with Roman weapons are middle Augustan to Tiberian and probably reflect vast recruitment in that period.

[54] LOŽAR 1938; PETRU 1974, pls. 10-11; MRÁV 2005.

[55] BOŽIČ in this volume.

[56] Cf. MRÁV 2005.

[57] BOŽIČ 1999, 192, 203.

[58] BOŽIČ 1999, 203; ISTENIČ 2005; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 413, 416; ŠAŠEL KOS 2010, 211-212.

[59] WINDL 1975, pl. 28:1-3.

[60] Cf. BERGER - HELMIG 1991, 9, fig. 10: 17; DOLENZ 1998, 49-53, fig. 19, pl. 1: M1; DECHEZLEPRÊTRE - ADRIAN - ROUDIÉ 2008, pl. 5: 3. In the case of Grave 3 from Reka near Cerkno a relatively early date is also indicated by old objects in the grave, such as the shield-buckle (GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 30: 6) with parallels in Grave 169 from Beletov and a brooch (GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 29: 9).

The regions where the graves with Augustan weapons in Slovenia are concentrated came under firm Roman control during Octavian's Illyrian wars of 35/33 B.C.[61] Appian mentions the *Carni* and *Taurisci* among the second group of peoples defeated during Octavian's Illyrian wars in 35/33 B.C., that is, the ones that offered considerable resistance (*Illyr.*, 16, 46).[62] The discussed graves with Roman weapons from Dolenjska and the Idrija region suggest that warriors of the defeated tribes started to fight alongside the Romans in the middle or perhaps already in the early Augustan period. In the case of the *Taurisci*, the recently published results of a research into a group of Late La Tène style swords and associated sheaths with openwork decoration[63] point to the beginning of military collaboration of the *Taurisci* with the Romans in the early Augustan period at the latest. Recruitment contributed to the Romanisation of the region and provided manpower for the huge needs of the Augustan army, which culminated during the Pannonian-Dalmatian Revolt (AD 6-9).

The two graves with Roman weapons from Ljubljana should also be related to auxiliary soldiers, probably from the middle or late Augustan period, when there were two successive military forts at Ljubljana on the right bank of the Ljubljanica and when the new, regularly planned town enclosed by stone walls was built.[64] The sword from Bobovk might indicate a grave of an old soldier or perhaps his heir. In the case of weapons from Polhov gradec, their interpretation as hunting gear cannot be excluded, although it does not seem probable.[65]

[61] Cf. ISTENIČ 2005.

[62] ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 412-414, 416.

[63] ISTENIČ 2010.

[64] ISTENIČ 2009, 103; HVALEC 2009; GASPARI 2010.

[65] Cf. MRÁV 2005.

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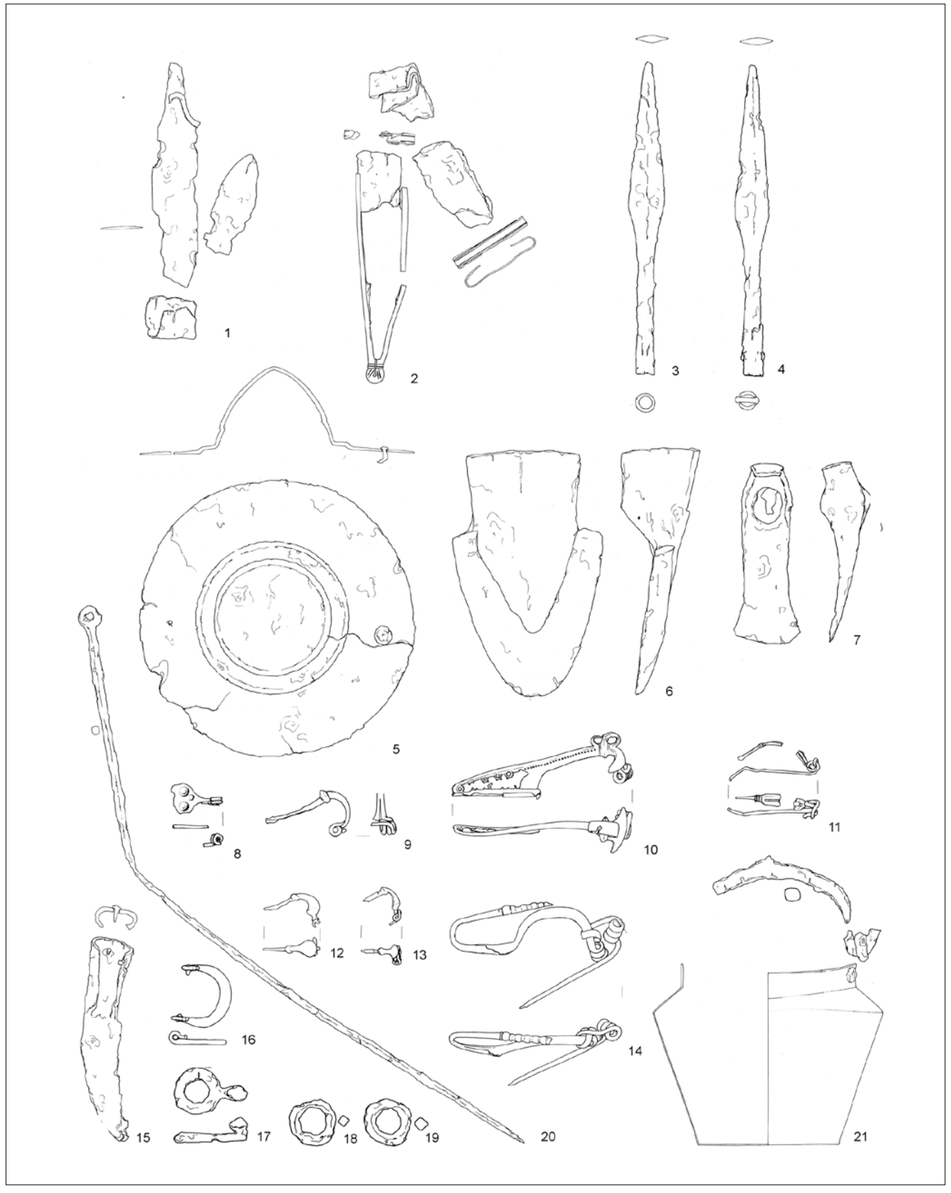

Fig. 2. Reka near Cerkno, Grave 3. Various scales (from GUŠTIN 1991, pls. 29-31).

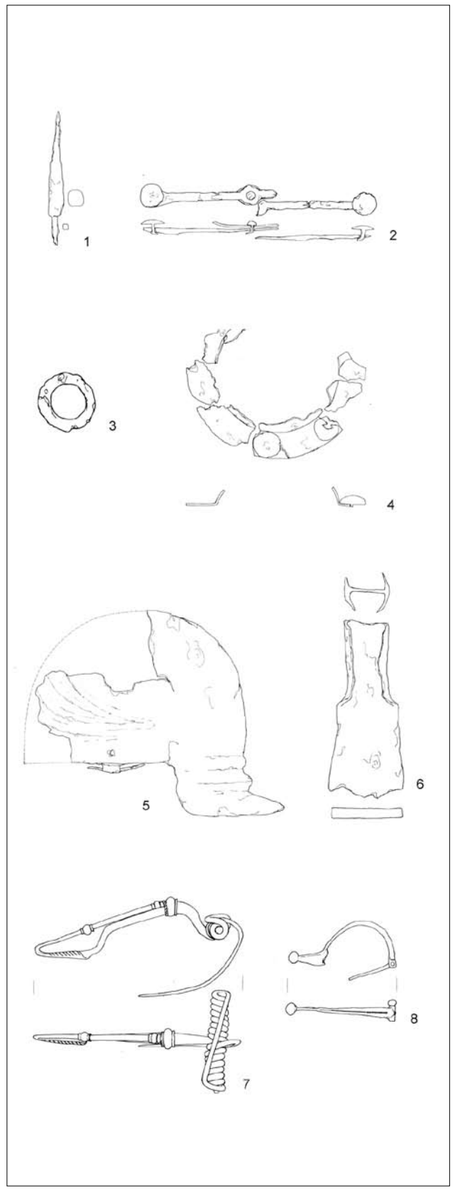

Fig. 3. Reka near Cerkno, Grave 11. Various scales (from GUŠTIN 1991, pls. 33: 14-16, 34: 1-5).

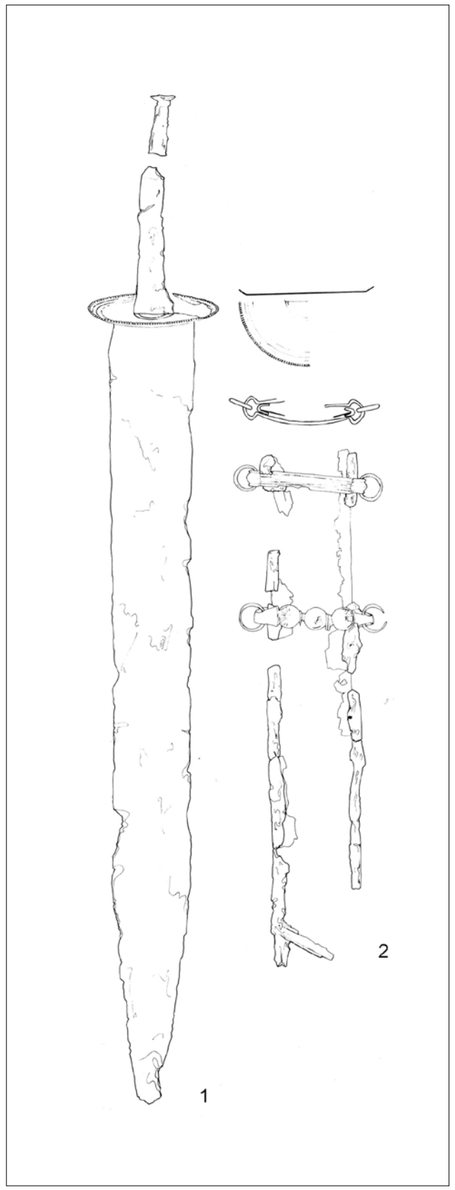

Fig. 4. Idrija pri Bači, Grave 11/12. Scale 1 : 6 (from GUŠTIN 1991, pl. 12: 3).

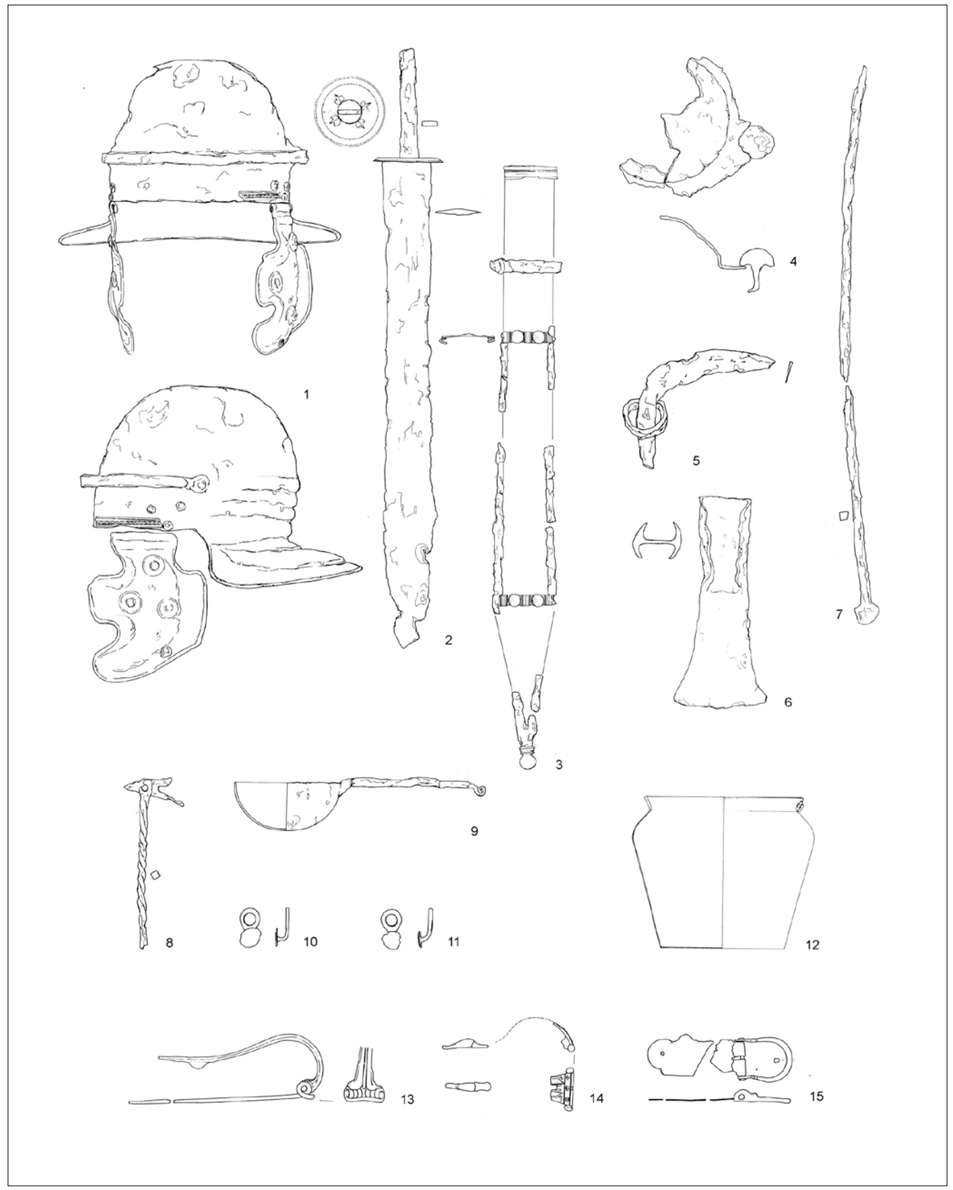

Fig. 5. Roman military equipment and several other items from Idrija pri Bači, Grave 17. Various scales (from GUŠTIN 1991, pls. 15: 3, 5, 16, 17: 1, 4, 5, 6, 8-13).

Fig. 8. Grave 1 from Bobovk near Kranj. Photograph by Tomaža Lauko, Narodni muzej Slovenije.

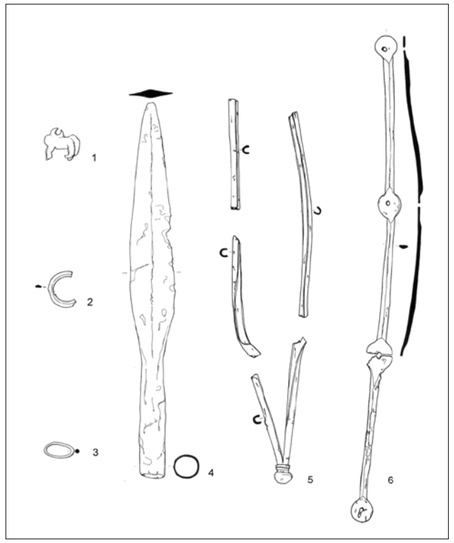

Fig. 6. Strmec above Bela Cerkev, grave with Roman weapons. Scale 1 : 4. After BOŽIČ 1992, pl. 17: 1-6 and DULAR 1992, pls. 65: 14, 70: 36, 73: 29, 78: 3, 75: 18-23, 78: 3.

Fig. 7. Gladius from Smolenja vas. © Dolenjski muzej.

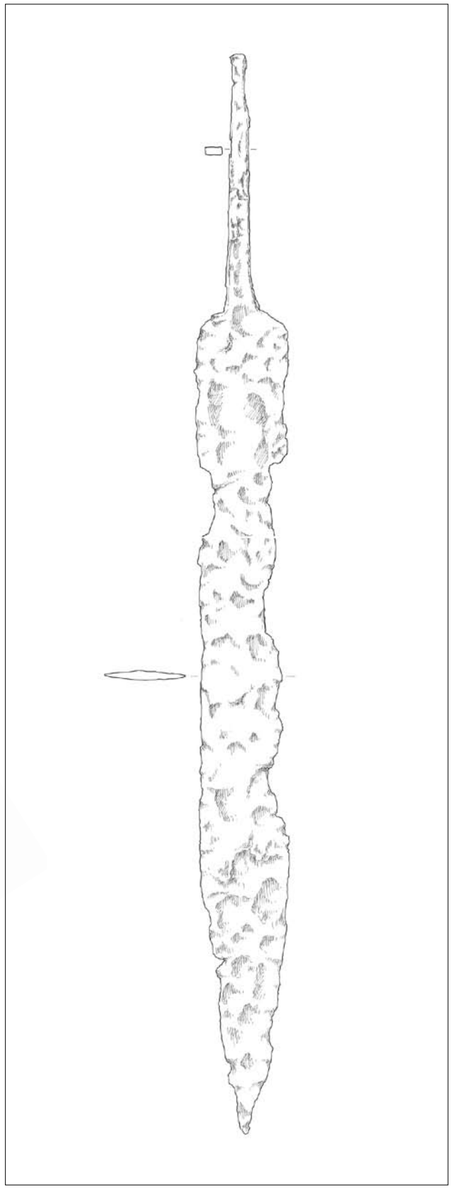

Fig. 9 Bobovk near Kranj, Grave 1: the sword. Scale 1: 3. Drawing by Ida Murgelj, Narodni muzej Slovenije.

Achim Rost - Susanne Wilbers-Rost

BESTATTUNGEN AUF DEM SCHLACHTFELD VON KALKRIESE

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DAS SCHLACHTFELD

Funde und Befunde des römisch-germanischen Schlachtfeldes von Kalkriese wurden bereits wiederholt vorgestellt und diskutiert.[1] Dieser Beitrag wird daher nur auf einen Teilaspekt eingehen, auf eine Befundgruppe, die vielfältige Fragen zum Bestattungswesen beim römischen Militär aufwirft: einige im Bereich der Fundstelle „Oberesch“ entdeckte Knochengruben.

Die Flur „Oberesch“ ist allerdings nur ein kleiner Ausschnitt des ausgedehnten Untersuchungsgebietes, das sich 20 Kilometer nördlich von Osnabrück am Übergang vom Wiehengebirge, dem nördlichsten Höhenzug der Mittelgebirgszone, zur Norddeutschen Tiefebene erstreckt (Abb. 1). Eine große Anzahl römischer Militaria weist auf eine weiträumige Kampfzone hin, die mit der Varusschlacht - auch Schlacht im Teutoburger Wald genannt - in Verbindung gebracht werden kann.

Mehrere antike Autoren berichteten über dieses dramatische Ereignis des Jahres 9 n. Chr., in dessen Verlauf die drei Legionen umfassende Armee des römischen Statthalters für Germanien, P. Quintilius Varus, die sich auf dem Marsch von einem vermutlich an der Weser errichteten Sommerlager zurück in die Winterquartiere an Rhein und Lippe befand, von Germanen unter der Führung des Arminius angegriffen und fast vollständig vernichtet wurde.[2]

Seit der Entdeckung eines Hortfundes römischer Denare[3] im Jahr 1987 fanden systematische, detektorgestützte Geländeprospektionen und Ausgrabungen statt, die in einem Areal von mehr als 30 km² viele römische Münzen und Fragmente römischer Militärausrüstungen zutage förderten. Die Fundstreuung lässt auf eine Abfolge germanischer Partisanenangrif-

[1] Zuletzt u.a. ROST 2008; 2009a-d; WILBERS-ROST 2009a, b; WILBERS-ROST et al. 2007.

[2] U.a. Cassius Dio, Historia romana 56,18-24,1; Florus 2,30,29-39; Tacitus, Annales I, 55-72,1; Velleius Paterculus 2,120.

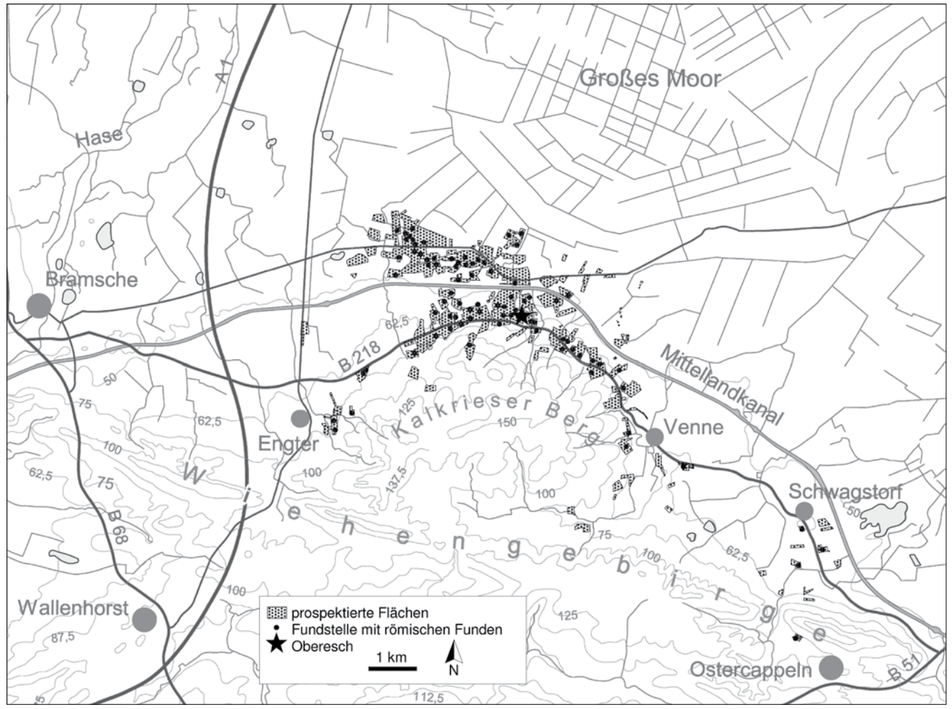

Abb. 1. Das Untersuchungsgebiet des Forschungsprojektes Kalkriese.

fe gegen ein römisches Heer schließen, das den Engpass zwischen dem Kalkrieser Berg im Süden und dem Großen Moor im Norden von Ost nach West passieren musste. Durch die ungünstige Topographie wurden die römischen Truppen im Verlauf dieser Defileegefechte daran gehindert, ihre militärische Stärke erfolgreich zu entfalten. Im Zentrum des Schlachtfeldes, an der schmalsten Stelle des Engpasses, liegt die Fundstelle Oberesch, die eine der Hauptkampfzonen, wenn nicht sogar ein zentraler Ort des endgültigen Zusammenbruchs der römischen Truppen gewesen zu sein scheint.[4] Bei den Ausgrabungen wurde hier eine Rasensodenmauer von etwa 400 m Länge (Abb. 2) entdeckt, die von den Germanen als zusätzliche Verstärkung ihres Hinterhalts angelegt worden war[5]. Mehr als 6000 Fragmente römischer Ausrüstung, von denen die meisten auf dem Oberesch gefunden wurden, sind Indiz für die weitgehende Vernichtung der Angegriffenen. Das Fundmaterial zeigt, dass nicht nur Legionäre, Auxiliareinheiten und Reiter als kämpfende Truppen, sondern auch ein umfangreicher Tross in die Kämpfe verwickelt waren.[6]

DIE KNOCHENGRUBEN

Mit diesen Kampfhandlungen nur indirekt in Verbindung stehen die Knochengruben. Bisher wurden acht derartige Befunde entdeckt, und zwar ausschließlich

[3] BERGER 1996, 10, 16.f.; SCHLÜTER et al. 1992, 307.

[4] Zur Entwicklung der Kampfhandlungen vgl. ROST 2009b, 111 ff.; 2009c, 105 f.; 2009d.

[5] WILBERS-ROST 2007, 30 ff.

[6] HARNECKER 2008.

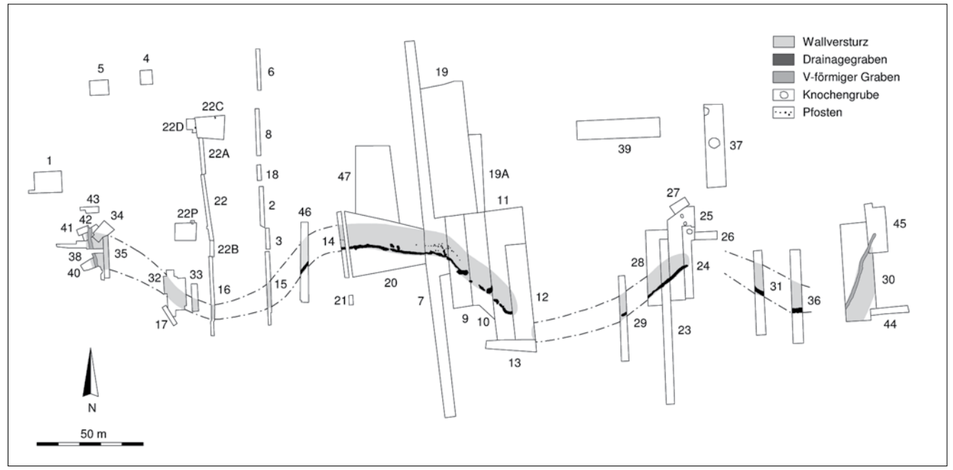

Abb. 2. Kalkriese, Oberesch: Grabungsschnitte bis 2009 mit Wallanlage und Knochengruben.

auf dem Oberesch. Die Gruben enthielten Knochen von Menschen, Maultieren und Pferden (Abb. 3 und 4); allerdings fanden sich keine vollständigen Skelette, sondern Einzelknochen und Knochenbruchstücke. Der stark fragmentarische Erhaltungszustand zeigt, dass die Knochen mehrere Jahre an der Oberfläche gelegen haben, wo sie Sonne, Regen und dem Zugriff von Wildtieren ausgesetzt waren, bevor sie in die Gruben gelangten.[7] Osteologische Untersuchungen ergaben, dass zwischen dem Tod der Individuen und der Einbringung in die Gruben 2 bis 10 Jahre vergangen sein müssen. Einige Knochen weisen Hiebspuren von Schwertern auf[8], und fast alle Menschenknochen stammen von etwa 20 bis 40 Jahre alten Männern; lediglich ein Beckenknochen kann einer Frau zugewiesen werden.[9] Die Toten sind als Gefallene von Kampfhandlungen zu interpretieren, wobei die Robustizität der Menschenknochen für eine relativ gute Ernährung und damit eher für römische Soldaten als für Germanen spricht;[10] die Maultierknochen lassen sich zweifellos einem römischen Militärtross zuweisen.[11]

Die Knochengruben sind nicht gleichmäßig über den Oberesch verteilt; fünf Gruben liegen, fast in einer Reihe, im östlichen Teil des Feldes, drei etwa 200 m weiter westlich; im mittleren Abschnitt des Oberesches sind bei den bisherigen Grabungen keine derartigen Befunde entdeckt worden.[12]

Die Größe der Gruben und die Menge der in ihnen deponierten Knochen variieren beträchtlich: Die Durchmesser reichen von 1 bis 4 m, und während einige der Gruben, sogar einige der kleineren, vollständig mit Knochen gefüllt waren, enthielten andere, unter ihnen auch die größte, nur wenige Knochen.[13]

[7] Außerhalb dieser Gruben sind Knochen überwiegend sehr viel schlechter erhalten. Die meisten Leichen sind u.a. wegen der ungünstigen Erhaltungsbedingungen des Sandbodens vollständig vergangen, so dass auf der ehemaligen Bodenoberfläche allenfalls noch einzelne Knochen bis heute erhalten geblieben sind. Daher können mit archäologischen und anthropologischen Methoden bisher keine Angaben zur Anzahl der tatsächlich in der Schlacht Gefallenen gemacht werden (GROSSKOPF 2007, 173 f.). Einige Knochenensembles, so z.B. Teile von Maultierskeletten (WILBERS-ROST 2007, 95 ff.; UERPMANN et al. 2007, 127 ff.) wurden allerdings von Material der Rasensodenmauer überdeckt, die in einigen Abschnitten schon während der Auseinandersetzungen oder unmittelbar danach zusammengebrochen sein muss. Das verstürzte Wallmaterial hat die Kadaver vor Wildtieren geschützt und Teile der metallenen Ausrüstung vor der Plünderung durch die Germanen bewahrt.

[8] GROSSKOPF 2007, 175.

[9] GROSSKOPF 2007, 174.

[10] Aussagen zur Herkunft der Toten etwa aus römischen, gallischen oder germanischen Gebieten ist auf naturwissenschaftlichem Wege aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustandes der Knochen nicht möglich; zu bisher vergeblichen Versuchen mit DNA-Analysen vgl. GROSSKOPF 2007, 171.

[11] UERPMANN et al. 2007, 136.

[12] Diese Verteilung lässt sich möglicherweise mit unterschiedlichen Bewuchsverhältnissen auf verschiedenen Bereichen des Oberesch zum Zeitpunkt der Knochendeponierung erklären (WILBERS-ROST 2007, 94 f.; 2009b, 1350).

[13] WILBERS-ROST 2007, 84 ff.; Grosskopf 2009b, 82 f.

Abb. 3. Kalkriese, Oberesch: Knochengrube 5.

Abb. 4. Kalkriese, Oberesch: Knochengrube 7.

Außer Knochen fanden sich in den Gruben einzelne römische Artefakte, darunter Eisennägel, Fragmente von Silberfolie, Fibelfragmente, ein Lanzenschuh und das Bruchstück eines Reibsteins, der möglicherweise für die Zubereitung von Arzneien benutzt wurde. Die überwiegend sehr kleinen Objekte und Bruchstücke sind willkürlich zwischen den Knochen verteilt, wie insbesondere die Kartierung der Grube 7 zeigt (Abb. 5). Vergleicht man die Artefakte aus den Gruben mit jenen, die in der näheren Umgebung entdeckt wurden, wird deutlich, dass sie sich nicht erheblich unterscheiden. Bei den Objekten aus den Knochengruben handelt es sich offensichtlich um die letzten Relikte von Militärausrüstung, die nach den Kämpfen zurückgeblieben waren und zusammen mit Knochen und Erde in die Grubenfüllung gelangten.

GERMANISCHE ODER RÖMISCHE KNOCHENDEPONIERUNGEN?

Diskussionsbedarf ergibt sich bei der Frage, wer ein Interesse daran gehabt haben könnte, die letzten Überreste der Gefallenen, aber auch von Maultieren und Pferden, mit derartigen Deponierungen oder „Notbestattungen" in den Boden zu bringen, nachdem die Leichen zuvor mehrere Jahre auf dem Erdboden der Verwesung und dem fast vollständigen Zerfall ausgeliefert gewesen waren.

Berücksichtigt man die mehrjährige Liegezeit der Knochen an der Oberfläche, liegt es nahe, eine Verbindung zu den bei Tacitus[14] überlieferten Berichten über die Bestattungsaktion des Germanicus während seines Feldzugs im Jahre 15 n.Chr. zu ziehen. Germanicus soll mit seinen Truppen sechs Jahre nach der Varusniederlage den Ort der Varusschlacht aufgesucht haben, um den Gefallenen die ihnen zustehende Totenfürsorge zuteil werden zu lassen. Die Knochengruben auf dem Oberesch können als „Massengräber" für die Opfer der Varusniederlage interpretiert werden, wobei es sich nicht um Massengräber im typischen Sinne handelt, weil lediglich einzelne Knochen und nicht vollständige Leichen beigesetzt wurden.

Diese Auffassung wird allerdings bisweilen strittig diskutiert. Meist verbunden mit der grundsätzlichen Ablehnung von Kalkriese als Ort der Varusschlacht wird z.B. argumentiert, dass die Knochengruben nicht von Römern angelegt worden sein können, weil ein wahlloses Niederlegen bzw. „Verscharren" von Gefallenen beim römischen Militär undenkbar sei.[15]

Bevor der Frage ausführlicher nachgegangen wird, was auf Schlachtfeldern als adäquate Bestattung durch die römische Armee gelten kann, soll zunächst auf alternative Erklärungsmodelle für die Entstehung der Knochengruben hingewiesen werden.

Schließt man die Römer als Urheber aus, bleiben die gegnerischen Germanen als Verursacher dieser Aktion. Dass es sich bei den in den Gruben deponierten Knochen um Reste gefallener Germanen handelt ist wenig wahrscheinlich; die Germanen hatten als Sieger im eigenen Territorium die Möglichkeit, ihre Toten vom Schlachtfeld zu bergen und ordnungsgemäß zu bestatten. Ein Liegenlassen auf dem Schlachtfeld

[14] Annales I, 60-62.

[15] KEHNE 2009, 176 f.; ZELLE 2008, 21.

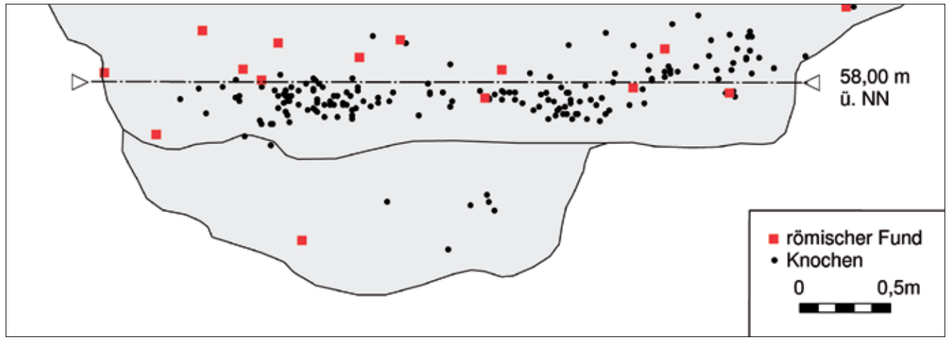

Abb. 5. Kalkriese, Oberesch: Knochengrube 7. Knochen und römische Funde wurden auf das Profil projiziert. Die Grube mit den Knochenresten überlagert eine tiefere, ältere Grube, die vermutlich während der Schlacht offen war.

über mehrere Jahre ist kaum denkbar; entsprechende Sitten sind bisher weder aus historischen noch aus archäologischen Quellen bekannt.

Wenn die Germanen das Schlachtfeld hätten aufräumen wollen, um es landwirtschaftlich zu nutzen, hätten sie die toten Feinde durchaus in Massengräbern verscharren können. Ein derartiges Vorgehen wäre aber nicht erst nach Jahren zu erwarten, sondern wäre unmittelbar nach der Schlacht sinnvoll gewesen, um beispielsweise den Verwesungsgeruch oder auch Epidemien zu vermeiden.

Die Angaben bei Tacitus[16] zum kultischen und rituellen Umgang der Germanen mit den toten Gegnern auf dem Schlachtfeld direkt nach den Kämpfen - dazu zählen die Berichte über Opferungen auf Altären, Martergruben, wie auch in die Bäume genagelte Tote - könnten eventuell als Hinweis auf die Anlage eines sakrosankten Ortes durch die siegreichen Germanen interpretiert werden.[17] Allerdings bliebe dann immer noch schwer verständlich, warum die Germanen nach mehreren Jahren den Aufwand betrieben haben sollten, die letzten spärlichen Reste der Toten zu vergraben. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt waren die Knochen schon weitgehend vergangen, und ein einfaches Überpflügen hätte ausgereicht, um die letzten Spuren zu vernichten. Beim derzeitigen Forschungsstand ist daher die Interpretation der Knochengruben als Aktivität der Germanen wenig plausibel und eine römische Bestattungsaktion ernsthaft in Erwägung zu ziehen.

[16] Annales I, 61.

[17] v. CARNAP-BORNHEIM 1999, 499 ff.; kritisch dazu ROST 2009b, 73 ff.

Zunächst ist festzuhalten, dass die Einbringung der Knochen in die Gruben keineswegs als gleichgültiges Verscharren angesehen werden muss. Liegen nur Einzelknochen vor, die niedergelegt werden können, ergibt sich schnell der Eindruck von Willkür. Auch sollte die Vermischung von menschlichen und tierischen Knochen nicht überwertet werden: Osteologische Analysen haben gezeigt, dass in den Gruben mehr Menschenknochen als Tierknochen liegen, während das Verhältnis bei Knochenfunden außerhalb der Gruben auf der ehemaligen Oberfläche umgekehrt ist.[18] Diejenigen, die die Reste der Toten unter die Erde bringen wollten, haben demnach in erster Linie versucht, Menschenknochen zu berücksichtigen; zumindest bei nicht mehr im Skelettverband liegenden und vereinzelten Röhrenknochen wird es aber für die Einsammelnden nicht ohne weiteres möglich gewesen sein, zwischen Menschen- und Tierknochen zu unterscheiden.

Außerdem war in einigen Gruben zu beobachten, dass Schädelkalotten vergleichsweise sorgfältig auf Röhrenknochen, also beinahe pietätvoll, niedergelegt worden waren (Abb. 6).

Darüber hinaus sind einige kleinere Ensembles von menschlichen Skelettelementen in Grube 1 überliefert. Sie sind möglicherweise darauf zurückzuführen, dass Knochen von verwundeten Soldaten, die während der Schlacht ärztlich versorgt worden waren, zum Zeitpunkt der Deponierung aufgrund von Resten medizinischer Verbände noch nahe beieinander la-

[18] UERPMANN et al. 2007, 144.

Abb. 6. Kalkriese, Oberesch: Knochengrube 5. Zwei menschliche Schädel wurden sorgfältig auf Röhrenknochen niedergelegt.

gen und mit diesen leinenen Tüchern wie in Beuteln gemeinsam deponiert werden konnten.[19] Dies würde ebenfalls für einen relativ fürsorglichen Umgang mit den Knochen sprechen.

ZUR BESTATTUNG VON RÖMISCHEN GEFALLENEN

Die Ablehnung der in Kalkriese entdeckten Knochengruben als römische Bestattungen wird mit den Abweichungen von dem, was in augusteischer Zeit im Rahmen der Totenfürsorge üblich war, begründet; u.a. wird das Fehlen der Totenverbrennung[20] und von Grabbeigaben genannt. Es werden aber auch Diskrepanzen angeführt zwischen der schriftlichen Überlieferung zur Bestattungsaktion des Germanicus und den archäologischen Befunden, so etwa der fehlende Nachweis einer zentralen Bestattung unter einem Grabhügel.[21] Daher ist zu klären, ob die Knochendeponierungen auf dem Oberesch im Zusammenhang mit römischen Bestattungssitten undenkbar sind, oder ob sie lediglich ungewöhnliche Phänomene darstellen, die auf eine Ausnahmesituation zurückzuführen sind.

Römische Soldaten, die in Friedenszeiten im Dienst starben, wurden unter Berücksichtigung der üblichen Grabsitten in regulären Friedhöfen beerdigt.[22] Derartige Gräber sind in Gebieten östlich des Rheins - beispielsweise im Umkreis des Lagers Haltern - bekannt.[23] Die Einäscherung und die Beerdigung der verstorbenen Soldaten wie auch die Auswahl der Grabbeigaben und die Errichtung eines Grabsteins waren Privatangelegenheiten, die von Verwandten oder Kameraden der Toten erledigt wurden, meistens finanziert von einer speziellen Bestattungskasse.[24] Grundsätzlich ist jedoch zu fragen, inwieweit im zivilen Umfeld oder auch im militärischen Kontext in Friedenzeiten übliche Bestattungssitten übertragen werden dürfen auf den Umgang mit Gefallenen auf einem Schlachtfeld.

Nach einer Schlacht scheint es üblich gewesen zu sein, die Toten auf dem Schlachtfeld zu beerdigen.[25] Bei diesen Bestattungen wurde allerdings dem Individuum normalerweise keine Beachtung geschenkt; es waren häufig Massengräber. Lediglich Offizieren konnten auf dem Schlachtfeld eine spezielle Behandlung und Einzelgräber zuteil werden, wobei sie aber in der Nähe ihrer Leute blieben.[26]

Wenn es notwendig war, Kompromisse zu machen, konnten die Bestattungen von Kriegstoten erheblich von den Idealvorstellungen abweichen.[27] Tatsächlich war die Verbrennung der Leichen üblich, doch konnte diese Regel vernachlässigt werden, wenn die Situation dies verlangte. Während von einer Einäscherung notfalls abgesehen werden konnte, war es jedoch unverzichtbar, die Toten zumindest mit Erde zu bedecken, damit sie ihre Ruhe finden konnten.[28] Besondere Umstände konnten allerdings sogar die Unterlassung dieser Mindestfürsorge erforderlich machen.

Die Varusschlacht ist offensichtlich zu diesen extremen Ausnahmen zu zählen: Die Niederlage war so schwer, dass die Toten auf dem Schlachtfeld zurückgelassen werden mussten, und die bleichenden Knochen waren auf dem Erdboden der Verwitterung ausgesetzt.[29]

DIE BESTATTUNGSAKTION DES GERMANICUS

Die Bedingungen, unter denen dann 15 n.Chr. Germanicus das Varus-Schlachtfeld aufgesucht und die Überreste der Gefallenen bestattet hat, waren insofern äußerst ungewöhnlich, selbst wenn man den militärischen Kontext berücksichtigt, als eine im Idealfall wünschenswerte Einäscherung tatsächlich nahezu unmöglich war: Germanicus befand sich auf einem Feldzug in Feindesland und musste jederzeit mit Angriffen der Gegner rechnen. Außerdem wäre er mit weiteren Problemen konfrontiert gewesen, wenn er versucht hätte, die Überreste der Gefallenen der Varusschlacht zu verbrennen. Zum Zeitpunkt seines Besuches müssen die Toten bereits vollständig skelettiert, dass heißt die Knochen ohne Fleisch und Fett gewesen sein. Diese Substanzen sind aber notwendig, um das Feuer zu nähren, wenn man Leichen verbrennen will. Eine enorme Menge von Brennholz hätte herangeschafft werden müssen, um die Knochen dennoch zu Asche zu verbrennen.[30] Selbst wenn ausreichend abgelagertes Holz verfügbar gewesen wäre, hätte die Einäscherung für die Truppen des Germanicus einen immensen Aufwand bedeutet, und die große Rauchentwicklung hätte zusätzlich die Aufmerksamkeit der feindlich gesinnten Germanen geweckt.

Demnach stehen die Knochengruben auf dem Oberesch in Kalkriese nicht grundsätzlich in Widerspruch zu einer Interpretation als Bestattungsaktion der Germanicus-Truppen. Wenn Germanicus darauf verzichtet hat, die Knochen der Toten zu verbrennen, was mit den Schriftquellen zumindest insoweit übereinstimmt, als dort keineswegs von einer Verbrennung die Rede ist[31], entsprach das durchaus der unter Kriegsbedingungen möglichen Praxis und bedeutete keine Pflichtverletzung. Sechs Jahre nach der Niederlage führte Germanicus das aus, was die römische Armee zuvor für ihre toten Soldaten nicht hatte tun können: Er hat sichergestellt, dass die menschlichen Überreste mit Erde bedeckt wurden, und den Gefallenen der Varusschlacht damit zumindest ein Minimum der ihnen zustehenden Fürsorge zuteil werden lassen.

In den Knochengruben fehlende Hinweise auf zusätzliche kultische Handlungen dürfen vor diesem Hintergrund ebenfalls nicht verwundern. Die Beigabe etwa von Ölfläschchen, wie sie in regulären Bestattungen auch im Umkreis der Militärlager in dieser Zeit durchaus üblich war[32], sind bei derartigen verspäteten Not-

[19] ROST 2009c.

[20] Hinweise auf verbrannte Knochen liegen aus den Gruben in der Tat nicht vor (GROSSKOPF 2009b, 86).

[21] KEHNE 2009, 176 f.; ZELLE 2008, 21.

[22] HOPE 2003, 85 ff..

[23] BERKE 1991; ZELLE 2008, 15 f.

[24] HOPE 2003, 86.

[25] CARROLL 2006, 160; HOPE 2003, 87 f.

[26] HOPE 2003, 90.

[27] HOPE 2003, 85 ff., 93.

[28] HOPE 2003, 87 f.

[29] Der von Gefolgsleuten des Varus unternommene Versuch, dessen Leichnam auf dem Schlachtfeld zu verbrennen (Velleius 2, 119), ist sicher nicht als Hinweis auf den üblichen Umgang mit den Gefallenen dieser Kämpfe aufzufassen; die Leiche des römischen Oberbefehlshabers sollte in diesem Fall zweifellos einer besonderen Behandlung unterzogen werden, um sicherzustellen, dass er nicht von den Germanen geschändet wurde, was letztlich dann ja doch geschah, indem sein Kopf an Marbod gesendet wurde (Velleius ibid.). Auch die in Krefeld-Gellep nachgewiesene Verbrennung von Kriegstoten in Folge batavischer Angriffe gegen das römische Lager Gelduba (REICHMANN 2006, 502) ist mit der Situation auf dem Varusschlachtfeld nicht vergleichbar. In Gelduba hatten sich die Römer letztlich behauptet, und es war ihnen möglich, ihre Toten zu verbrennen, zumal sie sich nach den Kämpfen noch einige Zeit im Lager aufhielten.

[30] GROSSKOPF 2009b, 86.

[31] Tacitus, Annales I, 62.

[32] ZELLE 2008, 16.

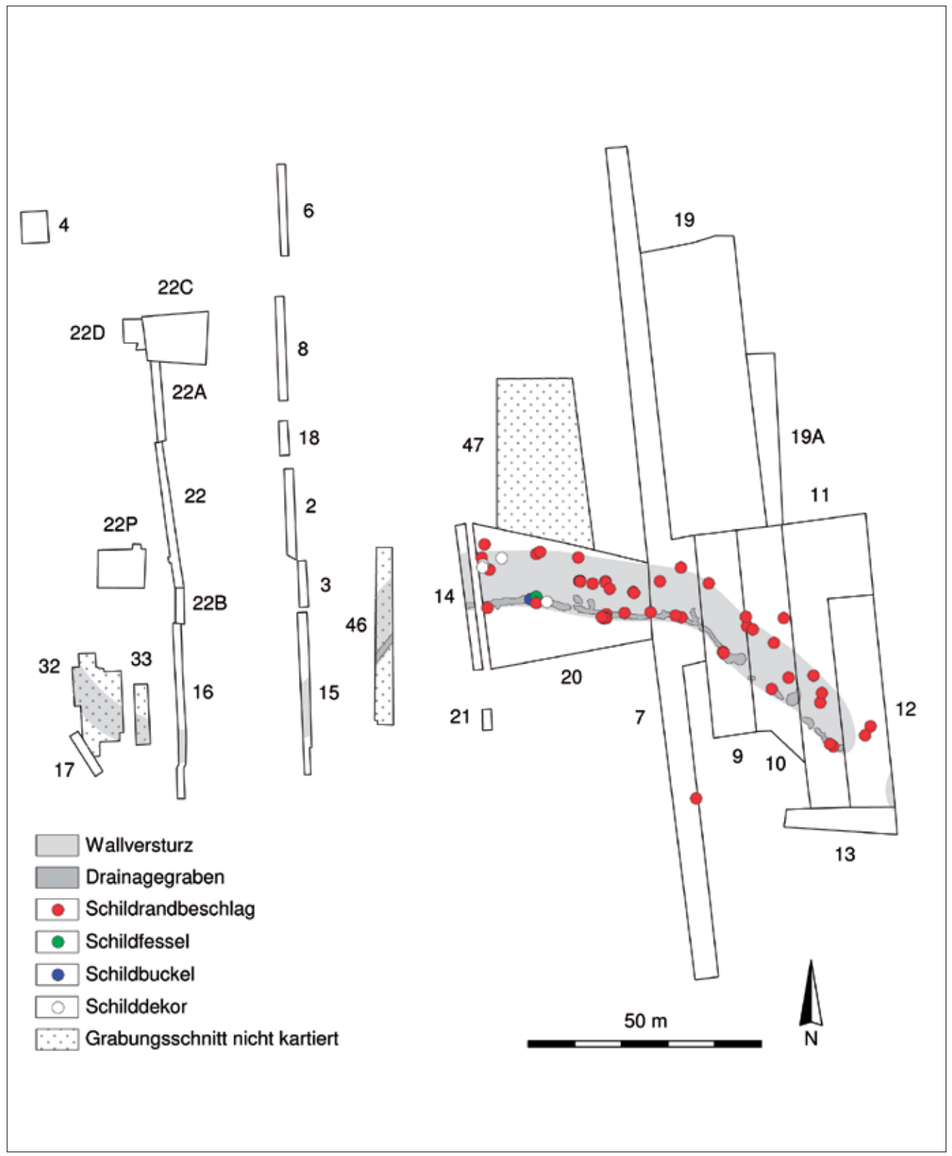

Abb. 7. Kalkriese, Oberesch: Verteilung von Schildrandbeschlägen.

bestattungen auf einem Schlachtfeld wohl kaum zu erwarten, insbesondere wenn man bedenkt, dass die Truppen des Germanicus sich auf einer militärischen Kampagne in Feindesland befanden und entsprechende Objekte kaum zu diesem Zweck mitgeführt worden sein dürften.

So sind denn auch die wenigen Fragmente von Militaria in den Knochengruben sicher nicht als gezielt niedergelegte Grabbeigaben zu verstehen, sondern entsprechen wie bereits erörtert dem, was sechs Jahre nach der Schlacht im Umkreis der letzten Knochenreste der Gefallenen noch auf dem Schlachtfeld gelegen hat: Bruchstücke, die bei den Kämpfen und vor allem beim Beutemachen durch die Germanen verloren gegangen waren, und die dann bei der Deponierung der Knochen zufällig mit in die Gruben gerieten.

In diesem Zusammenhang sei kurz auf die Beschreibung des Tacitus eingegangen, der berichtet, dass die Truppen des Germanicus im Jahre 15 n. Chr. auf dem ehemaligen Schlachtfeld neben Knochen der Gefallenen auch Reste von Waffen vorfanden. Diese Angabe scheint der Auffassung, dass sechs Jahre nach der Schlacht nur noch letzte Fragmente der römischen Militaria vorzufinden waren, zu widersprechen und wurde gelegentlich als Hinweis darauf interpretiert, dass Waffen nach den Kämpfen von den Siegern auf dem Schlachtfeld als einem sakrosankten Ort zurück gelassen worden seien.[33] Die Auswertung der Fundverteilung auf dem Oberesch hat jedoch gezeigt, wie weitgehend die verlustreiche römische Armee durch die Germanen ausgeplündert wurde. Vor allem Ausrüstungsgegenstände, die den Germanen in ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion nicht brauchbar erschienen, wurden z.T. noch auf dem Schlachtfeld verschrottet, um lediglich die als Rohmaterial wertvollen Metallteile abtransportieren zu müssen. Beispielsweise wurden offenbar Schilde zusammengetragen, um sie an ausgewählten Plätzen, insbesondere am Wall, zu zerlegen und die Metallteile zu gewinnen[34]; nur geringe Metallreste sind davon zurück geblieben (Abb. 7).[35] Bei der Bestattung der letzten Knochen von Gefallenen der Varusschlacht mehrere Jahre nach den Kämpfen und den Plünderungen dürften jedoch die organischen Reste der Schilde noch gut erkennbar und somit als Trümmer römischer Waffen anzusprechen gewesen sein.[36]

[33] v. CARNAP-BORNHEIM 1999, 499 ff..

[34] Zahlreiche geknüllte und gefaltete Fragmente von Schildrandbeschlägen lassen darauf schließen (ROST 2009b, 74).

[35] HARNECKER 2008, Kat.Nr. 37-91, Taf. 5-8.

[36] ROST 2009b, 75.

Die archäologischen Beobachtungen stehen demnach nicht im Gegensatz zur Beschreibung der Situation auf dem Schlachtfeld, wie sie uns Tacitus überliefert.

Wenn auch wie zuvor dargelegt nichts grundsätzlich gegen eine Interpretation der Knochengruben auf dem Oberesch als von Römern angelegte Bestattungen spricht, so ist doch einzuräumen, dass von dem Grabhügel, dessen Errichtung Germanicus veranlasst haben soll, bisher keine Spuren entdeckt wurden. Die Chancen, Reste eines solchen Monuments zu finden, sind allerdings nicht sehr groß, zumal zu berücksichtigen ist, dass dieser Grabhügel schon bald von den Germanen zerstört und von Germanicus bei seinem Feldzug im folgenden Jahr nicht wiederhergestellt worden sein soll[37]; bestenfalls wären Spuren einer Grabeneinfassung nachweisbar, wenn ein solcher Hügel denn überhaupt existiert hat.[38]

Geht man für die Knochengruben auf dem Oberesch von einer römischen Bestattungsaktion aus, ist allenfalls noch zu erwägen, ob es sich bei den Toten um Gefallene aus den Germanicus-Feldzügen handeln könnte. Dies ist jedoch sehr unwahrscheinlich, da nach den Berichten über diese Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Römern und Germanen die Notwendigkeit einer nachträglichen Bestattung von Kriegstoten erst mehrere Jahre nach den Kampfhandlungen weitgehend auszuschließen ist. Die Truppen von Germanicus und Caecina sind nie in eine mit der Varus-Niederlage vergleichbare Ausnahmesituation geraten, so dass sie wesentlich erfolgreicher in der Lage waren, sich sofort um ihre Verwundeten und Gefallenen zu kümmern.[39]

[37] Tacitus, Annales II, 7,3.

[38] Die Distanz zwischen den bisher auf dem Oberesch entdeckten Knochengruben von bis zu 200 Metern macht in jedem Fall deutlich, dass die Gruben nicht als Bestattungen unter einem gemeinsamen Grabhügel aufzufassen sind. Es fragt sich aber, ob die Angaben bei Tacitus tatsächlich auf eine solche Anlage schließen lassen oder ob nur ein Topos verwendet wurde, mit dem eine angemessene Würdigung der Toten beschrieben werden sollte (HOPE 2003, 90 f.; ROST / WILBERS-ROST 2010).

[39] Tacitus, Annales I, 64.

RÉSUMÉ

Allein die weitgehende Vernichtung einer Armee, wie sie für die Varusschlacht überliefert ist, konnte Bedingungen schaffen, die es römischen Truppen unmöglich machten, unmittelbar nach der Schlacht für Verwundete und Tote zu sorgen. Von daher ist eine Interpretation der Knochengruben als Bestattungen des Germanicus für die Toten der Varusschlacht sehr wahrscheinlich. Die Deponierungen zeigen somit das Mindestmaß der Totenfürsorge, die römische Gefallene auf einem Schlachtfeld erwarten konnten. Auf Grabbeigaben konnte in einem solchen Kontext offenbar verzichtet werden.

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VETERANEN ODER "ZIVILISTEN"? FRÜHKAISERZEITLICHE WAFFENGRÄBER IM TREVERERGEBIET

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Im Bereich der Civitas Treverorum und in den angrenzenden Gebieten, vor allem südöstlich der Civitasgrenzen, gibt es auch in frührömischer Zeit noch eine Reihe von Waffengräbern, wobei ich mich hier auf eine exemplarische Analyse von Gräbern des Trevererraums konzentriere[1].

Mit Blick auf die Fragestellung muss man sich jedoch zuvor die epigraphischen und bildlichen Zeugnisse für den Dienst von Treverern im römischen Heer der frühen Kaiserzeit ins Gedächtnis rufen. Ein Überblick zu den Inschriften zeigt (Tab. 1), dass die Treverer bis in trajanische Zeit ausschließlich als Alenreiter bezeugt sind. Erst aus späthadrianischer Zeit liegen zwei Militärdiplome vor, die Treverer als Angehörige von Kohorten bezeugen, deren Rekrutierung in spättrajanischer Zeit erfolgte. Einer der beiden, Sextus Iulius Primus, diente zumindest am Ende seiner Dienstzeit als Reiter in der I. Thrakerkohorte. Die Anzahl von Zeugnissen für Alenreiter aus der Zeit vor dem Bataveraufstand ist dabei eher gering: drei aus der tiberisch-frühclaudischen Zeit und vier frühflavische, wobei der Eintritt der letzteren Reiter in die Armee zumindest zum Teil noch in der späten julisch-claudischen Zeit erfolgte.

Hier ist vor allem von Bedeutung, inwieweit sich die epigraphischen Zeugnisse mit der Überlieferung bei Tacitus harmonisieren lassen. Vielfach werden für die Treverer zwei von Tacitus genannte Einheiten in Anspruch genommen. Wenden wir uns also zunächst der *ala Indiana* zu, da uns diese auch in Inschriften begegnet. Tacitus berichtet im 3. Buch der Annalen vom gallischen Aufstand des Jahres 21 n. Chr. unter der Führung des Häduers Iulius Sacrovir und des Trevers Iulius Florus[2]. Letzterer konnte durch einen Konkurrenten aus der Civitas Treverorum, Iulius Indus, ausgeschaltet werden. Wir erfahren zunächst, dass Iulius Indus mit einer ausgewählten Truppe - „*cum delecta manu*" - gegen Iulius Florus ausgesandt wurde[3]. Üblicherweise geht man davon aus, dass Iulius Indus selbst ad hoc eine Reitereinheit aus Treverern zusammenstellte, die dann in die reguläre Armee integriert wurde[4].

Die drei frühkaiserzeitlichen Inschriften, die die *ala Indiana* bezeugen, unterstützen diese Sicht jedoch nicht, worauf vor allem Jean Krier aufmerksam gemacht hat[5]. Alle bekannten Reiter der iulisch-claudischen Zeit stammen aus anderen Regionen, doch haben wir

* Für Hinweise danke ich Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen, Marco Schrickel und Lionel Pernet.

[1] Für eine breitere Zusammenschau bedürfte es weiterer Untersuchungen zur chronologischen Entwicklung und vor allem zur sozialen Einbettung der Waffengräber in die lokalen Bestattungsgemeinschaften.

[2] Tac. ann. 3, 40-46.

[3] Tac. ann. 3, 42, 3.

[4] KRAFT 1951, 22. 25. 30. 49 f. 153 Nr. 410-413; ALFÖLDY 1968, 19; DEVIJVER 1976, 460 f. I69; BIRLEY 1978, 257. 267; DRINKWATER 1978, 820. 829 f.; BOPPERT 1992, 266; HERZ 1992, 87 f.; SPAUL 1994, 152 f. Nr. 52; BOPPERT 1998, 81.

[5] KRIER 1981, 181 Anm. 32 gegen eine ursprüngliche Rekrutierung der *ala Indiana* aus Treverern, da sich unter den frühen Grabsteinen der Einheit kein Trever befindet.

auch hier letztlich kein zwingendes Gegenargument. Der Grabstein aus Cirencester in Britannien für den *cives Raur(icus)* Dannicus[6] kann frühestens mit der claudischen Eroberung 43 n. Chr. in Verbindung gebracht werden, so dass Dannicus bei 16 Dienstjahren nicht der Erstaufstellung angehört haben kann. Der wohl tiberische Stein des Ubiers Fronto aus Mainz[7] gibt keinen Aufschluss über die Dienstzeit, so dass uns nur der ebenfalls tiberische Grabstein des Namneten Argiotalus aus Worms bleibt[8]. Seine Dienstzeit von 10 Jahren ließe eine Zugehörigkeit zur Erstaufstellung der Einheit durchaus zu, zumal die Darstellung typologisch und stilistisch in vielem mit dem wohl frühesten Reitergrabstein des Rheinlandes aus Mainz für den Helvetier Rufus[9] übereinstimmt. Typologisch jünger ist aber an der Stele des Argiotalus zumindest die Rahmung des Bildfeldes durch schmale Stege ohne Basen oder Kapitelle, so dass man auch eine Datierung in die 30er Jahre nicht von vornherein ausschließen kann.

Für Jean Kriers Auffassung spricht aber der Gang der Ereignisse. Tacitus sagt, dass Iulius Indus gegen Florus ausgesandt wurde, er scheint also nicht aus gänzlich eigenem Ermessen vorgegangen zu sein. Zur Niederschlagung der Revolte war aber schnelles Handeln vonnöten, wobei bezweifelt werden darf, ob eine gerade erst einberufene Truppe diesbezüglich erfolgversprechend handlungsfähig gewesen wäre. Mit Blick auf die beiden Reiter, für die eine Zugehörigkeit zur Erstaufstellung möglich erscheint, sollten wir wohl eher davon ausgehen, dass man eine Ala aus den Mitgliedern anderer gallischer Alen zusammenstellte, wobei man nur auf diejenigen zurückgriff, die man in Anbetracht des Aufstandes für zuverlässig hielt. Damit dürfte die *ala Indiana* als Zeugnis für eine noch in tiberischer Zeit aus Gefolgschaftskriegern der Treverer zusammengestellte Einheit ausfallen.

Für die zweite von Tacitus erwähnte Einheit existiert kein gesichertes epigraphisches Zeugnis, so dass Spaul sogar annimmt, dass diese *ala Treverorum* einen anderen offiziellen Namen hatte[10]. Die Ala begegnet uns im Kontext des Sacroviraufstandes als eine schon bestehende, ausschließlich aus Treverern zusammengesetzte reguläre Einheit[11]. Der Name *ala Trevirorum* ist allerdings explizit erst für den Bataveraufstand in den Historien des Tacitus bezeugt[12]. Als am Aufstand beteiligte Einheit wurde sie sicher 70 n. Chr. aufgelöst, so dass Jean Krier in den frühflavischen Zeugnissen für Treverer in unterschiedlichen Alen Reiter annimmt, die dorthin nach der Auflösung der *ala Treverorum* versetzt wurden[13]. Er geht davon aus, dass die Treverer während des Bestehens der Ala nur in dieser Einheit dienten. Dies erscheint mir nicht so sicher. Sofern das Reiterrelief mit zwei *calones* aus Worms zur Grabinschrift des Partus gehört, was auch Krier annimmt[14], haben wir zumindest ein mögliches Gegenbeispiel. Krier schlägt eine Datierung in tiberische Zeit vor und auch Walburg Boppert geht unter Vorbehalt zumindest von einer vorclaudischen Datierung aus. Als Angehöriger der *ala Agrippiana* müsste er bei 14 Dienstjahren spätestens 17 n. Chr. seinen Militärdienst aufgenommen haben, also noch bevor im diesem Jahr die *ala Treverorum* nach der Auffassung Kriers gegründet wurde, so dass er spätestens 31 n. Chr. starb. Typologisch lässt sich der Stein jedoch kaum besonders früh in der Gruppe spättiberisch-frühclaudischer Steine positionieren, so dass ich eine claudische Datierung für wahrscheinlicher halte. Eine entsprechende relativchronologische Stellung ergibt sich aus den typologisch jüngsten Elementen, insbesondere dem gescheitelten Stirnhaar des Pferdes und auch dem Zaumzeug mit phalerengeschmückten Riemenverteilern. Beide Merkmale finden sich noch nicht in der frühen tiberischen Gruppe der stärker architektonisierten Grabsteine aus Mainz[15], deren Bilddarstellung sich stilistisch mit dem schon erwähnten Wormser Grabstein für Argiotalus aus der *ala Indiana* zusammenschließt. Auch die frühesten, vielleicht erst in claudischer Zeit einsetzenden Bonner Reitergrabsteine zeigen diese Merkmale noch nicht[16].

[6] RIB 32 f. Nr. 108 Taf. 3; HENIG 1993, 46 f. Nr. 138 Taf. 35.

[7] BOPPERT 1992, 265 f. Nr. 162 Taf. 112.

[8] BOPPERT 1998, 80 f. Nr. 47 Taf. 50.

[9] BOPPERT 1992, 126-128 Nr. 27 Taf. 25.

[10] SPAUL 1994, 252 f. Nr. S24 („suspect unit"). - Vgl. zur Inschrift ALFÖLDY 1968, 188 Nr. 49 (= AE 1968, 321) auch: KRIER 1981, 92-96 Nr. 33; SCHWINDEN - KRIER 1984; STROBEL 2007, 226 f.

[11] Tac. ann. 3, 42, 1.

[12] Tac. hist. 2, 14, 1; 4, 55, 1.

[13] KRIER 1981, 181-184; vgl. auch ALFÖLDY 1968, 37 f.

[14] CIL XIII 6235; KRIER 1981, 83-86 Nr. 29; KRIER - REINERT 1993, 80 f. Abb. 62; BOPPERT 1998, 86-88 Nr. 50 Taf. 53 („vermutlich vorclaudisch").

[15] Grabsteine des Rufus (*ala Hispanorum*), des C. Tutius (*cohors IV Thracum*), des Maris (*ala Parthorum et Araborum*) und des Cantaber: BOPPERT 1992, 126-133 Nr. 27-30 Taf. 25-28.

[16] Grabsteine für Niger (*ala Pomponiani*), typologisch und stilistisch aus spättiberisch-frühclaudischer Zeit, und für C. Marius (*legio I*) aus claudisch-neronischer Zeit nach der Verlegung der Legion nach Bonn wohl 43 n. Chr.: BAUCHHENSS 1978, 35-37 Nr. 15. 16 Taf. 19. 20; SCHLEIERMACHER 1984, 69-72 Nr. 5. 6. - Beide Bestattungen stammen aus dem nördlichen Gräberfeld an der heutigen Kölnstraße, dessen Belegung erst mit Errichtung des Legionslagers 43 n. Chr. einsetzte, wobei die *ala Pomponiani* wohl nur von 43 n. Chr. bis zum Umbau des Legionslagers zwischen 52 und 54 in Bonn stationiert war: GECHTER 2001, 65. 72. 75 f. 116 f.; KAISER 2001, 236 f.; vgl. auch KAISER 1996, 474 Anm. 10. - Abwegig dagegen eine tiberische Datierung des Reitergrabsteins des Reburrus (*ala Frontoniana*) aufgrund der Lage im südlichen Gräberfeld, wobei man von einer Verbindung zum tiberischen Auxiliarlager ausgeht, das mit Errichtung des Legionslagers aufgegeben wurde: GECHTER 2001, 69. 116; KAISER 2001, 237 Anm. 24; der Grabstein gehört aufgrund typologischer Abhängigkeit von der Romaniuswerkstatt erst in die neronische Zeit (BAUCHHENSS 1978, 37 f. Nr. 17 Taf. 21; SCHLEIERMACHER 1984, 43. 47 f. 73 f. Nr. 6).

Phaleren findet man am Pferdezaumzeug erst auf zwei Wormser Grabsteinen für Reiter der *ala Hispanorum* aus spättiberisch-frühclaudischer Zeit, die noch vor der Verlegung der Einheit 43 n. Chr. entstanden sind[17]. Auf diesen Stelen begegnet aber das typologisch jüngste Element des Reliefs für Partus, die auf der Pferdestirn gescheitelte Mähne, noch nicht. Hier lassen sich erst claudische und claudisch-neronische Grabstelen als Vergleiche heranziehen[18]. Letztlich ist aber die Zugehörigkeit des Reliefs zur Inschrift für Partus nicht endgültig zu sichern.

Akzeptiert man Kriers Auffassung, dass die *ala Treverorum* von ca. 17 n. Chr. bis 70 n. Chr. bestand, verwundert das völlige Fehlen epigraphischer Zeugnisse zunächst. Doch gibt es aus der *civitas Treverorum* größere Grabmonumente mit der Darstellung von Reiterkämpfen[19], die nun mit dem Grabbau von Bartringen auch einen frühen Vertreter in tiberischer Zeit haben[20]. Krier und Reinert haben mit Verweis auf das Mausoleum des Poblicius in Köln und aufgrund der anderen Monumenttypen für römische Ritter wohl zu Recht darauf geschlossen, dass man als Grabinhaber für die Mausoleen mit Reiterkampfszenen eher Mannschaftsdienstgrade bis zum *decurio* als ritterliche Präfekten zu vermuten hat[21]. Blickt man zudem auf die Bataver, die in mehreren nationalen Kohorten und einer Ala dienten, so begegnen auch hier nur wenige epigraphische Selbstzeugnisse. Erst die zahlreichen Militaria aus den zivilen, meist ländlichen Siedlungen, die in den letzten Jahren gefunden wurden, vermitteln einen entsprechenden archäologischen Befund[22]. Für die Angehörigen der *ala Treverorum* ließe sich vermuten, dass sie möglicherweise anstelle einer Selbstdarstellung durch Grabsteine an der Tradition des Waffengrabes festhielten, so dass wir nicht einmal Kenntnis vom Stationierungsort der Einheit haben.

Doch lassen sich nun die Waffengräber im Territorium der *Civitas Treverorum* und in dessen Nachbarschaft überwiegend so verstehen? Die jüngere Forschung von Franz-Josef Schumacher über Jean Krier und François Reinert, Nico Roymans bis zu Ralf Gleser hat diesen Deutungsansatz für einen Teil der Gräber präferiert[23], mit dem sich der archäologische Befund aber kaum zur Deckung bringen lässt, da man die Alenreiter vor allem in den Bestattungen vermutete, die sich durch ausgesprochen römische Waffen auszeichneten, wobei die Schwerter, die üblicherweise undifferenziert als *gladii* und gladiusähnliche Schwerter zusammengefasst wurden, eine hervorragende Rolle in der Argumentation spielten. Dass dagegen eigentlich schon der bildliche Befund spricht, wurde üblicherweise übersehen oder missachtet. Auf den Reitergrabsteinen lässt sich das Schwert meist als Spatha klassifizieren[24]. Lediglich ein Teil der frühen Grabsteine, darunter auch das schon besprochene Relief, das sich möglicherweise dem Trever Partus zuweisen lässt, zeigt kurze Schwerter[25] - möglicherweise mangelte es den Bildhauern an einer entsprechenden Klassifizierungsabsicht. Die literarischen Quellen bieten allerdings erst mit Flavius Josephus Schilderung der Bewaffnung römischer Kavallerie im Kontext des Jüdischen Krieges ein gesichertes Zeugnis für die Spatha als übliche Reiterwaffe[26].

Durch die Arbeit von Christian Miks zu den römischen Schwertern ist es nun zumindest teilweise möglich, die *spathae* von den *gladii* zu unterscheiden, vielfach ist aber entweder der Erhaltungszustand und oder die Pu-

[17] Grabsteine für Licinus und Q. Carminius Ingenuus: BOPPERT 1998, 82-86 Nr. 48. 49 Taf. 51. 52. - Dazu aus Bonn die Grabsteine für Vellaunus und Vonatorix (beide *ala Longiniana*) aus spätclaudisch-neronischer Zeit: BAUCHHENSS 1978, 32-35 Nr. 12. 14 Taf. 15. 17. 18; SCHLEIERMACHER 1984, 77-80 Nr. 8. 9; wahrscheinlich hat die *ala Longiniana* mit dem Umbau des Legionslagers zwischen 52 und 54 n. Chr. die *ala Pomponiani* ersetzt (GECHTER 2001, 76. 117 f. Anm. 146; vgl. KAISER 2001, 236 f.).

[18] Dolanus (*coh. IV Thracum*) aus Wiesbaden, frühclaudisch (MATTERN 1999, 26 f. 29 Abb. 5 a; S. 69 f. Nr. 10 Taf. 6); Grabsteinfragment aus Worms, claudisch-frühneuronisch (BOPPERT 1998, 90 f. Nr. 52 Taf. 54); Togitio aus Mainz als frühe Stele der Romaniusgruppe, claudisch-neronisch (BOPPERT 1992, 136 f. Nr. 32 Taf. 30); Leubius (*ala Sebosiana*) aus Worms, claudisch-neronisch (BOPPERT 1998, 88-90 Nr. 51 Taf. 56); Grabsteinfragment aus Wiesbaden (Romaniusgruppe bzw. dieser zumindest nahe stehend), spätclaudisch-neronisch (MATTERN 1999, 26 f. 29 Abb. 5 d; S. 70 Nr. 11 Taf. 6).

[19] KRIER - REINERT 1993, 54. 71. 74. 83 f. Abb. 36; 56 a-d; 57.

[20] KREMER 2009, 43. 46. 79-82. 85. 132 f. Kat. 3 Abb. 30 a; 65. 66. 115-117 zum Reiterkampfrelief; S. 91-98. 100-112. 143-148. 154-161. 165-173. 182-190. 194-199. 205-207. 209 f. Kat. 10-12. 20-26. 32-43. 53-58. 62-65. 71. 72. 77. 78 Abb. 83-86. 131-140. 157-168. 179-201. 221-233. 241-250. 264-267. 276-279 zur Bauornamentik und Datierung; S. 42-71 Abb. 32. 33. 35-37. 40. 42. 43. 50. 53. 55. 62 zur Rekonstruktion; vgl. daneben auch KRIER 2003 zum Reiterkampfblock.

[21] KRIER - REINERT 1993, 83-85; vgl. auch GABELMANN 1973, 193-195 zur Frage der sozialen Stellung des Grabinhabers des Mausoleums von Wesseling-Keldenich bei Köln und KREMER 2009, 127-129 zum Grabinhaber des Mausoleums von Bartringen. - Für eine Zuweisung an Alenpräfekten ROYMANS 2009, 31 f. mit Kartierung der Monumente Abb. 8.

[22] DERKS - ROYMANS 2006; ROYMANS 2009, 27-30 Abb. 2. 3. 5; umfassend zu den Militariafunden NICOLAY 2007.

[23] SCHUMACHER 1989c, 271-274 Karte 1; KRIER - REINERT 1993, 54. 65. 67 f. Abb. 36. 43. 45. 46; ROYMANS 1996, 35 Anm. 79 Abb. 6; GLESER 2005, 260 Abb. 47.

[24] Zur Ausrüstung der Reiter mit der Spatha: JUNKELMANN 1992, 146. 148 Abb. 126; KEMKES - SCHEUERBRANDT 1997, 30. 35 Abb. 1. 14. 29. - Zur Spatha auf Grabsteinen: SCHLEIERMACHER 1999, 56. 60 f. Abb. 2. 7-9; MIKS 2007, 435 f. Taf. 310 C-F; 311 A. B. D; 315 E-I mit Abb. von Reiterspathae auf Grabsteinen und auf der Trajanssäule.

[25] Neben Partus auch auch der Grabstein des C. Tutius (*coh. IV Thracum*) aus Mainz: BOPPERT 1992, 128-130 Nr. 28 Taf. 26.

[26] Ios. Bell. Iud. 3, 5, 5; vgl. dazu MIKS 2007, 24.

blikationslage zu schlecht. Aufgrund des statistischen Befundes der Klingenlängen mit einer geringen Anzahl von Zeugnissen im Bereich von 55 bis 60 cm Klingenlänge ist für den Gladius mit Längen bis 55 cm und für die Spatha ab 60 cm zu rechnen, wobei die Spatha bis in die 1. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. kaum Längen über 70 cm erreicht[27]. Diese Differenzierungen ergeben sich aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Material, wobei jedoch die Ansprache vor allem augusteischer Schwertfunde nicht ganz von der Diskussion um den *gladius Hispaniensis* als Schwert der römischen Legionäre seit dem späten 3. Jh. n. Chr. zu lösen ist. Der theoretisch schlüssigen Ableitung von keltiberischen Kurzschwertern mit ungestielten Antennen und geschweiftem Klingenblatt durch Miks mangelt es bislang an einer Untermauerung durch entsprechende Funde[28]. Eine stärker von erhaltenen Schwertern des 2. und 1. Jhs. v. Chr. ausgehende Klassifizierung des *gladius Hispaniensis* sieht dagegen die Vorbilder eher in den sogenannten kastilischen Latèneschwertern[29]. Die aus dieser Sichtweise als Gladius anzusprechenden Schwerter erreichen meist Längen über 60 cm[30]. Für eine Identifizierung der frühkaiserzeitlichen Spatha, die Tacitus anlässlich der Schilderung einer Schlacht in Wales im Jahr 50 n. Chr. vom Gladius unterscheidet, bliebe dann kaum Raum[31]. Allerdings scheint die Fundevidenz durchaus für eine Ansprache der längeren republikanischen Schwerter als Gladius zu sprechen[32]. Zudem erwähnt Livius, dass eine römische Reiterabteilung in einem Reitergefecht des 2. Makedonischen Kriegs 199 v. Chr. mit dem *gladius Hispaniensis* kämpfte[33], so dass Quesada Sanz schlussfolgert, dass der *gladius Hispaniensis* sowohl von der römischen Infanterie als auch von der Kavallerie verwendet wurde[34]. Die Differenzierung in einen kürzeren Gladius mit Längen bis 55 cm und in *spathae* mit Längen über 60 cm entsprechend dem *gladius Hispaniensis* scheint damit ein kaiserzeitliches Phänomen, das für uns wohl erst ab der Mitte des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. mit Tacitus auch terminologisch fassbar wird. Mit Blick auf den als Reiter charakterisierten Bestatteten aus Goeblingen-Nospelt Grab A bietet es sich aber an, die Unterscheidung von *spathae* und *gladii* durch Miks schon für die augusteische Zeit aufzugreifen. Die meisten Zeugnisse für *spathae* im Trevererraum ergeben sich damit für den Beginn der Kaiserzeit. Im Fall des Grabes A von Goeblingen-Nospelt betonen Sporen[35] wie bei den anderen drei Kammergräbern mit Waffen dieses kleinen Elitenbestattungsplatzes die Zugehörigkeit dieser Männer zu den gallischen *equites* im caesarischen Sinn[36]. An die Stelle der längeren Spätlatène-Hiebschwerter der Gräber B und C von Goeblingen-Nospelt[37] tritt in Grab A ein Schwert mit circa 66,5 cm Klingenlänge, etwa 5 cm Klingenbreite, leicht abfallenden Schultern bei winkligem Übergang zur Griffangel und einer kräftigen, aber sich deutlich verjüngenden Spitze als frühkaiserzeitliche Form des Reiterschwertes zur Ausstattung[38]. Erst die jüngst vorgelegte Abschlusspublikation bietet ein Foto und eine darauf basierende Zeichnung des während der Restaurierung stark beschädigten Schwerts. Die Klassifizierung als Spatha vom Typ Straubing-Nydam, Variante „Newstead“, durch Miks ist daher nicht haltbar[39]. Jeannot Metzler und Catherine Gaeng sprechen das Schwert als *gladius Hispaniensis* an. Innerhalb der Typologie von Miks gehört das Schwert zu den *spathae* vom Typ Fontillet[40]. Metzler und Gaeng setzen das Grab an den Beginn des Horizontes Gallo-Romain 1, kurz nach 30 v. Chr.[41], so dass aufgrund des adulten Alters des Bestatteten[42] kaum damit zu rechnen ist, dass sein Schwert vor der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. hergestellt wurde, wobei vor allem das auch in Militärlagern seit mittelaugusteischer Zeit gut vertretene, ovale Stichblatt für einen eher späten Ansatz sprechen könnte[43]. Zu dieser Zeit dürfte der Gladius vom Typ Mainz schon etabliert gewesen sein. Spätlatènezeitliche Gräber belegen dessen Adaption in Slowenien für das letzte Drittel des 1. Jhs. v. Chr.[44], so dass seine Einführung als Standardwaffe römischer Legionäre davor anzunehmen ist. Die Ansprache als Spatha im Sinne eines Reiterschwertes dürfte somit für Grab A von Goeblingen-Nospelt nicht anachronistisch sein[45]. Im Trevererraum und den sich östlich und nordöstlich anschließenden Gebieten ist vor allem in der Spätlatènezeit eine Häufung von Reitergräbern fassbar[46]. Doch auch hier dient Reiterzubehör kaum als regelmäßig erscheinender Statusanzeiger, so dass eine Trennung der *equites* von anderen Kriegern kaum möglich erscheint, vielmehr wird man davon auszugehen haben, dass sich in der Spätlatènezeit unter den Waffengräbern ohne Kennzeichnung als Reiter vor allem oder zumindest zum Teil weitere berittene Gefolgschaftskrieger verbergen[47]. Nicht mit Sicherheit lässt sich auch die genaue soziale Position der Reiter von Goeblingen-Nospelt feststellen. Am wahrscheinlichsten ist die Bewertung durch François Reinert, der hier die konkurrierende Selbstdarstellung einer auf Landbesitz basierenden breiteren Führungsschicht sieht, aus der wohl die frühkaiserzeitlichen *senatores* der *civitas Treverorum* stammten. Für die Gräber A und B reichen die Deutungen aber bis zu Kommandeuren von Hilfstruppenreiterei, die damit als wohl ritterliche Offiziere zur absoluten Führungsschicht der gallischen *Iulii* gehört hätten[48]. Der Beigabenreichtum der ungestörten Gräber von Goeblingen-Nospelt sollte nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass innerhalb der westtreverischen „Fürstengräber“ das zum Teil beraubte, Latène D2a-zeitliche Grab von Clemency über eine größere Grabkammer und mit zehn Amphoren auch über eine deutlich umfangreichere Ausstattung des Toten als Gastgeber verfügt[49]. Der in Goeblingen-Nospelt zunehmende Aufwand bei den Bestattungsfeiern, der unter anderem an der Menge des konsumierten

[27] MIKS 2007, 19-23 Abb. 1-3 (die Klingen zwischen 55 und 60 cm Länge als *semispathae* klassifizierend).

[28] MIKS 2007, 38-43 Abb. 7-9.

[29] Z. B.: QUESADA SANZ 1997a, 260-270 Abb. 156-158; CONNOLLY 1997, 49-56 Abb. 7-11; QUESADA SANZ 1997b. - MIKS 2007, 43-51 sieht die Schwerter des 2./1. Jhs. v. Chr., die als mögliche *gladii* diskutiert werden, eher als Reflexe auf den römischen Gladius.

[30] MIKS 2007, 48 Anm. 156; vgl. vor allem METZLER - GAENG 2009, 251 Abb. 218 mit tabellarischer Auflistung der sog. *gladii hispanienses* des 2./1. Jhs. v. Chr., wobei 12 von 14 Klingen 60 cm und länger sind (davon 7 Klingen im Bereich von 66-70,5 cm).

[31] Tac. ann. 12, 35, 5, wobei aber nicht ersichtlich zwischen Infanterie und Kavallerie differenziert wird, sondern der Gladius den Legionären und die Spatha den Auxiliaren generell zugewiesen wird; vgl. MIKS 2007, 19 zur Textstelle; S. 48. 50 f. zum Problem einer Identifizierung der Spatha im 1./2. Jh. n. Chr., wenn man die zum Stich geeigneten Schwerter mit Klingenlängen über 60 cm vom 2./1. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit als Gladius klassifiziert.

[32] So der Waffenfund von Šmihel, Slovenien aus der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jhs. v. Chr. mit zwei Schwertern des fraglichen Typs zusammen mit *pila* und Geschossspitzen: HORVAT 1997, 108-118 Abb. 3-8 (*pila*, Geschossspitzen) und Abb. 10, 1. 2 (*gladii*); vgl. CONNOLLY 1997, 41. 44 Abb. 4 (*pila*); S. 50. 56 Abb. 9 A. B; 11 A (*gladii*).

[33] Liv. 31, 33, 6-10 zum Reitergefecht und 31, 34, 4. 5 zum Entsetzen der Makedonen über die Wunden, die der *gladius hispaniensis* verursachte.

[34] QUESADA SANZ 1997b, 251. 253 f. zur literarischen Überlieferung insgesamt.

[35] METZLER - GAENG 2009, 71 Nr. 38a.b Abb. 46 (Kammergrab A); S. 83 Nr. 70a.b Abb. 65 (Kammergrab B); S. 117 Nr. 13b Abb. 100 (Kammergrab C); S. 129 Nr. 26c.d Abb. 109 (Kammergrab D); S. 256-259 Abb. 222; 223, 10; 224, 1. 2. 6.

[36] Caes. Gall. 6, 13, 1. 3; 6, 15; vgl. DOBESCH 1996, 51-54. 58 f. 66-69.

[37] THILL 1967, 96 f. Taf. 3, 16 a-c; 3, 17 a-e; 10, 1. 2 (Schwerter aus Gräbern B und C); jetzt METZLER - GAENG 2009, 117 Nr. 8a Abb. 98; S. 237 f. 240 f. 243 Abb. 208; 211, 4 (Grab C); S. 80 Nr. 22a Abb. 65; S. 243-249 Abb. 213; 215, 1 (Grab B).

[38] METZLER - GAENG 2009, 61 Nr. 20a Abb. 46 (Umzeichnung); S. 249 f. Abb. 217 (Foto); S. 251 Abb. 218 mit tabellarischer Zusammenstellung der *gladii Hispanienses* und den Maßen des Schwerts aus Grab A: die Klinge weist evtl. leicht einziehende Schneiden auf.

[39] MIKS 2007, 81 f. 117; 596 Kat. A233 Taf. 54 (auf Basis der Vorlage durch THILL 1967, 96 Taf. 3, 15 a-c mit der zu geringen Klingenbreite von 42 mm in der Zeichnung).

[40] Vgl. MIKS 2007, 77-79 Tab. 14; S. 107 zur Chronologie. - Die relativ breite Griffangel und deren winkliger Übergang zur leicht abfallenden Schulter lassen sich gut mit den *spathae* vom Typ Fontillet aus den etwas späteren Gräbern von Bell, Kreis Mayen-Koblenz (MIKS 2007, 78. 107. 543 Kat. A44 Taf. 4: Klingenlänge 60,8 cm, Stempel SEX VOL M F, ca. 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. n. Chr.), Lille-Ronchin 6, Département Nord, Nordfrankreich (MIKS 2007, 79. 654 Kat. A428 Taf. 4: Klingenlänge 61 cm, Grab claudischer Zeit) und Zemplín 128, Ostslowakei (MIKS 2007, 79 f. 767 f. Kat. A815 Taf. 3: Klingenlänge ca. 77 cm, ca. 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. n. Chr.) vergleichen.

[41] METZLER - GAENG 2009, 456. 460 Abb. 402.

[42] METZLER - GAENG 2009, 57; LE GOFF 2009, 186.

[43] Vgl. MIKS 2007, 160. - Bei einer Laufzeit der Spatha vom Typ Fontillet bis in die 1. Hälfte des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. spricht das Stichblatt nicht gegen eine Zuweisung des Schwerts zum Typ Fontillet (so tendentiell MIKS 2007, 81).

[44] MIKS 2007, 59. 618 Kat. A319 Taf. 10 (Idrija, Grab 17: erhaltene Klingenlänge 48, 5 cm, ursprünglich aber keinesfalls länger als 55 cm); S. 60. 670 Kat. A496 Taf. 9 (Mihovo, Grab 3: „Semispatha“, Klingenlänge 55,8 cm); S. 63. 617 f. Kat. A318 Taf. 17 (Idrija, Grab 11/12: Klingenlänge 55 cm); S. 64. 670 Kat. A494 Taf. 16 (Mihovo, Grab 58: erhaltene Klingenlänge noch 48 cm, ursprünglich aber keinesfalls länger als 55 cm) und auswertend S. 108-110. 436 f. - Dazu auch ein Gladius vom Typ Mainz vom Magdalensberg, der aus einer Brandschicht der 20er Jahre des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. stammt: MIKS 2007, 61. 110 f. 660 f. Kat. A459 Taf. 8 (Klingenlänge 53,5 cm).

[45] Mit Blick auf die Funktion als Reiterschwert ist daher die Kartierung als gladiusähnliches Schwert eher irreführend: SCHUMACHER 1989c, 270 Karte 1 (Nr. 10); KRIER - REINERT 1993, 54 Abb. 36 (Nr. 10); ROYMANS 1996, 105 Nr. 41 Abb. 6; GLESER 2005, 260 Abb. 47 (Nr. 2).

[46] GLESER 2005, 316 Tab. 56; S. 328-333 Abb. 51. 52 Tab. 57.

[47] Material weitgehend erschlossen durch SCHUMACHER 1999; zur Bewertung der Waffengräber, auch im Verhältnis zu den Gräbern mit „equidischem Totenzubehör“ und besonders zu sich in Gräberfeldern abzeichnenden gefolgschaftlichen Bindungen vgl. GLESER 2005, 257-259. 296 f. 349. 357-371 Tab. 59-62 Abb. 64-69; S. 376-378 Abb. 71. 72; S. 380. 397 f. 427-439. 471-473 Abb. 101.

[48] REINERT 1993, 355 f. 358 (breitere Führungschicht); GLESER 2005, 435 f. prinzipiell für die Gesamtheit der westtreverischen Gräber zustimmend, doch für Goeblingen-Nospelt an ritterliche Offiziere denkend, in Anküpfung an METZLER 1984, 99 (der für die Gräber A und B aber deutlich moderater einschätzt: „treverische Reiter in römischen Diensten“ und abschließend „vielleicht gehörten unsere Nobiles [...] zum Führungsstab [...] eines [...] Reiterdetachements in römischen Diensten.“); schon KRIER - REINERT 1993, 65 Anm. 115 legen Metzler diese Deutung als „ritterliche Offiziere“ in den Mund; jetzt aber auch METZLER - GAENG 2009, 521 mit der Deutung der Gräber A und B als Angehörige der „haute aristocratie trévire“ und S. 525 mit der Ansprache als Kommandanten einer Trevererreitereinheit als römische Hilfstruppe.

[49] Goeblingen-Nospelt D und A mit je einer Amphore, Grab B mit 4 Amphoren (2 Weinamphoren u. 2 für Fischsaucen): METZLER u. a. 1991, 23. 46-50. 78. 81 Abb. 11. 22. 42-44 (Amphoren Clemency); WARINGO 1991, 112-116 Abb. 86-88 (Amphoren Goeblingen-Nospelt); METZLER-ZENS 1991, 149 Abb. 103 (Größe der Grabgruben); vgl. REINERT 1993, 348 f. Abb. 3 (Grabkammern) und Abb. 5 (Amphoren), der allerdings für Clemency mit 6-7 Amphoren eine zu geringe Zahl angibt; zu den Grabkammern, Tumuli und Einfriedungen vgl. METZLER - GAENG 2009, Abb. 409 S. 471; zu den Amphoren der Gräber von Goeblingen-Nospelt jetzt ausführlich: MARTIN-KILCHER - TRETOLA MARTINEZ - VOGT 2009. - Auch ein Vergleich des während Totenfeiern konsumierten Weins aus daraufhin zerschlagenen Amphoren bestätigt dieses Bild: Clemency (mindestens 14, wohl aber 20 oder mehr Amphoren: METZLER u. a. 1991, 36-40. 65-72. 78-83. 85-87 Abb. 27 D. E; 32. 60-63. 67-73; vor allem S. 78 zur Amphorenzahl; METZLER-ZENS 1991, 139-143. 146. 151. 154. 156); Goeblingen-Nospelt Grab D mit 4 Amphoren, Grab A mit 13 Amphoren, Grab B mit 10 Weinamphoren und 4 für Fischsaucen bzw. Mischungen aus Wein und Fischsauce (vgl. zusammenfassend METZLER - GAENG 2009, 488. 490. 493 Abb. 422. 424. 426 und S. 479-483 zum banquet funéraire).

Weins ablesbar ist - bei Grab D aus Latène D2b 4 Amphoren gegenüber Grab A aus den frühen 20er Jahren des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. mit 13 Amphoren und Grab B mit 10 Weinamphoren aus der Zeit um 20 v. Chr., dürfte zusammen mit dem gesteigerten Aufwand im Grabbau, die älteren Gräber D und C weisen kleinere Tumuli ohne eigene Grabeneinfassung auf[50], auch den Aufstieg der Familienoberhäupter von berittenen Gefolgschaftskriegern zu Angehörigen der Führungschicht im westlichen Trevererraum wiederspiegeln. Für eine auf Landbesitz beruhende ökonomische Grundlage der Reitergräber von Goeblingen-Nospelt spricht hier wohl die nur 500 m von den Gräbern entfernt liegende gallo-römische Villa Goeblingen-„Miecher“, aus deren Bereich auch Funde der Spätlatènezeit vorliegen. Ein wahrscheinlich schon im 1. Viertel des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. errichteter monumentaler Tumulusrundbau in direkter Nähe zum Villengebäude setzt dann auch die aufwendigen Bestattungen fort[51]. Auf eine entsprechende ökonomische Grundlage weist auch die Villa von Bartringen mit seinem tiberischen Mausoleum, wobei auch hier vier Treverermünzen und andere Spätlatènefunde eine Kontinuität andeuten könnten[52]. Neben dem Grab A von Goeblingen-Nospelt lassen sich unter den Bestattungen mit den sogenannten gladiusähnlichen Schwertern[53] noch weitere *spathae* ausmachen: im Gebiet der *civitas Treverorum* Lebach Grab 106 aus augusteischer Zeit mit einer Spatha vom Typ Fontillet, wobei sich der Spathacharakter trotz des fragmentarischen Zustands aus den vorhandenen Blutrillen erschließen lässt; südöstlich der *civitas Treverorum* kommen Grab 101 aus Hoppstädten-Weiersbach aus augusteischer Zeit und ein keinem Grabkontext mehr zuweisbares Schwert aus Mühlbach am Glan sowie im Raum des Neuwieder Beckens eine ebenfalls keinem Grab mehr zuschreibbare Spatha vom Typ Fontillet aus Bell hinzu[54]. Die beiden erstgenannten Gräber sind zu früh[55], um als Angehörige der *ala Treverorum* in Frage zu kommen, der Dienst in einer noch irregulären Stammesreitereieinheit ist aber nicht auszuschließen. Eine Semispatha vom Typ Mainz Variante Sisak mit Klingenlänge von 57,5 cm stammt aus dem wohl augusteischen Grab 1 von Sötern mit Lanze und Schildbuckel[56]. Die *gladii* mehrerer Grabfunde sind dagegen verschollen und zum Teil nie in Abbildung vorgelegt worden, während sich für weitere Funde die Grabkontexte nicht mehr rekonstruieren lassen. Unter den früheren, vielleicht noch augusteischen Bestattungen erweist sich zumindest das Grab von Neunkirchen an der späteren Ostgrenze der *civitas Treverorum* mit Gladius vom Typ Mainz und Schildbuckel in dieser Hinsicht als einigermaßen gesichert[57].

Als sichere Alenreiter der frühen Kaiserzeit lassen sich zumindest die wenigen Gräber mit Reiterhelmen oder Gesichtsmasken ausmachen. Letztere kommt im Grab von Hellingen aus dem 2. Viertel des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. mit einem Trinkgefäßsatz aus Glas vor[58]. Eine präzise Verortung des Bestatteten innerhalb der treverischen Elite ist jedoch problematisch. Krier und Reinert werten

[50] Vgl. den Plan der Nekropole (METZLER - GAENG 2009, Abb. 16 S. 28) und die Rekonstruktionsschnitte des wohl schon im frühen 2. Jahrzehnt v. Chr. angelegten Frauengrabes 14 von Goeblingen-Nospelt (METZLER - GAENG 2009, Abb. 418. 435). - Vgl. zur Chronologie der Nekropole METZLER - GAENG 2009, 455-463 Abb. 402-407.

[51] KRIER 2007, 160-170 vermutet direkte Kontinuität innerhalb der gleichen Familie für den Grabbau und die Bestattungsgemeinschaft mit den Reitergräbern; so auch MARTIN-KILCHER - TRETOLA MARTINEZ - VOGT 2009, 370 und METZLER - GAENG 2009, 528; vgl. METZLER 1995, 541 Abb. 274, der in der Einfassung der Villa durch einen niedrigen Wall ein weiteres Indiz für ein spätlatènezeitliches Vorgängergehöft sieht.

[52] KREMER 2009, 107 Anm. 234; S. 127 Anm. 365; KRIER 2009, 24 („ausgedehntes keltisches Hofgut der nachcaesarischen Zeit, welches ab mittelaugusteischer Zeit romanisiert wurde“); auch METZLER - GAENG 2009, 529 f. weisen das Mausoleum einem „aristocrate trévire“ zu.

[53] Zuletzt GLESER 2005, 259 f. Abb. 47 mit Kartierung; SCHUMACHER 1989c, 269-274 Karte 1; ROYMANS 1996, 34 f. Abb. 6; S. 105 Nr. 31-54; KRIER - REINERT 1993, 65-68 Abb. 36; vgl. SCHUMACHER 1999, 20. 23. 34. 58 f. 76 f. Abb. 6. 21. 22. 28. 29; S. 110 Liste 1 (A-D); S. 113 Liste 5.

[54] MIKS 2007, 79 Tab. 14; S. 650 Kat. A416 Taf. 2 (Lebach, Grab 106: Spatha, Typ Fontillet); S. 89. 91 Tab. 21; S. 118. 674 Kat. A513,2 Taf. 85 (Mühlbach am Glan, Spatha, wohl Variante Newstead des Typus Straubing-Nydam, evtl. auch Typ Nauportus, Klingenlänge 65 cm); S. 78 Tab. 14; S. 107. 543 Kat. A44 Taf. 4 (Bell, Spatha, Typ Fontillet, Klingenlänge 60,8 cm, ca. 1. Hälfte 1. Jh. n. Chr., Stempel SEX VOL M F).

[55] Lebach 106 mit Schwert und Lanze (möglicherweise Doppelbestattung von Mann und Frau; Zeitstufe 2, ca. 20 v. Chr.-10 n. Chr.): GERLACH 1976, 75 f. Taf. 74. 75; GERLACH 1986, 39. 43 f. 52 f. 57 f. 97 Abb. 8, 49. 57; 11. 12; S. 100. 108. 116. 120 f. Typen B1, hE1a, S4b, T5f, T7a. - Hoppstädten-Weiersbach 101: GLESER 2005, 64 f. 69. 74. 92. 96 f. 102. 105. 117 f. 125-127. 150. 154. 160. 162 f. 167. 171. 173. 177. 179. 188. 190. 198. 200. 208. 210. 212 f. 214. 234. 243-246. 258-260. 266. 475 Abb. 33-35. 44. 45. 47; S. 665-668 Taf. 125-128 Beil. 4. 5 (Spatha mit ca. 65,5 cm Klingenlänge und Schild; Datierung Inventargruppe 4, Phase 5 in augusteischer-frühtiberischer Zeit, Grab früh- bis allenfalls mittelaugusteisch, da mit Formen des Horizontes „Gallo-Römisch 1“).

[56] MIKS 2007, 729 Kat. A677 Taf. 9; zum Grab SCHUMACHER 1999, 76 Abb. 28; S. 125 Kat. 23 Taf. 35.

[57] Zum Schwert MIKS 2007, 675 Kat. A519 Taf. 17 (Variante Haltern-Camulodunum). - Zum Grab: SCHUMACHER 1999, 76 Abb. 28; S. 123 Kat. 18 Taf. 32.

[58] KRIER - REINERT 1993. - Zusammen mit einem Frauengrab gefunden, dass mit fünf, z. T. noch qualitativ hochwertigeren Glasgefäßen und vier Bronzegefäßen ausgestattet war: KRIER - REINERT 1993, 15. 21 Abb. 5. 9; vgl. zu beiden Gräbern THILL 1975.

die der Helmstirn applizierten Medaillons als Phaleren und erschließen so, dass der Tote wohl das römische Bürgerrecht besaß, da in der römischen Armee in der Regel nur Bürger militärische Auszeichnungen erhielten. Mit der Auszeichnung durch *phalerae* wäre jedoch auch sein maximaler Rang als *decurio* umrissen[59]. Üblich war wohl die Erhebung zum *decurio* aus den Mannschaftsdienstgraden der Ala, die mit der Verleihung des Bürgerrechts einherging[60]. Eine Stellung über den Mannschaftsrängen ist für die weiteren, weniger aufwendig ausgestatteten Helmgräber des Raumes, wie das von Weiler, ebenfalls nicht anzunehmen[61]. Anhand des Grabmonuments von Schweinschied[62] im Südwesten des Kreises Bad Kreuznach - einem Gebiet, das in vorrömischer Zeit zum Stammesgebiet der Treverer gehörte[63] - ist vielleicht auch eine Annäherung an die ökonomische Basis einfacher Alensoldaten möglich. Das Reiterrelief[64] des ursprünglich zweigeschossigen Felsgrabes lässt sich typologisch und stilistisch kaum später als in claudische Zeit datieren[65]. Das nicht ganz sicher zu definierende Signalinstrument über der rechten Schulter der Reiters verdeutlicht den Mannschaftsrang[66], der allenfalls mit einer höheren Soldstufe verbunden sein könnte. In der Nähe gefundene steinerne Baureste deuten zudem auf die Zugehörigkeit des aufwendigen Grabmonumentes zu einer Villa, die wohl auch hier an einen spätlatènezeitlichen Siedlungsplatz anknüpft[67]. Mit allen Unsicherheiten[68] lässt sich hier also eine ökonomische Basis erkennen, die dem aristokratischen *eques* einheimischer Prägung auch noch in der Kaiserzeit die Möglichkeit gibt, als Reiterkrieger trotz des eher bescheidenen Solds kulturellen Mustern zu folgen, die ihren Höhepunkt vor dem gallischen Krieg Caesars hatten[69]. An anderen Orten lässt sich die Kontinuität von größeren Gehöften der Spätlatènezeit zu römischen Villen mit Sicherheit feststellen, die wohl auf den ungebrochenen Landbesitz der einheimischen Eliten weist. Bestuntersuchtes Beispiel im Trevererraum ist Borg mit einer Axialvilla, die über einen großen Repräsentations- und Wirtschaftstrakt verfügt[70]. Zumindest auf eine entsprechende ökonomische Basis weist der Fund einer frühkaiserzeitlichen Reiterhelmgesichtsmaske in einem der Gebäude am Wirtschaftshof der Axialvilla von Reinheim im sich südlich an die

[59] KRIER - REINERT 1993, 42 f. 51-53. 89; vgl. MAXFIELD 1981, 91-95. 121-127. 200-202. 210-217.

[60] ALFÖLDY 1968, 110.

[61] KRIER - REINERT 1993, 43. 55-63. 89 Abb. 36-41. - Zumindest in Bezug auf Hellingen geht GLESER 2005, 436. 440 davon aus, „das aus dem in den westtreverischen Fürstengräbern vertretenen Personenkreis“ (insbesondere die Gräber von Goeblingen-Nospelt) „sich die Krieger mit römischem Reiterhelm als Grabbeigabe rekrutiert haben müssen“, rechnet aber für diese Helmgräber auch eher mit Alenreitern in den Mannschaftsrängen.

[62] ANDRIKOPOULOU-STRACK 1989/90; BOPPERT 2000, 101-104 Taf. 44, 2; 45, 1-3; 46, 1; BOPPERT 2001, 35 f. 42-44. 133-138 Nr. 140 Taf. 86-91.

[63] BOPPERT 2001, 10 Anm. 79; vgl. HEINEN 1988, 17-21. 388.

[64] Nach rechts über einen besiegten Barbaren mit Schild galoppierender Reiter, kein *calo*: ANDRIKOPOULOU-STRACK 1989/90, 290. 296-301 Abb. 9 (claudisch-frühneronisch); BOPPERT 2001, 35 f. 42. 134 f. 137 Abb. 14 Taf. 88 (claudisch-frühflavisch).

[65] Besonders signifikant ist die Darstellung des besiegten Barbaren in Rückenansicht, was das Relief mit den Grabstelen für Q. Carminius Ingenuus aus spättiberisch-frühclaudischer Zeit in Worms (BOPPERT 1998, 83-86 Nr. 49 Taf. 52) und für Dolanus aus frühclaudischer Zeit in Wiesbaden (MATTERN 1999, 26 f. 29 Abb. 5 a; S. 69 f. Nr. 10 Taf. 6) verbindet.

[66] ANDRIKOPOULOU-STRACK 1989/90, 297. 302 Abb. 6. 7 ging aufgrund des Capricorn in der rechten Nische der Vorderseite von der Bestattung eines Veteranen der 22. Legion aus, wogegen BOPPERT 2001, 134 zurecht darauf aufmerksam macht, dass es auch Zeugnisse für Cornusträger in Alen gibt, auf deren Angehörige die meisten Reitergrabsteine entfallen. Entscheidend für die lokale Herkunft des Reiters ist jedoch, dass die ansonsten seltenen Felsgräber im Trevererergebiet als Grabmonumente der einheimischen Bevölkerung mehrfach vorkommen (BOPPERT 2000, 103). - Zum Capricorn ist anzumerken, das er sich direkt über einem der in den beiden Seitennischen der Front dargestellten zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus befindet und damit wie diese eher als eine auch sonst gut bezeugte Übernahme von Elementen der kaiserlichen Bildsprache im privaten Raum zu werten ist (dazu grundsätzlich ZANKER 1987, 89. 92. 97 f. 107. 122 f. 182 f. 187 f. 212 f. und besonders 264-279), was ANDRIKOPULOU-STRACK 1989/90, 301 f. Abb. 6-8 (vgl. BOPPERT 2001, 134 f.) ebenfalls schon erwogen hatte.

[67] BAYER 1967, 159. 174; ANDRIKOPOULOU-STRACK 1989/90, 303; BOPPERT 2001, 17 Anm. 116 (zur vorrömischen Vorgängersiedlung); S. 18 f. 61 f. 100-103 Nr. 13. 81. 82 zu Steindenkmälern des 2. und frühen 3. Jhs. n. Chr., die wohl zur Villa gehörten.

[68] Die Siedlungskontinuität muss nicht zwingend mit einer Kontinuität der besitzenden Familie einhergehen.

[69] Caes. Gall. 6, 15, 1; DOBESCH 1996, 51-53. 58 f.

[70] FREY 2000; WIETHOLD 2000; WUSTROW 2000; FREY 2001; WUSTROW 2004; FREY 2007.

Treverer anschließenden Gebiet der Mediomatriker[71]. Insgesamt dokumentieren Gräber der Spätlatènezeit und frühen Kaiserzeit das Festhalten an der gesellschaftlichen Rolle der keltischen Aristokraten als Reiterkrieger. Wohl ebenfalls im Kontext eines landwirtschaftlichen Gehöftes steht der kleine Friedhof von Badenheim, Kreis Mainz-Bingen, ebenfalls wohl in der Spätlatènezeit zum Trevererraum gehörend.[72] Hier steht das augusteisch-tiberische Schwertgrab 68 in bewusster Tradition des Grabs 67 aus Latène D2b oder schon aus Gallo-Romain 1 mit einem Spätlatènehiebschwert, beides zentrale Bestattungen in aneinander grenzenden großen Grabgärten als Bestattungen hochgestellter Personen der lokalen Gemeinschaft[73]. Ein ähnlicher Status lässt sich auch für Feulen Grab 80 annehmen, das kein Schwert aufwies. In der zentralen Holzgrabkammer eines großen Grabgartens erfolgte in spätaugusteischer Zeit die Doppelbestattung eines wohl deutlich früher verstorbenen Mannes und (s)einer Frau. Eine bronzene Kelle-Sieb-Garnitur und drei Weinamphoren verweisen auf eine relativ aufwendige Totenfeier. Der Mann mit Schild und Lanze dürfte die Führungsposition in der aus drei Familien bestehenden Gemeinschaft eingenommen haben, gehörte aber nach Schendzielorz eher nicht zu den *equites*, da keinerlei Hinweise auf Pferde vom gesamten Bestattungsplatz vorliegen[74].

[71] SARATEANU-MÜLLER 2007, 201-205 zur Villa mit Abb. S. 201-203 (Plan, Luftbilder der Villa und des Hauptgebäudes) und S. 204 f. mit Abb. zur Gesichtsmaske; MÜLLER - REINHARD 2003, 5 mit Abb. zur Gesichtsmaske.

[72] BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 1998a; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2000.

[73] Grab 67: BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 1998a, 263 f. Abb. 4-7; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 1998b; BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2000, 269 f. Abb. 6; zur möglichen Datierung in Gallo-Romain 1 vgl. GLESER 2005, 215. - Grab 68: BÖHME-SCHÖNBERGER 2000, 271 f. Abb. 7 (erhalten ist nur die Schwertspitze) und Abb. 3 mit Gräberfeldplan mit dem direkten nördlichen Anschluss von Grab 68 an Grab 67 (vgl. S. 270: „läßt ... auf ... engen persönlichen, wohl familiären Zusammenhang ... schließen“).

[74] SCHENDZIELORZ 2006, 6 f. 12. 14. 20. 23 f. 30 f. 34-37. 40. 42. 51-53. 56. 61. 78. 84. 88 f. 94-96. 100 f. 106. 108-110. 113. 115-118. 120 f. 126. 128. 132. 134-136. 144 f. 154-156. 159-172. 175-178. 180 f. 184 f. 189. 257-261 Abb. 3. 4. 7. 11. 12. 16. 19. 40. 42. 43. 46. 50. 51. 56-59. 61. 64-66. 69. 78. 79. 92-94. 98. 101 Taf. 37-44 (S. 30 f. 130. 259 Nr. 80-12; 80-14a Abb. 16 Taf. 43: Schild und Lanze, weitere Lanze aus der Verfüllung S. 260 Nr. 80-A35 Taf. 37; S. 175-178 davon ausgehend, dass der vielleicht schon in frühaugusteischer Zeit verstorbene Mann über Jahre bis zum Tod der Frau in einem Pfostenbau aufgebahrt war, an dessen Stelle nach der Verbrennung die hölzerne Grabkammer trat); S. 167 f. die Differenz zu den Gräbern von Goeblingen-Nospelt betonend und für den Mann aus Grab 80 maximal einen *eques* aus der Gefolgschaft eines der *nobiles* erwägend, aber eher von einem moderateren Status ausgehend. - Eine Verbindung zum nahen gallo-römischen Gutshof ließe sich vermuten, ist aber bislang nicht belegt: SCHENDZIELORZ 2006, 1 Abb. 1.

Problematisch erscheint mir die Bewertung der zahlreichen weiteren frühkaiserzeitlichen Waffengräber[75]. In den Beigaben schließen sich Reiterhelme als Kennzeichen von Auxiliarreitern und *gladii* aus. Wie gesehen, ist für die Treverer epigraphisch und literarisch bis in trajanische Zeit lediglich der Dienst als Reiter in der römischen Armee bezeugt[76]. Die oft vertretene Deutung, dass es sich bei den Bestattungen mit Gladius um ehemalige Alenreiter handelt[77], vermag demnach nicht zu überzeugen. Eher fassen wir hier noch in direkter Anküpfung an die vorrömische Zeit das generelle Selbstverständnis von Treverern als Krieger, die zudem wohl noch in militärische Gefolgschaftsstrukturen innerhalb der *civitas* eingebunden waren[78]. Die römische Verwaltung scheint diesem Phänomen bis zum Aufstand 69/70 n. Chr., an dem die Treverer unter dem Präfekt der *ala Treverorum* Iulius Classicus, dem *praefectus ripae Rheni* Iulius Tutor und Iulius Valentinus teilnahmen[79], mit Toleranz begegnet zu sein[80], zumal

[75] SCHUMACHER 1999, 20. 23 Abb. 6; S. 49-60 Abb. 15-23; S. 75-80 Abb. 28-30.33; S. 92 f. 113 Liste 5. - Das größere Gewicht der militärischen Komponente im Leben der grenznahen Provinzen erschließt sich aus einer Kartierung der Waffengräber für alle gallischen Provinzen einschließlich des niederrheinischen Gebiets durch FEUGÈRE 1996, 166, was sich auch in der stärkeren Rekrutierung zum Militärdienst in diesen Gebieten spiegelt: ROYMANS 1996, 21-24 Tab. 1 Abb. 4; ROYMANS 2004, 223 Abb. 10.1; ROYMANS 2009, 25 f. Abb. 1.

[76] KRIER 1981, 74 f. 83-86. 99-101. 105 f. 110-114. 123-125. 136-138. 144-147. 160 f. 181-184. 188 f. Nr. 25. 29. 35. 37. 39. 40. 46. 51. 54. 59 Abb. 19. 23. 30. 32. 34. 35. 42. 46. 48. 53; vgl. KRIER - REINERT 1993, 52. 67. 80-82 Abb. 35. 61-63; hinzu kommt der wohl trajanische Reitergrabstein aus Lancaster (BULL 2007). - Allerdings konnten DERKS - ROYMANS 2006 am Beispiel der Bataver zeigen, wie trügerisch die epigraphische Überlieferung sein kann. So kommen Steininschriften in den überwiegend ländlichen Siedlungen kaum vor, so dass die Verbreitung von Veteraneninschriften zunächst eine bevorzugte Niederlassung der Veteranen in den zivilen Ansiedlungen ihrer ehemaligen Militärlager und in den Civitashauptorten suggeriert. Dagegen sind aber unter anderem zahlreiche Waffen und andere Teile der militärischen Ausrüstung und des Pferdezaumzeugs in den zivilen ländlichen Siedlungen ein klares Zeichen für die massive Präsenz der Veteranen in ihren ländlichen Herkunftsgebieten.

[77] SCHUMACHER 1989c, 272-274; KRIER - REINERT 1993, 65. 67; GLESER 2005, 260 mit der Einschätzung: „Die jüngeren Gräber repräsentieren sehr wahrscheinlich einheimische Kohortensoldaten“ (sic!) „der von 17 bis 70 n. Chr. bestehenden *ala Treverorum*“. - SCHUMACHER 1999, 23 mit moderater Deutung, nach der die frührömischen Waffengräber sowohl militärischen als auch zivilen Charakter tragen können.

[78] So prinzipiell auch ROYMANS 1996, 34 f. 37-41 Abb. 13 (A).

[79] Tac. hist. 4, 55-59. 63. 68-72. 74-79. 85; 5, 19-21 zu den Ereignissen, in denen die führenden Treverer eine Rolle spielen; DRINKWATER 1978, 821; 846 f.; KRIER 1981, 179-181; URBAN 1985; HEINEN 1988, 72-81; ROYMANS 1996, 24-28; URBAN 1999, 69-83; vor allem zu den Intentionen des Tacitus zuletzt TIMPE 2005.

[80] ROYMANS 1996, 31 Anm. 65 geht aufgrund der zahlreichen frühkaiserzeitlichen Waffen in den Gebieten der Bataver und Treverer davon aus, dass das öffentliche Tragen von Waffen in diesen *civitates* in frührömischer Zeit nicht verboten war.

sie wohl aus dem gleichen gesellschaftlichen Umfeld, in dem die Männer mit Waffen bestattet wurden, auch die Reiter für die römische Armee rekrutierte.

Doch blicken wir zunächst genauer auf die Gräber mit Gladius und anderen römischen Waffen aus Wederath-Belginum. Neben dem Gladius wurden vor allem die Gräber mit *dolabra*, Pionieraxt, als Zeugnisse für Auxiliarreiter herangezogen. Keinesfalls in den Kontext der Reiterei passt die Bestattung des maturen Mannes im wohl spättiberischen Grab 697 mit *dolabra*, Tüllenpilum, zweiter Lanzenspitze und konischem Schildbuckel mit flachem Kragen (Abb. 1)[81]. Das Pilum ist nur zum Teil erhalten, macht aber mit dem Wechsel von runder Tülle zu rechteckigem Querschnitt durchaus einen regulären Eindruck[82]. Die *dolabra* passt als Hiebwaffe gut in das Waffenensemble, aber auch in den Kontext der weiteren Werkzeuge[83] in diesem Grab. Mit Blick auf das römische Militär ist dieses Waffenensemble alles andere als in sich konsistent. Das Pilum ließe an einen Legionär denken, doch gehört die zweite Lanzenspitze eher zur Ausrüstung der Auxiliare[84]. Das Grab macht insgesamt keinen besonders hervorgehobenen Eindruck. Als Legionär müsste der Bestattete spätestens in den ersten Regierungsjahren des Tiberius in die Armee eingetreten sein[85]. Die Familie müsste also schon seit augusteischer Zeit römische Bürger aufweisen und damit eine der bedeutenden Familien der *civitas Treverorum* sein. Dies erscheint gänzlich unwahrscheinlich. Das Pilum passt nicht zum regulären *miles* einer Auxiliarkohorte und für einen Krieger, der noch in irregulären Trevereraufgeboten als römischer Auxiliar gedient haben könnte, ist der Bestattete wiederum nicht alt genug. Hier deutet alles auf einen Mann, der sich noch in spätlatènezeitlicher Tradition als Krieger darstellen ließ. Die Kombination von Axt/Beil und Lanze ist sowohl in der Spätlatènezeit als auch von der mittelaugusteischen bis in die tiberische Zeit gut bezeugt, wobei ein Schild in der Spätlatènezeit aber üblicherweise nur in Gräbern erscheint, denen auch ein Schwert beigegeben wurde[86]. Unter den spätlatènezeitlichen Gräbern mit Schwert, Lanze, Schild und Axt/Beil befinden sich dann auch die beiden gesicherten Bestattungen mit zwei Lanzen[87]. Mit Pilum und Dolabra wurden vom Inhaber des Grabes 697 also lediglich römische Waffenformen aufgegriffen. Darüber hinaus deutet sich an, dass die Waffenkombination in der Tradition spätlatènezeitlicher Schwertgräber zu stehen scheint[88].

Die *dolabrae* aus Gräbern bewegen sich etwa im Größenspektrum von 21 bis 26,5 cm. Gleser vergleicht sie mit ähnlich großen Exemplaren aus den mittel- bis spätkaiserzeitlichen Limeskastellen Zugmantel und Saalburg[89], wobei er allerdings nicht auf die unterschiedliche Zeitstellung hinweist. Gleichfalls geht er nicht hinreichend darauf ein, dass gerade von der augusteischen bis in die flavische Zeit deutlich größere Stücke belegt sind, als deren Obergrenze Gleser eine Länge von 40 cm angibt und von denen er zwei 37,4 und 40 cm lange Exemplare vom augusteischen Waffenfundplatz Augsburg-Oberhausen abbildet[90]. Aus den Pfeilerfundamenten der Mainzer Rheinbrücke, die sich aufgrund der Eichenpfähle und von Inschriften in frühflavische Zeit datieren lassen[91], liegen neben einem kleineren, 31 cm langen Stück mit 4 cm breiter Querschneide[92] auch deutlich größere Exemplare mit 48 und 50 cm Länge vor, deren Querschneiden mit 1,7

[81] HAFFNER 1974, 44 f. Taf. 184. 185. 233 (*dolabra*: Taf. 184, 4; 222, 4. - Schildbuckel: Taf. 184, 9. - Pilum: Taf. 184, 10; 222, 3. - Lanzenspitze: Taf. 184, 8; 220, 1); GLESER 2003, 127 Nr. 5 Abb. 3, 1 (*dolabra*); GELDMACHER 2004, 59. 113-115. 121-124. 255. 268. 335 f. Anm. 382 Liste 1. 2. 5. 7. 17. 28. 38. 39. 41. 43-45 (Mann, matur, 40-60 Jahre; Zeitgruppe 4 - spättiberisch: vgl. S. 325. 327).

[82] Vgl. z. B. UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 19 Nr. 219 Taf. 15 mit weiteren Vergleichsbeispielen.

[83] GELDMACHER 2004, 113-115.

[84] Dafür sprechen auch Grabsteine mit ganzfigurigen Soldatendarstellungen: BAUCHHENSS 1978, 27-30 Nr. 6. 8 Taf. 11. 12 (Bonn, Legionäre mit Pilum, Gladius und Dolch, claudisch-neronisch); GABELMANN 1972, 109-113. 135 Nr. 28 Abb. 29 (Bingen, Grabstein des Annaius mit 2 Lanzen, *miles* der *coh. IV Delamatarum*, claudisch-frühneronisch).

[85] Die Fibel vom Typ Völling A 19aII (HAFFNER 1974, 44 Nr. 697 c Taf. 184, 3; 226, 5; VÖLLING 1994, 213. 273 Liste 8, 63; S. 214-216 zur spätaugusteisch-tiberischen Datierung des Typs) gibt keinen sicheren Hinweis, dass der Bestattete seine (Männer?)-Tracht schon in augusteischer Zeit angelegt hat.

[86] Zu Wederath: GLESER 2005, 357. 362-364 Tab. 59 Abb. 65-67 (Spätlatènezeit: 3 Gräber mit Lanze und Beil/Axt von D1b bis D2b; 5 Gräber mit Schwert, Lanze, Schild und Axt/Beil von D1a bis D2b); S. 358. 367 f. Tab. 60 Abb. 68. 69 (3 Gräber mit Lanze und Axt/Beil von der mittelaugusteischen bis zur tiberischen Zeit; Grab 2215 mit Gladius, Lanze und Dolabra aus claudisch-neronischer Zeit). - SCHUMACHER 1989a, 251-253 Karten 1. 2 mit Blick auf den östlichen Trevererraum, wobei insgesamt die Kombination aus Axt/Beil und Lanze dominiert; vgl. SCHUMACHER 1999, 48. 51 f. 55. 58 f. 68 f. 73. 76 f. Abb. 16. 18. 22. 25-29, insbesondere die Kartierung der Gräber mit „Waffenkombination F“ (Lanze und Axt/Beil) Abb. 22 S. 59.

[87] GLESER 2005, 357. 363 f. Abb. 66. 67 (Grab 1216 aus Latène D1b und Grab 242 aus D2).

[88] Blickt man über Wederath hinaus kommen aber in frührömischer Zeit 3 Gräber mit je 2 Lanzen und Axt/Beil vor, denen aber jeweils der Schild fehlt: SCHUMACHER 1999, 76 Abb. 28.

[89] GLESER 2003, 128 Abb. 4, 1-3; ausführlich PIETSCH 1983, 15-17. 88 f. Nr. 42-44 Taf. 3 mit Maßen zwischen 25,9 und 27,6 cm sowie S. 89 Nr. 45 Taf. 3 mit 34,1 cm.

[90] GLESER 2003, 128 f. Abb. 4, 4. 5; vgl. HÜBENER 1973, 54 B 1. 2 Taf. 15, 2. 3.

[91] BAATZ 1982, 372.

[92] LINDENSCHMIT 1911, 94 Nr. 298 Taf. 18.

und 2,5 cm aber deutlich schmaler sind[93]. Eine ebenfalls mit schmaler Querschneide ausgestattete *dolabra* wohl flavisch-trajanischer Zeit aus Nijmegen misst sogar 55,7 cm[94]. Vielleicht gerade mit den schmalen Querschneiden schwerer *dolabrae* werden 21 n. Chr. die Legionäre im Heer des C. Silius gegen die schwer gepanzerten Gladiatoren vorgegangen sein, die der aufständische Iulius Sacrovir in der ersten Schlachtreihe seines Heeres aufgestellt hatte und deren Rüstungen die *pila* und *gladii* nicht hatten durchdringen können, zumal Tacitus das Durchschlagen der Rüstungen explizit mit dem Durchbrechen von Mauern vergleicht[95], wozu man gemäß den Darstellungen der Trajanssäule die Querscheidenseite bzw. das Pickelende der *dolabra* benutzte[96]. Die kleineren *dolabrae* aus den Gräbern Wederath 2215, Lebach 25 und Wustweiler 8, deren Längen sich zwischen 21 und 23 cm bewegen, haben ausgesprochen schmale Querschneiden im Bereich von 1,3 bis 1,4 cm, und auch die etwas größere *dolabra* aus Wederath Grab 697 weist bei 26,5 cm Länge nur eine 2 cm breite Querschneide auf. Dass in den Waffengräbern nur die kleineren *dolabrae* vorommen, dürfte damit zusammenhängen, dass sie in frührömischer Zeit zum Teil die Äxte und Beile ersetzen, die gegenüber den *dolabrae* deutlich kleiner ausfallen[97].

Eine Dolabra von 22,5 cm Länge befand sich in Wederath 2215 (Abb. 2. 3)[98], einer von zwei Bestattungen mit Gladius. Dieser gehört der Variante „Klassisch“ des Typus Mainz an und hat eine 48,7 cm lange und 6,1 cm breite Klinge[99]. Hinzu kommt eine kräftige, 27,4 cm lange Lanzenspitze[100]. Da es sich aufgrund des anthropologischen Befundes um die Doppelbestattung eines adulten Mannes und eines Kindes oder einer jugendlichen Person im Alter von 7 bis 16 Jahren handelt[101], müssen wir uns zunächst die räumliche Verteilung der Funde im Grab vergegenwärtigen (Abb. 2). In der Publikation durch Schumacher von 1989 wird nur die Leichenbrandschüttung auf Grabgrubenniveau unter den Beigaben erwähnt. Größere Leichenbrandkonzentrationen befanden sich unter dem Gefäßensemble. Manfred Kunter konnte die 605 g Leichenbrand einem 20-40jährigen Mann zuweisen[102]. Erst die erneute Vorlage des Grabes erwähnt, dass sich sowohl in Krug b, von dem sich nur das Unterteil erhalten hat, als auch um diesen Krug „etwas Leichenbrand“ gefunden wurde, der vom Leichenbrand aus der Streuung differenziert wird[103]. Im Krug b, der etwas separiert von der Gefäßgruppe stand, dürfen wir demnach die Urne der jüngeren Person sehen. Da sich der Leichenbrand des Mannes „konzentriert nur unter den Gefäßen“ befand[104], können wir in der Gefäßgruppe aus Einhenkelkrug a, belgischem Becher c, Teller f in Sigillata-Imitation und südgallischer TS-Schüssel d vom Typ Dragendorff 29 Beigaben des Mannes sehen. Die am Südostende neben der Gefäßgruppe niedergelegten Waffen - Gladius i, Lanze j und dolabra k - gehören ohne Zweifel zur Bestattung des Mannes. Dies gilt ebenso für das auf dem Rand von Teller f gefundene As des Caligula für Agrippa, das uns einen ersten Datierungsanhalt bietet, aber wohl auch Umlaufspuren aufweist[105]. Das Balsamarium g und das unbestimmbare As r wird man eher mit der Kinderbestattung verbinden dürfen, was vielleicht auch für den südgallischen TS-Napf e vom Typ Dragendorff 24 gilt. Die eiserne Schere l lässt sich dagegen nicht sicher mit einer der beiden Bestattungen verbinden[106].

[93] LINDENSCHMIT 1911, 94-96 Nr. 300. 301 Taf. 18.

[94] KOSTER - RASMUSSEN - GRANE 2003, 379 Kat. 3.4d, 13 mit Abb. S. 378.

[95] Tac. ann. 3, 43, 4 zu den schwergepanzerten *cruppellarii*; 3, 45, 3 zur Schlachtaufstellung des Sacrovir und 3, 46, 6 (*„paulum morae attulere ferrati, restantibus lamminis adversum pila et gladios; set miles correptis securibus et dolabris, ut si murum perrumperet, caedere tegmina et corpora“*) zum Einsatz der dolabrae.

[96] LINDENSCHMIT 1911, 95 f. mit Abb. (Umzeichnung); vgl. SCHUMACHER 1989c, 271 Abb. 5 (Umzeichnung); KOEPPEL 1991, 190. 192 Kat. 73 Abb. 51 (Legionäre); KOEPPEL 1992, 73. 75 Kat. 92 Abb. 10 (Männer in Tunica); 94 f. 101 Kat. 117. 127 Abb. 31. 38 (Legionäre).

[97] SCHUMACHER 1999, 39 Anm. 161. 168 mit Verweis auf die jeweils größten frührömischen Exemplare.

[98] SCHUMACHER 1989c (*dolabra*: S. 266. 268. 271 Zeichnung k); CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 82 f. Taf. 604. 605 (*dolabra*: S. 83 Nr. 2215 k Taf. 605 k). - Zur *dolabra* auch GLESER 2003, 127 f. Nr. 6 Abb. 2, 1.

[99] MIKS 2007, 59. 110. 758 Kat. A774 Taf. 13; SCHUMACHER 1989c, 269. 271 Abb. 3 und Zeichnung i; CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 83 Nr. 2215 i Taf. 605 i.

[100] SCHUMACHER 1989c, 266. 268 Zeichnung j; CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 83 Nr. 2215 j Taf. 605 j.

[101] GELDMACHER 2004, 36. 38. 41 Listen 1. 2. 7. 25 (allerdings ohne mitzuteilen, welcher Person die Brandschüttung und welcher die Urne zuzuweisen ist).

[102] SCHUMACHER 1989c, 266. 269 Abb. 2; KUNTER 1989, 424 Nr. 12.

[103] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 83 Nr. 2215 b Taf. 604. 605 (= SCHUMACHER 1989c, 266 f. Abb. 2 Krug e mit Zeichnung).

[104] SCHUMACHER 1989c, 266.

[105] Gute fotographische Abb. bei SCHUMACHER 1989c, 266. 268 f. Abb. m; Typ RIC I² 112 Nr. 58 Taf. 14, 58. - CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 83 und GELDMACHER 2004, Liste 41 folgen der veralteten Datierung in tiberische Zeit (23-32 n. Chr.: nach RIC I¹ 32). Caligulaische Ausprägung ist aber schon länger *communis opinio*, vgl. z. B.: RIC I² S. 89; SZAIVERT 1984, 42-44. 46-50. 61 f. Nr. 24-6 mit Abb.; VON KAENEL 1987, 152 Anm. 87. 88 Taf. 27, 20; GIARD 1988, 6971 Nr. 77-97 Taf. 15. 16. - Wie die Liste von Geldmacher zeigt, ist der Typ recht häufig in den Gräbern von Wederath vertreten, wurde aber wohl nicht direkt zur absoluten Datierung einer ihrer Zeitgruppen herangezogen (vgl. GELDMACHER 2004, 323-328).

[106] Auch wenn die Scheren dieses Typs häufiger in Männergräbern auftreten: GELDMACHER 2004, 120.

Die gestempelten Sigillaten des Grabes standen bislang noch nicht im Blickpunkt der Forschung. Unproblematisch ist der mit SENECI gestempelte Napf e des Töpfers Senicio aus La Graufesenque claudisch-neronischer Zeit[107]. Im Gräberfeldkatalog werden die ersten vier Buchstaben des Stempels der Dragendorff 29 als CANR angegeben[108], was man dann wohl in Richtung eines Canrugatus zu ergänzen hätte. Stempel, die eine Lesung CANRVCATI oder CANRVGATI ermöglichen würden, werden heute üblicherweise als CABVCATI gelesen[109]. Zudem konnte bislang kein Stempel identifiziert werden, bei dem „A und N“ unverbunden geschrieben wären. Die Erzeugnisse des Cabucatus setzen aber erst gegen 60 n. Chr. ein und haben in der Motivik und im Stil nichts mit der Schüssel aus Grab 2215 gemeinsam. Zunächst muss also eine Einordnung über diese Elemente erfolgen, woraus sich, wie man sehen wird, auch ein möglicher, ganz anderer Töpfername ergibt. Den Ausgangspunkt bietet das publizierte Detailfoto des Dekors[110]. Die charakteristischen Elemente des Gefäßes sind der Riefeldekor auf dem Wulst zwischen den beiden Rankenfriesen und die Weinranke im Hauptfries. Soweit ich sehe, ist die Kombination beider Elemente nur typisch für Gefäße des Töpfers Salvetus aus La Graufesenque[111].

Die stempelsignierten Vergleichsbeispiele teilen mit der Schüssel aus Grab 2215 zudem auch die Form des Perlstabs mit den relativ weit auseinander liegenden Perlen, die durch kurze Stege miteinander verbunden sind. Drei der Belege stammen aus der Fosse de Cirratus von La Graufesenque[112] und dürften daher in die spättiberisch-caliguläische, allenfalls noch in die früheste claudische Zeit gehören[113]. Mit dem vierten Vergleichsexemplar teilt die Wederather Schüssel wahrscheinlich sogar die Stempel der Weinblätter[114]. Stellen wir nun gut erhaltene Töpferstempel mit SALVE·TV[115] der Umzeichnung des Stempels aus Wederath gegenüber, so fällt zunächst das ähnlich geformte Stempelfeld auf. Weitgehende Übereinstimmung zeigt sich auch in der Form des S auf den Stempeln, das nur eine sehr kurze untere Haste aufweist, mit dem „C“ auf der Umzeichnung. Das folgende A stimmt ohnehin überein. Das angeblich folgende „N“ dürfte zumindest im Schrägstrich mit dem V als viertem Buchstabe eine reale Entsprechung haben[116]. Die gut einzuordnenden südgallischen Sigillaten bestätigen damit zunächst die schon durch die Münze angezeigte Datierung in claudische bis etwa frühneronische Zeit. Dies erweist sich insofern als bedeutsam, da Nicola Geldmacher, die sich selbst aufgrund der Doppelbestattung nicht mit der Datierung des Grabes auseinandersetzt, die im Grab vorhandene sogenannte einfache gallische Fibel aus Eisen mit scharfem Bügelknick, oberer Sehne, Sehnenhaken und acht Spiralwindungen vom Typ Riha 2.2.3[117] als charakteristische Form späterer Gräber aufzeigen konnte, die nach der Korrespondenzanalyse mit den Zeitgruppen „Männer 3“ und „Frauen

[107] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Taf. 604, 2215 e (Zeichnung) und 691, 2 (Foto des Stempels: auf dem Kopf stehend!); vgl. POLAK 2000, 328 S108 Taf. 22 zu Stempel u. Datierung.

[108] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Taf. 604, 2215 d (Umzeichnung: bezeichnenderweise handelt es sich wohl um den einzigen, zumindest einen der wenigen Stempel, der nicht auch in einem Foto vorgelegt wurde!); weniger Buchstaben bei SCHUMACHER 1989c, 267 Zeichnung a gelesen, doch wird auch hier die Kombination NR geboten.

[109] POLAK 2000, 189 C2 Taf. 4 mit Diskussion der Chronologie; vgl. DANNELL u. a. 2003, Cabucatus Taf. A 1, 1121; B 1, 1123; D 2, 0230; D 3, 1475; D 4, 1130; D 5, 1128; F 1, 0236; F 2, 0234. 0243; F 4, 1281; G 2, 0228; G 5, 1472 zum Stempel 2a sowie Cabucatus Taf. D 3; G 1-5; H 1 und auch Cabucatus Taf. D 1; E 1; F 1, 0236 zur abweichenden Rankenornamentik (auffällig sind zudem die meist dichter gereihten Perlen des Perlstabes und das Fehlen der Riefelornamentik zwischen den beiden Friesbändern, wie sie aber für das Stück aus Wederath charakteristisch ist).

[110] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Taf. 696, 2.

[111] Besonders DANNELL u. a. 2003, Salvetus Taf. G 1, 0928 mit der Kombination von Weinranke im Hauptfries und einfacherer Wellenranke mit Rosettenblüten im oberen Fries; desweiteren mit Weinlaub im Hauptfries Salvetus Taf. G 3, 2923; G 5, 3398; G 6, 3258. - Lediglich Bezüge im Weinrankendekor deuten sich auf Drag. 29 des „Firmo i“ (DANNELL u. a. 2003, Firmo i Taf. G 12, 3277; G 14, 3279; G 23, 3389: alle mit FIRMO FEC), des „Primus i“ (DANNELL u. a. 2003, Primus i Taf. G 1, 3245 = POLAK 2000, 298 P98 Taf. 42 c mit Datierung in den Zeitraum von ca. 35-55 n. Chr.) und des Senicio (DANNELL u. a. 2003, Senicio Taf. G 1, 0943 mit nicht bestimmbarer Stempelvariante; Senicio Taf. G 9, 3241 mit SENICIO FE[C]) an, die alle auch in claudisch-neronischer Zeit in la Graufesenque tätig waren: vgl. z. B. POLAK 2000, 227 (FIRMO FEC); 328 S109 (SENICIO FEC, ca. 45-70).

[112] DANNELL u. a. 2003, Suppl. 3 Salvetus G 3, 2923; G 5, 3398; G 6, 3258.

[113] MEES 1995, 50 Anm. 217; vgl. auch POLAK 2000, 316 S22.

[114] Vgl. CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Taf. 696, 2 (Weinblatt rechts unten) und DANNELL u. a. 2003, Salvetus Taf. G 1, 0928 (Weinblatt rechts unten).

[115] Auch hier z. B. DANNELL u. a. 2003, Salvetus Taf. G 1, 0928; G 5, 3398.

[116] Die vermutliche Zuweisung an Salvetus bedarf natürlich einer Überprüfung am Original, die aber aus Zeitgründen momentan nicht vorgenommen werden kann.

[117] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 83 Nr. 2215 h Taf. 605 h (Fuß und Nadel aus dem südöstlichen Bereich) und Nr. 2215 u Taf. 604, 2215 u (Spirale und oberer Bügelteil aus der Einfüllung des Grabes), wobei beide Teile wohl zum selben Exemplar gehören, dass durch seine Brandpatina als Primärbeigabe charakterisiert ist und aufgrund der Fundlage des Fibelfußes der Bestattung des Mannes zugewiesen werden kann. - Zum Typ: RIHA 1979, 64 f. 67 Nr. 180. 181 Taf. 6, 180 (Nr. 181 schon aus Fundkontext des 2. Viertels des 1. Jhs., doch handelt es sich dabei nur um einen Fibelfuß, so dass die genaue Bügelform unklar bleibt); METZLER 1995, 220 f. Typ 16 h Abb. 150, 8. 9 aufgrund des Vorkommens in frühkaiserzeitlichen Inventaren von Wederath (ohne Nachweise!) eine Datierung „ausnahmslos ins 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.“ ableitend.

und Kinder 8“ in etwa spätflavischer Zeit einsetzt[118], während die einfache Seriation ein Einsetzen des Typs in der Zeitgruppe 7 der Frauen und Kinder in etwa flavischer Zeit anzeigt[119]. Ähnliches deutet sich in Lebach an, wo der Typ aber nur aus zwei Gräbern der Zeitstufe 5 auftritt, die Gerlach zwischen 90 und 120 n. Chr. ansetzt[120]. Im Gräberfeld „Margarethenstraße“ von Dillingen-Pachten begegnen derartige Fibeln immerhin in 10 Gräbern[121] und sind schon in zwei Bestattungen der Belegungsgruppe 2a aus dem 3. Viertel des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. präsent[122]. Damit wird man die Fibel im Grab Wederath 2215 nicht als wesentlich jünger als die Keramik auffassen müssen. Über den traditionellen claudisch-frühneronischen Ansatz[123] hinaus ist aber so eher eine neronische Datierung der Bestattung zu erwägen. Nach Renate Ludwig ergäbe sich eine Datierung nach der Jahrhundertmitte auch aus dem belgischen Terra Rubra-Teller f der Form Hofheim 97Ab/Schankweiler IX[124]. Die in Wederath 2215 auftretende Stempelvariante VOCAR, die ansonsten nur auf grauer Ware belegt ist, löst wohl die älteren zweizeiligen Stempelformen mit VOCAR als einem Bestandteil ab, doch gibt es Hinweise, dass auch schon die entsprechenden grauen Teller in claudischer Zeit bezeugt sind[125]. Die Terra Rubra-Teller dieser Form hat Ritterling explizit mit der ersten Phase des Kastells Hofheim von 39/40 bis 50/51 n. Chr. verbunden, was auch für den Teller aus Wederath gelten mag[126].

Die Waffenkombination aus Gladius, Lanze und Dolabra ließe sich durchaus mit dem Fußsoldaten einer Auxiliarkohorte verbinden. Das adulte Alter würde jedoch einen im aktiven Dienst verstorbenen Auxiliar bedingen, der dann aber in seiner Heimatgemeinde bestattet wurde. Hierzu passt aber die zugehörige Bestattung der zweiten Person im Kindes- oder Jugendlichenalter nur, wenn diese zusammen mit dem Soldaten am Dienstort an Krankheit oder auch an Gewalteinwirkung verstorben ist. Ein Tod beider in Belginum scheint mir demgegenüber wahrscheinlicher. Als problematisch erweist sich die Charakterisierung der zweiten bestatteten Person. Wahrscheinlich hat man ihr das tiefblaue Glasbalsamarium[127] zuzuweisen, das in Wederath sowohl in Frauen- wie auch in Männergräbern vorkommt, seltener auch in Kindergräbern[128]. Über die Beigaben lassen sich demnach weder Alter noch Geschlecht der zweiten Person näher eingrenzen. Bei dem durch die anthropologische Untersuchung gegebenen Spielraum zwischen 7 und 16 Jahren kann es sich sowohl um ein Kind des adulten Mannes als auch um dessen jugendliche Ehefrau handeln. Die Einbindung in die lokale Gemeinschaft ergibt sich aus der Lage von Wederath 2215 im Gräberfeld, die Gleser analysiert hat:

- Grab 2215 ist in Glesers „Gruppe rot“ eingebunden, in der von Latène C bis D2a nahezu regelmäßig Gräber mit „Wagen oder Schirrungsteilen“ sowie in D1a, D1b und D2a auch Gräber mit Vollbewaffnung (Schwert, Schild, Lanze) vorkommen[129];

- der Grabgarten von 2215 soll daher auch in Tradition des knapp 60 m weiter nordöstlich gelegenen großen Grabgartens stehen, in dessen Mitte das D2a-zeitliche Grab 1726 mit Vollbewaffnung und Wagenbestandteilen liegt; sicherer ist der Bezug zu einer Reihe kleinerer Grabgärten augusteisch-tiberischer Zeit, die sich östlich des nächsten und insgesamt größten Grabgartens[130] anschließen, die in einer Reihe mit 2215 liegen und in denen sich überwiegend Waffengräber finden, darunter allerdings kein weiteres Schwertgrab (Abb. 4)[131];

- den Bestatteten aus Grab 2215 versteht Gleser daher als „Nachfahren der Wagenfahrer-Elite der jüngeren Latènezeit“, der somit „der lokalen, über Jahrhunderte den Führungsanspruch behauptenden Häuptlingsfamilie entstammt“[132], auch wenn er davon ausgeht, dass der Gladiusträger ein Angehöriger der *ala Treverorum* war, was eben der Gladius schon ausschließen dürfte.

Daneben legen auch die Befunde des Grabgartens die Einbindung von Grab 2215 in eine lokale Familie nahe[133]. Im Inneren des Grabgartens ließen sich 7 Bestattungen nachweisen, die sich um Grab 2215 oder um 2214 gruppierten (Abb. 4). Letzteres war die Bestattung eines erwachsenen Mannes unbestimmten Alters, das sich zeitlich nicht näher einordnen lässt und lediglich durch seine mit zahlreichen Nägeln beschlagenen Schuhe auffällt[134]. Hinzu treten mit Grab 1135 die Bestattung einer 20-50jährigen Person unbestimmten Geschlechts, die nach den Vergleichsbefunden für den Becher wohl frühestens in neronisch-flavischer Zeit erfolgte[135], mit Grab 2212 die Bestattung einer 7-13 Jahre alten Person unbestimmten Geschlechts aus flavischer Zeit[136], die gestörte Bestattung 1136 eines Kindes von 4-13 Jahren[137], das stark gestörte Grab 2213, das keinen Leichenbrand mehr erbrachte[138], sowie das chronologisch und anthropologisch nicht näher fassbare Grab 1080[139]. Unter den Bestattungen nehmen das Grab 2212 mit grüner Glasflasche[140] und Grab 2213 mit dem Boden eines weitgehend zerstörten Glasgefäßes[141] eines der Elemente der für Wederath gehobenen Ausstattung von Grab 2215 mit Glasgefäß und Terra sigillata auf. Um den Status der Bestattungsgemeinschaft zu bewerten, verfügen wir noch nicht über hinreichende Analysen zur Struktur der Grabgärten[142] und der Ausstattung der darin liegenden Gräber. Entscheidend ist die Frage, ob die von Gleser mit Hilfe der Horizontalstratigraphie aufgezeigte Kontinuität seiner „Gruppe rot“ tatsächlich auch die Kontinuität eines Familienverbandes bezeugt. Der sich innerhalb des Gräberfeldes abzeichnende herausragende Status von Grab 2215 ließe sich ebenso als selbst erworbener Status auffassen, wobei man den Bestatteten dann sogar auch in Abhängigkeit statt in Nachfolge des sich östlich anschließenden monumentaleren Grabgartens sehen könnte. Umgekehrt ließe sich aber ebenso aus dem zu Fuß „kämpfenden“ Krieger des Grabes 2215 auf die generell allenfalls moderate Stellung von Statuspersonen im frühkaiserzeitlichen Wederath innerhalb der Gesellschaft der *civitas Treverorum* schließen, die sich dann auch auf den Status der Inhaber des größten Grabgartens erstrecken würde. Nicht von der Hand zu weisen ist allerdings die Konzentration von frühkaiserzeitlichen Waffengräbern im Südwestzipfel des Gräberfeldes[143]. Neben Gräbern der augusteischen Zeit zeichnet sich nach Nicola Geldmacher ein Schwerpunkt in spättiberisch-caligulaischer Zeit ab, woran sich mit den Gladiusgräbern 2215 und 1344

[118] Für GELDMACHER 2004, 58. 62 f. Typ Fi 115 Taf. 4; S. 309. 313. 315 Taf. 108 a. c. d; 113; 119 a. b. e. g; 129 zur Stellung des Typs in der Gruppe Männer 3 und in den Gräbern von Frauen und Kindern ab Gruppe 8 mittels Korrespondenzanalyse; S. 324-327 zum Beginn beider Gruppen etwa in spätflavischer bis frühtrajanischer Zeit.

[119] GELDMACHER 2004, Beilage und S. 325-328 zur absoluten Datierung.

[120] GERLACH 1976, 63. 77 Nr. 83 b. c; 108 e1 Taf. 61. 76; GERLACH 1986, 42. 74. 80. 93 Abb. 20 Karte 23.

[121] GLANSDORP 2005, 124 f. Typ Fi2 Abb. 19.

[122] Über die Seriation eingebunden GLANSDORP 2005, 124 f. 237. 471 f. Nr. 465/1 f Taf. 135 und S. 206 Tab. 42 zur absoluten Chronologie; dazu wohl noch S. 124 f. 388 Nr. 126/2 b Taf. 33. - Unsicher ist die Zugehörigkeit eines wohl entsprechenden Fibelpaares zu Grab 184 aus Zeitgruppe 1a (augusteisch/tiberisch): GLANSDORP 2005, 124 f. 213. 216 f. 402 f. Nr. 184 s Taf. 50.

[123] SCHUMACHER 1989c, 269 (40-50 n. Chr.); GLESER 2005, 346. 358. 366. 368 f. Tab. 62 Abb. 69 (claudisch-frühneronisch).

[124] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 83 Nr. 2215 f Taf. 604; 691, 4; vgl. SCHUMACHER 1989c, 266 f. Abb. b; zur Klassifizierung GELDMACHER 2004, 248. - Vgl. z. B. Schankweiler Grab 37 mit dem zweizeiligen Stempel VOCAR/AVOTI und einem allerdings innen steileren Rand (während der Teller aus Wederath 2215 hier einen schrägen Verlauf aufweist): LUDWIG 1988, 105. 252 Nr. 37, 4 Taf. 34, 4 (Terra rubra, hellorangerot); S. 155 f. Nr. 44 Taf. 74, 10 zum Stempel aus tiberisch-frühclaudischer Zeit;.

[125] LUDWIG 1988, 155 f. (meist auf grauer Ware). - VOCAR, Trier: KOETHE 1938, 105 Nr. 93 Abb. 2, 93 (auf grauen Tellern, darunter ein wohl claudischer Grabfund). - VOCAR, Grabfund aus Freinsheim (Kr. Bad Dürkheim in der Pfalz), grauer Teller der Form Hofheim 97Ab: PFEFFER 1969, 71. 81 Nr. 25 Taf. 1, 25 mit Foto des Stempels (folgt Koethe in der claudischen Datierung).

[126] RITTERLING 1913, 327. 331. 333 f. Taf. 36 (Typ 97 A b) aus der älteren Lagerperiode (vgl. S. 81-83 zur Gründung und S. 89 zur Zerstörung wohl 50/51), wobei mit Abb. 86, 1 auch ein dem Wederather Teller sehr ähnliches Profil vorliegt.

[127] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 83 Nr. 2215 g Taf. 604; SCHUMACHER 1989c, 266 f. Abb. g; HAFFNER 1989b, Abb. 70 S. 105 mit Farbabb.

[128] GELDMACHER 2004, 139.

[129] GLESER 2005, 348. 357. 359-365 Abb. 64-67 Tab. 59. 61.

[130] Im größten Grabgarten, der den Grabgarten mit Grab 2215 von der Reihe augusteisch-tiberischer Grabgärten trennt, wurde keine zentrale Bestattung mehr gefunden, doch geht Haffner aufgrund der Datierung der Grabgärten östlich und westlich von einer Datierung in spättiberisch-caligulaischer Zeit aus: siehe HAFFNER 1989c, 410 f. Abb. 1 zur Interpretation und S. 407 f. 410 Nr. d. h-j. m Abb. 1. 7 zu den deutlich späteren Gräbern in Rand- oder Grabenlage des Grabgartens; vgl. HAFFNER 1989b, 85 mit Abb. 55 zur Grabgartenreihe von der augusteischen bis in die neronische Zeit.

[131] GLESER 2005, 358. 364-371 Abb. 67-69 Tab. 60. 62.

[132] GLESER 2005, 370 f.

[133] Bislang dazu HAFFNER 1989b, 84 f. Abb. 55 (S. 84: „deutlich erkennbar ... der Familiengrabcharakter einzelner Grabgärten“).

[134] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 82 Taf. 604; GELDMACHER 2004, 289 f. Anm. 289. 291 Listen 1. 2. 5. 7. 21. 42, die S. 290 Anm. 291 darauf aufmerksam macht, dass zahlreiche Schuhnägel auch aus einem gesicherten Frauengrab vorliegen.

[135] HAFFNER 1978, 45 Taf. 283, 14. 15; GELDMACHER 2004, 200 Listen 1. 4. 5-7. 35. 36. - Die Form des Bechers findet sich in Grab 2206, das GELDMACHER 2004, 309. 315. 324. 327 f. ihrer Zeitgruppe „Männer 2a“ (neronisch)-flavischer Zeit zuweist, in Grab 2421 mit Firmalampe vom Typ Loeschke X (GELDMACHER 2004, 138) und in Grab 2442 der Männergruppe 2 mit einem prägefrischen bis leicht abgegriffenen Dupondius spätdomitianischer Zeit (GELDMACHER 2004, 309. 324 Taf. 143 Liste 41).

[136] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 82 Taf. 603. 604; vgl. GELDMACHER 2004, 62. 106. 129. 140. 210. 237. 285. 313. 325-328. 335-337 Listen 1. 2. 5-7. 14. 28. 33. 36. 37. 41. 45 mit Datierung in Zeitgruppe 7 flavischer Zeit.

[137] HAFFNER 1978, 45 Taf. 283, 19. 20; GELDMACHER 2004, Listen 1. 4. 5. 7. 35. 44.

[138] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 82 Taf. 604; GELDMACHER 2004, Listen 1. 4. 7. 36.

[139] HAFFNER 1978, 37: „Leichenbrandschüttung“, dort auch Zugehörigkeit zu Grab 1136 erwogen.

[140] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 82 Nr. 2212 c Taf. 699, 4 und mit Nr. 2212 g Taf. 603 wohl noch eine eiserne Kelle; vgl. GELDMACHER 2004, 140. 285-287.

[141] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, 82 Nr. 2213 c Taf. 604.

[142] Eine Untersuchung der Grabgärten von Wederath wird von Marco Schrickel vorbereitet; vgl. CORDIE 2006 zu den latènezeitlichen Grabgärten.

[143] SCHUMACHER 1989b, 262 f. Karte 2; GLESER 2005, 367 Abb. 68.

noch vereinzelte Bestattungen mit Waffen aus der späteren julisch-claudischen Zeit anschließen[144]. Sofern sich hierin nicht ausschließlich familiäre Bindungen wiederspiegeln, könnte dies auch ein Fortbestehen gefolgschaftlicher Bindungen aufzeigen[145]. Auch das schon besprochene Grab 697 lag in einer Gruppe mit mehreren Waffengräbern[146].

Mit Blick auf einen Soldaten ist gerade der „Gladius“, das eponyme Exemplar der Variante Wederath vom Typus Mainz, aus Grab 1344 problematisch (Abb. 5). Die Klingenlänge des vollständig erhaltenen Exemplars beträgt lediglich 34,5 cm und hat auch nur eine Breite von 3,6 cm, so dass Miks sogar überlegt, ob hier nicht die Bezeichnung Dolch angebrachter ist[147]. Die anderen *gladii* dieser Variante sind üblicherweise mindestens 43 cm lang und meist deutlich breiter[148]. Ausgehend von diesem Befund handelt es sich nicht um das reguläre Schwert eines römischen Soldaten und schon gar nicht um das eines Reiters. Dazu weist das Grab des 35-40jährigen Mannes[149] einen konischen Schildbuckel mit breitem Rand und ein Tüllenpilum auf, das als Waffe der Legionäre zusätzlich unterstreicht, dass hier kein Reiter, ja nicht einmal ein Auxiliar bestattet wurde. Das leicht abgegriffene As des Caligula[150] weist auf eine claudisch-neronische Datierung.

Die Durchsicht der am stärksten durch römische Waffen gekennzeichneten Gräber von Wederath aus der tiberischen bis neronischen Zeit spricht relativ deutlich gegen eine Zuweisung an Angehörige oder Veteranen der römischen Armee und müssen daher aufgrund ihrer Einbettung in den lokalen Kontext als Angehörige der Zivilbevölkerung gesehen werden, auch wenn der Begriff Zivilist kaum eine zutreffende Klassifizierung für Männer bietet, die sich in der Tradition der Spätlatènezeit als Krieger darstellen[151]. Eine entsprechende Deutung ist wohl auch auf die einfacher ausgestatteten frühkaiserzeitlichen Waffengräber des Trevererraumes auszudehnen[152]. Unterstützend kommen zur Analyse der Waffenformen und Waffenkombinationen auch die anthropologischen Befunde. So waren in Wederath die Männer in den Waffengräbern 1344 und 1004 noch in adultem Alter[153], was sich allenfalls gerade noch mit einer vollen Dienstzeit verbinden ließe, für das Grab 678 eines 7-20jährigen aus spättiberisch-caligulaischer Zeit mit 30 cm langer Lanzenspitze und Axt ist eine Deutung als römischer Auxiliar ganz ausgeschlossen[154].

Letztendlich spricht auch die ermittelte Körpergröße der Wederather Männer zumindest gegen den Dienst in einer Reiterala. Der spätantike Militärschriftsteller Vegetius überliefert uns für die vorangegangene Kaiserzeit die Mindestgrößen für die Rekrutierung, wobei Vegetius als Hauptquelle für das die Rekrutierung einschließende Buch I vor allem auf A. Cornelius Celsus zurückgegriffen hat, dessen Schriften aus tiberischer, allenfalls noch caligulaischer Zeit stammen[155]. Die entsprechenden Rekrutierungsgrößen werden deshalb

[144] GELDMACHER 2004, 327. 336 (Zeitgruppe 4 aus spättiberisch-caligulaischer Zeit: Gräber 678, 697, 892, 1039; Zeitgruppe 5 aus claudischer Zeit: Gräber 175, 400, 967) mit stärkerer chronologischer Differenzierung als GLESER 2005, 366 Tab. 62.

[145] Vgl. oben Anm. 36 zu den in Gefolgschaften organisierten gallischen *equites*. - Zur Gefolgschaft: KARL 2006, 311-325; vgl. DOBESCH 1980, 153-155. 417-426. 428-432. - Zum Reiterkriegergefolge als Maß für das Ansehen der Gefolgsherren in der Spätlatènezeit vgl.: Caes. Gall. 1, 18, 5. 6 zum Häduer Dumnorix und seinem Reitergefolge; CREIGHTON 2000, 11-15 mit Tab. 1, 1 zu den verschiedenen Formen der Stammesführung in caesarischer Zeit und der Rolle der Gefolgschaften. - Vgl. oben Anm. 47 zu den sich auf den Gräberfeldern abzeichnenden Gefolgschaftsbindungen.

[146] GLESER 2005, 366 f. Abb. 68.

[147] MIKS 2007, 62. 111. 757 f. Kat. A773 Taf. 23.

[148] MIKS 2007, 62. 111 f. - Üblich scheinen Klingenlängen von 43 bis 55 cm mit einem Schwerpunkt um 50 und Klingenbreiten von 3,9 bis ca. 5 cm mit einem Schwerpunkt zwischen 4,8 und 5 cm: MIKS 2007, 543 591. 637. 639. 737. 761 f. Kat. A45. 212. 369. 380. 708. 789. 791 Taf. 22-24 (der in den Principia des Legionslagers Vindonissa gefundene Gladius A789 mit 49,5 cm langer und 4,4 cm breiter Klinge).

[149] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1991, 17 Taf. 358. 359; GELDMACHER 2004, 90. 93. 122-124. 164 Listen 1. 2. 5-7. 18. 28. 30. 35. 38. 41. 44; vgl. HAFFNER 1989b, 103. 105. 108 Abb. 72.

[150] Typ RIC I² 38: CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1991, 17 Nr. 1344 m; GELDMACHER 2004, Liste 41.

[151] Die Aufnahme römischer Waffenformen dürfte dabei eine Anpassung an Kampfesweisen der römischen Armee spiegeln.

[152] Auch wenn sich gerade die einfacheren Gräber mit Lanze (vgl. SCHUMACHER 1999, 76 Abb. 28) theoretisch mit Alenreitern verbinden ließen. - Ein Grab mit Lanze und Trense etwa neronischer Zeit stammt aus Karden (SCHUHMACHER 1999, 139 Kat. 52 mit Kartierung Abb. 2 und 23G S. 9. 60; Datierung nach dem Vorkommen des Zweihenkelkruges Hofheim 58 in Zeitgruppe 6 von Wederath: vgl. GELDMACHER 2004, 170. 313. 316. 327 f. 332 f.), das in der frühen Kaiserzeit deutlich nördlich der Grenzen der *civitas Treverorum* liegt.

[153] GELDMACHER 2004, 121-124 Listen 1. 2. 5-7. 16. 18 (Grab 1004: 20-40 Jahre; 1344: 35-40 Jahre); vgl. S. 221. 264 Taf. 143 Liste 41 zu Grab 1004 (Gegenstempel VAR auf einem leicht abgenutztem As der ersten Altarserie der Jahre 10-3 v. Chr. vom Typ RIC I² 230 = RIC I¹ 360 verweist auf eine spätaugusteisch-tiberische Datierung des Grabes); HAFFNER 1978, 21 Taf. 263 (Grab 1004: Lanze und Tüllenbeil).

[154] Zum Grab HAFFNER 1974, 40 f. Taf. 180; vgl. GELDMACHER 2004, 113. 121-124. 126 f. 192. 225. 262. 264. 336 Listen 1. 4-7. 12. 28. 36. 39 (Zeitgruppe 4: vgl. S. 327 zur absolutchronologischen Einordnung).

[155] SCHENK 1930, 27-38 mit 34-38 zu Rückgriffen des Celsus auf Cato; auch nach MILNER 1996, S. XVII f. gehen die Angaben des Vegetius zur Rekrutierung schon auf Cato zurück.

als die für die frühe Kaiserzeit geltenden angesehen. Ein Alenreiter sollte demnach 6 römische Fuß, also 1,774 m groß sein, während 1,725 m (5 Fuß und 10 *unciae*) als die entsprechende Mindestgröße für die erste Kohorte einer Legion anzusehen ist[156]. Für einen gewöhnlichen Legionär reichten bei der *probatio* wohl 1,65 m (5 Fuß und 7 *unciae*) oder 1,64, wenn man vom kleineren spätantiken Fußmaß ausgeht[157]. Die Hilfstruppenreiterei bestand zwar vielfach aus Kelten und Germanen[158], die im Durchschnitt meist etwas größer als Männer mediterraner Herkunft[159] waren, doch bedeuteten 1,77 m auch hier eine überdurchschnittliche Körperhöhe. Im Gräberfeld Wederath/Belginum des Treverergebietes lag die durchschnittliche Körperhöhe von der jüngeren vorrömischen Eisenzeit bis in die römische Kaiserzeit bei 1,71 m[160]. Nach Mitteilung von Wolf-Rüdiger Teegen sind im römischen Belginum nur noch die wenigen Krieger circa 2 cm größer[161].

Mit Grab 68 von Septfontaines aus möglicherweise erst flavischer Zeit fassen wir vielleicht das jüngste der Waffengräber, das ebenfalls noch einen Gladius vom Typ Mainz aufweist[162]. Das Ende der Beigabensitte wird man auch mit Veränderungen nach dem Aufstand der Bataver und Treverer 70 n. Chr. verbinden dürfen, wobei möglicherweise generell das Tragen von Waffen in der Öffentlichkeit eingeschränkt wurde. Zumindest in Wederath, der Nekropole mit den meisten frühkaiserzeitlichen Waffengräbern, zeichnet sich aber schon vorher ein Rückgang der Bestattungen mit Waffen ab[163], so dass sich hier sicher auch der generelle Wandel zu einer Zivilgesellschaft spiegelt.

Insgesamt können wir also für das Gebiet der Treverer eine Kontinuität der Waffengräber von der Spätlatènezeit bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit und damit auch ein Festhalten an der Identität als Krieger verzeichnen. Träger dieser Kriegeridentität sind aufgrund der Fundorte vor allem Männer einer eher ländlichen Bevölkerung. Im Umfeld von Trier fehlen entsprechende Bestattungen, während sich schon seit spättiberischer Zeit Grabmonumente mit Reiterkampfszenen wohl für gehobene Mannschaftsränge der *ala Treverorum* an verschiedenen Orten nachweisen ließen. Auch die sicher Auxiliarreiter bezeugenden Helmgräber der fortgeschrittenen iulisch-claudischen Zeit enthielten im Trevererraum keine weiteren Waffen, so dass die Veteranen regulärer Auxiliareinheiten sich seit tiberischer Zeit wohl wie aktive Soldaten in den Stationierungsorten meist ohne Angriffswaffen bestatten ließen. Gefolgschaftliche Bindungen könnten sich archäologisch noch in der Massierung der römischen Waffengräber in Gräberfeldabschnitten von Wederath abzeichnen (Abb. 4). Mit dem Privileg, dass die *ala Treverorum* unter dem Befehl von einheimischen Rittern wie Iulius Florus oder Iulius Classicus stand, mag die gefolgschaftliche Bindung gegebenenfalls sogar noch bis in die römische Armee gereicht haben, auch wenn sich die Reiter der *ala* überwiegend nicht von Florus

[156] Veg. mil. 1, 5, 1; vgl. ROTH 1999, 9; DIXON - SOUTHERN 1992, 81 f.; SPEIDEL 1994, 79 mit Anm. 97 S. 180 f. - Die Rekrutierungsgröße von 1,725 m wird z. T. auch als unterste Mindestgröße für den Eintritt in eine Ala angesehen: DAVIES 1969, 209. 227; DAVIES 1971, 757. - Dass die Kohortenreiter kleiner als die der Alen waren, ergibt sich aus der Praxis, bewährte Fußsoldaten der Kohorten zu Reitern zu befördern, woraus sich auch das Gefälle im Ausbildungsstand ableiten lässt: DAVIES 1969, 227 Anm. 112; Davies 1971, 756 f. Anm. 31.

[157] Cod. Theod. 7, 13, 3; vgl. ROTH 1999, 10 Anm. 18; MILNER 1996, 6 Anm. 3. 5.

[158] KRAFT 1951, 25-35; KRAFT 1957, 100-106 Abb. 5; ALFÖLDY 1968, 96 f.; DRINKWATER 1978, 828 f. Anm. 62; SPAUL 1994, 261 f. zur Situation in iulisch-claudischer Zeit, die auch den nicht geringen Anteil hispanischer Reiter erkennen lässt, und S. 267 mit Übersicht über die Herkunftsgebiete der Alen.

[159] Griechenland (BISEL - ANGEL 1985, 203 Tab. 4; vgl. KRON 2005, 72): 1,705 m (Klassik), 1,719 (Hellenismus), 1,692 m (römische Kaiserzeit). - In Italien erreichen die Männer im Zeitraum von ca. 500 v. Chr.-500 n. Chr. eine durchschnittliche Größe von 1,683 m, wobei z. B. die 49 Männer aus Herculaneum durchschnittlich 1,691 m groß waren: KRON 2005, 72-74 Tab. 1. - Zwei Untersuchungsreihen aus dem römischen Tarragona erbrachten Durchschnittsgrößen von ca. 1,63 bzw. 1,67 m: SCHWEDER - WINKLER 2004, 73 Tab. 39. - Für den Gladiatorenfriedhof des kaiserzeitlichen Ephesos konnte eine Durchschnittsgröße von 1,68 m ermittelt werden, was der Größe der normalen männlichen Bevölkerung von Ephesos mit 1,69 weitgehend entspricht: KANZ - GROSSCHMIDT 2005, 110.

[160] KUNTER 2000, 347.

[161] Vgl. dazu bislang ohne genaue Angaben TEEGEN 2005, 17.

[162] POLFER 1996, 47. 87 f. 104 161 Taf. 31 (Schwert als einzige Waffe im Grab und vom Gräberfeld, mit Krug K 1B und Krug K 3A in Zeit, flavisch); vgl. KRIER - REINERT 1993, 65 Abb. 43 (2. Drittel 1. Jh.); MIKS 2007, 64. f. 112. 721 Kat. A648 Taf. 24 (claudisch-frühflavisch, Klingenlänge 42,5 cm).

[163] GLESER 2005, 366-369 Tab. 62 Abb. 68. 69.

zur Revolte bewegen ließen.

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Typ	Fundort	Einleitungsformel	Name	Vatersname	Herkunft	Rang	Einheit	Alter und Dienstzeit	Bestattungs- und Dedikationsformular	Datierung, Bemerkung	Literatur
(R)	Worms		*Partus*	*Mutti f(ilius)*	*natione Trever*	*eques*	*ala Agrippiana*	*annonu(rio) XXXV stip(endiorum) [X]IIII*	*hic sit(us) est fratres posuerunt*	tiberisch–frühclaudisch, zu Relief Boppert 1998, Nr. 50 gehörig (?)	CIL XIII 8235; KRIER 1981, Nr. 29
V	Straßburg		*Fittio*	*Condolli f(ilius)*	*Trever(r)*	*eq(ues)*	*ala Petri(ana)*		*Marti Lucet(io) v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito)*	tiberisch–frühclaudisch	CIL XIII 11605; KRIER 1981, Nr. 25
IS	Oescus (Moesia inf.)		*Ti(berius) Iulius Acutus*	*Ioci(i) f(ilius)*	*dom(o) Trever*	*dubicariu[s]*	*[alla Pansia[n(a)]*	*[v]ixit an(nis) LX mer(uit) ann(is) XXXVI*	*h(ic) s(itus) e(st) heres f(aciendum) c(uravit)*	spättiberisch	AE 1960, 127; KRIER 1981, Nr. 59
PV	Aquincum		*Reginus*	*Troucetissae f(ilius)*	*domo Trever*	*sesquip(licarius)*	*alae Aur(ianae) I*	*anno(rum) XXX stipendio(rum) V*	*h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Receptus sesquip(licarius) alae Astur(um) II frater ide(m) heres pos(uit*	frühflavisch	CIL III 14349; KRIER 1981, Nr. 54
	Aquincum		*Receptus frater (Reginì)*	*Troucetissae f(ilius)*	*domo Trever*	*sesquip(licarius)*	*alae Astur(um) II*			frühflavisch	CIL III 14349; KRIER 1981, Nr. 54
MD	Wiesbaden		*Tertio*	*Marci f(ilio)*	*Trevir(o)*	*gregali*	*alae Moesicae*			15. April 78 n. Chr.	CIL XVI 23; KRIER 1981, Nr. 35
M PV	Xanten		*Silvano*	*Loupi f(ilio)*	*Trever(o)*	*eq(uiti)*	*ala Vocont(iorum)*	*an(norum) XXX stip(endiorum) XII*	*here(des) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)*	frühflavisch, Grabstein von Reiter und Schwester (*et vivis Primae sorori eius ... vos rogitat quaesso soror unica fratris amantis ni dissigilleris nive violetis opus*)	BAUCHHENSS 1978, Nr. 22
M PV	Worringen (?)		*Albanio Vitali*		*civi Trevero*	*eq(uiti)*	*alae Indianae tur(mae) Barbi*	*an(norum) XXX stip(endiorum) X*	*h(eres) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*	trajanisch. FO wohl Worringen bei Köln (z. T. FO-Angabe Köln-Deutz)	GALSTERER 1975, Nr. 250; KRIER 1981, Nr. 37
M PV	Kalkar		*C(aio) Iulio Primo*	*Adari f(ilio)*	*Trevero*	*statori*	*eq(uiti) alae Norici(orum)*	*an(norum) XXVII stip(endiorum) VII*	*h(eres) a s(e) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*	trajanisch	BAUCHHENSS 1978, Nr. 29
IS	Lancaster	*Dis Manibus*	*L(ucius) Iul(ius) Apollinaris*		*Trever*	*eq(ues)*	*alae Aug(ustae)*	*an(norum) XXX*	*h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*	spätflavisch–trajanisch	RIB 606; KRIER 1981, Nr. 46
R	Lancaster	*Dis Manibus*	*Insus*	*Vodulli f[ilius*	*cive Trever*	*eques, curator*	*alae Aug(ustae) [tur(mae)] Victoris*		*Domitia [– ?]*	spätflavisch–trajanisch	BULL 2007
IS	Gerulata	*D(is) M(anibus)*	*Flavius Altius*		*cives Trever*	*eq(ues)*	*al(ae) I Cann(enefatium)*	*stip(endiorum) VII*	*h(ic) s(itus) e(st) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*	spätflavisch–frühtrajanisch	CIL III 4391; KRIER 1981, Nr. 51
MD	Wroxeter		*[Maj]ensueto*	*Luci(i) f(ilio)*	*Trever(o)*	*ex pedite*	*coh(ortis) II Dalmatarum*			14. April 135 n. Chr.	CIL XVI 82; KRIER 1981, Nr. 45
MD	Tótvázsony		*Sex(to) Iulio Primo*	*Primi f(ilio)*	*Trevir(o)*	*ex equite*	*coh(ortis) I Thracum*			16. Juni 138 n. Chr.	CIL XVI 84; KRIER 1981, Nr. 53
I	Rom	*[D(is)] M(anibus)*	*[T(ito) Au]relio Paterno*		*[nat(ione)] Trever*	*eq(uiti)*	*[sin]g(ulari) Aug(usti) [tu]rma Antoni(i)*	*vix(it) an(nis) [XX]VI mil(itavit) ann(is) VIII*		spätantoninisch	CIL VI 32799; KRIER 1981, Nr. 61
I	Chalon-sur-Saône	*D(is) M(anibus) et aeternae memoriae*	*Iustini(i) Mercatoris*		*civis Treveri*	*veterani*	*legi(onis) XXX Ul(piae) V(ictricis)*		*v(ivi) et Natiniae Valentinae civi Agripinensi coniugi eius m(ortuae) Mercator et Mercurial(is) fil(ii) vivo Patri ponendum cur(averunt)*	ca. 200–240 n. Chr.	CIL XIII 2614; KRIER 1981, Nr. 19
I	Lyon	*D(is) M(anibus) et memoriae aeternae*	*Quintini(i) Primani*		*civis Treveri*	*vet(erani)*	*ex leg(ione) XXX Ul(piae) V(ictricis) Alexandriani(o)*		*Valeria Vera coniugi karissimo p(onendum) c(uravit) et sub ascia dedicavit et sibi viva ponend(um) curavit*	222–235 n. Chr.	CIL XIII 1911; KRIER 1981, Nr. 6
V	Osterburken		*[T(itus) Aur(elius) Sjtaminius*		*[civis T]rever*	*[mil(es)]*	*[legi(onis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(ideles) b[ene]f(icarius)] co(n)s(ularis)*		*[l(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Iu]n(oni) Reg(inae) [et gen]io loci [v(otum) s(olvit)] [aetus] l(ibens) m(erito)*	238 n. Chr.	AE 1978, 528; KRIER 1981, Nr. 28

Tab. 1. Treverer im römischen Militärdienst, epigraphische Zeugnisse (R - Reitergrabstein; IS - Grabstele mit Inschrift; PV - Grabstele mit Pferdevorführung; M - Grabstele mit Mahlrelief; I - Grabinschrift; MD - Militärdiplom; V - Votiv).

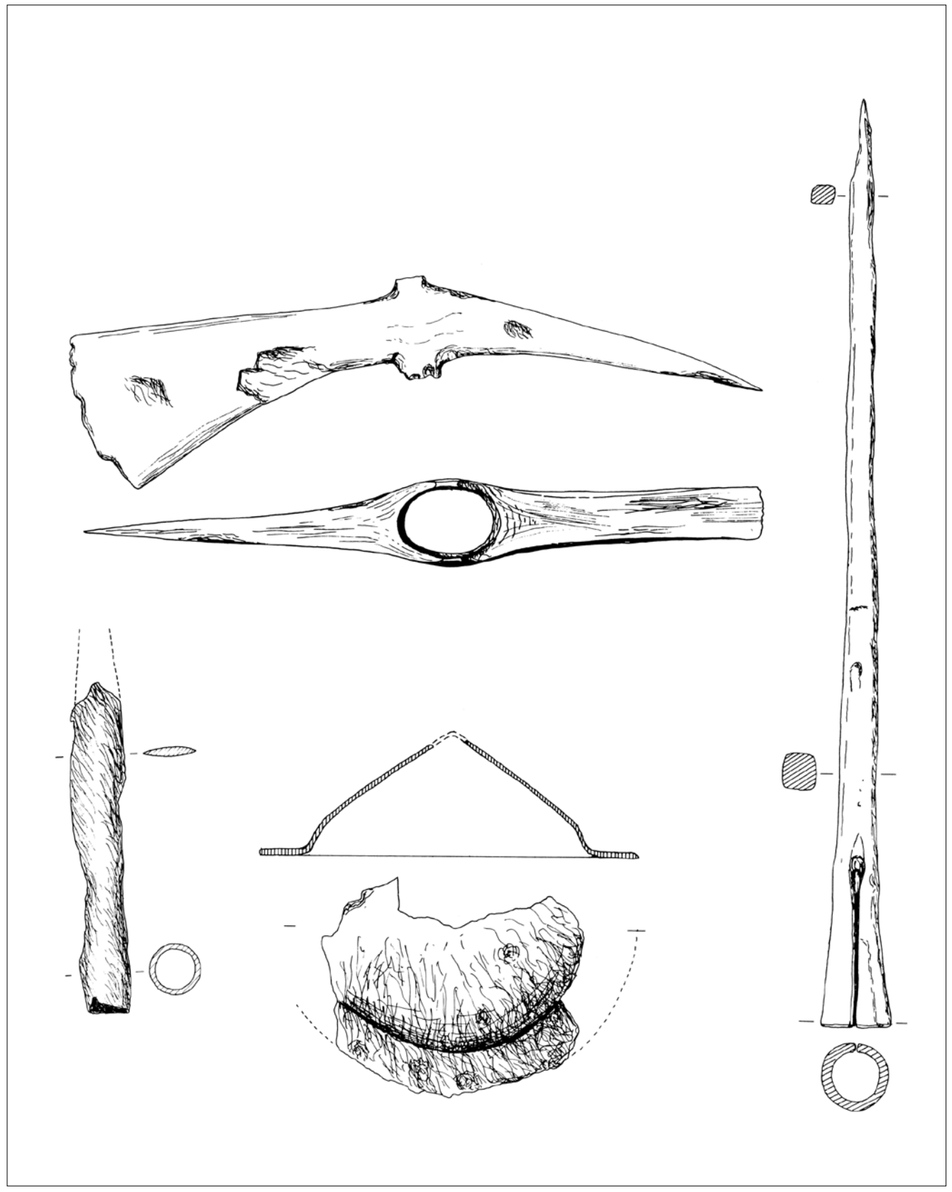

Abb. 1. Wederath, Waffen aus Grab 697 (nach HAFFNER 1974, Taf. 184), ohne Maßstab.

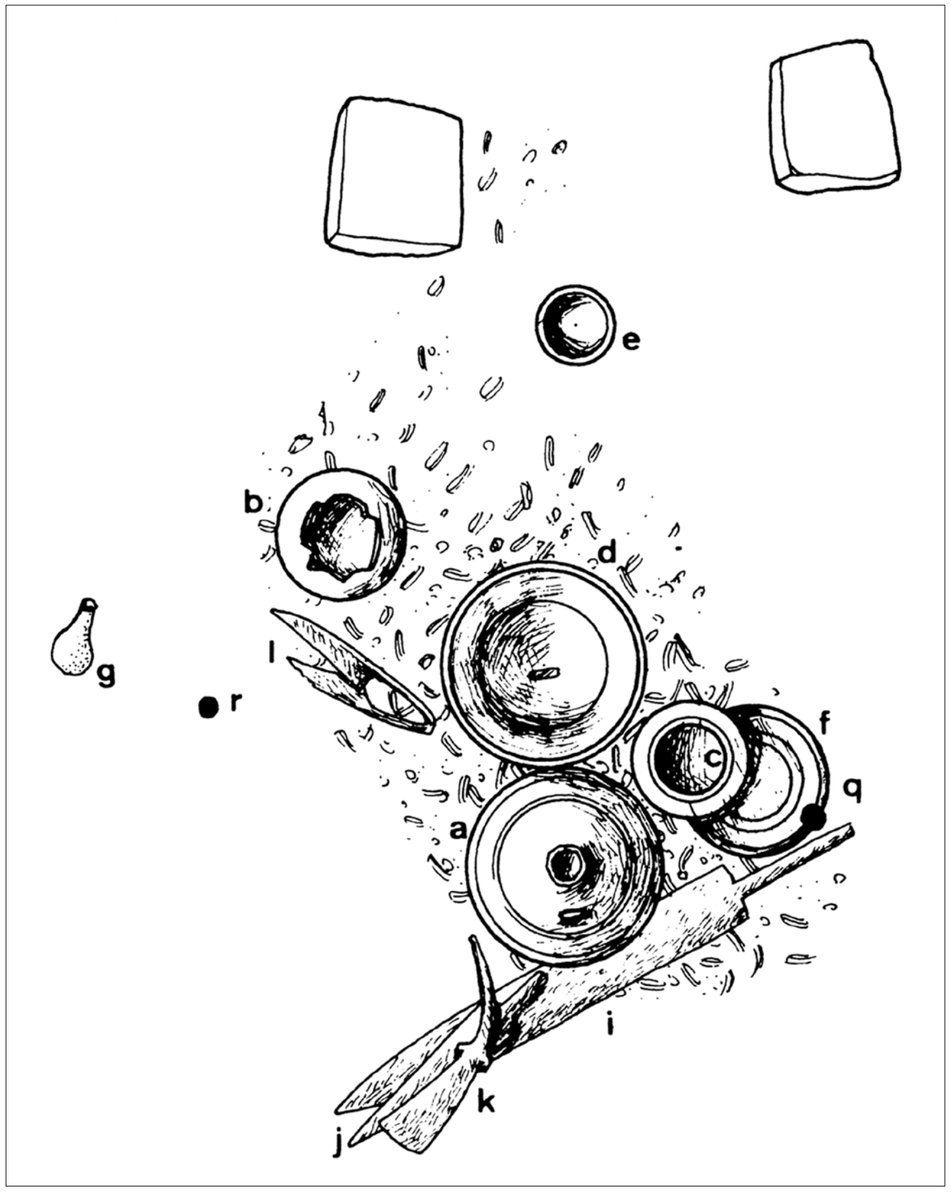

Abb. 2. Wederath, Grab 2215, Befundskizze (nach CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Taf. 604), ohne Maßstab.

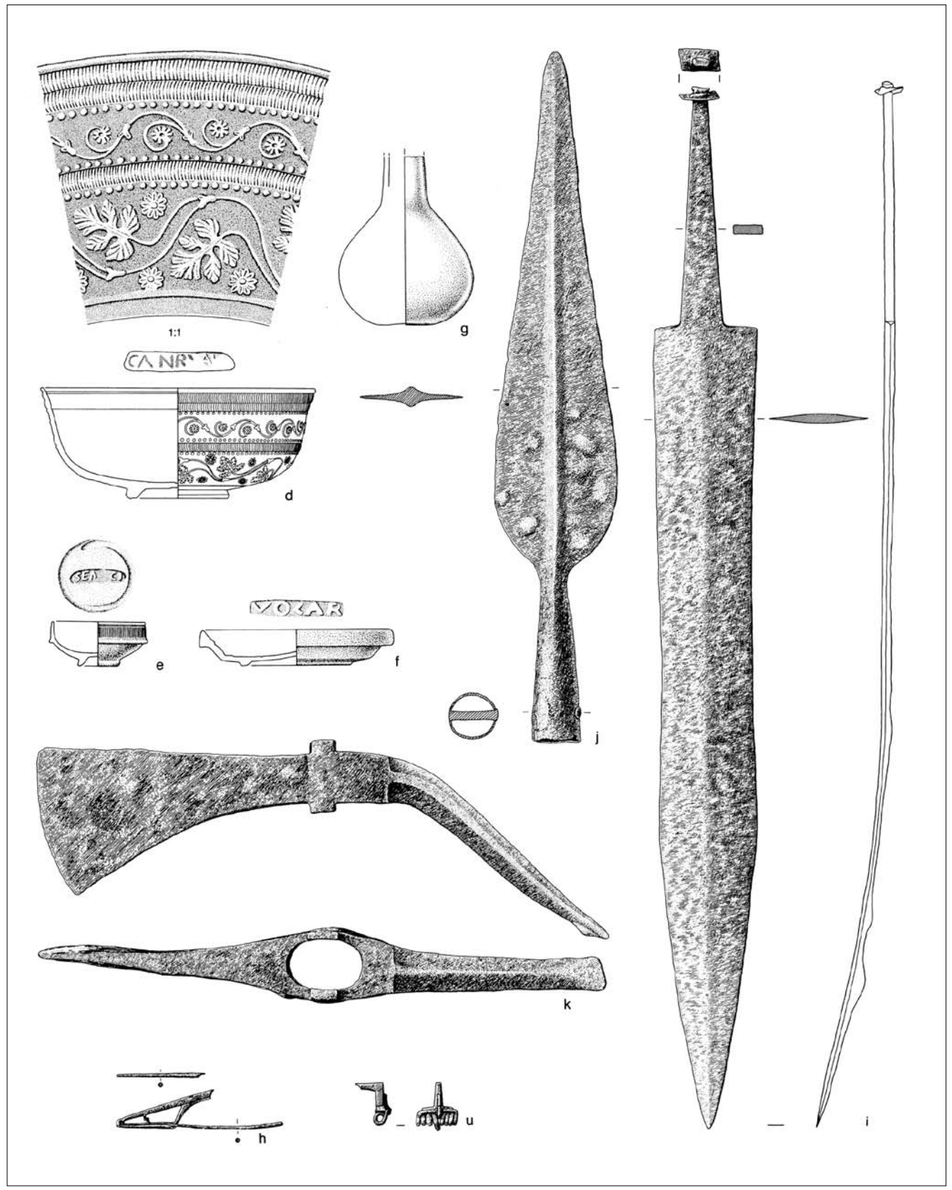

Abb. 3. Wederath, Grab 2215, Auswahl der Funde (nach CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Taf. 604. 605), ohne Maßstab.

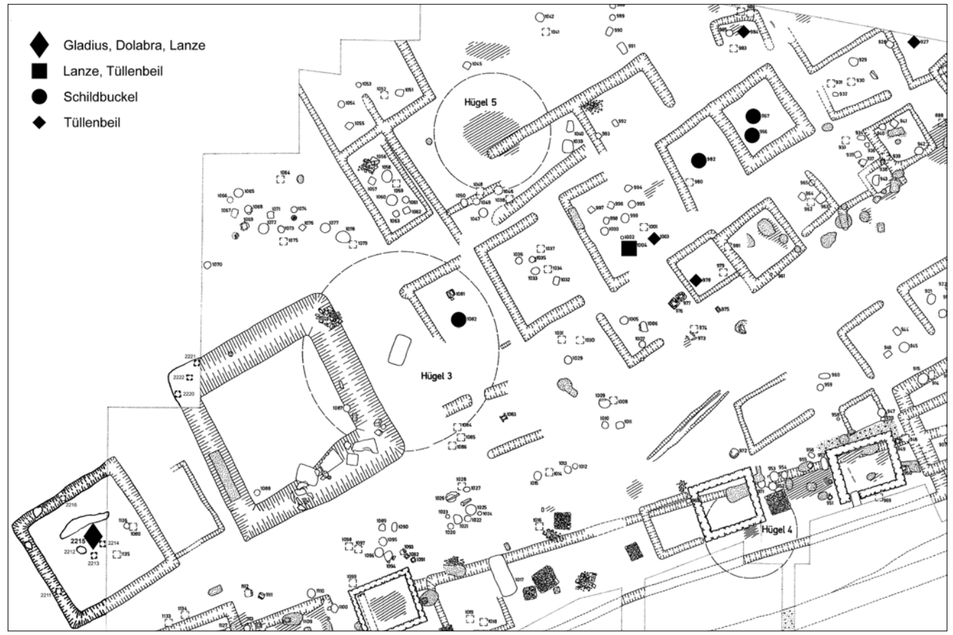

Abb. 4. Wederath, frühkaiserzeitliche Waffengräber im Südwestteil des Gräberfeldes (auf der Basis von: HAFFNER 1978, Beil. 6; CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Beil. 13; SCHUMACHER 1989b, 262 Karte 2; Gleser 2005, 367 f. Abb. 68. 69), ohne Maßstab.

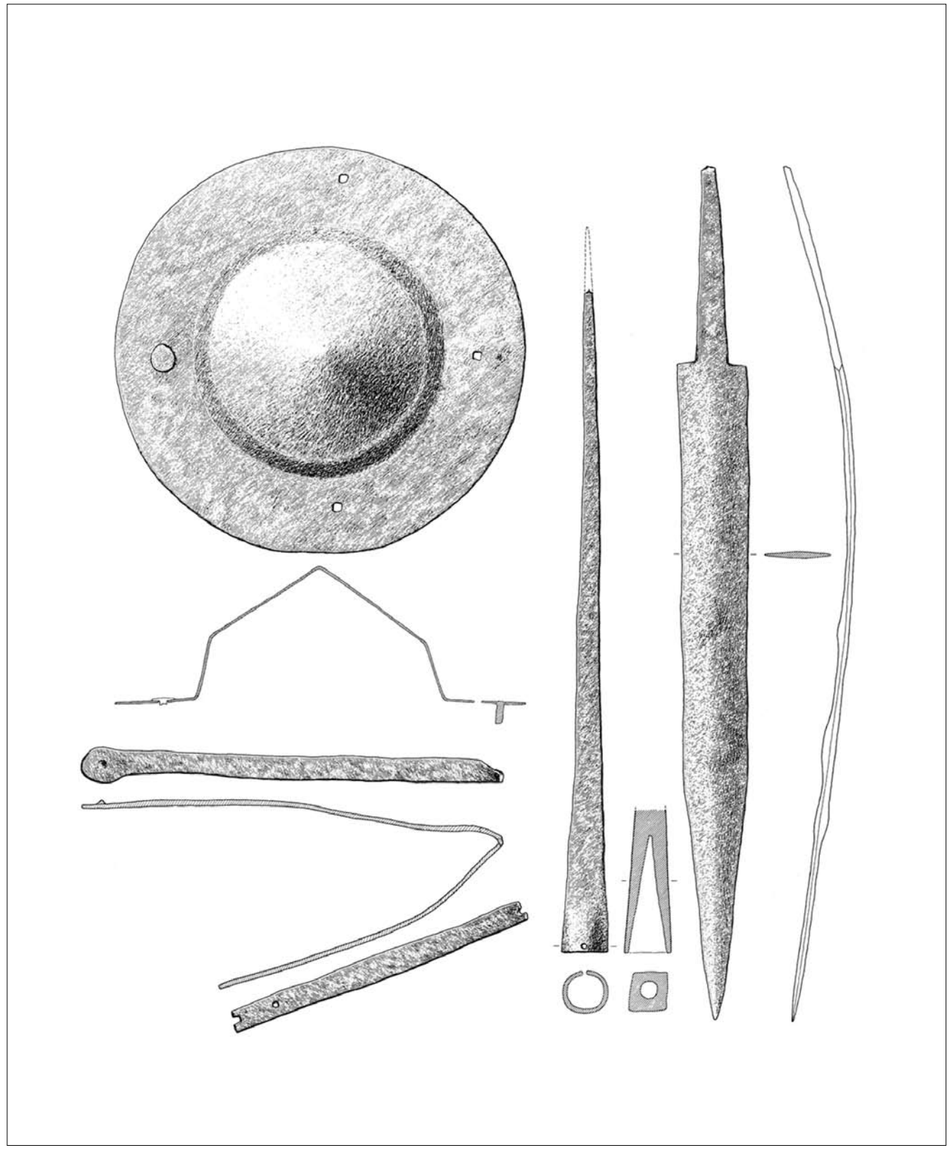

Abb. 5. Wederath, Waffen aus Grab 1344 (nach CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1991, Taf. 358. 359), ohne Maßstab.

Annelies Koster

WEAPONS IN A LATE 1ST CENTURY GRAVE IN NIJMEGEN (NL)

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During the Batavian revolt, in the year AD 70, the civil settlement *Oppidum Batavorum* on the strategic Valkhof promontory in Nijmegen, overlooking the river Waal, was set to fire. Shortly after this revolt a new civil settlement developed in the low area on the west side of present day Nijmegen. This became the largest and most important town in the Roman Netherlands.

Around AD 98 emperor Trajan gave his name to this new capital of the *civitas Batavorum*, which was from now on officially called *Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum*. In connection with the grant of this new name Trajan may have given the *vicus* the status of *municipium*.

The cemetery of *Noviomagus* lies to the south of the town, as well as to the east along the road leading to the legionary fortress[1] (Fig. 1).

The first large-scale modern excavation was carried out between 1981 and 1983 by the University of Nijmegen[2]. It brought to light the partially robbed foundations of a series of walled enclosures, measuring 36 x 36 meters on the inside, that is 150 x 150 Roman feet, flanked by two smaller ones, each measuring 14.50 x 14.50 meters, that is 50 x 50 feet and a fourth enclosure to the north of them. Within each enclosure heavy, robbed foundations of huge limestone monuments were discovered (Fig. 2 + Fig. 3).

The monumental grave complexes with these grave monuments, erected around AD 90-100 on a prominent location on the south eastern side of *Noviomagus* along a possible road, originate in Italian-Roman grave ritual. Outstanding grave monuments were built to ensure that the deceased would stay in communal memory. The combination of the stone enclosure walls with the limestone grave monuments show distinct influence of Roman culture (Fig. 4).

Such monumental grave complexes were erected all over the Roman empire, but only for those with enormous financial capacity: the wealthy urban elite, rich landowners or soldiers and veterans in the higher ranks of the Roman army. Building a grave monument emphasized the economic success and the social position of the deceased.

The attachment to indigenous traditions was not directed to the outside of the graves, but to their inside. No tumuli were erected for these graves, nor ditches dug. But the construction of wooden grave chambers, to which a lot of attention was given, and its furnishing with extensive grave inventories, clearly shows the connection to Gaulish-Celtic cultural traditions (Fig. 5).

Examples of such elite burials in wooden grave chambers are known from the Roman period all over western Europe. From the extensive grave inventories one can deduce that these people believed in the afterlife, for which the dwelling of the deceased - the wooden grave chamber - had to be furnished. Some of the grave gifts, like the weapons, aimed at clarifying the status of the dead.

[1] WILLEMS - VAN ENCKEVORT 2009, 69-79.
[2] KOSTER 2010.

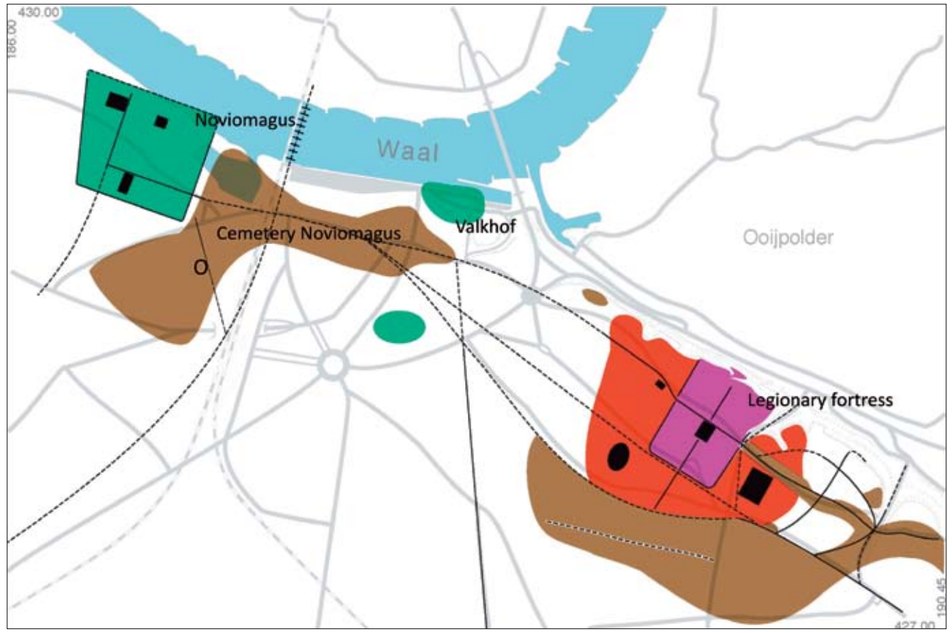

Fig. 1. Nijmegen 70-270 AD with location of the walled enclosures. (Dep. of Archaeology of the City of Nijmegen)

The grave goods point out that the deceased was acquainted with both the Gaulish-Celtic and with the Roman burial traditions.

The wealth of the burials found within the enclosures is expressed by the large number of grave gifts, as well as by the costliness of the materials used to make them. Some of the burials contained more than 70 objects, mostly of pottery and glass, but also of bronze and iron. The graves stand out for the extraordinary objects: 13 pieces of carved amber, a die and two rings made of rock crystal, a wooden folding chair with bronze mountings and leather seat and back, weapons and writing utensils. Mainly on the basis of the pottery - especially the Samian ware - and the coins, the burials are dated between AD 80 and 115.

The only burial with weapons holds a glass urn with the cremated bones of a person between 20 and 40 years, who's sex could not be identified from the cremation remains. The inventory of the grave consists of extensive eating and drinking sets, glass vessels, toilet utensils and writing implements, a bronze lamp and the weapons - a shield with a light shield boss and three iron spearheads. On the basis of the potters stamps on the Samian ware and the other ceramics the burial is dated AD 90-95 (Fig. 6).

The grave goods had been placed in a large wooden burial chamber of 1.65 x 1.75 m of 70 cm high, which was completely decayed; the traces of the wood were visible as brown stripes in the sand (see Fig. 5).

The three iron spearheads are of a type common in the 1st century in the western provinces. They must have belonged to spears of 160-180 cm or shorter, assuming that they were not broken before they were placed in the burial chamber (Fig. 7).

The wooden shield must have stood against the eastern wall of the chamber. Of this shield only the tinned bronze *umbo*, two bronze rivets with adhering wood of the shield and the iron handgrip remained. The wood was identified as alder (Fig. 8 , Fig. 9).

The shield boss is very thin and light, only 200 grams, and was chased. Concentric grooves on the flange indicate finishing on the lathe. Only the outside surface of the *umbo* is tinned. There are no holes in the flange

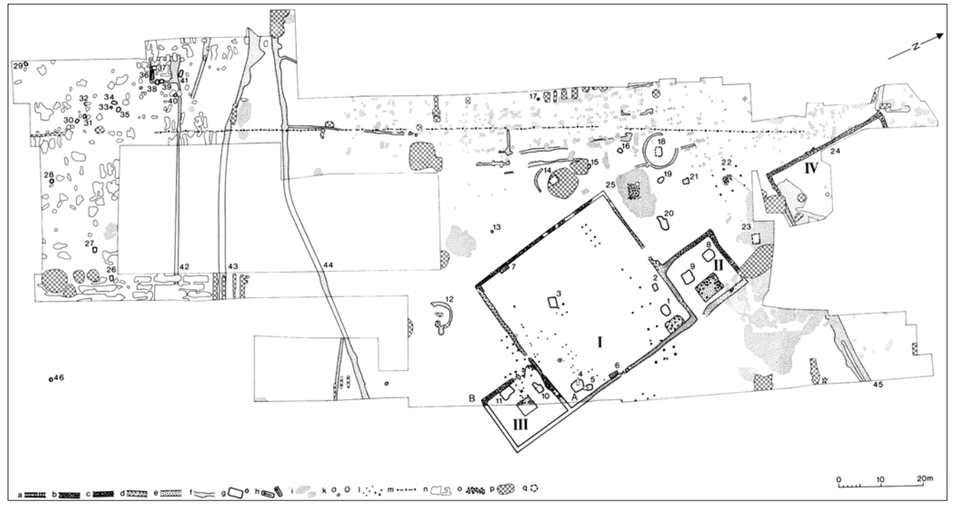

Fig. 2. Excavations in the cemetery of *Noviomagus* 1981-1983. (Radboud University Nijmegen; drawing R.P. Reijnen)

for rivets to fix the *umbo* to the shield and no other signs of fixing either. Most likely the two rivets, which were found with the shield boss, were driven into the wood of the shield and their ends turned back against the shield. The thickness of the shield, 4-5 mm, can be deduced from the space between the head of the rivet and the turned end of it.

The back of the *umbo* may have been soldered to the rivets, as is shown in the picture. The iron handgrip must have had four rivets by which it was fixed to the shield (Fig. 8).

From London equally thin shield bosses are known. For one of them it has been suggested that it was not used in battle, but may have been part of a parade shield[3]. As the other one misses the holes for rivets, it was thought that this *umbo* had never been fixed to a shield[4].

But all bronze shield bosses from Dura Europos, made of thin sheet bronze, seem to have been used in battle and they were not part of parade shields. Most likely these round shield bosses were part of the light, oval shields of the auxiliary troops[5].

In principle the three spears in the Nijmegen burial could have been used by both auxiliary infantry or cavalry, but from the length of the spearheads we suggest that they were used as thrusting spears or lances used by an auxiliary horseman. The longer spearheads were a huge advantage for a horseman, because they could cause a lot of damage, without the horseman losing them.

On 1st century cavalry gravestones we see the servant or *calo* holding spare spears and from Arrian we known that cavalry soldiers carried three or four spears[6].

But there is another group of objects in this weapon burial that is possibly connected with the cavalryman and his horse: the set of four remarkably big *strigiles* consisting of a bronze blade and an iron grip (Fig. 10). Most likely they had been deposited on the cover of the wooden grave chamber and had slid down as the cover mouldered away and collapsed. During the excavation the set was found on top of the glass cremation urn.

The *strigiles* seem to be rather coarse for a man. For the iron *strigilis* in the wagon burial of Káloz Eva Bónis suggested that it could have been used for horses[7]. From literary sources of late antiquity and from the find of a *stigilis* in a stable at the *castellum* Ilkley in Britain, dating to the beginning of the 3rd century, it has been deduced that *strigiles* were used for horses, in any case in the late Roman period[8]. They could have been used as a sweat scraper or for removing mud from

[3] BRITANNIA 1980, 320-323.
[4] BRITANNIA 1984, 246-250
[5] JAMES 2004, 160.
[6] JUNCKELMANN 1991, 175-182 (Der Reitertraktat des Arrian); ADLER 1993, 244, 259.
[7] BÓNIS 1981, 136.
[8] KOTERA-FEYER 1993, 8.

Fig. 3. Front of the northern enclosure of 50 by 50 feet, with the robbed foundation of a monument and two burials behind it: a woman's grave (left) and a man's grave with weapons (right). (Radboud University Nijmegen).

horses' legs. We should consider this possibility and look more closely at the find circumstances of coarse *strigiles*, in order to find more supportive evidence for this hypothesis.

In his *Germania* Tacitus mentions the gift of weapons in graves as a custom of the Germanic tribes[9]. He considers shield and spear as the standard armament of the Germans and he also emphasizes the central place the weapons took in their lives[10]. A man had to bring shield, spear and sword as part of the dowry[11]. And in addition the shield may have had a symbolic function, as can be deduced from the description by Tacitus of the raising to the shield of *Brinno,* the leader of the *Cananefates*, the neighbouring tribe of the *Batavians*[12].

In Southern Gaul there are hardly any weapons in graves after the middle of the 1st century BC, when the Roman province of *Gallia Narbonensis* was founded and Romanisation started[13]. The same holds true for the Alpine region: after the Roman conquest in the Augustan period weapons gradually disappear as grave gifts. The Romanisation of the elite in this region and the changes it caused for the society influenced the status symbols and as a consequence also the grave gifts[14].

Until the middle of the 1st century AD burials with weapons are not uncommon in the northern parts of Gaul, in the middle of France, and especially in Trier and surroundings. Like the rich chamber burials of Goeblingen-Nospelt, which are considered to be the burials of the aristocracy of the *Treveri* who had gained wealth and prestige in the early Augustan period. These persons, who were buried with their weapons and spurs, are regarded as armed cavalrymen, most likely the commanders of the indigenous cavalry in Roman military service[15]. Comparable burials in the district of the *Bituriges* (Dep. Berry, F.) are considered to be members of the local aristocracy, possibly veterans of the auxiliary troops[16].

In Lower Germany, west of the Rhine, weapon burials occur on a very small scale from the Augustan till the Claudian-Neronian period.

[9] TACITUS, *Germania* 27.

[10] TACITUS, *Germania* 6, 13, 14; ADLER 1993, 241-245.

[11] TACITUS, *Germania*, 18, 2.

[12] TACITUS, *Historiae*, 4, 15.

[13] FEUGÈRE 1993, 122-123, 152.

[14] MARTIN-KILCHER 1998, 235.

[15] ROYMANS 1996, 37-38; METZLER 2001, 274; GLESER 2005, 434.

[16] FERDIÈRE - VILLARD 1993, 22-30.

Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the grave monuments. (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen; drawing Paul Maas)

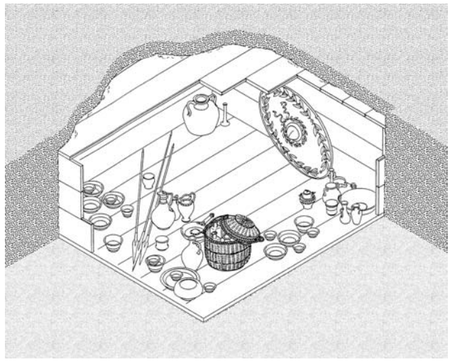

Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the wooden chamber of weapon grave nr. 8. (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen; drawing Bill Easter)

But the weapon burials we know, like the famous grave of Mehrum - dating shortly after the middle of the 1st century AD -, belong to the richest in the region. The Mehrum burial has mixed Germanic-Roman weapons and it is thought to have been the grave of a leader of a tumultuarian Germanic unit, serving as an auxiliary for the Roman army[17].

The weapons must have been the private property of the Germanic soldiers and they stayed in their possession after the military service and went with them to their homelands. The veterans may have kept their weapons as some kind of status symbols or as personal commemoration with emotional value. Their relatives may have put them in the grave in that capacity[18]. After the middle of the 1st century AD weapon burials almost disappear in Lower Germany[19]. The more curious is the burial from Nijmegen, dating AD 90/95.

The weapons in this grave hint at an indigenous Batavian or Gaulish origin of the diseased. The other grave goods, like the extensive eating and drinking sets, glass vessels, toilet utensils and writing implements and a bronze lamp, make it less plausible that this person was of Germanic origin.

The shield could have been his personal weapon, but could also have had a symbolic meaning for the leader of the group to which the man belonged.

The combination of the weapons, the shield with the light *umbo* and the three spears with iron heads, and maybe also the set of coarse *strigiles*, seems to indicate that the deceased was a cavalryman serving in an auxiliary unit. As for this man, one could imagine he was one of the leading officers of the Batavian cavalry, the *ala Batavorum*[20].

In view of the man's age at death, 20-40 years, and the dating of the grave around AD 90-95, it is likely that he entered the army shortly after the Batavian revolt of AD 70[21]. We know that in the pre-Flavian period the Batavians provided eight cohorts and one *ala* for the Roman army in closed ethnic units, and that these troops had their own Batavian commanders who were already Roman citizens, like *Julius Civilis* who initiated the revolt[22].

It has been suggested that the *ala Batavorum* was stationed in Nijmegen on the Kops Plateau in the pre-Flavian period. The stables, which were found there, the numerous pieces of horse equipment and a series of cavalry helmets make this assumption very plausible. Furthermore it is remarkable that the camp on the Kops Plateau was not set to fire during the Batavian revolt, as most other camps in the region[23].

After the Batavian revolt a new *ala Batavorum* seems to have been formed. We don't know where this new *ala Batavorum milliaria* was stationed in the Flavian period until AD 89. This could have been *Britannia, Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia* and also *Germania Inferior*[24].

However, the globular flask with enamelled decoration (Fig. 11), found in the weapon grave in Nijmegen, must have been made in Castleford (West-Yorkshire), where moulds for flasks with exactly the same deco-

[17] GECHTER - KUNOW 1983, 454-455.

[18] NICOLAY 2003, 364; NICOLAY 2007, 173-176, 199-204.

[19] BRUNSTING 1937, 184, vondst 25; NICOLAY 2007, 202-204: only stray finds from the area of the cemetery of *Noviomagus*.

[20] KOSTER 2010, 257.

[21] KOSTER 2010, 262.

[22] WILLEMS 1984, 229-230; SLOFSTRA 2002, 25; ROYMANS 2004, 61-63.

[23] WILLEMS - VAN ENCKEVORT 2009, 39.

[24] HAALEBOS 2000a, 42-43, 63-64.

Fig. 6. Inventory of weapon grave nr. 8. (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen)

ration have been found[25]. This could be an indication that this cavalry man, and possibly the whole *ala Batavorum*, was stationed in Britain for some years after the Batavian revolt[26]. They must have been back in *Germania Inferior* before AD 89, as they took part in the suppression of the uprising of *Saturninus* against Domitian, and received the name of honour *pia fidelis* for it. But in the military diploma of Elst, near Nijmegen, dating from AD 98 the *ala Batavorum* is mentioned as one of the units stationed in *Germania Inferior*. So it is even possible that they stayed in this province during the whole Flavian period[27].

It is likely that after the Batavian revolt the small elite of Batavians who had lead the revolt, had to give way for a new elite who had stayed loyal to Rome. This elite did not only manifest itself in the army, but after their service they may have returned to their own region and dedicated themselves to the civil administration and economic activities[28].

After the revolt the Batavian units still seem to have been commanded by their own leaders, like the prefect of the *Cohors IX Batavorum* in *Vindolanda, Flavius Cerialis*, who most likely was of Batavian origin and possibly even of royal birth. He may have belonged to this new elite.

The same could be true for the horseman in the weapon grave from Nijmegen. His status is shown by the monumental walled enclosure with the grave monument and the extensively furnished wooden grave chamber with the weapons.

I would like to see this man as an important leader, most likely Batavian and commander of a cavalry unit, probably the *ala Batavorum milliaria*. The fact that he was buried with his weapons, according to an old tradition, could be an indication for his royal decent.

That he was buried on a prominent location in the cemetery of the civil settlement *Noviomagus* could be explained by the presence of a female burial within the same enclosure. Most likely this man wanted to be buried in the place where his wife and family lived and they wanted him to live on in the memory of the community by erecting a huge grave monument for him.

[25] KOSTER 2010, 149.
[26] KOSTER 2010, 263.
[27] HAALEBOS 2000a, 42-43, 63-64; HAALEBOS 2000b, 30.
[28] HAALEBOS 2000a, 33; SLOFSTRA 2002, 30-35.

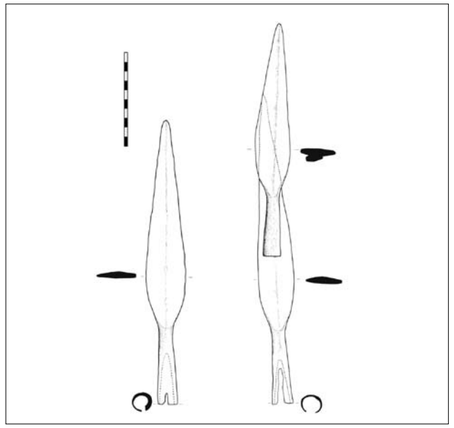

Fig. 7. Three iron spearheads; length 25.2, 30.3 and 33.3 cm. (Radboud University Nijmegen; drawing R.P. Reijnen)

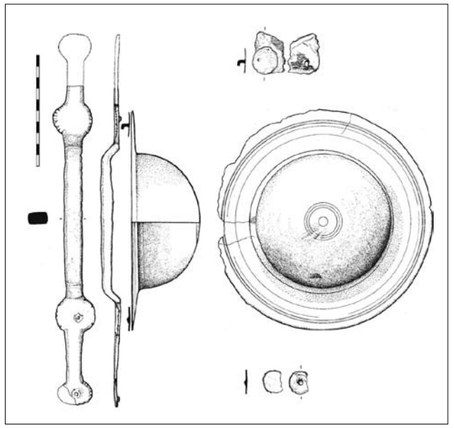

Fig. 8. Tinned bronze shield boss with two rivets and iron shield grip. Diameter of the flange of the *umbo*: 19.2 cm (Radboud University Nijmegen; drawing R.P. Reijnen)

Fig. 9. Tinned bronze shield boss and iron shield grip. (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen)

Fig. 10. Four *strigiles* from the weapon grave. Length of the *strigiles* ca. 26 cm. (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen)

Fig. 11. Globular flask with enamelled decoration. Height: 9.9 cm. (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen)

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Zsolt Mráv

GRAVES OF AUXILIARY SOLDIERS AND VETERANS FROM THE FIRST CENTURY AD IN THE NORTHERN PART OF PANNONIA

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In contrast to the south Pannonian region annexed by Augustus, the territory north of the River Drava, the Austrian and Hungarian part of the later province of Pannonia, was only occupied by the Roman army peacefully in late Tiberio-Claudian period with the help of *viae militares*.[1] A considerable amount is known about the mostly cavalry troops garrisoned in North Pannonia in the first century and their troops based on early imported goods,[2] inscriptions[3] and military finds deriving from direct military and non-military contexts (*Fig. 1*).[4] Significantly less is known about the active or former soldier burials from this period.[5] That is to say, their existence was indicated only by epigraphic documents with secondary provenance until recently, but in this material soldiers and particularly veterans are fairly under-represented in the first century AD.[6] This is why it is important that the scant knowledge about first-century 'military' graves in the researched region was expanded, incorporating a new category of archaeological evidence: burials consisting of early weapons and military gear.

A. Márton attempted to collect weapon graves from the entire Pannonian territory in 2002,[7] but his list remained incomplete with regard to first-century graves. Recently an increasing number of cemeteries have become known which yielded early weapon graves. Most of them may be certainly linked to soldiers and veterans. The primary aim of my contribution is to preliminarily present these graves and their contexts in relation to the early history of Roman Pannonia. These new and in recent years identified old grave finds are concentrated in three main regions: 1. in North-east Pannonia, in the native *civitas* of the Celtic Eraviscans, 2. in the surroundings of Lake Balaton, the Roman *lacus Pelso*, and 3. around the northern section of the Amber Road and its wider geographical area, mainly in the municipal territory of the Flavian city of Scarbantia (*Fig. 1*). The description and discussion of the graves shall follow this geographical order.

I omitted graves from the research period which contained only one or more spearhead because this category of weapon can also be interpreted as a hunting implement commonly used by civilians as well.[8]

[1] ŠAŠEL 1977, 235-244; GABLER 1997; UBL 2008a; UBL 2008c; ISTENIČ 2009a; MRÁV in press

[2] Terra sigillata: GABLER 1979; MÁRTON 2005, 90-91; amphorae: BEZECZKY 1987 (along the Amber Road); BEZECZKY 1994, 156-161; MÁRTON 2005, 90.

[3] MÓCSY 1959, 36-53; BURGER 1956, 191-197; LÖRINCZ 2001, 57-71.

[4] MRÁV 2008, 279-294; MRÁV 2010, 139-161; MRÁV 2011a, 529-552; MRÁV in press.

[5] MÁRTON 2002, 133-144; MRÁV 2006, 49-65; MRÁV in press.

[6] MÓCSY 1959, 36-37, 43-45, 64-65; BURGER 1956, 191-197.

[7] MÁRTON 2002, 133-144.

[8] MÁRTON 2002, 134. First-century graves contained one or more spearheads and no other weapons from North Pannonia: Cserszegtomaj (Zala County, H) graves 12 and 24: see below; Halimba (Veszprém County, H) grave 1 (end of 1st/early 2nd cent.): BÖNIS 1960, 92 graves 1/3-4 and 5, Taf. XVIII 1-2 and 3; Sárbogárd-Virágrész (Fejér County, H) grave 3: BÁNKI 1998, 65, 67 Abb. 2 grave 3/6; Alsópáhok (Zala County, H), grave 81: HORVÁTH-TOKAI in press.

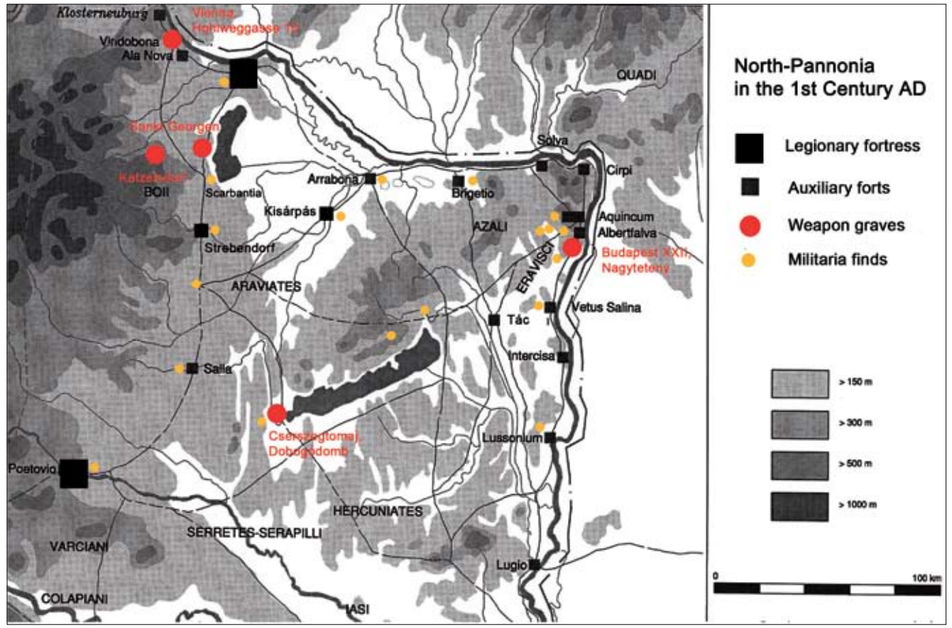


Fig. 1. The Roman army in North Pannonia in the first century AD. Military stations, militaria finds and graves of active and former soldiers (Map Zs. Mráv)

THE NORTH-EASTERN AREA OF THE *CIVITAS ERAVISCORUM*

In Northeast-Pannonia, the territory of the Celtic Eraviscans – which had already become dependent upon and most likely allied with Rome during the reign of Augustus – was annexed to the Empire by the Roman army almost unnoticed during the fourth and fifth decades of the first century.[9] After Roman conquest and development of the military zone along the Danube from the Claudian period onward, the Eraviscans became a frontier community that was gradually militarized. Large scale recruitment of local Eraviscan youths to regular auxiliary units and mainly for fleets commenced rather late, only in the Claudian period.[10] Martial and tribal warrior traditions were not very strong among the Eraviscans in the pre-Roman and early Roman times, demonstrated not only by their inactivity during the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprisings, but also the absence of weapons deposited in their first-century graves. This situation changed radically at the end of the first century, when a permanent legionary fortress was built in Aquincum (89 AD) and when the settlement became the governor's seat for the province of Pannonia Inferior (103-106 AD).[11] Thereafter the tribe became increasingly important. Service in the Roman army's auxiliary cavalry units became attractive for the newly created Eraviscan aristocracy to present itself as a military elite around the end of first century and in the first half of the second century. The numerous rich graves with cavalry weapons of the period can be linked to this militarized tribal elite (*Fig. 2*).[12] This elite's strong connection with the army in the late second/early third century is also demonstrated by two wagon graves containing so-called beneficiarius insignia attached to the vehicles (Zsámbék, Pest County and Sárszentmiklós, Fejér County, H).[13]

[9] GABLER 1997, 86-90.

[10] MÓCSY 1959, 64-65; MÓCSY 1968, 310; MRÁV 2006, 63.

[11] ALFÖLDY 1959-1960, 10.

[12] MRÁV 2006.

[13] MRÁV 2009, 84; MRÁV 2011, 21-61.

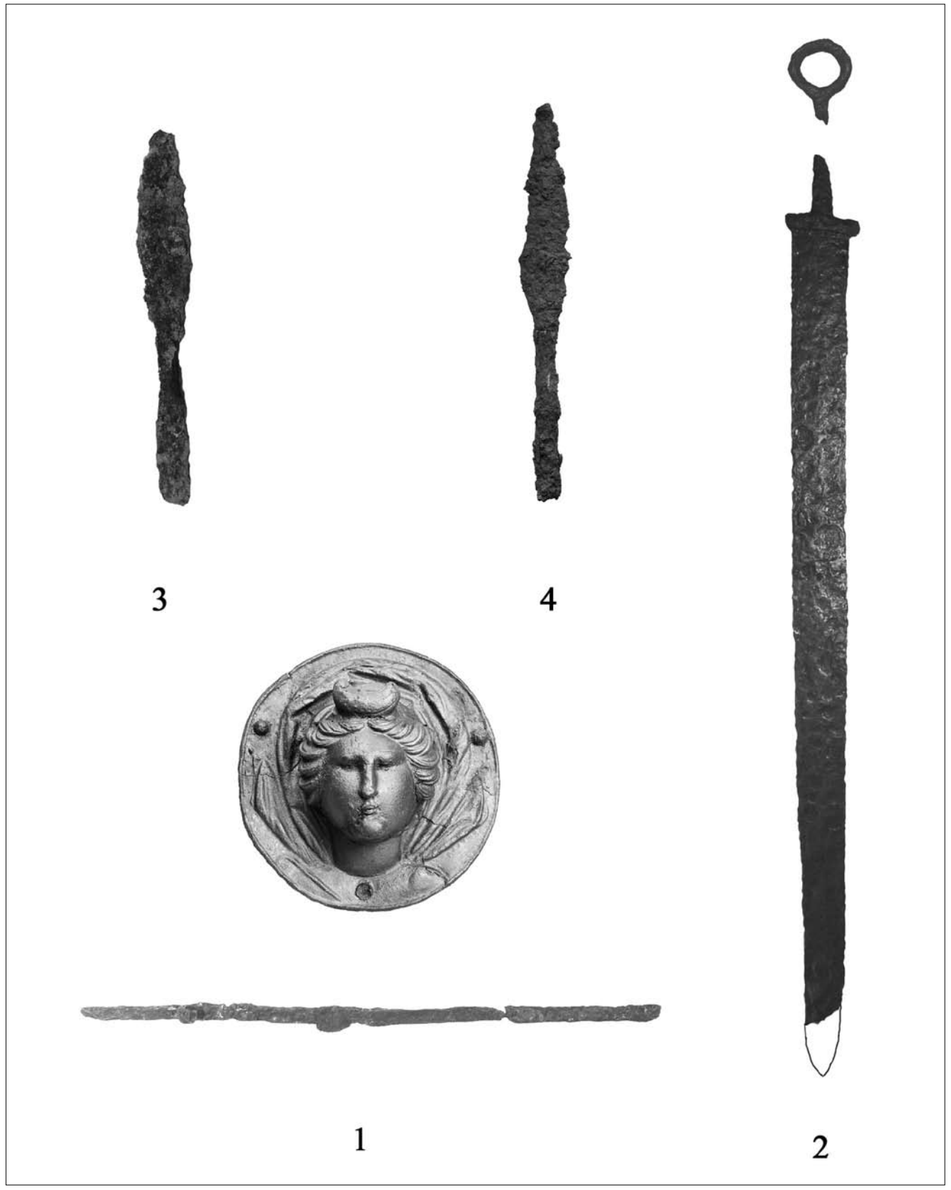


Fig. 2. Budaörs-Kamaraerdei dűlő (Pest County, H), the cemetery of the vicus, cart grave no. 126. Weaponry of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman born to a local elite family, middle third of the second century AD (after MRÁV 2006, 36 Abb. 3)

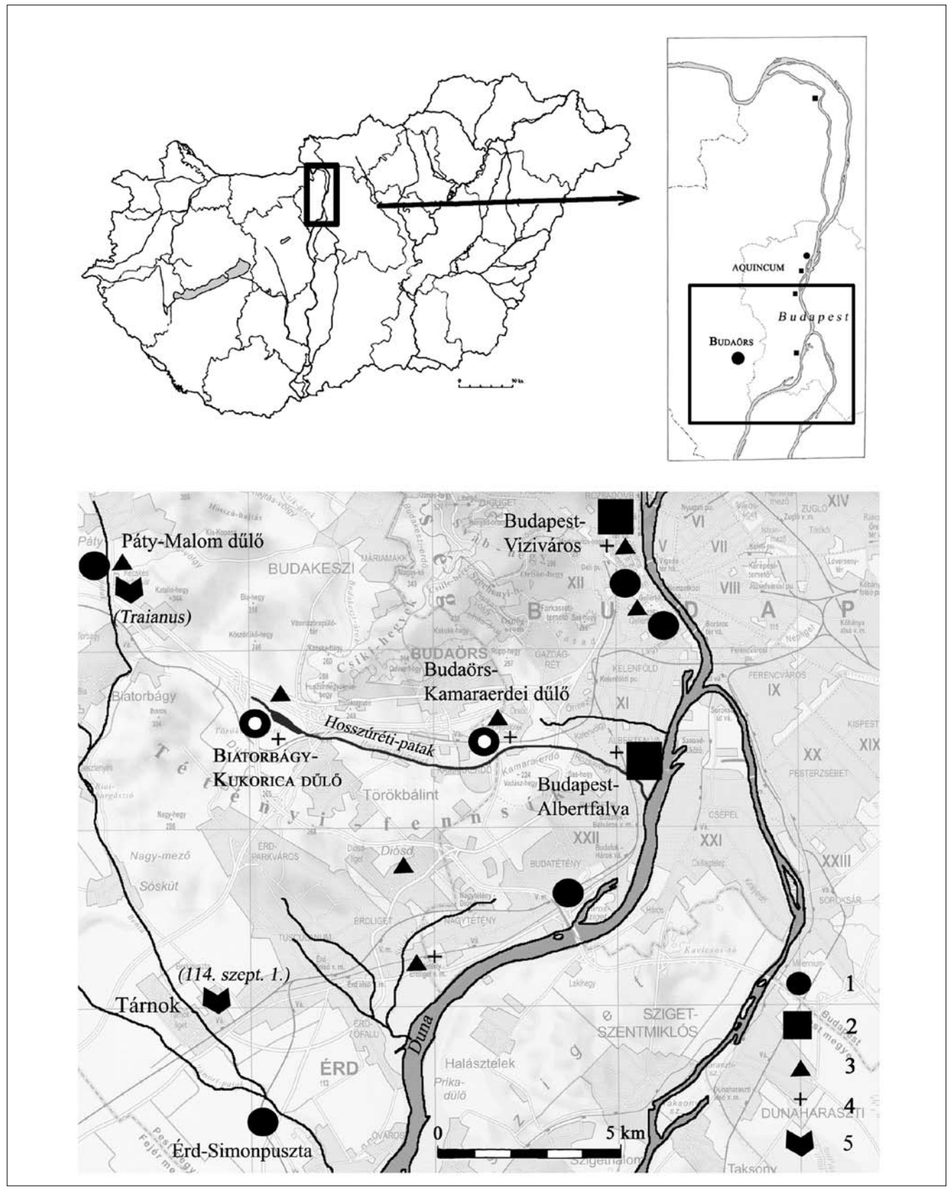


Fig. 3. Location of the Roman-era vici at Budaörs and Biatorbágy (Pest County, H). South Buda and its surroundings in the first century AD. Legend: - 1. village, - 2. auxiliary fort, - 3. site of early Roman cemeteries and funerary monuments, - 4. early militaria find, - 5. Find site of military diplomas

The tribal centre of the Eraviscans, inside the territory of the *civitas Eraviscorum*, a micro-region situated directly south-west of Aquincum, merits particular attention (*Fig. 3*). The auxiliary fort of Víziváros (Budapest, District I), as the region's first garrison, was built in the late Tiberio-Claudian period.[14] The first phase of the Albertfalva castellum located south of it (Budapest, District XI), however, can be dated to the early Flavian period.[15] The excavations of rural settlements from the direct hinterland of the Danube limes has generated a substantial number of finds of first-century military equipment and riding gear, which may be explained by their so-called social use by veterans.[16] The rural villages at Budaörs-Kamaraerdei dűlő (*Fig. 4*)[17] and at Biatorbány-Tópark (*Fig. 5*)[18] represent the most characteristic examples of these settlements.

TWO 'MILITARY' GRAVES IN THE NATIVE CEMETERY AT NAGYTÉTÉNY (DISTRICT XXII, BUDAPEST)

In the indigenous cemetery close to the southern periphery of Nagytétény (District XXII, Budapest), J. Beszédes excavated two funerary enclosures in 2005-2006, which can be identified with great certainty as graves of former auxiliary soldiers.[19] One of them, a cremation grave (feature no. 666) consisted of a dented shield boss with handgrip and a ritually bent sword (*Fig. 6*).[20] Besides the weapons, a Nero coin, a fibula and an iron knife were buried in this grave. The second one was found in the largest grave yard of the cemetery enclosed by a square ditch (feature no. 661).[21] Here a horse grave and a funeral pit containing fairly rich intact grave goods – among them a Nero coin, a bronze ladle (*simpulum*), a wooden bucket with bronze fittings and handle – were unearthed. Five relief-adorned stelae were found in the ditch by its entrance which had fallen down or had been pushed into it. Three of them are especially noteworthy (*Fig. 7*): the main relief on one stele features an eagle in its tympanum and a nude heroic warrior holding a gladius and lance,[22] another features an oval shield, while the last has a triumphant cavalry soldier in action bearing a similar oval shield. Although no weapons were found among the grave goods, these stelae suggest that a quondam auxiliary cavalryman was buried here during the Flavian period at the latest.[23] The preliminary reports also mentioned scabbard fittings with open-work decoration (belonging to a Mainz-type gladius?) found in the cemetery.[24]

[14] GABLER 1997, 86.

[15] GABLER 1997, 88; GABLER 1999, 76-77, 81.

[16] NICOLAY 2002, 57 Fig. 6, 62-63; NICOLAY 2007, 173-176.

[17] MRÁV 2010, 139-140, 150-154; 161 Fig. 7; MRÁV 2011a, 529-552.

[18] MRÁV 2010, 139-161.

[19] BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2006, 155-157; BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007; ZSIDI 2009, 111 cat. no. 294-298; BESZÉDES in press.

[20] ZSIDI 2009, 111 cat. 294-298.

[21] BESZÉDES in press.

BALATON REGION

Besides inscriptions and the five known military diplomas,[25] numerous early militaria from non-military contexts indicate the importance of the Balaton region, with Mediterranean-like climate, among the auxiliary and legionary veterans (*Fig. 8*).[26] They began to settle here as early as the latter half of first century AD. This tendency is clearly shown by an early-Flavian niello inlaid belt plate and an apron fitting from the territory of a villa settlement at Nemesvámos-Balácapuszta (Veszprém County, H) (*Fig. 9*).[27] The cingulum with apron can be directly or indirectly connected to the semi-subterranean houses under the first villa building, no. XIII.[28] These dwellings of local type can be dated to the last decades of the first or, at the latest, the beginning of the second century by several fragments of tardo Padana terra sigillata vessels of form Consp. 39/43 collected from their fill.[29] With the help of the fittings belonging to a military belt and the semi-subterranean dwellings, we can reconstruct the beginning of the later villa, which developed from a veteran settlement. The same process took place in the case of the villa estate at Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek (Veszprém County, H), where not only Po Valley and South Gaulish terra sigillata fragments but also a military belt buckle of Flavian type, prove the existence of a veteran settlement in the pre-villa phase[30] in the late first century (*Fig. 10*).[31]

[22] BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 243 Fig. 11.

[23] I would like to convey my special thanks to József Beszédes (Aquincum Museum, Budapest), who allowed me to briefly mention some results of his unpublished excavation at Nagytétény (XXII. District, Budapest).

[24] BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 245.

[25] MRÁV-VIDA 2008-2010, 156-158

[26] MÓCSY 1959, 40-41; GABLER 1993-1994, 149-151; GABLER 1994, 394; MRÁV 2008, 289.

[27] MRÁV 2008, 279-294.

[28] CSIRKE 2005, 25-51, MRÁV 2008, 288-289.

[29] CSIRKE 2005, 26-32.

[30] GABLER 1979, 211-212; CSIRKE-GABLER-PALÁGYI 2006, 176 cat. no. 17.24.

[31] RHÉ 1905 19 Abb. 13; MRÁV 2008, 289.

THE WEAPON GRAVE FROM CSERSZEGTOMAJ-DOBOGÓHILL (ZALA COUNTY, H)

My contribution shall focus on an as-yet published and interpreted assemblage from the Balaton region.[32] In 1942, the Hungarian National Museum purchased from a private individual, Gyula Vincze, a funerary assemblage which besides fragments of a glass urn, numerous imported pottery, mainly terra sigillata vessels, consists of the almost complete armament of an auxiliary cavalryman. The find site of the grave goods is Dobogóhill, which currently administratively belongs to neighbouring Keszthely and Cserszegtomaj (both in Zala County, H) located close to the western shore of Lake Balaton, the Roman *lacus Pelso* (*Fig. 11*).[33] Geographically it is also important that the Sopianae-Savaria main road runs through the Keszthely region as well.[34]

Due to the Second World War years, the further history of the find became tragic and some chapters of it remain obscure. The official annual report on the activity of the Archaeological Department from 1942 mentioned the entire assemblage among the current new acquisitions of the National Museum. Despite only data on a fragmentary glass urn in the Roman Collection's inventory, the pottery and two spearheads were taken down (*Fig. 12*).[35] The other metal finds, for instance the sword and the shield boss disappeared entirely and never listed in the inventory, but luckily a photograph in the archives serves as a record of these weapons (*Fig. 13*). The description and classification of the lost weaponry are based solely on this photograph.

Although the exact circumstances of the discovery are unknown, one can assume that the finds from this assemblage are from a grave. Some years before the donation, early Roman graves were partially destroyed by gravel extraction operations on Dobogóhill, and in 1938 a rich urn grave of a 15 year-old adolescent with a spearhead was unearthed here.[36] Between 1946 and 1948, four more first-century graves were excavated by I. Szántó which clearly show the early Romanization of the area.[37] Two of them – among other grave goods which included imported pottery – consisted of weapons as well. One cannot exclude the possibility that the finds from these two graves belonged to auxiliary soldiers or veterans. Besides a late La Tène-type particularly elongated lance-head, the deceased in grave 12 was also buried with a fibula with integral spring and an Aucissa type fibula (*Fig. 14*).[38] The preceding fibula is a common item and not worthy of much comment. The inventory of weapon grave 2 under the Katzelsdorf tumulus II also contains this type of fibula (*Fig. 24*). The latter is generally associated with the Roman army in provincial context.[39] The two North Italian thin-walled drinking cups date the grave to the middle or latter half of the first century. Grave 24 also contained a spearhead, now lost, and a kantharos of late La Tène type with the burnished inscription *da bibir* written in vulgar Latin (= *da bibere*) (*Fig. 15*).[40] In the wider geographical area of Dobogóhill, the Keszthely region also yielded early Roman graves and cemeteries (for instance in Keszthely-Újmajor,[41] Alsópáhok,[42] Zalavár[43]). In these cemeteries the graves with weapons, mainly spearheads, were not exceptional.[44] All this confirms that the finds of the 1942 donation would have really came to light from a grave in the early Roman cemetery situated on Dobogóhill, most probably as a result of gravel extraction. Despite the absence of a clear archaeological context, the grave can be defined as a cremation burial with a glass urn and intact, secondary grave goods. The assemblage consists of 11 terra sigillata pieces (*Fig. 16 and 17*) including one from the South-Gaulish workshop, La-Graufesenque from Drag. 29[45] and ten from the tardo Padana workshops.[46] Four of them can be classified as *catilli* of form Consp. 20 with L. M. V. stamps[47] and six of form Consp. 34 with C. T. SVC[48] and FES. CT *planta pedis*-shaped stamps.[49] A gray thin-walled double-handled beaker of form 5 with gray-brown slip is decorated with rouletting and

[32] The funerary assemblage from Dobogóhill will be published in detail by the author soon.

[33] MRT 1 10/4; MÜLLER 1996, 85-86.

[34] MÜLLER 1996, 85.

[35] Hungarian National Museum inv. no. RR 1.1942.1-7.

[36] BÓNIS 1942, 262.

[37] SZÁNTÓ 1953, 55-56; SZÁNTÓ 1977, 29-31; MRT 1 10/4 – on the cemetery: SÁGI 1981.

[38] SZÁNTÓ 1953, 55 grave no. 12.

[39] RIHA 1979, 114; ETTLINGER 1973, 94; METZLER 1995, 235 - cf. MÁRTON 2002, 135.

[40] SZÁNTÓ 1953, 56 grave no. 24.

[41] KUZSINSZKY 1920, 74-87.

[42] HORVÁTH - TOKAI in press.

[43] MRT 1 site 59/1.

[44] Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill grave 12, 24: SZÁNTÓ 1953, 55-56; SZÁNTÓ 1977, 29-31; MRT 1 10/4; Alsópáhok: HORVÁTH-TOKAI in press; Keszthely-Újmajor: KUZSINSZKY 1920, 87.

[45] Unpublished.

[46] VÁGÓ 1977, 98-99, Taf. I/2, 4-6, Taf. II/1, 5-6, 8-9, 11.

[47] CVARR 268, no 1085; GABLER 2003, 81-100 (approx. date 40-120 AD).

[48] CVARR 416 no. 2028; GABLER 2000, 90-94 (approx. date 30/40-80/85 AD).

[49] CVARR 416 no. 2023 (approx. date 30-80 AD).

Fig. 5. Biatorbágy-Kukorica dűlő (Pest County, H). Copper inlaid phalera pendant, Flavian period (after MRÁV 2010, 154 fig. 3)

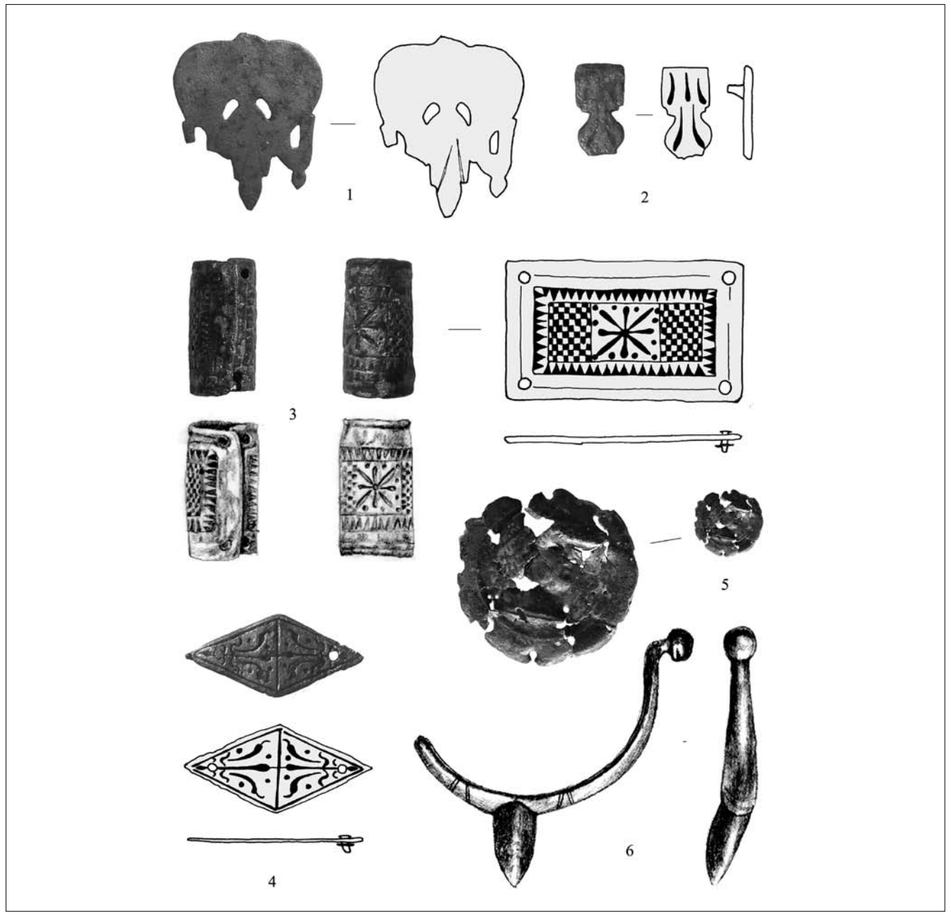


Fig. 4. Budaörs-Kamaraerdei dűlő (Pest County, H), early militaria from the vicus. 1. phalera pendant (Bishop 1988, type 1), - 2. fragment of a junction loop with niello inlay, - 3. military belt plate with niello inlaid decoration, - 4. copper alloy rhomboid sheet with niello inlay; - 5. stamped bronze disc with the bust of a man, - 6. bronze spur

Fig. 6. Budapest, District XXII - Nagytétény. Early Roman native cemetery (aerial photo) and the weapons from a grave (feature no. 666) (after: ZSIDI [ed.] 2009, 111 cat. 294-298)

probably dates to the Flavian period (*Fig. 17/2*). A good parallel of it is known from Flavian grave 422 in the western cemetery in Poetovio[50] and from a well in Vindobona.[51] Iron object no. 19 on *Fig. 17* can be identified as an ignition implement, which occur in Roman and Germanic contexts as well.[52]

Turning to typochronology in greater detail, the weaponry and gear from this grave deserve special attention. The deceased was accompanied by almost his entire set of weaponry, but without his richly decorated more expensive helmet and riding gear, which were the main symbols of the cavalry.[53]

The substantially complete sword from Cserszegtomaj is atypical because it can be defined as some kind of a combination of a Roman gladius and an early spatha of the Newstead variant of Straubing-Nyda type (*Fig. 18*).[54] Moreover, it also displays some non-Roman influences. Thanks to these characteristics, the Cserszegtomaj sword could be typologically interpreted as a new type of semi-spatha. Its straight blade is quite long and narrow with rhombic cross-section that gradually narrows toward the tip. The transition from tang to blade is not slanted as on a typical late La Tène sword but rather perpendicular. Another feature of the sword is the long pointed, only slightly defined triangular tip of the blade. The rhomboid sectioned strong tip can be recognised on the photograph, derived from Roman gladii and optimised as it was for inflicting puncture wounds. Its total length is unknown, but – thanks to the remaining photograph – the dimensions can be roughly calculated based on the proportions of the shield boss and spear heads from the same assemblage. According to this calculation, the sword is equal in length to the cavalry swords with medium long blades. Based on its form, dimensions and typological characteristics – in spite of its gladius-like tip – the sword from Cserszegtomaj corresponds more to an equestrian than an infantry sword. This conclusion and the identification of its last owner as a cavalry-

[50] ISTENIČ 1999, 108-109.

[51] DONAT-PICHLER-SEDLMAYER 2002, 92-93 Taf. 3/3.

[52] For instance from Günzburg: CZYSZ 2007, grave no. 860 Abb. 249/8; Zauschwitz: COBLENZ 1960, 91 Abb. 39.3; Keszthely-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H): SÁGI 1981, 11 Abb. 2/5, 19 Abb. 6/7-8; Aquincum, Bécsi road cemetery grave no. 56: TOPÁL 1993, Pl. 41 grave 56/7.

[53] NICOLAY 2002, 61-62; NICOLAY 2007, 171-173.

[54] MIKS 2007. A similar atypical sword from Vinkovci, Croatia was published in DIZDAR/RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 48-49.

Fig. 7. Budapest, District XXII - Nagytétény, early Roman native cemetery. Cremation grave of an auxiliary cavalryman. - 1. stelae in a ditch, - 2. secondary grave goods in situ, - 3. the stele representing a heroic warrior, - 4. the servant-girl in native costume from a stele (all of them after BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 239-243, Fig. 7-11)

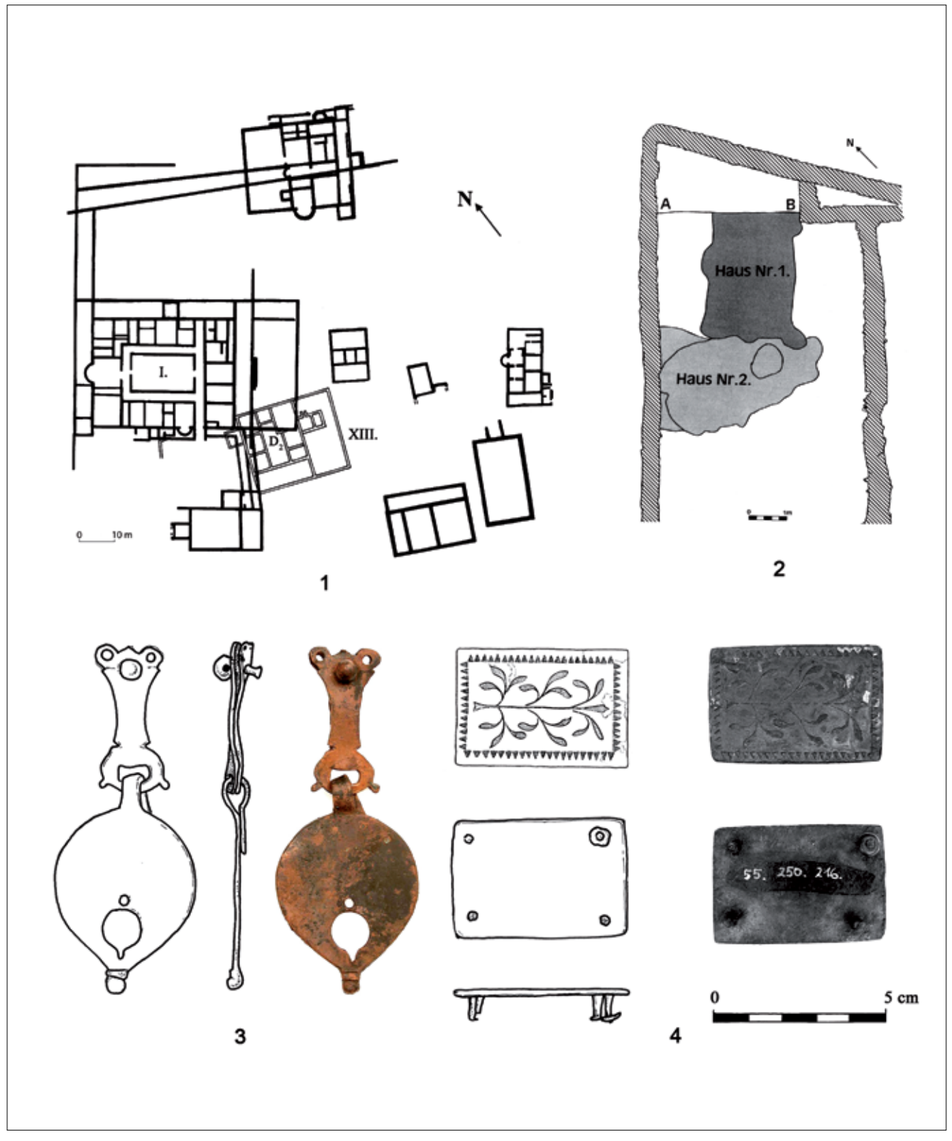


Fig. 9. Nemesvámos-Balácapuszta (Veszprém County, H), 1-2: Semi-subterranean houses of a Flavian veteran settlement under the first villa building no. XIII (after CSIRKE 2005). 3-4: An apron terminal and a niello inlaid belt-plate (after MRÁV 2008)

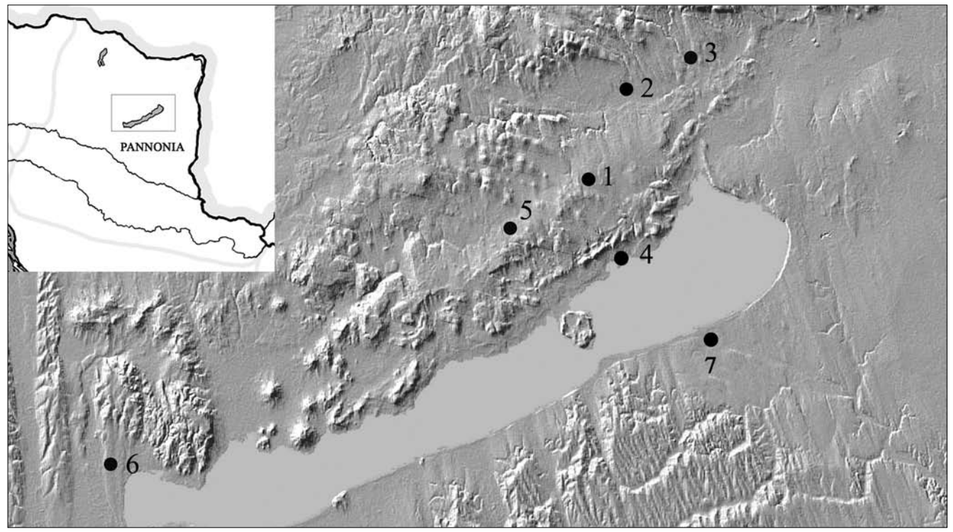


Fig. 8. Map shows the find-sites connected with veterans from the Balaton region. - 1. Nemesvámos-Balácapuszta, - 2. Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek, - 3. Öskü, - 4. Csopak, - 5. Tótvázsony, - 6. Dobogóhill which now administratively belongs to neighbouring Keszthely and Cserszegtomaj, - 7. Siófok (drawing Zs. Mráv)

man is confirmed by the presence of a spur among the buried gear.[55] The non-Roman influenced native imitations and combination of different types of Roman swords are not an unusual feature among the early imperial auxiliary swords. A good example is known from an early first-century grave at Vinkovci, Vrtna street, South-east Pannonia. The short sword published by I. Radman-Livaja and M. Dizdar exhibits the same kind of strange combination of a late Republic or early imperial gladius and a late La Tène sword (*Fig. 19/5*). The tip of it has a muted triangular form like the gladii of Pompeii type. The exact analogy of its combined form and gladius-like tip cannot be found among known cavalry swords. The Cserszegtomaj sword's total dimensions and appearance make it very similar to the semi-spathae from *Aquae Helveticae* (Baden, CH)[56] and Alem (Prov. Geldevland, NL)[57] (*Fig. 19/1 and 2*), but it cannot be stated with certainty whether or not they had a rhomboid tip. The Baden sword as the closest analogy can be dated to the middle or latter half of the first century,[58] which is roughly identical to the date of the Cserszegtomaj grave.

The photograph of the assemblage shows only the middle, arched section of a spur, identifiable based on its prong (*Fig. 17/15*). Because of its fragmentary condition it cannot be determined whether it had an U-shaped or semi-circular shank. The method of its fastening remains unknown as well, because it is uncertain as to whether it terminated in rectangular loops or in out-turned knobs. In any case the straight, short and most likely round sectioned prong date the spur to the first century. It most likely constitutes the type of two iron spurs from Salla (Zalalövő, Zala County, H), which came from the layers of the auxiliary fort in the first century AD (*Fig. 20*).

The dome of the round iron boss presumably had a raised cone (*Fig. 13 and 17/17*). The early Roman standard auxiliary conical shield bosses – in contrast to La Tène examples – are characterised by a sharp angle between the conical part and the straight sides. This feature is also clearly visible in the remaining photograph taken of the boss from Cserszegtomaj. The fragments of a narrow, straight and semi-circular sectioned iron shaft with rounded, dull ends surely belonged to the

[55] Two spurs of the same type come from *Salla* (*Fig. 20*): REDŐ 2003, 14 Fig. 16; REDŐ 2005, 140 Fig. 12.3; and one from Siscia: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 104 no. 391.

[56] MIKS 2007, 539 Cat. no. A33 Taf. 56.

[57] MIKS 2007, 533 Cat. no. 17 Taf. 58.

[58] MIKS 2007, 539 - cf. the swords from Kostolna pri Dunaj (Galanta, SK): MIKS 2007, 638 Cat. no. A377 Taf. 55 and Wymysłowo (Woj. Wielkopolskie, PL): MIKS 2007, 764 Cat. no. A799 Taf. 55.

handgrip of the same shield. The conical shield boss may be associated with the first/second century auxiliary.[59] Several bosses of comparable type are known from first-century contexts, for instance weapon graves of auxiliary soldiers and veterans of mainly Celtic origin from the middle Rhine area, south-eastern Alps and middle Danube region[60].

Besides the semi-spatha and a shield boss, two iron lance heads were also among the weapons in the grave at Cserszegtomaj (*Fig. 13 and 17/21-22*). One of them is a narrow elongated leaf-shaped iron lance head widest in the middle with a slightly pronounced mid-rib. Lance heads with mid-ribs, going back directly to late La Tène examples, appeared during the first century AD. The other identical long lance head representing the Roman standard type had a somewhat longer closed socket and its shorter but slightly wider blade was widest around its lower third, giving it a very different appearance.

The first century weapon graves in Northern Pannonia, including the Cserszegtomaj grave, are among the richest of the area. The North Italian terra sigillata vessels are common and most characteristic grave goods of these early imperial weapon graves.[61] It is generally accepted that in the first century, besides immigrants and the local elite families, only soldiers and veterans were solvent enough to afford expensive imported ceramics.[62] It is interesting to note that the geographically closest analogy to the Cserszegtomaj grave is from tumulus II at Katzelsdorf, north-east Austria, which also yielded at least five Po Valley terra sigillata vessels mainly from the workshop of L. Gellius (*Fig. 24*). This cremation burial of an auxiliary cavalryman dated to the middle decades of the first century were accompanied by a bent cavalry sword and a shield boss with conical dome (see below).

The Cserszegtomaj grave is situated in a native cemetery, suggesting that the deceased was a discharged soldier interred with his take-home weaponry, which had symbolic significance. The question of his ethnicity must be broached, because in the Balaton region auxiliary veterans of different origin – for instance *Treveri, Azali, Ituraei* – were settled, as proven by military diplomas.[63] All this leads to the conclusion that the buried owner of the weapons could be interpreted as a soldier or more probably a veteran from the auxiliary who settled in the immediate western vicinity of Lake Balaton. Here it is worth mentioning an unpublished, rather rich weapon grave from Csopak-Kőkoporsódomb (Veszprém County, H), which lies along the north-eastern shore of Lake Balaton. The grave, found in 1896, yielded four tardo Padana terra sigillata cups of form Consp. 39/43, a jug, four glass vessels which date the burial to the first decades of the second century. The bronze shield boss is characterised by its mid-rib on the dome, belonging to a rare first/second century auxiliary shield boss type, known from the border provinces from Germany to Thrace. The most interesting item from this grave is a silver inlaid bronze belt buckle made in Germania Libera in the Elbe region and worn primarily by the Germanic warrior elite. This richly ornamented belt buckle inspired by the Roman military belt probably served for its owner as a cingulum-buckle (*Fig. 21*).

Keszthely and its surroundings were situated not far from the Amber road, which served as a military road up to the reign of Trajan. Besides the late Tiberio-Claudian legionary fortress of Carnuntum, smaller military stations and auxiliary forts were built along this road at Salla, based on numerous early military finds and at Strebersdorf as well, where three military camps of different size from the Augustan period onward were discovered by a geophysical survey.[64] The first-century, two-phase earth-and-timber auxiliary fort of Salla, today Zalalövő (Zala County, H)[65] was not only the closest fortification, but the River Salla linked it to the Keszthely region as the shortest natural route. Perhaps the decedent in the Cserszegtomaj grave served in a fort built along the Amber road, most probably in Salla.

[59] OESTERWIND 1989, 110-111; NABBEFELD 2008, 45-46.

[60] OESTERWIND 1989, 110-111; H. Sedlmayer in DONAT-PICHLER-SEDLMAYER 2002, 85-86; NABBEFELD 2008, 45-46. Some typical examples from weapon graves: Verdun near Stopičah (SLO), grave no. 1, 41, 84, 112: BREŠČAK 1989, 13; Wederath: WAURICK 1994, 16-20.

[61] MÁRTON 2008, 138.

[62] GABLER 1979, 199-200; MRÁV 2008, 289; MÁRTON 2008, 138.

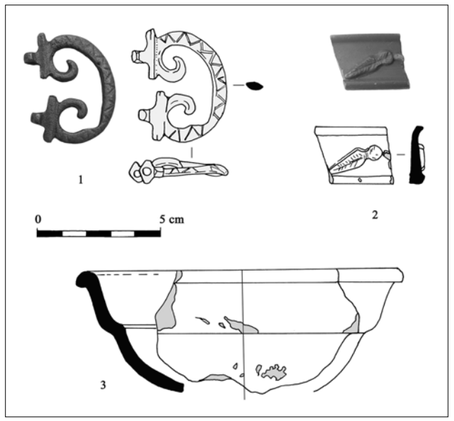
[63] MRÁV 2008, 287; MRÁV-VIDA 2008-2010, 156-158.

[64] GROH 2009, 175-187.

[65] REDŐ et al. 1981, 282-286; REDŐ 2003, 5-12; REDŐ 2005, 133-144.

Fig. 10. Gyulafirátót-Pogánytelek (Veszprém County, H). Peltate belt buckle of a cingulum and first-century terra sigillata finds from the territory of the later villa-settlement (drawing Zs. Mráv)

Fig. 11. The west Balaton region with the mouth of the River Sala/Zala, H. Early Roman sites and the location of the cemetery at Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Keszthely, Balaton Múzeum). - 1. Alsópáhok, - 2. Hévíz-Egregy, - 3. Keszthely-Dobogó I.,- 4. Keszthely-Dobogó II., - 5. Cserszegtomaj, - 6. Keszthely-Belterület, - 7. Keszthely-Újmajor, - 8. Keszthely-Fenékpuszta I. - 9. Keszthely-Fenékpuszta II. - 10. Sármellék-Égenföld, - 11. Zalavár-Temető, - 12. Zalavár-Bükkössziget. Legends: ● = cemetery; ○ = settlement; ▲ = stray find.



THE NORTHERN SECTION OF THE AMBER ROAD AND ITS BRANCHES

The northern section of the Amber Road between the legionary fortresses of Poetovio and Carnuntum and its branch roads were operational *viae militares* which led towards the central Danube Basin and the neighbouring Germanic kingdoms in the first century (*Fig. 1*). The strategic importance of these roads is clearly illustrated by the strong presence of the Roman army along them.[66] These roads as march and supply routes were controlled by smaller military stations and auxiliary forts generally located at regular intervals, a single day's distance from one another. On the basis of the few available documents, the garrisons of these posts were mainly cavalry units. Not only epigraphic evidence but also components and fittings belonging to early military riding gear from the sites of the military stations testify to this.[67] The road surveillance system was reinforced by numerous legionary and auxiliary veterans settled in rural settlements and urban centres along the roads concerned in first century AD. Besides epigraphic evidence, mainly tomb inscriptions, and finds of military gear, weapon graves are the best indicators of their presence. The three known and, in this context, never analysed weapon graves of discharged auxiliaries from the Northern Amber Road zone (Sankt Georgen, Katzelsdorf and probably Vienna, Hohlweggasse) are also important to a better understanding the occupation system in this particular part of the empire.

[66] UBL 2008a; UBL 2008c, 127-135; MRÁV in press.

[67] MRÁV in press.

SANKT GEORGEN/LAJTASZENTGYÖRGY (BURGENLAND, A), EARLY IMPERIAL WEAPON GRAVES (?) OF AUXILIARY SOLDIERS OR VETERANS

In Sankt Georgen, roughly 18 km north of the Roman city of Scarbantia (*Fig. 1*), what were most likely more graves of an early Roman cemetery were found very close to the Amber road and destroyed during the digging of a cellar in 1918 or 1919. Due to the accidental find circumstances, the precise archaeological context is not known. A part of the collected metal finds were lost during the final phase of World War II in 1945, while another part made its way into the collection of the Burgenlandisches Landesmuseum in Eisenstadt in 1949. The lost objects included a long sword with narrow blade and more spearheads mentioned by their last owner. H. Mitscha-Märheim published the remaining finds in 1952 as a late Roman funerary assemblage and dated them to the end of the fourth and early fifth centuries.[68] More recent analysis proved this dating erroneous. For besides a Roman bronze jug, iron nails and two knives, the remaining material consists of two elongated spearheads and a Mainz-type *gladius* (*Fig. 22*).[69] The closest analogies to the two spearheads are known from grave 1 at the Halimba cemetery (Veszprém County, H). The decedent in this grave died around the end of first or beginning of the second century was most likely a former soldier, because a polygonal socketed catapult bolt or light javelin head with pyramidal ending was part the burial inventory (*Fig. 23*).[70] The Sankt Georgen gladius has close associations with the Roman army. The mysterious fragmentary object no. 7 on *Fig. 22* is particularly noteworthy. It was misinterpreted as a scabbard chape of unique type not only by the first to publish it, H. Mitscha-Märheim,[71] but recently by Ch. Miks as well.[72] In spite of their view, it may be attributed with certainty to the Germanic belt buckles of Madyda-Legutko A/8 type. According to R. Madyda-Legutko's typochronology, belt buckles of this type were produced in Germania Libera in the B1b period.[73] It is conspicuous that this date corresponds to the Mainz-type gladius, because both of them can be dated to the first half of first century AD. Based on their similar dating, it cannot be excluded that the belt with Germanic belt buckle served as a military belt for that auxiliary soldier who owned the sword itself. The Roman-Germanic mixed auxiliary equipment and weaponry were not exceptional among the soldiers stationed in Pannonia and elsewhere.[74] Like the Sankt Georgen assemblage, this mixed equipment often contained Germanic belt components (Csopak-Kőkoporsódomb [Veszprém County, H] [*Fig. 21*],[75] Inota tumulus 1 [Veszprém County, H][76]). Additionally, the surface of every iron object was covered by so-called iron scale caused by intensive burning (consisting essentially of the magnetic oxide of iron),[77] which means that the finds came from a burial, possibly a cremation rather than inhumation.[78] Of course, without any context the number of graves destroyed cannot be ascertained. It also remains uncertain as to which graves the known objects belonged. The only thing which can be said is that among the graves concerned there was at least one weapon grave of an active or discharged auxiliary infantry soldier and this grave contained the Mainz-type gladius that be dated to the period not later than the second quarter of the first century. The lost long sword of unknown type may have come from yet another burial.

[68] MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 49-54.

[69] ULBERT 1969, 128 Cat. no. 18; MIKS 2007, 733 Cat. no. A 694 Taf. 24.

[70] BÓNIS 1960, 92 grave 1/3-4, Taf. XVIII/2-3. A similar spearhead is known from Vindonissa (Brugg, CH): UNZ-DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 20-21 Cat. no. 247, Taf. 16/247 with further occurrences of the spearhead type.

[71] MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50.

[72] MIKS 2007, 733 Cat. no. A 694 Taf. 24.

[73] MADYDA-LEGUTKO 1986, 5-6.

[74] MRÁV 2006, 55-59.

[75] The funerary assemblage of Csopak-Kőkoporsódomb will be published by this author in the near future. The grave was mentioned by KUZSINSZKY 1920, 174-175.

[76] PALÁGYI 1981, 36 Cat. no. 1.3.15 Taf. IV. 9 – cf. PETCULESCU 1995, 106-107.

[77] MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50.

[78] MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 50, 54.

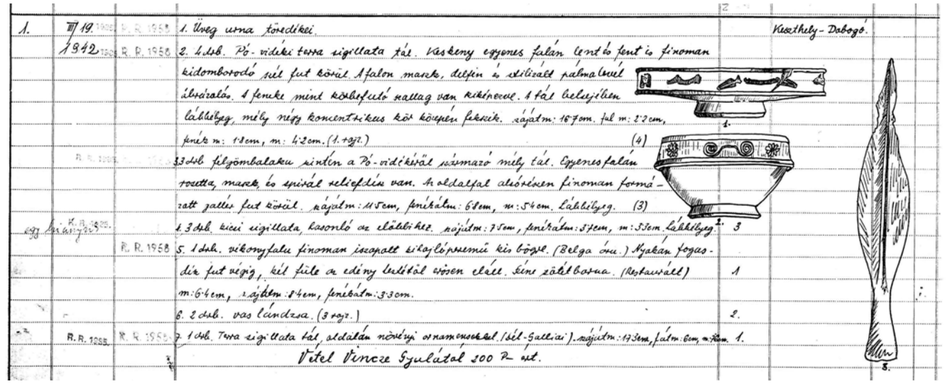


Fig. 12. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H), grave of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman. Finds in the inventory of the Hungarian National Museum.

KATZELSDORF (A), TUMULUS OF A DISCHARGED CAVALRY SOLDIER

A weapon grave that illustrates well the military importance of the Scarbantia-Vindobona military road is noteworthy. This is the second tumulus at Katzelsdorf,[79] approximately 10 km north-west of Mattersburg (*Fig. 1*) which was a possible military station along this road. (This site is the find site of a funerary stele of an active cavalry soldier, Tiberius Claudius Vanamius, who died as a *missicius* of the *ala Hispanorum prima* around the middle of the first century AD.)[80] The inventory of the burial contains at least five Italian terra sigillata vessels produced in the workshop of L. Gellius[81] and Romanus (2),[82] which cannot be dated later than the Claudian period. This cremation burial was accompanied by a bent cavalry sword and a shield boss with conical dome (*Fig. 24*). The triple-looped copper alloy fittings must have been junction loops belonging to a riding harness.[83] These grave goods pointed to the conclusion that the decedent in the Katzelsdorf tumulus II was a mounted auxiliary soldier[84] who served in a fortification located along the inner military roads, most likely in Mattersburg, and settled in the proximity of his former garrison. Because of the long sword and the numerous Italian terra sigillata vessels, this grave is the closest analogy to the Cserszegtomaj auxiliary soldier's grave.

[79] URBAN 1984, 81-85 Abb. 10-15.

[80] CIL III 4244; CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 12 Nr. 6; LŐRINCZ 1996, 74; LŐRINCZ 2001, 195 Nr. 123.

[81] CVARR 234-237 no. 879 - cf. GABLER 1979, 207-210; ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER 1982, 105-115.

[82] CVARR 368 no. 1714 (1 - 20+ A.D.).

[83] URBAN 1984, 84 cat. no. 21-23, Abb 15/21-23.

[84] MÁRTON 2002, 135; MRÁV 2006, 52-53 Abb. 16.

VIENNA, THIRD DISTRICT, HOHLWEGGASSE 15

Having recognized the strategic importance of the Vienna Basin and the Danube section west of Carnuntum, the Romans built an auxiliary fort at Vindobona (Vienna, A) at the terminal point of the western branch road of the Amber route (*Fig. 1*). This occurred fairly late, in the case of Vindobona only in the early Flavian[85] or the Domitian period at the latest,[86] in order to secure the western wing of the legion stationed at Carnuntum. According to the early tombstone of C. Atius from Vienna,[87] it is not entirely excluded that the *legio XV Apollinaris* or its detachment was already garrisoned in Vindobona in the Tiberian period, as suggested by M. Mosser.[88] Some pre-Flavian finds from the inner city of Vienna demonstrate the existence of a settlement or a possible military outpost in the occupation period.[89] The mid-first century presence of auxiliaries in Vienna is also demonstrated by a weapon grave discovered in the Third District, 15 Hohlweggasse, in 1902. The assemblage was first noted in brief reports by J. Nowalski de Lilia and F. von Kenner, and it was republished by H. Sedlmayer in 2002. During the 1902 earthworks, two spearheads and a shield-boss of Zieling type H1

[85] LŐRINCZ 2001, 62.

[86] MOSSER 2005, 143-151.

[87] CIL III 4570 - cf. MOSSER 2002, 102-126; MOSSER 2003, 248-249 Nr. 159.

[88] MOSSER 2002, 102-126; MOSSER 2003, 44-45; MOSSER 2005, 142-143.

[89] KRONBERGER 2006, 87.

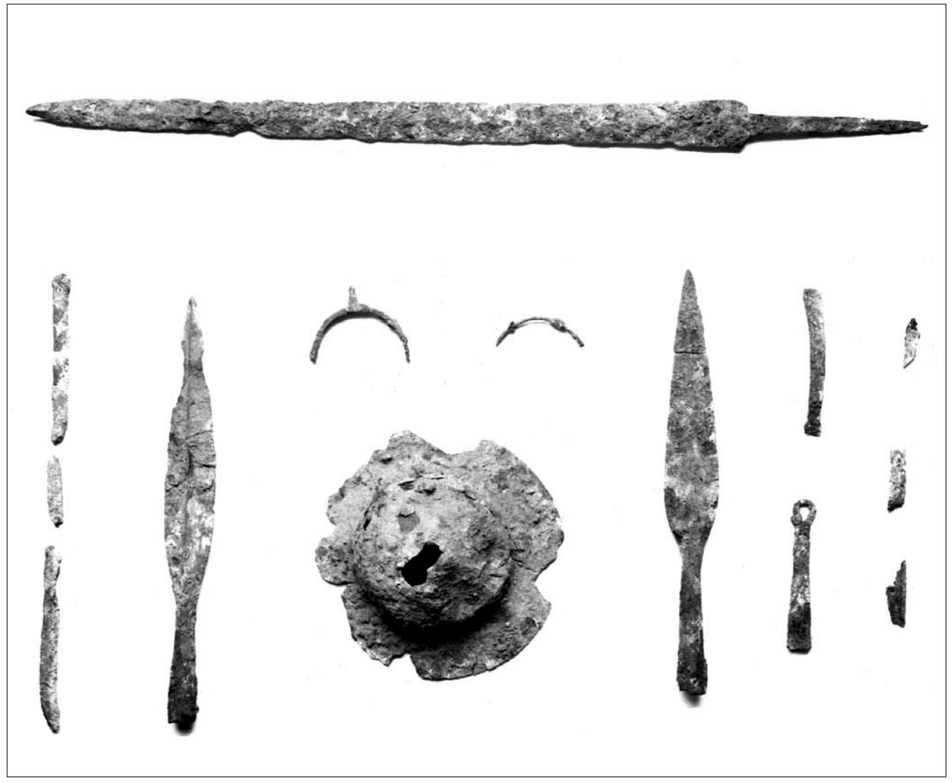


Fig. 13. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H). Weaponry from the grave of a discharged auxiliary cavalryman. Photo from the Archaeological Archives of the Hungarian National Museum

were found (*Fig. 25*) together with human and horse (?) skeletons in a pit under a barrow. The spearhead with upstanding mid-rib and long closed socket attached to a thin blade represents a late La Tène type. It strongly resembles one of the spearheads from the Cserszegtomaj grave (*Fig. 13 and 17/22*). The other, fragmentary spearhead may have been an example of the Roman type. Although the conical domed shield-boss is non-Roman in character, it was presumably used not only by natives and free Germans but auxiliaries as well.[90] Indeed, the date and the composition of the weaponry from the Vienna grave by itself might suggest that the deceased was a warrior of Germanic or (local?) Celtic origin who served as an auxiliary. The grave was dated to the first half or middle of the first century AD by H. Sedlmayer. This weapon grave and the gravestone of C. Atius serve as the basis for the assumption of the early military control of the Vienna Basin.[91]

[90] FEUGÈRE 1993, 94-95; WAURICK 1994, 4-5

[91] H. Sedlmayer in DONAT-PICHLER-SEDLMAYER 2002, 83-86 Abb. 5-7; KRONBERGER 2006, 86-87.

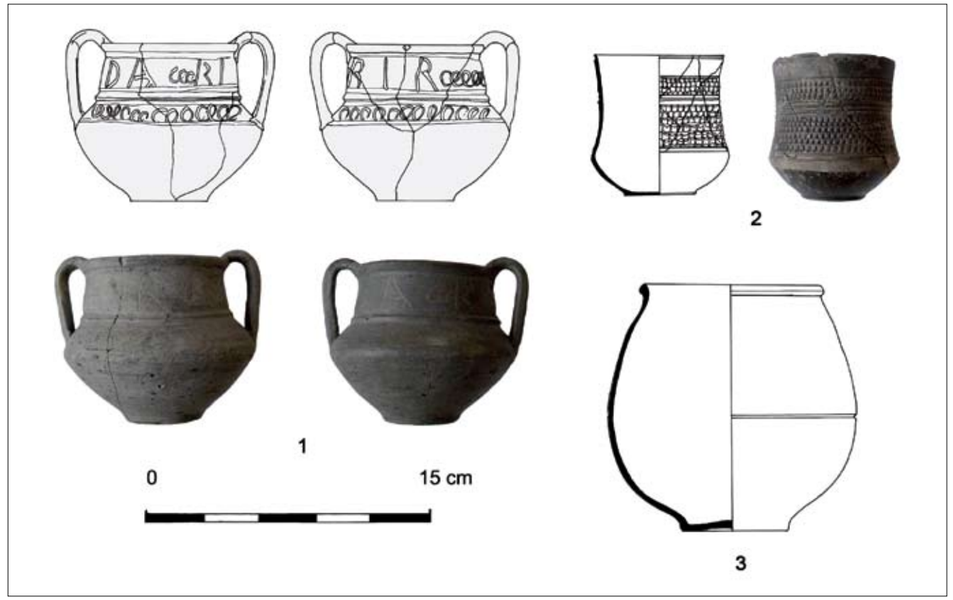


Fig. 14. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H), early Roman cemetery. Grave no. 12 (after SZÁNTÓ 1953, drawn by Zs. Mráv)

ON THE PROBLEM OF EARLY MILITARIA FROM LATER GRAVES

Although some graves contained early military equipment and riding gear fittings, these finds definitely cannot be interpreted as the grave goods from first-century 'military' graves due to chronological problems. For instance, a fragmentary open-work saddle plate of Bishop 1988 type 6 was found in 1907 in grave no. VII/11 at Intercisa (Dunaújváros, Fejér County, H)[92] which can undoubtedly be dated to the third century AD.[93] The saddle plate fragment probably ended up in the grave fill accidentally, or it was buried as a mysterious or reused object. The appearance of a first-century junction loop of Bishop 1988 type 2a in a late Roman grave (no. 1357) made from tiles, also at the *Intercisa* southern cemetery,[94] can be explained similarly (*Fig. 26*).[95]

The interpretation of the niello inlaid and silver plated small phalera of Bishop 1988 type 1 from a funerary assemblage in *Brigetio* (Komárom-Szőny, Komárom-Esztergom County, H)[96] is not so clear (*Fig. 27*). The grave can be dated by an intact terra sigillata vessel from Drag. 31, bearing the stamp SEDATI · M, to the period not earlier than the fourth/fifth decades of the second century.[97] The phalera was buried without its pendant, which was broken down previously. That is why it cannot be used to decide whether the fragmentary phalera was the interred *memorabilia* of a deceased veteran discharged at the beginning of the second century at the latest, or only an object (a thing found?) without any meaning.

[92] RADNÓTI 1957, 230, 234 Taf. 47/20 - cf. CSEH-PROHÁSZKA 2007, 542.

[93] SÁGI 1957, 572.

[94] VÁGÓ - BÓNA 1976, 119 grave no. 1357, Taf. 28/1357.

[95] A trifid pendant from *Lauriacum* (Lorch/Enns, A) was also found in a late Roman grave: KLOIBER 1957, 88; Taf. 53, 7a-b.

[96] Kuny Domokos Museum, Tata (Komárom-Esztergom County, H), Kállay Collection, inv. no. K621/a-d.

[97] The terra sigillata vessels of Sedatus were produced at around 130-150 AD: GABLER - MÁRTON 2009, 277.

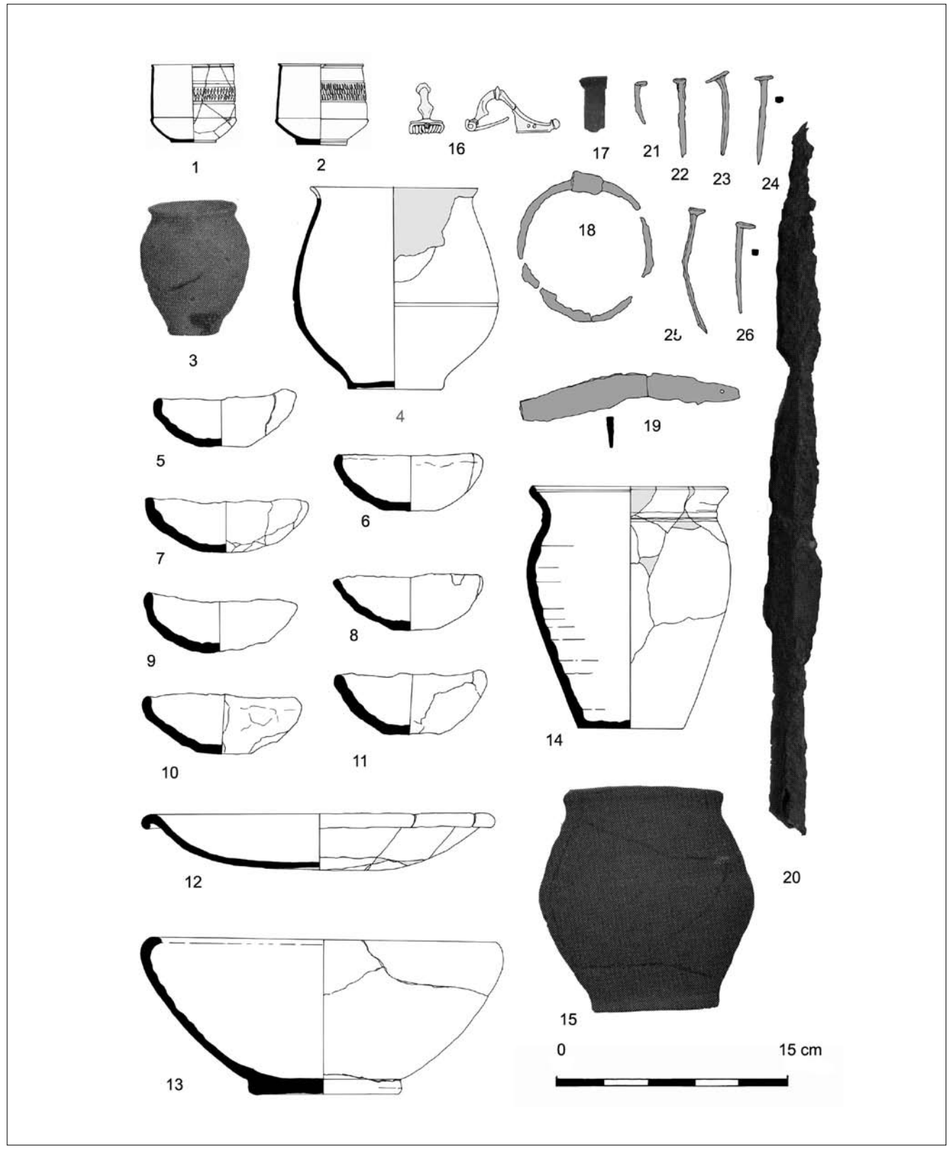


Fig. 15. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogódomb (Zala County, H) early Roman cemetery. Grave 24 (after SZÁNTÓ 1953, drawn by Zs. Mráv)

Fig. 16. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H). A thin-walled North Italian drinking cup and terra sigillata vessels produced in Po Valley and South Gaulish workshops from an auxiliary soldier's grave (photo J. Kardos)

CONCLUSIONS

Briefly summing up the preliminary results of my contribution, it is obviously clear that the first-century weapon graves of auxiliary soldiers and veterans are relatively rare in North Pannonia. Their small number shows how few early weapon graves from this region were found. The six known grave finds are concentrated in three main regions. No such funerary assemblage has yet been documented from the other part of Northern Pannonia. I have to underlined the fact that none of the known finds come from direct military context, i.e. from military cemetery of a castellum or a military station. The weapon graves concerned can be linked to cemeteries in rural settlements in each case. These settlements were often situated in the narrower or wider vicinity of a garrison or in a region of military importance, for instance in the geographical area of the Amber Road. (This is true with regard to the south Pannonian early weapon graves as well.) Although the native cemetery at the periphery of Nagytétény (District XXII, Budapest) lies very close to the auxiliary fort of Campona, located in the centre of Nagytétény,[98] a direct connection between the two graves of auxiliaries could not be made because there was a chronological distinction between them.[99] The graves can be dated at the latest to the early Flavian period, while the Campona auxiliary fort was built 2.5 km farther north of the cemetery around the end of first or beginning of the second century.[100] All this leads us to conclude that the deceased buried with their own weaponry were returning veterans or former soldiers of foreign origin settled in North Pannonia after completing their term of service.

A chronological analysis of the graves in the research region and period indicated that all of them can be dated after the arrival of the Roman army to the area north of the River Drava, i.e., after the fourth/fifth decade of the first century AD. The weapon graves of Sankt Georgen and Katzelsdorf, both from the territory of Scarbantia, are certainly pre-Flavian, like the gravestones of auxiliary soldiers and veterans from the same area (Mattersburg, Walbersdorf, Peresznye).[101]

[98] For the most recent discussion of the auxiliary fort at Campona with further literature: KOCSIS 2003, 106-108.

[99] BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 247.

[100] On the date of the first castellum at Campona, see: LÖRINCZ 2001, 26, 68 - cf. GABLER 1997, 90.

[101] The tombstones of active and former soldiers from Mattersburg: CIL III 4244; CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 12 Nr. 6; LÖRINCZ 1996, 74; LÖRINCZ 2001, 195 Nr. 123; Peresznye: RIU 215-217 and Walbersdorf: BELLA 1901, 68; CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 13-14 Nr. 9; BELLA 1905, 418; CSIR Österreich Bd. I/5, 15-16 Nr. 13.

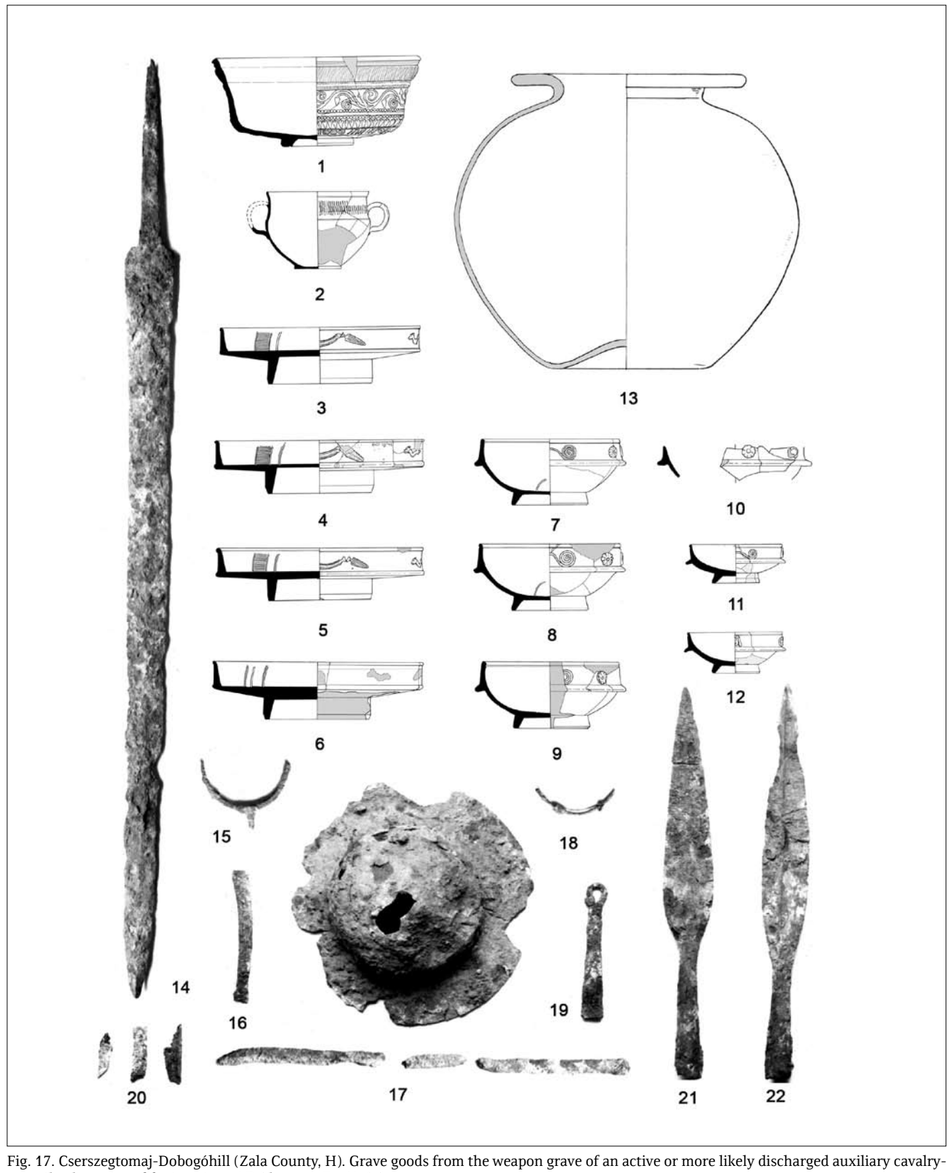


Fig. 17. Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H). Grave goods from the weapon grave of an active or more likely discharged auxiliary cavalryman, third quarter of first century AD (drawing Zs. Mráv)

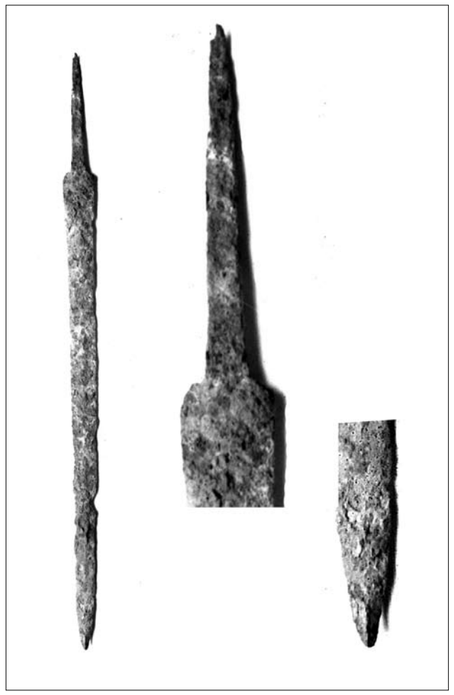


Fig. 18. Semi-spatha from the Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H) grave of an active or more likely discharged auxiliary cavalryman

The former grave with a Mainz-type *gladius*, possibly together with a Germanic belt buckle from the B1b period (*Fig. 22*), and the latter with terra sigillata vessels from the workshops of L. Gellius and Romanus, both date to the mid-first century or somewhat earlier (*Fig.* 24). Moreover, it is likely that the deceased warrior in the Vienna grave was buried in the same period, but in my opinion the weaponry itself allows for a later dating as well. The last burial during the research period would have been the Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill grave containing mainly early Flavian imported pottery, among them not only a Po Valley terra sigillata vessel set but a *panna* of form Drag. 29 manufactured in La-Graufesenque. On the basis of this imported material, the grave can be dated to the third quarter of the first century AD.

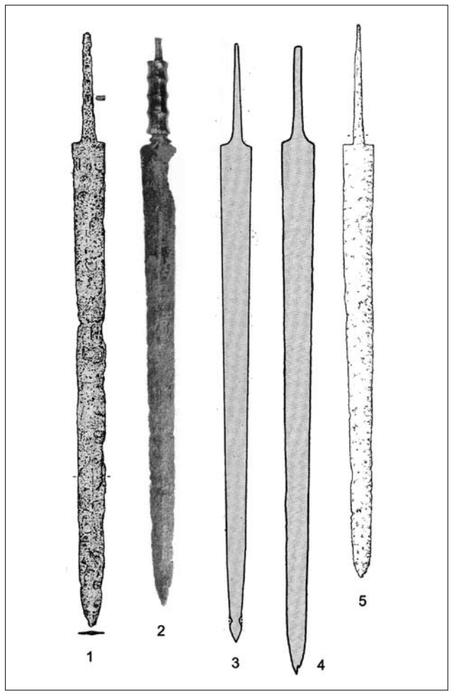


Fig. 19. Analogies to the semi-spatha from the Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill (Zala County, H) grave. - 1. *Aquae Helveticae* (Baden, CH), - 2. Alem (Prov. Geldevland, NL), - 3. Kostolna pri Dunaj (Galanta, SK), - 4. Wymysłowo (Woj. Wielkopolskie, PL), - 5. Vinkovci, Vrtna street (Croatia)

In contrast to several South Pannonian and Posočje region graves dated mainly to the Augustan period (for instance Idrija pri Bači grave no. 17,[102] Verdun near Stopičah grave no. 1 and 41),[103] none of the known funerary assemblages north of the River Drava yielded a helmet, which was the most expensive gear component. Among the deposited weapons, two graves (Katzelsdorf, tumulus II and Cserszegtomaj) contained long swords, which obviously means that their owners were cavalry soldiers. The single spur of the Cserszegtomaj grave also supports this view. The gladii were found in Nagytétény (Budapest, District XXII) and Sankt Georgen (Burgenland, A) clearly show that former auxiliary infantry soldiers were buried in these graves. The interred weaponry characteristically consists of native

[102] GUŠTIN 1991, 16, 117-119 Taf. 15-17.

[103] BREŠČAK 1989, 1, 10; BREŠČAK 1990, 102; BREŠČAK 1995, 18; MRÁV 2006, 51.

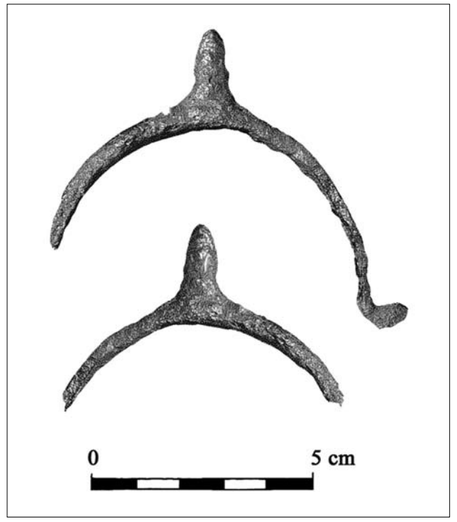


Fig. 20. Two spurs from the first century earth-and-timber auxiliary fort (after Redő 2003, 14 Fig. 16)

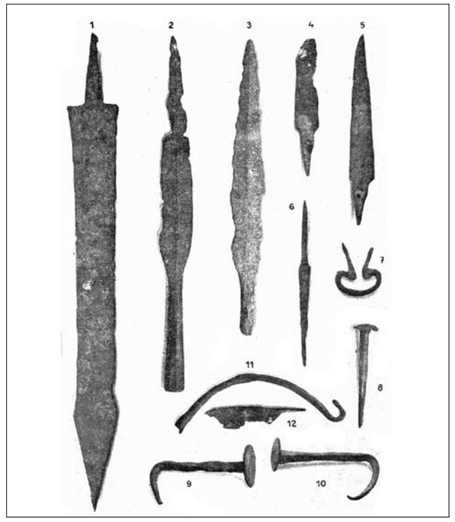


Fig. 22. Sankt Georgen/Lajtaszentgyörgy (Burgenland, A), finds from early imperial weapon graves with a Mainz-type *gladius* (after MITSCHA-MÄRHEIM 1952, 52 Abb. 2)

Fig. 21. Csopak-Kökoporsódomb (Veszprém County, H), weapon grave, first decades of the second century AD (after MRÁV in press)

Fig. 23. Halimba (Veszprém County, H), weapon grave, end of first/beginning of second century AD (after BÓNIS 1960, Taf. XVIII)

weapons or imitations of Roman examples. The only exception is the Mainz-type sword from the Sankt Georgen assemblage which can be identified as a Roman gladius. The most interesting item is the atypical Cserszegtomaj sword representing a semi-spatha of new type. This medium long sword is a combination of a gladius and an early spatha of Staubing-Nyda type. Three graves yielded shield-bosses that can be classified as a native conical domed type. In a few instances it is apparent that the two buried spear(head)s formed a set which was a combination of a Roman and a native spear (Cserszegtomaj-Dobogóhill; Vienna, Hohlweggasse).

The person buried in the grave containing a bent sword and a dented shield boss at Nagytétény (Budapest, District XXII) (feature no. 666 - *Fig. 6*) must have been a soldier of foreign origin, because the deposition of weapons and the damaged grave goods were unusual among the local Eraviscan burials in the first century and later. The possibility that he was a soldier of west or south Pannonian origin cannot be discounted either, as the ritual destruction of weapons was widespread there. Bent and broken items among the interred weapons were also common in the Rhine region. Evidently, the decedent in the funerary enclosure with stelae in the same cemetery (*Fig. 7*) was most likely an auxiliary of local origin because the horse burial, the lack of any deposited weapons, the intact, secondary grave goods[104] as well as the relief stele representing a servant-girl in local native costume[105] are characteristic of the Eraviscans. The deceased in grave 2 under the Katzelsdorf tumulus II would have been a soldier

[104] ALFÖLDY 1959-1960, 6-7.

[105] BESZÉDES-SZILAS 2007, 242 Fig. 10.

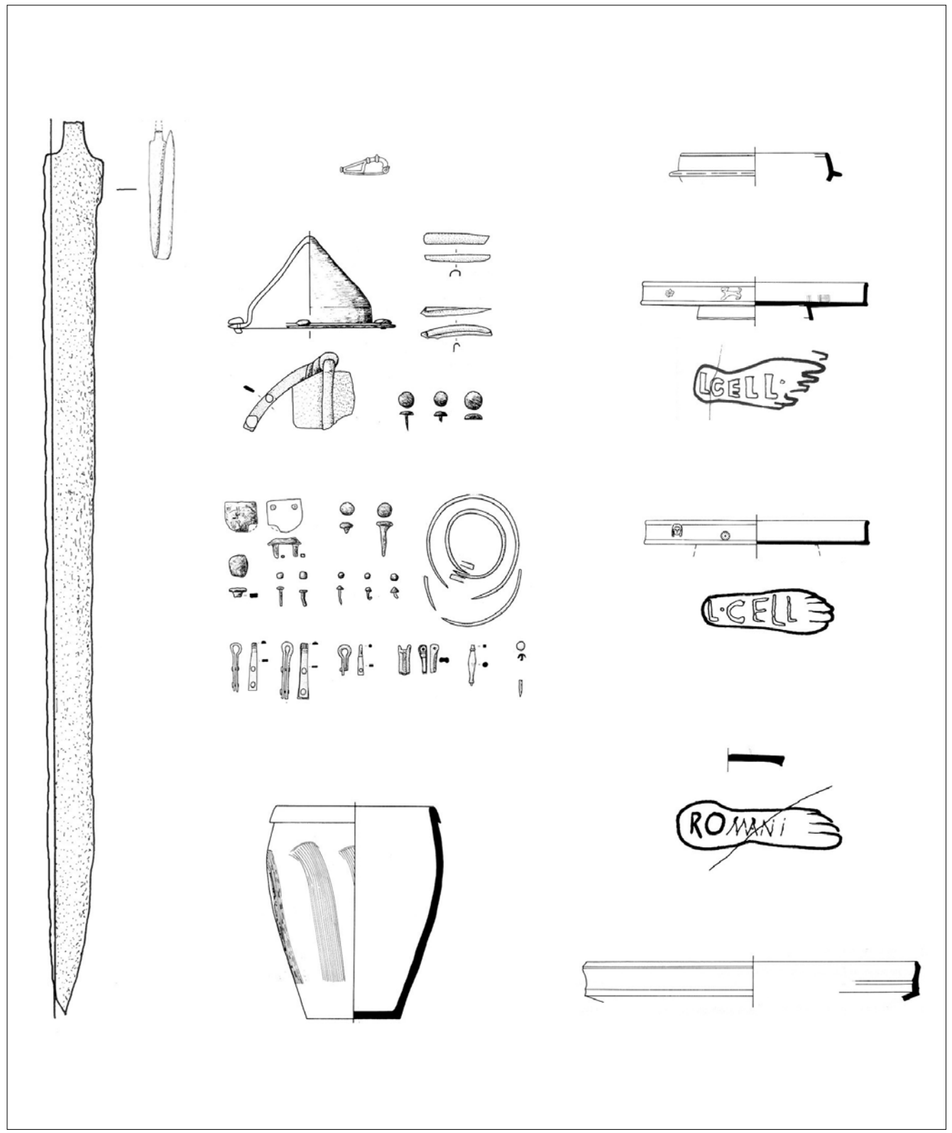


Fig. 24. Katzelsdorf (Niederösterreich, A). Weapon grave of an auxiliary cavalryman, second quarter of the first century AD (after URBAN 1984 and MRÁV 2006, 52 Fig. 16)

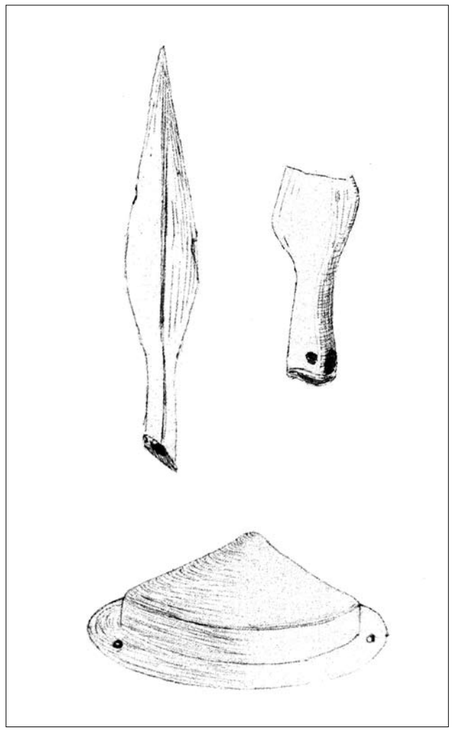


Fig. 25. Vindobona (Vienna, Third District, Hohlweggasse 15). Weapons from a tumulus grave of an auxiliary veteran, which contained a human and horse skeleton as well (after DONAT-PICHLER-SEDLMAYER 2002, 86 Fig. 7)

or most likely a returning veteran of local Boian origin, who was buried according to their own native traditions under a barrow.

Discharged soldiers who settled in the border provinces as Roman citizens became loyal supporters of Roman rule and the most important mediators of Roman culture. They formed the wealthy middle class of the local society and they emerged from their native communities not only as Roman citizens, but also by means of their veteran privileges. The most spectacular symbols of their distinguished status were their own former weaponry and military equipment retained as memorabilia. In the case of some active and former soldiers, these were deposited in their graves.

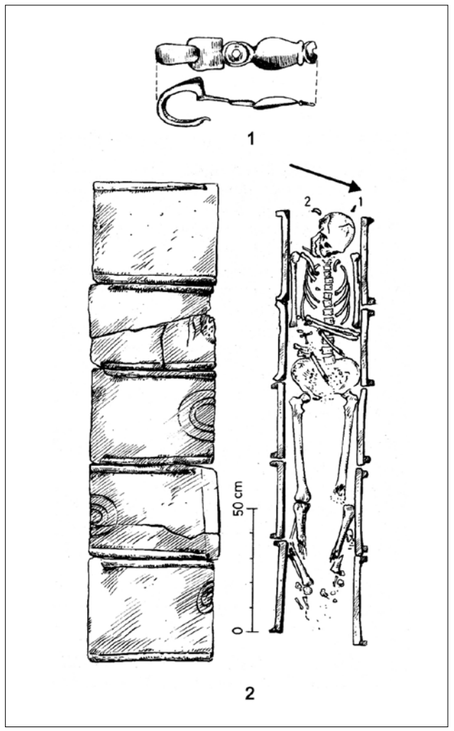


Fig. 26. Intercisa (Dunaújváros, Fejér County, H). First-century junction loop from a late Roman grave, no. 1357 (after VÁGÓ-BÓNA 1976, 119 Abb. 153 and Taf. 28/1357)

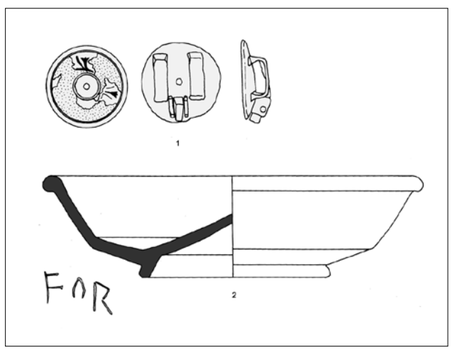


Fig. 27. Brigetio (Komárom-Szőny, Komárom-Esztergom County, H). Inventory of a cremation grave with a niello inlaid phalera, middle decades of the second century AD (Kuny Domokos Museum, Tata, drawing by Zs. Mráv)

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SOLDIER BURIALS WITH WEAPONS AT VIMINACIUM CEMETERY

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INTRODUCTION

Viminacium, a city which later became the capital of Moesia Superior, and the legionary camp of *legio* VII *Claudia* near the city existed for over 400 years in continuity. Systematic research into Viminacium's cemeteries has revealed more than 14,000 graves and facilitated comprehensive analysis of burial customs during Roman period (Fig. 1). Until now not a single part of the entire cemetery could be identified and interpreted as legionary in character, although large areas around the urban zone have been excavated. There was a long-standing burial tradition which included weapons as grave goods. The pre-Roman population consisted of the Celtic Scordisci tribe, whose weapons-related customs were confirmed in a number of graves discovered at the Pećine site. During the Migration Period, Germanic tribes brought rites which included placing weapons in graves.

Archaeologists generally agree that placing weapons in graves was not a common practice although some exceptions exist throughout the imperial period (Bishop-Coulston 2006, 33-34). These examples are found both in Roman and Romanized contexts, and can also be found in regions under Roman influence.

Legionary soldiers (predominantly members of *legio* VII *Claudia* and *legio* IV *Flavia*) left numerous traces in all segments of life as a part of the active population. The practice of burials without weapons was generally respected, except in several cases which could be interpreted as soldiers' graves with weapons as burial inventory. Among the thousands of excavated graves this small number is almost insignificant.

Generally, most of the graves interpreted as being those of soldiers have belts as their inventory.[1] Some are interpreted as soldiers based on fibulae or certain other finds. Therefore, we can accept that weapons were not placed in graves as a common burial custom.

WEAPONS INVENTORY IN GRAVES

Daggers, spears and arrowheads account for the highest number of weapon finds. Knife and dagger finds are discussed in the paper by M. Korać and S. Golubović (in this same volume). Overall, arrowheads are the most common weapon finds in graves at Viminacium. Some graves with arrowheads, when observed in their full context with other finds, were excluded, especially if they were women's graves. The reason for this

was that arrowheads could be interpreted not as burial inventory, but the cause of death. When a person was cremated, these arrowheads could be mistakenly interpreted as a component of the grave inventoy together with the bodily remains and other regular and burnt grave goods from an *ustrinum*. To some extent, this could be also the case with men's graves.

In skeletal burials arrowheads would be normally treated as grave inventory unless found within the human bodily remains. Grave G-152 from the Pirivoj site is one of the examples in which two wounds inflicted by arrows and one by a sword were recognized on the bones. An arrowhead was still plunged into the femur when the skeleton was uncovered.[2] Although this grave had no other finds except the arrow in the femur, the deceased was designated a soldier based on stress markers on the bones typical for prolonged wearing of armor. Unfortunately this was the only arrowhead found in a Roman skeletal grave.

Spears are the next highest in the number of weapons in the inventory. Finally, only one sword and shield complete the list of weapon finds.

GRAVE TYPES WITH WEAPONS INVENTORY

There are few grave types with weapons as burial inventory.

The first grave type is Mala Kopašnica-Sase (Fig. 2). These graves are a typical form of cremation graves from the first to third centuries, and they have their origins in the burials of local indigenous populations in the eastern Balkans.

Weapons were found in two well graves. In spite of endless discussions as to whether these are graves, sacrificial pits or something else, we decided to mention some of them in this paper. G_1-263 has two arrowheads in its inventory and possibly a spearhead in a pile of heavily corroded objects. This well is treated as a grave since cremated human bones were discovered mainly at a depth of 1.65 m but also at lower depths. The well designated as G_1-70 contained a fragmented, heavily corroded spearhead, but no human bones were found in this well.[3]

INHUMATION BURIALS

Pećine G-2427 – Burial beneath a shield (Fig. 3)[4]

Probably the most interesting grave among the soldiers at Viminacium is G-2427[5] (Fig. 3). This inhumation burial is the only example of body lying beneath a shield. The deceased was placed on his back, with hands laid alongside the body. The legs were bent at the knees. The length of the entire grave was 1.3 m. The body's orientation was SW-NE. The grave was damaged by G-2426 in the north-west section. The shield covered the head, torso and legs to the knees.

The shield was the only item in the grave. Only the iron shield binding was preserved. It is notable that there was no umbo (boss) on the shield. The height of the shield was 101 cm, the width in the middle was 55 cm, the width in the upper part 49 cm and in the lower part 42 cm. Also, the curved shape of the shield was not the same in upper and lower sections. The height of the curve was 19 cm in the upper and 10 cm in the lower section. The shield binding consists of straps that are 1.8 cm wide and 2-3 mm thick. Very small wooden fragments were still preserved between the straps and nails. The nails were positioned every 10-15 cm around the shield binding.

There are no elements to date this burial.

Više grobalja G-443[6]

The body of the deceased was laid in a simple pit. The grave was badly damaged by earthworks at the time of discovery. The skeleton was scattered, so there is no precise information on the position of the finds. A spearhead and bronze grommet were attributed to this grave as they were found among the bones (Fig. 4). There were no elements for dating.

[1] Belts and burials with belts at Viminacaium will be analyzed in separate studies. Somes of these from the eastern cemetery in Viminacium were already published in a text by S. Redžić (REDŽIĆ 2010). All belts from the Viminacium cemeteries are included in Saša Redžić's Ph.D. dissertation and therefore not mentioned in this paper.

[2] GOLUBOVIĆ-MRĐIĆ 2010.

[3] GOLUBOVIĆ 2008.

[4] Unpublished, Viminacium Project, field documentation.

[5] We are grateful to Snežana Golubović, Ph.D., who managed to find virtually lost photographs from this campaign, including those published in this text.

CREMATION BURIALS

Kod Bresta G_1-20 (Fig. 5)[7]

Rectangular grave pit with charred sides (148 x 75 cm) and numerous lumps of burnt soil, ash and charcoal. The grave pit was damaged by earthworks.

Grave inventory: spearhead (1); bone pendant (2); iron and bronze items (3); heart-shaped pendant, probably part of a riding harness (4) – several analogies can be found at other sites in Serbia;[8] the bronze pendant was probably a component of riding gear (5) – a similar find can be seen in the Belgrade City Museum, 3281/III[9]; iron key (6); iron tools (7); fragments of 3 glass balsamaria (8).

Pećine G_1-91 (Fig. 6)[10]

Leveled grave pit, partially damaged by a later skeletal grave. Remains of the deceased were severely cremated.

Grave inventory: socketed arrowhead (1); clay oil lamp – Firmalampen type (sketch not found in the documentation);[11] coin of Antoninus Pius (2); 4 bone chips (3); bronze pendant with enamel and button (4); iron decorative button (5).

Pećine G_1-329 (Fig. 7)[12]

Leveled grave pit with charred sides.

Grave inventory: socketed arrowhead (1); jug (2); jug (3).

Pećine G_1-579 (Fig. 8)[13]

Rectangular grave pit with charred sides.

Grave inventory: socketed arrowhead (1); amulet box (2), large pot (3); fragmented knife blade (4).

[6] KORAĆ - GOLUBOVIĆ 2009, 365.

[7] Unpublished, Viminacium Project, field documentation.

[8] VUJOVIĆ 1998, 152

[9] VUJOVIĆ 1998, 152

[10] Unpublished, Viminacium Project, field documentation.

[11] Item is probably in the Požarevac Museum, but it is inaccessable to us.

[12] Unpublished, Viminacium Project, field documentation.

[13] Unpublished, Viminacium Project, field documentation.

Više grobalja G_1-58 (Fig. 9)[14]

The grave was discovered in October 1978 at a depth of 1.7 m. This is a leveled grave with charred sides with maximum dimensions of 2.30 x 1.20 m (first level). The grave pit was covered with wooden planks, of which scarce remains were found along the northern and southern edge. Severely cremated human remains were found at a lower level. The preliminary anthropological report at the time of excavation designate these remains as that of an approximately 40 year-old man. The grave is generally dated into the second century.

Grave inventory: iron sword (1); iron dagger (2); bronze belt fittings (3); bronze grommet (4); decorative bronze application (5); red fired bowl (6); bronze coin generally dated into the second century (7); fragmented clay lamp (with stamp reading FORTIS – Firmalampen) (8).

A fragmented hard-fired red ware bowl was found by the northern side of the first level. By the bowl a bronze coin, the remains of a belt and bronze ring were found. The corroded remains of a sword were discovered on the inner edge of the northern upper level.[15] Part of the sword fell down to the lower level where it was found. A sword pommel is shaped like the grommet. The lower part of the scabbard was also found. Next to the sword a bronze application, possibly part of the scabbard, was laid. Right below it a dagger was found. Small pieces of bronze sheets were discovered by the sword and dagger, possibly belonging to the scabbard of either.

Više grobalja G_1-161 (Fig. 10)[16]

A leveled grave with charred sides partialy damaged by later graves. At the lower level, the bones of almost the entire skeleton were found, poorly cremated. Antropological analysis conducted at the time of discovery

[14] ZOTOVIĆ-JORDOVIĆ 1990, 84.

[15] This sword is known only by the poor description in the field documentation. When the authors published this grave in Viminacium - Više grobalja I, the sword was completely omitted. The reason remains unknown to these authors. It can be only assumed that its poor state and rapid deterioration, and the fact that it was burned at the *ustrinum* with the deceased left almost nothing to conserve and present. It is mentioned in all three parts of the field documentation: small finds inventory (C-cards), grave files (G-cards) and field journal. No photograph nor sketch are available, and probably do not exist.

[16] ZOTOVIĆ-JORDOVIĆ 1990, 95.

designated these remains as a man up to 40 years of age. The entire inventory from the grave was heavily damaged by fire at the *ustrinum*. The *terminus ante quem* is marked by a later grave from the Hadrianic period, which damaged this grave.

Grave inventory: spearhead, badly damaged and deformed, only part of the socket remains (1); large pot (2); small pot (3); glass balsamarium (4); bronze coin, illegible and severaly damaged by fire (5).

Više grobalja G_1-222 (Fig. 11) [17]

Leveled grave with charred sides. Large animal (bovine) bones were found at the first level. Human bones were laid at the lower level, severely cremated. It was an adult, possibly male (?). The grave was dated into late second or first half of the third century.

Grave inventory: large socketed arrowhead, damaged by fire. Probably rhomboid shape (1); bronze coin (Augustus) (2), in this context in secondary use. The grave was dated using another that this grave damaged. The damaged grave was dated from the reign of Antoninus Pius to the mid-third century; cylindrical lead weight (3).

Više grobalja G_1-461 (Fig. 12) [18]

Damaged leveled grave with charred sides. Cremated bones were discovered at the bottom of the lower level. The grave was dated to the time of Antoninus Pius. All finds were located at the lower level.

Grave inventory: small foliate spearhead, length 12.5 cm (1); bronze knee fibula (2); bronze coin (Antoninus Pius) (3); two bronze grommets (4); two bone chips (5); 9 glass beads (6) bronze heart-shaped pendant (7).

Više grobalja G_1-531 (Fig. 13) [19]

Leveled grave with charred sides. Completely cremated bones scattered on the second level. Jug, spike (?), arrowhead and wild boar tooth were found together in the southern part of the grave. A lamp was found in the middle and the rest of the items were in the northern section.

Grave inventory: socketed arrowhead (1) large 32 cm long iron spike (2); red fired jug (3) wild boar tooth (4); clay oil lamp bearing the stamp FORTIS (Firmalampen) (5); bronze coin (6); fragmented bowl – imitation terra sigilata (7); red fired bowl (8).

Više grobalja G_1-1697 (Fig. 14) [20]

Leveled grave with charred sides. There were no human remains in the grave. Two jugs and an oil lamp were found in the eastern part of the grave. A third jug was found in the western part. A spearhead was discovered in a bowl on the bottom in the south-western corner. In the center silver pyxis was laid with razor blade below it.

Grave inventory: socketed spearhead, preserved length 13.6 cm (1); 3 jugs (2); clay oil lamp (3); red fired bowl (4); pyxis made from a thin silver sheet (5); razor blade with bone handle (6).

INSCRIPTIONS RELATED TO SOLDIER BURIALS

There are many inscriptions of the names and ranks of soldiers in Viminacium.[21] But unfortunately very few provide data related to their rank and vital statistics. All of them were dislocated, damaged or found in secondary contexts. None of these can be related to an exact grave. In this paper we present only tombstones that provide some information on the duration of service and age at death.

The data found on tombstones correspond to the Roman standard recruitment from the ages of 18 to 25. It is notable that almost half of the tombstones were for soldiers killed in action (at least 8 of 19).

[17] ZOTOVIĆ-JORDOVIĆ 1990, 102
[18] KORAĆ-GOLUBOVIĆ 2009, 200.
[19] Unpublished, Viminacium Project, field documentation
[20] Unpublished, Project Viminacium, field documentation
[21] MIRKOVIĆ 1986

NAME AND RANK	AGE AT DEATH	DURATION OF SERVICE	AGE RECRUITED
? centurio	65	35	
?	48	23	25
?	45	22	23
?	37		
?	34	15	19
?	40	23	17
P. Aelius Priscus, miles	50	25	25
L. Cassianus Potens, miles	28	11	17
P. Aelius Priscus, miles		25	
L. Aemilius eques legionis	32	14	18
L. Aurelius Marcianus, miles	30	5	25
L. Valerius Celsus, miles	20	2	18
M. Aurelius Dizzonus, aquilifer	46		
M. Aurelis Rufus, tesserarius	40	20	20
C. Domitius, custos armorum	42		
L. Blacssius Nigellio, speculator	35		
C, Pomponius Valerianus, miles	28		
Aurelis Marcianus, stator legati legionis		26	
C. Iulius Valentius, miles		25	

Table 1. Overview of soldier and officer tombstones with inscribed age at death and duration of service

CONCLUSION

Most of the burials with weapon finds belong to cremations of indigenous type. Since this type of burial originated among the pre-Roman indigenous population, the solution should be sought in that direction. Romanized soldiers were obviously influenced by their pre-Roman origins when laying weapons in their graves.

Among the cremation graves of Mala Kopašnica-Sase type there are cases of burials with no human remains deposited in the grave. Among these is Više grobalja G_1-1697, which contained a spearhead and standard burial inventory but no human remains. Therefore, the custom of making cenotaphs was applied even among Romanized populations.

A unique burial is G-2427, containing a shield. We have thus far found no analogies in the Roman world. The fact that this burial appears in a regular cemetery is even more intriguing, since we would expect this type of burial in some distant land during a war or military campaigns. This would be a rushed yet honorable burial. We prefer to avoid speculating about it, since this is the only burial that has no other parallels, especially at Viminacium, and it is completely different from anything we have encountered among almost 14,000 burials.

Cremation graves with weapon finds do not differ in any way from other graves of the same type. The burial rite is the same as well. Therefore, we may conclude that all these men were part of the local community, and the placement of weapons in their graves was more a private and individual act which did not influence or change the normal custom of Roman burials with no weapons.

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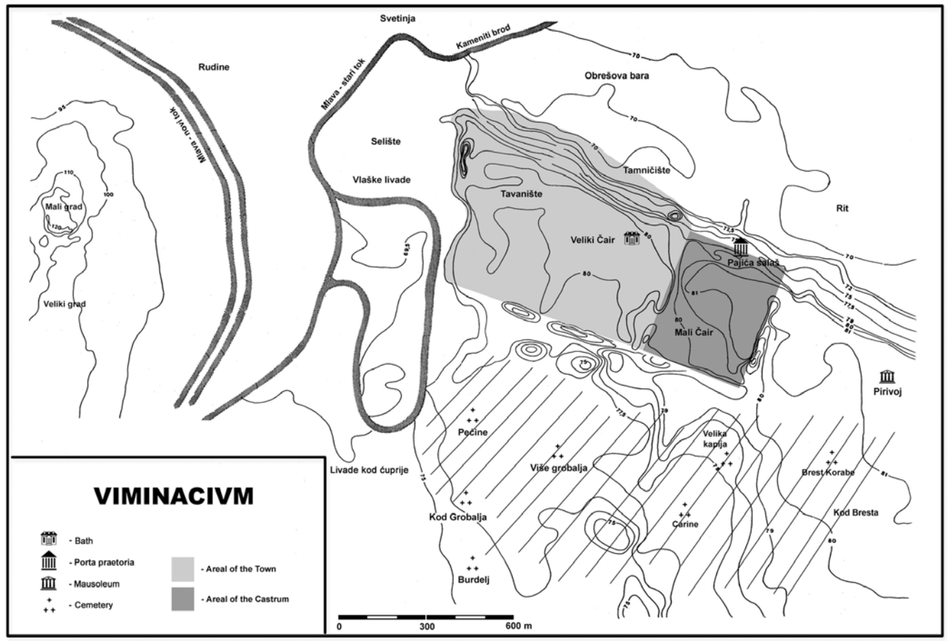

Fig. 1. Viminacium – general layout

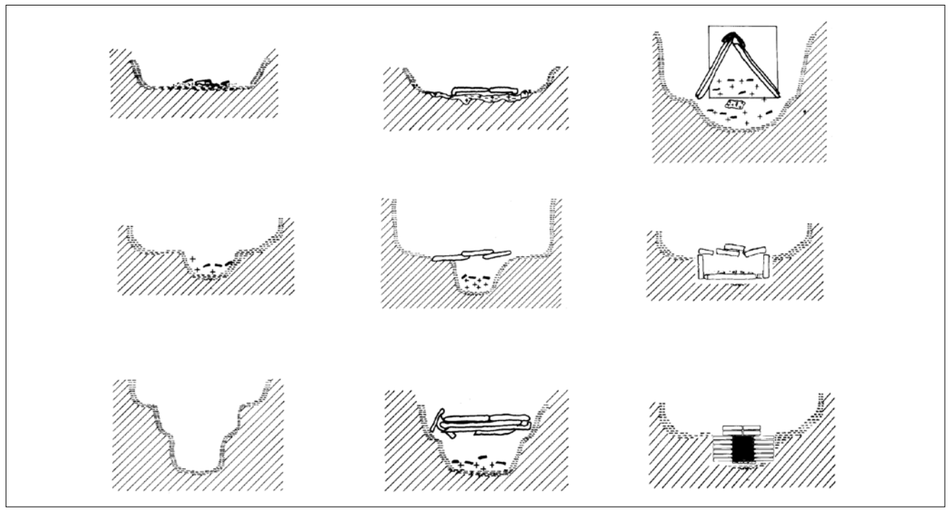

Fig. 2. Mala Kopašnica-Sase, burial types (Golubović 1998)

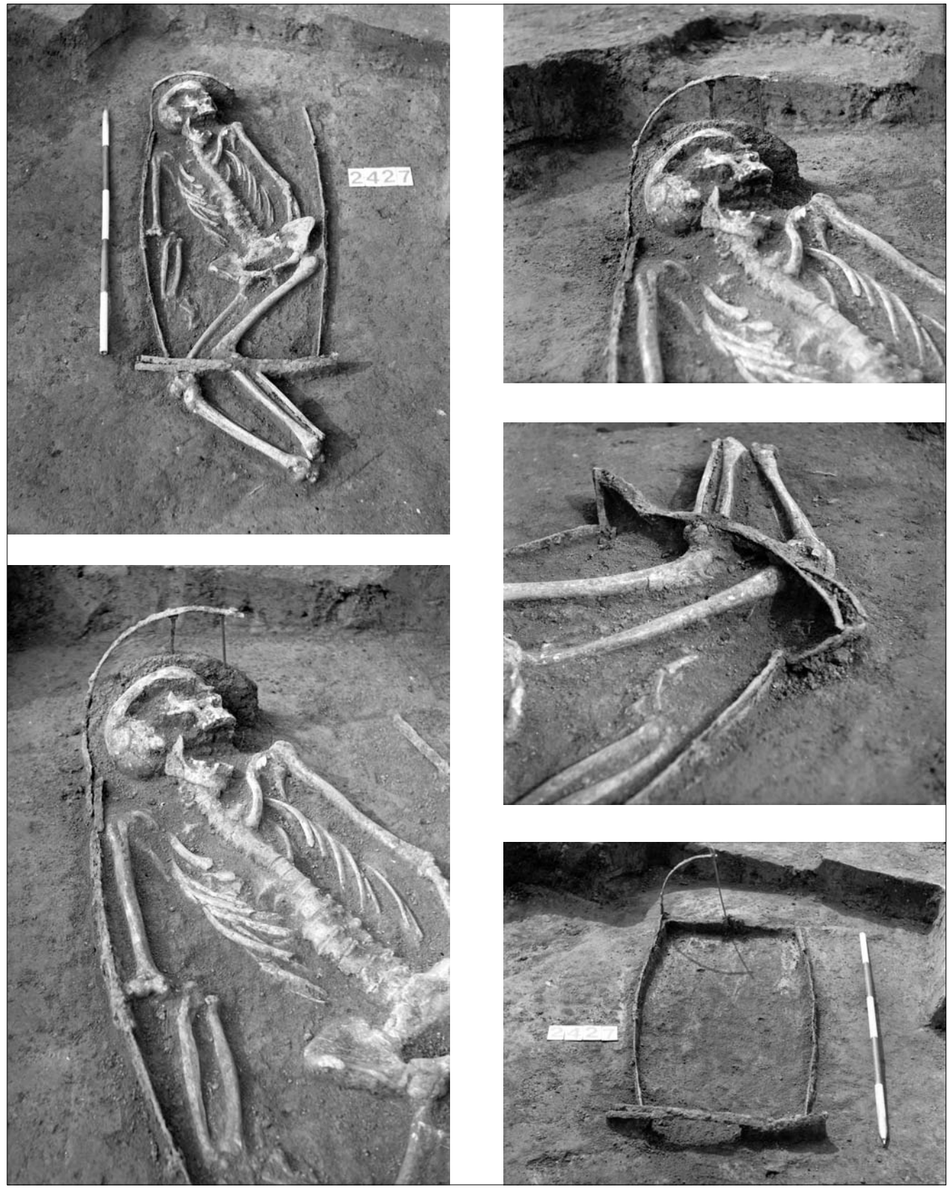

Fig. 3. Pećine G-2427

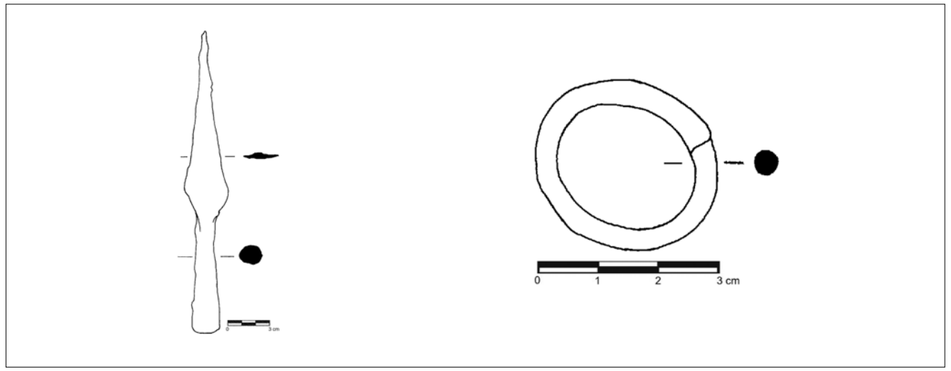

Fig. 4. Više grobalja G-443, grave inventory

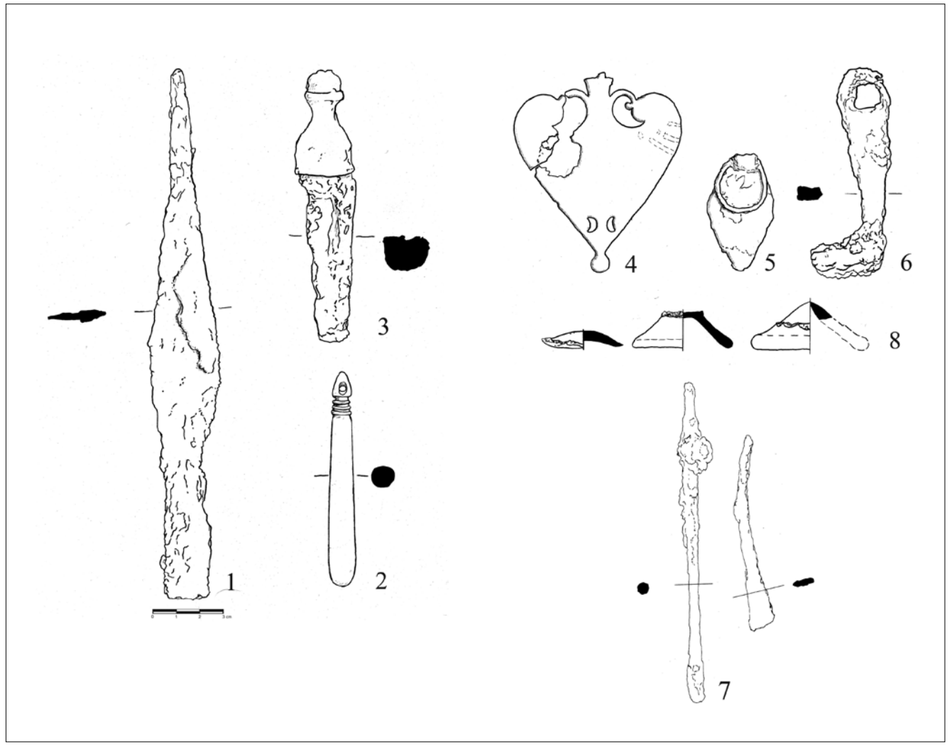

Fig. 5. Kod Bresta G_1-20, grave inventory

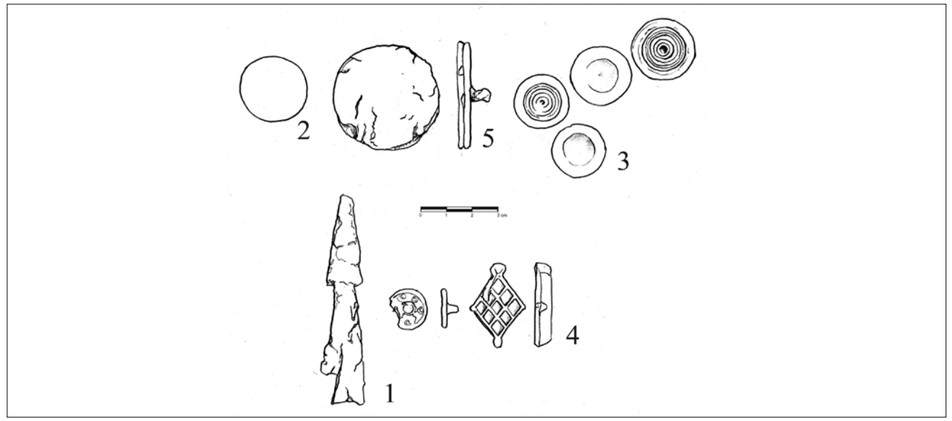

Fig. 6. Pećine G_1-91, grave inventory

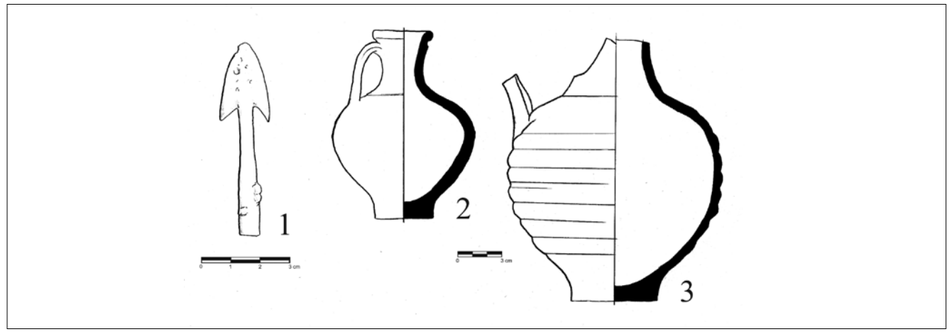

Fig. 7. Pećine G_1-329, grave inventory

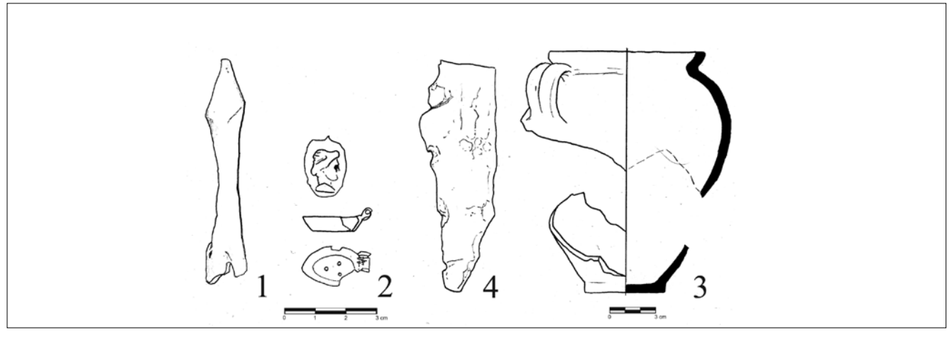

Fig. 8. Pećine G_1-579, grave inventory

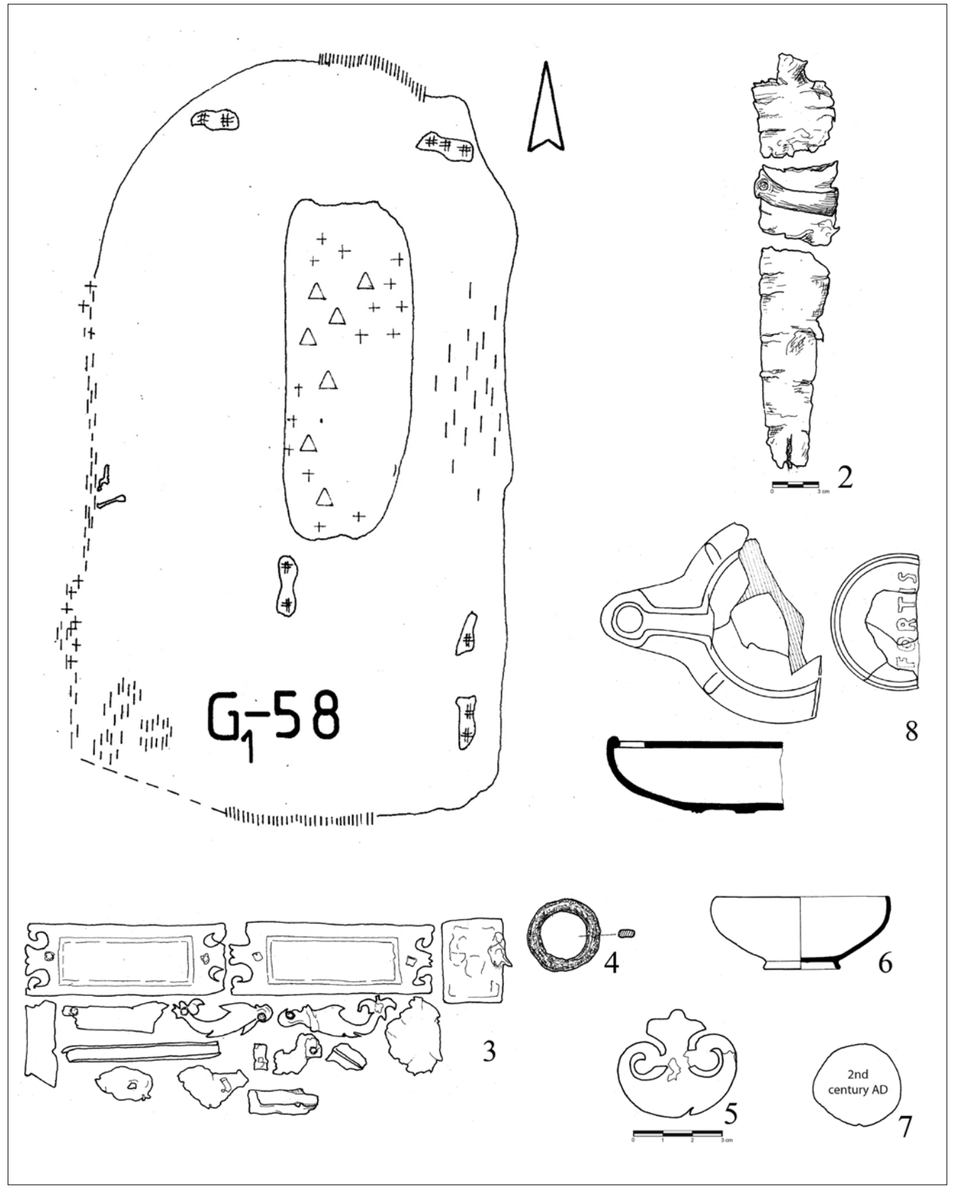

Fig. 9. Više Grobalja G_1-58, grave inventory

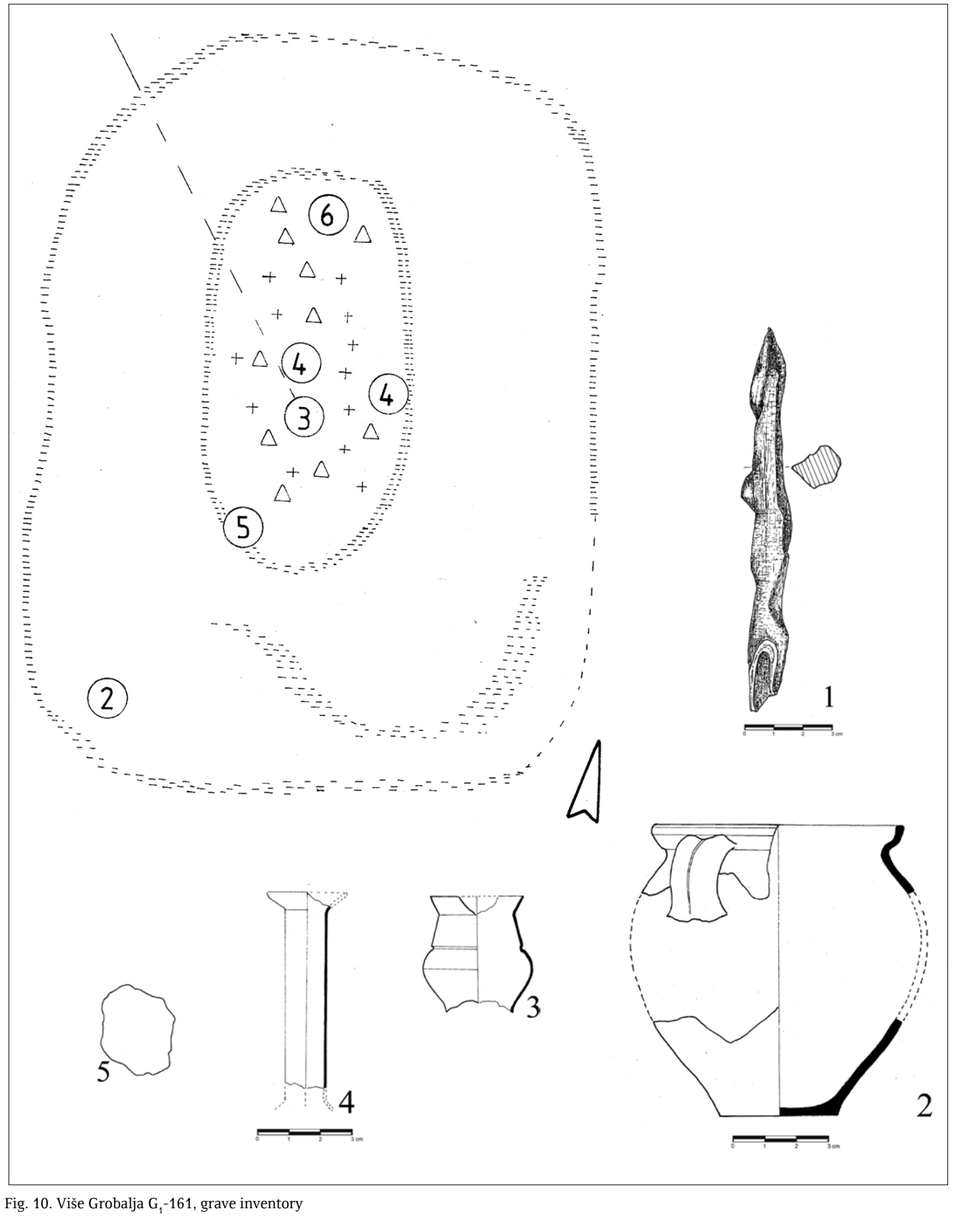

Fig. 10. Više Grobalja G_1-161, grave inventory

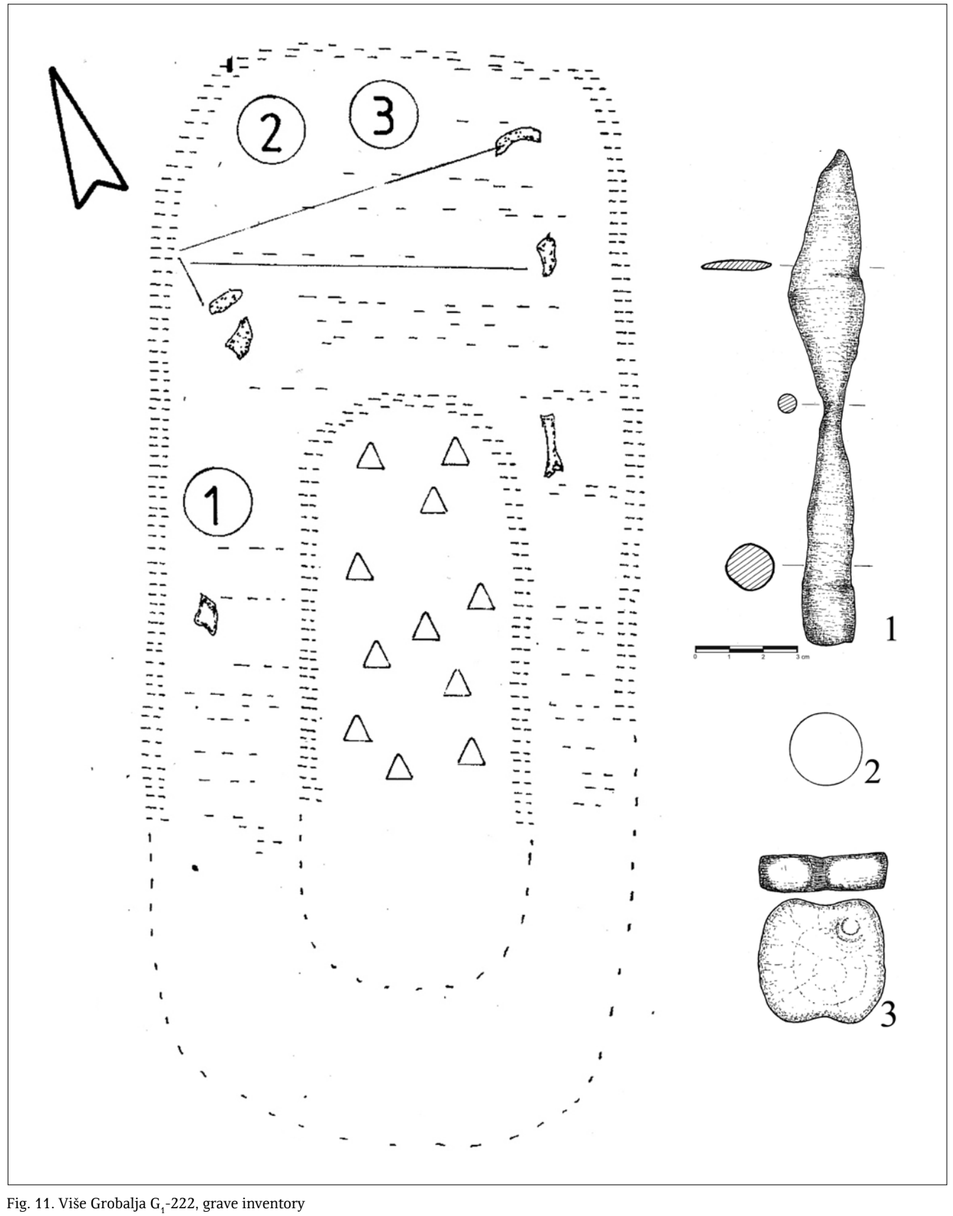

Fig. 11. Više Grobalja G_1-222, grave inventory

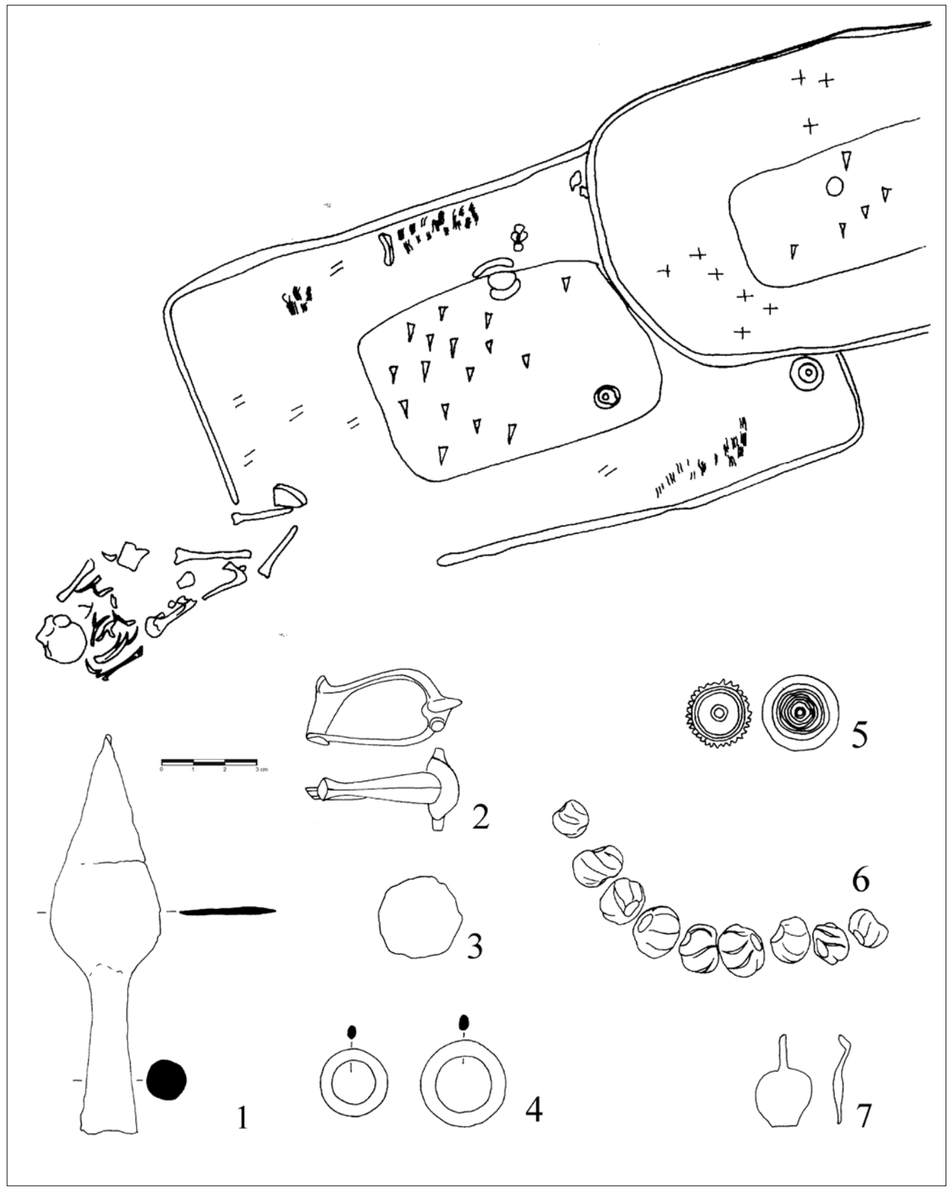

Fig. 12. Više Grobalja G_1-461, grave inventory

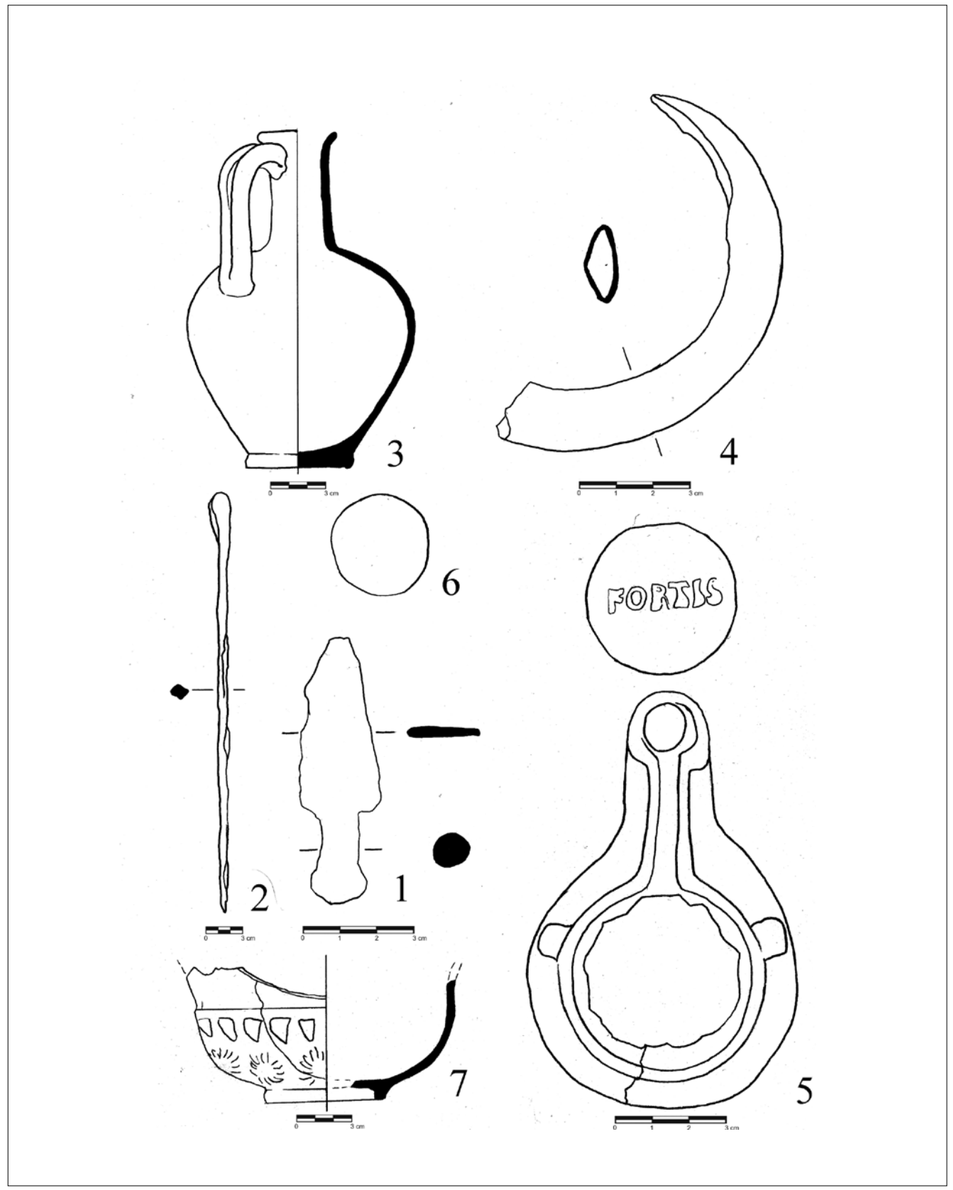

Fig. 13. Više Grobalja G_1-531, grave inventory

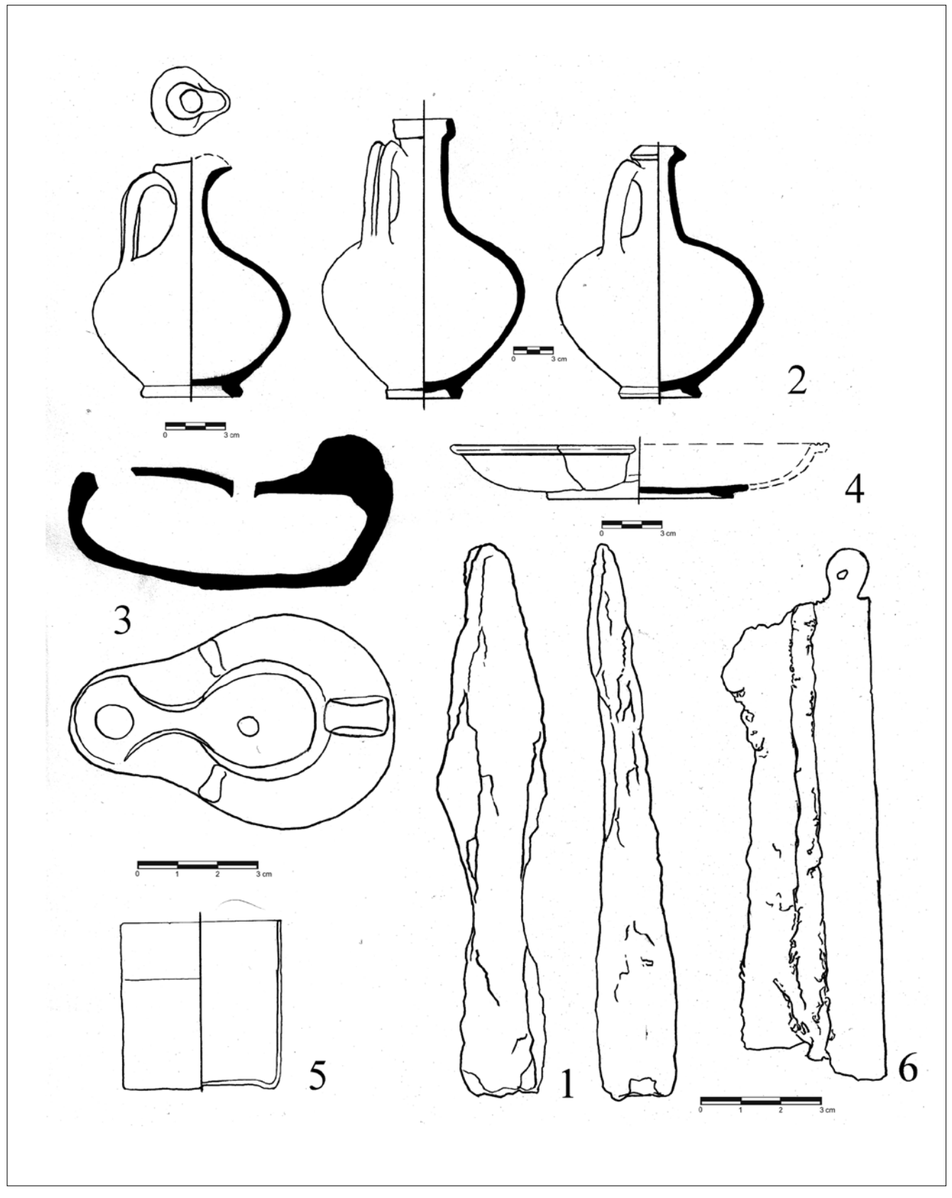

Fig. 14. Više Grobalja G_1-1697, grave inventory

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KNIVES AND DAGGERS IN GRAVES FROM VIMINACIUM

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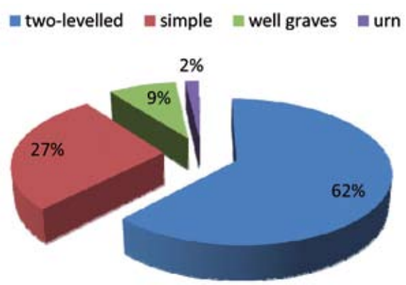
The rescue excavation of *Viminacium* cemeteries was conducted at the site of the present-day thermoelectric power plant and coal strip mine. From 1977 to 1997, cemeteries that extended south and east from the city of *Viminacium* were explored, and as of 2000 the section extending east from the military camp was also examined.[1] More than 14,000 inhumation and cremation graves with various grave goods were excavated. The oldest graves belong to the Celtic necropolis, testifying that the *Scordisci* inhabited this region prior to the arrival of the Romans. However, the highest number of burials dates to the period from the end of the first to the fourth centuries, during Roman domination.

During all long-term rescue work, as in more recent excavations, a certain number of daggers and knives were found in the graves. In this paper, only those found in graves from the Roman era will be encompassed herein.

The *Viminacium* cemeteries were biritual: both cremation and inhumation burials were registered. Given the immense number of all explored graves, the total of 89 knives and 5 daggers seems rather meagre. Also, even when considering the total number of knives found in the entire cemetery (345), the number of those found in graves is quite small. The remaining knives were found in different layers, pits or in sacrificial ditches.

[1] ZOTOVIĆ-JORDOVIĆ 1990; KORAĆ-GOLUBOVIĆ 2009.

CREMATIONS



The knives were found in 36 two-level pits (P. I, P. II, P. III; Table 1), 16 simple pits (P. IV, P. V; Table 2), five well graves and in one urn (P. VI).

The highest number of knives and daggers were found in two-level pits, the so-called graves of Mala Kopašnica-Sase type, which was to be expected since they are the most numerous of all grave types. In two graves, knives or daggers were the only inventory (P. I/1, P. III/29; Table 1/1, 29), while in other, considerably more numerous cases, the repertoire of grave goods was standard for this grave type and included coins and jewellery, which were often burned with the deceased, while the burial rites consisted of placing grave goods in the burned pits after laying the remains of the deceased. Typically for this grave type, the most common inventory besides the aforementioned were oil-lamps and ceramic and glass vessels. Ritual vessels, cosmetic implements, instruments, trunks and keys were also common finds.

The position of the knives in cremation graves is differed from case to case, and there is no rule. The same situation was found at the cemeteries of *Aquincum* and *Matrica*. Namely, the knives were placed at the bottom of the grave pits together with other grave goods[2] and all of them were dated to the second and third centuries as at *Viminacium*.

In the case of a two-level grave (Fig. 1) containing a knife, the other items in it included three jars, strigils and a bronze vessel. The knife was positioned along the eastern side of the grave, and in addition to this knife a belt set and second-century coin were also found in the simple pit. A cross-bow fibula and strigils were found in the grave under P. III/28; Table 1/28.

The most recent excavation at the eastern necropolis brought to light a two-level grave (P. II/16; Table 1/16) with a rich grave inventory consisting of a beaker, a pot, three iron rings, parts of a bronze bracelet and a quatrefoil gold appliqué. A small knife was placed alongside.

Seven knives were found in five well graves at different depths (P. VI/1-7). The appearance of these special units with a not completely defined function (burial, ritual or sacrificial) in *Moesia Superior* raises a number of questions, ranging from their indigenous form, origins and ethnic features to their religious significance. Based on an ideal reconstruction, the ritual included the placement of remains from the funeral pyre, which included soot, ash, large iron pins and the bowls used to put out the fire at the bottom of the grave. Then the remains of the deceased along with artefacts, which included personal items, coins, lamps, censers, and ceramic and glass vessels, were placed in the well. The material found inside was not very different from that found in other cremation burials at *Viminacium*, and it was Roman provincial in origin. Iron knives were found in a somewhat higher percentage in comparison to the artefacts recovered from graves of the same type in *Sirmium*. More specifically, weapons were found in 10 well graves excavated at *Sirmium*. These graves were slightly older than those at *Viminacium* and were dated to the early first and early second centuries.[3] The presence of well graves in the territories of *Sirmium*, *Singidunum* and *Viminacium* coincides with the presence of the Gallic cohorts. It may be concluded that the well graves at *Viminacium* were a case of cultural borrowing that met the needs of a small ethnic community from the end of first to the end of the third centuries.[4]

In general, urn graves are rather rare at Viminacium and account for only 2.5% of all burials, so there it comes as no surprise that a knife was found in only a single urn (P. VI/8).

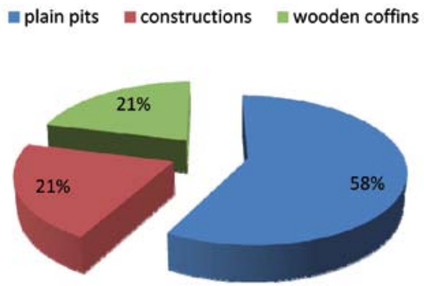
With regard to inhumation burials, knives were found in 11 plain-pit graves (P. VII; Table 3), in 5 graves constructed from bricks and stones (P. VIII/1-5; Table 4) and in four wooden coffins (P. VIII/6-9; Table 5).

[2] TOPAL 1993, P. 35, 36/41; P. 46/68; P. 50/73: TOPAL 1981, P. I/1; P. XXV/76; P. XXIX/83; P. LX/200.

[3] MILOŠEVIĆ 1985, 178.

[4] GOLUBOVIĆ 2008, 141

INHUMATIONS



Generally, inhumation graves appeared in the territory of *Moesia Superior* at the end of the first century.

Since the earliest skeletal graves at Viminacium were dated using coins of Augustus and Trajan which may have been in circulation for a considerable period, the oldest inhumations may still be deemed as appearing at the end of the first century, and these were mostly burials without coffins or in wooden coffins. Graves with all manner of brick construction first began to appear at the onset of the second century. Thus far, based on researched units, plain grave pits or burials in wooden coffins account for 96% of all inhumations.[5]

The situation in *Viminacium* points to slightly different circumstances than at other Roman-era cemeteries in *Scupi*, *Ulpiana*, *Municipium DD*, *Naissus* or *Vinceia*. Namely, at these cemeteries luxurious graves were placed in a separate part of the town's cemetery, or they were at suburban villas, while this was the case in Viminacium only to a certain extent. In the excavated part of the necropolis, such graves were found together with graves without any inventory or with only a small number of grave goods. Luxurious graves are often attributed to a wealthy class of the immigrants from the eastern provinces of the empire, especially from *Asia Minor*.[6] The general opinion is that inhumation graves at *Viminacium* are Oriental in origin, regardless of whether it is a matter of graves without coffins and no grave goods. At the cemeteries from this period, the percentage of children's burials varies from 86% in *Cambodunum*, through 41% in Gerulata, to 39.5% at *Viminacium* necropolis.[7] In several cases, children were buried with adults. In the case of cremations, children were sometimes cremated along with their parents. Nevertheless, children's inhumations, either without coffins, with wooden coffins or graves with stone or brick structures, appeared almost as a rule. Skeletal burials of children were either individual or together with adults. Among the 20 skeletal graves with knives and daggers, five were defined as children's graves and dated to the period from the end of first to the beginning of the fourth centuries. One child's skeleton was in a wooden coffin (P. VIII/7; Table 5/7) with a dagger on the chest (Fig. 2), while in another burial in a brick structure (P. VIII/3; Table 4/4/3), a balsamarium and a cross-bow fibula were found in addition to an iron knife. At *Aquincum*, twin three or four year-olds were found in a grave with brick structure. The inventory included jars, beakers, an unguentarium, bracelets, a pin and even three coins, which dated the grave into the middle of fourth, as well as one iron knife.[8]

The position of knives in inhumation graves is different. They could be placed at either the right or left side of the pelvis of the interred individual, or around the feet or lower extremities (Fig. 3), on the chest or even under the skull. The bones are mostly poorly preserved, and may be identified as either male, female or juvenile. In Aquincum, the knife was even found in female grave dated to the end of the third century.[9]

Cross-bow fibulae were found not only in male graves, either brick structures or in plain graves, but also in children's graves. They were dated to the fourth century based on the fibulae and other goods.[10]

Unfortunately, the brick structures in which knives were found have sustained considerable damage, so it was not possible to record the position of the knife in relation to the body of the deceased. One knife was found on the floor of a tomb with five burials (P. VIII/2; Table 4/2) and 114 coins from the latter half of fourth century, while the dagger was found in a brick structure without skeleton together with other items: a bronze button, a silver ring and third-century coin (P. VIII/5; Table 4/5). A knife and bronze buckle (Fig. 4) were found in a plundered, brick-built grave.

The knives found in cremation or inhumation graves were made of iron and are thus quite deformed due to corrosion. Conservation was not possible because

[5] KORAĆ-GOLUBOVIĆ 2009, 536.

[6] JOVANOVIĆ 2000, 210.

[7] KREKOVIČ 1991, 76; KORAĆ-GOLUBOVIĆ 2009, 513.

[8] TOPAL 1993, P. 58/86.

[9] TOPAL 1993, P. 69/112.

[10] TOPAL 1993, P. 94/10: TOPAL 1981, P. XXV/75.

most of them are not available any more.[11] Based on the handle tang remains, it may be concluded that they had wooden or bone handles, in most cases unpreserved. Bone handles remained in only two cases (P. VII/9, P. VIII/6), but in many cases the traces of wood were quite remarkable. On some examples, the beginning or end of the handles were reinforced with bronze or silver pins (P. I/3; P. III/27; P. 5/10, 12), or a bronze ring around the cutting edge (P. IV/2). An extraordinary knife was found in a simple cremation pit, but unfortunately without sufficient skeletal remains to define the sex or age of the deceased. The knife handle is made of bronze, ending in a panther's head, while the body adorned with black and yellow enamel (P. V/14).

In inhumation graves, the most knives were found in plain pits, more than in brick- or stone-built graves and in wooden coffins.

It is interesting that the number of cremated bodies accompanied by a knife or dagger as the grave is significantly higher. Since these belong to the Mala Kopašnica-Sase type, the characteristic form for the indigenous population, the presence of these items may be explained as a component of relations between this indigenous population and newcomers. Since placement of weapons in graves was not a Roman custom,[12] these graves indicate that other burial rites of the indigenous people existed, but they were lost in the course of Romanization.

The results of anthropological analysis have shown that the knives and daggers were found in the graves of both men and women, as well as children. Undoubtedly iron as a metal and knives or daggers as items had special cult significance for a part of the heterogeneous population of Roman *Viminacium*.

Various types of knives and daggers were found at the cemeteries in *Viminacium*, but since it was not possible to ascertain the narrower function or exact type, the reason for their placement in graves remains clear. A similar situation was discerned at the cemetery in ancient *Doclea*, where knives were also found in cremation and inhumation graves, as in the graves of persons of undetermined sex.[13] Knives were not only implements of in everyday use, as they could also serve as weapons. However, usually they were found in cremation or inhumation burials without grave goods, which could indicate soldiers. Their significance in children's graves may be explained differently, as perhaps planned soldiers carrier for the boy, or inheritance, or the wishes of the parents, etc., but thus far nothing can be stated with any certainty.

[11] The museum in Požarevac had been robbed several times over the past twenty years and we could not obtain any of the material to make new sketches or photos of knives and daggers.

[12] SCHÖNBERGER 1953, 53.

[13] CERMANOVIĆ-KUZMANOVIĆ - VELIMIROVIĆ - ŽIŽIĆ - SREJOVIĆ 1975.

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Table 1 - Two-leveled graves (sites: P=Pećine; VG=Više Grobalja; NR=Na Rupi; KK=Kod Koraba) D=daggers, the rests are knives

No. Plate	No. of in inventory	No. of grave/ year of excavation	Pottery vessel	Glass vessel	Lamp	Coin	Ornament	Miscellaneous
1/I	C-2420 - D	G1-171/1980 - P						
2/I	C-2294 - D	G1-137/1984 - VG Male				1		
3/I	C-6500 - D	G1-37/1979 - P	beaker		1			
4/I	C-6009 -D	G1-518/1982 - P	jar, beaker, pot	balsamaria	1	4	golden earing bronze brooch	
5/I	C-3065 - D	G1-366/1984 - VG Male				1		
6/II	C-639	G1-26/1978 - P	3 jars					Iron strigilis bronze vessel
7/II	C-4313	G1-507/1984 - VG	pot			1	iron ring, bronze brooch, gem, 3 bronze button, bronze belt set	iron strigilis,
8/II	C-4304	G1-507/1984 - VG	pot			1	iron ring, bronze brooch, gem, 3 bronze button, bronze belt set	iron strigilis,
9/II	C-11449	G1-1048/1985 - P	pot					2 bone pins
10/II	C-7908	G1-732/1983 – P	plate, bowl		1			
11/II	C-3548	G1-429/1984 – VG	beaker				bead	iron strigilis, led inkpot
12/II	C-9152	G1-1332/1985 – VG	3 jars, 4 pots, 2 beakers, censer		4			iron key, bronze mirror, bronze pincers
13/II	C-13138	G1-1130/1990 – P	2 bowls		1	1	golden earing	
14/II	C-4723	G1-571/1984 - VG	pot		1		2 bronze buckles, 2 bronze bracelets	bronze inkpot, bronze spatula
15/II	C-10900	G1-1002/1984 - P					bronze button	
16/II	C-414	G1-125/2007 - KK	beaker, pot				3 rings, golden appliqué, bronze bracelet	iron shoe nails
17/II	C-11836	G1-1740/1985 – VG	pot		1	1		bone pin
18/II	C-3117	G1-355/1984 - VG	3 jars, 2 pots, 2 plates	4 balsamaria	1	3		bronze casket, bronze mirror
19/II	C-8651	G1-790/1983 - P	pot		1	1		
20/II	C-9302	G1-853/1983 - P			1		bronze ring	bone pin
21/II	C-11752	G1-1709/1985 – VG				2	2 bronze rings	
22/II	C-1895	G1-168/1984 - VG Adultus	plate			1	5 beads	bone jeton
23/ III	C-1989	G1-198/1984 - VG Male – 30 years				1.	1	
24/ III	C-3856	G1-454/1984 - VG	pot			2	bronze appliqué	bone jeton
25/ III	C-3470	G1-396/1984 - VG	2 pots, beaker			2		bronze mirror, bone pin, bronze pin
26/ III	C-12145	G1-1103/1986 - P	beaker	balsamaria		1		bronze lock, spindle-whorl, bone jeton
27/ III	C-1177	G1-91/1979 – VG Female - 20 years					2 golden earings	
28/ III	C-1465	G1-96/1979 - P	3 jars				cross-bow brooch	iron strigilis
29/ III	C-9531	G1-1391/1985 – VG						
30/ III	C-9503	G1-1384/1985 - VG				1	bronze brooch, bronze ring	iron items
31/ III	C-9158	G1-1344/1985 – VG			1	1		bronze item
32/ III	C-8423	G1-1209/1985 - VG	1		1		bronze bracelet	bronze casket
33/ III	C-6857	G1-950/1984 - VG	3 jars, pot,		1	2	6 beads	4 bone pins, 3 horse teeth
34/ III	C- 32	G1-6/1988 - NR	3 jars		1	4	bronze appliqué	iron key, iron vessel, iron strigilis, bronze casket,
35/ III	C-7316	G1-658/1983 - P	pot					iron tool
36/ III	C-8679	G1-1271/1985 – VG					bronze brooch, bronze belt set	

Table 2 - Simple pits (sites: P=Pećine; VG=Više Grobalja)

No. Plate	No. in inventory	No. of grave/year of excavation	Pottery vessel	Glass vessel	Lamp	Coin	Ornament	
1/IV	C-8735	G1-1274/1985 - VG	pot					
2/IV	C-4690	G1-580/1984 – VG						
3/IV	C-6221	G1-825/1984 - VG					bronze bracelet	
4/IV	C-6831	G1-944/1984 - VG						
5/IV	C-699	G1-68/1979 - VG	2 jars, 2 pots	2 balsamaria	1			
6/IV	C-6839	G1-952/1984 - VG	pot				bronze pincer	
7/IV	C-4843	G1-600/1984 – VG Female	pot				silver torques	
8/IV	C-10144	G1-1504/1985 - VG	jar, bowl, 3 pots, 3 plates			1	bronze belt set	bronze spatula, casket
9/IV	C-4640	G1-384/1982 - P				1	bronze belt set	
10/V	C-9262	G1-1361/1985 - VG	pot				iron buckle, 5 bronze rings, bronze button, bead	frg. bronze tin
11/V	C-5874	G1-781/1984 – VG				1		frg. bronze tin
12/V	C-3558	G1-420/1984 - VG	bowl, pot, beaker			1		stone palette
13/V	C-5999	G1-796/1984 – VG	2 jars			1		bronze key
14/V	C-4906	G1-572/1984 – VG		1 balsamaria		1	bronze - pendant, bracelet, ring, belt set	
15/V	C-8907	G1-1283/1985 - VG						
16/V	C-9503	G1-1384/1985 - VG				1	bronze brooch, bronze ring	

Table 3 - Plain graves (sites: P=Pećine; VG=Više Grobalja)

No. Plate VII	No. in inventory	No. of grave/year of excavation	Pottery vessel	Glass vessel	Lamp	Coin	Ornament	Miscellaneous
1	C-4896	G-1651/1982 - P	pot		1			
2	C-5023	G-1139/1982 - P				1		bronze pincer, bone pin
3	C-6938	G-2498/1982 - P						
4	C-4208	G-602/1984 – VG	pot				iron brooch	
5	C-11910	G-4889/1986 - P					2 iron buckles	2 stone tools
6	C-4321	G-1324/1982 - P					bronze ring	
7	C-5372	G-1900/1982 - P					silver buckle	
8	C-11950	G-2108/1985 – VG						iron pin, ring
9	C-11323	G-4215/1985 - P		balsamaria		1	necklace – 139 beads bracelet – 13 beads	
10	C-7254	G-1198/1984 – VG						
11	C-829	G-82/1979 – VG Infans I	pot, 2 beakers	balsamaria		1		

Table 4 - Graves with brick construction (site: P=Pećine)

No. Plate VIII	No. in inventory	No. of grave/year of excavation	Pottery vessel	Glass vessel	Lamp	Coin	Ornament	Miscellaneous
1	C-3236	G-969/1981 – P					bronze buckle	
2	C-11230	G-3971/1985 – P				114		brick with incised drawing and letters D and P
3	C-4879	G-1662/1982 – P		balsamaria			cross-bow brooch	
4	C-10786	G-3571/1983 – P	bowl, 2 jars, 2 beakers	balsamaria	1		bronze brooch, 400 beads	2 figurines
5	C-1178	G-291 /1979 – P				1	2 bronze buttons, 2 rings, silver ring, 3 beads	

Table 5 - Burials in wooden coffin (sites: P=Pećine, VG=Više Grobalja)

No. Plate VIII	No. in inventory	No. of grave/year of excavation	Pottery vessel	Glass vessel	Lamp	Coin	Ornament	Miscellaneous
6	C-9469	G-1396/1985 – VG		balsamaria	1	1	2 bronze brooch, 5 bronze rings	
7	C-5400	G-1943/1982 – P	pot			1	pendant, 3 beads	
8	C-7333	G-2669/1983 - P		3 balsamaria, flagon		1		bone spatula and pin, bronze sewing pin
9	C-6487	G-1062/1984 – VG						

Fig. 1. Two-level grave with a knife and other items from the Pećine necropolis (Viminacium project documentation)

Fig. 2. Child's skeleton with a dagger on the chest in a wooden coffin from the Pećine necropolis (Viminacium project documentation)

Fig. 3. A knife placed by the lower extremities of the deceased from the Pećine necropolis (Viminacium project documentation)

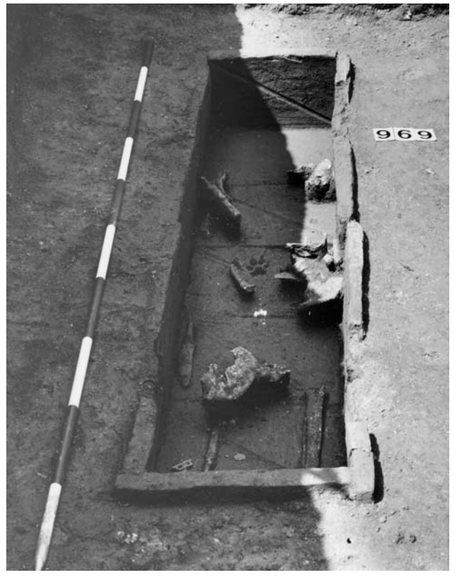
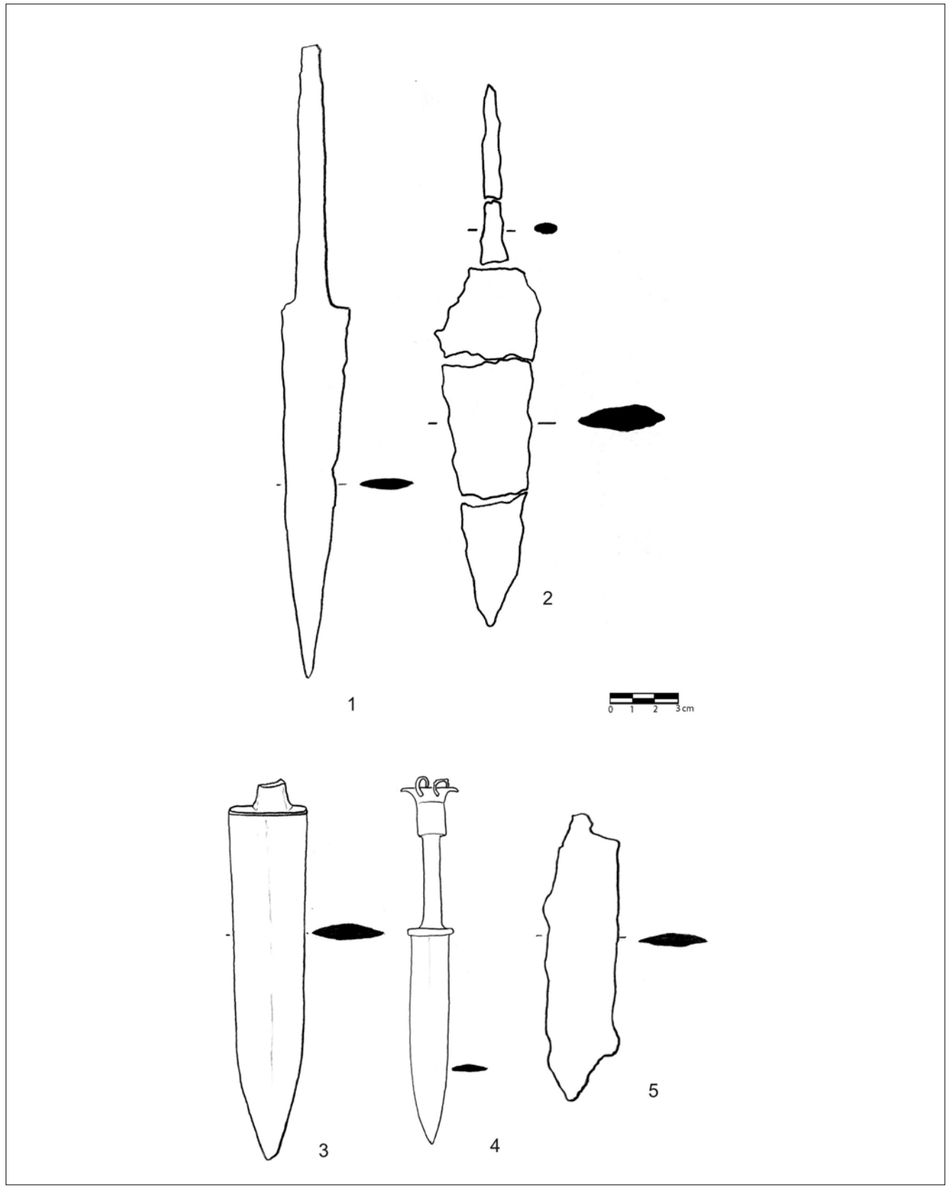


Fig. 4. A looted grave with a knife and bronze buckle from the Pećine necropolis (Viminacium project documentation)



P. I. Knives from two-level pits – cremation graves (Viminacium project documentation)

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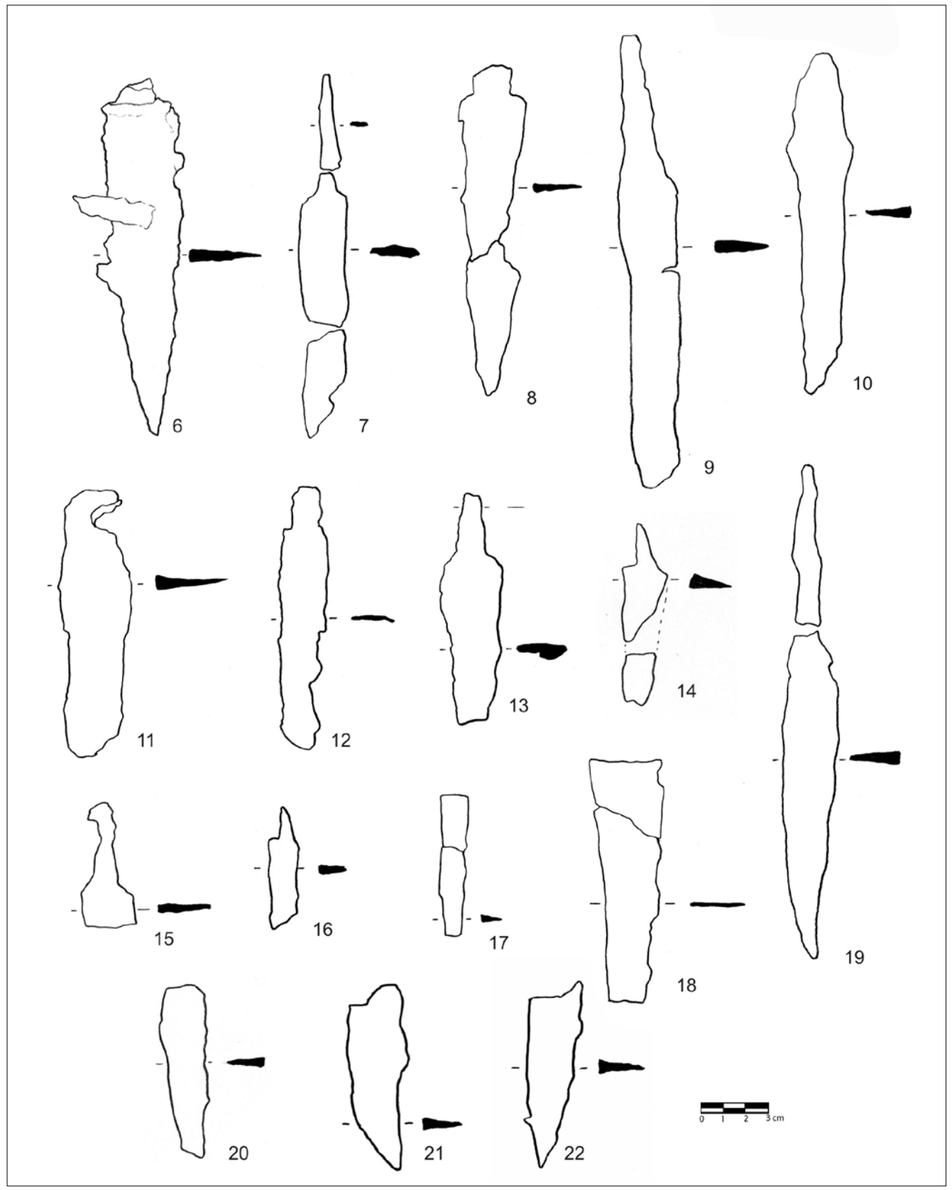
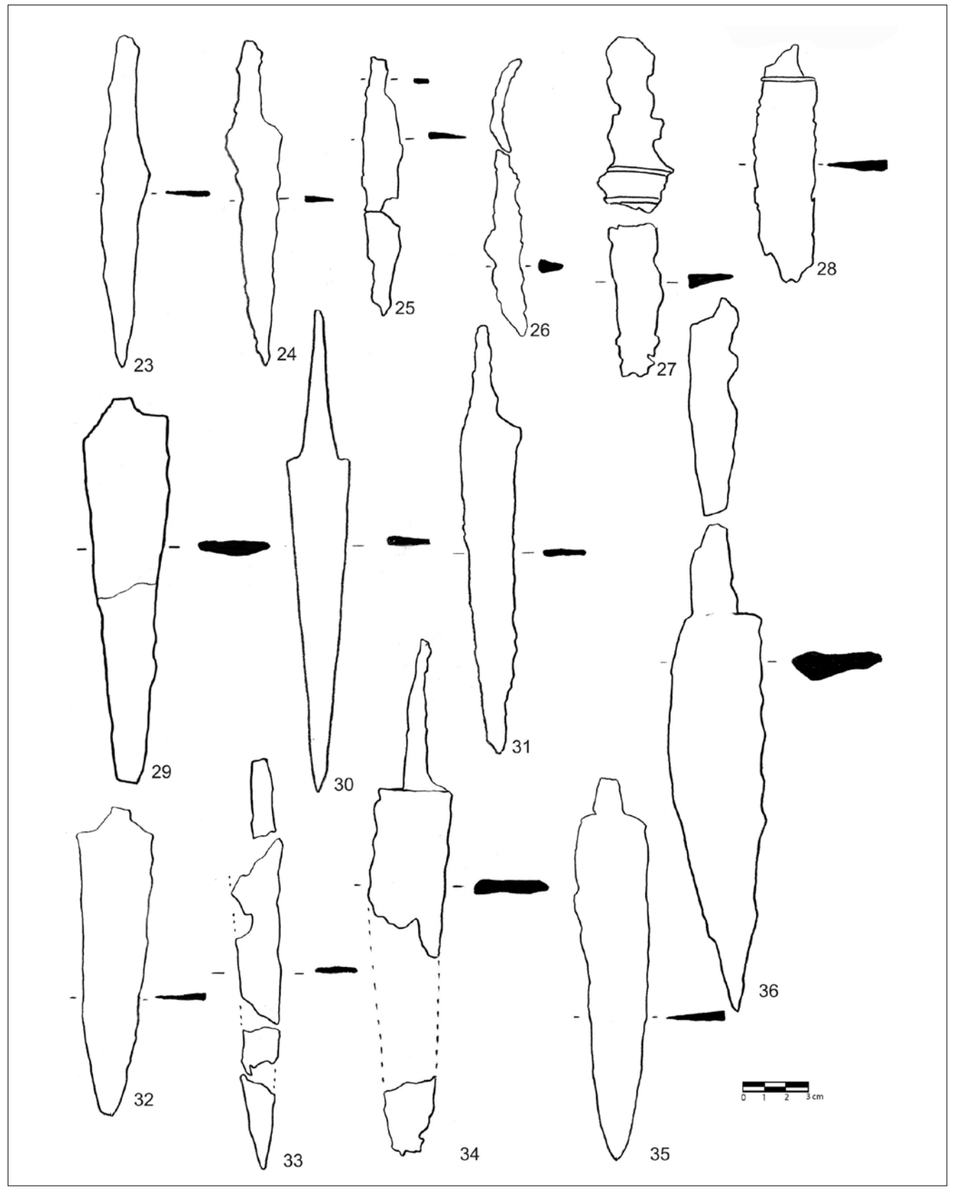
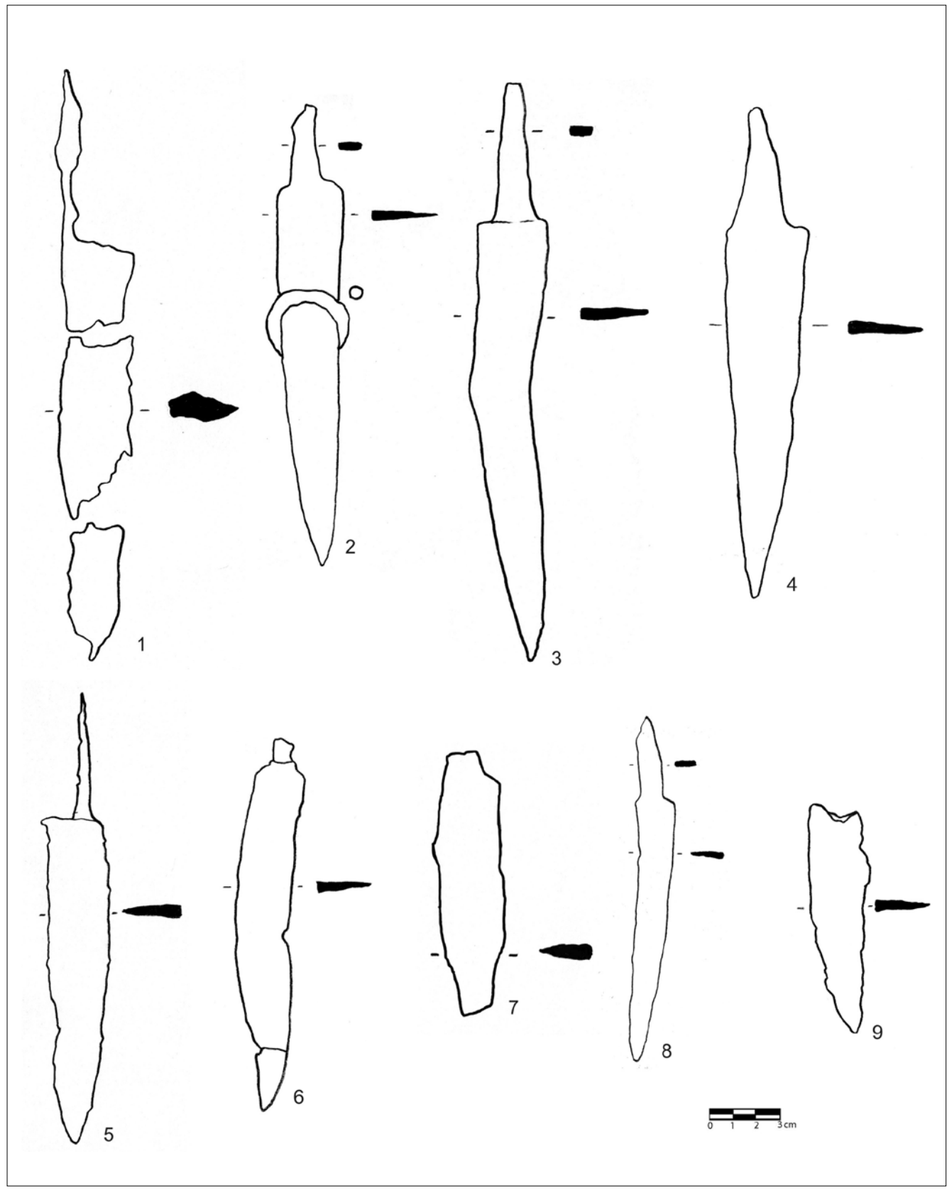


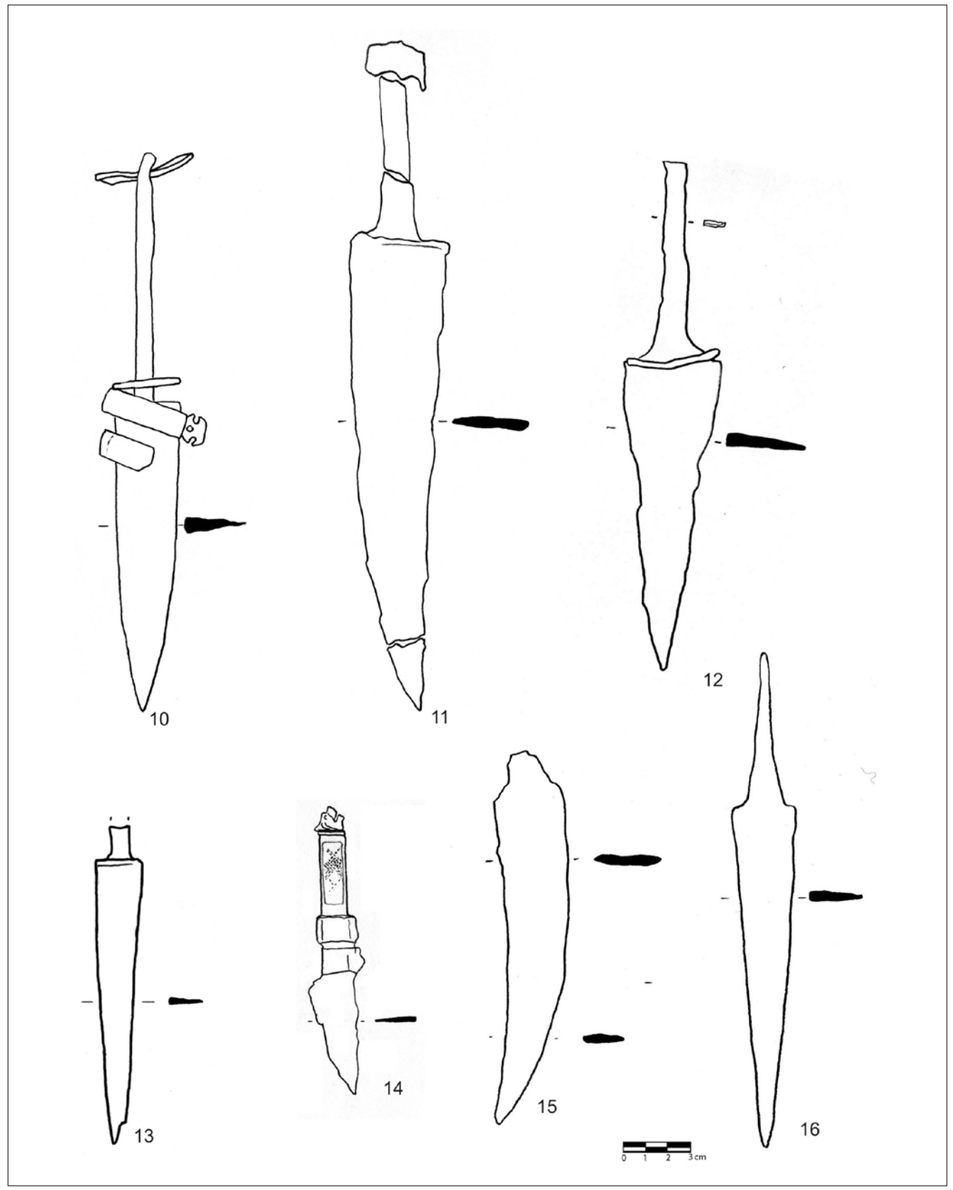
P. II. Knives from two-level pits – cremation graves (Viminacium project documentation)



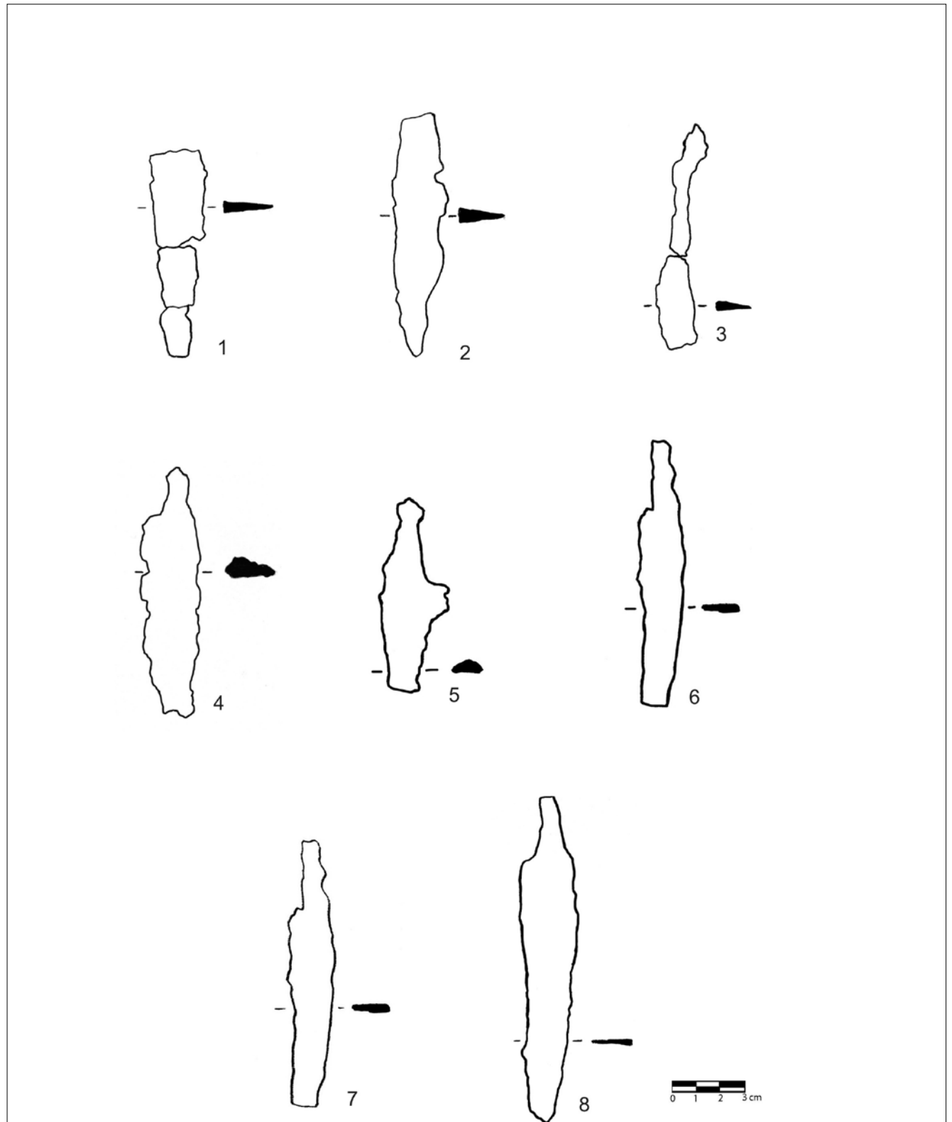
P. III. Knives from two-level pits – cremation graves (Viminacium project documentation)



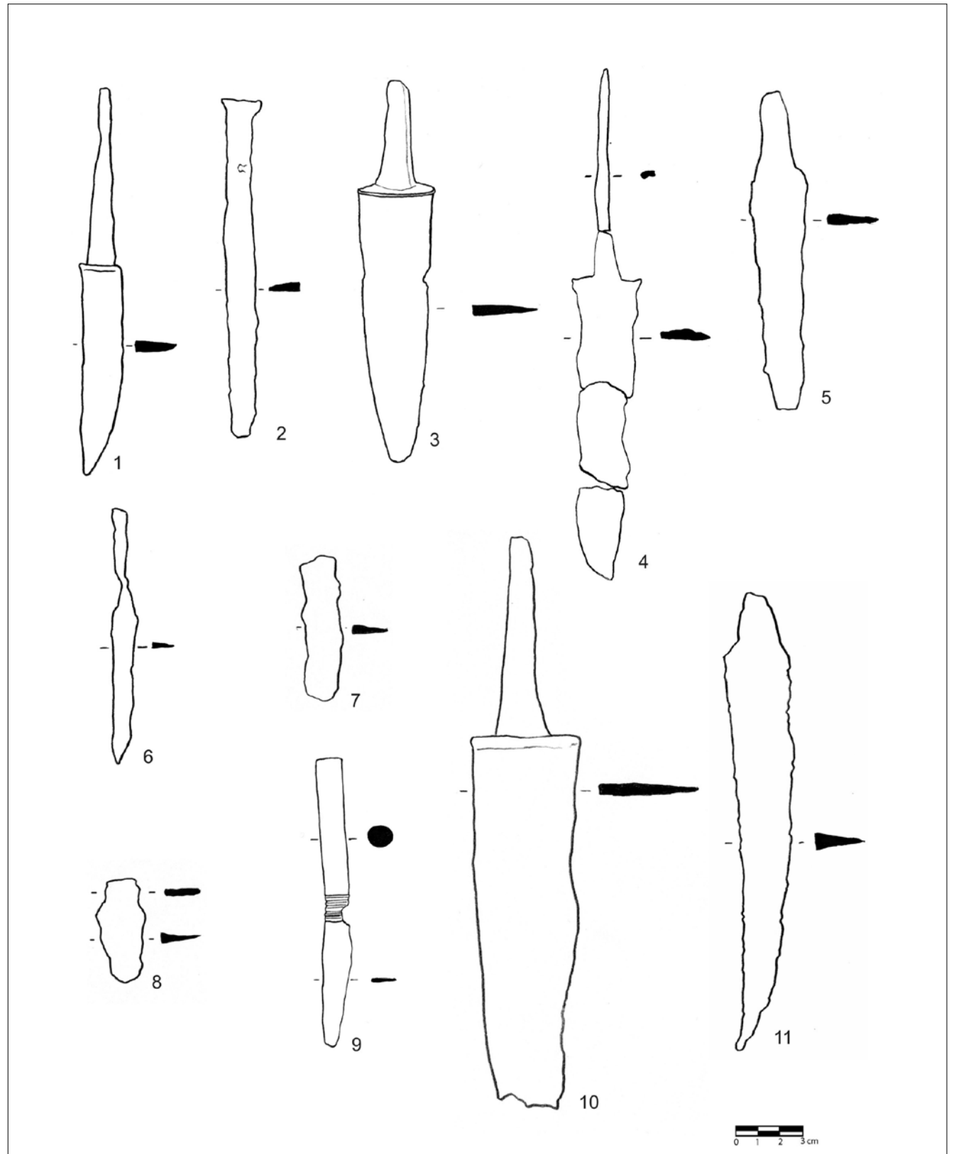
P. IV. Knives from simple pits – cremation graves (Viminacium project documentation)



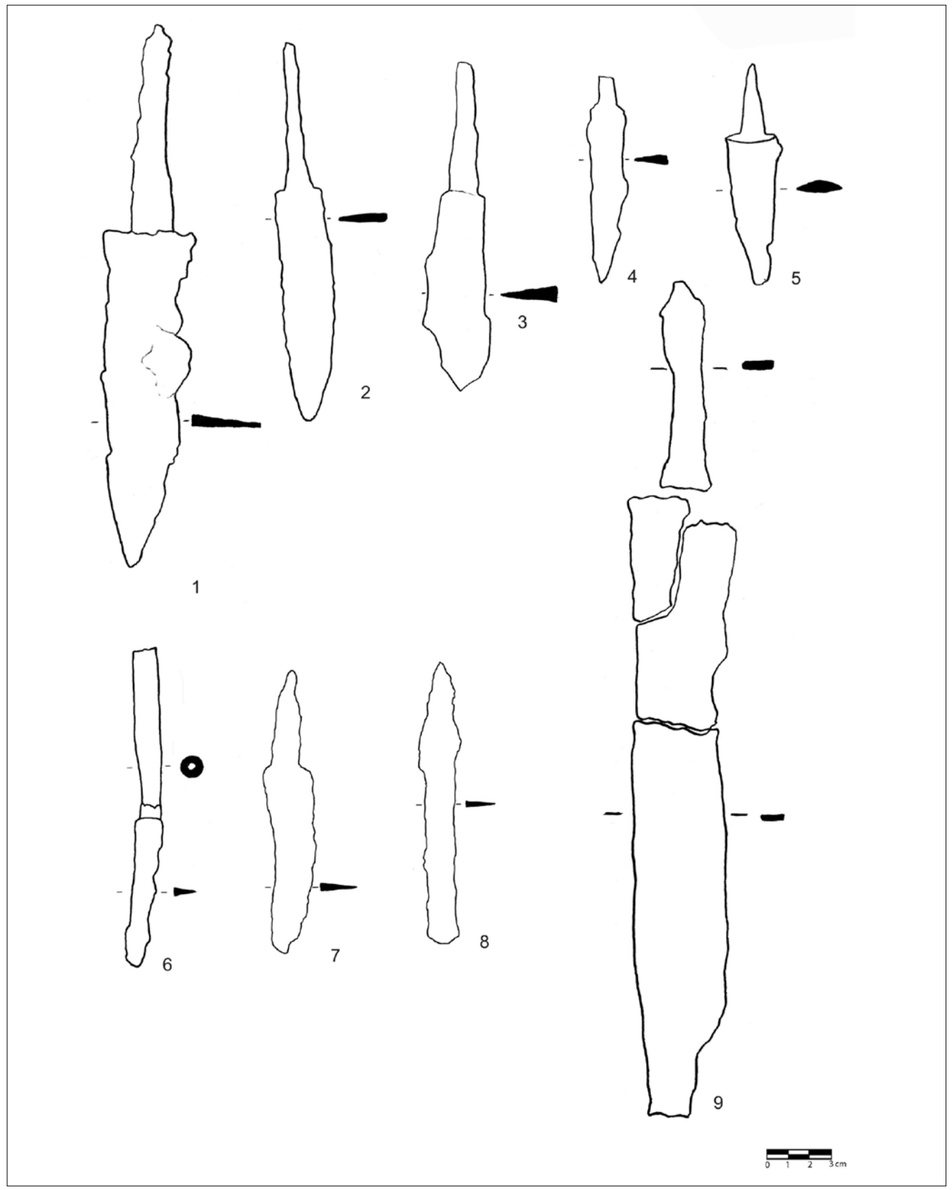
P. V. Knives from simple pits – cremation graves (Viminacium project documentation)



P. VI. Knives from five well graves and one urn – cremation graves (Viminacium project documentation)



P. VII. Knives found in plain pit graves – inhumation graves (Viminacium project documentation)



P. VIII. Knives from five brick or brick-and-stone structures and four wooden coffins – inhumation graves (Viminacium project documentation)

Gerda von Bülow

ROMULIANA-GAMZIGRAD IN DER PROVINZ DACIA RIPENSIS - EIN NEU ENTDECKTES WAFFENGRAB

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DER FUNDPLATZ

Die Ruinen von Gamzigrad, Bez. Zaječar in Ostserbien (Abb. 1), wurden zuerst von dem Österreicher Felix Kanitz in den 60er Jahren des 19. Jh. beschrieben und als „riesiges Castrum“ bezeichnet[1]. Auf der kolorierten Zeichnung von ihm erkennt man, dass die Umfassungsmauern mit den weit nach außen vorspringenden runden bzw. polygonalen Türmen noch sehr hoch erhalten waren, was sich bis heute kaum verändert hat. Auf dem Bild von Kanitz ist im Innenraum nur das Podium des sog. Großen Tempels deutlich auszumachen, während heute dort die Grundmauern mehrerer Gebäudekomplexe zu besichtigen sind. Seit 1953 finden hier regelmäßige Ausgrabungen statt, deren Ergebnisse gezeigt haben, dass es sich nicht, wie Kanitz angenommen hatte, und ein Kastell handelt. Vielmehr konnte die Anlage inzwischen als Kaiserpalast aus der Tetrarchenzeit identifiziert werden (Abb. 2). Auf einem Architekturfragment, das ursprünglich zu einem Zierfries über dem Osttor gehörte, fand sich die Inschrift *Felix Romuliana*[2], die auf den Kaiser Galerius (293-311 n. Chr.) schließen ließ, von dem die Schriftquellen berichten, dass er einen Ort ausgebaut und nach seiner Mutter Romula benannt habe[3]. Als wenig später noch der Kopf einer überlebensgroßen Kaiserstatue aus rotem ägyptischem Porphyr gefunden wurde, die allgemein als Galerius gedeutet wird, bestätigte sich diese Annahme[4]. Ein besonderes Gewicht für die Interpretation der Anlage als Palast des Kaisers Galerius kommt aber einem reliefverzierten Pilaster zu, der ursprünglich ebenfalls das Osttor zierte: Hier sind in drei an einem *signum* befestigten Tondi die vier amtierenden Kaiser der Zweiten Tetrarchie - die Augusti Constantius Chlorus und Galerius sowie die Caesares Severus und Maximinus Daia - dargestellt, die das mit einer Zwiebelknopffibel zusammengehaltene *paludamentum* tragen, sowie im untersten Medaillon die zwei mit einer Toga bekleideten *seniores Augusti* Diokletian und Maximian Herculius[5]. Da diese personelle Konstellation an der Spitze des Römischen Reiches nur zwischen 305, als Diokletian und Maximian Herculius als Augusti zurückgetreten waren, und 307, als sich Letzterer erneut zum Augustus ausrufen ließ, bestanden hat, kann durch diesen Reliefpilaster die Fertigstellung des zur Palastumfassung gehörigen Osttores sehr genau in die Anfangsphase der Regierungszeit des Galerius als Augustus (305 - 311 n.Chr.) datiert werden.

[1] KANITZ 1891, 96.

[2] SREJOVIĆ 1985, 51 - 67.

[3] Pseudo Aurelius Victor, epitomes de Caesaribus 40, 15-17; vgl. KUHOFF 2001, 761.

[4] SREJOVIĆ 1992/93, 41-47.

[5] SREJOVIĆ 1991, 179-185.

Es gibt aber, wie schon auf der Zeichnung von Kanitz zu sehen ist, an der Innenseite dieser Mauer noch Reste von viereckigen Türmen, die zu einer älteren Festungsanlage gehört haben (Abb. 3). Von dieser ist bisher nur im Bereich des Westtores ein Stück freigelegt worden, wobei auch drei Ziegel mit dem Stempel der *legio V Macedonica* zu Tage gekommen sind[6]. Diese Legion war unter Kaiser Aurelian (270-275 n.Chr.) aus den dakischen Provinzen abgezogen und wieder in ihren alten Standort Oescus am südlichen Donauufer (heute Bulgarien) verlegt worden. Ohne dass bisher eine gründliche stratigraphische Untersuchung durchgeführt worden ist, wird der Baubeginn der inneren Mauer von *Romuliana* bald nach der Ernennung des Galerius zum Caesar im Jahr 293 angesetzt[7] .

DER BEFUND

Seit 2004, also etwa 50 Jahre nach dem Beginn der systematischen Ausgrabungen in Romuliana, gibt es eine deutsch-serbische Kooperation zwischen der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des DAI in Frankfurt /M. und dem Archäologischen Institut Belgrad zur weiteren Erforschung des Palastes und dessen unmittelbarer Umgebung. Die deutsche Seite hat es dabei übernommen, einen geophysikalischen Survey außerhalb der Palastummauerung durchzuführen. Nach Versuchen mit verschiedenen Prospektionsmethoden hat sich gezeigt, dass hier die Bedingungen für geomagnetische Feldmessungen besonders günstig sind[8]. Dabei wurde gleich im ersten Jahr etwa 55 m vor der SW-Ecke der Palastumfassung eine sehr markante, annähernd quadratische Anomalie von ca. 4 x 4 m festgestellt[9], die im folgenden Jahr durch einen Sondageschnitt verifiziert wurde[10] . Bereits nach dem Abtragen der etwa 0,25 m dicken Humusschicht zeigte sich die Oberkante eines Mauerquadrates, dessen Seitenlänge 3,80 m betrug (Abb. 4). Die aus unterschiedlich großen Bruchsteinen und Kalkmörtel gefügten Mauern waren 0,70 -0,80 m dick und noch ca. 0,60 m hoch erhalten. Es handelt sich ausschließlich um den Fundamentbereich, während das aufgehende Mauerwerk durch Erosion und Bodenbearbeitung ebenso abgetragen ist wie das dazugehörige Laufniveau.

In derselben Tiefe wie die Maueroberkanten tauchte mittig vor der Nordwestseite ein verstürzter Kalksteinblock auf. Er ist 1,25 m lang, 0,84 m breit und 0,36 m hoch. Die Kanten und Ecken des Blockes sind grob herausgearbeitet, und auf seiner Oberseite befindet sich eine sorgfältig ausgeführte, viereckige, 0,67 x 0,31 m große und 0,24 m tiefe Aussparung. Diese war mit Mauerschutt aus Steinen und kalkmörtelhaltigem Lehm verfüllt. Auf der erhaltenen Maueroberkante sind zwei halbe Ziegelplatten mit einem Abstand, der genau der Länge des verstürzten Steinblockes entspricht, verlegt, und dazwischen ist das Mauerwerk nachträglich eingefügt worden.

Der Innenraum des Bauwerkes maß 2,50 auf 2,30 m. Hier befand sich eine 1,80 -2,00 m lange und ca. 1,40 m breite ovale Grube, die mit einer schmalen Holzschicht ausgekleidet worden. Diese Grube war mit gelblich-braunem Lehm verfüllt und zu einem annähernd runden (ca. 0,60 m im Dm. und 0,30 m hoch) Hügel aufgeschüttet worden (Abb. 5). Die Lehmverfüllung enthielt vereinzelte Holzkohlespuren von den Grubenwänden, aber weder Bauschutt noch Knochen oder sonstige Funde. Die Oberseite des kleinen Erdhügels war ebenfalls mit einer dünnen Holzschicht abgedeckt. Darüber war eine mit Erde vermischte Steinpackung gebreitet worden, die aus Bruchsteinen, Fragmenten von Wand- und Dachziegeln und Einzelteilen einer zerbrochenen Pithosmündung bestand. Auf dem höchsten Punkt der holzverschalten Aufschüttung kam eine goldene Zwiebelknopffibel zu Tage, deren bronzene Nadel vor der Niederlegung entfernt worden war (Abb. 6)[11]. Neben der Fibel lagen ebenfalls auf der verkohlten Holzschicht einzelne menschliche Knochen mit Brandspuren und wenige unverbrannte Tierknochen, darunter Pferdezähne, sowie folgende eiserne Gegenstände (Abb. 7)[12]:

1. Ein rituell verbogenes und zerbrochenes Schwert. Die erhaltene Länge beträgt 43 und 14 cm, die Breite am Griffansatz 5,4 cm und am erhaltenen unteren Ende 4,3 cm; die flach vierkantige Griffangel ist 7,5 cm lang, 0,8 bis 2,0 cm breit und 0,7 cm dick.

2. Eine Lanzen- oder Pfeilspitze mit geschlossener runder Tülle. Die blattförmige Spitze ist 8,8 cm lang und hat einen spitzovalen Querschnitt ohne Mittelrippe; die beschädigte Tülle ist 5,8 cm lang, ihr größter Durchmesser beträgt 2,1 cm.

[6] ČANAK-MEDIĆ 1978, 89-90; LALOVIĆ 1983, 163. 165, Kat.-Nr. 336-339: VASIĆ 1997, 152-154.

[7] VASIĆ 2007a, 51-52.

[8] v.BÜLOW - SCHÜLER 2007, 231-249.

[9] v.BÜLOW - SCHÜLER 2007, 232, Nr. 3.

[10] v.BÜLOW - SCHÜLER 2007, 237-239; v.BÜLOW et.al. 2009, 126-130.

[11] ŽIVIĆ 2007, 278, Kat.-Nr. 4, Taf. IIa.

[12] ŽIVIĆ 2007, 278, Kat.-Nr. 5, Taf. IIb.

3. Eisengerät mit abgebrochener, bandförmiger Griffangel. Das Gerät selber ist blattförmig gestaltet und zieht am unteren Ende auf einer Seite bogenförmig ein, auf der anderen Seite ist ein Stück ausgebrochen. Die Arbeitsfläche ist ca. 11 cm lang und maximal 4 cm breit und hat einen spitzovalen Querschnitt, die abgebrochene Griffangel ist 7,6 cm lang.

4. Eine zweiteilige Ringtrense, von der ein Verbindungsstück beschädigt ist. Der Außendurchmesser der Ringe beträgt 11 cm; die Ringe bestehen aus einem abgerundet-vierkantigen Stab von 1 cm Dicke, die Verbindungsstücke sind 8,4 am lang mit einem annähernd quadratischen Querschnitt von 1,2 cm Seitenlänge.

5. Zahlreiche kleine Eisenfragmente eines Umbos.

Außerdem wurden noch fünf Bronzemünzen und ein Bronzering mit rundem Querschnitt gefunden.

Von den fünf zu Tage gekommenen Bronzemünzen waren zwei noch lesbar: eine Prägung von Kaiser Claudius Gothicus (268-270 n. Chr.) und eine von Kaiser Probus (276-282 n. Chr.)[13]. Damit ist zumindest bereits ein *terminus post quem* gegeben. Die Zwiebelknopffibel läßt sich dem Typ 1 nach Keller zuweisen[14], der nach den neueren Untersuchungen von P.M. Pröttel etwas früher als um 290 n. Chr. angesetzt werden kann, wie Keller vermutete, allerdings wohl nicht vor 260, da bisher keine entsprechenden Funde aus einem Limeskastell bekannt geworden sind[15]. Die Fibel aus Gamzigrad weist bereits Merkmale auf, wie z. B. die Perlenkränze an den drei Zwiebelknöpfen und zwischen Bügel und Fuß, die nach Pröttel charakteristisch sind für den Fibeltyp 2, Variante A, dessen Auftreten er in tetrarchische Zeit datiert[16]. Am ehesten ist also eine Entstehung der Fibel aus Gamzigrad im letzten Viertel des 3. Jh. n. Chr. anzunehmen.

Zu dem zerbrochenen und verbogenen Schwert vom Typ *spatha* findet sich eine Parallele unter den insgesamt elf Langschwertern, die zusammen mit zahlreichen anderen Gegenständen um 260 n. Chr. bei Neupotz im Rhein versunken sind[17]. Eine genauere Datierung und Herkunftsbestimmung dieser Schwertform ist kaum möglich[18]. Das gilt ebenso für die blattförmige Geschoßspitze, deren Tüllendurchmesser von maximal 2,1 cm zu einem starken Pfeil bzw. zu einer leichten Wurflanze passen könnte. Auch das lanzettförmige Gerät mit der ungewöhnlichen bandförmigen Griffangel läßt sich zeitlich nicht genau einordnen. Hierbei muss sogar fraglich bleiben, ob es sich überhaupt um eine Waffe handelt[19].

Ringtrensen waren als Bestandteil des „Zaumzeuges mit Zügelketten“ vom späten 1. bis zum Ende des 3. Jh. n. Chr. v. a. im germanischen, aber auch im provinzialrömischen Umfeld gebräuchlich, ohne dass eine genauere zeitliche oder räumliche Eingrenzung möglich ist[20]. Ein Exemplar gehörte auch zu dem um 260 n. Chr. bei Neupotz versunkenen „Barabarenschatz“ [21].

VERSUCH EINER INTERPRETATION

Trotz der durch Erosion und Beackerung verursachten weitgehenden Zerstörung des Bauwerkes lässt sich dieses eindeutig als ein gemauertes Grabmonument identifizieren, dessen vier Ecken nach den Haupthimmelsrichtungen orientiert waren und dessen Zugang sich ursprünglich in der Mitte der Nordostwand befand. Nach der Belegung wurde dieser Zugang zugemauert und darüber ein Steinblock gelegt, in dessen Aussparung vermutlich eine Stele eingezapft war. Zwei weitere Steinblöcke mit ähnlichen, wenn auch kleineren Aussparungen dürften gleichfalls zur Aufnahme von Stelen oder auch von Architekturteilen eines möglichen Oberbaues gedient haben. Von der Gestaltung des oberirdischen Monumentes liegen keine weiteren Bauteile vor. Nach Parallelbefunden von anderen Orten ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es gar keinen Aufbau gegeben hat, sondern dass es sich um eine Art Grabeinfassungsmauer handelt[22], auf welche die Basissteine für zwei, drei oder vier Stelen aufgesetzt waren[23].

Ob es sich um eine tatsächliche Brandbestattung oder um ein Kenotaph handelt, ist wegen der geringen Menge von menschlichen Knochen mit Brandspuren nur schwer zu entscheiden. Der Charakter der Beigaben weist es jedoch eindeutig als Kriegergrab aus.

[13] VASIĆ 2007b, 309, Nr. 1.2.

[14] KELLER 1971, 33.

[15] PRÖTTEL 1988, 352-353.

[16] PRÖTTEL 1988, 353-354.

[17] KÜNZL 1993, 75-80 Typ B 3.

[18] ULBERT 1974, 215; BERNHARD 2006, 156.

[19] SCHUSTER 2005.

[20] WILBERS-ROST 1994, 61-62.

[21] HANEMANN 2006, 140.

[22] Ähnliche Anlagen sind z.B. aus den gallischen und den germanischen Provinzen bekannt, wo es neben deutlich größeren auch solche mit vergleichbaren Maßen gab, vgl. ABEGG-WIGG 2000.

[23] Vergleichbare Steinblöcke zur Aufnahme von Steinstelen wurden z.B. in dem Bergbaugebiet von Alburnus Maior (Roşia Montană) in der Provinz Dakien gefunden, s. TIMOFAN - BARBU 2007. Stelen mit entsprechenden Einlasszapfen wurden auch in Carnuntum, Petronell, Provinz Pannonien gefunden, s. KANDLER 2008, Nr. 1, 2, 8, 10, 11 und 12.

Dem Toten Waffen mit ins Grab zu geben, wird in der Forschung allgemein als germanische Sitte angesprochen.[24] Die auf der Spitze des Erdhügels unter der Steinpackung niedergelegte goldene Zwiebelknopffibel ist dagegen zweifelsfrei als Rangabzeichen eines römischen Militärangehörigen anzusprechen[25]. Insgesamt soll folgende hypothetische Interpretation des Befundes zur Diskussion gestellt werden: Das Grabmonument in Gamzigrad ist wahrscheinlich für einen Germanen errichtet worden, der als hoher Offizier im römischen Heer in oder bei Gamzigrad gedient hat und im letzten Viertel des 3. Jh. n. Chr. hier oder an einem anderen Ort ums Leben gekommen ist. Es spricht vieles dafür, dass dieses Grab angelegt wurde, bevor Kaiser Galerius hier seinen Palast errichten ließ. Und es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass dieses Grab zeitlich und funktional mit der älteren Umfassungsmauer in Verbindung gebracht werden kann. Zusammen mit den eingangs erwähnten Ziegelstempeln bietet dieser monumentale Grabbau ein weiteres Indiz dafür, dass sich in der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jh. an der Stelle des späteren Kaiserpalastes eine Militärstation befunden hat[26].

[24] S. Z. B. BÖHME 1974, passim; SCHULZE-DÖRLAMM 1985, passim; SCHULTZE 1989, passim; vgl. auch GODŁOWSKI 1994, passim; BIBORSKI - KACZANOWSKI 2001, passim.

[25] ZABEHLICKY 1980, passim.

[26] v. BÜLOW (im Druck).

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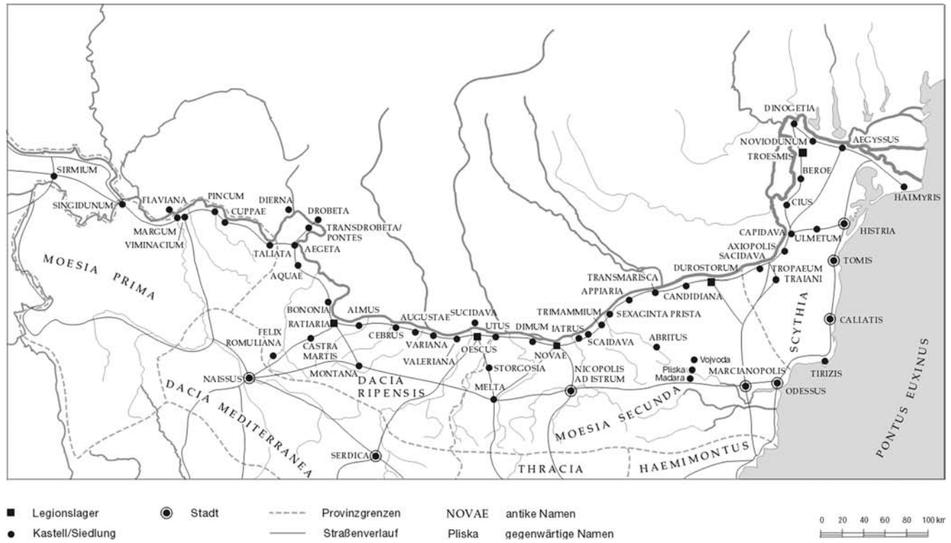

Abb. 1. Karte der spätantiken Provinz Dacia ripensis, heute Ostserbien/ Westbulgarien (K. Ruppel, Frankfurt/ M.).

Abb. 2. Gamzigrad, Serbien. Die Ruinen des tetrarchenzeitlichen Palastes *Romuliana* (Archäologisches Institut, Belgrad).

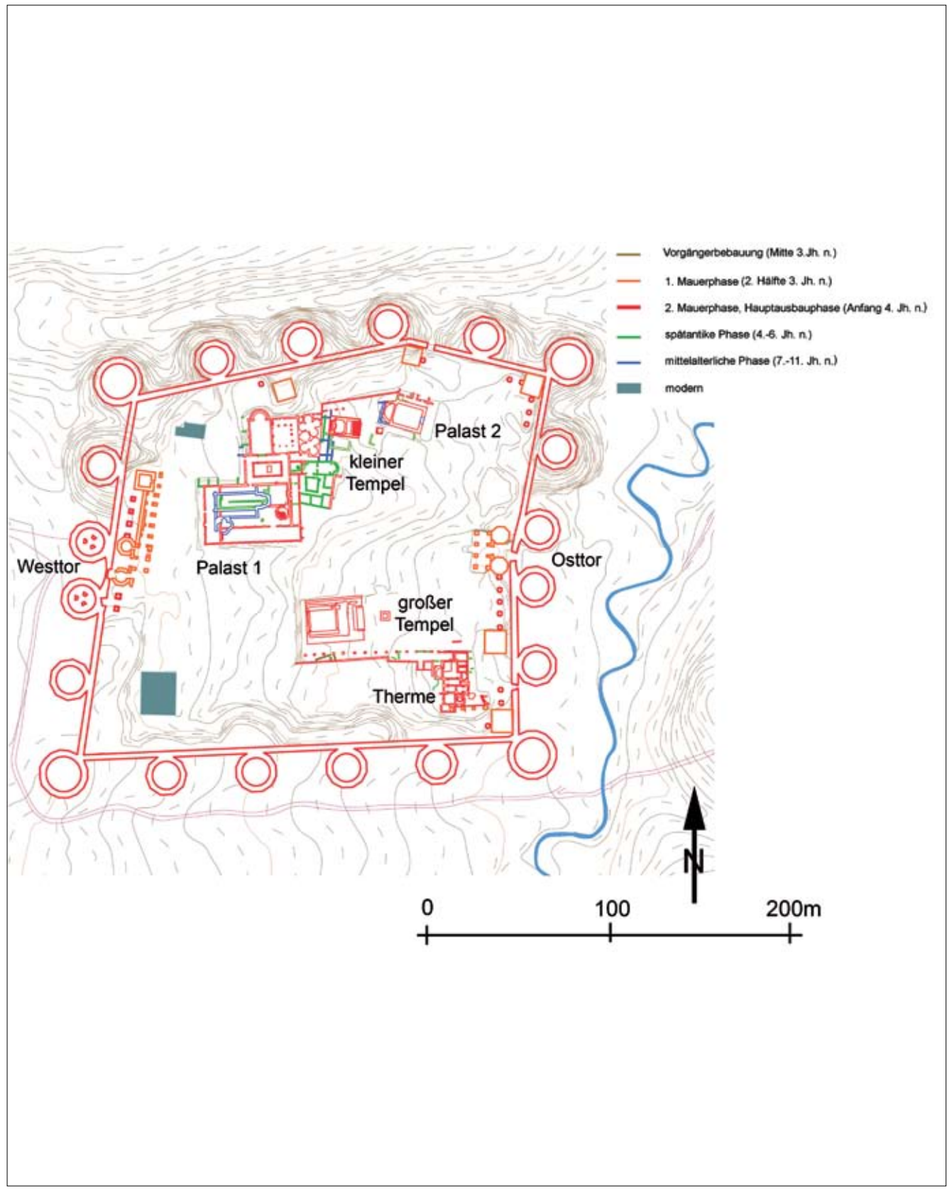

Abb. 3. Plan der tetrarchenzeitlichen Palastanlage *Romuliana* -Gamzigrad (Serbien) (U. Wulf-Rheidt, Berlin).

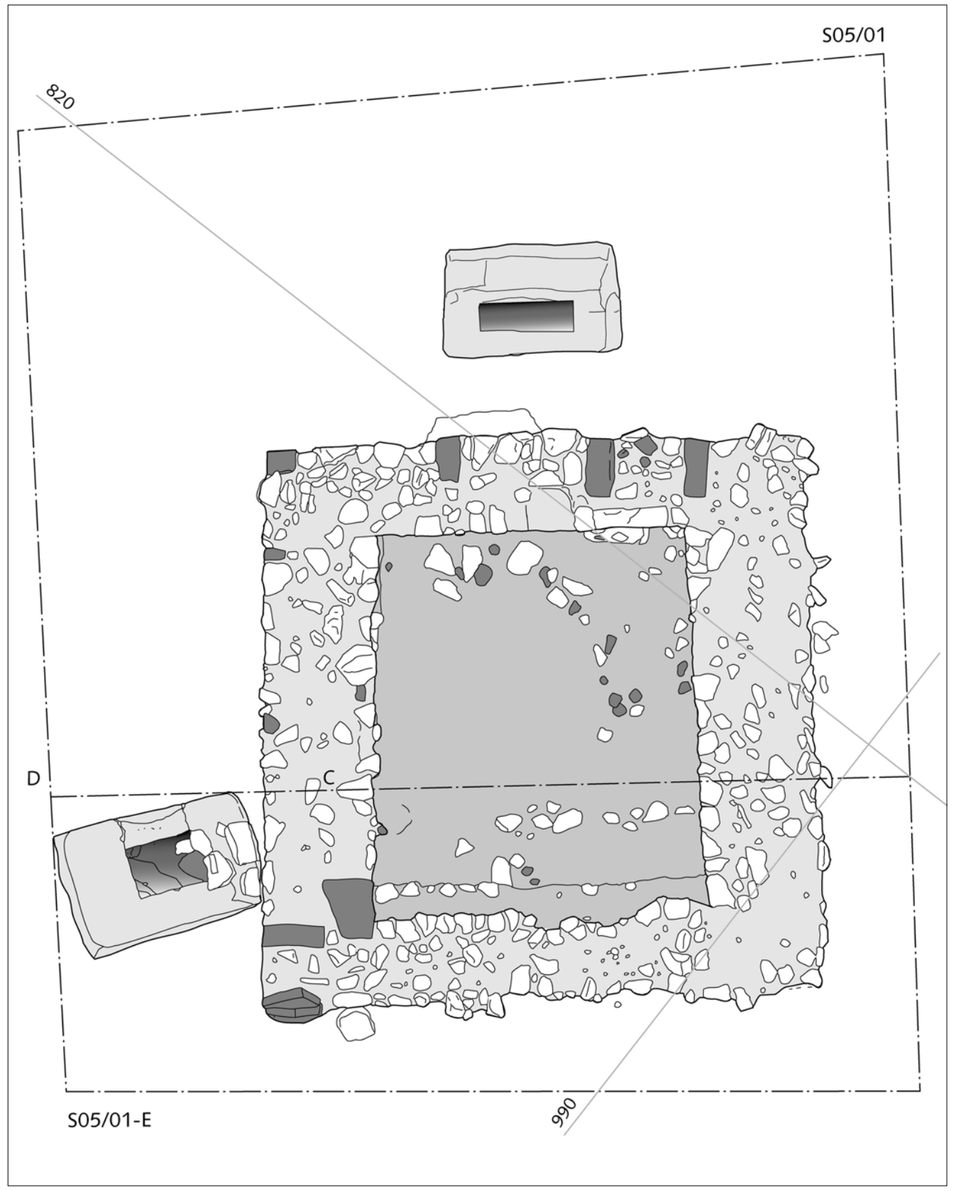

Abb. 4. Mauerplanum der Grabanlage vor der Südwestecke des Palastes *Romuliana* -Gamzigrad (H.-J. Köhler, Frankfurt/ M.).

Abb. 5. Profil durch den Erdhügel in der Grabanlage vor der Südwestecke des Palastes *Romuliana* -Gamzigrad (Autorin).

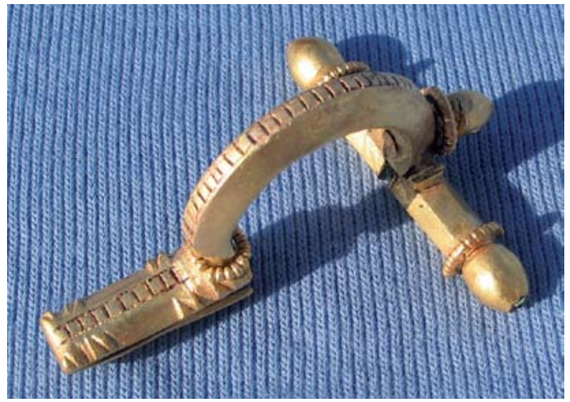

Abb. 6. Goldene Zwiebelknopffibel aus dem Grab vor der Südwestecke des Palastes *Romuliana* -Gamzigrad (Autorin).

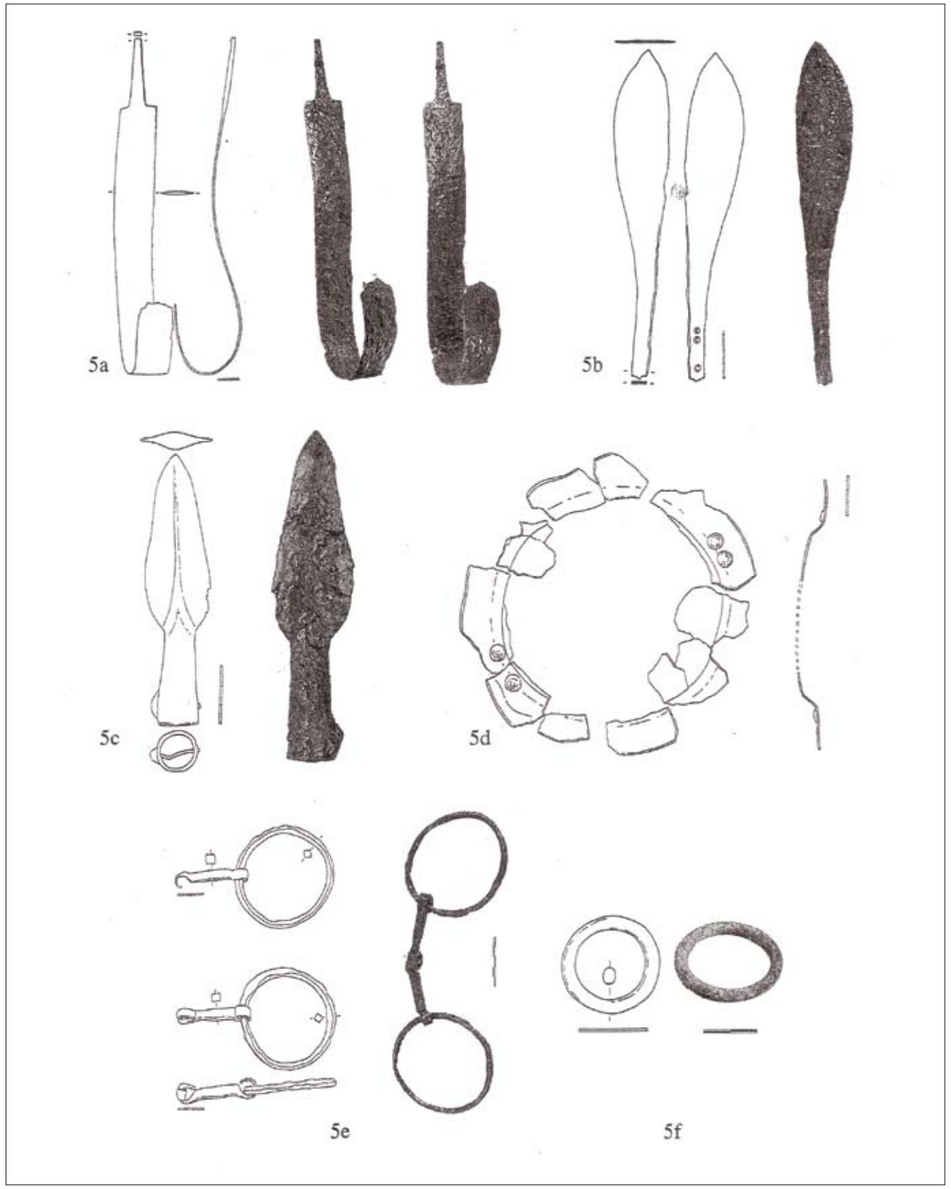

Abb. 7. Waffenbeigaben aus dem Grab vor der Südwestecke des Palastes *Romuliana* -Gamzigrad (nach Živić 2007, Taf. IIb).

Katarzyna Czarnecka

WARRIORS IN THIS WORLD AND THE AFTERLIFE PRZEWORSK CULTURE GRAVES CONTAINING WEAPONS

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Archaeological finds from cemeteries constitute a vast, albeit not entirely objective, source of information. Contrary to finds from settlements, objects found in grave units were put there by people who purposefully administered burials. These objects provide information not only about the deceased, their social position and a status in the group which organised the burial rites, but also some hints concerning beliefs and ideas about the afterlife. A specific set of objects may provide information on social status, wealth or personal prestige, and the function or occupation of the deceased. It also indirectly conveys information about the beliefs of the society which organised the funeral. The possibility of error or misinterpretation is always present, because scholars attempt to portray the reality of immaterial phenomena and ideas based on relics of physical culture. It should always be recalled that cemeteries yield a biased image due to the burial rites. Not all things used or worn by living people were deposited in graves. Some of them were destroyed or omitted during cremation, and some were forbidden by some form of taboo.[1] On the other hand, not all things found in graves were the personal belongings of the deceased. Some items were deposited in graves to serve a symbolic, magical (apotropaic) function. Some also ended up there accidentally.

[1] Weapons and tools in the Wielbark culture, which during the Roman era encompassed the northern and eastern parts of Poland.

In the pre-Roman and Roman periods, cremation was the prevailing burial rite, although inhumation graves were not that rare in *Germania libera*. According to complex experimental studies,[2] burning on the pyre results in random destruction of objects deposited on the pyre, i.e., which part of them preserved, and in what condition and their condition varied. Some sort of selection of burned goods should also not be discounted. Most likely not all personal belongings and funeral gifts burned on the pyre were placed in the grave pit. The small amount of burned bones found in graves can provide some evidence. According to experiments, a burned human skeleton should weight approximately 2.5 kg,[3] but much less was found in graves. Additionally, incomplete finds, e.g. a scabbard without a sword, a lock without its key, suggest that some choice – deliberate or accidental – was made on the grave goods which were actually deposited in graves.[4] This is also the case for weapons. The set of arms used by a warrior during his lifetime may have differed (more or less) from the set of arms found in his grave.[5]

[2] BECKER et al. 2005, 162.
[3] PIONTEK 1976, 261.
[4] CZARNECKA 1990, 16; BECKER et al. 2006, 140.
[5] KONTNY 2003, 113; BOCHNAK 2006; BEMMANN 2007, 81.

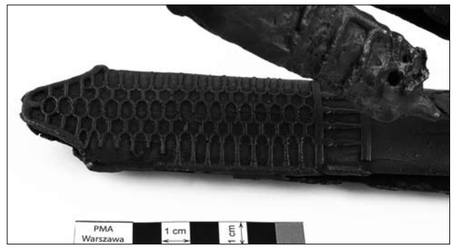

Fig. 2. Kamieńczyk, distr. Wyszków, grave 301, iron, photo by R. Sofuł.

The Przeworsk culture, however, is a privileged field of study based on the sepulchral materials which were the result of burial customs. Cremation graves, with or without urns (pit graves), prevail in Przeworsk culture cemeteries: inhumation graves are extremely rare.[6] The burial rite, which required the placement of numerous different goods in graves, including weaponry, was rooted in Celtic tradition, and was adopted, to various extents, from the Celts by the majority of the 'Free Germany' (*Germania libera*) cultures of the pre-Roman- and Roman periods. Among them, the Przeworsk culture is an outstanding phenomenon with the highest percentage of graves containing full sets of weaponry and other grave goods. Cemeteries of that culture yielded an extraordinarily large number of richly supplied graves with many different kinds of grave goods, not only personal adornment but also tools, weapons and pottery. This helped chronological studies, but also allowed an attempt to reconstruct the "living culture". The main indicators of men's graves are weapons, sometimes tools (e.g. smithery implements) and some specific types of items of everyday use, such as razor blades. Graves with more or less complete sets of weapons, including spears or lances, shields, and, less often, swords, are interpreted as warrior graves. The amount and variety of the weapons found facilitate a cautious attempt to reconstruct the relevant combat technique (cavalry or infantry, i.e., mounted or foot soldiers)[7] and also the social status of the buried warrior or his position in the military hierarchy of the group which conducted the burial. In warrior societies, weapons were a status symbol, and their number, quality and appearance were very important.

The typical set of weaponry in pre-Roman (second and first centuries BC) Przeworsk-culture graves consists of, most often, a spearhead, or (rarely) two spearheads, a shield boss, and very rarely a shield grip, which indicates that mostly wooden grips without metal (iron or bronze) mountings were used.[8] Swords were rare. There were two main kinds of swords used. The most common were double-edged long swords stemming from the Celtic tradition (or imported from the Celts). They were usually found together with scabbards/iron sheaths (of Celtic origin) often decorated with S-shaped details (phase A2) or decorated with separate

Fig. 3. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 282, iron, photo by T. Bochnak.

plates with fine *opus interasile* ornaments (Celtic imports) (Fig. 2), or a simple grid pattern (most probably of local origin) in phase A3 (Fig. 3).[9]

[6] CZARNECKA 2003.
[7] KONTNY 2002; 2008.
[8] KONTNY 2002; BOCHNAK 2005.
[9] CZARNECKA 2002; BOCHNAK - CZARNECKA 2006, 25-27.

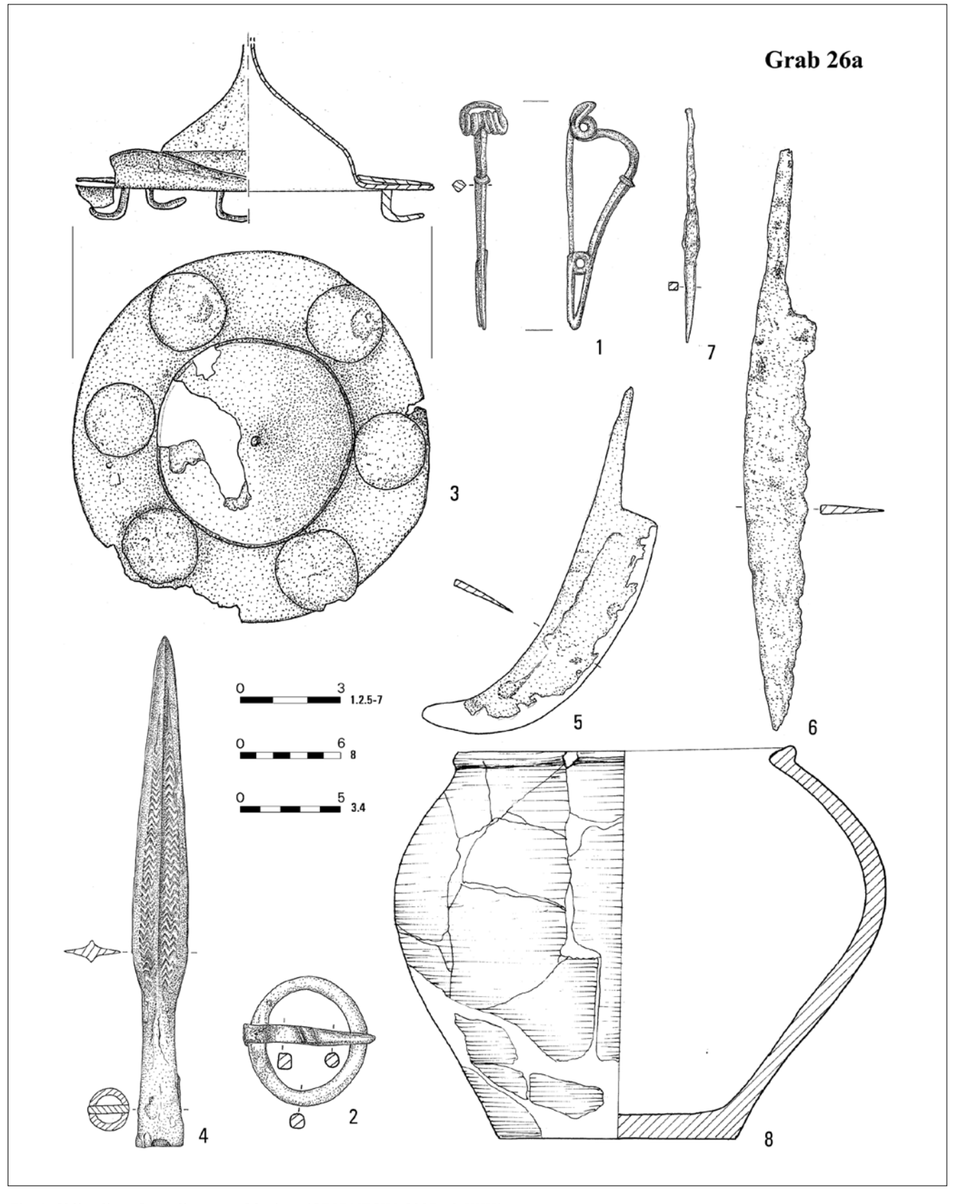

Fig. 1. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 26a, iron (CZARNECKA 2007, pl. XXII).

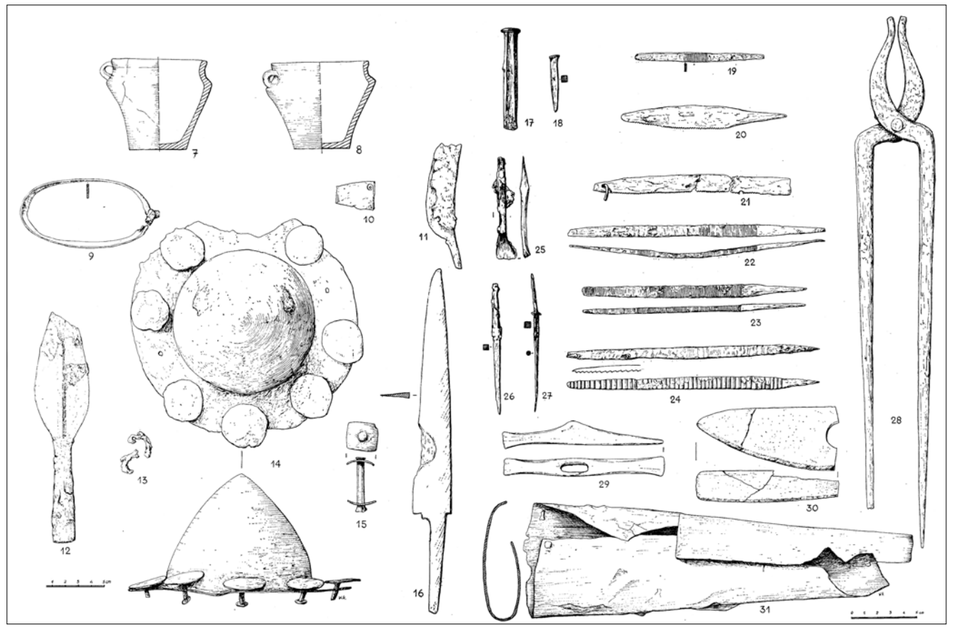

Fig. 4. Wesółki, distr. Kalisz, grave 36, iron, clay (DĄBROWSKI-KASZEWSKA 1968, pl. 128:2, 3).

Another type of locally made (of local Germanic origin) single-edged sword was often found together with local wooden scabbards with iron mountings, fittings and chapes. In a few cases only the scabbard was found, without a sword.[10] It is almost impossible to accidentally miss a sword during collection of grave goods from a pyre, so it must be a deliberate action. Most probably the scabbard served as a substitute for a sword (*pars pro toto).* Since the end of phase A2, spurs appeared among grave goods, usually only one rather than a pair.[11] Besides weapons, tools were also deposited in men's graves: for example, smithery implements such as hammers, tongs and rasps, which were also adopted from the Celts (Fig. 4).

In contrast to neighbouring cultures (most clearly seen in the cemeteries of the Wielbark culture, where weapons were totally excluded from the grave goods), a rich set of weaponry is typical of the Przeworsk culture man's graves also in the early Roman period. Most often spear- and lanceheads were found, as well as shield components: the boss and grip with other mountings (shield rim). Swords are rare: single-edged and double-edged (Fig. 5).

Among the double-edged swords, very many were imported from the Roman Empire.[12] They were of much better quality. Some of them have inlaid decorations of Mars (Oblin, distr. Garwolin, Podlodów, distr. Piaski, Rzeczyca Długa, distr. Stalowa Wola; Hromówka, obl. Chmielnickij, Ukraine) or stamps.[13] Spurs, usually in pairs, were often found in rich graves together with weapons. Battleaxes are rare, while bows were not often used, since arrowheads are not a common find, and was used for hunting rather than in combat (KONTNY 2008, 130). Rather unique hunting weapons include harpoons, most likely used to catch large fish (e.g. sturgeon) in the Vistula River. There are only four of them known: three from Oblin, and one in nearby Nieszawa[14] (Fig. 6:5).

[10] E.g. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 244 (CZARNECKA 2007a, tabl. CCVI:244).

[11] E.g. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 163, CZARNECKA 2007a, 45, tabl. CLX.163:2) Karczewiec, distr. Węgrow, grave 152a and 178 (DĄBROWSKA 1973, tabl. XL:9; XLVIII:11), Ciecierzyn, distr. Kluczbork, grave 10 and 99 (MARTYNIAK, PASTWIŃSKI, PAZDA 1997, tabl.XII:9, XCIX:11); BOCHNAK 2004, 27nn.

[12] BIBORSKI - KACZANOWSKI 2001; 2003.

[13] BIBORSKI 1994.

[14] CZARNECKA 2007a, 84.

Fig. 5. Oronne, distr. Garwolin, grave, iron, photo by M. Grygiel.

The burial rite of the Przeworsk culture changed in the late Roman period: the graves were smaller, shallow, and contained only a few artefacts (mostly separate pieces or fragments) and small quantity of burned bones. It seems that individual graves were less important than previously. This tendency was nonetheless stronger at the end of the Przeworsk culture. During the Migration Period, cemeteries of Dobrodzień type were dominant: this means a thick layer of burned bones, grave goods and charcoal, without separate graves. Weapons were still deposited, but in lesser numbers, and there is no possibility of reconstructing closed assemblages.

A specific way of dealing with weapon in graves may be noted in the Przeworsk culture cemeteries. Swords and spear- or lanceheads were usually found at the very edge of the grave pit; sometimes the sword marked a boundary (Fig. 7). Lance- or spearheads were stuck in the sand wall of the grave pit before other grave goods and burned bones were deposited there with the charcoal from the pyre. In many cases, all pieces of weaponry were put together in a compact pile, and placed just under the urn; the urn stands atop it. The bent sword could also lie on the urn. In rare cases, a shield, more correctly a shield boss, served as a container for small finds.[15] Perhaps all gifts were placed on the shield, rather than on the pyre, and burned.

In a few cases lanceheads were deliberately inserted into the grave fill (Fig. 8). This, most likely, apotropaic procedure may explain the reported – albeit not very often – finds of weapons (spear- and lanceheads) in women's graves.[16] The attempt to interpret such cases as graves of female warriors, "shield-maidens", known

[15] Oblin, graves 30 and 45b(15 items!) (CZARNECKA 2007a, 18, 21), Nadkole, distr. Węgrów, grave 13 (ANDRZEJOWSKI 1998, 19), Ciecierzyn, distr. Kluczbork, graves 141 and 197 (MARTYNIAK, PASTWIŃSKI, PAZDA 1997, 32, 41), Wólka Domaniowska, grave 66 (CZARNECKA 2005, 67)

[16] A. Wickholm interprets this custom differently, seeing the insertion of spearheads as a symbolic "piercing with a spear", linked to the cult of Odin, or as a special form of closing the grave, "nailing" the dead, but not due to fear but rather for the deceased to "keep close", i.e., to keep them from departing (WICKHOLM 2006, 202).

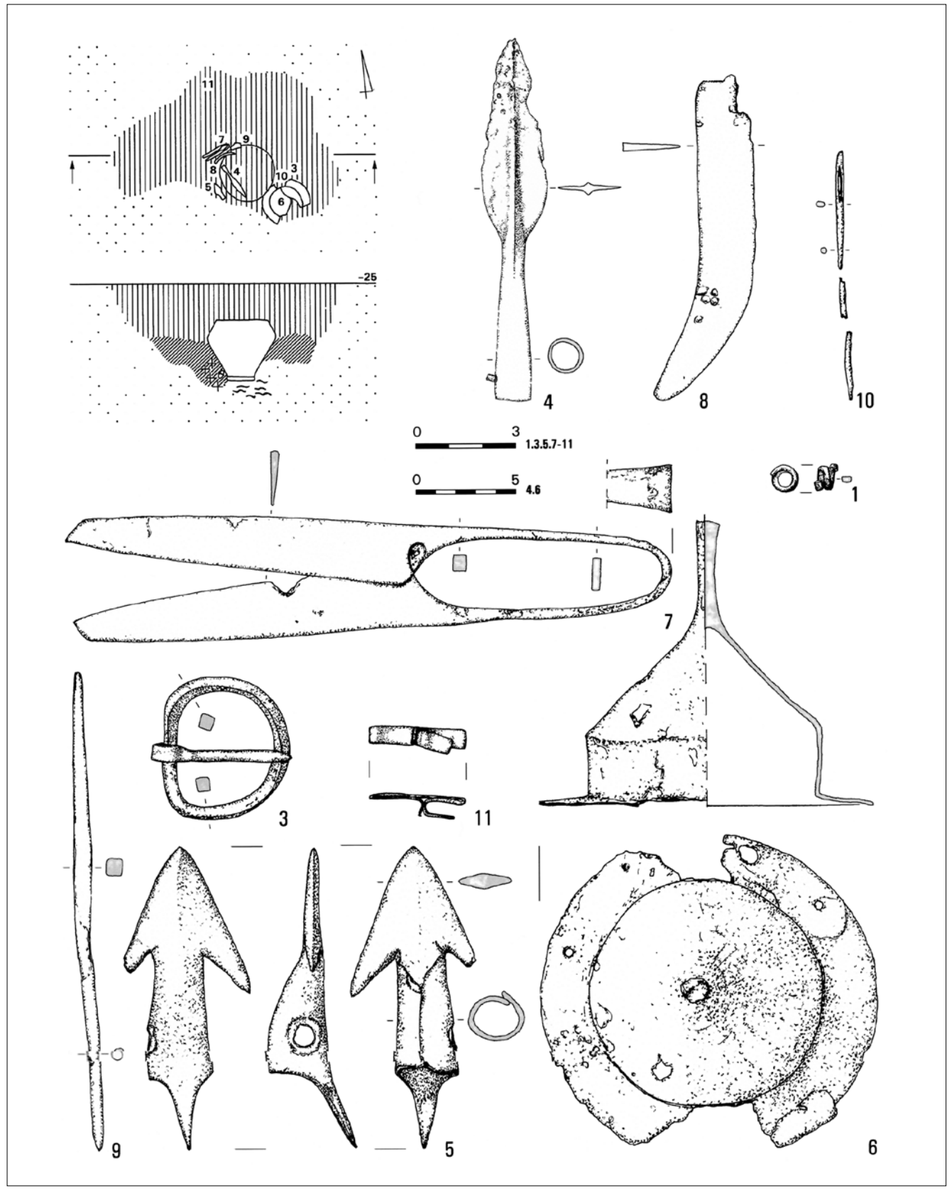

Fig. 6. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 222, iron (CZARNECKA 2007, pl. CXCI).

Fig. 7. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 45a, photo by K. Czarnecka.

from early medieval sources, is rather unconvincing.[17] A similar magically protective function may also be assigned to strips of chain mail, often with miniature shields and tools attached, found in women's and children's graves of the early Roman period. In these cases, fragments of military gear (chain mail) serve as an amulet.[18]

Most objects were destroyed before being deposited in graves.[19] Swords and spearheads were usually bent (once or twice), sometimes even broken. Shield bosses were flattened and disfigured. Edges or points of spearheads and, rarely, swords were also intentionally blunted. Some of this damage must have been done after burning on a pyre, because sometimes the spearhead sockets were flattened and the shield bosses disfigured in such a way that would have been possible only after removal of the wooden elements; moreover it was easier to destroy iron that was dehardened by fire.

The reasons why the weaponry had to be destroyed are rather complex and difficult to explain with any certainty. Perhaps it was a some manner of re-enactment of a last battle? Generally, it is believed that the destruction of weaponry was a sort of ritual "killing" so as to enable them to accompany their owners to the netherworld. Numerous different objects, such as tools and even ornaments, brooches were destroyed prior to placement in a grave, but weaponry was the most often and most severely damaged, which suggests that the purpose was to prevent it from being used by the deceased against survivors (the idea of the dead returning and being a threat to the living – their relatives – is

[17] BOCHNAK 2010. However, some authors cite selected written sources i.e. Cassius Dio, LXX1, with information about the bodies of armed women found on the battlefield during the Marcomannic Wars. Unfortunately, this part of the great work of Cassius Dio is missing, and known only from medieval, Byzantine, quotations (WIPSZYCKA-BRAVO 2001, 83), so it must be treated with great caution.

[18] CZARNECKA 1994.

[19] CZARNECKA - KONTNY 2009.

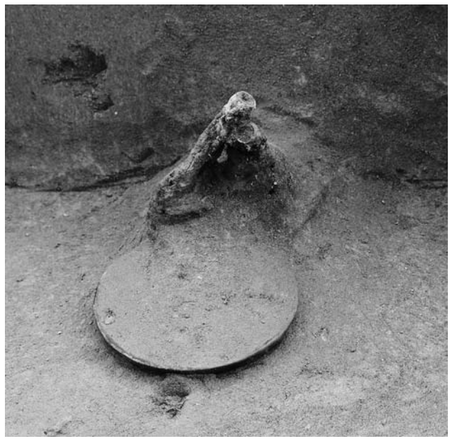

Fig. 8. Czersk, distr. Piaseczno, grave 79, photo by A. Wiśniewska.

well known from later Germanic tradition, and can be confirmed to an extent in the Roman-era cemeteries by the so-called *Sonderbestattungen*, special, unusual burials).[20] The late Roman-era (phase D) inhumation graves from Żerniki Wielkie (ehem. Gross Sürding), Wrocław district, may serve as an example. In some graves the skull was cut off and placed by the feet of the body.[21]

A more practical reason for this destruction should not be excluded: it is much easier to place bent or broken swords in urns or small pits. It seems, however, that this interpretation does not explain the rather numerous finds of twisted swords in very large (up to 2 m long) pre-Roman grave pits.

It must be recalled that the same ritual act may have more than one interpretation, e.g. destruction of the sword may be explained at the most primitive level: to prevent the dead from using it against the living; a more sophisticated explanation would be to "kill" the sword, to release its soul so that it could reach the netherworld, because in this world everything is opposite and damaged and incomplete things belong to it. Finally, the ritual may also be understood as a way of making the weapon "sacred", fit for religious or symbolic purposes.[22] Perhaps a clear sign of the exclusion of this object from the use of the living was needed?

[20] TEMPELMANN-MĄCZYŃSKA 1989.

[21] ZOTZ 1935, 44, fig. 36, tabl. IX.

[22] CZARNECKA 1990, 85.

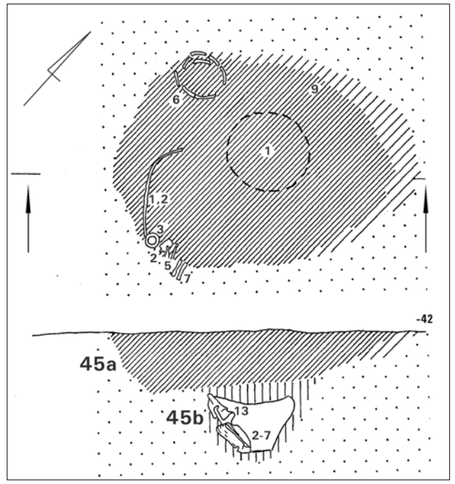

Fig. 9. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 45a and 45b, sketch by K. Czarnecka.

Usually there were no clearly divided zones for men's and women's graves in Przeworsk culture cemeteries. They were most likely organised as family groups. Sometimes, however, a specific site was chosen for a specific group. At the cemetery in Oblin, five vast pit graves were placed parallelly at its southern edge.[23] All of them were dated to phase A3 and they contained similar rich complete sets of weaponry: swords in decorated scabbards, spearheads and shield-bosses. One of them contained a single-edged sword of local provenance (the others were probably Celtic imports), but with a richly decorated scabbard featuring a bronze open work application. It would appear that these were graves of retinue-members, who perhaps fell in the same battle or war.[24]

[23] CZARNECKA 1999, 167; CZARNECKA 2007a, tabl. CCLXXXVI:1.

[24] A similar interpretation of a quite interesting recently excavated small cemetery of elite warriors (a retinue?) in Mutin, at the River Seym in Ukraine is made by R. Terpilovskiy (TERPILOVSKIY 2010, 145). A group of about 12 warriors was buried with very rich equipment, including swords in scabbards with *opus interasile* decoration, and single-edged swords, (Celtic?) helmets, spurs, shield bosses and lanceheads together with bronze vessels and small items such as belt clasps and brooches, dated to phase A3 of the pre-Roman period. These unusual – for central Ukraine – finds show the potent influences of Celtic culture, but also the Przeworsk culture (the aforementioned Oblin cemetery). Some elements may be linked to the Jastorf circle or even Scandinavian weapons.

Various ritual practices of disturbing graves, e.g. the "reopening" of graves some time after the funeral, are known from the Roman era, mostly from the Wielbark and Černiahow culture (both connected with the historical Goths) cemeteries.[25] The possibility of such rituals being practiced by neighbouring cultures, including the Przeworsk culture, should not be discounted. They can only be ascertained with greater difficulty due to the prevailing burial custom: cremation. Any disturbance of the skeleton can be seen more easily than in an urn or pit grave. Some traces of plunderers disturbing the original grave can, however, be discerned. Not all such acts should be seen as mere theft to obtain valuables. Such incursion into a burial pit may have also had some sort of ritual, symbolic or social meaning.

A very interesting example of similar practices may be the rather unusual stratification of graves 45a and 45b from the Przeworsk culture cemetery in Oblin, distr. Garwolin.[26] A grave of a rich warrior, containing an immense quantity of weapons and other valuable objects and dated to phase B2, was deliberately placed under the grave of a warrior from the pre-Roman Period, phase A3. The time span between these two funerals is about 150 years. Both graves were richly furnished with outstanding sets of weaponry: the older grave with a sword in a decorated scabbard, two lanceheads and a shield boss with grip (a rarely found item from that time). The later burial was extremely rich: an imported sword with inlaid ornamentation, 5 lanceheads, a harpoon, a shield boss with grip, a silver inlaid brooch and belt buckles, and many other items, among them melted glass most probably from a glass vessel. The depositing "in" or "beneath" the earlier grave was not accidental, but rather deliberate. The fill of the older grave was carefully removed and replaced – there are no traces of disturbance of the grave fill in the pit. The most likely interpretation is that a great warrior or important military leader had to be placed in the grave of great warrior of the past, a local hero probably, whose grave site was still remembered after 150 years (Fig. 9).[27]

A weapon was a marker of rank in this militarily orientated society. There is nothing unusual in the fact that the best, most distinguished warriors or chiefs were honoured with an outstanding set of weapons:

[25] KOKOWSKI 1992, ŻÓRAWSKA 2007, 467; KONTNY 2008, 108.

[26] CZARNECKA 2007a, 21, tabl. XLV - L.

[27] CZARNECKA 1999, 167, 169.

Fig. 10. Łęg Piekarski, distr. Turek, grave 2, photo by R. Sofuł.

more then one spearhead, shield, or even sword. It is, however, very difficult to establish if weaponry was doubled or if it was an extended set of weaponry used by one warrior.[28] It depends on the combat technique. Two or more spearheads are thought to be the gear of a single individual. In the Przeworsk culture during the early Roman period, a common set of weaponry encompassed a long lancehead and a smaller, often barbed, spearhead. This is a good example for the full gear complement, as these two items were used for different purposes in practice: different ways of fighting (one for throwing, another in close combat).[29] Two shields can have some practical meaning, as shields were easily damaged in battle[30]. Two nearly identical double-edged swords (as in the case of grave 4 from Korytnica, distr. Jędrzejów,[31] must be interpreted as doubled weapons, because they in fact may function only in the same way. The additional sword or spear could be a valuable heirloom, or important war trophy, which, placed in a grave, was supposed to stress the prestige and status of the deceased. Double- and single-edged swords[32] are two kinds of weaponry used for different fighting techniques. Long, double-edged swords were the most effective when fighting on horseback, while shorter, single-edged swords were infantry weapons. Such extended sets of swords are not known from the Przeworsk culture cemeteries. The large, long-blade knives sometimes found with military gear may have fulfilled this function (e.g. Sandomierz-Krakówka, distr. Sandomierz).[33] A somewhat similar situation was observed at the newly-discovered cemetery in Czersk, distr. Piaseczno, south of Warsaw.[34] Grave 98 contained only the blade (the upper part with its handle is broken off) of single-edged sword in addition to a

[28] CZARNECKA 2007b.

[29] KONTNY 2008, 111.

[30] Two shield bosses were found in graves not only from the pre-Roman period (e.g. Oblin, distr. Garwolin, grave 65, CZARNECKA 2007a, pl. LXIX; or Ciecierzyn, distr. Kluczbork, grave 8, MARTYNIAK, PASTWIŃSKI, PAZDA 1997, pl. X) but also from the early Roman period (e.g. Czersk, distr. Piaseczno, grave 7, unpublished, State Archaeological Museum inventory number IV-10485).

[31] CZARNECKA 2007b, 51.

[32] Such assemblages are known from the Oksywie culture e.g. Troszyn, distr. Kamień (MACHAJEWSKI 2006, 86, 87, fig. 9 - 15) or Rządz, distr. Grudziądz (CZARNECKA 2007 b, 53, fig. 4).

[33] KOKOWSKI, ŚCIBIOR 1990. Pl. 385(4):13.

[34] Unpublished, excavation in 2010, by this author, State Archaeological Museum, inventory number IV-10485.

whole, bent double-edged sword with preserved antler knob, and other items: a shield boss and grip, lance heads, whetstone and so forth. This not practical, but only symbolic function of the broken blade confirms that the grave inventory could not be treated as a mere reflection of "*Lebende Kultur*".

As noted above, outstanding warriors or warlords were distinguished by the outstanding weaponry in their graves. But the lack of weapons in otherwise very rich burials may have some meaning and point to some important conclusions as a distinctive feature of a specific social category. The so-called chieftain graves (*Fürstengräber*), both from the early Roman period (the so-called Lubieszewo/Lübsow type) and late Roman period (so-called Zakrzów-Hassleben-Leuna type) constitute an "international" or "intercultural" phenomenon in *Germania libera*, Barbaricum. They differed from the "egalitarian" remainder of the population in burial rites (inhumation versus the standard, prevailing cremation), monumental grave forms (a large stone or wooden chamber, often covered with a barrow), outstanding wealth – a considerable amount of imported bronze and glass vessels, gold and silver ornaments in international styles – and a lack of weaponry (Fig. 10). The last feature is unexpected, and should have some social and ritual meaning. In these strongly militarised societies, where free warriors were the basic social group, weapons were status symbols, and their quality and also appearance were very important. This specific feature has opened a still lasting discussion concerning possible interpretations. These graves were treated as burials of priests, "druids" or foreign elites, but such an interpretation has been rejected by more recent scholarship.[35]

Besides the typical *Fürstengräber* of the Lubieszewo horizon, rich and weaponless, there was a group of graves equal to the *Fürstengräber* mentioned above in richness of its goods (gold and silver ornaments, imported vessels). The difference is in the burial rite (cremation) and the presence of often spectacular, outstanding weaponry, in the grave inventory.[36] A good example is the grave from Sandomierz-Krakówka, distr. Sandomierz,[37] furnished with a full set of weapons (sword, shield, lance- and spearhead, large (battle) knife, bronze spurs) and imported bronze vessels and silver, gilded decorative mountings, or grave 22 from Witaszewice, distr. Łęczyca,[38] with chain mail, a spur and bronze vessels. The most characteristic finds of that sort, outside the Przeworsk culture area, are graves from Hagenow in Mecklemburg.[39] In these very rich burials, besides the gold and silver ornaments and imported Roman vessels, helmets and chain mail were also found, which are quite unique in Barbaricum: a clear sign of the prestige and privileged social status of the deceased.

This clear distinction between the various types of the "chieftain graves", i.e., with and without weapons, may correspond to the description made by Tacitus in *Germania* in which he distinguished kings – *reges*, and military leaders – *duces*.[40] So it may be assumed that the typical Lubieszewo-type princely graves constitute burials of *reges*. Their attributes were not weaponry but other prestige items and magical or symbolic objects reflecting the sacral functions of these kings. The rich furnished graves with outstanding weaponry may have been burials of *duces*, military leaders, also with high prestige and power, based more on military successes and personal charisma.[41]

When attempting to interpret sepulchral material, it must always be remembered that the world of the dead – cemeteries – are not a direct representation of the world of the living and what we see is a picture filtered by beliefs, rituals and customs. The Wielbark culture serves as a good example: long a northern and eastern neighbour of the Przeworsk culture, it was associated with the historical Goths. The burial rites, funeral customs, of that culture strictly forbade the placement of iron items, weapons above all, in graves. The cemeteries of that culture contained no swords, shield elements, or lance- and spearheads. Yet it is obvious, that the people used military equipment. The specific burial rite of the Przeworsk culture, which required placement of a vast quantity of goods, especially weapons, in graves, created a unique possibility to attempt a reconstruction of social structure, combat techniques and even beliefs (the netherworld), of the people buried in these cemeteries.

The placement of weapons in graves had some meaning, while the lack thereof had some (other) meaning as well.

[35] CZARNECKA 2004.

[36] SCHUSTER 2010, 294, 295.

[37] KOKOWSKI, ŚCIBIOR 1990.

[38] KASZEWSKA 1971, pl. 167.

[39] VOSS 2005, 2007.

[40] *Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute sumunt* Tac. Germ.7

[41] CZARNECKA 2004, 117.

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IMITATION AND TRANSFORMATION - ROMAN MILITARIA IN SOUTH SCANDINAVIAN GRAVE FINDS

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The Early Roman weapon graves from southern Scandinavia have been woefully neglected in the past with only a small percentage available to scholars. As the famous weapon deposits from Nydam, Ejsbøl, Kragehul, Thorsberg and Vimose are in the process of being published,[1] an analysis of the weapon graves will hopefully challenge the interpretations from earlier investigations. Hopefully the combination of these results will create a better platform for future research in Iron Age weaponry, weapon-rites and means of power in Northern Europe.

This paper argues that Roman military equipment in South Scandinavia has far more potential than just being an indication of contact. It is not the fact that Roman militaria are present in southern Scandinavia that is the main issue - it is how it is used and sometimes redefined.

With a focus on Denmark in the two first centuries AD, this paper presents examples of how Roman military equipment is used and re-used - sometimes in a new form. In order to put the Roman material into a context, an overview of the development of the weapon burial rite in southern Scandinavia is presented first.

[1] Latest: RAU 2010; NØRGAARD JØRGENSEN forthcoming; BIRCH IVERSEN 2010; BLANKENFELDT 2009; PAULI JENSEN 2008; PAULI JENSEN forthcoming.

WEAPON BURIAL RITE AND WEAPON FINDS IN SOUTHERN SCANDINAVIA

The Iron Age version of the weapon burial rite appeared in the late Pre Roman Iron Age in connection with a general cultural change - the “Latenisation” - which affected most of northern Europe from around 250 BC and on. At this time richly furnished graves emerged and subsequently weapons became part of the burial customs for men. In Scandinavia the weapon burial rite developed in southern Scandinavia in the Late Pre Roman Iron Age, approximately 150 BC, from two directions in three waves:[2]

1. At first northern Jutland received impulses directly from present-day Poland.

2. Probably at the same time, the weapon burial rite spread from Poland through the Elbe-region and towards the peninsula of Jutland, and consequently reached southern Jutland a bit later. The island of Bornholm and the Swedish isle of Gotland are now part of the new tradition.

3. Just before the birth of Christ most of southern Scandinavia had embraced the new custom - except for Scania and Zealand, where the rite never really takes hold.

[2] MARTENS 2008 with further references.

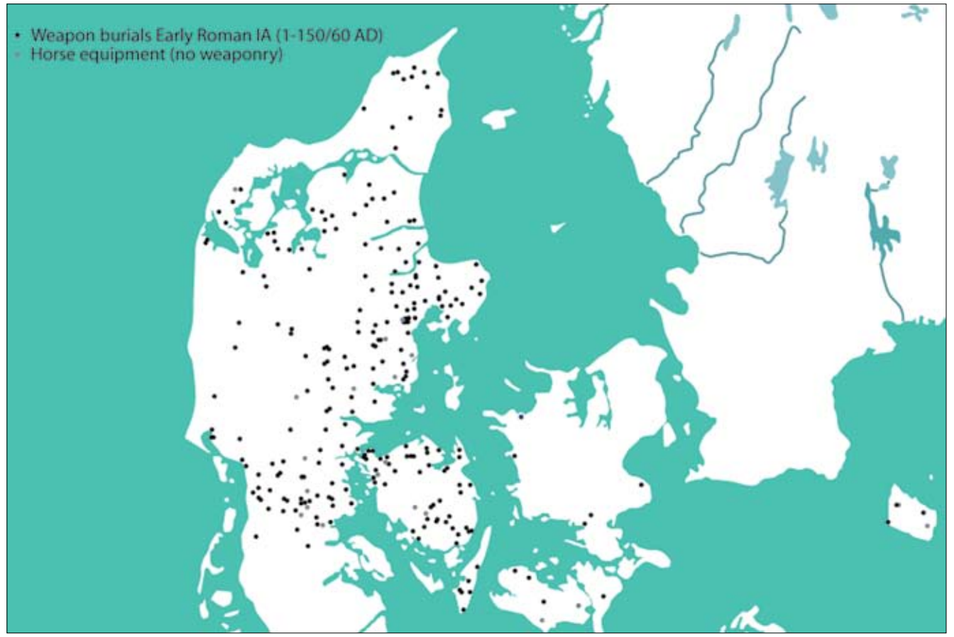

Fig. 1. Distribution of the weapon graves from approx. 1-150/60 AD. Black dots mark the weapon burials; gray dots mark burials with horse equipment and no weapons. The island of Bornholm is not part of the investigation and is not on the map.

During the 1st and 2nd centuries AD the idea of giving weapons as a part of the grave goods flourished as proved by hundreds of weapon graves within the present-day Danish area. The weapon graves from the Early Roman Iron Age are mostly found in Jutland and on Funen, and almost none on Zealand, as can be seen on Fig. 1. With the beginning of the 3rd century AD the weapon burial rite gradually disappeared.

The earliest Roman or provincial-Roman produced military equipment reached southern Scandinavia just after the birth of Christ. As with the Roman material from the weapon sacrifices, the Roman military material from grave finds are almost exclusively linked with swords, that is sword blades, scabbard fittings and baldrics.

COPYING ROMAN SWORDS: CASE MØLLERUP

The earliest swords to reach southern Scandinavia are the Gladii of the Mainz type.[3] In the present-day Danish area a handful of swords of Mainz type have been identified, but the majority of the finds belong to the slightly younger Pompeii type.[4] As the distribution map in Fig. 2 shows, they are almost exclusively found in Jutland and on the Swedish isles of Öland and Gotland. No Gladii have yet been found in Norway.

Even though swords of the gladii type are not uncommon in southern Scandinavia, only a few of these can be identified as genuine Roman or provincial Roman

[3] NYLÉN 1963.

[4] WATT 1994.

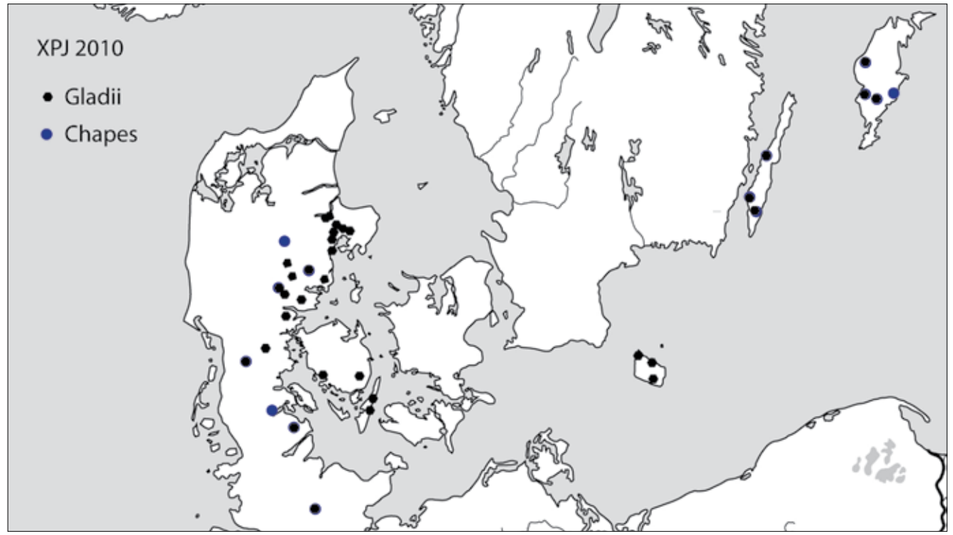

Fig. 2. Distribution of the Gladii and Gladii imitations in southern Scandinavia in 1-150/60 AD. Black dots marks the Gladii, blue dots marks the Gladii chapes.

produced swords. Most of the late 1st and early 2nd century swords are imitations or copies. The copies can be identified by a number of details, for instance the degree of hardening of the edge. The relative uniformity of the copies and the imitations of the scabbard fittings indicate, that the Germanic craftsmen had a clear perception of how a Roman style sword should look.

An example of a copy of a Gladius was found at Møllerup, eastern Jutland, in an inhumation grave.[5] The burial mound was excavated by the National Museum in 1896 and comprised a wooden coffin in a grave dug deeper into the soil than the majority of the contemporary graves of the area. Apart from the Gladius copy, the find included a belt buckle of copper-alloy, two rings (one gold), 5 pots, copper-alloy needle (from fibula?), textiles, and tools belonging to a black smith: hammer, thongs and thin iron bars (Fig. 3). The find dates to the first half of the 2nd century AD. The sword itself is approximately 57 cm long and 5 cm wide with a preserved leather-covered, wooden scabbard with copper-alloy fittings of Germanic origin (Fig. 4).

[5] National Museum inventory no. C8285-99. KJÆR 1900, 117ff.; KLINDT-JENSEN 1950, 31f.

Not only Roman swords are known from South Scandinavian graves, also Roman scabbard fittings - chapes and scabbard runners - are found in this context.

GERMANIC AND ROMAN COMBINED: CASE BRANDSBY

One of the characteristic Roman or Provincial-Roman produced chape types are the small, cast copper-alloy chapes with pelta-shaped perforations, known as the Novaesium type (Fig. 5). The Novaesium chapes come in different sizes and it has often been suggested, that the small ones could belong to scabbards from daggers. In the weapon deposit of Illerup Ådal in Eastern Jutland, however, very small Novaesium chapes (approx. 20 x 22 mm) were found mounted on perfectly normal sized scabbards belonging to perfectly normal sized spathas.[6] Consequently, small chapes do not necessarily belong to daggers.

A sword with a Noveasium type chape was found in a burial in Brandsby,[7] north of Odense on Funen, near the weapon deposit of Vimose with its 89 chapes of the Noveasium type.[8]. The find reached the National

[6] BIBORSKI - ILKJÆR 2006, Bd. 12, 241 SACC/VEG1 and SACD/ZFH.

[7] KJÆR 1900, 122ff.

[8] PAULI JENSEN 2008, 141.

Fig. 3. Tools form the Møllerup inhumation grave (After Kjær 1900, Fig. 1-2).

Museum in 1895 and is probably not complete. The Brandsby sword and wooden scabbard is 85.5 cm long and beautifully preserved (Fig. 6). The sword itself is a spatha of Biborski's type Vimose-Illerup, which places the find in the period 150-250 AD, period C1. Apart from the remarkable fittings around the Novaesium type chape, it is interesting that the chape itself is no longer in one piece. Probably it had been worn out in the bottom, a phenomenon also observed on numerous examples from Vimose. The chape was then split in two parts and mounted on the scabbard with an extra band-shaped copper-alloy fitting and a couple of rivets to keep it in place - mountings with two rivets are commonly used to fix Germanic chapes to the scabbard. Furthermore, the Roman produced chape had been placed on a scabbard with Germanic fittings: a scabbard runner of Carnap-Bornheim's type IA with the bird head shaped middle part.

On the one hand, one could argue, that it must have been vital that the Roman chape was on this sword even though it had served its time. But on the other hand it is combined with a Germanic style scabbard runner, indicating that Roman produced objects were not sacred but were to be used alongside the local products. The Roman chape has, in other words, been transformed or redefined into a Germanic style fitting with its characteristic rivets holding the chape in place.

Fig. 4. The sword from the Møllerup grave (Watt 2003, Fig. 10).

TRANSFORMATION: CASE BOGNÆS

A very special example of how Roman military equipment experienced an interesting after-military life is a round Balteus fitting found in 1984 as a stay find at Bognæs near Copenhagen on the island of Zealand, where military equipment - as mentioned earlier - is very rare compared to other parts of southern Scandinavia.

The piece is a broken but quite ordinary balteus fitting made of copper-alloy with a diameter of approx. 6.3 cm (Fig. 7). It has received some trashing at a time and has been broken by wringing or bending it backwards and forwards. The back of the fitting, however, reveals that it has been re-designed into a fibula. No similar finds are known from southern Scandinavia.

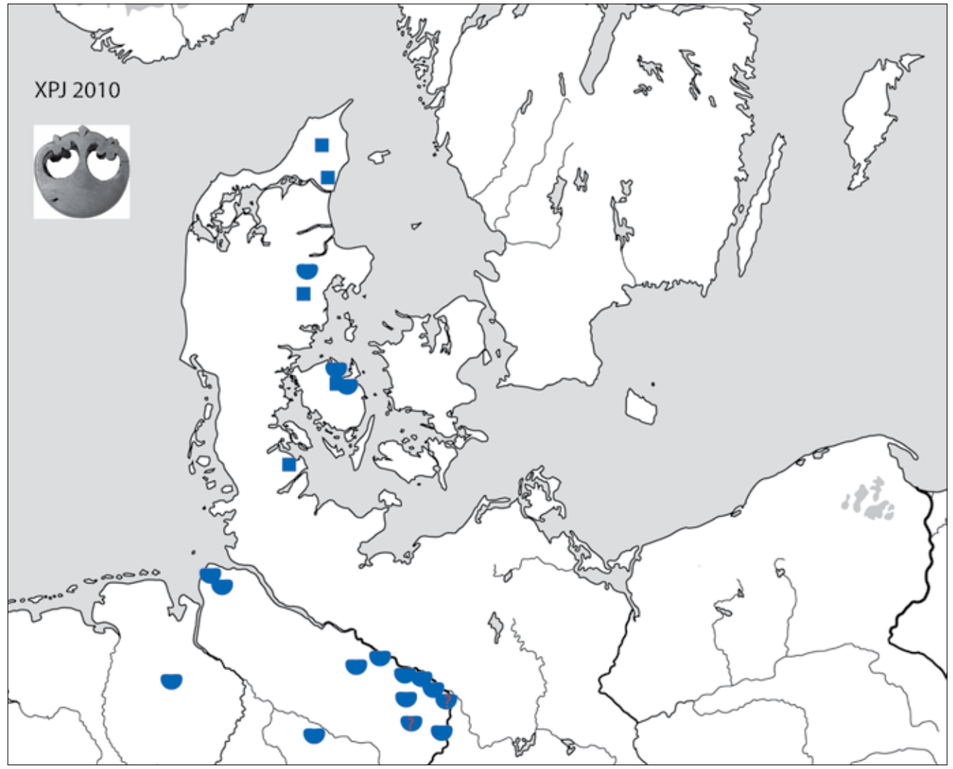

Fig. 5. Distribution of the chapes of Novesium type. Semi-circle marks grave find, square mark weapon deposits.

MEETINGS AND INTERACTION

But what can these few examples tell us about Roman and South Scandinavian connections?

Often we see the relations between Romans and the North Germanic tribes described as an asymmetrical relation of power, in other words a centre-periphery system. This means that the centre - the Romans in this case - dominates the periphery through technological, economical, organisational or military superiority. The centre receives raw-materials (amber, fur?), foodstuff (sheep, cattle?) and cheap labour (slaves?) in return of mass-produced goods such as drinking vessels and military equipment.

Sometimes researchers argue for a similarity in ideology or that the North Germanic elites adopt Roman customs, like the drinking feast - with imported Roman drinking vessels - or the Triumph after successful battle with sacrifices of the conquered equipment.[9] The mutual ideologies or at least the partly shared conceptions of rituals or practices of the Germanic elites and their Roman contacts encourage their communication and furthermore justify or consolidate the Germanic elites' rule of power. On the other hand, it is only too obvious that the Germanic tribes had long ago discovered the joy of feasting and drinking alcohol. Furthermore, the custom of sacrificing weaponry in the wetlands began long before the Romans entered the scene. This is not

[9] For instance STORGAARD 2003; JØRGENSEN 2001.

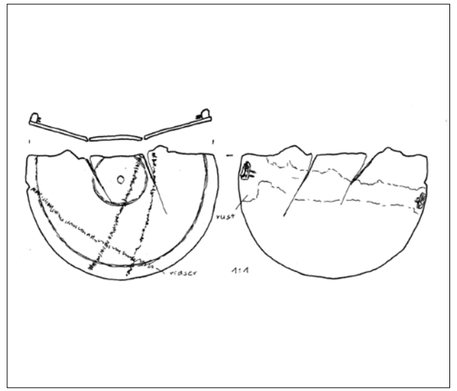

Fig. 7. A balteus fitting re-made into a fibula from Bognæs, Zealand (drawing: Find protocol of the National Museum).

to say, that the Germanic drinking traditions didn't develop after the meeting with Romans nor that the weapon sacrifices were static and unchanging. But the mono-chrome view of Roman-Germanic relations has too long dominated the discussions.

The examples above show a variety of different way of using Roman *militaria*: some items were taken over and used in their original form, sometimes the specific type was copied into almost identical type. At times, Roman militaria was transformed into a near Germanic form with the same function and in some occasions imported pieces was to be re-designed and completely changed role. For a long time scholars have discussed how much Roman military equipment reached South Scandinavia and how it got there. The variety of the way the material is used opens a whole new set of questions never asked. It becomes clear that the meetings between Roman and Germanic led to much more than a mindless adaption of foreign goods and ideas.

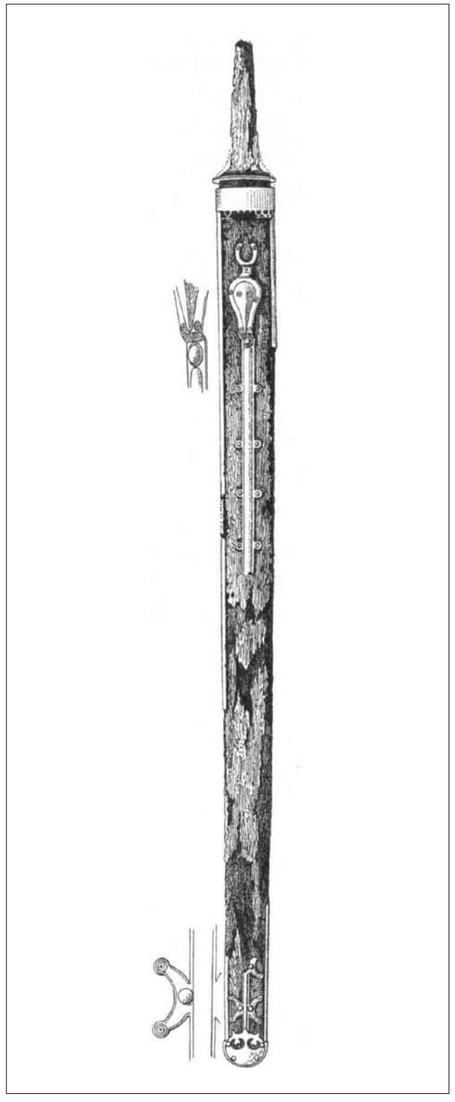

Fig. 6. The sword from the Brandsby grave, Funen (after Kjær 1900, Fig. 6)

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A LATE ROMAN MILITARY BELT FROM ZEALAND?

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INTRODUCTION

The fittings from a late Roman military belt discovered in 1877 in a grave at Varpelev on Zealand have received little attention over the years (Fig. 1). They belong to one of the most fascinating grave ensembles from the Roman Iron Age of Denmark, and even in this context they are highly unusual objects representing one of the northernmost finds of this sort. Like so many other Roman artefacts found so far from the Empire, there are no clear and obvious paths to their origin. As always, the context of the find must help illuminate this path, and therefore a concise introduction to this site is needed.

THE DISCOVERY AND EXCAVATION

As many other magnificent Iron Age finds, this site was discovered by chance in the 19th century, when a local farmer was digging for gravel. The farmer was quick to alert the National Museum, and two days later, the archaeologist Conrad Engelhardt, mostly known for his excavations in the 1860s of the weapons sacrifices, arrived to look at the site. Later that year, excavations began and the whole site was published the following year[1].

[1] ENGELHARDT 1877.

THE GRAVESITE

28 graves, of which one was a cremation burial, were discovered. Based on the depth of the graves and orientation of the bodies, four of the deceased must have belonged to the nobility of the local society. Two of these were very richly furnished; in fact they are some of the wealthiest graves in northern Barbaricum of their time. The National Museum paid the landowner a finder's fee in the amount of 600 kroner, which was more or less the equivalent of two years pay. Traditionally, the gravesite has been dated to the period C2 (AD 250/60 - 310/29). There are, however, some indications that the graves cover more than one period.

GRAVES A AND ALFA

When the excavation was published in 1877, the graves were numbered alphabetically from 'a' to 'z', and when they ran out of letters, they continued with the Greek alphabet from 'alfa' to 'zeta'. This may have seemed a clever thing to do at the time, however, probably to emphasize their importance, Engelhardt marked the two rich graves belonging to a male and a female with the initial letters of the two alphabets in lower case, 'a' and 'α'. Over time this has led to quite a few mis-

Fig. 1. Location of Varpelev on East Zealand, Denmark.

understandings regarding the contents of the Varpelev graves. To add to the confusion, a richly equipped grave from the middle of the 3rd century had been discovered fifteen years earlier only one and a half kilometre away[2].

VARPELEV IN CONTEXT

Before I turn to the belt fittings, I will briefly describe the context, in which these graves belong. A number of the valuable objects from graves 'a' and 'alfa' suggest that these two graves should perhaps be dated to the early part of the following period C3 (AD 310/20 - 375/400). That makes the Varpelev graves the last of the magnificent burials of the East Zealand power centre[3]. This centre was the first of its kind in the late Roman Iron Age and of the longest duration. Established at Himlingøje about 6 kilometres northwest of Varpelev at the turn of the late Roman Iron Age almost 200 years earlier, this dynasty positioned itself as the centre of the northern Barbaricum with a network that reached out to the Scandinavian Peninsula and the Baltic coast in particular, but also to regions further away in south-eastern and central Barbaricum[4].

The most fascinating aspect for the present topic, however, would be the dynasty's contacts to the Roman Empire. Especially in the first half of the 3rd century, there is a massive appearance of Roman produced banquet vessels in graves in northern Barbaricum. The distribution pattern, that is, both the types of vessels and the amount of vessels found in different regions of northern Barbaricum, suggests that the East Zealand power centre played an important and not least direct role in the distribution of these luxury objects. In other words, the goods were transported by sea from the Roman provincial capital of Cologne to eastern Zealand directly, before they were distributed further[5]. In general, the material cannot support the hypothesis that these goods were transported and redistributed over land from one Germanic chieftain to the next. Apart from the fact that a majority of unique high quality vessels primarily appears on Zealand, there is the small matter of chronology. The Roman vessels simply appear in an earlier context in Scandinavia compared to central Barbaricum.

The question why such a connection could or should come about is, of course, difficult to answer. The short answer is 'politics'! Being in a state of war with their neighbours on a regular basis, the Romans might have welcomed allies among their neighbours' neighbours. The terms of such a treaty could be the supply of a certain amount of luxury vessels, which would have a symbolic meaning to Germanic élite. The supply might also include other types of objects, such as Roman sword blades. The major part of any payment, however, I believe would have been in gold and silver coin, such as the Romans so often dealt with foreign allies.

In the second half of the 3rd century, the relations to Cologne appear to be in a recession. One contributing factor may have been the rise of Postumus in AD 260 and the Gallic Empire lasting to AD 274, covering the first part of period C2. Towards the end of this period or in the beginning of the next, the East Zealand centre once again shows strong ties to the Romans via the

[2] HERBST 1861.

[3] LUND HANSEN ET AL 1995.

[4] LUND HANSEN 1987, 220-224.

[5] LUND HANSEN ET AL 1995, 406-410.

Fig. 2. Varpelev, grave 'a'. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

Varpelev graves. Only, this time the impression is one of closer interaction than before. Whereas the contacts of the 3rd century clearly had a western orientation, when it came to the Romans, the Varpelev grave goods suggest that contacts were now more easterly orientated (Fig. 2)[6]. One of the questions is: Where do the silver belt fittings from grave 'a' belong in this scenario?

THE BELT

The belt fittings consist of one large buckle, complete with plate, three rivets, loop and tongue, and two smaller buckles, one complete as the larger one and one, where only the loop was preserved, and lastly, a strap-end matching the large buckle (Fig. 3). According to the publication, the two complete buckles and the strap-end were found in the area of the waist of the deceased, while the loop was discovered 'above the head', which, incidentally, was not preserved[7]. I have earlier proposed that the large buckle and strap-end belonged to the military belt, while the small buckle at the waist belonged to the personal belt, a composition that had been demonstrated via the belt assemblies from the Illerup bog finds[8]. Based on analogies to grave finds from Oudenburg and Krefeld-Gellep, I also suggested that the third buckle found above the head, could have belonged to a shoulder strap, such as illustrated by Hermann Bullinger in 1969[9].

[6] GRANE 2011.

[7] ENGELHARDT 1877, 352-354.

[8] ILKJÆR 1993, 373-374.

[9] BULLINGER 1969, 60-61, fig. 47.3, pl. LXVIII, 3; GRANE 2007, 95-96.

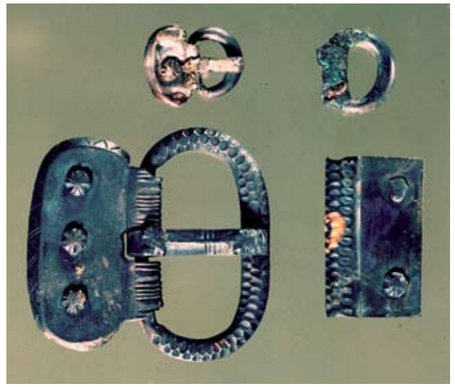

Fig. 3. Varpelev, grave 'a'. Silver belt buckles and strap-end fitting. Photo: National Museum/Lennart Larsen.

THE SMALL BUCKLES

As it turns out, such a composition for the Varpelev belt is extremely unlikely. After closer examination, I was able to combine the single loop with a silver plate that had not been discovered at the initial excavation. Along with three other silver objects, it had been added to the finds later supposedly belonging to grave 'a'. That this was indeed the case has now been confirmed. A problem concerning my theory was that the three rivets in the plate protrude about one centimetre on the back of the plate, which rather suggests that it had been attached to a piece of wood or something similar and not a leather strap, which would probably have required only short rivets with heads on the back as well. That it belongs to the rest, however, is indicated by the stellar ornamentation of the rivet heads, which are identical to the rivet head on the other small plate. If we turn to the other small buckle, it is not likely that it belongs to the personal belt, as the loop only allows for a strap of a width of eight millimetres. Probably, it was attached to the lower edge of the belt-strap along with a small plain fitting (Fig. 4). It was another one of the four additional silver objects belonging to grave 'a'. The fitting has a plain rivet piercing the two flat ends. The pipe-shaped middle part would have held a ring or strap.

Fig. 4. Varpelev, grave 'a'. Silver belt buckle and fittings in presumed correct 'anatomical' order. Photo: National Museum/John Lee.

THE MAIN BUCKLE AND STRAP-END FITTING

Let us now turn to the main buckle and strap-end (Fig. 5). The front side of the loop and the strap-end edge are decorated with three staggered rows of small indentations. The two pieces are not equally elaborate, as the indentations on the strap-end are shallower, as if more carelessly made. Furthermore, the loop has two rows of small concave lines on the outer rim underneath the indentations. The back 'invisible' sides are undecorated. The preserved rivets of both plate and strap-end each have three indentations, while the spaces in between are each divided by two grooves. The overall impression is that they belong together. The indentations indicate that the strap-end was added later, but the rivet heads are identical.

The strap-end is rectangular, made by one piece, bent on the middle with a pipe-shaped terminal.

The loop is oval, almost super-elliptic. The plate is oval as well or so-called 'bag-shaped'. The edges of the plate are bent sharply and are decorated with a single or double zigzag line. The hinge parts on each side of the tongue are decorated with lines separated by two wider 'roof-shaped' zones in a two-three-two pattern. The tongue has a triangular cross section with slightly convex upper sides, except at the base, where it is rectangular and is decorated on the top with diagonal lines and three indentations on the sides and end. The point of the tongue does not exceed the loop and is shaped as an animal's head, most likely of a lion.

LATE ROMAN MILITARY BELT TYPES

Late Roman military belts are found in most of the Roman provinces, especially Gaul and Pannonia and belong to the 4th and 5th centuries. Normally, they are made of bronze, but occasionally one of silver, gilt silver or even gold appears. When that happens, it is believed to have belonged to either a commander or a member of the guard. The types, however, do not differ.

DATING THE BUCKLE

Fortunately, the Varpelev belt was included in the dissertation by Markus Sommer on 'Die Gürtel und Gürtelbeschläge des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts im römischen Reich', published in 1984. Sommer had placed it in his sort 1 ,buckles with loops forming a complete circle', sub-sort A, 'buckles with bag-shaped plate', sub-sub-group a, 'buckles with round, D-shaped or oval loops'[10]. Furthermore, there is a variant (var. 1), which constitutes buckles with decorated loops, to which Varpelev does also belong. This variant is primarily found in Barbaricum. In fact, Sommer believes that the Varpelev example is locally made and modeled after a Roman 1Aa buckle[11]. Sommer's many sorts and sub-sorts are placed in four chronological belt groups. Sort 1a belongs to belt group 1, which he dates to AD 310 to 350 for the Rhine region and Gaul, and from AD 290 to 400 for the Danube region[12].

DATING THE STRAP-END

Sommer also included strap-ends in his examination. They are divided into four forms, of which form D are rectangular strap-ends. These belong to his belt group 2, which is dated to AD 364/70 to 407 for the Rhine region and Gaul, and from AD 380 to the early 5th century for the Danube region[13]. Moreover, the rectangular strap-ends are particular to the west. But, a date this late for Varpelev grave 'a' creates yet unsolvable problems.

[10] SOMMER 1984, 19, Pl. 1.1-8, 41.1.
[11] SOMMER 1984, 20.
[12] SOMMER 1984, 59-62, 74-76.
[13] SOMMER 1984, 55, 63, 76-78, Pl. 23, 41.2.

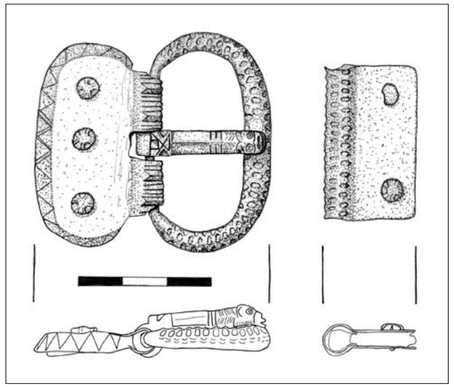

Fig. 5. Varpelev, grave 'a'. Silver belt buckle and strap-end fitting. Drawing by the author.

PARALLELS

It is all very well that we can date it to the 4th century, no big surprise there, but how about parallels to identify some sort of origin? A review of the present state of research on this topic makes it quite clear that there are a lot of oval-looped, bag-shape plated buckles around. Furthermore, the line ornamentation of the hinge part of the plates is very common.

KREFELD-GELLEP 2922

One buckle found in grave 2922 in the late Roman part of the gravesite at Krefeld-Gellep came close[14]. From the publication drawing, it appeared as is the proportions were very much alike, except for the concave loop. Closer examination, however, showed that what looked like indentations were actually lines cut into the loop. On the other hand, the wider areas on the hinge turned out to be 'roof-shaped', albeit not so clearly marked as those on the Varpelev buckle.

[14] PIRLING 1989, 49, pls. 7.3-5.
[15] GOMOLKA-FUCHS 1999.

SPANTOV

Another parallel to the loop, I found on the cover of a conference publication on the Sîntana de Mures Culture[15]. The buckle came from a grave on the gravesite of Spantov in Romania on the left bank of the Danube. The loop alone is very similar in shape and it appears as if it has two rows of indentations in the same style. In fact, this is the only other loop with indentations like that, which I have come across. Whether the rivets are ornamented or not is difficult to see on this picture. The grave was published in the 1960s before the piece had been restored[16].

CARSIUM

In order to find decent parallels, I needed to look for details rather than complete buckles. In two different exhibition catalogues, one from 1994[17] from an exhibition on ancient Romania and one from 2008[18] from an exhibition on Rome and the Barbarians, a number of objects were presented, which had been discovered in the excavations of the necropolis of the Roman town of Carsium, present day Hârşova on the bank of the Danube. Among these objects were several fittings from one or more late Roman military belts of silver. The belt fittings have been dated to around AD 320[19]. Unfortunately, the find is not yet published, which limits the information available. Although the fittings were not exact matches to those of the Varpelev belt, it became clear that a number of elements both regarding shape and ornamentation were comparable. The main belt buckle would belong in Sommer's sort 1Ac, although his examples are all made of bronze[20]. This variant is equipped with animal's heads on the loop. Although the Varpelev loop has no animal's heads, it has almost the exact same dimensions. The elements of the tongue are identical, although it is not possible to verify, whether it has a triangular cross section. At the hinge it has a rectangular or square part, and the point is shaped as an animal's head. Some of these features are the same on some of the smaller buckles. The shape of these is much similar to one of the small Varpelev buckles, although it has only one rivet. The hinge ornamentation on one of the small buckles consist of two lines parted by a 'roof-shaped' zone, something that is also hinted at on three of the smaller fittings, which along with an undecorated piece, have the exact same shape as the small fitting from Varpelev. And last but not least, the strap-end is equipped with three clover-shaped rivets that could be construed as inspirational to the rivets from Varpelev. In general, I have come across no late Roman belts with decorated rivets, except this one. The fact that the parts are made of silver, only supports the comparison.

GLASS

As a relevant detail, I will briefly mention another object group from Varpelev grave 'a'. When the grave was excavated, it contained the remains of six glass vessels. One was not preserved and three were of a type with facetted zones (See Fig. 2). I will deal with one of them here; one with no good parallels. There is today, some uncertainty concerning the origin of facetted glasses, as some are believed to be of a Gothic origin. According to Ulla Lund Hansen the very high quality of craftsmanship applied indicates that it must have come out of a workshop in the region of Constantinople[21]. A major problem has been finding parallels, as the only one resembling, again only regarding elements, comes from the incredibly rich second grave from Apahida near Cluj in Romania[22]. This grave is dated to the middle or second half of the 5th century, but the glass has been repaired with gold foil indicating that it was already an antique, when it was placed in the grave. This glass is 16 cm high, which is two cm less that the Varpelev piece. Particularly, a double concave rim is alike on the two glasses. An interesting parallel to the Apahida piece comes from the unpublished necropolis of Carsium. Like the one from Varpelev, it is 18 cm high[23]. The facetted area is very similar to the Apahida piece, although the spacing is different. Below the rim, there is a zone with a Greek inscription, not entirely legible on the illustration and unfortunately not mentioned in the catalogue. Most likely it is the otherwise well known Greek inscription, ΠΙΕ ΖΗCΑΙC ΚΑΛΟC, or 'Drink and you will live well'.

In my view, the combination of these three glasses supports the assumption made by Ulla Lund Hansen regarding a relation to the region of Constantinople.

[16] MITREA 1966, p. 20, no.8, fig. 10/3.
[17] ROTH 1994, 225, Kat.-Nr. 94.
[18] FRINGS 2008, 149, Kat.-Nr. 642-648, 650-656.
[19] Personal communication. Liviu Petculescu, Bucharest.
[20] SOMMER 1984, 19-21.
[21] Personal communication Ulla Lund Hansen, Copenhagen.
[22] ROTH 1994, 249, Kat.-Nr. 101.35.
[23] FRINGS 2008, 149, Kat.-Nr. 663.

SUMMATION

All in all, locating parallels to the Varpelev belt parts has been a complicated task. I have mentioned the few that come close, but in fact only the Carsium belt really qualifies. Along with the glass vessel parallels, this points towards a connection to the Roman provinces in the Eastern Danube region. Based on the entire grave ensemble, the general picture of the Varpelev prince must be one of a person, which had close personal relations to the Romans, relations that had brought him through many parts of the Empire from the West to the East.

The belt parts, as demonstrated, have a close resemblance to late Roman belts, but there are also details, which are almost unique, something that indicated to Markus Sommer that we are dealing with a Germanic imitation. He suggested that it was produced somewhere outside the Roman Empire by a local blacksmith based on a Roman model. However, based on the close resemblance of a number of elements to the Carsium example, I would suggest that it is more likely that the belt was made somewhere within the Romans provinces by a blacksmith trained in the production of this type of belt, and that special features were part of the order. The quality of the rectangular strap-end, however, suggests an attempt by an inferior blacksmith to manufacture a fitting to match the buckle. The date of this fitting may well be somewhat later than the buckle, but the last third of the 4th century AD maybe pushing it too far considering the rest of the grave goods of grave 'a'.

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Vesna Girardi Jurkić

WEAPONS IN THE LATE ANTIQUE AND BARBARISED GRAVES OF ISTRIA (CROATIA)

Archaeological investigations conducted in Istria in the second half of the 20th century have resulted in discoveries which speak of the particular social and ethnic status of the late antique population[1]. This has also been confirmed by archaeological evidence recovered from graves and fortified settlements in Istria[2]. The peninsula shared the fate of other parts of the Western Roman Empire. Istria was included in the eastern Alpine defence system (Map 1), and significant changes took place in social and economic life[3]. These changes were reflected in the forming of closely built settlements, observed in the transformation and destruction of large residential country complexes and *villae rusticae* (fireplaces constructed in large, decorated and mosaic-paved Roman halls - Sipar[4], Katoro, Červar (Fig. 1)[5], Sorna, the Brijuni islands - the *castrum*[6], Peličeti (Fig. 2)[7], Vižula near Medulin (Fig. 3)[8], Rim near Roč[9], and others). In this period, the colonate was introduced, and the land-working population (*coloni*) became tied to their landlords[10]. At the same time, the production of oil and wine moved inside the walls of protected cities (*intra muros* - Poreč, Nesactium (Fig. 4), Pula[11].

The very geographic position of the Istrian peninsula, protected from the north by the Učka massif, and surrounded on three sides by the sea, protected Istria from the main routes of invasion, from the mass movement of barbarians, and from great plunder and destruction, thus allowing for the colonisation of fugitives coming from the endangered areas of Pannonia who brought their religious beliefs and customs to the peninsula. Well known are the movements of the whole of Pannonian dioceses into Istria in the second half of the 6th century AD, and the spread of the cult of Saint Quirinus of Siscia[12]. In this respect, of great importance are the letters of Cassiodorus from the time of the Ostrogoths (493 - 538 AD). The letters describe magnificent Istrian villas and production centres located in the middle of olive groves and vineyards, as well as the significant export of grain products[13]. Although Cassiodorus probably made exaggerations in his reports, Istria, compared to the neighbouring devastated areas

[1] MARUŠIĆ 1969, 7-32; MARUŠIĆ 1975, 335-346.

[2] MARUŠIĆ 1970, 7-46; MARUŠIĆ 1973, 61-78; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1987, 167-188.

[3] TAGLIAFERRI 1972; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2009, 119-133.

[4] JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1981, 81-83; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1982, 15-16; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1982a, 585-594.

[5] JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1978, 266-298; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2005, 29-49; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2011, 53-63.

[6] MLAKAR 1976, 1-49.

[7] DŽIN 2005, 9-27; DŽIN 2006, 1-38.

[8] JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2009, 169-185.

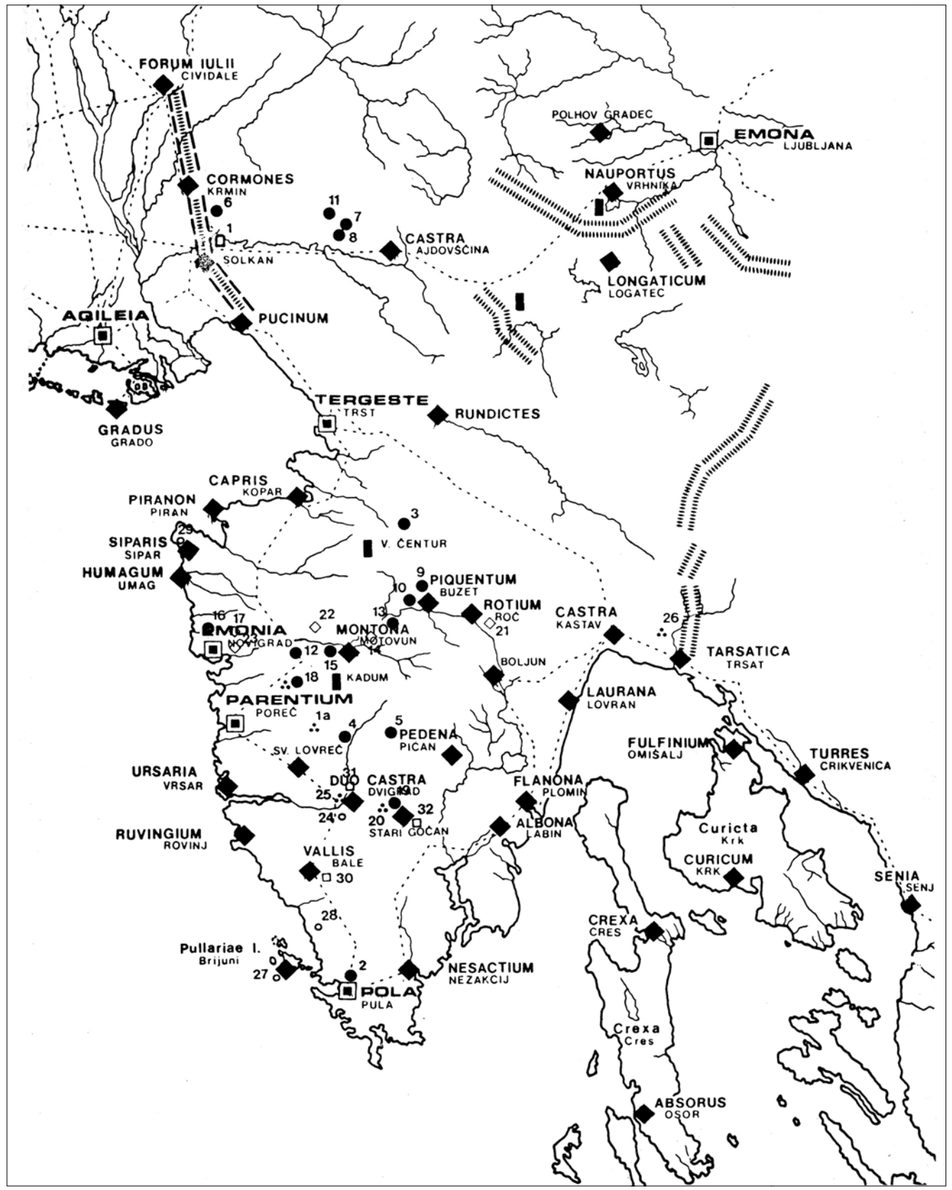
[9] MARUŠIĆ 1987, 235-243.

[10] MARUŠIĆ 1969, 7-32; MARUŠIĆ 1975, 337-350.

[11] MATIJAŠIĆ 2008, 289-300.

[12] MARUŠIĆ 1987, 81-105,

[13] DEGRASSI 1956, 104-112; MATIJAŠIĆ 1998, 334-352.



Map 1. Istria (Croatia), Late Roman fortifications and distribution of archaeological sites, 6th to 8th c. AD

Fig. 1. Istria, Červar Porat, the clay hearth in the transformed roman villa rustica.

(Italia, Pannonia), did not give the impression of being a plundered and burned land in the period of the short Visigoth rule of 403 AD, even though it lacked its former antique splendour[14]. However, it is important to note that the short 45-year Ostrogoth rule did not leave a large number of archaeological material finds of military equipment. Gilt bow fibula embellished with roughly carved curving motifs recovered at the necropolis of Pula in the vicinity of the amphitheatre, bronze coins of King Vitiges recovered at Kortina near Modrušani, and a round fibula decorated with the heads of birds of prey, all indicate the peaceful Ostrogoth rule of Istria (Fig. 5)[15].

Unlike the Ostrogoths, the Longobards left more numerous traces of their presence in the north of Istria. The finds recovered at various necropolises testify to the Longobards' plundering and destructive invasion of the peninsula[16]. According to the writings of Paul the Deacon, the Slavs, by the order of the Avars, made an incursion into the peninsula, plundering and killing a large number of imperial Byzantine soldiers who were guarding the *limes* area in fortified station houses[17].

Archaeological investigations of graves on the small hill of Brežac near Buzet (in the north of Istria, the ancient *Pinquentum*) have brought to light Lombard equipment and weaponry. Of great relevance is the grave of a horseman with weapons, parts of attire and horse equipment. This grave has been marked as a prince's grave according to its richness and the large number and quality of the recovered finds (Fig. 6), and has been dated to approximately 600 AD according to analogies and known historical facts[18].

[14] MATIJAŠIĆ 1988, 363-371: MATIJAŠIĆ 2008, 289-300.
[15] MARUŠIĆ 1962, 159-168; MARUŠIĆ 1987, 81.
[16] MARUŠIĆ 1987, 82-83; MARUŠIĆ 1975, 337-350.
[17] JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2009a, 121-122.
[18] MARUŠIĆ 1962a, 453-469; TORCELLAN 1986.

Fig. 2. Istria, Stancia Pelicetti, roman villa rustica in the outskirts of Colonia Pola.

It should be stressed that these occasional barbaric conquests of Istria did not leave a significant trace in the antique *substratum* and material culture of the population. A major stamp was given by the old Roman and Romanised indigenous population, especially to all the civilised ways of life, and thus also to the defence system[19]. The antique traditions were systematically transferred through well-established forms of economic life, and also through the forming, when necessary, of auxiliary military units aimed at defending the northern bordering areas of the peninsula. The continuous presence of the Slavic peoples in the northeastern part of the peninsula and the vicinity of the Longobards were the two main reasons for the inhabitants of the peninsula to be organised militarily. They created a network of cavalry detachments and infantry units armed with bows and arrows and long combat knifes, along which information could flow rapidly[20].

[19] DŽIN 2009, 125-131; JURKIĆ GIRARDI - DŽIN 2007, 117-127.

[20] MARUŠIĆ 1957, 65-71; MARUŠIĆ 1979, 111-149; MARUŠIĆ 1987, 93.

Graves are one of the most important sources of archaeological evidence and provide insight into the life, attire and customs of the population, especially in respect of military equipment, clothing and weapons. However, various settlements which have been discovered and systematically investigated also offer a large number of interesting examples of material finds. Late antique fortified settlements from the 5th to 8th centuries AD, especially those on the Brijuni islands (the *castrum*), Sipar near Umag, Stari Gočan, Nesactium and Motovun, and grave sites in Pula, Dvigrad, Frančini near Pazin, Klistići near Tinjan, have yielded both direct and indirect indications about the military features of the population[21].

Apart from the standard ceramic inventory recovered at the Byzantine *castrum* on the Brijuni islands, weapons have also been found. Among these weapons, a

[21] MARUŠIĆ 1987, 83; JURKIĆ GIRARDI - DŽIN 2007, 124-125; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2009a, 122.

Fig. 3. Istria, Medulin - Vižula, late roman corridor transformed with the clay hearth.

mount from a two-edged knife sheath and gilt rivets of a shield were found (Fig. 7); among the tools, knives were discovered; and among the garments, part of late antique belt gear, buckles and buckle mounts were found[22]. According to their stylistic features, most of the metal items, especially jewellery, can be labelled as Mediterranean Byzantine artistic metal products. Taking into consideration that the Byzantine *castrum* on the Brijuni islands was also a military camp in the period of Justinian's reconquest, metal items, including weapons, are significant indications of the Byzantine influence[23]. Archaeological finds from the citadel of Sipar (*Siparis*) near Umag in northwest Istria indicate that, apart from peasants, fishermen and artisans, soldiers were also among the inhabitants of the citadel (Fig.11). Alongside the ceramic items and oil lamps, also significant are the military spears (Fig. 8) and parts of garments, which also point to Byzantine stylistic features.[24]

[22] MARUŠIĆ 1987, 84, fig. 9 (1,3-5).

[23] MARUŠIĆ 1975, 335-350; MLAKAR 1976, 1-49; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1982, 31.

[24] MARUŠIĆ 1975, 338.

Fig. 4. Istria, Nezakcij (*Nesactium*), double basilicas, 5th c. AD

Fig. 5. Istria, Kortina near Modrušani, silver coin of King Vitiges, 6th c. AD

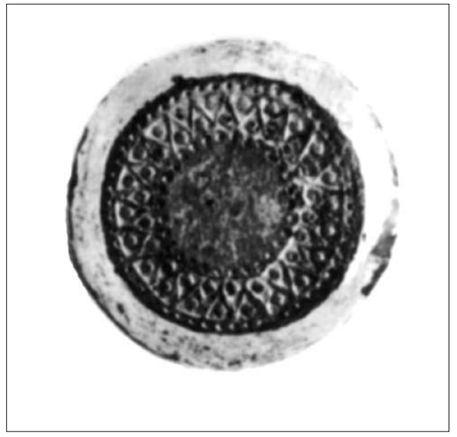


Fig. 7. Istria, Brioni - Castrum, gilded bronze rivet of the shield

According to the recovered grave gifts, the graves of the indigenous population differ from the Byzantine graves in the period of the great movement of peoples.

The late antique - early medieval grave site on the Brijuni islands located near the *castrum* has also yielded indications of a Byzantine type settlement, which is seen in the recovery of gold jewellery (lunula earrings)[25]. Unlike the Byzantine graves, the graves of the indigenous population offer a picture of barbarised funerary customs, which were adopted when these romanised Histrians came into contact with new, barbaric, or, more precisely, barbarised newcomers from Pannonia. One such case was discovered in Pula at a Roman Ostrogoth necropolis of the first half of the 6th century AD[26]. Such cases have been more prominently observed in Frančini and Klistići near Pazin, in graves that have also been dated to the 6th century AD[27]. Flint and metal and flint stones for striking fire have been observed in all the graves, but there has been no trace of weapons.

[25] MARUŠIĆ 1987, 91.

[26] MARUŠIĆ 1962, 159-175.

[27] MARUŠIĆ 1963, 245-260; ŠONJE 1981, 73, 75, 79-80; MARUŠIĆ, 1995, 37.

In the 599 and 611 AD Avar-Slavic incursions in Istria, in spite of all the inflicted destruction, did not succeed in breaking the continuity of life on the Istrian peninsula. However, the incursions brought a series of changes in all human activities and in the ethnic composition of the population, all of which can be clearly observed in the archaeological evidence[28].

Two triple-edged Avar arrowheads have been discovered at the late antique citadel and Christian centre of Nesactium (the former capital of the indigenous Histri, the former Roman *municipium* and *res publica*) (Fig. 9)[29]. The arrowheads have allowed for the dating of the destruction and burning of the citadel (Fig. 10). A similar arrowhead has been discovered at a *villa rustica* at the location of Peličeti, five kilometres from Pula. This testifies to the destruction of this particular defence centre on the road to Pula, a city which the Avar-Slavic invaders had never entered[30].

[28] JURKIĆ GIRARDI - DŽIN 2007, 115-130; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2008, 163-166.

[29] MARUŠIĆ 1957a, 63-70; MARUŠIĆ 1962, 159-175.

[30] DŽIN 2005, 9-27; DŽIN 2006, 1-38.

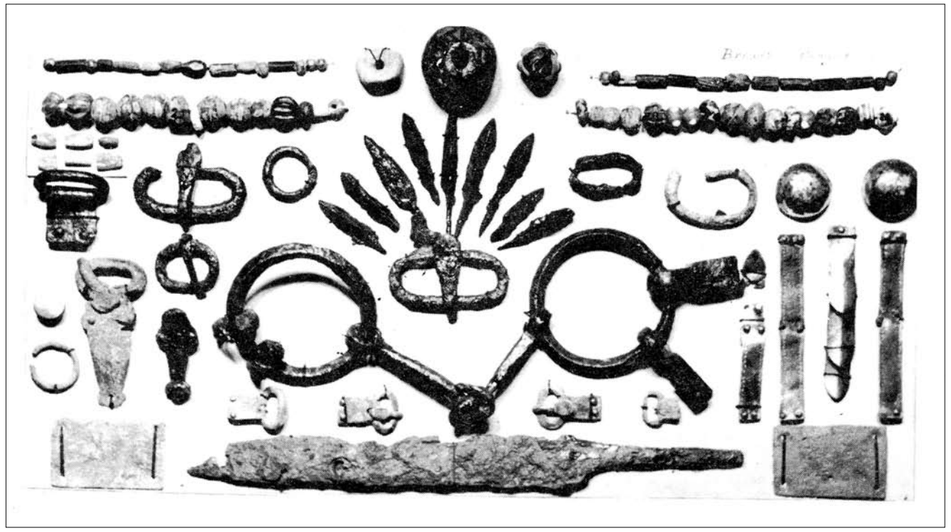


Fig. 6. Istria, Brežac near Buzet (*Pinquentum*), Lombard grave of a horseman with weapons

The continuous presence of the Slavs along the north-eastern border of Istria and the vicinity of the Lombard Friuli were the main reasons for the central part of the peninsula to be militarily organised in a network of fortified citadels with cavalry detachments and infantry units armed with bows and arrows and long combat knives, along which information could flow rapidly[31]. These mobile military units were formed by the newly arrived Slavs, corroborated by the finds recovered from barbarised necropolises and dated as early as the 6th century AD to the beginning of the 8th century[32]. However, the unchanged ethnic structure of the population remained exclusively in the area of the fertile south of Istria, or more precisely in the Pula region[33].

These "new" necropolises located on the elevations and small hill slopes of the north of Istria, around Buzet, in Veli Mlun, Sovinjska Brda and Buje have yielded finds including weapons, tools, kitchenware and jewellery whose placing in the graves points to pagan funerary customs. Weapons have been recovered in

[31] MARUŠIĆ 1969, 7-32.

[32] MARGETIĆ 1982; MARGETIĆ 1982a.

[33] JURKIĆ GIRARDI - DŽIN 2007, 115-130; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2009, 169-185; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2009 a, 119-124.

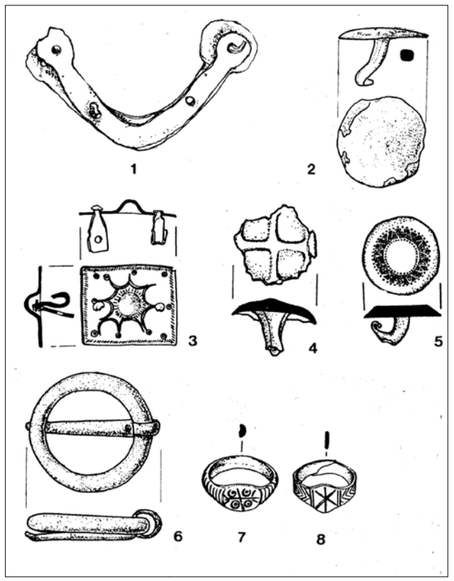


Fig. 8. Istria, Brioni - Castrum, the parts of attire

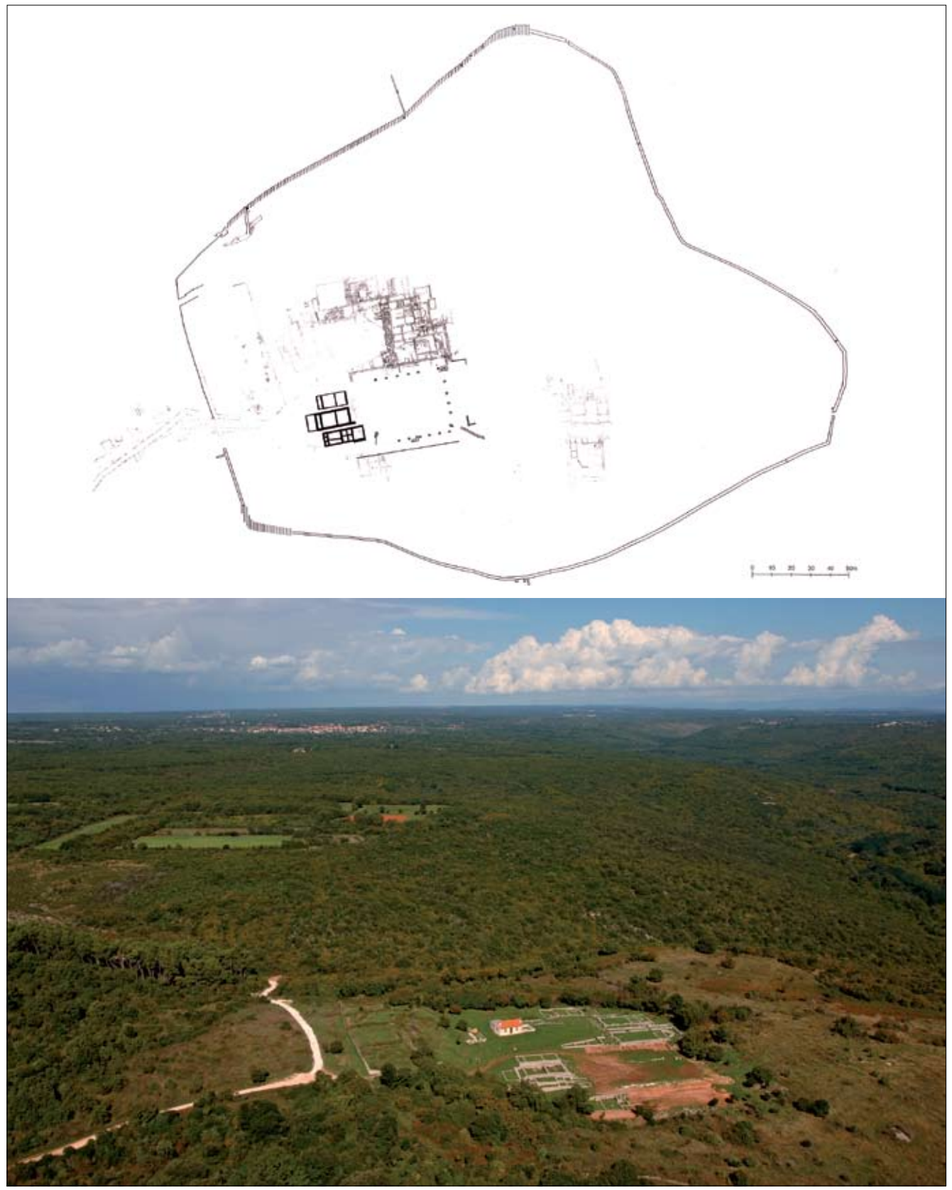


Fig. 9. Istria, Nezakcij (*Nescatium*), the Late Roman City walls.

Fig. 11. Istria, Sipar near Umag, iron spear, 6th -8st c. AD

Mejica near Buzet, Brkač near Motovun (Fig. 13), Veli Mlun, Vižinada, Kaštel near Buje and in the vicinity of Grožnjan and Roč. Long military knives, typical of the Merovingians (Fig. 12), short military knives and iron arrowheads have been found. Among different tools, knives have been observed in both male and female graves. As a rule, flint stones have appeared in male graves and very rarely in female graves[34].

Among decorations appertaining to male attire, rare are the finds of buckles or fibulae such as the fibula, a very particular one, recovered at Veliki Mlun near Buzet (*Piquentum*)[35].

Numerous and of great importance are cast bronze buckles, mostly two-part and three-part buckles, probably of the Mediterranean style according to Marušić. They have been identified as mass products in areas from the Crimea to Sicily and Sardinia. They bear floral decorations, Christian symbols, and human and animal representations which are very often schematised and stylised when it comes to buckles made for members of barbarian tribes. A very interesting find is a buckle with two small horses facing each other, a find which points to barbarians from the Eurasian Steppe (Fig. 14). The youngest among the finds is the gilt buckle mount decorated with circular motifs, typical of the area of the Second Avar Khaganate[36].

Numerous bronze and iron buckles were produced at local workshops, the bronze ones being sometimes embellished with incised crosses. Buckles with a hollow prong with a "U" section have been recovered in Sovinjska Brda and Mejica near Drobežija (north Istria, near Buzet). Marušić states that these metal attire accessories must have been produced in Istria and in the close vicinity of Istria, taking into consideration that Constantinople workshops could not trade and sell such items due to the Arab domination (640 - 800 AD)[37]. Supporting such a theory is the matrix for producing buckles recovered in Brkač near Motovun (Central Istria), probably belonging to a travelling goldsmith (Fig. 15). An *appliqué* for horse equipment recovered in Brkača is similar to the one recovered in Pliskovo near Knin (near Zadar), and has been dated to 650 AD. The knifes speaks of Avar-Slavic horseman incursions in Istria[38].

The most investigated necropolis is the barbarised one at Mejica near Buzet, dated in the 7th and 8th centuries AD according to archaeological evidence. A total

[34] MARUŠIĆ 1983, 187; MARUŠIĆ, 1987, 95, fig. 15 (1); MARUŠIĆ, 1995, 41-44.
[35] MARUŠIĆ, 1987, 97.

[36] MARUŠIĆ 1962, 159-175; MARUŠIĆ, 1995, 41.
[37] MARUŠIĆ 1982, 59-72; MARUŠIĆ, 1987, 97.
[38] MARUŠIĆ 1979, 118; MARUŠIĆ, 1995, 53, 56.

of 232 graves have been found and investigated. The recovered finds yield answers to some questions, especially those concerning the social, class and organisational level of the community living in the border area of north Istria. Information concerning male attire and the social status of the deceased can be deducted from the archaeological finds. Apart from female jewellery and small bags which were worn under the belt and which held female common items, more robust belts with metal parts have also been observed. Small bags holding items of everyday use and items of ritual value have also been found in male graves. In addition, chains linked with a belt for holding long military knives are typical of male graves. It is important to stress that men adorned themselves to the same extent as women, using rings, hairpins and bracelets, which men, unlike women, wore on their left wrist[39].

There are three social layers that can be detected among the deceased inhabitants of Mejica. Only few of the graves (6.46%) were rich. In eight of these graves, arrowheads have been recovered, and the graves belonged to military commanders of various ranks, depending on the number of arrowheads in the grave (Fig. 16). The second group of graves, and especially those in which knives were found, belong to free men and members of their family, while the graves void of finds or with unimportant finds belong to the servants[40].

A comparison of the recovered finds from the mentioned sites located from the north of Buzet towards Motovun and Pazin in central Istria speaks of the different attire and decorations belonging to different clans which inhabited Istria from the times of the end of the European supremacy of the Huns (453 AD) and Ostrogoth rule, to the incursion of the Slavic peoples after 611 AD, that is, the beginning of the third decade of the 7th century AD. The Slavs adopted the customs and rituals of the indigenous Romanised population, and especially the skeletal inhumation of the deceased. Thus, in the 7th and 8th centuries AD, a particular cultural unit was formed of the mixed farming and military population in the protected western part and hinterland of the Istrian peninsula (Fig. 17). This barbarisation of Istria in the 7th and 8th centuries AD triggered more intense Benedictine missionary activity, especially coming from the relatively peaceful south of Istria, following on from the economic and cultural continuity of the antique civilisation[41].

[39] MARUŠIĆ 1980, 113-133; MARUŠIĆ 1987, 97, fig. 15.
[40] MARUŠIĆ 1987, 97, 100, fig. 15.
[41] MARUŠIĆ, 1995, 9-20.

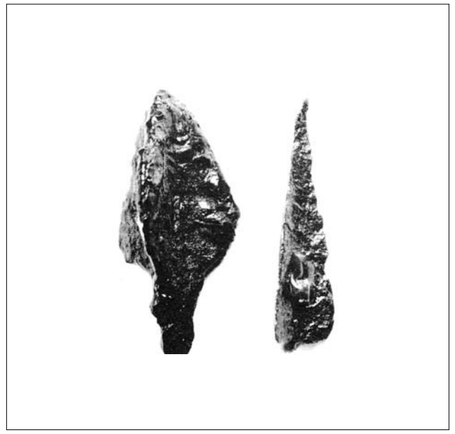


Fig. 10. Istria, Nezakcij (Nesactium), an Avar-Slavic arrow

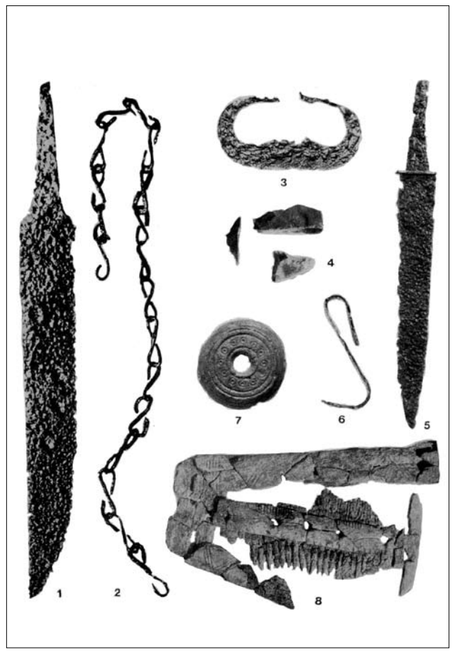


Fig. 12. Istria, Mejice near Buzet (*Pinquentum*), large military Merovingians knife

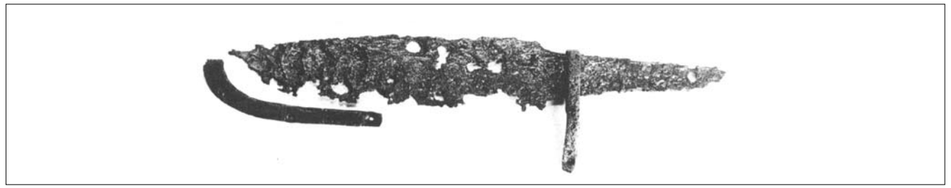


Fig. 13. Istria, Brkač near Motovun, iron knife and bronze case, 7th CAD

Fig. 14. Istria, Veli Mlun near Buzet (*Pinquentum*), a buckle with two horses

Fig. 15. Istria, Brkač near Motovun, a matrix for producing decorative buckles

Fig. 17. Istria, Novigrad, gilt buckle mount carrying weapons, 8ght CAD

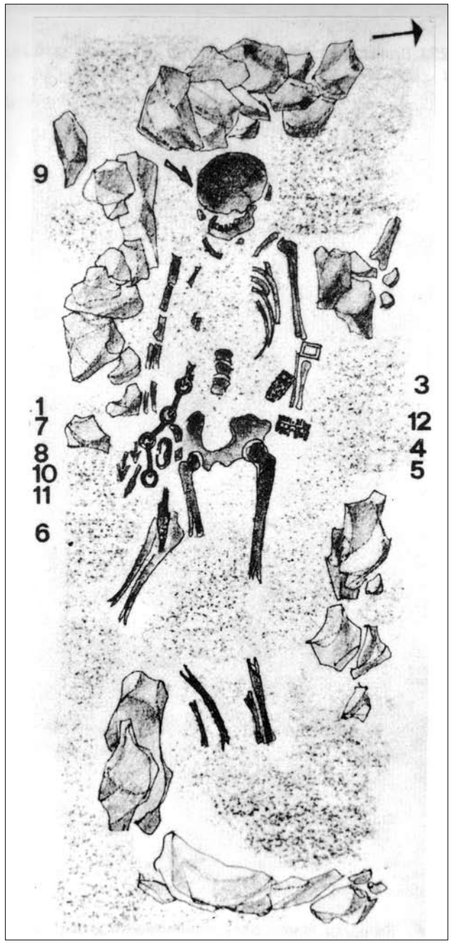


Fig. 16. Istria, Mejice near Buzet (*Pinquentum*), Tomb 195, iron arrow heads, a belt gear, a knife, 7th CAD

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IS IT A BATTLE KNIFE? THE PROBLEMS OF INTERPRETATION OF THE ROMAN KNIFE FROM SISCIA (SE CEMETERY)

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Roman town of Siscia is an important site for Croatian archaeology, because this was the first Roman settlement in Southern Pannonia. The Romans occupied this locality in 35 BCE by conquering the native settlement of Segestica. During that same year, a legionary camp was built in Siscia, where a military garrison stayed most probably until the age of the Flavians.[1] The area surrounding the camp was organized as *civitas Colapianorum,* most probably governed by a prefect in the camp. By relocating the military to the Danube bank and emptying out the camp, Vespasian formed a colony on site and it encompassed the entire *civitas* peregrina at the time.

The colony itself most probably encompassed the area of the camp and canabae which were formed beside it. Large part of the colonists were imperial fleet veterans, mostly recruited in Illyricum. András Mócsy believes that they were placed in Siscia because of two reasons. The first was the emperor expressing gratitude for their allegiance by assigning them land in their native place, while the second was of economic nature exclusively. Siscia is located on the river of Sava, which is one of the main transport routes in the Southern Pannonia. The river should have played a key role in linking limes with the Northern Adriatic, which is why the river should have been secured and the level of transportation in it should have been increased. Andras Mocsy believes that Vespasian solved this by colonizing veterans from the imperial fleets, who should have started shipping on the river. By strengthening transportation through the Sava, Siscia gained additional importance, because it is located on a natural junction of multiple river and land routes. It is thus not surprising that it developed quickly into a large city and centre of crafts and trade.[2] Siscia played an important role in limes supplying, because it was a large metallurgic centre from which large amounts of iron, iron weapons and tools were exported.[3] Siscia reached its peak when a mint was formed during the age of Gallienus, and its political peak happened during the age of Diocletian, by making it the center of Savia province. The city was most probably abandoned at some point in the 6th to 7th century. But the exact moment when it happened is still an open issue.

Considering the rich history of the city, a surprisingly small number of graves and gravestones was found. Existence of four cemeteries was determined. The northern one formed by the road towards Buševac site (*Ad fines*), from which the road branched out towards Emona and Andautonia. The south-western necropo-

[1] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 190.

[2] MÓCSY 1974., 112.-114., 135.

[3] DURMAN 1992, 126-127.

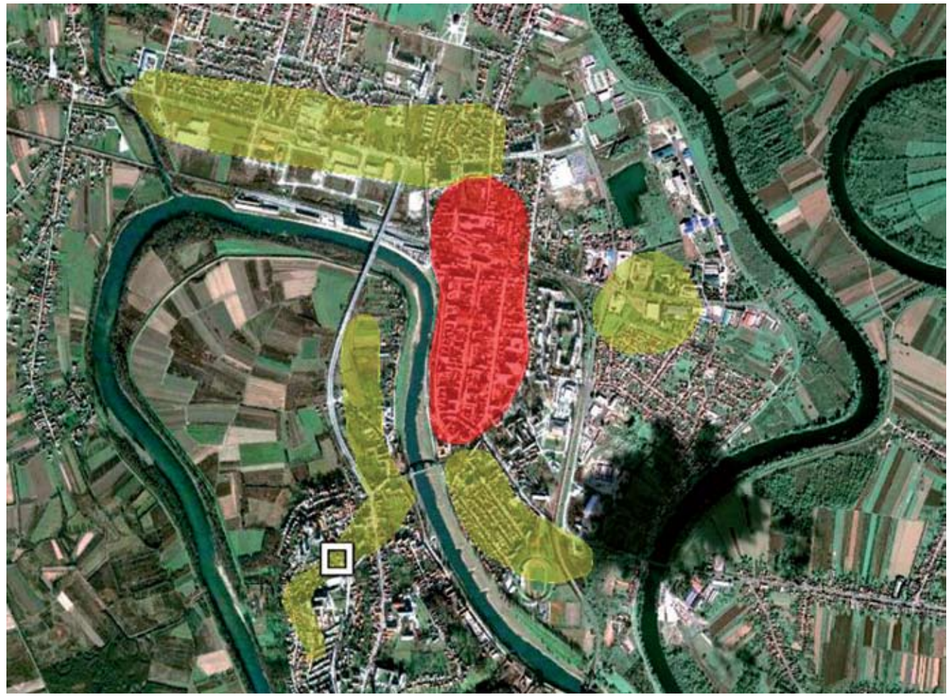

Fig. 1. Roman site of Siscia (red - settlement, yellow - *necropolis*, white square - position of find). (Author T. Leleković)

lis was formed by the road towards Senia. The south-eastern necropolis formed by the road that led to Syrmium. The eastern necropolis formed between the city walls and the river of Sava and it might have developed by the local road connecting some kind of a smaller settlement on the Sava bank with the city. Only a small portion of intact graves was found. In the last 20 years, several excavations have been conducted, which discovered parts of the necropolis, but none of them were published, so it is impossible to have insight into those finds. Around 250 graves were found in the Sisak area, including *sarcophagi* that were being collected for almost two centuries. It is likely that a major part of the burials was found during various utility and construction work, but documentation on those finds does not exist.

Research conducted in 2008 in the area of the south-western necropolis covered the area of 900 square meters.[4] This excavation determined four stages of the site. The earliest stage was made out of objects that preceded the necropolis, while the remaining three stages were composed out of graves and grave constructions. The first burial horizon was composed of fourteen cremation graves which were found in dispersed across a fenced rectangular area grouped into uneven groups. The second stage was made out of remnants of graves placed in the characteristic cists made of bricks, tombs and stone urnes. Tombs with sarcophagi and one child's skeletal grave can be attributed to the third stage. Grave 15, in which the knife with the silver chape was found, was located in the oldest burial horizon.

[4] LELEKOVIĆ 2008a.

Fig. 2. Graves 15, 10, 13, 21, photo. (Author T. Leleković)

Fig. 3. Grave 15 photo. (Author T. Leleković)

Due to the fact that grave 15 was partly destroyed by the tomb 10, the iron knife was broken in three parts. Only half of the blade was found within the burial. Its original appearance and dimensions cannot be determined because the end of the handle was not preserved, but judging by similar items, it had to have been between 35 and 40 centimeters long. The knife has a flat handle 18 mm wide. It is broken, so its length of 78 mm is not original. The blade is pointed and its back is curved. It is 53 mm wide and 3 mm thick. Its cutting edge forms a straight line 253 mm long, almost completely preserved. The cutting edge and the back of knife are parallel to a point, after which the blade gradually tapers and forms a tip. This type of knife is very similar to the Dolenz type ME114 which he calls dagger-like knife (*Dolchartige Griffangelmesser*). The knife was deposited with the scabbard, out of which only the chape was preserved. The chape is made of a single silver plate, brazed on the front side while the back side is flat and undecorated. The chape is 68 mm long and on the upper side it is 42 mm wide. The tip of the chape ends with a tab which is curved around the silver ring that was a part of a suspension system. Such a chape was found in Novo Mesto, but it was made out of bronze plate and it had two horizontal bolts, which is not the case with the knife from Sisak. The tip was broken, so it couldn't be compared to the Sisak find.

The grave 15, besides the knife, also included four small jugs and two oil factory lamps. In addition, the grave had a construction made of *tegulae* and the bones were deposited in a stone urn, which is extraordinary within that burial horizon. The ceramic lamps that were found, type Loeschcke X, clearly dates the graves to the 2nd century. According to the discovered burial items, both the first and the second stage of the necropolis can be dated back to the 2nd century. Graves of both those stages are furnished with practically identical ceramic jugs and factory lamps type Loeschcke X. Lack of metal objects is significant for both stages, so finds crafted out of bronze and iron, including money, were found only as an exception.

The first and second burial horizons are clearly distinguished by ritual. The first stage is characterized by cremation graves in earth holes of quadrangular or oval shape, into which the cremated remains were placed in an urn or fabric and laid to the bottom, and were then covered with a thick layer of coal and soot. This was a custom of depositing the pyre remnants, which is not present in the second stage. The graves in the second stage were all laid in regular cists made of bricks, and did not entail the pyre remnants. Due to differences in the ritual, but also due to the fact that some of the graves in cists destroyed earlier graves, I am more prone to date the graves with pyre remnants back to the beginning of the 2nd century, while the graves without pyre remnants would date back to the middle or the second half of the 2nd century.

Fig. 4. Knife *in situ* photo. (Author T. Leleković)

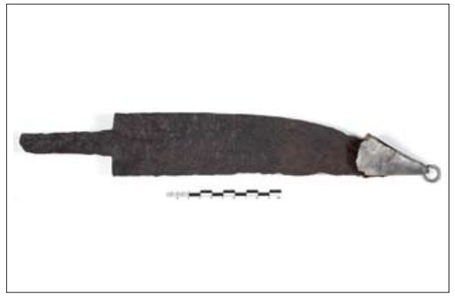

Fig. 5. Knife after reastauration. (Author T. Leleković)

culture of three groups of people should be differentiated in Siscia. One group were people who came from Rome and Italy who were accustomed to Roman way of life, and were thus buried the way it was common in the centre of the Empire. The second group were Romanized natives whose graves had both Roman and local Pannonian features, while the third group should be natives who preserved their original culture. Until now, such a small amount of graves is collected, so it is not possible to determine local and Roman elements of the burial rites. However, these newer finds are starting to form basis for that shortcoming to be corrected.

Three basic kinds of cremation graves have already been described: earth tombs with pyre remnants, clay-encased graves and graves in stone urns. Other cremation graves discovered in the area of Sisak, with some exceptions, can be put into one of those three typological groups. So far, around 200 cremation graves have been found through archaeological excavations. There is no documentation available for those which were found accidentally, while grave goods from those burials were mostly taken away, so the approximate number cannot be determined. In addition to the research in 2008 (there were three archaeological excavations in the north-western necropolis in 2008), there were two more excavations in the northern necropolis, while a series of excavations was conduced in the south-eastern cemetery in the 1950s.

Ceramic jugs found in the grave 15 are very similar in dimension, form and fabric to the other jugs found in graves of the first two stages of the necropolis. Such jugs were already found during the excavation on the south-eastern necropolis of Siscia, where they are equally dated back to the 2nd century. In the previous work regarding Roman cemeteries in Pannonia from that time, such jugs are very rare. Although it is not stated whether they come from a burial context, Olga Brukner presented one example of such a jug dating it back to the 3rd century.[5] A similar jug was found in Novo Mesto in the Ljubljanska cesta position, but it was not precisely dated.[6] The most similar examples have been found in the necropolis in Nijmegen - Hatert, where they are also dated to the middle of the 2nd century.[7]

Who were the people buried in the group, or who was the man buried with the knife? According to the information extracted from the written sources, material

[5] BRUKNER 1981., 44., T 140/77.

[6] BOŽIČ 2008., T 14/4.

[7] HAALEBOS 1990., 89.

Fig. 6. Chape made of silver plate. (Author T. Leleković)

The results of the excavation in the northern necropolis weren't published, but I have information that both excavations revealed cremation graves laid in simple holes filled with the pyre remnants.[8] The only excavation whose results were made public was that from 1954 when almost 150 cremation graves were discovered in the south-western necropolis. Documentation was in such a condition that today it is not possible to date precisely most of the graves, or separate them into possible burial horizons. The publishing reveals that the excavation discovered graves in simple holes with pyre remnants, graves in cists and graves in stone urns, and that the grave goods date back to 2nd century and first half of the 3rd century.[9]

Due to a small number of published finds, at this point it is not possible to separate native elements of ritual from the Roman elements. Finds from the south-western necropolis make way for various assumptions which definitely need to be evaluated through publishing new finds. Graves in cists and stone urns have been typical for the area of northern Italy since the period of late Republic, so that their occurrence in the area of south-western Pannonia is always linked to Roman settlers. In this part of the province, they were found exclusively in urban necropolises and on necropolises of smaller settlements which were settled by veterans and traders of Italic lineage.[10] In the Croatian part of south-eastern Pannonia, over 100 cremation graves have been found, while clay-construction graves are exceptions and mostly date back to late 2nd and 3rd century.[10] On the other hand, graves in simple oval or quadrangular earth holes are the most common form of burial in the area of central Croatia from the beginning of the 1st to the beginning of the 2nd century.

[8] I would like to thank to Ivana Miletić Čakširan and Iskra Baćani.

[9] WIEWEGH 2003.

[10] GREGL 1997, 25-26.

Graves such as these are prevalent in all excavated cremation cemeteries in the Croatian part of Pannonia Superior.[11] Except for the cultural differences, the chronological relation between the two grave shapes remains unknown. It is obvious they were formed in different periods in the south-western necropolis of Siscia. However, the level of research up to now does not open the possibility of determining whether these were two developmental stages which show gradual Romanization of the local population, meaning that the two generations from which the older used burial rites closer to the native element with less influence of the Romans, while the next generation fully accepted Roman customs. Or, these were cemeteries of two different groups, with the younger one, in which Romanized settlers were buried, destroyed the older native group. The difficulty in disentangling this issue can be seen in the fact that very few graves from the 1st century were found in central Croatia, most of which were published with a wide range of dating them back to the middle of the 1st century to the middle of the 2nd century.[12] That is why the course of changes in the grave cult is not yet known, same as the gradual course of Romanization of burial customs in this part of Pannonia is also not known.

Further research of burial customs in the south-western Pannonia can be substantiated by inspecting the usage of knives in furnishing graves, or by posing a question of whether laying a large knife into a grave could be seen as a remnant of pre-Roman burial customs. Depositing large battle knives in graves is a known custom typical for Celts. A fair example of such a custom is a grave from the turn of the 3rd century into the 2nd, from Dobova in Slovenia (which is fairly close to Siscia).[13] The custom of depositing the knife into graves probably continued deeply into the 1st century, which can be seen in the example of northern Italy, where the custom of depositing the knife into graves of men continued even after that part was integrated into the Roman state.[14] Similar examples can be seen in Wederath-Belginum.[15] Nava necropolis shows that knives were a common item deposited in the graves, and they were found there in the period from the late

[11] Still unpublished research conducted in the Ban Jelačić Square and the Divalt Street in Osijek were taken into consideration here, as well as grave finds published in GORICKE-LUKIĆ 2000.

[12] GREGL 1997, 24.

[13] GREGL 1997, GREGL 2008., KUŠAN ŠPALJ - NEMETH-ERLICH 2007.199.-201.

[14] BOŽIČ 1991, 472., 474.

[15] ARSLAN 1978, 84.

[15] CORDIE-HACKENBERG - HAFFNER 1997, Plate 545.

Republic to the end of the 1st century CE. The precise reason as to why the knives were deposited in graves is not clear, although it is speculated that this was most probably a tool which should have symbolized the sacrifice of animals, or an item that should have had an apotropaic role.[16] Nevertheless, final conclusions cannot be made, because the Angera site example shows that depositing knives cannot always be interpreted as an extension to the Celtic tradition, because knives were found in that necropolis from the Flavian and Antoninian period, while none were found in the earliest graves.[17]

What was the function of this knife? What is its symbolic value? The dagger-like knifes of this type are suitable both for cutting and stabbing. They are used in hunting and for slaughtering animals for both ritual and domestic purposes. These kinds of knives were also used as battle knives. Remains of the suspension system propose that it was carried as tool in hunting, or as a part of military equipment. The luxury scabbard in which it was laid in grave, suggests that the latter interpretation is more possible. [18] Fighting knives have a long and rich tradition in the Balkans, so they were used in the late Iron Age from the Black Sea to the Alps and the Adriatic. It is necessary to emphasize that some examples were decorated with various images, so it should be taken into consideration that such knives had a symbolic value and were used in sacrifice rituals as well.[19]

Focusing on the area of south-western Pannonia, knifes, similar to those from Siscia, are not found in graves. One similar example is a dagger made of iron found on Ljubljanska cesta in Novo Mesto, which resembles the Sisak knife because of its size, and the appearance of its chape.[20] There was also a grave in Bosiljevo (central Croatia) where a knife 34 centimeters in length was found, and it could also be tied to the knife in Sisak.[21] Weapons were not commonly found in the cremation graves of southern Pannonia in the period of the early Empire. Fine example of laying a knife with the deceased is a grave in Ilok, in which a gladius was found,[22] but graves from Osijek can also be mentioned here, because a javelin and a spear were found there.[23] Those graves can most likely be dated back to the second half of the 1st century, but they clearly point to the fact that the custom of depositing weapons is present in the southern Pannonia. The issue of interpreting Ilok and Osijek finds is in the fact that there is no way of knowing whether these were local soldiers - aristocrats, or soldiers from other parts of the Empire who happened to die there while serving or living as settled veterans.

To conclude, the grave with a dagger-like knife represents the first find in which a grave good in Siscia that can be interpreted as a part of military equipment was found. Although knives of large dimensions could have had different purpose and different symbolic value, I am more prone to believe that this was actually military equipment, and not a utilitarian object, because of its dimensions and the type of the scabbard in which it was deposited. Even as such, it could have had a symbolic value as an object used in sacrifice or an object with apotropaic purpose. However, the biggest question is whether this was a burial of a Romanized native or an Italic settler. Considering the fact that the shape of the grave, to the best of our current knowledge, can be tied to the native customs, it is not impossible to imagine that a veteran of the imperial fleet, who died at the beginning of the 2nd century, was buried there by his kin together with the knife in order to express his veteran status. This was definitely a person who was a part of the community with deep roots in the Pannonian area, but some of the Roman customs were adopted and included in the burial rites. In any case, further questioning of such an interpretation requires new finds and new research which we hope to see in the future.

[16] PASSI PITCHER 2001., 258-259.
[17] ANGERA ROMANA, 567.
[18] DOLENZ 1998.
[19] RUSTOIU 2007, 67.-82.
[20] BOŽIČ 2008, T 9/2.
[21] GREGL 1997, 56.
[22] TOMIČIĆ - DIZDAR 2007, 40; DIZDAR 2010.
[23] LELEKOVIĆ 2008b, 46.

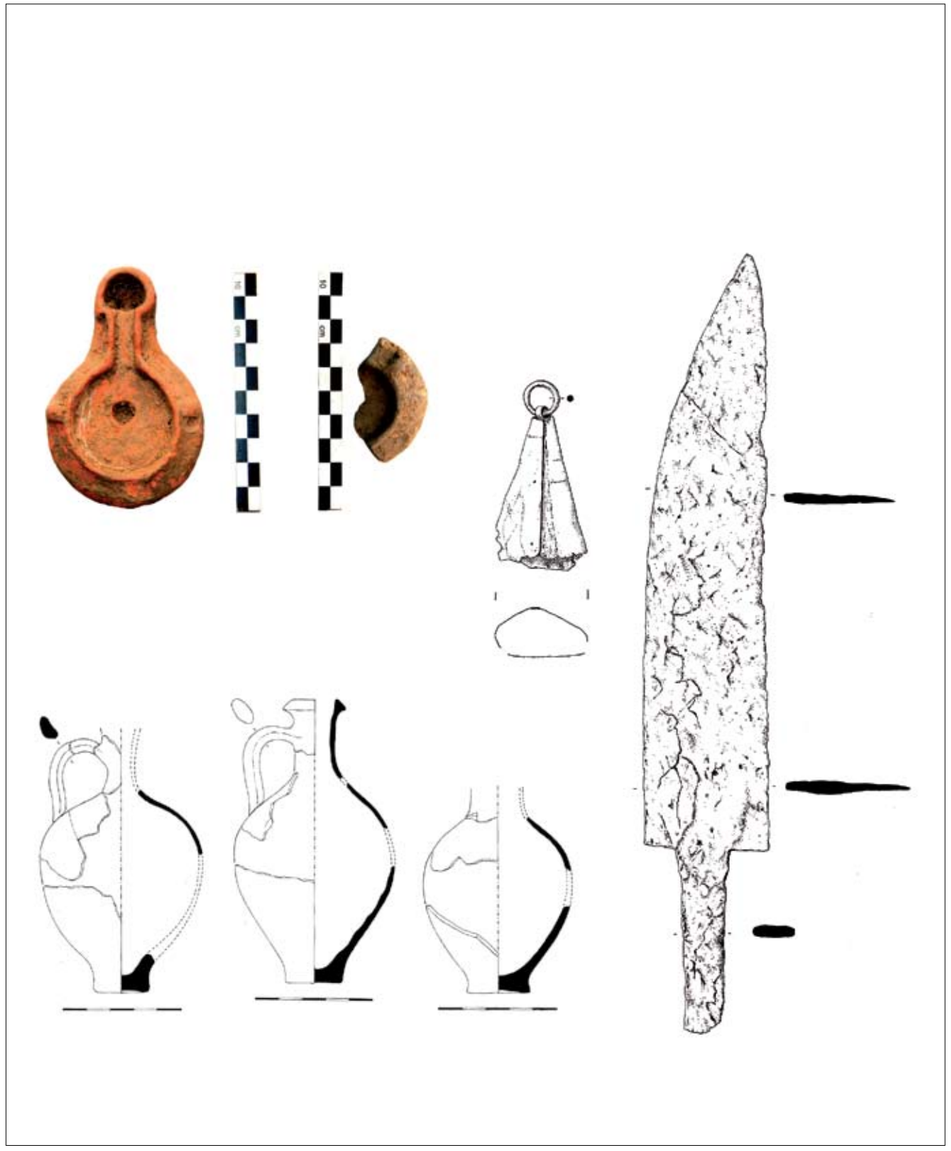

Table 1. Finds from grave 15. (Author T. Leleković)

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Bartosz Kontny

OUTSIDE INFLUENCE OR LOCAL DEVELOPMENT? SEAXES FROM THE CEMETERIES OF THE BALT TRIBES IN NORTHERN POLAND (THE ELBLĄG GROUP)

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Although covering a small area, the Elbląg group seems to be the one of the most important cultural unit attributed to the West Balt cultural circle. It is situated in the northern part of Poland and its archaeological sites are located along the edge of the Elbląg Upland, between the mouth of the Pasłęka River and the southern edge of 'Drużno Bay', reconstructed in the form in which it may have existed in Late Antiquity (Fig. 1). This concentration was called the Elbląg group by Jerzy Okulicz and attributed to the West Balt cultural circle.[1] This name has been generally accepted by scholars, although there are opinions that this group was subordinated to a cultural unit from the Sambian-Natangian area referred to by Wojciech Nowakowski as the Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture[2] or indicating the mixed, Balt-German-Scandinavian character of the culture of that area, resulting in its lack of independent character.[3] There have even been suggestions to exclude it from the West Balt circle,[4] although these definitely seem premature. The Elbląg group was formed several dozen years after the Wielbark culture population deserted its cemeteries situated on the eastern side of the Vistula Delta. This occurred, it would appear, in the final stage of Phase D and the onset of Phase E (i.e., the late fifth and early sixth centuries), as a result of a thus-far not completely explained process of symbiosis between interregional and 'Sambian' elements (i.e., horse graves, pottery forms, personal ornaments but also weapons). The Elbląg group was formed as the eastern peripheries of the Vistula Delta were taken

[1] OKULICZ 1973, 471; OKULICZ 1989, 89-90.

[2] NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 96-97; BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2001, 21-25, 132.

[3] BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2008a, 109.

[4] BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2010, 148, 150.

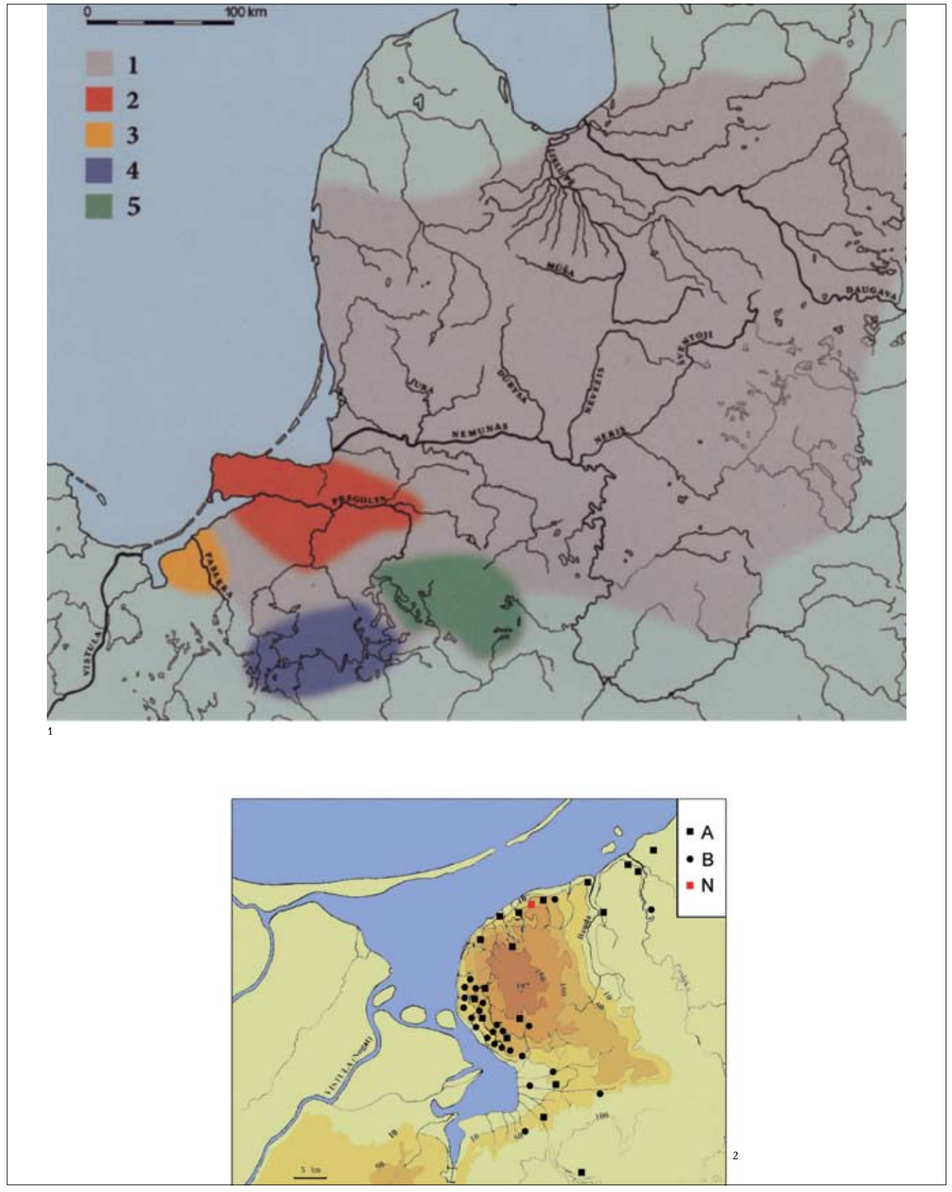

Fig. 1. Balt territories during the Late Migration Period and the Elbląg group area: 1 - maximum extent, 2 - Sambian-Natangian area (Dollkeim-Kovrovo culture), 3 - Elbląg group, 4 - Olsztyn group, 5 - Sudovian culture, A - cemeteries, B - settlements, N - Nowinka cemetery (after BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2010, Fig. 6 and KONTNY - PIETRZAK, forthcoming, Fig. 1).

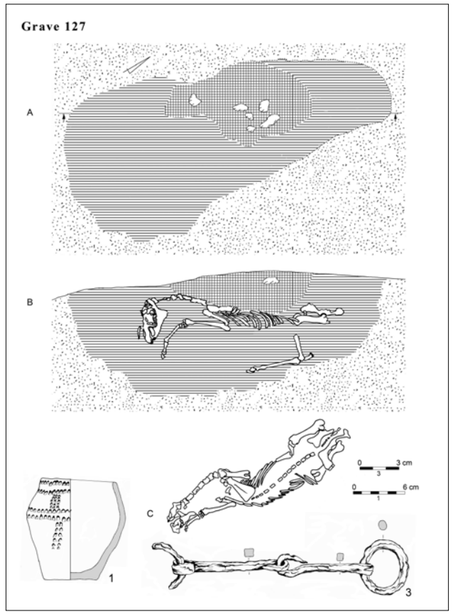

Fig. 2. Plan (A), profile (B), position of the horse skeleton in plan (C) and equipment (no 1 - clay, no 3 - iron) of grave 127 from Nowinka (after KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2010, Pl. LXXXIV).

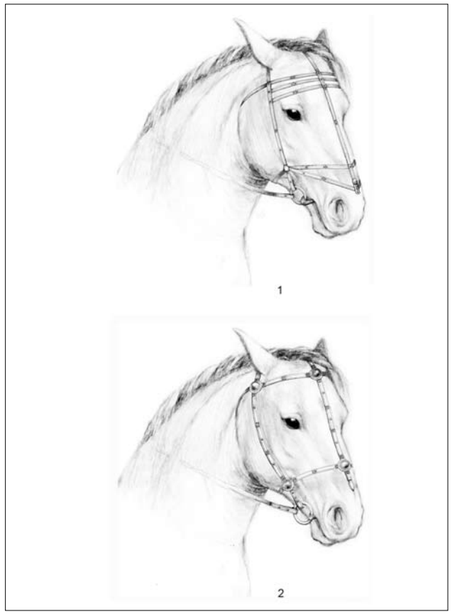

Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the Elbląg group horse harnesses: 1 - Nowinka, grave 78, 2 - Nowinka - grave 83 (drawn by Joanna Glinkowska-Kowalewska).

over by a newly-formed, mixed social group, or, as generally assumed, by the *Vidivarii*, known from the writings of Jordanes.[5]

Unfortunately so far the area has not been studied in detail.[6] This is because pre-war archaeologists were focused on finding the medieval port-of-trade, Truso, not examining the so-called *Old Prussian* culture from the Migration Period and the *Altpreussische Gräberfelder* was mentioned in the pre-war literature only exceptionally. Moreover, the documentation from excavations together with almost all of the artefacts were lost during the Second World War. Therefore, its cultural traits can be reconstructed primarily on the basis of two cemeteries: from Łęcze, Tolkmicko com. (formerly Silberberg bei Lentzen), published in the late nineteenth century,[7] and one from Nowinka, Tolkmicko com.[8]

The exclusive human burial rite was cremation (Fig. 2). Frequently people of both sexes were buried here together with their interred horses. Animals were found with bridles in their muzzles and frequently

[5] Some researchers (e.g., KUNKEL 1942, 1812-1813; OKULICZ-KOZARYN 1992, 140) have attempted to associate the new settlement at the Elbląg Upland with information from the early sixth century presented by Jordanes in *Getica* V, 36: *"Ad litus autem Oceani, ubi tribus faucibus fluenta Vistulae fluminis ebibuntur, Vidivarii resident ex diversis nationibus agregati.."* ; and elsewhere in *Getica* XVII, 96: "*... nunc* [i.e., in the early sixth century] *ut fertur insulam eam* [i.e., *Gepedoios* thus probably the Elbląg Upland?] *gens Vidivarii incolit.... qui Vidivarii ex diversis nationibus ac si in unum asylum colecti sunt et gentem fecisse nescuntur"*. The unusual manner of formation through the allochthonous process of a new tribal group – probably employing Aestian settlers moving from the Sambian Peninsula – mixing with the members of Germanic military retinues migrating from various parts of the world and sailors from Bornholm and other Baltic islands is convincingly supported by the archaeological sources. For besides the early 'almost Balt' cemeteries from Phases E_1-E_{2a} (i.e., late 5th/early 6th c.) there are also one of the four largest concentrations of finds of Byzantine solides in northern Europe issued in 455-518 AD and hoards of silver and gold ornaments from the latter half of the fifth century and the early sixth century (GODŁOWSKI 1981, 104-109; BURSCHE 1998, 225; CIOŁEK 2001). Together with the cemeteries, they formed contemporaneous concentrations of settlement points.

[6] See KOWALSKI 2000.

[7] DORR 1898.

[8] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011.

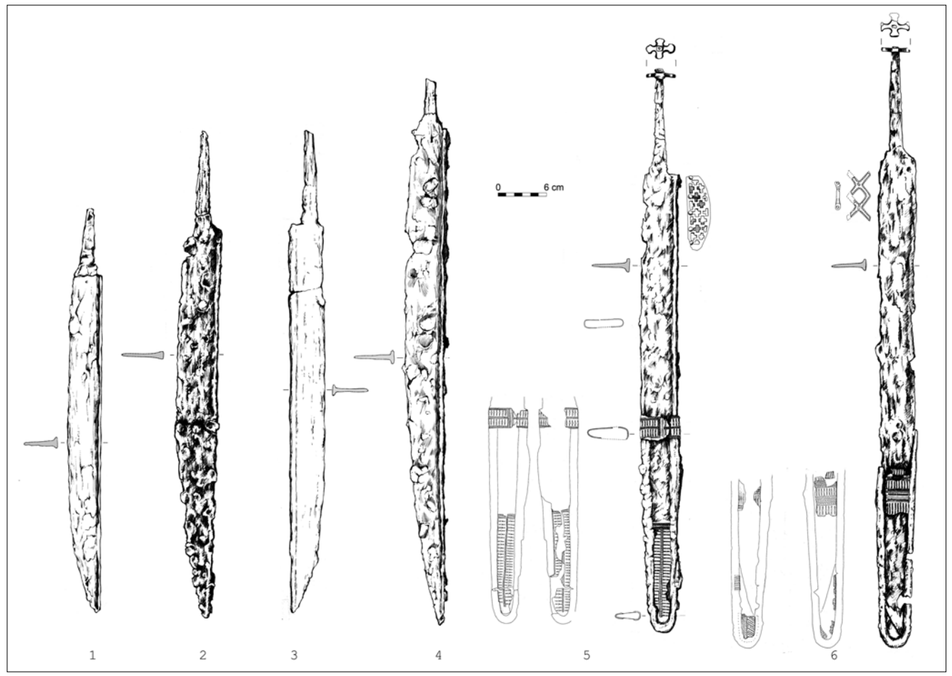

Fig. 4. Seaxes from Nowinka cemetery included in group 2 (no 1-2), 1/2 (no 3) and 1 (no 3-5); 1 - grave 105, 2 - grave 60, 3 - grave 21, 4 - grave 84, 5 - grave 85, 6 - grave 17 (after KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011).

with headgear that had bronze ornamental elements mounted on cheek piece straps, brow bands, nosebands, headpieces and central straps. It may also be proven that saddles were in use, for large iron buckles used to fasten saddles were found near the abdomens, and sometimes organic material is traced on the backs of horses.[9] Unfortunately, their reconstruction is impossible. Nevertheless, the headgear fittings have been better preserved, so this is possible to distinguish at least a few types of horse harness, i.a., with multiple straps (Fig. 3).

As refers to the construction of graves, first large pits were dug out and then animals, probably still alive, were forced into them. They were most often deposited in ventro-dorsal position, natural for a lying horse, but sometimes uncustomary positions were observed, indicating that the horses had attempted to climb out of the grave. The animals may have been ridden into the ground so that it was easy to push them into the pit, but it is also possible that they were stunned, poisoned or intoxicated. After filling the horse's pit, charred human bones with grave goods were deposited, sometimes also with stone pavement at the top. This most likely reflected the relationship between a rider (the horse's owner) and his stallion (generally males were deposited). To shed light on the possible symbolic significance of the animal, it is worthwhile to note the medieval written sources describing Prussians, i.e., the successors to the Elbląg group people. Therefore, Orosius' *Chorography*, 22 translated by King Alfred the Great, contains the late ninth century report of horse races associated with burial ceremonies for the purpose of winning the valuables formerly possessed by a deceased. The valuables were divided and situated at unconcealed sites. The riders on horseback then had to hurry and retrieve the prizes.[10] The significance of a horse in the burial rite is also underscored by a reference in the Treaty of Christburg, 13: a peace treaty signed in 1249 between the pagan Prussian clans, represented by a papal legate, and the Teutonic Knights. Pagan priests, called *Tulissones* or *Ligaschones*, are described here during burial ceremonies; they recounted their visions of the mounted armed deceased, riding in the sky with his retinue and a falcon.[11]

[9] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2009.

[10] LABUDA 1961, 70, 86. This was the famed traveller Wulfstan, who reported this information, see: ENGLERT-TRAKADAS 2009.

Horse graves were typical in all stages of the Elbląg group, but this is not the case of weapon graves (namely with seaxes, which are the main topic herein).[12] It seems that they began to appear in the later stages of the Elbląg group, i.e., in the late sixth and early seventh centuries.[13] The most spectacular weapon here were seaxes, sometimes in ornamental scabbards. Single-edged swords were recorded in Pasłęk, Pasłęk com. (former Preussische Holland) in grave 26 and outside burials, together with a shafted weapon head.[14] Seven complete items and numerous fragments were found in Elbląg-Żytno, Elbląg com. (former Benkenstein-Freiwalde)[15] including grave 105,[16] and four items in Łęcze, including graves 63 and 76 and two stray finds;[17] a fragment of a seax was also discovered in Komorowo Żuławskie, Elbląg com.[18] Nevertheless the largest collection of preserved swords comes from the cemetery at Nowinka (graves 17, 21, 53, 60, 84, 85, 105, 120).[19]

As to the pre-war publications, they usually do not present descriptions of the weapons, so only occasionally some details can be noted. Therefore, we mainly have to rely on measurements made of the items from Nowinka. Seaxes from Nowinka range from 50 to 71.4 cm in length and 4.2-5.5 cm in width (Fig. 4). On the basis of their dimensions and proportions, single-edged swords from the Elbląg group may be divided into two groups. Group 1 encompasses slim, longer swords, sometimes in decorative scabbards: Elbląg-Żytno, three swords in decorative scabbards,[20] Łęcze, grave 63[21] and probably also the item from grave 76 – preserved fragmentarily; Nowinka, graves 17, 84, 85. Group 2 refers to compact, shorter examples, possibly in simple scabbards: Elbląg-Żytno, grave 105 and another (?) find from the cemetery;[22] the item found outside the graves in Łęcze,[23] Nowinka, graves 21 and 105. Sometimes there were items placed halfway between the two groups found (the accidental find from Łęcze;[24] Nowinka, grave 60 and 120).[25] Following Herbert Westphal's suggestion,[26] a coefficient calculated as a quotient of the length and width of the sword (l/w) was used to illustrate the difference mentioned above. Additionally, due to the atypical width of the backs, a coefficient calculated as a quotient of the width and thickness of the back (w/b) was introduced (Table 1).

Almost all adequately described swords had a clearly thicker back (1.2-1.8 cm) so that their blades were T-shaped in cross-section (one seax from Elbląg-Żytno;[27] Nowinka, graves 17, 60, 84, 85, 105, 120). Such a solution required considerable technological skill and was a local feature unknown, e.g., in Scandinavia.[28] Its aim was to reinforce the blade and make it heavier, which increased its cutting power.[29] At the point of roughly one-third of its length, the blade visibly tapered toward the back. The tangs were marked out on either side, visibly and usually at right angles on the side of the back and more gently on the side of the blade. The very poor state of preservation of the iron made metallographic analyses impossible and thus so far it has been impossible to determine whether the blade was made with the use of complex technologies or the back was simply hammered down.

The swords found in decorative scabbards sometimes had cross-shaped bronze plates with rounded arms on the hilt tangs (Nowinka, grave 17 and 85). They were attached by hammering down the ends of the tang in-

[11] Text after HARTKNOCH 1679.

[12] Apart from swords, there were also the heads of shafted weapons popular in the Elbląg group. They represent typically Balt forms with parallels in Lithuania and the Sambian-Natangian area (see: KONTNY 2011). The same refers to riveted spurs sporadically found here. Strangely, no shield components have been confirmed for the Elbląg group; they were probably made solely of organic materials or they were excluded from burial rites.

[13] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, 89.

[14] EHRLICH 1923, 199.

[15] EHRLICH 1920, 181; EHRLICH 1931, 19-25, Fig. 2; EHRLICH 1932, 404, Fig. 2, 5:i.

[16] EHRLICH 1920, 187, 193.

[17] DORR 1898, 23-24, Pl. I:16, 20-22; EHRLICH 1931, 22, 25.

[18] BOGUCKI 2009, 32-33.

[19] KONTNY - OKULICZ - PIETRZAK 2011, Pl. X:12, XVII:2, XXXIV:2, XXXVIII:5, LVII:8, LX:9, LXVII:7, LXXX:10.

[20] ERHLICH 1931, 19-21.

[21] DORR 1898, Pl. I:16; EHRLICH 1931, 22.

[22] EHRLICH 1932, Fig. 5:i.

[23] DORR 1898, 24 , Pl. I:20.

[24] DORR 1898, 24, Pl. I:22.

[25] It should be recalled that A. Nørgård Jørgensen attempted to classify the swords from Nowinka as Type SAX2 – graves 60, 105 – see: NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, 53 – and SAX3 – graves 17, 21, 84, 85 and 120 – see: NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, 57 – yet due to considerable discrepancies, including chronology, it is difficult to consider this issue settled. The classification criteria adopted for west European seaxes (see: WESTPHAL 2002, 205-206, 288-293) are not suitable in this case. Finally, the monograph on the Balt weapons, i.e., KAZAKEVIČIUS 1988, 99-109, does not suggest any classification of single-edged swords.

[26] WESTPHAL 1997, 408-409.

[27] EHRLICH 1931, 19.

[28] NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, 53, 57.

[29] See: KONTNY 1998.

	Dimensions: (cm) length x width x thickness of back	l/w	w/b	group
Nowinka, grave 17	71.4 x 4.7 x 1.4	15.19	3.36	1
Nowinka, grave 21	58.5 x 5.5 x 0.9	10.36	6.11	2
Nowinka, grave 60	~60 x 4.5 x 1.2	13.33	3.75	1/2
Nowinka, grave 84	~67 x 4.7 x 1.7	14.25	2.76	1
Nowinka, grave 85	69 x 4.5 x 1.6	15.33	2.81	1
Nowinka, grave 105	~50 x 4.2 x 1.4	11.90	3.00	2
Nowinka, grave 120	63.9 x 4.6 x 1.2	13.89	3.83	1/2
Łęcze, grave 63	70 x 4.7 x 1.3	14.98	3.36	1

Table 1. Dimensions and proportions of well-preserved Elbląg group swords.

serted in the central hole. Such plates are decorated in the style found also at the suspension plate of the scabbard from the particular assemblage. The plates reinforced the fastening of the unpreserved organic hilt, which indicates that the hilts were not longer than the tangs (probably also in the case of the remaining swords). It may therefore be assumed that on the longer swords the hilt was about 13 cm long. Taking into consideration the observations made during excavations at Nowinka cemetery (namely the shape of darker patches next to the hilt – organic handle remains), it may be assumed that the width of the hilt was approximately as wide as the plates fastening it, i.e., 3.6 x 2.8 cm, and certainly not smaller than said plates. Thus, the hand holding the sword was poorly protected. With reference to the handles, Robert Dorr remarked that the iron tang of one of the swords accidentally discovered in Elbląg-Żytno in 1907 was covered with wood and in the upper part set by a fitting made of an iron band decorated with incised bronze wire.[30] The remains of the wooden handle plating were also preserved on the sword from grave 63 in Łęcze.[31]

[30] DORR 1914, 2.

[31] DORR 1898, 23. The sword survives in the collection of the Museum in Elbląg (Muzeum Archeologiczno-Historyczne w Elblągu) and the wood is still clearly visible.

In the Balt milieu, seaxes were also found at the area of Sambia, Natangia, Nadrovia and the Neman River basin.[32] These include, for example, the long artefacts from Suvorovo, ray. Gvardeysk (former Zohpen), graves 335 and 392 in the Sambian-Natangian region.[33] They differed slightly from the finds from Nowinka: they were slimmer, the point was curved outward slightly towards the back; they also had a thick back but not to the same extent as the Elbląg group seaxes (0.5-1.0 cm) and finally they had shallow fullers near the back.[34] This group also consists of a single-edged sword from the former Sorthenen[35] and a sword in a scabbard decorated with gold foil from grave 1 in Vetrovo,[36] ray. Zelenogradsk (former Ekritten),[37] two similar but shorter single-edged swords were also found in grave 3.[38] A seax in a scabbard decorated with a gold embossed sheet was found in the former Tengen, grave 9,[39] while the others were recorded in grave 28 in the former Tengen[40] and in the former Eisliethen[41] (both sites in the Sambian-Natangian region). Besides similar swords mentioned in archival sources (usually without any specific data) concerning the drainage basin of the lower Neman River (the Lower Neman group), e.g., Rzhevskoye, ray. Slavsk (former: Linkuhnen), grave 39,[42] grave 96,[43] and excavations from 1939: in grave 15,[44] grave 59,[45] grave 420,[46] grave 448,[47] grave 457,[48] grave 476,[49] grave 481,[50] grave 484;[51] they were also reportedly found at other sites attributed to this cultural unit: Vėžaičiai, r. Šilutė (former Weszeiten), grave 667[52] and Barvai, r. Šilutė (former: Barwen), grave 34.[53] Lithuanian single-edged swords were analyzed by Vytautas Kazakevičius,[54] but he did not study the chronological and typological differences. These swords were very numerous, and were said to have appeared from the sixth (or even fifth) to the early eleventh centuries.[55] They were concentrated in the area of the West Lithuanian group, but they were also found in the area of the Lower Neman group, the Central Lithuanian group and the Samogitian Flat Cemeteries group.[56] In Samogitia and Semigallia they were not numerous; instead in these areas wide swords similar to falchions became popular.[57] Naturally, seaxes were also found in western Europe and Scandinavia.[58]

[32] EHRLICH 1931, 34.

[33] HEYM 1938, 63, Pl. 9:95, 34:245; KULAKOV 1990, 69, Pl. XV:10, XIX:7. Single-edged swords were also reportedly found in grave 435a and 466 but in these cases the details of the description are missing or there are ambiguities as to the grave numbers, see: HEYM 1938, 19.

[34] HEYM 1938, 63.

[35] EHRLICH 1932, 412; KNORR 1938, 522; collection of the Museum of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn (Muzeum Warmii i Mazur w Olsztynie), cat. no 646.

[36] According to the author of the publication it is analogous to the sword from Łęcze, grave 63, see: HOLLACK 1914, 283; cf. *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 282/1, 275 (in collection of Museum of Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Berlin).

[37] Both in the Sambian-Natangian area.

[38] HOLLACK 1914, 284, Fig. 127. Another analogy to the sword from grave 63 in Łęcze was said to be the seax in a scabbard adorned with a silver embossed sheet and decorated in animal Style I from grave 1 in the former Warnikam, see: TISCHLER - KEMKE 1902, 42.

[39] BERENDT 1873, Pl. I:9, II:4.

[40] KLEBS 1877, 53, Pl. 1:5.

[41] GAERTE 1929, Fig. 242:g.

[42] EHRLICH 1932, 409.

[43] ENGEL 1932, Fig. 86, right.

[44] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 128.

[45] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 112.

[46] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 212.

[47] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 228.

[48] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 229.

[49] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 221.

[50] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 234.

[51] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 236; - see: F. Jaensch's report in *Prussia Archiv*.

[52] GAERTE 1929, Fig. 242:f; OLSÉN 1945, 64, Fig. 299.

[53] HOLLACK 1914, 284; KNORR 1938, Fig. 42; OLSÉN 1945, 64, Fig. 298; KAZAKIEVIČIUS 1981, 95.

[54] KAZAKIEVIČIUS 1981; KAZAKYAVICHYUS 1988, 93-94, 99-109.

[55] KAZAKYAVICHYUS 1988, 101-104.

[56] KAZAKYAVICHYUS 1988, Map XVI.

The origins of seaxes are believed to be connected to the Huns, who used long knives in the fifth century.[59] It was believed that the direct predecessors of seaxes were the long knives known both in Scandinavia and in western Europe from the late fifth century or even earlier. They gave rise to short seaxes, which in fact were large knives accompanying double-edged swords. These in turn yielded the forms included in type SAX1 after Anne Nørgård Jørgensen, i.e., narrow swords up to 52 cm long, which happened before 575 AD. Such a view appears too simple, and it could be set more correctly. As Zdeněk Čižmář and Jaroslav Tejral proved, seaxes have their predecessors in long and narrow Asian forms (so-called straight sabres), dated as far back as the first century AD and linked to the Hiung-nu tribes. Later forms, dated to the fourth century, were shorter, approximately 35 cm in length, attributed to the nomadic (e.g., Alan or Hunnish) milieu. They appeared in Central Asia (Dzhety-Asar culture), the steppe region in the Volga River basin (south Russia) and later also in the northern Caucasus (Alans) or Crimean Peninsula. The majority of the latter has been dated to the first half of or the mid-fifth century. Narrow seaxes have been confirmed in the central Danube region in Phase D_2, i.e., the later part of the first half of the fifth century, although they were rare here. In the central Danube basin there is also an evidence of the use of narrow, longer forms, approximately 50 cm or more (*Schmalsaxe*), i.e., Wien-Simmering, Bez. Simmering; Blučina-Cezavy, okr. Brno-Venkov; Prostějov-Držovice, okr. Prostějov, graves 2 and 4; Levice, okr. Levice, etc., already in the first half of the fifth century. Shorter forms (ca 30-40 cm) seem to be slightly earlier in the fifth century than the longer ones, appearing also in the latter half of the fifth century. Later, from the second third of the fifth up to the second third of the sixth century, very long but very narrow seaxes, reaching 60-70 cm in length, are known also from the Gepidic cemeteries in the Tisa basin, although they were not very frequent there.[60] This was probably a case of continuity and further development of older, Hunnish

[57] KAZAKYAVICHYUS 1988, 106.

[58] WESTPHAL 2002, 174-221; NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, 44-67.

[59] NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, 44; QUAST 1999.

[60] BONÁ, NAGY 2002, 112.

forms. Narrow seaxes have also been observed quite early in western Europe, e.g., Pouan, dép. Aube but they became more popular beginning with Childeric's grave in Tournai, prov. Hainaut namely during the Flonheim-Gültlingen phase (ca 480-510 AD),[61] where they were treated as Danubian imports or imitations.[62] Apart from them, wide seaxes (*Breitsaxe*) became typical of the Merovingian area and in the latter half of the sixth century and the first half of the seventh century. They were the most important type of seaxes here. Before the mid seventh century, wide seaxes in western Europe began to become longer (more than 50 cm).[63] Already in the early seventh century the paths of development of single-edged weapons in Scandinavia and the Merovingian world, similar in the latter half of the sixth century, diverged: in western Europe wide seaxes with long, sometimes double-handed hilts appeared and in the Nordic zone forms SAX2, similar to earlier (latter half of the sixth century) SAX1 forms (27-52 cm long, 2.3-3.6 cm wide) but clearly longer and wider, reaching up to 69 cm in length.[64] Type SAX3, however, to which Anne Nørgård Jørgensen classified some of the items from Nowinka, encompassed forms with broad blades, up to 81 cm long, analogous to west European *Langsaxes*. It appeared in western Europe after the mid-seventh century, and before 680 AD,[65] whereas its copies were first made in Scandinavia in the late seventh century.[66] The copies, however, were not made with the use of the Damascene technology known in western Europe, but more simply.

Here we arrive at the question of the origin of the Elbląg group seaxes. It seems that adopting the western and northern European scheme does not entirely explain the problem and does not precisely fit the reality of the Balt milieu. On the one hand, the seaxes from Nowinka are attributed to its Phase 3, i.e., probably to the turn of the sixth into the seventh century and the early seventh century,[67] and this is the case of the items from Łęcze.[68] On the other hand, we have at our disposal their most probable forerunners, i.e., so-called dagger-knives (Germ. *Dolchmessern*): a typical form of a knife with a long and very narrow point and several grooves spaced out along the blade of the back or slightly obliquely with respect thereto. The possibility that single-edged swords developed from knives of the *Dolchmesser* type was suggested by Vytautas Kazakievičius, who stressed that at about the mid-first millennium they began to lose the features of knives and gain the morphological elements typical of swords: greater length and width, thickened back, wider point.[69] Valdemaras Šimėnas, in turn, indicated that the reason for the appearance of dagger-knives was the migration of human groups from the central Danube area in the fifth/sixth centuries,[70] which seems unjustified due to the fact that in the Danube area no similar weapons were found. Moreover, in his publications he did not clearly distinguish dagger-knives from single-edged swords, which resulted in such misunderstandings such as treating the items from Elbląg-Żytno and Łęcze as dagger-knives.[71] The interpretation put forward by Vytautas Kazakyavichyus is much more probable. He mentions the examples of long dagger-knives,[72] which suggests that still longer forms were in use in the following chronological stages, beginning in the fourth century.[73] Moreover it is possible to cite specimens which have to be considered swords due to their considerable length (starting at roughly 50 cm) and at the same time they possess certain archaic features, typical of dagger-knives such as the presence of fullers.[74] Thus the most probable hypothesis is that seaxes developed locally from dagger-knives,[75] which most likely occurred in the Early Migration Period, for it is in Phase D (i.e., late fourth cent., from ca 375 AD) that *Dolchmessern* were used,[76] including the actual swords from grave 28 in the former Tengen[77] and

[61] ČIŽMÁŘ - TEJRAL 2002, 106-111; see WERNARD 1998.

[62] WESTPHAL 2002, 216.

[63] WESTPHAL 2002, 217.

[64] NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, 44-45, 50-53, 147.

[65] WESTPHAL 2002, 213, Table 2.3a.

[66] NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, 46, 53-57, Fig. 110.

[67] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, 123-124.

[68] KOWALSKI 2000, 220.

[69] KAZAKIEVIČIUS 1981, 45, 57-58; KAZAKYAVICHYUS 1988, 99-100.

[70] ŠIMĖNAS 1996, 71.

[71] ŠIMĖNAS 1996, 65-66.

[72] KAZAKYAVICHYUS 1988, 100.

[73] This was also proven by Jaroslav Prassolov's studies (Humboldt-Universität Berlin) presented during the conference "Archaeology of the Baltic Region: New Investigations and Discoveries" held in Kaliningrad (17-19 Nov. 2010).

[74] Dobroe-Gora Velikanov, ray. Zelenogradsk, grave N-1, see: KULAKOV, forthcoming, 8, Fig. 22; Lithuanian finds from Kalniškiai, r. Plungė, Pakalniškiai, r. Šakiai and Vidgiriai, r. Šilutė, see: ŠIMĖNAS 2006, Fig. 30, 54:1, 2; Povarovka, ray. Zelenogradsk (former: Kirpehnen), site 2, grave 92, see: *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1730/2, 120; Rzhevskoye, grave 457, see: *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 229; Suvorovo, see: HEYM 1938, 63; former Tengen, grave 1, see: KLEBS 1877, Pl. 1:5. In the latter, the find from Povarovka, and possibly also the find from grave 9 in the former Tengen, see: BERENDT 1873, Pl. I:9a, the blade is T-shaped in cross-section, which was typical of many dagger-knives.

[75] For a similar opinion see: EHRLICH 1931, 34-35.

[76] NOWAKOWSKI 1996, 58.

[77] NOWAKOWSKI 1996, Pl. VIII:b, XVI:d.

Povarovka,[78] mentioned above. The next finds of 'Balt' seaxes known so far are from the former Warnikam, grave 1[79] (all sites from the Sambian-Natangian area.) and Rzhevskoye, grave 484.[80] They have been dated to Phase E_1, i.e., late fifth/sixth centuries.[81] Later finds from the Elbląg group and the neighbouring Balt areas are also known.[82]

The process of 'elongating' Balt swords stands complied with the general European-wide trend of lengthening weapons, but evidently it transpired earlier than in Scandinavia or western Europe's second attempt (after leaving the idea of narrow seaxes), moreover it had a different antecedent. The area where dagger-knives and later single-edged swords appeared basically comprises the zone along the south-east coast of the Baltic Sea. It was probably from there and not only from the eastern part of the Merovingian circle that the tendencies to lengthen single-edged weapons came to Scandinavia, although – taking into account chronology – one may also take into consideration certain Gepidic influences or even direct nomadic short seaxes. It is worthwhile recalling here that, according to Jordanes ("Getica" V, 36) the *Acatziri*, identified as Hunnish tribe, dwelled south of the *Aestii*.

As indicated above, sometimes scabbard elements may be found in Elbląg group graves. The arrangements of preserved fittings indicate that swords in scabbards were deposited in graves. The fittings include U-shaped iron chapes and embossed bronze sheets placed between the chips and the chape. There were also bronze elements used for fastening the scabbard. In some cases the organic components of the scabbards were preserved: remains of wooden chips on blades (Nowinka grave 17, 60 and 85)[83] or the back (Nowinka, grave 105);[84] fragments of scabbards made of wood and leather were observed by Robert Dorr in Łęcze,[85] wooden parts of scabbards also survived in Elbląg-Żytno on sword I,[86] II and III.[87] Notable in the case of the sword from Nowinka, grave 105, is that no metal scabbard fittings were found, which supports the hypothesis that some scabbards were made of wood and did not have any additional fittings. In turn, in graves 21 and 84 from Nowinka,[88] no traces of wooden chips were found, which suggests that the swords were deposited without scabbards or that their organic elements became completely decomposed. The second possibility is supported by the fact that in grave 21 an organic outline of a structure used to suspend the sword found in the forte part was recorded.[89] In grave 17 at Nowinka, the leather covering the wooden scabbard was also found,[90] while in grave 85 leather with remains of oak was discovered in the area of the forte,[91] which may be linked to the structure used to suspend the scabbard. In the point section of the latter, the scabbard was made of oak or lime wood chips. The state of preservation of the organic parts precludes any determination as to whether the wooden parts of the scabbards were decorated.[92]

Iron chapes (e.g., Nowinka, graves 17, 60, 85, 120,[93] Elbląg-Żytno,[94] Łęcze, graves 63 and 76[95]) had the form of U-shaped, one-piece fittings embracing approximately 0.4 of the length of the blade. Their arms were originally of equal length.[96]

[78] It was accompanied by, i.e., a buckle with an oval-shaped thickened frame and a crossbow brooch with a solid catch-plate, i.e., denominators of Phase D.

[79] TISCHLER - KEMKE 1902, 41, Pl. XIII:2.

[80] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 236.

[81] They were found with a *Schlußkreuzfibel*-type brooch considered an indicator of Phase E_1, see: KOWALSKI 2000, 219; HILLBERG 2009, 317-330.

[82] E.g., in grave 392 from Suvorovo, i.e., a late ladder brooch, an openwork belt mount and a tongue-shaped strap end were found, see: KULAKOV 1990, Pl. XIX:7, in grave 3 from Vetrovo, ray. Zelenogradsk a disc brooch, see: HOLLACK 1914, 284, Fig. 126, and in graves 59 and 457 from Rzhevskoye, ladder brooches, see: *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 112, 229. Therefore we may place them in the same chronological horizon as finds from the Elbląg group.

[83] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, Pl. X:12, XXXVIII:5, LX:9.

[84] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, Pl. LXVII:7.

[85] DORR 1898, 23. At present the finds of Łęcze are much more poorly preserved and the remains of the U-shaped chape are preserved only at the point section (collection of the Elbląg Museum).

[86] KNORR 1938, 521.

[87] EHRLICH 1931, 21.

[88] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, Pl. XVII:2, LVII:8.

[89] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, 19.

[90] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, 15-16.

[91] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, 38-39.

[92] This cannot be entirely excluded, as the instances of placing decorative motifs on the organic parts of the scabbards are known in the Baltic zone from the Migration Period: in its earlier part (Phase D), e.g., bog deposits of Nydam Id and IV, see: JØRGENSEN - PETERSEN 2003, Figs. 25, 36; PETERSEN 2003, Fig. 1-2, and also later, e.g., Nørre Sandegård Vest, Bornholms amt, grave 62, see: JØRGENSEN - NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1997, Fig. 57.

[93] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, Pl. X:12, XXXVIII:6, LX:9c, LXXX:10.

[94] EHRLICH 1931, 19-25; EHRLICH 1932, Fig. 5:i.

[95] DORR 1898, 23, Pl. I:16.

[96] It is different in the case of the item from Nowinka, grave 60, but there the chape is incomplete and it is difficult to determine whether it was much longer on either of the sides. Also the best preserved sword from Elbląg-Żytno (no I) was different: it appeared in a scabbard with a U-shaped chape with one arm longer (on the side of the back - 26 cm) and one shorter (18 cm).

Some of the scabbards were additionally decorated (Fig. 4:5-6, 5:1-2) with bronze sheets featuring embossed ornaments (Nowinka, grave 17 and 85,[97] Łęcze, graves 63 and 76[98]) placed in the lower parts of the scabbards. Seaxes from Nowinka were equipped with combinations of railing patterns and pearl-like lines,[99] whereas the item form Łęcze, grave 76, was decorated with a pattern of embossed concentric circles and a damier pattern of rhombuses separated by dotted lines (Fig. 5:2). Decorative metal sheets were also made of more precious metals. Silver plates were placed on either sides of the scabbards found in Elbląg-Żytno:[100] in the case of sword I they were decorated with a railing ornament, concentric circles, embossed lines and lines of horizontal and oblique dots;[101] the scabbard of sword II was decorated with the railing motif and straight lines, that of sword III with embossed concentric circles surrounded by rings of dots, and that of sword IV with a pattern of concentric circles placed between the borders of double dotted lines.[102] In contrast to the finds from Nowinka, in Elbląg-Żytno the metal sheets covered the entire lengths of the scabbards. It was also noticed that the ends of the metal sheets overlapped;[103] this solution was probably also used in decorative scabbards from Nowinka, which is suggested by the way in which the topmost sheets on the sword from grave 85 were affixed. It should be noted that decorated scabbards appeared concurrently only with long slim swords.

Both seaxes and scabbards with U-shaped chapes, including those decorated with embossed metal sheets, occurred in Balt areas, especially in Sambia, Natangia and in the drainage basin of the lower Neman River.[104]

[97] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, Pl. X:12, LX:9, 9c.

[98] DORR 1898, 23, Fig. 6.

[99] In both scabbards a combination of embossed a double railing pattern and double pearl-like lines in horizontal and vertical arrangements were used. Such motifs were also used on sheets decorating the sheath of a knife (grave 60) and headgear fittings (graves 82, 117, 120, 147) as well as a drinking horn (graves 17, 21, 83; the railing ornament appeared on the fittings of drinking horns also in combination with other motifs - graves 11, 62A, 82); see: KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011, Pl. V:11, IX:19, XVI:5, XXXVIII:4, XLII:1, LII:4, 9, LIV:4, LXXXI:16, XCIV:2.

[100] EHRLICH 1931, 19-20, Fig. 2; EHRLICH 1932, 404, Figs. 2, 4.

[101] EHRLICH 1932, 19-20, Fig. 2.

[102] EHRLICH 1931, 21-22.

[103] KNORR 1938, 521-522, Fig. 37.

[104] They are also known from Scandinavia and the Merovingian circle, yet the items from these areas clearly differ from the Balt artefacts in the use of a fitting placed along the entire length of the scabbard, see: OLSÉN 1945, Figs. 125-169; NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, Figs. 19, 25, 34.

One of them is the find from the former Sorthenen, grave 15. During the excavations of 1931, together with a flask-shaped vessel, a sword in a scabbard was discovered, decorated with an embossed zigzag pattern and concentric circles interspersed with dotted lines.[105] According to Heinz Knorr, two swords with fittings were discovered during Carl Engel's excavations.[106] The swords preserved in the collection of the Museum of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn (cat. no 646) are unfortunately in very poor condition. It may be said that these seaxes belong to the group of longer swords and that the embossed sheets probably covered the whole blades; as in the case of sword I from Elbląg-Żytno, they were made of overlapping sheets, in the lower part held in place by an iron chape. They were decorated (Fig. 5:3-4) with vertical and horizontal plain and dotted lines, plain oblique lines and a motif of concentric circles ringed with pearl-like ornaments (as on sword II from Elbląg-Żytno). Due to their poor state of preservation it is difficult to say which raw material was used to make the metal sheets. In turn, in grave 1 from Vetrovo a sword in a scabbard decorated with a gold sheet was found; according to the author of the publication it is analogous to the sword from Łęcze, grave 63.[107] A scabbard decorated with an embossed gold sheet was found also in former Tengen grave 9.[108] Another decorated scabbard was found with the seax from grave 1 in the former Warnikam: it was decorated with an embossed silver sheet with ornaments[109] in animal Style I after B. Salin.[110] The bronze sheet was said to have been found in grave 484 from Rzhevskoye, most probably covering only a small part of the scabbard.[111] There are also simple scabbards with U-shaped chapes similar in length to the items from Nowinka, e.g., from the former Eisliethen in the Sambian-Natangian area.[112] Due to the earlier dating of the assemblages from the former Warnikam and Rzhevskoye (discussed above) than the scabbards from the Elbląg group it seems evident that they appeared as a secondary phenomenon. The decorative motifs observed on the scabbards from the Elbląg group also have analogies in the decorations on other objects from the Balt milieu, including the

[105] EHRLICH 1932, 412.

[106] KNORR 1938, 522.

[107] HOLLACK 1914, 283; see: *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 282/1, 275.

[108] BERENDT 1873, Pl. I:9, II:4.

[109] TISCHLER - KEMKE 1902, 42.

[110] SALIN 1904.

[111] *Prussia Archiv* PM-A 1472/1, 236.

[112] GAERTE 1929, Fig. 242:g.

[113] EHRLICH 1931, 25-34, 39-42.

Fig. 5. Decorated scabbards from the Balt milieu in the Late Migration Period: 1 - Nowinka, grave 85 (photo by Michał Dąbski and Miron Bogacki), 2 - Łęcze, grave 76 (after DORR 1898, Fig. 6), 3-4 - swords from the former Sorthenen (photo by Bartosz Kontny); not to scale.

Olsztyn group, at the Sambian-Natangian area and in the drainage basin of the lower Neman.[113] There are no similarities to the decorations on the seax scabbards from Scandinavia and the Merovingian circle.[114] The ornaments found on the scabbards from the Elbląg group were examined by Przemysław Urbańczyk, who came to the conclusion that whereas the construction of the scabbard was derived from the Germanic, west European milieu, the decorations found on the scabbards were drawn from the nomadic, basically Avar milieu from the Carpathian Basin, which was proven by the lack of local prototypes.[115] This concept seems to be debatable, namely because of the erroneous dating of the artefacts in question.[116] This does not mean that the possibilities of certain, probably greatly modified nomadic inspiration in the decorative style should be completely rejected, but – as the earliest scabbards decorated with embossed ornaments appeared in Sambia already in Phase E_1 – the Avar influence has to be excluded: the Avars settled in the Carpathian Basin as late as 567 AD. It should also not be forgotten that in the late part of Phase D the Germans adopted many features of the nomadic culture, including weapons[117]

[114] See: OLSÉN 1945, Figs. 125- 169; NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1999, Figs. 19, 25, 34.

[115] URBAŃCZYK 1978, 113-128.

[116] The author treated chronology too freely and the finds accompanying the scabbards were only considered ancillary in determining the chronology, see: URBAŃCZYK 1978, p. 109. As a result his dating of the scabbards to the latter half of the seventh century – see: URBAŃCZYK 1978, 127-128 – should not be deemed proven and, in the light of the remarks made above, strongly suggesting the adoption of decorative motifs on scabbards from the Sambian-Natangian area, erroneous.

[117] See, e.g., BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA - KONTNY 2006, 112, 117.

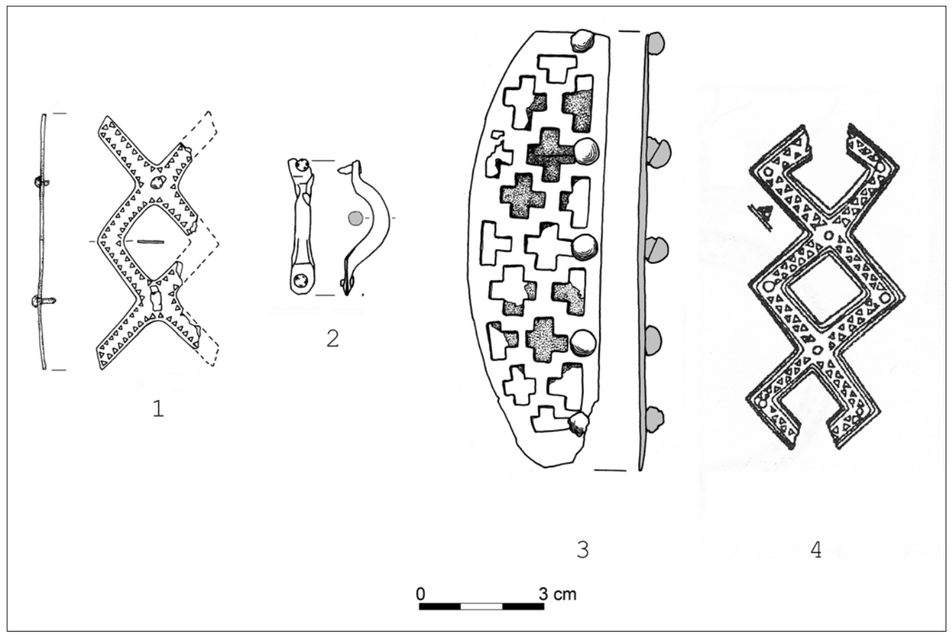

Fig. 6. Sword suspension fittings from the Elbląg group cemetery at Nowinka: 1-2 - grave 17, 3 - grave 85 (after KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN - PIETRZAK 2011), 4 - Elbląg-Żytno (after JAGODZIŃSKI 1997, Pl. XI:5).

– thus some motifs made in the nomadic style may have reached the Balt areas via the Germans (perhaps the Gepids, taking into account the idea of seaxes passing between them in the sixth century).[118]

In as much as there are considerable data concerning the decoration of scabbards, the grounds for reconstruction of their manner of suspension are tenuous. The only adequate observations were made at the cemetery in Nowinka. From grave 17 comes a thin bronze plate (fragmentarily preserved) placed in its lower part, originally pushed between the chips and the U-shaped chape. The case of grave 85 was similar, in which metal sheets were preserved on either side; here also another decorative metal foil occurred. The latter was superimposed on the U-shaped fitting near its upper end; it embraces the scabbard along its entire width and its ends slightly overlap. The construction of the part of the scabbard above the chape and its manner of suspension are problematic, but some possibilities are given only by the analysis of the context of the finds from graves 17 and 85, and to some extent also grave 21. In the case of the scabbard from grave 17, in the forte part a rectangular organic outline was noticed. It had the dimensions of approximately 16 x 4.5 cm and adjoined the back with its longer side. At its top there was a yoke fitting (Fig. 6:2) and below an openwork X-shaped fitting (Fig. 6:1) – both placed along the longer axis of the organic outline. Most likely the scabbard had in this part an organic clasp (made of leather or leather and wood), fixed with an X-shaped fitting on the underside and a yoke fitting on the upper side: both fittings were probably joined with the same pair of rivets – the distances between the preserved rivets and holes are identical. Very close to these fittings, the remains of a belt were found. It most likely served to fasten the scabbard, together with its fittings. The buckle found nearby may have been used to fasten the strap on which the scabbard was suspended. In grave 85, the construction for suspending the scabbard was made of oak coated with leather (which suggests that a similar material was used in grave 17) and bound from the side of the blade with an arched bronze plate with openwork ornament (Fig. 6:3) with remains of leather adjoining it; the fastenings consisted of straps combined with buckles. As the construction was very fragmentarily preserved, it is impossible to reconstruct its details but it is possible to assume that two of the buckles belonged to the belt from which the scabbard was suspended and the third may have been part of the strap to which the drinking horn was affixed.[119] In the vicinity of the forte of the sword from grave 21, however, a rectangular organic outline was recorded. It had dimensions 30 x 8 cm and no additional fittings. This suggests that there was a scabbard with a wider part, probably used to fasten it.

Other elements discovered at the cemetery in Nowinka which have analogies in the Elbląg group are components of the scabbard suspension system. In Elbląg-Żytno, a decorative fitting made of an openwork silver plate was found; it strongly resembled the bronze suspension plate from grave 17 in Nowinka but it had longer terminals bent inwards, owing to which it has the shape of a triple rhombus (Fig. 6:4). The ornament is also similar. It consists of a double row of stamped triangles filled with a dot motif.[120] Although there are minor differences in length (Elbląg-Żytno: 8.2 cm, Nowinka: 6 cm), shape and manner of fastening (Elbląg-Żytno: eight rivets, Nowinka: two rivets), undoubtedly the two items were used for the same purpose. As the item from Elbląg-Żytno is a chance find, Bruno Ehrlich could not identify its function,[121] but in light of the discoveries from Nowinka it is obvious that they were used to suspend the scabbard.[122] The yoke fitting from Nowinka (Fig. 6:2) also has an analogy at the cemetery in Elbląg-Żytno. Precisely this type of item is represented in Bruno Ehrlich's publication among the artefacts classified as strap fittings and buckles,[123] but it is more plausible, on the basis of the find from Nowinka, that this is an element of the sword's suspension system.[124] It should be noted that the yoke fitting from grave 17 has some functional analogies in the Merovingian circle.[125] This place was probably reinforced on the underside with an attached X-shaped suspension plate, as in the case of the openwork plate from grave 85. From the other side the organic outline from grave 21 resembles the solution from the cemetery at Oberflacht, Lkr. Tuttlingen in Württemberg, where the sheath of a knife with a similar organic wider portion but additionally reinforced with borders made of metal sheeting was found.[126] Closer analogies to this construction are known in the Olsztyn group,[127] e.g., Tumiany, Barczewo com., grave 38.[128]

Analogies for the suggested seax scabbard suspension system from the Elbląg group can be seen in finds from other parts of Europe. In the late Migration Period, scabbards were fastened usually at their sides, especially in the case of knives and seaxes. This way of fastening can be observed in the Balt (including the Olsztyn group), Finnish, Scandinavian, and Slavic areas as well as in the Merovingian circle[129] and also among the Avars, where, however, the projections are of a different shape (P-shaped).[130] On the basis of these analogies and some observations made for the materials from the Elbląg group, it is worthwhile to attempt to ascertain the manner in which seax scabbards from that group were fastened. It has already been stressed

[118] The local character of the decorations of the Balt scabbards is also supported by Pär Olsén, who accepted the similarities in the construction of the scabbards to those used in the Merovingian circle, see: OLSÉN 1945, 68.

[119] This is confirmed by the fact that identical buckles were elements of a belt used for suspending the seax scabbard (probably a double belt - hence two buckles), which is suggested by the arrangement of fittings in inhumation grave no 73 from Lazdininkiai, r. Kretinga (the West Lithuanian group), see: BLIUJIENĖ - BUTKUS 2002, Fig. 3.

[120] EHRLICH 1931, 24-25, Fig. 6; EHRLICH 1932, Fig. 3; JAGODZIŃSKI 1997, Pl. XI:5.

[121] EHRLICH 1931, 35.

[122] Use of different raw materials can be easily explained by the fact that decorative metal sheets from Elbląg-Żytno were also made of silver and not bronze, as in Nowinka.

[123] EHRLICH 1932, Fig. 9:k.

[124] Bruno Ehrlich states that at Suvorovo, grave 385, together with a seax an openwork scabbard fitting was discovered, decorated with T-shaped patterns, see: EHRLICH 1932, 412. This information suggests that this is a similar plate as in grave 85 at Nowinka, but there are no other data to confirm this: the sword is not mentioned by other authors who examined the materials from Suvorovo, see: HEYM 1938; KULAKOV 1990; BITNER-WRÓBLEWSKA 2008b.

[125] A similar bronze artefact was found in grave XVI at a Thuringian cemetery at Obermöllern, Lkr. Burgenlandkreis, where it was riveted to a wooden projection placed in the upper back part of the scabbard of a knife/short seax, see: HOLTER 1925, 94, Fig. 53, Pl. VIII:16, XVI; OLSÉN 1945, 64, Figs. 45, 289; SCHMIDT 1976, 105. A pair of similar yoke fittings was recorded also at the cemetery of Duisburg-Walsum, Lkr. Duisburg Stadt, grave 32, and Krefeld-Gellep, Stadt Gellep, grave 43, see: BÖHME 1997, Pl. 71. Similar forms were sometimes classified as P-shaped metal extensions of Avar scabbards, e.g., Kishegyes, kom. Bács-Bodrog, see: OLSÉN 1945, 64, Fig. 40.

[126] VEECK 1931, Pl. O:3; OLSÉN 1945, Fig. 290.

[127] OLSÉN 1945, p. 65, 68.

[128] HEYDECK 1895, Pl. IX:1; JAKOBSON 2009, Pl. 24:m.

[129] See: EHRLICH 1920; KNORR 1938; URBAŃCZYK 1978; OLSÉN 1945; BÖHNER 1958, 140, 144, Fig. 7.

[130] E.g., graves from Bócsa, kom. Bács-Kiskun; Kecel, kom. Bács-Kiskun; Kunágota, kom. Békés; Kunmadaras, kom. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok; Ozora-Tótipuszta, kom. Tolna; Zsámbok, kom. Pest; see: GARAM 1993, Pl. 12:2, 45:3, 58:4, 66:9, 76:8.

that a two-point system of fastening is suggested by the space free of decorative metal sheets located between the chape and metal sheets attached higher up on the scabbard of the sword from Elbląg-Żytno. According to Bruno Ehrlich,[131] this is where an iron band with a ring to which the strap for fastening the scabbard was placed; the second strap was to be close to the hilt, above the upper metal sheets (but the traces of fastening were not found). As he believed – these bands may look similar to the one from the seax scabbard from Vėžaičiai, grave 667,[132] where a two-point system of suspending the scabbard was used. The idea that in the Elbląg group the two-point system of fastening scabbards was used is supported by Przemysław Urbańczyk,[133] who linked it not with local traditions but with German influences from the Rhineland, reflected in the construction of weapons.[134] In light of the considerations suggesting the early dating of Balt seaxes and their local genesis, the latter hypothesis should no longer be deemed valid. Also, the hypothesis of the two-point fastening of scabbards need not necessarily be supported. Although it is assumed that this system was used for double-edged *spathae*[135] and seaxes,[136] yet for the latter, there were also known cases of use of two systems at single cemetery, e.g., at Nørre Sandegård Vest, Bornholms amt: grave 36 – one-point system, grave 24 and grave 31 – two-point system.[137] Use of both systems is also suggested by the iconographic representations (Fig. 7):[138] the one-point system is depicted on representations of warriors/werewolves with seaxes in scabbards preserved on the scabbard of a *spatha*-type sword from an Alamanni grave in Gutenstein, Lkr. Sigmaringen, or on a plate from Toslunda, Torslunda sn on Oland, and the two-point system on a depiction on the Frankish stele from Niederdollendorf, Lkr. Rhein-Sieg-Kreis.[139] This state of affairs is also supported by the aforementioned Balt discoveries: swords from Vėžaičiai, grave 667 and Lazdininkiai, grave 73, were fastened in two points but the find from Barvai, grave 34, only in one.[140] In such a situation, the possibility that both systems were also represented in the Elbląg group cannot be excluded. Whereas it is possible to consider two-point fastening in grave 85 from Nowinka, due to the presence of buckles, in graves 17 and 21 this is not as certain, and fastening in the upper part alone is also possible.

The question arises why a weapon like the seax began to appear in the grave goods of the Elbląg group so late and what this meant. Worthwhile noting is that in the late sixth/early seventh century, the peoples of the lower Vistula area were engaged in the amber trade.[141] This is demonstrated by pieces of amber found in graves, as well as the opulence of grave goods. Apart from amber, salt may also have been a source of affluence. This seems to be supported by toponyms such as Lake Drużno (Druso) in the vicinity of Elbląg and the trade port Truso, names related to salt, e.g., the Lithuanian word *Drusk* means 'salt'. As there were shortages of salt in Scandinavia (it was obtained only in Denmark and not from salt mines but from sea water or possibly marine plants), it was necessary to import it. Salt trade center could have been placed in the neighbourhood of Elbląg inhabited by the Balts. It is difficult to ascertain whether salt was imported from that area at the time when the necropolis at Nowinka was in use, yet the presence of Scandinavian imports seems to be a strong argument in favour of this idea. Foreign contacts are confirmed by, e.g., Scandinavian forms such as beak brooches, S-shaped, disc and equal-armed brooches as well as tongue-shaped strap ends, but also Merovingian elements, such as a belt with a set of Frankish fittings from the necropolis at

[131] EHRLICH 1931, 20.

[132] GAERTE 1929, 301, Fig. 242:f; EHRLICH 1931, Fig. 19.

[133] URBAŃCZYK 1978, 118.

[134] URBAŃCZYK 1978, 122.

[135] See: MENGHIN 1983, Figs. 62, 65, 84, 90.

[136] STOLL 1940.

[137] JØRGENSEN - NØRGÅRD JØRGENSEN 1997, 72.

[138] Noticing this contradiction, Pär Olsén came to the conclusion that iconographic representations did not reflect reality but had a purely ornamental function, see: OLSÉN 1945, 63-64, which seems to be an evasion of the issue.

[139] See: OLSÉN 1945, Figs. 257-259; SCHIENERL 1990; RASCH 1991, Fig. IV:21; BERTRAM 2007, Fig. 3.

[140] The bow-shaped fastening in the upper part of the scabbard is treated as a nomadic influence, see: KNORR 1938, Fig. 42; OLSÉN 1945, 64. Pär Olsén also considers one of the finds from Rzhevskoye and Łęcze, grave 60 an analogy. In the latter case, it was the only feature which had no connection to weapons, see: DORR 1898, 14, Pl. III:12; therefore its military designation seems to be dubious.

[141] KONTNY - OKULICZ-KOZARYN 2011, 127-129.

Fig. 7. Sword suspension systems in iconographic examples from the Migration Period: 1 - Torslunda, 2 - Gutenstein, 3 - Niederdollendorf (after SCHIENERL 1990; RASCH 1991, Fig. IV:21; BERTRAM 2007, Fig. 3).

Nowinka, grave 84.[142] Additionally, the topography favoured the people of the Elbląg group, situated near the sea shore (Drużno Bay), at a location safe for sailing while simultaneously facilitating easy control of trade. One cannot exclude the possibility that they took part in trade as merchants/sailors, although so far there are no grounds to prove this. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that local dwellers became wealthy enough not to economize on grave goods (and place them lavishly in graves) and additionally that military force was needed to protect trade routes, at least near the coast where boats landed. This hypothesis is bolstered by the potential use of small but durable horses, useful for scouts exploring the territory. The high social position of warriors, possibly members of retinues, was underscored in burial rites by furnishing the dead with seaxes. Surely this was not proof of subordinate status (semi-free man), as sometimes suggested with reference to western Europe.[143]

[142] KONTNY - PIETRZAK, forthcoming; KONTNY 2012.

[143] See critically: SIEGMUND 1997, 706, cf. HÄRKE 1992, 158-159; HÄRKE 1997, Table 3.

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Doina Benea

RÖMISCHE MILITÄRGRÄBER IN DACIA SUPERIOR

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In der Provinz Dakien hat man die römischen Nekropolen wenig erforscht. Systematische Untersuchungen wurden in wenigen Gräberfeldern vorgenommen, wie zum Beispiel bei Apulum[1], Romula[2] und Sucidava[3]. In den letzten Jahrzehnten wurden bei den Rettungsgrabungen bedeutende Gräberfelder freigelegt, wie jene von Alburnus Maior[4] und Apulum, wo in jeder Siedlung einige hundert Gräber untersucht wurden.

Mehrere Funde wurden zufällig bei Bauarbeiten in zahlreichen ehemaligen dakischen Städten entdeckt, wie Potaissa[5], Dierna[6], Drobeta[7] und andere. Diese Grabungen wurden zum Teil veröffentlicht und nur in manchen Fällen handelt es sich um Militärgräber.

Die Untersuchung der römischen Militärgräber in dakischen Gräberfeldern befindet sich erst in den Anfängen. Zu den ersten Studien zu diesem Thema gehören die beiden von L. Petculescu; die erste behandelt mehrere Entdeckungen aus den Nekropolen von Romula (2), Drobeta, Bruiu, Cristuru Secuiesc und Lechința de Mureş (je eine), die zweite ein Grab von Romula, das eigentlich in der ersten Arbeit behandelt wird[8].

In der vorliegenden Arbeit besprechen wir die Entdeckungen dreier Siedlungen aus Dacia Superior, wo vereinzelte ältere oder neuere römische Militärgrabfunde existieren[9].

1. Drobeta, Auxiliarlager am Donauufer am Brückenende (Abb. 2,3,)

Die Siedlung ist zur Zeit Hadrians *municipium* geworden. Bekannt sind zwei Nekropolen der antiken Stadt, die östliche und die westliche. Ältere Befunde erwähnen auch Militärgräber, die im Jahr 1883 von D. Butculescu aufgedeckt worden sind[10].

Als im Jahr 1973 im östlichen Teil der Stadt das Holzverarbeitungswerk errichtet wurde, hat man mehrere Gräber mit eingemauerten Sarkophagen aus Ziegelstein und teilweise zerstörten Deckeln oder Gewölben freigelegt. Bei dem einen Grab (von uns mit Grab 6 bezeichnet) waren die Wände der Grabgrube (erhaltene Dimensionen: 1,45 x 1,25 m) größtenteils zerstört. Ebenda wurde ein teilweise erhaltenes Skelett entdeckt und neben den menschlichen Schädelkochen lag eine fragmentierte bronzene Benefiziarsiegelkapsel. Das Grab ist bereits im Altertum geplündert worden[11].

[1] PROTASE 1960, 397-405; Idem 1974, 134-159.
[2] BABEŞ 1970, 167-207; POPILIAN 1986, 89-99.
[3] PETOLESCU, ONEA 1973, 126-140.
[4] DAMIAN 2008.
[5] TIGARA 1960, 195-213.
[6] BENEA - SCHIOPU 1974, 115-125.
[7] BENEA 1980, 46-54.
[8] PETCULESCU 1995, 105-145.
[9] PETCULESCU 1997, 215-230.
[10] Apud PETCULESCU 1995, 137-138.
[11] BENEA 1980, 48-49.

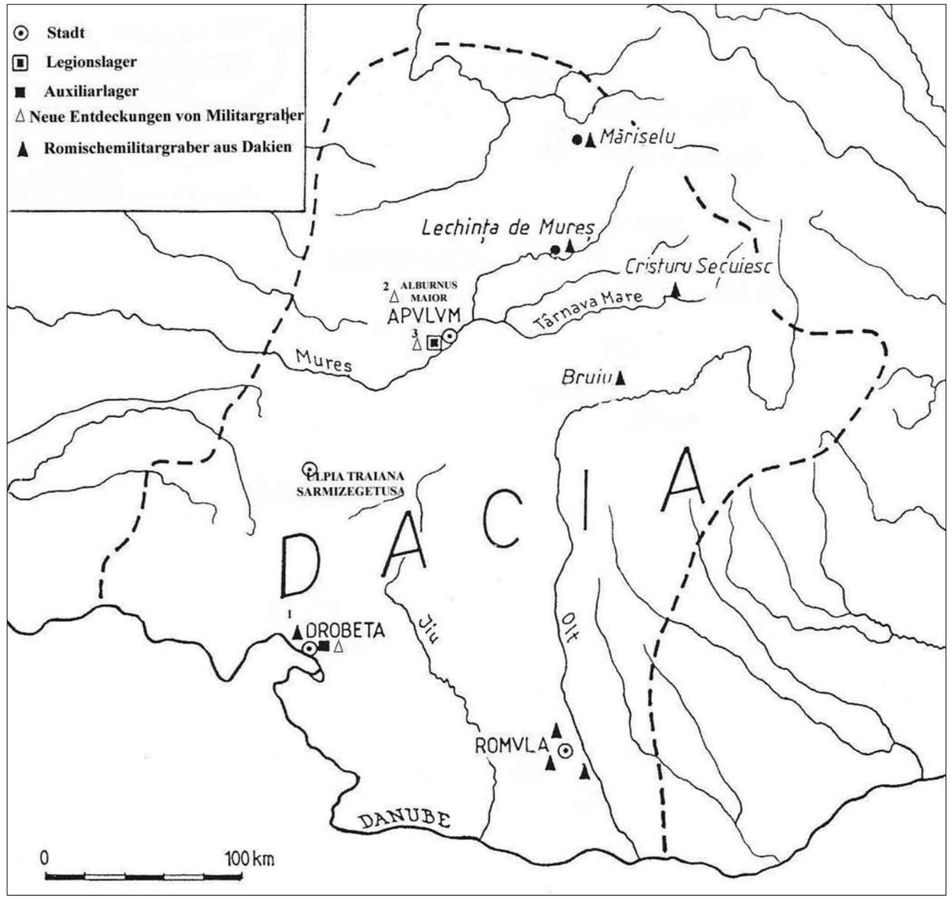

Abb. 1. Römische Nekropolen mit Militärgräber aus der Provinz Dacia.

1. Benefizierlanzekapsel aus Bronze; Zustand: der oberer und unterer Teil teilweise erhalten sind. (L, 4, 4 cm). Beschreibung: Sie ähnelt einer Kapsel. Das Fundstück war herzförmig mit einer gut ausgeprägten länglichen Rippe, die an einem Ende mit einem Knopf endet; am anderen Ende sind symmetrisch zwei runde Löcher angelegt. Der Deckel des Fundstücks endet in zwei Flügelchen, die mit je zwei eingeritzten Linien verziert sind. Der untere Teil, der leider fast ganz abgebrochen ist, war mit einem Ring befestigt (Abb.3).

Analogien: Ein ähnliches Fundstück stammt von Hedderheim; an diesem ist ein Ring zu sehen, der den unteren Teil festhält[12] und folglich gibt es keine Nieten, die es am Gürtel befestigen. Ein anderee Fundstück ist im Ostia bekannt[13]. Das Fundstück von Drobeta ähnelt einer Kapsel mit zwei kleinen Öffnungen, also einer Siegelkapsel was kann die Beneficiarier mit einer Art Wirtschafftskontrolle in Verbindung zu bringen[14].

[12] OLDENSTEIN 1977, Nr. 378.

[13] EIBL 1994, 285

[14] EIBL 1994, 285-286.

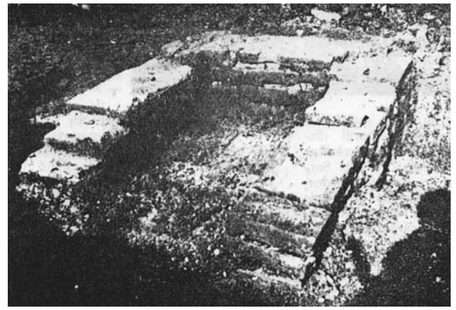

Abb. 2. Drobeta. Römisches Grab im Altertum geplündert (nach Benea 1980, S. 48-49).

Abb. 3. Drobeta. Die Benefizierlanzekapsel aus dem Grab (nach Benea 1980).

Datierung: Mangels anderer Fundstücke müssen wir diesen Fund dem 2.-3. Jh. zuordnen, aber weil in der westlichen Nekropole die Sarkophage, die aus Backstein und mit Mörtel gebunden sind, zusammen mit den Erdgräbern ins 3. Jh. datiert worden sind, schließen wir uns auch in diesem Falle derselben Datierung an.

2. Alburnus Maior (Roșia Montană, Kreis Alba)

In den letzten Jahren haben die archäologischen Untersuchungen auch in dieser Bergbausiedlung mehrere römische Nekropolen aufgedeckt, worüber letztens jene von Täul Cornii veröffentlicht worden ist[15]. Es ist ein Gräberfeld für Bergleute, bei dem es sich um Einäscherung als Bestattungsritus handelt.

Die Untersuchung der veröffentlichten Grabfunde belegt auch zwei Gräber, in denen Fundstücke militärischen Charakters vorkommen (Grab 174 und Grab 195).

Grab 174. Feuerbestattungsgrab mit einer Stufe, schräge Wände (D: 2,38 x 1,18 m), die kalzinierten Knochen liegen am Boden der Grabgrube. (Abb. 5).

Das Inventar umfasst zwei Miniaturkrüge, einen fragmentierten Krug, eine Loeschke X-Firmalampe, mehrere Nieten und zwei fragmentierte Riemenbeschläge.

1. Riemenbeschlag: Bronze (Dimension: 8,2 cm lang, erhaltene Breite 2,3 cm). Zustand: Das Fundstück hat einen Riss; Beschreibung: Rechteckig, an den Enden je ein Motiv in Peltenform. Das Fundstück ist in drei horizontalen Kassetten verziert, die beiden seitlichen weisen je vier Kreise mit einem Punkt in der Mitte auf; die Kassetten werden von der mittleren durch zwei Rippen getrennt. An beiden Enden trennt dasselbe Kreismotiv den schmäleren Teil ab, der seinerseits mit einem Kreis verziert ist und den Teil abgrenzt, der sich der Pelta zu schmälert. Obwohl das zurzeit nicht zu sehen ist, kann es Einlagen aus einem anderen Metall oder sogar Emaille gegeben haben. Das Fundstück wurde als Riemenverzierung verwendet.

2. Riemenbeschlag: Bronze (4,4 cm lang, erhaltene Breite 2,3 cm); Zustand: Die Enden in Peltenform und kleine Teile des Randes sind abgebrochen. Beschreibung: Wie das vorige Fundstück[16]. Analogien: Solche Riemenbeschläge sind aus den Lagern am Rhein bekannt[17]. Datierung: Aufgrund des Fundinventars wird die gesamte Nekropole ins 2. Jh. datiert, so auch in unserem Fall.

Grab 195. Bustumgrab, rechteckig mit ausgeweiteten Wänden (Dimension: 1,40 x 0,58 m,), nach WNW-OSO gerichtet. (Abb. 4).

Fundinventar: Zwei ganze Krüge, zwei fragmentierte Töpfe, zwei fragmentierte Loeschcke X-Firmalampen, eine aus zwei Teilen bestehende Schnalle, eine pyramidenförmige Pfeilspitze und zwei große Nägel[18].

Schnalle: Bronze (Dimension: 3,3 cm lang, 2,00 cm breit); Zustand: Die Öse ist zerbrochen; Beschreibung: Die runde Schnalle ist am Befestigungspunkt des Dorns schmäler. Sie endet in einem rechteckigen Teil für die Platte, die die Schnalle am Riemen festhielt.

[15] DAMIAN 2008.

[16] Ibidem.

[17] OLDENSTEIN 1977, 135, Abb. 1 - mehrere Typen solcher Garnituren.

[18] DAMIAN 2008, 178, Taf. 175-176.

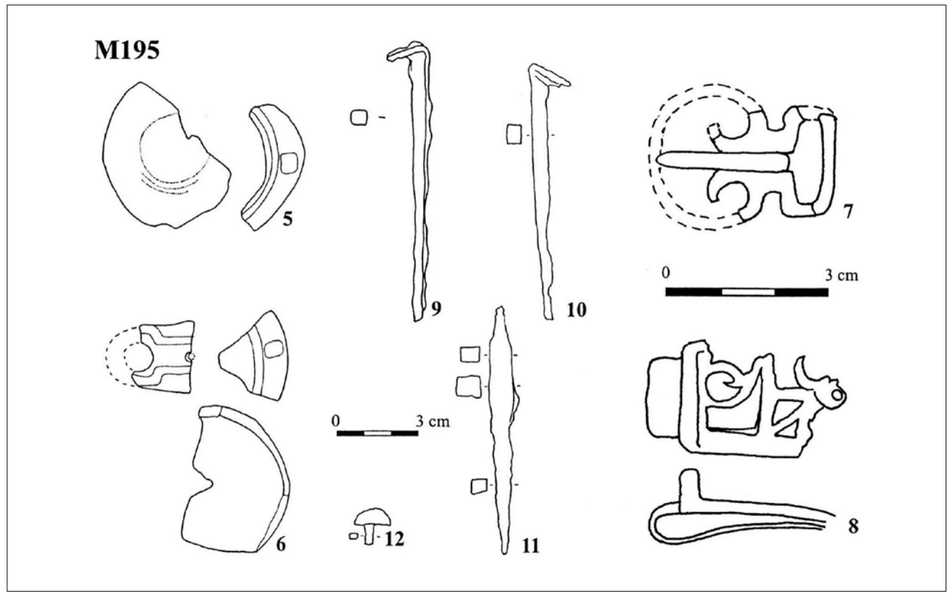

Abb. 4. Alburnus Maior. Inventar der Grab 195 (nach Damian 2008, Taf. 176).

Neben dem Dorn sind innen zwei Rippen. Die Befestigungsplatte: (Dimension: 3,7 cm lang, 3,1 cm breit). Sie ist ebenfalls aus Bronze, rechteckig und mit Ajourdekor, von dem ein kleiner Teil erhalten ist; die Lasche ist ganz erhalten[19].

Pyramidenförmige Pfeilspitze: Eisern (Dimension: erhaltene Länge 9 cm); Zustand: Die Spitze ist abgebrochen[20].

Analogien: Osterbruken[21] mit weiter Verbreitung in fast allen Provinzen des Reiches, die ins Intervall 150-200 datiert werden. In Dakien stellen das Grab Nr. 2 von Romula, Cristuru Secuiesc aus dem 2. Jh.[22] und Răcari ebenfalls aus dem 2. Jh.[23] Analogien dar.

Datierung: 2.-3. Jh.

Kommentar: Die geringe Anzahl der Militärfunde aus der Nekropole von Tăul Cornii weist auf gelegentliche Bestattungen hin, die aus dem 2. Jh. stammen und Militärleute der Legio XIII Gemina betreffen, die hier mit einer Truppenabteilung stationiert war.

[19] Ibidem, 176/ 7, 8.

[20] Ibidem, 176/ 11, fragmentierter großer Nagel.

3. Apulum. Das Legionslager der Legio XIII Gemina war am Cetate genannten Ort stationiert. Um das Lager herum gab es *canabae*. Am "Staţia de salvare" genannten Ort lag das erste Gräberfeld nördlich des Lagers und ein zweites lag südlich am "Podei" genannten Ort[24].

Die Militärfunde sind erst allmählich zum Vorschein gekommen. Das Gräberfeld wurde erst in den Jahren 1981-1985 untersucht, als 794 frühfeudale und 149 römische, sowohl Erd- als auch Brandgräber freigelegt wurden[25]. Manche Brandgräber enthalten Sarkophage aus Backstein, bei anderen hingegen wurde der Leichnam auf der Stelle oder auf einem Scheiterhaufen (*ustrinum*) verbrannt und die verbrannten Überreste wurden in rechteckige Gräber gelegt. Diese wurden in 1,00 m Tiefe entdeckt.

[21] OLDENSTEIN 1977, 216, Nr. 997.

[22] PETCULESCU 1995, 105-145.

[23] AMON 2004, Taf. 31/ 7, 11.

[24] Information von Dr. Bounegru G. (Museum Alba Iulia).

[25] CIUGUDEANU - CIUGUDEANU 2000, 341-349, der übrige Teil der Nekropole noch unveröffentlicht.

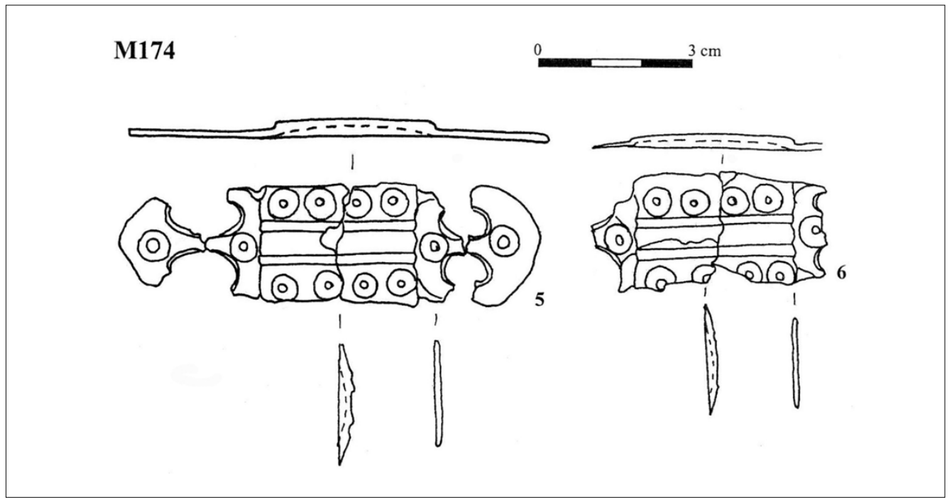

Abb. 5. Alburnus Maior. Riemenbeschläg aus dem Grab 174 (nach Damian 2008, Taf. 175.).

Unter den Funden fällt Grab 19 auf, bei dem interessante Grabfunde militärischen Gepräges, vor allem Riementeile, vorliegen. (Abb. 6.)

1. Rundes Ringschnallencingulum (D: 6,3 cm) mit einem eingeritzten Kreis als Dekor.

2. Beschlag mit pilzförmigem Kopf (D: 2,3 cm lang, 2,1 cm breit), der Kopf ist ganz erhalten, er ist mit einer Niete auf einer flachen Platte befestigt. Die Riemenbeschläge dienten zum Festhalten der Enden, die durch die runde Schnalle gezogen wurden. Ihre Form ermöglicht das Festmachen an einem Lederriemen[26].

3. Beschlag mit pilzförmigem Kopf (D: 2,3 cm lang, 2,1 cm breit), dem vorigen ähnlich.

Analogien: In Dakien im Grab Nr. 1 von Romula und von Bruiu[27]. Am Rhein gibt es ähnliche Fundstücke bei Neckarburken, Buch, Saalburg u.a.[28], die von Mitte 2.-Mitte 3. Jh. datiert werden.

Datierung: Zweite Hälfte des 2.-erste Hälfte des 3. Jh.

Die runde Gürtelschnalle kommt auf den Skulpturen sowohl im Reich als auch in Dakien ziemlich häufig vor, so zum Beispiel im Falle einer Militärstatue von Ulpia Traiana[29] und einer von Apulum (Abb. 8-9).

4. Riemenendbeschlag aus Bronze (D: 5 cm lang), rechteckig und mit einer Niete an einem Ende.

5. Riemenendbeschlag (D: 4,8 cm lang), dem vorigen ähnlich, leicht verbogen.

Analogien: Bei Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa[30], Romula Grab 2[31], Drobeta[32].

Datierung: 2.-3. Jh.

6. Riemenbeschlag aus Bronze, Bruchstück, bloß eine Ecke ist erhalten. Beschreibung: Rechteckig mit Ajourdekor, zwei Nieten zum Festmachen am Riemen.

Analogien: Solche Gegenstände verzierten üblicherweise den Riemen der römischer Militärleute. Zwischen den Fundstücken von Apulum kommen sie öfters in den römischen Nekropolen von "Staţia de salvare" vor, ohne ein bestimmtes Grab nennen zu können, weil das Fundmaterial lückenhaft veröffentlicht wor-

[26] Bei den von H. Ciugudeanu durchgeführten Grabungen wurde in einem anderen Grab ein ähnlicher Beschlag entdeckt.

[27] PETCULESCU 1995, 127, 129, Nr. 2, 3.

[28] OLDENSTEIN 1977, Nr. 486, 487 usw.

[29] DAICOVICIU - ALICU 1984, 227.

[30] ALICU et al. 1994, 49, 105.

[31] PETCULESCU 1995, 127, Taf. 2/ 2.

[32] AMON 2004, 229, Nr. 6.

[33] GUDEA -LUCĂCEL 1979, 340, Taf. XXII/ 283.

[34] COCIŞ 2004, 225, Nr. 2072-2073.

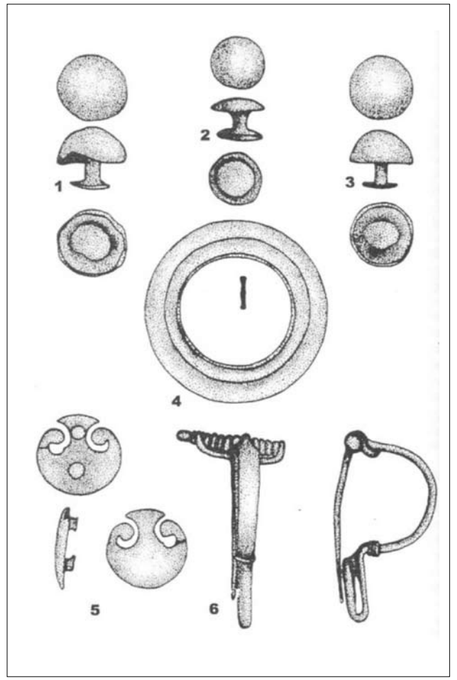

Abb. 6./1-10. Apulum. Das Inventar der Grab 19 mit Militärausrüstung (nach Ciugudeanu, Ciugudeanu 2000, S.341-349).

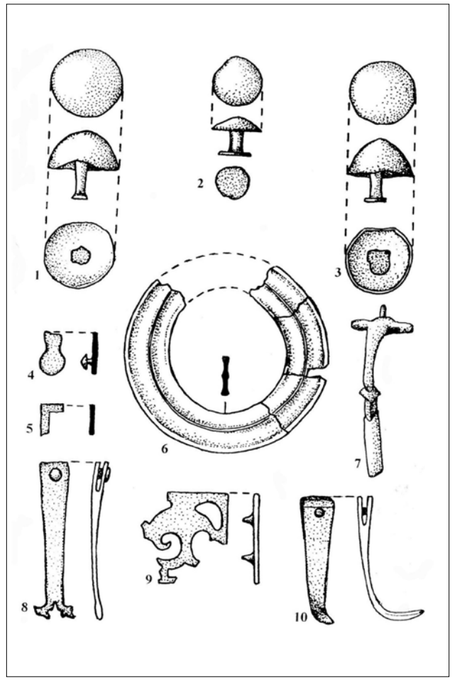

Abb. 7/1-6. Apulum. Das Inventar der Grab29 mit Militärausrüstung (nach Ciugudeanu 2010, S. 452-453).

den ist. Zwei kleine fragmentierte Beschläge wurden im gleichen nicht identifizierbaren Grab entdeckt.

Datierung: Gegen das 3. Jahrhndert.

7. T-förmige Fibel, Bronze (5,2 cm lang). Zustand: Die Nadel fehlt. Beschreibung: Dreieckige Fibel, eine hervorspringende Rippe in Richtung des Bügels, langer und schmaler Nadelhalter, auf dem Fibelkopf ist ein Knopf, Scharnierverschluss.

Analogien: Es ist ein weitverbreiteter Fibeltyp in Dakien, mit Funden bei Porolissum[33], Buciumi, Orheiul Bistriţei, Ilişua[34]. Cociş ordnet sie dem Typ 39b1a1 zu und datiert sie gegen Ende des 2. bis erste Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts[35].

[35] Ibidem, 150-151.

[36] CIUGUDEAN 2010, 447- 456.

[37] Siehe oben.

8. Bronzemünze: Faustina Senior.

9. Graue Keramikfragmente von einem Gefäß unbestimmter Form.

Bibliographie: Ciugudeanu, Ciugudeanu 2000, 341-349, ins 3. Jh. datiert.

Kommentar: Die Fundstücke militärischen Gepräges aus dem Fundinventar lassen das Grab gegen Ende des 2.-Anfang des 3. Jh. datieren.

Ein anderen Grab (Grab 29) wurde im Jahre 1982 in Schnitt IX endtdeckt. Das Grab hatte folgende Dimension: 1,80 x 0,55 m und ist in eine Tiefe von 1,55 m entdeckt worden[36]. Der Skelett war im normale anatomische Position gefunden und NO-SW orientiert(Abb.7).

[38] OLDENSTEIN 1976, Taf. 53, nr. 626,

Abb. 8. Apulum. Steindenkmal eines Militär (nach Ciugudeanu, Ciugudeanu 2000).

Abb. 9. Apulum. Steindenkmal eines Militär (nach Ciugudeanu, Ciugudeanu 2000).

Die Grabfunde sind folgende:

1. Rundes Ringschnallencingulum; Bronze (D: 6,1 cm); Zustand: gut erhalten; Beschreibung: Wie das vorige Fundstück Grab 19.

2-3. Beschläge mit pilzförmigem Kopf; Bronze. (D: 2,1 cm I: 1,9 cm; 2,3 cm, I:1,7 cm)[37]. Zustand. gut erhalten. Beschreibung: der Kopf ist ganz erhalten, er ist mit einer Niete auf einer flachen Platte befestigt. Identische Stücke in dem Grabinventar Grab 19 (Abb. 7/1, 2, 3).

4. Beschlag mit runden Platten Kopf; Bronze (D: 1,8 cm I : 1,7 cm); Zustand: gut erhalten. Beschreibung: identisch mit ein Beschlag aus den Nekropolen von Apulum (siehe unten).

5. Riemenendbeschlag in Peltaform; Bronze; (D: 2,7 cm); Zustand: gut erhalten; Beschreibung: Peltaförmich mit eine Niete an einem Ende;

Analogien: im römischen Reich bei Zugmantel[38], in Provinz Dakien in die Thermen von Romita[39], und Tibiscum (aber nicht in Grabfunde). Das Fundstück gehörte zur metallenen Garnitur, die auf dem Riemen (*cingulum*) der Militärleute angebracht war.

Datierung 3. Jhdt.

6. Fibel mit umgeschlagen Fuss; Bronze, (L : 6,4 cm). Zustand: gut erhalten.

Beschreibung: Die Fibel hat bei Kopfende eine Spiralachse welche sich endet mit eine Nadel. Der Nadelbehalter ist einfach ohne Verzierung. Der Bügel aus einen einfachen Metalstreif. S. Cociş, in die Typologie der Fibel Dakiens, hat diese Art Fibel im Typ 37a eingegliedert[40].

Analogien: Porolissum[41] und Apulum[42].

Datierung: im die zweite Hälfte der 2. bis 3. Jhdt. datiert.

Bibliographie: Ciugudeanu 2010, 452-453.

[39] MATEI, BAJUSZ 1997, 13, pl. XCII/3.

[40] COCIŞ 2004, 142-147.

[41] GUDEA - LUCĂCEL 1979, p. 337.

[42] MOGA et al. 1997, 542.

[43] Bei der Errichtung der Tankstelle (OMV) wurden 192 Gräber, 90% davon römische, aufgedeckt (DRAGOTA et al. 2003); ein anderes

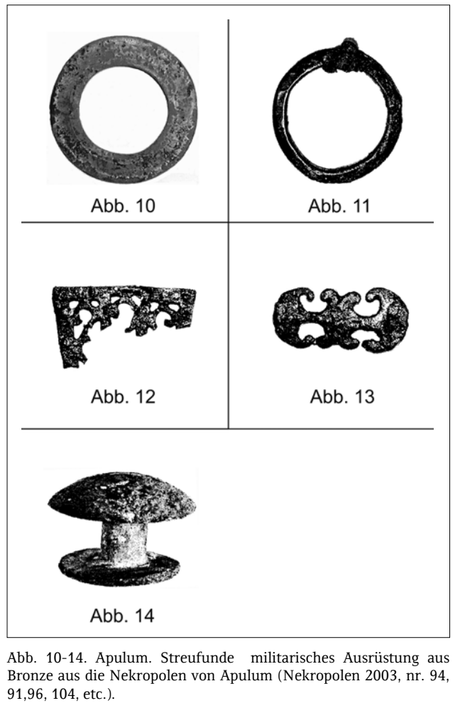

Abb. 10

Abb. 11

Abb. 12

Abb. 13

Abb. 14

Abb. 10-14. Apulum. Streufunde militarisches Ausrüstung aus Bronze aus die Nekropolen von Apulum (Nekropolen 2003, nr. 94, 91,96, 104, etc.).

Streufunde militärischen Gepräges aus den Nekropolen von Apulum (die Nekropole “Stația de salvare”)

In den Jahren 2002-2003 wurden in der Nekropole von “Stația de salvare” aufgrund der Rettungsgrabungen mehrere erweiterte Untersuchungen vorgenommen. 2002 wurde eine Fläche von 2000 Quadratmetern[43] untersucht. In diesem Abschnitt ist zahlreiches militärisches Fundinventar zum Vorschein gekommen. Die Stratigraphie dieses Areals ist einfach: Pflanzenschicht (15-20 cm), 0,80-1,00 m dicke Füllschicht; braune römische Kulturschicht, in der sich die Gräber abzeichnen (40 cm dick) und unter der Kulturschicht gibt es nicht angegrabene Erde. Die meisten sind Bustum- oder Urnengräber, aber es gibt darunter auch Körperbestattungsgräber[44] (Abb. 10-13).

1. Ringschnallencingulum: Bronze, D: 5,72 cm (innen: 3,36 cm); Zustand: intakt; Beschreibung: Das runde Fundstück besteht aus einem breiten Metallband, das in der Mitte eine breite Rippe mit Metallspuren am Rand aufweist, ein Hinweis darauf, dass das Fundstück in der a niello-Technik mit Zink oder Silber verziert worden war.

Datierung: 3. Jh.

Bibliographie: Nekropolen 2003, Nr. 94.

Bemerkungen: Das Fundgrab mit dem gesamten Inventar wird nicht angeführt.

2. Ringschnallencingulum: Bronze (D: 6,1 cm, innen: 4,65 cm); Zustand: Der Dorn fehlt; Beschreibung: Rund, mit einem Ring zum Festhalten des Dornes.

Analogien: Im Lager von Saalburg[45]. Solche Gegenstände konnten aus Bronze, Eisen oder Knochen gefertigt werden. Die bronzenen Fundstücke vom Rhein werden nach 180-190 n.Chr. datiert.

Datierung: Ende 2.-3. Jh., weil in Dakien der Kontext nicht bekannt ist.

Bibliographie: Nekropolen 2003, Nr. 91.

3. Riemenbeschlag: Bronze (D: 4,6 cm lang, 2,27 cm breit). Beschreibung: Gegossen, metallen, Spuren von eingeritztem Dekor, in zwei Pelten endend. Auf der Rückseite sind zwei Nieten zum Festmachen. Das Fundstück gehörte zur metallenen Garnitur, die auf dem Riemen (*cingulum*) der Militärleute angebracht war.

Datierung: 3. Jh.

Bibliographie: Nekropolen 2003, Nr. 96.

4. Riemenbeschlag: Bronze, (D: 4,9 cm lang); Zustand: fragmentiert; Beschreibung: Rechteckig mit Ajourdekor und an jeder Ecke eine Niete zum Festmachen am Riemen.

Analogien: Erstens bei Apulum[46], Romula[47], Sucidava[48], Răcari und Copăceni[49].

Datierung: Zweite Hälfte des 2.-3. Jh.

Bibliographie: Nekropolen 2003, nr. 104.

5. Riemenbeschlag mit pilzförmigem Kopf: Bronze, D: 1,43 cm breit. Zustand: Gut; Beschreibung: Großer Knopf mit pilzförmigem Kopf und einer Niete zum Festmachen an einer flachen Platte.

Datierung: 2.-3. Jh.

Bibliographie: Nekropolen 2003, Nr. 93.

6. Riemenbeschlag mit pilzförmigem Kopf: Bronze; D: nicht genannt; Zustand: Gut; Beschreibung: Wie der vorige.

Datierung: 2.-3. Jh.

Bibliographie: Ciugudeanu, Ciugudeanu 2000, Taf. 1, 2.

Schlussfolgerungen:

- Bislang sind nur wenige Nekropolen komplett untersucht und veröffentlicht worden, deshalb sind auch die Informationen lückenhaft.
- Die Gräber, die Militärfunde enthielten, sind hauptsächlich Brandgräber. Die meisten davon sind Bustumgräber und weniger *ustrinum*. Nur bei Drobeta und Apulum (Grab. 29) sind römische Körperbestattungsgräber von Militärleuten verzeichnet.
- Als allgemeine Bemerkung gilt das Auftreten im Fundinventar des Gurtes, dessen wichtigste Bestandteile (Schnalle, Beschläge, Nieten) bislang zu den zahlreichsten Funden gehören. Die Grabfunde werden allgemein ins 2.-3. Jahrhundert datiert.
- Weniger zahlreich sind die Waffenfunde; bisjetzt sind eine Pfeilspitze (Alburnus Maior) und eine Lanzenspitze (Cristuru Secuiesc) aus einer früheren Veröffentlichung bekannt[50].
- Als die wichtigste Militärnekropole gilt zurzeit jene von Apulum, dem größten Militärmittelpunkt der Provinz mit den bedeutendsten Funden. Weil man die Fundstücke vereinzeilt und nicht im gesamten Kontext der Nekropole von Apulum veröffentlicht hat, kann man vermuten, dass es viel mehr davon gibt, da ja dieses Gräberfeld um das Lager herum entstanden war.

Projekt aus dem Jahr 2003 betraf den Komplex Profi Rom Food Alba Iulia und führte zur Entdeckung von 185 Erd- und Brandgräbern (Inel et al. 2002, 2003).

[44] INEL et al. 2003, 4. Die veröffentlichten Fundstücke stammen aus dem Katalog einer den Nekropolen gewidmeten thematischen Ausstellung, der jedoch nicht das komplette Grabinventar, sondern bloß einzelne Stücke anführt. Um die Fundstücke militärischen Gepräges hervorzuheben, werden wir sie bis zur kompletten Veröffentlichung der betreffenden Nekropolen beschreiben.

[45] OLDENSTEIN 1977, 218-219, Nr. 1053-1060.

[46] Siehe oben.

[47] Amon 2004, Taf. XXXVI, 1.

[48] Ibidem, Taf. XXXVI, 2.

[49] Ibidem, Taf. XXXVI, 3, 5.

[50] Petculescu 1995, 105-145.

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THE WARRIOR GRAVE FROM SVETA TROJICA NEAR STARIGRAD PAKLENICA

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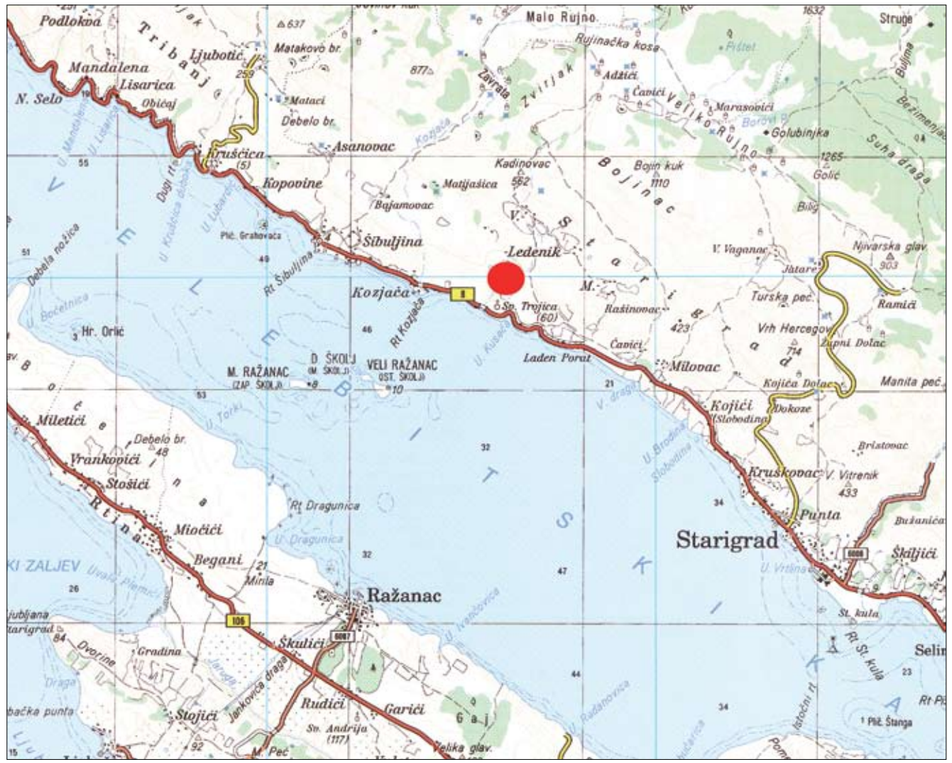
A stray find consisting of pottery shards and metal objects, allegedly found by shepherds, but more likely by metal detectorists on the hill slopes east of the Tribanjska draga canyon (situated in the vicinity of Starigrad-Paklenica), was donated to the Zagreb Archaeological Museum in 2006. Since the find was not discovered by archaeologists, we lack most of the contextual data but it seems quite certain that these are the remains of a cremation burial. The artefacts - at least some of them - point to the likely possibility that the deceased must have served in the Roman army. While there is no real doubt about his soldierly background - an individual buried with a sword, spear and shield could hardly have been a mere civilian - the find is nevertheless quite odd as far as the general context is concerned, considering both the known burial practices of the local Liburnian population and the typology of the objects found in the grave. We can most likely discard the possibility that the deceased had been an indigenous person, but the artefacts buried with his ashes do not make him a Roman either, despite the fact that some of them most likely have a Roman origin. These artefacts represent the strongest evidence of Roman military presence at the site of Sveta Trojica and their restoration allowed a more detailed analysis of the presumed destroyed grave assemblage, in the hope of shedding light on the context of the finds on a wider scale.

THE SVETA TROJICA SITE

The site lies to the east of the deep Tribanj gorge (Tribanjska draga), situated near the village Šibuljina on the east Adriatic coast, about 6 km north-west of the town of Starigrad Paklenica (ancient *Argyruntum*), at the foot of Mount Velebit (Map 1). The existence of a prehistoric settlement ascribed to the local Liburnian population has been long known, for instance, it is listed in the catalogue of Iron Age hill-forts compiled



Map 1. Position of the Sveta Trojica site.

in the 1970's.[1] Besides the hill-fort settlement, the archaeological area (named Sveta Trojica - Holy Trinity, after the small church located above the state road along the coast) includes a Byzantine fortress that forms part of the fortification system built during the reign of Justinian I (AD 527 - 656), whose northern wall still dominates the landscape.[2] Although recognised as an important prehistoric site, the Sveta Trojica area had not been researched until recently. The damage caused by illegal road construction initiated a more detailed survey of the entire archaeological area. Many shards of coarse settlement pottery but also Hellenistic ware, as well as fragments of Greco-Italic and Lamboglia 2 amphorae,[3] point to the importance of the site, which could be considered as an urban centre of the local proto-historic community. Another survey by the authors focused on the area of the prehistoric settlement.[4] The hill-fort is situated on a visually dominant position on a naturally well protected top, with the deep gorge of Tribanjska draga preventing access from the west and steep stone cliffs on the south, while the east and north are protected by massive dry-stone walls. Two plateaus, a larger rectangular one in the eastern part and a much smaller one of oval shape on the western edge, both protected by the massive north wall, formed the core of the settlement. The smaller western plateau probably served as an acropolis, i.e. the centre of sacral power or the residence of the local aristocracy. Probably due to the limited space on the hill top, the settlement expanded to the lower slopes of the hill, where numerous finds of pottery have also been found. The remains of a shipwreck with Lamboglia 2 amphorae found in one of the bays at the foot of the Byzantine fortification suggest that the inhabitants of the proto-historic settlement used it as a natural harbour,[5] adding the maritime path in their network of connections that is reflected in the finds of North African, Illyrian and Roman Republican coins.[6]

The first trial excavations were carried out in October 2010, focusing on the area where the grave finds were allegedly discovered.[7] The trial trenches, however, revealed no traces of graves or features related to a settlement. Most of the finds were discovered in the surface layers or in the mixed layer of soil and gravel lying directly on the limestone bedrock, most probably accumulated at the foot of the hill by erosion from upper slopes. Along with fragments of amphorae (likely Lamboglia 2) and other types of pottery (mostly coarse ware pots and bowls), some metal finds have been gathered there as well, most remarkably a damaged bronze hinged brooch with smooth undecorated bow of round cross-section that can be defined as type Aucissa, more precisely variant Feugère 22c, frequent on the Adriatic coast.[8] The appearance of this type is usually dated in the Augustan era, from around 15 BC lasting until the middle of the 1st century AD.[9] Although the Aucissa brooch has frequently been associated to Roman military dress, it was also used by civilians, so it cannot be regarded as proof of Roman military presence at the site. However, another indication is given by the finds of iron nails with conical head (Fig. 1), a type found on soldier's shoes throughout the Empire. The back of the head is decorated with crossed ribs and dots or only crossed ribs, a combination that mostly appears on nails dating to the Late Republican and Augustan period, while the motif of radially arranged dots without the cruciform decoration appears on caligae nails from the later period, with examples from Haltern or Augsburg-Oberhausen.[10] The closest parallels come from the Posočje and Notranjska regions in present-day Slovenia. *Caligae* nails are found among the *militaria* from Grad near Reka, location of a battle between the local inhabitants of the hill-top settlement and the Roman army around 35 BC or in the Early Augustan period at latest.[11] To the same time-frame belong examples from sites in Notranjska, where due to conical head and decoration we have analogies for our examples on Žerovnišček[12] and at Baba near Slavina,[13] while nails with flattened head decorated with the same motif come from Stari grad above Unec,[14] also in Notranjska. Far in the West, analogies come from present-day Spain: nails with conical head and decoration of crossed ribs with dots come from Andagoste, a battle site dated between 40 - 30 BC.[15] The same type appears frequently on sites associated with Caesar's war operations in Gaul, for example on the famous site of Alesia, conquered in 52 BC, as well as on Uxellodunum, besieged by Caesar in 51 BC.[16] Finds of Roman military equipment, including this type of *caligae* nails, were found in the sanctuary of the Corent oppidum destroyed during Caesar's conquests as well as in settlement layers, also dated in the middle of the century or the Augustan era at latest, and in the same time-frame goes the material from oppidum Gergovia.[17]

Thus the *caligae* nails from Sv. Trojica can also be dated to the second half of the 1st century BC, ending with the Augustan era. Another possible indication of Roman military presence - at least in the area, if not on the site itself - is the find of a Mark Anthony's legionary denarius, minted between 32 - 31 BC and used for soldiers' salaries.[18] The best evidence comes however from the finds belonging most likely to the same grave assemblage, as corroborated by the dating of the single pieces.

[1] BATOVIĆ 1977, 855-857, 871.

[2] TOMIČIĆ 1990, 142-143, 146-7; JURIĆ 1995, 245-246.

[3] DUBOLNIĆ 2006, 10-14, T. II - V.

[4] TONC 2010.

[5] DUBOLNIĆ 2007, 34.

[6] DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN - GLAVAŠ 2011.

[7] A first report published in TONC 2011. The ceramic and other metal finds are still being processed.

[8] FEUGÈRE 1985, 312, 321. The needle is missing, and the head is only partially preserved.

[9] ETTLINGER 1973, 94; FEUGÈRE 1985, 323-324.

[10] BROUQUIER-REDDÉ - DEYBER 2001, 303, T. 93: 138, D 4-4; HARNECKER 1997, T. 69: 755; HÜBENER 1973, T. 44: 1; POUX 2008, 380.

[11] BOŽIČ 1999, 74, Fig. 2: 6, 8; ISTENIČ 2005, 83-84, Sl. 5: 7-13; ISTENIČ 2005a, 190.

[12] LAHARNAR 2009, T. 5: 13, 14.

[13] LAHARNAR 2011, Fig. 4.

[14] GASPARI 2009, Fig. 7: 6, 7.

[15] OCHARAN LARRONDO - UNZUETA PORTILLA 2002, 323, Fig. 2: 11-12.

[16] BROUQUIER-REDDÉ - DEYBER 2001, 294, T. 93: 138, type D4-4; GIRAULT 2007, Fig. 14.

[17] POUX - FEUGÈRE - DEMIERRE 2008, Fig. 6: 30, 7: 18; 8: 11, 9: 10.

[18] DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN - GLAVAŠ 2011, 104-105, T. 2: 26.

THE GRAVE FINDS

The finds that belong to the supposed grave assemblage can be divided in two categories: militaria, i.e. a sword, a spearhead and a shield boss (Fig. 2), and ceramics - i.e. a large pot (Fig. 3), probably serving as an urn, a chalice on foot and a shallow vessel (a lid).[19] Allegedly, some glass shards were part of the assemblage, but they have not been collected and a bronze fibula, which is now misplaced or lost. Thus the exact type of the brooch remains unfortunately unknown.

The sword is bent (Fig. 4: 1), but its overall shape clearly points to a *gladius* of the Mainz type.[20] Its original length was 64 cm (the tang is 15 cm long while the blade is 49 cm long). The blade is very slim (the width does not exceed 3, 8 cm at the widest part, i.e. at the top and it gradually tapers toward the tip), only slightly waisted and long-pointed (Fig. 4: 2). Although one has to take into consideration the fact that the blade is not well preserved, it was probably not much wider, i.e. it is likely that it only slightly exceeded 4 cm. It does not appear that there was originally a pronounced central rib or any grooves on the blade. The length of the blade corresponds rather well to the average size of the Mainz type swords known from auxiliary graves of the Augustan period, but the width of the blade is however below the average width (cca 5-6 cm).[21] According to C. Miks' typology of Roman swords, the blade of this specimen seems to be related to his "Mühlbach" variant of the Mainz type, both by its shape and by its dimensions.[22] The timeframe of this type would approximately be from the last 3 decades of the 1st century BC till the Claudian period, i.e. the mid-1st century AD at the latest. The Augustan period would nevertheless seem to be the most likely manufacturing period.

Roman spears and javelins, with some exceptions, are not easily determined as such most of the time, unless found within a clear archaeological context. This remark chiefly applies to the leaf-shaped spears, which are certainly the most widely distributed type of that weapon ever since the prehistoric period. The basic shape of the leaf-shaped spearhead obviously prevents it from having a vast number of variations and one should not forget that random elements and circumstances such as the skill of the craftsman or the available technological resources always played an important role in the mass production of such simple weapons. Roman leaf-shaped spearheads cannot thus be determined typologically in a very accurate manner and their dating depends first and foremost on the context of the find.[23]

The spearhead from Sveta Trojica, with its round-edged leaf-shaped head that gradually tapers toward the top and a slightly pronounced rib, is a rather typical leaf-shaped spearhead of the Roman period with parallels on quite a few sites.[24] Its overall length is 28,4 cm, the socket being 11 cm long. The widest part of the spearhead is 4 cm wide, while the socket diameter is ca. 2 cm (Fig. 5).

The conical circular shield boss (Fig. 6: 2) must have belonged to a flat shield, generally associated with auxiliary troops during the first two centuries of the Imperial period.[25] This type was widely adopted by the Roman auxiliaries during the Augustan period and it is therefore hardly surprising to find many analogies for the Sveta Trojica shield boss dated to the Augustan and early Tiberian period. The closest ones were found in Magdalensberg[26], Novo Mesto - Beletov vrt,[27] Verdun pri Stopičah,[28] Mihovo,[29] Reka pri Cerknem[30] and Idrija pri Bači.[31]

Considering all the aforementioned, despite the lacking archaeological context, there is no much doubt that the military artefacts found in what must likely have been an incineration grave can be dated in a rather precise timeframe. A larger timeframe would cover

[19] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 257, cat. 9

[20] ULBERT 1969, 120-122; BISHOP - COULSTON 1993, 69-71; FEUGÈRE 1993, 138-144; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 22-23; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 78-79; MIKS 2007, 58-65; POUX 2008, 316-319; PERNET 2010, 54, 59, 105-106.

[21] PERNET 2010, 102, fig. 68, Type 3; It should be pointed out that none of these swords belong to Miks' "Mühlbach" variant of the Mainz type, *vide infra*!

[22] MIKS 2007, 61

[23] MANNING 1985, 160-170; BISHOP 1987, 110-111; MARCHANT 1990, 1, 5; SIM 1992, 114-116; BISHOP - COULSTON 1993, 53, 69; FEUGÈRE 1993, 169-171; PETCULESCU 1994, 61; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 27; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 53-54, 76-78; POUX 2008, 335-341

[24] ULBERT 1959, 96, T. 27. 17; BÖHME 1978, 165, T. 17, B5; MANNING 1985, 160, V 26; FEUGÈRE 1993, 170; HARNECKER 1997, 32-33, Kat Nr. 800; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 20, Kat. 264; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 28, cat. 9

[25] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 92; for the origin and development of such shield bosses in the Roman military equipment cf. NABBEFELD 2008, 45-47; POUX 2008, 344-348; PERNET 2010, 109-112, as well as the quoted bibliography

[26] DOLENZ 1998, 86-87, M215-216;

[27] KNEZ 1992, 63, 91-92, T.61:2, grave 169, T. 67:3, grave 187; PERNET 2010, 223, pl. 122, 124

[28] BREŠČAK 1989, 10, 12-13; PERNET 2010, 223, pl. 141-144.

[29] PERNET 2010, 223, pl. 118

[30] GUŠTIN 1991, 58, T. 30:4, T. 34:2; PERNET 2010, 230-231, pl. 136, 139

[31] GUŠTIN 1991, 58, T. 12:6, T. 17:1; PERNET 2010, 230-231, pl. 116

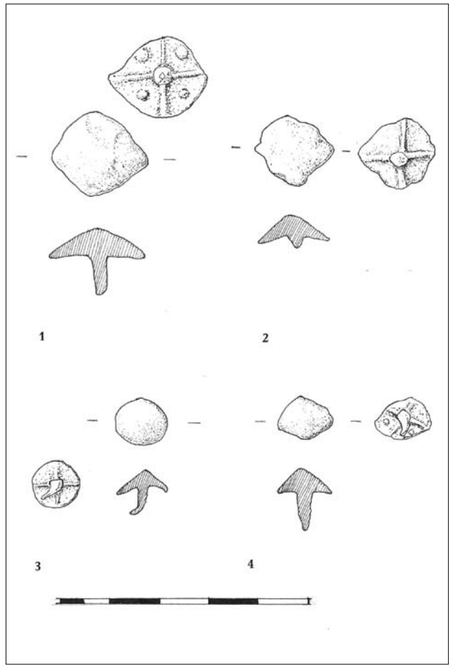


Fig. 1. Iron shoe nails found in the trial excavations on Sveta Trojica (drawing by: M. Galić).

the last decades of the 1st century BC and the first two decades of the 1st century AD, but we could probably narrow it to a shorter time span, i.e. the late Augustan and the beginning of the Tiberian period.

The chalice has a hemispherical body, with vertical thickened, rounded rim (Fig. 7). The vessel stands on a hollow pedestal foot with two ribs on the upper part, immediately below the body of the vessel. The chalice is in poor state of preservation and very fragmented, the surface is soft, breaking off easily, with no traces of slip preserved. The color is light orange (Munsell 2.5 YR 6/8 light red); rim diameter around 17 cm, base of foot has a diameter of 9 cm, while the upper cylindrical part is of 3,4 cm diameter. The approximate height of the vessel is 13 cm, thickness of wall 2 mm and the rim is 4 mm thick. Traces of the relief decoration can be seen on the lower part of the vessel, with the decorative zone separated from the undecorated upper part by a shallow groove. A rosette and part of a garland can be distinguished, while the other motifs are too damaged to discern.

The shape has best analogies in the forms Conspectus R 2 = Atlante 15D. The form 15D has a deep vessel with outward pronouncing rim and a relatively high pedestal foot, with two variants of which the first, type A, is closest to the shape Dragendorff 11 of the Arretine ware, and also the closest parallel to our chalice.[32] On the vessels from the Emilia region the decoration is limited to the lower half of the body, with characteristic motifs of so-called „vesciche pennute" and various floral motifs, such as eight-leaf rosettes. The cups lack an inner slip and the outer surface varies from good, uniform fine slip to the one of lesser quality, with the color also varying from red to black hues, suggesting an easily perishable slip.[33] The characteristic motifs, most of them clearly a reflection of those found on Arretine sigillata ware, enabled to distinguish these vessels as „ Padanian ware", also suggesting the existence of a subsidiary workshop of the Arretine manufacturers in the Bologna area.[34] Already A. Stenico supposed the existence of different workshops producing the vessels that are morphologically and chronologically close to Arretine sigillata, locating them generally along the western, Italian coast of the Adriatic and its hinterland, suggesting the name „Terra Sigillata adriatica", i.e. Adriatic sigillata ware.[35] On Magdalensberg cups of this shape have been classified as type 3, varying in quality of texture and decoration, that can be figural or floral. Type 3 vessels appear in contexts dated between 20 BC and AD 10.[36] A similar dating, to the periods Middle and Late Augustan, is proposed for the Consp. R 2 vessels, frequent on Haltern.[37] Similar chalices are known on other sites in present-day Croatia. A fragment of chalice type Drag. 11 with depiction of Eros, a product of M. Perennius Tigranus' workshop, comes from Osijek - *Mursa*.[38] Fragments of cups type Magdalensberg 3 and ascribed to the Adriatic production are known from Sisak - *Siscia*. The fabric is orange, with light brown shiny or opaque slip on the outer side, while one piece is of light brown fabric, with opaque chocolate-brown slip.[39] In the coastal area, there are more pieces of Arretine sigillata from Velika Mrdakovica near Šibenik, on the river Krka.

[32] ATLANTE, 229.

[33] FAVA 1972, 151-152.

[34] FAVA 1962, 47-50; FAVA 1972, 149-155; ATLANTE, 229, T. LXXVII: 3.

[35] STENICO 1971, 152-155.

[36] SCHINDLER-KAUDELKA 1980, 45-46.

[37] CONSPECTUS, 168.

[38] BRUKNER 1981, 19, T. 20: 4.

[39] MAKJANIĆ 1995, 60-61, T. 66: 205-207.

Fig. 2. Weapon finds from the warrior grave (photo by: I. Krajcar).

Fragments that resemble M. Perennius Tigranus' products, namely female figures playing the lyre, were found in grave I on the Velika Mrdakovica Late Iron Age and Roman necropolis.[40] An entire chalice on foot type Drag. 11 made in the Cn. Ateius workshop comes from grave 86, with decoration suggesting a dating in the earlier phase of the workshop's existence, i.e. end of 1st cent. BC and first decade of AD.[41] From grave 4 on the same necropolis come more fragments of somewhat later production with predominance of floral motifs, garlands and rosettes typical for the Rasinius workshop.[42] A similar shape is also present among the Sarius cups, with a close parallel for our chalice in grave 30 on Velika Mrdakovica, dating according to Brusić to the last decade BC.[43] Closer to the Starigrad area, in Nin - *Aenona*, there is a chalice of shape Consp. 2.3. decorated with figural and floral motifs, dated to the first decade AD.[44] Fragments ascribed to type Magdalensberg 3 or Consp. R 2 cups are also known from the legionary camp Tilurium.[45] In Slovenia, fragments of Consp. R 2.1.1. and R 2.3.1. cups were found in Kranj, differing a bit from the Sv. Trojica grave find in the more concave upper part of the vessel.[46] Similar chalices are also present in Celje and Ljubljana-Emona, where they are found in layers dating between the last decade BC and Late Augustan/ Tiberian period.[47] Although the chalice from Sv. Trojica lacks the quality of proper sigillata ware, the shape has close analogies in the examples here listed, making very likely the atribution to the same time-frame as cups from dated contexts, i.e. most likely in the Middle to Late Augustan period. It can be even proposed that this is an imitation of the genuine Arretine ware, maybe of „Adriatic production".

The pot, maybe used as an urn, has an everted thickened rim, a short concave neck, flat bottom and spherical body with largest diameter in the upper part

[40] BRUSIĆ 1999, 20, cat. nr. 259.

[41] BRUSIĆ 1999, cat.nr. 256.

[42] BRUSIĆ 1999, 20-21, cat. nr. 262.

[43] BRUSIĆ 1999, 24-25, T. 45: 271.

[44] BRUSIĆ 1999, 21, cat. nr. 257.

[45] ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2003, 117; ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, T 26: 282, T. 27: 296, T. 28: 297-299.

[46] SAGADIN 2003, 72, T. 2: 1-3.

[47] VIČIČ 1993, 157-158, T. 1: 4; VIČIČ 1994, T: 10: 22, 23; VIČIČ 1997, T. 2: 12

Fig. 3. Ceramic pot - urn from the warrior grave (photo by: I. Krajcar).

of the vessel (Fig. 6: 1). It was probably made on a slow-rotating potter's wheel, as indicated by its irregural shape and wheel rings on the inside wall. Two slightly curved, almost half-round applique handles (grips) are placed on the shoulder. The rim's diameter is around 21 cm, that of the bottom 13,6 cm; largest width is 26 cm, height 18 cm, wall thickness is 0,8 cm. The entire body of the vessel is decorated with shallow horizontal grooves, similar to a combed decoration, while on the neck the decoration is made by short, shallow half-rounded grooves, perpendicular to the body. The fabric is coarse, with pitted surface, and the color varies from very dark to light brown and orange, most probably as result of a burning process. If that the case, the exposion to high temperature or fire may have occured while the pot was already fragmented, hence the differences of the color on juxtaposed pieces. A few fragments of a rim of dark brown color with fabric corresponding to that of the urn belong to a shallow vessel, which can be determined as the urn's lid. The lid diameter seems to be somewhat larger than the vessel's opening, however the poor state of preservation does not allow a more precise measurement.

This vessel, most probably used as an urn (although without certain context this remains unsure), corresponds by shape to olle, type of coarse ware generally used for preparation and storage of food, but also appearing in funerary context. The rounded spherical shape and applique handles have an analogy in grave 36 in Nave from Tiberian period, thus resembling the olle type 50, variant C of the typology

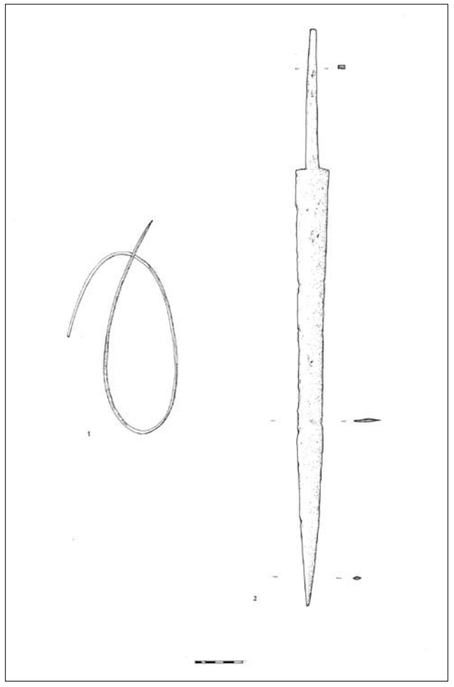


Fig. 4. Sword from the Sv. Trojica grave, shown bent (1) and in its original shape (2) (drawing by: M. Galić).

for Lombardian examples.[48] In Velika Mrdakovica, the vessels used as urns are also pots of coarse ware with short neck, rounded body widest in the lower part and everted rim, covered with shallow vessels of bigger diameter than the urn's rim. These urns are usually undecorated vessels of lighter brown color, sometimes with traces of firing.[49] Although the shape and lack of decoration doesn't make them proper analogies for the pot from the Sv. Trojica warrior's grave, it is interesting to note the exposure to fire or

[48] About *ollae* in general - SUB ASCIA 1987, 194 and CONUBIA GENTIUM 1999, 310-312, DELLA PORTA ET AL. 1998, 134-136, 139-159; for Nave grave 36 - SUB ASCIA 1987, 62, T. 30: 2, about type 50 - DELLA PORTA ET AL. 1998, 148-149, T. LVII.

[49] BRUSIĆ 2000, 40-41. Apparently there are no analogies for the decoration of the Sveta Trojica pot, although parallels for the shape can be found among the Mrdakovica finds. We would like to thank Toni Brajković from the Šibenik City Museum for this information regarding the unpublished material.

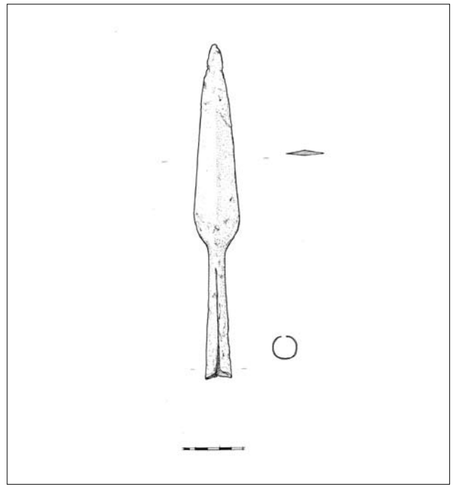


Fig. 5. Spearhead from the Sveta Trojica grave (drawing by: M. Galić) .

high temperature that as mentioned can be seen also on our pot. Burials in urns appear in phase three of the Velika Mrdakovica necropolis, i.e. end of 1st cent. BC, contemporary to appearance of incineration on Dragišić, with cremation remains being layed in a ceramic urn, sometimes covered with another vessel or a stone plate, and then placed in a simple burial pit. Unfortunately we do not know the details of the burial rite used on Sveta Trojica, therefore it is hard to find a real comparison, as consequence also a reliable dating. On Novo Mesto or Verdun there are also pots of coarse ware appearing in grave assemblages, however those on Beletov vrt in Novo Mesto are of more elongated, ovoid shape and with genuine combed decoration, i.e. composed of much deeper cut lines. The Verdun cemetery unfortunately still remains not entirely published, so no real comparisons can be seeked there. The dating of the urn thus remains a mere estimation on the basis of the similar olle types or the urns of Velika Mrdakovica, i.e. after the Augustan age until Tiberian time or later.

The finds presented here when analysed separately show no reason to doubt their belonging to a specific grave assemblage, in fact the dating of all the grave goods falls in the Late Augustan - early Tiberian period.

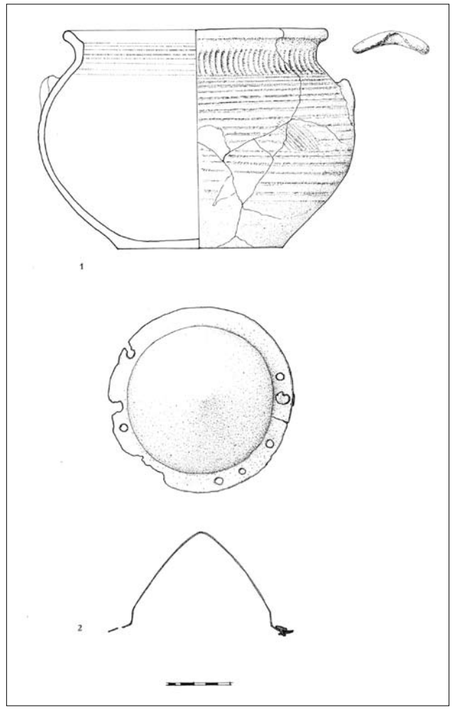


Fig. 6. Grave finds: 1: Ceramic pot - urn; 2: shield boss (drawing by: M. Galić).

CONCLUSION

It is the way the deceased had been buried which betrays a different ethnic origin. The local Liburnian burial rite throughout the Iron Age was inhumation in fetal position in flat cemeteries or under burial mounds, while the burials in extended supine position appear as an exception, namely on Grobnik and Kastav in the Kvarner area, in Nadin and in the family tombs on Dragišić and Velika Mrdakovica, both near Šibenik, on the river Krka.[50] The two last mentioned sites are also the only ones with use of cremation burial prior to the establishment of Roman rule in the area. However, even more striking is the appearance of weapons in the

[50] On Liburnian Iron Age burial customs see BATOVIĆ 1987, 355-358; BRUSIĆ 2000, 8-11 for Velika Mrdakovica, BRUSIĆ 2000a, 7-12 for Dragišić.

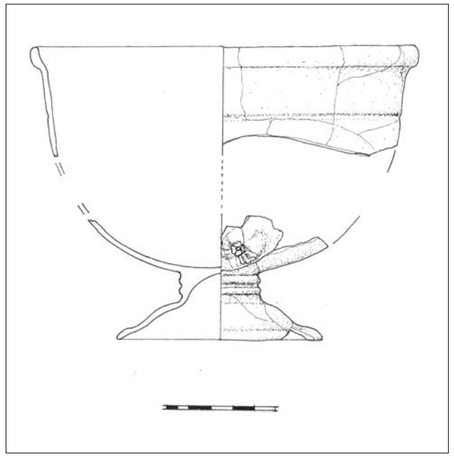


Fig. 7. Chalice on foot from Sv. Trojica (drawing by: M. Galić).

grave, since the practice of burial with weapons was unfamiliar to the Liburnians. This makes the buried man definitely an exception in the regional context, but the fact that he had been buried with his weapons definitely points to a non-Roman practice as well. His ethnic origin is primarily revealed by the way his sword had been discarded. Bending swords prior to burying them with the remains of the deceased is a well-known Celtic burial custom.[51] It was still quite a common practice in the Augustan period and it is well attested in the burials of Roman auxiliaries of Celtic origin.[52] Thus, the incinerated man buried with a ritually bent sword of Roman origin - or of Roman inspiration at least - was very likely a Roman auxiliary soldier of Celtic descent. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that some burials associated more or less closely with Roman auxiliaries found in the eastern Alpine area contained also Roman *gladii* (or short swords inspired by the Roman *gladius* form) which were neither bent nor deliberately destroyed.[53] As already pointed out, the cremation graves of auxiliaries in

[51] BRUNAUX - LAMBOT 1987, 14; FEUGÈRE 1996, 165; BOŽIČ 1984, 78; LEJARS 1994, 113-117; SANKOT 2003, 45-47; ritual bending is also a common feature of Tauriscan graves, see TOMIČIĆ - DIZDAR 2005, 66.

[52] The closest examples are found in the eastern Alpine region: Novo Mesto - Beletov vrt, Verdun pri Stopičah

Verdun and Novo Mesto in Slovenia contained Roman weapons which were sometimes bent according to Celtic custom. Those graves contained pottery of local production as well, mainly hand-made coarse ware pots with combed ornament or biconical pots with everted rim made on potter's wheel, but also imports from North Italian workshops, such as jugs, amphorae and terra sigillata ware.[54] They certainly are a very close analogy to the Sv. Trojica grave as far as weapons and pottery grave goods are concerned. Since the burial rite as well the dating and specific artefact types find their geographically closest parallel in the Alpine area, on sites such as Novo Mesto - Beletov vrt, Mihovo or Verdun, it is tempting to look at this area as the place of origin of the deceased warrior. We might even conjecture that he could have been a native of the *Latobici* tribe. As a matter of fact, someone from the Latobican or Tauriscan territory could have been enrolled as an auxiliary soldier by that time. The presence of Celtic soldiers in Dalmatia before and after AD 9 is after all more than likely: besides epigraphic finds (albeit mostly later than the Augustan period), an important clue is given by the find of Celtic coins from Balina Glavica in northern Dalmatia which has been connected to the presence of soldiers of Celtic origin and dated in the same period as the grave find from Sveta Trojica, i.e. in the first decades of the 1st century AD.[55]

The formation of the Roman settlement on the position today occupied by the city of Starigrad dates to the final years of the last century BC or the very beginning of the new era. It has been suggested by various authors that the Liburnian autochthonous population moved to the newly established Roman city on the coast from their own central settlement, probably from one of the hill-top fortified positions. This supposed centre of the local Pre-Roman community could be the very settlement of Sv. Trojica, situated on a position used again in Late Antiquity, probably even later, proving the importance of the site.[56] We can speculate if this abandonment (at least partial) and migration of the inhabitants is due only to political and economic reasons - i.e. a reflection of the new circumstances linked to the establishment of Roman rule and the foundation of a new coastal settlement - or if Roman military activities had a more

[53] Mihovo, Idrija pri Bači.

[54] BREŠČAK 1989, 4; BREŠČAK 1994, 18-21.

[55] ALFÖLDY 1962: 261, 263-267, 269-270, 272-277; ZANINOVIĆ 2001, 62; KOS 2002, 154-156.

[56] NEDVED 1995, 226; FADIĆ 1995, 235; JURIĆ 1995, 245; DUBOLNIĆ 2006, 13-14; DUBOLNIĆ 2007, 14.

important role in this process, since the grave finds can be dated to the time-frame of the establishment of *Argyruntum*. The auxiliary grave and other finds which could be connected to the Roman army open the question of the nature of the army's presence on the site: a seat of an auxiliary garrison, a battle site or just a temporary bivouac of an army unit, where one of its soldiers perished - due to sickness, injury or whatever reason - and had to be buried on the spot? The excellent strategic position of the site would rather make us believe that there was a garrison there, even if for a short period of time. The Sv. Trojica site lies in fact on one end of a mountain crossing, i.e. a pedestrian road that connected the Lika region with the coast by only a half-day hike through the at first glance impenetrable Velebit range, avoiding a major detour by other land or sea routes[57]. This could also explain why the site was chosen as a base for a Roman unit, which could have made use of the routes already well established by the local communities, but of course without more research this remains mere speculation.

[57] DUBOLNIĆ GLAVAN, GLAVAŠ 2011, 108-110, Map 1.

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CAN SOLDIERS ON 3RD-CENTURY STELAE IN PANONNIA BE RECOGNIZED ONLY BY THE SAGUM?

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INTRODUCTION

The funerary iconography of the 3rd-century Roman soldier is well known in its essentials. Its two components, the sagum fastened by a brooch on the right shoulder and a belted long-sleeved tunic are indispensable. The brooch is round or T-shaped or cross-bowed and a prominent belt buckle is sometimes square (the so-called frame-buckle), but is mostly round, nicknaming the whole group of stones with such depictions as *ring-buckle gravestones*. The remainder: weapons (a dagger, a sword, one or more shafted weapons), armour (a shield and very rarely a helmet), a scroll and the like, are optional. Trousers are also presumed, but are not readily visible in relief depictions.[1] However, the picture of the 3rd-century soldier in Noricum does not match such image. There, the sagum and tunic are indispensable, but the belt is lacking in the majority of cases. The aim of this paper is to establish the picture of the Pannonian soldier, compare it to its Norican counterpart and try to explain the possible differences.

DISCUSSION

The starting point of this discussion is based on works of some Austrian scholars of the last several decades: Hannsjörg Ubl, Lothar Eckhart, Erich Hudeczek, Erwin Pochmarski and Ortolf Harl.[2] When discussing the 3rd-century soldier's dress as depicted on funerary stones in Noricum, with Pannonia mostly implied by extension, they never mention a belt, as indeed it is hardly ever depicted. Along the same line, there is a tendency in some of the commentators both to determine the occupation and to date a person depicted in sagum just by the sagum. In other words, every male person shown as wearing sagum on his tombstone should be a third-century soldier, even if other insignia of his occupation are lacking. This, of course, is a simplified picture, which has its various facets. On the face of it, some scholars allowed for civilians to be dressed in sagum as well. E. Hudeczek and E. Pochmarski presumed that the sagum should be viewed differently depending on whether it was worn in a

[1] OLDENSTEIN 1976, 226-234; COULSTON 1987, 143, 149; UBL 2002, 275; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 11; COULSTON 2007; SUMNER 2009, 41-52; JAMES 2010, 44-45.

[2] ECKHART 1976; UBL 1979; POCHMARSKI 1991; POCHMARSKI 1996; UBL 2002; HARL 2003.

Fig. 1. Map of southern Pannonia with the find-sites of soldier funerary stones (Author: Tino Leleković).

military or civilian settlement. In other words, a man in sagum would probably be interpreted as a civilian in a prevalently civilian town of Flavia Solva, while he would be identified as a soldier in the military towns of Virunum and Lauriacum.[3] Significantly, some of the *sagumati* in Lauriacum and none in Virunum also carry weapons, while a belted tunic is absent in both towns.[4] As for Lauriacum, H. Ubl changed his opinion over the years. In the 1970s he was inclined to consider every man in sagum as a soldier, while in 2002 he presented a different picture of the soldier, while also allowing for *sagumati* civilians. As for the soldier, the author now described him so as to fit the common knowledge, that is, featuring an indispensable belted tunic with a prominent round or rectangular buckle. To support this picture, Ubl adduced finds of belt buckles in Noricum. Yet, when describing so equipped soldier, he also mentioned depictions in funerary art, and at that point it is not clear whether the Roman soldier in general was meant, or the Norican soldier alone.[5] Recently, the same author made a very significant point by comparing a "duplicated" image of a soldier on the front of a sarcophagus from Budaörs near Budapest, depicted once as a *vexillarius* and once as an *aquilifer*. In the same paper H. Ubl announced his intention to address extensively the subject of the covered military belt

[3] POCHMARSKI 1991, 101; POCHMARSKI 1996, 131-132; L. ECKHART (1976, 17, 47) also considers only soldiers as the sagum wearers in Lauriacum, while G. PICCOTTINI (1972), discussing funerary portraits in Virunum, did not tackle this issue at all.

[4] POCHMARSKI 1996; HARL 2003, 340.

[5] UBL 1979, 37, no. 22; UBL 2002, 285.

Fig. 2. Stele of a centurion from Cibalae (detail), Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (UEL 3593).

Fig. 3. Stele of a veteran from Mursa (detail), Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (UEL 4305).

(*verdeckte Militärgürtel*).[6] To my knowledge, such paper has not yet appeared. For the time being, it therefore remains to bear in mind that soldiers in Noricum are only exceptionally, if ever, depicted as wearing a belted tunic on their funerary stones. Presumably, this fact was used as a background for O. Harl's paper, printed in 2003: *Die Donauarmee als Träger der norisch-pannonischen Kunst - der Fall Norikum*. This paper, on the other hand, is the starting point for the present discussion, given its claim that the 3rd century soldier can be identified exclusively by the sagum. Such claim does not lack evidential support, but is also not free of weak points. Firstly, the number of preserved epitaphs on funerary stones is small, and secondly, not all of them mention the military.[7] It should be noted that in spite of the expression *Norico-Pannonian* in the title of Harl's paper, the material evidence used all (except for Carnuntum) stems from Noricum; Pannonia has been apparently implied by extension. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to check whether indeed each *sagumatus* on a 3rd-century funerary stone in Pannonia can be proclaimed a soldier just by the sagum. The whole of the province is considered, but the stress is on the southern Pannonia, that is, the area between the rivers Drava and Sava (Fig. 1).

First, it should be cleared whether any such assumption for Noricum can be applied straightforwardly to Pannonia, on purely theoretical grounds. The answer should be *yes*, given a high degree of uniformity of the Roman military dress and equipment.[8] Furthermore, a special connection between Noricum and Pannonia has been presumed, based on the fact that these were two neighbourhood provinces, possibly sharing a common military command.[9] The latter was even taken by Harl as an argument against the widely held opinion of a predominantly civilian Noricum in contrast to strongly militarized Pannonia.[10] On the other hand, some regional variations in military dress and equipment as there were, should not be of any concern in this context, given that these were not functional or conceptual, but pertained to formal, structural or decorative details.[11] In other words, such variation could not possibly affect wearing or otherwise of the military belt. Therefore, the real question is why soldiers in Noricum chose to be depicted without the belt.

Before adducing the evidence for the 3rd century, a summary introduction to the circumstances in the 2nd-century will be brought. *The 2nd century* in the present context means the period terminating with the beginning of the Severan rule. However, when commentators refer to the 3rd century, they sometimes fail to ex-

[6] UBL 2006, 15, n. 77.

[7] UEL 301, 483, 858, 1379, 1539, 1624, 1625, 3118, 3610, 3616.

[8] COULSTON 1998, 177; GSCHWIND 2007, 615; ROTHE 2009, 3; JAMES 2010, 252-254. In spite of that, commentators caution against perceiving Roman military as anything near the modern uniformed armies.

[9] HARL 2003, 338; WEBER 1994, 43.

[10] HARL 2003, 337-340.

[11] GSCHWIND 2007, 622-625; ROTHE 2009, 3; JAMES, 2010, XIII, 51, 241.

Fig. 4. Stele of a slave family from the territory of Andautonia, detail, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Igor Krajcar).

Fig. 5. Stele of a civilian (?) from Mursa, detail, Museum of Slavonija Osijek (Author: Tino Leleković).

plicitly state whether this period includes the rule of Septimius Severus, that is, the end of the 2nd century, or whether it starts with Caracalla (211-217). Such ambiguity results from the fact that it is not established beyond doubt which one of the two rulers was responsible for the reform of the military dress and equipment.[12] On balance, when speaking about the Severans in the context of the military dress and equipment, the stress should be on the 3rd century. Also, it should be noted that the main subject matter in all papers underlying the present discussion is on the military, while the civilians are mostly covered in passing, quite as to complement the state of knowledge on the soldier's clothes. This is only understandable, as the evidence of civilians in sagum is even more ambiguous and more difficult to examine than the evidence for soldiers.[13] The majority of commentators named the former *civilians*, without defining the term, but some of them still made some effort in this direction. For instance, H. Ubl indicated civilians who on occasions appropriated military dress for the sake of fashion and not as an official matter, while O. Harl defined non-soldiers as *real civilians* (*echten Zivilisten*).[14] Even so, the issue of the civilians dressed in sagum remains a moot point.

In Noricum, the sagum in the 2nd century seems to have been used equally rarely among the military and the civilians.[15] As for the military in general, it has been suggested that only the auxiliary cavalry wore the sagum, while the infantry used the paenula.[16] O. Harl names several reasons for the lack of military stones in 2nd- and 3rd-century Noricum and in Carnuntum: a high rate of wearing and the destruction of funerary stones, the loss of epitaphs, the lack of enthusiasm on the part of soldiers and/or their families to advertise the deceased's occupation in funerary context.[17] Given that the legion was stationed in Carnuntum in the period 114-260 A. D., at least some of the funerary stones should date from the 2nd century, and they do not belong to cavalry auxiliaries. The archaeological evidence from northern Croatia is quite meagre for this period, as only four (limestone) stelae featuring a combination of both the picture and inscription are available.[18] The first one belonged to Marcus Herennius Valens (Fig.

[12] Some authors specifically or implicitly postulate Caracalla (POCHMARSKI 1990, 531; POCHMARSKI 1996, 129; SUMNER 2009, 41-42), while others seem to be referring to the Severan period in general (ECKHART 1976, 17; von SCHNURBEIN 1977, 88; UBL 2002, 275; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 149).

[13] Symptomatically, O. HARL (2003, 341) posits the research on the civilians dressed in sagum as one of the *desiderata* of his paper, but later he mentioned this issue only twice, and in passing (342, n. 21; 346, n. 55).

[14] COULSTON 1987, 149; POCHMARSKI 1991, 101; POCHMARSKI 1996, 131; UBL 2002, 175; HARL 2003, 342.

[15] POCHMARSKI 1991, 101; POCHMARSKI 1996, 131. Although the sagum is not used extensively by the military in the 2nd century, it is still not right to proclaim the sagum as one of the dating criteria for the 3rd century military, as seems to be the case in POCHMARSKI 2006, 104, *passim* and 2007, 94. See also note 25.

[16] ECKHART 1976, 17; COULSTON 1987, 141-142; POCHMARSKI 1991, 101; SUMNER 2009, 73-79.

[17] HARL 2003, 337-338, 346. However, the evidence for the neglect of the military image on funerary stones is, at least, as inconclusive as that which supports a great pride the soldier takes in his occupation, active or former. Cf. HOPE, 2001, 37-38; SUMNER 2009, 10.

[18] All the stones but three stemming from Croatia and mentioned in this paper are kept in the the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Of the three exceptions, one is walled *in situ* (fig. 9), while two (figs 4 and 13) are kept in the Museum of Slavonija Osijek.

Fig. 6. Stele of a legionary from the territory of Aquae Balissae, detail, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Tino Leleković).

Fig. 7. Fragmented stele of two legionaries from Lobor, territory of Siscia or Andautonia, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Igor Krajcar).

2), a legionary centurion from Cibalae (Vinkovci), dated 110-130[19], the second to Titus Aurelius Avitus (Fig. 3), a legionary veteran from Mursa (Osijek), dated 140-160[20], the third to a slave family of Valens (Fig. 4) from the territory of Andautonia (Ščitarjevo near Zagreb), dated 150-160[21], and the fourth to one Publius Aelius Valenus and his wife from Mursa (Fig. 5), dated 160-180.[22] Valenus was most probably a civilian, as otherwise his military occupation would probably have been indicated in the epitaph and put immediately after his name.[23] Three of the four men (M. Herennius Valens, the slave Valens and P. Aelius Valenus) are dressed in the same manner: they wear a sagum fastened by a round brooch, and a tunic with no belt shown; one of the brooches is of a rosette type (Fig. 1), and the remaining two are plate (Figs: 3 and 4).[24] Unlike them, T. Aurelius Avitus is dressed in toga. Marcus Herennius Valens and Titus Aurelius Avitus belonged to the military, as stated in the epitaphs of both, and additionally marked by a centurion's stick in the portrait of the former. Of the remaining two one was a slave (Valens), while the other (P. Aelius Valenus) was a Roman citizen and most probably a civilian. Although the sample is insignificant, provisory conclusions for the 2nd century can still be attempted: 1. The sagum was worn by both the military and civilians; 2. The military veterans could have chosen to dress toga; 3. A civilian in sagum was possibly not a rarity; 4. The soldiers in sagum are not necessary cavalry auxiliaries, although in this case it should also be allowed for a centurion to figure as a cavalryman, since centurions indeed possessed a horse and rode when on the march.[25]

As far as the 3rd century is concerned, the circumstances for Noricum have been sketched above. With some exceptions, by and large, a man dressed in sagum, with no belt shown, is in the literature represented as most likely a soldier. Arguably, a typical military belt with a huge circle or rectangular buckle, otherwise indispensable in the description of the 3rd-century Roman soldier, appears only very sporadically in Norican funerary art. I know of only two examples, both inconclusive. On a stele from Celeia (Celje) the buckle is presumed, but is not visible due to wear of the relief, while on an aedicule relief stone from the territory of Spittal an der Drau the buckle apparently was not at all rendered, at least not in relief.[26] On a further two stones soldiers are rendered as full standing figures wearing sagum, but

[19] CAMBI 1989.

[20] CAMBI 1989.

[21] MIGOTTI 2008.

[22] DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN 1983, 24, no. 137; MIGOTTI 2013, S 25, pp. 308, 316, Fig. 5.

[23] The preserved part of the epitaph goes: *D*(*is*) *M*(*anibus*) / *P*(*ublio*) *Ael*(*io*) *Valeno* / *et Ritutiae Ma* / *rcel<l>inae uxo*(*ri ?*).

[24] Although the Bitutiae is very typical of the 3rd-century military dress, it was worn from the 1st to the 4th century in both military and civilian circles. Cf. POCHMARSKI 1990, 530-531; MIGOTTI 2002, 43.

[25] LE BOHEC 1994, 131.

[26] Celje: UEL 3598; Spittal an der Drau: UEL 3632.

Fig. 8. Soldier stele from northern Croatia, detail, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Igor Krajcar).

Fig. 9. Fragmented soldier stele from the territory of Siscia, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Igor Krajcar).

the belt is not depicted, although the tunic is in both cases clearly belted.[27] Now, the finds of belt buckles in funerary contexts in Lauriacum (Enns) and possibly elsewhere, testify that the evidence of small finds is at variance with funerary depictions. Ultimately, the archaeological evidence suggests that the military in Noricum did not care to present themselves belted as soldiers. On the other hand, several relief depictions and statues in the round from various Norican sites testify that a favoured scheme within the 3rd-century funerary iconography of soldiers was one featuring a metallic body armour and lacking a plated belt. Such iconography was however reserved for officers, and was, furthermore, rarely used in family portraits.[28] Neither of the above funerary portrait schemes is typical of the soldiers in Pannonia. Another difference between Noricum and Pannonia in the depiction of clothes on funerary stones concerns the toga, which is extremely rare on 3rd-century reliefs in the whole of Pannonia. On the other hand, it occurs more frequently in Norican funerary art, but mostly not later than the Severan period. The toga is there occasionally found in tandem with the sagum on one and the same stone, probably indicating the difference between the civilians and soldiers.[29] A discussion on the use of toga is otherwise much hampered by the fact that the majority of the stones featuring men dressed in toga lack inscriptions.[30] On balance, both the military and civilians wore the sagum on their funerary portraits in Noricum, but the belt is hardly ever shown in either of the two groups, while the difference (status? occupation?) between the civilians dressed in toga and those wearing the sagum remains unclear. Last but not least, veterans dressed in toga also need to be considered.[31]

Before considering the 3rd-century stones from northern Croatia, the evidence for the rest of Pannonia will be sketched in broad lines, sourced exclusively from the available literature and the UEL. The sample is not exhaustive, but is still representative. In northern Pannonia soldiers customarily wear sagum, while the belted tunic is not obligatory; many soldiers' portraits feature a belt with a prominent round buckle, but equally many lack it.[32] Also, some civilians are depicted as dressed in sagum but without the belt shown.[33] On a curious example from Aquincum (Budapest), one men is shown wearing the sagum and another is

[27] UEL 2341 (Klein Sankt Paul); UEL 523 (Enns / *Lauriacum*)

[28] UEL 582, 1264, 1266, 2488, 4684, 4687. See GESZTHELY - HARL 2001, 147-150.

[29] The evidence is, however, inconclusive. For instance, on one stone (UEL 1623, Stallhofen) a veteran is depicted in toga and a soldier in sagum, while on another (UEL 1424, Pfannberg) a civilian is dressed in toga and a soldier in sagum.

[30] PICCOTTINI 1972, nos 106 ff.; ECKHART 1976, 44-45, nos 46, 47; POCHMARSKI 1991, 101; POCHMARSKI 1996, 130-131; HARL 2003, 341-342.

[31] O. HARL (2003, 339, 342) seems to advocate the idea that the tunic when worn alone, as well as the toga, indicates civilians, in contrast with *sagumati* soldiers; even though, in his list one *togatus* veteran is evidenced (p. 350, UEL 1623).

[32] Soldiers with the buckle: UEL 2769, 2846, 2896, 3062, 3095 etc; without the buckle: UEL 2850, 2937, 2974, 2976, 10559, etc.

[33] For example UEL 2851, 3178. On a family stele from Aquincum (UEL 3036) two men wear the sagum and one the toga, but the epitaph is missing and none of the men feature any military insignia.

Fig. 10. Fragmented Stele of two *sagumati* from Sveti Petar na Mrežnici, territory of Andautonia or Siscia (after HOFFILLER - SARIA 1938).

dressed in toga.[34] Regrettably, the epitaph is not preserved, so the social relevance of the different clothes remains unknown. Equally uncertain is the meaning of the belt buckle on a stele from Brigetio (Szőny), with two men dressed in sagum and only one of them featuring a military belt.[35] To conclude: The presumption of all *sagumati* as representing soldiers cannot be safely applied to northern Pannonia. The evidence for the later 2nd- and the 3rd-centuries soldier stones from southern-Pannonian towns of Poetovio (Ptuj) and Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) is rather inconclusive; very few pieces with discernible diagnostic features are available from the UEL, due mostly to wear. All there is from Poetovio is two civilians and two soldiers in sagum. Both civilians lack the military belt[36], while of the soldiers one has it, while the other does not.[37] If any conclusion is allowed on such meagre evidence, it should be postulated that the circumstances in Poetovio are similar to those of northern Pannonia. The diagnostic stones from Sirmium are even fewer: on one stele the belt is hidden by the sagum, while on another it is not depicted at all.[38] Yet another stele featuring two men dressed in sagum is, however, problematic in terms of the nature of the deceased's occupation. They are both recorded in the epitaph as key-keepers in the governor's office (*clavicularius ex officio praesidis*), that

[34] UEL 3036.

[35] UEL 3840.

[36] UEL 3756, 3758.

[37] UEL 3781 (showing the belt); UEL 4250 (lacking the belt).

[38] UEL 4336 (belt hidden); UEL 4337 (belt not depicted).

Fig. 11. Civilian stele from Siscia, detail, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Tino Leleković).

is, as civil officials. The stone is additionally inconclusive on account of its presumed date (the 2nd half of the 3rd century), which contradicts the administrative organisation of Pannonia at that time; namely, the seat of the *praeses* was not yet in Sirmium, but in Aquincum. [39] On balance, given the military importance of Sirmium in the 3rd century, the scanty evidence as given above should be accidental, and therefore inaccurate and hardly relevant for conclusions.

The archaeological evidence in northern Croatia is similar to that for the rest of Pannonia, in that soldiers are shown both with and without the military belt. Again, the sample is meagre but not without the potential for discussion. The evidence comprises seven stelae and one each ash-chest and sarcophagus. On a sandstone stele from Brusnik (the territory of Aquae Balissae / Daruvar) dated 213-222/235 on account of the mention of the *legio IIII Flavia Antoniniana*, the upper bodies of a legionary soldier and his wife are depicted. The legionary is wearing the sagum and a long-sleeved belted tunic with a huge round buckle, and is equipped with a baldric, a sword and a shield (Fig. 6).[40] A similar picture appears on a limestone stele from Lobor (the territory of Andautonia or Poetovio), dated 220-250 and belonging to a centurion of the *legio X Gemina* and his brother, a praetorian. Both are depicted as frontal standing figures, flanking the figure of their mother (Fig. 7). Although the soldiers from Lobor were portrayed in a different posture than the one from Brusnik, all three are dressed and equipped in basically the same way, except that the former lack

[39] UEL 4335; FITZ 1994, 984-985.

[40] HOFFILLER - SARIA 1938, no. 590; UEL 3812.

Fig. 12. Soldier stele from northern Croatia, detail, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Igor Krajcar).

shields and their belt buckles are rectangular instead of round.[41] On a Severan-period marble stele of unknown provenance, although certainly from northern Croatia (Fig. 8), whose epitaph has not been preserved, the busts of three persons are depicted: two men flanking a woman. Both men are wearing the sagum, while the belts are lacking.[42] The man on the right side is most probably holding a sword in his left hand, while the depiction of the one on the left is not clear. The latter also seems to be holding a sword, but in his right hand, which does not occur frequently in funerary depictions.[43] Moreover, the gesture of his right hand is paralleled in numerous examples featuring men who hold a scroll in their left hand and point to it with the right.[44] On a limestone stele from the Siscian territory (Fig. 9), dated to the mid 3rd century, the half figures of two men are shown flanking a woman. The men are dressed in sagum and a belted tunic, fastened with the round buckle. Both have a scroll in their left hand, but the one on the right-hand has a sword, tucked under his left arm.[45] Besides, a shield shown behind the horse rider in the lower register, with a lance leaning on it, possibly hints at the military occupation of the stele's owners, even though the relief represents a hunt scene.

[41] HOFFILLER - SARIA 1938, no. 455; Migotti 2010; UEL 3110.

[42] MIGOTTI 2013, S 42, pp. 309, 318, Fig. 7.

[43] Cf. UEL 3113 (Solva); 685 (Savaria); 2397 (Intercisa); 480 (Lauriacum). It should be noted that in the literature a sword is sometimes mistaken for a scroll and vice versa, as is the case with no. 2397. Cf. M. NAGY 2007, 40, no. 26: the object described in UEL as a sword, M. Nagy considers a scroll.

[44] HAINZMANN 1991.

[45] HOFFILLER - SARIA 1938, no. 579; MIGOTTI, forthcoming, no. S 31. It appears that the sword is of the type with a bird's head. In some examples such swords are clearly depicted (UEL 4004, 496, 1207), while in many others, with reliefs poorly preserved, can only be presumed.

Admittedly, the hunting and fighting weapons are mutually interchangeable, and commentators commonly see the shield as a hunting equipment. Even so, the hunter in hunt scenes on Norican and Pannonian funerary stones is very rarely shown with the shield; customarily, he only brandishes a spear.[46] Apart from that, in the funerary context hunting is associative of battle, and not only in terms of iconography but also of symbolism; therefore, it is frequently depicted on soldiers' funerary stones.[47] As a whole, the reliefs on this stele reveal a mixed symbolism: military, administrative (a bunch of scrolls or *stili* and a codex at the left side in the upper register) and elite, be it civilian or military (hunt). The stele from Sveti Petar na Mrežnici (the territory of Andautonia or Siscia), dated the mid 3rd century, is now built in the church façade there (Fig. 10). It features the busts of two men flanking a woman, the former two wearing the sagum, with no belts shown. Regrettably, the inscription is missing.[48] The last two stelae, both marble and both dated to the mid or 2nd half of the 3rd century, each feature two men wearing the sagum, with no belt depicted. The first one stems from Siscia and holds a depiction of four upper bodies and one bust of a family of five (Fig. 11). It transpires from the epitaph that one of the two men, *Cenius* (the cognomen is not preserved) was a *vir egregius*, that is a man of equestrian status, while the preserved part of the inscription suggests that the other man (*Flavius Tiberianicus*) was also probably a civilian: no mention of a military occupation is attached to his name.[49] The second one is of unknown provenance (Fig. 12), although certainly from northern Croatia.[50] It shows the busts or upper bodies of a family of three: a man, a woman and a child, with both male persons dressed in sagum and lacking the belt. The man, one *Aurelius* (the whole of the epitaph is not accessible), was a legionary tribune, and therefore also an *eques*. Significantly, two knights are on their funerary stones depicted in the same way, but their epitaphs reveal a different attitude towards their social standing. The soldier (Aurelius) namely had his military post recorded, with the social

[46] Cf. S. PALÁGYI. In: ERTEL - PALÁGYI - REDŐ 1999, 138; MARTON 2002, 134; BUSCH 2003, 685-686; PILIPOVIĆ 2006; JILEK - BREEZE 2007, 201; L. NAGY 2007, 151-153; JAMES 2010, 49. One of the rare examples of the shield depicted on a civilian funerary relief, stems from Csákvár (M. NAGY 2007, 55-56, no. 47). Otherwise, the hunt scene is more widespread in funerary art of Noricum and western Pannonia, than in eastern Pannonia. See DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN 1997, 103; UEL 1146, 1456, 4211, 3858, 4400, 4702.

[47] PILIPOVIĆ 2006, 343-344.

[48] HOFFILLER - SARIA 1938, no. 498; MIGOTTI 2013, S 32, pp. 309, 317, Fig. 6.

[49] GREGL - MIGOTTI 2000; UEL 8817. It is a known fact that the knights, although passing through military posts, ultimately cherished a civilian funerary iconography. See HARL 2003, 339.

[50] See footnote 48.

Fig. 13. Ash-chest of a veteran from Siscia, detail, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Author: Tino Lelekoviæ).

Fig. 14. Sarcophagus of a praetorian from Ilok, territory of Sirmium, detail, Museum of Slavonija Osijek (Author: Tino Lelekoviæ).

standing implied but not pointed out, while the civilian (Cenius) gave only his social rank. An ash-chest from Siscia, dated to the mid 3rd century, belonged to a veteran, a former consular beneficiary (*beneficiarius consularis*), shown as a full standing figure together with his wife, and wearing a sagum and a belted tunic with a prominent round buckle (Fig. 13).[51] It should be remembered that although the staff post of the *beneficiarius consularis* was not of a strictly military profile, this man was still an army veteran.[52] The last stone, a sarcophagus featuring frontal standing figures of a cavalry praetorian and his mother in lateral niches by the inscription field, stems from Ilok (*Cuccium?*) (Fig. 14). The soldier is dressed in sagum and a tunic featuring a belt and a prominent round buckle; he carries a spear in his right hand and a sword in the left.[53]

[51] MIGOTTI 2005; UEL 3801.

[52] Active *beneficiarii* are usually depicted as carrying weapons. See FEUGÈRE 1995, 116, fig. 9; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 150-152, passim.

[53] DAUTOVA-RUŠEVLJAN 1983, 26, no. 169. Recently H. GÖRICKE-LUKIĆ (2008, 46) found out that this piece does not stem from Mursa, as previously believed.

Only one of the above stones should be discarded (Fig. 9), for its lack of diagnostic elements of the social statue or occupation of the *sagumati*. From the remainder it appears that 3rd-century soldiers in the part of southern Pannonia comprising the municipal territories of Andautonia, Siscia, Aquae Balissae, Cibalae and Mursa, had themselves preferably depicted on their funerary stones as wearing the sagum and a belted tunic, while weapons, armour and the scroll are optional. By extension, all men depicted as dressed in sagum and a belted tunic, although lacking other insignia, should be considered as probably soldiers.[54] On the other hand, those depicted without the belt can be either soldiers or civilians. On balance, the answer to the question whether soldiers on 3rd-century stelae in Panonnia can be identified only by the sagum should be negative.

[54] As customarily assumed. See OLDENSTEIN 1976, 226-234; COULSTON 1987, 149; UBL 2002, 275; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 11; JAMES 2010, 44-45.

Let us now briefly consider the issue of the civilians. Four men on three stelae (Figs. 8, 11 and 12) do not feature the military belt. Even so, two of them were soldiers (Figs. 8 and 12) and the remaining two (Fig. 11) were civilians, as evidenced by the epitaph. While the occupation and status of one of them (Tiberianicus) remains unknown from the inscription, the other (Cenius) was a *vir egregious*, that is, a knight whose occupation remains unknown, but was probably close to a state or town administration. Here we come once again to the topic of the *echten zivilisten* (true civilians) mentioned by O. Harl and the unspecified civilians referred to by other authors.[55] While, presumably, Harl had in mind people like artisans or the like, other authors remained evasive. Based on the example of Cenius' stele (Fig. 11), it seems that in the 3rd century the civilians dressed in sagum are those of at least a mid-elite class, known as a broad category of *honestiores*, performing some administrative duties, be it municipal or imperial. Some of them might have started their careers in the army, like Cenius, a *vir egregius* from Siscia, to proceed by taking up civilian posts. Arguably, in the 3rd century a funerary stone monument was available mostly to the classes of such civilians and the military. In other words, in the 3rd century a slave would hardly have put up a stone stele for his family, and would even less likely have had him depicted as dressed in sagum, as was the case in the 2nd century.

CONCLUSIONS

On the present evidence, soldiers on 3rd-century stelae in Panonnia cannot be recognized just by the sagum. As for the Croatian part of the province, the 3rd-century soldier appears to be safely identified by only wearing the sagum and the military belt, even if no weapons or armour are present. This, however, does not exclude a picture of a soldier without the belt shown. Therefore, a man wearing the military belt should be a soldier, while one without it can be either a soldier or a civilian. By and large, this is true for the whole of Pannonia. While the evidence for Pannonia as a whole could be circumstantial, that from northern Croatia points to some iconographic regularity. The so-called ring-buckle stelae were all made from local stones, while the two examples featuring soldiers without the belt were both fashioned from Norican marbles and were imported. Therefore, it seems that soldier funerary iconographies of Pannonia had less to do with military rules or attitudes and more with artistic conventions of various workshops and the importation of stones. On the other hand, the preference for the lack of the belt is typical of Noricum, featuring therefore a common standardized funerary iconography of the military on the provincial level. Therefore, although an answer to the basic question of this discussion has been attempted, the reasons for discrepant iconographies in Noricum and Pannonia should be further examined.[56]

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[55] HARL 2003, 342.

[56] Possibly, those commentators who made a case of a civilian character of Noricum as opposed to more strongly militarized Pannonia did not quite miss the point. Cf. HARL 2003, 337-338.

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REPRESENTATIONS OF WEAPONS ON THE ARCH OF THE SERGII IN PULA, THE SERGII'S LAST RESTING PLACE

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Colonia Pola was instituted between 46 and 45 BC as Caesar's colony for the purpose of becoming a stronghold for Roman conquests in the Adriatic area all the way to Greece[1]. After the civil war of 42 BC between the triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus against Caesar's assassins, Brutus and Cassius, *Pola*, as a city loyal to Caesar after in the civil war to Pompeus party, was taken, destroyed and ravaged after Octavian's victory at the battle of Actium in 31 BC. *Lucius Sergius Lepidus*, a military tribune and *aedile* of the *coloniae Polae*, participated in the battle as the commander of the 29th Roman legion[2].

In the course of the 3rd and the 2nd decades BC, the arch of the Sergii family was constructed. It was an inaugural monument, a herald of the economic, political, architectural and artistic flourishing of the Roman city of Pula at the end of the 1st century BC[3]. The arch was envisaged as a Roman triumphal arch and was located at a prominent spot or, more precisely, at the exit and entrance to the city, on the axis of the main street (*decumanus*). It was an attractive city portal, built just on the inside of the city walls which were fortified by external, flanking semi-towers[4]. The arch is the result of a dual kind of promotion, one public (the town's) and the other private (the family's), and it represents a unique urban structure which had a twin function, both decorative and protective[5]. *Salvia Postuma Sergi* commissioned the construction of the arch[6].

With its characteristics and size, the Arch of the Sergii falls into the category of small monumental arches. Its attic is strengthened at both ends and in the middle by bases for the statues of the three Sergii brothers, in whose memory the arch, as a family memorial, was built[7] More precisely, it was added to the attractive town portal which was itself fortified by two semicircular towers[8].

In the light of the rich military background of the members of the Sergii family especially *Lucius Sergius Lepidus, tribunus militum legionis XXIX* (the complete

[1] JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1987, 65-74; DŽIN 1997, 93, n. 1, 3, 4; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 146-147.

[2] MLAKAR 1968, 15; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1985, 61-66; JURKIĆ GIRARDI 2000, 30-41; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 157-158

[3] FISCHER 1996, 58-62; DŽIN 1997, 93.

[4] MLAKAR 1968, 35-36; DŽIN 2001, 104; MATIJAŠIĆ 2001, 91-100.

[5] DŽIN 1991, 14-14; DŽIN 1997, 96;

[6] JURKIĆ GIRARDI 1987, 72.

[7] MLAKAR 1968, 35; DŽIN 1991, 15.

[8] TRAVERSARI 1971, 87-88; DŽIN 1991, 14-15; MATIJAŠIĆ 1995, 43.

text: *L(ucius) Sergius L(uci) f(ilius) Lepidus, aed(ilis), tr(bunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXIX*[9]*), Salvia Postuma Sergi* requested that the entablature and the attic be decorated with representations of weapons. There are 119 examples of weapons depicted on four friezes. The motif of irregularly set weapons has its model and origins in the Hellenistic world[10]. Some weapons are represented more objectively and are more emphasised compared with the relief representations in later periods, where their value is mostly graphic and decorative[11].

The oldest example of a relief representation of weapons is located on the base of the statue dedicated to Aetolia and erected in Delphi[12]. Subsequent examples can be found on the balustrades of *Athena Polias'*[13] temenos in Pergamon, and on the balustrade of the Bouleterion in Miletus[14]. It seems that even the represented weapons are typologically similar to those mentioned, in spite of the fact that there is a time distance between the construction of these monuments. Types of spears and arrows, swords with a straight blade (*gladii*), hexagonal shields with a boss, small Greek shields (*pelta*), two-edged axes and armour, all have their parallels with representations on the Bouleterion in Miletus, while there is also a representation of a sword with a curved blade on the balustrade in Pergamon[15]. Copied from distant examples, the Hellenistic model was applied with iconographic exactness, acquiring nonetheless a different aesthetic function. Namely, the relatively high relief work stands out for its play of light and shade, while the examples from Asia Minor exhibit low relief which gains prominence by being applied to large surfaces and by an even disposition of light[16]. The weapon representations from Pula are set in four fields in the manner stated by G. E. Pons[17] and G. Traversari[18]: Frieze A - south 2,097 cm x 39.5 cm, 45 weapon representations; Frieze B - north 2,060 cm x 39.5 cm, 60 weapon representations; Frieze C - left outside façade, 41.5 cm x 39.5 cm, 7 weapon representations; Frieze D - right outside façade, 7 weapon representations. All the friezes should be observed from a distance of 7.78 m from the level of the Roman road.

An analysis of the weapons on the friezes from Pula leads to the conclusion that all the represented examples served as weapons for combat, both on land and sea, given that the monument was erected to *Lucius Sergius Lepidus* (son of *Lucius*) who was an *aedile* and a military tribune of the 29th Roman legion[19]. This legion is mentioned in antique written sources only at the battle of Actium, in the Ambracian Gulf in Greece, on 2 September 31 BC[20].

- *Aplustrum* - as a bow decoration, it is present in two places (45 and 59) together with trophies as war booty[21].

- *Bows, arrow quivers* - various shapes are represented. Bows are of the *patulus* type, and quivers have lids for protecting the arrows from rain and dust. Ancient peoples used a quiver without a lid. The archers of the Roman army were customarily not Greeks or Romans. They were barbarians who were also auxiliary soldiers. They would enter the Roman army either coming with allies or as mercenaries. The best archers were Cretans, Persians, Syrians, and then, Parthians, Scythians and Ethiopians. In the Roman Army, even from the time of Caesar, there was a difference between foot and horse archers, that is, between *sagittarii* on foot and *sagittarii eques = hippotoxote*[22].

- *Pilum / heavy javelin* - being a long range weapon, it is represented in large numbers. Warring sides attempted to engage in battle from a distance, avoiding losses as much as possible. The Roman army usually started attacks from a distance by hurling javelins, before engaging with short range weapons and in hand-to-hand combat. The importance of javelins was seen in the fact that great thought was put into how they were made, and the shank was so refined that it would stuck in a shield firmly, and would bend upon impact, preventing the *pilum* from being easily removed, thus rendering a soldier incapable of combat. From the times of Caesar, the *pilum* was increasingly improved, taking into account the opponents and their military tactics[23].

- *Belts - cinetorium* leather belts are most often represented with all the additions necessary for carrying weapons[24].

- *Armour* - (*lorica*) protected the body. Pectoral armour can be observed on friezes with representations of military equipment. A special type of armour is the Greek style armour worn by generals and emperors. The representation of this particular armour does not show the usual decorations of imperial armour, but folds of the tunic edge are visible. A *lorica lintea* is also visible, which has been deduced from the observed folds of fabric above and below the waist[25].

- *Helmets* - are represented in relatively large numbers and vary greatly in form; there are those that could be tied under the chin, light ones used by the navy, those with a mouth guard, those with cheek pieces, those with reinforced ear guards, and heavy helmets for difficult weather conditions, as well as one-piece helmets[26].

- *Fasces* - symbol of the lictor - consisted of a bundle of birch rods tied together with a red leather ribbon into a cylinder. A *lictor* carried the fasces in his left hand, setting them on his left shoulder. After the battle, the winners would take the enemies' *lictor* symbols as trophies[27].

- *Armguard* - there were several models of this armour for the arm. Very often it protected the arm all the way to shoulder and represented a part of the defensive equipment[28].

- *Military insignia* - have been used since the most ancient times and were already present with the Greeks in the Trojan War. Military insignia started being used out of the need to make the troops visible from a distance. At the beginning, the Romans used the palm of the hand (maniple). The most common insignia is a flag of different shapes. The official legionary symbol was the legionary eagle with spread wings (*signum legionis*) and it was first made of bronze, and later on

[9] I.I., X/I, 72.

[10] TRAVERSARI 1971, 71-72.

[11] WIEGARD 1908, 80, fig. 89-97; REINACH 1909, 211-215; PICARD 1957; DŽIN 1991, 21.

[12] FLACELIÈRE 1937, 108 seq.

[13] BOHN 1885, 38 seq.; REINACH 1909, 211-215; LÖVY 1928, 5, figg. 13-14; AMY-DUVAL -FORMIGÉ - HATT- Ch. PICARD-G. Ch. PICARD-PIGANIOL 1962, 77, fig. 42.

[14] WIEGARD 1908, 80, figg 89-97, T. XV; LÖVY 1928, 6, figg. 15-20; TRAVERSARI 1971, 75.

[15] WEGNER 1961, 273; TRAVERSARI 1971, 75.

[16] DŽIN 1991, 21.

[17] PONS 1910, 9-25.

[18] TRAVERSARI 1971, 73-75.

[19] MLAKAR 1968, 36.

[20] PONS 1910, 5; DEGRASSI 1971 (in: Traversari 1971, 39-44).

[21] PONS 1910, 10.

[22] PONS 1910, 10-12.

[23] PONS 1910, 12.

[24] PONS 1910, 14, 15.

[25] PONS 1910, 15

[26] PONS 1910, 16.

[27] PONS 1910, 17-18.

of precious metals without additional decorations. The only addition to this symbol might have been a coloured piece of cloth on a stick immediately under the eagle[29].

- *Lituus* - was a crooked wand (*baculum sine nodo aduncum*) used by Roman augurs to mark out a ritual space (*templum*). It was also used to mark out a space in the sky to be observed, and also to set regional divisions. The state could not carry out an undertaking either in times of peace or in times of war without consulting divine will. Military augurs were members of military units as right-hand men of the general, or, more precisely, of the commander, and this was also reflected in the augur's position in a military camp (*praetorium*). Military camps also had a special space for audiences and oblations[30].

- *Military hammer* - was used by peoples from the east, especially the Scythians. It came in various shapes, and, apart from being a military tool, was also used to finish off the enemy. On one side it had a spike, and on the other a blade. It was also used in naval battles for climbing the adversary's ships by being chopped into the side of the vessel[31].

- *Round shields - clipei* - they were usually very large and had a defensive function, although during close combat they could be used as weapons of attack[32].

- *Round shields - parme* - were small shields and were used by the Roman cavalry (*equites* and *velites*). They might have been lined with metal sheets[33].

- *Crescent - shaped shields - pelte* - were common military equipment of the Thracians and the Amazons[34].

- *Elongated shields* - were the usual equipment of the hoplites. *Polybius* mentioned they were 4 feet high[35].

- *Rectangular shields* - during their history, they varied in proportions, although they usually covered the whole body except the head. They are also called the Samnite shield because they were used by Samnite gladiators, and they slightly narrowed towards the lower end[36].

[28] PONS 1910, 18.
[29] PONS 1910, 19-20.
[30] PONS 1910, 20.
[31] PONS 1910, 20.
[32] PONS 1910, 21.
[33] PONS 1910, 22.
[34] PONS 1910, 22.
[35] PONS 1910, 23.
[36] PONS 1910, 24.

- *Military axe* - this frequently appears represented on our monument. Like some already mentioned elements of military equipment, double-edged axes with two semicircular blades (crescent-shaped blade - *bipennis*) were typical of the Amazons and barbarian peoples such as the Scythians and the Thracians. The *dolabra* is a subtype of this kind of axe. It has a long handle, a large semicircular blade and a hook turned upwards. It acquired its name from an inscription from Aquileia *Dolabrarius colleghi fabrum*, and it was a standard piece of sailor's equipment[37]. It proves the presence of S. Lepidus at Actium.

- *Swords, sabres, daggers* and *knives* - are the most numerously represented on the monument of Sergii Arch. The sword *gladius* acquired its functional form after the Punic wars when the Roman army adopted the *gladius hispaniensis* with a double blade and a tip for thrusting. With the development of the cavalry, the *spatha* became a necessary weapon. There are different types of knives, called by different names in written sources: the *machaera*, *copis*, *ensis falcatus* (the blade from the outside, top side), *pugio* and *parazonium* were very frequently used knives, and the *acinaces* was frequently used in eastern Roman parts. South frieze A carries representations of a *gladius*, a *sica*, a dagger, and a knife. North frieze B depicts representations of a sheathed knife and an *ensis falcatus*[38].

Musicians and their *musical instruments* were regular followers of military campaigns. Thus, the Arch of the Sergii carries representations of some types of musical instrument. The most numerous are wind instruments, such as a small, bent *trumpet* which was used to announce gatherings. A variant of this instrument is also frequently observed with pastoral peoples. The military trumpet was made of metal. This wind instrument was commonly used by the inhabitants of southern Italy and Magna Graecia. The *horn* is represented on a small east frieze C as a twisted tube with transversal reinforcements. The sound was produced by regulating exhaled air, and the horn had no holes or valves. The Romans adopted this instrument from as early as the time of the Etruscans. The *tuba*, as an extended wind instrument, yielded long but fragmented tones. This instrument is represented on the Arch of the Sergii in the hands of a winged Victoria with a crown, a messenger of the victory at the battle of Actium[39].

[37] PONS 1910, 25.
[38] PONS 1910, 25-27.
[39] PONS 1910, 28, 29.

In sum, we can observe three groups of musicians on the Arch of the Sergii: *trumpeters*, *hornists* and *tuba* players who formed a *centuria*. They were important because they sounded the attack or the retreat[40].

There are floral motifs, anthropomorphic images and symbols, minutely made and thoughtfully placed on the Arch, and also friezes with representations of military combat equipment. All of the above would not have such a high symbolic value if the Arch, apart from its monumental, triumphal and commemorative function, did not also have a sepulchral purpose schown by Selene[41].

The practical and aesthetic problem of mounting the three statues of the Sergii on the attic of the arch was resolved by the visual as well as practical division of the attic by three protruding bases in the style of Hellenistic theatrical art. Such an attic also had a sepulchral function. The urns of the deceased would thus be stored at the highest, unreachable point, above which the statues would rise. When the attic was examined, it was observed that the attic had remained intact from the moment it was constructed. This indicates the possibility that the remains of the deceased could still be present there and undisturbed. Such a revelation would not come as a surprise in respect of the examples of urns with the remains of the deceased being placed into magnificent public monuments as a token to the everlasting memory of their deeds, especially military campaigns[42]. One such example is Trajan's Column in Rome.

The Arch of the Sergii, as a plastic, colouristic and dynamically unified project of a triumphal, sepulchral and public monument after naval battle, reflects the pro-Augustan spirit of the time when *Colonia Iulia Pola* was rebuilt[43].

The Sergii family is mentioned in Virgil's Aeneid, where the writer mentions Sergestus, Aeneas's friend, in the line: *Sergestusque, domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen*[44]. In any case, regardless of the family's origin, *Salvia Sergi* gave us a monument which offers an inexhaustible source for investigation in all archaeological fields. The monument still guards plenty of mysteries, and it is our duty to safeguard this monument located in the urban core of a dynamic city for future generations[45].

[40] PONS 1910, 28, 29.
[41] TRAVERSARI 1971, 56, 72.
[42] TRAVERSARI 1971, 83-84; DŽIN 1991, 23.
[43] PONS 1910, 30.
[44] VIRG., V, 121, *Aen.*
[45] TRAVERSARI 1971, 100-102, DŽIN 1997, 94-98.

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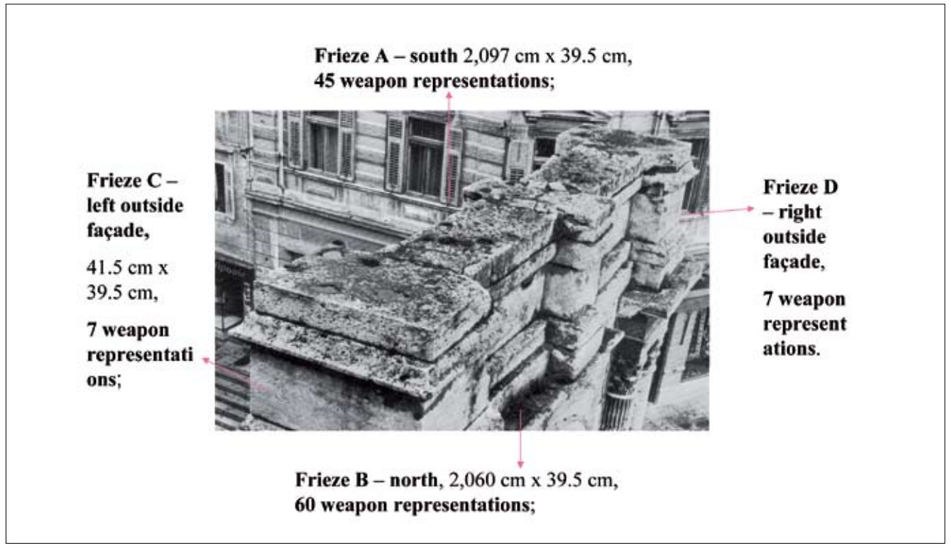

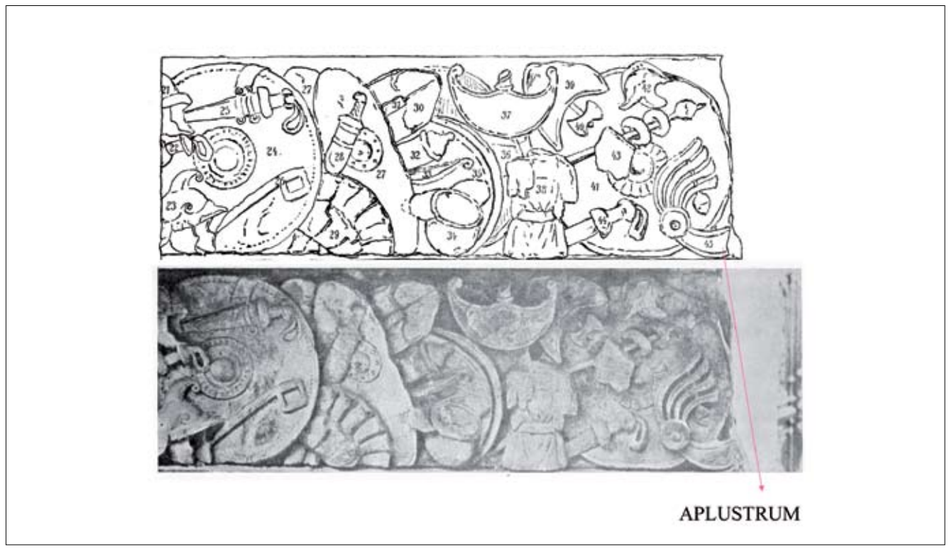

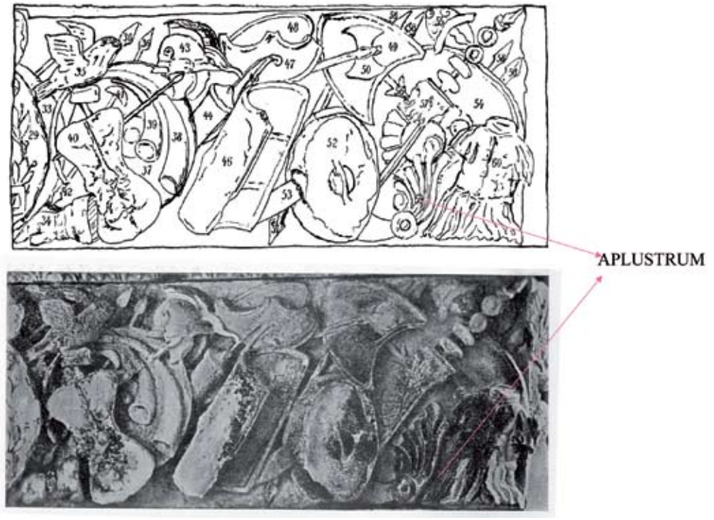
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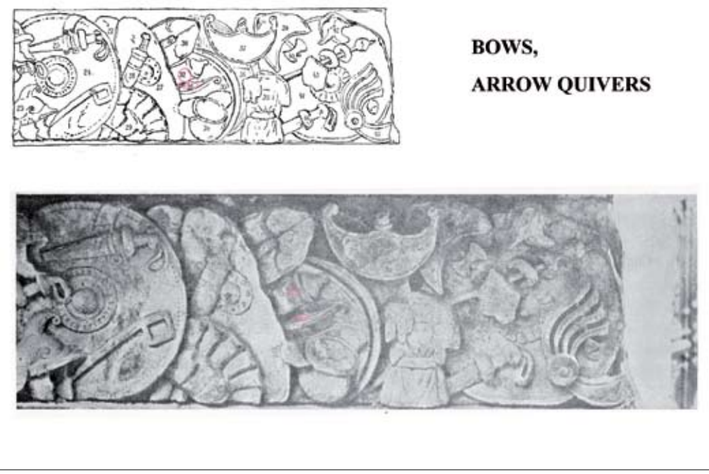
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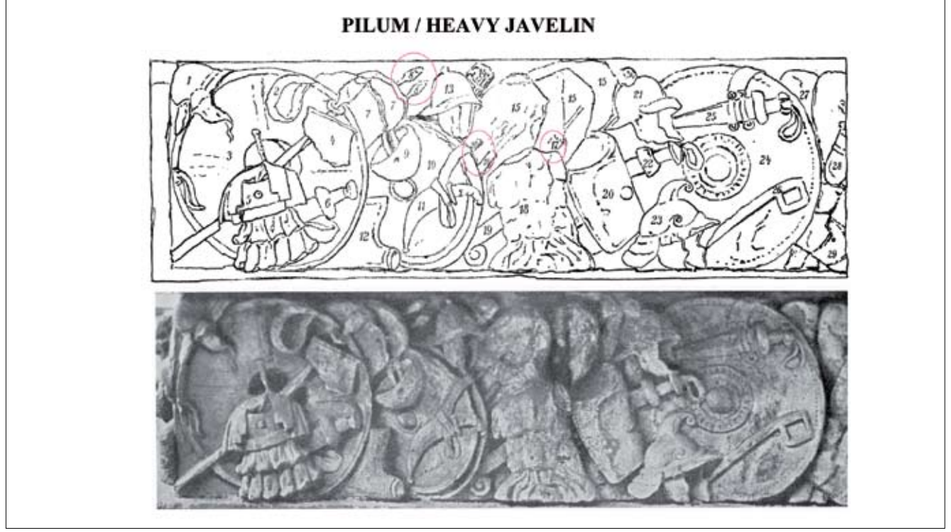
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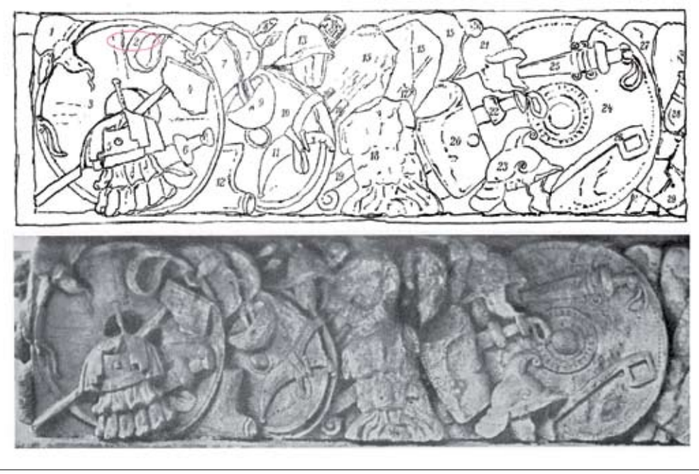
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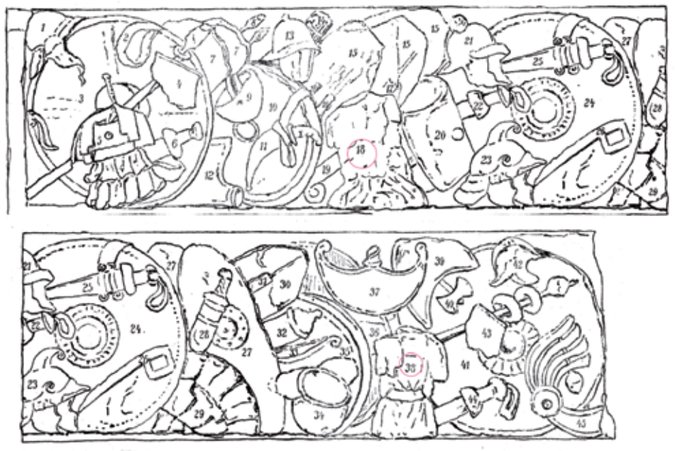

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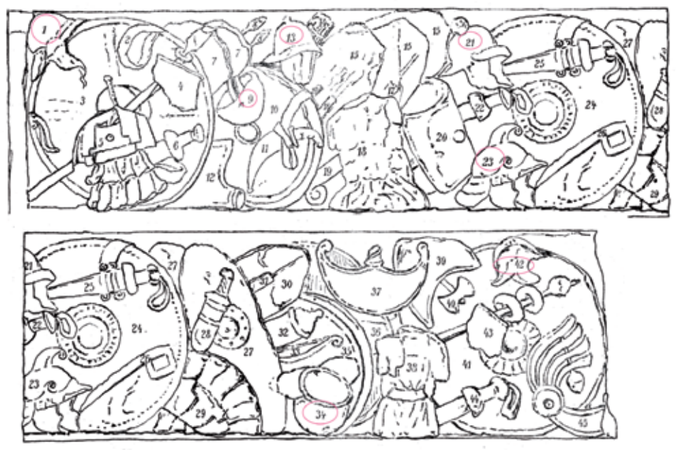

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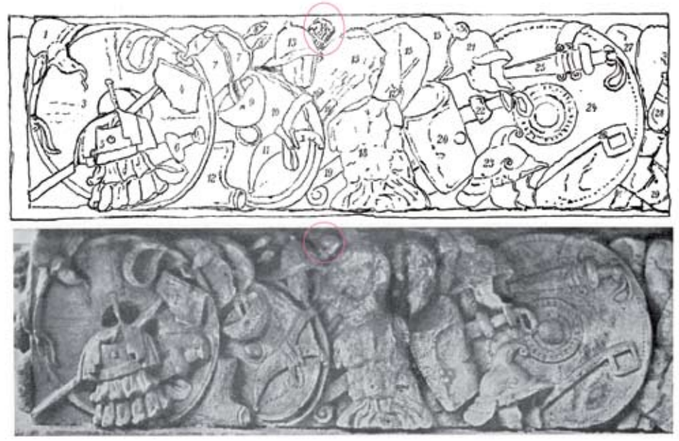
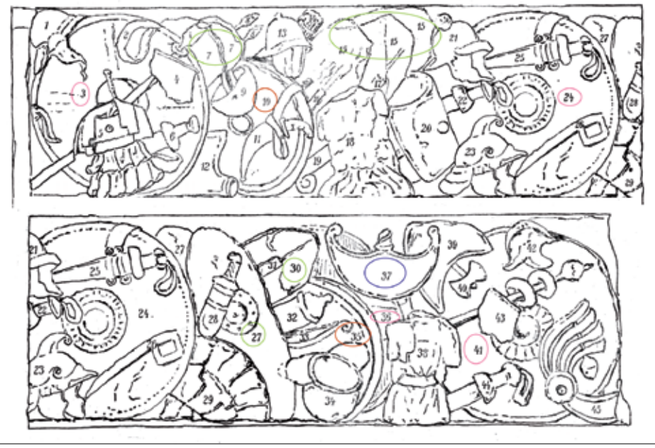


MILITARY INSIGNIA

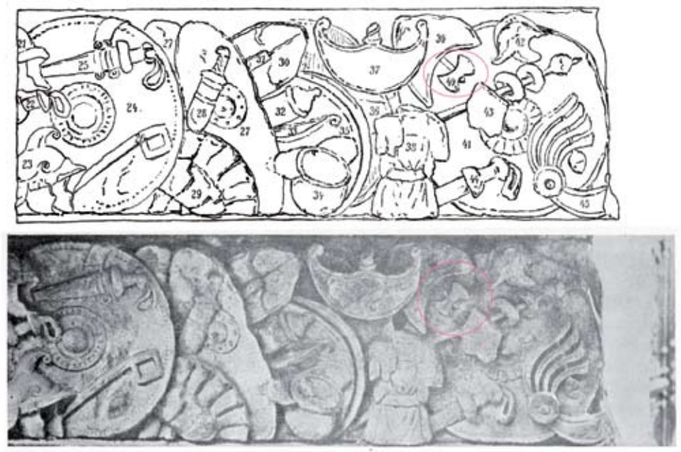
LITUUS

ROUND SHIELDS – *CLIPEI, PARME, PELTE*

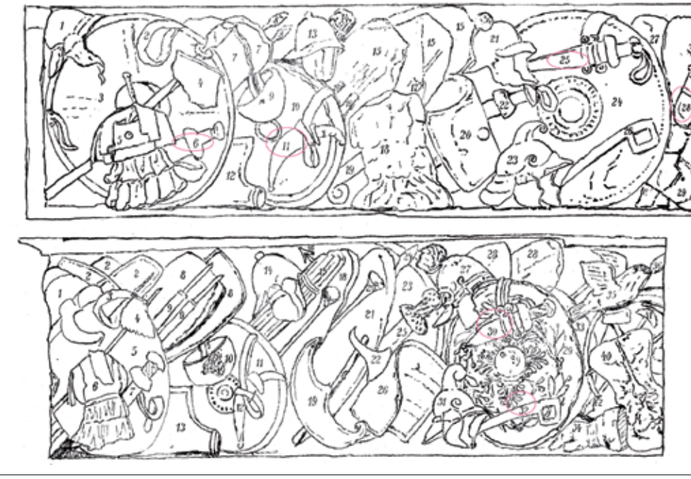
ELONGATED SHIELDS, RECTANGULAR SHIELDS



MILITARY AXE



SWORDS, SABRES, DAGGERS AND KNIVES



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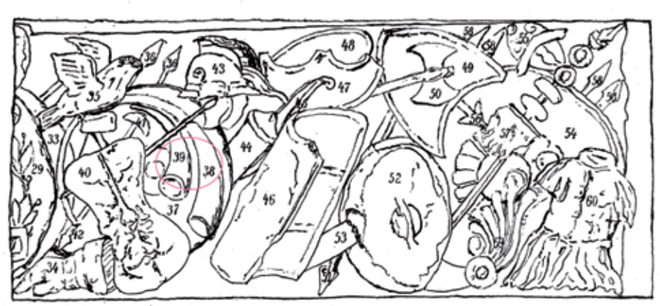

Zrinka Buljević

GLASS PHALERAE IN THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF DALMATIA

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Phalerae are military medals, medallions or *dona militaria* made of metal or glass. The soldiers who received them wore them fastened to a leather braid over their military attire, on their breastplates, which can be seen on the portrayal of an officer wearing a set of seven phalerae on the stela of Quintus Sertorius Festus in Verona, Italy, dated to the mid-first century AD, and the set of nine medallions found in Lauersfort, in Germany.[1] During Caesar's time, it was customary for soldiers to wear medals in battle, and this custom may been continued into the time of the Principate.[2]

Out of the high number of monuments showing military medals, worth highlighting here is the stela of Lucius Mummius from the Cetina Territorial Museum, found between Vojnić and Trilj, dated to the first century AD, in the period prior to 42, when Legio VII, encamped at Tilurium (Gardun near Trilj), still did not bear the honorary title *Claudia pia fidelis*. It features a relief portrayal of military medals, among others nine phalerae at the cross-points of a braided belt made of leather straps. Atop the lattice there is a semi-circular ribbon for hanging the medals around the neck, while behind the ancillary phalerae in the upper row a tie can be seen that was also used to fasten the medals.[3]

B. Ilakovac opened the question of male figures on phalerae of the well-known stela from Burnum (Ivoševci, at Kistanje) held in the Archaeological Museum in Split, drawing a parallel between it and the depictions on glass phalerae.[4] Out of the nine phalerae on this stela, five feature human images, three showing male figures with hair cut short.[5] D. Boschung, however, in a work on Roman glass phalerae with portrait busts, pointed out the phalerae in the lower row and the stela with frontal central bust and two ancillary portraits in profile, and like Abramić he obviously did not view them as portraits.[6] A similar composition can be observed on the stela from Castra Vetera (Xanten), of Marcus Celius, a centurion of Legio XVIII who died in battle against the Germans in Teutoburg Forest the year 9 AD, bearing a portrayal of a Gorgon on the central phalera and the Maenads on the ancillary phalerae.[7] Another stela of a centurion or higher-ranking soldier, also possibly from Burnum, shows, besides other military medals and symbols, nine phalerae on his belt, of which two in the upper row feature portraits, depicting the emperor with the pertinent attributes, which according to Maršić is either Augustus or Tiberius in profile, as opposed to the glass examples on which the images are frontal. This stela is held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.[8]

[1] WHITEHOUSE 1997, 14, cat. no. 21, 22.

[2] GOLDSWORTHY 2003, 54.

[3] LIBRENJAK 2010; TONČINIĆ 2004, cat. no. 42; FADIĆ 1997, 81, 107, cat. no. 8; FADIĆ 1995, 168-175, P. 1.

[4] ABRAMIĆ 1924, 227, Fig. 4, 5; ILAKOVAC 1976, 159.

[5] ILAKOVAC 1976, 159-160, P. I., Fig. 1, 2.

[6] BOSCHUNG 1987, 202, note 48.h.

[7] BOSCHUNG 1987, 202, note 48.a; ILAKOVAC 1976, 159- 160, P. I., Fig. 1, 2.

[8] MARŠIĆ 2010b.

Fig. 1. Phalera from Burnum in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, photograph by Ante Verzotti.

H. Jucker opposed the accepted interpretations of glass medallions as phalerae, medals in a set of most often nine medallions, like those also preserved but made of metal, such as the set from Lauersfort (Vetera, Xanten) or the set from Newstead (Melrose, Scotland), and depicted on stelae, for example that of M. Celius (Bonn), Q. Sertorius Festus (Verona) and others.[9] There are no proven frontal portrait busts on metal phalerae nor in portrayals of phalerae on stelae. This therefore excludes the possibility that the Burnum monument, as well as the one from the Athenian church *Panaghia Gorgoepikoos* have portrait phalerae. These phalerae, like those from Lauersfort, bear images of deities, although they lack the wide trim actually typical of glass portrait phalerae.[10]

There are several indications, based on the complementary nature of the portrayals and construction of metallic and glass medallions, that they served the same purpose.[11] It is interesting, however, that the central phalera on the breast of Quintus Sertorius Festus from the late Claudian era has a similar broad, decorated trimming, a frame like the glass phalera from Vindonissa, which indicates the possibility that glass portrait phalerae were central, while phalerae bearing portrayals of deities and mythological creatures were grouped around them. Thus, judging by the preserved buckles, the glass phalerae were not firmly fastened by a rivet, rather they could be separately removed, which may explain the fact that they are always discovered as individual finds.[12]

Metal phalerae feature portrayals of Medusa and other mythological creatures, deities and animals, while glass phalerae have portraits of members of the Julio-Claudian imperial family. Over seventy glass phalerae are known.[13] The phalerae are, based on the complete preserved examples from Vindonissa and Rheingönheim, inserted into bronze cells coated with sheet metal that were 6-7 cm in diameter, and affixed to the base by a metal loop fastened to the cell. Other methods for fastening and wear are possible, but secondary adaptation or use is similarly possible.[14] All glass phalerae are homogenous at first glance, with a diameter of 3.7 to 4 cm which varies with regard to the work done on the edge after casting; generally they are made of dark blue and, more rarely light blue or green glass, generally on a background layer made of opaque white glass.[15] All confirmed find-sites of phalerae are in the north-west of the Roman Empire, along the Rhine River, in Britannia, and in Pannonia and Dalmatia, Gallia and Italy, at the hubs of military activity in the early imperial period, which confirms the hypothesis that these medallions were conferred to soldiers. They have been found in graves or waste pits, often in the context of the Claudian era, around the year 40, which - with due regard to the possibility of their long-term use - nonetheless indicates dating for these medallions later than the Augustan and early Tiberian periods. Only the phalera find from Livy's house in Prima Porta deviates from the military context.[16] Phalerae are as a rule found at military sites, and the same phalerae were found in several provinces, thus they do not depict the soldiers or officers who wore them, but rather members of the imperial family.[17]

Based on the iconography, D. Boschung identified the portraits using Alföldi's classification.[18] A. Alföldi hypothesized that glass phalerae were conferred in closed groups from the years 19 to 23 AD, given the persons depicted from the circle of Tiberius' heirs.[19] Jucker pointed out the inaccuracy of Alföldi's hypotheses, since glass phalerae have always been discovered individually, which reduces the likelihood that they were conferred in closed wholes, so they do not form a uniformly devised concept. Also, medallions from the era of Emperor Claudius or in later contexts have also been discovered.[20] Boschung classified them into seven types, and they were obtained by casting into ten moulds. He rejected Alföldi's first two types, ascribing the first to Augustus, and the second to Hercules, while retaining his numbering for the remaining types. Three moulds were used for type III, two for type IV, and these two types were chronologically complementary, while a single mould sufficed for the remaining types. Based on this, he concluded that the production of phalerae, in relatively small series, was centralized.[21]

Here we are interested in types VI and IV, to which the Dalmatian phalerae belong. Type VI shows Tiberius as he was depicted from roughly the year 10 BC, and particularly from 4 AD, when he was adopted by Augustus, to 14 AD. The hairstyle and the lines of the face on the glass phalera are comparable to the marble replicas of *adoptive* type.[22] The marble *adoptive* type bust of Tiberius from the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen is from Fayoum in Egypt.[23]

A phalera fragment from the Legio XI camp in Burnum made of azure glass is held in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Fig. 1).[24] Most of the phalera has been preserved; it features a front-facing bust of a beardless man wearing armour, under which the trimming of the lower attire can be seen. The part of the phalera showing the *pteryges* and end of the *paludamentum* on the left shoulder is missing. The nose is broken. The sword belt runs over the breast. The head is slightly turned toward the right. The image has short hair parted roughly above the middle of the left eye, the forehead hair is combed rightward into three locks, with a pincer lock which separates the forehead hair from the hair at the temples, which is combed into

Fig. 2. Phalera from Tilurium, photograph by Ante Verzotti.

locks turned toward the face with another small pincer, while it is combed downward on the left side. The face is characterized by a broad forehead, gently withdrawn in the middle, and almost horizontal, slightly arched eyebrows, large eyes with precisely bordered eyelids, a long, bent nose with gentle creases next to the nostrils, a small mouth with corners lightly pressed into full cheeks, with a withdrawn lower lip, and a narrow slightly protruding chin.[25]

The Corning Museum of Glass holds such a phalera made of green glass, reportedly from Istanbul. It belongs to Alföldi's type VI, which is ascribed to Tiberius' brother Drusus the Elder, and Tiberius' son Drusus the Younger (15 BC - 23 AD), then to Germanicus' son Nero Julius Caesar (6-31 AD), and in recent times to Emperor Tiberius himself.[26] Ilakovac found an analogy to the Burnum phalera in Switzerland's Vindonissa, with, naturally, a *Vindonissa* type portrait, and he underlined identification of the *Vindonissa* portrait type as Tiberius.[27] Fadić attributed the portrait on the Burnum phalera to the *Vindonissa* type, stressing that some ascribe it to Emperor Tiberius himself.[28] Even Cambj now

[9] BOSCHUNG 1987, 202, Fig. 14, note 47, 48.
[10] BOSCHUNG 1987, 202-203, 48c, note 49: STEINER 1906, 14-22.
[11] BOSCHUNG 1987, 203-204, Fig. 15-17.
[12] BOSCHUNG 1987, 204-205, Fig. 14, note 48e.
[13] WHITEHOUSE 1997, 14, cat. no. 21, 22.
[14] BOSCHUNG 1987, 200-201, Fig. 6-13, cat. no. 36, 40 and 29.
[15] BOSCHUNG 1987, 195-196.
[16] BOSCHUNG 1987, 198-199, map 1, Fig. 5.
[17] BOSCHUNG 1987, 206.
[18] BOSCHUNG 1987, 206-222.
[19] BOSCHUNG 1987, 194: ALFÖLDI 1951, ALFÖLDI 1957.
[20] BOSCHUNG 1987, 195: JUCKER 1975.
[21] BOSCHUNG 1987, 195-196.
[22] BOSCHUNG 1987, 207-209, note 64.
[23] POULSEN 1962, 82-83, P. LXXVI, LXXVII, cat. no. 45, inv. no. 1445.
[24] Inv. no. 3001; dia. 3.75 cm, wid. 0.9 cm, thk. of base 0,13 cm; transparent azure glass over opaque white over dark blue which has a red tone when illuminated, traces of a metal buckle.
[25] BOSCHUNG 1987, 232.
[26] WHITEHOUSE 1997, 26-27, cat. no. 21; BOSCHUNG 1987, 208, note 62, cat. no. 1, Fig. 45-46.
[27] ILAKOVAC 1976, 162, note 27; Burnum: BOSCHUNG 1987, cat. no. 4, Fig. 48; Vindonissa: BOSCHUNG 1987, cat. no. 2, Fig. 6, 47.
[28] FADIĆ 2008, 167; FADIĆ 1998, 91, cat. no. 221.

Fig. 3. Phalera in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, photograph by Ante Verzotti.

maintains that the portrait on the Burnum phalera is Tiberius and not Drusus, and that the phalera was a means to disseminate the imperial propaganda.[29] Boschung, as stated, identified it as the *princeps* Tiberius,[30] which is definitely accepted by Maršić.[31]

Type IV according to Boschung depicts Tiberius as emperor[32] wearing armour, with two smaller ancillary figures, on phalerae cast in two moulds, of which the second (2b) is derived from the first (2a), wherein the ears on the central figure are flat, the face narrower, and the hair is somewhat altered on the forehead. Based on Alföldi, the central figure is most often interpreted as Drusus II with the twins born at the end of 19 AD. However, based on a thorough-going analysis, Boschung asserted that the portraits on the medallions cannot be iconographically tied to portraits of Drusus the Younger, nor, for that matter, to those of Drusus the Elder or Germanicus.[33] He maintained that the most likely model for the portrayal of the central figure on the glass medallion is the Tiberius Copenhagen 624 type,[34] which also corresponds to the arrangement of the hair with a part above the middle of the right eye, from which most of the forehead locks are combed left, where pincers are formed, behind which the hair on the temple is smoothed downward, as opposed to the right temple, on which a sickle-shaped lock is turned toward the face, and the physionomy is of a broad full face, with wide forehead, large eyes with visibly rendered eyelids and almost horizontal, gently curved eyebrows, a prominent nose, a mouth with lightly pinched corners and a full, withdrawn lower lip and a striking round chin. Nasolabial creases are lacking on glass portraits, and they were often also muted on marble replicas. The central image on the medallion from mould 2b retains the pincers above the left eye, but the part is more rightward between the forehead hair and the hair on the temples, so that the small pincers disappear on the right side. The same deviation is exhibited by a series of replicas of Copenhagen type 624.[35]

Boschung associated the central figure on the type IV glass phalerae with a series of replicas of the Tiberius Copenhagen 624 type, which after 14 AD was applied to portrayals of the new emperor.[36] The princes stand behind the emperor's shoulders, most likely Germanicus and Drusus the younger, whose portraits are often placed together with Tiberius Copenhagen 624 type portraits. To the right of the emperor is his step-son Germanicus, with hair parted down the middle so that it frames the forehead, while to his left is a smaller portrayal of Drusus the Younger with locks of hair combed to the left, and pincers over the middle of the forehead. It is possible that these are also busts in armour.[37] The portraits are rendered in a three-quarter profile toward the emperor, with round faces and full cheeks. Germanicus died in 19 AD, while Drusus died in 23 AD.[38]

The newly-discovered Trilj phalera is type IV (2b). It was in Tilurium - the Legio VII camp - in 2009 that a fragment of a phalera made of dark blue glass was found (Fig. 2).[39] In the centre there is a frontal bust of a beardless man, behind whose left shoulder there is a smaller head turned toward the central figure. The parts of the phalera with the other head behind the right shoulder and the armour are missing. The man has short hair parted to the right between the forehead locks and the temple hair, and the locks of the forehead hair are generally combed to the left to the pincer above the left eye, while to the left, on the temple, the hair is combed downward. The face is characterized by a broad sloped forehead, linearly emphasized eyebrows, large roundish eyes with precisely drawn eyelids, a long, slightly bent nose with wide nostrils, a small full mouth with corners lightly pressed into the cheeks and a slightly withdrawn lower lip and a round somewhat protruding chin. The small head behind the left shoulder has hair with locks combed leftward and pincers in the middle of the forehead.[40] Most glass phalerae are from sites in the Roman Empire's north-west provinces, particularly along the Rhine. The Corning Museum of Glass holds such a phalera made of azure glass procured in Lebanon, so it may be from Syria.[41]

The left part of a phalera made of dark blue glass bearing a portrait of a boy (Fig. 3),[42] is held in the Archaeological Collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Sinj, which may be from the military camp in Trilj. Given the aforementioned aspects of type IV, this portrait may be attributed to Germanicus, while Tiberius was portrayed in the centre and Drusus the Younger to his left. Fadić ascribed the preserved fragment of the Sinj phalera to the *Poetovio* type - with a portrait of a man and three children's portraits, two at the man's shoulders, one at his breast, and he left open the possibility that two children's heads were depicted on both sides of the central image. In the *Poetovio* group, Alföldi recognized Drusus the Younger, Tiberius' son, in the man, and in the children he saw Drusus' twins Germanicus and Tiberius and his daughter Julia.[43] If this is the case, the phalera may have been issued between 19 AD, when the twins were born, and 23 AD, when Drusus the Younger was poisoned,[44] or in the mid-first century, according to Fadić.[45] Cambj assumed that the central portrait on the Sinj phalera depicted Germanicus or Drusus the Younger, for Germanicus was portrayed with his three sons, and Drusus the Younger with his twins.[46]

Glass phalerae bearing portraits of members of the imperial family emerged over a period not less than thirty years. They are similar to the *imagines*, medallions with articulated frames and a frontal image of the emperor in armour, components of military insignia and medals used to distinguish between military units. The *imagines* were probably direct models for the phalerae with imperial portraits, military medals, a contingency whereby Boschung interpreted their long-term stylistic uniformity.[47] Glass portrait phalerae correspond to the *imagines* military insignia; their production was centralized and they belong to the military honours conferred by the emperor himself. Just as the *imagines* of military insignia expressed loyalty and fealty to the emperor, so too did the *dona militaria* express the bond between the emperor and the legionnaires: the emperor conferred them to the worthy.[48]

Type VI phalerae, bearing a portrayal of Tiberius from the late Augustan period, were used between 4 and 14 AD. This was the time of the Great Illyrian Revolt (6-9 AD) and the Battle of Varus (9 AD) in which Tiberius, Augustus' adopted son, proved himself, after which he led (in 10-13 AD) the legions on the Rhine. In these years of major military activity by Tiberius, from 6 to 13 AD, medallions of type VI were conferred.[49]

Type VI phalera replaced those of type IV based on the model from 14 AD. In the summer of that year, after the death of Augustus, dissatisfied troops on the Rhine and in Pannonia mutinied against Tiberius. His son Drusus the Younger, in Pannonia, and his adopted son Germanicus, in Germany, managed to compel the troops to take an oath to the new emperor. The *dona militaria* was conferred as a pledge for *fides militum*.[50] Type IV showed the ideal image of the imperial family in the 14-16 AD period, when the military standards lost by Varus were regained and the military campaigns were concluded: the central figure is the emperor, while the harmonious brothers are in the background, in line with the propaganda concept of the early Tiberian era. Glass phalerae of this type were found first and foremost in the territory of the Lower Rhine, which was the stronghold of Germanicus in his military campaigns. Boschung assumed that type IV may have been conferred during the wars against the Germans from 14 to 16 AD.[51]

[29] CAMBI 2000, 40, cat. no. 33, 35; CAMBI 1982, 94

[30] BOSCHUNG 1987, cat. no. 4, Fig. 48.

[31] MARŠIĆ 2010a.

[32] BOSCHUNG 1987, 210-213, cat. no. 9-25.

[33] BOSCHUNG 1987, 210-212.

[34] BOSCHUNG 1987, 212; CAMBI 2000, 37, cat. no. 25, P. 22-23; FABBRINI 1966, 849; POULSEN 1962, cat. no. 46, P. LXXVIII-LXXX.

[35] BOSCHUNG 1987, 212-213, 234-235, 242.

[36] BOSCHUNG 1987, 213, note 84; POULSEN 1962, 83-84, P. LXXVIII, LXXX, cat. no. 46, inv. no. 1750.

[37] BOSCHUNG 1987, 213, 229, 234-235, note 85, 147.

[38] FABBRINI 1966, 848.

[39] GAR 09, PN4, dia. 3.7cm, thk. 1.07 cm, thk. of base 0.3 cm; transparent dark azure over opaque white over transparent glass with greenish hues.

[40] BOSCHUNG 1987, 234-235, 242.

[41] WHITEHOUSE 1997, 27, cat. no. 22; BOSCHUNG 1987, cat. no. 23.

[42] Inv. no. 1036; thk. 0.6 cm, thk. of base 0.4 cm; opaque light blue over transparent azure glass.

[43] FADIĆ 2008, 166, 167, cat. no. 48; FADIĆ 1998, 91, cat. no. 221; ILAKOVAC 1976, 162.

[44] ILAKOVAC 1976, 162; BOSCHUNG 1987, 194: ALFÖLDI 1951, ALFÖLDI 1957.

[45] FADIĆ 2008, 167, cat. no. 48; FADIĆ 1998, 91, cat. no. 221.

[46] CAMBI 2000, 40, note. 7, 242.

[47] BOSCHUNG 1987, 223-224, 226, Fig. 42, 43.

[48] BOSCHUNG 1987, 227.

[49] BOSCHUNG 1987, 228.

[50] BOSCHUNG 1987, 228.

[51] BOSCHUNG 1987, 229.

J. Toynbee assumed that medallions of this type were issued in 23 or 24 AD, when Emperor Tiberius (who ruled from 14 to 37 AD), grieving over the death of his son Drusus the Younger, turned to the sons of his nephew Germanicus as the only hope to continue the Augustan line.[52] Phalerae featuring the emperors or heirs to the throne emerged, according to Boschung, in the period when they directly participated in military exploits, so they probably controlled the production and distribution or casting and conferral of medals. The wide distribution of phalera finds was caused by the return of the Roman army's infantry to the homeland and the transfer of some of the troops.[53]

Following Boschung's lead, the Burnum phalera was probably conferred to a soldier of Legio XX for services in the revolt of the Delmatae-Pannonians or Bato's Revolt *(Bellum Batonianum*). The focus of the revolt moved from Pannonia in the initial phase in 6 AD to Delmatae territory in its final phase in 9 AD.[54] At the time, *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* was stationed in the camp, arriving in Burnum at around 20 BC from the province of Hispania. To renew the garrisons on the Rhine which suffered due to the defeat of Varus in 9 AD, it was deployed to Germany in 10 AD. This legion's stay in Dalmatia is confirmed by the gravestones of Titus Fufitius from Salona, an unknown veteran from Iadera and the centurion Salvius Phrebranus Baculus from Burnum.[55] Perhaps the phalera was in fact conferred to the latter. Legio XI came to Burnum after the departure of Legio XX.[56] It was precisely Legio XX that was called to fealty by Tiberius, to transform the guilt of mutiny in 14 AD to glory.[57]

In line with Boschung, it may be assumed that the Trilj phalerae were worn by soldiers who had participated in the Germanic wars from 14 to 16 AD. Until, however, written evidence is found that would confirm the transfer to Tilurium, this hypothesis will remain unproven. It is held that Legio VII came to Dalmatia from Macedonia between 6 and 9 AD, during the Delmatae-Pannonian revolt, participating in its suppression. After the revolt it was kept in the province, and its main base was in Tilurium.[58] According to Abramić's hypothesis, Legio VII raised a trophy in its camp in honour of the victory over the rebellious natives, whose revolt it helped to quell.[59] Based on a typological analysis of the trophy, Cambj dated the monument to the late Augustan era, after Tiberius celebrated the triumph over the Pannonians and Delmatae in Rome on 23 October, 12 AD.[60] Afterward there were no military events that could be linked to the conferral of phalerae to members of Legio VII encamped in Tilurium.

After recruitment, local people in Roman units were usually posted to distant regions of the Empire. There are seven known cohorts called *Dalmata*, which served in various parts of the Empire, from Britannia, through Germania to Africa (Mauretania Caesariensis). Recruitment of indigenous inhabitants was the underlying cause of the revolt in 6 AD, when Valerius Messalinus enlisted Daesitiates for the army of Tiberius in Germania.[61] D. Tončinić, reading the Dalmatian inscriptions of Legio VII, asserted that 44% of the soldiers came from Asia Minor, 33% from Italy, 9% from Macedonia, and 2% from Gallia Narbonensis, while the origin of 7% cannot be determined.[62] In Viminacium, in Moesia Superior, where the legion arrived at around the year 60, there is a gravestone recording a veteran of Legio VII recruited in Salona,[63] but this monument is without significance in this context. Therefore, given the location and character of the find and the find-site, there is no possibility of the return of legionnaires to their homeland, where they could take their phalerae with them. This could only be the case if the phalerae from the Sinj museum is not directly from Tilurium, but rather from Aequum, where a veteran of Legio VII who had brought his phalera with him may have settled. Three gravestones of Legio VII *C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)* have been discovered in Aequum, which confirms that *Collonia Claudia Aequum* (Čitluk, near Sinj) was settled by veterans upon its establishment.[64]

Could the phalerae, as, after all, Cambi assumed for the Sinj examples, have been conferred to troops during the time when Drusus was in Dalmatia? According to Tacitus, Drusus was dispatched to Illyricum, to Dalmatia, in 17 AD, to become accustomed to military service and to gain the favour of the troops.[65] It was in Dalmatia that he was seen by his brother Germanicus on his journey to Nicopolis.[66] Thereafter he went to Germania to aid his brother Germanicus in warfare against the Germanic tribes,[67] and after the unexpected death of Germanicus in 19 AD and his funeral in Rome, he returned to the Illyrian armies.[68] In Issa he built and expanded a training ground, to which an inscription in Vis testifies (now held in the Archaeological Museum in Split).[69] Since he is described as *consul designatum iterum* for the year 20 in this inscription, it is believed that Drusus was here in 19-20 AD, that is, after the funeral of his brother and the assumption of his second consulate in May of 20.[70] Drusus probably spent most of his time in Dalmatia in Tilurium and Burnum, the bases of Legio VII and XI, and he probably toured other parts of the province, including Issa, where he may have met with Germanicus. Besides the Vis inscription, his imperial sculpture found in Osor also testifies to this, which according to N. Cambi was installed precisely at the time when Drusus himself was in Dalmatia.[71] These monuments, together with the glass phalerae showing Tiberius, Germanicus, and Drusus, are testimony to the propaganda of the emperor's son and his possible heir.[72]

It is my belief that Tiberius, then the heir to the throne who had proven himself in that war, conferred the phalera from Burnum to a worthy soldier and his son Drusus, then the heir to the throne, who was in Dalmatia, with some interruptions, from 17 to 20 AD, conferred phalerae to worthy, loyal soldiers. It is possible that glass phalerae of type IV were conferred to the soldiers by Germanicus in Germany, and later to soldiers by Drusus in Dalmatia. Possible testimony to support this hypothesis lies in the fact that the Tilurium phalera was made from a later mould.

[52] WHITEHOUSE 1997, 27, cat. no. 22.
[53] BOSCHUNG 1987, 231.
[54] CAMBI et al. 2007, 15; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 209.
[55] CAMBI et al. 2007, 13, 14.
[56] CAMBI et al. 2006, 5; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 214, 215.
[57] Tac., Ann., 1, 51.
[58] TONČINIĆ 2004, 8, note 9, 210, note 386; ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 268; ZANINOVIĆ 1996c, 283-284.
[59] CAMBI 1984, 77, 81.
[60] CAMBI 1984, 84- 86; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 212.
[61] ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 217.
[62] TONČINIĆ 2004, 208.
[63] TONČINIĆ 2004, 147; WILKES 1969, 467; BULIĆ 231, 243, no. 650; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 214, 215.
[64] TONČINIĆ 2004, 178, note 207; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 215; ZANINOVIĆ 1996c, 288.
[65] Tac., Ann., 2, 44.
[66] Tac., Ann., 2, 53.
[67] Tac., Ann., 2, 64.
[68] Tac., Ann., 3, 7.
[69] RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1952, 42: DRVSVS CAESAR Ti. aug. f. divi/ AVGVSTI NEPOS COS DEsign. iterum/ PONTIFEX AVGVR CAMPum dedit/ PVBLIO DOLABELLA LEG PRO praetore.
[70] Tac., Ann., 3, 19; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1952, 41-49.
[71] CAMBI 2000, 39; CAMBI 1998, 46; placed in 17-18 or 19-20 AD.
[72] JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2010.

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FIRST-CENTURY MILITARY GEAR FROM SALONA

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Ancient Salona (Map 1) was situated next to modern-day Solin in the immediate vicinity of Split (Map 2). It had been organized as a colony (*colonia Martia Julia Salona*) during Caesar's time,[1] and after the Augustan reform of the Empire it became the principal seat of the imperial province of Dalmatia. The first historical mention of Salona is associated with military conquests, in 119 BC, when the Roman military leader Lucius Caecilius Metellus wintered in Salona during his campaign against the Illyrian tribes, remaining there until 117 BC (*App. Illyr., XI*).[2] Salona probably only became a permanent Roman possession in the 70s BC. From 78 to 76 BC, the proconsul Gaius Cosconius once more conquered Salona, which in the meantime had fallen into the hands of the Illyrian tribe - Delmatae. Thereafter Italic settlers began to move into Salona. It was a stronghold of the Roman army for its more or less successful raids against the Illyrian Delmatae tribe, until the latter's final subjugation after the Roman victory in the war from 6 to 9 AD, better known as the Great Illyrian (Pannonian) Revolt.[3] After this the province was pacified, and in Salona's hinterland, roughly thirty kilometres north of it, the Roman legionary camp Tilurium (Gardun) was established.[4] One more legionary camp (Burnum) was also established in Dalmatian territory,[5] as well as several castles (*castra*) in which auxiliary units were posted.[6] Soon afterward, veteran settlements were also established in Dalmatia.[7] Besides written sources,[8] epigraphic monuments also testify to the military presence in Salona during the Roman era. Numerous preserved military inscriptions, generally sepulchral in character, serve as a source to study their origins, social status, and the duties they performed in the provincial capital,[9] either as members of military detachments in Salona or as officials in the administration of the city and province in the consul's office,[10] to which they were assigned from their units.[11]

[1] SUIĆ 2003, 63; WILKES 2002, 90; SUIĆ 1991, 84- 85; WILKES 1969, 221.

[2] IVANIŠEVIĆ 2002, 43.

[3] ZANINOVIĆ 2010, 16-18.

[4] SANADER - TONČINIĆ 2010; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 284, 285.

[5] MILETIĆ 2010; CAMBI et al. 2007; ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 272 - 274.

[6] SANADER 2002; SANADER 2008, 80, 81.

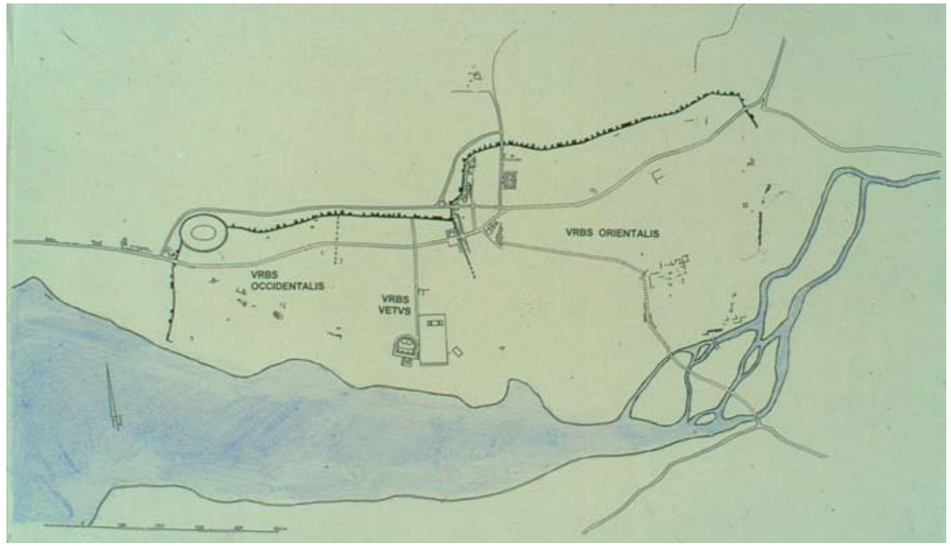
[7] WILKES 1969, 107-114.

[8] For an exhaustive overview of sources on ancient Salona's history, see IVANIŠEVIĆ, 2002.

[9] WILKES 2002, 92-94.

[10] WILKES 1969, 10.

[11] ZANINOVIĆ 2007; WILKES 1969, 120-127.



Map. 1. The plan of ancient Salona

The discovery of several grave stelae in the city's eastern necropolis,[12] has led to the hypothesis[13] on the existence of an occupational cemetery in which soldiers on active duty were interred. According to all previous finds, these were the members of Legio VII who were detached to Salona to perform public works or to participate in provincial administration in the consul's office. After the departure of Legio VII from the province of Dalmatia,[14] interments of the members of smaller units probably continued, as shown by the find of the grave altar of Titus Flavius Lucilius, a centurian of *cohors VIII voluntariorum*, dated to the second century.[15] The existence of one or more sections for the members of Legio VII may be assumed in the northern necropolis, which yielded the highest number of military grave inscriptions.[16]

Over and above written sources,[17] and inscriptions on stone monuments[18] and military diplomas,[19] the Roman presence in Salona throughout the entire Roman era is also demonstrated by the military gear found in the city's territory. In earlier works, much more attention was dedicated to stone monuments, while the military gear from Salona has only been published in a few works.[20] In the case of military material, there is

[12] All monuments are held in the Archeological Museum in Split. The inscription on the stela of Gaius Asurius (inv. no. AMS-A 1424) mentions Legio VII without its honorary title, which was assigned after the suppression of Scribonian conspiracy in 42 AD, so the stela should be dated to the time prior to that year. It was found in 1888 at the Zgon site on land belonging to Ante Pletikošić-Suđa, not far from the *Porta Andetria*. It was probably found in the eastern Salona necropolis; Tončinić 2011, 27, cat. no. 5. The stela of Quintus Valerius (AMS-40499), found at Bilankuša, Tončinić 2011, 91, cat. no. 59, was dated in the same fashion, while on the stela of Quintus Metius Valens (AMS-38403), Legio VII bears the honorary title *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)*, so it should be dated to the period following 42 AD; Tončinić 2011, 69, cat. no. 41. The altar of Marcus Titius, a soldier of Legio VII (AMS-A 4407) has also been dated post-42 AD; it was discovered in secondary use near the find-site of the other three stelae; Tončinić 2011, 85, cat. no. 56.

[13] CAMBI 1986, 80-84; MILETIĆ 1992, 33, 34.

[14] The departure of Legio VII is dated by most scholars to the mid-first century. On this problem with a list of earlier literature, see SANADER - TONČINIĆ 2010, 46, notes 54-58, Tončinić 2011, 11-15.

[15] JELIČIĆ - RADONIĆ 2006.

[16] MILETIĆ 1990, 179.

[17] IVANIŠEVIĆ 2002.

[18] BETZ 1938; WILKES 1969, 105-152; ALFÖLDY 1962; MATIJEVIĆ 2009; TONČINIĆ 2011.

[19] Both are diplomas from the Flavian era (CIL 16, 14 and CIL 16, 38), ILKIĆ 2010, 269.

[20] KLIŠKIĆ 2002, 516-538; VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2006; IVČEVIĆ 2008, 2009.

Map. 2. Ancient Salona was the capital of the province of Dalmatia. The Roman military camp Tilurium (Gardun) was established in Salona's hinterland.

generally no preserved data on the archaeological context in which it was discovered, and normally the only information known is that the artefact was found in the Salona area. The questions of whether the gear was in military use (by active soldiers on duty in Salona), in social use (components of gear, most often belts, retained as status symbols after completion of military service) or whether they played some other role (e.g. votive offering) remain unanswered. These data have been irretrievably lost.

It is also difficult to draw any conclusions on production and workshops in Salona and its environs based on the materials found and the current level of research.

There are hypotheses on the existence of a workshop with a casting kiln in the area between the forum and curia, based on the remains of iron slag found in Salona in research conducted from 1969 to 1972,[21] and the data from the *Notitia Dignitatum* which pertains to the period from the end of the fourth and early fifth centuries, which mention the administrator of the imperial armoury (*magister officiorum Salonitana armorum*).[22] A metallurgy workshop certainly existed in Salona, and part of its output probably went to meet military needs, although there was a military camp in the vicinity at which production of at least some of the needs of soldiers may have proceeded. Whether only luxury exponents were produced and how production of military gear was organized remain open questions at this point.

WEAPONS

The weapons found in the territory of Salona are few in number. There are only a few items: a pyramidal javelin head, a javelin head with inscription, a foliate arrowhead, and lead slingshot projectiles.[23]

The iron pyramidal javelin head[24] with rectangular cross-section and shaft socket cannot, without its find context, be dated any more precisely than the imperial period. Such heads (extended, as opposed to Republic-era heads which were shorter and more compact) were used from the end of the first to the fourth centuries.[25] The Salona example, based on its shape, corresponds to the pyramidal projectile heads with shaft sockets which are often found at Roman military sites,[26] but it is possible that it also served as a javelin head. Since the discovery circumstances are not known, it is possible to define this item's purpose solely on the basis of the assumption that javelin heads were lighter than ballistic projectiles.

[21] CLAIRMONT - GONZENBACH 1975, 59-63.

[22] Notitia Dignitatum, 1876, IX, 22.

[23] The weapons, like other components of military gear from Salona, have been published in the more recent literature, and here they are not presented in catalogue fashion, see note 20.

[24] The javelin head was published in: KLIŠKIĆ 2002, 522-524, P. VI, 5.

[25] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 88-90, 168, 169.

[26] Similar examples can often be found at Roman sites. In Croatia's territory, the most similar are the finds from Trilj (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 56, 57, cat. no. 2, 3) and Sisak (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 170, 171, P. 21, 22), while those from Burnum differ somewhat and by all accounts the socketed javelin head has an earlier date than the Salona example. For analogous finds outside of Croatia, see: KLIŠKIĆ 2002, 522-524, notes 351-366.

The javelin head is roughly the same length as the socket, which indicates the imperial era, and its weight is 16.2 g, which should support opinion that it was used as a javelin head and not as a catapult projectile (for 25-30 g is the threshold weight for distinguishing javelin heads from ballistic projectile tips).[27] On the other hand, the diameter of the socket is 1.4 cm. This deviates from the average diameters of javelin heads (0.9 cm) and corresponds to some bolt heads.

Since they were used only by legionary units, the navy and praetorians, they are normally dated on the basis of historical circumstances, i.e., the time in which such units were posted at a given site. Legion vexillations, and probably the navy at various times, were stationed in Salona, and the city was also the scene of combat, particularly in the earlier centuries. There were many situations in which these weapons could have remained in Salona, and any attempt at more precise dating based on historical circumstances is pure conjecture.

A flat-bladed, socketed spearhead[28] (its shape renders chronological determination difficult) has an interesting decoration on both sides. Since there are no detailed circumstances surrounding its discovery, it cannot be dated, for not even the decoration on the spearhead allows for dating (on one side there is a serpentine decoration or inverted letter S, while on the other the decoration consists of upright lines with horizontal dashes at the ends and in the middle). Incrustation as a decorating technique was applied to weapons even in later periods, until the High Middle Ages, and the motif itself, for which no analogies have been found, also cannot be restricted to any specific time. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that it had some symbolic role given the quality of the decorations on it, but neither the motif nor the shape confirms this.

Flat-bladed arrowheads[29] are type 5 according to J. Coulston's typology,[30] and flat-bladed socketed arrowheads are dated throughout the period of the Empire, so they cannot be typologically dated precisely. The Romans had incorporated archers into their troops already during the Republican era, while during the early imperial period specialized archery units were formed. However, the finds of archery components are not linked exclusively to the presence of specialized archery troops, as recorded in Salona, for many troops

[27] BAATZ 1966, 205, 206.

[28] Published: KLIŠKIĆ 2002, 222, P. VI.1.

[29] Published: KLIŠKIĆ 2002, 222, P. VI.4.

[30] COULSTON 1985, 264-266.

were equipped with archery weapons although they were not officially archery units. Given the military presence in Salona[31] and the numerous finds of archery gear throughout the Empire,[32] such finds could only be expected in Salona.

Lead projectiles[33] are a customary find at Roman-era sites, and slingshots were a customary component of Roman military gear. The two Salona examples belong to different types according to Vollig.[34] One projectile may be type Ic (for which an ovoid shape with one tapered and one blunt tip is characteristic), and dated from the second century BC to the second century AD. The other example belongs to type IIb, with a lightly biconical body, and it has been dated from the latter half of the second century BC to the latter half of the second century AD.

There are two basic types of sword hilts that were made of bone or wood, one with slots for the fingers, and the other, like the Salona example, without slots, with rounded cross-section and decorated with engraved lines.[35] The Mainz-type bone sword hilt from Salona (cat. no. 1., P. 1. 1) may be dated to the time in which this sword type was in use, i.e., from the end of the first century BC to the Flavian era,[36] or simply the first century.[37]

MILITARY GEAR

A "D-shaped" belt buckle, a tang for such a buckle, two buckles with studs, a belt mount, and rectangular and circular mounts from a military apron are components of first-century military gear.

The recently published belt buckles with pelta-shaped frames have been approximately dated to the first century based on numerous finds in the territory of the Roman Empire.[38] The buckle[39] with prominent internal edge on the frame arch ending in spirals on both sides, has been dated to the first half of the first century.[40] It belongs to Grew and Griffiths type D,[41] like the buckle[42] with a different cross-section on the arch, albeit very similar to the preceding example in other elements. Two buckles[43] belong to Grew and Griffiths type B,[44] while group E[45] encompasses another buckle.[46] Buckles of this type have been found throughout the territory of the Roman Empire,[47] which are mutually similar in terms of basic features, but with differences in details, which renders difficult a precise classification into types. Thus, the Salona buckles in their basic features correspond with the typology which Francis Grew and Nick Griffiths developed for the territory of Britannia, but they differ particularly in the arch cross-section and decoration. The preserved tang (cat. no. 2, P. 1. 2) has a shape characteristic of this type of buckle. Almost identical belt buckles of different variants have been found in the nearby camp of Tilurium,[48] and somewhat farther north in the Burnum camp.[49] The mount (cat. no. 3, P. 1. 3) adorned with engraved, niellated motifs of laurel branches and circlets belongs to this buckle type. Belt mounts in the first century were often adorned by niello and coated with tin, and the motifs on them were quite diverse, from geometric and vegetable to figural.[50] In the typology compiled for Britannia, mounts are divided into two basic types given their shape and manner of decoration.[51] The Salona example, based on its features, corresponds to type A, which includes rectangular mounts with flat polished surfaces, often adorned with punched dots, engraving and niello. Mounts adorned in the same fashion were found in various territories of the Roman Empire, either as buckle or belt mounts.[52] As to the production

[31] WILKES 2002, 92-94.

[32] For archery equipment finds, see: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 55, notes 290, while for archery finds analagous to these, see KLIŠKIĆ 2002, 528, notes 404-408.

[33] Publlished: KLIŠKIĆ 2002, 222, P. VI. 2,3.

[34] VÖLLING 1990, 34.

[35] OLDENSTEIN 1977, 89-91.

[36] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 78; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 23; FINGERLIN 1972, 226, Fig. 13. 12; BEHRENS 1912, 108, Fig. 20. 1.

[37] GOSTENČNIK 2005, 200.

[38] OLDENSTEIN 1977, 212, P. 74. 971- 974; DEIMEL 1987, 88, P. 74. 6,7; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 107, 108; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 34, P. 43. 1138- 1163, P. 44. 1164-1209; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 40, 41, P. 16, P. 17, 293-309; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 87, P. 35. 202, 205.

[39] Published: VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2006, 164, Fig.1.

[40] FRANZIUS 1999, Fig. 14. 10, 11.

[41] GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, 49, Fig. 15. 140, 142.

[42] Published: VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2006, 164, Fig. 2.

[43] Published: VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2006, 164, Fig. 3, 4.

[44] GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, 49, Fig. 14. 109, 110.

[45] GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, 49, Fig. 15. 152-154.

[46] Published: VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2006, 164, Fig. 5.

[47] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 221, 233, P. 2, 6; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 32-34, P. 43. 1138-1163, P. 44. 1164-1182; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991: 66, 67, P. XXVI, 365; NEDVED 1981: 180, Fig. 8. 316; SAGADIN 1979, 312, 313, P. 9. 15; OLDENSTEIN 1976, 211, 212, P. 74. 971; PETRU 1972, P. XCIII. 26; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 14, 20, 21; BEHRENS 1918, 28, Fig. 8. 1, 2; BEHRENS 1912, 87, Fig. 3. 15.

[48] IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 1-5; luxury silver-plated variant found in research in 2000, see: ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 2.6.

[49] ŠEPAROVIĆ - URODA 2009, 43, cat. no. 55.

[50] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 107.

[51] GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, 49.

[52] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 108; GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, 61-65, Fig. 5-8; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 19. 359; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 38-40.

and distribution of these buckles, it may be said that they were produced in a number of different workshops judging by their wide distribution as well as the mutual differences in types and craftsmanship.

The buckle with stud, which helped to hang a weapon such as a dagger or sword to the belt, dates to the first century. Such finds appear throughout the Roman Empire's territory, and most of them are from the first century, while they were rare in the Flavian era.[53] Two such buckles from Salona have been preserved: one entirely (cat. no. 4, P. 1. 4), but without the mount customarily found on these buckles, while the other is missing its stud (cat. no. 5, P. 1. 5), but based on the preserved portion one may conclude that they were almost identical, differing only slightly in their dimensions. Their decoration is simple, and the section between the stud and mount is triangular, with slightly concave inwardly drawn sides.[54] Given their formation, the only close analogy is from Gardun,[55] and one other simpler example was found in Vindonissa.[56]

Buckles with studs are relatively rare finds, particularly if compared with finds of belt buckles which are much more numerous, even though the opposite situation could be expected given that four such buckles were necessary to hang a dagger and sword. This fact is interpreted by the assumption that studs with loops were also used for the same purpose,[57] and a considerable number of these have been found at Roman military sites.[58] The use of studs with loops has not been entirely clarified. Since they are rather fragile and made of sheeted bronze, they were probably used to hold softer fabrics. There are a number of hypotheses concerning their purpose, but not one has been definitively proven.

Besides views that they were used to fasten the upper portions of clothing or as parts of the riding harness, it is also held that they were components of military aprons or belts,[59] to which knife straps or swords with belts were attached.[60] Larger examples were thought to be studs used in the packing of large loads (tents or transport sacks, or to fasten riding harness straps).[61]

[53] GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, 51; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 45, 46. 1239-1270.

[54] MATEŠIĆ 2005, 107, P. 11. 142; IVČEVIĆ 2004, P. 1. 6; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 45. 1212, 1213.

[55] IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 1.2.

[56] DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 45. 1215.

[57] GREW, GRIFITHS 1991, 51.

[58] WILD 1970, 148 ff.

[59] MÜLLER 2002, 43; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 68.

[60] DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 29, Fig. 17c.

[61] WILD 1970, 145.

They are dated to the first century, and they were generally found in the military camps of the pre-Flavian and Flavian times,[62] while by the end of the first century they probably fell out of use.

Among the finds from Salona, the largest number belong to Wild's type VIII, present in both variants (VIIIa with hollow head shaped from hammered sheet bronze and a circular loop, VIIIb with a flat head and circular loop).

The group with single loop and circular convex head (cat. no. 6-11, P. 1. 6-11) belongs to type VIIIa in the typology developed by J.P. Wild.[63] Although Britannia is seen as the territory in which the stud with loop appeared, examples such the Salona pieces are also called the Vindonissa type due to their high presence in that military camp.[64]

Two examples (cat. no. 12, 13, P. 1. 12, 13) belong to type VIIIb, and they have also been dated to the first century, like the studs with double loops (cat. no. 14, P. 1. 14).

The bone examples under catalogue numbers 15, 16 and 17 (P. 1. 15, 16, 17), which were also used in the first century and fell out of use thereafter, are customary finds in military camps of pre-Flavian and Flavian times.[65] Since such finds have also been discovered at civilian sites, their use was not strictly military.[66]

The military apron mounts, two rectangular (cat. no. 18, 19, P. 1. 18, P. 2. 19) and one circular (cat. no. 20, P. 2. 20) are counted among the belt components from the first century. According to the latest thinking, it is believed that the apron did not play a protective role, rather it was decorative, so that during the movement of a large number of soldiers even an sound effect was created when the decorative mounts on the apron straps hit each other, and this, among other things, was supposed to frighten enemies; it may also have been an indication of status or, depending on its shape and decoration, it may have designated a specific unit.[67] There are no preserved images nor coating on one rectangular mount (cat. no. 18), while on the other (cat. no. 19) there are barely visible remains of tin coating. They may be generally dated to the first

[62] WILD 1970, 146.

[63] WILD 1970, 142, 143, Fig. 2.

[64] UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 71. 2064 - 2087; VOIROL 2000, 27; WILD 1970, 143.

[65] DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 71. 2170-2119; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 42. 809; RADMAN- LIVAJA 2004, P. 190-170; WILD 1970, 143.

[66] They belong to Wild type X, WILD 1970, 142, Fig. 2.

[67] BISHOP 1992, 101; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 109, 110.

[68] IVČEVIĆ 2004, P. 1.9; VOIROL 2000, P. 9. 71, 73; UNZ - DE-

century, during which aprons were worn.[68] Judging by the images on grave monuments[69] and the finds at some sites,[70] circular appliqués were most often placed on the straps. The mount under catalogue number 20 has a circular field in its central section bordered by a sculpted rib, within which there was probably a portrait applied in relief as was customary in the latter half of the first century, particularly during the reign of the Flavian dynasty.[71]

ARMOUR

The serpentine chest hooks from a mail armour have been dated to the first, and possibly the early second century at the latest. Although this armour had been in use from the Republican era to Late Antiquity,[72] shoulder straps, meant as protection from downward blows, have been dated to the first century, while as of the early second century they began to be replaced with two breast-plates just below the neck,[73] so that during the second century chest-hooks fell entirely out of use. Thus mail chest-hooks, which are customary finds at military sites dating to the entire first century and the entire Flavian era, are absent from sites of the Antonian era.[74] Normally their tips were shaped like animal heads: a ram or, more often, a serpent, and sometimes they bore inscriptions as well.[75] The two chest hooks from Salona belong to different types. The one under catalogue number 21 (P. 2. 21), which fastened the armour's right shoulder piece, would belong, according to the typology developed by E. Deschler-Erb, to type 2, characterized by a serpentine body with the head of a ram, snake or horned serpent at the tip.[76] On this example the serpentine body is adorned with incisions, while the head is that of a horned serpent. The example from the Tilurium military camp differs in the shape of its head, but it belongs to the same type,[77] while the examples with horned heads can be found in various sites of the Empire.[78]

SCHLER-ERB 1997: 52, P. 69,1984; OLDENSTEIN 1977, 191, 265, P. 59. 743.

[69] BISHOP 1992, 81- 91.

[70] Thus in Sisak, the circular belt strap rivets are far more numerous; RADMAN-LIVAJA,2004, 89.

[71] LIBRENJAK 2010, 83, cat. no. 57; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 89; DESCHLER- ERB 1999, 47.

[72] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 76, 77, notes 423.

[73] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006: Fig. 84.1; FEUGÈRE 2002, 152, Fig. 204.

[74] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 139.

[75] FEUGÈRE 2002, 101; FRANZIUS 1992, 362, Fig. 8.2; WIEGELS 1992, 384, Fig. 1, 387, Fig. 2.

[76] DESCHLER- ERB 1999, 38, note 158.

[77] IVČEVIĆ 2010, 140, P. 1. 3.

[78] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 176, P. 27.131; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 35. 862.

The other example (cat. no. 22, P. 2. 22) has a thicker body and prominent rivets, and it differs somewhat and belongs to type 3 according to the Deschler-Erb typology,[79] while it fastened a mail armour's left shoulder piece.[80]

The hinge buckle (cat. no. 23, P. 2. 23) was used to connect the parts of a Corbridge A and B/C segmented armour,[81] and these are dated within the first century.[82] Since its mount was not preserved, there is no way to more closely classify it typologically, except to say that it may have belonged to type A i or ii according to the Thomas typology,[83] but due to the absence of the other mount, it has been classified as type Ai - indeterminate buckles (typologically). Among the armour parts, the most numerous at archaeological sites are buckles, mounts and tie-hooks (fittings),[84] which were made in several variants and decorated differently. Despite this, it is not possible, for the present at least, to ascertain the chronological development of these variants.[85]

On armour, shoulder-hinges were used to connect the upper shoulder-plates and the breast and shoulder-neck plates of Corbridge segmented armour. The example under catalogue number 24 (P. 2. 24) belongs to Thomas F vi type, for which it is typical of the external side to have three lobes at the top, while at the hinge the plate is cut square.[86] This example has a straight external edge, while most mounts of this type have this portion curved.[87]

RIDING GEAR PARTS

Riding gear was decorated with metal fixtures, not only by giving the functional components of this gear a decorative dimension but also by adding exclusively decorative components, which contributed to the im-

[79] DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 38, P. 15. 269.

[80] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 176, P. 27. 130; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 35. 859, 860, 863; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 96, Fig. 51.5.

[81] BISHOP 2002, 31-46.

[82] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 83; VOIROL 2000, 14; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 67; SAGADIN 1979, 305.

[83] THOMAS 2003, 6.

[84] Since these were the most sensitive parts of an armor, they had to be repaired and replaced frequently; BISHOP 2002, 37.

[85] BISHOP 2002, 39.

[86] THOMAS 2003, 62, tip vi, 78, 79, fig. 51, 52.

[87] Similar to the Salona examples are those from Ivoševci (ŠEPAROVIĆ - URODA 2009, 38, fig. 39); Sisak (RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 180, P. 31); Broxtowa (THOMAS 2003, 78, fig. 51, 4); Rottweil (THOMAS 2003, 78, fig. 51, 37); Gardun (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 3.6); Augsuta Raurica (DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 15.254); Vindonissa (UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 34. 828-830); Longthorpe (FRERE - JOSEPH 1974, 47, 49, Fig. 25, 26. 17-20.

pression created by the rider's appearance. Riding gear depended on the social status of the rider, i.e. his military rank. Classification of a given item as a component of military gear, particularly when the circumstances of its discovery are not known, is aided by numerous similar finds from military camps, portrayals of horsemen on military grave monuments,[88] and descriptions of cavalry in the sources.[89] Based on the portrayals on the monuments, even if the gear on them is simplified or vaguely indicated, it nonetheless is possible to approximate the manner in which pendants were worn, and the social and military status of the bearer. Written sources are important because a great deal of data on military equipment, whether they directly or indirectly describe the methods for production and use of military gear, and through historical descriptions, legal documents, etc.

The riding gear used by the Romans was a combination of Italic and foreign elements, generally Celtic.[90] The sources for studying riding gear are iconographic and archaeological.[91] Its purpose was to fasten the saddle so that the rider could concentrate on combat unburdened. For this purpose the saddle straps were fastened to the horse's body using the leather straps, which had five connections – at the breast, two at the shoulder and two at the flanks.[92] It is precisely these metal components of the fasteners which are the most numerous archaeological finds. Among the Salona examples, the group of functional parts includes the bit cheek piece, junction loop, female strap fastener and strap terminal. Harness pendants and strap mounts are purely decorative elements.

Junction loops are among the most common riding gear finds, which should not be surprising given that each harness had a minimum of fifteen, and often more. The harness was connected with the help of hooks which were fastened to phalerae or connecting rings. The example from Salona (cat. no. 25, P. 2. 25) is closest to Bishop type 5.[93] They are generally dated to the first century, and they were in use in the second century as well.[94] Besides these permanent fasteners, the riding gear also had to have separable fasteners to make it easier to mount and remove it from the horse. By pulling the male fastener through the loop on the female fastener, the harness could be simply and quickly buckled.[95] These are generally dated to the first century,[96] and they were made in tree variants: loop affixed to the body with hinge, loop and body forged in a single piece, and, most rarely, the type with a simple rectangular opening.[97] A female strap fastener (cat. no. 26, P. 2. 26) from Salona has been preserved; it was made by forging in a single piece, and its shape is most similar to Bishop type 6d.[98] It is decorated with engraved lines, and traces of silver plating are visible on its body. It was made without a hinge, in a single piece. These are somewhat more rare than the two-piece examples.[99]

The connection at the horse's shoulder and flank may have had a decorative strap which ended in a strap terminal (cat. no. 27, P. 2. 27). The terminal knob is missing from the Salona example, while on its front a thick layer of tin or silver plating has been preserved. The shape is unusual, similar to Bishop type 6.[100]

A bit cheek piece (cat. no. 28, P. 2. 28) which was used to hold the reins and straps around the head and also the bit, has been entirely preserved. Only the triangular loop to which the harness strap was tied is missing. Bit cheek pieces of this shape are not common finds, and they were dated based on the find circumstances to the first,[101] end of the first and early second,[102] and second centuries.[103]

[88] BISHOP 1988, 68-91, provides and analyzes some grave monuments; cavalry monuments see also: GABELMANN 1973 and JENKINS 1985, 151, note 17. Several military monuments depicting horsemen have been preserved in the territory of Roman Dalmatia - both types of monuments (those depicting the rider attacking an opponent and those which in the lower part of the stela show a servant leading the horse). Unfortunately, due to the poor state of preservation of these monuments, the riding gear cannot be seen very well. An example of the first type is a stela from Narona, CAMBI 1980, 136, Fig. 5; a stela from Trilj, CAMBI 2008, 102, Fig. 27; a fragment of the stela of Marcus Percenius from Trilj, TONČINIĆ 2011, 79, cat. no. 48 ; stela depicting a horse led by a servant, for example that of Marcus Elvadius from Košuta at Gardun, SCHÖNAUER 2001, 256-259, P. X.

[89] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 39-42.

[90] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 121; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 101; FEUGÈRE 2002, 134-136; DIXON - SOUTHERN 1992, 67, 68; BISHOP 1988, 105.

[91] BISHOP 1988, 68-91.

[92] BISHOP 1988, 105; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 104.

[93] BISHOP 1988, 157, Fig. 50.

[94] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 107; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 5. 7; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 36. 681; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 62. 1744 - 1747; FRANZIUS 1992, 369, Fig. 12. 5

[95] DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 63, Fig. 67.

[96] DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 63, 64.

[97] BISHOP 1988, 103.

[98] BISHOP 1988, 167, Fig. 54.

[99] VOIROL 2000, 60, P. 18. 177; VANDEN BERGHE, 1996, 60, Fig. 1.32; RABEISEN 1990, 86, Fig. 9. 3.

[100] BISHOP 1988, 164, Fig. 52.

[101] UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 68. 1960.

[102] DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 65, P. 39. 724.

[103] AURRECOECHEA FERNÁNDEZ 1996, 137, Fig. 1.

The strap mount is deemed to have had an exclusively decorative role. The example here (cat. no. 29, P. 2. 29) may be classified as Bishop type 1d, and an almost identical example was found in the Tilurium camp,[104] and they have been found in other parts of the Empire.[105]

Riding harness pendants did not serve exclusively as decorations, rather their form, details or the images on them added a symbolic meaning. The protective role was most important, as they were meant to ward off evil and misfortune. The symbolic meaning of riding harness pendants can only be assumed, as belief in the power of symbols was very widespread in the Roman era. Pendants probably had this protective role for both the horse and rider, particularly the lunular and phalloid pendants, and the power of these two symbols was enhanced on some types by the additional portrayal of a "figa fist".[106]

It is possible that they were emphasized as indications of military prowess or conferred as symbols of bravery, but probably as informal prizes in internal competitions, such as sporting games.[107] There are views according to which they showed the status of the rider, or his military rank, as well.[108]

The earliest pendants appeared in the Augustan era, and they persisted into the second century.[109] By the latter half of the second century pendants fell out of fashion, and they were replaced by decorative sequins, to which the absence of finds in military graves testify, as do images on stone monuments.[110]

In recent years, sixteen Salona pendants which decorated riding harnesses have been published,[111] and they belong to different types.

Two examples from Salona belong to the three-piece foliate pendants which Bishop classified as type 1 in his typology.[112] A luxurious pendant[113] with the remains of silver-plating over the entire surface, and the engraved plant motifs were inlaid with niello. The dimensions and quality of rendering of the Salona example suggest that it served as a decoration on the chest of a horse.[114]

A smaller pendant[115] belongs to the same type, which completely corresponds to the Bishop 1 type according to its basic features.[116]

The pendant with elliptical body ending in palmette shape[117] belongs to Bishop type 2, variant 2a, like the pendant with ellipsoid body and cast loop and palmette-like ending,[118] although its oblong body makes it closer to Bishop type 5. One example[119] reflects a tie to the so-called bird-shaped pendants[120] (Bishop 7), whose production began in the second quarter of the first century. This tie manifests itself primarily in the formation of the loop, which is bent forward and is made in the shape of stylized bird's head. Despite the shape of the top of the loop and the sharper line of the body, the example here may be classified as type 5e,[121] which has been dated to the mid-first and the entire second century.[122] Typologically it is between the aforementioned types.

Five tear-shaped pendants[123] belong to Bishop type 5, variant 5e. The appearance of these pendants has been placed in the Claudian era, and they persisted until the end of the second century.[124] All pendants from this group are unadorned, and they differ from one another by the shape of their plates.

[104] IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 17.

[105] UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 63. 1809; FRANZIUS 1992, 369, Fig. 12. 1; BEHRENS 1918, 28, Fig. 8, 9; RITTERLING 1913, T. XIII, 16, 17.

[106] The lunula is a powerful protective symbol: phallus-shaped pendants were worn to ward off evil, grape-vine leaves were fertility symbols, while birds in this context were associated with the Celtic war god iconography. "figa" fists were known since ancient times as a gesture with protective meaning, and only in the Middle Ages did it become a symbol of vice and insults, KOHLERT-NEMETH 1988, 68; KOŠČEVIĆ 2003, 30, 32; IVČEVIĆ 2003, 138.

[107] LAWSON 1978, 152.

[108] VOIROL 2000, 22.

[109] BISHOP 1988, 96.

[110] LAWSON 1978, 153.

[111] IVČEVIĆ 2008, IVČEVIĆ, 2009.

[112] BISHOP 1988, 96, 142, Fig. 43, 145, Fig. 44.

[113] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2009, 87, cat. no. 4.

[114] Lawson divided them by width, so those approximately 7 cm wide probably served as the central decoration on the forehead or chest, those 5 cm wide were hung on the straps along the body, and those approximately 2 cm wide hung on the straps on the horse's head; LAWSON 1978, 153.

[115] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2009, 86, cat. no. 3.

[116] BISHOP 1988, 96.

[117] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2008, 218, P. I. 1.

[118] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2008, 218, P. I. 2.

[119] IVČEVIĆ 2008, 218, P. I. 3.

[120] This tie manifests itself primarily in the formation of the loop, which is bent forward and is made in the shape of stylized bird's head. Examples from Burnum and Benkovac (NEDVED 1981, 156, 157, Fig. 2. 68, 69) show similarities, but their bodies are not oblong to the extent of those from Salona, while the closest analogy to the Salona piece is an example from the Tilurium military camp near Salona (ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 5, 1).

[121] BISHOP 1988, 147, Fig. 45. 5e.

[122] RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 113.

[123] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2008, 218, 219, P. I. 4, 5, P. II. 6, 7, 8.

[124] Voirol dated them from the Claudian to Trajanic eras: VOIROL 2000, 24; Bishop placed their appearance in the Claudian era: BISHOP 1988, 96; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 113.

Another heart-shaped pendant belongs to the same type, Bishop 5,[125] corresponding to variant 5a.[126]

The tear-shaped pendant also belongs to Bishop type 5[127] although it deviates from pendants of that type in some details.[128] The closest typological definition of this pendant is the early tear-shaped form, i.e. the transitional form from the three-piece foliate to the tear-shaped variety.

A powerful apotropaic meaning was accorded to lunular-phalloid pendants.[129] Lunular pendants are a frequent find at Roman-era sites. They appeared throughout the era of Emperor Augustus and the entire first century.[130] The lunula had protective symbolism and it was probably one of the reasons why this form was so widely adopted.[131] The custom of decorating riding harnesses with such pendants had already existed among Celtic horsemen, while as of the Augustan era Roman horsemen also used these pendants.[132]

In his pendant typology, M. C. Bishop particularly classified lunular pendants (type 9), and two groups of lunular-phalloid pendants: type 6, on which the lunula is turned downward, and type 10, with the lunula turned upward.[133]

Among the four published lunular pendants, one belongs among the customary forms often found at military and civilian sites,[134] and according to Bishop's pendant typology it would belong to type 9d. Three pendants belong to the lunular-phalloid pendants, and they correspond to different variants of type 10. One belongs to the more numerous variant 10h,[135] which has generally been dated to the first century, while the remaining two belong to the more rarely present variants 10c and 10r.[136]

Here two as-yet unpublished examples are presented which belong among the lunular-phalloid pendants. The one listed under cat. no. 30 (P. 2. 30) is identical to an already published pendant fragment from Salona which belongs to type 10c. These are pendants with lunula turned upward and ends rendered in the shape of a phallus on one and a figa fist on the other end, and with pendant on the lower side of the lunula. Given their great similarity, one may assume that they belonged to the same set. It may be specified as Bishop type 10c, based on the lower portion of the pendant shaped like a bull's head rendered in relief, with azure glass insets where the eyes should be. Such pendants are rare,[137] attributed to a northern Italic workshop and dated to the first two thirds of the first century.[138]

The other lunular-phalloid pendant (cat. no. 31, P. 2. 31) also features a bull's head, but it is between the arms. Such pendants are also dated to the first century.[139]

The Salona military materials from the first century are interesting for a number of reasons, primarily in terms of typology, as military materials from a civilian site, and also because until recently greater attention was accorded to the Salona military gear of Late Antiquity, generally notched belt gear and more luxurious equipment, and the impression was created that gear from this period was better represented at the site. Salona in Late Antiquity was a large and important centre, and it experienced something of a blossoming and restoration, so that a higher quantity of such materials seemed logical. It should also be noted that the orientation of researchers to Late Antiquity in the past also contributed to this impression. However, no final conclusions should be drawn on the basis of such a summary presentation of materials that were largely discovered in older research, and the fact remains that the military gear from the period preceding Late Antiquity is at a minimum just as present at the site, particularly that dating to the first century.

[125] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2008, 89, cat. no. 6.

[126] BISHOP 1988, 147, Fig. 45; 5a RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 113.

[127] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2008, 88, cat. no. 5.

[128] First and foremost, the concentric circle decoration, which is not customary, and the prominent spherical decoration on the bottom, which if they even exist on Bishop 5 pendants are much simpler and smaller. The prominent straight shoulder recalls type 7, but some characteristics are lacking for it to be ascribed to this type.

[129] KOHLERT-NÉMETH 1988, 66; KOŠČEVIĆ 2003, 30, 32.

[130] BISHOP 1988, 98.

[131] BISHOP 1987, 118.

[132] DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 55.

[133] BISHOP 1988, 98.

[134] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2009, 84, cat. no. 1.

[135] A lunula turned upward with ends shaped like a good luck fist and a phallus, a ring-shaped loop for hanging, and, on the lower side, a phalloid pendant and three loops for hanging the pendant. An initial examination of this example reveals its lack of refinement, and it is possible that this is an unfinished or poorly cast article; published: IVČEVIĆ 2009, 84, cat. no. 1.

[136] Published: IVČEVIĆ 2008, 219, P. II. 9, 10.

[137] UNZ-DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 58. 1630; FRANKEN 1996, 107, Fig. 204; BISHOP 1988, 155; DEIMEL 1987, P. 78. 1a.

[138] KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 45.

[139] DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 55; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, 105.

CATALOGUE[140]

1. inv. no. AMS Kk - 896, sword hilt, Salona, bone, end of 1st cent. BC - end of 1st cent. AD, length 9.6 cm, dia. 3.35 x 2.35, bone sword hilt, decorated with engraved diagonal lines.

References: BISHOP - COULSTON, 2006, 157. Fig. 98. 2, 3; GOSTENČNIK, 2005, p. 43. 3; OLDENSTEIN 1977, P. 10. 18; FINGERLIN 1972, 226, Fig. 13. 12; BEHRENS 1912, 108, Fig. 20. 1.

2. inv. no. AMS H-3505, buckle tang, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 4,3 cm, width 1,75 cm, lily-shaped buckle tang

References: IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1.5; SIMPSON 2000, P. 25.20, 23; DEIMEL 1987, P. 77. 2 - 4.

3. inv. no. AMS H-3388, belt buckle mount, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, niello, length 5.2 cm, height 1.8 cm, thickness 0.1 cm, rectangular mount decorated with engraved motifs, laurel branch in middle with series of small crosses at its top and bottom, motifs niellated.

References: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 35, P. 35. 206; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 19. 359; GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, Fig. 7. 27.

4. inv. no. AMS H- 1645, buckle with stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 3.9 cm, width 2.6 cm, dia. of head 1.8 cm, stud's head is flat, no decorations preserved.

References: IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 1.2; MATEŠIĆ 2005, 107, P. 11. 142; IVČEVIĆ 2004, P. 1. 6.

5. inv. no. AMS H - 4890, buckle with stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 3.3 cm, width 2.3 cm, stud's head not preserved.

References: see cat. no. 4.

6. inv. no. AMS H - 3195, stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 4 cm, dia. of head 2.65 cm, stud with single loop and circular convex head.

References: DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 41. 791-797; UNZ, DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 71. 2066-2084; DEIMEL 1987, P. 81. 7-10; UNZ 1974, Fig. 14. 178-180;

7. inv. no. AMS H - 3267, stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 3.3 cm, dia. of head 2.5 cm, stud with single loop and circular convex head.

References: see cat. no. 6.

8. inv. no. AMS H - 1911, stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 3.35 cm, dia. of head 2.4 cm, stud with single loop and circular convex head.

References: see cat. no. 6.

[140] The items were conserved by Helena Tresić - Pavičić, the sketches were done by Branko Penđer, all items are from Archaeological museum in Split.

9. inv. no. AMS H - 2856, stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 3.3 cm, dia. of head 2.8 cm, stud with single loop and circular convex head.

References: see cat. no. 6.

10. inv. no. AMS H - 2432, stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 1.9 cm, dia. of head 1.3 cm, stud with single loop and circular convex head.

References: see cat. no. 6.

11. inv. no. AMS H - 1353, stud loop, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 2.4 cm, external dia. 1.4 cm.

References: see cat. no. 6.

12. inv. no. AMS H - 3360, stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 2.5 cm, dia. of head 1.3 cm, stud with single loop and flat head with engraved concentric circlets.

References: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 35, P. 40. 256-261; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB, 1997, P. 71. 2062, 2063; UNZ 1972, Fig. 4. 33.

13. inv. no. AMS H - 3741, stud, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 3.2 cm, dia. of head 1.6 cm, stud with single loop and flat head with engraved concentric circlets.

References: see cat. no. 12.

14. inv. no. AMS H - 2422, double stud loop, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 2.05 cm, width 2.1 cm

References: MÜLLER 2002, P. 44. 485; DEIMEL,1987, P. 81. 1-6; UNZ 1972, Fig. 4. 30

15. inv. no. AMS Kk - 393, stud with loop, Salona, 1st cent., bone, length 3.5 cm, dia. of head, 2.5 cm, width of loop 2.25 cm, stud's head decorated with engraved lines, loop triangular with semi-circular opening, stud made of single piece of bone.

References: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 190, P. 41. 270; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 42. 809; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 71. 2114-2119.

16. inv. no. AMS Kk - 392, stud with loop, Salona, 1st cent., bone, length 2.75, dia. of head 1.65 cm, width of loop 1.4 cm, stud's head decorated with engraved lines, loop triangular with circular opening, stud made of single piece of bone.

References: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 190, P. 41. 270; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 42. 809; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 71. 2111-2112.

17. inv. no. AMS Kk - 601, stud with loop, Salona, 1st cent., bone, length 2.7 cm, dia. of head 1.6 cm, width of loop 1.4 cm, stud's head decorated with engraved lines, loop triangular with circular opening, stud made of single piece of bone.

References: DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 42. 809; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 71. 2111-2112.

18. inv. no. AMS H - 720, military apron mount, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 2.8 cm, width 1.7 cm, rectangular military apron mount, four prongs on rear side.

References: IVČEVIĆ 2004, P. 1.9; VOIROL 2000, P. 9. 71, 73; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997: 52, P. 69,1984; OLDENSTEIN 1977, 191, 265, P. 59. 743.

19. inv. no. AMS H - 1610, military apron mount, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, tin?, length 3 cm, width 1.55 cm, rectangular military apron mount, visible remains of coating on surface, four tangs on rear side.

References: see cat. no. 18.

20. inv. no. AMS H - 2451, military apron mount, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, dia. 2.9 cm, round rivet, rib and recessed circular field on front, perhaps for appliqué, prong preserved on rear side.

References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 72. 2281; UNZ 1974, 42, Fig. 14. 187.

21. inv. no. AMS H - 658, mail chest-hook, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 6.75 cm, chest-hook for right shoulder of armour, serpentine body decorated with incisions, ends with horned serpent's head.

References: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 176, P. 27.131; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 35. 862.

22. inv. no. AMS H - 2191, mail chest-hook, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 4.7 cm, fragment of chest-hook, single rivet preserved.

References: BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 96, Fig. 51.5; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 176, P. 27. 130; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 38, P. 15. 269; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 35. 859, 860, 863.

23. inv. no. AMS H - 3845, segmented armour buckle, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 3.65 cm, width of mount 1.35 cm, dia. of buckle frame 2 cm.

References: SIMPSON 2000, P. 25. 7; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 30, 31, P. 33, P. 34. 783-790; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 67, P. XXV. 362, 363; NEDVED 1981, 180, Fig. 8, 317; PETRU 1972, P. XXIX, grave 450, 22; FINGERLIN 1972, Fig. 11. 8; BEHRENS 1914, 68, Fig. 2. 7, 8; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI, 12,13, 15-19; BEHRENS 1912, 87, Fig. 3. 13.

24. inv. no. AMS H - 2463, segmented armour mount, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 2.2 cm, width 2.4 cm, armour mount with four preserved rivets, one missing.

References: ŠEPAROVIĆ - URODA 2009, 38, Fig. 39; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 180, P. 31; THOMAS 2003, 78, Fig. 51. 4; THOMAS 2003, 78, Fig. 51. 37, ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 3. 6; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 15. 254; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 34. 828-830; VANDEN BERGHE 1996, 60, Fig. 1. 3.5; FRERE - JOSEPH 1974, 47, 49, Fig. 25, 26. 17-20.

25. inv. no. AMS H - 1727, junction loop, Salona, 1st/2nd cent., bronze, silver or tin?, length 4.2 cm, width 1.5 cm, visible remains of silver or tin plating on surface, three prongs on rear side.

References: MÜLLER 2002, P. 52. 578; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 61. 1675, 1676.

26. inv. no. AMS H - 3499, female strap fastener, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, silver or tin?, length 6.1 cm, width 1.9 cm, visible remains of silver or tin plating on loop, engraving decoration on other end.

References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 64. 1842; VANDEN BERGHE 1996, 60, Fig. 1. 3.2; RABEISEN 1990, 86, Fig. 9. 3.

27. inv. no. AMS H - 833, strap terminal, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, silver or tin?, length 5.4 cm, width 1.2 cm, terminal knob missing, thick layer of tin or silver plating preserved on front.

References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 63. 1770; FRERE - JOSEPH 1974, 53, Fig. 28.45.

28. inv. no. AMS 28. H-4691, bit cheek piece, Salona, 1st/beginning 2nd cent., bronze, height 6.1 cm, width 7.3 cm, loop missing.

References: DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 65, P. 39. 724; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 68. 1960.

29. inv. no. AMS H - 893, strap mount, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, length 6 cm, width 1 cm, mount has three small rivet holes.

References: IVČEVIĆ, 2004, 166, P. 1. 17; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 63. 1809; FRANZIUS 1992, 369, Fig. 12. 1; BEHRENS 1918, 28, Fig. 8. 9; RITTERLING 1913, P. XIII, 16, 17.

30. inv. no. AMS 40694, lunular-phalloid pendant, Salona, first two thirds of 1st cent., bronze, height 7.6 cm, width 8.5 cm, lunular pendant on which lunula ends with phallus and "figa" fist, bull's head pendant on lower side.

References: IVČEVIĆ 2008, P. II, 9; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 58. 1630; FRANKEN 1996, 107, Fig. 204; DEIMEL 1987, P. 78. 1a.

31. inv. no. AMS H- 2468, lunular-phalloid pendant, Salona, 1st cent., bronze, height 3.4 cm, width 5 cm, preserved central portion of pendant shaped like bull's head and right part of lunula which ends in "figa" fist.

References: DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 27. 549; KAUFMANN-HEINIMANN 1998, 105, cat. no. 289.

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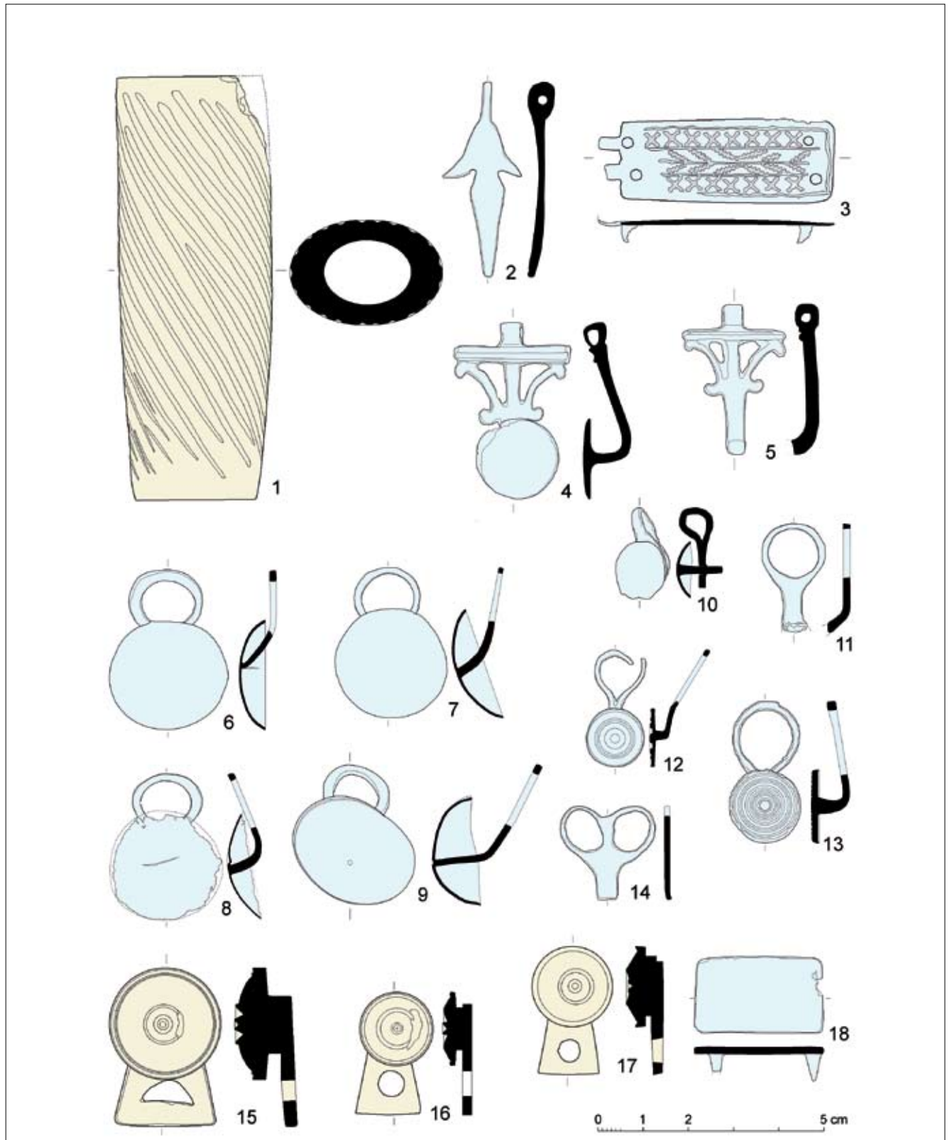

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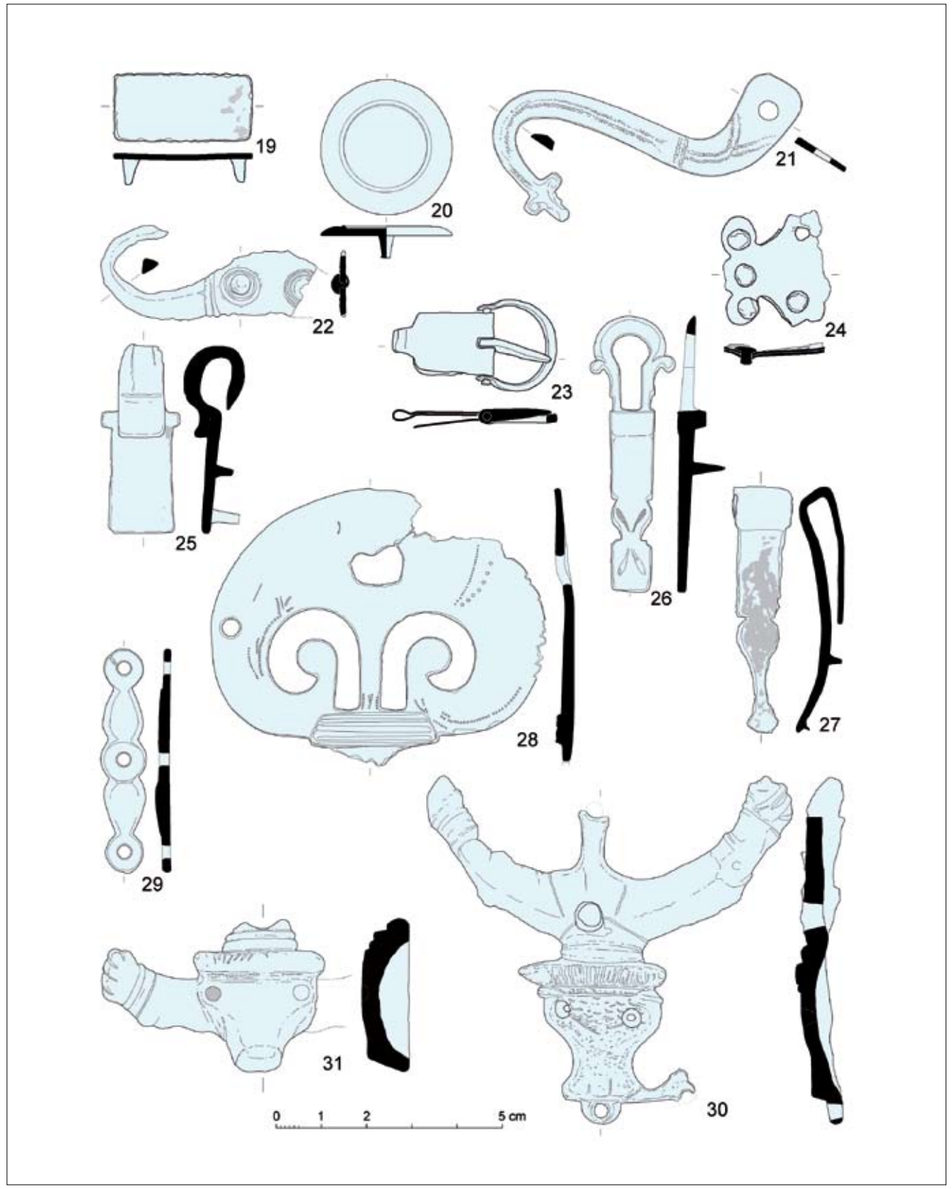

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A THEORETICAL APPROACH TO ROMAN MILITARY BELTS

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As suggested in the title, in this paper I would like to concentrate on a theoretical aspect of military belts; namely the question of how we can define a set of decorated belt mounts as having originally belonged to a military belt. In Roman archaeology, the term military belt is regularly used for any belt decorated with elaborate metal mounts. In fact, these mounts are seen as distinguishing a common leather belt - which could have been worn by anybody - from a military belt worn only by soldiers. While this is a reasonable working assumption, it does carry a theoretical sting: many finds of belt mounts are made without an obvious military connection.

Most finds of metal belt pieces were made individually, the pieces having been lost or broken and either thrown away or put aside for recycling in antiquity.[1] Loose finds of belt mounts from forts or legionary camps abound and finds from the surrounding *vici* and *canabae legionis*, the refuse dumps and nearby cemeteries of those military installations are common and only to be expected.[2]

Finds were also made in civilian settlements not directly connected with legionary camps or auxiliary forts but situated in what might be termed the "Limes zone", the direct hinterland of the Limes.[3] While Nicolay interpreted them as representing the weapons taken home by Veterans, a large number may well have been lost by active soldiers patrolling the area or building temporary camps as an exercise.

Finds without a direct military connection come from civilian settlements located in the hinterland far away from any military installation, others from rivers, lakes or bogs.[4] But some of the most prominent examples are belt mounts found in graves in cemeteries without a military connection.[5]

There are many valid explanations for the appearance of individual belt mounts in non-military contexts - some of them were presented at the XIII Roman Military Equipment Conference 2001 in Brugg (CH).[6] But the question remains: How do we know if these are really mounts from military belts? Is there any law or

[1] While re-melting old artefacts for their metal was common practice in antiquity (and later), some large military waste dumps prove that the Roman army was not always so thrifty. Examples of such waste dumps are the river dump of Alphen aan de Rijn (NL) and the 'Schutthügel' of Vidonissa (CH). In the latter, almost 500 belt pieces were found. See UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997.

[2] The belt finds from Vindonissa include finds from the legionary camp, the *canabae legionis* and the refuse dump (see UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997). Examples from auxiliary forts, the *vici* of these forts and from cemeteries are known from many places as well (see for instance Kronberger 1997, Kat. Nr. 150; Gschwind 2004, Kat. Nr. C386* and Krecovič 1995, Abb. 5, 1).

[3] NICOLAY 2007.

[4] Villa: Kerkrade, NL (see HOSS - VAN DER CHIJS 2005, Abb. 7.9); City: Augst, CH (see DESCHLER-ERB 1999, Kat. Nr. 332); Hinterland: Maria Saal, AU (see Fundberichte Österreich 28, 1989, Abb. 708) and Greater Kelco Cave, GB (see DEARNE 1990, Abb. 1), wet contexts: Lake near Wimbourne, GB (see GREW - GRIFFITH 1991, Kat. Nr. 63) and Vimose bog, DK (see JØRGENSEN et al. 2003, Kat. Nr. 6.10).

[5] Three of the more famous examples are the belt finds from the Lyon (F) grave (see WUILLEUMIER 1952), from Neuburg an der Donau, D (see HÜBNER 1963) and from Lechința de Mureș, RO (see PETCULESCU 1995).

[6] DESCHLER-ERB 2002.

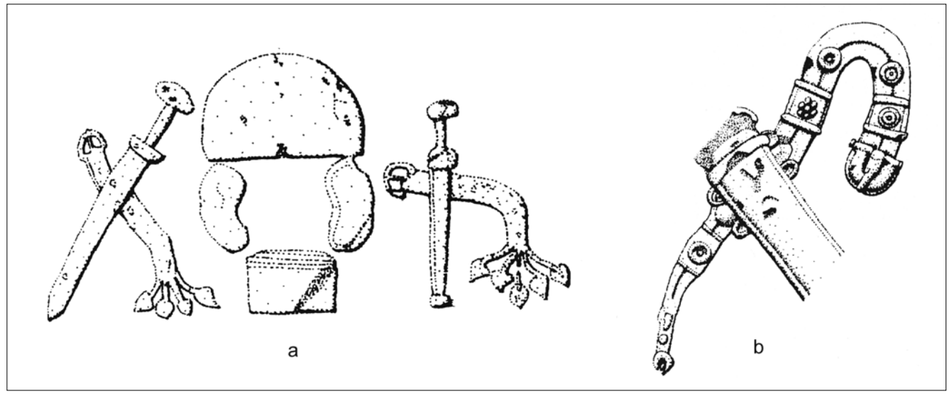

Fig. 1. Depiction of swords and a dagger each on their belt from the funeral monuments of Cottiedius Attianus in Assisi (a) and an unknown soldier in Pula (b). Not to scale. After Bishop 1992, Nos 32, 42.

regulation forbidding the wearing of belt mounts to ordinary civilians? Could not anyone have decorated their belt with mounts and worn it?

During the following pages, I shall attempt to define a theoretical model that will hopefully help to solve this problem. But to do this I shall have to back up a bit and explain how the military belt - both an article of clothing and a piece of military equipment - became the distinguishing symbolic object setting the soldier apart from civilian men and marking him as a *milites*.

The Roman legal system separated soldiers from civilians by the right to wear arms - especially a sword - at all times in public.[7] With the exception of the city of Rome itself, weapons and amour were part of the professional profile of the soldier and could be worn at all times in public.[8] Civilians were only allowed to wear weapons in vaguely defined exceptional cases, such as while travelling or hunting.[9]

In addition to that, soldiers were also separated from civilians by their special privileges. This included legal privileges such as *testamentum militare* and *perculium castrense* and regular pay, a minimum supply of food, clothing and shelter as well as medical treatment. These differences between soldiers and civilians were well known and appreciated by the general public as the following passage from Juvenal's Satires demonstrates:

"Who can count up, Gallius, all the prizes of prosperous soldiering? […]

Let us first consider the benefits common to all soldiers, of which not the least is this, that no civilian will dare to thrash you; if thrashed himself, he must hold his tongue, and not venture to exhibit to the Praetor the teeth that have been knocked out, or the black and blue lumps upon his face, or the one eye left which the doctor holds out no hope of saving. If he seeks redress, he has appointed for him as judge a hob-nailed centurion with a row of jurors with brawny calves sitting before a big bench. […]

And now let us note other profits and perquisites of the service. If some rascally neighbour has filched from me a dell or a field of my ancestral estate […]; or if a debtor refuses to repay the money that he has borrowed, declaring […] the document null and void: I shall have to wait for the time of year when the whole world begin their suits, and even then there will be a thousand wearisome delays. […] But the gentlemen who are armed and belted have their cases set down for whatever time they please; nor is their substance worn away by the slow drag-chain of the law.

Soldiers alone, again, have the right to make their wills during their fathers' lifetime; for the law ordains that money earned in military service is not to be included in the property which is in the father's sole control."[10]

[7] BRUNT 1975.

[8] While soldiers were forbidden to wear their sword in Rome even in triumphal processions, they were not forbidden to wear their belts then - and presumably at all other times. See RANKOV 2007, 44.

[9] Travel: Dig. 48.6.1 (Marcianus).

[10] Juvenal Satires XVI (translation G. G. Ramsay 1918).

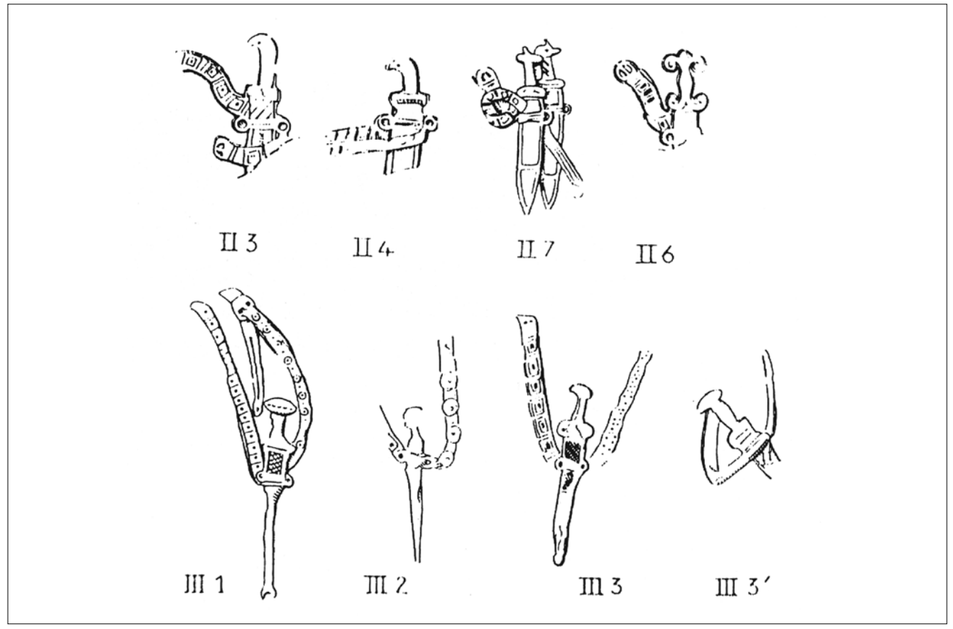

Fig. 2. Enemy swords hanging from *tropaia* on the Arch of Orange. Not to scale. After Amy et al. 1962, Pl. 49.

In including the right to thrash civilians without fear of persecution, Juvenal certainly gives a peculiar twist to the privileges granted to a soldier, but the satire skilfully illustrates that the soldiers formed a sort of parallel society within the larger Roman society, for whom a different set of laws applied.

Research in sociology has demonstrated that it is these smaller groups within a greater society that generate a large part of the social identity of their members. Positive social identity is based on a favourable comparison between the own ingroup - in our case the soldiers - and a relevant outgroup - the civilians.[11] Specific dress codes articulate the identity of a group and express the group's particular living conditions in a socially effective manner. This demonstration of the group's identity is directed both to the outside world and the individual group members, committing them to their group both in their own self-reflection as well as in the view of the outside world.[12]

This also applies to the Roman world. A case in point is the toga, symbol and privilege of the Roman citizen, as demonstrated in their own designation as *gens togati*.[13] In a similar manner, other parts of the dress were obvious markers of the status and position of the wearer, such as the *lati clavi* of the senators and the *angusti clavi* of the equites.[14] Like the higher echelons, the lower ranks of Roman society also had specific styles of clothing typical for specific groups, the most prominent of which were the soldiers. This distinctive manner of dressing is the background for several literal and sub-literal sources alluding to the soldiers' dress, the most famous of which is the "*habitus atque habitude*" (dress and manner) by which the narrator of Apuleius' satirical novel 'Metamorphoses' or The Golden Ass recognizes a man as being a "*miles e legione*" (a soldier and legionary).[15]

[11] TAJFEL - TURNER 1986

[12] SOMMER 2005.

[13] Virgil, Aeneid 1.282. Toga: STONE 1994. - VON RUMMEL 2007, 83-90 - EDMONSON 2008. The female equivalent was the stola, which could only be worn by married female citizens. See SEBESTA 1994; VON RUMMEL 2007, 93-94.

[14] GOLDMAN 1994, 116-122; VON RUMMEL 2007, 92.

[15] Apuleius, Metamorphosis IX, 39.

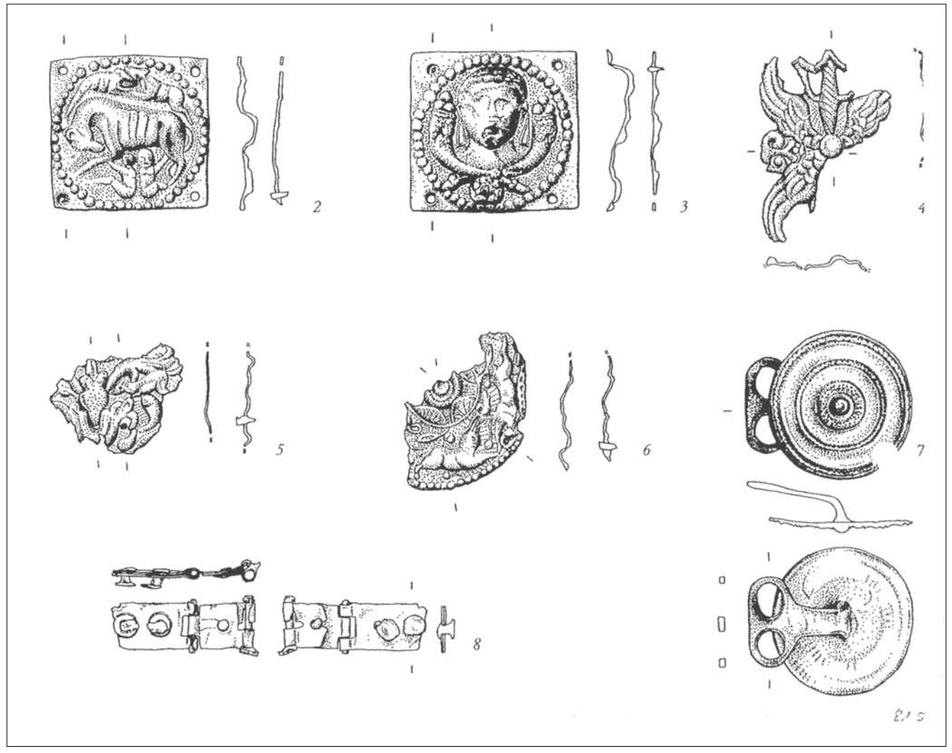

Fig. 3. Belt mounts found together with a *gladius* in a pit at the legionary camp of Vindonissa (scale 2:3). After Deschler-Erb 1996, fig. 8.

But what was the distinctive difference of the soldier's dress compared to that of a civilian?[16] The best source for this are of course the depictions of soldiers, be it on their own monuments or on what has been termed by Coulston the "propaganda art" on state monuments.[17] While both categories of monuments are somewhat problematic in the accuracy of their depiction of the soldiers' weapons, they illustrate the manner of dressing reasonably well. The Roman soldier - that is all ranks from centurion downwards - generally wore a tunic and a mantle, sandals or shoes and a belt. Of these dress items, both the tunic and mantle are not specific for soldiers. According to the research up to now, both seem to confirm to the items worn by civilians - admittedly rather *wealthy* civilians - during the same time.[18]

Only the hobnailed *caligae* and the belt can be defined as typical for soldiers, identifying them as *milites* even when they were not wearing amour.[19] While *caligae* were also worn by civilians, they are typical for soldiers.[20] Literary sources and inscriptions describe soldiers' *expressis verbis* as *caligati* or as serving *in caligae*.[21] And the hobnailed boots and their wearers are

[16] Like other people, most Roman soldiers had of course several different social roles. In some of them - for instance as priest of a cult - they wore the appropriate cult dress instead of their professional dress.

[17] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 2.

[18] COULSTON 2005, 142; A. PAETZ GEN. SCHIECK 2011.

[19] PHANG 2008, 84, COULSTON 2005, 141.

[20] GOLDMAN 1994, 122-123.

[21] GILLIAM 1946, 171 (37), 183 (43); Josephus *BellJud*, 6:85, Juvenal, Satires 3.248, 16:25

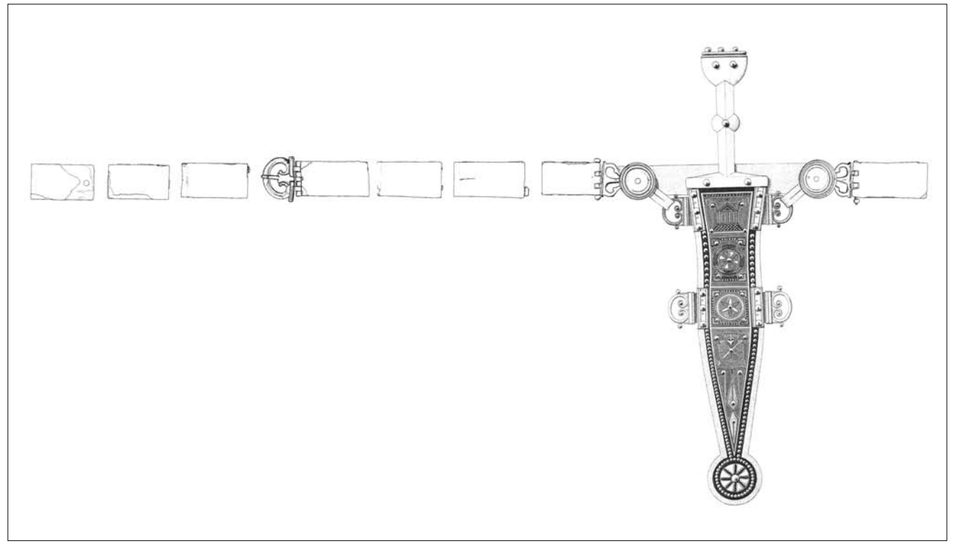

Fig. 4. Complete belt set with dagger found in a well at Velsen, NL (not to scale) After Morel/Bosmann 1989, fig. 5,6.

also equated both in the Roman and Jewish literature of the time.[22] This equation is also confirmed by the nickname Caligula chosen by the soldiers for the small son of Germanicus who went about the camp dressed as a soldier.[23]

Far more visible and therefore presumably more important than the sandals was the belt as a symbol and identifying dress item of the soldier. In the abovementioned satire by Juvenal, he describes the soldiers as "gentlemen who are armed and belted", or in the original: *illis quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit* (literally "covered in arms and encircled by belts"). This description is an expression of the visual importance of the arms and the belt of the soldiers to the Roman public.

The belt obtained this status from its unity with the sword hanging from it. The sword was the main weapon of the Roman soldier and its loss was seen as extremely dishonourable: The soldier in Apuleius' Metamorphoses fears the revenge of the genius of the military oath after having lost his sword.[24] In a status-transfer, the belt from which the sword hung was invested with a similar meaning. This transfer may also have been occasioned by practical reasons as the sword's sheath was connected to the belt in a manner that probably took some time to take off. If one wanted to take off the sword, one usually took off the sword-belt with the sword in its sheath. This is confirmed by depictions showing the swords hanging on their belts from both funeral monuments for soldiers and from depictions of enemy weaponry hanging from *tropaia* on official Roman victory monuments, such as the Arch of Carpentras or the Arch of Orange (see Fig.1 and Fig. 2).[25] Finds of swords with their belts wrapped around them from Herculaneum, Vindonissa and Kastell Niederberg plus the new find from Ilok presented for the first time at this conference further illustrate this point. (see Fig. 3)[26] The unity of sword and sword belt is also confirmed by Tacitus, who reports a case of two soldiers being heavily punished by General Corbulo for not wearing their sword-belts while trenching.[27] This measure of Corbulo was related to the fact that sol-

[22] Josephus BellJud, 6:85, Juvenal, Satires 3.248, 16:25; Palestinian Talmud (Yerushalmi), Shabbath 8a and 20a.

[23] GILLIAM 1986, 185 (45) ; Sueton, De Vita Caesarum, Caligula 1,1; Seneca, Dialogues, 2, 18, 4.

[24] Apuleius Metamorphosen, IV, 41.

[25] Funeral monuments for soldiers: SEE FRANZONI 1987; BISHOP 1992. Official Roman victory monuments: see for instance AMY et al. 1962.

[26] Herculaneum: GORE 1984, 572: BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 107; Vindonissa: DESCHLER-ERB 1996, 13-16; Koblenz-Niederberg: JOST 2007, 49-55; Ilok: see RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 245, cat. no. 29 (Author M. Dizdar).

[27] Tacitus Ann. XI, 18.

diers should have their sword ready at all times and the sword-belt was named here as *pars pro toto*. A similar regulation is mentioned by the 4th century author Vegetius.[28]

The transfer of status from the sword to the belt seems to have taken place at the same time as the transition from citizen-soldier to professional soldier during the late Republic, which was finalised in Augustus' army reforms.[29] Quite fittingly, the first belt mounts - of the undecorated type, whose most prominent find comes from the Velsen well - date from the Augustean period (see Fig. 4) The extraordinary symbolic value of the military belt was retained even after it ceased to be used as a sword belt after the introduction of the *balteus*. It even seems to have increased, as on 3rd century funeral monuments the depiction of a man wearing a tunic belted with a ring buckle belt is enough to identify this man as a soldier.

The belt became invested with meaning to such an extend that taking it away from a soldier in public (*discingere*) for hours or days was a humiliation used as a disciplinary measure.[30] The soldiers had to stand on guard in good view for all their *commilitones* and hold a staff or similar object as confirmed by Frontius:

"Because Gaius Titius, commander of a cohort, had given way before some runaway slaves, Lucius Piso ordered him to stand daily in the headquarters of the camp, barefooted, with the belt of his toga cut and his tunic ungirt, and wait till the night-watchmen came. […] Sulla ordered a cohort and its centurions, though whose defences the enemy had broken, to stand continuously at headquarters, wearing helmets and without belts."[31]

Besides the shame of being without their sword, without a belt the tunics fell in soft long folds to below the knee, which to the Roman viewer evoked associations of the voluminous folds of the tunics of women or - even worse - of effeminate men.[32] Taking the belt away permanently was practice after a capitulation or during a dishonourable discharge.[33]

[28] Vegetius, De re militari III, 8.

[29] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 107. - COULSTON 2005, 141.

[30] Livius, XXVII, 13, 9; Frontinus, Stratagemata IV, I, 26-27, 43; Valerius Maximus II, 7, 9; Plutarch Luc. 15; Sueton Octavian 24.

[31] Frontius Strategemata IV, 1 (translation: Charles E. Bennett).

[32] HARLOW 2004, 54; PHANG 2008, 198. Taint of effeminacy: LENDON 1997, 241-242.

[33] Herodianus, Hist. II, 13, 8-10; Festus 104, Codex Theodosianus XII, 1, 181 §1.

Another instance proving the significance of the belt as a symbol of 'being a soldier' are the symbolic acts of late antique Christian soldier-saints openly refusing to remain in the army by throwing off their military belt in public.[34] By this time - the 4th century - the military belt was worn by both soldiers and civil servants, whose service was called *militia*, whose titles corresponded to military titles and who - after their *honesta missio* - were veterans.[35]

But while this was a legal broadening of the circle of men wearing the military belt, illegal attempts to pass for a soldier also abounded. Procopius reports a control of the soldiers under Justinian with those that were too unfit or too old having their belts taken away.[36]According to Reinhold, the prestige and influence of military uniforms was so high during the 4th century that usurpation of military or veteran status was widespread.[37]

In an attempt to counter this, legislation was passed several times to ensure that only those which were "*sub armorum labore*" (labouring under arms*)* would wear the military dress - namely the belt.[38] That this was an old problem is proven by the first legislation against the usurpation of military status that has come down on us, which is from the early third century.[39] Even earlier are the cases of slaves discovered under the recruits recorded by a letter of Pliny to Trajan and the case of Claudius Pacatus, a fugitive slave who had served in the army and attained the rank of centurion. Presumably because of his service he escaped the usual death penalty and was restored to his master by Diocletian.[40]

While official legislation against the usurpation of rank and the corresponding status symbols - both military and civil - was plentiful, social legislation of this sort is essentially programmatic and could simply not be enforced systematically. Petronius' Satyricon illustrates a far simpler and in all probability more effective method of checking the usurpation of the Roman soldier's status symbols:

"So saying, I gird on a sword […] and stalk like a madman through all the public colonnades. As I was prowling thus […] a soldier observed me […] "Ho, there! comrade," he cried, "what's your legion, and who's your Centurion?" I named both legion and Centurion with confident mendacity. "Come, come," he retorted, "do the men of your division go about the streets in Greek pumps?" Then, my face and my agitation sufficiently betraying the imposture, he ordered me to drop my weapon and have a care I did not get into trouble."[41]

[34] WOODS 1993, 55-60.

[35] SPEIDEL 2006, 264.

[36] Prokop, Anekdota 24, 8.

[37] REINHOLD 1971

[38] Cod. Theodos. VII, 20, 12 (400 AD) VII, 21, 1 (313 AD), XIV, 10 (382 AD)

[39] Paul's Sententiae V,25,12

[40] Dio Cassius, LXV II, 13, 1

As it was in the interest of the soldiers themselves to preserve this status symbol, they will have acted with severity if civilians assumed similar modes of dress.

The constrains of space make it impossible for me to cite all the evidence for the special status of the military belt. But both the wearing of the military belt by civil servants and the usurpation of this symbol in order to pass for a soldier in my opinion indicate that this belt can be defined as a symbolic object. The military belt marked the ranks from recruit to centurion both internally and to the outside world as soldiers and thus functioned in a manner similar to modern uniforms. This makes it highly unlikely that just anybody could wear a military belt.

It does of course not exclude the possibility of deceit - but the high symbolic value of the military belt and its decorations does give us a theoretical model by which we can define belts with belt mounts as military belts, which could officially only be worn by soldiers. Roman belt mounts found in civilian contexts in the Early Empire can thus be assumed to have belonged to soldiers and in Late Antiquity to both soldiers and Civil Servants - and of course to impostors.

[41] Petronius Satyricon XI, 32 (translation: A. R. Allinson)

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THE *KAMBEΣTPION* AND OTHER ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THRACIA

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INTRODUCTION

A rare metal object, kept for a long time in the Historical Museum of Nova Zagora, Bulgaria, until recently remained virtually unnoticed. This object, a part of a hoard of various metal items, was found by an accident in 1962 while ploughing a field in the vicinity of the Elenovo village in the Southern Bulgaria. The hoard was discovered 40-50 cm below the current ground surface level[1]. Unfortunately, the discoverer did not consider the find to be of any significance, but still picked up the items of the hoard out of curiosity. Considerably later he reported the find to a local town museum. It is not certain whether *all* of the items of the hoard were collected. In 1964, then-curator of the Historical Museum of Nova Zagora registered all the submitted items and entered them into the museum collection under nos. 3288-3306[2].

The hoard consisted of 20 various objects, one bronze and 18 iron. It included both items of military equipment — a *pilum* iron, a shield *umbo*, and a significant number of digging tools, such as five pickaxes, three spades, and three mattocks. Additionally, the hoard contained a ploughshare with a ring, a linchpin, and a tent peg. Finally, it included three items, which, apparently belonged to an arrow-shooting *ballista* with an all-metal spring-frame: a so-called *καμβέστριον*, a massive object of a cranked shape, and a round-sectioned rod with a loop on its end.

The museum inventory book included no additional information about the circumstances of the find, and no archaeological research has been conducted in the site of the discovery, probably because the precise location of the find could no longer be established. The find has not been properly published yet[3]. Certainly, due to its significance for the Roman military history in general and for the history of the Roman Thrace in particular, the discovery deserves a thorough publication[4].

[1] According to the record in the inventory book.

[2] The date is known from the record in the inventory book.

[3] Apart from a preliminary article dedicated to the *kambestrion* (MINCHEV 2002, 7-13). Unfortunately, for various reasons, the technical data given in that article was found to be incorrect.

[4] The authors express their most sincere gratitude to Dr. Veselin Ignatov, the curator of the Nova Zagora Historical Museum, for his kind permission and provision of all the accompanying data and photographs of the items. Without his friendly support this publication would not be possible. The authors thank Alexander Kyrychenko (Emory University, Atlanta) for his help in preparation of this article, and also Alexander Spiridonov and Ruslan Suleimanov for their assistance with 3D-modelling.

Fig. 1: The location of the Elenovo village.

The village of Elenovo is situated in the District of Nova Zagora, which belongs to the Sliven Region located on the fertile Thracian plain of Bulgaria. Renowned Western travellers and scholars mentioned and recorded some of the rich archaeological sites in the region already in the late 19th century[5].

The vicinity of Nova Zagora is known for a significant number of the Prehistoric, Ancient and Mediaeval settlements, Thracian burial *tumuli* of the Early Bronze Age, Pre-Roman, and Roman times, and other archaeological monuments. Archaeological excavations, conducted in the region by both local and international scholars, accompanied more than a hundred years of the research. Most of the finds gathered during these excavations, including some unique occasional artefacts now in the collection of the Nova Zagora Museum, were either mentioned or published in detail.

[5] BOUE 1871, 175; KANITZ 1880, 16.

The list of the publications includes numerous articles and books[6]. Some of the archaeological monuments were destroyed in unfortunate circumstances, whereas some others that did enter the museum collection still await their proper examination.

The excavations of several *tumuli* containing a large number of very rich burials mostly of second — early third centuries AD testify to the stability of the region during the Roman period[7].

As of today, none of the several archaeological sites located in the area of the Elenovo village has been archaeologically examined. One of them — a settlement of the Roman period of the first — third centuries AD located at the site named Kyoshka about three kilometres north-west of the village — yielded a find of coarse and red-slip pottery of the Roman period. Four burial *tumuli*, a part of its necropolis, are located nearby. Another ancient settlement, which, along with the neighbouring five *tumuli*, likely dates to the Roman period, is situated about one kilometre south-east of Elenovo at the place known as Trite Penevi Mogili[8]. Regretfully, some of the *tumuli* around the village were destroyed by construction works in the 1960-70s or by the looters in the 1990s[9].

[6] The most important publications include: SHKORPIL - SHKORPIL 1898, 11, 39 and 69; DETEV 1950, 77-78; KOICHEV 1952, 366-68; KOICHEV 1955, 55-59, KOICHEV 1958, 469-74; BATSOVA - KANCHEV 1974, 50-56; KANCHEV 1973, 42-51; KANCHEV 1984, 134-59; IGNATOV - KANCHEVA-RUSEVA - VELKOV 1996, 9-16 (with extended bibliography and maps, etc.).

[7] IGNATOV, KANCHEVA-RUSEVA - VELKOV 1996 and bibl.

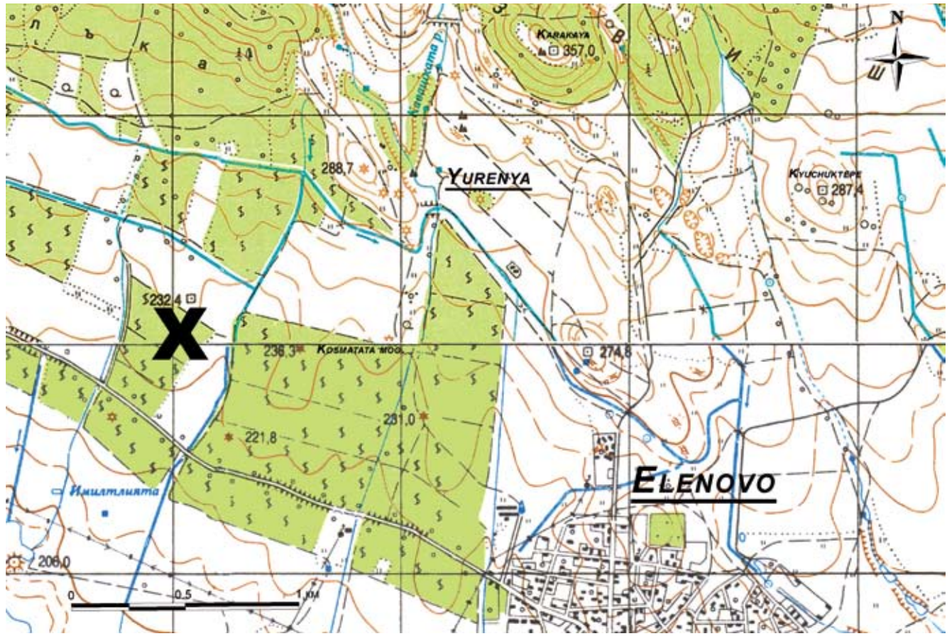


Fig. 2: A map of the Elenovo village area. X - the approximate location of the find.

Several settlements of various historical periods are located in the rural area of Maslaka, which also has a significant water source, and currently also a water reservoir. One of them most likely was an important Thracian settlement, possibly of the Late Classical and Hellenistic period of the forth — first centuries BC, which is suggested by the finds of the imported black-glazed Greek pottery shards. Additionally, the site yielded numerous fragments of the red-slip Roman pottery of about first — third centuries BC, as well as some fragments of green-glazed pottery[10]. The latter fragments could have either belonged to the pottery of the Late Antiquity that is to the period of the late forth — fifth centuries AD[11] or, more likely, to the Early Mediaeval Bulgarian pottery of the late ninth — tenth centuries. This is suggested by the accompanying finds of a body of a clay horse and other animals with quite characteristic decorative finishing, similar to that of the glazed vessels[12]. All these ceramic artefacts witness to the lengthy, stable, and continuous community life at this site, only rarely interrupted by chronological gaps.

The hoard was excavated about three kilometres north-west of the Elenovo village, at the site called Yurenya. This site is an elongated open-ended hollow sloping to the south-east through the Yurenya River valley toward the Thracian plain. Three moderate-height

[8] DETEV 1950, 78.

[9] IGNATOV - KANCHEVA-RUSEVA - VELKOV 1996, 13.

[10] DETEV 1950, 78 and fig. 30.

[11] Examples of similar pottery produced at Marcianopolis in Moesia Secunda, Bulgaria see in MINCHEV - GEORGIEV 1991, 225-26.

[12] BAKALOVA 1988, 26-27, cat. nos. 29, 31 and bibl.

Fig. 3: An aerial view of the Elenovo village area. X - the approximate location of the find (42°23'54", 26°07'21").

ridges named Karakaya (the Black Rock), Ostar Kamak (the Sharp Stone) and Yurenya embrace the hollow and present a sort of a natural shelter and defence to those settled within. The published archaeological finds from this site are scarce but important and speak in favour of existence of at least one large settlement of the Roman period there. According to the research conducted in the area during the early 1950s, the site produced numerous finds of fine Roman red-slip and coarse pottery of the first — third centuries AD, several milestones of various shapes, a small bronze statuette of the *Venus Pudica* type of second — third centuries AD, and other items. A Roman paved road about four meters wide stretching out from the settlement southward was still visible at that time. A large necropolis of the same period is connected to the settlement. Additionally, ten large Thracian burial mounds (*tumuli*) of an earlier period stretch along the Yurenya ridge[13].

[13] DETEV 1950, 77-78 and figs. 28-29.

VARIOUS EQUIPMENT AND TOOLS

The item no. 3301 described in the inventory record as "an iron rod of unknown purpose" is a *pilum* shank with a square-sectioned socket. The shank itself is also square-sectioned. The total preserved length of the iron is 56.2 cm, the width of the socket is 3.5 cm. The shape and the length of the *pilum* head cannot be determined due to its extensive corrosion. Similar *pila* shanks with the characteristic square-sectioned sockets are known from the Antonine era through the third century AD[14].

Unfortunately, the bronze shield *umbo* was stolen from the exhibit in the town of Tvarditsa in 2000. All what was left was a rough drawing and the following inventory book record no. 3288: "A bronze *umbo* with a flange, the width is 4.8 cm, and a dome, the height is 5 cm. The *umbo* diameter is 21.5 cm, the thickness is 1 mm. The *umbo* was secured by four nails with prominent raised semispherical heads."

Fig. 4: Pilum shank. No. 3301. 56.2×3.5 cm.

The hoard contains five pickaxes or *dolabrae* — the typical Roman military tools — of different sizes and shapes[15]. Three of them have wide axe blades, and two — narrow ones[16]. All of them have chisel-bladed tines on the other end. Their lengths vary from 39.5 to 53.1 cm.

Three mattocks, 31.6, 33, and 39.5 cm in length, also have chisel-bladed tines, but, unlike those found in Künzing[17], they have trapezoid, not rectangular, blades. Several mattocks with similar trapezoid blades were found in 1984 within a Late Roman hoard of metal objects buried in a barrack of the *Castra ad Montanensium* (modern town of Montana, Bulgaria)[18]. A similar in shape mattock, for instance, was recently found among other items on the early third century battlefield at the Harzhorn, Germany[19].

[14] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 130, 151, figs. 74,1; 92,6.

[15] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 117.

[16] Examples of the third century pickaxes see in BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 185; HERMANN 1969, 135-36 and abb. 5.

[17] HERMANN 1969, 136-37 and abb. 6.

[18] ALEKSANDROV 1988, 30 and fig. 3.

[19] GRÜNEWALD 2010, 89.

Fig. 5: Pickaxes. 1 - No. 3296. 39.5×32.1 cm; 2 - No. 3297. 42.5×9.6 cm; 3 - No. 3298. 53.1×14.2 cm; 4 - No. 3299. 42.5×6.5 cm; 5 - No. 3300. 48.8×17.7 cm.

Fig. 6: Mattocks. 1 - No. 3292. 31.6×19.2 cm; 2 - No. 3293. 33.0×20.5 cm; 3 - No. 3294. 39.5×38.8 cm.

The length of all three trapezoid spade blades is about the same — 39, 39.5 and 42.3 cm. The thickness of iron in different areas varies from 2 to 6 mm. Two of the spades had their shafts attached between two rectangular extensions, the third had it inserted into a round socket. The latter is analogous to a spade from the hoard found earlier in the destruction layer of the south-western tower of the Montana fortress[20]. One of the spades still had two nails used to secure its shaft attachment.

The working part of the ploughshare has a shape of an isosceles triangle with a convex surface. A long rectangular-sectioned handle was forged together with the working part out of one piece of iron. The ploughshare was attached to the plough by means of a ring and a bent-down end of the handle, which was hammered into the wood. The total length of the ploughshare is 43.7 cm, about half of which is the handle. Ploughshares of this type, apparently, were of the Thracian origin and were common to the Balkans up until the Early Medieval period[21]. For instance, eight such ploughshares, some complete with rings, were found within the Montana hoard in 1984[22].

The linchpin that was found within the hoard was purposed to prevent the wheel from slipping from the axle of the cart. Its top end is flattened and forms a loop for the rope, which secured the linchpin in place. Numerous linchpins of this kind[23] were found within the Roman Empire[24], but this one presents one of the largest examples. Its length is 19 cm.

The hoard contains a tent peg[25], which implies its military provenance. The peg is 20 cm in length and is forged in one piece with the loop for securing a rope. Its closest analogy comes from the Künzing hoard[26].

THE *ΚΑΜΒΈΣΤΡΙΟΝ*

The function of this find could not be determined until the publication of Eric Marsden's seminal work in 1971[27] and the archaeological analogies that followed[28]. Thus, the inventory book record no. 3305 states: "Iron part of a mechanism (chariot?), of complex design, consists of two parts, length — 26 cm, width — 13 cm."

[20] ALEKSANDROV 1988, 31 and fig. 3.

[21] VAZHAROVA 1956, 11-12, 50-53 and fig. 6.

[22] ALEKSANDROV 1988, 28-29 and fig. 2.

[23] Type 2b after MANNING 1985, 73-74 and fig. 20.

[24] Blackburn Mill: PIGOTT 1952, 41, 43 and fig. 11,B4. Carlingwark: PIGOTT 1952, 32-33 and fig. 8,C8. Carpow: DORE - WILKES 1999, 555-56 and fig. 48,19. Great Wakering: MANNING 1985, 74 and pl. 31,H41; H42. Mumrills: MACDONALD - CURLE 1928, 561, 563-64 and fig. 124,5. Neupotz: VISY 1993, 275-77 (Band 1); 82-83 (Band 2) and tafn. 425, 426,F115; F116 (Band 4). Newstead: CURLE 1911, 294-95 and fig. 70,1; 3; 6.

[25] The interpretation of these objects as tent pegs is the most popular, although some scholars believe that these iron pegs were used for tethering animals; so BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 69, 187 and fig. 121.

[26] HERMANN 1969, 138-39 and abb. 8,10-17.

[27] MARSDEN 1971, 206-33.

[28] Gornea, 1968: BAATZ - GUDEA 1974, 54-57 and abb. 3-5; Orşova/*Dierna*, 1969: BAATZ - GUDEA 1974, 57-58 and abb. 6-8; Lyon, before 1857: BAATZ - FEUGÈRE 1981: 201-3 and figs. 1-2; Sala, 1960:BOUBE-PICCOT 1988: 213-15 and pl. 3-4, 8-10 .

Fig. 7: Spade blades. 1 - No. 3289. 39.0×36.3 cm; 2 - No. 3290. 42.3×26.5 cm; 3 - No. 3291. 39.5×20.9 cm.

Fig. 9: *Kambestrion*. No. 3305a.

Fig. 8: 1 - Ploughshare. No. 3295. 43.7×13.3 cm; 2 - Ring. No. 3306. 8.4×3.0 cm; 3 - Linchpin. No. 3304. 19.0×4.5 cm; 4 - Tent peg. No. 3303. 20.0×2.0×0.4 cm.

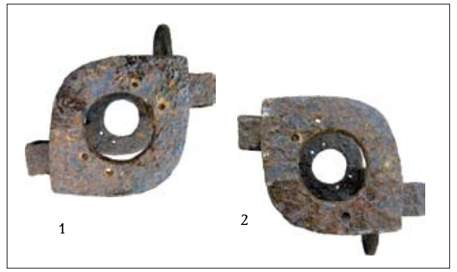


Fig. 10: *Kambestrion*. 1 - Top view; 2 - Bottom view.

Fig. 11: *Kambestrion*. 1 - Right view; 2 - Left view.

Fig. 12: *Kambestrion*. 1 - Front view; 2 - Rear view.

About 25 years ago, one of the authors of this article saw this object in one of the showcases of the Nova-Zagora Museum. However, despite all the efforts undertaken, due to various circumstances and the scarcity of the available data, a complete publication of this rare find could not yet be accomplished.

The object is a part of an all-metal spring-frame called *καμβέστριον* in Greek (Heron, *Cheir*. W128), which housed one of the two torsion-springs of the Roman arrow-shooting *ballista*. This *kambestrion* is the third in terms of its finding date among the seven presently known. It is made of iron, as is the case with almost all of the others found so far. Unlike the others, however, the parts of this *kambestrion* were put together by forge welding instead of riveting. Due to the rigidity of the construction caused by forge welding, it preserved its original shape, just as the only known cast bronze *kambestrion* from Sala. Our *kambestrion* is the smallest of those that, apparently, were designed for the stationary engines and not for the hand ones, as was the case with three tiny *kambestria* from Gornea. Its height is only 26.5 cm, the diameter of the spring-hole for the washer — 6.7 cm, weight — 5.33 kg. For comparison, the *kambestrion* from Sala is 37.4 cm in height, its spring-hole diameter is 8 cm, its weight is 15 kg[29]; the *kambestrion* from Orşova/*Dierna* has the measurements of 36 cm, 7.9 cm, and about 8 kg accordingly[30]. The *kambestrion* from Lyon has superior height and diameter, but inferior weight of 4.85 kg[31]. In appearance, the Sala *kambestrion* is the closest to the Elenovo find. The *kambestrion* consists of two hole-carriers, two stanchions, and four brackets riveted to the stanchions and used for connection with the upper arched (*καμάριον*) and lower composite (*κλιμάκιον*) struts.

The hole-carriers are nearly square in shape with two rounded opposing angles. In addition to the central hole for the washer installation, the hole-carriers also have four drilled small holes for the retaining pins, 6-8 mm in diameter. Nearly all of the remaining known *kambestria* have the same number of the retaining pin-holes. The only exception is the *kambestrion* from Sala, which, however, likely had the same number of the holes originally.

The rear-stanchion is straight, whereas the front-stanchion has a convex bulge on its outer side, and a semicircular recess on its inner side, used as an arm rest after firing. The stanchion widens considerably in

[29] BOUBE-PICCOT 1994, 188.
[30] BAATZ - GUDEA 1974, 57-58.
[31] BAATZ - FEUGÈRE 1981, 202.

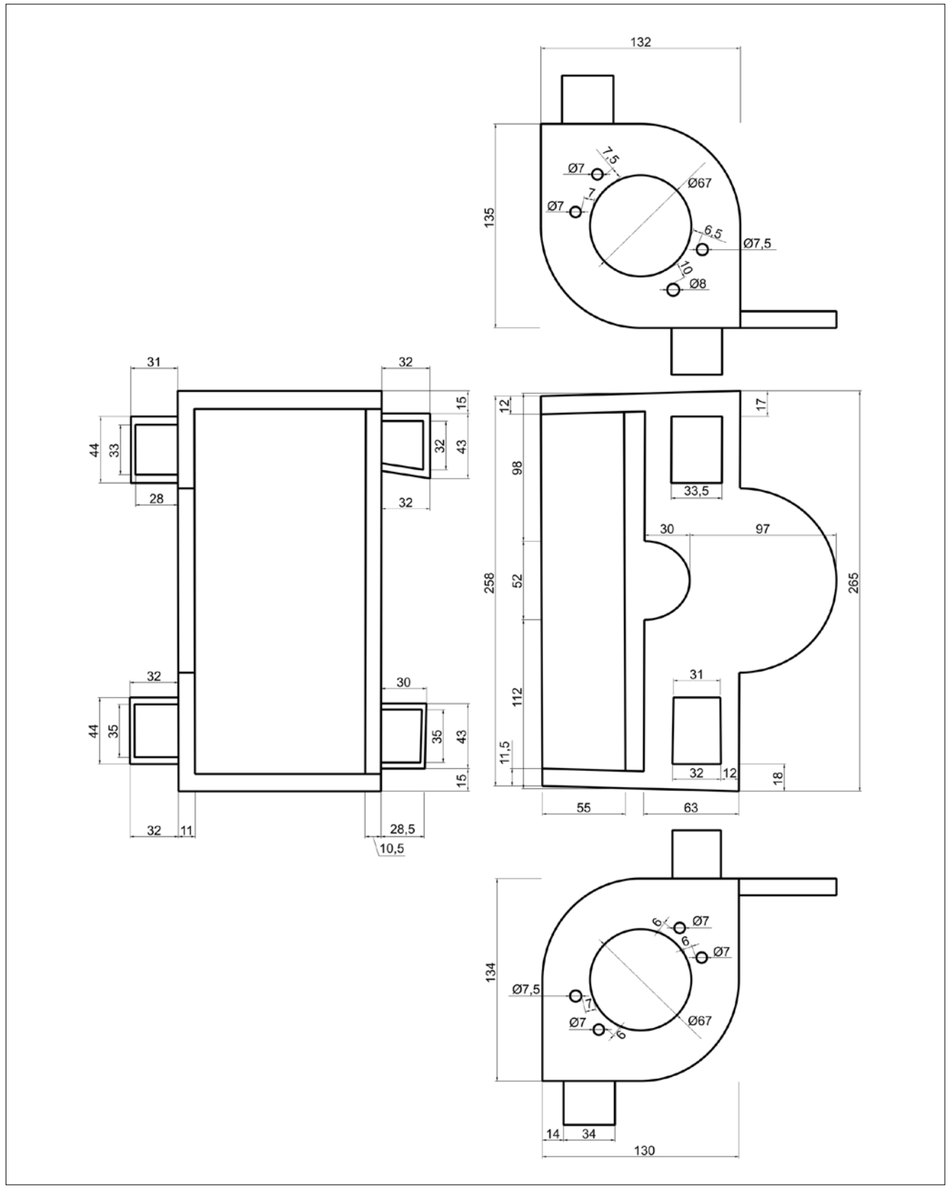


Fig. 13: *Kambestrion*. Dimensions.

the place of the convex bulge. This type of the cross-section increase in width or thickness is known for the front-stanchions of all found *kambestria* with the exception of the one from Lyon. This construction feature prevented bending of the stanchions at this weak point. As an example, the only two horsehair torsion-springs 7.9 cm in diameter used in the Ampurias catapult reconstructed by Erwin Schramm, compressed the wooden spring-frame with the force of 11 tons[32].

The stanchions are welded to the corners of the hole-carriers parallel to their edges and with significant offset in relation to each other. Such positioning of the stanchions and the shape of the hole-carriers, as is also the case with the Sala *kambestrion*[33], clearly suggests a palintone construction[34] of this spring-frame. Moreover, the diamond shape of the hole-carriers (Heron, *Bel.* W103-4; Philon, *Bel.* W52; Vitr., *De arch.*, X, 11, 4) of the *kambestria* from Orşova and Lyon suggests that apparently they were also originally made according to the same palintone scheme with the offset of the stanchions and were not positioned radially across from each other. Subsequently, due to the weakness of the riveted joints, their stanchions could have shifted to their current positioning. It is also possible that a similar shift had occurred with the stanchions of the three *kambestria* from Gornea, which have nearly round hole-carriers.

The thickness of the hole-carriers and stanchions varies from 11 to 12 mm.

The upper and lower mounting brackets or *πιττάρια* (Heron, *Cheir*. W129) are made out of iron which is thinner than it is for the rest of the *kambestrion* and varies from 2 to 5 mm in thickness. The brackets are approximately similar in their dimensions. This makes this *kambestrion*, just as the *kambestrion* from Sala, different from all the other *kambestria*, which all have the lower brackets larger in size than the upper ones. The brackets are attached to the stanchions through riveting, not welding.

The surface of the *kambestrion* parts not affected by corrosion show clear signs of thorough treatment.

[32] SCHRAMM 1918, 40, 77.

[33] BOUBE-PICCOT 1994, 188-195 and pl. Z¹,1; 49; 96-98.

[34] MARSDEN 1969, 22-23, 189; MARSDEN 1971, 231; WILKINS 1995, 31, 48; IRIARTE 2000, 54-55; WILKINS 2003, 42.

CRANK-HANDLE

An unusual iron object found within the Elenovo hoard was a rod 45 cm in length with two opposing shanks forge-welded to it. Its weight is 3.27 kg. The shape of the object suggests that most likely it presents a crank-handle used to turn a windlass, which possibly belonged to the same *ballista* as did the *kambestrion* from the same hoard.

Until recently, virtually all the researchers denied the very existence and application of cranks in Antiquity[35]. Without doubt that was a consequence of the complete absence of any supporting evidence to the contrary in surviving treatises of ancient mechanics and architects, as well as of inconclusiveness of the scarce archaeological data, such as the hypothetical reconstruction of the bilge chain-pump with a wooden wheeled crank-handle of Caligula's second ship from Lake Nemi (Italy)[36] and the obscure reference to an iron crank-handle of the Archimedes screw from the mine in Alcaracejos[37]. However, recent finds prompt for revising this view. They include, first of all, the iron crank-handle of a hand-mill from Aschheim[38] and those of unknown purpose from Augusta Raurica[39], as well as the established usage of the crank-and-rod system in the stone saw-mills in Hierapolis[40], Gerasa[41],

[35] The discussion of the crank see in RITTI - GREWE - KESSENER 2007, 154-56. See also MARSDEN 1971. vii: " It is most unlikely that ancient engineers knew anything about the crank in any shape or form", 178 and n. 109: "evidence for cranks in Hellenistic times is virtually non-existent"; OLESON 1984, 286: "It seems highly probable that [the combination of water-wheel, crank and connecting rod] is a late medieval invention", 402: "the nearly total ignorance of the crank and the connecting rod in the classical world" … "The absence of the crank on machines is all the more remarkable in that its principle appears at least partially formed on the rotary quern in the second century BC"; HUMPHREY, OLESON - SHERWOOD 1998, 34: "an oscillating saw would require use of a crank, for which there is a little evidence in antiquity"; LANDELS 2000, 10: " It is generally agreed that the Greek and Romans did not, apparently, discover or use a crank in place of the handspikes on a windlass", 25: "In the absence of any evidence for [crank and connecting rod] we can only guess, regret all the more that no technical writings have survived from that area or from that period"; LUCAS 2005, 5 and n. 9: "it remains unclear how long before the eight century the crank handle was commonly used in the West" … "The more sophisticated mechanisms of the crank and connected rod appear to be early medieval developments"; SCHIØLER 2005, 34: "all historians of technology agree that the one armed-crank was unknown in Roman times".

[36] UCELLI 1950, 184, 428 and fig. 199; OLESON 1984, 230-31; IRIARTE 2000, 68-70.

[37] TREPTOW 1918, 180-81; DAVIES 1935, 27.

[38] VOLPERT 1997, 193-199.

[39] LAUR-BELART 1978, 59 and abb. 46.

[40] RITTI - GREWE - KESSENER 2007, 138-63; GREWE - KESSENER 2007, 227-34; GREWE 2009, 429-54; GREWE 2010, 381-401.

[41] SEIGNE 2002a, 14-16; SEIGNE 2002b, 205-13.

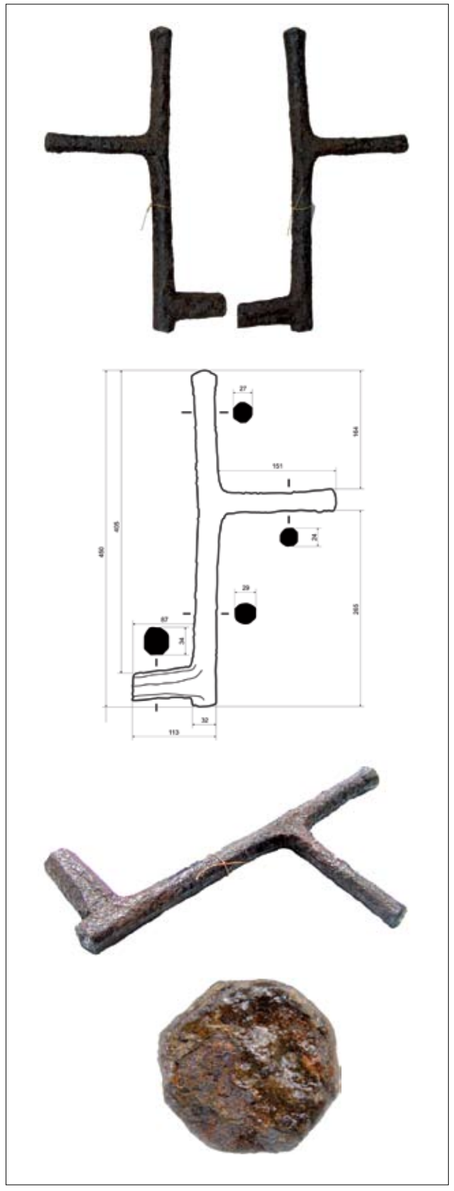


Fig. 14: Crank-handle. No. 3305b.

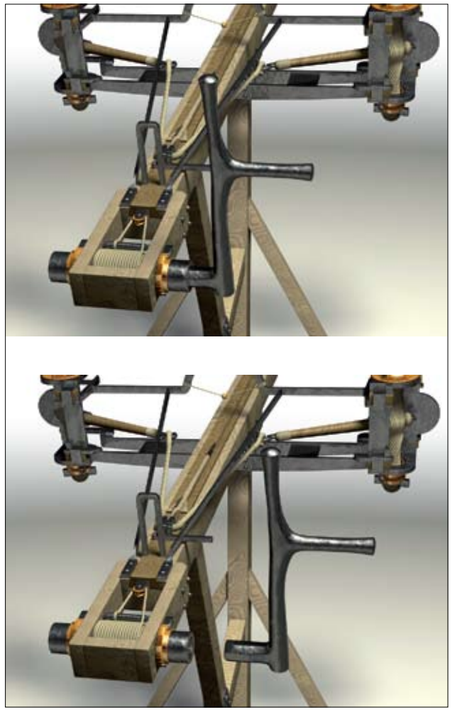


Fig. 15: Crank-handle (reconstruction). 1 - Inserted into the axis of the windlass, 2 - Separated from the axis of the windlass.

and Ephesus[42]. The absence of any references to cranks in the technical treatises, the latest of which belongs to Heron of Alexandria, can be explained by the fact that all of the finds date to the period from the end of the second century to the middle of the sixth.

The short and thick shank is octagonal-sectioned and, apparently, could be a kind of a key that could have been inserted into the octagonal counter-hole in the butt-end of the all-metal or metal-bound axle of the windlass. Its octagonal cross-section would allow repositioning of the crank-handle every 45°, which would

[42] RITTI - GREWE - KESSENER 2007, 151-53 and figs. 15-16; GREWE 2009, 435, 440-43 and abb. 3, 11-12; GREWE 2010, 384-85, 388-90 and figs. 3, 11-12.

be convenient in the particularly exerting last stage of *ballista*'s pullback. In that case, a side grip, used for fast rotation of the windlass, would be positioned on the other end of the crank. The length of the side grip would allow the application of both hands. The vertical grip, in that case, could be used for exerting additional force by increasing the gear ratio on more difficult stages of the pullback.

ARM (?)

Although the exact purpose of the round-sectioned iron rod registered under no. 3302 is unknown, it is possible that it belonged to the same *ballista*. This supposition has some support. Its length, 37.1 cm, fits well within the theoretical length of the arm equal to six diameters of the spring-holes, especially taking into account that the actual diameter of the torsion-spring hole would be less than that of the hole-carrier. The thinner end of the rod is bent into a loop, undoubtedly for passing a rope or, possibly, a bowstring. The other end of the rod has a local thickening, similar to that of the arm depicted in some of the copies of Heron's treatise about a *cheiroballistra*[43], as well as of the arms shown in some of the medieval illustrations depicting an one-armed stone-thrower[44]. Such thickening would prevent loosing of the arm from the torsion bundle.

RECONSTRUCTION

Without doubt, the *kambestrion* belonged to a stationary garrison arrow-shooter or to a *ballista* carried on a battle-cart — *carroballista* (Veg., *Mil.*, II, 25; III, 14; 24) — to which the found linchpin could have also belonged. *Ballistae* on battle-carts were first seen on the Trajan's column — they have only two wheels and are pulled by mules[45]. A similar two-wheeled artillery cart pulled by mules and carrying a *ballista* base on it is apparently depicted on the Marcus Aurelius column[46]. The first literary evidence relating to the use of the *ballistae* on battle-carts in the field battle belongs to the end of the third — beginning of the fourth century. The *ballistarii* of the Chersonesos used them in battles at the city walls of the Cimmerian Bosporus and on the Danube (Const. Porph., *De adm. Imp.*, 53, 29; 34; 132).

[43] See PROU 1877, 148 and fig. 27 (ms. de Paris 2438); Oxford, Magdalen College, Magd. MS. Gr. 14, fol. 15r.

[44] See SCHMIDTCHEN 1987, XXIX (Cod. Pal. Lat. 1888 Rom; CPV 3069 Wien).

[45] TC, XL, 104-5; LXVI, 163-64.

Fig. 16: Arm (?). No. 3302. 37.1×1.5 cm.

In the time of Vegetius (Veg., *Mil.*, III, 14; 24), along with the mules horses were used to drive the artillery carts placed in the rear ranks of the battle order. The so-called Roman Reformer and Inventor of the fourth century recommends using of armour for protection of the horses of such a cart, now with four wheels instead of two (Anon., *De reb. bel.*, VII, 2). According to Mauricius (*Strat.*, XII, B, 18), the *ballistae* on carts were most probably driven by oxen and followed the infantry in battle formation as a part of a *karagon*, which protected the wagon train on the march. In the rear, the draft animals and the crews of the battle carts were protected from projectiles by felt screens. (Mauric., *Strat.*, XII, B, 6; 18). The heads of the catapult bolts, found in abundance in Harzhorn, confirm the regular use of the throwing engines by the Roman army in the battlefield[47].

[46] WILKINS 1995, 43 and fig. 22

A short treatise entitled "Heron's Construction and Dimensions of the *Cheiroballistra*" is the main source of our knowledge about the construction of the *ballista* with the all-metal spring-frame. The archaeological finds of the last 40 years that occurred in two small Late Roman bridgehead forts in the Danube limes in Romania, as well as in France and Morocco, also played a significant role in our understanding of the constructions of these engines.

The last decade witnessed a heated debate about the construction of these *ballistae*[48]. The classic construction of the torsion arrow-shooters of the Hellenistic and the Roman Republican periods undoubtedly originated from the earlier engines, which used a composite bow as the source of the spring force. In such construction, the wooden frame for the torsion springs was narrow, and the arms for the bowstring attachment faced outwards. The frame itself was positioned in the front of the stock in order to ensure the maximum bowstring travel. However, we have all reasons to believe that the *ballistae* with the all-metal spring-frame had principally different construction: their arms were directed inwards of the spring-frame. What are the grounds for such a supposition?

First, the supposition is grounded in the width of the frame itself. A significant increase of the dimensions of the all-metal spring-frame in comparison with the classic wooden one and the increase of the aperture between the torsion springs would be too high a price to pay for such an insignificant achievement as an increase of the shooter's field of vision[49]. Nobody would change the construction of the arrow-shooter so radically for such a reason.

[47] GRÜNEWALD 2010, 85, 89.

[48] ANSTEE 1998, 131-39; IRIARTE 2000, 47-75; WILKINS - MORGAN 2000, 94-100; MIKS 2001, 153-233; WILKINS 2003, 38-50, 69-70; IRIARTE 2003, 111-40; CAMPBELL 2003, 37-42; LEWIS - FAULKNER 2004, 45-46; RIHLL 2007, 209-18; LEWIS - HART 2010, 261-73.

[49] MARSDEN 1971, 227: "The widely spaced field-frames, together with the arch and the ladder, form a relatively large window through which the artilleryman can observe an extensive area of enemy territory. When a target presents itself, he can align his machine on it instantly without leaving his position beside the rear of the stock."; BAATZ 1978, 13: "In combination with the wide spacing of the field-frames this provided a useful opening in the framework of the catapult, through which the ancient artilleryman could observe the field and spot his target."; WILKINS 1995, 50-51: "In contrast the open framework of the *cheiroballistra* allows the approaching enemy to be followed at all times however much he swerves, and the final shot can safely be delayed until a hit is certain and the bolt will penetrate with maximum force. The missile can be followed throughout its trajectory and corrections easily judged; accurate medium and close range aiming are assisted by relating both the missile and target to the arch in the upper strut."

Second, the supposition is supported by a small number of the surviving pictorial evidences, both of the Hellenistic and of the Roman periods. The arms of the throwing engines, just as the arms of the bows, are prominent features and would be certainly depicted by an ancient artist. Indeed, two of the surviving reliefs presenting frontal views of the Hellenistic and the Roman *scorpiones* clearly show their arms[50], whereas the Trajan's column reliefs[51], depicting arrow-shooting *ballistae* with the all-metal spring-frame, do not show their arms. Is not that so because the arms were positioned inside of the spring-frame and did not protrude to the sides[52]? Furthermore, the Trajan's column provides additional indirect evidences in favour of this hypothesis. The spring-frame of such an arrow-shooter should have been positioned not in the front of the stock, as was the case with the earlier Hellenistic engines, but shifted rearward closer to the middle, because at firing the arms had to continue their movement beyond its frontal plane. Therefore, a significant portion of the stock had to protrude forward beyond the spring-frame, which indeed was clearly the case for the five of the seven *ballistae* depicted on the reliefs[53]. Out of the remaining two, one is shown from the front[54], and the other is partially covered by the back of a mule[55]. A supposition that the reliefs portray protruding sliders[56] is ungrounded. Due to its small cross-section, a slider was a quite fragile element which was moved forward immediately prior to loading. A Roman artilleryman would hardly leave his engine in such a vulnerable state out of fear of accidental damage. This constructional feature can also be seen in the illustrations from the treatise of the Roman Reformer and Inventor[57]. Parts of both of the *ballistae*, which undoubtedly present arched struts of the spring-frames, are significantly shifted rearwards. It is also possible to notice some details, which apparently are depictions

[50] According to a relief carving from the frieze of the Sanctuary of Athena at Pergamon (*c.* 170 BC) and the tombstone of C. Vedennius Moderatus (c. AD 100), who served as an *architectus* in the imperial arsenal at Rome (CIL, VI, 2725). See SCHRAMM 1918, 35-36 and abb. 9-10; MARSDEN 1971, pl. 1, 3; WILKINS 2003, 28-29 and figs. 13-14; CAMPBELL 2003, 22, 24; RIHLL 2007, 129, 214 and figs. 6.3, 9.9.

[51] TC, XL, 104-5; LXVI, 163-66; 169.

[52] IRIARTE 2003, 119; RIHLL 2007, 214-15.

[53] TC, XL, 104; LXVI, 165-66; 169. A. Iriarte erroneously speaks of four; see IRIARTE 2003, 119.

[54] TC, LXVI, 163-64.

[55] TC, XL, 105.

[56] WILKINS 1995, 48.

[57] See, for instance, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Canon. Misc. 378, fol. 71v, 76r; München, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. Mon. 10291, fol. 71v, 76r.

of the arms and the bowstring situated inside of the frame. Some of the engines from the Trajan's column[58] display semicircular bulges in the middle parts of their *kambestria* on both sides of their spring-frames. If we interpret the bulges as specific recesses for arm rests[59], it becomes apparent that their positioning as depicted on the column is only possible when the arms rotate inside of the frame, not outside of it. Besides, one of the Trajan's column reliefs depicts the *ballistae* situated so close to each other on the top of the fortress wall that it would not be possible to achieve with the outer positioning of the arms[60].

Third, the supposition is supported by the archaeological finds. An excavation conducted in the southwestern tower of the Roman fort in Orşova yielded a *kambestrion* and an arched strut, which were found next to each other in the same destruction layer[61] and apparently belonged to the same garrison *ballista*. Had the arms been faced outward, a direct connection of the tenons of the strut through the brackets of the *kambestrion* would position the semicircular recess for the arm rest in a wrong place where it would be unable to perform its function. The stanchions of the *kambestrion* would inhibit the movement of the arm, which stops at the maximum tension of the bowstring, and that would be unacceptable. Complex adapters between the *kambestria* and both of the struts would be required in order to turn the *kambestria* to their proper position[62]. Such an adapter hardly existed in the case of the Orşova *ballista*, and the *cheiroballistra* treatise does not mention it either. A bronze plating of the buried wooden spring-frame of a stone-thrower found along with washers next to the northern gate of Hatra in Iraq can, apparently, shed some light on this issue[63]. Unlike the narrow Hellenistic spring-frames, the spring-frame from Hatra has its torsions significantly further apart from each other, and its proportions clearly resemble the frames of the Heron's *cheiroballistra* and Orşova *ballista*. The construction of this frame does not allow outward facing of the arms, whereas the semicircular recesses in the front stanchions are on the inside as is the case with the iron *kambestria* when they are directly connected to the struts.

[58] TC, XL, 104-5; LXVI, 163-64.

[59] IRIARTE 2000, 61-62; IRIARTE 2003, 119; MIKS 2001, 206-7.

[60] TC, LXVI, 165.

[61] GUDEA - BAATZ 1974, 58; BAATZ 1978, 9.

[62] GUDEA - BAATZ 1974, 64; A. Wilkins suggested to use so called "locking rings" consisting of 12 bronze parts of very complicated design to connect the struts and the *kambestria* in the "correct" position (WILKINS 1995, 34-38, WILKINS 2003, 49-50). In his reconstruction of the *cheiroballistra*, C. Miks used eight "befestigungs klammern" to connect them (MIKS 2001, 191-193).

[63] BAATZ 1978, 3-9.

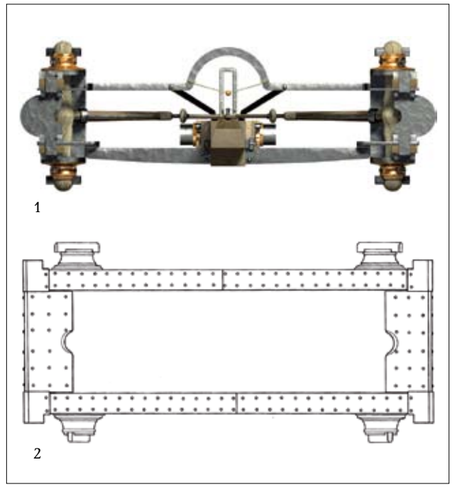


Fig. 17: 1 - The Elenovo spring-frame; 2 - The Hatra spring-frame.

Finally, there is one more consideration. The arched strut from Orşova has two openings on both sides of the central arch. It is believed that the openings secured a cord stretched through the arch, which had a bead attached to it and served as the sight as was the case for the Late Medieval bullet-shooting crossbow[64]. The existence of such sight not only possible, but is required by the central arch itself. However, these holes are too large — their diameters are nine and ten mm with the overall height of the cross-section of the strut is 36 mm[65]. Decreasing the area of the cross-section in more than a quarter, they significantly weaken the strength of the construction that needs to carry a significant load. Besides, there is no need to drill the holes, especially at a considerable distance from the central arch, to attach a cord. What then was the likely purpose of these holes? The Hellenistic wooden palintones used two diagonal stays for supporting the spring-frame (*anteridon*: Vitr., *De arch.*, X, 11, 9; *αντηρείδας*: Heron, *Bel.*, W101). Apparently, these holes served for securing similar stays of the most power-

[64] WILKINS 1995, 26.

[65] GUDEA - BAATZ 1974, 58.

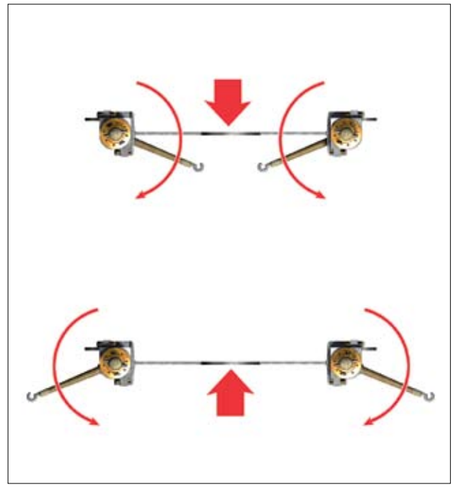
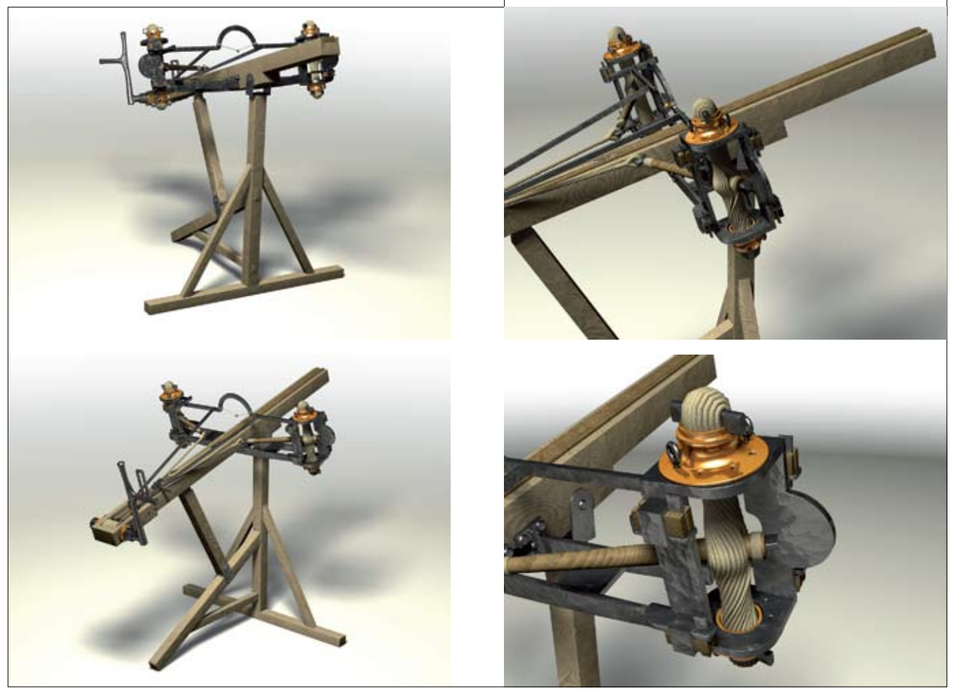


Fig. 18: The direction of the force applied to the arched strut during the rotation of the arms. 1 - Inside of the spring-frame; 2 - Outside of the spring-frame.

Fig. 19: 3D-reconstruction of the Elenovo *ballista*.



ful arrow-shooting *ballistae* with the purpose of preventing the bending of the arched strut. Such considerable bending is displayed by the model *ballista* of Nick Watts, which *kambestria* and *kamarion* are made by the dimensions of the Orşova finds[66]. However, the diagonal stays would perform effectively only if the compressive force is directed toward the rear part of the engine, that is, when the arms turn inside of the spring-frame. Otherwise, the tension would likely lead to detachment of the rivets and failing of the construction.

Thus, only the inner positioning of the arms allows a satisfactory resolution of the majority of the issues regarding the construction of the all-metal spring-frame *ballistae*.

It has to be noted that the positioning of the arms inside of the spring-frame is not something unusual. According to the drawings from the treatises of Roberto Valturio[67] and Johannes Formschneider from Nuremberg[68], it had been applied for the torsion springalds in the Late Medieval period.

CONCLUSION

Unfortunately, the exact location of the Elenovo hoard containing military and agricultural equipment can no longer be established. Therefore, it is hard to determine whether the find can be directly connected to some of the aforementioned archaeological sites and, respectively, to their local population. For the same reason the dating of the find is difficult, although the second half of the second century — third century AD is the most probable time frame.

Did all these objects belong to a local garrison permanently or temporarily based at one of the Roman settlements mentioned above, or were they buried by some Roman military unit due to an accident, for instance, during its hurried retreat because of the Gothic invasion of the 250-51 AD? That is a question which will have to remain unsolved. Nevertheless, this rare find provides additional information about Roman military presence in Thracia and gives some answers to some questions regarding construction of the Late Roman arrow-shooting *ballistae*.

[66] The *ballista* had nylon torsion bundles; the muzzle velocity of the 465 g bolt — 100 m/s with the draw weight of 2.2 tons. A 454 g bolt with the muzzle velocity of 95 m/s pierced 6.5mm iron plate. See http://wattsunique.com/blog/

[67] London, British Library, Add. 24945, fol. 185r.

[68] München, Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, Cod. germ. Mon. 734, fol. 103v.

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TAVERN BRAWLS, BANDITRY AND BATTLES - WEAPON INJURIES IN ROMAN IADER

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INTRODUCTION

Bone injuries have been one of the most studied pathological conditions in archaeological samples, as well as one of the most reliable indicators of living conditions of past populations[1].

Unfortunately, despite the increased interest in bioarchaeological research of Croatian skeletal samples in recent years, bone injuries have rarely been the primary object of bioarchaeological analysis. So far, only three papers[2] predominantly address the issue of bone trauma in Croatian archaeological populations. The lack of weapon-injury studies in Croatian bioarchaeology prompted the anthropologists working at the Department of Archaeology of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb to carry out a comprehensive analysis of the frequency and distribution of weapon-related skeletal injuries in the Roman period skeletal sample from Zadar which is presented in this paper.

[1] GRAUER - ROBERTS 1996; DJURIĆ et al., 2006.

[2] ŠLAUS - NOVAK 2006; NOVAK - ŠLAUS 2010; ŠLAUS et al., 2010.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The modern city of Zadar is situated on the eastern Adriatic coast in contemporary Croatia. The settlement was founded as a Roman veteran colony (Colonia Iulia Iader) in 48 BC, most likely by Caesar himself[3]. During the Roman period it was one of the largest urban settlements in the Roman province of Dalmatia - estimates of the size of Zadar's population during the early Empire range between 4 and 10,000 while the number of inhabitants during the 4th century is estimated to be between 20 and 40,000[4].

Because of urban reconstructions in the Zadar area during the last two decades, a rescue excavation of a Roman necropolis consisting of more than 2,000 skeletal and incinerated graves was carried out in 1989/1990 and 2005/2006 in the Relja city district (Fig. 1). The excavations were coordinated by the archaeologists from the Archaeological museum in Zadar. Graves are dated between the 1st and 6th centuries

[3] SUIĆ 2003.

[4] NEDVED 1992; PERIČIĆ 1999; SUIĆ 2003; GRAOVAC 2004.

Fig. 1. Map of the modern city of Zadar with marked position of the Relja necropolis. The Roman Iader was situated on the peninsula to the west.

AD based on grave goods and horizontal stratigraphy[5]. Of eight skeletons that exhibited weapon injuries five were simple inhumations in plain ground (gr. 18, 135, 269, 295, 719), one inhumation covered with *tegulae* (gr. 661), one inhumation in amphora (gr. 598) (Fig. 2), and one inhumation in grave vault (gr. 378) - these burials are dated between the 2nd and 6th c. AD[6]. The majority of skeletal burials from this site were damaged postmortem by later inhumations and construction activities; the preservation of the skeletons ranges between good and excellent.

The sex and age-at-death of the recovered individuals were determined at the osteological laboratory of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, based on methods described in Buikstra and Ubelaker[7]. Some bioarchaeological aspects of the Roman period population from Zadar, such as frequencies and distribution of bone fractures and indicators of subadult stress, have already been published[8]. The actual Roman weapons used in possible reconstructions during forensic analyses were borrowed from the Archaeological museum in Zagreb[9].

[5] BRUSIĆ - GLUŠČEVIĆ 1990; FADIĆ 2007.

[6] GLUŠČEVIĆ - ALIHODŽIĆ, personal communication. I would like to thank Smiljan Gluščević and Timka Alihodžić from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar for providing the archaeological data for the graves containing the individuals with weapon injuries from the Zadar-Relja site.

[7] BUIKSTRA - UBELAKER 1994.

[8] NOVAK - ŠLAUS 2010a, 2010b.

[9] I would like to thank Ivan Radman Livaja from the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb for valuable advices and for enabling me the use of Roman weaponry for the purpose of forensic analyses.

CASES OF WEAPON INJURIES IN IADER

Among the 641 individuals from the Zadar-Relja site eight skeletons (all males) exhibit weapon-induced injuries: sharp force lesions and projectile injuries. All recorded bone trauma are located in two main body regions: cranium and lower extremities.

Of the eight skeletons with weapon injuries three skeletons exhibit antemortem trauma, while five skeletons exhibit perimortem trauma:

1) TC Relja, 1989/1990, grave 598 - male, between 31 and 40 years. An antemortem healed cut, 4 mm in length, is present on the frontal bone, superior of nasion. The lesion was inflicted by a sharp-edged weapon (long-bladed knife or sword).

2) TC Relja, 1989/1990, grave 661 - male, between 41 and 45 years. A perimortem penetrative trauma, 10x7 mm in size, is present on the left parietal bone (Fig. 3); a cone-shaped defect, 25x16 mm in size, is present on the endocranial side of the skull (Fig. 4). It was most probably inflicted by a projectile (arrowhead).

3) TC Relja, 1989/1990, grave 719 - male, between 36 and 45 years. Two antemortem healed cuts are located on the cranium: 1) an elongated cut, 30 mm in length, is present on the left parietal bone; 2) an elongated cut, 36 mm in length, is present on the left parietal bone, inferior of the first trauma (Fig. 5). Both wounds were inflicted by a sharp-edged weapon (sword).

4) TC Relja, 2005/2006, grave 378B - male, between 36 and 40 years. A massive perimortem cut, 95 mm in length, is present on the left parietal bone and the occipital bone (Fig. 6). The wound was inflicted by a sword penetrating deep into the cranial vault.

5) Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 18 - male, between 41 and 50 years. An antemortem healed cut, 32 mm in length, is present on the left parietal bone. It was inflicted by a sharp-edged weapon (long-bladed knife or sword).

6) Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 135 - male, between 31 and 40 years. Perimortem cut, 14x12 mm in size, is present on the medial side of the proximal third of the right femur (Fig. 7). The wound was inflicted by a sharp-edged weapon (sword).

7) Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 269 - male, around 50 years. Two perimortem cuts are located on the cranium: 1) a tangential cut, 43x21 mm in size, is present on the right parietal bone (Fig. 8); 2) a 39 mm long cut is present on the left parietal bone, penetrating into the cranial vault (Fig. 9). Both wounds were inflicted by a sword.

Fig. 2. Zadar-TC Relja, grave 598, burial in amphora. Photo published with permission of Archaeological Museum in Zadar.

8) Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 295 - male, between 31 and 35 years. Perimortem cut, 16x13 mm in size, is present on the antero-medial side of the proximal third of the right femur (Fig. 10). The wound was inflicted by a sword.

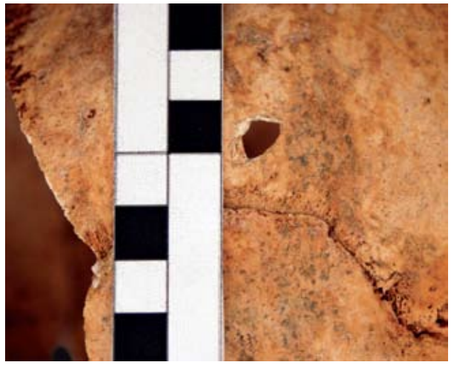

Fig. 3. Perimortem trauma on the left parietal bone inflicted by a projectile. Ectocranial side of the skull. TC Relja, 1989/1990, grave 661, male, between 41 and 45 years.

Fig. 4. Endocranial 'cone' shaped defect inflicted by a projectile. TC Relja, 1989/1990, grave 661, male, between 41 and 45 years.

DISCUSSION

The written sources and archaeological artefacts that testify of deliberate violence in the Roman period Iader are scarce. According to historic sources, the province of Dalmatia was peaceful and prosperous province until the 3rd century when the global crisis that engulfed the Roman Empire also reflected on Zadar and Dalmatia. The city was not directly threatened but the military anarchy and internal unrest in the Empire endangered economy and trade while land and sea routes were unsafe for traffic[10]. During the Visigoth invasion in 378 northern Dalmatia and Iader were not affected by the devastations, at least according to the written sources and archaeological remains. The only document that mentions devastations brought by the barbarian tribes in Dalmatia is the St. Jerome's letter to Heliodorus[11]. In 452, during the Hunnish incursion the region around Zadar was again spared, and when the Ostrogoths conquered Zadar and Dalmatia in 480 AD they let the local population to live in their faith and by their traditions[12]. Additionally, archaeological artefacts indicating occurrence of deliberate violence in Iader are very rare - at the Relja necropolis only one spear tip and three javelin heads were found[13].

The general lack of written sources and archaeological artefacts concerning interpersonal violence may indicate that occurrence of deliberate violence in Iader was infrequent. It is possible, even probable, that numerous violent episodes such as cases of banditry along the roads or minor armed clashes were never recorded by historic sources. However, the presence of eight skeletons exhibiting ante- and perimortem bone trauma inflicted by some kind of weapon strongly suggest increased levels of interpersonal violence. In order to get a better picture concerning the deliberate violence associated with the use of cold weapons in Iader a possible reconstruction of these violent events was conducted using the authentic Roman weaponry. During the reconstruction an attempt was made to discern whether the recorded injuries resulted from the violent episodes of a larger scale or violence of lesser intensity, based on the location and morphology of the trauma, type of the weapon used and the direction from which the wound was induced.

Individual buried in grave 378B beside the massive perimortem trauma to the left side of the cranium exhibits multiple injuries of the ribs (three healed fractures of the 7th, 8th and 9th left ribs) and two antemortem blunt force fractures on the left side of the skull. Taking into consideration the sex and age of the individual, as well as the presence of multiple injuries, one can presume that the individual was a soldier. Unfortunately, there are no archaeological artefacts or epigraphic monuments to verify this hypothesis. Judging by the size and morphology of the perimortem trauma it was inflicted by a Roman *spatha* - a long sword characteristic of the middle and late Roman Empire (in general use in the Roman cavalry from the 1st century AD, and in the infantry since late 2nd or early 3rd century AD[14]). For the

[10] SUIĆ 2003.
[11] SUIĆ 2003.
[12] SUIĆ 2003.
[13] GLUŠČEVIĆ - ALIHODŽIĆ, personal communication.
[14] STEPHENSON 2001; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006.

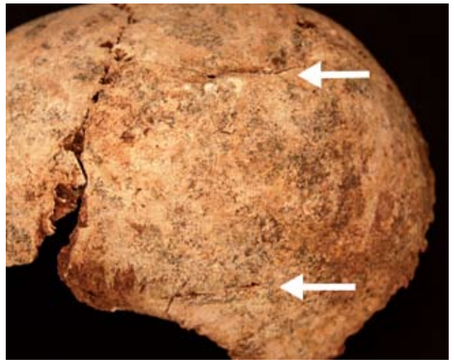

Fig. 5. Two antemortem cuts on the left parietal bone. TC Relja, 1989/1990, grave 719, male, between 36 and 45 years.

Fig. 6. A massive perimortem cut on the left side of the skull. TC Relja, 2005/2006, grave 378B, male, between 36 and 40 years.

purpose of a reconstruction a *spatha* of the Lauriacum-Hromowka type (Siscia, 3rd c. AD) was used (Fig. 11). The blow to the head was of such intensity that it almost detached left side (left parietal bone, and part of the occipital bone) from the rest of the cranium. Such injuries sustained during a battle are well known from historic sources like the Ammianus' Marcellinus[15] description of the siege of Amida in 359 '…and that in front of me a soldier with his head cut in two, and split into equal halves by a powerful sword stroke, was so pressed on all sides that he stood erect like a stump'. In this particular case the blow came from behind of the attacked individual, judging by the position and the angle of the sword (Fig. 12), and it may be presumed that the individual was running away. When all the facts are summarised, the most feasible explanation would be that the individual buried in grave 378B was a soldier killed at a battlefield by a powerful sword blow to the head, most probably trying to escape from the attacker(s). After his death, the individual's body was brought to Zadar where it was buried properly according to the custom at the Relja necropolis. Such scenario was already proposed by Golubović et al.[16] in case of the adult male skeleton from grave 152 in Viminacium.

Two cases of perimortem cuts on the proximal thirds of the right femurs (graves 135 and 295) most probably are a result of a sword attack, probably *spatha*, during a battle, with a goal of severing the femoral artery and quickly killing the opponent. The inner thigh is one of the most desirable places on a human body for the attacker because the sword cut to the femoral artery results in an almost instant death (less than five minutes) due to a massive blood loss (Fig. 13). Considering that the vast majority of the population is right-handed, an attacker would strike with a sword in his right hand aiming for the right femoral artery of the opposing individual, especially if the victim is wearing helmet and upper-body armour. When sex and age of the two individuals exhibiting perimortem cuts are taken into consideration (males aged between 31 and 40 years), as well as the location of bone injuries and the weapons used it may be presumed, as in the case of individual from grave 378B, that both of these individuals were soldiers who died during battle and were brought and buried in Zadar.

Based on the position and morphology of the cranial injuries recorded on male skeleton from grave 269 it may be presumed that the first, non-lethal, strike was inflicted from an elevated position, probably by a horseman carrying a *spatha*. The horsman was situated behind the victim who was trying to run away from the attacker (Fig. 14). After the victim fell to the ground, the second blow that penetrated deep into the skull instantly killed him. This individual might represent a victim of banditry or a similar violent act, rather than a soldier who died on a battlefield, because of his age. Namely, this person is much older (around 50 years) than the other individuals from Iader with weapon injuries that were presumed soldiers. According to Scheidel[17] during the Principate approximately two-thirds of all legionaries enlisted between ages sev-

[15] Ammianus Marcellinus 18.8.12.
[16] GOLUBOVIĆ et al., 2010.
[17] SCHEIDEL 2007.
[18] MACMULLEN 1966.

Fig. 7. Perimortem cut on the proximal third of the right femur. Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 135, male, between 31 and 40 years.

Fig. 8. A tangential perimortem cut on the right parietal bone. Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 269, male, around 50 years.

Fig. 9. Perimortem cut on the left parietal bone. Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 269, male, around 50 years.

enteen and twenty, and more than half of all recruits would not complete a full term of active duty due to violent deaths, camp-related diseases etc. If majority of those recruits who survived twenty-five years of military service enlisted around age of twenty, it may be presumed that they retired around age of forty five. Therefore, it is unlikely that the individual in question was an active soldier who died in battle, but it is more likely that this male was attacked from an ambush, possibly by bandits (*latrones*) somewhere along the road. Banditry in the Roman Empire was sparse in the 1st century, gradually increased in the 2nd century until it grew virtually out of control in the later Empire[18]. Banditry combined with violence most often occurred in rural areas, along the roads, as opposed to towns and villages[19]. Blummell[20] states that 'Bandits posed escalating dangers to the traveller that ranged from highway robbery, which was usually accompanied by violence...or in a worst-case scenario to robbery accompanied by murder'. Numerous inscriptions reveal that deaths due to bandits were a common enough occurrence to give rise to the expression *interfectus a latronibus* ('killed by bandits') and are found on tombstones throughout the Empire[21], even in the province of Dalmatia[22]. Of course, banditry is only one of the possible scenarios, but according to the skeletal injuries recorded it is certain that during the last moments of his life this individual unsuccessfully tried to run away from the attacker who was trying to kill him.

It is possible that a similar violent act occurred in the case of a skeleton from grave 661. This individual died from the trauma to the posterior left side of the cranium most probably inflicted by an arrow. A possible reconstruction implies that the attacker was standing behind the victim on the left side. The victim was most probably unaware of the danger strongly suggesting some kind of ambush - an arrow penetrated the skull and caused an instant death (Fig. 15). The shape and dimension of the lesion suggest the use of a bodkin tanged arrowhead (Fig. 16 and 17). It was suggested by Stephenson[23] that this type of arrowheads was used for armour piercing. In this case it is not possible to reconstruct all the details regarding the last moments of this individual, but it is certain that he fell a victim of an ambush, unaware of the attack, whether as a soldier on the battlefield or as a prey to the bandits somewhere along the road.

[19] BLUMELL 2007.
[20] BLUMELL 2007.
[21] BLUMELL 2007.
[22] ILS 5112.
[23] STEPHENSON 2001.

Fig. 10. Perimortem cut on the proximal third of the right femur. Relja-Vrt, 2005/2006, grave 295, male, between 31 and 35 years.

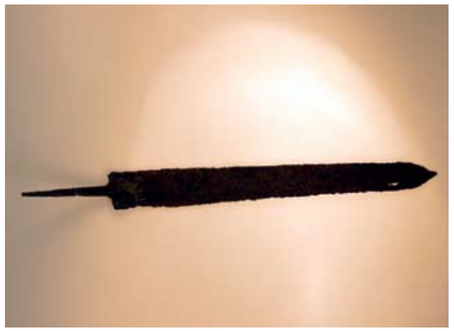

Fig. 11. Roman spatha of the Lauriacum-Hromowka type from Siscia (3rd c. AD). Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

Fig. 12. A reconstruction of the direction and the intensity of a sword strike using the spatha of the Lauriacum-Hromowka type and the skull belonging to the male from grave 598.

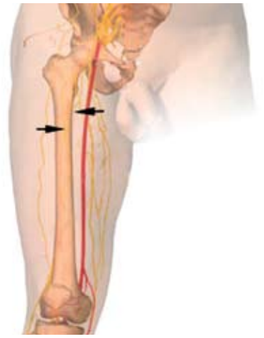

Fig. 13. A schematic image of the right leg with the position of the femoral artery and marked positions of perimortem cuts recorded on skeletons from graves 135 and 295.

Fig. 14. A possible reconstruction of the first, non-lethal cut (after ŠLAUS 2006).

The skeletons buried in graves 18, 598 and 719 share some common characteristics regarding the injuries. Firstly, all trauma were induced by sharp-bladed weapons, such as long-bladed knives or swords; secondly, all three individuals survived the violence in which these injuries occurred; thirdly, the trauma on all three skeletons are of much smaller dimensions and intensity compared to the injuries in other individuals from Iader (e.g. graves 269 and 378B). Based on these characteristics it may be hypothesised that the individuals with small and healed cranial cuts possibly participated in violent episodes of lesser intensity such as tavern brawls or street fights with occasional use of sharp edged weapons. In this type of deliberate violence it is not the aim of the attacker to permanently disable, i.e. to kill the opponent, but to scare or humiliate him. Of course, this scenario may be wrong, but the morphology and size of the recorded injuries as well as the absence of other bone trauma on these skeletons offer only one solution.

The total frequency of violent deaths (taking into account only injuries macroscopically visible on bones) in Iader is 0.8% - five out of 641 skeletons exhibit perimortem bone injuries. On the other hand, in an antique period composite skeletal sample from Croatia (Štrbinci, Zmajevac, Osijek, Vinkovci, Vid, and Kaštel Sućurac) only two out of 657 individuals exhibit perimortem bone trauma - the frequency of violent deaths in composite sample is 0.3%. The question is why is the rate of violent deaths in Iader three times higher compared to the other Roman period sites from Croatia? Unfortunately, the current state of research of this subject does not provide a satisfactory solution. The need for more multidisciplinary studies involving physical anthropologists, archaeologists, historians and experts in Roman warfare has to be emphasised if we are to answer this question. Nevertheless, it is certain that the actual rate of violent deaths in both cases is underestimated and was probably much higher because skeletal injuries represent no more than 40% of all injuries acquired during assaults[24], i.e. most of the fatal injuries inflicted by some kind of a weapon in archaeological as well in modern populations are soft tissue trauma not visible on bones.

[24] JUDD 2008.

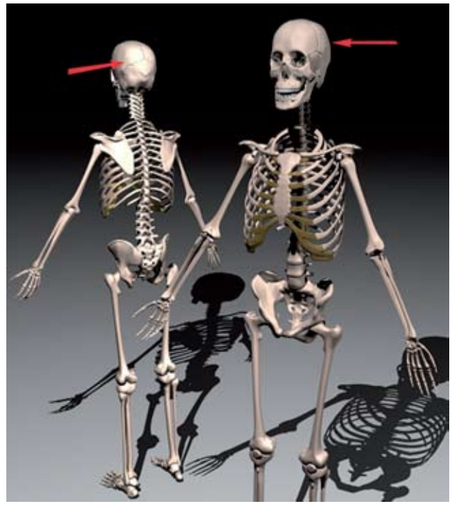

Fig. 15. A reconstruction of direction of the arrow impact, suggesting an ambush (illustration of a skeleton taken from www.3-d-models.com/3d-model_files/380m819.htm).

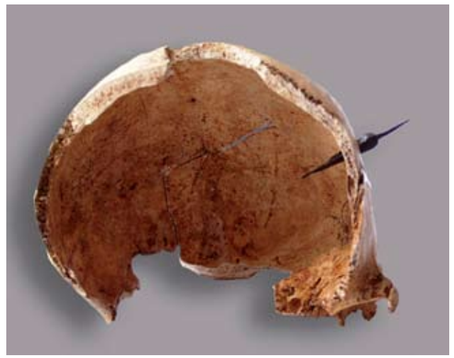

Fig. 16. A bodkin tanged arrowhead penetrating deep into the skull, frontal view, a reconstruction. Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

CONCLUSION

After the detailed forensic analysis of the weapon-related trauma in the Iader skeletal sample and the possible reconstruction of the events in which these injuries were sustained it may be concluded that the risk of deliberate violence in Iader between the 2nd and 6th century was extraordinary high.

The anthropological analysis conducted on 641 skeletons revealed eight adult males exhibiting ante- and perimortem bone injuries inflicted by some kind of a weapon. The forensic analysis indicates that two types of weapons were used: sharp-edged weapons (swords such as *spathae* and/or long-bladed knives) and projectiles (arrows). Head and proximal parts of lower extremities are the two body regions that were the primary targets of attacks. According to the location and morphology of the injuries, the intensity of the blows and the types of weapons used, the hypothesis was made that the victims were soldiers and civilians alike. The events in which these individuals were attacked most probably include violent episodes of large scale violence such as armed battles as well as violent events of lesser intensity such as cases of banditry or tavern brawls.

Fig. 17. A bodkin tanged arrowhead penetrating into the skull, lateral view, a reconstruction. Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.

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STONE PROJECTILES DISCOVERED IN THE *CASTRA LEGIONIS NOVAE* NEAR SVISHTOV (BG)

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At the legionary fortress *Novae* on the Lower Danube in modern day Bulgaria, a large number of stone projectiles was found throughout the years of fieldwork. As with most other places, where such were discovered, no remains of the actual machines that might have once hurled theses stones have been found in the permanent quarters of the *Legio I Italica*. After all, Roman artillery was essentially made of wood with a just a few metal elements, but another reason for this is the fact that a majority of the stones was intended for throwing, not shooting.

Knowledge in this matter is heavily based on the remaining theoretical works by ancient authors[1], but still the mere stone projectiles do provide us with some useful general information as well as particular hints regarding the defense of *Novae*. Data on many of the mentioned finds is often limited though, and not all potential projectiles made it into the documentation through nearly 50 years of fieldwork.

At *Novae*, concentrations of stone projectiles have been located in two places within the *castra* premises: the *principia* and sector II (Fig. 1). Loose finds occurred practically in all spots where fieldwork was carried out on a wider scale.

[1] BAATZ 1978, 1

SECTOR II

Sector II (Fig. 2) was among the first locations where excavations were undertaken at *Novae*. Fieldwork here was started in 1960-1962 and continued in 1977[2]. It belonged to a number of trenches set up on the western defensive wall and focused on the area around the first bastion to the south of the western gate. In 1961, 13 stone balls (Fig. 3) were found on the inner side of the defensive wall, in squares 159 and 219 (cf. Fig. 2), close to the east wall of the bastion[3]. 4 more balls were found in 1962[4]. The balls were found at a depth of around 1.6 m, in a layer with significant amounts of ash. Another bastion to the south also on the western defensive wall was discovered in 1977 (Ha. XV, squares 339, 340, 358-360. cf. Fig. 1). There, a stone strengthened pit was found, initially used for the storage of lime and filled with layers of charcoal and ashes. The pit measured 5 x 5m and was 2,50-2,90m deep. At the bottom, 5 stone balls (weighing respectively 4,05, 1,90, 2,18, 1,33, 1,80 kg.) were discovered[5]. The layers around the bastion and the lime pit are dated around the late 3rd - early 4th century.

[2] DYCZEK 2008, 34
[3] ARCHEOLOGIA 13, 75
[4] ARCHEOLOGIA 14, 164
[5] ARCHEOLOGIA 30, 204

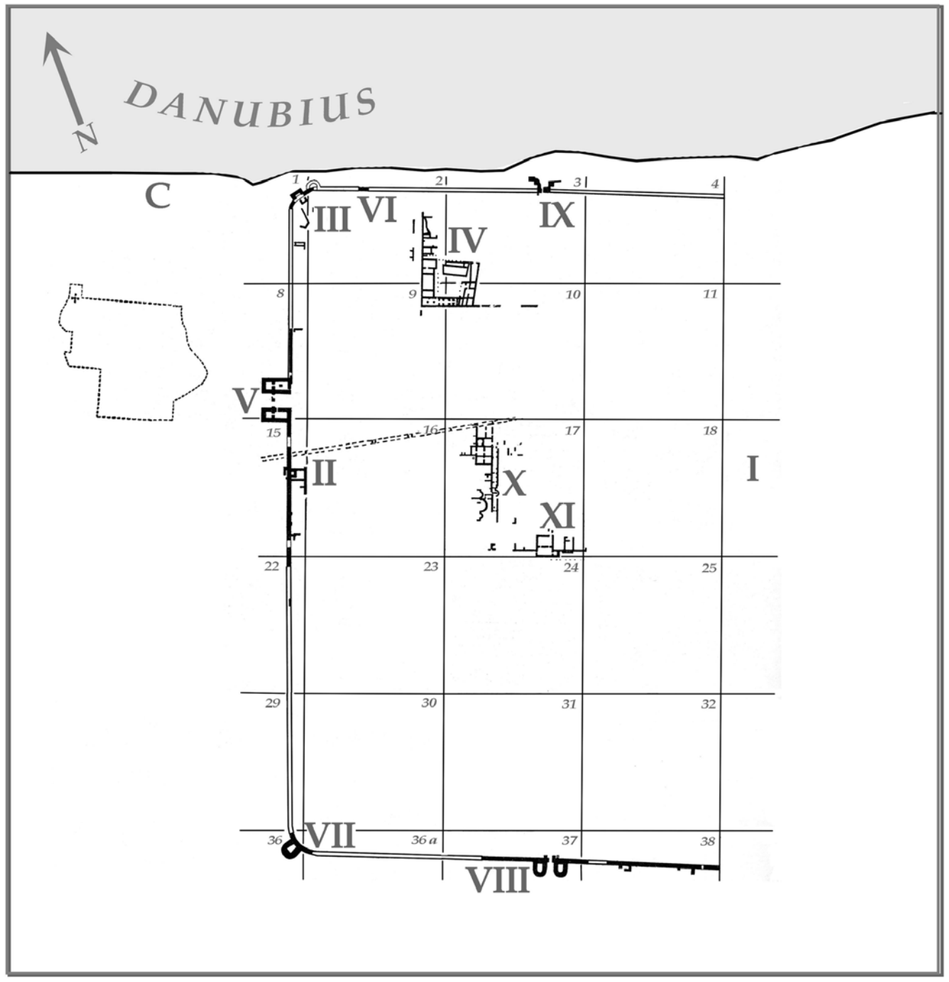

Fig. 1. Early stages of excavation at Novae. Dyczek 2008, 56

Projectiles from sector II

No.	Inv. No. (year)	Diameter in cm	Provenience
1	102/61	12	II, XV, 219
2	103/61	17	II, XV, 159
3	104/61	10	II, XV, 159
4	105/61	11	II, XV, 159
5	106/61	11	II, XV, 159
6	107/61	14	II, XV, 159
7	108/61	10	II, XV, 179
8	148/61	11	II, XV, 219
9	149/61	16	II, XV, 219
10	152/61	15	II, XV, 219
11	153/61	8	II, XV, 139
12	155/61	13	II, XV, 199
13	157/61	11	II, XV, 219
14-18	n/a	n/a	II, XV, 339, 340, 358-360

PRINCIPIA

The largest concentrations of stone projectiles were discovered at various parts of the *principia*, predominantly in layers from its later phases[6]. This is no surprise, since a legion's armory was traditionally located in the headquarters[7]. The existence of such can be assumed as granted, but at Novae it is additionally proven by an inscription dedicated to *Mars* and the *genius armamentarii* by the keeper of the armory (*custos armorum*)[8] (Fig. 7), *Valerius Crescens*[9]. Apparently, the armory could have had a genius, just like many other installations within a fortress[10].

In 1973, 158 balls were found in the *principia* (Ha. XVII, squares 371, 372)[11]. In 1977, 39 stone balls were found, 1 in the *aerarium*, 3 in the *aedes*, the rest outside the *aedes* wall, all in layers of leveled rubble[12]. Altogether, a total of 211 balls was found in the *aedes*, its vicinity and the *scholae*[13]. (Fig. 4 shows a selection).

Projectiles from the *principia* 1973-1977, by weight (not all finds were weighed) and diameter:

Weight	1-3 kg	3-4 kg	4-5,5 kg
Amount	42	13	7

Diameter	9-13 cm	14-16 cm	17-18 cm
Amount	42	151	18

In later years, another 169 balls (Fig. 5, selection) were found in the *principia*, in layers of debris dated around 440 AD or later[14].

Principia later years (west tribune & "room Cz")

Diameter	<13 cm	13-16 cm	>16 cm
Amount	74	65	30

A number of isolated stone projectiles was documented, mostly during fieldwork within the valetudinarium (sector IV).

[6] Sarnowski has argued the *principia* suffered destruction in 316/317 (1979, 119)

[7] In 1979 Sarnowski suggested the projectiles here came from hostile bombardment, supporting this view with the lack of ashes among the destruction layers of the principia pointing at a mechanical destruction. Theoretically, barbarians here could have possessed (captured) artillery; sources confirm the possibility [SARNOWSKI 1979, 123]. In this case the *scholae* would not necessarily have held the armamentarium. However, he has since withdrawn this view, also given the fact that the stone balls were explained to him as being unfit for artillery [128].

[8] Speidel points out that the abbreviation "c" from the inscription might also stand for *conductor armamentarii* (SPEIDEL 1978, 154). This distinction only concerns the personal weapons of the soldiers and has no importance for the issue at hand.

[9] KOLENDO 1994, 69, No. 32

[10] SPEIDEL 1978, 360

[11] ARCHEOLOGIA 26, 143

[12] SARNOWSKI 1979, 122

[13] SARNOWSKI 1979, 124

[14] Prof. Sarnowski kindly provided me with the unpublished documentation, prepared by Wojciech Rybicki.

Documented loose finds

No.	Inv. No. (year)	Diameter, ca.	Provenance
1	162/61	9	V, 25
2	98/87	14	IV, III,
3	68/89	32	XI, XVII, 337
4	2/90	25	XI, XVII, 280
5	2/90	21	XI, XVII, 280
6	148/98	18	IV, III, 287,
7	258/01	10	IV, III, 375
8	25/04	14	IV, III, 393
9	297/01	15	IV, X, 46
10	98/04	16	IV, X, 14
11	49/06	17	IV, III, 354
12	315/77	25	IV, II, 298

This data totals 410 documented stone projectiles discovered at *Novae*.

The projectiles were made of limestone, sometimes sandstone. Some were well rounded and fabricated (Fig. 6) suitable for a *ballista* or *onager*[15] others were made with much less care, sometimes "recycling" architectural elements or objects, such as a *mortarium*[16].

While most of the stones were quite light (another fact that points at these projectiles being intended for throwing, not shooting), some stones of heavy caliber were also found, such as a ball weighing 17 kg found in north part of the Building with Porticoes (315/77).

Regardless of the fact, that a large number of the presented finds was not intended as ammunition for an *onager*, there still is no doubt that heavy, stone throwing artillery was located at *Novae*. Artillery units operating in this area, that is *Moesia Inferior*, but also the nearby detachments beyond the Danube, in *Dacia* are relatively unknown[17]. Except for the stone balls, there is little information we have at *Novae*, still one of the best researched sites on the Lower Danube Limes[18].

Nevertheless, the presence of stone projectiles seems highly appropriate. For one, *Novae* were the permanent quarters of the *Legio I Italica* and we know that each legion was equipped with a certain amount of artillery. Especially in later times, beginning with the barbarian raids towards the middle of the 3rd century, the thought of the mixed military and civilian inhabitants of Novae defending themselves against invading barbarians with stone projectiles seems plausible. The dating of the discovered arsenals supports this view. *Novae* is interesting with regard to the impressive amount of not entirely spherical projectiles. The technique of hurling stones at enemies from the walls seems to have been quite popular and effective[19]. These finds are not uncommon, but rarely published. Documented finds have occurred on the Lower Danube at *Abrittus*[20], *Sucidava*[21], Hinova and Bistret[22] and in a somewhat different context at Maldegem-Vake in Belgium[23].

[15] which were actually designed for a given caliber of missile, CAMPBELL 2003, 17

[16] SARNOWSKI, 124

[17] BONDOC 2002, 641

[18] MARSDEN [1969, 192] points to an inscription on a bronze votive plaque [Fig. 8] from "a vexillum", found at *Novae* and dated A.D. 300. The first editor Kubitschek proposed to read this inscription as a dedication by Priscinus, a *ballistarius* of *legio I Italica*. If so, Marsden continues, he must have been one of the last *ballistarii* in an ordinary legion. However, the said inscription is far from being indisputable. Rostovzeff and Dessau propose to read the line in question: Βάλη(ν)ς τεσ(σεράριος) - *Vale(n)s tes(serarius)*. In this case, an officer by the name of Valens was *tesserarius*, responsible for the transmission of orders. This version is highly preferred by A. Breson and Th. Drew-Bear. Summary: KOLENDO - BOZILOVA 1997, 176, no. 174.

[19] And by no means new: cf. CAMPBELL 2005, 14. I wish to thank Dr. Duncan Campbell for his suggestions.

[20] IVANOV 1980, 62-63

[21] BONDOC 2007, 247-256

[22] BONDOC 2002, 641f. The existence of artillery at Hinova is confirmed by spherical projectiles inside the fortification Those might have been thrown from war machines which were possibly placed on the towers. At Bistret also missiles were found. As for *Dafne* (across *Transmarisca*, probably destroyed by the Danube), the *Notitia Dignitatum* mentions *Constantini Dafnenses* and *Ballistari Dafnenses* regiments.

[23] DHAEZE - DE PAEPE 2004

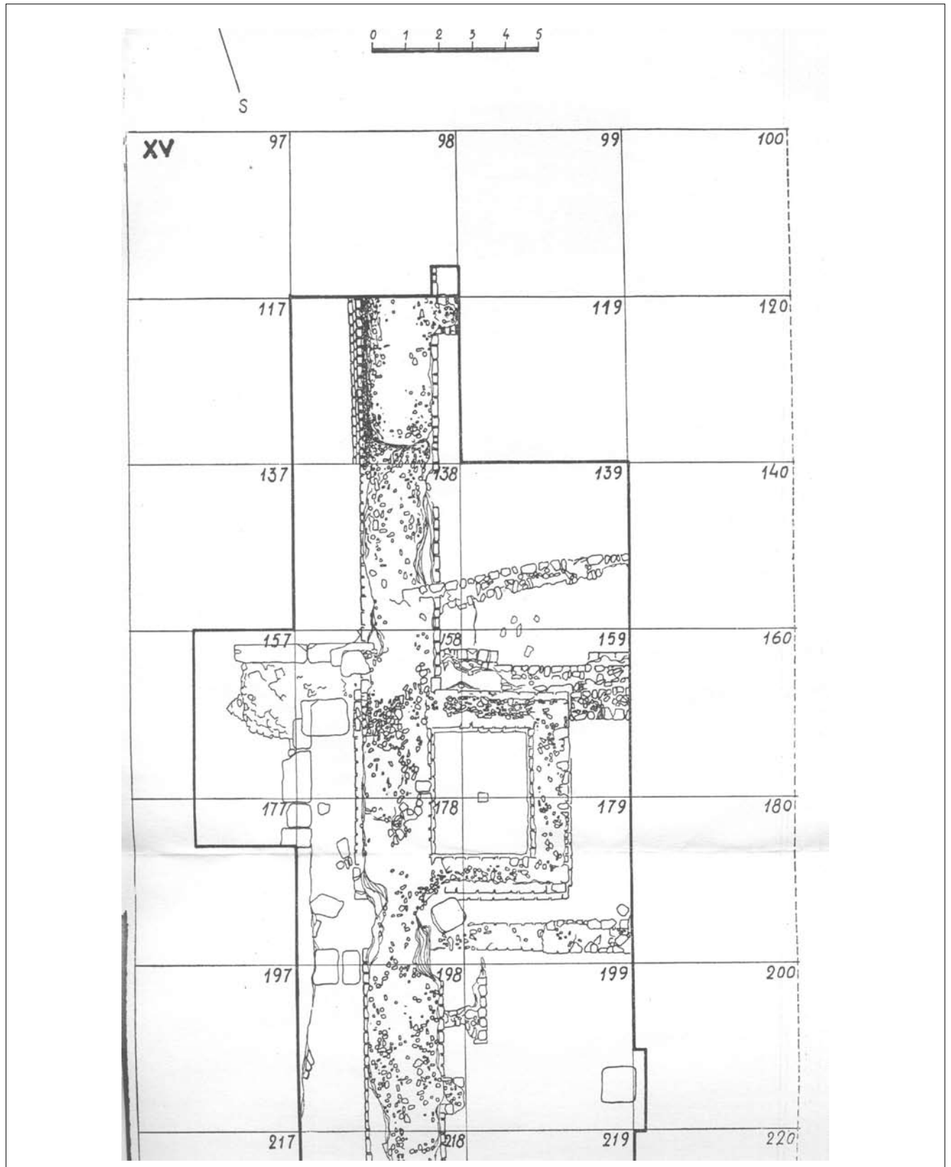

Fig. 2. Sector II in 1962, Archeologia 13 (1962), p. 67

Fig. 3. Stone projectiles from sector II, Archeologia 13 (1962), p. 73

Fig. 5. Stone projectiles from the principia (Photo T. Sarnowski)

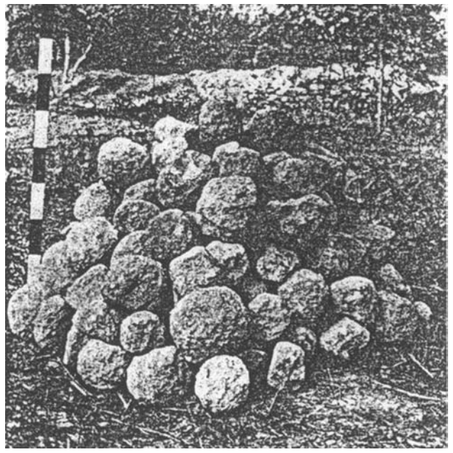

Fig. 4. Stone projectiles from the principia, Archeologia 26 (1975), p. 143

Fig. 6. Well rounded projectile (Photo J. Recław)

The work required to prepare the stones is smaller compared to the perfect - "caliber-ready" - ballista balls, but still, some time and effort were needed to fill the arsenal. Also, given the danger of out-of-the-blue barbarian attacks, throwing stones at them must have been a standard and successful technique. In the late Roman period, fortifications north of the Danube often used artillery, which could compensate a small number of defenders[24]. The occurrence of these projectiles is in accordance with the tendency towards defensive warfare on the Danube limes, which included civilian sites as well. During the 3rd century, the larger towns that previously had not been fortified at that time, were equipped with defenses. *Novae* was under attack a number of times, especially during the Goth raid in 240, when Kniva's army besieged the camp and destroyed the *canabae* structures outside the walls, but was unable to overcome its defenders[25].

[24] BONDOC 2002, 645

[25] KOLENDO 2008, 128-130

In this context, the concentrations of projectiles within *Novae* seem logical, too. The finds at the principia point at the arsenal, while the bastions were the ideal place to store the balls while preparing for battle, no matter if they were intended for an *onager* on top of the tower[26] or simply for throwing. Moreover, given the naturally defensive topography of the fortress, with the Danube shielding its north side and the Dermen Dere valley reducing accessibility from the east and south, the relatively flat plain to the west was most open to attacks[27].

[26] At Drobeta the intermediary towers of square shape between gates and corners were considered to be built for ballistic machines [BONDOC 2002, 644]

[27] STANEV 1988, 31; LEMKE 2008, 297

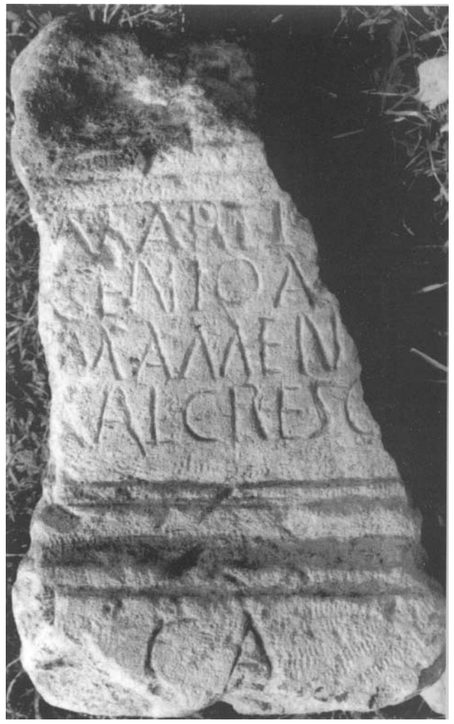

Fig. 7. Altar dedicated to genius armamentarii, Kolendo 1997, No. 32

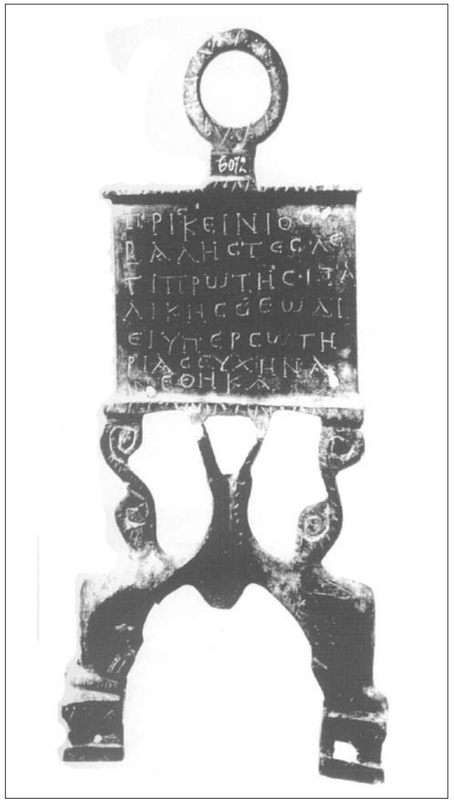

Fig. 8. Bronze vexillum, Kolendo 1997, No. 174

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RÖMISCHE HELME AUS DEM THORSBERGER MOOR

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Römische Helme gehören bekanntermaßen im Barbaricum zu seltenen Ausnahmefunden. Daher ist es umso erstaunlicher, dass an dem Waffenopferplatz Thorsberger Moor bei Süderbrarup Zierbeschläge von sogar mehr als einem römischen Helm gefunden wurden. Die Erforschung dieses Fundplatzes reicht bis in die 50er Jahre des 19. Jahrhunderts zurück, als bei Torfsticharbeiten nach und nach immer mehr Funde der römischen Kaiserzeit zu Tage kamen. Eine wissenschaftliche Untersuchung durch Ausgrabung nach Entwässerungsarbeiten erfolgte in den Jahren 1858 bis 1861 unter der Leitung von Conrad Engelhardt[1]. Ausgerechnet die meisten Helmfragmente gehören zu den frühen Torfstichfunden, die unbeobachtet geborgen und an den Sammler und Apotheker Mecklenburg in Flensburg veräußert wurden. 1856 konnte Engelhardt einige Funde von Mecklenburg für seine im Aufbau befindliche Sammlung nordischer Altertümer in Flensburg erwerben, womit sein Interesse an dem Fundplatz Thorsberger Moor geweckt wurde und die damit verbundene Forschungsgeschichte ihren Anfang nahm. Einige weitere bislang unpublizierte Helm-Fragmente konnte Engelhardt 1859 seiner Sammlung hinzufügen, wiederum aus dem Privatbesitz Mecklenburgs.

[1] ENGELHARDT 1863.

Nach einer erneuten Fundaufnahme kann die bisherige Helm-Rekonstruktion in einigen Details korrigiert sowie um weitere Fragmente ergänzt werden[2]. Als Resultat lassen sich die erhaltenen Zierbeschläge von römischen Helmen aus dem Thorsberger Moor in einem Fall sicher und im zweiten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit dem Typ Auxiliary Cavalry H nach Robinson zuordnen, für welchen der zentrale Knauf auf der Helmkalotte und die meist aufgelöteten Zierbeschläge charakteristisch sind[3]. Waurick sieht in dem Typ auch richtig eine Variante von seinem Typ Niederbieber (Var. III: verzierte Helme)[4]. Aufgrund seiner Ähnlichkeit mit einem Helmfund aus Nida-Heddernheim, findet sich auch Typ Heddernheim in der Literatur[5].

Bei den Thorsberger Fragmenten muss es sich ursprünglich um mindestens zwei römische Helme vom Typ Heddernheim gehandelt haben. Dies belegen die beiden rautenförmigen Knaufplatten, welche in der Regel nur bei diesem Helmtyp nachgewiesen sind. In der heutigen Rekonstruktion des vollständigeren Helmes (Abb. 1 links) findet sich zwar eine von zwei runden Rosetten appliziert anstelle eines Knaufes, dies kann jedoch auf einen Fehler in der Rekonstruktion zurück geführt werden. Auf der Unterseite der rauten-

[2] Eine genaue Beschreibung der Korrekturen sowie Ergänzungen siehe MATEŠIĆ 2011.

[3] ROBINSON 1975, 100-103.

[4] WAURICK 1988, 338-341.

[5] JUNKELMANN 1992, 194 Abb. 144 und 172.

Abb. 1. Links: Römischer Helm vom Typ Heddernheim im heutigen tatsächlichen Zustand, nach einer Rekonstruktion im 19. Jh. Eine eiserne Helmkalotte mit ausgezogenem Nackenschutz ist zu ergänzen, war jedoch nicht erhalten. Rechts: Derselbe Helm digital rekonstruiert und um einige zugehörige Fragmente erweitert. Die Wangenklappe und der Knauf wurden nicht im Thorsberger Moor gefunden sondern gehören zu dem Helm aus Nida-Heddernheim (Abbildung nach Junkelmann 1992, Abb. 144; Fotos: Marion Höflinger, Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schloß Gottorf).

förmigen Knaufplatte ist zu erkennen, dass das originale Blech, das erhaltungsbedingt weitestgehend fehlt, sich ursprünglich zu einem Knauf verjüngt hat. Ein für die Rekonstruktion wesentliches weiteres Fragment ist der Zierbeschlag der linken Wangenklappe, der belegt, dass der Thorsberger Helm eiserne Wangenklappen besaß,, ähnlich wie ein Helm aus dem Heiligtum von Empel in der *civitas Batavorum*[6]. Der nach wie vor beste Vergleich zu dem Thorsberger Stück, auch in Bezug auf die applizierten Schlangen, liegt in dem eponymen Helm aus *Nida*-Heddernheim vor, welcher durch seine Fundsituation in einem Holzkeller in die Zeit von 230/240 bis 250/260 n. Chr. datiert werden kann[7]. Demgemäß ist wohl auch der Thorsberger Helm etwa in die erste Hälfte bis in die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts zu datieren.

Darüber hinaus liegen aus Thorsberg noch weitere Fragmente von römischen Helmen vor (Abb. 2). Die zweite rautenförmige Knaufplatte ist mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit ebenfalls einem Helm vom Typ Heddernheim zuzuordnen. Es müsste sich aufgrund der Lotspuren auf der Unterseite wohl um einen Helm mit eiserner, nicht erhaltener Kalotte gehandelt haben. Die ursprüngliche Anordnung der Zierbeschläge auf der Helmkalotte muss weitestgehend hypothetisch bleiben, da es nur wenige Hinweise auf ehemalige Anbringungspositionen gibt. Lediglich bei dem kleinen gebogenen Beschlag mit noch aufgelötetem Perldraht kann man davon ausgehen, dass es sich um ein Teil des linken Ohrschutz-Beschlags handelt. In Kombination dazu könnten die beiden langen gebogenen Beschläge die einfassenden Zierbeschläge der Ohrschutz-Beschläge gebildet. Die zwei weiteren annähernd gleichförmig gebogenen Beschläge mit je einem spitzen Ende könnten als obere Randeinfassung des Nackenbleches gedient haben. Der nur leicht gebogene lange Beschlag ist aufgrund seiner symmetrisch zugespitzten Enden mittig zu setzen, entweder auf die Vorderseite des Helmes als Einfassung des Stirnbleches oder auf den Nackenschutz als untere Randeinfassung des Nackenbleches. Bei den übrigen Beschlägen ist es schwierig nachzuvollziehen, wo diese angeordnet waren, und es

[6] NICOLAY 2007, 120-124 und 180 Abb. 5.9.

[7] REIS 2010, 83 mit Literatur.

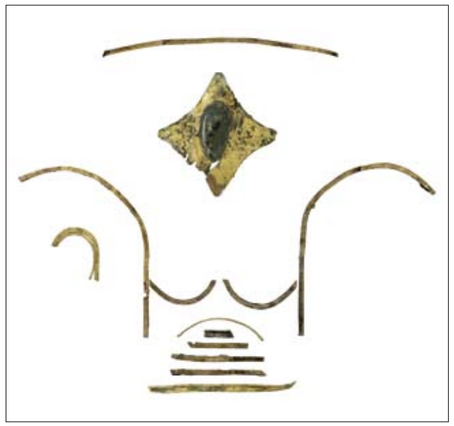

Abb. 2. Zierbeschläge von einem weiteren Helm (Fotos: Marion Höflinger, Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schloß Gottorf).

Abb. 3. Zu einem Helm gehörige Nackenschutz-Randbeschläge, darunter drei anpassende Fragmente (Fotos: Marion Höflinger, Stiftung Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen, Schloß Gottorf).

muss auch davon ausgegangen werden, dass nicht alle Zierbeschläge erhalten sind, da zumindest der innere Beschlag des rechten Ohrschutz-Bleches fehlt.

Neben den bislang erwähnten Helm-Fragmenten konnten bereits von Raddatz zwei Nackenschutz-Randbeschläge identifiziert und aufgrund ihrer Biegung einem römischen Helm zugeschrieben werden[8]. Diese beiden Beschlagstücke weisen als besonderes Merkmal ein sehr hohes Durchschnittsgewicht auf. Eine weitere Analyse der Thorsberger Randbeschläge hat dazu geführt, dass eine Gruppe von fünf Fragmenten abgesondert werden konnte, welche alle ein Durchschnittsgewicht von mehr als 0,7 g/cm aufweisen, die beiden von Raddatz als Helmfragmente identifizierten Randbeschläge mit inbegriffen. Drei von diesen fünf Fragmenten lassen sich des Weiteren zu einer Fragmentanpassung kombinieren, so dass über deren Zugehörigkeit zum Helm kein Zweifel besteht (Abb. 3). Mindestens ein weiteres Fragment scheint darüber hinaus Conrad Engelhardt vorgelegen zu haben, denn von einem Stück Randbeschlag - angeblich von einem römischen Helm - wurde eine Materialuntersuchung vorgenommen: „Nr. 116. Randblech eines römischen Helmes. Nr. 2 der Flensburger Sendung. Ein etwa 9 Centimeter langes und 6 bis 7 Millimeter breites rinnenförmig gebogenes Blech, welches zur Einfassung eines etwa 3 Millim. dicken Gegenstandes gedient haben musste; stellenweise war die rinnenförmige Höhlung mit Blei ausgefüllt, welches am Blech angeschmolzen war. Das Bronzeblech hatte eine schöne goldähnliche Farbe und wurde vom angeschmolzenen Blei durch Blankschaben wohl gereinigt. 1,199 gr. ergaben bei der Analyse: Kupfer 82,98 %, Zinn 9,77%, Blei 0,51 %, Eisen 0,18 %, Zink 6,56 %“[9]. Weder Reste dieses Stücks noch der anderen entnommenen Objekte scheinen an die Flensburger Sammlung zurück geschickt worden zu sein. Dennoch vervollständigen die als Nackenschutz-Randbeschläge identifizierten Stücke in ihrer Rekonstruktion das ursprüngliche Aussehen der Thorsberger Helme ein wenig mehr.

Warum nun ausgerechnet im Thorsberger Moor und an keinem anderen Fundplatz der sogenannten skandinavischen Waffenopferplätze wie z.B. Illerup Ådal oder Vimose weitere römische Militärhelme gefunden wurden, muss nach wie vor fraglich bleiben[10]. Zu konstatieren ist jedenfalls, dass das jeweilige Fundinventar dieser weitestgehend als zeitgleich angesehenen Opferplätze zwar in weiten Teilen Gemeinsamkeiten aufweist, aber darüber hinaus auch jedem Fundplatz gewisse Charakteristika vorbehalten sind, die ihn von den übrigen unterscheiden. So ist z.B. der größte Anteil an römischen Militaria im Vimose festzustellen[11]. Die Funde von römischen Helmen sowie einem nach römischem Vorbild angefertigten germanischen Helm bleiben jedoch Besonderheiten des Fundinventars aus dem Thorsberger Moor[12].

[8] RADDATZ 1987, 58 Nr. 403.

[9] VON FELLENBERG 1862, 12-13.

[10] Zwar wurde im Vimose mit dem Greifenkopf ein Teil eines römischen Helmes gefunden, jedoch ist dieses Fragment eher einem Gladiatoren-Helm als einem militärisch genutzten Helm zuzuschreiben. Siehe dazu auch PAULI-JENSEN 2003, 236-237.

[11] Siehe dazu MATEŠIĆ 2008, 94-95.

[12] MATEŠIĆ 2010.

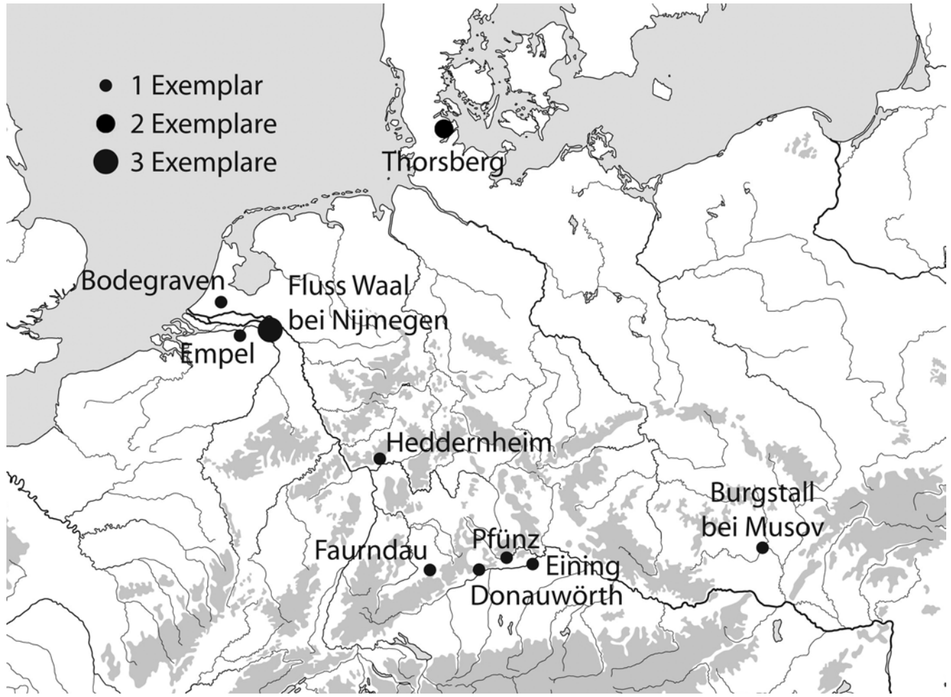

Abb. 4. Verbreitung der Helme vom sogenannten Typ Heddernheim.

Eine Kartierung vergleichbarer Helmfunde deutet bislang auf zwei Verbreitungsschwerpunkte: zum Einen finden sich entsprechende Funde in der *Germania Inferior*, vornehmlich aus Gewässern sowie in einem Fall aus einem Heiligtum. Der zweite Verbreitungsschwerpunkt liegt am Obergermanisch-Rätischen Limes mit Fundplätzen, die meist im Zusammenhang mit Militärstationen entlang des Rätischen Limes zu sehen sind (Abb. 4)[13]. Ein weiterer Fund vom Burgstall-Hradisko bei Mušov belegt die Nutzung dieses Helmtyps bereits zur Zeit der Markomannenkriege. Bedeutsam für eine Interpretation scheinen ferner die jeweiligen Fundumstände zu sein, da sich zumindest im Falle der niedergermanischen Heiligtums- und Gewässerfunde eine Deutung als Weihegaben im Rahmen von lokalen Opfertraditionen anbietet[14]. Dagegen liegen die Funde vom Obergermanisch-Rätischen Limes in teilweise fragmentiertem Zustand aus Kastellen vor, was auf eine reguläre Nutzung dieses Helmtyps in dieser Gegend deutet. Da der Fundbestand von Helmen des hier behandelten Typs jedoch nach wie vor sehr gering ist, bleibt es weitere Funde abzuwarten um festzustellen, ob die Verbreitungskarte tatsächlich repräsentativ ist oder lediglich einen derzeitigen Stand der Forschung widerspiegelt.

[13] Zu den kartierten Fundorten siehe Fundliste.

[14] Vgl. dazu NICOLAY 2007, 16-20 und 177-189.

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1. NL Bodegraven, Prov. Zuid-Holland, altes Rheinbett: Helm aus Bronze mit aufgelöteten Zierbeschlägen und Stirnschutzbügel (KLUMBACH 1974, Nr. 40, 53-54, Taf. 40; ROBINSON 1975, Abb. 283-285; WAURICK 1976, 226-227 Kat. Nr. 102).

2. NL Empel, Prov. Nordbrabant, aus einem Heiligtum: Helm mit Zierbeschlägen und Knaufplatte (NICOLAY 2007, 180 Abb. 5.9).

3. NL Nijmegen, Prov. Gelderland, aus dem Fluss Waal: Bronzebeschläge eines Helmes mit eiserner nicht erhaltener Kalotte (KLUMBACH 1974, Nr. 35, 48-49, Taf. 35; ROBINSON 1975, Abb. 277-279; WAURICK 1976, 227 Kat. Nr. 103).

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5. NL Nijmegen, Prov. Gelderland, aus dem Fluss Waal: Stirnbügel und linker Ohrbeschlag eines Helmes mit eiserner nicht erhaltener Kalotte (KLUMBACH 1974, Nr. 36, 49-50, Taf. 36).

6. D Donauwörth, Kr. Donau-Ries, aus der Donau: Helm aus Bronze mit aufgelöteten Zierbeschlägen. Zentral auf der Kalotte ein etwa rautenförmiges Blech mit kreisförmiger Aussparung (ROBINSON 1975, Abb. 293-294; WAURICK 1976, 228 Kat. Nr. 105).

7. D Faurndau, Kr. Göppingen: Stirnblech mit eingepunztem Dekor (Victoria mit Eichenlaub) und Tragebügel vom Nackenschutz (ROBINSON 1975, Abb. 191-193; WAURICK 1976, 228-229 Kat. Nr. 106; KEMKES 1997, 31 Abb. 15; KEMKES - SCHEUERBRANDT - WILLBURGER 2002, 117 Abb. 122; http://www.romancoins.info/d-2005%20%288%29.JPG).

8. D Eining, Kr. Kelheim, Kastell: Ohrschutzblech und evt. ein Stück vom Nackenschutzblech (GSCHWIND 2004, Taf. 30 C114 und C119).

9. D Heddernheim, Frankfurt am Main, aus vierschiffigem Bau des 3. Jhs.: Bronzebeschläge eines Helmes mit eiserner Kalotte. Zahlreiche aufgelötete Beschläge unter anderem Schlangen. (ROBINSON 1975, Abb. 273-276; WAURICK 1976, 229 Kat. Nr. 107, REIS 2010, 83).

10. D Pfünz, Kr. Eichstätt, Kastell, Gebäude B: eiserner Helm mit Nackeschutz-Randbeschlägen und runden Zierbeschlägen aus Bronze (ROBINSON 1975, Abb. 288-289; WAURICK 1976, 230 Kat. Nr. 108).

11. CZ Burgstall-Hradisko bei Mušov, Okres Brno-venkov (Bezirk Brünn-Land): Stirnblech und Knaufplatte aus Kupferlegierung (http://www2.rgzm.de/Transformation/Czech/MusovTown/MusovTown.htm
http://www2.rgzm.de/Transformation/Czech/MusovTown/Abb32_Engl.htm).

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Annette Frölich

IRON AGE MEDICAL INSTRUMENT CASES EXCAVATED IN DENMARK FIRST-AID EQUIPMENT FOR WOUNDCLOSING, EXCAVATED FROM A DANISH OFFERING BOG AND FROM A FEMALE GRAVE

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REINTERPRETATION OF THE FINDS FROM THE OFFERING BOG IN NYDAM.

In the second and third quarter of the 19th Century the Danish archaeologist, Conrad Engelhardt (1825 - 1881), Fig. 1, performed excavations in the Danish Iron Age offering bogs. In Denmark the Roman Iron Age is dated to the period from the birth of Christ to 375 AD[1]. Caused by the exceptional conservation conditions in the bogs[2] Engelhardt found and unearthed a remarkable artefact material. During the years 1859 - 1863 Engelhardt excavated the offeringbog at Nydam and published his results in the year 1865[3]. The Nydam bog is located in the Southern part of the Danish peninsula Jutland, Fig. 2. Engelhardt dated the finds to the Roman Iron Age after 34 Roman coins[4], found in the bog. The coins were minted by the Emperors Vitellus to Macrinus in the years 69 - 217 AD. Later excavations in the bog have taken place, the latest after 1984. Among the originally unearthed war booty was a boat build of oak. Wood from this boat has been investigated and is determined to have been constructed from trees felled in the period 310 - 320 AD[5].

Among the extensive amount of excavated artefact material are some items with medical interest, those shown at Fig. 3. The excavated material was taken to the local museum, which at that time was located in Flensborg, then a Danish town. The registration and description of each item of the excavated material was done, and the registration protocol is still kept at the museum which now is located at Schloss Gottorf in Schleswig, Germany. From the handwritten registration book can be seen that the pair of tweezers and the double cylinder came into the museum and was described contemporary.

[1] HANSEN 1993, 169.
[2] WIELL 2003, 66-83.
[3] ENGELHARDT 1865.
[4] HORSNÆS 2003, 330-330.
[5] RIECK 2003, 304 refer to N. Bonde 1990 Dendrochronologische Altersbestimmung des Schiffes von Nydam, Offa 47, 157-168.

Fig. 1. Conrad Engelhardt (Stine Wiell, The Spoils of Victory, page 66.)

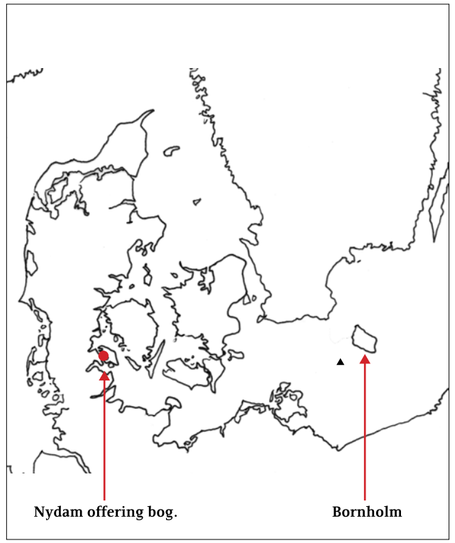

Fig. 2. Nydam offering bog. Bornholm (Drawing by Annette Frölich)

Identifying these artefacts found in a war booty offering bog raised some questions: What could the use of this equipment have been, and why were they offered into a war booty offering bog together with war equipment. Had the tools been used by warriors? The last question can after the reinterpretation be answered with a "yes".

At the time of the offering of war booty in the bog in Nydam many young men from the geographical location which now is Denmark served as auxiliary soldiers in the Roman Army. It is, for example, known that they fought in the Marcomannic wars in the second Century. Serving in the Roman Army the Scandinavians got knowledge about, and contact with, first aid of wounded soldiers and generally with Roman medical treatment[6]. First aid given to wounded soldiers was already then well known. It is illustrated, from about 500 BC, on Greek ceramic vases as shown at Fig. 4.

[6] KÜNZL 2002, 27 - 31.

Necessary tools for closing a wound are a pair of tweezers and a needle or some pins. The pair of tweezers is a very important instrument for getting a secure grip in the edge of a wound and especially these kind of tweezers witch have a ring or a band around the branches which makes the tweezers self-closing, when the ring or band is mowed down so it closes the branches of the tweezers. Such a band was found on the pair of tweezers excavated from Nydam shown in the illustration, Fig. 3. The surgical method which we may suppose may have been used for wound closing in the Danish Iron Age are shown at Fig. 5A and B. Consulting the registration protocol on Engelhardts excavations in the Nydam bog we can read that inside one of the cylinders of the double-cylinder were found "a little splinter of wood". A few years ago, during a new excavation in the bog, were found and identified the small pins illustrated in Fig. 6. Most possible the "….. little splinter of wood" described, was one like the two examples shown in the picture, Fig. 6.

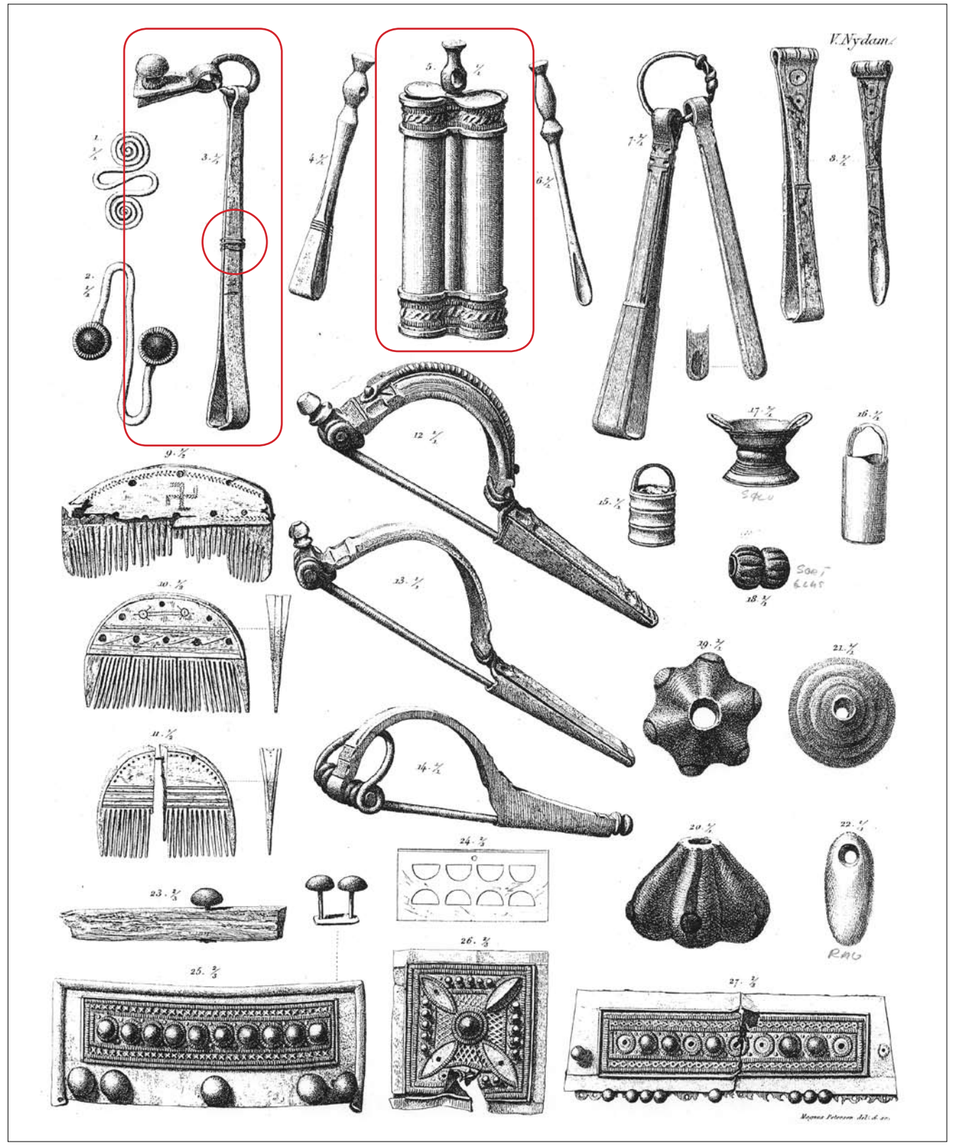

Fig. 3. (Engelhardt, Conr. 1865. Nydam Mosefund 1856 - 1863. Kjöbenhavn.)

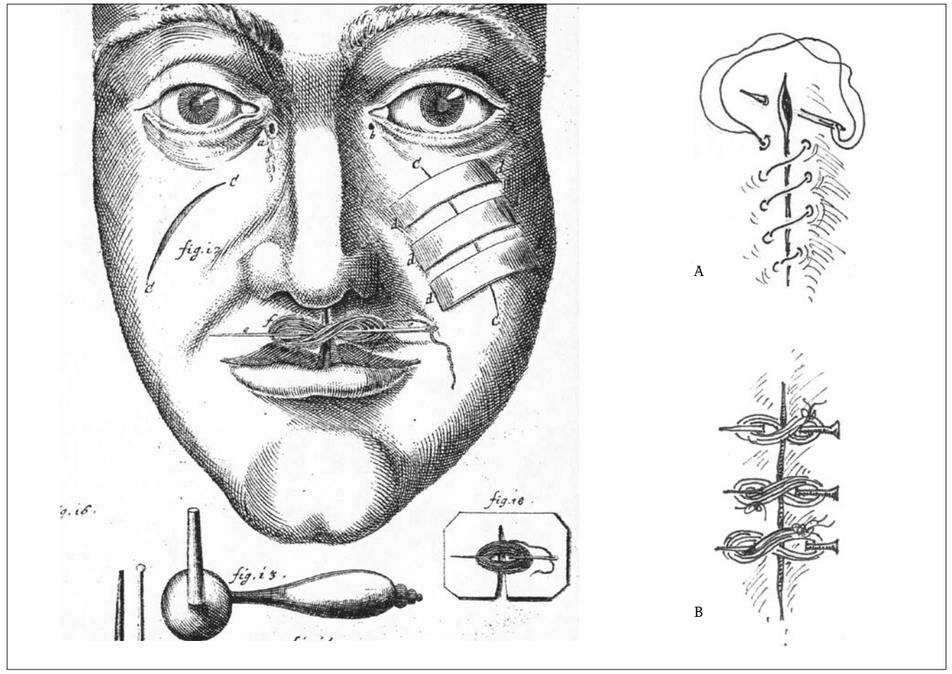

Fig. 5. Wound closing methods, by using wound pins and by sewing a wound (A: from Heister 1724 tavle XI fig. i2; A and B: drawings by Carsten Frölich).

Fig. 4. Archilles is treating a wounded Partroclos (Künzl 2002 page 15 Fig. 10.)

Fig. 6. Thorns excavated from the war booty offering bog in Nydam and very suitable for wound-closing (Fotos by Annette Frölich).

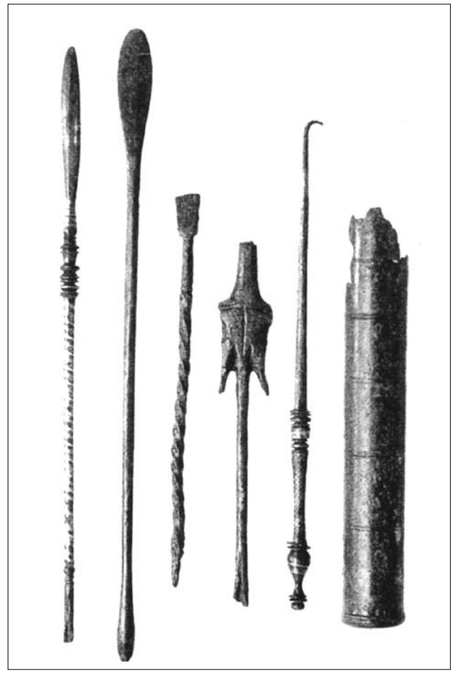

Fig. 7. Roman instrument cases (Künzl 2002 page 45 Fig. 60).

Roman cylinders, double - and even triple - cylinders are well known. They were used as instrument cases like the one shown in Fig. 7. Instrument cases of different design are found in various contexts, among which are graves. In Germany, in Wehringen, Bayern, is excavated a surgical instrument box, Fig. 8, from a grave which was interpreted as being a female grave.

Bearing in mind excavations of surgical instruments from female doctors graves inside the Roman Empire[7], and the remarks from Tacitus concerning the habit among Germanic tribes how warriors wounded[8] during battles were treated and the much later descriptions of the surgical treatment of wounded combatants on Iceland in the Viking - and early Middle Ages[9], it was of marked interest also to re-interpret a find from an excavation performed at the island of Bornholm and published in the year 1886.

[7] KÜNZL 2002, 94 Fig. 131.
[8] LUND 1993, 244.
[9] HELGADOTTIR 1985, 17 - 29.

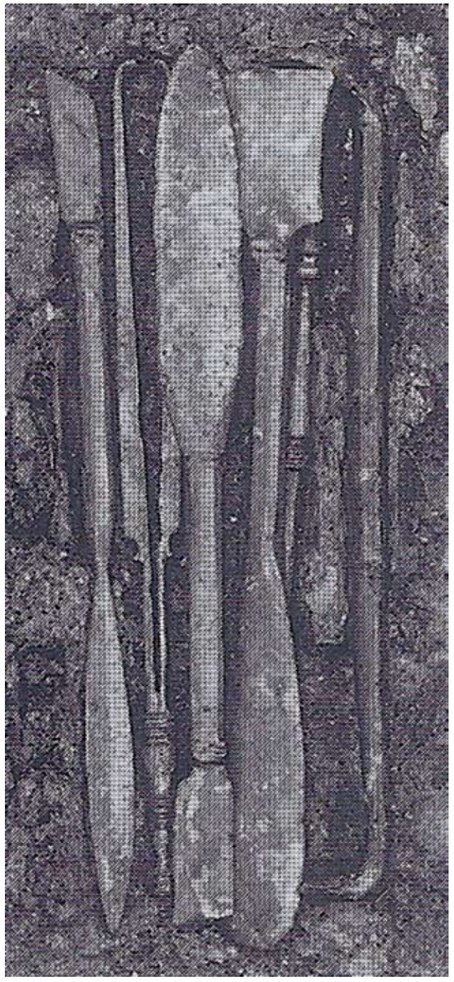

Fig. 8. Instrument case from a female grave dated to 238 AD (Künzl 2002 page 35, Fig. 38.).

REINTERPRETATION OF ARTEFACTS FROM A FEMALE GRAVE AT BORNHOLM

Bornholm is an island in the Baltic Sea, the location of which is shown in Fig. 2. In the late part of the 19th Century one of the county officials at the island, E. Vedel, had a deep interest in archaeology. Caused by this interest he performed archaeological excavations at the island and published his results in a bulky work printed in 1886[10]. Among the excavated locations is St. Kannikegaard where he unearthed a female grave, grave 187, dated to C3 (310 - 375)[11]. The documentation drawn from this excavation is shown at Fig. 9. In the grave was found a bronze cylinder holding small wood-pins or rather thorns, located at the bottom of the grave together with the deceased woman's tools. There may have been a rather serious reason for giving the woman such tools with her to the other world. The thorns inside the cylinder may not have been ordinary thorns, but tools for a special purpose, and such a purpose could most possibly have been wound healing by the method described at Fig. 5. This allows us to re-interpret this grave, as the grave of a female healer. It is most plausible; that some women at Iron Age farms knew how to treat diseases and how to heal wounds, inclusive battlefield-wounds and so to treat wounded warriors. And why not bring the best healer in the society with the warriors when they went into a battle?

Healing the wounded men may have had a great meaning for the fighting warriors, knowing that they were not left dying at the battlefield as food for ravens and foxes. The double cylinder, made of silver and the pair of tweezers with the hastily produced band around the branches, mentioned earlier, may have belonged to a healer, wether it was a man or a woman, who had followed the warriors into battle. This also explains why these tools ended in a war booty offering bog together with weapons and other kind of war material as we now excavate, nearly 2000 years later.

The wound closing equipment presented here, have been personal belongings easy to carry by its owner as visualised at Fig 10.

The conclusion may be that these reinterpretated artefacts shows:

That the Iron Age warriors expected wounds,
That they knew how to treat the wounds,
That they brought their equipment/instruments for wound-healing,
That they produced instruments if they did not have any, and
That the double cylinder and the pair of tweezers together make an instrument-set for wound closing.

[10] VEDEL 1886.

[11] Personal information from curator dr. Lars Jørgensen the Danish National Museum, Copenhagen. HANSEN 1993, 169.

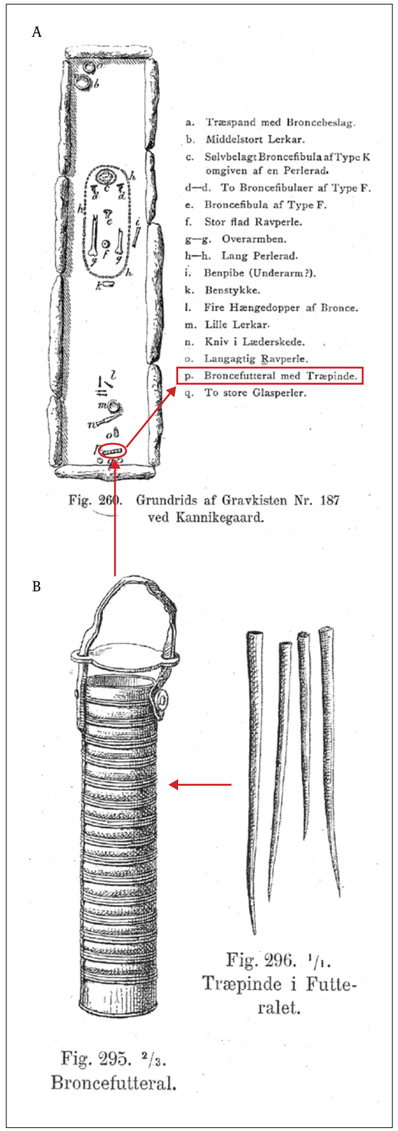

Fig. 9. (A: Vedel 1886 page 120 Fig. 260 and B is from Vedel 1886 page 133 Fig 295 & 296.)

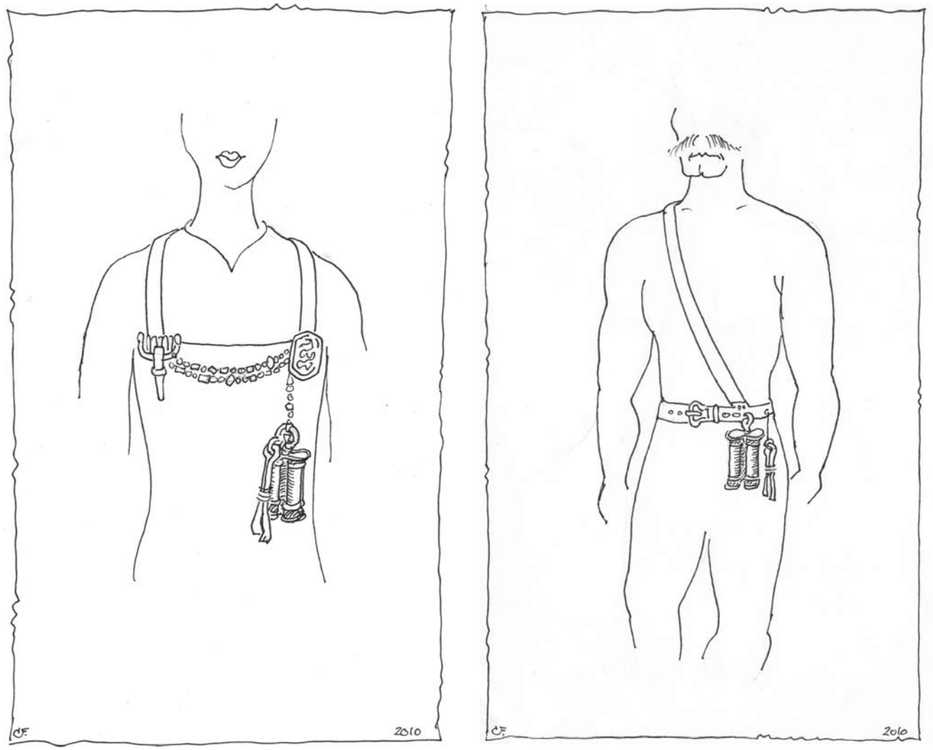

Fig. 10. The drawings is made by Carsten Frölich.

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EARLY ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT FROM THE FORTIFIED SETTLEMENTS IN THE NOTRANJSKA REGION (SW SLOVENIA)

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1. INTRODUCTION

The region of Notranjska (Karst landscape in south-western Slovenia) was traversed by important routes that led from the Italic Peninsula towards the northern Balkans and the central Danube region. The Amber Route, one of the major prehistoric trans-European communication corridors, led across the *Ocra* pass, which, according to Strabo, is where the Alps are at their lowest.[1] The routes leading along the valleys of the River Reka, Pivka and past the Cerknica Lake (*Lugeon palus*) diverged from the Amber Route towards the Kvarner bay, the Kolpa (*Colapis*) Valley and the Krka (*Corcoras*) Valley.[2]

The Roman establishment of a colony in Aquileia (181 BC) and the conquest of Istria (178/177 BC) was followed by military interventions in the direction of Karst passes.

One of the main results, reflected in the Roman weapons assemblage from Grad near Šmihel,[3] was to establish control over the Amber Route in the area of *Ocra* pass and to secure the colony in Aquileia.[4]

In the Late Iron Age the Notranjska region was the territory of the so-called Notranjska-Kras group; its typical attire suggests that the group belonged to the North Adriatic indigenous cultures.[5] Ancient literary and epigraphic sources indicate that since the 2nd century BC the neighbouring Friulian Plain, the area of the Carnian Alps and the area of Tergeste were settled by the Celtic Carni;[6] perhaps their territories were extended to the east as far as the Notranjska region.[7]

Archaeological information comes from several excavations carried out between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the Second World War and from trial trenches and rescue excavations in the past decades. With the advent of metal detectors most hilltop settlements in the region became the targets of illegal treasure hunters. The National Museum of Slovenia acquired at least some of these, mostly metal, items. The present paper deals with several early Roman military objects recognised among the finds.

[1] ŠAŠEL 1977; SLAPŠAK 2001,12, fig. 3 and 4; HORVAT 2009, 356; HORVAT - BAVDEK 2009.

[2] Šašel 1977; HORVAT - BAVDEK 2009, 144-146, fig. 112; LAHARNAR 2009, 97-99.

[3] J. Horvat (2002, 135) dated the assemblage of Roman Republican weapons from Grad near Šmihel to the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC (considering the pila with flat haft, everted edges and triangular point with two barbs); while historical situation would certainly indicate the deposition after the foundation of Aquileia(181 BC).

[4] HORVAT - BAVDEK 2009, 137.

[5] GUŠTIN 1979; BOŽIČ 1999, 202-203; HORVAT - BAVDEK 2009, 132.

[6] VEDALDI-IASBEZ 1994, 229-239; BANDELLI 2001; SLAPŠAK 2003, 245-246; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 413-414; MAINARDIS 2008, 30-32.

[7] BOŽIČ 1999, 203

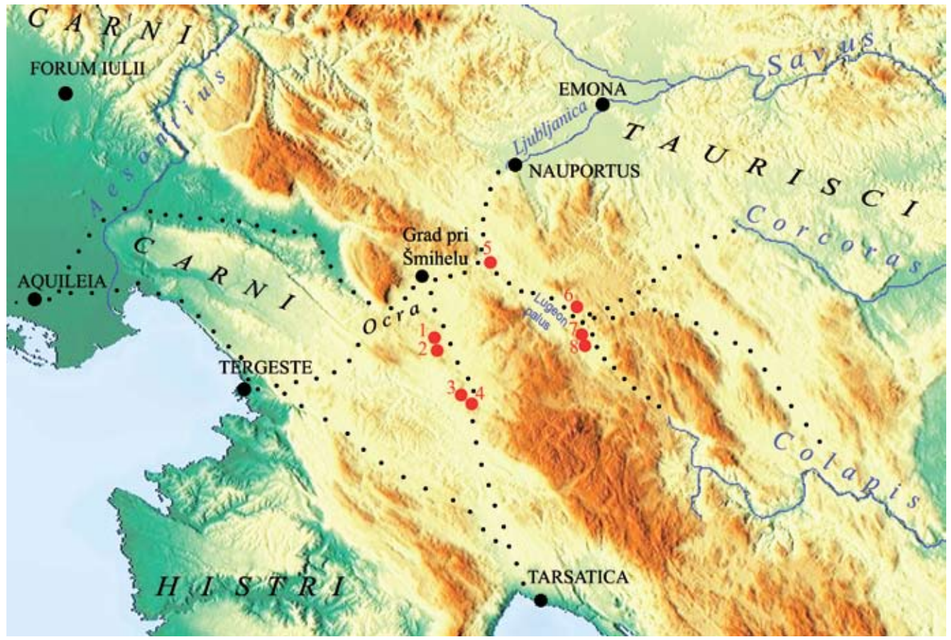

Fig. 1. Archaeological sites mentioned in the text (1 Baba near Slavina, 2 Ambroževo gradišče near Slavina, 3 Gradišče at Čepna, 4 Gradišče above Knežak, 5 Stari grad above Unec, 6 Žerovnišček near Bločice, 7 Ulaka above Stari trg pri Ložu, 8 Nadleški hrib near Nadlesk); reconstruction of the main lines of communication and wider geo-political situation in the Early Roman period.

2. SITES

2. 1. Baba near Slavina

According to chance and metal detector finds, the fortified settlement of Baba was settled during the Late Bronze and Iron Age. The latest recorded find is a hoard of Roman and Celtic coins, buried after 74 BC.[8] The settlement was probably abandoned in the Late La Tène period.[9]

1. Slingshots, lead. 32 of type Völling II, 1 of type Völling IV, weights 25-104.39 g. Fig. 2.
2. Hobnail, iron. Diam. 1.8 cm Fig. 2.

[8] FMRSl IV, 126-127, 46/3.

[9] HORVAT - BAVDEK 2009, 138.

2. 2 Ambroževo gradišče near Slavina

The earliest finds from the fortified settlement of Ambroževo gradišče are dated to the Late Bronze Age. Numerous items indicate settlement in the Iron Age. The remains of simple buildings from the Augustan period were discovered by archaeological trenching. Finds from the 1st to 4th centuries AD are scarce.[10]

1. Hand (hilt)-guard, copper alloy. L. 4.7 cm. Fig. 5: 1.
2. Tie loop, copper alloy. L. 5.9cm. Fig. 5: 2.
3. Harness pendant, copper alloy. L. 7.9 cm. Fig. 5: 3.
4. Slingshots, lead. 19 of type Völling II, 1 of type Völling IV (Fig. 5: 4), weights 81.10-108.75g.

[10] HORVAT 1995, 183-188, 194-197, pl. 7-14: 1-7.

2. 3 Gradišče at Čepna

The settlement is situated on the edge of a plateau that ends in a cliff on the western side. The more exposed sites of the settlement are surrounded by a stone rampart. Numerous finds span from the Late Eneolithic to the Late Roman period.[11]

1. Button-and-loop fastener, copper alloy. Diam. 2.2 cm. Fig. 5: 5.

2. 4 Gradišče above Knežak

The settlement is secured by steep slopes and cliffs on the northern side and by a rampart enclosure on the southern side. According to numerous metal detector finds and trial trenching the site was occupied from the Early Iron Age to the 4th century AD.[12]

1. Button-and-loop fastener, copper alloy. L 3.2 cm. Fig. 5: 6.

2. 5 Stari grad above Unec

Stari grad is a fortified settlement where finds dated to the Late Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman period were discovered. On the central part of the elevation are the ruins of a castle from the second half of the 12th century to the 16th century.[13]

1. Slingshots, lead. 37 of type Völling II, 2 of type Völling III, 1 of type Völling I, 1 of type Völling V, weights 25.70-104.64. Fig. 4 (16 items). Fig. 5: 8.
2. Button-and-loop fastener, copper alloy. L. 2.8 cm. Fig. 4. Fig. 5: 7.
3. Hobnail, iron. Diam. 1.9 cm. Fig. 4. Fig. 5: 10.
4. Hobnail, iron. Diam. 1.9 cm. Fig. 4. Fig. 5: 11.
5. Hobnail, iron. Diam. 1.4 cm. Fig. 4. Fig. 5: 12.

2. 6 Žerovnišček near Bločice

The fortified settlement at Žerovnišček is situated on the eastern edge of the Cerkniško polje. It was settled from the Late Bronze Age to the early Roman period. It seems that after the final Roman conquest of the area of Cerkniško polje the hill-fort of Žerovnišček was abandoned.[14]

1. Fitting with hinged buckle (Laharnar 2009, 118, t. 5: 9). Fig. 5: 9.

[11] HORVAT 2005, 230-231.

[12] HORVAT 2005, 231-232.

[13] BAVDEK 2009, 82-83; GASPARI 2009, 315-329.

[14] LAHARNAR 2009.

2. Slingshots, lead. 1 of type Völling I and 1 of type Volling II (Laharnar 2009, 118, t. 5: 5-6).
3. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 118, t. 5: 10). Fig. 5: 13.
4. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 118, t. 5: 12). Fig. 5: 14.
5. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 118, t. 5: 11). Fig. 5: 15.
6. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 119, t. 5: 13). Fig. 5: 16.
7. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 119, t. 5: 14). Fig. 5: 17.
8. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 119, t. 5: 15). Fig. 5: 18.
9. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 119, t. 5: 16). Fig. 5: 19.
10. Hobnail, iron (Laharnar 2009, 119, t. 5: 17). Fig. 5: 20.

2. 7 Ulaka above Stari trg pri Ložu

Archaeological finds from Ulaka suggest that there was a settlement from the Late Bronze Age to the La Tène period. Excavations carried out by W. Schmid (1936-1940) uncovered architectural remnants dated between the first half of the 1st century and 3rd century. Several chance and metal detector finds indicate settlement in the 4th and 5th century.[15]

1. Slingshots, lead. 23 of type Völling II, 2 of type Völling IV, weights 34,62-103,91 g. Fig. 3: 6-13.
2. Peg, iron. L 19,2 cm. Fig. 3: 1.
3. Harness pendant, copper alloy. L. 6.3 cm. Fig. 3: 2.
4. Harness pendant, copper alloy. L. 4.5 cm. Fig. 3: 3.
5. Harness pendant, copper alloy. L. 3.5 cm. Fig. 3: 4.
6. Button-and-loop fastener, copper alloy. Diam. 1.4 cm. Fig. 3: 5.

2. 8 Nadleški hrib near Nadlesk

The remains of a Roman stronghold are preserved at Nadleški hrib. The rampart with the entrance in the form of internal clavicula can be recognised.[16] The scarce finds (three lead slingshots, two Celtic silver coins[17] and two halved Roman asses[18]) seem to suggest the dating of the site to the Augustan period.

1. Slingshots, lead. 3 of type Völling II.

[15] ŠAŠEL 1975, 155; GASPARI 2000.

[16] GASPARI 2000, 64-65.

[17] I am grateful to Alenka Miškec (The Numismatic Cabinet, National Museum of Slovenia) for this information.

[18] FMRSl IV, 41.

3. SELECTED ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT FINDS - DISCUSSION

The buckle with a hinged strap fitting (Fig. 5: 9) was used to fasten the shoulder-guard of the Roman composite cuirass (*lorica segmentata*) to the breastplate. Roman legionaries used it from the Augustan period to the 3rd century.[19] The earliest *lorica segmentata* fittings are known from the Roman fortress at Dangstetten, which was in use between 20/15 and 9/8 BC.[20] Finds from Kalkriese (near Osnabrück), where Varo's legions were defeated in AD 9, comprise a *lorica segmentata* breastplate.[21] The armour strap fitting from Žerovnišček is hinged and has vertical ribs and notched edges.[22] Examples from the Late Augustan fortress of Haltern[23] and the Middle and Late Augustan settlement situated below Castle Hill in Ljubljana[24] are also of this type.

The brooches of the Alesia group were found at Stari grad (Fig. 4)[25] and Ulaka.[26] Brooches of this group are the earliest brooches with a hinge and among the leading objects of Roman material culture of the latest Republican period, between ca. 60 and 30/15 BC. They were worn by Roman soldiers and possibly also others.[27]

The soles of Roman military footwear were attached with iron hobnails (Fig. 5:10-20). The hobnails from sites in the Notranjska region comprise all the four types of hobnails known from Alesia, classified according to the pattern on the underside.[28] Most of the hobnails fall into a group characterised by a cruciform pattern of ribs and protuberances between them. This type of hobnail is by far the most common in Alesia.[29] For the hobnails from Notranjska region, the closest geographically parallels are hobnails from Grad near Reka and Gradišče near Cerkno.[30] Roman artillery missiles, lead slingshots, arrow heads, brooches of the Alesia type, hobnails of the type mentioned above, and the coins from these two sites all indicate Roman military actions in the 4th decade BC, considering the historical situation, at the beginning of Octavian's Wars in Illyricum in 35 BC.[31] In addition to items mentioned from Alesia, numerous hobnails of this group from other sites in France are known. They are probably related to Caesar's Gallic Wars between 59 and 52 BC.[32] Such hobnails were found also at Andagoste in northern Spain, in a military context dated from the numismatic evidence to the 4th decade BC.[33] Hobnails of this type have also been found, in addition to other hobnails, at Gurina in the Gail Valley. The majority derive from a layer with small finds from different periods, mostly from the 1st century BC.[34] Peter Gamper connects these hobnails, and other Roman military finds from the site, to the Roman annexation of Noricum in c.15 BC. Hobnails of this type are also among the finds from the Crap-Ses Gorge in the area of Oberhalbstein in eastern Switzerland. Jürg Rageth relates them, as well as other Roman *militaria* from the site, with the Roman military conquest of the Alps in 15 BC.[35] According to Werner Zanier, *militaria* from Döttenbichl (Oberammergau) relate to the same conquest. Among several hobnails, the type under discussion is the most frequent.[36] Such hobnails were not found at the well-investigated fortresses at Dangstetten (20/15 and 9/8 BC) and Oberaden (11 and 9/8 BC). Smaller hobnails without patterns or hobnails with protuberances in a circular arrangement on the underside were found there.[37] The same applies to the hobnails from the Late Augustan fortress of Haltern [38] and the site of Varus' defeat in AD 9 at Kalkriese.[39] We can conclude that hobnails with the characteristic pattern of crossed ribs and four protuberances on the underside were mainly in use when Caesar was conquering Gaul and in the period of civil wars after his death. Finds from Crap-Ses Gorge and Döttenbichl (Oberammergau) seem to suggest that such hobnails were still in use at the very beginning of the Middle Augustan Period. However, the fact that only hobnails of a later type - with a circular arrangement of protuberances, or no pattern on the underside - were found at Dangstetten, dated to 20/15 and 9/8 BC and related to the same military events, calls for caution in the interpretation.

Among the military equipment from sites under discussion lead slingshots predominate (Figs. 2, 3: 6-13, 4, 5: 4, 6). It is widely accepted that in the Roman period only the army used lead slingshots. In his study of slingers in the Roman army, Thomas Völling [40] categorised types of slingshots and suggested their dating, which later authors have largely accepted. He distinguished between oval (types I a-c), spindle-like (types II a-b) and double-pyramid shaped (type III) projectiles; those with two flat surfaces (type IV), acorn-shaped (type V) and round (type VI) projectiles.[41] According to Völling, the Romans used the oval types from the late 2nd century BC at the latest to at least the second half of the 2nd century AD; the spindle-like ones most probably between the 3rd century BC and the Late Antiquity. He dated precisely the double-pyramid slingshots, which he recognised only at four sites from the first three decades of the 1st century BC. The form with two flat surfaces is also rare: it appears in Perugia, Haltern and Titelberg and is dated to the second half of the 1st century BC and to the first three decades of the 1st century AD.[42]

Spindle-like (type Völling II) projectiles predominate at sites in the Notranjska region. Only a few are the oval (Völling I) type: from Grad near Šmihel[43] and Žerovnišček.[44] The rare pyramid-shaped (type Völling III) and acorn-shaped (type Völling V) projectiles have been found at Grad near Šmihel[45] and Stari grad above Unec (Fig. 5: 8), while examples with two flat surfaces (type Völling IV) are known from Ambroževo gradišče (Fig. 5: 4), Baba and Ulaka.[46] There are no examples of spherical projectiles (type Völling VI).

The observation that slings were mostly withdrawn from use after the Augustan and Tiberian periods[47] very likely applies also for sites under discussion. Bearing in mind other finds and considering the historical situation, lead slingshots are very probably associated with the presence and activities of Roman troops during the occupation phase (see below).

At Baba near Slavina, outside the ramparts, a group of ten projectiles was discovered, which in our opinion might represent a slinger's complete projectile set (Fig. 6). Although the circumstances of the find are not clear, the uniform patina on the objects and their simultaneous arrival at the museum show that they were probably found at the same time and close together. The set comprises four larger projectiles weighing 89.44 g, 89.10 g, 81.02 g, and 74.39 g; three medium size weighing 57.85 g, 41.70 g and 40.99 g; and three smaller ones weighing 31.27 g, 27.24 g and 25 g.

Ancient written sources mention different-sized projectiles that were used with slings of different lengths.[48] In his *Bibliotheca Historica* (5. 18), Diodorus Siculus describes slingers from the Balearic Islands armed with three slings: one was worn around the head, another on the torso and the third carried in the hand. Strabo's *Geography* (3. 5. 1) further explains that the long sling was used for distant targets, the shorter for nearby targets and the middle length one for intermediate targets.

The weights of projectiles from the possible set were compared with the Roman weights system.[49] The weight of the three smallest projectiles from Baba is close to a Roman ounce (27.3 g), two of the medium size ones weighed one-and-a-half ounces (41 g, *sescuncia*, *sescunx*), one weighed two ounces (54.6 g), and the average weight of the heaviest ones is 83.5 g, which is close to three Roman ounces (81.9 g). However, if the weights of all the projectiles from Notranjska are examined it seems that in casting there was no real effort to conform to specific Roman weights. The heaviest weigh between three and four ounces, while the weight of the medium ones is less than three ounces. [50]

[19] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 95; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 82.

[20] FINGERLIN 1986, 285, 5; FINGERLIN 1998, 681, 2; ROTH-RUBI 2006 (presented arguments for the earlier dating of the fortress).

[21] BISHOP 2002, 23-29, 91.

[22] e. g. DESCHLER-ERB 1999b, 236-237, fig. 8.

[23] MÜLLER 2002, pl. 41: 447.

[24] VIČIČ 2002, 204, Pl. 12: 2.

[25] ISTENIČ 2005b, 191-193, 196-197, pl. 1: 2, 4, 6, 13.

[26] ISTENIČ 2005b, 194, pl. 1: 10.

[27] ISTENIČ 2005b, 188-189.

[28] BROUQUIER-REDDÉ - DEYBER 2001, 303-304, pl. 93: 138 A-D.

[29] o.c. 304, D 4-4.

[30] ISTENIČ 2005a, 83, fig. 5: 1-13.

[31] o.c. 83-84; ISTENIČ 2005b, 190, note. 11.

[32] POUX et al. 2007, 216, fig. 14: 8, POUX 2008, 376-381, fig. 54 and 56.

[33] OCHARAN LARRONDO - PORTILLA 2002, 322-323, fig. 2: 11-12.

[34] GAMPER 2007, 371, fig. 11: 18-61.

[35] RAGETH 2004, fig. 5: 6-15; RAGETH 2005, 306, fig. 3: 2-14.

[36] ZANIER 2009, 273, 276, no. 3.7.11.

[37] e.g. FINGERLIN 1986, set 2: 2, set 54: 14, set 104: 5, set 182: 13; KÜHLBORN 1992, 150.

[38] HARNECKER 1997, 87, Pl. 69: 754-755.

[39] HARNECKER - TOLKSDORF-LIENEMANN 2004, pl. 4: 1110, pl. 5: 2401, pl. 6: 77, 85, pl. 7: 843, pl. 9: 162, 1047, 1089, 1105, 1119, Pl. 10: 2551.

[40] VÖLLING 1990, 48-58: list 5 and 6.

[41] VÖLLING 1990, 34-35.

[42] VÖLLING 1990, 35.

[43] HORVAT 1993, fig. 1: 4.

[44] LAHARNAR 2009, 141, pl. 5: 5.

[45] HORVAT 2002, 144-145, pl. 20: 8-9.

[46] HORVAT 1993, 334-335, fig. 1: 11, 13.

[47] VÖLLING 1990, 46-47; ZANIER 2006, 203.

[48] VÖLLING 1990, 36.

[49] HULTSCH 1971, 144-161.

[50] The detailed study on slingshots in Slovenia is forthcoming (Arheološki vestnik 2011).

4. CONCLUSIONS

With regard to the typological and chronological determination of other finds at sites under discussion and considering the historical situation, we can associate the early Roman military equipment with the presence of the Roman troops during several periods.

The earliest Roman military equipment items from Baba near Slavina, Stari grad above Unec and perhaps also Žerovnišček date to the Caesarian period, the civil wars following Caesar's death and to the early Augustan period (ca 60-15 BC). They might be associated with Caesar's consolidation of the eastern border of the province of Cisalpine Gaul, especially after the incursion of the Iapodes to Tergeste in 52 BC [51], with possible military interventions to the south-eastern Alpine area before the annexation of Cisalpine Gaul to Italy in 42/41 BC [52] and with Octavian's Campaigns in Illyricum in the years 35-33 BC.[53]

Several Roman military finds from the area under discussion date to the Middle and Late Augustan periods, when the Notranjska region was most probably under Roman control.

These items probably reflect the presence of Roman forces in the hinterland of main military operations in western Balkans during the Pannonian wars (14-9 BC) and the Pannonian-Dalmatian revolt (AD 6-9). We assume that the Roman garrisons at Nadleški hrib and at the possible strongholds at Ambroževo gradišče, Žerovnišček and Ulaka were controlling routes across the Notranjska region towards the Balkans.

[51] ŠAŠEL KOS 2000, 282, 301-302.

[52] GASPARI 2009, 323, 326.

[53] ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 393-471; ISTENIČ 2005a, 77-86.

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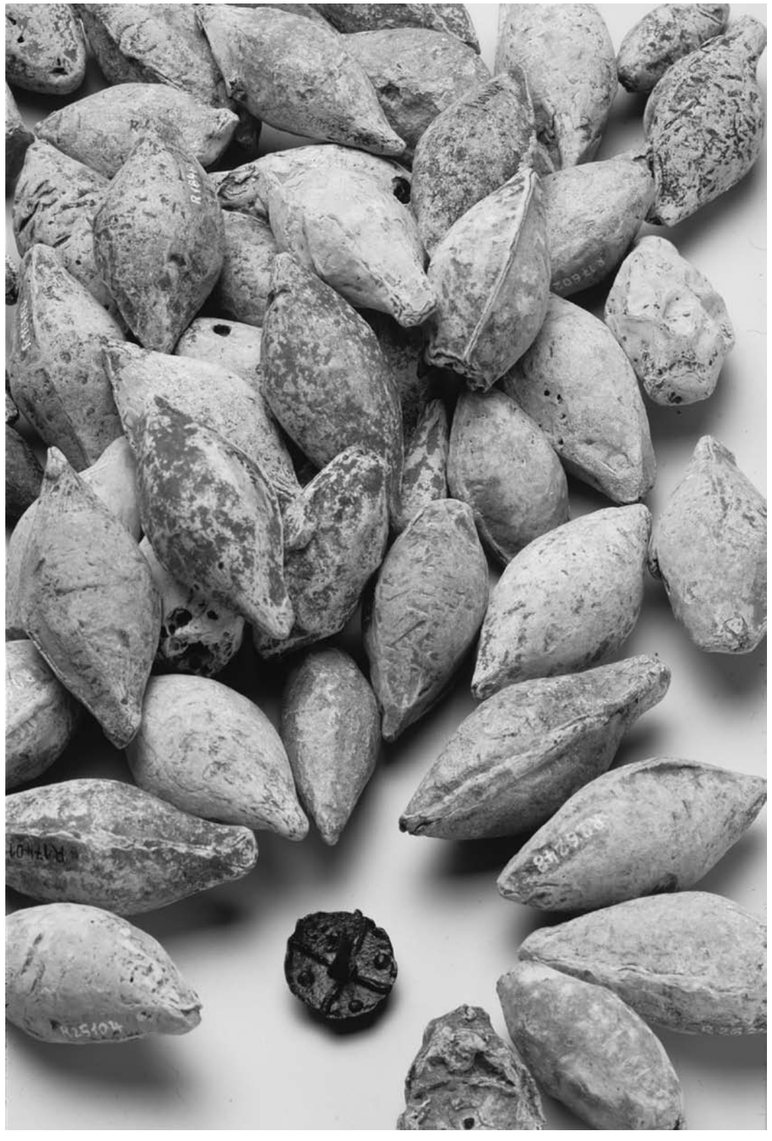

Fig. 2. Baba near Slavina: slingshots and hobnail. Photo: T. Lauko.

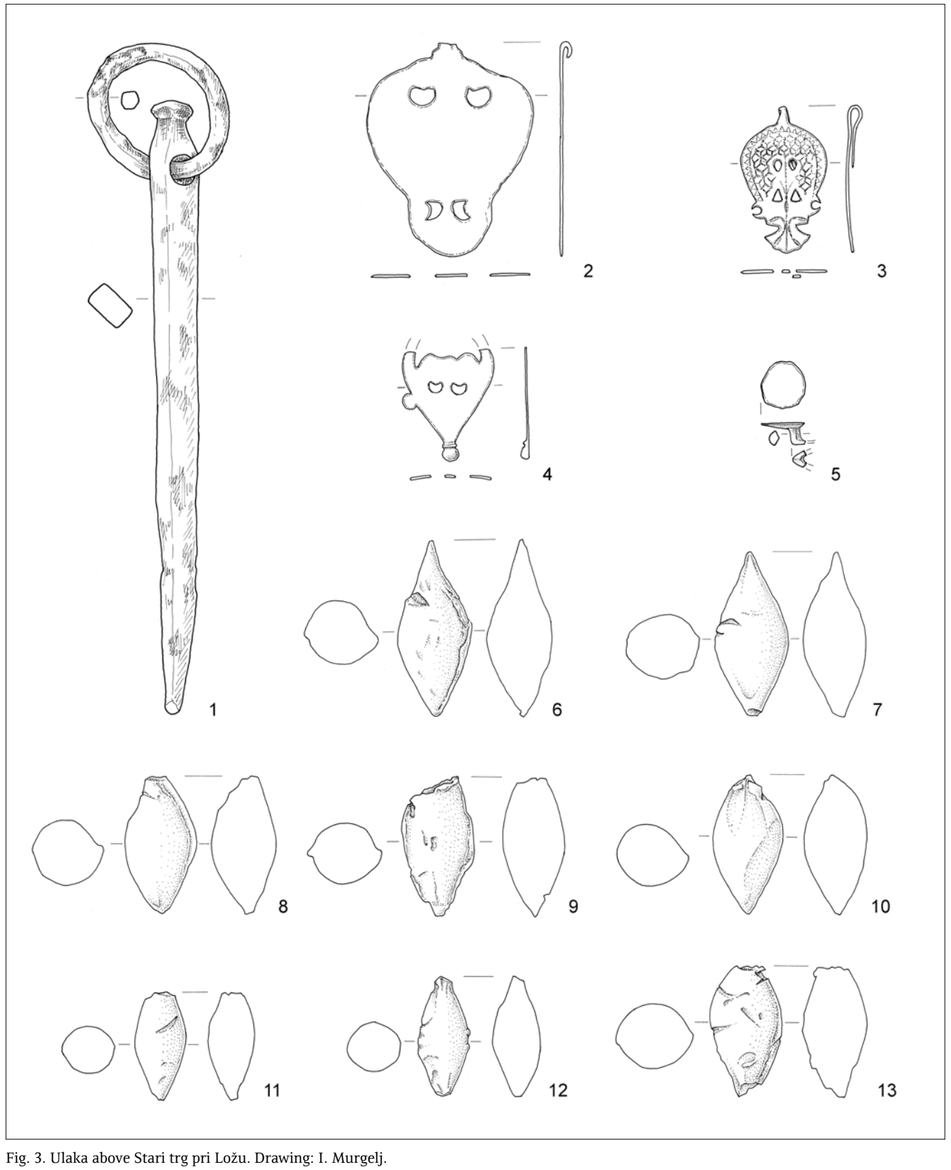

Fig. 3. Ulaka above Stari trg pri Ložu. Drawing: I. Murgelj.

Fig. 4. Stari grad above Unec: slingshots, brooches of the Alesia group, button-and-loop fastener and hobnails. Photo: T. Lauko.

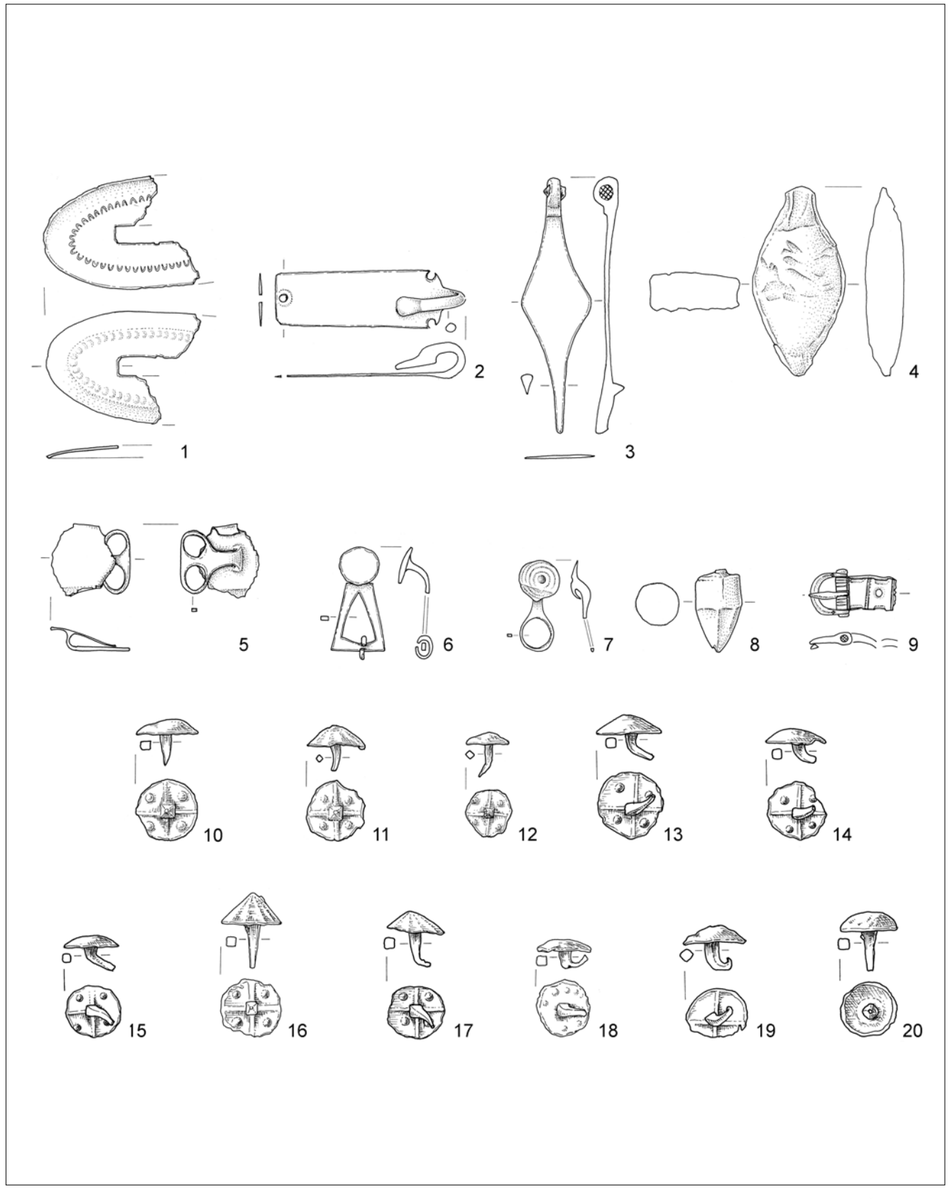

Fig. 5. 1-4 Ambroževo gradišče near Slavina; 5 Gradišče at čepna; 6 Gradišče above Knežak; 7-8, 10-12 Stari grad above Unec; 9, 13-20 Žerovnišček near Bločice. Drawing: I. Murgelj.

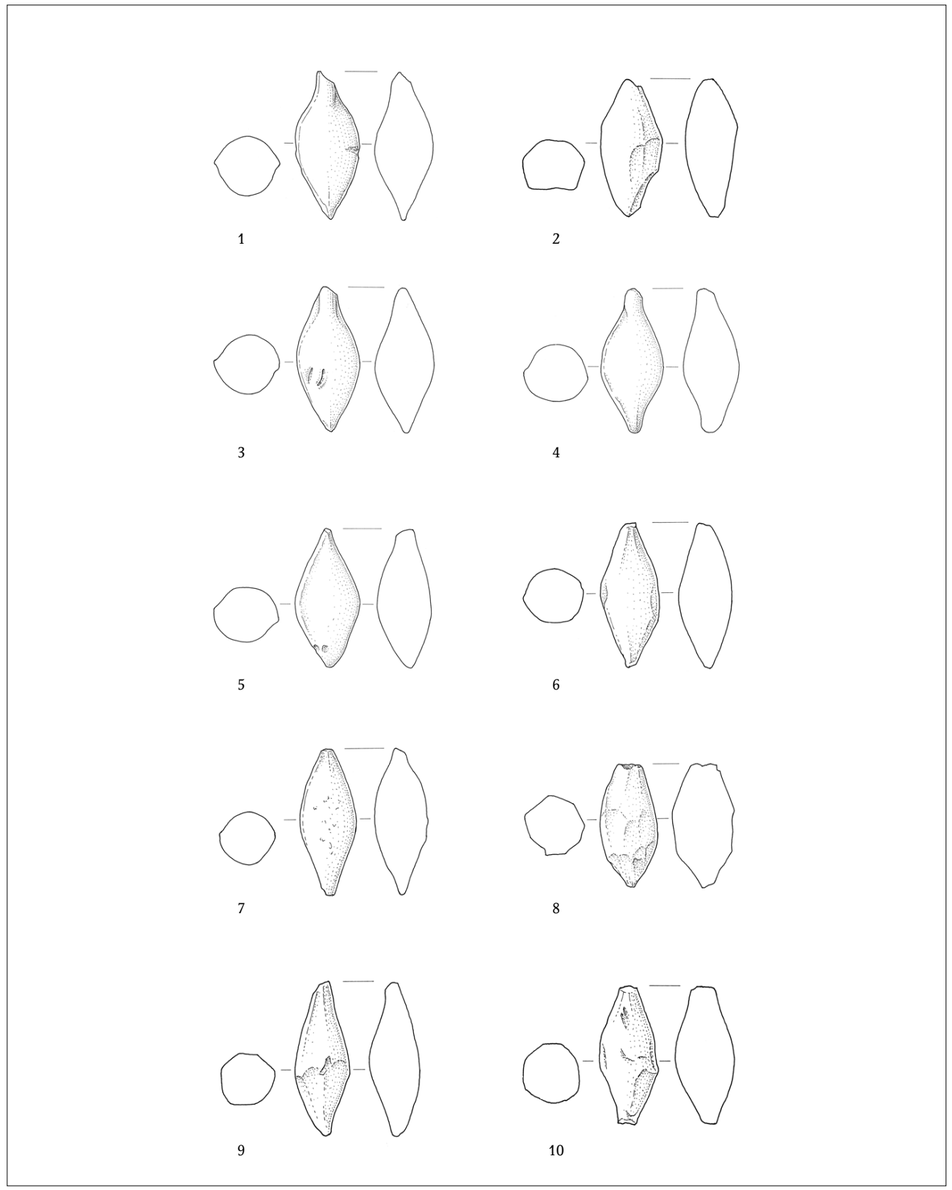

Fig. 6. Baba near Slavina. Supposed slinger's complete set. Drawing: I. Murgelj.

Ivan Bogdanović

ROMAN STONE AND CLAY SHOT FROM THE VIMINACIUM AMPHITHEATRE

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The study of Roman military equipment from Viminacium is important to an understanding of the constitution of the Roman army and the life of soldiers and civilians not only in this camp and city, but also at other sites along the Danube limes in *Moesia Superior*. In this paper, stone and clay shot found during recent excavations of the Viminacium amphitheatre will be presented. Based on the size, shape and exact location, I will discuss the function of missiles and their connection to the amphitheatre.

VIMINACIUM AMPHITHEATRE

Viminacium is located in eastern Serbia, close to the confluence of the Mlava and Danube Rivers (Fig. 1). It was initially a military camp, where the *legio VII Claudia* was stationed from turn of the sixth into the seventh decades of the first century AD.[1] A city grew next to the camp and became the capital of the province of *Moesia Superior* and later of *Moesia Prima*.[2]

Based on archaeological excavations, the areas of the legionary fortress and the city of Viminacium were defined on the right bank of the Mlava River. The Viminacium amphitheatre is situated in the north-eastern corner of the city, approximately 60 m from the north-western corner of the legionary fortress (Fig. 2). At the end of nineteenth century, M. Valtrović conducted the first small-scale excavations of the amphitheatre.[3] Systematic archaeological investigations began in Septem-

[1] ПОПОВИЋ 1968, 36; MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 25; 1986, 35-36.

[2] The city was raised to the rank of *municipium* during the reign of Hadrian and to the rank of *colonia* during the reign of Gordian III.

[3] ВАЛТРОВИЋ 1884, 11-12, 100-103.

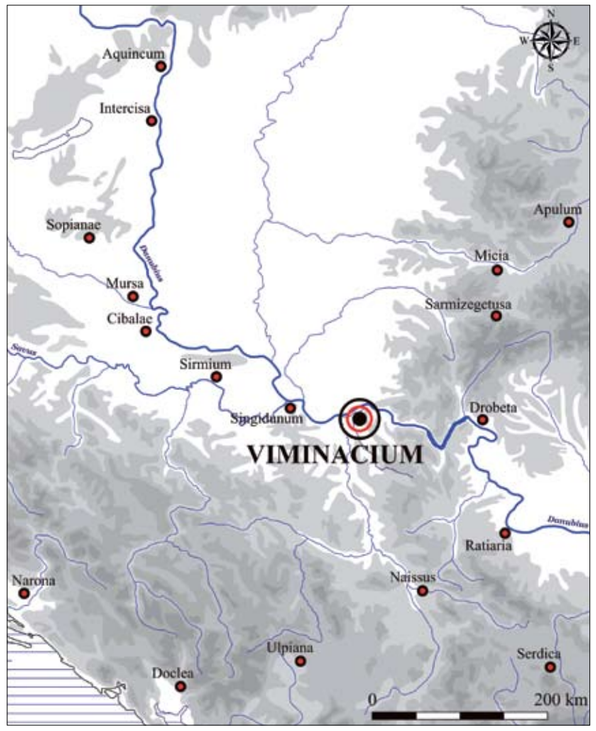

Fig. 1. Location of Viminacium.

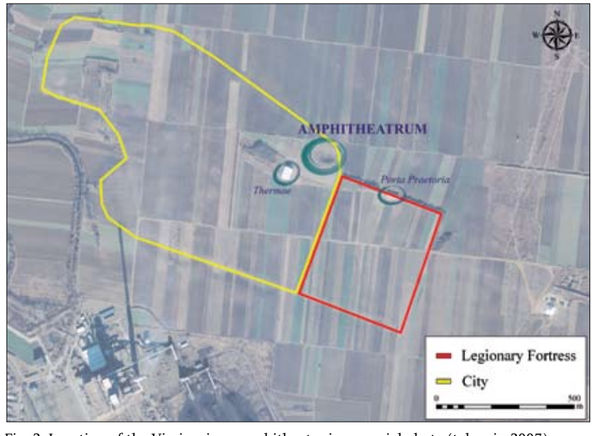

Fig. 2. Location of the Viminacium amphitheatre in an aerial photo (taken in 2007).

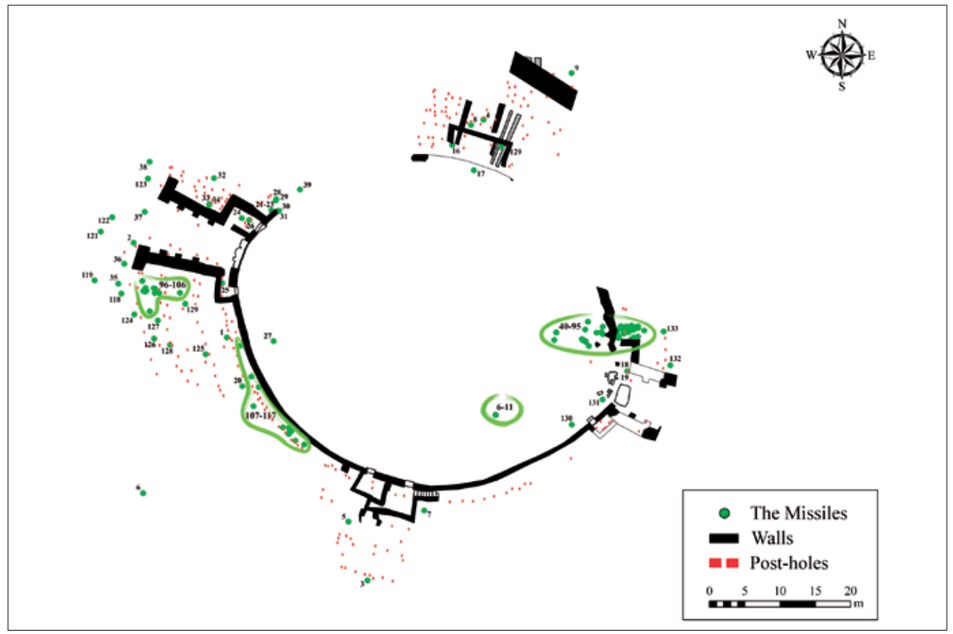

Fig. 3. Layout of the Viminacium amphitheatre.

ber 2007 and by the end of 2010 a surface of roughly 2000 m^2 was excavated.[4] Traces of architecture include: the amphitheatre's stone walls, post-holes for timber beams that supported the stands, and also a part of the northern rampart of the city which lies next to the amphitheatre. The estimated overall dimensions of the amphitheatre are approximately 83.5 x 74 m, and the dimensions of the arena are approximately 55 x 45 m (Fig. 3). According to previous investigations, it is possible to conclude that the amphitheatre was built in the first quarter of the second century and that it was used until the turn of the third into the fourth century. So far, at least three construction phases may be discerned: an older, timber phase that dates to the first quarter of the second century, and two stone/timber phases that date to the period from the second quarter of the second until the end of the third century.

[4] The archaeological excavations were conducted by the Institute of Archaeology in Belgrade, at the direction of dr. Miomir Korać.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

During recent excavations of the Viminacium amphitheatre, besides many finds made of various materials and for different purposes, 133 missiles were found. The maximum diameters[5] and weight of the projectiles were recorded, while special attention was also accorded to the shape and material from which the shot was made of. Dating of the projectiles was based on other finds, because the shape and material of the items discovered did not change at all throughout the Roman period.[6] Based on all of these features, including the exact location and contexts of the finds, use of the projectiles will be interpreted and discussed.

[5] In this paper, the diameter will also refer to the maximum length of missiles of oval, irregular and unknown shape.

[6] In contrast to this assumption, heavier projectiles that are larger in diameter may only be expected, as they could be used as shot for more powerful artillery machines.

MISSILES

The missiles from the Viminacium amphitheatre were made of stone and clay. The majority of them were made of limestone (126 projectiles), while two were made of sandstone and five were made of refined hard-baked clay (Fig. 4). Besides missiles, limestone was also used in construction of the arena wall,[7] while sandstone projectiles are the sole finds made of that material. In addition to missiles, clay was used for making ceramics and bricks.

Missiles were found in various units and layers across the entire excavated area (Fig. *3*). The majority of the projectiles were found at the area of *cavea*, fewer were found in the area of the arena, while some of them were found adjacent to the amphitheatre and one was discovered in front of the city rampart. Projectiles were discovered either as individual finds, or as smaller or larger groups of finds. Most of the missiles found in the Viminacium amphitheatre date to the period of construction and utilisation of the building, while only a few projectiles date to the time when the amphitheatre had lost its function.

Projectiles are different in shape and dimension. The diameters of missiles vary from 2.69 to 29.58 cm. Most of them have diameters between 7.22 and 13.75 cm. Projectiles weigh between 20 and 3550 g. The weight of the missiles has not always been fully preserved. The smallest projectiles suffered the least damage. Based on the ratio between diameter and weight, it may be concluded that these features are interdependent, i.e. that larger projectiles were heavier (Fig. *5*). The attempt to reconstruct the actual weight of projectiles showed that the current weight can be converted into Roman duodecimal measuring system.[8] In this system, the basic unit was the Roman pound (*libra*) with a constant weight of 327.45 g and its twelfth part, the ounce (*uncia*), weighing 27.288 g.[9] Reviewing the reconstructed weight in Roman units, most of them reach weights between $1^1/_2$ and 5 pounds, or between 491.18 and 1537 g.

Diameter and weight variations indicate different calibres of projectiles used for different purposes and ranges. According to these features and reference data,[10] minor missiles with diameters between 2.69 and 5.73 cm and weights below 186 g were defined as slingshot projectiles (*glandes*). There were 6 slingshot projectiles in the assemblage: three oval ones made of limestone (no. 1-3; Fig. 6, 1), one biconical one made of sandstone (no. 6; Fig. 6, 2)[11] and two spherical clay projectiles (no. 4-5; Fig. 6, 3).[12]

In the case of three projectiles made of limestone, two spherical pieces (no. 115 and 121) and one spherical projectile with a slightly flattened side (no. 122), with diameters between 6.73 and 7.35 cm and weights between 226 and 247 g, it was not possible to define whether they were used for slingshots or hurled by hand. Based on their dimensions and sources, they were either hurled by hand or with a staff sling (*fustibalus*).[13]

Assuming that missiles no. 115, 121 and 122 were not slingshot projectiles, than 127 missiles found at the Viminacium amphitheatre (no. 7-133) were either *ballista* balls or hand-thrown stones. Besides three spherical projectiles made of clay (no. 12, 15 and 89) and one made of sandstone (no. 133), the others were made of limestone. Their diameter varies between 6.73 and 29.58 cm and they weigh from 226 to 3550 g. They were roughly rounded, worked stones, while in some cases their surface was finely processed. Out of 127 missiles, 53 were spherical (Fig. 6, 4), 42 were spherical with one side slightly flattened (Fig. 6, 5), 11 were spherical with two sides slightly flattened (Fig. 6, 6), 7 were oval (Fig. 6, 7), 8 were irregular (Fig. 6, 8) and 6 were damaged to the extent so that it was not possible to reconstruct their shape (Fig. 6, 9). Among all of the missile shapes, no regularity in calibre could be observed (Fig. 5).

The largest group, consisting of 56 projectiles (no. 40-95), was located close to the eastern entrance of the amphitheatre (Fig. 7).[14] This pile of stones lay beside

[7] The main entrances and chamber walls were made of shale and plaster.

[8] In this translation, attention was turned on the state of preservation of each projectile. So, the preserved part was increased by the missing part, obtaining in this fashion the ideal missile weight.

[9] HULTSCH 1882, 159-161, 706, Tab. XIII.

[10] GRIFFITHS 1989; VÖLLING 1990; ВУЈОВИЋ 2007; 2009; GUDEA 2009.

[11] The shape and surface of this shot indicate that it may have been be used as a tool.

[12] The effective range was between 100 and 200 m for clay shot and maximum *c.* 230 m for stone shot. The missiles were mostly dangerous at the distance of approximately 65 m (BAATZ 1990).

[13] VUJOVIĆ 1998, 125; 2007, 304; WILKINS 2003, Fig. 51; CAMPBELL 2005, 16, 46.

[14] One of these projectiles (no. 64) had a chiselled hallow, 2.22 cm in diameter and 3.98 cm in depth. Following the paper of M. Jeremić (1993, 79, Fig. 3, 8), this projectile would be defined as a stone weight. However, based on the fact that this stone was found with other projectiles similar in dimensions and the absence of corrosion in the hollow and also on similar shot found in Buciumi in Romania (GUDEA 2009, 227, Abb. 5), this stone may be defined as a missile. To conclude, this stone probably was made to be a weight, but was in secondary use and left together with other projectiles in the amphitheatre area.

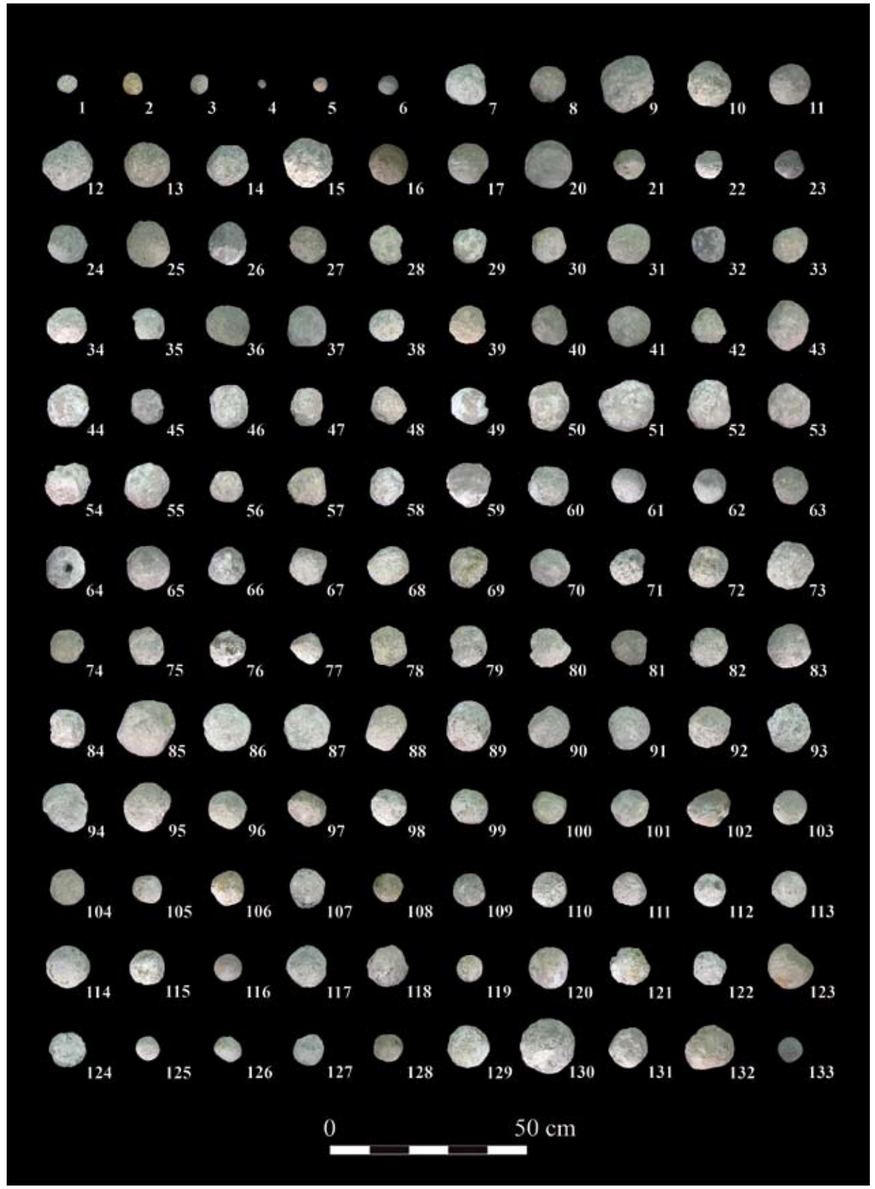

Fig. 4. Missiles.

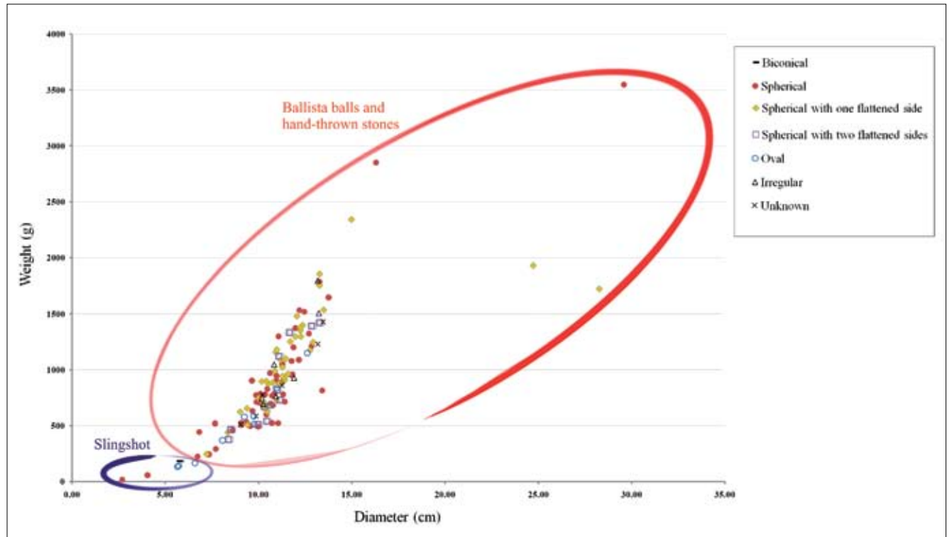

Fig. 5. Ratio between diameter and weight of the missiles.

a side-chamber that flanks the arena at the northern side of the entrance. The missiles were situated partly in the area of the arena and partly in the area of the *cavea*. They weigh mostly between 681 and 972 g or between 1297 and 1537 g, but the calibre cannot be determined with any certainty. As may be assumed based on the position of the missiles, they were probably stored by the outer face of the arena wall and during its demolition they fell together with the wall.

Another group of 11 missiles (no. 96-106) was found on a plaster surface situated to the south of the western entrance between the post-holes for wooden beams which supported the stands. Most of them weigh between 440 and 800 g, but the calibre cannot be defined. Assuming that the plaster surface may define an older phase of the timber construction of the *cavea*, then those projectiles would be connected to the period of building construction.

Another group of 11 projectiles (no. 107-117) was discovered in the vicinity of the aforementioned group, in a ditch next to the external arena wall canvas. The missiles from the ditch mostly weigh between 525 and 780 g and besides a few exceptions, two calibres of 2 and $2^1/_2$ Roman pounds may be assumed. Considering the context of the finds, they could be connected with the time of the arena wall's construction.

A group consisting of 6 missiles (no. 10-15) was discovered in the area of the arena. Although they weigh between 1052 and 1797 g, three different calibres of approximately $4^1/_2$, 5 and $5^1/_2$ Roman pounds may be suggested.

Smaller groups consisting of two or three projectiles and individual finds were discovered in different parts and layers of the entire excavated area.

Individual finds are different in shape, diameter and weight. The features of the shot are not consistent even within the groups of missiles, although the exceptions are groups of fewer projectiles that have similar attributes.

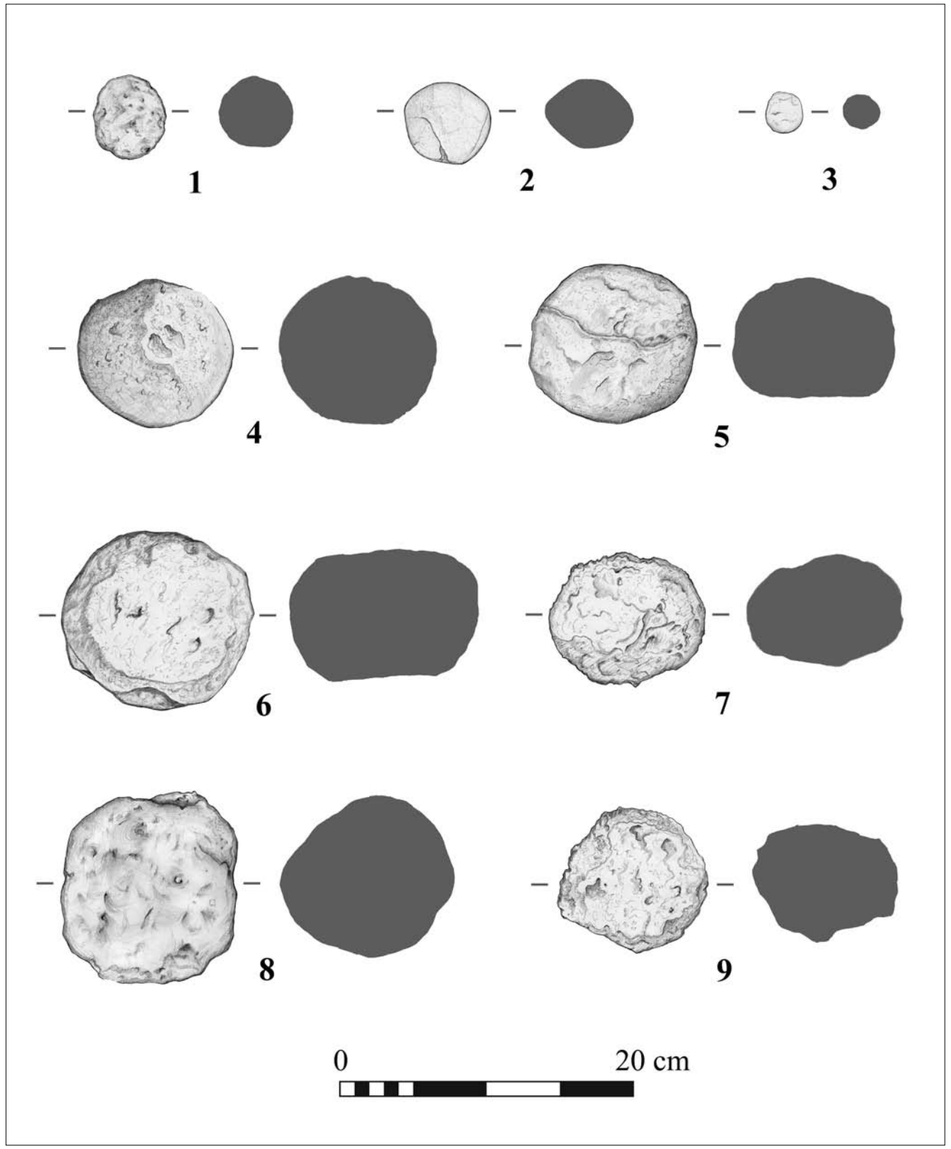

Fig. 6. Shape of the missiles - 1. oval slingshot projectile (no. 1); 2. biconical slingshot projectile (no. 6); 3. spherical slingshot projectile (no. 4); 4. spherical projectile (no. 17); 5. spherical projectile with one flattened side (no. 31); 6. spherical projectile with two flattened sides (no. 20); 7. oval projectile (no. 58); 8. projectile of irregular shape (no. 12); 9. projectile of unknown shape (no. 29) (drawings by D. Rogić).

Fig. 7. A part of the most numerous group of missiles.

INTERPRETATION OF THE MISSILES

The presence of projectiles in the area of the amphitheatre can be interpreted as an indicator of warfare, traces of training or as part of the equipment used for Roman entertainment. The vicinity of the city ramparts indicates very intensive utilization of the area during armed conflicts, so the slingshot projectiles, *ballista* balls and hand-thrown stones are expected finds.

The proximity of the city ramparts leads to the assumption that the missiles represent traces of the city defence system while the amphitheatre was in use. Their presence in the embankment that supported the wooden structure of the *cavea* can also be explained by the fact that layers were disturbed during construction of the amphitheatre, so the missiles could be dated back to the period prior to construction. Besides a few projectiles which belong to the time when the amphitheatre lost its function, other missiles could not be associated with civil wars and barbarian attacks during the period of the crisis of the Empire in the third and the fourth centuries.[15]

The finds of slingshot projectiles confirm the presence of slingers (*funditores*) in Viminacium (Fig. 8). Slingers were common units in the Roman army and played an important role in defence, but also in sieges and open combat.[16] Their presence in the territory of Serbia was also evident in Belgrade (*Singidunum*), Čezava (*Novae*), Veliki Gradac (*Taliata*), Ravna (*Timacum Minus*) and Stojnik.[17]

[15] МИРКОВИЋ 1994, 89-105.

[16] GRIFFITHS 1989; VÖLLING 1990; ВУЈОВИЋ 2007.

[17] САВИНОВА 1986, 263-264; VUJOVIĆ 1998, 124-126; 2007.

Fig. 8. Slinger, Trajan`s Column, Rome, Scene CXIII-CXIV (after COARELLI 1999, Tav. 138).

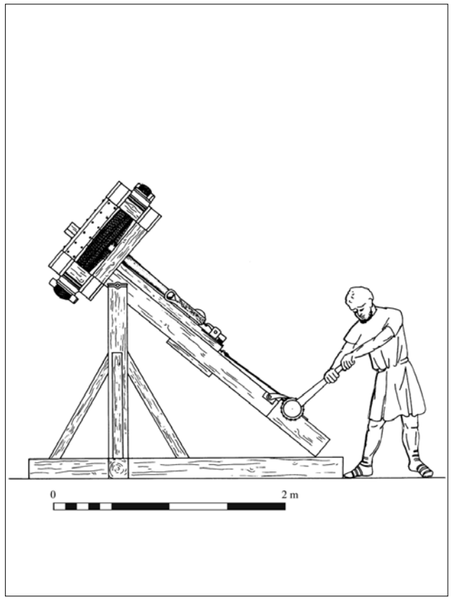

Fig. 9. *Ballista*, reconstruction of a Hatra stone-thrower (after BAATZ 1978, Fig. 7).

In addition to the missiles which have been ascertained as those for slings, defining of the manner of use and purpose of other projectiles is very difficult. According to Vitruvius, the lightest *ballista* balls weigh 2 Roman pounds (0.655 kg),[18] while M. Bishop and J. Coulston and D. Campbell suggest that artillery balls could weigh 1 mina (0.436 kg).[19] Based on these data and on examples from the literature, it may be assumed that spherical and oval missiles, and also projectiles with one side slightly flattened, which weigh more than 0.436 kg, might have been hurled by an artillery machine (Fig. 9).[20] This assumption is very important because to date in the province of *Moesia Superior* this kind of shot has been confirmed only in Singidunum, Novae and Ravna *(Campsa)*.[21]

[18] Vitruvius X, 11. 3; MARSDEN 1971, 197-200; WILKINS 2003, 7.

[19] BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, Fig. 29 and CAMPBELL 2002, 180, with the literature cited therein. The maximum range of *ballista* increased approximately 370 m and of *onager* approximately 450 m (BAATZ 1994, 136-145; WILKINS 2003, 61-70).

[20] BONDOC 2002; 2007; WILKINS 2003; GUDEA 2009. Although there were no traces of artillery machines, their presence in Viminacium may be suggested. On the storage sites for artillery machines, see MARSDEN 1969; BAATZ 1983; CAMPBELL 1984; 2002; OBER 1987; WINTER 1997; BONDOC 2002.

[21] VUJOVIĆ 1998, 223-224.

Based on the shape, dimensions and data given by W. B. Griffiths, projectiles which weigh less than 1 kg, and especially those with flattened sides, could be determined as hand-thrown stones.[22] Accepting the hypothesis put forth by D. Baatz, it may be intimated that hand-thrown stones could weigh even more than 1 kg.[23] He suggested that there were two methods of throwing them from ramparts. Larger stones were dropped using both hands to hit a target near the foot of the wall, while smaller stones were hurled using one hand over a range comparable to that of a javelin (Fig. 10).[24] For projectiles of irregular and unrecognizable shape, it was not possible to reconstruct the way they were hurled.

[22] GRIFFITHS 1992, with the literature cited therein.

[23] BAATZ 1983, 136.

[24] Stones thrown by hand had a maximum range of roughly 25-30 m (GRIFFITHS 1992, 6-8).

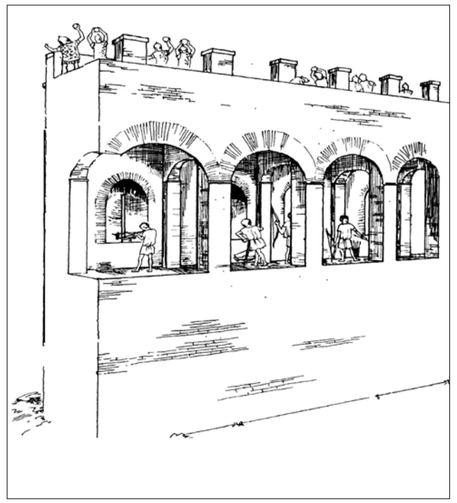

Fig. 10. Throwing stone projectiles by hands (after BAATZ 1983, Fig. 123).

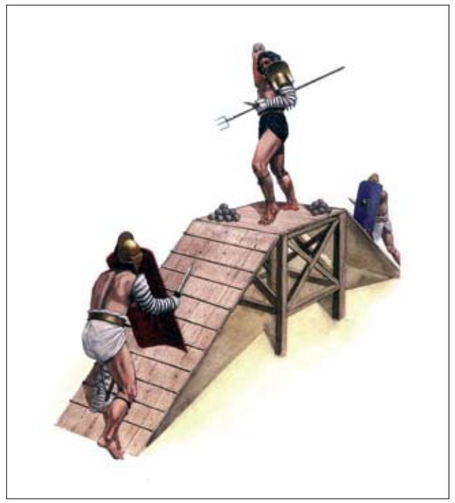

Fig. 11. Combat between a *retiarius* and two *secutores* (after NOSSOV 2009, 134).

Slingshot projectiles, like the other individual projectiles, may be explained as traces of warfare, while the piles of projectiles could be stored and prepared for usage during combat actions, or they were simply prepared for some future siege. Due to the different dimensions and the shapes of the missiles within each group, it was not possible to reconstruct how they were hurled.

It is well-known that storage of missiles, even of hand-throw stones of the appropriate weights, was a necessity, because during an attack a high rate of accurate fire must have often been of vital importance for the survival of the town. This could not be achieved with unworked stones of uncertain weight.[25] According to this assumption, we can only speculate as to why projectiles were collected in groups. One of the explanations could be the fact that during the time of the city defence, the shape and the size of stones did not play such an important role, because of the lack of the appropriate missiles.

The interpretation of the missiles as the remains of training cannot be entirely accepted. It may be suggested that the amphitheatre might have been used as a training ground for soldiers, which included hurling of stone projectiles.[26]

[25] BAATZ 1983, 136.

[26] Vegetius II, 23; LE BOHEC 2001, 110.

Although projectiles indicate the presence of organized defence, artillery troops and slingers in the territory of Viminacium, the fact that projectiles are associated with the time of utilisation of the amphitheatre suggests that they can also be interpreted as a component of Roman entertainment. Based on the data provided by M. Junkelmann and K. Nossov, it may be assumed that some projectiles, especially the largest group of them found in the vicinity of the eastern entrance, were used in gladiatorial combat.[27] Both agree that stone shot was used by the *retiarius* during the combat against two *secutores* at the same time (Fig. 11). The *retiarius* stood on a raised wooden platform or bridge with two short flights of steps leading to it. In addition to his usual weapons, he had a supply of fist-sized round stones stacked in a pyramid, which he could throw by hand at his opponents before and while they attempted to climb his platform. If this hypothesis is correct, it may be concluded that in the Viminacium amphitheatre, gladiators known as *retiarius* or *pontarius* fought, probably pitted against two *secutores*. If this was the case, the aforementioned stones were stored and prepared for future use in these spectacles.

[27] JUNKELMANN 2000, 112-113, 126; NOSSOV 2009, 65-66.

CONCLUSION

Amphitheatre missiles are an important reference in elucidating the constitution of the Roman army in Viminacium and *Moesia Superior*. The aforementioned projectiles are significant primarily because such types of finds are rare at Roman sites in Serbia.[28]

Among the projectiles found in the Viminacium amphitheatre, it was possible to assume that 6 missiles of smaller dimensions were used as slingshot projectiles. The other 127 missiles could be defined as *ballista* balls or hand-thrown stones. The majority of the missiles date to the period of construction and utilisation of the building. Beside these projectiles dating to the second and third centuries, a small part of the finds could date to the fourth century.

The presence of slingers and artillery may be confirmed based on the finds of stone and clay shot at the amphitheatre, which together with hand-thrown stones indicate organized defence of the city. Based on the precise location of the finds, it is possible that the projectiles were used either during attacks, in defence, in training or during gladiatorial combat.

[28] САВИНОВА 1986; VUJOVIĆ 1998, 124-129, 223-225, P. XXXVI-II, P. LXII; 2007; 2009.

Stone and clay shot were quite an effective weapon, so the presence of the projectiles raises the question connected to production and distribution of missiles. Comparing the material of the projectiles with the stone used in building construction and quarries and also to bricks, ceramics and clay deposits, the manner of exploitation of raw materials in the Viminacium region may be discerned.

Previous excavations at Viminacium revealed only a small part of the city area, so that data on missiles and warfare in the area of the amphitheatre may be a contribution to exploration of armed conflicts in Viminacium and the appearance of the north-eastern part of the city through different periods. Based on the finds from the latest layers, projectiles which reflect wartime operations and the necropolis which emerged above the amphitheatre walls, it seems that the amphitheatre lost its function at the turn of the third into the fourth century.

CATALOGUE OF MISSILES[29]

1. Limestone; Oval; d-5.66 cm; h-4.78 cm; m-133 g (reconstructed weight in Roman units ca. 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 1.
2. Limestone; Oval; l-6.59 cm; h-5.73 cm; m-165 g (ca. 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 2.
3. Limestone; Oval; l-5.73 cm; h-4.77 cm; m-142 g (ca. 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 3.
4. Clay; Spherical; d-2.69 cm; m-20 g (ca. 1 ounce); Fig. 4, 4.
5. Clay; Spherical; d-4.04 cm; m-59 g (ca. 2.25 ounces); Fig. 4, 5.
6. Sandstone; Biconical; d-5.77 cm; h-4.62 cm; m-186 g (ca. 1 ounce); Fig. 4, 6.
7. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.71 cm; h-10.55 cm; m-1253 g (ca. 4 pounds); Fig. 4, 7.
8. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.23 cm; m-682 g (ca. 4 pounds); Fig. 4, 8.
9. Limestone; Spherical; d-16.30 cm; m-2854 g (ca. 8 pounds and 9 ounces); Fig. 4, 9.
10. Limestone; Spherical; d-12.18 cm; m-1536 g (ca. 4 pounds and 9 ounces); Fig. 4, 10.
11. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.27 cm; m-1052 g (ca. 3 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 11.
12. Limestone; Irregular; d-13.17 cm; m-1797 (ca. 5 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 12.
13. Limestone; Spherical; d-12.45 cm; m-1520 g (ca. 4 pounds and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 13.
14. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-11.09 cm; h-9.47 cm; m-1120 g (ca. 3 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 14.
15. Limestone; Spherical; d-13.26 cm; m-1789 g (ca. 5 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 15.
16. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.96 cm; m-905 g (ca. 2 pounds and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 16.
17. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.95 cm; m-949 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 17.
18. Limestone; Spherical; The shot was lost during excavations
19. Clay; Spherical; The shot was lost during excavations
20. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-13.26 cm; h-8.46 cm; m-1422 g (ca. 4 pounds and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 20.
21. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-8.50 cm; h-7.54 cm; m-465 g (ca. 1 pound and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 21.
22. Limestone; Spherical; d-7.70 cm; m-294 g (ca. 1 pound); Fig. 4, 22.
23. Limestone; Spherical; d-7.66 cm; m-519 g (ca. 1 pound and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 23.
24. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.17 cm; h-8.68 cm; m-897 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 24.
25. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-12.24 cm; h-10.46 cm; m-1353 g (ca. 4 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 25.
26. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.93 cm; h-8.67 cm; m-1157 g (ca. 5 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 26.
27. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.04 cm; m-525 g (ca. 3 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 27.
28. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.77 cm; m-684 g (ca. 2 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 28.
29. Limestone; Unknown; d-10.22 cm; m-775 g (ca. 3 pounds and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 29.
30. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.97 cm; h-9.29 cm; m-726 g (ca. 4 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 30.
31. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.28 cm; h-8.28 cm; m-1024 g (ca. 3 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 31.
32. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.24 cm; h-7.95 cm; m-689 g (ca. 2 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 32.
33. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.27 cm; h-7.95 cm; m-664 g (ca. 2 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 33.
34. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.47 cm; m-831 g (ca. 2 pounds and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 34.
35. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.56 cm; m-500 g (ca. 4 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 35.
36. Limestone; Irregular; d-11.90 cm; m-927 (ca. 2 pounds and 11 ounces); Fig. 4, 36.
37. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.88 cm; h-9.15 cm; m-989 g (ca. 3 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 37.
38. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.98 cm; m-492 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 38.
39. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-9.95 cm; h-6.06 cm; m-510 g (ca. 1 pound and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 39.
40. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.71 cm; m-526 g (ca. 4 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 40.
41. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.41 cm; h-8.31 cm; m-910 g (ca. 2 pounds and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 41.
42. Limestone; Unknown; d-9.87 cm; m-587 g (ca. 7 pounds); Fig. 4, 42.
43. Limestone; Spherical; d-13.41 cm; m-817 g (ca. 5 pounds); Fig. 4, 43.
44. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-12.37 cm; h-10.91 cm; m-1399 g (ca. 4 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 44.
45. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.31 cm; h-7.71 cm; m-685 g (ca. 2 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 45.
46. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-12.06 cm; h-9.42 cm; m-1481 g (ca. 4 pounds and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 46.
47. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.76 cm; h-8.36 cm; m-887 g (ca. 2 pounds and 9 ounces); Fig. 4, 47.
48. Limestone; Oval; d-10-96 cm; h-8.66 cm; m-837 g (ca. 2 pounds and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 48.
49. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.65 cm; m-700 g (ca. 2 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 49.
50. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-13.50 cm; h-9.98 cm; m-1537 g (ca. 4 pounds and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 50.
51. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-14.98 cm; h-12.01 cm; m-2343 g (ca. 7 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 51.
52. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-13.27 cm; h-11.36 cm; m-1756 g (ca. 5 pounds and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 52.
53. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-12.92 cm; h-11.08 cm; m-1247 g (ca. 4 pounds); Fig. 3, 53.
54. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.98 cm; h-10.036 cm; m-1297 g (ca. 4 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 54.
55. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-12.24 cm; h-10.65 cm; m-1380 g (ca. 4 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 55.
56. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-9.05 cm; h-7.86 cm; m-625 g (ca. 1 pound and 11 ounces); Fig. 4, 56.
57. Limestone; Unknown; d-11.25 cm; m-863 g (ca. 10 pounds); Fig. 4, 57.
58. Limestone; Oval; d-10.61 cm; h-7.63; m-681 g (ca. 1 pound and 1 ounce); Fig. 4, 58.
59. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.77 cm; m-1080 g (ca. 5 pounds); Fig. 4, 59.
60. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.46 cm; h-8.08 cm; m-1100 g (ca. 3 pound and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 60.
61. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.64 cm; m-904 g (ca. 2 pounds and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 61.
62. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-9.39 cm; h-8.39 cm; m-656 g (ca. 2 pounds); Fig. 4, 62.
63. Limestone; Irregular; d-10.16 cm; m-749 g (ca. 2 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 63.
64. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side with chiselled hallow, 2.22 cm in diameter and 3.98 cm in depth; d-11.18 cm; h-9.30 cm; m-1089 g (ca. 3 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 64.

[29] In the catalogue, the letters d, h and m refer to: d – maximum diameter or length of the shot, h - height and m - weight. The reconstructed weight specified in the catalogue is based on the state of preservation of each projectile and it was translated to Roman units of weight.

65. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.97 cm; m-1374 g (ca. 4 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 65
66. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.53 cm; h-8.65 cm; m-876 g (ca. 3 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 66.
67. Limestone; Irregular; d-10.92 cm; m-763 g (ca. 3 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 67.
68. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-11.65 cm; h-9.21 cm; m-1334 g (ca. 4 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 68.
69. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.58 cm; h-8.43 cm; m-964 g (ca. 4 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 69.
70. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.38 cm; h-9.11 cm; m-929 g (ca. 3 pounds and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 70.
71. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.41 cm; m-602 g (ca. 5 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 71.
72. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.32 cm; m-781 g (ca. 5 pounds and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 72.
73. Limestone; Irregular; d-13.23 cm; m-1506 g (ca. 5 pounds and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 73.
74. Limestone; Oval; d-9.76 cm; h-6.36 cm; m-514 g (ca. 1 pound and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 74.
75. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-10.99 cm; h-7.08 cm; m-819 g (ca. 2 pounds and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 75.
76. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.03 cm; m-709 g (ca. 2 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 76.
77. Limestone; Unknown; d-9.04 cm; m-514 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 77.
78. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.85 cm; m-791 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 78.
79. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-11.14 cm; h-7.10 cm; m-730 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 79.
80. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.32 cm; m-902 g (ca. 4 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 80.
81. Limestone; Irregular; d-10.25 cm; m-694 g (ca. 4 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 81.
82. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.61 cm; m-972 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 82.
83. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-12.27 cm; h-10.90 cm; m-1298 g (ca. 4 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 83.
84. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.29 cm; h-8.65 cm; m-994 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 84.
85. Limestone; Spherical; d-29.58 cm; m-3550 g (ca. 12 pounds); Fig. 4, 85.
86. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-28.27 cm; h-9.66 cm; m-1724 g (ca. 5 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 86.
87. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-13.28 cm; h-9.46 cm; m-1857 g (ca. 5 pounds and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 87.
88. Limestone; Oval; d-12.61 cm; h-8.87 cm; m-1149 g (ca. 3 pounds and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 88.
89. Limestone; Spherical; d-13.75 cm; m-1649 g (ca. 6 pounds); Fig. 4, 89.
90. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.76 cm; m-954 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 90.
91. Limestone; Spherical; d-12.70 cm; m-1325 g (ca. 4 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 91.
92. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.81 cm; m-963 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 92.
93. Limestone; Unknown; d-13.18 cm; m-1230 g (ca. 5 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 93.
94. Limestone; Unknown; d-13.46 cm; m-1429 g (ca. 5 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 94.
95. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-12.84 cm; h-9.39 cm; m-1392 g (ca. 5 pounds); Fig. 4, 95.
96. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.72 cm; m-771 g (ca. 3 pounds); Fig. 4, 96.
97. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.48 cm; h-7.12 cm; m-626 g (ca. 2 pounds ounces); Fig. 4, 97.
98. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.87 cm; m-774 g (ca. 2 pounds and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 98.
99. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.10 cm; m-788 g (ca. 2 pounds and 5 ounces); Fig. v, 99.

100. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-9.41 cm; h-7.20 cm; m-508 g (ca. 1 pound and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 100.
101. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.33 cm; h-7.19 cm; m-703 g (ca. 2 pounds and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 101.
102. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.41 cm; m-716 g (ca. 3 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 102.
103. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.07 cm; m-508 g (ca. 1 pound and 7 ounces); Fig. 4, 103.
104. Limestone; Oval; d-9.74 cm; h-6.50; m-585 g (ca. 1 pound and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 104.
105. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-8.36 cm; h-6.40 cm; m-440 g (ca. 1 pound and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 105.
106. Limestone; Oval; d-9.24 cm; h-6.65; m-579 g (ca. 1 pound and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 106.
107. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.42 cm; h-8.74 cm; m-900 g (ca. 2 pounds and 9 ounces); Fig. 4, 107.
108. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-8.37 cm; h-6.12 cm; m-377 g (ca. 1 pound and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 108.
109. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.06 cm; m-526 g (ca. 1 pound and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 109.
110. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.31 cm; h-5.94 cm; m-667 g (ca. 2 pounds and 1 ounce); Fig. 4, 110.
111. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.67 cm; m-633 g (ca. 2 pounds); Fig. 3, 111.
112. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.35 cm; m-533 g (ca. 1 pound and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 112.
113. Limestone; Spherical; d-10.34 cm; m-780 g (ca. 2 pounds and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 113.
114. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.86 cm; m-1203 g (ca. 3 pounds and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 114.
115. Limestone; Spherical; d-9.89 cm; m-714 g (ca. 2 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 115.
116. Limestone; Spherical; d-7.67 cm; m-525 g (ca. 1 pound and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 116.
117. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.25 cm; m-890 g (ca. 2 pounds and 9 ounces); Fig. 4, 117.
118. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.98 cm; h-10.27 cm; m-1181 g (ca. 3 pounds and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 118.
119. Limestone; Spherical; d-7.35 cm; m-246 g (ca. 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 119.
120. Limestone; Spherical; d-11.07 cm; m-1300 g (ca. 4 pounds); Fig. 4, 120.
121. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-11.11 cm; h-7.98 cm; m-879 g (ca. 2 pounds and 10 ounces); Fig. 4, 121.
122. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.01 cm; h-8.42 cm; m-747 g (ca. 2 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 122.
123. Limestone; Spherical with two flattened sides; d-12.77 cm; h-8.94 cm; m-1175 g (ca. 5 pounds and 4 ounces); Fig. 4, 123.
124. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-10.43 cm; h-5.57 cm; m-541 g (ca. 1 pound and 8 ounces); Fig. 4, 124.
125. Limestone; Spherical; d-6.73 cm; m-226 g (ca. 9 ounces); Fig. 4, 125.
126. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-7.22 cm; h-5.35 cm; m-247 g (ca. 9 ounces); Fig. 4, 126.
127. Limestone; Spherical; d-8.61 cm; m-461 g (ca. 1 pound and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 127.
128. Limestone; Oval; d-8.07 cm; h-5.74 cm; m-370 g (ca. 1 pound and 2 ounces); Fig. 4, 128.
129. Limestone; Spherical; d-12.16 cm; m-1091 g (ca. 3 pounds and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 129.
130. Limestone; Spherical with one flattened side; d-24.73 cm; h-9.91 cm; m-1931 g (ca. 6 pounds); Fig. 4, 130.
131. Limestone; Irregular; d-10.83 cm; m-1047 g (ca. 3 pounds and 3 ounces); Fig. 4, 131.
132. Limestone; Spherical; d-12.48 cm; m-1213 g (ca. 5 pounds and 6 ounces); Fig. 4, 132.
133. Sandstone; Spherical; d-6.82 cm; m-445 g (ca. 1 pounds and 5 ounces); Fig. 4, 133.

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DAS PROJEKT TILURIUM[1]

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Das Dorf Gardun befindet sich auf einem Plateau über dem rechten Ufer des Flusses Cetina (*Hyppus*), an einer dominanten und strategisch wichtigen Stelle, von der man alle umliegenden Ebenen und Plateaus, sowie den Flußübergang in der Stadt Trilj überblicken kann. Die Stadt Trilj ist an jener Stelle entstanden, an der man die Cetina leichter überqueren kann, bevor sie das Cetinatal verläßt, und beginnt, eine tiefe Schlucht durch das Zamosorje zu schlagen (Abb. 1.). Während Trilj auf einer Höhe von 300 m über dem Meeresspiegel liegt, erreicht das Gelände bei der St. Peterskirche im nordöstlichen Teil von Gardun eine Höhe von 429 m. Richtung Nordwesten steigt das Gelände über mehrere Terrassen bis auf 450 m im Dorfteil Oglavak, und fällt gegen Süden auf 420 m im Dorfteil Podvornice. Im Südwesten grenzt das Dorf Gardun mit dem Dorf Vojnić.

Das Gebiet des Dorfes Gardun, des Nachbardorfes Vojnić und der Stadt Trilj macht seit nahezu 200 Jahren auf sich aufmerksam, durch Funde die seitdem in verschiedene Sammlungen und Museen gelangen – das Archäologische Museum in Split, die Archäologische Sammlung des Franziskanerklosters in Sinj, das Museum der Cetinska krajina in Sinj, und seit neulich auch in das neugegründete Museum der Region Trilj in Trilj.[2] Manche Funde sind auch in Museen außerhalb von Kroatien[3] und in verschiedene private Sammlungen[4] gelangt, während einige bis heute in den Dorfhäuser von Gardun eingemauert geblieben sind. Vom großen Interesse an den Funden aus Gardun zeugen auch Fälschungen, die vom Dorfschmied Petar Pezelja aus Vojnić Ende des 19. Jh. hergestellt wurden.[5]

Als bekannteste Steindenkmäler sind zwei Reliefplatten eines Tropeums, eines Siegesdenkmals, zu nennen. Stilistische Merkmale, der Fundort und die bekannten historischen Ereignisse lassen darauf schließen, daß

[1] Die vorgestellten Ergebnisse sind aus dem Forschungsprojekt Römische Militärlager in Kroatien hervorgegangen das vom Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Bildung und Sport der Republik Kroatien unterstützt wird.

[2] Es ist fast unmöglich alle Publikationen zu nennen in denen sie besprochen oder nur am Rande erwähnt werden. Vergleiche z. B. MILOŠEVIĆ 1981, Kat. Nr. 7, 35, 51, 67, 68, 70, 71, 93, 101, 107, 108, 109; MILOŠEVIĆ 1998, 243-248; MILOŠEVIĆ 2003, Abb. auf S. 3-5, 7-9, 11; BUŠKARIOL 1988, Kat. Nr. 4; BUŠKARIOL 1990, Kat. Nr. 3, 4?, 6; CAMBI 2008, Kat. Nr. 5, 7, 27-28; VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2008, Kat. Nr. 15; FADIĆ 2008, Kat. Nr. 17-23 (?); BABIĆ 2008, Kat. Nr. 28, 30, 44, 55-56; ŽUPIĆ 2008b, Kat. Nr. 18, 24, 20; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 16, 18-22; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 2, 6, 8, 12, 14, 20, 22, 24-26, 34, 39, 42, 43, 46-48, 61, 68, 71, 84, 87, 112; RADMAN-LIVAJA 1998; IVČEVIĆ 2005; IVČEVIĆ 2010; PITEŠA 2009, Kat. Nr. 5-6, 29, 52, 54, 79, 98, 99, 102, 248, 312; KAIĆ, 2010, ŠEPAROVIĆ 2011; DEMICHELI 2011; IVČEVIĆ 2011; ČERINA 2011; ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2011; NARDELLI 2011.

[3] MILOŠEVIĆ 2003, 4.

[4] Zu den Funden im Privatbesitz siehe MILOŠEVIĆ 2003, 4; BEKIĆ 1998, 233-242.

[5] KENNER – HÖRNES – FRIMMEL 1890, 18-24; THALLÓCZY 1890, 323-330; MILOŠEVIĆ 2003, 4.

Abb. 1. Luftbild des Dorfes Gardun mit eingezeichnetem Areal des Lagers Tilurium und den Grabungsbereichen (GAR05-dig3143, Zlatko Sunko).

das Tropaeum die Niederschlagung des *bellum Batonianum* von 6 bis 9 n. Chr. feierte.[6] Es durfte also im 2. Jahrzehnt des 1. Jh. n. Chr. errichtet worden sein (Abb. 2).[7] Weiters sind im großen Ausmaß Grabsteine von Soldaten verschiedener römischer Einheiten vertreten. Auf diesen Grabsteinen, und auf anderen Innschriften, sind die *legio VII*, bzw. *VII Claudia pia fidelis* (Abb. 3)[8], *legio XI*, bzw. *XI Claudia pia fidelis*[9], *legio IV Flavia felix*[10], *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*[11], *ala Claudia nova*[12], *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*[13], *cohors I Belgarum*[14], *cohors III Alpinorum*[15] und *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*[16]vertreten. Mit Gardun in Zusammenhang gebracht werden auch die *cohors Aquitanorum*, die in Hrvace bestätigt ist,[17] und die sonst unbekannte *cohors IV Noricorum*, die in Dugopolje bestätigt ist, aber mittlerweile auch als *Ala*

[6] Auch bekannt als Aufstands der pannonisch – dalmatinischen Völker, Illyrischer Aufstands bzw. *bellum Delmaticum*.

[7] CAMBI 1984, 86; CAMBI 2011, 137 = CAMBI in diesem Band; SANADER – TONČINIĆ 2009, 171-172; TONČINIĆ – IVČEVIĆ in diesem Band.

[8] CIL III 2709, 2710 = 9726, 2714 = 9736, 2715, 2716, 2717 = 9728, 9733, 9734 (vergleiche S. 2269), 9737, 9738 und 8781; 9741, 9742, 13976, 14931, 14932, 14933; ILJug 1949, 1950, 1952, 733; BULIĆ 1894, 5, Nr. 3(1984); SANADER 2000, 225-236; FADIĆ 1995, 163-187; TONČINIĆ 2003, 266, Nr. 18; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 16, 26-27; Zu *legio VII* siehe auch PWRE 1925-1926, 1614-1629 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 6-17, 64-67, Kat. Nr. 1-83; FADIĆ 1997, 77-119; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 2, 6, 8, 12, 14, 20, 22, 24-26, 34, 39, 42, 43, 46-48, 61, 68, 71, 84, 87, 112.

[9] CIL III 2708=9725, 2711. TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 18-20, 28. Zu *legio* XI siehe auch PWRE 1925-1926, 1692 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 18, 22, 67-68, Kat. Nr. 85, 89 und 113. Es ist fragwürdig ob der Stempel 14022 und S. 2328[179] wirklich aus Gardun stammt, siehe: BETZ 1938, 26. Zu einem weiteren möglichen Denkmal der *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* aus Gardun siehe TONČINIĆ 2007, 263-264.

[10] SANADER 2000, 225-236; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 23 und 24. Grabinschriften und andere Inschriften der *legio IV Flavia felix* sind in Gardun bis jetzt nicht bestätigt. Vergleiche PWRE 1925-1926, 1540-1549 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 46-48 und 72, Kat. Nr. 217-220. Zu einem weiteren möglichen Denkmal der *legio IV Flavia felix* siehe TONČINIĆ 2007, 263-264.

[11] CIL III 14934; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 251, 268-269, 286, Kat. Nr. 11/3; SPAUL 2000, 431.

[12] CIL III 9727 (2712); ALFÖLDY 1987b, 242, 243, 268-269,278-279, Kat. Nr. 1/62.

[13] CIL III 9735; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 243, 268-269, 279, Kat. Nr. 2/1.

[14] CIL III 9739; BULIĆ 1903, 134 Nr. 3242; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 248-249, 268-269, 283-285, Kat. Nr. 7/4-5; SPAUL 2000, 190-192.

[15] CIL III 14935; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 245-247, 268-269, 280-282, Kat. Nr. 5/7; SPAUL 2000, 266-268; TONČINIĆ 2003, 266, Nr. 17; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 21 und 25.

[16] CIL III 9724 (2706), 9732, 13187, 13975, 14336[1] (10182), 14930; BULIĆ 1903, 129 Nr. 3315; ABRAMIĆ 1940, 225 ff; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 254-255, 268-269, 288-291, Kat. Nr. 18/4-11; SPAUL 2000, 35-37; TONČINIĆ 2005, 147-157; DEMICHELI 2011, Kat. Nr. 18.

[17] CIL III 9760, ALFÖLDY 1987b, 247-248, 268-269, 282, Kat. Nr. 6/2; SPAUL 2000, 141-142.

Abb. 2. Die äußerste rechte Vorderfrontpatte des Tropeums aus Tilurium (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. D 129, Foto: T. Seser).

Tungrorum angesprochen wird.[18] Aus Gardun stammt auch eine ganze Reihe von Denkmälern, die keiner bestimmten militärischen Einheit mehr zugeschrieben werden können.[19] Unter den genannten Denkmälern haben bis vor kurzem nur Grabstelen mit Türdarstellungen größeres Interesse erweckt. Es handelt sich um eine Gruppe von Militärgrabsteinen, die vor allem für Soldaten der VII. Legion und Soldaten anderer Einheiten, die in Gardun bestätigt sind, charakteristisch ist. Sie wurden bereits sehr früh zum eigenständigen Grabsteintypus zusammengefaßt[20] und geben Anlaß zur Annahme, daß in Gardun eine Werkstatt existiert hat.[21] Insgesamt vier Soldatengrabsteinen aus Gardun enthalten Epigramme, die Anlaß zur Annahme geben, daß im Rahmen dieser Werkstatt ein Dichter tätig war, bzw. jemand der Vorlagen für solche Verse besessen hat.[22] Neben zahlreichen Soldatengrabsteine und anderen epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Militärs sind in Gardun auch im großen Ausmaß römische Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenstände vertreten.[23] All diese Funde zeugen davon, daß dieser Ort einst ein römischer militärischer Stützpunkt war.

[18] Vergleiche CAMBI 1994, 156-158 = 2001 und SADDINGTON 2002.

[19] Zum Beispiel: CIL III 2713, 2718, 2719, 13977.

[20] HOFMANN 1905, 54-60 und 88.

[21] CAMBI 1989, 46-47; CAMBI 1991, 66; CAMBI 1993, 33; CAMBI 1994, 166. Zu den Grabsteinen der *legio VII* vergleiche auch SANADER 2003b; TONČINIĆ 2011b, 15-21, 148-161; IVČEVIĆ in print; TONČINIĆ – IVČEVIĆ in diesem Band.

[22] SANADER 2000, 225-236; CIL III 9733; ILJug 1950; FADIĆ 1995, 168-172; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 1, 8, 20, 42. Zu den Epigrammen aus Gardun siehe auch RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ1987, 226- 228; SANADER – MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ – DEMICHELI 2007 und SANADER – MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ – DEMICHELI in diesem Band.

[23] MILOŠEVIĆ 1998, 243-248, RADMAN-LIVAJA 1998; BEKIĆ 1998; IVČEVIĆ 2005; IVČEVIĆ 2010; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 56-111 Kat. Nr. 1, 5-8, 12-20, 23-39, 41-48, 50, 53-55, 60-81, 85-110, 112, 115 (Autor S. Ivčević) Kat. Nr. 21-22, 40, 49, 51, 56-59, 83-84, 111 (Autor A. Librenjak) 2-4, 9-11 (Autor I. Radman-Livaja; IVČEVIĆ in diesem Band.

Abb. 3 a. Grabstele des Cnaeus Domitius (Gardun bei Trilj, Foto: Ante Verzotti)

Es haben bereits Emil Ritterling und Artur Betz am Anfang des 20. Jh. darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß nirgendwo in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien so viele Grabsteine aktiver Soldaten der *legio VII* gefunden wurden wie in Gardun. Und daraus wurde bereits damals geschlossen, daß sich in Gardun das Legionslager der *legio VII* befunden haben muß.[24] Diese Beobachtung ist von großer Bedeutung, da uns antike Quellen weder Standort noch Namen des Lagers der *legio VII* nennen. Aus diesem Grund wird das Dorf Gardun in den älteren Veröffentlichungen oft als Ort mit unbekannten antiken Namen genannt[25], oft wurde Gardun mit *Delminium*[26], *Arduba*[27] oder *Tilurium* [28] gleichgesetzt, doch wurde auch die Stadt Trilj mit *Tilurium* gleichgesetzt[29]. Seit Stjepana Gunjače ist in Kroatien allgemein anerkannt, daß Gardun mit *Tilurium* gleichzusetzen ist, und Trilj mit *Pons Tiluri*.[30] Diese Namen kommen in verschiedenen Quellen in verschiedenen Formen wieder – auf der *Tabula Peutingeriana* als *Tilurio*, im *Itinerarium Antonini* (337,4 f) als *Ponte Tiluri*, beim Anonymus von Ravenna als *Tilurion* (IV 16 = 210,12) und *Ponteluri* (IV 16 = 210,13), auf dem Meilenstein aus Orepak im Dorf Prud bei Narone als *Til[urio]*[31], auf dem Meilenstein aus Runovići bei Imotski als *Tilur(io)*[32] sowie bei Plinius (N.H. 3,142) als *Tribulium*.[33] Das Ethnikon oder der Personenname *Ianuarius Tilurinus* ist vielleicht von *Tilurium* abgeleitet.[34] Der Name *Tilurium* ist bis heute in dem Namen der Stadt Trilj erhalten geblieben.[35]

Obwohl die Bedeutung dieses Fundortes in der Fachliteratur bereits längst betont wurde, gab es bis vor kurzem nur eine Abhandlung, die sich intensiv mit *Tilurium* befaßt hat. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Abhandlung von Marin Zaninović, die die militärische Bedeutung von *Tilurium* in der Antike analysiert. Marin Zaninović ist zum Schluß gelangt, daß unter dem von Plinius erwähntem *Tribulium* eine befestigte Siedlung der Delmaten zu verstehen ist, das dem römischen Legionslager vorangegangen ist und an Stelle der St. Peterskirche im nordöstlichen Teil des Dorfes Gardun zu suchen ist.[36] Indirekte Zeugen des vorrömischen *Tilurium* sind, neben einzelnen Zufallsfunden aus Gardun[37], zahlreiche Funde aus dem Flußbett der Cetina[38], sowie andere vorrömische Fundorte in unmittelbarer Umgebung. Unter ihnen ist vor allem die sogenannte Prizida zu nennen. Es handelt sich um eine Wehrmauer, die den Zugang zum Dorf Vojnić vom Westen, aus der Richtung von *Salona*, versperrt, und sich weiter zum Dorf Gardun fortsetzt. Diese Wehrmauer, ursprünglich 2 m breit und 4 m hoch, wurde in Trockenmauertechnik aus großen Steinblöcken an der Front errichtet, und mit kleinerem Gestein verfüllt.[39]

[24] PWRE 1925-1926, 1617-1618 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 8-9.

[25] PATSCH 1908, 103; GRGIN 1929, 26; BETZ 1938, 9; Einen Überblick der älteren Veröffentlichungen siehe bei ALFÖLDY 1987a, 313, Anm. 7.

[26] Einen Überblick der älteren Veröffentlichungen siehe bei GUNJAČA 1937, 43, Anm. 42 sowie ALFÖLDY 1987a, 313, Anm. 2.

[27] GRGIN 1929, 26. Einen Überblick der älteren Veröffentlichungen siehe bei GUNJAČA 1937, 43, Anm. 44 und 45 sowie ALFÖLDY 1987a, 313, Anm. 5.

[28] Einen Überblick der älteren Veröffentlichungen siehe bei ALFÖLDY 1987a, 314, Anm. 8.

[29] ABRAMIĆ 1927, 143.

[30] GUNJAČA 1937, 39-46. ALFÖLDY 1987a, 313-316.

[31] PATSCH 1908, 101; CIL XVII/4, 363.

[32] ABRAMIĆ 1927, 142; CIL XVII/4, 342.

[33] GUNJAČA 1937; ALFÖLDY 1987a, 314.

[34] ALFÖLDY 1987a, 314; MAYER 1957, 337-338.

[35] GUNJAČA 1937, 42. siehe auch Anm. 40!!

[36] ZANINOVIĆ 1967, 16 = ZANINOVIĆ 2007, 146-148; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 65, 70 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 280, 285.

[37] WOODWARD 1909; MILOŠEVIĆ 1981, Kat. Nr. 35, 51; MILOŠEVIĆ 1998, 245.

[38] MILOŠEVIĆ 1998, 291-294; MILOŠEVIĆ 1999; MILOŠEVIĆ 2003.

[39] BRITVIĆ 1965, 29-33.

Die strategische Bedeutung Tiluriums haben auch die Römer erkannt. Sie haben auf dem Plateau westlich der St. Peterskirche ein Lager errichtet, das ein Glied in der Festungskette von Ivoševci bei Kistanje (*Burnum*) – Tepljuh bei Drniš (*Promona*) – Kadina glavica (*Magnum*) – Muć (*Andetrium*) – Gardun (*Tilurium*) – Humac (*Bigeste*) war. Angenommen wird, daß die Römer mit dieser Festungskette das Gebiet der Delmaten in zwei geteilt haben, und damit das Küstengebiet vom noch immer unruhigen Landesinneren verteidigt haben. Nach verschiedenen Vorschlägen wird die Gründung dieser Festungen bzw. Festungskette – auch als Limes, Dalmatinisch-Herzegowinischer Limes, bzw. Dalmatinischer Limes bezeichnet – in die Zeit vom Feldzug des *Marcus Agrippa* und *Octavianus* 35-33 v. Chr bis zum *bellum Batonianum* 6-9 n. Chr. datiert.[40] Zuletzt wurde die Existenz so einer Verteidigungslinie von Radoslav Dodig und Darko Periša zurückgewiesen. Darko Periša hat dabei die Gründung des Lagers *Tilurium* mit den Aushebungen der Delamten und anderen Völker in neun *cohortes Delmatarum* nach dem *bellum Batonianum* in Zusammenhang gebracht.[41] Aufgrund neuer archäologischer Forschungen und der Wiederaufarbeitung alter Grabungsergebnisse scheint sich diese Festungskette zu verdichten. – Die Analyse der Luftbilder von Kadina glavica (*Magnum*) läßt auf ein Hilfstruppenlager an dieser Stelle schließen.[42] Die vermeintlichen *principia* und Mannschaftsbaracken in *Bigeste* müssen zwar mittlerweile als *balneum* angesprochen werden, doch durfte dieses zu einem Hilfstruppenlager gehört haben.[43] Egal ob wir die Existenz des sogenannten Dalmatinischen Limes annehmen, oder ablehnen, Tatsache bleibt, daß die Denkmäler der *legio VII*, bzw. *VII Claudia pia fidelis*, diese Festungskette nicht überstreiten.[44] Im Landesinneren der Provinz ist nur die Innschrift CIL III 9864a dokumentiert, die eine Grenzziehung zwischen lokalen Gemeinden erwähnt, die von einem Centurio der *legio VII* vollzogen wurde. Abgesehen von diesem Grenzziehungsstein, und der Innschrift CIL III 3198a = 10156a + CIL III 3200 = CIL III 10158, die bestätigt, daß die *vexillarii leg(ionis) VII et XI* die *[viam] a colonia Salonitan(a) [ad f]in[e]s provinciae Illyrici* gebaut haben, liefern die Denkmäler der *legio VII*, bzw. *VII Claudia pia fidelis*, keinen Beweis für einen länger andauernden Aufenthalt der Legion im Landesinneren der Provinz Dalmatien.[45] Ein vergleichbares Bild ergibt sich auch aus der Verbreitung römischer Hilfstruppendenkmäler in Dalmatien.[46]

[40] PATSCH 1914, 157-158; PATSCH 1915, 33-34; ŠAŠEL 1974 = ŠAŠEL 1992; WILKES 1969, 91-92; WILKES 1977; ZANINOVIĆ 1976, 173-175 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996c, 213; ZANINOVIĆ 1980, 179 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996d, 226; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 66 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 281-282. ALFÖLDY 1987a, 315; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 270-272, 315; ŠAŠEL-KOS 1997; ŠAŠEL-KOS 2005; SANADER 2002a, = SANADER 2002b.

[41] PERIŠA 2008; DODIG 2011, 331-332.

[42] GLAVAŠ – MILETIĆ – ZANINOVIĆ 2010.

[43] Vergleiche DODIG 2008 und 2011.

[44] TONČINIĆ 2011b, Karte 1, 169.

Abb. 3 b. Grabstele des Cnaeus Domitius (Gardun bei Trilj, Foto: Ante Verzotti)

Das Legionslager *Tilurium* hat außerdem den Übergang der Cetina in der Stadt Trilj kontrolliert, und damit auch die Strassen, die aus dem antiken Salona Richtung Nordosten ins Landesinnere der Provinz Dalmatien und Richtung Narona im Südosten geführt haben. Die erste der genannten Strassen ist auf der Tabula Peutingeriana als *Salona – Argentaria* verzeichnet, und auf der Innschrift CIL III 3201 = 10159 + 3198 b = 10156 b als *a Salonis ad Hedum castellum Daesitiatum*.[47] Von dieser Strasse hat sich in Trilj jene Richtung Narona abgezweigt, die wiederum ein Abschnitt der Strasse *Aquileia – Dyrrachium* bildete.[48] Das *Tilurium* Ausgangspunk dieser Strasse war bestätigen die Meilensteine aus Orepak im Dorf Prud bei Narone und Runovići bei Imotski[49]. Wo genau in Trilj die Cetina überquert wurde ist bis heute unklar. Zahlreiche archäologische Funde aus dem Flußbett deuten auf mögliche Punkte. Die lokale Überlieferung, die in älteren Veröffentlichungen verzeichnet ist, spricht von bis zu drei Punkten. Erstens am Drnić, Flußaufwärts

[45] TONČINIĆ 2011b, Karte 1, 169.

[46] ALFÖLDY 1987b: Karte auf S. 277.

[47] BOJANOVSKI 1974, 146-191.

[48] BOJANOVSKI 1977, 83-152.

[49] PATSCH 1908, 101 = CIL XVII/4, 363 und ABRAMIĆ 1927, 142 = CIL XVII/4, 342.

von Trilj. Zweitens ca. 50 m von der heutigen Brücke in Trilj, unweit der alten Brücke. Und drittens Flußabwärts von Trilj, bei Peštine Mlinice, bzw. an der Stelle die „Mostine“ (=Brücken) genannt wird, und sich unterhalb der St. Peterskirche befindet. Aufgrund der Tatsache, daß in der *Tabula* Peuntigeriana an der Cetina zwei Brücken verzeichnet sind (*bivium*) wurde auch die Meinung vertreten, daß sogar zwei antike Brücken existiert haben.[50] Vor kurzem hat Ante Milošević alle Argumente über mögliche Flußübergänge zusammengefaßt.[51] Das letzte Wort über Lage und Chronologie der möglichen Flußübergänge oder Brücken kann nur die Bearbeitung und archäologisch-topographischen Kartierung aller Altfunde haben. In Erwartung so einer Studie muß betont werden, daß die überzeugendsten Funde bis jetzt zwischen der heutigen und der alten Brücke in Trilj gemacht wurden. Dabei handelt es sich um die Inschrift CIL III 3202, welche Brückenreparaturen bestätigt, weiters um einen *I(ovi) O(ptomo) M(aximo) / et N(umini) H(ippi) FL(uminis)/* geweihten Altar, um Holzpfähle und Eisenbeschläge für Holzpfähle.[52]

Bis heute ist unklar wann die Römer *Tilurium* eingenommen und hier ein Lager errichtet haben. Diese Frage ist unmittelbar mit den Auseinandersetzungen Roms mit den illyrischen Delmaten verbunden, sowie mit der Verlagerung römischer Legionen nach Dalmatien und Tilurium. Die Römer standen über 150 Jahre in kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Delmaten. – 156. v. Chr. kämpfte *Caius Marcius Figulus* gegen die Delmaten, und 155. v. Chr. *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, der im selben Jahr einen Triumph *de Delmateis* feierte. 119. v. Chr. überwinterte *Lucius Caecilius Metellus* in *Salona*, das an dieser Stelle zum ersten Mal erwähnt wird. Er kämpfte in dieser Gegend bis 117. v. Chr. gegen die Delmaten und feierte im selben Jahr einen Triumph. *Lucius Caecilius Metellus* bekam den Titel *Delmaticus* und lies von der Kriegsbeute den Castortempel in Rom errichten. 78-76. v. Chr. eroberte *Caius Cosconius* erneut Salona von den Delmaten. 51. v. Chr. entsandte *Caius Iulius Caesar* eine Armee gegen die Delmaten. 48. v. Chr. wurde *Aulus Gabinius* bei *Sinodium* von den Delmaten besiegt. Dabei fielen 2000 Soldaten, 37 Centurionen und 4 Tribune und die Feldzeichen wurden vom Feind erobert. Die Kämpfe wurden 45 v. Chr. von *Publius Vatinius* fortgesetzt, der 42 v. Chr. einen Triumph *de Illurico* feierte. In neuen Auseinendersetzungen wurden fünf Kohorten unter Senator *Baebius* besiegt und ihrer Feldzeichen beraubt. 39. v. Chr. kämpfte *Ausinius Pollius* gegen die Delmaten. Seinem Sohn verlieh er das *cognomen Saloninus* und von der Kriegsbeute lies er die erste öffentliche Bibliothek in Rom errichteten. 34-33. v. Chr. kämpfen *Marcus Agrippa* und *Caius Octavianus* gegen die Delmaten. *Octavianus* feierte 29. v. Chr. einen Triumph *de Dalmatis* und errichtete von der Kriegsbeute in Rom eine Bibliothek und die *porticus Octaviae*. Die Kriege Roms gegen die Delmaten wurden erst mit dem Sieg im *bellum Batonianum* 6-9. n. Chr. beendet.[53] Marin Zaninović vertritt die Meinung, daß sich die Erwähnung Tiluriums bei Plinius auf die Feldzüge der Jahre 34-33 v. Chr. bezieht, und er stimmt der allgemein vertretenen Meinung zu, daß das Lager in *Tilurium* nach dem *bellum Batonianum* gegründet wurde.[54] Weiters schreibt er den Lagerbau der *legio IX Hispana* zu, die vor der *legio VII* in *Tilurium* stationiert war.[55] Diese Meinung beruht auf dem Grabstein des *Sexstus Cornelius* (CIL III 13977). Es handelt sich um eine sehr beschädigte Inschrift und mittlerweile umstrittene Lesung. Hinzu kommt, daß es sich nicht nur um die einzige Innschrift dieser Legion in *Tilurium*, sondern auch in Dalmatien handeln würde.[56] Allgemein vertretenen ist die Meinung, daß die *legio VII* spätestens im Laufe oder unmittelbar nach dem Aufstand nach Dalmatien und somit auch nach *Tilurium* gekommen sein muß.[57] Trotzdem muß auch auf andere Meinungen, die auf der Analyse der Grabinschriften der *legio VII* beruhen, hingewiesen werden. Aufgrund dieser Analyse betont Otto Cuntz, daß bei den Legionären aus Kleinasien im großen Ausmaße Gentilnamen der Parteigänger des *Marcus Antonius* vorkommen. Daraus schließt er, daß es sich um Legionäre handeln muß, die zwischen 35 und 32 v. Chr. für *Marcus Antonius* ausgehoben wurden. Nach *Actium* wurden die ausgedienten Legionäre des Antonius entlassen, während die jüngeren ihren Dienst in Dalmatien fortgesetzt haben. Mit einer einfachen Rechnung – der Addition der *stipendia* auf den Grabinschriften und der in Frage kommenden Aushebungsjahre (35-32 v. Chr.) – kommt Cuntz zu den Todesjahren im Illyrikum. Demzufolge muß die *legio VII* spätestens 15 v. Chr. bereits im Illyricum stationiert gewesen sein.[58] Damit würden jene Überlegungen übereinstimmen, die vom Ausbau des sogenannten Dalmatinischen Limes bereits im Feldzug des *Marcus Agrippa* und *Octavianus* in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr. sprechen.[59] Eine so frühe Datierung des sogenannten Dalmatinischen Limes wurde allerdings wiederholt zurückgewiesen.[60] Das Innschriftenmaterial der *legio VII* in Tilurium läst sich auf jeden Fall aufgrund anderer Anhaltspunkte nicht so früh datieren.[61]

Der Aufenthalt der *legio VII* ist durch zahlreiche Grabsteine aktiver Soldaten in *Tilurium* gut dokumentiert. Die Feststellung von Emil Ritterling und Artur Betz, daß nirgendwo in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien so viele Grabsteine aktiver Soldaten der *legio VII* gefunden wurden wie in Gardun, steht bi heute.[62] Die Anzahl aller Grabsteine der *legio VII* ist in *Salona* zwar höher, doch unter ihnen sind, im Gegensatz zu Tilurium, auch zahlreiche Veteranen vertreten. Die Tätigkeit der Legion während ihres Aufenthaltes in *Tilurium* ist durch das Inschriftenmaterial aus ganz Dalmatien ebenfalls gut dokumentiert. Als wichtigste ist nochmals die Innschrift CIL III 3198a = 10156a + CIL III 3200 = CIL III 10158 zu nennen. Sie bestätigt, daß die *legio VII* die *[viam] a colonia Salonitan(a) [ad f]in[e]s provinciae Illyrici…item viam Gabinianam ab Salonis Andetrium* gebaut hat.[63] Es handelt sich um die älteste sicher datierte Inschrift der *legio VII* in der Provinz Dalmatien.[64] Eine Bautätigkeit der Legion bestätigt auch die Innschrift CIL III 2908, ohne zu nennen um was für ein Bauwerk es sich dabei handelt.[65] Weitere Zeugen von Bautätigkeiten der *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* sind die Ziegelstempel, die in *Tilurium* selbst und *Aequum* (Čitluk bei Sinj) gefunden wurden.[66] Als indirektes Zeugnis von Bauarbeiten könnte auch der in einem Steinbruch bei *Tragurium* (Trogir) geweihter Herkulesaltar herangezogen werden.[67] Eine besonders wichtige Aufgabe des römischen Heeres, und somit auch der *legio VII*, in Dalmatien waren offenbar Grenzziehungen zwischen peregrinen Gemeinden.[68] Davon zeugen acht Grenzziehungssteine die bestätigen, daß Angehörige der *legio VII* solche Grenzziehungen im Namen des Statthalters durchgeführt haben.[69]

Das bedeutendste historische Ereignis, an dem die *legio VII* während ihres Aufenthaltes in Dalmatien beteiligt war, ist der Aufstand des *Lucius Arruncius Camillus Scribonianus* bzw. *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*. Der Stadthalter, der an der Schwelle zu Italien über eine respektable Militärmacht verfügte - die *legiones VII* und *XI*, denen man eine unbekannte Anzahl von Hilfstruppen hinzurechnen muß – hat sich im Jahre 42 gegen den neuen Kaiser Claudius erhoben. Der Aufstand ist gescheiter nachdem die Unterstützung der beiden Legionen ausgeblieben ist, und *Scribonianus* schnell darauf ermordet wurde.[70]

Vor kurzem hat Nenad Cambi eine ausführliche Analyse des Aufstandes, seiner Hintergründe und Folgen unternommen, und darauf hingewiesen, daß es sich keineswegs um eine unbedeutende und schnell beseitigte Gefahr gehandelt hat. – Kaiser Claudius hat kurze Zeit sogar eine Abdankung erwogen. *Scribonianus* war nicht der einzige Aufständische im senatorischen Rang, der sich zur Zeit des Aufstandes in Dalmatien befand. Er selbst wurde ermordet, einige seiner Mitläufer haben sich das Leben genommen, und anderen wurde in Rom der Prozeß gemacht. Das Nachspiel hat sich noch bis zu einem Jahrzehnt fortgesetzt, als der

[50] Vergleiche BULIĆ 1899, 26; BOJANOVSKI 1977, 90; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 71 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 286-287.

[51] MILOŠEVIĆ 2009.

[52] GUNJAČA 1950, 50; MILOŠEVIĆ 2009.

[53] ZANINOVIĆ 1967, 170-173 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996c, 210-212; ZANINOVIĆ 2007, 15-26; ZANINOVIĆ 2007b = 61-71; ZANINOVIĆ 2010, 16-¸8; SANADER 209b, 28-32.

[54] ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 68 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 282-284.

[55] ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 68 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 284.

[56] BULIĆ 1894, 5, Nr. 4 (1983) hat Sexstus Cornelius nicht als Soldaten bezeichnet; PWRE 1925-1926, 1665 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling), führt ihn als Angehörigen der *legio IX* und datiert ihn in die Zeit des Augustus; BETZ 1938, 52 und 72, Kat. Nr. 233, führt ihn als möglichen Angehörigen der *legio IX*; WILKES 1969, 461, führt ihn als Angehörigen der *legio VII* oder *XI*. PWRE Supp. XI (1968) 1265 *s. v. Tilurium* (G. Alföldy) führt an, daß die vermeintliche Bezeichnung der neunten Legion auch als ein unbekannter *domus* gedeutet werden kann; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 68 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 284, betont daß auch andere Meinungen bestehen; FADIĆ 1997, 80, führt ihn als möglichen Angehörigen der *legio VII*.

[57] PWRE 1925-1926, 1616 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); WILKES 1969, 92-94; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 68-69 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 284; MITCHELL 1976, 303; STROBEL 2000, 528.

[58] CUNTZ 1929, 74-75; BETZ 1938, 14-17.

[59] PATSCH 1914, 158; PATSCH 1915, 33-34, ŠAŠEL 1974.

[60] WILKES 1969, 91-92; WILKES 1977. Siehe auch SANADER 2002a = SANADER 2002b.

[61] SANADER – MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ – DEMICHELI in diesem Band.

[62] PWRE 1925-1926, 1617-1618 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 8-9.

[63] Zu der Strasse *a colonia Salonitan(a) [ad f]in[e]s provinciae Illyrici* siehe BOJANOVSKI 1974, 41-129; zu der Strasse *viam Gabinianam ab Salonis Andetrium* BOJANOVSKI 1974, 130-132.

[64] BETZ 1938, 27-28; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 91 und S. 165.

[65] TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 92 und S. 165.

[66] WILKES 1969, 96 Anm. 1, 101 Anm. 2; WILKES 1979, 65, TONČINIĆ 2009, 1454; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 16, 26-27 = TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 112, 114-115 und 165-166.

[67] JELIČIĆ 1981, 100-102; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 89 und S. 165.

[68] Vergleiche dazu BETZ 1938, 29-36 und WILKES 1974, 258-274.

[69] Zu den Grenzziehungssteinen der *legio VII* siehe zusätzlich ČAČE 2003, 19-21; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 93-99 und S. 166-168. Mittlerweile verfügen wir über eine achte, noch unveröffentlichte Grenzziehung mit Erwähnung der *legio VII*. KURILIĆ - BARAKA 2012, Nr. 34 Abb. 6.

[70] Zum Aufstand des Statthalters Skribonianus in Dalmatien siehe *Suet. Claud.* 13 und 35; *Tac. Ann.* XII, 52; *Hist.* I, 89, II, 75; *Plin. Ep.* III, 16; *Dio Cass. Hist.* LX, 15, 1-4; PWRE 1925-1926, 1617 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 36-37; JAGENTEUFEL 1958: 19-21; ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 288.

Sohn des *Scribonianus*, unter Verdacht der Teilnahme an einer Verschwörung gegen Kaiser Claudius, aus Rom verbannt wurde.[71] Dieser Aufstand läßt sich in *Tilurium* zum Teil auch archäologisch Fassen. So wird ein alter Hortfund römischer Münzen aus *Tilurium* mit diesem Aufstand in Zusammenhang gebracht, da als jüngste Münzen jene Kaiser Claudius´ vertreten sind.[72] Obwohl *Scribonianus* der *damnatio memoriae* verfallen ist,[73] ist sein Name auf zwei Innschriften in Dalmatien erhalten geblieben. – Auf dem Grabstein seines Sklaven aus Salona (ILJug 2221 = AE 1906, 0018) und auf einem Grenzziehungsstein aus dem Landesinneren (CIL III 9864a). Die Soldaten, die den Aufstand des *Scribonianus* nicht unterstützt haben, ihre Befehlshaber ermordet haben, und somit auch zum Scheitern des Aufstandes beigetragen haben, mußten sich einem widersprüchlichen Schicksal fügen. Einerseits wurden sie vom Kaiser befördert, und andererseits hat Lucius Salvius Otho, der neue Statthalter in Dalmatien, und Vater des zukünftigen Kaiser Otho, sie wegen Ungehorsam gegenüber den aufständischen Befehlshabern, hinrichten lassen (*Suet.Otho* 2-4).[74] Die *legiones VII* und *XI* wurden führ ihrer Loyalität vom Kaiser mit dem Ehrentitel *Claudia pia fidelis* belohnt (*Dio Cass. Hist.* LX, 15, 1-4.). Es hat bereits Emil Ritterling die einzigartige Bedeutung dieses Ehrentitels in der damaligen Zeit betont. Aufgrund dessen kann mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit angenommen werden, daß dieser Ehrentitel seit 42. regelmäßig auf den Denkmälern beider Legionen angeführt wird.[75] Deswegen müssen die Denkmäler auf denen die Legion als *leg(io) VII* erwähnt wird in die Zeit vor 42. datiert werden, und jene auf denen sie als *leg(io) VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* erwähnt wird in die Zeit nach 42.[76] Folglich fallen alle Steine der ersten Gruppe in die Zeit zwischen der Ankunft der Legion in Dalmatien und dem Jahre 42. n. Chr. und die Steine der 2. Gruppe in die Zeit zwischen 42 und dem Abzug der Legion aus Dalmatien. Obwohl einige Steine der zweiten Gruppe theoretisch auch nach dem Abzug der Legion aufgestellt werden konnte, da kann man sich vor allem einige Veteranengrabsteinen aus *Salona* denken, gibt es nur ein Denkmal das mit Sicherheit aus der Zeit nach dem Abzug der *legio* aus Dalmatien stammt. Auf diesem wird die Legion als *VII Claudia* erwähnt und es kann anhand des Legionsnamens an den Anfang des 3. Jh. datiert werden.[77] In Dalmatien überwiegen mit 48,48 % die Denkmäler der *leg(io) VII* aus der Zeit vor 42. n. Chr. Die Denkmäler der *leg(io) VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* aus der Zeit nach 42 sind mit 28,28 % vertreten.[78] In *Tilurium* ist dieses Verhältnis noch deutlicher zugunsten der Grabsteine vor 42. Aus *Tilurium* stammen 16 Grabinschriften der *legio VII*, ein weiteres Denkmal der *legio VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* und 7 Grabinschriften die nur mehr als mögliche Denkmäler der VII. Legion zu werten sind.[79]Weitere Zeugen des Aufenthaltes der *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* sind die Ziegelstempel die in *Tilurium* selbst, aber auch *Aequum* (Čitluk bei Sinj) gefunden wurden.[80]

Unklar bleibt auch der Zeitpunkt des Abzuges der *legio VII* aus *Tilurium* und Dalmatien, doch die meisten Autoren setzen diesen um die Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. an.[81] Emil Ritterling ist der Meinung, dass die *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* Dalmatien vor dem Jahre 58 verlassen hat, um in Moesien *legio IIII Scythica* zu ersetzen, die 56/57 nach Armenien versetzt wurde.[82] Die zweite Möglichkeit ist das Jahr 61, um in Moesien *legio V Macedonica* zu ersetzen, die ebenfalls nach Osten versetzt wurde.[83] Karl Strobel ist der Auffassung, dass die *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* in Moesien sofort das von *legio IIII Scythica* bereits im Jahre 55 verlassene Lager in *Viminatium* eingenommen hat.[84] John J. Wilkes und Marin Zaninović haben jene Vorschläge betont, die einen noch früheren Abzuges der *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* vertreten, nämlich bereits im Jahre 45, als Thrakien erobert wurde. Für beide ist die verhältnismäßig geringe Anzahl der Denkmäler der *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* in Dalmatien ausschlaggebend. John J. Wilkes betont dabei zusätzlich, daß ein früher Abzug der Legion mit dem Aufstand des *Skribonianus* in

[71] CAMBI 2009.

[72] GRGIN 1929, ŠEPAROVIĆ – PAVLOVIĆ in diesem Band.

[73] JAGENTEUFEL 1958, 20.

[74] JAGENTEUFEL 1958, 21; CAMBI 2009, 71.

[75] PWRE 1925-1926, 1617 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling).

[76] PWRE 1925-1926, 1617, 1628 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 6.

[77] Zur Datierung der Denkmäler in Dalmatien siehe auch TONČINIĆ 2011b, 14, 139-144.

[78] TONČINIĆ 2011b, 138-147, Chart 1. 1,01 % der Denkmäler fällt auf die *legio VII Claudia* ab, 9,09 % auf Denkmäler, die man aufgrund des Erhaltungszustandes nicht mehr präzise datieren kann, und 13,13 % auf unsichere Denkmäler der VII. Legion.

[79] TONČINIĆ 2011b, 170-171. Beim Denkmal der *legio VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* handelt es sich um die Grabinschrift CIL III 2715, die leider nicht erhalten ist.

[80] WILKES 1969, 96 Anm. 1, 101 Anm. 2; WILKES 1979, 65, TONČINIĆ 2009, 1454; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 16, 26-27 = TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 112, 114-115 und 165-166.

[81] PWRE 1925-1926, 1619 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 38; STROBEL 2000, 528; WILKES 1969, 96; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 71 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 287.

[82] PWRE 1925-1926, 1619 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling).

[83] BETZ 1938, 38.

[84] STROBEL 2000, 528.

Zusammenhang stehen könnte, bzw. mit der Einsicht wie gefährlich zwei Legionen in Dalmatien sein können.[85] In diesem Zusammenhang muß betont werden, daß wir mittlerweile über Ziegelstempel der *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* verfügen, die in *Tilurium* und *Aequum* gefunden wurden. Diese bestätigen, daß die Legion auch nach 42 Bauarbeiten in *Tilurium* und auch in der vermeintlichen claudischen Kolonie *Aequum* verrichtet hat, und in Folge weiter in Dalmatien stationiert gewesen sein muß. [86] Offen bleibt die Frage ob sich, und im welchen Ausmaß sich das Territorium der Kolonie und die *prata legionis* des Lagers in *Tilurium* überlappt haben.[87]

Nach dem Abzug der *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* ist *Tilurium* ein militärischer Stützpunkt geblieben. Als zumindest kurzfristige Besatzung könnte man sich, und zwar aufgrund der dokumentierten Ziegelstempel, die *legiones XI Claudia pia fidelis* und *IV Flavia felix* vorstellen. Aus *Tilurium* stammen zwar zwei Grabdenkmäler der *legio XI*, aber kein einziges der *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*, die nur mit Ziegelstempeln vertrete ist.[88] Nur mit Ziegelstempeln ist derzeit auch die *legio IV Flavia felix* vertreten.[89] Obwohl die stark beschädigte Inschrift CIL 13976 aus *Tilurium*, am ehesten einem *miles legionis VII Claudiae piae fidelis* zuzuordnen ist, können, aufgrund der genannten Ziegelstempel beider Legionen, die *legiones XI Claudia pia fideli)* und *IV Flavia felix* nicht mit Sicherheit ausgeschlossen werden.[90] In Tilurium sind mit Grabsteinen ihrer Angehörigen bereits in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jh. die *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*[91] und nach der Mitte des 1. Jh. die *ala Claudia nova*[92] bestätigt. Zur Zeit der Flavier die *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*[93] und *cohors Aquitanorum*, die in Hrvace bestätigt ist.[94] Die *cohors I Belgarum*[95] ist um die Jahrhundertwende, die *cohors III Alpinorum*[96] in der ersten Hälft des 2. Jh. und *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*[97] von der Mitte des 2. bis zur Mitte des 3. Jh. vertreten.[98] Nach dem Abzug der *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* wird *Tilurium*, wie die Inschriften ILJug 0144 und 0734 beweisen, Benefiziarierstation.

Das Nachleben Tiluriums in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter läßt sich anhand von historischen Quellen verfolgen. So werden in der Mitte des 6. Jh. *Pontem Ciluri*[99] und und am Anfang des 7. Jh. *Tilu...*[100] erwähnt. Einzelne Funde und Befunde weisen ebenfals deutlich auf eine Nachleben Tiluriums in der Spätantike und im Frühmittelalter.[101] Deutliche Siedlungstätigkeit ist erst wieder seit dem 17. Jh. zu verfolgen, als das Dorf Gardun entsteht.[102]

Alle vorgeschlagenen Rekonstruktionen der historischen Ereignisse in und um *Tilurium*, sowie der Truppenverteilung im Illyricum, bzw. Dalmatien, beruhen auf einer wissenschaftlichen Disziplin, nämlich der Alten Geschichte und deren Analyse antiker schriftlicher Quellen. Die Altfunde ohne sichere archäologische Kontexte können nur beschränkt zur Interpretation

[85] NESSELHAUF 1941, 42; WILKES 1969, 96; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 71 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b, 287.

[86] WILKES 1969, 96 Anm. 1, 101 Anm. 2; WILKES 1979, 65, TONČINIĆ 2009, 1454; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 16, 26-27 = TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 112, 114-115 und 165-166.

[87] Zum Territorium des Legionslagers Tilurium vergleiche ZANINOVIĆ 1985, 73-75 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996a, 268-270; SANADER in print.

[88] Zum Aufenthalt der *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* vergleiche PWRE 1925-1926, 1692 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 18, 22, 67-68, Kat. Nr. 85, 89 und 113; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 72 = 1996b, 289. Es ist fragwürdig ob der Stempel 14022 und S. 2328[179] wirklich aus Gardun stammt, siehe: BETZ 1938, 26, doch kommen inzwischen die Ziegelstempel TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 18-20, 28 hinzu.

[89] Zum Aufenthalt der *legio IV Flavia felix* in Dalmatien vergleiche PWRE 1925-1926, 1540-1549 s. v. Legio (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 46-48 und 72, Kat. Nr. 217-220. Inzwischen kommen die Ziegelstempel SANADER 2000, 225-236 und TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 23 und 24 hinzu.

[90] TONČINIĆ 2007, 263-264; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 25 und 145-146.

[91] CIL III 14934; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 251, 268-269, 286, Kat. Nr. 11/3; SPAUL 2000, 431.

[92] CIL III 9727 (2712); ALFÖLDY 1987b, 242, 243, 268-269,278-279, Kat. Nr. 1/62.

[93] CIL III 9735; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 243, 268-269, 279, Kat. Nr. 2/1.

[94] CIL III 9760, ALFÖLDY 1987b, 247-248, 268-269, 282, Kat. Nr. 6/2; SPAUL 2000, 141-142.

[95] CIL III 9739; BULIĆ 1903, 134 Nr. 3242; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 248-249, 268-269, 283-285, Kat. Nr. 7/4-5; SPAUL 2000, 190-192.

[96] CIL III 14935; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 245-247, 268-269, 280-282, Kat. Nr. 5/7; SPAUL 2000, 266-268; TONČINIĆ 2003, 266, Nr. 17; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 21 und 25.

[97] CIL III 9724 (2706), 9732, 13187, 13975, 14336[1] (10182), 14930; BULIĆ 1903, 129 Nr. 3315; ABRAMIĆ 1940, 225 ff; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 254-255, 268-269, 288-291, Kat. Nr. 18/4-11; SPAUL 2000, 35-37; TONČINIĆ 2005, 147-157; DEMICHELI 2011, Kat. Nr. 18.

[98] ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 72-73 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 289; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 268-276; BOJANOVSKI 1988, 355-360

[99] Muratori, L.A., Argelati, F., 1723. Rerum italicarum scriptores. A.Forni.

[100] Marini, G., 1805. I Papiri diplomatici, raccolti ed illustrati dall' abbate Gaetano Marini,... stamperia della Sac. Congr. de Propaganda fide.

[101] BUŠKARIOL 1988, Kat. Nr. 4; BUŠKARIOL 1990, Kat. Nr. 3, 4?, 6; SNADER 2000b; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, Kat. Nr. 46 und S 224-225; BULJEVIĆ 2003, Kat. Nr. 14; PITEŠA 2009, Kat. Nr. 5-6, 29, 52, 54, 79, 98, 99, 102, 248, 312;

[102] Die Siedlungstätigkeit vom 17. Jh. aufwärts lässt sich anhand der sogenannten türkischen Tonpfeifen BEKIĆ 2001, aber auch anhand von Münz- und Matalfunden verfolgen ŠEPAROVIĆ und IVČEVIĆ in print.

herangezogen werden. Nur archäologische Grabungen konnten diese Rekonstruktionen der historischen Ereignisse bestätigen oder neue Anhaltspunkte vorbringen, die in Kombination mit bereits bestehenden Erkenntnissen zu neuen führen könnten. Die bereits erwähnten Funde, Reiseberichte und Angaben älterer Autoren über sichtbare Reste der Lagerbauten,[103] sowie bis heute sichtbare Mauern sind ein deutliches Zeichen für das Potential und die Bedeutung dieses Fundortes. Obwohl von Fachleuten mehrmals betont wurde, daß archäologische Ausgrabungen in *Tilurium* eine wichtige Zukunftsaufgabe sind,[104] habe diese erst 1997 begonnen. Seitdem laufen sie, unter der Leitung von Prof. Dr. Mirjana Sanader vom Institut für Archäologie der Philosophischen Fakultät der UNI Zagreb, im Rahmen des wissenschaftlichen Projektes Römische Militärlager in Kroatien (130-0000000-0777), das vom Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Bildung und Sport der Republik Kroatien seit 1997 durch drei Projektperioden unterstützt wird.[105] Die Grabungen werdenvom Ministeriums für Kultur der Republik Kroatien, der Gespanschaft Split-Dalmatien und der Stadt Trilj unterstützt.[106]

Die oben genannten Bedenken gaben Anstoß zu archäologischen Ausgrabungen in Tilurium. Vor das Projekt- und Grabungsteam waren mehrere Ziele gesetzt. Erstens, den einstigen Umfang des Lagers und den Lageplan der Gebäude im Inneren des Lagers festzustellen, und zweitens die chronologischen uns stratigraphischen Verhältnisse der Innenbauten zu bestimmen. Drittens war es von großer Bedeutung, der Entnahme von Funden ein Ende zu bereiten, und in den Ausgrabungen archäologische Kontexte zu dokumentieren, die uns für alle Altfunde aus *Tilurium* entgehen. Die Ausgrabungen haben nur einen kleinen Teil des Lagers umfaßt, aber die bisherigen Resultate und Funde zeugen davon, daß *Tilurium* bemerkenswerte Reste von Lagerbauten und römischer Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenstände verbirgt. Damit wurden einige der offen stehenden Fragen beantwortet, aber auch neue Fragen gestellt.

Die Oberflächenbegehung des Geländes um die St. Peterskirche konnte bis jetzt keine Spuren einer befestigten Siedlung der Delmaten bestätigen. Im Gegensatz dazu konnten neben römischen Spolien auch Keramikbruchstücke und in einigen modernen Gräbern auch mögliche römische Mauern dokumentiert werden. Bei den Ausgrabungen im Bereich des Lagers konnten zwar auch keine vorrömischen Kontexte dokumentiert werden, doch bezeugen Einzelfunde, dass dieser Raum schon lange vor den Römern bewohnt wurde. Dies bezieht sich vor allem auf Keramikfunde[107], es muß aber auch ein Werzeugfragment aus Obsidian(?) erwähnt werden.[108] Dem vorrömischen Horizont gehört auch eine griechische Münze des 3. oder 2. Jh. v. Chr.[109] Zur Zeit bleibt offen ob frühe Exemplare römischer republikanischer Münzen ebenfalls dem vorrömischen Horizont zugeschrieben werden können.[110]

Am westlichen Ende der Dorfstrasse (Abb. 1.3), befinden sich noch die letzten an der Oberfläche erhaltenen Reste der Lagerbauten. Es handelt sich um die westliche Wehrmauer. Zu sehen ist die innere, aus amorphen Steinen und sehr viel hartem Mörtel bestehende Struktur der Mauer (Abb. 4). An einigen Stellen ist ein weiteres Detail der Mauerkonstruktion zu erkennen, nämlich Abdrücke massiver Holzbalken die horizontal und vertikal quer durch die Mauer verlegt waren (Abb. 5). Anhand der frei stehenden Reste kann eine Rekonstruktion der Wehrmauer vorgeschlagen, und ihr Verlauf dokumentiert werden (Abb. 6). [111] Im südöstlichen Bereich des Lagers (Abb. 1.1) wurde eine 3,15 m breite Mauer mit 0,20 bis 0,40 m vorspringendem Fundament dokumentiert. Die Mauer ist aus grösseren Steinblöcken, das Fundament aus Steinen verschiedener Größe ohne Bindemittel. Die Dimensionen und

[103] Vergleiche LOVRIĆ 1948, 53-55; MILOŠEVIĆ 1981, 49-50 Kat. Nr. 66; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 70 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 285; MILOŠEVIĆ 2003, 2-4.

[104] GUNJAČA 1937, 46; BETZ 1938, 8-9; ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 70 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 285.

[105] Von 1997 bis 2002 im Rahmen des Projektes Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj – Tilurij (130666) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/zprojektiold/arh_dets.asp?trazi=130666&gdje=1&ID=1071); von 2003 bis 2006 im Rahmen des Projektes Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj – Tilurij (130460) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/zprojektiold/result_det.asp?trazi=tilurij&gdje=1&Submit=Pretrazi&ID=0130460) und seit 2007 im Rahmen des Projektes Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj (130-0000000-0777) (http://zprojekti.mzos.hr/public/c2prikaz_det.asp?cid=1&psid=31&offset=20&ID=1470).

[106] SANADER 1998; 2000b; 2001a; 2001b; 2002c; 2003a; SANADER – TONČINIĆ 2003; SANADER – TONČINIĆ – OŽANIĆ 2005a; 2005b; SANADER – TONČINIĆ – OŽANIĆ – MILOGLAV 2006; SANADER – TONČINIĆ – DEMICHELI – MILOGLAV 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010. Vergleiche auch http://www.fastionline.org/ *s.v. Gardun* (12.04.2013.).

[107] ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2003, 109; PODRUG in print.

[108] SANADER – TONČINIĆ – DEMICHELI – MILOGLAV 2010.

[109] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, Kat. Nr. 1.

[110] Zu den römischen republikanischen Münzen aus Tilurium vergleiche ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, Kat. Nr. 1-2; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2011, Kat. Nr. 1-13; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, Kat. Nr. 2-6. Zum Überblick über die gesammten Münzfunde aus Tilurium siehe ŠEPAROVIĆ – PAVLOVIĆ in diesem Band.

[111] SANADER 2003a, 21-31; SANADER – TONČINIĆ 2005.

Abb. 4. Die westliche Wehrmauer.

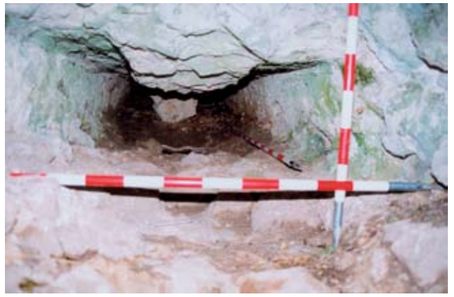

Abb. 5 a - b. Abdrücke massiver Holzbalken in der westlichen Wehrmauer.

Lage der Mauer lassen auf die südliche Wehrmauer des Lagers schließen (Abb. 7).[112] Aufgrund der Lage beider Wehrmauern und der Abbruchkanten des Geländes im Norden und Osten kann eine Lagerfläche von ca. 12 ha rekonstruiert werden. Obwohl sich die Fläche der Legionslager von einem zum anderen unterscheidet, beträgt sie doch meistens zwischen 20 und 25 ha.[113] Insofern ist es sehr interessant, daß auch das für das zweite in Dalmatien, jenes in *Burnum*, eine Fläche von ca. 10 ha angenommen wird.[114] Im südöstlichen Bereich des Lagers (Abb. 1.1.) wurde weiters ein parallel zur südlichen Wehrmauer liegendes Gebäude mit zahlreichen interessanten Konstruktionslösungen ausgegraben. In den Mauern wurden beim Bau Holzbalken verlegt. Jene, die an den Mauerfronten verliefen waren mit quer durch die mauer verlaufenden Holzbalken verbunden. Die Süd- und Ostmauer des Gebäudes sind mit Strebepfeilern gestützt. Um das Gelände zu nivellieren, war der Unterbau des Gebäudes mit Steinen gefüllt. Vollkommen ausgegraben sind nur die Süd- und Ostseite des Gebäudes, sowie der Raun von der Süd- und Ostmauer eingeschlossen wird. Die Ausgrabungen zeigen allerdings, daß sich Richtung Norden parallel verlaufenden Räume bzw. Gebäude erstrecken, die identische Grundrisse besitzen. Der Vergleich mit den Grundrissen römischer Legions- und Hilfstruppenlager zeigt, daß es sich um Mannschaftsbaracken handelt.[115] Westlich von ihnen kann eine weitere Gruppe

[112] SANADER – TONČINIĆ – OŽANIĆ – MILOGLAV 2006.

[113] Usporedi BAATZ 1962, 80-81; JOHNSON 1987, 42; CAMPBELL 2006, 33.

[114] CAMBI – GLAVIČIĆ – MARŠIĆ – MILETIĆ – ZANINOVIĆ 2007.

[115] SANADER 2009. Usporedi PETRIKOVITS 1975, 37-40 Abb. 2 und 3; JOHNSON 1987, 190 Abb. 127, 192 Abb. 129. SANADER – TONČINIĆ – DEMICHELI – MILOGLAV in print

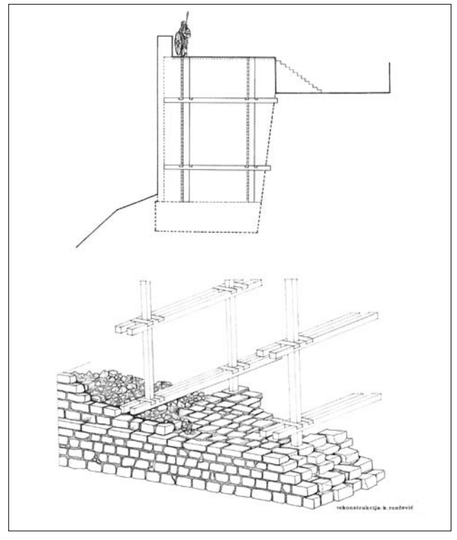

Abb. 6 . Rekonstruktion der westlichen Wehrmauer.

Abb. 7 a - b. Die südliche Wehrmauer.

von sechs Mannschaftsbaracken angenommen werden, die im Gegensatz zu den erstgenannten in nordsüdlicher Richtung angelegt sind. Darauf weist die Analyse der erstgenannten Mannschaftsbaracken, aller dokumentierten Befunde und Prospektionsergebnisse westlich von ihnen, der Geländebeschaffenheit und charakteristischen Grundrisse römischer Legionslager (Abb 8).[116] Diese werden mitlerweile durch neue Grabungesrgebnisse bestätigt(Abb 9).[117]

In der Lagermitte wurde ein Bodenmosaik ausgegraben (Abb. 1.2). Erhaltengeblieben ist ein Bruchstück des Mittelfeldes, auf dem mit weisen und hellroten Mosaiksteinen der Hinterteil eines Stieres auf schwarzem Untergrund dargestellt ist. Der Rahmen des Mittelfelds ist von schwarzweißen Rhomben umgeben (Abb. 10). Im Estrich aus Kalkmörtel und kleinen Steinen wurden zwei Mosaikbruchstücke gefunden, die unterschiedliche Motive aufweisen. – Ein kleines Bruchstück mit blauen Ranken auf weißem Untergrund, und ein großes mit bunten rechteckigen Feldern (Abb 11). Diese Bruchstücke zeugen von zwei Mosaikböden, die jenem mit der Stierdarstellung vorangegangen sind. Die Chronologische Folge der Mosaikböden aus *Tilurium* kann anhand der durchgeführten Analyse vom Ende des 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum Ende des 1. Jh. n. Chr. angesetzt werden.[118]

Ausgegraben wurden auch Teile eines Gebäudes, das parallel zur westlichen Wehrmauer steht (Abb. 1.5). Segmente der Westmauer mit interessanten Abdrücken von Holzbalken sind ebenfalls bis heute erhalten (Abb. 12). Ein Grossteil der Militaria, die während der laufenden Grabungen entdeckt wurde, stammt aus den Schichten in die die Fundamente dieses Gebäudes gesetzt sind. In der nordöstlichen Ecke des Lagers wurden Teile einer Zisterne ausgegraben (Abb. 1.4). Dokumentiert werden konnten Pfeiler des Gewölbes und ein Abflußkanal der das Wasser wahrscheinlich in Richtung Lagermitte abgeleitet hat (Abb 13).

[116] SANADER – TONČINIĆ – DEMICHELI – MILOGLAV 2008.
[117] SANADER – TONČINIĆ – DEMICHELI – MILOGLAV in print
[118] MATULIĆ in print.

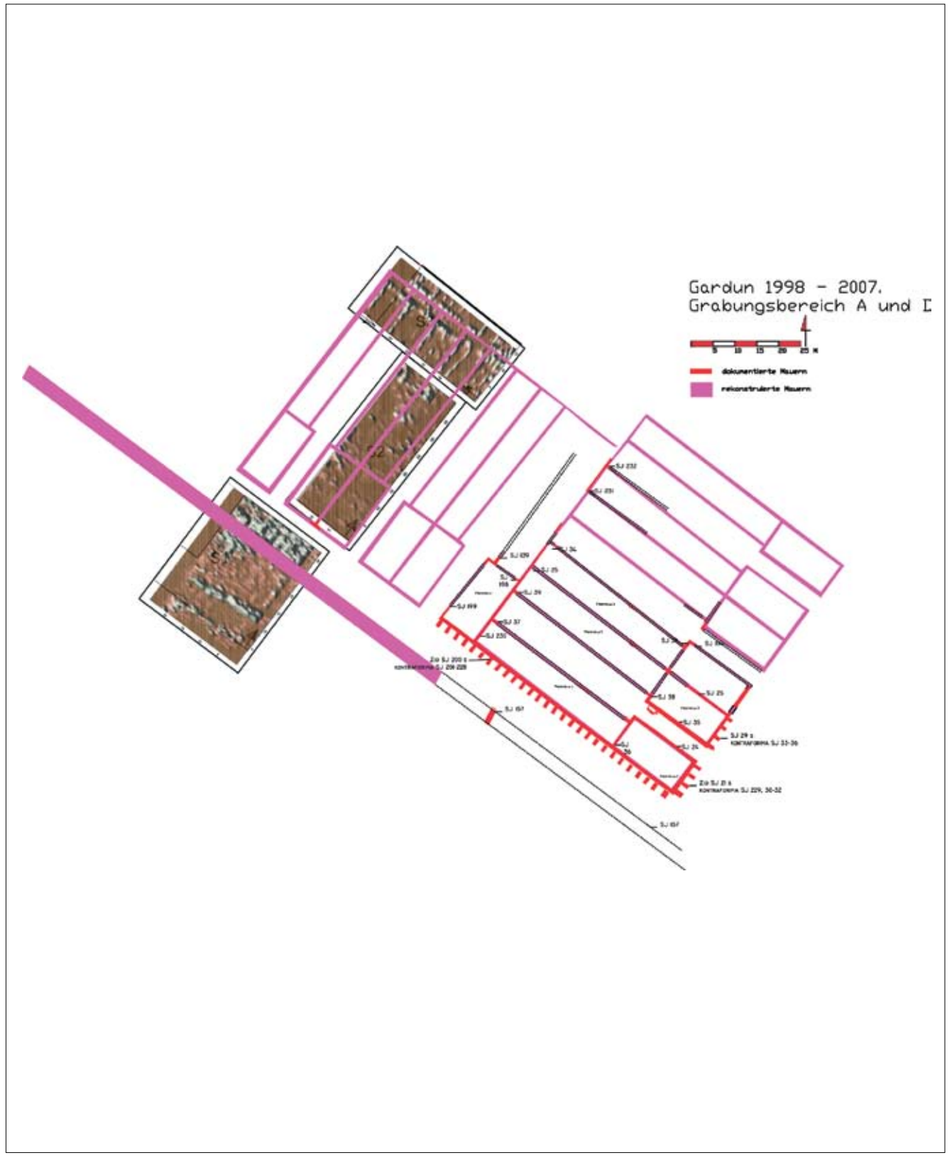

Abb. 8. Grundriß der Mannschaftsbaracken in Tilurium.

Abb. 9a. Südliche Wehrmauer, Intervalum und südliches Ende zweier Centurionenwohnungen im Grabungsbereich D (GAR10-dig1384)

Abb. 9b. Nördliches Ende zweier Mannschaftsbaracken mit angrenzender Lagerstrasse mit Kanal und anschließenden Gebäuden im Grabungsbereich D (GAR12-dig0842a).

Abb. 10. Bodenmosaik mit Stierdarstellung (GAR PIC00005).

Bis jetzt konnten nur kleine Teile der Architektur erfaßt werden. Aufgrund der Grundrisse römischer Legions- und Hilfstruppenlager können sie als römische Lagerbauten interpretiert werden. Die Kleinfunde – Keramik- und Glasgefäße, Ziegelsteine, Bauplastik, Grabsteine, Münzen, römische Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenstände - sind ebenfalls typisch für römische Militärlager.[119] Sie zeugen von einer Siedlungstätigkeit in Tilurium von augusteischer Zeit bis in die Spätantike, aber mit einem Höhepunkt in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jh. als in Tilurium die *legio VII* stationiert war.

[119] Zu den Keramikfunden siehe ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2003; ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2011; SANADER – ŠIMIĆ-KANAET – TONČINIĆ 2005; ŠIMIĆ-KANAET in diesem Band. Zu den Glasfunden siehe BULJEVIĆ 2003; BULJEVIĆ – BORZIĆ – TONČINIĆ – SANADER – GLUČINA 2012; BULJEVIĆ in print; BULJEVIĆ in diesem Band. Zu den Münzen siehe ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print und ŠEPAROVIĆ – PAVLOVIĆ in diesem Band. Zur Miliatria siehe ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003b; SANADER – ŠEPAROVIĆ – TONČINIĆ 2008; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 56-111 Kat. Nr. 1, 5-8, 12-20, 23-39, 41-48, 50, 53-55, 60-81, 85-110, 112, 115 (Autor S. Ivčević); IVČEVIĆ in diesem Band.

Abb 11 a. Mosaikbruchstück mit blauen Ranken auf weißem Untergrund (GAR99-3-32).

Abb 11 b. Mosaikbruchstück mit bunten rechteckigen Feldern (GAR05-dig1994).

Abb. 12 a-b. Mauerreste mit Abdrücken von Holzbalken (GAR02-dig0161; GAR03-dig0114).

Abb. 13 a. Zisterne mit Resten vom Pfeiler des Gewölbes(GAR99-I-35).

Abb. 13 b. Abflußkanal der Zisterne (GAR00-4-35).

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CIL III:	Corpus inscriptionum Latinatum, vol. III, Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Graecarum, Illyrici, Berlin, 1902
CIL XVII/4	
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PROJECT TILURIUM - ROMAN MILITARY EQUIPMENT*

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In addition to a high number of new finds of a military nature, systematic archaeological research and scholarly analysis of discovered materials, conducted since 1997 at Gardun, near Trilj, at the site of the Roman military camp Tilurium, also accorded new significance to finds from earlier periods, discovered during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Presented here are the results of a research project (Roman Military Camps in Croatia) underwritten by the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

The featured items of a military nature - weapons, protective equipment, pieces of military attire and riding gear - mostly date to the first century, which is to be expected when taking into account that the Roman Seventh Legion (Legio VII) was stationed in this camp. After the departure of Legio VII in the mid-first century, the camp retained a significant military garrison until the mid-third century. As inscriptions testify, there was also a beneficiary station there. Late Antique materials, present to a significantly lesser extent, confirm the already known fact that life continued in Gardun throughout Late Antiquity, when it was most probably used as a defensive fortress.

WEAPONS

The preserved assault gear includes arrows and spears, ballistic projectils, parts of swords and a dagger. The archery gear may be classified as incendiary projectiles (cat. no. 1, P. 1.1.), and its dimensions and weight lead to the conclusion that it was crafted to be fired from a bolt shooter. Given that this type of weaponry (from all units stationed in Gardun) can be attributed only to the legions, these may be dated no later than the eighth decade of the first century. After this time, only auxiliary units were stationed at the camp. The same holds true for the iron ballistic projectile heads, of which two have socketed iron bolts, and one belongs to a somewhat rarer version with a tanged bolt (cat. no. 2-4, P. 1. 2-4). The tanged javelin head dates to the second and third centuries, while various types of arrows, flat-bladed socketed arrowheads (cat. no. 8, P. 2.4), trilobate tanged arrowheads[1] and bone-reinforced composite laths[2] are difficult to accurately determine within the Roman Empire period. Even though a cohort of archers was stationed in Gardun in the first century (cohors II Cyrrhestarum), this is

* The results presented derived from a scientific project (Roman Military Camps in Croatia), conducted with the support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

[1] IVČEVIĆ in print.

[2] RADMAN-LIVAJA 1998, 231, P. 1. 4, 7.

Fig. 1. Decorative mount from a sword scabbard, cat. no. 10

not a firm enough basis for dating, since we know that archery was practiced by members of various units. Spearheads and reinforced spears butts belong to the usual repertoire of Roman camps (cat. no. 5-7, 9, P. 2. 1-3, 5), while iron reinforced javelin butts such as that found in Gardun are rarer finds at Roman sites.[3]

Besides components of arrows and spears, military assault gear also includes parts of swords: bronze scabbard tips and scabbard mounts. The reinforced bottom of a sword scabbard belongs to the Mainz sword type, on which the scabbard edges are protected with metal grooves along its entire length. They date to the first half of the first century. Scabbard mounts like those found in Gardun persisted from the last quarter of the first century BC to the end of the first century AD. These types of scabbard mounts were used on the Pompeii and Mainz gladii. Given that both examples here are only partially preserved, their type cannot precisely identified. A palmette-shaped scabbard mount is a standard part of scabbard decorations on the Pompeii sword type (cat. no. 10, Fig. 1).

Besides being effective in combat, the military dagger was also worn as a status symbol, so a great deal of attention was accorded to the appearance and ornamentation of the dagger's scabbard. A very well maintained dagger with a scabbard decorated by floral motifs, which were made using inlay technique, belongs to the Mainz type (cat. no. 11, Fig. 2), and its dating framework corresponds to the time when Legio VII was stationed at the camp. Enamel decoration was preserved on a scabbard rivet.

[3] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 3. 3, 4

PROTECTIVE GEAR

Military equipment, besides weapons, also consisted of gear used to protect soldiers in combat. Among the finds from Gardun, helmets, shields and armour belong in this group.

The almost completely preserved left cheek piece belonged to an iron infantry helmet of Weisenau type (cat. no. 12, Fig. 3). This type emerge at the end of the first century BC, and persisted until the beginning of the second century, and there were many variations of this type which mutually differed, including the shape of the cheek piece. Analogies to the Gardun example can be found among helmets from various sites, which are generally dated to the first century. Decorative rivets shaped like rosettes, which held up the bronze plate from inside of the cheek, as well as a mount for the helmet strap were also discovered in Gardun. The plume/crest holder belongs to the same helmet type. A single fragment of shield binding is the only preserved remnant of a shield. As for armour, pieces of chainmail and segmented armour have been preserved. A serpentine chest hook (cat. no. 17, Fig. 4.3) dates to the first century, and no later than the second century. Although this type of armour was in use from the Republican period to Late Antiquity, protection of the shoulder with the help of a plate dates to the first century. It was replaced with two chest plates already by the onset of the second century. Throughout the second century, fastening hooks were entirely removed from use.

A significantly higher numbers of armour components belong to mail armour. Tie hooks (cat. no. 16, Fig. 4.2) for connecting the girdle plates of the left and right side of the lower section of the armour may have belonged to any of the three versions of the Corbridge armour type. In the Gardun materials, hinged buckles (cat. no. 13-15, Fig. 4.1) are well represented, which were used to connect parts of the Corbridge A and B/C armour, and date to approximately the first century.

Armour shoulder[4] hinges served to connect the upper shoulder guards, while the chest plate and upper shoulder plates of the collar assembly are components

[4] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 3. 5, 6.

Fig. 2. Military dagger (pugio), cat. no. 11

of the Corbridge armour type. They belong to the Thomas F iv type, with prominent volutes, which date to the first century.

An essential component of military gear was the belt used to carry weapons, specifically the sword and dagger; it also eased wearing of the armour. Although their appearance and ornamentation altered over the centuries, they were always different from civilian belts, so that the wearer could be identified as a soldier at first sight. Its symbolic value, together with its actual value, explain why a great attention has been accorded to the ornamentation of the belt, regardless of whether or not one or two were worn. Among the Gardun materials, D-buckles with volutes, a characteristic shape of military buckles in the first century (cat. no. 18-22, Fig. 5.1a-e), are particularly well-represented. Hinged frogs for daggers or swords appeared in regions throughout the Roman Empire, a majority of them dating to first half of the first century, while they were rare in the Flavian era. Given its purpose, it is to be expected that a larger number of such items would be found, and when there is a relatively small number of such finds it is assumed that button and loop fasteners were used for the same purpose - these finds are relatively numerous at Roman military sites, and are well-represented among the Gardun materials.

Three hinged frogs from Gardun have been preserved, but only one is whole with a mount (cat. no. 26, Fig. 5.3). A square mount with a straight polished surface is decorated with incisions and niello. Decorations on the Gardun mount consist of rosettes and checkerboards framed by a series of triangles, which is one of the common motifs for mount hinges in the first century. The parts of the belt that are preserved include square apron studs (cat. no. 23-25, Fig. 5.2), which were used throughout the first century.

RIDING GEAR

Riding harness pendants (cat. no. 27-34, Fig. 6. 1-8)[5] are the most numerous riding gear finds at Roman military sites. The earliest pendants appeared in the Augustan era, and they persisted through the second century. As of the latter half of the second century, pendants fell out of fashion and decorative plates take their place. Lunular pendants, in addition to being decorative, also had a protective role for the horse and rider, especially the lunular phallic pendant, whose potency, in some examples, was reinforced with a fist making the mano-fica sign. They date from the Augus-

[5] Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj 2010; IVČEVIĆ 2010; 2004; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003.

Fig. 3. Helmet cheek-piece, cat. no. 12

tan era and persisted throughout the second century. Most of the Gardun examples of lunular pendants are turned in an upward curving crescent with the ends of the arms in the shape of mano-fica fists on one side and phalluses on the other (cat. no. 33, Fig. 6.7).[6] In earlier versions, lunular pendants included pendants whose arms are turned downwards with the central ornament in the shape of a palmette (cat. no. 29, Fig. 6.3). These are dated to the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.

In the first century, numerous "trefoil" pendants appeared in the Tiberian-Claudian era, were used in the Flavian era, and disappeared from use thereafter. Silver coated and decorated with stylized floral motifs, the Gardun example (cat. no. 28, Fig. 6.2) represents an earlier version of this type of pendant. Judging by it dimensions, one may assume that the pendant was a frontal section or part of a chest ornament. Other examples with smaller dimensions (cat. no. 27, Fig. 6.1) were also decorated with floral motifs.

[6] IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 2. 12-15.

Only one example represents pendants with ovoid bodies with a palmette on the bottom,[7] which are usually dated from the Claudian era to the end of the Flavian era, but more recently their appearance has been placed at the beginning of the first century.

Leaf - pendants,[8] characterized by a variety of shapes, are well represented among the finds at Gardun, and mainly belong to the common type of leaf-pendants (cat. no. 30, 31, Fig. 6.4, 5). They lasted from the Claudian era to the beginning of the second century. Pendants decorated with engravings and kidney-shape perforations (cat. no. 32, Fig. 6.6) are something of a less common variant, which are rarely found at Roman sites, and date to the latter half of the first century.

Teardrop pendants (cat. no. 3,4, Fig. 6.8)[9] are represented in several different examples. Such pendants are commonly found at Roman sites, which is not surprising considering their long use. The most numerous are from the Claudian to Trajanic eras, but they persisted until the end of the second century. "Bird-shaped" pendants, otherwise the most numerous type of pendant for riding harness ornamentation in the pre-Flavian period, are not present among the Gardun materials, however two pendants that generally have a teardrop shape indicates a connection with bird-shaped pendants. The saddle plate is made in a jour technique and also belongs to the first century (cat. no. 35, Fig. 7). Some parts of the harness, such as the saddle fitting and the harness buckle, date to the latter half of the second and third centuries.

TOOLS

An indispensable find at the military camp was the pickaxe (dolabra), a tool which is found almost exclusively in military contexts. It was used to dig trenches, clear forests, work lumber, in construction, but also as a weapon. Classical writers mentioned it in a military context. Taking into account the size and position of the shank in relation to the axe, its location within the Tilurium military camp, as well the shape of the of the socket, this may be classified as a first-century military pickaxe (cat. no. 36, Fig. 8).

[7] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, P. 5.4.

[8] IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, 167, P. 1. 20, P. 2. 21-23; IVČEVIĆ 2010, 140, P. 1.7.

[9] IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 1.8, 141, P. 2. 9; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 19.

Fig. 4. 1 a-c. Buckle (lorica segmentata) = cat. no. 13 - 15; 2. Armour tie-hook = cat. no. 16; 3. Chest hook for chainmail = cat. no. 17 (Photo: T. Seser)

Fig. 5. 1 a-e. Belt buckle = cat. no. 18-22; 2 a-c. Belt mount from a military apron = cat. no.23-25; 3. Belt buckle with mount = cat. no. 26 (Photo: T. Seser)

Fig. 6. 1-2. Three-part leaf-shaped pendant from a riding harness = cat. no. 27-28; 3. Lunular pendant from a riding harness = cat. no. 29; 4-6. Leaf-shaped pendant from a riding harness = cat. no. 30-32; 7. Lunular pendant from a riding harness = cat. no. 33; 8. Pendant from a riding harness = cat. no. 34 (Photo: T. Seser)

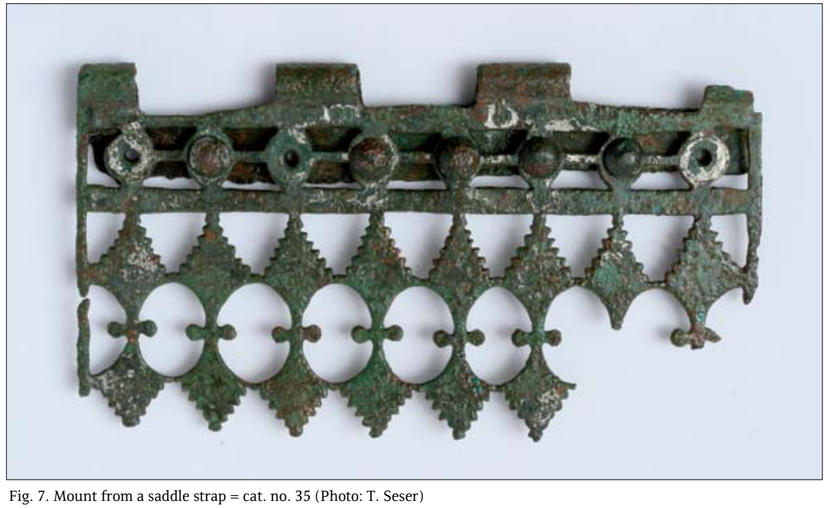

Fig. 7. Mount from a saddle strap = cat. no. 35 (Photo: T. Seser)

Fig. 8. Pickaxe (dolabra) = cat. no. 36 (Photo: T. Seser)

Fig. 9. Amphora-shaped belt strap end = cat. no. 37 (Photo: T. Seser)

LATE ANTIQUE MATERIALS

Three belt buckles with mounts, two belt tangs, as well as a spear and arrowhead, date to Late Antiquity. The buckles date to the latter half of the fourth and fifth centuries.[10] Amphora-shaped strap ends, such as those found in Gardun, are numerous on the territory of the entire Roman Empire, and they made up part of the "belt set" of military belts during the Dominate. On the basis of their typology, they are dated to the fourth century (cat. no. 37, Fig. 9).

The arrowheads belong to flat-bladed socketed group; their dating otherwise varies among Roman sites. Such a shape is not usable in a projectile device. Its dimensions and weight also indicate that it was probably an arrow for a manual bow. Although this type of weapon cannot be dated according to typology, our example (cat. no. 8) has been precisely dated due to the circumstances surrounding the find. Namely, it was found in Gardun in 1921, along with a tip of a spear and Justinian coins dated in his thirtieth year of rule (556/557). This allowed dating to the early Byzantine Justinian period. The spear-tip was also dated to the sixth century, based on the coins found adjacent to it, although the basic features do not differentiate it from other examples found at the same site, but which were dated to an earlier period.

[10] IVČEVIĆ in print.

The swallowtail arrowhead belongs to the early medieval period.[11] It is not possible to accurately date the arrowhead based on typology, and since there is no precise information for the Gardun example regarding the circumstances of the find, only an approximate date may be proposed. They are the most common types of arrowheads, and such arrows in some localities already date to the fifth century, while they also appear in Late Antique fortresses where they are dated to the sixth century, as well as in graveyards from the seventh and eighth centuries, and in old Croatian cemeteries from the eighth and first half of the ninth centuries.

[11] IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 2. 16.

CATALOGUE

1. Incendiary projectile, P. 1.1
Inv. no. MCK B-910
Material: iron
Dimensions: length 14.2 cm, diameter of socket 1.1 cm, weight 65 g
Description: Socketed projectile (so-called malleolus) has cage-like tip consisting of six bars, four of which are still preserved. It was used for firing from a catapult.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 57, cat. no. 4; RADMAN-LIVAJA 1998, 219-222, P. 1. 2.
References: JAMES 1983, 142-143; COULSTON 1985, 266; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 134-135.

2. Catapult bolt-head, P. 1.2
Inv. no. MCK B-923
Material: iron
Dimensions: length 10.7 cm, diameter of socket 1 cm, weight: 40 g
Description: Catapult bolt-head with rectangular cross-section and typical oblong bodkin-shape. It is socketed and given its dimensions it was presumably a ballistic projectile.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 56, cat. no. 2; RADMAN-LIVAJA 1998, 223, P. 1.3.
References: BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 88-89, 135, 168-170.

3. Catapult bolt-head, P. 1.3
Inv. no. AMS H 6174
Material: iron
Dimensions: length: 7.6 cm, length of head: 5.2 cm, length of tang: 2.4 cm, width of head at widest point: 1.3 cm, width of tang at widest section: 0.4 cm, weight: 40 g
Description: Javelin head and tang have a rectangular cross-section; the tang is wider near the head, which has an oblong pyramidal shape. The tip is flattened. It belongs to a relatively rare variant with a tang, with a head twice the length of the tang, a feature that dates it to the imperial period. As in the Roman army, only the legions, praetorians and navy used catapults, this piece can be dated to the first two thirds of the first century, i.e., the period when the legion was posted in Gardun.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 56, cat. no. 1; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 167, P. 2. 24.
References: BEHRENS 1912, 9, fig. 6. 41; RITTERLING 1913, 160, P. XVII. 26, 28; TUDOR 1964, 241, P. 3. 17, 18; JAMES - TAYLOR 1994, 94, fig. 1; ZANIER 1994, 589, fig. 2; HARNECKER 1997, 34, 93, P. 79. 848, 849; SIVEC 1997, 146, P. 1. 6; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 9, 24, P. 22. 431-458; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 3. 44-46; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2001, 135, P. 3, 5; BUORA - JOBST 2002, 245, IV a, 125.

4. Catapult bolt-head, P. 1.4
Inv. no. MCK B-924
Material: iron
Dimensions: length 9.4 cm, diameter of socket 1 cm, weight 50 g
Description: Bodkin-shaped head and socket; the weight and size of this object corresponds to typical Roman catapult projectiles.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 57, cat. no. 3; RADMAN-LIVAJA 1998, 223, P. 1. 5.
References: BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 88-89, 135, 168-170.

5. Spearhead, P. 2.1
Inv. no. AMS H 5995
Material: iron
Dimensions: length 29.2 cm, length of socket 11.5 cm, length of head 17.7 cm, diameter of socket at widest part 2.2 cm, width of head at widest part 3.6 cm, weight: 155 g
Description: Socketed leaf-shaped spearhead, with damaged edges and a very prominent longitudinal mid-rib. In the Roman army, spears were wielded by the infantry and cavalry, and its various shapes and sizes were dictated by its function, since it was used for throwing as well as for close combat. Although this type of weapon cannot be dated on typological grounds, this piece has been precisely dated thanks to the circumstances of the find. It was found in Gardun in 1921, together with an arrowhead (AMS inv. no. H 6010) and a Justinian coin dated to the thirtieth year of his reign (556/557). This allows dating to the early Byzantine Justinian period.
Dating: 6th cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 61, cat. no. 12; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 167, P. 2. 26.
References: BEHRENS - BRENNER 1911, 115, fig. 28. 4; RITTERLING 1913, P. XVII. 11; HENDERSON 1949, 152, P. LVIII. 287; FINGERLIN 1972, P. 14. 3; PETRU 1972, P. XC. 1; FISHER 1973, fig. 43. 1; REDDE et al. 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13; HARNECKER 1997, 90, P. 75. 800, 804; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 20-21, P. 16. 255-258, P. 17. 262-269; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 6. 66-68; BUORA - JOBST 2002, 231, IVa.11; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 152, P. 3. 10.

7. Spearhead, P. 2.3
Inv. no. AMS H 5998
Material: iron
Dimensions: length 20.2 cm, length of socket 7.3 cm, length of head 12.9 cm, diameter of socket at widest part 1.5 cm, width of head at widest part 2.1 cm, weight 60 g
Description: Leaf-shaped spearhead with damaged socket and a mid-rib.
Dating: Roman period
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 62, cat. no. 14; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 167, P. 2. 28.
References: BEHRENS - BRENNER 1911, 115, fig. 28, 4; RITTERLING 1913, P. XVII. 11; HENDERSON 1949, 152, P. LVIII. 287; PETRU 1972, P. XC. 1; REDDE et al. 1995, 145, fig. 35. 10, 12-13; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 20-21, P. 16. 255-258, P. 17. 262-269 ; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 6. 66-68; BUORA - JOBST 2002, 231, IVa.11; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 151, P. 2. 8-9.

8. Arrowhead, P. 2.4
Inv. no. AMS H 6012
Material: iron
Dimensions: length 8.6 cm, length of head 3.9 cm, length of socket 4.7 cm, width of socket 0.9 cm, width of head 1.6 cm, weight 20 g
Description: The tip of the arrow with a rhombic head and a socket are preserved. It belongs to the group of arrows with a flattened head, a shape that was not used for ballistic devices. Its size and weight are another indication that this object was probably an arrow for a bow. The head has a rhombic shape and flat cross-section. Even though this type of weapon cannot be dated by typological features, this piece has been dated with precision due to the circumstances of the find. To be precise, it was found in Gardun together with a spear tip (cat. no. 5, P. 2.1) and a Justinian coin dated to the thirtieth year of his reign (556/557). This allows dating to the early Byzantine Justinian period.
Dating: 6th cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 58, cat. no. 5; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 167, P. 2. 25.
References: BEHRENS - BRENNER 1911, fig. 28. 7; HENDERSON 1949, 152, 153, P. LIX. 293; GALLIAZZO 1979, 210-211, fig. 92. 9; SIVEC 1997, P. 1. 1; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 23, 24, P. 361., 362; HARNECKER 1997, 4, 91, P. 77. 812, 814; BEKIĆ 1998, P. 2. 8; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 6.72; VOIROL 2000, 11, P. 537.

9. Spear butt, P. 2.5
Inv. no. AMS H 6011
Material: iron
Dimensions: height 9.2 cm, width 3.3 cm
Description: Cylindrical bottom of spear; there is a slot where the shaft was connected lengthwise.
Dating: 1st–5th cent.
Publication: IVČEVIĆ 2004, 167, P. 2.29.
References: BEHRENS - BRENNER 1911: 115, fig. 28. 18; HARNECKER 1997, 92, P. 78. 825; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 21, P. 18. 301; SIVEC 1997, 146, T.10; BEKIĆ 1998, 235, P. 2. 9; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 237, 238, P. 3, 2.

10. Decorative mount from a sword scabbard, Fig. 1
Inv. no. MCK B-870
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 5 cm, width 4.2 cm, thickness 0.2 cm
Descriptions: Decorative mount from a sword scabbard with rhomboid shape, decorated with incised lines, with a perforation on top.
Dating: Latter half of 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 66, cat. no. 22.

References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 15, P. 9. 150, 2082; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, 75, 137, fig. 86. 121, P. 9. 121; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 40, 128, P. 12. 49; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 81, fig. 41. 5.

11. Military dagger (pugio), Fig. 2
Inv. no. MCK 5103
Material: iron, wood, leather, silver, copper alloy, enamel
Dimensions: total length 26.9 cm, length of grip 10 cm, thickness of cross-guard: 1.5 cm, length of scabbard 16.9 cm, width of scabbard 5.6 cm, thickness of scabbard: 1.5 cm, weight 290 g
Description: Military dagger with scabbard. It consists of a hilt with a cross-guard and a blade in a sheath. The lower part of the scabbard is missing. The grip begins with a pommel that has three rivets on top, set next to each other and decorated with red enamel. On the semi-circular plate of the pommel there are another two rivets separated by a trident motif rendered in copper wire inlay. An elliptical widening with a rivet in the middle runs along the centre of the grip. The grip is decorated with inlaid linear motifs in silver and copper wire. Two rivets on the back of the grip connected the outer mount with the tang and wooden plates. The grip tapers gently from the pommel to the cross-guard, and it has a convex cross-section down its entire length. The lateral sides of the dagger are reinforced with mounts at places where the scabbard is widest. The mounts are supported with rivets identical to those on the grip of the dagger, and decorated with red enamel. Each of the lower two mounts has one preserved link in the eye. The entire front of the scabbard is richly decorated with inlaid silver and copper threads and divided into four fields. The back of the scabbard is undecorated.
Dating: End of 1st cent. BC
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 74, cat. no 38; MILOŠEVIĆ 2009, 176, 177, fig. 16.
References: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 51, 52, fig. 8, 9, P. 15. 59, P. 16. 60; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 86, 87, Fig. 44, 45.

12. Helmet cheek-piece, Fig. 3
Inv. no. MTK 973
Material: iron, bronze
Dimensions: height 14.4 cm, width 12 cm, thickness 0.2 cm
Description: On the upper part there is a preserved socket with a rod and a part of the mount by which the cheek-piece was attached to the dome of the helmet. The cheek-piece gently tapers towards the lower part, then it becomes wider on both sides. There were two rivets (a bronze pin of one of these remains) next to the edge on the upper part. There is one rivet-hole at the base of the cheek-piece.
Dating: mid-1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 74, cat. no. 38; Ivčević, "Metalni nalazi". In: Tilurij 3 (in preparation).
References: HARTMANN 1983, 6, fig. 2; WAURICK 1988, 333, fig. 3. 2-3; HARNECKER 1997, 95- 96, P. 82. 870a; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 74- 75, fig. 16. 176, P. 27. 128; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 103, fig. 59. 4.

13. Buckle (lorica segmentata), Fig. 4.1a
Inv. no. AMS H 4439
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height of frame: 2 cm, length of frame: 1.5 cm, height of mount: 1.5 cm, length of mount: 2.15 cm, length of pin: 1.7 cm
Description: Frame of a D-shaped buckle with circular cross-section; it tapers towards the ends and has openings for the bar on which the buckle mount is attached so that it bends over the bar, and it is reinforced with a rivet in the centre; on the outer side of the mount there is a flattened loop for connecting to another mount; the pin slightly widens toward the top and it is slightly bent. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of laminated armour (Corbridge A and B/C). They belong to type Thomas A ii.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 69, cat. no. 28; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 13.
References: BEHRENS 1912, 87, fig. 3, 13; 8; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI, 12,13, 15-19; BEHRENS 1914, 68, fig. 2. 7; FINGERLIN 1972, fig. 11. 8; UNZ 1972, fig. 4, 27; PETRU 1972, P. XXIX, grave 450, 22; NEDVED 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 67, P. XXV. 362, 363; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 30, 31, P. 33, P. 34, 783-790; SIMPSON 2000, P. 25. 7; MATEŠIĆ 2005, P. 9. 103.

14. Buckle (lorica segmentata), Fig. 4.1b;
inv. no. AMS, H 4204
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height of frame 1.7 cm, length of frame 1.35 cm, height of first mount 1.35 cm, length of first mount 2.2 cm, height of second mount 1.4 cm, length of second mount 2.2 cm, length of pin 1.6 cm
Description: Frame of a D-shaped buckle with circular cross-section; it tapers towards the ends and has openings for the bar on which the buckle mount is attached so that it bends over the bar; on the outer side of the mount there are flattened loops through which the bar passes; the bar provided support for the second mount, which has two circular openings; the pin slightly widens toward the top and it is slightly bent. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of laminated armour (Corbridge A and B/C). They belong to type Thomas A ii.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 71, cat. no. 30; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 15.
References: BEHRENS 1912, 87, fig. 3. 13; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 12,13, 15-19; BEHRENS 1914, 68, fig. 2., 7.-8; FINGERLIN 1972, fig. 11. 8; PETRU 1972, P. XXIX. grave 450, 22; UNZ 1972, fig. 4. 27; NEDVED 1981,180, fig. 8. 317; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 67, P. XXV. 362-363; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 30-31, P. 33., T. 34. 783-790; THOMAS 2003, 13, fig. 2.

15. Buckle (lorica segmentata), Fig. 4.1c
Inv. no. AMS H 1601
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height of frame: 1.9 cm, length of frame: 1.3 cm, height of mount: 1.5 cm, length of mount: 1.8 cm, length of pin: 1.5 cm
Description: Frame of a D-shaped buckle with circular cross-section; it tapers towards the ends and has openings for the bar on which the buckle mount is attached so that it bends over the bar, and it is reinforced with a rivet in the centre; on the outer side of the mount there is a flattened loop for connecting to another mount through which the bar passes; the pin slightly widens toward the top and it is slightly bent. Buckles of this type were used for attaching segments of laminated armour (Corbridge A and B/C). They belong to type Thomas A ii.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 70, cat. no. 29; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 14
References: BEHRENS 1912, 87, fig. 3. 13; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 12-13, 15-19; BEHRENS 1914, 68, fig. 2. 7, 8; FINGERLIN 1972, fig. 11. 8; PETRU 1972, P. XXIX. grave 450, 22; Unz 1972, fig. 4, 27; NEDVED 1981, 180, fig. 8. 317; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 67, P. XXV. 362-363; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 30-31, P. 33., P. 34. 783-790; SIMPSON 2000, 151, P. 25. 7; THOMAS 2003, 13, fig. 2; MATEŠIĆ 2005, P. 9. 103.

16. Armour tie-hook, Fig. 4.2
Inv. no. AMS H 3127
Material: bronze
Dimensions: length 4.6 cm, width 1.6 cm
Description: Eye-hole made of bent wire with irregular circular shape, mount rectangular, rounded edges on one side, wavy edges on other. Mount was fastened with two rivets, of which one has been preserved.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: IVČEVIĆ 2010, 140, P. 1. 4; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 69, cat. no. 27.
References: RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 1, 2; FRERE - JOSEPH 1974, Fig. 26. 31; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 32. 670-672, 675- 681, 684-691; VOIROL 2000. 49, Pl. 7. 47; FEUGERE 2002, 105, Fig. 130; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 180, P. 31. 182, 183; MATEŠIĆ 2005, 103, P. 9. 112-114.

17. Chest hook for chainmail, Fig. 4.3
Inv. no. AMS H 4053
Material: bronze
Dimensions: length 8.2 cm
Description: Serpentine hook, one end expanded with engravings that constitute the head, body decorated with engraved lines.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: IVČEVIĆ 2010, 140, P. 1. 3; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 68, cat. no. 26.
References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 35: 861, 862; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, P. 27. 130-132; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 96, Fig. 51: 4; KOŠČEVIĆ 2008, 263, Fig. 59.

18. Belt buckle, Fig. 5.1a
Inv. no. AMS H 6176
Material: bronze, silver
Dimensions: height 3.1 cm, length 2.7 cm, thickness 0.4 cm
Description: Buckle has a semi-circular frame with inward-curving ends; the bar of the buckle is depressed at the place where the pin stood; the bar has two loops through which the axis for the mount passed; the semi-circular part of the buckle frame has a semi-circular cross-section; the pin is missing; traces of silver coating are preserved on the front.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 77, cat. no. 44; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 4
References: BEHRENS 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 14. 20-21; BEHRENS 1918, 28, fig. 8, 1-2; PETRU 1972, P. XCIII. 26; OLDENSTEIN 1976, 211-212, P. 74. 971; SAGADIN 1979, 312-313, P. 9. 15; NEDVED 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 66-67, P. XXVI. 365; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 32-34, P. 43.1138-1163, P. 44. 1164-1182; VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2006, 165, fig. 3a-3b.

19. Belt buckle, Fig. 5.1b
Inv. no. AMS H 6177
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 3.6 cm, length 3.1 cm, thickness 0.5 cm
Description: Buckle with a semicircular frame whose ends curve inward. The bar of the buckle is depressed at the place where the pin stood; the bar has two loops through which the axis for the mount passed; the semi-circular part of the buckle frame has a triangular cross-section; there is a prominent rib in the interior; the pin is missing.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 76, cat. no. 41; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 1
References: BEHRENS 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 14, 20-21; BEHRENS 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2; PETRU 1972, P. XCIII. 26; OLDENSTEIN 1976, 211-212, P. 74. 971; SAGADIN 1979, 312-313, P. 9. 15; NEDVED 1981,180, fig. 8. 316; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 66-67, P. XXVI. 365;
UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 32-34, P. 43. 1138-1163, P. 44. 1164-1182; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 16. 278-282; SIMPSON 2000, 151, P. 25. 21-22; VOIROL 2000, 51, P. 9. 65; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 184, P. 35. 202.

20. Buckle with button, Fig. 5.1c
Inv. no. AMS H 3217
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 2.1 cm, length 3.6 cm, thickness 0.2 cm
Description: Cordate buckle frame with two openwork peltate motifs, with two loops on the bar of the buckle; the pin is considerably bent, and the button on the tip of the pin is missing.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 80, cat. no. 50; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 6
References: BEHRENS 1918, 28, fig. 9. 2; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 37-38, P. 45. 1232; VOIROL 2000, P. 9. 67; MATEŠIĆ 2005, P. 20. 254-255.

21. Belt buckle, Fig. 5.1d
Inv. no. AMS H 4453
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 3.4 cm, length 2.3 cm, thickness 0.4 cm
Description: Buckle with a semi-circular frame with thinned inward-curving ends; the bar of the buckle curves outward at the ends; a piece is missing in the central part where the pin was; only traces of the axis loops are visible; the semi-circular part of the buckle frame has a triangular cross-section; there is a prominent rib in the interior; the pin is missing.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 77, cat. no. 43; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 3
References: BEHRENS 1912, 87, fig. 3, 15; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 14, 20-21; BEHRENS 1918, 28, fig. 8, 1-2; PETRU 1972, P. XCIII. 26; OLDENSTEIN 1976, 211-212, P. 74, 971; SAGADIN 1979, 312-313, P. 9. 15; NEDVED 1981, 180, fig. 8. 316; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 66-67, P. XXVI. 365; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 32-34, P. 43. 1138-1163, P. 44. 1164-1182 ; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 16. 290-291; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 184, P. 35. 205; VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 2006, 164, fig. 2.

22. Belt buckle, Fig. 5.1e
Inv. no. AMS H 1599
Material: bronze, tin
Dimensions: height 2.5 cm, length 2.6 cm, thickness 0.4 cm
Description: Buckle has a semi-circular frame with inward-curving ends; the bar of the buckle is depressed at the place where the pin stood; the bar has two loops through which the axis for the mount passed; the semicircular part of the buckle frame has a triangular cross-section; there is a prominent rib in the interior; the pin is missing; the entire front surface of the buckle is tin-coated.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 76, cat. no. 42; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 2
References: BEHRENS 1912, 87, fig. 3. 15; RITTERLING 1913, P. XI. 14, 20-21; BEHRENS 1918, 28, fig. 8. 1-2; PETRU 1972, P. XCIII. 26; OLDENSTEIN 1976, 211-212, P. 74. 971; SAGADIN 1979, 312-313, P. 9. 15; NEDVED 1981,180, fig. 8. 316; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 66-67, P. XXVI. 365; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 32-34, P. 43. 1138-1163, P. 44. 1164-1182; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 16. 278-282; SIMPSON 2000, 151, P. 25. 21-22; VOIROL 2000, 51, P. 9. 65; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2004, 184, P. 35. 202.

23. Belt mount from a military apron, Fig. 5.2a
Inv. no. AMS H 2580
Material: bronze
Dimensions: length 3.9 cm, height 1.5 cm, thickness with the pin: 0.7 cm
Description: Rectangular mount with one end widened and decorated with incisions; there are four pins on the back.
Dating: 1st cent.

Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 82, cat. no. 53; IVČEVIĆ 2005, 166, P. 1. 8
References: OLDENSTEIN 1976, 191, 265, P. 59. 743; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 52, P. 69.1984; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 20. 383- 389; VOIROL 2000, 19, P. 9. 71, 73, 75-77.

24. Belt mount from a military apron, Fig. 5.2b
Inv. no. AMS H 3674
Material: bronze, silver
Dimensions: length 4.4 cm, height 1.6 cm
Description: One end of the mount is widened and decorated with incisions; it has four pins on the back, while a silver plaque is applied on the front.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 81, cat. no. 52; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 7
References: OLDENSTEIN 1976, 191, 265, P. 59. 743; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 52, P. 69. 1984; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 20. 383-389; VOIROL 2000, 19, P. 9. 71, 73, 75-77.

25. Belt mount from a military apron, Fig. 5.2c
Inv. no. AMS H 1832
Material: bronze
Dimensions: length 2.7 cm, height 1.6 cm, thickness with the pin: 0.6 cm
Description: Rectangular mount without decoration; there are four pins on the back.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 82, cat. no. 54; IVČEVIĆ 2004; 166, P. 1. 9
References: OLDENSTEIN 1976, 191, 265, P. 59. 743; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 52, P. 69. 1984; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 20. 383-389; VOIROL 2000, 19, P. 9. 71, 73, 75-77.

26. Belt buckle with mount, Fig. 5.3
Inv. no. AMS H 4382
Material: bronze, niello
Dimensions: button: diameter: 2 cm, thickness 0.6 cm; buckle mount: length 10.35 cm, height: 3.15 cm, thickness: 0.15 cm
Description: The head of the button is decorated with vegetable motifs; it is hinged to the rectangular belt mount with visible rivets by which it was attached to the belt; the rectangular field on the front is decorated with a rosette in the middle, surrounded by a chequered pattern framed with the dents-de-loup motif. All incised motifs are niellated. Buckles of this type were situated on a dagger or sword strap and were used for fastening the weapons to the belt. They appear throughout the Roman Empire and mostly date from the first half of the first century, whereas in the Flavian era they were rare. In the typology worked out for Britain by Francis Grew and Nick Griffiths, the mounts are divided into two basic types based on the shape and method of decoration (GREW - GRIFFITHS 1991, 49). This piece, based on its features, matches type A, which includes rectangular mounts with a flat polished surface, frequently decorated by punching, incision and niello. They were attached to the belt either by rivets passed through perforations on the corners—as in the case of this mount—or by prongs on the back. The most frequent decoration on belt mounts like our one were incision and punching, as well as niello. The decoration on the mount from Gardun consists of a rosette and a chequered pattern framed with a series of triangles, which is a usual motif on buckle mounts in the first century.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 78, 79, cat. no. 46; IVČEVIĆ 2010, 140. P. 1.1.
References: BEHRENS 1918, 28, fig. 9; HENDERSON 1949, P. XXXIII. 72; UNZ 1972, 55, fig. 4. 12; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 40. 1012, 1020; P. 45. 1211, 1232-1233; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 19. 354; SIMPSON 2000, 151, P. 25. 29; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 6; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 108, fig. 62. 3, 21.

27. Three-part leaf-shaped pendant from a riding harness, Fig. 6.1
Inv. no. AMS H 2125
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 3.6 cm, width 3,35 cm
Description: Three-part leaf-shaped pendant; the suspension loop was made by bending toward the back of the pendant, there is a groove on either side of the shoulder, the central part has a triangular ending, ending in the shape of a palmette on both sides; there are two openings on the upper part of the pendant, the surface is decorated with irregular incised lines, and the motif is not discernible. It belongs to Bishop type 1, variant 1s. They appeared from the Claudian to Flavian eras, after which they mostly fell out of use. They were hung on the straps by phalerae, and they are almost invariably decorated with incision, silvering and niello. There are many variants of their shape, the central part is generally leaf-shaped, and the basic decorative motifs are vegetable.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 93, cat. no. 81; IVČEVIĆ 2010, 140, P. 1. 6.
References: DIXON - SOUTHERN 1992, 69, fig. 38: VANDEN BERGHE 1996, 89, P. 17. 4; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 51, 1390.

28. Three-part leaf-shaped pendant from a riding harness, Fig. 6.2
Inv. no. AMS H 4617
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 7 cm, width 6.3 cm, thickness: 0.1 cm
Description: There are two peltate perforations on the upper part of the pendant, and the same design is formed by lateral arms that curl outwards and again connect with the pendant; the middle arm ends in the shape of a palmette, while the lateral ones taper towards the top; the front is decorated with incised vegetable motifs and with dotted lines along the edge; remains of silvering are visible at several places; a loop at the top of the pendant served for affixing the pendant to the phalera.
Dating: Latter half of the 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 98, cat. no. 92; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 1. 19.
References: RITTERLING 1913, 178, P. XII. 37; Petru 1972, P. XCV. 21; BOUBE-PICCOT 1964, 159, fig. 1. 6; LAWSON 1978, 15, fig. 9. 7-8; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 49, P. XV. 220; MACKENSEN 1991, 174, fig. 4. 4; DIXON - SOUTHERN 1992, 69, fig. 38; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 51, 1384; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 243, P. 5. 2; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 237, 241, fig. 9.

29. Lunular pendant from a riding harness, Fig. 6.3
Inv. no. AMS H 3556
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 4.6 cm, width 3.9 cm
Description: Lunular pendant with arms turned downward ending with a decorative knob; the central palmette-shaped decoration is hinged to the phalera.
Dating: Augustan-Tiberian period
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 97, cat. no. 88; IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 2,11.
References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 48. 1319; VOIROL 2000, 52, P. 10. 89; MULLER 2002, P. 51. 557; FAHR 2005, 129, fig. 9. 5.

30. Leaf-shaped pendant from a riding harness, Fig 6.4
Inv. no. AMS H 6179
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 4.3 cm, width 0.9 cm, thickness 0.15 cm
Description: Pendant with undulating edges, the front is decorated with incised lines and dots, the end is spherical, the loop formed by bending the wire upon itself.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 99, cat. no. 94; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 166, P. 2. 22.
References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, 47, P. 56.1533.

31. Leaf-shaped pendant from a horse harness, Fig. 6.5
Inv. no. AMS H 2482
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 4.8 cm, width 1.25 cm, thickness: 0.1 cm
Description: Pendant with undulating edges decorated with concentric circles; the front is decorated with incised lines, the lower part of the pendant is flattened in the form of a rhomb, ending with a decorative knob, the loop consists of a bent wire.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 99, cat. no. 95; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 167, P. 2. 23.
References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, p. 47, P. 56, 1537.

32. Leaf-shaped pendant from a riding harness, Fig. 6.6
Inv. no. AMS H 1612
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 2.35 cm, width 1.7 cm
Description: The pendant is a variant of the leaf-shaped pendants; the suspension loop is made by bending backward, the lower part is missing, the decoration is executed with incised lines and kidney-shaped perforations. These pendants are rarely found on Roman sites, and the type features certain differences. They appear in somewhat larger number in western Gallia, which is why scholars trace their origin there. They are dated to the Flavian era, i.e., the latter half of the first century. Similar pendants are attributable to Bishop type 5, with a basically teardrop body tapering towards the lower part. In view of the fact that the Gardun piece lacks the lower part, the possibility that it belonged to that type should be left open.
Dating: Latter half of the 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 96, cat. no. 87; IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 2.10.
References: UNZ 1974, fig. 11. 132; OLDENSTEIN 1976, P. 30. 207; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 56. 1555-1556; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 28. 574; POUX - ROBIN 2000, 205, fig. 16. 5; MATEŠIĆ 2005, 111, P. 13. 180; KOŠČEVIĆ 2008, 261, fig. 50.

33. Lunular pendant from a riding harness, Fig 6.7
Inv. no. AMS H 3557
Material: bronze
Dimensions: length 6.7 cm, height 4.55 cm
Description: Upward-facing lunular ornament, with a fist on one side and a phallus on the other; incised lines are on the front.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 97, cat. no. 89; IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 2.12.
References: UNZ 1972, 58, fig. 7. 71; FRANKEN 1996, 109, fig. 207.; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 27, 539-540; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997,P. 58. 1616; MÜLLER 2002, P. 46. 515.

34. Pendant from a riding harness, Fig. 6.8
Inv. no. AMS-70561
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 4.6 cm, height with button 6.65 cm, width 2.4 cm
Description: Teardrop pendant ending with a decorative knob, the loop at the top was made by bending backwards, the circular head of the button with the loop, used to attach the pendant to the belt, is missing a small piece.
Dating: Latter half of 1st cent./2nd cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 95, cat. no. 85; IVČEVIĆ 2010, 141, P. 1.8.
References: BEHRENS 1912, 88, fig. 4. 16; UNZ 1974, 39, fig. 11. 131; fig. 12. 133; NEDVED 1981, 157, fig. 2. 71; DEIMEL 1987, P. 83.2; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, P. XIII. 204; UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 55. 1479; VOIROL 2000, 55, P. 13. 113; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 30. 589, 594; FEUGERE - POUX 2001, 83, fig. 5.7; ŠEPAROVIĆ - URODA 2009, 45, fig. 64.

35. Mount from a saddle strap, Fig. 7.
Inv. no. AMS H 2958
Material: bronze, tin
Dimensions: length 9 cm, height 5 cm
Description: Openwork mount from a saddle strap, with four loops belonging to a hinge on one side and with a missing edge on the other side. Eight rivets, five of which are preserved, were lined along the hinge of the mount. Such mounts were usually used as decorative items on the straps hanging from the saddle. The peculiarity of the Gardun piece is that it is bent on one side and has loops for a hinge. They formed part of the equipment of early imperial horsemen. Securely dated specimens belong to the period from Tiberius to Nero, with tentative evidence of use during the Flavian era.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 105, cat. no. 109; RIEGL 1901, P. XIV. 8.
References: UNZ - DESCHLER-ERB 1997, P. 65. 1877, 1884; DESCHLER-ERB 1999, P. 39. 732

36. Pickaxe (dolabra), Fig. 8.
Inv. no. AMS H 4911
Material: iron
Dimensions: length 47 cm, length of blade of axe 13.4 cm, diameter of the shaft hole 5 x 3.5 cm, weight 1900 g
Description: The shaft hole is oval; a gently curved point is on one side and a flattened trapezoidal axe on the other. Dolabra (Roman military axe) was a part of military equipment, used for digging trenches, forest clearing, lumber work, construction works, but also as a weapon. Ancient writers mention it in military contexts. Taking into consideration the size and position of the point with regard to the axe, as well as the fact that it was found at Gardun, one may conclude that it was a military axe. The form of the shaft hole allows its dating to the first century.
Dating: 1st cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 105, cat. no. 110; IVČEVIĆ 2004, 167, P. 2. 30.
References: HOFFILLER 1911, 174, fig. 17; PIETSCH 1983, 16, 17, P. 3. 45; VANDEN BERGHE 1996, 91, P. 18. 4; BISHOP - COULSTON 2006, 118, fig. 68. 2, 5.

37. Amphora-shaped belt strap end, Fig. 9.
Inv. no. AMS H 4898
Material: bronze
Dimensions: height 4.8 cm, width: 2.1 cm, thickness 0.2 cm
Description: There is a kidney-shaped openwork design in the centre and on either side in upper part, and the entire surface is covered with impressed concentric circles; only a small part of the suspension loop or a rivet has remained.
Dating: Latter half of 4th cent./first half of 5th cent.
Publication: RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 92, cat. no. 78; IVČEVIĆ 2004, p. 166, P. 1. 10.
References: BEHRENS 1918, 28, fig. 8. 6; HENDERSON 1949, 129, P. XXXVI. 112-113; BULLINGER 1969, P. XII. 1-1a; P. XIII. 5-5a, fig. 116, grave 270, 6; SAGADIN 1979, 315, P. 10. 4; P. 10, 6; KOŠČEVIĆ 1991, 70, P. XXVII. 379; VIŠIĆ-LJUBIĆ 1994, 227, 231, cat. no. 7; BUORA 2002, 196, P. V. 53.

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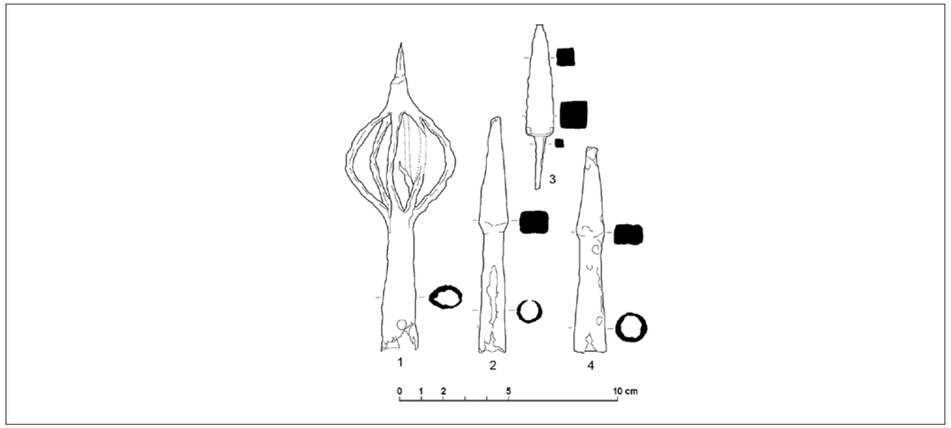

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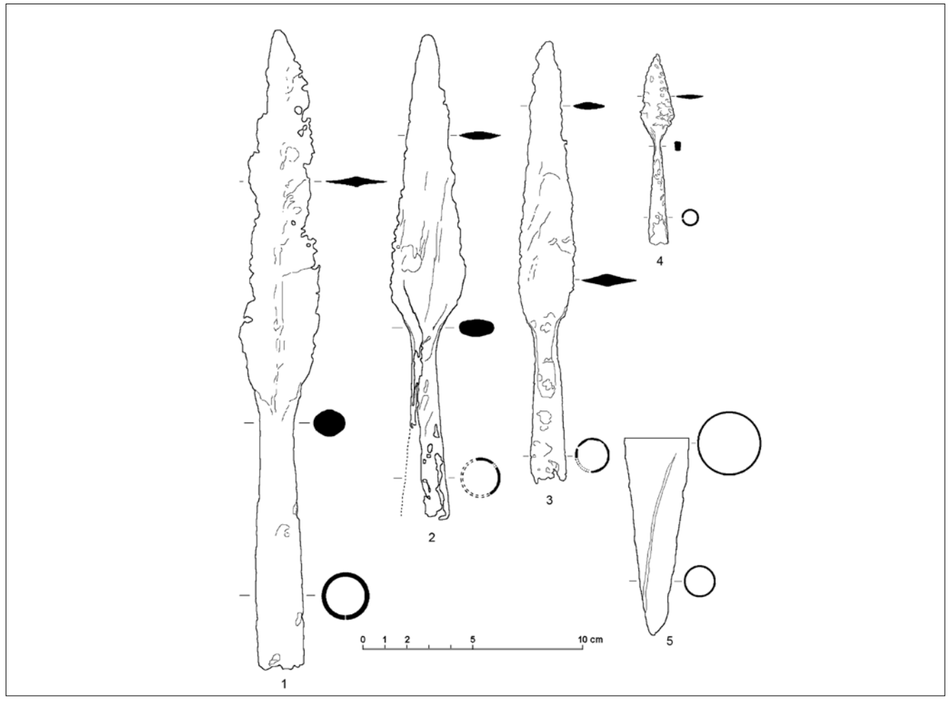

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Tomislav Šeparović - Ana Pavlović

PROJECT TILURIUM - COIN FINDS[1]

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During the decade long systematic archaeological research conducted on the site of Gardun (modern village of Trilj next to Sinj), the location of a former Roman military camp *Tilurium*, a total of 155 coins were discovered, of which 99 can be precisely identified and dated.[2]

As with all other items discovered during archaeological excavations at this site, numismatic findings were systematically documented, conserved, and published, and in this manner became available to the scientists and the broader public.

This is how 40 pieces (excavated in the period from 1997 to 2001) were published in the monograph "*Tilurium I, Research – Forschungen 1997-2001*", [3] and the remaining 75 pieces (excavated in the period from 2002-2006) are currently in the process of being published in the next monograph *Tilurium III. Istraživanja 2002-2006. godine.* (in print).

The earliest Greek coin is a bronze specimen from the 3th or 2rd century BC. This testifies to the trade contacts of the indigenous population with Greek colonies on the Adriatic coast (Fig. 1).[4]

Roman Republican coinage is represented with 4 silver denarii and 2 quinarii, 1 bronze as and 1 difficult to identify bronze fragment. Quinarii and denarii were minted in Rome and were precisely dated by one of *tresviri monetales*. [5] The denarii minted in 46 and 42 BC most likely made their way to Gardun during the Roman campaign in 34 and 33 BC when many strongholds of the Delmatae were captured.[6] Notable is the so-called legionary denarius from 32-31 BC which mentions the II. Legion, and was minted in a mint moving with Mark Anthony shortly before the battle of Actium (Fig. 2). [7]

[1] The results presented here are a product of a scientific project "Roman Military Camps in Croatia", conducted with the financial support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

[2] On archaeological excavations of Tilurium see in SANADER –TONČINIĆ in this Volume.

[3] See ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003.

[4] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 1

[5] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 195, cat. no. 1-2; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, kat.br. 2-6

[6] ZANINOVIĆ 2007, 21-22.

[7] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, kat.br. 7; on legionary denarii from Croatia see ŠEPAROVIĆ 2009.

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
KOM	0	15	12	11	5	7	8	12	34	11

Table 1

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Among the Roman imperial coinage, we observe greater proportion of coins issued during the first century. Augustus is represented with 21 coins, minted in Lugdunum (1), Nemausus (4), Ephesus (2), Rome (12) and Italy (2).[8] Notable is the silver quinarius from 29-26 BC, minted on the territory of Italy (Fig. 3). [9] Dupondii, asses and quadrantes, dated by the moneyers (the influence of the Republican monetary system), were issued from Roman mint. Two Ephesian asses (Fig. 4) give indication of widespread distribution of this type of money and could be linked with the movements of the VII. Legion.[10]

Fourteen examples date from the period of the reign of Tiberius, all minted in Rome, among which most notable are commemorative issues with the image of the divine Augustus on the obverse and two examples with the portrait of Tiberius' son Drusus (Fig. 5).[11] One very poorly preserved *as* with portrait of Agrippa on the obverse comes from the period of the reign of emperor Caligula. [12]

Findings of Claudius' coins are numerous: namely asses and quadrantes of various types, and one sestertius, minted in Rome (Fig. 6). [13] Since the Roman army was partly paid in coins made of non-precious metals, it is altogether clear that the examples from Gardun, just as in the period of Claudius' reign (as well as older examples, such as Augustus' and Tiberius'), were in the possession of soldiers of the VII. Legion who resided in Gardun.

HOARD OF ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS FROM GARDUN

In 1930 a coin hoard was accidentally discovered in Gardun containing 29 pieces of bronze coins stored in a jar. The hoard can undoubtedly be associated with military presence in this area during Claudius' reign. Coins from Claudius' reign predominate (the content of the hoard: 2 coins from the reign of Augustus, 10 Tiberius, 1 Caligula and 16 Claudius). The findings were bought and stored in the AMS.[14] The hoard was concealed during a time of political crisis after Caligula's assassination, when the Dalmatian governor Skribonian, who was supported by the Senate opposition, rebelled against the newly appointed Emperor Claudius. An important role in crushing this rebellion was played by the VII Legion from Tilurium, who remained faithful to the Emperor, and received the title *Cl(audia) P(ia) F(idelis)*.[15] This concealed money probably once belonged to a solider from the VII Legion, who for security purposes buried his assets during the time of the rebellion.

[8] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 195-197, cat. no. 3-9; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 8-21.

[9] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 12.

[10] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 196, cat. no. 5; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 21

[11] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 198, cat. no. 10-11; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 22-32.

[12] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 33

[13] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 199-201, cat. no. 13-19; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 34-45.

[14] GRGIN 1932, 26-29

[15] *Suet. Claud.* 13 and 35; *Tac. Ann.* XII, 52; *Hist.* I, 89, II, 75; *Plin. Ep.* III, 16; *Dio Cass. Hist.* LX, 15, 1-4.

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

The period of Flavians is represented by a single dupondius issued from the mint of Rome during the time of Emperor Vespasian. [16]

During a decade of archaeological research at Gardun, a relatively small amount of money was found from the period of the 2nd and 3rd century – one Trajan's as, [17] one *as* that can be attributed to Sabina, the wife of Emperor Hadrian,[18] and the sestertius of Severus Alexander (Fig. 7).[19] The coins from the second half of the 3rd century, issued by the Emperors Gallienus and Claudius Gothicus, as well as Tacitus (Fig. 8) are somewhat more numerous (a total of 6 pieces). In addition to Rome, other mints now appear, such as those in Siscia and Ticinum. [20]

[16] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 47.

[17] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 48.

[18] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 201, cat. no. 20.

[19] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 201, cat. no. 21.

[20] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 202-203, cat. no. 22-25; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 49-50.

Fig. 9

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

Fig. 12

The period of Late Antiquity is represented with a *nummus* of Licinius (Fig. 9), numerous specimens minted during the time of the Constantine family, and with some pieces attributed to the Valentinian Dynasty, all the way to specimens from the first half of the 5th century attributed to Valentinian III or Honorius. The period of the reign of Emperor Constantine and his successors is commemorated in the centenionales (type VOTA XX and SARMATIA DEVICTA, as well as GLORIA EXERCITVS), as well as their successors, AE3 types FEL TEMP REPARATIO with the standard image of a fallen horseman. [21] This is a common 4th c. numismatic repertoire; the site's contents and the proportion of various types within it is analogous with other similar finds at archaeological sites of this period. [22]

From the second half of the 4th century, namely the period of the Valentinian Dynasty, the types RESTITVTOR REI P and SECVRTITAS REI PVBLICAE are represented. Accordingly, it should be noted that the coinage from this period testifies to the continuation of the crisis and high inflation that was then engulfing the Roman Empire, and that it is often of poor quality and difficult to determine (Fig. 10).[23] Specimens attributed to Theodosius I are also represented (Fig. 11).[24]

The latest Late Antiquity coins from the 5th century are extremely worn and therefore impossible to identify. We can only date them approximately, and among them is also one *minimus*, a very small coin of poor quality that testifies to the degradation and decay of the Western Roman Empire in the second half of the 5th century.[25]

Two early modern period specimens were also found: one undetermined denarius from the 16th/17th century, and one specimen from the time of the Habsburgs, minted in Vienna and dated 1858 (Fig. 12). [26]

From the two diagrams that illustrate the findings of imperial coinage at the site of Gardun we can see that the Julio-Claudian coinage is more significantly represented. These numismatic findings support the time frame of the functioning of the camp and presence of the VII Legion in it. Findings of coinage from later periods prove that life did not stop in this area with the departure of the Legion and the abandonment of the camp at Gardun (Diagram 2).

[21] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 203-205, cat. no. 26-30; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 51-57.

[22] DUNCAN 1993, 62.

[23] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 205, cat. no. 31-32; ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 58-59, 63-65.

[24] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 60-62.

[25] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 71-73.

[26] ŠEPAROVIĆ in print, cat. no. 74-75.

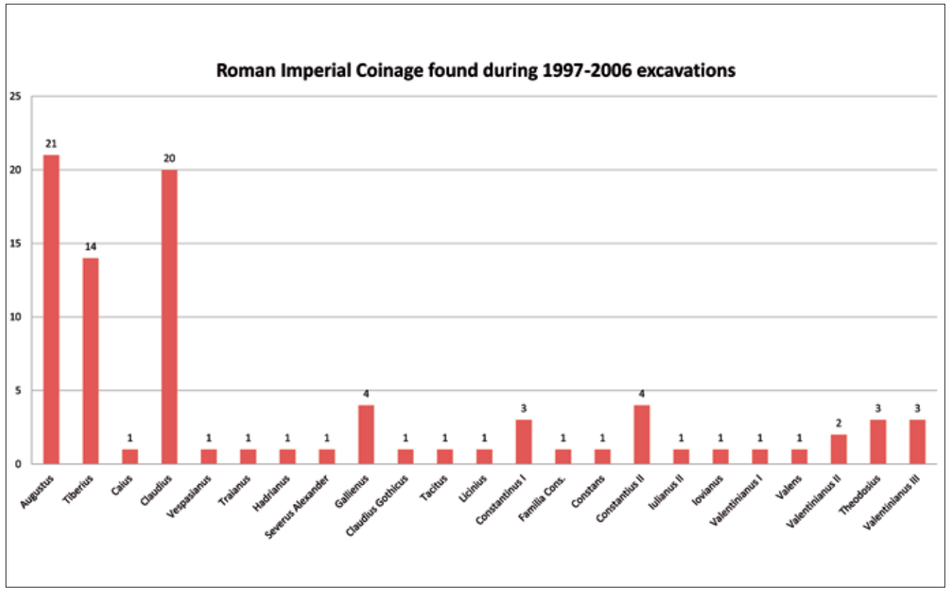

Diagram 1

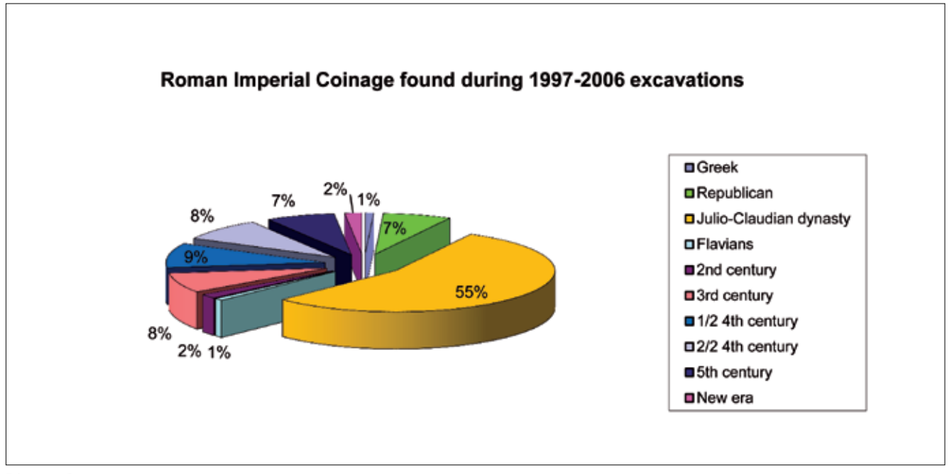

Diagram 2

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

COINS FROM GARDUN AT THE MUSEUM OF CETINSKA KRAJINA

With its wealth of archaeological material, the site of Gardun attracted the attention of a number of collectors and historical enthusiasts even before the start of systematic archaeological excavations. For this reason, coins found in this area can be found in many Croatian museums. A significant portion of the numismatic material kept in the Museum of Cetinska Krajina is made up of money found in the area of the village of Gardun. The coins were mostly bought by or donated to the museum, of which 162 examples can be precisely or at least generally identified (2 Numidian coins, 150 Roman (where we have to include 3 Roman provincial coins), 5 Byzantine and 2 modern period). When analyzed together with the coins recovered during archaeological excavations they certainly contribute to a more precise interpretation of the coin circulation in this area. Their composition can be seen in diagram 3.

The composition of these findings does not contrast with the composition of findings in 1997-2006 excavations. The most numerous examples remain those from the Julio-Cluadian Dynasty, and findings from the 4th century, particularly from the Constantine Dynasty. Special attention should be accorded to a few of the findings only, which can do no more than complete the numismatic picture of the Gardun site:

1) Numidian coins with an image of a bearded man on the obverse and a horse on the reverse (Fig. 13). [27] These coins are quite frequent in hoards and individual finds in the territory of northern Dalmatia, Lika and western Bosnia. [28]

[27] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2011, 51, cat. no. 1-2.
[28] MIRNIK 1983, 150; Bonačić-Mandinić 2006, 203.

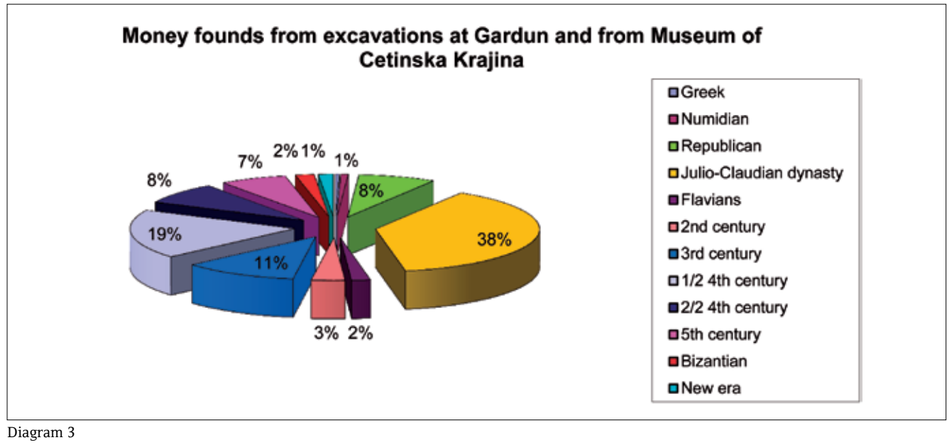

Diagram 3

Fig. 15

Fig. 16

2) A well preserved antoninianus of Philip I, which due to the proportion and quality of silver is significantly different from other antoniniani from the second half of the 3rd century (Fig. 14). [29]

3) Three examples can be included in the so called Roman provincial or Greek imperial coinage. One belonging to Hadrian and the other to Gordian were minted in the city of Alexandria, while it was not possible to identify a specimen of Alexander Severus (Fig. 15). [30]

4) Byzantine coinage is especially interesting since it testifies to the time of conflict with the Eastern Goths when these areas once again came under the authority of Constantinople. All five examples are Justinian's issues, but from various mints (Fig. 16). [31]

[29] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2011, 55, cat. no. 59.
[30] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2011, 61, cat. no. 1-3.
[31] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2011, 61-62, cat. no. 1-5.

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PROJECT TILURIUM - GLASS FINDINGS[1]

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Glass findings from Gardun attest to the continuity of life since the Augustan Age. Its quantity and quality is best documented from the period of the 1st century AD, however findings stretch from throughout the period of the entire Empire, and there are also medieval findings. It is clear that the army here was also part of a demanding market where glass workshops meet the needs for the most luxurious products.

CAST GLASS

MOSAIC GLASS

Several fragments of a ribbed bowl were found in Gardun (Isings f. 3), just like those that were produced in Syrian-Palestinian and Roman-Italic workshops in the second half of the lst century BC and in the lst century AD (No. 1). The fragments from Gardun are probably of Roman-Italic production from the Augustan Age. Italic examples were namely distributed exclusively for Italy or for civilian and military settlements founded by Augustus or his immediate successors in the neighboring western provinces.

Fragments of smooth bowls and those with wavy sides also have Italian analogies (No. 2). Ribbon mosaic glass appear in the first half of the 1st century BC. Most of the dated ribbon mosaic glassware dates from the Augustan Age, and are mostly bowls that have no base-rings, as opposed to its Hellenistic predecessors. These vessels from Gardun were probably imported from Italy in the Augustan Age.

MONOCHROME GLASS

Found in Gardun were plenty of fragments of Roman monochromatic ribbed bowls (Isings, f. 3) that developed from Hellenistic Syrian-Palestinian prototypes (No. 3). The Gardun fragments of shallow and deep bowls are primarily in natural shades of greenish colored glass. The ribbed bowls of Gardun are probably imported from Italy - namely, Rome, northern Italy (Aquileia) or Campania, but possibly also from the Syrian-Palestinian area. Only one such bowl from Gardun is kept at the Archaeological Museum in Split.

A fragment of a linear-cut bowl (No. 4) belonging to a bowl type that was widespread throughout the Mediterranean basin and produced on the Syrian-Palestinian coast and in Italy found its way to Gardun at the turn of the 1st century BC into the 1st century AD.

A fragment of a handle from a rectangular tray (No. 5) belongs to the type confirmed in Italy and the Western Mediterranean in the first half of the 1st century AD.

A fragment of a dish (No. 6), and fragments of a bowl made from transparent glass on base-rings probably originated from some Eastern (Egyptian or Syrian) workshop, and analogous findings in Dura-Europos from the second half of the 1st century AD also point to this.

Only a funnel neck bottle was preserved in Gardun (No. 7), an example of Islamic glass, possibly of Iranian origin, from the 8th - 10th centuries AD, through either Byzantine intermediation or direct contact between the Croats and the Islamic world.

[1] The results presented derived from a scientific project (Roman Military Camps in Croatia), conducted with the support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

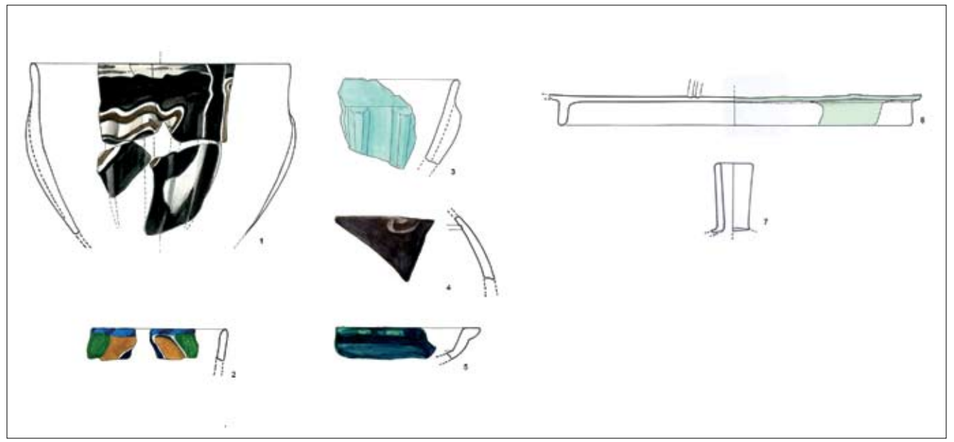

Fig. 1. Cast Glass.

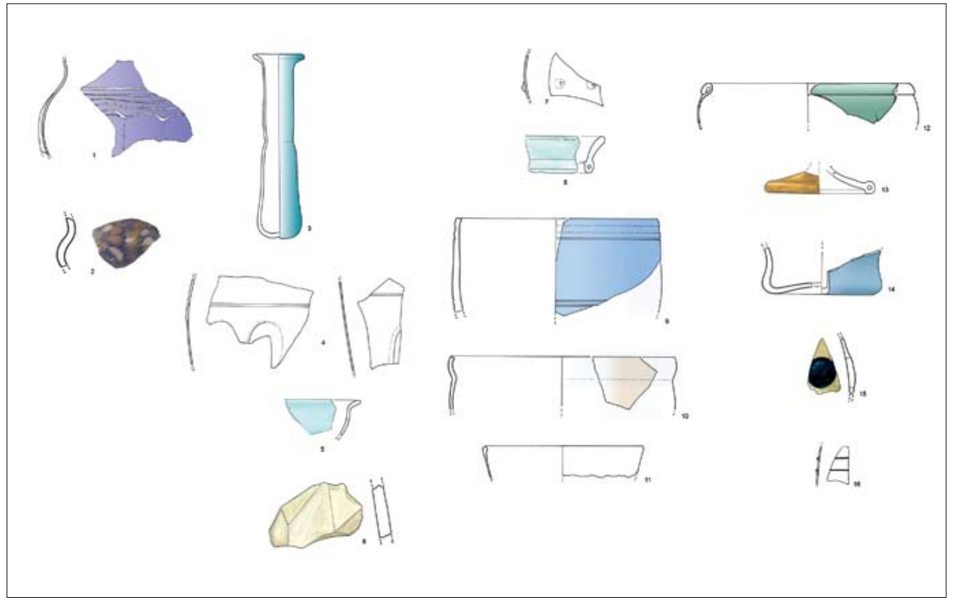

Fig. 2. Free-blown Glass.

FREE-BLOWN GLASS

Ribbed bowls with marvered threads (Zarte Rippenschalen) are the product of Western glass workshops (No. 1), and in Dalmatia were imported from Northern Italy, most likely from Aquileia. They appeared already in the Augustan or the Late-Augustan Age, were most numerous in the age of Tiberius and Claudius, and disappeared shortly thereafter. In the Archeological Museum in Split there is only one such bowl from Gardun preserved.

We associate the fragments of colored glass from Tilurium with picked up decorations patches (No. 2) with northern Italian glass, mainly jugs and bottles, less often bowls or jars. Such decorated vessels were most popular in the middle of the 1st century AD.

Tubular unguentaria (No. 3) are widespread in the Roman world. Unguentaria from Tilurium are western, Italic products, if they were not produced in some local Dalmatian workshop, perhaps from a workshop in Salona.

Beakers with applied oval decorations from colorless glass (No. 4) were imported to Gardun probably in the second half of the 1st and beginning of the 2nd century AD, when they were most common, or possibly from the middle of the 1st till the first half of the 3rd century AD when they were being produced in northern Italy.

A fragment of a bowl with convex sides (No. 5) possibly belongs to a bowl type that is associated with ceramics, terra sigillata form Dragendorff 35. The time period when this type was most prevalent is between 70 and 120/130 AD. Such bowls are very widespread in western parts of the Empire, especially in Northern Italy.

They have been found in the eastern Mediterranean as well, where they may have even been produced.

A fragment of a beaker with faceted decorations (No. 6) belongs to the category of luxurious goods of eastern Mediterranean origin, which, due to market demands and judging from their widespread usage in the western provinces, may have also been produced in the west in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD.

A fragment of beaker with picked up decorations (No. 7) belongs to the type of beakers, bottles, cups or bowls, that were produced in Western workshops (in the regions of Gaul and along the Rhine), as well an in the East (in Syria and Egypt) throughout the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD - however, later dating is also possible, from the 4th or 5th centuries AD.

Bowls or cups with a tubular rib under a rounded rim (No. 8) were manufactured in Italy, namely in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, in the second half of 1st to the 3rd century AD.

Because of the level of fragmentation, we cannot determine with certainty the typology of the fragment of vessels with horizontal linear-cuts, so we mainly date them from the 1st to 4th centuries AD, noting that such forms of decorated glass were also produced later. Some of the examples may belong to the Hofheim cups, which mostly date from the Tiberius-Claudius age, and were popular in the Flavius age (No.9).

Semicircular and/or conical bowls and/or cups with constricted knocked off rim (No. 10) belong to the mostly western Late Antique type of dishes, although there is some thought that it could be of a local Dalmatian (Salona) workshop type. Due to the level of fragmentation we cannot be sure of the date, but there are elements that indicate the possibility of earlier dating of the Gardun fragments.

Some of the fragments of cups or bowls with rounded rims (No. 11) perhaps were parts of lamps with three handles for hanging (monocandila), conical recipients (they were put into metal frames for more than one cone), funnel shaped lamps or cups on legs, which could serve as votive lumini. Cups with rounded edges were the most widespread cup type in Rome in the 1st half of the 5th century AD. Cups-lamps belong to long existing types; some were in use till the end of the 8th century and later. Some of the fragments may be parts of earlier or ordinary cups or bowls.

A fragment with tubular rims bent outwards (No. 12) is possibly part of a bowl-lamp with three handles as were used from the 4th to the 8th century and later, as the color of the glass also points to a Late Antique date.

Stemmed goblets (No. 13), chalices or votive lumini, were common inventory in early Christian buildings, especially in the Mediterranean where they were used from the 4th to the 8th century. This type draws its origin from the east and is rare in the west.

Conical cups with convex pushed-in open base-rings (No. 14) can be dated to the early Christian age, however due to its level of fragmentation we must be cautious and leave the possibility open for earlier dating.

A fragment of a cup with blobbed decoration (Nuppenglaser), given the slope of its edges, is ascribed to the type of hemispherical cup with blobs, which would be variously grouped (No. 15). This type is document-

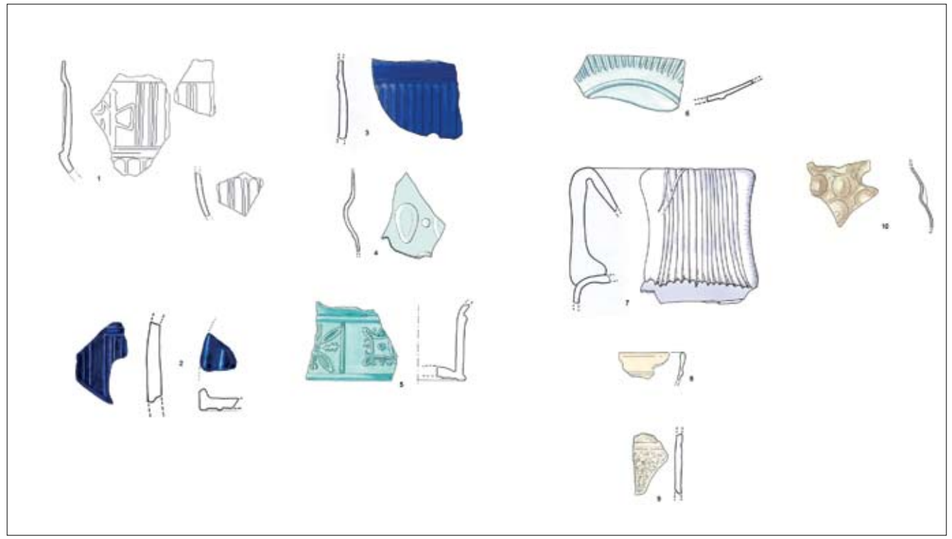

Fig. 3. Mold-blown Glass.

ed in the East and in the West of the Empire from the second half of the 3rd century to the first half of the 5th century AD, and is best represented in the 4th century AD.

A fragment of colorless glass with applied threads of black glass (No. 16) can be dated from the 14th - 15th century AD.

MOLD-BLOWN GLASS

Among glassware blown into a mold, most notable are the findings of probably two, perhaps three, Ennion cups in Gardun, of about ten found in all of Dalmatia. Dalmatian cups belong to those few that were found outside of the north Italian region. Other than in Tilurium (Gardun), fragments of cups that were made and signed by Ennon and Aristeas in the second quarter of the 1st century AD were also found in Narona (Vid near Metkovic), and in Burnum (Ivoševci near Kistanje).

The cup fragment made of almost colourless glass with a greenish hue, bearing an inscription field (tabula ansata) bordered by vertical grooves, and a rounded bottom embellished by vertical grooves with alternating rounded and arrowhead tips, is similar in terms of colour, shape and decoration to the Narona cup made by Aristeas the Cypriot, Ennion's adherent, a master of fine tableware. (No. 1). However, the preserved part of the inscription refers to another master, mainly Ennion. The last "N" in the first line is, in fact, the last "N" is his name, and the last "I" in the second line is the last "I" in ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. "ΕΝΝΙΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ", or "Enion made me", attests the inscription on the cup. We are most probably dealing with a cup with two handles of the Harden A2iv type. Analogous to this cup from Gardun are the Enion cups in Turin and Newark. Also found in Gardun were fragments of probably another Ennion cup, made of transparent dark-blue glass, Harden type A2iv. Preserved are a fragment of a cylindrical body with five preserved vertical ribs grouped into pairs, with the transition into a subsequent field bordered by a horizontal rib, and the bottom of a cup with parts of a peripheral and internal concentric rib also preserved. The arrangement of the ribs recalls the aforementioned Ennion cup from Gardun, as well as the cups Bra, Turin and Newark. Insofar as this is not an Ennion cup, that Gardun cup, may be attributed to a Northern Italian workshop which imitated the master's style. There is another fragment from Gardun (No. 3), but it is too small to allow for its attribution to some narrower grouping among Ennion's cups with one or two handles (Harden AI and A2).

A fragment with knot-shaped knobs (No. 4) probably belonged to a truncated conical beaker, which were one of the most common types of vessels blown into a mold in the second half of the 1st century AD. In fact, there are not many examples of such decorated bottles, jugs and horns. Such cups are relatively numerous in the military localities of Vindonissa, Vitudurum and in Augst (Switzerland), as well as in Nijmegen (The Netherlands). Fragments from military camps along the Rhine, Bonn and Asciburg (Germany) are well known. From the numerous typological analogies, we separate the fragment from the military localities in Nijmegen, and the cups from Zaton, Asseria, Zadar and Novi Banovci, whose adornments are analogous to the adornments of the fragment from Gardun. Generally, the adornment imitates the look of Hercules' lumpy club.

A cylindrical box (pyxis) from Gardun (No. 5) is identical to the one from Augusteum in Narona, and is probably a product of northern Italian workshops from the 1st century AD.

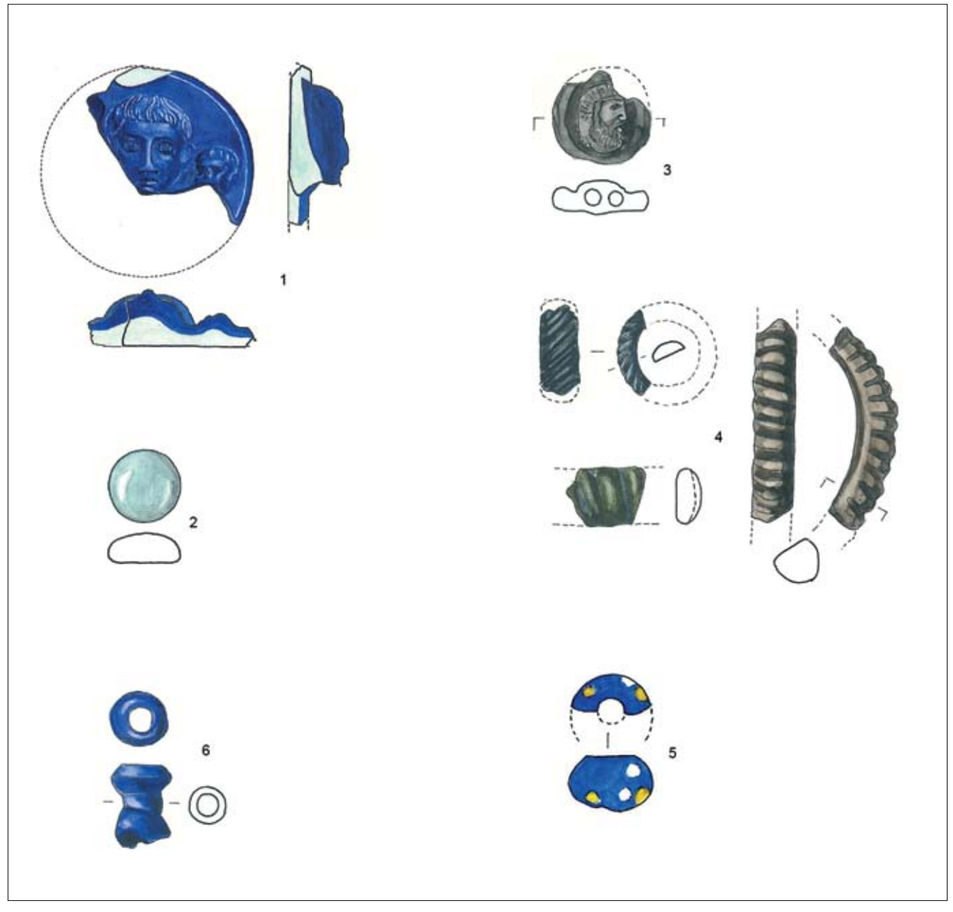

Fig. 4. Miscelanea.

A finely ribbed hemispherical bowl with pronounced shoulder (No. 6) is a western product from the second quarter of the 1st - beginning of the 2nd century AD.

A small number of fragments of square bottles with short necks are preserved; everted, bent and flattened rim, with one handle, in the shape of Isings 50 (No. 7). The square bottles or jugs primarily date from the period that lasted from the middle of the 1st to the 4th century AD, while it should be noted that the bottles from Magdalensberg are the earliest, and that they were common place from the last quarter of the 1st century to the 2nd century AD.

Gardun also yielded several fragments of cups with horizontal ribs (No. 8) that are possibly blown into a mold. Since these fragments are of colorless glass, we do not date them prior to the second half of the 1st century AD, or more precisely, not till the age of Flavius when colorless glass came into fashion. It is possible that we are dealing with a Syrian product.

Taking into account the adornments on a fragment of a bulbous bottle with lozenges in a shallow relief (No. 9), it is ascribed to a Syrian-Palestinian bulbous bottle from the 3rd/beginning of the 4th century AD. Such an adornment appears mostly on eastern Mediterranean vessels from the 1st - 7th century AD.

A fragment of a grape bunch-shaped bottle (No. 10) belongs to a type that is a variant without handles and was produced in the east of the Roman Empire in the second half of the 2nd century AD. This is a rare find in Dalmatia; it is related to the Osor examples.

MISCELANEA

A fragment of a phalera from Gardun (No. 1) is part of a circular medallion, a military medal, depicting the Emperor Tiberius and his son Drusus the Younger. This phalera was possibly awarded to soldiers for their service in the wars with Germania from the 14th to the 16th years AD.

Pebbles (latrunculi, calculi) were made of various materials, as well as from glass (No. 2) - most likely formed in a mold and used for social ames, as a game piece on game board games (tabulae lusoriae).

A bead with an image of the Emperor from the severan period originates from Gardun from the first half of the 3rd century AD, which is, along with the famous beads from Salona, the third such example from Dalmatia; similar beads or pendants from eastern, Syrian or Egyptian origin are present in the entire Mediterranean region.

A fragment of a ring, as well as fragment of a bracelet, with ribbed decoration (No. 4) are part of fashion expressions of the 3rd/4th century AD.

For the Late Antique period, beads with picked up decoration (No. 5) were characteristic, as were multiple beads in the shape of a spool (No. 6). Other Tilurian beads were earlier, although mostly long lasting forms.

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Zrinka Šimić-Kanaet

PROJECT TILURIUM - ROMAN POTTERY FROM TILURIUM*

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Archaeological excavations of Roman legionary fortress Tilurium, which were conducted in the period between 1997 and 2006, revealed that a total of 31,918 movable findings were classified as ceramics, or 81.48% of the total number of findings. Among the findings which were represented to a lesser degree, 6.59% were made of metal and 6.92% of glass; a clear demonstration of numerical proportions between different types of movable findings.

Pottery is the main source of information regarding everyday life in the Roman legionary fortress Tilurium. The vast array of shapes and types of ceramics, as well as its manufacturing techniques, through which we can trace back table manners, preparation, cooking and food storage, shows us that Roman pottery from Tilurium is represented by the standard ceramic material which was also used in other military camps, settlements and cities of Roman provinces.

Ceramic material was assorted chronologically and typologically, and then also subjected to statistical analysis due to its largely fragmentary nature. Chronological and typological classification was based on two types of analysis: stylistic and that of the clay structure; both based on method of comparison.

Prehistoric and Roman phases of Tilurium were the two dominant chronological phases, estimated after extensive typological and chronological analyses. The focus of research was placed on Roman ceramics and the analyses it was subjected to have revealed numerous new and previously unrecorded facts.

There were three chronologically-typological stages which were recognized as relevant in dating Tilurium pottery:

* The results presented derived from a scientific project (Roman Military Camps in Croatia), conducted with the support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

Fig. 1 Italian Sigillata (potter's stamp) (Photo: Z. Alajbeg).

Fig. 2 Thin walled pottery (various forms and fabrics)

I .

The oldest among Roman phases, dated between the end of the 1st century B.C. and 1st century A.D., produced pottery with black glaze, *terra sigillata* tableware (Figs. 1, 3, 8, 17), thin-walled pottery, Pompeian plates, oil lamps with relief decorations, stamped lamps, jugs, cups, orlo bifido bowls, amphorae of Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A, 6B, Dressel 2-4 types, amphorae lids (Fig. 9), mortars, coarse and fine cooking ware.

The dominant type of tableware in this early phase was Italian fine and relief sigillata, Northern Italian sigillata (*Sarius* cups, *Aco* beakers) and also jugs.

II.

The import of sigillata tableware from northern Italy (Figs. 4, 7, 13) was greatly reduced during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. The focus of import is placed on East-African sigillata-mainly tableware such as bowls and plates, as well as cooking ware from the Aegean.

III.

In the 3rd and 4th centuries imports from African workshops continued- mainly lamps, kitchenware and amphorae.

This analysis has enabled us to date ceramic artifacts from Tilurium within the timeframe ranging from the end of the 1st century B.C. until the 5th century A.D. The greatest number of pottery findings has been dated into the middle of 1st century; the time which overlaps with the presence of *legio VII*, i.e. *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*. Conducted analyses confirm imports, but also the local production of ceramics.

With regards to the chronologically-typological stages, it was determined that ceramics dated at the end of the 1st century B.C. were of Italic origin. That stage is followed by the import of merchandise from Mediterranean workshops, which was already present in the 1st century A.D. After the 2nd century, Italian production becomes neglected to an extent, as was the case in the period between the 3rd and 5th centuries A.D.

Fine tableware is dominantly featured throughout the 1st century stratum. Italian sigilatta, the whole span of North-Italic production of *Sarius* cups (Fig. 11), thin-walled wares (Figs. 2, 12, 16, 15), jugs, mortars and bowls are all equally represented in this layer. The jugs were imported from Italian and Aegean workshops; any local form of fine ware production has not yet been confirmed. All rough cookware - pots and a certain portion of bowls - were produced locally. Tilurium records a huge decline in the use of fine ceramics of Italian origin during the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The presence of Mediterranean – African Red Slip and Aegean pottery - has been recorded, though in smaller amounts; mainly the even-bottomed cookware with channeled walls.

The presence of pottery which was imported from Eastern workshops is the reflection of economic circumstances within the Empire; it matches with the time of Gaulish exports to Britain - one of the possible reasons for the decline of Italic imports into the area of Adriatic. It is also worth noting the fact that the army numbers in Dalmatia were significantly decreased during this time.

For now we can only assume the existence of locally produced household pottery, while fine ware was imported; save for the stamped lamps. According to their appearance, the lamp fragments represented in the cat-

Fig. 3 Italian Sigillata (potter's stamp)

alogue lead to the assumption that stamped oil lamps were produced in a locally-based workshop, which has not yet been located. As for the table ware, it shows a significant decrease in the number of plates, but an equally significant increase in the number of jugs.

Six fragments of bowls found in Tilurium originate from Lyon workshops. Croatian scientific literature does not mention this kind of finding, so the aforementioned fragments from Tilurium is the first presentation of Lyon produced thin-walled ceramics dated to the period between the middle and the end of the 1st century and to be published in this area. The same can be said about a single fragment of a bowl imported from Spain, dated between 40 and 80 A.D.

During the course of analysis, 20 fragments of vessels for everyday use were separated from the lot. Their bottoms tend to grow thinner towards the center, and their curiously shaped walls have not yet been recorded in international literature. These vessels have fine surfaces, with thick, sharp-angled walls. Based on their appearance and the mode of production, it was suggested that this type of pottery for everyday use might have been manufactured in a different way which would cause the bottoms to be thinner in their central part, which further suggests that the manufacturer might have used a stencil. Usage of tool such as a stencil might have expedited the production and made the walls more precisely shaped. According to the stratigraphic units they were found in, these fragments can be dated to the period between the end of the 1st and 3rd centuries A.D.

Fig. 4 Italian Sigillata (various stamps)

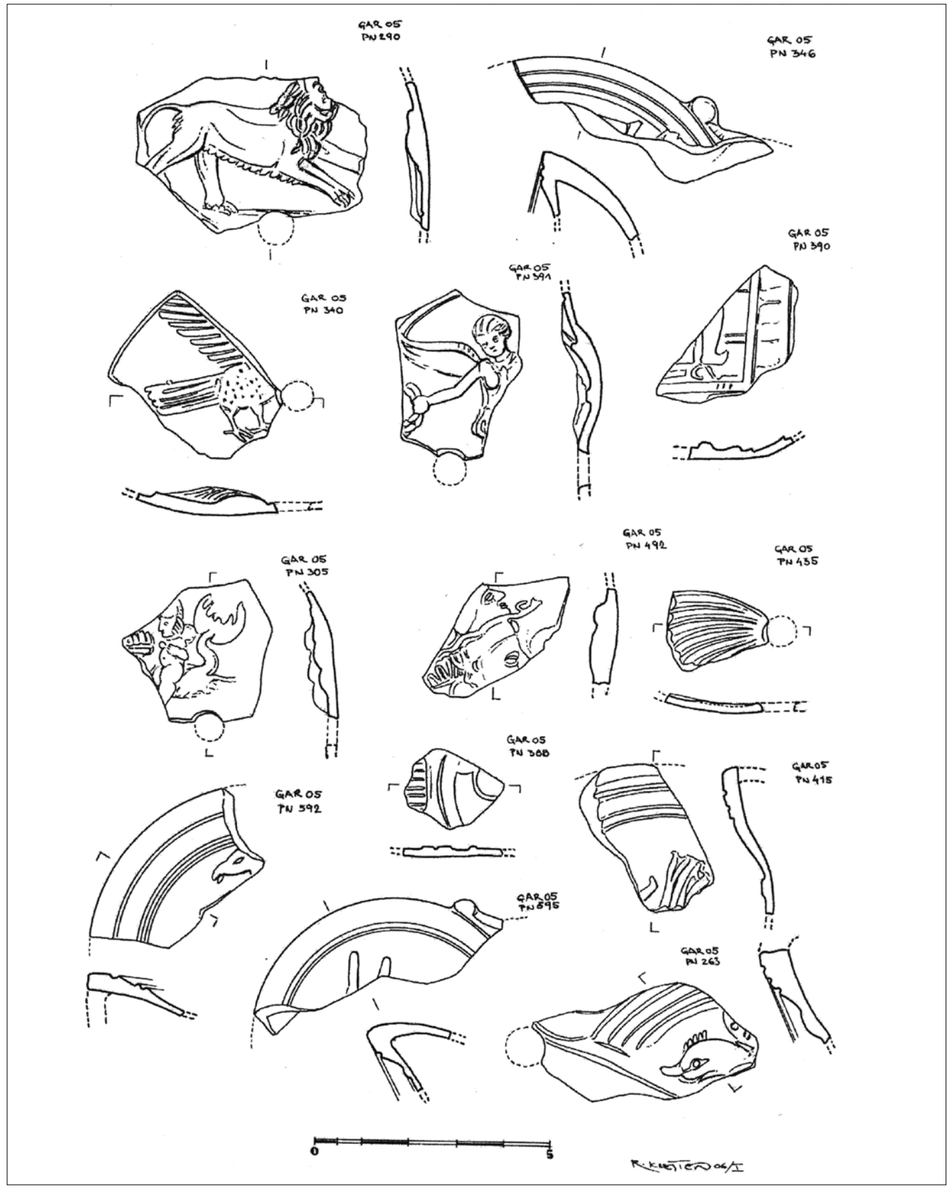

Fig. 5 Imported Roman lamps (Illustration: K.Rončević).

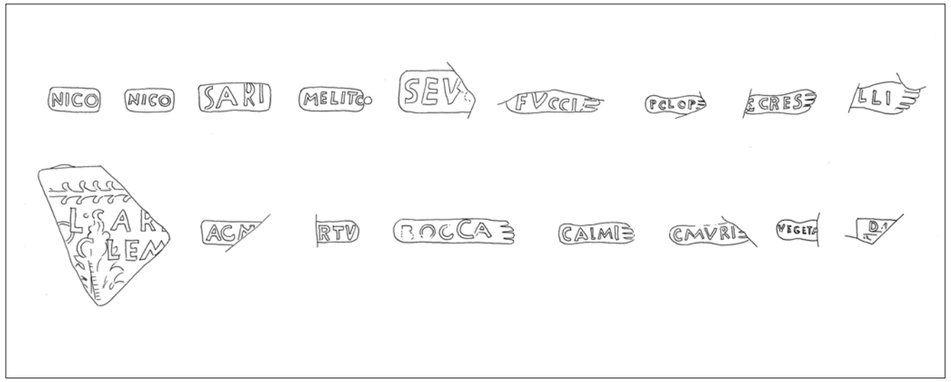

Fig. 6 Potters' stamps (Illustration: K.Rončević).

This research stage of Tilurium pottery documents the lamps, or lamp fragments, as being imported from Italian (Fig. 5), North African and Corinthian workshops, but also the existence of local production. Lamp findings have been mostly concentrated within probe A where a total of 87 fragments were found, all of which can be dated to the period between the end of the 1st century B.C. and the 6th century A.D.

Conducted analysis has set in place the foundations for posing a theory of ceramic manufacturing in Tilurium. If such production indeed did exist, what type of pottery was produced there? The quantity of ceramics used within the fortress site largely depended on the number of soldiers placed there, thus inevitably the quantity of production must have been adapted to their needs. Artifacts found in Ditch 55 (Figs. 10, 14) - locally produced pots alongside two jugs of Italian origin - are irrefutable evidence of the synchronous use of Roman and locally produced household pottery. We are of the opinion that, in the first stage of conquest, Roman soldiers brought some of their utensils with them, but were also purchasing utensils from local potters. Pottery production depended on demand, and potters worked individually and sold their products to interested parties, both civilian and military.

The analysis of ceramic material from the Tilurium excavation site largely reflects economic and political circumstances within the Roman Empire, i.e. in The Province of Dalmatia. The vast dispersion of ceramics of Italian origin across the Mediterranean and the Empire's hinterland overlaps with the period of Roman expansion and Roman presence in the provinces. Ceramic products of Italic origin are evidence of Roman monopolization, particularly between the end of the 1st century B.C and almost to the end of the 1st century A.D., and that fact has been confirmed in Tilurium.

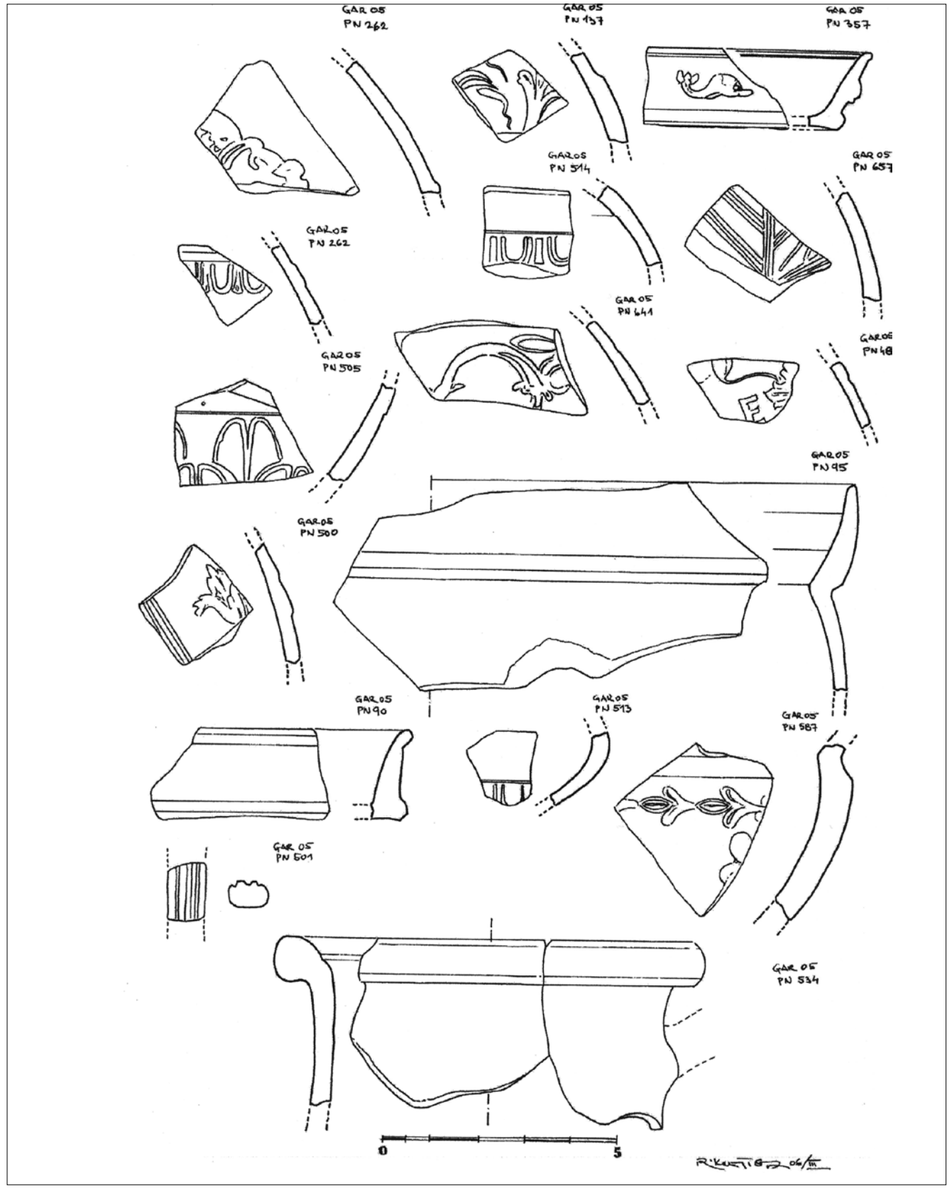

Fig. 7 Fragments of Italian Sigillata (Illustration: K.Rončević).

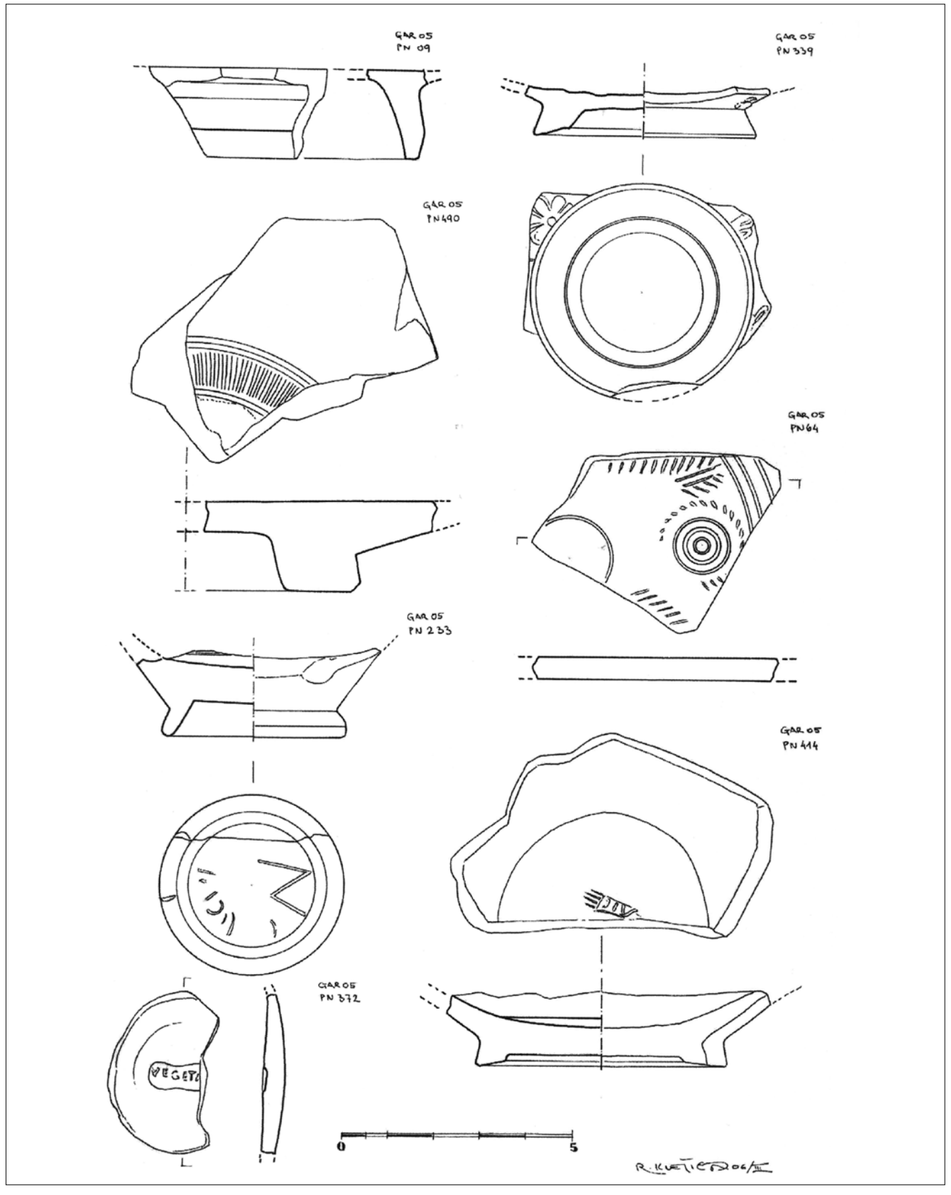

Fig. 8 Miscellaneous Sigillata wares (Illustration: K.Rončević).

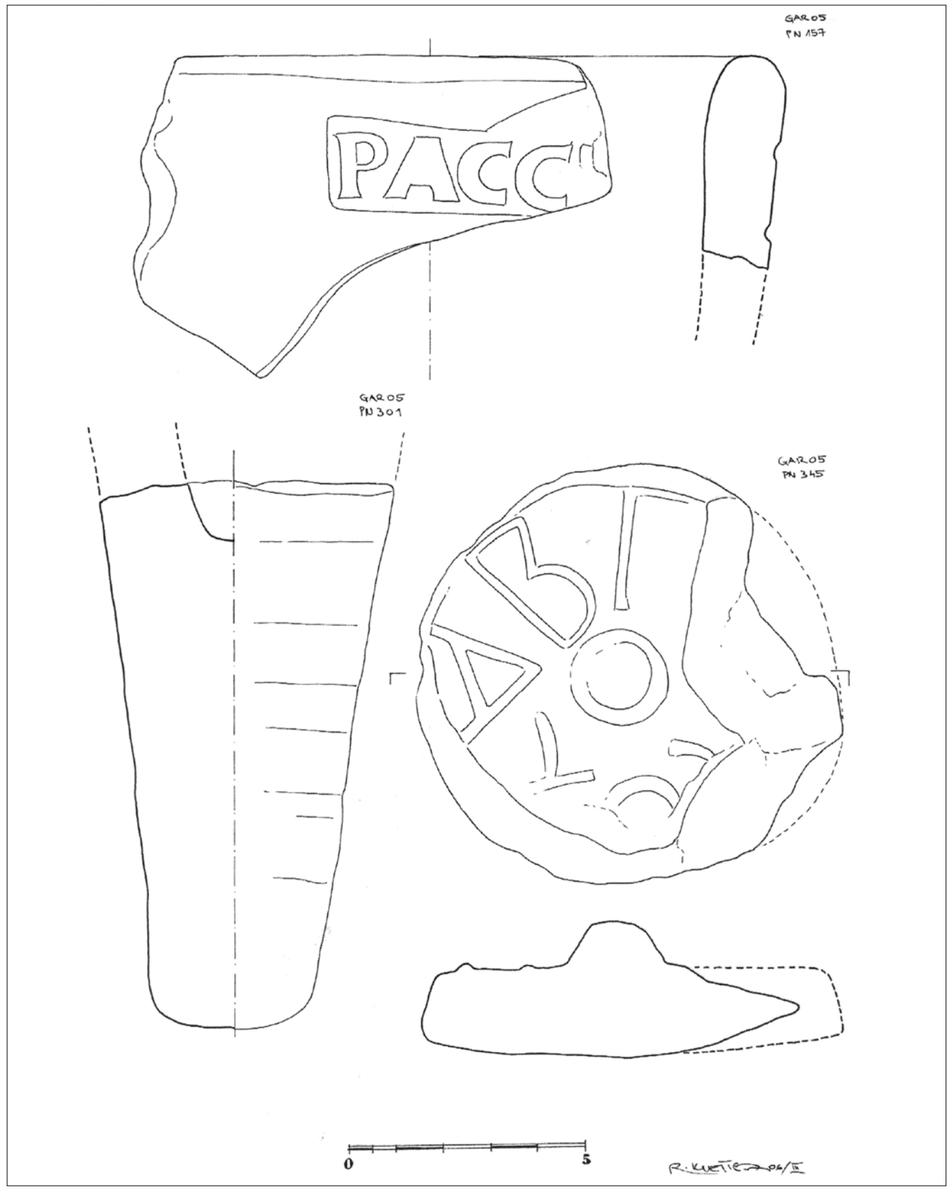

Fig. 9 Fragments of Amforae and lid (Illustration: K.Rončević).

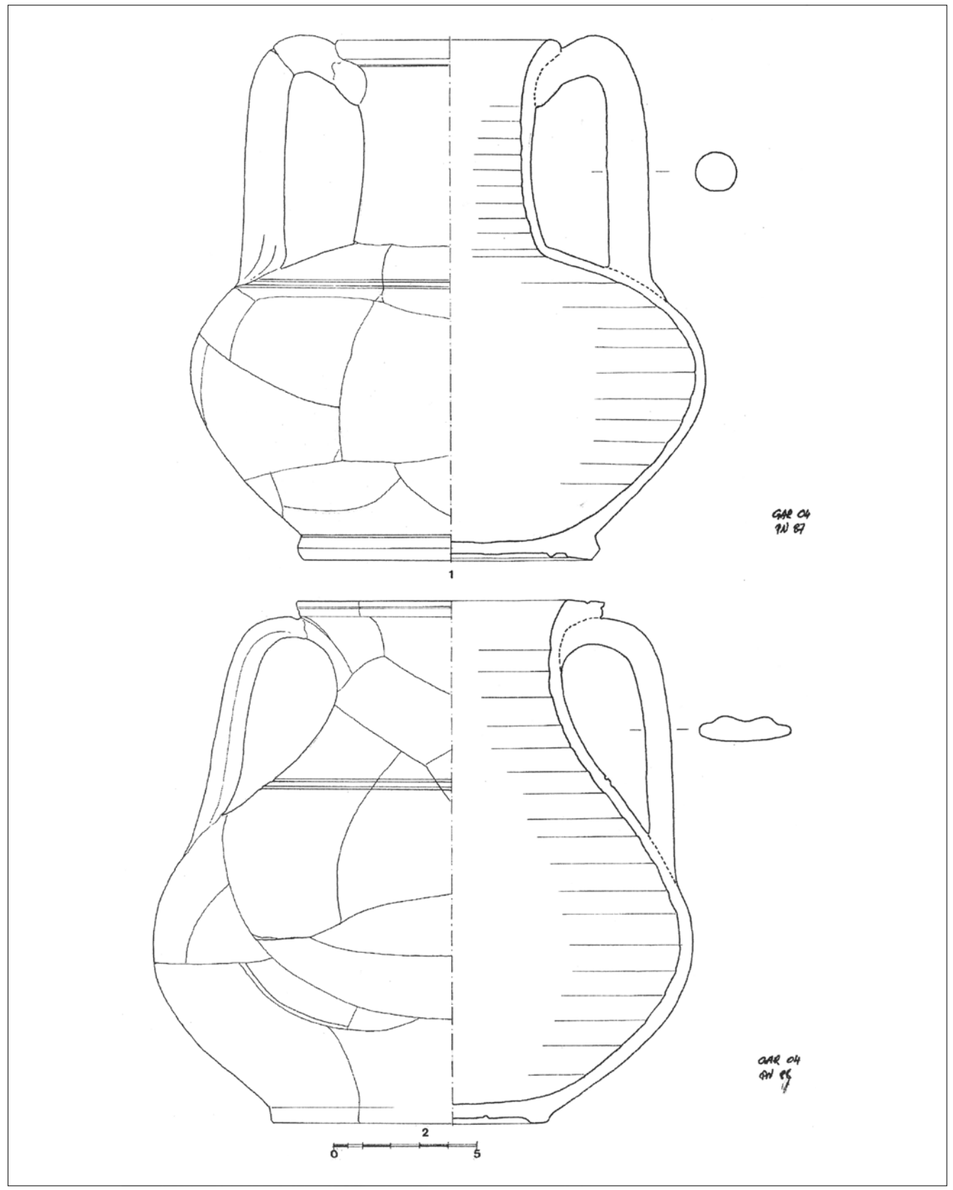

Fig. 10 Two jugs found in Ditch 55 (Illustration: K.Rončević).

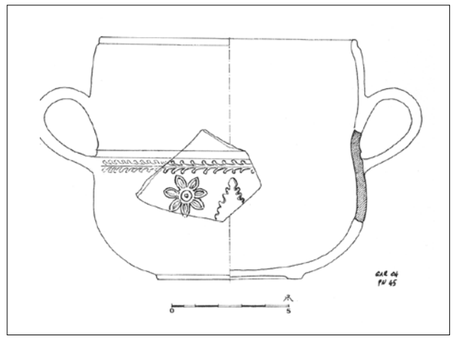

Fig. 11 Sarius cups (Illustration: K.Rončević).

Fig. 12 Thin walled pottery (various forms and fabrics)

Fig. 13 Italian Sigillata (various forms) (Photo: Z. Alajbeg).

Fig. 14 Pottery found in Ditch 55 (Photo: Z. Alajbeg).

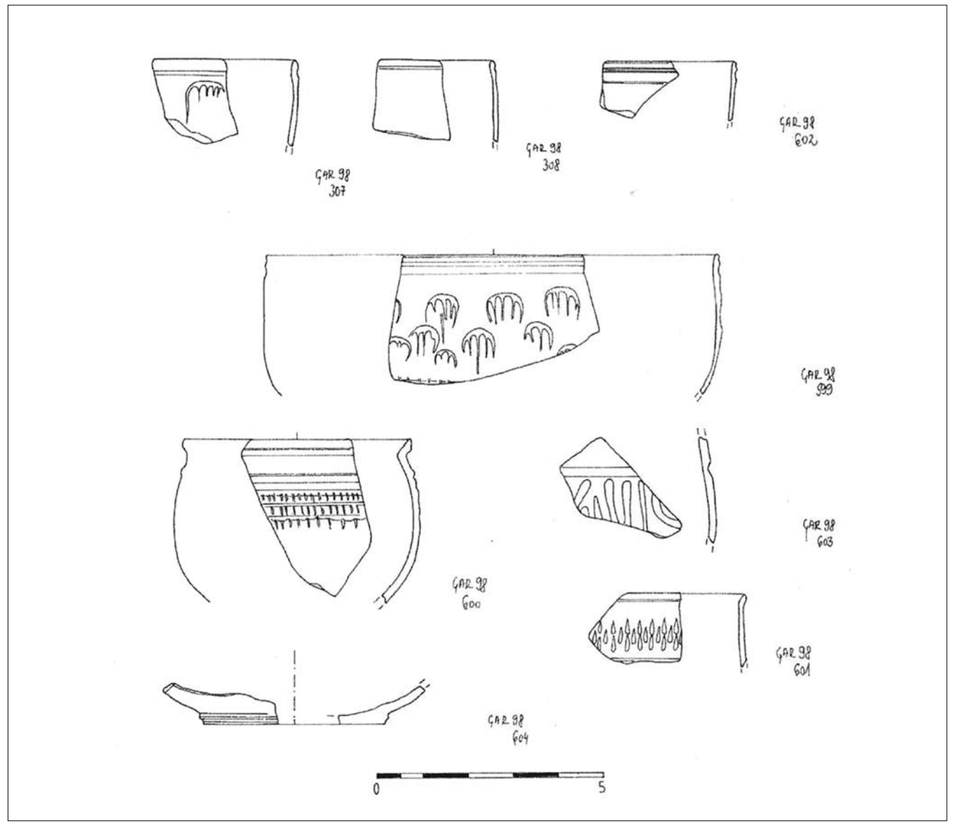

Fig. 15 Thin walled pottery (various forms)

Fig. 16 Thin walled pottery (Illustration: K.Rončević).

Fig. 17 Italian Sigillata (potter's stamp) (Photo: Z. Alajbeg).

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PROJECT TILURIUM - A “POET” IN THE MILITARY CAMP AT TILURIUM[1]

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INTRODUCTION

The most famous military unit residing in Tilurium was the 7th Legion (*legio VII*). This legion probably came to Illyricum during the Delmatian-Pannonian uprising (6-9 CE.).[2]

In the year 42, along with the 11th Legion, this legion acquired the honorary title *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* because they had refused to participate in the rebellion against the emperor Claudius. After the departure of the *Legio VII C.p.f.* (probably around 60 CE.), smaller military units resided in Tilurium until the 3rd century, among which the 8th Cohort (cohors VIII *voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) spent the longest time there.[3]

This site is rich with inscriptions (around 100) and many of them are the tombstones of the serving soldiers. There are 23 inscriptions of the deceased soldiers of the 7th Legion.[4] Almost all of them can be dated before the 42 because there’s no mention of the honorary title *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)*.

The number and quality of the said tombstones brought us to the conclusion that there must have been a stonecutting workshop in Tilurium. This is also

[1] The results presented derived from the scientific project (Roman Military Camps in Croatia and Roman military camps in Croatia and *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum quae in Croatia repertae sunt*), conducted with the support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.

[2] On the theories when the Seventh legion could come in Illyricum see TONČINIĆ 2011, 11-15.

[3] ZANINOVIĆ 1996, 216.

[4] TONČINIĆ 2011, 170.

conceivable that the same workshop and its craftsmen produced the famous *tropaeum* commemorating Roman victory over the peregrine peoples and communities in Illyricum. Tilurian stelae are easily recognizable by their pronounced iconographic elements of military character (comprising the frieze of weapons etc.) and by large doors in the bases.[5]

On many sepulchral inscriptions all around the Roman Empire there can be found the poems (*carmina epigraphica*) inscribed along with the general information of the deceased person, regardless on his gender, profession or occupation. These poems are composed in verses whose meter is recognizable in most cases. This epigraphic feature started to occupy the scholars' interest and for last 120 years have been published some of the most valuable collections and studies about the *carmina epigraphica Latina*.[6]

Four of the Tilurian stelae have versified epitaphs, so we dare say that there might have been one or more poets at the military camp, who were composing poems for the tombstones.

INSCRIPTIONS

1. Epitaph of Lucius Ancharenus (fig. 1)[7]

L(ucius) Ancharenus C(ai) f(ilius)
Ser(gia) Laranda mil(es)
leg(ionis) VII ann(orum) XL stip(endiorum) XXI
h(ic) s(itus) est)
Q(uintus) Ancharenus haec tanquam
posuit tibi dona, frater, quia
longe a patria te cecisisse dolet.
Optaram vivo potius dare vina
me tibi non obito, care, ferenda.
Tu, o si quicquam sentire potes
pro te(m)pore nostro damus. Haec
ostica sit tibi terra levis. Frater
fratri posuit

The monument was erected for Lucius Ancharenus, son of Gaius, from Laranda in Galatia who lived for 40 years spending 21 years in the Roman army. His

[5] For the palette of the motives on the Tilurian stelae see TONČINIĆ 2011, 150-153.

[6] BÜCHELER-LOMMATZSCH (CLE), 1895-1926; CHOLODNIAK, 1897; ENGSTRÖM, 1911; LATTIMORE, 1962; COLAFRANCESCO - MASSARO 1986, 1986; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1987; COURTNEY, 1995; CUGUSI, 1996; SBLENDORIO CUGUSI, 2005; KRUSCHWITZ, 2007.

[7] SANADER, 2000, 229-231; SANADER - MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ - DEMICHELI 2007; TONČINIĆ, 2011, 22-23; no. 1; EDH 039866.

Fig. 1. Tombstone of L. Ancharenus (Photo by A. Verzotti)

Fig. 2. Tombstone of Q. Baebius (Photo by A. Verzotti)

brother Quintus set this monument mourning and regretting his death. He was a biological brother to the deceased soldier and not brother in arms, because sometimes this formula can be understood as denoting army brethren on the military inscriptions.[8] This reading is somewhat supplemented and a bit different from the published and online editions.[9] We couldn't find the epitaph similar to this one in the sources on our disposal, but some of the motifs are known. The meter of the poem is not certain, but trochaic and iambic meters are a strong possibility.

v. 8-9, *Optaram vivo potius dare vina me tibi non obito, care, ferenda*. The verb *opto 1, -vi, -tum* is seldom used in present conjunctive on the inscriptions.[10] The first image here is the one of grief that the surviving brother is pouring the libation of wine over his brother's grave instead of drinking it with him. Then, it is the pity that the deceased is not able to drink vine anymore. Expressions of these ideas are attested elsewhere in sepulchral poetry.[11]

2. Epitaph of Quintus Baebius (fig. 2)[12]

Q(uintus) Baebius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Sergia Conan(a)
miles leg(ionis) VII ann(orum XXXXV
stip(endiorum) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
Quamvis lasse, viator, rogo ne graveris et tumulum
contempla meum, lege et moraris, iam
aliquid resciveris. Dum vixi hilaris iucundus amicis, nunc
torpens iaceo, hic ossa requiescunt mea. Natus sum
Conanis, conditus in Illurico. Vale et bene facito vitae
dum fatum venit.
Frater fratri.

The monument was erected for Quintus Baebius, son of Quintus, from Conana in Pisidia, who lived for 45 years and spent 20 years in the Roman army. His unnamed brother arranged for his tombstone and he might have

[8] On this formula in military context see KEPARTOVÀ, 1986, 11-14.

[9] SANADER, 2000, 230-231; TONČINIĆ, 2011, 22-23, no. 1; EDH 039866.

[10] We found only one epigraphic example, CIL II/5 1236 (Astigi) : *optaram in manibus coniu/gis occidere*. In both inscriptions, from Dalmatia and Hispania the verb *optaram* is used in the accusative with infinitive construction.

[11] CLE 1107 (Roma): *ossibus infundam quae nuncquam vina bibisti*; CLE 500 (Tarraco): *fudimus insonti lacrimas nunc vina*.

[12] CIL III 9733; CLE 77; CHOLODNIAK, 1897, 1075; BETZ, 1938, 65; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1987, 227; FADIĆ, 1997, 81, no. 11; SANADER - MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ - DEMICHELI 2007; TONČINIĆ, 2011, 30-32, no. 8; EDH 058840.

been his brother in arms, not biological brother. The expression *frater* in military terminology is not always related to the kinship relation between two soldiers, but to friendship, which is often firmer because the soldiers live together with each other more than with the members of their families.[13] Like the poem of G. Iulius, this one is also written in a monologue form. The meter of the poem is iambic senarius.

v. 4-5, *quamvis lasse, viator, rogo ne graveris et tumulum contempla meum*. The idea of this verse is to draw the passer by's attention who will thus recall the memory of the deceased soldier by reading his life-in-short. The request to the traveler or the passer by to pause and contemplate the monument (or some religious site) is well known topos in Roman literature and one of the most memorable passages being Apuleius' Florida (c. 1). There are verse inscriptions with similar meaning attested all around the Empire,[14] but the idea of speaking in the 1st person is known from the late Republican period (Latin inscriptions) and even earlier (Greek inscriptions).

v. 6, *dum vixi, hilaris iucundus amicis*. There are inscriptions expressed in the 1st person related to the character and human qualities which tell us that the dead person was beloved and favored by his friends.[15] Yet, it is unlikely that they would have said such a thing about themselves if they were alive. Similar type of this sentence is attested on some other inscriptions[16] and on the epitaph of G. Iulius (*vixi qua potui, carus sum Opiorum*).

v. 6-7, *nunc torpens iaceo*. The participle *torpens* is used only once more in sepulchral poetry.[17]

v. 7, *hic ossua requiescunt mea*, a verse concerning the fact that nothing but the (burnt) bones[18] were left after him. In non-metrical inscriptions various expressions with the same meaning are known,[19] as well as in metrical inscriptions.[20] The same verse we find on the epitaph of G. Iulius (v. 11-12).

v. 7-8, *Natus sum Conanis, conditus in Illurico*. Information about the death away from home is not so common, but sometimes we can find that information on ordinary inscriptions[21] and in sepulchral poetry.[22] Yet, soldiers of the 7th legion left us a lot of information about their home towns, mostly in Italia and Asia Minor.[23]

v. 8-9, *vale et bene facito vitae dum fatum venit* is a dead man's salute to the passer by with the wishes for a good life until it ends. The same verse is on the epitaph of G. Iulius (here no. 3).

[13] It is visible on the inscriptions when the person who erected the monument for his *frater* didn't bear the same *nomen gentile*. On that phenomenon see KEPARTOVÀ 1986, 11-14. The same pattern cannot be applied among the names of the sailors and it is possible that two biological brothers in Roman navy bear the different gentilician. On names of the sailors, see SALOMIES, 1996, 170.

[14] E. g. CIL XIV 2605 (Tusculum) *te rogo praeteriens fac mora et perlege versus quos ego dictavi et iussi scribere quendam*; AE 1992, 560 (Hispellum): *Viator resiste et rogo te et lege post annos XXVII ven[i] Hispellum in patriam meam*; AE 1916, 122 (Melta): *siste viator iter animum[que intende sepu]lc{h}ro et lege*; AE 1989, 247 (Sulmo): *sal[ve v]iator qui istac iter facis, salvo tuo corpore consiste et lege.*

[15] E. g. CIL VI 16169 (Roma): *vixi ut potui, bene gratus parenti atque amicis omnibus*.

[16] E. g. AE 2006, 475 (Gambulaga): *ego vixi qua et potui, quad modum volui, bene dedi cui volui, non dedi cui nolui*; CIL III 2835 (Burnum): *vixsi(!) quad potui semper bene pauper honeste [fr]audavi nullum*. CIL VI 2489 (Rome): *vixi quod volui semper bene pauper honeste fraudavi*.

[17] CLE 2099 (*Lugdunum Convenatrm*): *ut capite erepto torpentia membra rigescunt*.

[18] Although on the inscriptions sometimes we read *cineres* (the ashes), which doubtless indicates that the body was burnt on pyre, still the word *ossa* (the bones) at least in 1st and 2nd century also means the left of the bones after the pyre, i. e. the ashes. In that sense is indicative the inscription CIL VI 21975 (Rome) with the verse: *ossa dedi terrae corpus Volchano dedi* (*I gave my bones to the earth and my body to Vulcan*).

[19] E. g. CIL VI 14765; CIL VI 28871; CIL III 2817; AE 1941/42, 61.

[20] E. g. CIL V 3415 (Verona): *hic mea conposito requiescunt o[ssa sepulcro]*; CIL V 6811 (Eporedia): *Feci quod volui vivus monimentum(!) / ubi ossa et cineres aeternum requiescerent mihi*; CIL VI 11407 (Roma): *hic mea ferali requiescunt ossa sepulcro*; AE 1992, 560 (Hispellum): *hunc locum ubi ossa meorum requiescunt et mea et amicorum meorum ex hoc sepulc{h}ro*; CIL III 1871 (Narona): *Pomponio Stercorio infanti infelicissimo non clausa in tumulo requiescunt ossa sepulcro istius nunc infantis nec corpus morte sacratum*.

[21] E. g. ILJug 2212 (Salona): *natus Salonis, defunctus Monte Gargano*; InscrAqu III (Aquileia): *natus in castello Dardano [defunc]tus Aquilaeia(!)*:

[22] E. g. CLE 1267 (Salona): *sum Frygiae(!) te[rra] natus et multa p[era] grans veni in D[al]matia sane Sa[lona(?)] bona in quan[tum li]cuit aeterna [non habi]tare domu*; CLE 474 (Roma): *Pannonia terra, creat tumulat Italia tellus*.

[23] TONČINIĆ, 2011, 201-207.

3. Epitaph of Gaius Iulius (fig. 3)[24]

C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius)
Fab(ia) Ninica
mil(es leg(ionis) VII
ann(orum) XXXIX stip(endiorum)
XVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)
Hospes, resiste et tumulum
contempla meum, lege et
moraris, iam scies quae
debeas. Vixi qua potui, ca-
rus sum Opiorum, hic su-
m sepultus, his ossua re-
quiescent mea. Vale et
bene facito vitae dum
fatum venit.
Faustus l(ibertus) patrono

The tombstone was erected for Gaius Iulius, son of Gaius, from Ninica in Cilicia who lived for 39 years of which he spent 17 years in Roman army. His freedman Faustus set the monument and probably ordered the verse inscription. The poem is written in the form of the monologue of the deceased soldier who wanted to tell his story in the 1st person to the passer by. This *carmen epigraphicum* is doubtless the same poem that was found in Beneventum which proves that some kind of album with already prepared verses and phrases existed in the stonecutting workshops in different places of the Empire.[25] Also, we cannot exclude the possibility that the "poets" from Beneventum and Tilurium are the same person. The meter of this poem is iambic senarius.

v. 6-8, *hospes resiste et tumulum contempla meum, lege et moraris* is addressing to the passer by and this or similar sentence is well known from Latin sepulchral poetry.[26] There are obvious textual overlappings between this inscription and the one of Q. Baebius (here no. 2).

[24] BULIĆ, 1908, 79-80; ENGSTRÖM, 1911, 23; BETZ, 1938, 65; IL-Jug 1950; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1987, 228; SANADER - MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ - DEMICHELI 2007; TONČINIĆ, 2011, 43-45, no. 20; EDH 034294.

[25] Especially the verse inscription of G. Iulius (n. 2), which is very similar to the inscription from Beneventum (CIL IX 1764): *.... hospes, resiste, et tumulu[m contempla meum] / lege et moraris iam sc[ies fatum meum] / vixi qua potui karus Ru[fino fide] / hic sum sepultus hic os[sa in terra cubant] / valete et bene facite vo[bis dum licet]*. First who noticed this similarity was Duje Rendić-Miočević (RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1987, 268).

[26] E. g. CIL I 3146 (Rome), *hospes, resiste, nisi molestus[t] perspice monmentum*; CIL III 6416 (Burnum): *hospes, resiste, et tumulum contempla meum*; CIL V 6808 (Eporedia): *hospes, resiste, et tumulum hunc excelsum aspic[e]*; CIL IX 1527 (Pagus Veianus): *Hospes, resiste, et quae sum in monumento lege.*; AE 1972, 74 (Montecassino): *[hospes] consiste et casus hominum cogita annorum natu(s) XXXV arbitror fuissem*.

Fig. 3. Tombstone of G. Iulius (Photo by A. Verzotti)

v. 9-10, *vixi qua potui, carus sum Opiorum* is some kind of a modest apology for the way he lived his life. On the epitaph of Q. Baebius there is a similar verse: *dum vixi, hilaris iucundus amicis*. Both inscriptions have *vixi* (Q. Baebius v. 6, C. Iulius v. 9) in the 1st person perfect and then allusion to the popularity with his fellows and friends. The repeating pattern suggests some kind of "poet's manual" for epitaphs.

v. 13-14, *Vale et bene facito vitae dum fatum venit*, the same verse is on the epitaph of Q. Baebius (v. 8-9).

4. Epitaph of Lucius Mummius (fig. 4)[27]

L(ucius) Mummius L(uci)
f(ilius) Fab(ia) Ancyra
miles leg(ionis) VII
ann(orum) XXXVI
stip(endiorum) XVI
h(ic) s(itus) est
Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis,
hic situs est fato Mummius ipse suo.
Si sapiunt obiti data munera percipis am(pla)
et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae.
Hoc tibi cum titulo posuit Cornelius Chrestus
et dixit lachrymans (!) sit tibi terra levis
M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) l(ibertus)
Chrestus posit

The monument was erected for Lucius Mummius, son of Lucius, from Ancyra in Galatia, who died in the age of 36 of which he spent 16 years in the Roman army. His friend M. Cornelius Chrestus, who was a freedman, set this monument. In the entire group of inscriptions belonging to the 7th legion in Dalmatia, there's no similar stela to the one of L. Mummius: it is a unique piece of work, both in the sense of metric inscription and as a funerary monument.[28] We think that this tombstone is the youngest among these four inscriptions, but still it should be dated before the year 42. The meter is elegiac couplet.

v. 7, *bis octonis annis*. For metrical reasons, it is sometimes easier to express the number of years using mathematic operations. The multiplication of 2 with 8 is attested on the verse inscriptions several times, but in the form *bis octonos (annos)*.[29]

v. 9, *Si sapiunt obiti data munera*: For all living people the afterlife is a mystery, so they hope that the spirits of the dead are aware of living people's good wishes and intentions. The similar idea is known from several *carmina epigraphica*.[30]

[27] FADIĆ, 1995, 168-172; ŠEGVIĆ, 1996, 135-136, no. 32; FADIĆ, 1997, 81, no. 8; AE 1995, 1232; SANADER - MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ - DEMICHELI 2007;TONČINIĆ, 2011, 71-73, no. 42.

[28] Completely described in FADIĆ, 1995: 168-172: TONČINIĆ, 2011, 72-73.

[29] CLE 1297 (Tusculum); CLE 1071 (Arelate); CLE 1550 (Veleia); CLE 2001 (Dorylaeum); CLE 1178 (Sellaoua); CLE 1996 (Ammaedara).

[30] CLE 647 (Roma): *hoc ego feci bene, si quid sapiunt inferi*; CLE 179 (Roma): *Bene adquiescas, Hilara, si quid sapiunt inferi*; CLE 1538 (Roma); *Bene adquiescas frater Aucte Tulli / sei quicquam sapiunt inferi*; CLE 1147 (Salona): *nunc si qu(i)d Manes sapiunt in mollibus umbris conprecor ut matris sit tibi gratus honos*: CLE 180 (Roma): *sei quicquam sapiunt inferi ut ossa eius quae hic sita sunt bene quiescant*; CLE 428 (Stabiae): *si sapiunt aliquid post funera Manes Antoni et Proculi molliter ossa cubent*.

Fig. 4. Tombstone of L. Mummius (Photo by A. Verzotti)

v. 10 *pignus amicitiae*. This syntagm is attested only once more,[31] but the word *pignus* is more often affiliated with the noun *amor* (*pignus amoris*).[32]

[31] CLE 1112 (Umbertide).

[32] CLE 750 (Salona); CLE 972 (Roma); CLE 500 (Tarraco); CLE 480 (Ammaedara); AE 2009, 145 (Roma);

CONCLUSION

By comparing these four poems with the other poems (mostly from Italia and Dalmatia), we can notice some similarities. In this regard, the repeating pattern suggests some kind of "poet's manual" for epitaphs with already prepared elements for composing the poems. Two poems (epitaph of Q. Baebius and G. Iulius) were written in similar style, they contained the same phrases in the same meter and it would appear that they were written by the same person.

While we are certain that the epitaph of L. Ancharenus (here no. 1) is versified, the verses were not easily identified and consistent metric scheme could not be established with certainty. Although the epitaph of L. Ancharenus does not show so many similarities with two iambic poems, it still looks probable that it could be the work of the author who wrote epitaphs for Q. Baebius and G. Iulius.

Two poems were certainly written by the same poet, maybe three, but because of the unique appearance in many senses of the tombstone of L. Mummius, we believe that the author of this poem was not the same person: at least the poems were not composed in the same period of time. The only information common to all four inscriptions is that the legionaries were from Asia Minor and they died before the year 42 (lack of the honorific legion title *Claudia pia fidelis*). The tombstones of L. Ancharenus (no. 1), Q. Baebius (no. 2) and G. Iulius (no. 3) are similar in iconographic sense as well. Among themselves, thus they share the same motives: the head of the Gorgon on the stele pediment and the frieze below the pediment (all three); triangular pediment on the top with acroteria to the sides (1 and 3); image of a closed double door with four recessed panels framed with moulding (2 and 3); they all have the poem carved in the inscription field along with all information about the deceased soldier. There are many other stelae of the 7th Legion which have similar or same iconographic solutions, and the only difference here is the presence of a poem.

The tombstone of L. Mummius (4) has the relief image of a young man in the pediment and the griffins on the arms of the pediment. There is the relief image of the military medals. There are three inscription fields: one for the general information about the deceased person, the other for the poem and the third with the information who set the monument. Since there's no such a stela in Tilurium, one can suppose that either this stela wasn't carved in the same workshop or at the same period as the other monuments with the poems. Also, the letters from the first and the third field are better carved than the letters from the other inscriptions.

According to the paleographic peculiarities, one could conclude that these inscriptions are carved in 1st, 2nd or 3rd decades of the 1st century CE. It is mostly visible on the example of some letters which remind of the late Republican or early Principate inscriptions (especially on the inscriptions no. 1, 2 and 3). The letters are very similar to those from the famous *Tabulae Dolabellae* which are set around year 17.[33] Furthermore, there's no evidence of the cognomen for any of the deceased soldiers, which is the reliable indicator for the inscriptions prior to Claudius' reign.

[33] CIL XVII/4, p. 131, SCHMIDT, 2006.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris
BASD	Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Split.
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
CLE	Carmina Latina Epigraphica (Bücheler-Lommatzsch), Leipzig.
EDH	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg.
ILJug	*Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana 1963-1986.
Opusc. archaeol.	Opuscula archaeologica, Zagreb.

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DAS PROJEKT TILURIUM – WAFFENDARSTELLUNGEN AUF GRABSTELEN AUS TILURIUM[1]

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Außer zahlreicher Militaria, die entweder aus der seit 1997. andauernden Grabung stammt, oder in den letzten 200 Jahren als Zufallsfund in verschiedene Museen und Sammlungen gelangt ist, ist in *Tilurium* eine weitere Denkmalgruppe vertreten, die sich als Quelle für das Studium der römischen Militärausrüstung eignet.[2] Es handelt sich hierbei um Steindenkmäler, vor allem Grabstelen mit Waffendarstellungen.[3]

Einen Grossteil unserer Erkenntnisse über die römische Militärausrüstung verdanken wir selbstverständlich den eigentlichen Funden aus verschiedenen Militärlagern, aber auch von zivilen Fundorten.[4] Wertvolle Erkenntnisse geben uns aber auch schriftliche Quellen und Waffendarstellungen auf Steindenkmälern. Zu den schriftlichen Quellen sind, neben literarischen Quellen und anderen antiken Schriften, auch antike Innschriften zu zählen. Literarische Quellen lassen sich einerseits in direkte Beschreibungen teilen, die gezielt über die römische Armee und ihre Ausrüstung berichten. Es gibt aber auch indirekte Beschreibungen, die zwar anderen Themen gewidmet sind aber am Rande interessante Angaben über die römische Militärausrüstung erwähnen. Ein konkretes, mit *Tilurium* (und/oder *Burnum*) verbundenes Beispiel währe die Angabe bei *Suetonius* (*Claudius* 13,2), über den Bürgerkrieg den *Furius Camillus Scribonianus*, der Legat von Dalmatien, im Jahre 42. n. Chr. erregte hat, *„der jedoch bereits fünf Tage später scheiterte, weil es die Legionen, die gemeutert hatten, wegen eines Wunderzeichens bereuten: als sie nämlich ihren Marsch zu dem neuen Kaiser antreten wollten, konnten aus Zufall und durch göttliche Fügung weder der Adler aufgeputzt noch die Feldzeichen*

[1] Die vorgestellten Ergebnisse sind aus dem Forschungsprojekt Römische Militärlager in Kroatien hervorgegangen das vom Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Bildung und Sport der Republik Kroatien unterstützt wird.

[2] Zu der Militaria aus *Tilurium* siehe MILOŠEVIĆ 1998, 243-248, RADMAN-LIVAJA 1998; BEKIĆ 1998; ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003; SANADER – ŠEPAROVIĆ – TONČINIĆ 2008; IVČEVIĆ 2005; IVČEVIĆ 2010; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 56-111 Kat. Nr. 1, 5-8, 12-20, 23-39, 41-48, 50, 53-55, 60-81, 85-110, 112, 115 (Autor S. Ivčević) Kat. Nr. 21-22, 40, 49, 51, 56-59, 83-84, 111 (Autor A. Librenjak) 2-4, 9-11 (Autor I. Radman-Livaja); IVČEVIĆ in diesem Band.

[3] Zu den Grabstelen aus *Tilurium* siehe SANADER 2003b; SANADER – TONČINIĆ 2009; TONČINIĆ 2011; IVČEVIĆ in Druck.

[4] Zu der Militaria auf zivilen Fundorten vergleiche IVČEVIĆ in diesem Band.

aus dem Boden gezogen und fortgebracht werden".[5] Weiters müssen andere antike Schriften erwähnt werden, wie zum Beispiel private Briefe römischer Soldaten und Verwaltungsschriften verschiedener Einheiten, die uns nur auf Papyri und hölzernen Schreibtafeln erhalten sind. Zuletzt sind noch Inschriften zu nennen, die in Form von Stempel, Punzierungen und Graffiti auf römischen Waffen und römischer Militärausrüstung selbst erscheinen, sowie Innschriften auf Steindenkmälern. Stempel auf Waffen überliefern uns oft den Namen einer Einheit, für die sie erzeugt bzw. von der sie benützt wurden. Punzierungen und Graffiti auf Ausrüstungsgegenständen nennen hingegen seltener den Namen einer Einheit, aber in Regel die Namen des Besitzers und seines Centurios bzw. seiner Centurie. Die Namen mehrerer Personen, wie zum Beispiel auf zwei Helmen aus *Burnum* dokumentiert, zeugen davon, daß Ausrüstungsgegenständen nacheinender von mehreren Personen getragen wurden.[6] Innschriften auf Steindenkmälern sind eine besonders wichtige Quelle. Innschriften lassen sich oft aufgrund der Schriftform, verschiedener Textformen und ihres Innhaltes leicht datieren. So zum Beispiel die Innschrift CIL 2718 aus Tilurium, die *Tiberius Caesar* erwähnt, und somit die Verleihung der *torquillis, armillis* und *faleris* an den Verstorbenen *Marcus Vereius* mit dem *bellum Batonianum* von 6 bis 9 n. Chr. in Verbindung bringt.[7] Von unschätzbarer Bedeutung ist es, wenn Innschriften mit eindeutig historischen Ereignissen in Zusammenhang gebracht werden können, wie zum Beispiel die Innschriften der *legiones VII* und *XI* aus Dalmatien. *Cassius Dio* (LX, 15) berichtet, daß Kaiser Claudius jene Legionen, die *Furius Camillus Scribonianus* in seiner Aufruhe nicht unterstützt haben, unter anderem mit der Verleihung des Ehrentitels *Claudia pia fidelis* belohnt hat. Die einzigartige Bedeutung dieses Ehrentitels in jener Zeit hat bereits Emil Ritterling betont. Aufgrund dieser Tatsache kann man mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit davon ausgehen, daß seit 42. n. Chr. beide Legionen auf Innschriften in der Regel mit dem Ehrentitel *VII C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* angeführt werden.[8] Innschriften ohne Ehrentitel müssen folglich in die Zeit vor 42. n. Chr. datiert werden, und jene mit Ehrentitel *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* in die Zeit danach.[9] In der römischen Provinz Dalmatien sind Innschriften beider Legionen erhalten, auf denen sie mit und ohne Ehrentitel erwähnt sind.[10] Wie auch die Innschriften anderer Legionen überliefern sie oft Namen von Soldaten, ihre Herkunft, Einheit, Dienstgrad und Dienstjahre, sowie ihr Alter. Alle Erscheinungen die mit diesen Innschriften in Zusammenhang stehen, von der Aufstellung, über Innhalt, bis zu den stilistischen und typologischen Merkmalen des Denkmals deren Teil sie sind, können anhand des Ehrentitels in die Zeit vor bzw. nach 42 n. Chr. datiert werden.

Waffendarstellungen auf Steindenkmälern gelten ebenfalls als besonders wichtige Quelle, besonders wenn sie Soldaten samt ihrer Ausrüstung darstellen. Sie lassen sich in öffentliche Denkmäler einerseits und private bzw. Grabdenkmäler andererseits teilen. Zur ersten Gruppe gehören *Tropea*, Säulen und Triumphbögen. Obwohl mit Darstellungen von Soldaten und Waffen reich ausgestattet, sind sie oft keine geeignete Quelle für das Studium der römischen Militärausrüstung. Es handelt sich nämlich um Denkmäler die vor allem der kaiserlichen Propaganda gedient haben und in Rom bzw. anderen bedeutenden Zentren des Römischen Reiches aufgestellt waren. Sie sollten den Kaiser und seine Erfolge darstellen und das Bild eines guten Herrschers vermitteln. Die Bildhauer standen oft in hellenistischer Tradition, besaßen so gut wie keine Kenntnisse über die römische Militärausrüstung und hatten bei der Fertigung des Denkmals römische Soldaten auch nicht vor Auge. Trotz hervorragender Qualität der Bildhauer und Materialien, die detailreiche und detailtreue Darstellungen ermöglicht haben, handelt es sich oft um stereotype Reihung von Motiven.[11] Eine Ausnahme von und gleichzeitige Bestätigung dieser Regel bildet das *Tropaeum Traiani* in Adamklisi, deren Darstellungen sich von der nahezu gleichzeitige Trajanseule unterscheiden, Ähnlichkeiten mit Darstellungen auf Grabsteinen aufweisen, und von Soldaten vor Ort errichtet worden sein dürften.[12] Es gibt auch Denkmäler die militärische Erfolge anderer Personen wie städtischer Magistrate und angesehener Bürger hervorheben sollten. So zum Beispiel der Sergierbogen in Pula (*Pola*), der unter anderem mit Darstellungen von 119 Waffen auf vier Friesen ausgestattet ist. Er wurde zu ehren des *Lucius Sergius Lepidus* errichtet, der *tribunus militum* und Befehlshaber der 29. Legion des *Octavianus* bei *Actium* und Aedil der Kolonie Pola war, und weiters zu ehren seines Vaters *Lucius Sergius* und Onkels *Cnaeus Sergius*.[13]

[5] http://www.gottwein.de/Lat/lat_textestart.php (29.12.2011.)

[6] ŠEPAROVIĆ – URODA 2009, 34-37, Kat. Nr. 34-35; RADMAN LIVAJA 2010, 144, Kat. Nr. 1-2 (Autor Nikolina Uroda); BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 45.

[7] BETZ 1938, 5, Anm. 5.

[8] PWRE 1925-1926, 1617 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling).

[9] PWRE 1925-1926, 1617, 1628 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); Betz 1938, 6.

[10] Zur *legio VII* vergleiche TONČINIĆ 2011, 138-147.

[11] BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 2.

[12] RICHMOND 1967, 38; BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 5.

[13] Siehe DŽIN in diesem Band.

Die zweite Gruppe bilden Privatdenkmäler, vor allem Grabdenkmäler. Die Darstellungen von Soldaten und Waffen sind vor allem auf Grabstelen anzutreffen, und stehen oft im vollkommenen Gegensatz zu jenen auf öffentlichen Denkmälern. Zahlreiche Darstellungen können nämlich mit archäologischen Funden verglichen werden. Dies ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß Soldatengrabsteine oft unmittelbarer Nähe von Militärlagern entstanden sind, in Werkstätten die zu den Lagern gehört haben, oder in Nachbarschaft der Lager Tätig waren. Angesichts dieser Tatsache wird man davon ausgehen dürfen, daß die Bildhauer in diesen Werkstätten einen unmittelbaren Einblick in die Bewaffnung und Ausrüstung römischer Soldaten sowie deren Entwickelung und Veränderung hatten. Weiters muß man davon ausgehen, daß die Auftraggeber oft ganz bestimmte Vorstellungen und Bedürfnisse hatten, und zwar vor allem was den Bildinhalt betrifft.[14]

Grabstelen mit Soldatendarstellungen treten in spätrepublikanischer Zeit in Italien auf und haben sich am Anfang des 1. Jh. n. Chr. an den Rhein verbreitet. Unter Kaiser Klaudius verbreiten sich Grabstelen mit Soldatendarstellungen auch nach Britannien, doch bleiben sie im 1. Jh. regionale Phänomene, die noch in kleinen Gruppen in Gallien, seltener an der Donau und in Nordafrika auftauchen, während sie in Hispanien und im Osten so gut wie gar nicht vertreten sind.[15] Grabstelen wurden von Soldaten bis zum 4. Jh. verwendet, und verschwinden erst danach aus dem Gebrauch. Dies war auch der Fall in der Provinz Dalmatien, wo die meisten und hochwertigsten militärischen Grabstelen aus dem 1. Jh. stammen, während ihre Zahl und Qualität anschließend zurückgeht.[16]

Betrachtet man die Darstellungen der Verstorbenen, können Grabstelen von Soldaten in zwei Gruppen unterteilt werden. Die erste umfaßt Stelen, auf denen der Verstorbene frontal dargestellt ist, unabhängig davon, ob es sich um eine Büste, Semi-Figur oder die gesamte Figur handelt. Die Soldaten werden mit den beigefügten Attributen dargestellt, die Status und Rang wiedergeben, die sie in der Armee erzielt haben. Solche Stelen wurden auch in Dalmatien aufgestellt, wenn auch nicht in so hoher Anzahl. Die meisten für Soldaten, aber sie wurden auch von Zivilisten verwendet.[17] Die zweite umfaßt Stelen mit Darstellungen von Reitern. Diese Gruppe gliedert sich in zwei Typen, den sogenannten Reitertyp und das Totenmal. Grabstelen vom Reitertyp zeigen den Verstorbenen als Reiter auf einem Pferde mit Ausrüstung, wie er seine Waffen schwingt und mit dem Pferd oft einen Feind trampelt. Solche Darstellungen sind charakteristisch für Soldaten römischer Hilfstruppen. Legionäre wurden oft im oberen Feld der Grabstele mit weniger Ausrüstung, oder in Zivilkleidung, bei einem Totenmal dargestellt. Das Pferd wurde dabei im unteren Feld dargestellt, wie es an den Zügeln geführt wird. Es gibt Ausnahmen von dieser Regel.[18]

Besonders interessant sind Grabstelen mit Soldaten und Waffendarstellungen wenn man sie mit den Innschriften in Zusammenhang bringen kann. Wenn zum Beispiel die Einheit oder der Dienstgrad des Verstorbene mit dargestellten Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenständen in Verbindung gebracht werden können, und wenn dargestellte Ausrüstungsgegenstände oder stilistische und typologische Merkmale der Denkmäler anhand der Innschrift datiert werden können.

In *Tilurium* sind beide Gruppen von Steindenkmälern mit Waffendarstellungen vertreten. Die öffentlichen Denkmäler mit zwei Fragmenten eines *Tropeums* und die privaten mit zahlreichen Grabsteinen von Soldaten verschiedener Einheiten. Aufgrund des Ehrentitels *Claudia pia fidelis* läßt sich eine ganze Reihe dieser Grabstelen zumindest in die Zeit vor oder nach 42 datieren.

DAS TROPAEUM AUS TILURIUM

Das *Tropaeum* aus Tilurium ist als bekanntestes und bedeutendstes Denkmal mit Waffendarstellungen aus Tilurium zu nennen. Erhalten sind nur zwei Fragmente. Beim ersten handelt es sich um die vollkommen erhaltene äußerste rechte Platte der Vorderfront und beim zweiten um das Fragment der spiegelverkehrten äußersten linken Platte der Vorderfront. Abgesehen vom Ansatz an der ersten Platte ist von den Seitendarstellungen nichts mehr erhalten. Aufgrund der beiden Fragmente konnte Nenad Cambi die Vorderfront rekonstruieren und auch eine Rekonstruktion des gesamten Denkmals vorschlagen. An der Vorderfront befindet sich ein Innschriftfeld in Form einer *Tabula ansata*. Links und rechts ist je ein *Tropeum* dargestellt. Wie üblich besteht dieses aus einem Pfahl an dem eine Rüstung, Schilde, Lanzen, eine Trompete usw. aufgehängt sind. Ans *Tropaeum* sind weiters zwei besiegte

[14] BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 10.

[15] BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 9-10.

[16] CAMBI 2002, 149-152.

[17] CAMBI 1988.

[18] IVČEVIĆ 2013.

Barbaren gekettet, die unterschiedliche Tracht tragen. Unterhalb des Inschriftfeldes ist ein Waffenfries dargestellt der aus Rüstungen und Schilden besteht. Auf den Seiten des Denkmals ist ein Bukranien-Girlanden Fries zu rekonstruieren. Das gesamte Denkmal konnte ursprünglich ca. 8,20-8,40 x 7,30-7,60 m (bzw. 28x25 Fuß) messen. Stilistische Merkmale, der Fundort und die bekannten historischen Ereignisse lassen darauf schließen, daß das Tropaeum den Sieg Roms im *bellum Batonianum* von 6 bis 9 n. Chr. feierte. Es durfte also im 2. Jahrzehnt des 1. Jh. n. Chr. errichtet worden sein. [19] Es wird selten zum Studium römischer Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenstände herangezogen, und man kann sich die Darstellungen kaum als die eroberten Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenstände der Aufständischen Völker des Illyricum vorstellen. Die an das *Tropeum* geketteten Besiegten wurden allerdings wiederholt anhand der dargestellten Tracht als *Delmatae* und *Pannoni* angesprochen. [20]

DIE GRABSTELEN AUS TILURIUM

Alle anderen Waffendarstellungen aus Tilurium stammen von Grabstelen für Soldaten der *legio VII* und anderer Einheiten. In Tilurium sind auf Grabstelen und anderen Innschriften neben der *legio VII*, bzw. *VII Claudia pia fidelis*[21], *legio XI*, bzw. *XI Claudia pia fidelis*[22], *legio IV Flavia felix*[23], *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*[24], *ala Claudia nova*[25], *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*[26], *cohors I Belgarum*[27], *cohors III Alpinorum*[28] und *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*[29] bestätigt. Mit Tilurium in Zusammenhang gebracht werden auch die *cohors Aquitanorum*, die in Hrvace bestätigt ist,[30] und die sonst unbekannte *cohors IV Noricorum*, die in Dugopolje bestätigt ist, aber mittlerweile auch als *Ala Tungrorum* angesprochen wird. Aus Tilurium stammt auch eine ganze Reihe von Denkmälern, die keiner bestimmten militärischen Einheit mehr zugeschrieben werden können.[31] Die *legio VII* kommt spätestens im Laufe, oder unmittelbar nach dem *bellum Batonianum* nach Tilurium und wird spätestens 61 n. Chr. nach Moesien versetzt. Nach dem Abzug der *legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* kann man sich als zumindest kurzfristige Besatzung, und zwar aufgrund der dokumentierten Ziegelstempel, die *legiones XI Claudia pia fidelis* und *IV Flavia felix* vorstellen.[32] In Tilurium sind mit Grabsteinen ihrer Angehörigen bereits in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jh. die *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*[33] und nach der Mitte des 1. Jh. die *ala Claudia nova*[34] bestätigt. Zur Zeit der Flavier die *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana*[35] und *cohors Aquitanorum*, die in Hrvace bestätigt ist.[36] Die *cohors I Belgarum*[37] ist um die Jahrhundertwende, die *cohors III Alpinorum*[38] in der ersten Hälft des 2. Jh. und *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*[39] von der Mitte des 2. bis zur Mitte des 3. Jh. vertreten.[40]

Das Interesse der Forschung galt bis unlängst in erster Linie den Innschriften, so daß zahlreiche Grabstelen nie als einheitliches Denkmal veröffentlicht und auch nicht als einheitliche Denkmalgruppe bearbeitet wurden.[41] Nur eine Gruppe von Grabstelen der *legio VII* wurde auch aufgrund ihres Bildinhaltes näher betrachtet. Auf diese hat bereits Harald Hofmann aufmerksam gemacht, und sie zum Typ der ‚kleinasiatischen Grabfassade' zusammengefaßt.[42] Die Grabstelen zeichnen sich durch einen architektonischen Aufbau aus, der eine monumentale Grabarchitektur, einen Naiskos bzw. eine Aedicula imitiert, und Türdarstellungen enthält. Die Aedicula endet mit einem dreieckigen Giebel mit Eckakroterien, meistens in Form von halben Palmetten. Im Giebelfeld ist meistens eine Gorgona oder eine Rosette dargestellt. Unterhalb des Giebels befindet sich meistens ein Waffenfries, doch vertreten sind auch vegetabile Motive. Der Fries ruht auf einem von spiralkannelierte Säulen getragenem Architrav. Innerhalb der Aedicula befindet sich ein umrahmtes Innschriftfeld, das in manchen Fällen von einer Darstellung des Verstorbenen nach Unten gedrängt wird. Hauptmerkmal dieses Grabstelentyps ist eine in vier Felder geteilte Tür, die auf der unteren Hälfte der Grabstele in Vorderansicht als geschlossene Tür dargestellt wird. In den Türfeldern sind meistens Klopfringe und Türgriffe in verschiedenen Formen dargestellt. Es fällt aber auf, daß in den Türfeldern anstelle dieser Funktionselemente einer Tür oft Darstellungen auftreten, die nichts mehr mit einer Tür zu tun haben. Neben den sogenannten Attisdarstellungen, sind auch vegetabile Motive bezeugt, die man allerdings als prunkhafte Türgriffe deuten könnte, weiters Waffen und Werkzeuge. Die oft wiederkehrenden Waffendarstellungen, die verschiedene Teile der Grabstelen dekorieren, sind ein weiteres Merkmal dieser Denkmalgruppe. Harald Hofmann hat die Türdarstellungen mit den religiösen Vorstellungen der aus dem Osten stammenden Soldaten der *legio VII* in Zusammenhang gebracht.[43] Von religiösen Hintergründen dieses Motivs sprachen auch Sergio Rinaldi Tufi und Julijan Medini, so daß in späteren Veröffentlichungen immer wieder von einer *porta Inferi* und von Attisdarstellungen die Rede ist.[44] In einer Reihe von Beiträgen hat Nenad Cambi den religiösen Hintergrund der Türdarstellungen und ihre Entlehnung aus Kleinasien bestritten, und die Reduktion architektonischer Vorbilder bei der Entstehung dieses Grabstelentyps betont. Es handele sich um die Imitation einer monumentalen Grabarchitektur, eines *Naiskos* bzw. eine *Aedicula*.[45] Weiters hat er sich dafür ausgesprochen, daß in den Türfeldern nicht *Attis*, sondern besiegte Orientalen dargestellt sind.[46] Nenad Cambi heilt weiters die Auflösung der ursprünglichen Türdarstellung bzw. die Auflösung des rein architektonischen Grabstelenaufbaus über mehrere Stufen verfolgt. Es fällt nämlich auf, daß in den Türfeldern zunächst die Klopfringe und Türgriffe anderen Motiven weichen, die nichts mehr mit einer Tür zu tun haben. Nämlich dem sogenannten Attis, Waffen – Köcher, Pfeil und Bogen – sowie Werkzeugen – Winkelmaß, Zirkel, Hammer und Lot. Und nicht nur das, in manchen Fällen wird die Tür auf zwei Felder reduziert. Die ikonografischen Bedürfnisse der Selbstdarstellung der Verstorbenen – die Reliefs von Köcher, Pfeil und Bogen bei Soldaten der *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum* – sollen zunächst zur Verdrängung einzelner Funktionselemente der Tür geführt haben. Als einmal der eigentliche Sinn der Tür verloren gegangen war, wurden die Türfelder zu reinen Dekorationsflächen degradiert oder zum Teil einfach weggelassen. Diese Entwicklung setzt ziemlich früh ein. Die ursprüngliche Grundform ist für die Denkmäler der *legio VII* typisch (Abb. 1), doch ist auch der erste Schritt der Auflösung bereits auf einigen Denkmälern der *legio VII* zu beobachten (Abb. 12). Ein weiterer Schritt erfolgt erst, nachdem der Legion der Ehrentitel *C(laudia) p(ia) f(idelis)* verliehen wurde (Abb. 6).[47] Grabstelen dieses Typs wurden in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien stets für römische Soldaten errichtet.[48] Unter den Soldaten ist er besonders für jene der *legio VII* und andere Einheiten, die in Tilurium stationiert waren, typisch.[49] Nenad Cambi hat letztlich darauf hingewiesen, daß aufgrund der Funddichte dieses Grabstelentyps, seine Werkstat in Tilurium zu suchen ist.[50]

[19] CAMBI 1984; Cambi 2011, 131-139; Derselbe in diesem Band, Abb. 4-8; SANADER – TONČINIĆ 2009, 171-172.

[20] Vergleiche CAMBI 1984, 84-86; Cambi 2011, 131-139; Derselbe in diesem Band.

[21] CIL III 2709, 2710 = 9726, 2714 = 9736, 2715, 2716, 2717 = 9728, 9733, 9734 (vergleiche S. 2269), 9737, 9738 und 8781; 9741, 9742, 13976, 14931, 14932, 14933; ILJug 1949, 1950, 1952, 733; BULIĆ 1894, 5, Nr. 3(1984); SANADER 2000, 225-236; FADIĆ 1995, 163-187; TONČINIĆ 2003, 266, Nr. 18; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 16, 26-27; Zu *legio VII* siehe auch PWRE 1925-1926, 1614-1629 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 6-17, 64-67, Kat. Nr. 1-83; FADIĆ 1997, 77-119; TONČINIĆ 2011b, Kat. Nr. 2, 6, 8, 12, 14, 20, 22, 24-26, 34, 39, 42, 43, 46-48, 61, 68, 71, 84, 87, 112.

[22] CIL III 2708=9725, 2711. TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 18-20, 28. Zu *legio* XI siehe auch PWRE 1925-1926, 1692 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 18, 22, 67-68, Kat. Nr. 85, 89 und 113. Es ist fragwürdig ob der Stempel 14022 und S. 2328[179] wirklich aus Gardun stammt, siehe: BETZ 1938, 26. Zu einem weiteren möglichen Denkmal der *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* aus Gardun siehe TONČINIĆ 2007, 263-264.

[23] SANADER 2000, 225-236; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 23 und 24. Grabinschriften und andere Inschriften der *legio IV Flavia felix* sind in Gardun bis jetzt nicht bestätigt. Vergleiche PWRE 1925-1926, 1540-1549 *s. v. Legio* (E. Ritterling); BETZ 1938, 46-48 und 72, Kat. Nr. 217-220. Zu einem weiteren möglichen Denkmal der *legio IV Flavia felix* siehe TONČINIĆ 2007, 263-264.

[24] CIL III 14934; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 251, 268-269, 286, Kat. Nr. 11/3; SPAUL 2000, 431.

[25] CIL III 9727 (2712); ALFÖLDY 1987b, 242, 243, 268-269,278-279, Kat. Nr. 1/62.

[26] CIL III 9735; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 243, 268-269, 279, Kat. Nr. 2/1.

[27] CIL III 9739; BULIĆ 1903, 134 Nr. 3242; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 248-249, 268-269, 283-285, Kat. Nr. 7/4-5; SPAUL 2000, 190-192.

[28] CIL III 14935; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 245-247, 268-269, 280-282, Kat. Nr. 5/7; SPAUL 2000, 266-268; TONČINIĆ 2003, 266, Nr. 17; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 21 und 25.

[29] CIL III 9724 (2706), 9732, 13187, 13975, 14336[1] (10182), 14930; BULIĆ 1903, 129 Nr. 3315; ABRAMIĆ 1940, 225 ff; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 254-255, 268-269, 288-291, Kat. Nr. 18/4-11; SPAUL 2000, 35-37; TONČINIĆ 2005, 147-157; DEMICHELI 2011, Kat. Nr. 18.

[30] CIL III 9760, ALFÖLDY 1987b, 247-248, 268-269, 282, Kat. Nr. 6/2; SPAUL 2000, 141-142.

[31] Zum Beispiel: CIL III 2713, 2718, 2719, 13977.

[32] Vergleiche SANADER – TONČINIĆ in diesem Band.

[33] CIL III 14934; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 251, 268-269, 286, Kat. Nr. 11/3; SPAUL 2000, 431.

[34] CIL III 9727 (2712); ALFÖLDY 1987b, 242, 243, 268-269,278-279, Kat. Nr. 1/62.

[35] CIL III 9735; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 243, 268-269, 279, Kat. Nr. 2/1.

[36] CIL III 9760, ALFÖLDY 1987b, 247-248, 268-269, 282, Kat. Nr. 6/2; SPAUL 2000, 141-142.

[37] CIL III 9739; BULIĆ 1903, 134 Nr. 3242; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 248-249, 268-269, 283-285, Kat. Nr. 7/4-5; SPAUL 2000, 190-192.

[38] CIL III 14935; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 245-247, 268-269, 280-282, Kat. Nr. 5/7; SPAUL 2000, 266-268; TONČINIĆ 2003, 266, Nr. 17; TONČINIĆ – TABAK – LIBRENJAK 2011, Kat. Nr. 21 und 25.

[39] CIL III 9724 (2706), 9732, 13187, 13975, 14336[1] (10182), 14930; BULIĆ 1903, 129 Nr. 3315; ABRAMIĆ 1940, 225 ff; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 254-255, 268-269, 288-291, Kat. Nr. 18/4-11; SPAUL 2000, 35-37; TONČINIĆ 2005, 147-157; DEMICHELI 2011, Kat. Nr. 18.

[40] ZANINOVIĆ 1984, 72-73 = ZANINOVIĆ 1996b: 289; ALFÖLDY 1987b, 268-276; BOJANOVSKI 1988, 355-360

[41] TONČINIĆ 2011, 15-21.

[42] HOFMANN 1905, 54-60, 88.

[43] HOFMANN 1905, 54-60, 88.

[44] TUFI 1971, 131-133; MEDINI 1984, 114-116; Einen überblick zu den verschiedenen Meinungen siehe bei TONČINIĆ 2005; 2007; 2011; 15-21.

[45] CAMBI 1986, 81; CAMBI 1991, 64–65. – CAMBI 1993a, 32.

[46] CAMBI 1989, 48; CAMBI 2003.

[47] CAMBI 1994, 168-169.

[48] CAMBI 1989, 47; CAMBI 1991, 66–67; CAMBI 1993a, 33–34.

[49] CAMBI 1991, 66; CAMBI 1993a, 33.

[50] CAMBI 1994, 171; MEDINI 1984, 112.

Die oft wiederkehrenden Waffendarstellungen, die verschiedene Teile der Grabstelen dekorieren, waren offensichtlich bei Soldaten der *legio VII* sehr beliebt. Sie sind nämlich auch auf anderen, typologisch verwandten Grabstelen aus Tilurium zu finden. Es wurde wiederholt darauf hingewiesen, daß sich die Grabstelen der *legio VII* in zwei Haupttypen gliedern. Zum einen ist es der Architektonische Typus, zu dem auch der Grosteile der Grabstelen mit Türdarstellungen gehört, und zum anderen ein architektonisch reduzierter Typus.[51] Wenn noch die typologisch verwandten Grabstelen anderer in Tilurium bestätigter Einheiten in Betracht gezogen werden, verfügen wir über ein breites Spektrum von verschiedenen Waffendarstellungen. Sie können in drei Gruppen gegliedert werden – den Waffenfries, Selbstdarstellungen der Soldaten oder unabhängige Waffendarstellungen, die als Selbstdarstellungen gedeutet werden können.[52] Sehr beliebt ist vor allem der Waffenfries. Unter den Selbstdarstellungen der Soldaten treten Abbildungen von Waffen und Ausrüstungsgegenständen nur bei Reiterdarstellungen auf. Weitere Waffendarstellungen auf Grabstelen in Tilurium, die sich als Selbstdarstellungen der Verstorbenen deuten lassen, sind meistens am unteren Teil der Grabstelen, entweder in den ursprünglichen Türfeldern oder als alleinstehende Motive, dargestellt.

DER WAFFENFRIES (Abb. 1-11)

Ein Waffenfries ist als dekoratives Element logischer Bestandteil eines Soldatengrabsteines und einer *Aedicula* innerhalb desselben. In *Tilurium* kommen Waffenfriese auf mehreren Grabstelen der *legio VII* vor. Diese erinnert stark an den Waffenfries am Tropeum aus *Tilurium* und es ist denkbar, daß sie von diesem auch entlehnt wurden. Insofern haben die Waffenfriese auf Grabstelen in Tilurium vor allem einen dekorativen Charakter und können nur bedingt zum Studium von Waffen herangezogen werden. Bis auf eine, lassen sich alle Grabstelen dem Architektonischen Typus A1a zuschreiben (Abb. 1-4). Die Grabstele Abb. 5 ist zum architektonisch reduzierten Typus zu rechnen und ist derzeit das einzige Beispiel für einen Waffenfries an diesem Grabstelentyp.[53] Ein Waffenfries tritt auch auf vergleichbaren Grabstelen der *legio VII* an anderen Fundorten in der Provinz Dalmatien auf, so in der Provinzhauptstadt Salona (Abb. 6-7) und in der

[51] CAMBI 1991, 65-66; SANADER 2003b, 501-510; TONČINIĆ 2011, 15-21, 148-160.

[52] SANADER – TONČINIĆ 2009.

[53] TONČINIĆ 2011, 159-161.

Abb. 1: Grabstele des Titus Anharenus (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 2588 , Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 2: Grabstele des *Cnaeus Domitius* (Gardun bei Trilj, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Umgebung des Kastells *Bigeste*, im sogenannten *Pagus sunasticus* (Abb. 8-11). Die Grabstelen aus *Salona* gehören beide dem Architektonischen Typus A3a an, während jene aus *Bigeste* dem Architektonischen Typus A1a gehören. Ein Waffenfries findet sich auch auf einer Grabstele der *cohors Bracaraugustanorum* aus *Bigeste* (Abb. 21), die zum Architektonischen Typus A2a zu rechnen ist.[54]

Diese Grabstelentype waren bei den Soldaten und Veteranen der *legio VII* dermaßen beliebt, das sie entweder von weit her, aus *Tilurium*, herbeigeschafft wurde, oder in anderen Werkstätten nach dem Muster aus *Tilurium* errichtet wurde. Erstes wurde bereits von Nenad Cambi für die Grabstelen Abb. 8 und 11 geschlossen und zweites für die Grabstele Abb. 7.[55] Die erste Behauptung dürfte auch für die später gefundenen bzw. publizierten Grabstelen Abb. 9 und 10 gelten, aber auch für die Grabstele Abb. 21. Die zweite dürfte für die Grabstele Abb. 6 gelten. Diese ist zwar nur auf einer alten Abbildung erhalten geblieben, doch wurde neulich überzeugend von Dražen Maršić darauf hingewiesen, daß es sich um eine getreue Abbildung der Grabstele handeln dürfte.[56]

[54] Vergleiche DODIG 2005, 206 Abb. 6 und DODIG 2008.

[55] Vergleiche Cambi 1989, 47; 1991, 72.

[56] MARŠIĆ 2010.

Abb. 3: Grabstele des *Lucius Fabius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 3321, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 5: Grabstele des *Qintus Oppius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 1999, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

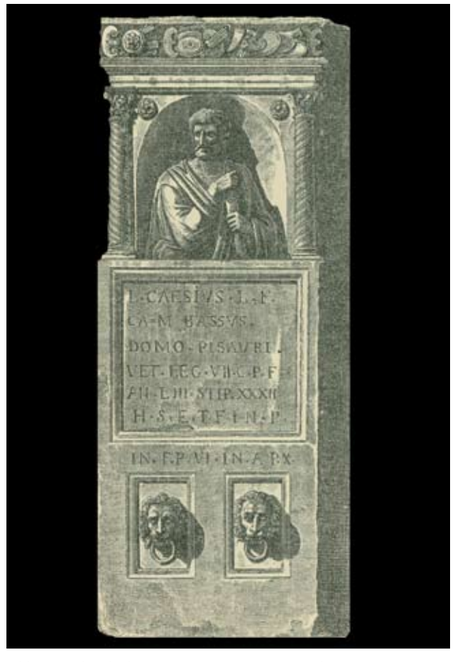

Abb. 6: Grabstele des *Lucius Caesius Bassus* (Nach HOFMANN 1905, 58 Abb. 38.).

Abb.7: Grabstele des *Quintus Mettius Valens* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. AMS-38403, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 8: Grabstele des *Marcus Livius* (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Inv. Nr. 92, Foto: Ivan Dragičević).

Abb. 9: Grabstele des Lucius Marcilius (Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 10: Grabstele des *Quintus Valerius* (Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana na Humcu, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 11: Grabstele des *Tiitus Varius* (Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Foto: Ivan Dragičević).

Abb. 12: Grabstele des *Caius Longinus* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 178, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

DIE SELBSTDARSTELLUNGEN DER SOLDATEN

Weitere Waffendarstellungen und Darstellungen militärischer Gegenstände, die ebenfalls auf Soldatengrabstelen in *Tilurium* verzeichnet sind, lassen sich als Selbstdarstellungen der Verstorbenen deuten. Sie sind innerhalb der *Aedicula*, oder am unteren Teil der Grabstelen entweder in den ursprünglichen Türfeldern oder als alleinstehende Motive dargestellt.

HALBKÖRPERDARSTELLUNGEN (Abb. 12-16)

Obwohl Ganzkörperdarstellungen samt Waffen und Ausrüstung auf Soldatengrabstelen in Dalmatien bekannt sind, finden wir sie nicht in *Tilurium*.[57] In *Tilurium* ist nur auf einer Grabstele der *legio VII* eine Halbkörperdarstellungen ohne Waffen und Ausrüstung vorhanden (Abb. 12). Das einzige Motiv, das sich auf dieser nur zum Teile erhaltenen Halbkörperdarstellung als militärisch deuten läst ist die *paenula*. Diese Grabstele gehört zum Architektonischen Typus A2.[58] Zum gleichen Typus muß auch die Grabstele der *cohors Bracaraugustanorum* aus *Bigeste* gezählt werden (Abb. 21). Interessanterweise sind auch auf typologisch vergleichbaren Grabstelen, die nicht in *Tilurium* selbst, sondern anderswo in Dalmatien für Soldaten bzw. Veteranen der *legio VII* aufgestellt wurden, ebenfalls nur Halbkörperdarstellungen ohne Waffen und Ausrüstung vorhanden. So zum Beispiel auf zwei Grabstelen aus der Provinzhauptstadt *Salona* (Abb. 6-7), die dem Architektonischen Typus A3a angehören. Ebenfalls auf drei Grabstelen aus *Bigeste*, *Salona* und *Aequum* (Abb. 13-15), die dem Architektonischen Typus A3c angehören, und auf der Grabstele Abb. 19 aus *Salona*, die dem Architektonischen Typus A3 angehört. Von militärischen Ausrüstungsgegenständen ist wieder nur die *paenula* auf den Grabsteinen Abb. 7 und 13 vorhanden.[59]

[57] Siehe IVČEVIĆ 2013.

[58] TONČINIĆ 2011, 150, 156.

[59] Zur *paenual* auf anderen Denkmälern in Dalmatien vergleiche IVČEVIĆ 2013.

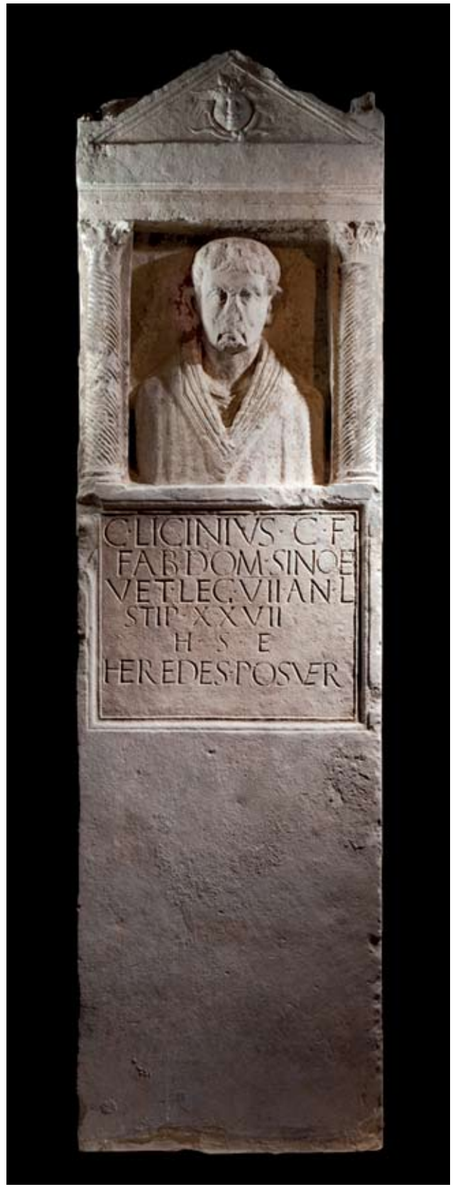

Abb. 13: Grabstele des *Caius Licinius (*Muzej Franjevačkog samostana na Humcu, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 14: Grabstele des *Caius Lucretius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. AMS-39605, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

REITERDARSTELLUNGEN (Abb. 17-21)

Darstellungen von Pferdeausrüstungen auf Grabdenkmälern sind oft eine sehr gute Quelle für das Studium der Art und Weise wie diese getragen wurden, und sie können zum Studium der Pferdeausrüstung herangezogen werden. Deswegen sollte Denkmälern mit Reiterdarstellungen Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet werden.[60] Reiterdarstellungen sind auf drei Grabstelen aus *Tilurium* dokumentiert. Leider handelt es sich in allen drei Fällen um stark beschädigte Denkmäler. Die Grabstele Abb. 17 zeigt einen Reiter auf Pferd, wie er seine Waffen schwingt. Der Innschrift läßt sich nicht mehr entnehmen in welcher Einheit der Verstorbene gedient hat, und somit die Grabstele auch nicht näher Datieren. Die Türdarstellung gehört allerdings bereits dem ersten Schritt der Auflösung. Diese Grabstele ist zum Architektonischen Typus A2 zu rechnen. Eine zweite Grabstele ist noch mehr beschädigt, durfte aber eine vergleichbare Abbildung getragen haben, und für einen Soldaten der *legio VII* aufgestellt worden sein (Abb. 18). Darf man einer alten Zeichnung Glauben schenken, war eine vergleichbare Darstellung auch für einen Veteranen der *legio VII* aufgestellt (Abb. 19). Das dritte Denkmal aus Tilurium war für einen Reiter der *Ala Claudia Nova* aufgestellt. Es ist das einzige Denkmal das nicht den Reitertyp darstellt, sondern ein Motiv des Totenmals. Das Pferdegeschirr ist allen Fällen, aufgrund des schlechten Erhaltungszustands, nicht sichtbar, außer daß auf der Grabstele Abb. 19 der Sattel des Pferdes erkannt werden kann. Eine Pferdedarstellung finden wir auch auf der Grabstele Abb. 21 aus *Bigeste,* hier allerdings ohne Pferdeausrüstungen.

WAFFENDARSTELLUNGEN ALS SELBSTDARSTELLUNGEN DER SOLDATEN

Unabhängige Waffendarstellungen, die meist im unteren Feld der Grabstele, unter der Inschrift oder Portrait, auftauchen, können als Selbstdarstellungen der Soldaten gedeutet werden.[61] Identifiziert sich der verstorbene Soldat bereits auf den Halbkörperdarstellungen durch *sagum* oder *paenula* als Soldat, so tut er das mit verschiedenen Waffen ebenfalls. Einige Waffendarstellungen lassen uns den Verstorbene nur als Soldaten erkennen. Andere Darstellungen hingegen als angehörigen eines ganz bestimmten Dienstgrades oder sogar für Angehörige einer ganz bestimmter Einheiten. Einige Darstellungen sind in solchem Maß persönlich, daß sogar von vereinfachten persönlichen Darstellungen gesprochen werden kann.

[60] FEUGÈRE 2002, 134, 135, Abb. 181; BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 13, Abb. 4; GABELMANN 1973.

[61] SANADER – TONČINIĆ 2009.

Abb. 15: Grabstele des *Lucius Vettius Secundus* (Muzej Cetinske krajine, Inv. Nr. MCK-AZ-228, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 16: Grabstele des *Lucius Arruntius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 4657, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 17: Reitergrabstele aus Tilurium (Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Inv. Nr. RS 154, Foto: Z. Alajbeg).

Abb. 18: Grabstele des *Marcus Percennius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 2458, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 19: Grabstele des *Lucius Caesius Bassus* (Nach Hofmann 1905, 49, Abb. 31).

Abb. 20: Grabstele des *Marcus Elvadius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A-2665).

Abb. 21: Grabstele des *Veranus Caturonis* (Muzej Franjevačkog samostana na Humcu, Foto: R. Dodig).

DOLABRA (Abb. 22-23)

Die *dolabra* (Spitzhacke) war Teil der militärischen Standardausrüstung, sie wurde verwendet um Gräben zu graben, Wälder zu roden, Arbeiten aus Holz zu verrichten, bei Bauarbeiten, und als Waffe. Sie wird von antiken Schriftstellern im militärischen Kontext erwähnt,[62] und wird oft auf römischen militärischen Fundplätzen geborgen.[63] So stammen zum Beispiel auch zwei solche Funde, die beide in das 1. Jh. Jahrhundert datiert werden, aus Tilurium.[64]Auf zwei Grabstelen der *legio VII* aus *Tilurium* identifizieren sich die Verstorbenen durch die Darstellung dieses Ausrüstungsgegenstandes als Soldaten. Auf beiden Grabstelen befinden sich ein Inschriftfeld im oberen Teil der Stele und eine Darstellung der *dolabra* im unteren Teil. Die Grabstele Abb. 22 gehört zum Architektonischen Typus A1b und jene Abb. 26 zum architektonische reduzierten Typus b.

TUBA (Abb. 24)

Musikinstrumente sind nicht ausschließlich eine Komponente der militärischen Ausrüstung, sie waren aber dennoch ein wichtiger Aspekt der militärischen Strategie. Sie wurden verwendet, um akustische Signale im Lager und auf dem Schlachtfeld zu schicken, und auch während Zeremonien. Laut Quellen, hatte jede Legion 36 Hornbläser (*cornicines*) und 28 Trompeter (*tubicines*).[65] Die Tuba war eine gerade Trompete mit einem glockenförmigen Ende, und ihr Zweck war es, laute akustischen Signale zu erzeugen, um Anweisungen an Soldaten während Angriffe und Rückzüge zu geben, aber auch in den Lagern beim Wechsel der Wache und beim Verlassen des Lagers.[66] Sie wurde auch während der Opfer verwendet, in Paraden und bei Triumphzügen [67] sowie bei Grabprozessionen. Auf einer Grabstele, die zwar nicht aus *Tilurium* selbst stammt, aber mit *Tilurium* in Zusammenhang gebracht wird, sind im unteren Teil der Grabstele eine *tuba* und ein Rundschild dargestellt (Abb. 24). Die Inschrift ist nicht erhalten geblieben, so daß die Einheit des Verstorbenen nicht bekannt, und somit eine präzise Datierung nicht möglich ist. Die Grabstele wird aufgrund verschiedener Anhaltspunkte in das dritte Viertel des 1. Jh. datiert.[68] Sie ist zum architektonisch reduzierten Typus b zu rechnen.

[62] PIETSCH 1983, 15.

[63] FEUGÈRE 2002, 180.

[64] ŠEPAROVIĆ 2003, 223, P. 4,1; IVČEVIĆ 2005, 165, P. 2, 30; IVČEVIĆ in diesem Band, RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 105 Kat. Nr. 110 (Autor: S. Ivčević)

[65] SOUTHERN 2007, 159.

[66] MEUCCI 1989, 86.

[67] SCOTT RYBERG 1955, P. LII, Abb. 79b.

[68] Die Fundumstände und sekundäre Verwendung sin beschrieben bei CAMBI 1994, 179, Abb. 10, Stela Nr. 5 (Inv. Nr. AMS A 5964).

Abb. 22: Grabstele des *Lucius Cornelius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 1998, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 23: Grabstele des *Quintus Marcius Bassus* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 2459, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

Abb. 24: Grabstele eines Tubicens (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 5964, Foto: T. Seser).

RUNDSCHILDE (Abb. 24 und 25)

Über die Insignien auf römischen Schilden ist nicht viel bekannt und es wird vermutet, daß Blitze, Flügel, Halbmonde und Sterne die Symbole auf Legionärsschilde waren,[69] während Prätorianer oft Skorpione als Symbol trugen. Über die Insignien der Hilfseinheiten ist nur wenig bekannt. Auf dem Rundschild auf der Grabstele Abb. 24 dürfte das Symbol der Einheit, zu der der Verstorbene gehörte hat, dargestellt sein. Eine weitere Schilddarstellung ist auf einer Grabstele der *cohors Aquitanorum* erhalten. Außer Schildbuckel kann auf diesem kein weiterer Schmuck erkannt werden. Diese Grabstele ist zum architektonisch reduzierten Typus zu rechnen.

KÖCHER, PFEIL UND BOGEN (Abb. 26-28)

Funde der Bogenschützenausrüstung sind auf dem Gebiet des Römischen Reiches selten, und nur auf einige Teile der Ausrüstung – auf Pfeilspitzen und Verstärkungen der Bögen – beschränkt. Bögen und Pfeile werden nur selten auf Soldatengrabdenkmälerdargestellt.[70] Antike Schriftsteller und Bildhauer verfügten in der Regel nicht über ausreichende Kenntnisse der Bogenschützenausrüstung, und ihre Beschreibungen und Darstellungen sind oft nicht hilfreich beim Studium dieser Art von Waffen.[71] In *Tilurium* ist das Unterteil einer Grabstele erhalten, das in vier vertiefte und umrahmte rechteckige Felder geteilt ist (Abb. 26). In den oberen zwei Feldern sind Klopfringe dargestellt, in den unteren zwei Köcher, Pfeil und Bogen. es handelt sich also um eine Türdarstellung, die bereits dem ersten Schritt der Auflösung gehört. Die Innschrift ist nicht mehr erhalten, aber aufgrund von zwei weiteren Grabstelen, die zwar nicht aus *Tilurium* stammen, aber mit *Tilurium* in Zusammenhang gebracht werden

[69] BISHOP – COULSTON 2006, 92.
[70] COULSTON 1985, 235-238.
[71] COULSTON 1985, 223.

Abb. 25: Grabstele des Grabstele des *Burrius Betuloni* (Arheološka zbirka Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju, Inv. Nr. RS 49, Foto: Z. Alajbeg)

Abb. 26: Grabstele eines Bogenschützen (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. D 222, Foto: T. Seser).

(Abb. 27-28), wird diese Grabstele der *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* zugeschrieben. Beide sind zum architektonischen Typus A1a zu rechnen. Anhand dieser, und weitere Grabstelen derselben Einheit aus dem Legionslager Burnum, hat Nenad Cambi die Auflösung der ursprünglichen Türdarstellung bzw. die Auflösung des rein architektonischen Grabstelenaufbaus über mehrere Stufen verfolgt.[72] Da der Köcher auf diesen Grabstelen ein eigenständiges Motiv ist, ist eine Reihe von Details dargestellt, die sonst nicht auf Soldatendarstellungen oder ganzen Soldatenszenen zu erkennen sind. Diese drei Darstellungen sind von großer Bedeutung, weil sie in Details sehr ähnlich sind, und beweisen, daß die erste und zweite Stufe der Auflösung der ursprünglichen Türdarstellung chronologisch nicht weit voneinander liegen[73]

DONA MILITARIA (Abb. 29)

Dona militaria waren, wie dies die bereits erwähnte Innschrift CIL 2718 zeigt, von großer Bedeutung für jeden Soldaten der sie bekommen hat. Unselten werden, vor allem *phalerae,* auf römischen militärischen Fundplätzen geborgen, so zum Beispiel auch in *Tilurium*.[74] Auf einer Grabstele der *legio VII* aus *Tilurium*, sind am unteren Teil der Grabstelen, als alleinstehendes Motiv, militärische Auszeichnungen, *dona militaria* dargestellt. Es handelt sich um *armillae*, *torques* und *phalerae* (Abb. 29). Die Grabstele gehört zum Architektonischen Typus A1b. Vergleichbare Motive sind auch anderswo in Dalmatien dokumentiert.[75] Solche Darstellungen auf Grabstelen lassen sich als Selbstdarstellungen der Verstorbenen deuten. Sie sind in solchem Maß persönlich, daß sogar von vereinfachten persönlichen Darstellungen gesprochen werden kann.

[72] CAMBI 1994, 168-169.
[73] IVČEVIĆ in Druck.
[74] Zu den Funden aus Dalmatien vergleiche BULJEVIĆ in diesem Band.
[75] HOFMANN 1905; RADMAN-LIVAJA 2010, 171-174, Kat. Nr. 80 (Autor D. Maršić).

Abb. 27: Grabstele des *Gaius Julius Theodorus* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A 5952, Foto: T. Seser).

Abb. 28: Grabstele des Gaius Julius Theodorus (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. Nr. A-6962, Foto: T. Seser).

Abb. 29: Grabstele des *Lucius Mummius* (Muzej Cetinske krajine u Sinju, Inv. Nr. MCK-B-1373, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

WERKZEUGDARSTELLUNGEN (Abb. 4)

Auf einer Grabstele aus Tilurium, sind im unteren Teil der Grabstele, das in vier vertiefte und umrahmte rechteckige Felder geteilt ist, vier Werkzeuge dargstellt – Winkelmaß, Zirkel, Hammer und Lot (Abb. 4). Darstellungen von Werkzeugen auf römischen Militärgrabsteinen sind nicht ungewöhnlich, so auch nicht in Dalmatien, wo auf mehrere Beispiele verwiesen werden kann.[76] Auffallend ist allerdings, daß sich die genannten Werkzeugdarstellungen auf dalmatinischen Militärgrabsteinen deutlich von jener auf der Grabstele des *Sextus Clodius* unterscheiden. Es handelt sich nämlich um das einzige Beispiel das die Werkzeugdarstellungen in vier umrahmte viereckige Felder gesetzt sind. Aufgrund der Werkzeugdarstellungen kann man den Verstorbenen als *immunes*, genauer als Steinmetz (*lapidarius*) deuten. Aufgrund der dritten Zeile der Innschrift, *MIL L[- - -] F*, können, in Anbetracht der Legionen von denen wir wissen, dass sie in Dalmatien stationiert gewesen sind, in Grunde drei verschiedene Lesungen dieser Zeile vorgeschlagen werden. Nämlich, *MIL(es) L[EG(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae)] F(idelis)*, *MIL(es) L[EG(ionis) XI C(laudiae) P(iae)] F(idelis)* und *MIL(es) L[EG(ionis) IV F(laviae)] F(elix)*. Der Grad der Auflösung der Türdarstellung kann mit allen drei vorgeschlagenen Datierungen übereinstimmen.

[76] Vergleiche zum Beispiel die Grabstele des Lucius Cassius aus Burnum (PATSCH 1897, 189), Lucius Flavius und eine weiter Grabstele aus Burnum (PATSCH 1900, 75f), sowie eine Grabstele aus Andetrium, ABRAMIĆ 1930-1934, 230ff.

Abb. 4: Grabstele des *Sextus Clodius* (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. A 1982, Foto: Ante Verzotti).

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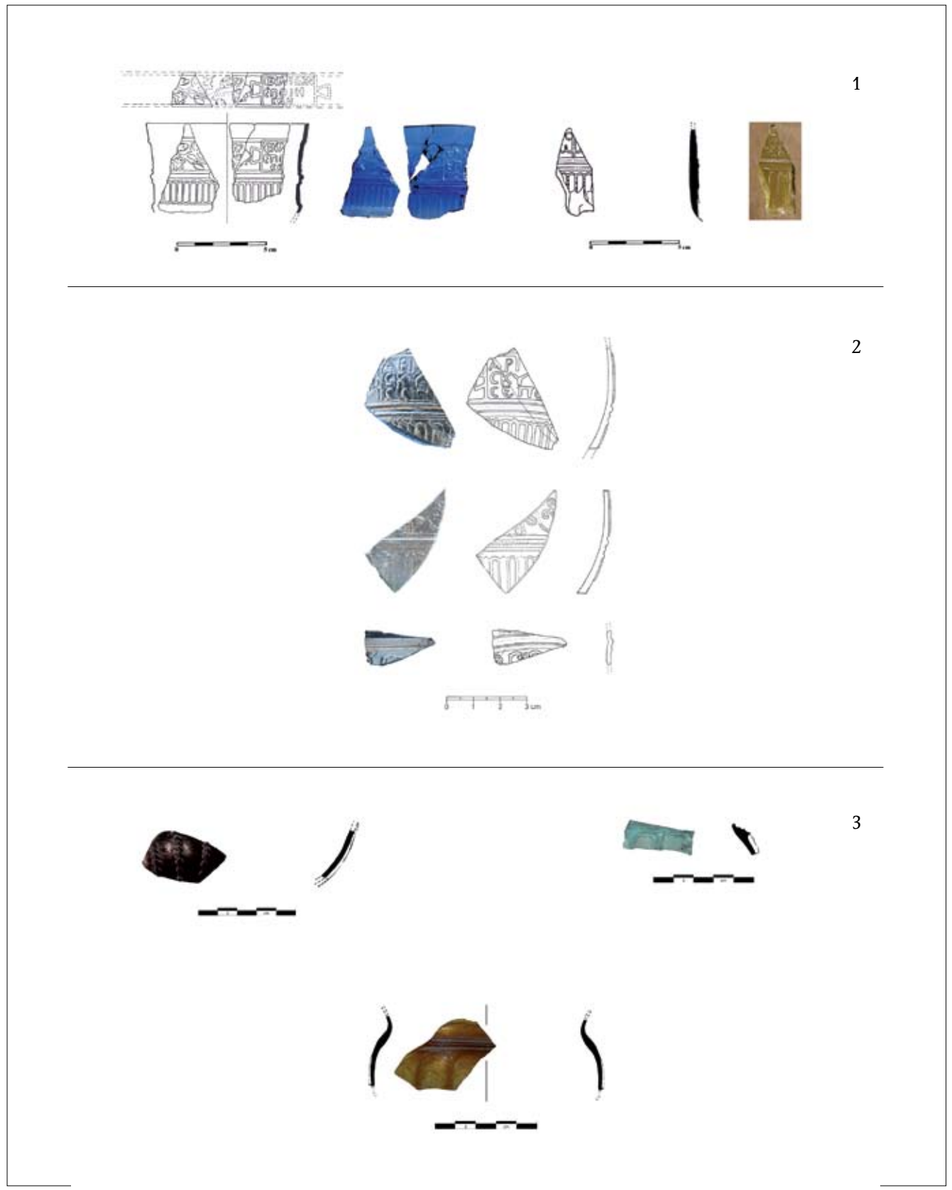
Prakticiranje italskog načina pripreme, prezentacije i konzumacije jela i pića među rimskom je vojskom u Burnumu najbolje uočljivo putem keramičkih i staklenih recipijenata namijenjenih tim aktivnostima. Njihove su količine, podrijetla i raznovrsnosti, razmjerno značenju Burnuma kao ranocarskog legijskog logora i trgovački atraktivnog središta, iznimno velike. Na to najbolje ukazuje arheološki materijal s istraživanja principija logora pohranjen u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru,[1] te onaj otkriven iskapanjem vojnog amfiteatra koji se čuva u Gradskom muzeju u Drnišu i Arheološkoj zbirci Burnum - Puljani. Među njim su za ovu priliku izdvojene tri manje skupine staklenih predmeta nastalih upuhivanjem staklene mase u prethodno reljefno dekorirane kalupe, što je tehnika koja najvjerojatnije istovremeno nastaje tijekom prve četvrtine I. st. na sirijsko-palestinskom[2] i sjevernoitalskom tlu [3] odakle se dosta brzo širi i na ostala područja rimske države.

Prvu skupinu predmeta predstavljaju vrlo luksuzne i popularne Ennion šalice (Slika 1/1). Unatoč pojavi nekoliko varijanti može se zaključiti da je riječ o skifosoidnim recipijentima koje karakterizira središnji friz dekoriran vegetabilnim, geometrijskim ili pak različitim simboličkim motivima s jednom ili dvije tabule ansate u kojima se pojavljuju natpisi različitog sadržaja: Ennion epoiesen (Ennion me napravio) i Mnethe ho agorazon (Neka se kupac upamti).[4] U Burnumu su za sada sa sigurnošću evidentirana ukupno dva fragmentarna primjerka od kojih jedan pripada čaši tipa Harden A1i / De Bellis 1A, dok drugi, nešto bolje sačuvan odgovara tipu Harden A2i / De Bellis 2a.D-F.[5] Riječ je o tipovima koji inače prevladavaju na zapadnomediteranskom području na kojem su zastupljeni isključivo skifosi,[6] za razliku od Istoka gdje se osim njih pronalaze i nešto složeniji oblici kao npr. amfore, amforisci, vrčevi i dr.[7] Na karti rasprostranjenosti Enionovih

[1] ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER - KANDLER, 1979.
[2] LAZAR, 2003, 46-47.
[3] STERN, 1995, 65-66.
[4] HARDEN, 1935, 164-169; DE BELLIS, 2004, 121-190.
[5] BORZIĆ, 2008, 91-94.
[6] DE BELLIS, 2004, 175-176, Fig. 37.
[7] HARDEN, 1935, 195-199.



Slika 1. Staklene posude puhane u kalup iz Burnuma.

proizvoda bilježe se dvije značajnije koncentracije i to ona istočnomediteranska i sjevernoitalska. To je dovelo do ideje da se na oba mjesta uspostavila proizvodna djelatnost i to na način da je majstor nakon djelovanja na Istoku u jednom trenutku iz nepoznatih razloga proizvodnju prebacio na sjever Italije te time utjecao i na uvođenje tehnologije puhanja stakla u kalup na Zapad.[8] Unatoč tome što je ideja dosta primamljiva nju nije moguće sa sigurnošću dokazati, a kao alternative se spominju teorije po kojima na sjevernoitalskom tlu nije došlo do transfera proizvodnje već do trgovine i kopiranja Enionovih kalupa ili pak imitacije njegovog stila.[9] Bez obzira na ispravnost ili nedostatke svake od navedenih teorija evidentno je da se jadranski prostor pokazao kao iznimno plodno tlo za plasiranje tih vrsta proizvoda. To dokazuje i situacija na obalnom dijelu rimske Dalmacije koja je s ukupno 9 Ennion čaša nakon sjeverne Italije druga regija po njihovoj zastupljenosti na zapadnomediteranskom dijelu rimske države. One su osim u Burnumu evidentirane u tri primjerka također u vojnom okruženju legijskog logora uIturiju, dok ostala četiri primjerka dolaze iz rimske kolonije Narone te jednog nepoznatog nalazišta u Dalmaciji, a sve u kontekstima prve polovice I. st.[10] Da njihova pojava ovdje nije slučajna dokazuje i druga izdvojena skupina staklenih predmeta koja pokazuje velike sličnosti s Enionovim proizvodima.

U ovom je slučaju riječ o tzv. Aristeas čašama. Fragmentarno sačuvan burnumski primjerak u tipološkom smislu najvjerojatnije pripada manjoj globularnoj čaši sa središnjim vegetabilno ukrašenim frizom u čijoj se sredini nalazi tabula ansata s natpisom ARI[CTEA]/CKY[IIRIO]/CEIIO[IEI] (Aristeas Cipranin izradio) (Slika 1/2).[11] Vrijednost ovog nalaza proizlazi iz činjenice što je riječ tek o četvrtom Aristeasovom proizvodu (Albonese, Pavia - Collezione Strada,[12] nepoznato nalazište - Constable-Maxwell Collection,[13] Narona - Augusteum[14]). Njegovim pronalaskom potvrdilo se da su u sva četiri slučaja korišteni različiti kalupi za izradu skifosoidnih i globularnih posuda s pretežito vegetabilnom i geometrijskom dekoracijom te različito organiziranim natpisom. Svi oni uvelike podsjećaju na nešto kvalitetnije Enionove proizvode koji su morali imati idejnog utjecaja na njihov nastanak, no i bez toga je evidentno da je Aristeas vjerno pratio modne i tehnološke trendove koji su se tijekom prve polovice I. st. pojavili u staklarskoj industriji. Unatoč tome što se na tri primjerka Aristeas potpisuje kao Cipranin nije, kao i u slučaju Eniona, ni približno riješeno pitanje mjesta njegova djelovanja. Iako je i to moguće, isticanje podrijetla ne mora ujedno značiti i lokaciju radionice već npr. slavljenje domovine.[15] No, u traženju mogućeg odgovora ne treba izgubiti iz vida distribuciju proizvoda bez obzira na njihov mali broj. Naime, sva tri primjerka kojima je poznato mjesto nalaza dolaze iz sjeverno - istočnojadranskog kruga (Pavia, Burnum, Narona), što odgovara prostoru na kojem se pretežito pronalaze Enionovi skifosi za koje je pretpostavljeno sjevernoitalsko podrijetlo. Prema tome isto se može reći i za Aristeasove proizvode koji u Burnumu i Naroni dolaze iz istih vremenskih konteksta prve polovice I. st.[16] Osnivanje radionica luksuznih staklenih proizvoda na tlu sjeverne Italije u ovo vrijeme ne bi trebalo iznenaditi jer je riječ o gospodarski i trgovački vrlo perspektivnom području koje je opskrbljivalo svoje široko obalno i kontinentalno zaleđe na kojem se pronalaze iznimno velike količine različitih tamošnjih proizvoda (keramike, stakla, poljoprivrednih proizvoda i dr.). Tome svjedoči i treća izdvojena skupina nešto manje luksuznih, ali svakako vrlo vrijednih staklenih predmeta puhanih u kalup.

Riječ je o dvanaestak primjeraka tanko narebrenih globularnih zdjelica jantarne, plave, ljubičaste ili prirodne zelenkaste boje, od kojih se na pojedinim primjercima pojavljuju arkadno spojena rebra ili pak na vruće aplicirane tanke bijele ili prozirne staklene niti koje obilaze gornji, donji ili narebreni dio tijela (Slika 1/3).[17] Takve su zdjelice u literaturi poznate pod nazivom „Zarte Rippenschalen".[18] Najzaslužniji za njihovu obradu su W. Pfeffer i T. E. Haevernick koji su s obzirom na činjenicu da se one ne nalaze južnije od Atene i Cipra ustvrdili kako ne može biti riječ o proizvodima sirijskih staklarskih radionica.[19] Isti su autori na temelju nalaza

[8] HARDEN, 1935, 165-169; DE BELLIS, 2004, 121-190.

[9] McCLELLAN, 1983, 76; MANDRUZZATO, 2007, 186; STERN, 1995, 70.

[10] BULJEVIĆ, 2009, 35-39; Traces of Ennion and Aristeas 2012.

[11] BORZIĆ, 2011, 79-91.

[12] CALVI, 1965, 9-16.

[13] THE CONSTABLE-MAXWELL COLLECTION, 1979, 157-160, cat. no. 280.

[14] BULJEVIĆ, 2004, 189, cat. no. 8.

[15] STERN, 1995, 72.

[16] BORZIĆ, 2011, 79-91

[17] JADRIĆ-KUČAN, 2011, 361-375

[18] MORIN-JEAN, 1913, forma 69; CALVI, 1968, grupa G; ISINGS, 1957, forma 17; WELKER, 1974, 18; AUTH, 1976, 50; GOETHER-POLASCHEK, 1977, forma 4; LIGHTFOOT, 1993, 37.

[19] PFEFFER-HAEVERNICK, 1958.

u dobro datiranim grobnim cjelinama odredili da kraj njihove produkcije pada u klaudijevsko vrijeme,[20] što se poklapa i sa zaključcima ostalih autora prema kojima se one po prvi put javljaju u kasnoaugustovsko doba, s tim da najveću popularnost dosežu u tiberijevsko-klaudijevskom intervalu.[21] U tom su se periodu iskristalizirale tri glavne distribucijske zone, ona sjeveroistočne Italije, Slovenije i Hrvatske, zatim sjeverozapadne Italije i Švicarske te naposlijetku obalne zone Rajne.[22] U svakoj od njih pretpostavljena su i proizvodna središta, a za naše je područje svakako najinteresantnije ono akvilejsko, dok se kao sekundarno može smatrati ono ticinsko. Ona su očito imala dovoljnu proizvodnu snagu da osim „matičnog" sjevernoitalskog opskrbljuju i čitavo svoje zaleđe s istočnojadranskim područjem na kojem je ovaj tip zdjelica pronađen u relativno velikom broju i to većinom u kontekstima prve polovice I. st., npr. osim u Burnumu pronalazimo ih u Saloni, Jaderu, Enoni, Aseriji, Omišlju, V. Mrdakovici, Tiluriju, Naroni i drugdje, dakle sve jakim i perspektivnim središtima na našoj obali.[23]

Ove kratke analize triju skupina staklenih predmeta puhanih u kalup pokazale su da Burnum po značaju i raznovrsnosti arheološkog materijala ni u kojem slučaju ne zaostaje za nekim drugim, možda čak i jačim civilnim ili vojnim središtima ranocarskog doba. Kontekst u kojem su svi oni pronađeni u Burnumu dokazuje njihovu dataciju u prvu polovicu I. st. Naime, riječ je o arteficijelnom kameno-zemljanom nasipu nastalom na velikom škrapastom platou oko 400 m zapadno od logora, a na kojem sredinom I. st. dolazi do gradnje vojnog amfiteatra, a moguće i vježbališnog kampusa.[24] Takvu dataciju omogućila je iznimno velika količina kronološki (tiberijevsko-klaudijevski interval) jasno odredivog keramičkog, staklenog i posebice numizmatičkog, ali i ostalog materijala pronađenog u spomenutom nasipu.[25] Izuzetno je važan i nalaz znatnih količina istovremene različite vojne opreme koja na neki način dokazuje da je sav arheološki materijal zabilježen u spomenutom nasipu u originalu pripadao vojnom, a ne civilnom (canabae) kontekstu.[26] Upravo stoga je i ovdje prezentirane staklene posude moguće, barem u širem smislu, smatrati vojnom opremom. Naravno, ako se razmišlja o užem značenju tog pojma tada stakleni ili keramički recipijenti svakako ne ulaze u njegov korpus, ali ako se njegovo korištenje postavi u šire okvire u kojima se pod vojnom opremom smatra apsolutno sve što je vojska koristila u svojim svakodnevnim aktivnostima tada i oni zauzimaju vrlo istaknuto mjesto. Nadalje, promatrajući konkretno ovdje obrađene staklene predmete jasno je kako oni zbog svog načina izrade, dekoracije i malobrojnosti, posebice kada je riječ o Ennion i Aristeas proizvodima, spadaju u predmete čija je cijena na tržištu morala biti znatno veća od uobičajeno prisutnih keramičkih ili staklenih prezentacijsko-konzumacijskih recipijenata. Upravo je zbog toga teško očekivati da bi na tržištu za njima posegnuo običan rimski vojnik. Realnije je da se u vojnim okruženjima kakvi su u Dalmaciji bili Burnum i Tilurij njihove vlasnike traži u nekim više pozicioniranim vojnim osobama, a kao takve se u Burnumu tijekom prve polovice I. st. mogu smatrati npr. legatus legionis, tribunus laticlavius, praefectus castrorum, tribunus angusticlavius ili pak različiti centuriones XI. legije,[27] ili pak praefectus Alae Ale I Hispanorum.[28] Svi oni su dolazili iz italskih obitelji i kao takvi su na novoutemeljenom provincijskom tlu nastojali u posebnim trenutcima blagovanja gajiti tradicionalne italske navike za što su ovdje prezentirane posude svojim oblikom i dekoracijom izvedenom u italo-mediteranskom stilu bile idealne. Stoga je očekivati da će buduća istraživanja na Burnumu, ali i drugim jakim dalmatinskim vojnim i civilnim središtima iznijeti nove nalaze ove vrste.

[20] PFEFFER-HAEVERNICK, 1958, 76-88.

[21] GROSE, 1982, 28; GOETHERT-POLASCHEK 1977.

[22] CALVI, 1965.

[23] Salona (KIRIGIN, 1984, 124, br. 9), Jader, Enona, Aserija, Osor (FADIĆ, 2001, 292, cat. no. 310-316), V. Mrdakovica (BRUSIĆ, 2000, 29), Tilurij (BULJEVIĆ, 2003, 285, 286, cat. no. 30-33), Narona-Augusteum (BULJEVIĆ, 2004, 119, cat. no. 16).

[24] CAMBI- GLAVIČIĆ - MARŠIĆ- MILETIĆ- ZANINOVIĆ, 2006; CAMBI- GLAVIČIĆ - MARŠIĆ- MILETIĆ- ZANINOVIĆ, 2007. Mora se naglasiti da je amfiteatar osim klaudijevske imao i drugu, flavijevsku fazu u kojoj dolazi do njegove monumentalizacije. Tome svjedoči i natpis cara Vespazijana uzidan na južnom glavnom ulazu u amfiteatar.

[25] O keramici kod BORZIĆ, 2011.

[26] O vojnoj opremi kod ZANINOVIĆ, 2009, 283-290; NALAZI RIMSKE VOJNE OPREME, 2010, 143-176.

[27] XI. legija u Burnum najvjerojatnije stiže odmah po osnutku stalnog logora u ranotiberijevsko vrijeme te ostaje sve do 69. g. kada odlazi u građanski rat, a zamjenjuje je Legio IIII Flavia felix. U međuvremenu zajedno s VII. legijom nakon Skribonijanove pobune 42. g. od cara Klaudija biva nagrađena pridjevkom Claudia Pia Fidelis, što se jako dobro prati na brojnim epigrafičkim spomenicima. O tome kod CAMBI- GLAVIČIĆ - MARŠIĆ- MILETIĆ- ZANINOVIĆ, 2007, 16-18.

[28] Ala I Hispanorum u Burnum najvjerojatnije dolazi neposredno nakon Batonova ustanka 6.-9. g. te po svemu sudeći ostaje sve do Skribonijanove pobune 42. g. kada odlazi u kastel Bem-térij u Aquincumu. Nju u Burnumu po svemu sudeći zamjenjuje Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria. O tome kod CAMBI- GLAVIČIĆ - MARŠIĆ- MILETIĆ- ZANINOVIĆ, 2007, 26; MILETIĆ, 2010, 129-131.

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OPSKRBA HRANOM U RIMSKOM LEGIJSKOM LOGORU U BURNUMU - ANALIZA AMFORA

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Uz mnogobrojne predvidljive i nepredvidljive situacije s kojima se rimska administracija susretala tijekom upravljanja golemom državom, uvijek se moralo imati na umu da vojska, jedini garant održavanja koliko-toliko mirne atmosfere, bude u svakom pogledu zadovoljna. U tom je smislu zadovoljan vojnik onaj kojem ništa ne nedostaje, a pod tim se misle uvjeti za službovanje, plaća, ratna oprema i svakako vrlo kvalitetna prehrana koja u kontekstu naše priče kao indikativnu poslovicu čini onu da „ljubav ide kroz želudac". Da se o posljednje navedenoj stavci uvelike razmišljalo svjedoče različite kategorije izvora, od onih pisanih[1] do onih iz materijalne kulture pronađene arheološkim istraživanjima mnogobrojnih lokaliteta vojnog karaktera.

Jedan od takvih je i legijski logor u Burnumu smješten na istaknutom pregibu desne obale rijeke Krke (*Titius*) u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Sve prednosti lokacije odabrane za utemeljenje logora najbolje se vide u kasnijem položaju Burnuma u rimskoj cestovnoj mreži,[2] u kojoj on predstavlja čvorište najvažnijih magistralnih komunikacija koje povezuju dalmatinsku obalu i panonsku unutrašnjost, te italski sjever (Akvileju) s Dirahijem.[3] Utemeljenje stalnog logora, nakon što je u jednom nestalnog karaktera bila stacionirana Legio XX Valeria Victrix, vezuje se uz razdoblje neposredno nakon Batonova ustanka 6. - 9. g., od kada sve do početka II. st. u njemu, uz nekoliko augzilijarnih postrojbi (Ala I Hispanorvm: 9. - 42. g. pr. Kr.; Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria: 42. - 60. g.; Cohors III Alpinorum: 60. - 70. g.; Cohors I Montanorum c. R.: 70. - 86. g.),[4] kontinuirano borave Legio XI (od 42. g. Claudia Pia Fidelis) (14. - 69. g.), Legio IIII Flavia Felix (69. - 79. g.) i odjeljenja Legio VIII Avgvsta (79. g. - poč. II. st.), nakon čega dolazi do utemeljenja istoimenog municipija koji egzistira sve do bizantsko-gotskih ratova.[5]

[1] KEHNE 2007, 323-324.

[2] O geografskim, povijesnim i strateškim značajkama prostora kod BORZIĆ 2007, 163-179.

[3] BOJANOVSKI 1974, 206-220; MILETIĆ 1993, 134-137; MILETIĆ 2006, 125-136.

[4] Redosljed prema CAMBI *et al*., 2007.

[5] ZANINOVIĆ 1968, 119-129.

Poznato je da se vojni obrok u rimsko vrijeme sastojao od dva glavna dijela - *frumentum* (žito i žitne prerađevine) i *cibaria* (meso, povrće, sir, sol, vino, ulje).[6] Svakom vojniku dnevno je službeno pripadalo oko 1,5 kg hrane i pića, a eventualne dodatke tome svaki je od njih po svojoj želji mogao nabavljati na slobodnom tržištu u okolici logora,[7] ili mu ih je pak slala obitelj.[8] Ako se u obzir uzmu navedeni iznos te oko 5 000 stalno stacioniranih vojnika jasno je da su dnevne potrebe prehrambenih proizvoda u Burnumu bile izrazito velike.[9] Za njihovo je namirenje vojna i državna administracija morala razviti efikasan sistem nabave kojeg je u prostornom, ali i organizacijskom smislu moguće podijeliti na tri razine - lokalnu, regionalnu (provincijsku) i globalnu (državnu).[10] Unatoč tome što je proučavanje prehrane vojnika u Burnumu tek u povojima, u tamošnjim se okolnostima barem teoretski može raspravljati o svakoj od navedenih razina, no s obzirom na karakter teme, ali i još uvijek velike nepoznanice vezane uz prve dvije, najviše će se pažnje obratiti na onu posljednju. Za to će poslužiti korpus od gotovo tristotinjak amfora pronađenih u slojevima podno vojnog amfiteatra pronađenog u neposrednoj blizini burnumskog logora, a za kojeg se posredstvom arheološkog materijala utvrdilo da nastaje sredinom I. st.[11]

Lokalna razina opskrbe odnosi se na onu koju je vojska mogla organizirati na svom teritoriju (*territorium legionis*), čija je namjena bila da, ovisno o mogućnostima, zadovolji najosnovnije potrebe nužne za nesmetano odvijanje svakodnevnog života vojske i to kako u ekonomskom (pašnjačke, lovne i šumske površine, komunikacije, vodoopskrba i sl.) tako i u sigurnosnom smislu.[12] Njegovoj organizaciji u okviru Burnuma kao legijskog središta svjedoče čak dva terminacijska natpisa pronađena u selu Uzdolje na Kosovu polju, a na kojima se spominje pojam *prata legionis* (legijske livade),[13] što se može smatrati samo jednim integralnim dijelom ukupnog opsega teritorija stavljenog pod pravnu kontrolu legija. Rasprave o veličini burnumskog teritorija, kojeg jedni autori promatraju kao kompaktnu,[14] a drugi kao podijeljenu površinu,[15] i danas traju, ali za temu vezanu uz njegov prehrambeni potencijal to i nije od presudne važnosti. Današnji pejzaž svakako nije onaj na kojeg su Rimljani naišli dolaskom na ovaj prostor, ali teško je, s obzirom na poznate parametre, pretpostaviti da je išta osim stočarstva predstavljalo osnovu prehrambeno-proizvodnih djelatnosti.[16] Na to upućuju i spomenute livade na kojima su pasla legijska stada teglećih (konji, volovi) i prehrambenih životinja (goveda, ovce, koze i dr.) te je pretpostaviti da je barem dio potreba za mesom i mliječnim prerađevinama bio zadovoljavan upravo s te strane. Preliminarni rezultati analize osteoloških nalaza iz logora pokazali su da među njima prevladavaju kosti stoke sitnog zuba (ovce i koze), a da za njima slijede kosti svinja te goveda.[17] Predispozicije za lovne aktivnosti također su postojale, a osim pretpostavke da su šumske površine pogodne za to bile puno veće nego je to slučaj danas kada su antropogena deforestacija i prirodna denudacija terena značajno uznapredovale, na to ukazuju i, istina za sada rijetki, ostatci kostiju i parožaka divljih životinja, prije svega srndaća i jelena.[18] Nadalje, u prehrambeno-opskrbnom smislu ne smiju se zanemariti ni blizina i važnost rijeke Krke, a unatoč tome što do sada nisu izdvojene riblje kosti, na ribolov kao aktivnost ukazuju nalazi nekoliko bronČanih udica. O ratarstvu kao značajnijoj prehrambeno-proizvodnoj djelatnosti na burnumskom teritoriju teško je govoriti i to upravo zbog karaktera zemljišta na kojem nastaje, iako se mogu uzeti u obzir i manje plodne površine pogodne za uzgoj žitarica i sličnih kultura. Tim slijedom dolazi se do sljedeće razine u opskrbnoj politici i to one koja je zahtjevala izlazak iz lokalnih okvira i zadovoljavanje potreba iz onih regionalnih (provincijskih).

O konkretnoj prehrambeno-proizvodnoj snazi rimske provincije Dalmacije danas se ne zna dovoljno, ali pojedini pisani i arheološki izvori ukazuju da je rimska logistika u vrijeme stacioniranja različitih vojnih jedinica na njezinom tlu dijelom mogla računati i na ovdašnje resurse. U geografskom smislu provincija

[6] DAVIES 1971, 125; ROTH 1999, 26.

[7] ROTH 1999, 43; CARROLL 2005, 368.

[8] DAVIES 1971, 123-124.

[9] Prema proračunima koje o dnevnim količinama potrebnih potrepština donosi J. P. Roth (ROTH 1999, 43, Tab. 3) u Burnumu je svakodnevno moralo biti dostupno 4 250 kg žita, 800 kg mesa, 250 kg povrća, 135 kg sira, 350 l maslinova ulja, 1 350-2 000 l vina i 200 kg soli.

[10] CARRERAS MONFORT 2002, 72-83.

[11] CAMBI *et al.* 2006; MILETIĆ - GLAVIČIĆ 2009, 75-84.

[12] O pojmu kod LE BOHEC 1994, 149.

[13] CIL III 13259; BULIĆ 1891; PATSCH 1895. (*Termini positi inter prata legionis et fines / roboreti Flavii Marciani per Augustianum Bellicum procuratorem Augusti*); ZANINOVIĆ 1985, 63-79 (*T(erminus) P(rati) / LEG(ionis) / XI C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)*).

[14] ZANINOVIĆ 1985, 63-79; MILETIĆ 2007, 183-187 (Fig. 5). Ovdje se donosi površina od 450 km².

[15] ČAČE 1989, 89.

[16] Ostale aktivnosti za koje je burnumski okoliš pružao mogućnosti bile su opekarstvo, kamenoklesarstvo i sl. O prednostima prostora na kojem nastaje logor vidi kod BORZIĆ 2007, 169-171.

[17] CAMPEDELLI 2007, 60-62.

[18] CAMPEDELLI 2007, 60-62.

Dalmacija predstavlja klasičnu mediteransku krševitu zemlju s manjim ili većim izoliranim plodnim površinama (polja, npr. u okolici Narone, Splitsko-Kaštelansko-Trogirsko, Ravni kotari i dr.) te opsegom velikim planinsko-kontinentalnim zaleđem što je usmjerilo i primarne gospodarske aktivnosti. S obzirom na takve karakteristike očekivano je tradicionalna aktivnost stočarstvo koje je, posebice u slučaju stoke sitnog zuba, moguće pratiti još od prapovijesti. O tome svjedoči i mnoštvo uputnih etnonima, toponima, povijesnih izvora i arheoloških nalaza, kao npr. ime plemena Delmata (ovčari) po kojem provincija dobiva ime; ime grčke, a kasnije i rimske naseobine *Tragurion* - Kozje brdo; Plinijev opis otoka Brača - *capris laudata Brattia*,[19] popularnost dalmatinskog sira (*caseus delmaticus*),[20] liburnskih vunenih ogrtača,[21] Silvana kao božanstva i dr.[22] S obzirom na sve navedeno rimska je vojska putem naturalnog poreza (*tributum* i *coemptio*) ili pak slobodnog tržišta najvjerojatnije mogla podmiriti sve potrebe za mesom i mliječnim proizvodima. Isto se može reći i za sve ono što je dijelom vezano uz more kao izvor prehrane, npr. sol iz brojnih solana,[23] te ribe i ribljih prerađevina,[24] školjaka i puževa kojih je u Burnumu također pronađeno u zavidnom broju i to volaka (*Phyllonotus trunculus*), jakobovih kapica (*Pecten jacobaeus*), dagnji (*Mytilus galloprovincialis*), kamenica (*Ostrea stentina*), kopitnjaka (*Spondylus gaederopus*) i dr. S druge strane, s ratarskim proizvodima drugačija je stvar. Blaga mediteranska klima dovela je do toga da se, uz uzgoj žitarica,[25] vinogradarstvo i maslinarstvo posredstvom grčke i rimske kolonizacije, i to posebice na uskom obalnom pojasu, razviju u značajnoj mjeri, čemu svjedoče pisani i arheološki podatci iz čitavog antičkog perioda. Pisani izvori spominju kvalitetu isejskog vina još u II. st. pr. Kr.,[26] te posebno liburnskog maslinova ulja.[27] Iznimno su česti nalazi postrojenja za preradu vinove loze i maslina na brojnim manjim i većim gospodarskim imanjima (*villa rustica*) širom priobalne Dalmacije.[28] Lokalna produkcija grčko-italskih i drugih amfora zabilježena je još u helenističko doba u Isi i Farosu,[29] što se nastavlja s proizvodnjom rimskih kasnorepublikanskih Lamboglia 2 amfora u Isi i Tasovčićima,[30] te ranocarskih Dressel 6B u Novalji na otoku Pagu,[31] te uz njih još i amfora tipa Dressel 2-4 i onih s ravnim dnom (Forlimpopoli) u Crikvenici.[32] U istom smislu ne treba u potpunosti zanemariti ni u Dalmaciji vrlo popularan kult Dioniza/Libera.[33] Sve to upućuje da je proizvodnja vina i maslinova ulja bila izrazito razvijena, no o njezinoj kvantitativnoj razini, kao i onoj vezanoj uz proizvodnju žitarica, nije moguće govoriti u konkretnim brojkama. No, količine amfora zabilježene na podmorskim i kopnenim lokalitetima iz ovdje promatranog vremena (prva polovica I. st.), a čije se podrijetlo mora tražiti van dalmatinskog teritorija, upućuju da proizvodni kapaciteti nisu bili ni približno dostatni zadovoljavanju rastućih potreba sve brojnijeg stanovništva koje se zbog povijesnih okolnosti tada slivalo u sva važnija dalmatinska civilna i vojna središta. Taj se problem logično rješavao intenzivnim uvozom iz onih regija rimskog svijeta koje su s obzirom na svoje prirodne predispozicije i organizaciju proizvodnje mogle kontinuirano zadovoljavati široke tržišne zahtjeve,[34] čime se u kontekstu burnumske vojske dolazi do treće, one globalne opskrbne razine.

[19] Plinije Stariji, NH III, 152.

[20] ZANINOVIĆ 2007, 263, bilj. 354.

[21] Martial, *Epi.*, XI 98, 10; Plinije Stariji, *NH* VIII, 191.

[22] Općenito o stočarstvu na području rimske Dalmacije kod ZANINOVIĆ 1977, 794; ŠKEGRO 1999, 197-206.

[23] ZANINOVIĆ 1991, 255-264.

[24] Riboprerađivačku djelatnost u Dalmaciji svjedoči i Plinije Stariji koji kaže: „*...sicut muria Antipolis ac Thuri, iam vero et Dalmatia*“ (Plinije Stariji, NH XXXI, 94.), ali i bazeni za proizvodnju umaka zabilježeni na lokalitetu Soline kod Biograda (SUIĆ 1976, 214; VRSALOVIĆ 1979, 547-548).

[25] O tome kod ŠKEGRO 1999, 184-192.

[26] Atenej, I, 28, d (51). O tome kod KIRIGIN 1996, 83.

[27] Apic. *de re Coquinaria, 1, 5*; Pall. *Opus Agr. 12, 18*; Cass. Bass. *De Re Rustica* 9, 27, 1-2. O tome kod MATIJAŠIĆ 1998, 335-336.

[28] ZANINOVIĆ 1977, 785-793; ŠKEGRO 1999, 151-183.

[29] KIRIGIN 1994, 18; KATIĆ 2002, 51-59.

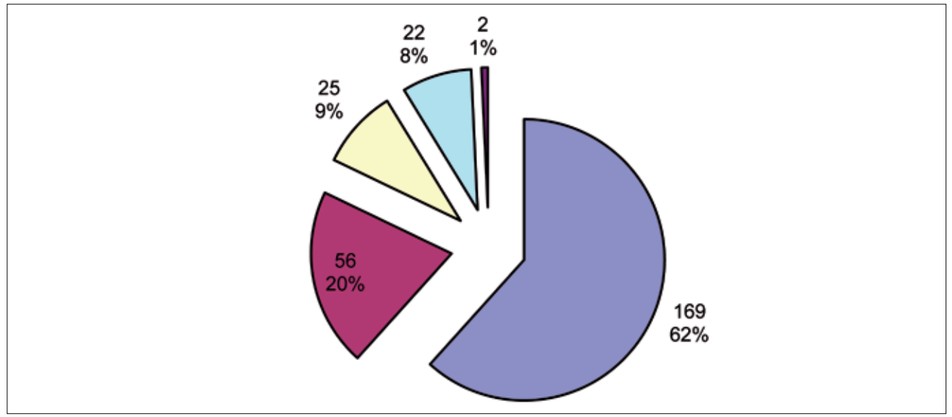
[30] CAMBI 1991, 55-65.

[31] GLUŠČEVIĆ 1989, 73-87; GLUŠČEVIĆ 2006, 53-54.

[32] LIPOVAC-VRKLJAN 2007.

[33] JADRIĆ 2007.

[34] Općenito o uvozu kod VRSALOVIĆ 1979; JURIŠIĆ 2000; GLICKSMAN 2005, 189-230.



Amfore *vinariae*	Amfore *olearіae*	Amfore za riblje prerađ.	Amfore za voće	Amfore nepoznate namjene
169	56	25	22	2

Graf 1. Zastupljenost amfora iz Burnuma prema namjeni.

Već je rečeno da će se njezino definiranje svesti na analizu korpusa od gotovo 300 amfora iz burnumskih slojeva iz prve polovice I. st. Među njima je zabilježeno 18 različitih tipova kojima je u većini slučajeva bilo moguće odrediti podrijetlo, ali i za temu posebno važnu primarnu namjenu. Najveći broj primjeraka pripada amforama vinarijama (169), zatim olearijama (56), pa onima namijenjenima prijevozu ribljih prerađevina - umaka (25) i voća (22), dok svega dva primjerka imaju nepoznatu primarnu namjenu (Graf 1).

Prevladavanje vinskih amfora nije iznenađujuće kad se stavi u kontekst važnosti vina u svakodnevnoj prehrani rimskih vojnika. Vino je bilo dio *cibus castrensis*, korišteno je u različitim varijantama, kao *acetum* ili *posca*, a smatra se da ga je dnevno na jednog vojnika dolazilo oko 0,27 l, što je u konačnici zahtjevalo izrazito velike količine.[35] Među burnumskim amforama izdvojeno je 5 tipova različitog podrijetla. Najveći broj njih pripada amforama tipa Dressel 2-4 (71 primjerak),[36] čija se produkcija na tradiciji helenističkih amfora koanske provenijencije tijekom druge polovice I. st. pr. Kr. i kroz čitavo I. st. proširila prvo na južnoitalsko tlo, a zatim i širom europskog kopna (sjeverna Italija, Dalmacija, Hispanija Tarakonenzis, Betika, južna i središnja Galija, Recija, Britanija i dr.).[37] Toj popularnosti svjedoči i činjenica da se i među burnumskim materijalom izdvojilo čak 10 različitih fabrikata koje se prema komparativnom materijalu može povezati s bogatim vinorodnim egejskim (25 primjeraka), južnoitalskim (18 primjeraka), sjevernoitalskim (12 primjeraka) i moguće hispanskim (1 primjerak?), te ostalim nepoznatim prostorima. Takav omjer podrijetla na Jadranu nije slučajan jer se ista stvar bilježi i na mnogobrojnim brodolomima u čijim se teretima nalazi ovaj tipa amfora.[38]

Nešto manji broj vinarija, njih 62, pripada egejskom tzv. kasnorodskom tipu (Camulodunum 184) koji kao i prethodni nastaje na tradiciji helenističkih amfora s otoka Rodosa, s kojeg se produkcija proširila i na širi egejski prostor, a moguće čak i u Italiju.[39] Među burnumskim primjercima zabilježeno je čak 7 fabrikata, od kojih se tri najbrojnija najvjerojatnije mogu vezati uz otok Rodos,[40] dok je za ostale teško išta sa sigurnošću tvrditi. Bez obzira na to evidentan je dosta intenzivan import vina u amforama ovog tipa, što se poklapa s do sada utvrđenom situacijom na čitavoj istočnojadranskoj obali gdje se na njih nailazi u velikom broju i to kako na podmorskim tako i na kopnenim lokalitetima.[41]

Treći tip vinskih amfora jest Dressel 6A zabilježenih u 26 primjeraka. Riječ je o amforama sjevernoitalske produkcije koje na tradiciji cirkumjadranskih Lamboglia 2 amfora nastaju tijekom kraja I. st. pr. Kr. i prve polovice I. st. na zapadnoj i sjevernoj obali Jadrana i to na prostoru od Monte Gargana do Veneta.[42] Njihov import na istočnojadransko područje nije bio u istom rangu kao i njezinih prethodnica,[43] no to je moguće objasniti i činjenicom što se na proizvodnom području istovremeno kao ambalaža za vino koriste i spomenute amfore tipa Dressel 2-4, kao i trgovačkim usmjerenjem proizvođača.

Zanimljiv je i nalaz malog broja ranih betičkih amfora tipa Haltern 70 (8 primjeraka) koje svjedoče importu različitih vinskih proizvoda s hispanskog područja (*defrutum*, *sapa*, *mulsum*),[44] što je za vrijeme o kojem se ovdje govori relativno rijedak slučaj. Tome svjedoče i vrlo rijetki nalazi na drugim istovremenim lokalitetima, npr. Emoni i Magdalensbergu,[45] a kontinuirani uvoz i tijekom druge polovice I. st. dokazuje nalaz razvijenog Haltern 70 tipa amfore u teretu brodoloma Pupak (Galijula) kod Palagruže.[46]

Posljednju, zbog fragmentiranosti upitnu skupinu vinskih amfora predstavljaju svega dva primjerka Dressel 28 tipa. Riječ je o amforama južnogalskog podrijetla koje nisu izrazito čest nalaz na jadranskom prostoru,[47] ali kako se među ostalim keramičkim materijalom u Burnumu ipak pronašlo i nešto tamošnjeg,[48] njihov nalaz možda i ne treba iznenaditi.

Drugu veću skupinu amfora predstavljaju one namijenjene transportu maslinova ulja. Ono je u antičkom svijetu imalo vrlo široku primjenu, tako da ga se osim u prehrambenom kontekstu, ovisno o kvaliteti, sasvim sigurno koristilo i u medicinske, kozmetičke i ostale utilitarne svrhe (npr. kao gorivo za lampe).[49] Unatoč različitim proračunima smatra se da je količina za zadovoljavanje dnevnih potreba jednog vojnika iznosila od 0,044 do 0,07 l maslinova ulja.[50] Stoga je zanimljivo primjetiti da brojčani odnos vinskih i uljnih amfora približno odgovara odnosu dnevnih potreba vojnika za tim proizvodima (169 : 56 primjeraka / 0,27 l : 0,04-0,07 l). U slučaju olearija zabilježena su 4 različita tipa amfora.

Najbrojniji jest onaj koji je i najklasičniji kada su u pitanju recipijenti za transport maslinova ulja na sjevernoitalsko-istarsko-dalmatinskom prostoru u I. st., a to je Dressel 6B s ukupno 42 primjerka. Do njihovog nastanka dolazi tijekom sredine I. st. pr. Kr. u Cisalpini, s tim da se produkcija sve do III. st. proširila čitavim sjevernoitalskim, istarskim, a dijelom i dalmatinskim prostorom.[51] Da je bavljenje maslinarstvom bilo ekonomski izuzetno prihvatljivo svjedoči i činjenica što u njemu sudjeluje rimska elita, kao što su bili vlasnici istarskih posjeda konzuli *C. Laecanius Bassus* u Fažani kod Pule, te *T. Statilius Taurus Sisenna* u Loronu kod Poreča. Vojni punktovi bili su sigurna tržišta što svjedoči i situacija u Burnumu, gdje one prema fabrikatnim karakteristikama dolaze iz dva izvorišta za koja se sa sigurnošću može reći da nisu ona dalmatinska, već najvjerojatnije istarska ili pak sjevernoitalska. Općenito gledajući osim u Burnumu, te Tiluriju i Naroni, ovaj tip amfore i nije posebno često zabilježen u Dalmaciji, a što je posebno zanimljivo do sada nije utvrđen ni u podmorju, iako je evidentno do navedenih naselja stizao morskim putem.[52] Stoga se mora pretpostaviti da su lokalna produkcija i transport maslinova ulja u još uvijek nepoznatim, možda propadljivim recipijentima, bili na višoj razini.

[35] DAVIES 1971, 131; ROTH 1999, 37-40.

[36] Njihov velik broj u Burnumu nije slučajnost što svjedoči i činjenica da isti tip prevladava i među amforama iz drugog legijskog logora u Dalmaciji, onog u Tiluriju. ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, 44-45.

[37] Literatura o ovom tipu amfora je golema, a o tome i kratkim informacijama o proizvodnim središtima kod: FREED 2000, 459-466; PANELLA 2001, 181-205.

[38] JURIŠIĆ 2000, 14, 61-63, 65.

[39] PEACOCK - WILLIAMS 1986, 102-103; TONIOLO 1991, 27-28; WHITBREAD 1995, 53-54.

[40] Usporedba je izvršena na temelju fabrikata donešenih kod PEACOCK - WILLIAMS 1986, 103.

[41] JURIŠIĆ 2000, 14; TOPIĆ 2004, 389 (T. 84/410); ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, 45.

[42] TCHERNIA 1986, 129-134; PANELLA 2001, 195-196.

[43] O podmorskim nalazima kod RADIĆ ROSSI 1990, 121-123, 125-128; JURIŠIĆ 2000, 12; O kopnenim nalazima kod ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER - KANDLER 1979, 32, Taf. 12/5, gdje je objavljen burnumski primjerak pronađen prilikom istraživanja principija logora, a na kojem se nalazi pečat *THB* (*T. Helvius Basilus*), odnosno vrlo poznatog vlasnika picenske radionice; TOPIĆ 2004, 386, 487 (T. 78-79/392-394); ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, 44.

[44] VAN DER WERFF 2002, 445-449.

[45] VIDRIH PERKO 2000, 432; BEZECZKY 1998, 236, Fig. 4/2.

[46] JURIŠIĆ 2000, 15 (Fig. 1/4).

[47] JURIŠIĆ 2000, 18.

[48] Riječ je o nekoliko ulomaka reljefne sigilate tipa *Draggendorf 29* i reljefne keramike tankih stijenki južnogalskog podrijetla (BORZIĆ 2011, 217-222, T. 31/1-7; 300-302, T. 50/1-3).

[49] O značenju maslinova ulja među rimskom vojskom i pisanim izvorima kod ROTH 1999, 35.

[50] ROTH 1999, 35.

[51] CARRE - PEASVENTO 2003, 453-476; CIPRIANO 2009, 173-190. Pregledno o izrazito bogatoj istarskoj produkciji kod STARAC 2001, 269-277. O dalmatinskim proizvodnim središtima vidi bilj. 31-32.

[52] Za Tilurij: ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2003, 158-159 (T. 18/1-2); ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, 44; za Naronu: CAMBI 1989, 323; TOPIĆ 2004, 386-387, 488-490, T. 79-81; za Salonu: CAMBI 1989, 323-324, Fig. 24.

Drugu skupinu amfora olearija predstavlja 8 primjeraka ranih Dressel 20 amfora čije se izvorište mora tražiti na betičkom prostoru, koje je bilo izrazito poznato po maslinarstvu.[53] Riječ je o globularnim amforama koje prema morfološkim karakteristikama možemo svrstati u ranu fazu produkcije (tip *Martin-Kilcher A*),[54] kada su njihove količine i distribucija tek naznačile ulogu betičkog ulja koju je ono imalo tijekom II. i III. st. u opskrbi Rima (*annona urbis*) i rimske vojske (*annona militaris*). Tome svjedoči i tadašnji nagli skok u broju njihova nalaza i na jadranskom području, na kojem ih do tada praktički nije ni bilo.[55] Teško je reći da li burnumski primjerci svjedoče o nekoj značajnijoj i službeno organiziranoj dopremi hispanskih proizvoda u dalmatinske vojne točke, i to prvenstveno jer se tada jadranska produkcija maslinova ulja nalazila na vrhuncu zbog čega je predstavljala i ekonomičniji izvor nabave.

Sljedeću grupu amfora olearija zabilježenu u Burnumu čine malobrojni primjerci (5) Dressel 25 tipa uz kojeg su vezane mnoge nepoznanice. Naime, unatoč njihovoj najvećoj koncentraciji na sjevernoitalskom i okolnom području, karakteristike fabrikata i slikani natpisi ispisani grčkim pismom ukazuju da im se podrijetlo najvjerojatnije može tražiti na egejskom ili heleniziranom južnoitalskom području.[56] Na istočnom Jadranu do sada nisu zabilježene, a unatoč tome što nema izravnih potvrda, njihovu navedenu namjenu podupire morfološka sličnost s Brindizijskim amforama koje su također u malom broju pronađene i u Burnumu.

Njima pripadaju svega dva ulomka dna, a riječ je o amforama proizvođenima tijekom čitavog I. st. pr. Kr. i prve četvrtine I. st. na južnoitalskom tlu uokolo grada Brindisija, odakle je distribucija zahvatila čitavi Mediteran.[57] Njihov mali broj u Burnumu može se objasniti i kronološkim određenjem tamošnjih slojeva u prvu polovicu I. st., kada se sjevernoitalsko-istarska produkcija amfora Dressel 6B, kao i ona lokalna razvila u tolikoj mjeri da je saturirala čitavo istočnojadransko tržište. No, njihovo bilježenje ukazuje na još jedno, očito sekundarno, izvorište maslinova ulja kojeg je koristila vojska u Burnumu.

[53] HALEY 2003.

[54] MARTIN-KILCHER 1987, 54.

[55] Za istočnojadransko područje: CAMBI 1976, 115-124; BABIN 2007, 141-170; ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, 45; za sjevernoitalsko područje: PESAVENTO MATTIOLI 2000, 733-755; za noričko-panonski prostor: BEZECZKY 2000, 1361-1363.

[56] TONIOLO 1991, 35 (Fig. 35) i 69; BEZECZKY 1998, 238-239; BEZECZKY 2004, 87.

[57] CIPRIANO - CARRE 1989, 72, fig 6; BEZECZKY 1998, 233.

Treća skupina zabilježenih amfora prema namjeni pripada onima za transport ribljih prerađevina (*salsamentum*, *garum*, *liquamen*, *muria* i dr.). Riblji umaci bili su vrlo cijenjeni i neizostavni dio rimske kuhinje, kako civilne tako i vojne, no potrebno je napomenuti da umaci kao i ostala morska hrana najvjerojatnije nisu predstavljali sastavni dio službeno nabavljanih namirnica, već su ih vojne jedinice ili pojedinci samoinicijativno kupovali na tržištu. Iako bi bilo logično da je s obzirom na prirodne predispozicije i na istočnojadranskom prostoru bila razvijena riboprerađivačka industrija,[58] u Burnumu postoje svjedočanstva samo o hispanskim proizvodima te vrste. Njihova je popularnost u rimskom svijetu bila izuzetna,[59] tako da ne iznenađuje ni njihova pojava na relativno udaljenom jadranskom prostoru na kojem ih se nalazi i u okviru civilnih, ali i vojnih naselja.[60] Ukupno je u Burnumu zabilježeno 25 primjeraka amfora ove namjene, s tim da jedna grupa odgovara velikoj skupini amfora tipa Dressel 7-11, a druga tipu Dressel 12. Prvoj pripadaju čak 24 primjerka amfora koje se od kasnog I. st. pr. Kr. pa sve do ranog II. st. proizvode u mnogobrojnim keramičarskim radionicama razasutim uzduž obalnog pojasa betičke Hispanije, odakle se kopiraju na lusitanskom i tingitanskom prostoru.[61] Zabilježeni burnumski primjerci čak u 5 fabrikata odgovaraju hispanskim proizvodima, s tim da karakteristike najbrojnije grupe (12) pokazuju velike sličnosti s proizvodima iz radionice Carteia kod Algecirasa, a druge (8) s onima iz Cadiza. Prvoj grupi pripada i vrlo zanimljiv primjerak Dressel 8 amfore na kojem je sačuvan i slikani natpis *G(arum) / CI(L?)R* s brojčanim oznakama zapremnine ispod ručke *v* i *XL*, vjerojatno 40 sekstarija = 20 litara.[62] Vrlo je važno da se morfološko i fabrikatno isti tip amfore sa sačuvanim natpisima nalazi i u Ptuju i Magdalensbergu,[63] što dodatno svjedoči o učešću i organiziranoj dopremi garuma iz navedene radionice na jadransko tržište.

Istoj namjeni najvjerojatnije je služio i jedan primjerak Dressel 12 tipa amfore koje su se najviše proizvodile na gibraltarskom području uokolo Cadiza, i to kroz čitavo I., ali i kroz II. st.[64] Očito je izvoz ribljih proizvoda

[58] Vidi bilj. 24.

[59] HALEY 2003, 43-45; TRAKADAS 2003, 47-82.

[60] O nalazima iz sjeverne Italije kod PESAVENTO MATTIOLI 2000, 733-755; Norika i Panonije kod BEZECZKY 2000, 1359-1369; iz Dalmacije kod JURIŠIĆ 2000, 14-15; ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, 45; BORZIĆ u tisku.

[61] BELTRAN LLORIS 1970, 399-400; PEACOCK - WILLIAMS 1986, 43.

[62] BORZIĆ 2011, 65-88

[63] BEZECZKY 1993, 241-250.

[64] PEACOCK - WILLIAMS 1986, 113-114.

u ovim amforama bio kudikamo slabijeg intenziteta nego u onima iz prethodne grupe, na što ukazuje i bitna činjenica da se na istočnom Jadranu do sada ovaj tip nije izdvojio, a u sjevernoj Italiji zabilježen je u svega nekoliko primjeraka.[65]

Posljednju skupinu amfora čine one namijenjene transportu sušenog i konzerviranog voća. Kao i riblje prerađevine ono je bilo van službenog vojnog menija, tako da je vrlo vjerojatno nabavljano samoinicijativno na tržištu ili direktno ubirano iz prirode kao dodatak službenoj prehrani.[66] Među burnumskim amforama izdvojena su 3 različita tipa s ukupno 22 primjerka za koje se s velikom vjerojatnošću može pretpostaviti da su služile za transport upravo tih namirnica. Najveći broj njih (14 primjeraka) pripada amforama tipa Camulodunum 189 (Carrot shape) - Vipard B/3a 1-3. Proizvodile su se na sirijsko-palestinskom prostoru od kraja I. st. pr. Kr. do kroz čitavo II. st., a služile su za prijevoz datulja i suhih smokava, dakle voća po kojem je tamošnji prostor bio izuzetno poznat.[67] O njihovoj popularnosti svjedoče i brojni nalazi, i to posebice oni na zapadnoeuropskim i noričko-zapadnopanonskim prostorima na kojima su bile smještene brojne vojne jedinice koje su očito uživale i u okusima ovog voća.[68] S obzirom na to zanimljivo je da je do sada na dalmatinskom prostoru ovaj tip amfore isključivo vezan za Burnum.[69]

Drugi tip amfora za prijevoz voća bile su one tipa Schörgendorfer 558/B koje su izdvojene svega u dva primjerka. Bile su namijenjene prvenstveno transportu konzerviranih zelenih (*Oliva alba exdulcis excellens*) i crnih maslina (*Oliva nigra exdulcis excellens*) sa područja sjeverne Italije uglavnom na panonsko-norički prostor i to tijekom I. i II. st. [70] Razlozi njihova malog broja na dalmatinskom prostoru mogu se tražiti u činjenici da je maslinarstvo ovdje bilo vrlo dobro razvijeno te je sasvim sigurno burnumska vojska svoje eventualne želje za maslinama mogla zadovoljiti i iz regionalnih izvora.[71]

[65] PESAVENTO MATTIOLI 2000, 736-742.

[66] ROTH 1999, 42.

[67] CARRERAS MONFORT - WILLIAMS 2002, 133-144.

[68] Vidi kartu rasprostranjenosti kod CARRERAS MONFORT - WILLIAMS 2002, 135.

[69] ZABEHLICKY-SCHEFFENEGGER - KANDLER 1979, 31-32, Taf. 12/10.

[70] BEZECZKY 1987, 32, Fig. 12; OŽANIĆ 2005, 138-139, 144, Tab. 2/5.

[71] Njihovu malobrojnost svjedoči i situacija u legijskom logoru u Tiluriju gdje je izdvojen svega 1 ulomak. ŠIMIĆ-KANAET 2010, 46.

Treći, nešto upitniji tip u ovoj skupini predstavlja 6 primjeraka Richborough 527 amfora. One su se proizvodile u dugom periodu od početka I. do III. st. na južnoitalskom, puteolanskom i liparskom tlu,[72] odakle su se distribuirale na zapad Europe, ali i na Jadran i njemu okolno područje.[73] Njihova namjena je upitna jer pojedini ostatci ukazuju na prijevoz datulja, a vjerojatno i drugog voća iz južne Italije.[74] Neki autori čak smatraju da su služile i za transport liparskog minerala alauna korištenog u medicini i bojanju.[75]

Na temelju prethodno navedenih tipova amfora, njihovim namjenama i podrijetlu, moguće je donijeti konačnu sliku o izvorišnim područjima s kojih su prehrambeni proizvodi dolazili u Burnum i time zadovoljavali barem dio tamošnjih vojnih potreba. Najzastupljenije proizvodno područje bilo je ono egejsko (92 primjerka) s kojeg je gotovo isključivo dolazilo vino u amforama tipa Dressel 2-4 i Kasnorodskim (87 primjeraka), dok manje količine pak otpadaju na atribucijom upitne Dressel 25 olearije (5 primjeraka). Nešto slabije su zastupljeni proizvodi sa sjevernoitalsko-istarskog područja (82 primjerka) s kojeg je uvoz heterogeniji, te se bilježi import vina u amforama tipa Dressel 6A i Dressel 2-4 (38 primjeraka), maslinova ulja u Dressel 6B (42 primjerak) te konzerviranih maslina u Schörgendorfer 558/B amforama (2 primjerka). Nadalje, sljedeća regija po zastupljenosti (40 primjeraka), iz koje također dolazi nekoliko proizvoda jest, možda i ondašnje najjače, hispansko proizvodno područje zastupljeno s ribljim umacima u amforama tipa Dressel 7-11 i Dressel 12 (25 primjeraka), maslinovim uljem u Dressel 20 amforama (7 primjeraka), te vinom u Dressel 2-4 i Haltern 70 amforama (8 primjeraka). Iz južne Italije dolazi ukupno 26 primjeraka amfora i to onih vinskih tipa Dressel 2-4 (18), uljnih tipa Brindisi (2 primjerka), te upitnih, najvjerojatnije za voće Richborough 527 (6 primjeraka). Kao najslabije izvorišno područje pojavljuje se ono istočnomediteransko, odakle samo u amforama tipa Camulodunum 189 stižu datulje (14 primjeraka), te južnogalsko s vinom u amforama tipa Dressel 25 (2 primjerka). Ostatak amfora ima nepoznato podrijetlo (18 primjeraka).

[72] ARTHUR 1989, 249-256; BEZECZKY 1998, 238; PANELLA 2001, 194.

[73] U podmorju istočnog Jadrana zabilježeno je čak tri brodoloma u kojem su amfore ovog tipa činile dio tereta, rt Glavat - Mljet, Pupak - Palagruža i Svetac (JURIŠIĆ 2000, 17-18). O nalazima na sjevernojadranskom i kontinentalnom području kod CARRE - PESAVENTO MATTIOLI 2001, 279.

[74] ARTHUR 1989, 254; JURIŠIĆ 2000, 17.

[75] CARRE - PESAVENTO MATTIOLI 2001, 279; PANELLA 2001, 194.

Slika 1. Karta podrijetla amfora iz Burnuma.

Time se može zaključiti da su do Burnuma tijekom prve polovice I. st. stizali proizvodi iz svih onodobno vodećih prehrambeno-proizvodnih regija čiji se artikli praktički nalaze širom rimske države (Slika 1). Sigurno je da se pri tome vodilo računa o ekonomičnosti njihove nabave koja je mogla ovisiti o brojnim faktorima, npr. blizini i povezanosti izvorišnog i receptivnog područja, što je možda najbolje vidljivo s brojnim sjevernoitalskim proizvodima te omjeru sjevernoitalsko-istarskog i hispanskog maslinova ulja (42:7); potražnji za određenim proizvodima što se vidi po brojčanom primatu amfora vinarija i olearija; lokalnoj konkurenciji i dr. U samom procesu nabave morale su biti zastupljene različite strane, od onih iz vojnih (legijskih) odjeljenja (*evocatus*, *signifer*, *frumentarius*), službenika iz provincijske administracije (*procurator Augusti*) pa sve do privatnih poduzetnika i udruženja trgovaca i prijevoznika (*negotiator*, *navicularius*) koji su različitim ugovorima bili zaduženi za nabavu i dopremu određenih proizvoda vojnim jedinicama. Na prostoru rimske Dalmacije malo je konkretnih dokaza o poduzetnicima te vrste, a kao za ovu temu indikativne primjere mogu se spomenuti natpisi na kojima se izričito spominju Gaj Valerije Restitut, trgovac vinom (*negotiator vinarius*) iz Salone,[76] Manije Kornelije Karpo, trgovac uljem (*negotiator olearius*) iz Jadera,[77] dok ikonografija na pojedinim spomenicima ukazuje na zanimanja pomoraca-trgovaca-brodovlasnika.[78] Nije iznenađujuće što se njihovi spomenici pronalaze u najvažnijim lučkim središtima na istočnoj obali Jadrana, glavnom gradu provincije Saloni ili pak Jaderu (*Iader*), glavnom središtu na liburnskom dijelu obale. Ta su naselja bila mjesta velike fluktuacije trgovaca (mahom Italika i njihovih oslobođenika) i roba, te stoga za opskrbu dalmatinske vojske od velikog značaja. Na isti se način mora promatrati i Skardona (*Scardona*), vjerojatno primarna opskrbna luka burnumskih vojnih jedinica,[79] u kojoj natpisi također svjedoče ranu prisutnost članova italskih obitelji (npr. *Arrii*, *Mutilii*, *Petronii*, *Sattrii* i dr.) za koje se može pretpostaviti da su došle vođene atraktivnošću vojnog tržišta i mogućnošću ekonomsko-društvenog napretka.[80] Strateške prednosti položaja Skardone na rijeci Krki jasno se iščitavaju iz enciklopedije Plinija Starijeg (*Nat. Hist.* 3.141) u kojoj kaže „*Liburniae finis et initium Delmatiae Scardona in amne eo XII (milia) passuum a mari*“. Prema tome, jednostavan kontakt s pomorskim rutama i duboka uvučenost u kopno rezultirali su time što se Skardona prometnula, za Burnum, u točku od vitalne važnosti, a može se ići i toliko daleko da je njezino postojanje bio i jedan od razloga postavljanja logora upravo na dotičnom mjestu. Dinamici života u njoj doprinjelo je i tamošnje smještanje središta juridičkog konventa za Liburniju i Japodiju (*Nat. Hist.*, 3.139) te liburnskog carskog kulta s *ara Aug*(*usti*) *Lib*[*urn*(*orum*)].[81] No, u kontekstu naše teme iznimno je zanimljivo uvriježeno mišljenje da su spomenuta opskrbna važnost i prisutnost vojske u Skardoni i okolici bili glavni razlozi njezina relativno kasnog stjecanja municipaliteta i to tek u flavijevsko vrijeme nakon odlaska stalnih vojnih postrojbi iz Burnuma.[82] Dakle, čini se sasvim realnim da je velika većina prehrambenih proizvoda iz onih regionalnih i vanprovincijskih izvora namijenjenih zadovoljavanju vojnih potreba u Burnumu prošla upravo preko Skardone. Nažalost, o lučkim postrojenjima i operativnoj obali za sada postoje samo naznake, što buduća istraživanja svakako trebaju uzeti u obzir.[83] Međusobni tipološko-namjenski brojčani odnosi burnumskih amfora su za rimsku Dalmaciju i poznate činjenice o vojnoj prehrani realni i očekivani, a načine na koji su one dolazile možda najbolje svjedoči nekoliko brodoloma u podmorju istočnog Jadrana, kao što su npr. Paržanj s hispanskim proizvodima, Plavac (Zlarin) s italskim i egejskim teretom vina te mnogi drugi.[84] Svakako treba naglasiti da su prikazane amfore samo dio do sada pronađenog arheološkog materijala. U budućnosti treba nastaviti s njihovom obradom kojom će se dobiti još konkretniji statistički podatci o zastupljenosti i izvorištima pojedinih prehrambenih proizvoda, prvenstveno vina, maslinova ulja, ribljih umaka i voća, za kojom je vojska u Burnumu, što službeno, što svojom voljom, očito pokazivala veliki interes.

[76] *C(aio) V(alerio) C(ai) f(ilio) / Restituto fr / C(aio) V(alerio) C(ai) l(iberti) Restituto p / negotiatori vinario / Marcus Nassius Sotericus / Amico B(ene) M(erenti)*. CIL III, 2131; JADRIĆ 2007a, 356-357.

[77] *M(anius) Cornelius Hiero / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Corneliae Heroidi / uxori carissimae et / M(anio) Cornelio Carpo neg(otiatori) oleario / et M(anio) Cornelio Carpo / iuris studioso et / libertis libertabusq(ue)*. CIL III, 2936; SUIĆ, 1981, 175; JADRIĆ 2007a, 357.

[78] CAMBI 1981, 22-29.

[79] CAMBI 2001, 137-160.

[80] GLAVIČIĆ 2007, 252-255.

[81] CIL III, 2808(9879), 2810; JADRIĆ - MILETIĆ 2009, 83-87; JADRIĆ-KUČAN 2011, 103-115.

[82] ZANINOVIĆ 1998, 127; GLAVIČIĆ 2007, 255.

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THE CULT OF JUPITER DOLICHENUS ALONG THE SERBIAN PART OF THE LIMES IN MOESIA SUPERIOR AND PANNONIA INFERIOR

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INTRODUCTION

Due to its mobility, the Roman army was believed to have made the biggest contribution to the emergence and spread of eastern cults in the Empire's territory, both through increased transfer of troops to or from the east, and through the imperial support of a given cult. The role of senior military officers who were originally from the east, and who were highly mobile, was extremely important.[1] This resulted in dissemination of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus among soldiers. Dolichenus is often considered as purely military deity, although he was also revered by civilians. The cult originated in Commagene, more precisely in the Dülük-Baba Hills, near Doliche, situated in the border provinces of Asia Minor and Syria. This deity was actually the local Baal, a result of syncretism of various gods such as the Aramean Hadad, Acadian Adad and Hurith Teshub.[2] The cult was popular among soldiers because it was believed that Jupiter Dolichenus was the protector of battlefields, iron, and weapons made of iron. This god was primarily a supreme deity of heaven. The cult was also popular among civilians, and a study of so-called military cults showed that less than 40% of its adherents were soldiers. After the Roman conquest of Syria in 64 BC and annexation of Commagene in 71 AD, Dolichenus appeared in the Empire. In contact with Roman culture, Dolichenus, like other Syrian Baals, was associated and identified with Jupiter, and assumed the name *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus*. Jupiter Dolichenus was usually depicted as a man with a beard and a Phrygian cap on his head, standing on a bull, holding a winged axe in his right hand and a sheaf of thunderbolts in his left, wearing a sword in a sheath over his shoulder, all symbolizing his power over nature and people.[3] Thus far several studies about this cult have been written. The most important one consists of the body of all archaeological finds.[4] There are also special studies about the role of the cult in the army.[5] Knowledge of the liturgical practices of this cult is limited, because there is no historical sources testifying to it. Carnuntum, Apulum and Praetorium Latobicorum appear to have been centres of diffusion of this cult in the European provinces. Carnuntum had the most connections with the Rhine area, Apulum with the Moesias and Dacia, while Pra-

[1] COLLAR 2011, 236.
[2] MERLAT 1960, 54.
[3] SPEIDEL 1978, 1.
[4] MERLAT 1951; CCID 1987.
[5] SPEIDEL 1978.

etorium Latobicorum acted as a bridge between these areas and Italy and Dalmatia. Excavations have shown that the violent destruction of all known Dolichenums in the provinces along the Rhine and the Danube occurred during the reign of Maximinus Thrax (235-238).[6] His monuments appeared scarcely even after that, and it seems that the cult disappeared or faded at the time of Valerian and Gallienus.

Archaeological records from Moesia Superior are discussed in the comprehensive studies of Lj. Zotović, while finds from Pannonia Inferior were studied by P. Selem.[7] After these studies, the body of archaeological finds of this cult grew, allowing new interpretations.

MOESIA SUPERIOR

The highest number of finds pertaining to Jupiter Dolichenus in Moesia Superior were discovered in the Danube region, along the limes, where the *legiones IV Flavia* and *VII Claudia*, as well as auxiliary units were stationed, mostly at sites that were military camps (Fig. 1.). The finds were discovered in Kostolac (Viminacium), Veliko Gradište (Pincum) Čezava (Novae), Karataš (Diana), Brza Palanka (Egeta), Jasen (Romulianum), Košava, Vidin and Arčar (Ratiaria) in the limes area and Ravna (Timacum Minus), Gračanica and Kumanovo in the provincial hinterland.[8] Finds from Moesia date to the late second and first half of third century, as the cult at that time reached the peak of its expansion within the Empire. It is related with the period of the Severan dynasty.[9]

Brza Palanka – Egeta

The only temple of Dolichenus in the territory of Moesia Superior excavated thus far is situated in Brza Palanka, ancient Egeta. A temple of Dolichenus with a circular base was discovered in 1962 during archaeological rescue excavations. The temple was committed as a military chapel. Ancient Egeta, today's Brza Palanka, was a Roman military camp with a civilian settlement. During archaeological investigations in the area of the civilian Roman settlement from 1981 to 1982, the remains of baths and a pier were discovered, and a survey confirmed that there were four military camps.[10] For this work, the most important is the camp that was established in the early second century. It is believed that soldiers of *cohors I Cretum* were stationed there, and used the sanctuary of Dolichenus. The temple remains of Jupiter Dolichenus were discovered on a hill, about 120 meters from the north-east corner of the military camp (Fig. 2.).[11] The Dolichenum is oval, orientated north-south, with an entrance on the north side, measuring 3.50 x 3.80 meters (Fig. 3.). It is built of dressed stone and pebbles, and in some parts of the wall the fragments of brick and tegulae were found. The inner walls of the room were plastered. Larger blocks of irregular shape were discovered in the middle of the building. The inventory of the shrine consisted of several statues of Dolichenus, sculptures representing Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull and Juno Dolichena standing on a hind (Fig. 4.). Among them there is also the goddess Victoria, three damaged sculptures representing Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull, a marble divine head and 11 fragments of a sculpture containing a partial figure of a bull, and various parts of a sculpture (hand, part of a lightning bolt and part of a leg).[12] The sculpture has been dated to the end of second and the first decades of third century.[13]

Fig. 1. Map of sites in Moesia Superior (after CCID Abb. 6, modified by M. Jovičić).

[6] TÓTH 1973.
[7] ZOTOVIĆ 1966; SELEM 1980.
[8] CCID, 85-119.
[9] ЗОТОВИЋ 1969, 71.
[10] PETROVIĆ 1986, 370-372.
[11] ВУЧКОВИЋ-ТОДОРОВИЋ 1966, 173.
[12] ВУЧКОВИЋ-ТОДОРОВИЋ 1966, 174-176.
[13] СРЕЈОВИЋ - ЦЕРМАНОВИЋ-КУЗМАНОВИЋ 1987, 94.

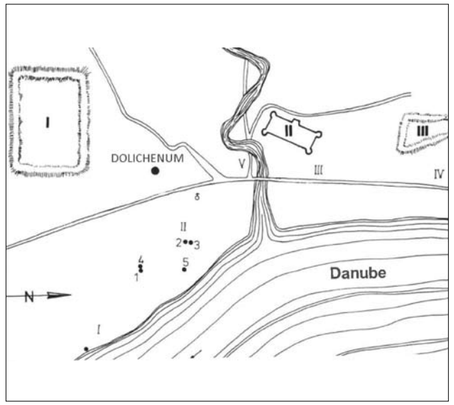

Fig. 2. Location of a sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus in Egeta (after PETROVIĆ 1984, Fig. 141).

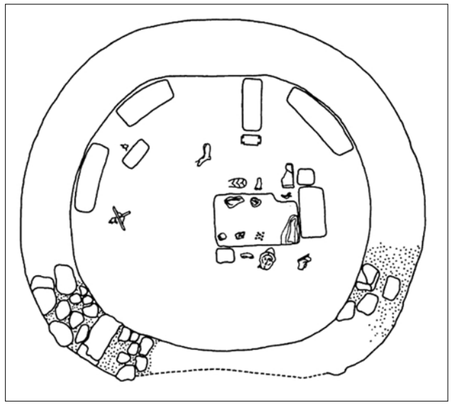

Fig. 3. Sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus in Egeta (after ВУЧКОВИЋ-ТОДОРОВИЋ 1966, 174, Fig. 1.).

Two of these sculptures representing Dolichenus on a bull bore dedications in Greek or Latin on their bases. The first has an inscription in Greek on the socle:

ΑΓΑΘΗΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ
ΚΑΣΤΩΡΚΩΙΝΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟ ΔΟΛΙΧΗΝΩ
ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑ

The monument was erected by Castor Quintus to Dolichenus. The dedicants of Jupiter Dolichenus often bear the name Castor, who was one of the divine twins and played an important role in the cult and iconography of Jupiter Dolichenus.[14] The second sculpture of Jupiter Dolichenus had a Latin inscription on the base:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo D(olicheno) Pompeivs / Isauricus ex / votu(sic) (=voto) posuit

The dedicant's name indicates that he originally came from the Orient, from Isauria.[15] In the inventory of the shrine, one bronze *tabulla ansata* with an inscription was also found:[16]

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Doli / cheni (sic) (=CHENO) chor (=cohors) / I Cretu(m)

Based on the shape of the letters, the inscription was dated to the early third century. The monument was dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus by the first Cretan cohort. This cohort was stationed in the military camp in Egeta. In the temple, a relief of Mithras was also found, as well as two bronze eagles, a bronze lamp, an

Fig. 4. Statue of Jupiter Dolichenus and Juno Dolichena from Egeta (after СРЕЈОВИЋ - ЦЕРМАНОВИЋ-КУЗМАНОВИЋ 1987, 95, no. 38).

[14] SPEIDEL 1978, 22.
[15] ВУЧКОВИЋ-ТОДОРОВИЋ 1966, 175.
[16] ВУЧКОВИЋ-ТОДОРОВИЋ 1966, 176.

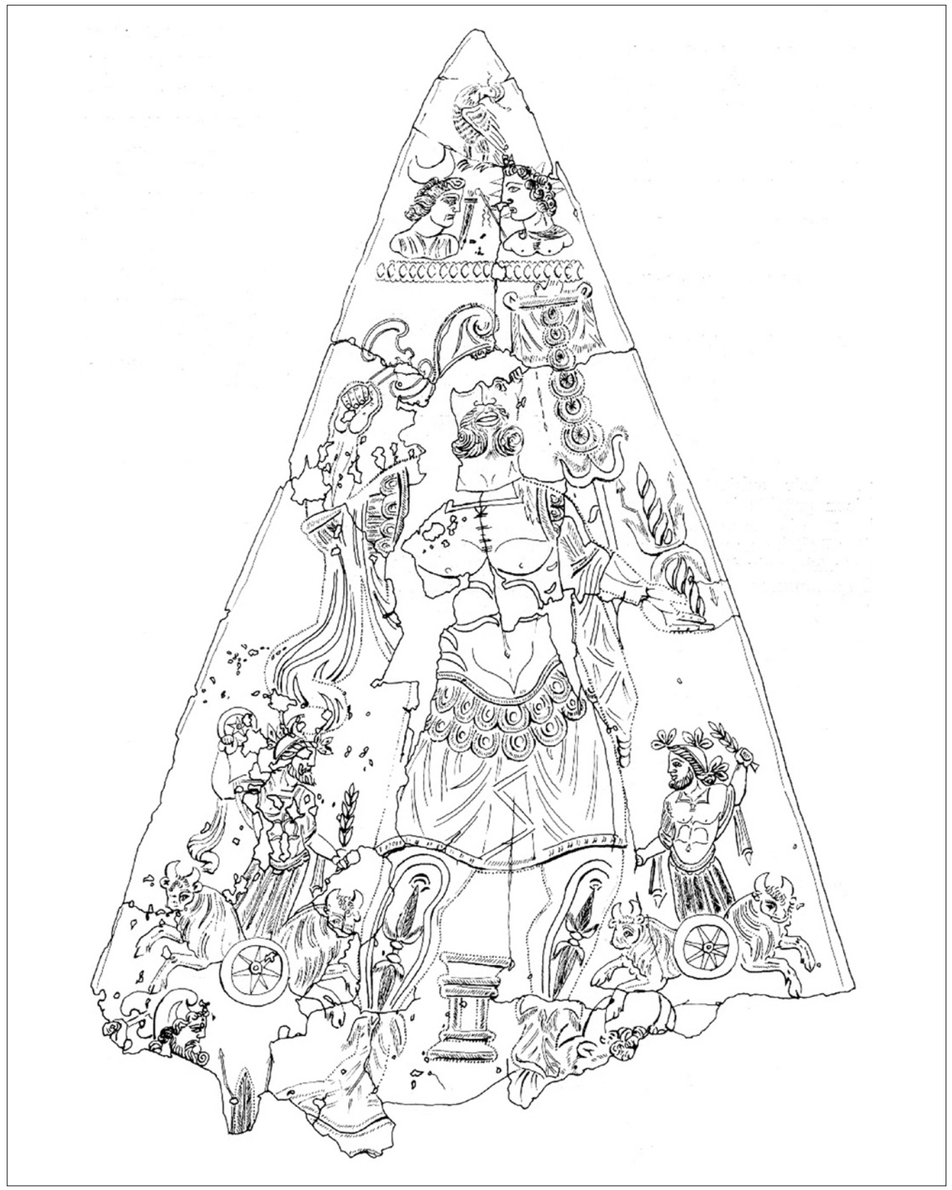

Fig. 5. Bronze plate from Egeta (after POP-LAZIĆ 1978, 43).

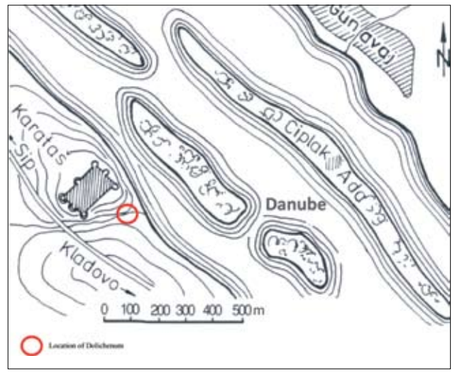

Fig. 6. Location of a sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus in Diana (by M. Jovičić).

iron key, 12 bronze coins of Geta (198-212) and one silver coin of Elegabalus (218-222). During excavations in 1962, a triangular plate holder reinforced with two snakes was found.[17] The holder bore a dedication:

Aur(elius) Caius Cen(turio) Chor(ortis) / I Cretum

This plate was dedicated by Aurelius Gaius, the centurion of the first Cretan cohort. As already seen, this cohort was mentioned before as a dedicant on a bronze *tabulla ansata* in the sanctuary. There can be no doubt that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in this shrine was worshiped by soldiers of this cohort. In 1979, the Historical Museum of Serbia came into possession of a bronze plate which, according to the information provided by the donors, came from the fields near Brza Palanka.[18] It is a triangular plate made of bronze with gilding. On the plate there is a dominant scene showing Jupiter Dolichenus (Fig. 5). The scenes are organized vertically and divided into two main fields. The upper part of the plate shows a standing eagle facing right and holding a crown in its beak. Below the eagle, Luna and Sol are depicted, shown in profile looking at each other. A sword and a double-braided whip are between the two divinities. The second field is dominated by Jupiter Dolichenus wearing a Phrygian cap, holding a sheaf of thunderbolts in his left hand, with a *paludamentum* over his shoulder. Jupiter Dolichenus is in armour, wearing a military belt, greaves decorated with a floral motive, and light boots. He stands on the back of a bull. A *signum* is above the deity's left shoulder. A hand supporting the *vexillum* is shown on top of the *signum*. Two smaller figures, Castores Dolicheni, are depicted standing on both sides of the deity. Between the legs of Jupiter Dolichenus there is an altar. Despite the different find contexts of the holder and plate, according to Pop-Lazić they constituted a whole and belonged to the inventory of the temple in Egeta.[19] By comparing the dimensions of these two objects, is was concluded that they match. Such triangular plates decorated in relief are known to have belonged to the cult of Dolichenus. A similar plate with an inscription on which the holder is also reinforced by two snakes was found at the site of Mauer an der Url.[20] They served as a *signum* and stood in the sanctuary of the god next to statues and reliefs. This triangular plate was probably carried during religious processions, or it was placed in the temple of Jupiter Dolichenus along with other objects. There are numerous finds of triangular plates, fragmented or complete, that were discovered throughout the Empire. The iconography is very similar to that from Egeta, the only difference being in the arrangement of figures. A plate from Kömlöda (Lussonium) most resembles the one from Egeta; on it, Dolichenus also dominates the scene, shown in the same position on the bull, also wearing armour and a belt.[21] This small temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in Brza Palanka is the first and the only one completly excavated in Serbia. The best-known shrines of Dolichenus are rectangular in shape, such as the shrine at Brigetio or Carnuntum.[22] The circular base has parallels to the temple of Venus at Baalbek, and with the temple of Jupiter Sabazius at Zilmis in Thrace.[23] The appearance of a Mithras relief in this temple is not surprising if one bears in mind that the cult of both Oriental deities was widespread throughout the Roman Empire. When considering the inventory of the shrine, a much greater degree of working of sculptures and inscriptions, as opposed to the quality of the building, becomes apparent, which opens the possibility that this material came from elsewhere. There are four inscriptions, one in Greek and three in Latin, indicating that both languages were used in the liturgy. After the inscription, it may be concluded that among the adherents of the cult some were originally from the east, as is the case with Pompeius Isauricus, a Romanized resident of Isauria in the south of Asia Minor, the area adjacent to Doliche. The common dedication by a Cretan cohort and the dedication of their centurion support the hy-

[17] POP-LAZIĆ 1978, 42.
[18] POP-LAZIĆ 1978.
[19] POP-LAZIĆ 1978, 42.
[20] KANDLER – HERMANN 1986, 118.

pothesis that this sanctuary was used by soldiers from a military camp. The sanctuary was built at the end of the second and early third centuries, and is considered to have been used for a very short time. This is shown by sculptures, inscriptions and a relatively large number of Geta coins (198-212).

Karataš – Diana

Diana is a Roman and early Byzantine fortress for an auxiliary unit, on the banks of the Danube at modern Karataš, not far from Kladovo. Fortifications existed here from first to the end of the sixth centuries. Based on the stamped bricks bearing the inscription *VII Claudia*, Mirković assumed that a part of this legion may have been stationed here in the second and third centuries, while in the latter half of third century, the fortress was the seat for parts of *legio XIII Gemina*.[24] In the Severan era, *cohors V Gallorum* was stationed at Diana or in its vicinity.[25] Archaeological records show the remains of ramparts, towers and military barracks from the time of Aurelian, a *principia* and other facilities.[26] The sanctuary of Jupiter Dolichenus was discovered in 1972. It is located at the foot of the fortress, 100 m east of the military camp (Fig. 6). The sanctuary had a vault and it was painted with red and white paint in fresco technique. The temple was not completely investigated and it was destroyed during modern construction work.[27] A votive altar was found in a niche in the building. The monument was erected for the health of Caracalla and his mother Julia Domna by the priests of the deity and dated to 212-214.[28] This votive monument bears the following inscription:

I*(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Dol(icheno) [pro salute] / M(arci) Aur(eli) Anto/nini Pii Aug(usti) et Iul(iae) Domn(a)e Aug(ustae) ma/tri(s) Aug(usti) et castro/rum dedicante L(ucio) / Mario Perpetuo / c(onsulari) per Restutum / m(agister?) c(ivium?) R(omanorum?) D(ianae?) sacerdo/tes eiusdem loci / d(edicaverunt)*

The inscription was dedicated by the consul Lucius Marius Perpetuus, who was a priest and a senior official of Diana and after the year 214 a governor of Dacia, after performing these duties in Moesia Superior.

[21] CCID 202.
[22] CCID 216, 236.
[23] ВУЧКОВИЋ-ТОДОРОВИЋ 1966, 180.
[24] MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 112.
[25] KONDIĆ 1994, 74-75.
[26] PETROVIĆ - VASIĆ 1996, 26.
[27] RANKOV 1980, 51.
[28] MIRKOVIĆ 1977, 443.

Fig. 7. Castrum *Novae* (after ВАСИЋ 1984, 100, Fig. 7).

This monument probably dates to 214, when Caracalla visited Diana. The dedicant consecrated the altar to Dolichenus for the salvation of the Emperor and his mother.

The sanctuary was located near the military camp, as was the case in Egeta. As this site had a military character, the cult's adherents were definitely soldiers from the fort, probably from *cohors V Gallorum*.

Čezava - Novae

Novae was a roman military camp. Systematic excavation of the site took place in 1965, conducted by the experts from the Military Museum in Belgrade. Works were completed in 1970 and the walls of fortifications, *principia*, *horreum*, a part of the barracks, an early Byzantine basilica and a dock were discovered.[29] It is believed that a part of *legio VII Claudia* was stationed in this camp.[30] Inside the camp, seven construction phases, dating from the first half of first century to the end of sixth century, were discovered. In the centre of the castrum, the *principia* was examined, and it was concluded that it was built in the classical form with a central courtyard and rooms around it (Fig. 7.). The *principia* had two phases. The later stage was

[29] ВАСИЋ 1984, 91.
[30] MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 105.
[31] ВАСИЋ 1984, 102.
[32] CCID 104, 105.

Fig. 8. Bronze *tabula ansata* from Novae (after ВАСИЋ 1984, 118, Fig. 22/11).

established in the late second and early third centuries, probably at the time of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and lasted until the second half of the third century. There was a row of rooms on the west side of the building in which the room in the middle had an apse and formed an *aedes signorum*. The room in front of the apse had a quadrant placed on the axis of the apse, which served as a pedestal for a divine statue.[31] The discovery of a bronze votive plaque, *tabulae ansatae*, next to the quadrant, indicate that this was a base for a statue of Jupiter Dolichenus (Fig. 8.). The votive plaque bears a dedication to the deity:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) Dolicin(o) (!) / M(arcus) Cocceius Zeu / xius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

Based on the dedicant's name it can be seen that he was originally from the Orient. Such a votive bronze plaque, as seen, was found in the Dolichenum in Egeta, and two were found in Jasen in Bulgaria.[32] All were dated to the late second and first half of the third centuries. The statues of Jupiter Dolichenus themselves were not found in the building of the *principia*, but rather in the *castrum* complex. The sculpture of Jupiter Dolichenus in armour and with *paludamentum* was found damaged.[33] The sculpture dates to the late second and first half of the third centuries. The models for the products in Čezava can be found in the statues of armour-clad Roman emperors. A sculpture similar to this one was found in Huni Alba (Bononia), which also represents Jupiter Dolichenus. Between them there is a great similarity and they belong to the same iconographic scheme.[34] The discovery of the fragmented statue of Juno Dolichena standing on a hind is very important. The statue was found during systematic excavations in 1969 inside the fortress complex.[35] Since the statue was fragmented, it was difficult to determine the dating and the origin of the sculpture. The distinctive presence of the Jupiter Dolichenus cult among soldiers in the Novae castle is confirmed by the discovery of square base, probably for a statue of Jupiter Dolichenus, the bronze *tabula ansata* with dedications to this deity, and a statue of Jupiter and Juno Dolichena. All these finds indicate the existence of an improvised chapel of Dolichenus within the camp in the *principia*, dating from the end of the second to the middle of the third centuries. Jupiter Dolichenus is shown on a bronze triangular table in Kömlöda above the altar in the aedicule, which is in the sanctuary of military standards, called *aedes signorum*.[36] If this conclusion is correct and if Dolichenus had his place in the sanctuary of standards, then he may be regarded the official god of the Roman legions, but this opinion has not yet been confirmed. If the chapel in Čezava was in the very *principia*, in the most sacred place, this would be the first case known so far.

Veliko Gradište – Pincum

The Pincum site, present-day Veliko Gradište, is a Roman fort with a settlement, located at the confluence of the Pek and Danube rivers. Pincum was a mining and administrative hub, the main town in the Pek mining valley.[37] It is not known which units were stationed in the camp, but it is assumed that it was a part of *legio VII Claudia*. This archaeological site has not been thoroughly investigated. This site yielded a votive monument dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus bearing the inscription:[38]

Iob(i) (!) opt(imo) m(aximo) Dulceno / ex vot(o) Ael(ii) Silvanus / het (!) Leonides leg(ionis) sig(niferi) /[b]en(e) mir(enti)(!)

The names Silvanus and Leonides indicates that the dedicants originated from the Empire's eastern territories. As they were Legion signiferi, the monument allows for the assumption that the cult of Dolichenus was respected among the soldiers in the fort at Pincum. However, it cannot be acknowledged to what extent. An overview of the epigraphic material from the Empire for the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus shows that among the dedicants there are five *signiferi*.[39]

[33] TOMOVIĆ 1992, 86, no. 62.
[34] TOMOVIĆ 1992, 86, no. 63.
[35] TOMOVIĆ 1992, 95, no. 98.
[36] SPEIDEL 1978, 62.
[37] MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 103.
[38] CCID 86.
[39] COLLAR 2011, 230.

This shows that Roman officers were closely involved with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus. In the absence of closer determinants, the monument dates from the mid-second to late third centuries.

Fig. 9. The monument of Aurelius Iulianus, from Viminacium (after PETROVIĆ 2004, 219, Fig. 1).

Viminacium

Viminacium, the largest urban settlement in the province of Moesia Superior, was established in the first century AD at the right bank of the Mlava River near its confluence with the Danube, close to today's Kostolac. Viminacium was the capital of the Roman province of Moesia Superior with a permanent garrison of *legio VII Claudia*.[40] Rescue excavations from 1976 to 1997 brought to light a necropolis with over 14,000 graves. Since 2002, systematic archaeological excavations of the Roman town and military camp have been undertaken. The spread of Oriental cults, such as the cult of Dolichenus at Viminacium, can be explained with several confirmations. During the second and third centuries, parts of *legio VII Claudia* participated in the wars in the Empire's eastern territories, in the Parthian and Armenian expeditions, where soldiers may have encountered new cults.[41] The emergence of new cults in the territories of Viminacium and Moesia Superior was the result of immigration of a new population, of Thracian and Greek/Hellenistic origin. The wave of immigration occurred during the reigns of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius. The second phase dates to the period of the Severan dynasty, when military units were reinforced by a large number of Syrian soldiers. A community of people from the Syrian Commagene, Doliche area, where the cult of Dolichenus originated, have also been confirmed in the territory of Viminacium.[42] The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Viminacium has been confirmed by epigraphic inscriptions and sculptures. Certainly, the most important is the discovery of a votive monument dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus (Fig. 9), found in 2003.[43] The inscription has been resolved as:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(oliheno) |Aur(elius) Iulianus| Iuliani (filius) Sac(erdos)| eiusdem dei| ex pr(ovincia) Syr(ia) Coel(e)| reg(ione)| Cyrr(h)ens(i)| vico Capersin(a?)|[---

The dedicant is a priest of the cult, originally from the province of Syria Koele, Cyrrhestica region, village of Capersin(a?). Petrović believes that this dedicant was involved with the legions from Moesia Superior during their expedition in Syria, and that he came to Viminacium after the legion had returned home.[44] There are 86 known priests of Syrian or Oriental origin identified in the epigraphic materials of the Empire. Collar concluded that priests came regularly to the west from Syria and the eastern provinces for the purpose of cult administration.[45] Based on the inscription, the monument has been dated to the first half of third century. From the territory of Viminacium, finds are known of one sculpture representing Jupiter Dolichenus standing on a bull[46] and the head of a sculpture of Jupiter Dolichenus.[47] These sculptures date to the second/third centuries. Data confirming that there was a Syrian community and a priest of this cult led contemporary scholars to believe that there was a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in Viminacium.[48] However, so far there are no finds that would directly link soldiers of *legio VII Claudia* to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, although it is believed that this unit transferred this cult from the Orient during their expeditions.

[40] СПАСИЋ-ЂУРИЋ 2002, 21.
[41] MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 59.
[42] MIRKOVIĆ 1968, 128.
[43] PETROVIĆ 2004.
[44] PETROVIĆ 2004, 221.

PANNONIA INFERIOR

The Roman limes in Pannonia Inferior extended along the Danube from Zemun (Taurunum) to the "knee of the Danube" in today's Hungary. In Serbia, part of the limes was in the territory of Srem, 200 km long, from Zemun to Dalj, and was defended with a number of fortifications.[49] Roman legions stayed in Srem only on special occasions, such as the Roman conquest of Srem, the Dalmatian-Pannonian rebellion, the wars of Domitian and Trajan.[50] Besides the legions, auxiliary units were also stationed in Srem. It is known that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was widespread among the soldiers in Pannonia. The cult was revered in the *legiones I* and *II Adiutrix*, and sanctuaries have been discovered in Carnuntum and Brigetio.[51] The first major centre in Pannonia was Carnuntum, and from there the cult spread to other parts of Pannonia, especially the central part of the limes. The last monument of this cult in Pannonia dates to the year 235-238.[52] The cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was confirmed on several locations in Pannonia Inferior (Fig. 10.). In Hungary, is was found at the sites of Tokod, Óbuda and Budapest (Aquincum), Adony (Vetus Salina), and Kömlöd (Lussonium).[53] All these sites represent military forts. Furthermore, the cult was confirmed in Osijek (Mursa) in Croatia and at the site of Sarpentele in Hungary, although these sites are not situated on the banks of the Danube. In the Serbian part of the province, monuments were found in Sirmium, Rittium, Burgenae and Acumincum. In Sirmium, an altar was found with two possible dedications to Dolichenus, dated to the end of the second and early third centuries.[54] These monuments in Sirmium, however, cannot be directly linked to military units, so they are not included into this study.

Fig. 10. Map of sites in Pannonia Inferior (after CCID Abb. 10).

Novi Banovci – Burgenae

Novi Banovci was a military camp and the seat of *cohors I Tracum civium Romanorum*.[55] The fortress of Burgenae stood along the Danube route, 10 miles upstream from today's Zemun. It was partially investigated by experts from the Military Museum of Serbia at the Gradina site.[56] As for the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, a fragment of a statue with an inscription dated to the third century originated at this site.[57] On the upper part of the statue, the bull that carried Dolichenus has been preserved and faces right. The base bears the following inscription:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) / M(aximo) Dolichen(o)

[45] COLLAR 2011, 242.
[46] ZOTOVIĆ 1966, 100.
[47] СРЕЈОВИЋ - ЦЕРМАНОВИЋ-КУЗМАНОВИЋ 1987, 108.
[48] PETROVIĆ 2004, 221.
[49] VISY 2003, 143-150.
[50] ДУШАНИЋ 1968, 87.
[51] SELEM 1980, 235-257; CCID 216, 236.
[52] SELEM 1980, 246.
[53] CCID 182-215.
[54] CCID 210, 211.
[55] ДУШАНИЋ 1968, 96.
[56] ПЕТРОВИЋ 1995, 21.
[57] SELEM 1980, 231.

According to the inscription, which was damaged, this find cannot be directly tied to the soldiers stationed in Burgenae. However, the find originated in a military camp site, and there is a possibility that the dedications were left by a soldier from the fortress at this site.

Surduk – Rittium

Surduk was a military camp and seat of *ala I Augusta Ityraeorum*, which was a cavalry unit composed of Syrian archers.[58] The Gradina site was surveyed but not excavated. Two bases of a statue with dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus originated in Gradina.[59] The inscriptions on both bases are identical:

IOM D(olicheno) et Deo paterno / Comageno M. Aur(elius) Ap/olinaris dec(urio) col(oniae) Mur/selensium.

The dedicant was Marcus Aurelius Apolinaris, a decurion in Mursa who was originally from the Syrian Commagene. He dedicated a monument to a native god of Commagene and Jupiter Dolichenus. The dedicant may have been a priest of this deity. It is not clear why the decurion of Mursa dedicated this monument in Rittium. It is known that in Mursa the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus also was confirmed.[60] This monument may be dated to the latter half of the second or first half of the third century. It is known that bases with statues of Jupiter Dolichenus were part of the inventory of his cult's sanctuaries, as was the case in Egeta. At this site, a bronze statue of Jupiter Dolichenus (Fig. 11.) and bronze applications in the form of a bull were found.[61] The statue depicts Dolichenus dressed in Oriental attire, a short tunic with sleeves, wearing the cloak and a Phrygian cap. The statue dates to the end of the second century. A similar bronze statue of Dolichenus on a bull was found at the site of Mauer an der Url, a military fortification in the province of Noricum, and it was a part of the temple inventory.[62] Dušanić believes that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in Surduk was conveyed by members of the Syrian *ala I Augusta Ityraeorum*. The context of these finds from Surduk cannot be known with any certainty, but it may be assumed that there was a temple of Jupiter Dolichenus in or near the military fortification in Surduk. The followers of this cult were probably Oriental soldiers in auxiliary units from the fortification.

[58] ДУШАНИЋ 1968, 99.
[59] SELEM 1980, 231.
[60] CCID 205.
[61] DAUTOVA RUŠEVLJAN - VUJOVIĆ 2006, 112.
[62] KANDLER - HERMANN 1986, 118.

Fig. 11. Bronze statue of Jupiter Dolichenus from Surduk (after DAUTOVA RUŠEVLJAN - VUJOVIĆ 2006, 76, Fig. 41).

Stari Slankamen- Acumincum

Stari Slankamen was a military camp and seat of *cohors I Campanorum*.[63] The Roman fortification was constructed on the dominant hill Gradina, on a plateau on the Danube, across the confluence of the Tisza and Danube Rivers. Rescue excavations were conducted from 1955 to 1957 by archaeologists from the National Museum of Zemun.[64] Two bases with a dedication and statues dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus were discovered at the site. The first was the base of a monument with an inscription and figural group in marble representing Jupiter Dolichenus on a bull wearing a *paludamentum* and a Phrygian cap.[65] The base bore the following inscription:

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) Dol(icheno) / Aurelii Sabinianus et Ma / ximus et Apollinarius sacc(erdotes) / vot(um) l(ibentes) l(aeti) pos(uerunt).

The monument was dedicated by three brothers, priests of the cult, and should be dated to the early third century, when the dedicants became a Roman citizens under Caracalla. The base of a statue of Dolichenus on a bull came from this site.[66] The monument is a local product. The base bears this inscription:

[63] ДУШАНИЋ 1968, 100.
[64] ПЕТРОВИЋ 1995, 23.
[65] SELEM 1980, 232, CCID 207.
[66] SELEM 1980, 231.

I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) D(olicheno) / Au(relius) Iustianus dec(urio) et Ulp(ius) / Silvinianus dup(liciarius) al(a)e Pann(oniorum) / [pr]o se [et suis?].

The dedicants are Aurelius Justianus, a decurion, and Ulpius Silvinianus, the deputy of *alae Pannoniorum*. This *ala* was formed in the late second century under Commodus, and drawn from the province's population. Ever since it was established, this unit was most likely located in Cusum (Petrovaradin) and was not settled in Acumincum. This inscription shows that the cult of Dolichenus was widespread not only among the soldiers from the Orient but also among the soldiers who were probably recruited from Pannonia. These two monuments from the territory of Slankamen point to the sole conclusion that the cult was present in this region, but how the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was represented among soldiers from the fortification in Acumincum cannot be discerned.

DISCUSSION

As shown above, all artefacts of Jupiter Dolichenus came from sites that were military camps. With regard to Moesia Superior, a sanctuary in Egeta which was near the military camp and whose dedicants were soldiers of the first Cretan cohort certainly served the purpose of a military temple. The situation is similar at Diana, where finds are located near the camp in a building that was probably a temple of Dolichenus. At the Novae site, finds came from the camp itself, and in the aedicule of the *principia* a platform was found with an epigraphic dedication to Dolichenus, which indicates the existence of an improvised chapel inside the *principia*. The finds from Pincum also indicate that the cult at this site was widespread among the soldiers, because the dedicants were a *signiferi*. The cult was probably brought to Viminacium during the military campaign in Syria in which *legio VII Claudia* participated. The movement of troops was followed by civilian immigrants, which has been confirmed by the votive monument of the *sacerdos* from Syria. The presence of a priest allows for conjecture that a temple of Dolichenus in Viminacium actually existed. It is possible that the cult was widespread in Singidunum; the monument in Iulia Concordia in Italy was dedicated by a centurion of *IIII Flavia* and dated to the year 185-192.[67] *Legio IIII Flavia* was stationed in Singidunum during the Roman period.

[67] CCID 449.

As for Pannonia Inferior and the territory of Srem, all artefacts are random finds. However, the monuments from Surduk, Banovci and Stari Slankamen are from the military camp areas, and the first monument from Stari Slankamen was dedicated by soldiers from a Pannonian unit. Second monument was dedicated by three brothers, priests of the cult, which indicates that a temple of Dolichenus in Acumincum actually existed. Analysis of epigraphic dedications shows that out of fifteen dedicants, the occupations of eleven are stated. Five of them were dedicated by soldiers; five were raised by priests of the cult and two by higher civilian officials. As far as the four monuments are concerned, it was not possible to determine the occupations of the dedicants. As for the names of the dedicants, seven of fifteen names were of eastern origin, or they emphasized eastern provinces as their homes, which is 46%. However, a significant fact is that 54% of all were dedicated by a non-eastern citizens, which leads to the conclusion that the cult was not only respected by immigrants from the Orient. Of course, this conclusion must be taken with some caution, since the sample is small. All sites from the Serbian Danube Basin date from the second half of second century to the mid-third century. The spread of the cult dates from the period of the Severan dynasty, which can be linked to their support of Oriental cults.[68] It may be assumed that after this period and from the arrival of Maximinus Thrax onward, the shrines of Dolichenus were destroyed and plundered. When it comes to the analysis of figurative sculpture, those from the temple in Egeta are believed to have been made in the eastern centres of the Empire, in the south of Asia Minor, while the heads from Viminacium and Egeta and the sculptures from Čezava and Vidin are believed to have been carved in a local workshop in Moesia Superior.[69] The existence of local workshops certainly suggests that the cult was widely accepted. Iconographic representations are common for this cult and have analogies with finds from neighbouring provinces. Jupiter Dolichenus is shown on a bull, holding a sheaf of thunderbolts and a winged axe and wearing military armour, except for the sculpture from Surduk on which Dolichenus is wearing Oriental attire. Based on the finds identified thus far, it may be concluded that the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus along the Roman limes in the territory of present-day Serbia was the most revered by soldiers. Priests and the civilian aristocracy also appear to have been among the cult's adherents. The largest number of followers were non-oriental, but a significant number were originating from the east.

[68] BIRLEY 1999, 72.
[69] TOMOVIĆ 1992, 72-73.

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THE DANUBE LIMES IN CROATIA - LIMES OFFICE ACTIVITIES 2008-2010

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The Danube Limes in Croatia has been registered on UNESCO tentative list[1] as the site which has potential to join the monument Frontiers of the Roman Empire. That property was the first transnational, serial World Heritage Site which currently includes Hadrian's Wall and Antonine Wall in Great Britain and Upper German-Raetian Limes in Germany. Remains of Roman frontier fortifications in some other modern European, Asian and African countries could also become part of the UNESCO World Heritage.

Once acting as the natural obstacle along the frontier of the province *Pannonia* and the Roman Empire, the Danube River (*Danuvius*) today marks the 188 km long[2] eastern Croatian border towards the Republic of Serbia. The exact Limes length that followed the Danube course in Croatia is somewhat shorter. It is about 137 km long[3] because Limes, due to large marshland areas of Kopački rit, deviated from the meandering Danube throughout the northeastern Croatian region of Baranja.

The northernmost Roman site in Baranja was *Ad Militare* (Batina). The military road connected it with the fort *Ad Novas* (Zmajevac). Along the edge of the Danube diluvial terrace, from Zmajevac to the south, the road could descend to the potential Roman military site in present day settlement Kamenac and then beyond, to forts situated in Dragojlov Brijeg, Lug and Kopačevo. The Roman localities in the immediate hinterland of Limes such as *Antianae, Mons Aureus* and *Mursella* and also Limes sites *Albanum, Donatianae* and *Ad Labores* referred to in Roman itineraries have not been matched to the ground. The road further on led towards *Mursa* (Osijek) and/or Nemetin, an obscure site on the former bank of the Drava River (*Dravus*). Since Limes road usually cut river meanders it could bypass the Danube bend and continued to the forts *Teutoburgium* (Dalj) and *Cornacum* (Sotin) in Slavonia, leading forward to *Cuccium* (Ilok) in Srijem, the southernmost Croatian region that Limes was made in Roman era. Aforementioned localities have been registered and protected but the accurate dimensions of sites have never been determined. The precise route of the Limes road is also not known although five milestones on its course have so far been found: one in Batina[4], Bilje[5] and Podravlje[6] and two in Osijek[7].

[1] http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/2014/

[2] SANADER 2003, 463.

[3] ILKIĆ 2008, 199.

[4] FRÖCHLICH 1888, 291.

[5] PINTEROVIĆ 1971b, 62.

[6] HOFFILLER 1912, 6, 7, sl. 6.

[7] PINTEROVIĆ 1971b, 62; PINTEROVIĆ 1978, 95, 96, T. XIX.

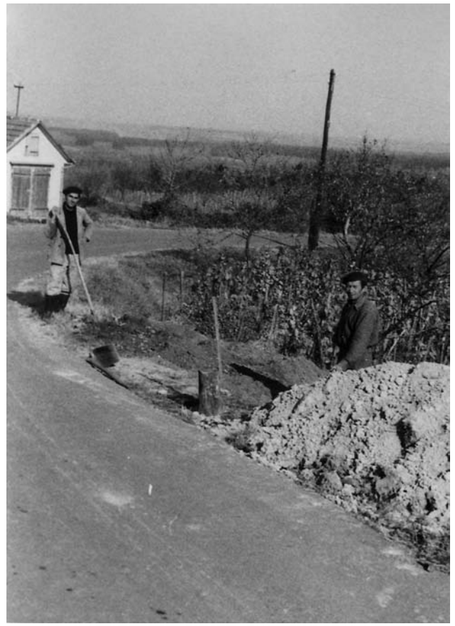

Fig. 1: Batina 1970-excavation (photo: Muzej Slavonije Osijek).

Fig. 2: Dragojlov brijeg 1987-excavaton (photo: Konzervatorski zavod Osijek).

The real Roman frontier line in Croatia must have been the system which comprised Limes road, forts watchtowers and maybe bridgeheads on the right bank of the Danube. For many of them there is no information available because large scale surveys have never been conducted. The chain of watchtowers attested along the river frontiers in Netherlands[8], Germany[9] and Hungary[10] has not been well documented in Croatia. However, there are some hints on the position of a few watchtowers in the records dating back to the early 20th century. All probable watchtower sites were found south of the Drava, in Slavonia and Srijem, where Limes follows the immediate course of the Danube. To this day in Erdut has been partially excavated the only watchtower site in Croatia[11]. The other watchtower has been located in Zlopolje[12] whereas one or two more are believed to be destroyed in Vukovar[13]. Other watchtowers could have been situated in what is today Veliko Renovo, Šarengrad[14] and Turska skela[15]. State on their condition is going to be checked out in the future. The aforementioned sites could have disappeared due to erosion or by rebuilding activities in Modern day and the Middle Ages. Potentially the first watchtower discovered north of the Drava was located to the site Zmajevac-Grovišće 2 in 2008[16]. Neither of them has been protected under the National Protection Acts. Not a single bridgehead has yet been documented in the Croatian Danube region.

While Limes studies in Western and Middle European countries have represented the core of archaeological research for the past several decades or more, these

[8] GERLACH et al. 2008, 9-16; Jilek 2008, 69.
[9] http://www.limesstrasse.de/index.php?id=178
[10] VISY 2003, 123-129.
[11] HEIM 1967, 12.
[12] DORN 1973, 27.
[13] PINTEROVIĆ 1971b, 69, 70.
[14] BALEN-LETUNIĆ 2004, 18, T.9.
[15] BALEN-LETUNIĆ - RADMAN-LIVAJA 2008, 423.
[16] BOJČIĆ et al. 2008, 128.

Fig. 3: Lug 1988-excavation (photo: Konzervatorski zavod Osijek).

have in Croatia long been neglected. Therefore at this point different sorts of the national archive needs to be found, revised, confirmed or rejected. As systematic excavations were not common on Croatian Limes sites, there is plenty of survey potential. Some small scale excavations on military sites have been carried out in Batina[17] (Fig. 1.), Dragojlov brijeg[18] (Fig. 2.), Lug[19] (Fig. 3.), Kopačevo[20], Osijek[21] and Sotin[22]. What surveying makes more difficult is that modern urban centers next to the Danube have been developed directly above Roman sites (Batina, Lug, Kopačevo, Osijek, Erdut, Dalj, Ilok). Most of the archaeological research in Baranja, Slavonia and Srijem is rescue excavation and is being driven by clearing an area for construction. Erosion took some place on fort sites in Batina and Dalj. The exact data when Romans settled and left the Middle Danube Limes have not been supported by excavation results neither in southern Hungary neither in western Serbia. Limes in Croatia lies in between those two sections.

Because of Limes position on the most remote Croatian border, its long distance from major city agglomerations, more attractive Adriatic coastal sites and due to lack of employees, since 1970-ies there has been no systematical Limes research in Croatia. Due to museum and conservation organization intermission during the 1990-1995 conflict between Croatian and Serbian parties,, the scarce archive documentation and few Roman military inscriptions concerning Limes from Vukovar and Sotin have been misplaced or destroyed. Some sites (Kopačevo, Nemetin) and sections of Roman road near Osijek are still threatened by landmines left over from the war.

[17] PINTEROVIĆ 1971a, 55-59.
[18] MINICHREITER 1989, 102, 103.
[19] MINICHREITER 1990, 81.
[20] BULAT 1978, 85, 86.
[21] Information comes from colleague Slavica Filipović.
[22] LOŽNJAK-DIZDAR 2010, 22.

Fig. 4: Batina 2010-Non-destructive archaeological survey (photo: Igor Vukmanić).

To intensify the National Limes interest, in 2008 the Limes Office was established in the Archaeological Museum Osijek.[23] Its objective is to create a scientific database by interpreting archive maps, documents and photographs from Local, Regional, National and Museums abroad, from Archives and competent Conservation Bureaues, as well as to collect publications and to provide excavation on sites in northeastern Croatia. The GPS coordinates and photo-material on present state of the notorious Limes sites have been recorded in 2009. A website for the Danube Limes in Croatia has been developed and can be visited on the web address http://www.dunavskilimes-amo.com.hr/. To inform local and national interested parties with the entry procedure into the World Heritage List, paper on this topic has been published in the magazine Osječki zbornik 29.[24] Non-destructive methods of archaeological survey like GPR and geoelectrical mapping were conducted in 2010 on the Roman fort site in Batina (Fig. 4.). The result is the conversance of the first comprehensive ground plan of several military buildings along the entire Croatian Limes. By virtue of modern achievements like satellite imagery and air photography more progress could be accomplished soon. A future aim is to prepare an adequately *in situ* presented Roman site because there are none along the Croatian part of Limes. Consequently the localities are invisible to the visitors.

Since Limes office has been conceived its emphasis has been put on communication with regional Heritage institutions and stakeholders to encourage work on the sustainable development of the Danube area in Croatia. This is just as important as using the highest standards in research, documentation and in the written revelation of sites.

[23] Since 2012 the Archaeological museum Osijek is a part of the Museum of Slavonia Osijek.

[24] VUKMANIĆ 2009, 25-36.

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PONEDJELJAK / MONDAY / MONTAG, 24.05.2010.

Otvorenja skupa / Welcome by organizer / Begrüssungsansprache
Mirjana Sanader, Odsjek za arheologiju, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Ante Rendić-Miočević, Arheološki muzej Zagreb

Uvodna predavanja/ Opening lectures/ Eröffnungsreferate

1. Jon Coulston, 'Roman military equipment in funerary contexts'
2. Nenad Cambj, Roman Military tropaea from Dalmatia

Rimska vojna oprema u pogrebnom kontekstu / Weapons and Military Equipment in a Funerary Context / Militaria als Grabbeilage

Jon Coulston/ Ivan Radman Livaja

1. Janka Istenič, Early Roman graves with weapons in Slovenia: An overview.
2. Dragan Božič, Roman weapons from Early Imperial graves at Polhov Gradec west of Ljubljana.
3. Danilo Breščak, Roman Weapons and Military Equipment in Early Imperial Graves at Verdun near Stopiče (Community Novo mesto, SE Slovenia).

Eckhard Deschler-Erb/ Željko Miletić

1. Lionel Pernet, Tombes à armes et auxiliaires gaulois aux IIe et Ier siècles avant notre ère. De l'étude de l'armement gaulois et romain à l'histoire sociale.
2. Torsten Kleinschmidt, Veteranen oder Zivilisten? Frühkaiserzeitliche Waffengräber im Treverergebiet.
3. Mojca Vomer Gojkovič, Poetovio and burial with military burial.
4. Ivan Žižek, Vojni elementi u istočnoj petovionskoj nekropoli.
5. Zsolt Mrav, Graves of Auxiliary Soldiers from the 1st century in Hungarian part of Roman Pannonia
6. Annelies Koster, Weapons in a late 1st century grave in Nijmegen (NL).

Janka Istenič/ Zsolt Mrav

1. Susanne Wilbers-Rost - Achim Rost, Kalkriese – Battlefield, military equipment and „graves".
2. Thomas Fischer, Römische Militärgürtel in Grabfunden aus dem Donauraum
3. Nemanja Mrđić - Snežana Golubović - Angelina Raičković, Study of soldiers burials on the cemetery of Viminacium.

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu
Otvorenje izložbe/ Opening of the Exhibition/ Eröffnung der Ausstellung:
Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj/ Finds of the Roman Military Equipment in Croatia

UTORAK / TUESDAY / DIENSTAG, 25.05.2010.

Sonja Jilek/ Piotr Dyczek

1. Nemanja Mrđić - Miomir Korač - Snežana Golubović, Knives and Daggers in graves from Viminacium.
2. Liviu Petculescu, Roman military equipment in the cemetery of Noviodunum in Moesia Inferior.
3. Miroslav Vujović, Military equipment from Galerius burial rite at Gamzigrad - Romuliana (Serbia).

Stefanie Hoss / Miroslav Vujovic

1. Gerda Sommer von Buelow, Romuliana-Gamzigrad (Dacia ripensis). Ein neu entdecktes Waffengrab.
2. Katarzyna Czarnecka, Warriors in This and the Other World. Weapon furnished graves of the Przeworsk culture.
3. Bartosz Kontny, What could military equipment in graves mean? The case study of weapons and horses from cemeteries of the Balt tribes in the nothern Poland (the Elbląg group).
4. Marcin Biborski - P. Kaczanowski, Grabinventare als Quelle fuer die Studien an der Bedeutung der roemischen Militaerimporte in der “barbarischen” Bewaffnung.
5. Xenia Pauli Jensen, Imitation and transformation – Roman militaria in south Scandinavian grave finds.

Susanne Wilbers-Rost/ László Kocsis

1. Thomas Grane, A late Roman military belt from Zealand?
2. Ulla Lund Hansen, “Late Roman Warrior graves in Denmark and their relations to the Danish Weapon Offering finds”.
3. Vesna Girardi Jurkić, Weapons in Late Antique and Barbarised Graves in Istria.

Prikazi oružja na nadgrobnim spomenicima / Funerary Iconography / Waffendarstellungen auf Grabsteinen

Mirjana Sanader/ Nenad Cambj

1. Branka Migotti, Can soldiers on 3rd-century stelai in Panonnia be recognized only by their clothes?
2. Bebina Milovanović, Soldiers, decorations and military insignia at the gravestones from Viminacium.
3. Martin Wieland, Darstellung und Realität: Waffen und Ausrüstung auf Soldatengrabsteinen des 1. und 2. Jh. n. Chr.
4. Kristina Džin, Representations of Weapons at the Arch of the Sergii in Pula, the Sergii’s Last Resting Place.

Posteri / Poster / Poster

1. Kirill Firsov, Weapons and Military Equipment from Barbarous Necropolises of Central And South-Western Crimea In The First Centuries Ad.
2. Tino Leleković, The find of a Roman dagger from SE necropolis of Siscia (Sisak, Croatia).
3. Oleg Radjush, Burials 1-2 centuries with protective arms on the Middle Volga region.
4. Željko Miletić - Joško Zaninović, Legions and auxiliary units at Burnum.
5. Igor Borzić - Ivana Jadrić, Roman military food supply in Burnum – amphora casestudy.
6. Ivana Jadrić - Igor Borzić, Roman relief mould blown glass from Burnum.
7. Miroslav Glavičić, Roman coins found during archaeological excavations of the amphitheatre of the military legion camp at Burnum (2003 – 2009)
8. Igor Borzić - Miroslav Glavičić - Ivana Jadrić, Željko Miletić, Joško Zaninović, Topography of Burnum.
9. Mladen Ivan Jovičić, Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus at the Limes in Moesia Superior and Pannonia Inferior.
10. Ivan Bogdanović, Roman stone and clay shot from Viminacium amphitheatre.
11. Mónika Merczi, Ein spätrömisches Grab mit Waffenbeigabe aus Esztergom-Kossuth Straße.
12. Mirjana Sanader, Domagoj Tončinić, Das Projekt Tilurium.
13. Domagoj Toncinic - Sanja Ivčević, Das Projekt Tilurium - Waffendarstellungen auf Grabsteinen aus Tilurium.
14. Sanja Ivčević, Das Projekt Tilurium – Die Militaria.
15. Dino Demicheli, Das Projekt Tilurium – Ein Dichter im Legionslager Tilurium.
16. Ana Pavlović - Tomislav Šeparović, Das Projekt Tilurium - Die Fundmünzen.
17. Zrinka Šimić Kanaet, Das Projekt Tilurium – Die Keramikfunde.
18. Zrinka Buljević, Das Projekt Tilurium – Die Glasfunde.
19. Doina Benea, Römische Militärgräber aus der Provinz Dacia
20. Christoph G. Schmidt, Recycelt: Römische Militaria im mitteldeutschen Barbaricum – Siedlung und Gräberfeld Frienstedt, Kr. Erfurt
21. Josip Višnjić - Luka Bekić, Roman military equipment and weaponry from the Late Roman Principia in Tarsatica.
22. Boštjan Laharnar, Roman military equipment from the fortified settlements in the Notranjska region (SW Slovenia).
23. Petre Gherghe - Florin Ridiche - Marius Cristian Bârceanu, Some information on the weapons belonging to the IVth century AD , discovered at Desa (Desa village, District of Dolj, Romania) in 2009.
24. Ivan Radman Livaja - Marko Dizdar, Roman military grave from Starigrad Paklenica.
25. Marko Dizdar – Ivan Radman Livaja, Roman military grave from Ilok.
26. Igor Vukmanić, The Danube Limes in Croatia.
27. Piotr Dyczek - Tomasz Kowal - Martin Lemke - Janusz Reclaw, The Danube Limes UNESCO World Heritage Project.

SRIJEDA / WEDNESDAY / MITTWOCH, 26.05.2010.

Ekskurzija u Dalmaciju/ Excursion to Dalmatia/ Exkursion nach Dalmatien
Muzej triljskog kraja
Rimski legijski logor *Tilurium*
Arheološka zbirka Burnum
Predstavljanje projekta Burnum (hrvatsko-talijanska suradnja)
Predstavljanje Nacionalnog parka Krka
Rimski legijski logor *Burnum*

ČETVRTAK / THURSDAY / DONNERSTAG, 27.05.2010.

Oružje izvan pogrebnog konteksta / Non-funarery Equipment / Militaria ohne Grabkonteks.

Ulla Lund Hansen/ Liviu Petculescu

1. Zrinka Buljević, Glasphalerae in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien.
2. Miroslav Glavičić - Željko Miletić - Joško Zaninović, Finds of Roman military equipment from Burnum.

Dragan Božić/ Lionel Pernet

1. Sanja Ivčević, Roman military gear from Salona.
2. Mato Ilkić - Gorana Kušić, Roman military equipment and weaponry from Sotin (Cornacum).
3. Stefanie Hoss, Roman Military Belts - A Theoretical Approach.

Mike Bishop, ARMS

Xenia Pauli Jensen/ Sanja Ivčević

1. Balázs Komoróczy - Martin Hložek, Recent find of greaves from Mušov (Czech Republic). Context, Conservation and Material analysis.
2. Florian Wolfgang Himmler, ‘On the Road Again’ - miscellaneous results of two experimental marches performed in 2004/2008.
3. Ildar Kayumov - Alexander Minchev, The καμβέστριον and other Roman military equipment from Thracia.
4. Mike Bishop, Von Groller’s Waffenmagazin.
5. Mario Novak, Weapon injuries in Roman Iader.

Domagoj Tončinić/ Ante Rendić-Miočević

1. Martin Lemke, – Stone projectiles discovered in the castra legionis Novae near Svishtov (BG).
2. Suzana Matesić, Die Helme aus dem Thorsberger Moor.
3. Annette Elna Frölich, Iron Age Medical instrument cases excavated in Denmark.

Zatvaranje skupa/ Closing word by the Organizers/ Schlusswort
Ante Rendić-Miočević, Arheološki muzej Zagreb
Domagoj Tončinić, Odsjek za arheologiju, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu

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