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ZODIJAK IZ NAKOVANE<sup>1</sup>

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Pelješac)''639''

**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*Za vrijeme arheoloških iskopavanja provedenih godine 2000. u Spili kod Nakovane na Pelješcu pronađeni su sitni ulomci bjelokosti ukrašeni finim graviranjem. Nakon sastavljanja pokazalo se da potječu od nekoliko pločica s prikazima simbola zodijskih. Radi se najvjerojatnije o iznimno rijetkom arheološkom nalazu dijela astrologove ploče. Nalaz je prikupljen prilikom pažljivog iskopavanja guste koncentracije ulomaka finog helenističkog posuđa ostavljenog na dar u špiljskom svetištu. To je zasada najstariji poznati primjerak astrologove ploče, napravljen oko 100. godine prije Krista, ubrzo nakon što je izumljena grčka horoskopska astrologija. Njegova prisutnost na prostoru koji je bio pod kontrolom domorodačke ilirske zajednice svjedoči o prometnoj i kulturnoj povezanosti Sredozemlja u prvom stoljeću prije Krista.*

*Ključne riječi:* zodijski, astrologija, astrologova ploča, bjelokost, helenizam, Jadran, Nakovana

<sup>1</sup> Ovaj rad je djelomice izmijenjen i nadopunjen prijevod našeg rada objavljenog na engleskom jeziku 2011. godine u časopisu *Journal for the History of Astronomy* (Forenbaher, Jones 2011).

THE NAKOVANA ZODIAC<sup>1</sup>

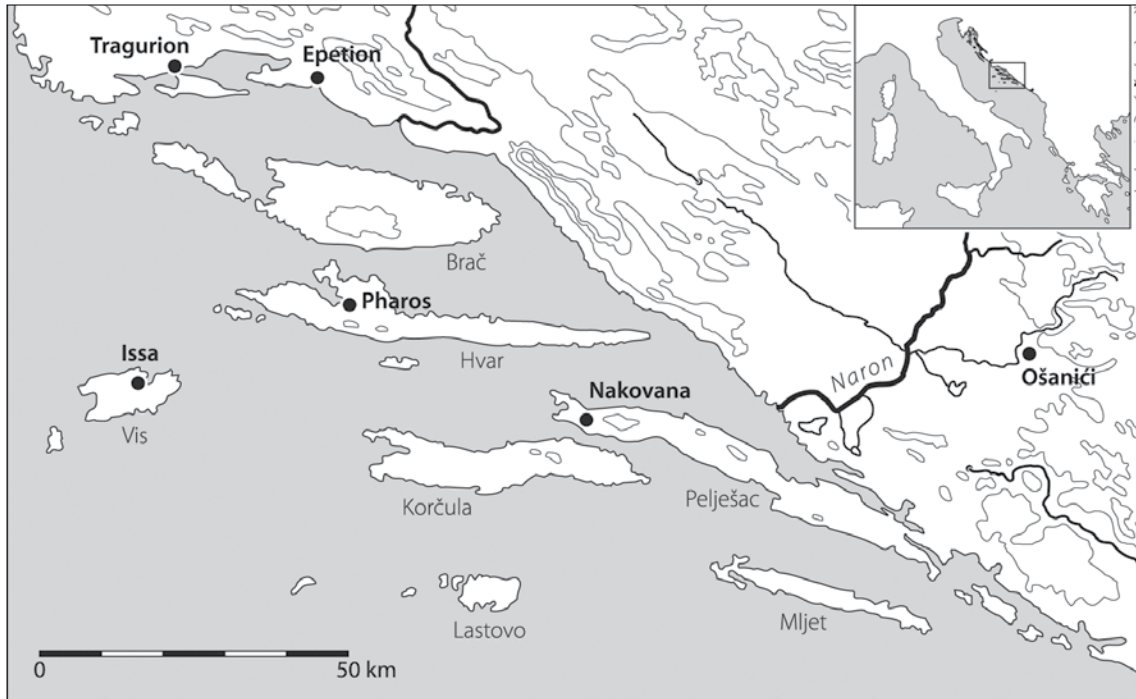
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**Original scientific paper**

*In 2000, during archaeological excavations in Nakovana Cave on the peninsula of Pelješac, small fragments of ivory with engraved decoration were found. Once assembled, it was established that they belonged to several plaques bearing zodiac symbols. They are most probably parts of an astrologer's board – a very rare archaeological find. The fragments were collected during careful recovery of a dense cluster of shards of fine Hellenistic vessels left in the cave as offerings. This is the oldest known astrologer's board to date, made around 100 BC, soon after the emergence of Greek horoscopic astrology. Its presence within territory which was controlled by the indigenous Illyrian community testifies to the communication and cultural links within the Mediterranean basin in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.*

*Key words:* zodiac, astrology, astrologer's board, ivory, Hellenistic period, Adriatic, Nakovana

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a partially revised and supplemented version of our article published in the *Journal for the History of Astronomy* (Forenbaher, Jones 2011).



Sl. / Fig. 1: Karta srednje i južne Dalmacije s naznačenim položajem Nakovane i drugih nalazišta koja se spominju u tekstu / Map of central and southern Dalmatia with the location of Nakovana and other sites mentioned in the text (crtež / drawing by S. Forenbaher)

## Uvod

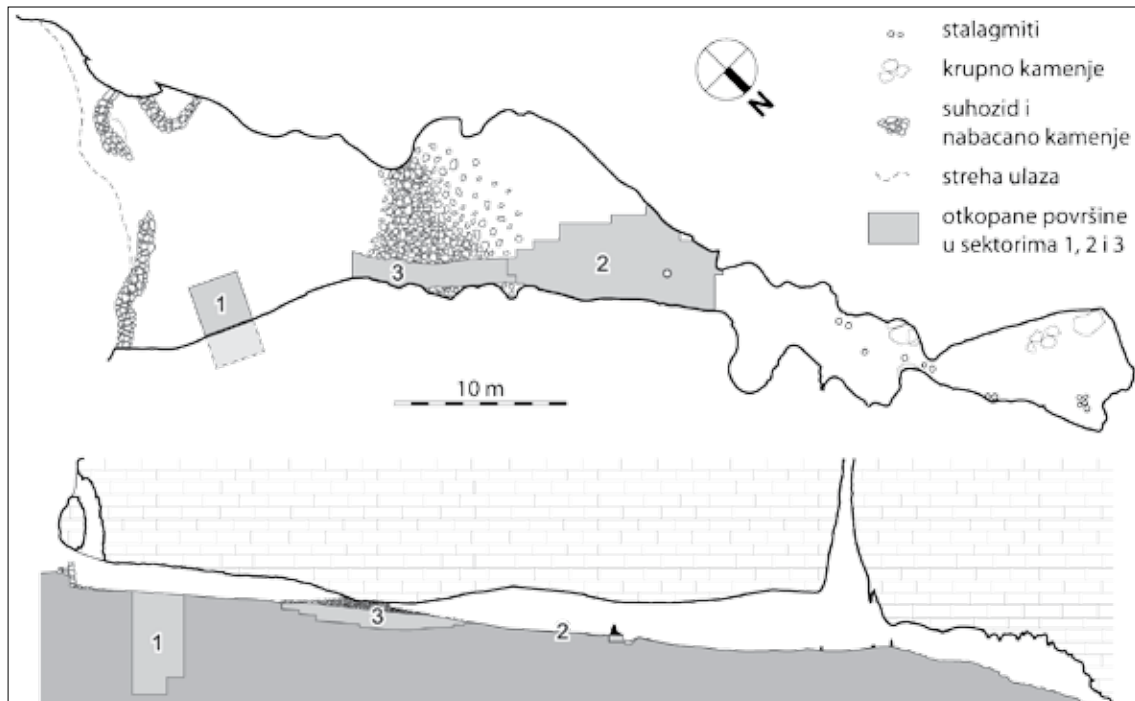
Ulaz u nakovansku Spilu nalazi se pod samim vrhom 400 m visokog krševitog grebena Kopinja, nedaleko strateški važnog zapadnog kraja poluotoka Pelješca (sl. 1). S Kopinja se otvaraju pogledi na Hvar, Vis, Korčulu i Mljet te prema tridesetak kilometara udaljenom ušću Neretve. Plovni putevi koji prolaze ispod špilje Hvarskim i Pelješkim kanalom u antičko su vrijeme bili među najvažnijim na Jadranu.

Mještani obližnjeg sela Nakovane špilju zovu jednostavno »Spila« što ukazuje na njezinu naročitu važnost u usporedbi s drugim špiljama u okolici. Iza 15 m širokog i 2 m visokog ulaza nalazi se u petnaestak metara dubok pripećak, čiji se svod postupno spušta prema tlu prekrivenom krupnim kamenjem. Špilja naizgled završava na mjestu gdje svod dodiruje tlo, no nabacano kamenje zapravo zatvara širok

## Introduction

The entrance to the Nakovana Cave is located just below the crest of the 400m-high ridge of Kopinja, on the strategically very important western end of the peninsula of Pelješac (Fig. 1). From Kopinja, one can see the islands of Hvar, Vis, Korčula and Mljet, as well as the mouth of the River Neretva, at a distance of some 30 km. Navigation routes passing through the Hvar and Pelješac channels beneath the cave were among the most important Adriatic sea lanes in Antiquity.

The population of the nearby village of Nakovana calls the cave simply "Spila" (the cave), which suggests that, in comparison with other caves in the surrounding area, this one has particular importance. Beyond an entrance 15 m wide and 2 m high, there is a rock shelter some 15 m deep. Its ceiling gradually slopes down to a floor strewn with large stones. The cave appears to end at the spot where its ceiling meets the floor, but the stones actually



Sl. / Fig. 2: Tlocrt i presjek nakovanske Spile s naznačenim istraženim površinama / Groundplan and cross-section of the Nakovana Cave with excavated areas indicated (crtež / drawing by S. Forenbaher)

i nizak prolaz dug desetak metara, koji se blago spušta prema mračnoj unutrašnjosti brda. Nakon toga špiljski se hodnik proširuje, tvoreći dvije razmjerno prostrane, izdužene i visoke dvorane. Ukupna dužina špilje iznosi oko 60 m (sl. 2).

close off a wide, low passageway, about 10 m long, which slopes towards the dark interior of the hill. Beyond that, the passageway opens up, turning into two relatively spacious chambers, elongated and high. The total length of the cave is about 60 m (Fig. 2).

### Okolnosti otkrića

Kada je 1999. godine u okviru »Projekta Nakovana«<sup>2</sup> započelo istraživanje Nakovanske visoravni, nakovanska Spila već je bila dobro poznata stručnoj javnosti kao eponimno nalazište bakrenodobne

### Circumstances of the discovery

When the exploration of the Nakovana Plateau began in 1999, within the scope of the Nakovana Project,<sup>2</sup> the Nakovana Cave was already well known among experts as the type-site of the Copper Age Nakovana Cul-

<sup>2</sup> »Projekt Nakovana« vodili su Timothy Kaiser (Royal Ontario Museum, Kanada) i Stašo Forenbaher (Institut za antropologiju, Zagreb). Sredstva za terenski rad osigurala je Zaklada Royal Ontario Museuma putem velikodušne donacije Audry i Davida Mirvisha iz Toronta (Kanada). Laboratorijska istraživanja provedena su u sklopu znanstvenoistraživačkog projekta #196-1962766-2740 Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske.

<sup>2</sup> The Nakovana Project was led by Timothy Kaiser (Royal Ontario Museum, Canada) and Stašo Forenbaher (Institute for Anthropological Research, Zagreb). Field work was funded by the Royal Ontario Museum trust, through a generous donation by Audry and David Mirvish of Toronto (Canada). Laboratory work was performed within the scope of research project No. 196-1962766-2740 of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sport of the Republic of Croatia.





Sl. / Fig. 3: Unutrašnja dvorana nakovanske Spile / Interior chamber of the Nakovana Cave (snimio / photo by S. Forenbaher 1999.)

»nakovanske kulture«<sup>3</sup>. Istraživanje je najprije bilo usredotočeno na iskop duboke sonde u sektoru 1 nedaleko od ulaza, jer su na tom prostoru 4 m debele kulturne naslage sadržavale jasno uslojenu arheološku građu od ranog neolitika do brončanog doba<sup>4</sup>. Tada još nismo znali da se iza prividnog kraja dubokog pripećka nastavlja dugačak špiljski hodnik. Mračnu unutrašnjost špilje otkrili smo tek potkraj prve sezone iskopavanja, nakon što smo uklonili dio nabacanog kamenja i provukli se kroz tijesan prolaz<sup>5</sup>.

Prilikom prvog posjeta skrivenoj unutrašnjosti Spile ustanovili smo da velik dio tla kanala prekriva krhka i netaknuta sigasta korica. Posvuda su ležali mnogobrojni ulomci keramike, većinom finih helenističkih posuda iz posljednjih stoljeća prije Krista. Površina ulomaka bila je

<sup>3</sup> Petrić 1976; Forenbaher 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2002; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 15-23.

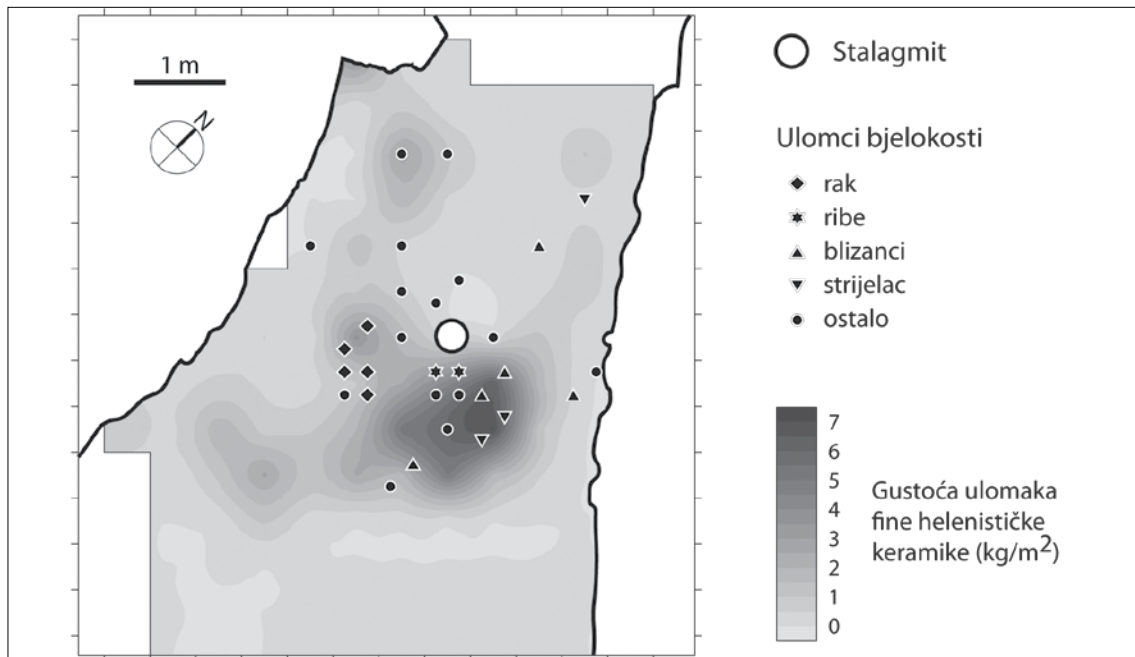
ture.<sup>3</sup> The initial focus of the exploration was a deep test pit in sector 1, near the entrance, because in that area cultural deposits about 4 m thick contained clear layers of archaeological material from the periods between the Early Neolithic and the Copper Age.<sup>4</sup> At that time we were unaware of the long cave corridor beyond the rock-shelter's apparent end. The dark interior of the cave was discovered only at the end of the first excavation season, after some of the strewn stones were removed and we crawled through the narrow passage.<sup>5</sup>

During our first visit to the hidden interior of the cave, we established that much of the channel's floor was covered by fragile and undisturbed stalagmitic crust. Numerous pottery shards were lying around, mostly fragments of fine Hellenistic vessels dating from the last centuries BC. The surface of the shards was exceptionally well preserved,

<sup>3</sup> Petrić 1976; Forenbaher 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2002; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2010.

<sup>5</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 15-23.



Sl. / Fig. 4: Prostorni raspored ulomaka bjelokosti i fine helenističke lončarije oko stalagmita / Spatial distribution of ivory fragments and shards of fine Hellenistic pottery around the stalagmite (crtež / drawing by S. Forenbaher)

iznimno dobro sačuvana, a sudeći po njihovom prostornom rasporedu, nalazili su se ondje gdje su posude bile ostavljene. Po svemu sudeći, ulaz u skriveni kanal bio je davno zatrpan kamenjem, čime je zatvoren pristup u stražnji dio špilje.

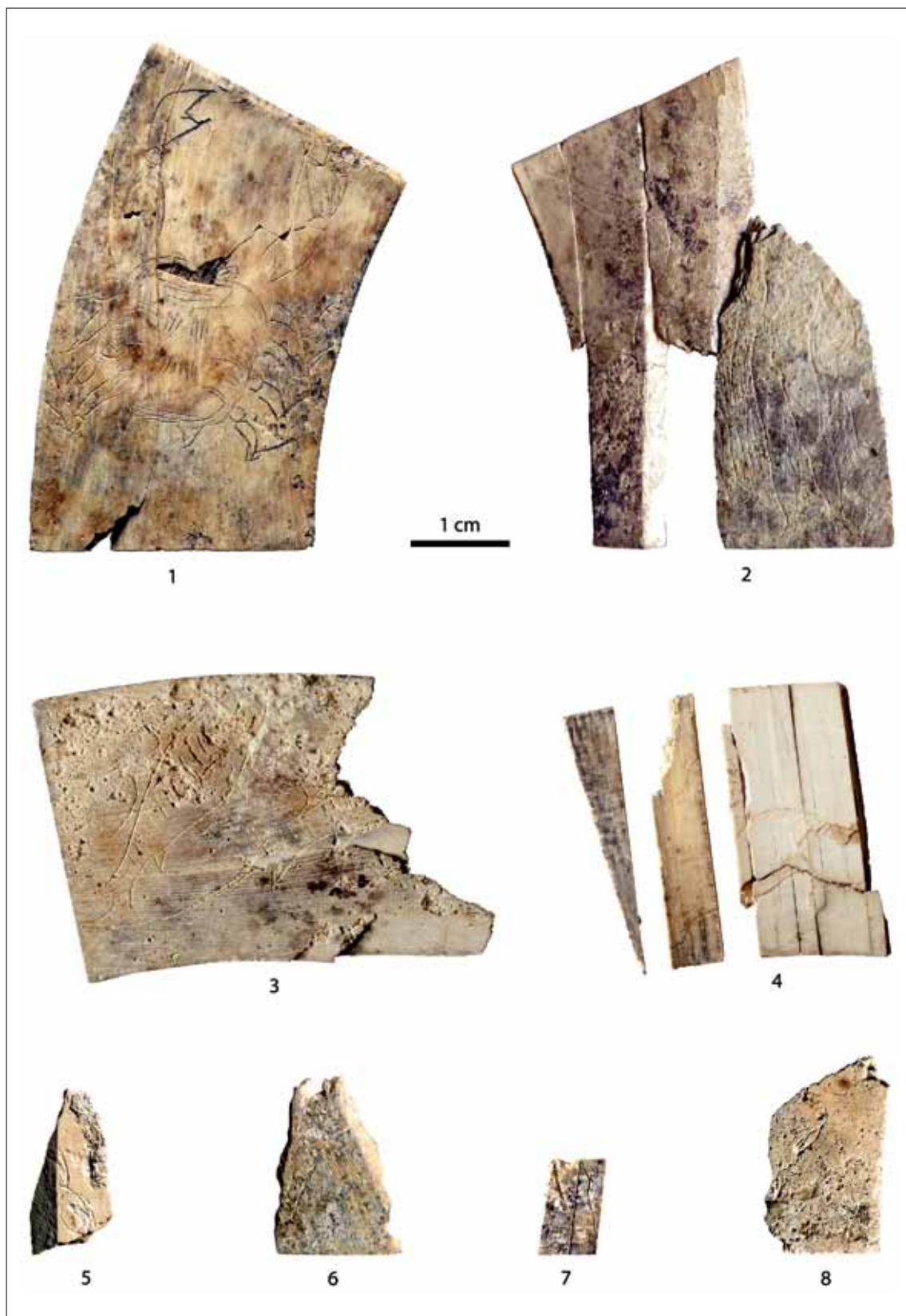
Tijekom iduće dvije istraživačke sezone u potpunosti smo istražili helenistički sloj u sektoru 2 na površini od 47 m<sup>2</sup> (sl. 2), uklonivši oko tri tone kulturnih naslaga. Taj površinski sloj preslojavao je pretpovijesne naslage. Tek ponegdje bio je deblji od nekoliko centimetara te je isklinjavao prema rubovima istraženog dijela dvorane. Većina nalaza iz spomenutog sloja prikupljena je s prostora promjera oko 2 m, neposredno ispred krupnog, osamljenog stalagmita koji dominira unutrašnjošću špilje (sl. 3).

Izvanredno visoka gustoća neobično dobro sačuvanih nalaza, uklopljenih u sloj žitke špiljske ilovače, iziskivala je primjenu neuobičajeno pažljivih postupaka

and, judging by their spatial distribution, they were in the locations where the vessels had been left. By all appearances, the entrance of the hidden channel was buried by stones a long time ago, preventing access to the back of the cave.

Over the course of the following two excavation seasons, the Hellenistic layer in sector 2 was explored in its entirety, over a surface of 47 m<sup>2</sup> (Fig. 2). Around three tons of cultural deposits were removed. This surface layer – overlying earlier prehistoric layers – was rarely more than a few centimetres thick, and it petered out towards the edges of the excavated area. Most of the finds from this layer were recovered from an area of 2 m in diameter, located immediately in front of a single large stalagmite which dominates the cave's interior (Fig. 3).

The exceptionally high density of unusually well-preserved finds, embedded in a layer of viscous cave clay, called for particularly careful methods of recovery. For this reason,



Sl. / Fig. 5: Četiri sastavljene pločice i drugi ulomci bjelokosti ukrašeni graviranjem / Four assembled plaques and other ivory fragments with engraved decoration (snimili / photos by D. Doračić and S. Forenbaher)

ka prikupljanja. Zbog toga je površina iskopa podijeljena na kvadrate veličine 0,5x0,5 m, a sav iskopani sediment prenesen je do terenskog laboratorija gdje je mokro prosijan na sitima otvora 3 mm, uz pomoć visokotlačnih prskalica<sup>6</sup>.

Svi ulomci gravirane bjelokosti prikupljeni su prilikom mokrog prosijavanja. Mnogi od njih, uključujući najveće i najbolje očuvane ulomke, potječu iz prostora neposredno ispred istaknutog stalagmita, odakle potječe i većina ulomaka finog helenističkog posuđa (sl. 4). Manji ulomci bjelokosti bili su razasuti oko stalagmita na sve strane, unutar udaljenosti od dva metra.

### Opis i rekonstrukcija nalaza

Prikupljeno je ukupno trideset ulomaka obrađene bjelokosti koji potječu od najmanje sedam pločica gotovo identične veličine i oblika. Četiri pločice mogle su se potpuno ili većim dijelom sastaviti, dok preostali manji ulomci, sudeći prema svojim dimenzijama i oblicima, potječu od još barem tri pločice (sl. 5 i 6).

Svaka pojedina pločica oblikovana je kao odsječak luka od približno 28°, najveće dužine od oko 55 mm, širine 30 mm i debljine 2-3 mm. Pločice su vjerojatno nekim ljepljivim sredstvom bile pričvršćene na ravnu (drvenu?) podlogu. Usporedo urezane linije koje prekrivaju njihovo naličje (sl. 7) možda su bile napravljene radi boljeg prijanjanja ljepila.

Na licu četiriju pločica nalaze se prepoznatljivi motivi izvedeni finim graviranjem: rak, dvije ribe, dva ljudska lika te tijelo i stražnje noge neke velike životinje u trku.

Na pločici #1 (sl. 6: 1) realistično je prikazan rak. Skoro posve cijela pločica sastavljena je od pet ulomaka koji su pronađeni nedaleko jedan od drugog, na

the surface was divided into squares of 0.5 x 0.5 m, and all of the excavated sediment was transported to a field laboratory, where it was wet-sieved on tables with 3mm meshes, using high-pressure water guns.<sup>6</sup>

All the fragments of engraved ivory were recovered during wet sieving. Many of them, including the biggest and best-preserved fragments, originate from the area immediately in front of the prominent stalagmite – from the same zone in which most shards of the fine Hellenistic vessels were found (Fig. 4). Smaller ivory fragments were scattered all around the stalagmite, within a distance of two metres.

### Description and reconstruction of the finds

In total, thirty fragments of worked ivory were recovered, originating from at least seven plaques of nearly identical size and shape. Four of the plaques could be reassembled completely or to a large degree, while the remaining smaller fragments come from at least three additional plaques, judging by their sizes and shapes (Figs 5 and 6).

Each plaque was shaped as a segment of an arc of approximately 28°. The longest among them was about 55 mm long, 30 mm wide and 2-3 mm thick. The plaques were probably attached by some kind of adhesive to a flat (wooden?) support. The incised parallel lines on their backs (Fig. 7) may have been made to ensure better adhesion.

On the obverse side of the four plaques, recognizable motifs were executed by fine engraving: a crab, two fishes, two human figures, and the body and hind legs of a large running animal.

Plaque 1 (Fig. 6: 1) bears a realistic depiction of a crab. The plaque is almost complete, composed of five fragments discovered close to one another, about 1 m to the south-west of

<sup>6</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 26-30.

<sup>6</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 26-30.

udaljenosti od oko 1 m jugozapadno od stalagmita. Prikaz tumačimo kao zodijački simbol Raka.

Na pločici #2 (sl. 6: 2) realistično su prikazana dva ljudska lika koji stoje jedan do drugog, pri čemu lijevi malo nadvisuje desnog. Pločica je sastavljena od pet ulomaka koji su bili razasuti južno, istočno i sjeverno od stalagmita, unutar udaljenosti od 1,5 m. Gornji desni ugao i sredina donjeg dijela pločice nedostaju. Čini se da su oba lika muškarci. Njihova naga tijela prikazana su anatomske precizno, u duhu umjetničke tradicije klasične antike. Lijevom liku nedostaje najveći dio desne noge, gornji dio lijeve noge te lijeva ruka i rame. Desna ruka mu je ispružena, a glava okrenuta prema drugom liku. Desnom liku nedostaje gornji dio trupa, obje ruke i glava. Donji dio nekog odjevnog predmeta spušta se iza njegovih nogu do gležnjeva. Prikaz tumačimo kao zodijački simbol Blizanaca.

Na pločici #3 (sl. 6: 3) realistično su prikazane dvije ribe. Pločica je sastavljena od dva ulomka, oba pronađena pred samim stalagmitom. Gornji desni dio i desni kraj pločice nedostaju. Od jedne ribe sačuvan je samo stražnji dio tijela i rep, dok je druga riba sačuvana u cijelosti. Dvije zakrivljene linije povezuju njihove repove, sastajući se na lijevom rubu pločice. Prikaz tumačimo kao zodijački simbol Riba.

Na pločici #4 (sl. 6: 4) realistično je prikazana neka životinja u trku ili skoku. Sačuvano je oko pola pločice, sastavljene od tri ulomka koji su bili razasuti istočno i sjeverno od stalagmita, unutar udaljenosti od 2 m. Sačuvani dio motiva prikazuje srednji dio trupa, sapi, dijelove obiju zadnjih nogu s jasno naznačenim zglobovima te rep sastavljen od nekoliko dugih pramenova dlake. Ispružene noge i vijoreći rep ukazuju na životinju nalik konju prikazanu u pokretu. Prikaz tuma-

the stalagmite. The depiction has been interpreted as the zodiac symbol for Cancer.

Plaque 2 (Fig. 6: 2) displays two realistically rendered human figures standing next to one another, the left one slightly higher than the right one. The plaque was reassembled from five fragments found scattered to the south, east and north of the stalagmite, within a distance of 1.5 m. The upper right corner and the central section of the lower part of the plaque are missing. It would appear that both depicted figures are male. Their naked bodies are rendered with anatomic precision, in the artistic tradition of classical antiquity. The figure on the left is missing most of his right leg, the upper part of his left leg, left arm and shoulder. His right arm is stretched out, and his head is turned towards the other figure. The right-hand figure is missing the upper part of his torso, both arms and head. Behind his legs, there is the lower part of a garment which reaches down to his ankles. The depiction has been interpreted as the zodiac symbol for Gemini.

Plaque 3 (Fig. 6: 3) bears a realistic depiction of two fishes. It has been reassembled from two fragments, both discovered right in front of the stalagmite. The upper right section and the right edge of the plaque are missing. Of one fish, only the rear end and tail has been preserved, while the other fish is complete. Two curved lines link their tails, converging on the left edge of the plaque. The depiction has been interpreted as the zodiac symbol for Pisces.

Plaque 4 (Fig. 6: 4) displays a realistic portrayal of an animal running or leaping. Approximately one half of the plaque has been preserved, consisting of three fragments found scattered to the east and north of the stalagmite, within a distance of 2 m. The preserved part of the depiction reveals the middle part of the body, buttocks, parts of both rear legs with clearly marked ankles, and a tail consisting of several long tresses of hair. The extended legs and flying tail suggest that a horse-like animal is depicted in motion. The



Sl. / Fig. 6: Crteži četiriju sastavljenih pločica i drugih ulomaka bjelokosti ukrašenih graviranjem / Drawings of the four assembled plaques and other ivory fragments with engraved decoration (crtež / drawing by S. Forenbaher)

čimo kao zodijački simbol (najvjerojatnije) Strijelca.

Dijelovi graviranih prikaza sačuvali su se na još četiri ulomka. Na jednom je, čini se, prikazana ljudska noga (sl. 6: 7), na drugom možda noga neke životinje (sl. 6: 6), dok su druga dva ulomka premalena i stoga neprepoznatljiva unatoč pažljivoj izvedbi (sl. 6: 5 i 8). Lica preostalih ulomaka nisu ukrašena.

Ako pretpostavimo da je između pločica postojao uzak slobodan prostor klinasta oblika (otprilike 2°), dvanaest pločica tvorilo bi puni krug vanjskog promjera oko 21,5 cm (sl. 8). Uvjereni smo da su te pločice, svaka sa svojim zodijačkim simbolom, predstavljale grčki zodijak koji je najvjerojatnije bio dio astrologove ploče.

### Astrologove ploče

Astrologova ploča bila je središnji predmet astrologovog pribora. Služila je za zorno prikazivanje i tumačenje horoskopa, ali i za impresioniranje klijenata. U Romanu o Aleksandru, grčkom popularnom proznom djelu sačuvanom u prijepisu iz 3. stoljeća po Kristu<sup>7</sup>, nalazimo prilično podroban opis takvog luksuznog predmeta napravljenog od bjelokosti, ebanovine i zlata:<sup>8</sup>

»...[Nektanebo] je izvadio kneževsku, skupocjenu ploču koja se ne može riječima opisati i stavio je na stolicu. Bila je napravljena od bjelokosti, ebanovine, srebra i zlata, s tri gravirane zone. Prvi krug sačinjavalo je 36 dekana, drugi 12 znakova zodijaka, a u sredini su bili Sunce i Mjesec. Zatim je otvorio kutijicu od bjelokosti i istresao iz nje sedam zvijezda i horoskop od osam umjetnički obrađenih kamenčića. U malenom osvjetljenom krugu sastavio je minijaturno nebo.«

<sup>7</sup> Škiljan 1996, 513.

<sup>8</sup> Citirano prema Evans 2004, 4.

depiction has been interpreted as the zodiac symbol of (most likely) Sagittarius.

Segments of engraved depictions have been preserved on an additional four fragments. It would appear that one of them portrays a human leg (Fig. 6: 7), another one possibly the leg of an animal (Fig. 6: 6), while the remaining two fragments are too small to allow identification, although they have been carefully executed (Figs 6: 5 and 8). The obverses of the remaining fragments are plain.

If we assume the existence of narrow wedges of empty space between the plaques (of approximately 2°), twelve plaques would have made a full circle with an outer diameter of around 21.5 cm (Fig. 8). We are convinced that the plaques – each of them bearing a zodiac symbol – represented the Greek zodiac, and that it most probably made up part of an astrologer's board.

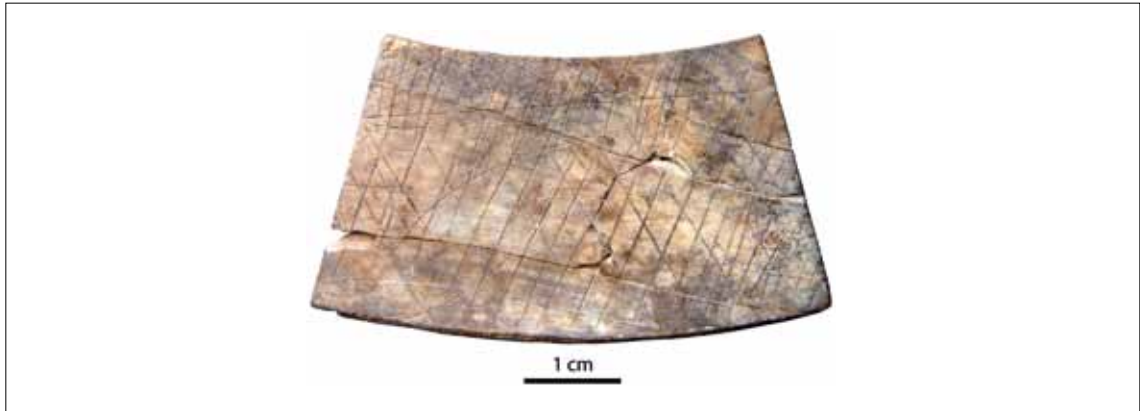
### Astrologer's boards

An astrologer's board was the central item of his toolkit. It was used for visualization and interpretation of horoscopes, and for impressing clients. The *Alexander Romance*, a popular Greek narrative preserved in a copy made in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD,<sup>7</sup> provides a rather detailed description of such a luxury item, made of ivory, ebony and gold:<sup>8</sup>

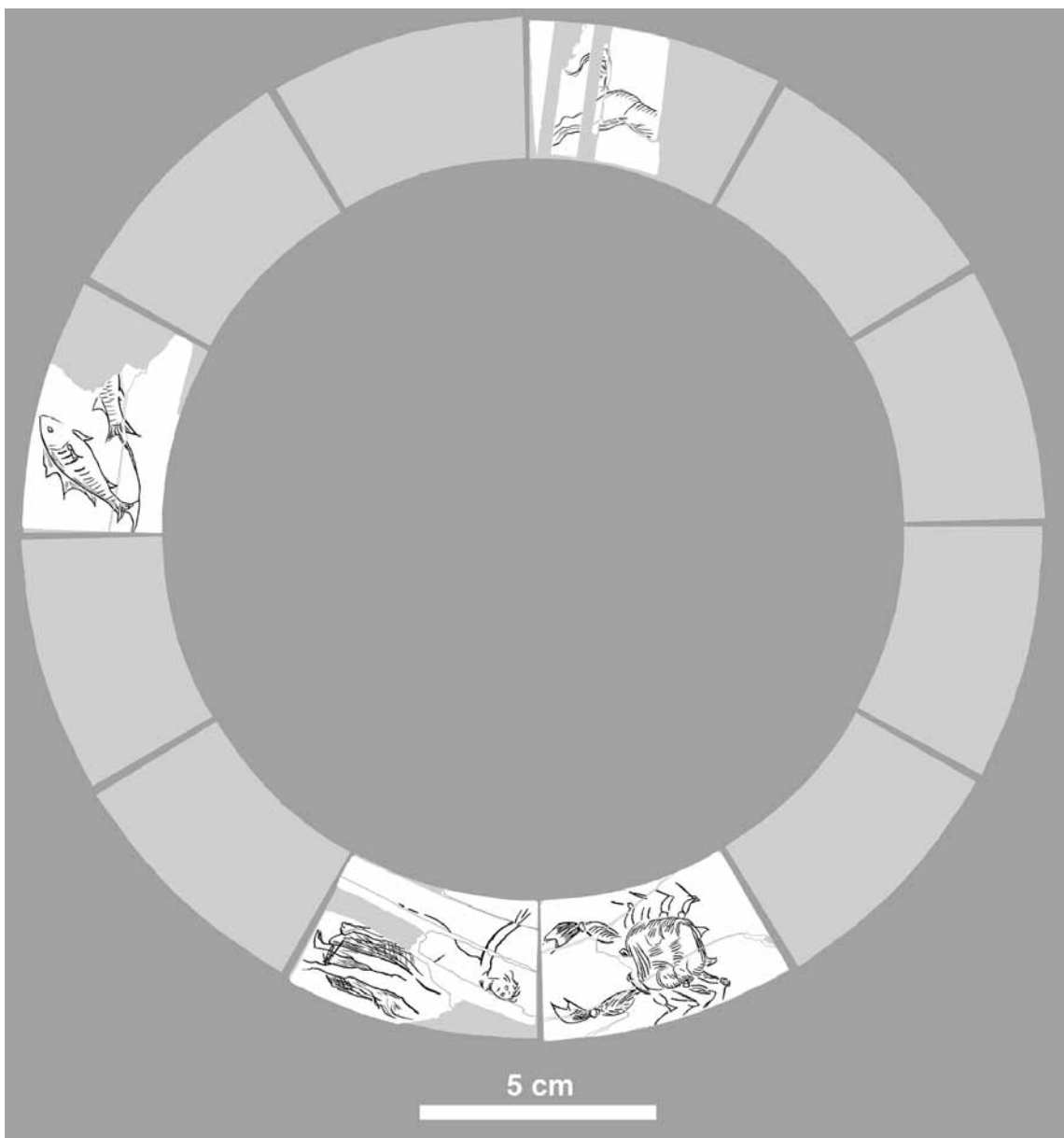
“...[Nektanebo] brought out a princely and costly board, which mere words could not describe, and put it on a chair. It was made from ivory, ebony, gold and silver and was engraved with three zones, having on the first circle the 36 decans, on the second the 12 signs of the zodiac, and on the inner one the Sun and Moon. Then he opened a small ivory box, poured out the seven stars and the horoscope made of eight artfully worked stones, and put together the miniature heaven, illuminating it in a small circle.”

<sup>7</sup> Škiljan 1996, 513.

<sup>8</sup> Quoted according to Evans 2004, 4.



Sl. / Fig 7: Naličje pločice #1 / Back of plaque 1 (snimio / photo by D. Doračić)



Sl. / Fig 8: Rekonstrukcija zodijaka iz nakovanske Spile / Reconstruction of the zodiac from the Nakovana Cave (crtež / drawing by S. Forenbaher)



Opis astrologove ploče iz prethodnog odlomka odlično se podudara s rijetkim primjercima sačuvanim iz antičkog razdoblja. Kratak popis ovih razmjerno malih prenosivih predmeta sadrži ploče iz svetišta Apolona Grannusa u Grandu u sjeveroistočnoj Francuskoj napravljene od bjelokosti<sup>9</sup>, zatim Tabulu Bianchini pronadenu u 18. stoljeću u Rimu<sup>10</sup> i danas izgublenu Daressyjevu ploču iz trgovine antikvitetima u Kairu<sup>11</sup>, obje napravljene od mramora te možda zodijak iz Tanisa u delti Nila napravljen od stakla ukrašenog zlatnim listićima<sup>12</sup>. Njihove dimenzije bile su između 20 i 30 cm, osim Tabule Bianchini, veličine oko 58 cm<sup>13</sup>.

Na svim pločama prikazani su astrološki simboli, raspoređeni u nekoliko koncentričnih pojaseva. U sredini su Sunce i Mjesec, uvijek okruženi sa dvanaest znakova zodijaka. Ostali pojasevi mogu sadržavati dekane, dodekaoros, još jedan zodijak i druge simbole<sup>14</sup>. Astrolog bi na mjesta određena proračunima postavio na ploču oznake za planete i zatim tumačio njihove odnose. Kao takve oznake koristile su se posebne geme, izrađene upravo za tu svrhu<sup>15</sup>.

Svi navedeni primjerci astrologovih ploča potječu iz vremena Rimskog Carstva. Ploče iz Granda napravljene su u Egiptu, vjerojatno u prvom ili drugom stoljeću po Kristu<sup>16</sup>. Oko godine 170. bačene su u bunar nedaleko svetišta Apolona Grannusa u današnjoj istočnoj Francuskoj<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Abry 1993; Gundel 1972, 647, br. 147, 2; Gundel 1992, 232-233, br. 82.

<sup>10</sup> Gundel 1972, 632-633, br. 60; Gundel 1992, 226, br. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Gundel 1972, 632, br. 59; Gundel 1992, 226-227, br. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Gundel 1972, 658, br. 159; Gundel 1992, 240, br. 104.

<sup>13</sup> Fröhner 1869, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Evans 2004, 5-10.

<sup>15</sup> Evans 2004, 14-24.

<sup>16</sup> Goyon 1993; Evans 2004, 22.

<sup>17</sup> Bertaux 1993, 44.

The above description of the astrologer's board corresponds very well to rare examples preserved from Antiquity. A short list of these relatively small, portable objects includes ivory tablets from the sanctuary of Appolo Grannus in Grand, north-east France,<sup>9</sup> Tabula Bianchini discovered in Rome in the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup> and the now lost Daressy tablet from an antiquities shop in Cairo<sup>11</sup> (both made of marble), and possibly the zodiac from Tanis in the Nile delta, made of glass decorated with gold leaves<sup>12</sup>. The dimensions of those boards were between 20 and 30 cm, with the exception of Tabula Bianchini, which measures about 58 cm<sup>13</sup>.

All the boards display astrological symbols, distributed in several concentric zones. In the middle, there is the Sun and the Moon, always encircled with the twelve signs of the zodiac. Other zones can contain decans, the dodecaoros, another zodiac, and other symbols.<sup>14</sup> The astrologer would place markers for planets on the board, in places determined by calculations, and then he would interpret their relationships. The markers were magical gems, made specifically for this purpose.<sup>15</sup>

All the examples of astrologer's boards mentioned above originate from the period of the Roman Empire. The Grand tablets were produced in Egypt, probably in the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.<sup>16</sup> Around year 170 AD, they were thrown into a well near the sanctuary of Appollo Grannus in what is today eastern France.<sup>17</sup> The dating of the other boards is based on their iconography. The Daressy tablet and the

<sup>9</sup> Abry 1993; Gundel 1972, 647, No. 147, 2; Gundel 1992, 232-233, No. 82.

<sup>10</sup> Gundel 1972, 632-633, No. 60; Gundel 1992, 226, No. 63.

<sup>11</sup> Gundel 1972, 632, No. 59; Gundel 1992, 226-227, No. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Gundel 1972, 658, No. 159; Gundel 1992, 240, No. 104.

<sup>13</sup> Fröhner 1869, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Evans 2004, 5-10.

<sup>15</sup> Evans 2004, 14-24.

<sup>16</sup> Goyon 1993; Evans 2004, 22.

<sup>17</sup> Bertaux 1993, 44.

Datiranje ostalih primjeraka temelji se na njihovoj ikonografiji. Daressyjeva ploča i zodijak iz Tanisa pripisuju se razdoblju ranog Rimskog Carstva, a Tabula Bianchini 2. ili 3. stoljeću po Kr.<sup>18</sup>.

Zodijak iz Nakovane po svojim dimenzijama odgovara poznatim primjercima antičkih astroloških ploča. Napravljen je od bjelokosti, poput ploča iz Granda i ploče opisane u Romanu o Aleksandru, no za razliku od Granda, sastavljen je iz većeg broja malih pločica. Od Granda se razlikuje i stilom, jer prikazi na nakovanskom primjerku slijede klasične grčko-rimske stilske standarde, dok ploče iz Granda pripadaju egipatskoj umjetničkoj tradiciji. Ipak, najneobičnije od svega je njegovo iznenađujuće rano datiranje.

### Datiranje i porijeklo zodijaka iz Nakovane

Arheološki kontekst nalaza pruža čvrst općeniti okvir za datiranje. Svi ulomci bjelokosti prikupljeni su iz tankog helenističkog sloja koji je prekrivao površinu unutrašnje špiljske dvorane. Pronađeni su među tisućama ulomaka fine helenističke keramike<sup>19</sup>. Najraniji od tih nalaza su crni glazirani skifosi iz četvrtog stoljeća prije Krista i posude stila *Alto Adriatico* oslikano vegetabilnim i figuralnim motivima iz kasnog 4. ili ranog 3. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>20</sup> Većinu keramike čine lokalne kopije posuda kampanijskog i kasnog gnatijskog stila, proizvedene u grčkim kolonijama u Dalmaciji tijekom 3. ili 2. stoljeća pr. Kr.<sup>21</sup> Najkasnije nalaze predstavlja nekoliko rimskih posuda koje se može datirati u 1. stoljeće pr. Kr.

<sup>18</sup> Evans 2004, 8-10.

<sup>19</sup> Forenbaher 2010; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 73-91; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2006, 574-578.

<sup>20</sup> Kirigin 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Forti 1965; Kirigin 1996, 132-133; Kirigin, Hayes, Leach 2002.

Tanis zodiac have been attributed to the Early Roman Imperial period, while Tabula Bianchini has been dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD<sup>18</sup>.

On the basis of its size, the Nakovana zodiac is comparable to other known examples of astrologer's boards from Antiquity. It is made of ivory, just like the tablets from Grand and the one described in the *Alexander Romance*, but, unlike the Grand tablets, it is composed of a number of small plaques. The style of its decoration is also different from that of Grand: the depictions on the Nakovana zodiac follow classical Graeco-Roman stylistic standards, whereas the Grand tablets belong to the Egyptian artistic tradition. Nonetheless, its most extraordinary feature is its surprisingly early dating.

### Dating and origin of the Nakovana zodiac

The archaeological context of the Nakovana zodiac provides a solid general base for its dating. All the ivory fragments were recovered from a thin Hellenistic layer which covered the surface of the cave's interior chamber. They were discovered among thousands of shards of fine Hellenistic pottery.<sup>19</sup> The earliest among the pottery finds are glazed black skyphoi from the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and *Alto-Adriatico*-style ware painted with vegetative and figural motifs, from the late 4<sup>th</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.<sup>20</sup> The pottery consists mostly of local copies of Campanian and late Gnathian vessels, produced in Greek colonies in Dalmatia during the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC.<sup>21</sup> The latest of the finds are several Roman vessels that can be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.

Although very suggestive, the data presented is insufficient to warrant dating of the zodiac to the Hellenistic era. Surface contexts are

<sup>18</sup> Evans 2004, 8-10.

<sup>19</sup> Forenbaher 2010; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 73-91; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2006, 574-578.

<sup>20</sup> Kirigin 2000.

<sup>21</sup> Forti 1965; Kirigin 1996, 132-133; Kirigin, Hayes, Leach 2002.

Iako su izneseni podaci vrlo sugestivni, oni sami po sebi nisu dovoljni da bismo zodijak sa sigurnošću mogli pripisati helenističkom razdoblju. Konteksti pri površini tla nepouzdati su jer lako mogu sadržavati umetnute nalaze iz znatno mlađih razdoblja, no u našem slučaju ne radi se o uobičajenoj situaciji. Unatoč pažljivom pregledu svih unutrašnjih hodnika i dvorana te opsežnom iskopavanju prostora oko stalagmita, u stražnjem dijelu špilje nije pronađen niti jedan predmet koji bi bio mlađi od 1. stoljeća pr. Kr., niti su primijećene bilo kakve naznake kasnijih ljudskih posjeta. Po svemu sudeći, pristup unutrašnjosti nakovanske Spile bio je namjerno zatvoren ubrzo nakon što je špiljsko svetište napušteno.

Napuštanje svetišta mogli bismo povezati s povijesnim događajima koji su u prvom stoljeću prije Krista zahvatili širok prostor istočnog Jadrana. Rimska država tada je odlučila konačno pokoriti Ilire, što je postignuto Oktavijanovim vojnim pohodima koji su trajali od godine 35. do 27. pr. Kr.<sup>22</sup> Već u prvoj godini ratovanja rimska vojska izvršila je pokolj nad domorodačkim stanovništvom Korčule i Mljeta<sup>23</sup>. Teško je vjerovati da bi strateški važan zapadni kraj Pelješca tom prilikom ostao pošteđen. Sudeći po rezultatima sustavnog terenskog pregleda<sup>24</sup>, taj prostor bio je pust tijekom čitavog razdoblja rimske vladavine, što ukazuje na to da je bio opustošen za vrijeme rimskog osvajanja.

Sve navedeno ukazuje na godinu 35. pr. Kr. kao *terminus ante quem* za odlaganje graviranih pločica od bjelokosti u špiljsko svetište. Izravno radiokarbonsko datiranje podupire takav rani datum. Metodom akceleratorске masene spektrometrije određena starost kumulativnog uzorka sastavljenog od sedam sićušnih, neukra-

unreliable, as they can contain material deposited in much later periods. However, we are not dealing with an ordinary situation. Despite the careful inspection of all interior corridors and chambers, and extensive excavation of the area surrounding the stalagmite, not a single item was found in the back of the cave from the period after the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, nor were there any indications of later human visits. By all appearances, the entrance to the interior of the Nakovana Cave was sealed on purpose soon after the cave sanctuary was abandoned.

The abandonment of the cave sanctuary may be linked to historical events occurring in the wider region of the eastern Adriatic in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC. At the time, the Roman state decided finally to subdue the Illyrians. The goal was achieved by Octavian's military campaigns between 35 and 27 BC.<sup>22</sup> In just the first year of warfare, the Roman army massacred the indigenous populations of the islands of Korčula and Mljet<sup>23</sup>. It is very unlikely that the strategically important western tip of the peninsula of Pelješac would have been spared. Judging by the results of a systematic field survey,<sup>24</sup> this area was uninhabited during the entire Roman period, suggesting that it was ravaged during the Roman conquest.

All of the above suggests that the year 35 BC is *terminus ante quem* for the deposition of the engraved ivory plaques in the cave sanctuary. Direct radiocarbon dating supports such an early date. The age obtained by the accelerator mass spectrometry of a cumulative sample consisting of seven tiny undecorated ivory fragments (laboratory code UBA-14650) is 2217±21 B.P. The calibrated range of two standard deviations is the period between 375 and 204 BC, with an asymmetrical probability distribution leaning towards the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. This provides a date for the death of the animal whose tusk was used to produce

<sup>22</sup> Wilkes 1992, 196-197.

<sup>23</sup> Wilkes 1969, 50.

<sup>24</sup> Forenbaher, Kirigin, Vujnović 2001.

<sup>22</sup> Wilkes 1992, 196-197.

<sup>23</sup> Wilkes 1969, 50.

<sup>24</sup> Forenbaher, Kirigin, Vujnović 2001.

šenih ulomaka bjelokosti (laboratorijski broj analize UBA-14650) iznosi  $2217 \pm 21$  konvencionalnih radiokarbonskih godina prije sadašnjosti. Kalibrirani raspon od dvije standardne devijacije je 375.-204. pr. Kr., s asimetričnom distribucijom vjerojatnosti koja naginje prema 3. stoljeću pr. Kr. Time je datirana smrt životinje čija je kljova upotrijebljena za izradu graviranih pločica.

Grčka horoskopska astrologija temeljila se na vrhunskim dostignućima matematike i astronomije svojeg vremena. Smatra se da je izumljena u kasnoptolomejskom Egiptu, u 2. ili ranom 1. stoljeću pr. Kr.<sup>25</sup> Prema tome, zodijski iz Nakovane, po svojoj prilici, nije mogao biti proizveden prije 2. stoljeća pr. Kr. (vjerojatno ne puno prije godine 100. pr. Kr.), što bi značilo da je bjelokost bila stara stotinjak godina kada je upotrijebljena za njegovu izradu. To nadalje znači da je sam predmet bio u upotrebi razmjerno kratko, vjerojatno tijekom prve polovice 1. stoljeća pr. Kr.

Zodijski iz Nakovane nije lokalni proizvod. Bjelokost u Dalmaciji predstavlja egzotičnu sirovinu koja je morala biti uvezena iz Afrike<sup>26</sup>. Sudeći po ikonografiji, stilu i kvaliteti izrade, radi se o radio-ničkom proizvodu napravljenom u nekom od kasnohelenističkih kozmopolitkih centara. Majstor koji ga je napravio bio je dobro upoznat s najnovijim dostignućima astrologije koja je tek nedavno bila izumljena. Sve to zajedno ukazuje na Egipat kao najvjerojatnije mjesto porijekla nakovanskog nalaza.

<sup>25</sup> Pingree 1997, 21, 26; Evans 2004, 1, 2, 34.

<sup>26</sup> Nedavno provedene laboratorijske analize pokazale su da je zodijski iz Nakovane napravljen od kljove afričkog slona. Za ovu informaciju zahvaljujemo Timothyju Kaiseru, a rad u kojem ćemo podrobno objaviti rezultate spomenutih analiza trenutno je u pripremi.

the engraved plaques.

Greek horoscopic astrology was based on the exceptional achievements of their mathematicians and astronomers. It is believed to have been invented in late Ptolemaic Egypt, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the Nakovana zodiac could not have been made before the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (probably not much before the year 100 BC), which means that the ivory used to produce it was approximately one hundred years old. This would imply that the item itself was in use for a relatively short time, probably only during the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.

The Nakovana zodiac was not a local product. In Dalmatia, ivory was an exotic raw material which must have been imported from Africa.<sup>26</sup> Judging by the iconography, style and quality of work, the plaques were made in a workshop in one of the late-Hellenistic cosmopolitan centres. Their producer was well acquainted with the latest developments in astrology, which had only been invented a short time before. All of this suggests that the Nakovana zodiac most probably originates from Egypt.

<sup>25</sup> Pingree 1997, 21, 26; Evans 2004, 1, 2, 34.

<sup>26</sup> Recent laboratory analysis has shown that the Nakovana zodiac was made from the tusks of an African elephant. We are grateful to Timothy Kaiser for this piece of information, and the paper in which we will publish detailed results of the analysis is currently being prepared.

### **Regionalni kontekst: Dalmacija u posljednjim stoljećima prije Krista**

Početakom 1. stoljeća pr. Kr. prostor Dalmacije bio je na pragu punog uključivanja u sredozemnu antičku civilizaciju<sup>27</sup>. Taj proces započeo je u 6. stoljeću pr. Kr. i ubrzao se oko godine 400. pr. Kr. nakon uspješnog osnivanja trajnih grčkih kolonija na Hvaru i Visu<sup>28</sup>. Grčki polisi kontrolirali su, međutim, tek mali prostor pojedinih dalmatinskih otoka i još manji prostor na kopnu. Dok je sve više grčkih i rimskih brodova plovilo vodama istočnog Jadrana, najveći dio kopna još uvijek je kontroliralo domorodačko ilirsko stanovništvo.

Odnosi između domorodaca, grčkih kolonista i ekspanzivne rimske države mijenjali su se, ovisno o dnevnoj politici, u rasponu od svrsishodnih saveza do otvorenih ratnih sukoba. Posljedica takvih odnosa bili su različiti vidovi mirnog ili nasilnog međudjelovanja. Zahvaljujući trgovini i razmjeni luksuznih darova, ali i gusarstvu i pljački, znatne količine egzotičnih predmeta dospijevale su u ruke lokalnih ilirskih moćnika. Na mnogim mjestima duž istočnog Jadrana, posebice na srednjodalmatinskim otocima, na susjednoj obali te uz donji tok rijeke Neretve, kasnohelenistička keramika čest je nalaz na gradinama i u špiljskim svetištima<sup>29</sup>. Mnogi grobovi, smješteni pod gomilama prema domorodačkoj tradiciji, sadrže helenističke importe: finu keramiku, brončano posuđe i oružje. Iz snažnog domorodačkog uporišta u Ošanićima potječu spektakularni importirani helenistički predmeti, kao i novac koji je vjerojatno bio lokalno kovan<sup>30</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> Wilkes 1969.

<sup>28</sup> Kirigin 1996; Kirigin 2006.

<sup>29</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2006, 580-581.

<sup>30</sup> Marić 1995.

### **Regional context: Dalmatia in the last centuries BC**

In the early 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, Dalmatia was at the verge of being fully integrated in Mediterranean classical civilization.<sup>27</sup> The process began in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC and accelerated around 400 BC, after the successful founding of permanent Greek colonies on the islands of Hvar and Vis.<sup>28</sup> However, the Greek poleis only controlled small areas on a few Dalmatian islands, and even smaller areas of the mainland. While an ever-increasing number of Greek and Roman ships sailed through the waters of the eastern Adriatic, most of the mainland was still under the control of the indigenous Illyrian population.

The relations between the indigenous population, the Greek colonists and the expansive Roman state changed, depending on daily politics, ranging from expedient alliances to full-blown armed conflicts. Such relations resulted in various forms of peaceful or violent interaction. Thanks to the trade and exchange of luxury items, and also through piracy and raiding, substantial quantities of exotic goods ended up in the hands of local Illyrian potentates. In many locations on the eastern Adriatic coast, and especially on central Dalmatian islands, the nearby shore, and along the lower course of the River Neretva, Late Hellenistic pottery is often found on hillforts and in cave sanctuaries.<sup>29</sup> Numerous graves, buried under mounds in line with the indigenous tradition (cairns), also contain imported Hellenistic items: fine pottery and bronze vessels, as well as weapons. Spectacular imported Hellenistic items, as well as coins that were probably minted locally, were discovered in the indigenous stronghold of Ošanići.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Wilkes 1969.

<sup>28</sup> Kirigin 1996; Kirigin 2006.

<sup>29</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2006, 580-581.

<sup>30</sup> Marić 1995.

Očito je da su neki od pripadnika ilirskih elita rado prihvaćali pojedine elemente helenističke materijalne kulture i djelom oponašali ponašanje svojih bogatijih, moćnijih, tehnološki naprednijih i umjetnički profinjenijih uzora. Potkraj prvog tisućljeća prije Krista stanovništvo grčkih gradova, ilirskih uporišta i područja pod rimskom vlašću sve više se međusobno miješalo, a kulturne razlike između domorodaca i kolonista postajale su sve neizrazitije.

Zahvaljujući naročito povoljnom zemljopisnom položaju, lokalni Iliri sa zapadnog kraja Pelješca mogli su izvlačiti znatnu korist iz pomorskog prometa koji je tekao Pelješkim i Neretvanskim kanalom, neposredno ispod njihovog uporišta na Gradu. Sa svoje gradine smještene pri sredini nakovanske visoravni, zaštićene strmim stijenama i skrivene pogledu s mora, mogli su se brzo i lako spustiti do obje obale uskog poluotoka. Tijekom posljednjih nekoliko stoljeća prije Krista, na Gradu se intenzivno živjelo<sup>31</sup>. Nakovanska Spila udaljena je od spomenute gradine samo jedan kilometar. Čini se da su mnogi od egzotičnih predmeta koje su gospodari Grada priskrbili razmjenom ili otimačinom završili u špiljskom svetištu kao zavjetni darovi<sup>32</sup>.

### **Lokalni kontekst: astrologova ploča u špiljskom svetištu**

Kako objasniti prisutnost astrologove ploče u špiljskom svetištu skrivenom pri vrhu brda, na rubu civiliziranog svijeta, unutar područja kojeg su kontrolirale lokalne domorodačke zajednice? Ploča je mogla biti ostavljena u Spili zajedno s drugim egzotičnim predmetima kao dar nadnaravnoj sili koju se ondje štova-

<sup>31</sup> Rajić Šikanjić, Forenbaher 2010; Forenbaher, Vlák 2009.

<sup>32</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003.

It is obvious that some members of the Illyrian elites eagerly accepted various elements of Hellenistic material culture and, to a certain extent, emulated the behaviour of their richer, more powerful, technologically more advanced and artistically more refined role models. At the end of the first millennium BC, contacts among the populations of Greek towns, Illyrian strongholds and territories under Roman control intensified, and cultural differences between the indigenous population and colonists became blurred.

Because of their exceptionally favourable geographical position, local Illyrians who lived at the western tip of the Pelješac peninsula could reap great benefits from the shipping going through the Pelješac and Neretva canals, immediately below their stronghold of Grad. From their hillfort, located close to the centre of the Nakovana Plateau, protected by steep cliffs and hidden from view from the sea, they could quickly and easily reach both coasts of the narrow peninsula. In the last centuries BC, Grad was a place of intensive life.<sup>31</sup> The distance between the Nakovana Cave and the hillfort is just one kilometre. It appears that many exotic items, obtained by the masters of Grad through either exchange or raids, ended up in the cave sanctuary as offerings.<sup>32</sup>

### **Local context: astrologer's board in a cave sanctuary**

How can we explain the presence of an astrologer's board in a cave sanctuary, hidden near the top of a hill, at the edge of the civilized world, within a territory controlled by indigenous local communities? The board could have been left in the cave together with other imported objects as an offering to the supernatural power worshipped in the cave.

<sup>31</sup> Rajić Šikanjić, Forenbaher 2010; Forenbaher, Vlák 2009.

<sup>32</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003.

lo. Sredinom prvog stoljeća prije Krista astrologija je u Rimu postajala sve poznatijom, a astrološki pribor tada se vjerojatno uvezao u Italiju. Možda je neki lokalni gusar oteo »kneževsku i skupocjenu« ploču s nekog broda u prolazu, ne znajući ništa o astrologiji i horoskopima, no prepoznajući luksuzni predmet dostojan bogova.

S druge strane, vjerojatno podcjenjujemo Ilire kada ih zamišljamo kao necivilizirane prostake, iako su ih pristrani klasični povjesničari često opisivali upravo takvim. U prvom stoljeću prije Krista, uzajamno djelovanje između kolonista i pripadnika autohtonih zajednica bilo je u Dalmaciji svakodnevno i raznoliko, a udaljene obale Sredozemlja bile su povezane kao nikad ranije. Inovacije koje su dolazile iz velikih helenističkih središta nisu mogle ostati zaključane iza vrata grčkih kolonija.

Posve je moguće da su astrolozi posjećivali grčke kolonije u Dalmaciji ili čak obitavali u njima. Nije nezamislivo da su svoje usluge nudili i sve više heleniziranim pripadnicima ilirskih elita koji su silno željeli iskusiti pomodne novotarije. Je li možda neki astrolog obavljao svoju djelatnost u samom špiljskom svetištu? Činjenica je da su astrolozi često radili u hramovima ili uz njih<sup>33</sup> te da su najbolje sačuvani primjerci astrologovih tabli (i jedini s pouzdanim podacima o kontekstu nalaza, izuzev zodijaka iz Nakovane) pronađeni unutar kompleksa hramova<sup>34</sup>.

Evans uvjerljivo smješta prakticiranje astrologije u hramove boga Serapisa, no odmah pridodaje da su i drugi bogovi bili blagonakloni prema astrolozima. U nakovanskoj Spili održavale su se stvarne ili simboličke gozbe i prinošeni su zavjetni darovi nekoj nadnaravnoj sili čiji nam

Astrology was becoming familiar in Rome about the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, and the tools connected with it were probably imported to Italy. Perhaps a local pirate plundered the "princely and costly" board from a passing ship. Though he knew nothing about astrology and horoscopes, he recognized a luxury item worthy of the gods.

On the other hand, we may be giving the Illyrians too little credit when we envisage them as uncivilized brutes, although the biased historians of classical antiquity often described them as such. In the Dalmatia of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, the interaction of the colonists and members of indigenous communities was a daily and diverse occurrence, and the distant shores of the Mediterranean were linked as never before. The innovations coming from great Hellenistic centres would not have remained locked behind the gates of Greek colonies.

It is possible that astrologers visited Greek colonies in Dalmatia, or even lived there. It is not beyond imagination that they offered their services to the ever more Hellenized Illyrian elites, who eagerly tried out the latest fads. Could it be that an astrologer practised his activity in the cave sanctuary? We know that astrologers often worked in or near temples,<sup>33</sup> and the best-preserved examples of astrologer's boards (the only ones with reliable data concerning the contexts of their discovery, apart from the Nakovana zodiac) were found within temple complexes.<sup>34</sup>

Evans provides convincing evidence for placing astrology within the temples of Serapis, but he also adds that other gods were benevolent towards astrologers, too. The Nakovana Cave was the venue of real or symbolic feasts, where offerings were made to a supernatural power whose identity remains obscure for the time being. It may have been an unknown local Illyrian deity, or one of the syncretic

<sup>33</sup> Evans 2004, 36.

<sup>34</sup> Abry 1993.

<sup>33</sup> Evans 2004, 36.

<sup>34</sup> Abry 1993.

identitet zasada izmiče. Možda se radilo o nekom neznanom lokalnom ilirskom božanstvu, ili o jednom od sinkretičkih grčko-ilirskih bogova. O mogućem identitetu božanskog zaštitnika nakovanskog svetišta raspravljalo se na temelju arheoloških tragova ispijanja alkoholnih pića pred falusoidnim stalagmitom smještenim u žarištu obreda<sup>35</sup>, no klasični panteon obiluje kandidatima koji bi zadovoljili tako općenite uvjete. S druge strane, većina naših spoznaja o vjerovanjima Ilira<sup>36</sup> temelji se na arheološkim spomenicima iz vremena Rimskog Carstva, dok nam pojedini izvorne ilirske religije ostaju nepoznate i nedostupne.

Savjetovanje s astrologom moralo je na klijenta ostaviti dubok dojam. Evansov izmišljeni opis astrologa koji obavlja svoj posao u mračnoj komori hrama, u malenom krugu svjetlosti treptave uljanice<sup>37</sup>, čvrsto je utemeljen na poznatim činjenicama. Za takvu predstavu teško je zamisliti bolju pozornicu od unutrašnjosti nakovanske Spile.

Oko dvije trećine zodijska iz Nakovane nedostaje. Budući da drugi poznati primjerci astrologovih ploča sadrže nekoliko koncentričnih pojaseva od kojih tek jedan prikazuje zodijski znak, izgleda da se u našem slučaju sačuvao samo mali dio čitavog predmeta. Možda je ploča već bila oštećena kada je dospjela u špilju. Druga mogućnost je da je bila ostavljena čitava, ali je netko za naknadnih posjeta i obrednih aktivnosti uklonio (»ukrao«) većinu njenih dijelova. U oba slučaja bila bi astrologu neupotrebljiva.

Čak i da nitko nije dirao ploču ostavljenu na tlu špiljske dvorane, kolebanje vlažnosti i izloženost agresivnim tvarima,

Graeco-Illyrian gods. The possible identity of the divine protector of the Nakovana sanctuary has been discussed on the basis of archaeological evidence of the consumption of alcoholic beverages in front of the phallic stalagmite that served as a ritual focus,<sup>35</sup> but the classical pantheon abounds in candidates who meet such general requirements. On the other hand, most of our knowledge of Illyrian beliefs<sup>36</sup> is based on archaeological monuments from the time of the Roman Empire, while specifics of the original Illyrian religion remain unknown and beyond reach.

Consulting an astrologer must have been a powerful experience for the client. Evans' fictional description of an astrologer practising his activity in the dark chamber of a temple, in a small circle of light cast by a flickering oil lamp<sup>37</sup> is firmly based on known facts. We can hardly imagine a better stage for such a performance than the interior of the Nakovana Cave.

Approximately two thirds of the Nakovana zodiac is missing. Given that other known examples of astrologer's boards feature several concentric zones of which only one contains signs of the zodiac, it appears that only a small part of this object has survived. Perhaps the board was already damaged by the time it was brought to the cave. Or perhaps it was left there intact, but during later visits and ritual activities someone removed ("stole") most of its parts. In either case, it would have been useless to an astrologer.

Even if nobody touched the board left on the cave floor, changes in humidity and its exposure to aggressive substances, such as bat guano, would have caused material degradation. Chemical weathering is visible on many fragments of the plaques, causing cracks between parallel surfaces resulting from the

<sup>35</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 119-127; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2006, 578-579.

<sup>36</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1955; Stipčević 1981; Stipčević 1989; Gabričević 1987.

<sup>37</sup> Evans 2003, 37.

<sup>35</sup> Forenbaher, Kaiser 2003, 119-127; Forenbaher, Kaiser 2006, 578-579.

<sup>36</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1955; Stipčević 1981; Stipčević 1989; Gabričević 1987.

<sup>37</sup> Evans 2003, 37.



poput izmeta šišmiša, doveli bi do propadanja materijala. Tragovi kemijskog trošenja vidljivi su na mnogim ulomcima pločica koje pucaju duž usporednih ploha cijepanja uvjetovanih strukturom bjelokosti. Ako se taj sastavljeni predmet počeo osipati još dok je svetište bilo u upotrebi, njegovi dijelovi mogli su biti razdrobljeni u sitne komadiće nehotičnim gaženjem, pa čak i izneseni iz špilje na blatnjavim poplatima cipela. Nakon što je unutrašnjost špilje postala ljudima nepriступna, drugi redoviti posjetioци poput puhova, šišmiša i zmija nastavili su svoje destruktivno djelovanje.

Napokon, poput ploča iz Granda, zodijak iz Nakovane mogao je biti namjerno razbijen i neki njegovi dijelovi izbačeni iz špilje.

ivory's structure. If the composite board began falling apart while the sanctuary was still in use, its elements could have been broken into tiny pieces by unintentional trampling, or even taken out of the cave on muddy shoe soles. Once the interior section of the cave became inaccessible to people, other regular visitors such as dormice, bats and snakes continued with their destructive actions.

Finally, like the Grand tablets, the Nakovana zodiac may have been broken deliberately and some of its parts thrown out of the cave.

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## ILIRSKA VLADARICA TEUTA I ILIRI U POLIBIJEVOM ODLOMKU O RIMSKOM POSLANSTVU U ILIRIJI

**UDK:** 94(398:37)

**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*Polibije, grčki povjesničar i državnik dao je najdetaljniji prikaz rimske diplomatske misije u Iliriji. To je ujedno i prvi zabilježeni diplomatski kontakt između Rimljana i Ilira uoči 1. ilirskog rata. Za razliku od drugih starih pisaca, Polibije je jedini koji je iznio sadržaj razgovora. Odlomak se izdvaja višestrukim značenjem. Posebno je zanimljiv jer je upravo u njemu Polibije iznio stanovit broj istraživački atraktivnih bilježaka karakterizacije Ilira i ilirske vladarice Teute. Momenti iz odlomka koji dopuštaju da se analizira Polibijeva slika Ilira su: kritika institucije kraljevstva, razlike između rimskih i ilirskih običaja i izravne karakterizacije ilirske vladarice Teute. Polarizacija Rimljani – Iliri na političkom polju analogna je konceptualnoj shemi Grci – barbari, prema kojoj je grčko društvo demokratsko i ravnopravno, dok je barbarsko tiransko i hijerarhijsko. Poput Grka, Rimljani su predstavljani kao ljubitelji slobode, zaštitnici prava i zakona, a Iliri kao kontrast svim načelima ljudskosti i rimskim vrlinama. Razlike između Ilira i Rimljana, Polibije*

## ILLYRIAN QUEEN TEUTA AND THE ILLYRIANS IN POLYBIUS'S PASSAGE ON THE ROMAN MISSION IN ILLYRIA

**UDC:** 94(398:37)

**Original scientific paper**

*Polybius, a Greek historian and statesman, gave the most detailed view of the Roman diplomatic mission in Illyria before the First Illyrian War. This is also the first recorded diplomatic contact between the Romans and Illyrians. Unlike other ancient authors, Polybius was the only one who presented the content of the conversation. The passage stands out with its multiple meanings, but particularly interesting as a place where Polybius presents a certain number of the characterization notes of the Illyrians and their ruler Teuta. The moments in the passage that allow an analysis of Polybius's image of the Illyrians are: the critique of the institution of the kingdom, the differences between Roman and Illyrian customs, and the explicit characterization of the Illyrian ruler, Teuta. Polarization between Romans and Illyrians is analogous with the conceptual scheme of the polarization of Greeks and barbarians, by which Greek society is democratic and equal, while barbaric society is tyrannical and hierarchical. Like the Greeks, the Romans are presented as lovers of liberty and protectors of law, and the Illyrians as a contrast to all principles of humanity and Roman virtues. Polybius underlines the*

je podcrtao suprotnošću između njihovih običaja i zakona. Ilirske radnje definirao je kao nepravedne i nezakonite, u velikoj mjeri kao sramotne u kontekstu načina stjecanja dobitka. Suprotno tome, rimski postupci koji su potjecali iz njihovih običaja i zakona, bili su pravedni i zakoniti, u skladu s općepriznatim civiliziranim normama. Kako bi objasnio vojne i političke poteze ilirske vladarice, Polibije je Teuti izravno pripisao prosuđivanje na ženski način, ukazujući da je bila politički kratkovidna i loša vladarica. Dion Kasije i Flor prihvatili su rimsku verziju događaja, pronalazeći razlog 1. ilirskog rata u postupcima ilirske vladarice. Shodno tomu, Teuta je kod njih negativan lik, a Apijanova Teuta pozitivan je lik.

*Ključne riječi:* Polibije, rimska diplomatska misija, Teuta, Iliri, barbari, Rimljani

*differences between the Illyrians and Romans through the contradictions between their customs and laws. He defines Illyrian actions as unjust and illegal, largely as shameful in the context of ways of earning income. In contrast, the actions of Romans that originate from their customs and laws are fair and lawful, in accordance with universally recognized civilized norms. Polybius directly attributes to Teuta a woman's natural shortness of view, in order to explain her military and political moves, saying that she was politically shortsighted and a bad ruler. Dio Cassius and Florus embrace the Roman version of events, finding the cause of the First Illyrian War in the procedures of the Illyrian ruler; therefore representing Teuta in a negative light. Appian's Teuta is a positive figure.*

*Key words:* Polybius, Roman diplomatic mission, Teuta, Illyrians, barbarians, Romans.

Polibije, povjesničar i državnik iz Megalopolisa u Arkadiji, najdetaljniji je sačuvani pisani izvor o rimskoj diplomatskoj misiji u Iliriji uoči 1. ilirskog rata (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-13).<sup>1</sup> To je ujedno i prvi zabilježeni diplomatski kontakt između Rimljana i Ilira.<sup>2</sup> Sadržaj razgovora isključivo nam je poznat zahvaljujući njemu i nema po-

<sup>1</sup> Polibije se osvrnuo na događaje u Iliriji kako bi iznio razloge prvog rimskog prelaska s vojskom na istočnu obalu Jadranskoga mora, što je, prema njegovom mišljenju, bilo neophodno da bi se pravilno shvatila: a) tema njegova djela - kako i zaslugom kojeg uređenja je skoro čitav svijet bio nadvladan i za manje od pedeset tri godine potpao pod jedinstvenu vlast Rimljana (*Polyb.* I, 1), b) stvaranje i jačanje rimske vlasti (*Polyb.* II, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Valja istaknuti da termine »Iliri« i »ilirski« koristimo u kontekstu Ilirskog kraljevstva.

Polybius, a historian and statesman of Megalopolis in Arcadia, is the most detailed surviving written source on the Roman diplomatic mission in Illyria before the First Illyrian War (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-13).<sup>1</sup> This is also the first recorded diplomatic contact between the Romans and Illyrians.<sup>2</sup> Thanks to him, the content of the conversations is known to

<sup>1</sup> Polybius refers to the events in Illyria to bring out the reasons for the first crossing of the Roman army to the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, which was, in his opinion, necessary to properly understand: a) the subject of his work – the merits of the unique Roman political institutions that conquered almost the whole world in less than fifty-three years (*Polyb.* I, 1), b) the creation and strengthening of the Roman government (*Polyb.* II, 2).

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the term "Illyrians" and "Illyrian" are used in the context of the Illyrian kingdom.

tvrde u drugim pisanim izvorima.<sup>3</sup> Polibi-  
je ga je iznio u osmom poglavlju 2. knjige  
*Historije* kao posljedicu ilirskog napada  
na italske trgovce (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-13).<sup>4</sup>

Prikaz rimske diplomatske misije u Iliriji  
izdvaja se svojim višestrukim značenjem.  
Pozornost modernih povjesničara privla-

<sup>3</sup> Diplomatsku misiju spominju i drugi stari  
pisci koji ne iznose detalje, usp. *App. Illyr.* 7.,  
*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49. i *Flor* 1, 21. Polibije  
je najopširniji izvor za rekonstrukciju događa-  
ja iz ilirske povijesti posljednja dva desetljeća  
3. st. pr. Kr. U odnosu na druge antičke pisce,  
on je vremenski bio najbliži događajima koje  
je opisao. Holleaux ga je smatrao najpouzda-  
nijim pisanim izvorom (Holleaux 1954, 822).  
Derow je ocijenio da je Apijan Aleksandrijski  
vjerodostojniji izvor od Polibija (Derow 1973,  
118-134). V. i usp. Badian 1952, 72-93; Wal-  
ser 1954, 311; Gabričević 1974, 5-26; Gruen  
1984, 259-361; Šašel Kos 1986, 67-83; Šašel  
Kos 2005, 249-252; Džino 2010, 47-48. Za ovaj  
rad bitno je reći da su se proturječnosti u pisa-  
nim izvorima odrazile na sliku ilirske vladarice  
Teute i da ćemo u radu po potrebi ukazati na te  
momente.

<sup>4</sup> 8. poglavlje započeo je opisom ilirskog napa-  
da na italske trgovce, naglašavajući da su ih Ili-  
ri i ranije stalno pljačkali (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-2). U  
nastavku je napravio usporedbu između ranijih  
i tadašnje reakcije Senata prema ovim ilirskim  
pothvatima. Ono što je u posljednjem slučaju  
navodno bilo presudno je da se tada više ljudi  
pojavilo pred Senatom u vezi s ilirskim napa-  
dom na italske trgovce, tako su Gaja i Lucija  
Korunkanija odredili da kao poslanici odu u Ili-  
riju i ispituju stvar (*Polyb.* II, 8, 3). Nakon ove  
kratke digresije, Polibije se vraća događajima u  
Iliriji koji su prethodili dolasku rimskih posla-  
nika: završetak ilirskog pohoda u Epiru Teuti-  
nim oduševljenjem stečenim plijenom (*Polyb.*  
II, 8, 4), spominje unutarnje nemire koji su  
je navodno privremeno zaustavili u daljnjem  
pljačkanju Helena, u istom paragrafu kaže da  
je dovela u red pobunjene Ilire i započela opsa-  
du Ise, jedinog grada koji joj se odbio pokoriti  
(*Polyb.* II, 8, 5). Slijedi dolazak rimskih posla-  
nika (*Polyb.* II, 8, 6), razgovor s Teutom (*Polyb.*  
II, 8, 7-11), Teutina ljutnja zbog Korunkanijeve  
otvorenosti i ubojstvo mladog poslanika (*Polyb.*  
II, 8, 12). Poglavlje je završio rimskom reak-  
cijom na zločin i naznakom rata protiv Teute  
(*Polyb.* II, 8, 13).

us, and there are no other written sources to  
confirm it.<sup>3</sup> Polybius mentions the aforemen-  
tioned conversations in the eighth chapter of  
the second book of his *Histories* as a result  
of the Illyrian attack on the Italic merchants  
(*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-13).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This diplomatic mission is also mentioned by  
other ancient authors without giving more details,  
cf. *App. Illyr.* 7, *Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49 and *Flor* 1,  
21. Polybius is the most comprehensive source for  
the reconstruction of events from Illyrian history in  
the last two decades of the 3rd century B.C. Com-  
pared to other ancient authors, he was the closest to  
the time of the events he described. Holleaux consid-  
ers him the most reliable written source (Holleaux  
1954, 822). Derow esteems Appian of Alexandria as  
a more credible source than Polybius (Derow, 1973,  
118-134). See and cf. Badian 1952, 72-93; Walser  
1954, 311; Gabričević 1974, 5-26; Gruen 1984,  
259-361; Šašel Kos 1986, 67-83; Šašel Kos 2005,  
249-252; Džino 2010, 47-48. As for this paper, it is  
important to say that these contradictions in writ-  
ten sources affected the image of the Illyrian queen,  
Teuta, and these instances shall be pointed out as  
needed.

<sup>4</sup> He begins the eighth chapter with the description  
of the Illyrian attack on the Italic merchants, stress-  
ing that the Illyrians had been constantly perform-  
ing raids on them much earlier (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-2).  
In his following narrative, he makes a comparison  
between the earlier reaction and the current reac-  
tion of the Senate to the predatory Illyrian ventures.  
What was allegedly crucial in the latter case is that a  
few people, at that time, appeared before the Senate  
regarding the Illyrian attack on the Italic merchants.  
So the Senate elected Gaius and Lucius Coruncanus  
legates to go to Illyria and investigate the matter  
(*Polyb.* II, 8, 3). After this brief digression, Polybius  
goes back to the events in Illyria that preceded the  
arrival of the Roman legates: the end of the Illyrian  
campaign in Epirus after Teuta's enthusiasm for the  
booty (*Polyb.* II, 8, 4); he mentions the inner turmoil  
that supposedly stopped her further plunder of Hel-  
las; in the same paragraph, he states that she settled  
the matter with the rebellious Illyrians and began the  
siege of Issa, which was the only city that refused to  
obey her (*Polyb.* II, 8, 5). This was followed by the  
arrival of the Roman legates (*Polyb.* II, 8, 6); talks  
with Teuta (*Polyb.* II, 8, 7-11); Teuta's anger at Co-  
runcanus's openness, and the murder of the young  
legate (*Polyb.* II, 8, 12). The chapter ends with the  
Roman reaction to the crime and an indication of  
war against Teuta (*Polyb.* II, 8, 13).

čio je njegov politički karakter,<sup>5</sup> budući da se njime objašnjavao razlog povrede svetosti poslanstva, što je prouzročilo 1. ilirski rat, ali i kao početak rimskog osvajanja Grčke i Makedonije.<sup>6</sup> Odlomak je ključan za proučavanje fenomena ilirskog gusarenja<sup>7</sup> i rimskog »imperijalizma«.<sup>8</sup> Nesumnjivo je ilustrativan primjer rimske vojne i političke propagande.<sup>9</sup> Govor koji je Polibije pripisao mladom rimskom poslaniku Korunkaniju najčešće se ocjenjuje kao nevjerodostojan, izmišljen ili prenesen iz Polibijevog izvora Fabija Piktora.<sup>10</sup> Moderni znanstvenici uglavnom odbacuju govore iz antičke historiografije kao retorička mjesta, gdje autori naglašavaju određene ideje.<sup>11</sup> Njihova povijesna vjerodostojnost vrlo je upitna. Oni najčešće odstupaju od povijesne zbiljnosti jer sadrže ono što nije stvarno rečeno, nego korisno i primjereno u određenoj situaciji. Čini se da je i sam Polibije bio toga svjestan te je tražio da mu bude oprosteno ako se otkrije da je negdje namjerno ili zbog koristi iznosio lažne podatke (*Polyb. XXIX, 12, 10-11*). Polibije je svoj

The representation of the Roman diplomatic mission in Illyria stands out with its multiple meanings. The attention of modern historians has been drawn by his political character,<sup>5</sup> since it has explained the cause of the violation of the sanctity of messengers, and thus caused the First Illyrian War, as well as the beginning of the Roman conquest of Greece and Macedonia.<sup>6</sup> The fragment is crucial for studying the phenomenon of Illyrian piracy<sup>7</sup> and Roman 'imperialism'.<sup>8</sup> Undoubtedly, it is an illustrative example of Roman military and political propaganda.<sup>9</sup> The speech which Polybius attributes to the young Roman legate Coruncanus is commonly assessed as unsound, invented or transferred from Polybius's source, Fabius Pictor.<sup>10</sup> Modern scholars generally dismiss speeches from ancient historiography as rhetorical places where authors emphasize certain ideas.<sup>11</sup> Their historical authenticity is highly questionable. They tend to depart from historical reality because they contain what was not really being said, except for something useful and appropriate in a given situation. It seems that Polybius himself was aware of it, and asked to be for-

<sup>5</sup> S obzirom na njegovu političku važnost, moderni povjesničari su ga opravdano naglašavali iz ove točke gledišta. Neki su, svakako nekritički, preuzeli Polibijevu verziju događaja i odgovornost ilirske vladarice Teute za rat (Holleaux 1920, 97-129). V. suprotna mišljenja: Walbank 1970, 158-159; Harris 1979, 65, 137, 171, 195-197; Wilkes 1995, 159-162; Cabanes 2002, 144-149.

<sup>6</sup> Derow 2003, 51-71.; Gruen 1984, 359-437.

<sup>7</sup> Dell 1967, 344-358; Ormerod 1997, 169-189; De Souza 1999, 76-80; Šašel Kos 2002, 137-155.

<sup>8</sup> Harris 1979, 195-197.

<sup>9</sup> Šašel Kos 1986, 73, 81; 2005, 271; Bajrić 2009, 43-45.

<sup>10</sup> Pédech 1964, 291; Walbank 1970, 159; Harris 1979, 171; Sacks 1981, 79-96; Šašel Kos 1986, 73ss.; Riel 1988a, bilj. 23, 598; Marincola 2001, 128-133; Šašel Kos 2002, 140. Prema Walbanku, govor je najvjerojatnije izmišljen naknadno da bi se uvećala nedužna žrtva (Walbank 1970, 159; Riel 1988a, bilj. 23, 598).

<sup>11</sup> Marincola 2001, 128-133; Marincola 2007a, 118-132; Adler 2011, 61-63, 79-81.

<sup>5</sup> Given his political importance, modern historians have justifiably emphasized him from this point of view. Some of them have uncritically taken Polybius's version of events and the responsibility of the Illyrian queen, Teuta, for the war (Holleaux 1920, 97-129). See oppos. opinion: Walbank 1970, 158-159; Harris, 1979, 65, 137, 171, 195-197; Wilkes 1995, 159-162; Cabanes, 2002, 144-149.

<sup>6</sup> Derow 2003, 51-71; Gruen 1984, 359-437.

<sup>7</sup> Dell 1967, 344-358; Ormerod 1997, 169-189; De Souza 1999, 76-80; Šašel Kos 2002, 137-155.

<sup>8</sup> Harris 1979, 195-197.

<sup>9</sup> Šašel Kos 1986, 73, 81; 2005, 271; Bajrić 2009, 43-45.

<sup>10</sup> Pédech 1964, 291; Walbank 1970, 159; Harris 1979, 171; Sacks 1981, 79-96; Šašel Kos 1986, 73ff; Riel 1988a, n. 23, 598; Marincola 2001, 128-133; Šašel Kos 2002, 140. According to Walbank, the speech was probably invented later in order to emphasize the innocence of victimhood (Walbank 1970, 159; Riel 1988a, n. 23, 598).

<sup>11</sup> Marincola 2001, 128-133; Marincola 2007a, 118-132; Adler 2011, 61-63, 79-81.

stav o iznošenju govora iznio kritizirajući metode i način sastavljanja govora drugih povjesničara, osobito Filarha i Timeja (II, 56, 10; III, 20, 1-5; XII, 25a; 25b, 1, 25i, 4-9; XXIX, 12, 10-11; XXXVI, 1, 1-7).<sup>12</sup> Neki od njegovih principa su da povjesničar slušateljima treba pružiti dokaz o onome što im je nepoznato i u što ne vjeruju (*Polyb.* XII, 25i, 4-9), te da u govorima treba iznositi ono što odgovara situaciji i to samo najvažnije i odlučujuće momente (*Polyb.* XXXVI, 1, 1-7). Njegov prikaz razgovora između Teute i rimskog poslanika pokazuje da je u znatnoj mjeri ostao dosljedan nekim svojim principima. Ovdje je, prije svega, iznio one presudne momente koji su prouzročili napad na rimsko poslanstvo, što je dovelo do prvog rata između Rima i Ilira. Međutim, umetnutim »dijalogom« je kroz riječi mlađeg poslanika iznio i svoj sud o kraljevskoj vlasti i zakonskom pravu ilirskih kraljeva i o Teuti kao ženi-vladarici.

Odlomak o rimskom poslanstvu u Iliriji posebno je zanimljiv jer je upravo u njemu Polibije iznio određen broj istraživački atraktivnih bilježaka karakterizacije Ilira i ilirske vladarice Teute. Potrebno je ispitati sadrže li te bilješke specifične stvarne podatke ili ih treba smatrati izdankom općeg grčkog viđenja »drugog«. Momenti iz Polibijevoga odlomka koji nam dopuštaju takvu vrstu analize su:

- kritika institucije kraljevstva;
- razlike između rimskih i ilirskih običaja i zakona;
- karakterizacije ilirske vladarice Teute.

Polibije je 6. knjigu *Historije* posvetio državnim uređenjima, da bi objasnio kako i zahvaljujući kojoj vrsti uređenja je skoro čitav svijet za manje od pedeset i tri go-

given if it came out that he, on purpose or for his own self-interest, gave out false information (*Polyb.* XXIX, 12, 10-11). Polybius presented his own attitude to making a speech by criticizing the methods and manner of other historians in preparing their speeches, especially Phylarchus and Timaeus (II, 56, 10; III, 20, 1-5; XII, 25a, 25b, 1, 25i, 4-9; XXIX, 12, 10-11; XXXVI, 1, 1-7).<sup>12</sup> Some of his principles suggest that a historian should provide the evidence for listeners on what is unknown to them and what they do not believe in (*Polyb.* XII, 25i, 4-9), and that the speech should be on what suits the situation best, citing the most important and decisive moments (*Polyb.* XXXVI, 1, 1-7). His representation of the conversations between Teuta and the Roman legate indicates that he largely remained consistent to certain of his principles. Here, he primarily cites those crucial moments that caused the attack on the Roman envoy, which led to the first war between Rome and the Illyrians. However, in the inserted "dialogue" through the words of the younger delegate, he expressed his opinion on the royal government and legal rights of the Illyrian kings, and Teuta as a female ruler.

The fragment of the Roman envoy in Illyria is particularly interesting because it precisely presents the excerpt where Polybius presents a certain number of attractive research notes on the characterization of the Illyrians and the Illyrian queen, Teuta. It is necessary to examine whether the notes contain specific items of actual information or are to be regarded as a scion of the general Greek notion of "otherness". Sequences from Polybius's paragraph that allow us this kind of analysis are:

- critique of the institution of the kingdom;
- differences between Roman and Illyrian customs and laws;
- characterization of the Illyrian ruler Teuta.

<sup>12</sup> Marincola smatra da je Polibije ipak priznavao retorički pristup u svojoj zamisli da povjesničar mora izabrati »primjerene« i »prihvatljive« argumente (Marincola 2007a, 125), usp. Pédech 1964, 255-302; Sacks 1981, 79-96; Adler 2011.

<sup>12</sup> Marincola believes that Polybius nevertheless acknowledged a rhetorical approach in his conception that the historian must choose "appropriate" and "acceptable" arguments (Marincola 2007a, 125), cf. Pédech 1964, 255-302; Sacks 1981, 79-96; Adler 2011.



dine potpao pod vlast Rima.<sup>13</sup> Iznio je pomno razrađen model smjenjivanja ustava (ἀνακύκλωσις), čiji je važan izvor biološka teorija prema kojoj su sva živa bića podložna promjenama i prolaze kroz stadije rođenja, vrhunca i opadanja. Proces je započeo s primitivnom monarhijom, a potom slijede kraljevina, tiranija, aristokracija, oligarhija, demokracija i ohlokracija, da bi krug zatvorio vraćanjem na monarhiju gdje je proces i započeo.<sup>14</sup> Rimski mješoviti ustav držao je boljim od drugih, jer je bio ravnoteža između monarhije, aristokracije i demokracije, i u vezi s tim, onih pozitivnih značajki kojima su se odlikovale.<sup>15</sup>

Govoreći o Polibijevoj političkoj teoriji, Walbank pokazuje da je Polibije vjerovao da državna uređenja propadaju uslijed djelovanja vanjskih i unutarnjih faktora, napose da je društveno opadanje posljedica pomanjkanja moralnih.<sup>16</sup> Također, ukazuje na ulogu *Tyche*, koja je u ovim momentima primjetna, ali ne i presudna. Tako npr. Polibije joj je pripisao ključni značaj kada je opisivao pad Makedonije pod rimsku vlast. Međutim, kada je govorio o Rimljanima, primarno mjesto dao je obliku ustava smatrajući ga najvećim uzrokom uspjeha i neuspjeha u svakom državnom poslu.<sup>17</sup> Prema Walbanku, Polibijev stav o kraljevini i tiraniji, pokazuje da je prihvatio tradicionalne kriterije o razlici između vladavine kralja i tiranina.<sup>18</sup> Sukladno tome, za tiranina je karakteristično da čini zlo i strahom vla-

Polybius devoted Book VI of his *Histories* to the order of the state, so as to explain how, and through what kind of planning, almost an entire world came under the authority of Rome in less than fifty-three years.<sup>13</sup> He presented an elaborate model for changing the constitution (ἀνακύκλωσις), whose important source lies in the biological theory that all living beings are subject to change and go through the stages of birth, peak and decline. The process started with primitive monarchy, followed by kingship, tyranny, aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy and ochlocracy, to close the circle by returning to monarchy, where the process itself had begun.<sup>14</sup> He thought that the Roman mixed constitution was better than any other, because it was a balance between monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, as well as all the positive features that were within its framework.<sup>15</sup>

Speaking of Polybius's political theory, Walbank shows that Polybius believed that government regulation tended to fail due to external and internal factors, and particularly that social decline is a consequence of moral deficiency.<sup>16</sup> He also points to the role of *Tyche*, which is noticeable in these moments, yet not decisive. For example, Polybius attributes a key role to it when describing the decline of Macedonia under Roman rule. However, when speaking of the Romans, Polybius gives the primary place to the form of constitution, considering it the greatest cause of success and failure in any government job.<sup>17</sup> According to Walbank, Polybius's stand on kingship and tyranny shows that he accepted the traditional criteria of the difference between

<sup>13</sup> *Polyb.* VI, 2, (1); Walbank 2002, 221.

<sup>14</sup> Više o ovome v. Walbank 1970, 635-663; Walbank 2002, 193-211.

<sup>15</sup> Walbank 1970, 659-746; Eckstein 1995, 166-168; 172-173; Champion 2004, 67-142.

<sup>16</sup> Walbank 2002, 193-211.

<sup>17</sup> *Polyb.* I, 63, 6-I, 64, 2; III, 2, 6; 118, VI, 10, 13-14; 50; Walbank 1970, 16-26; Walbank 2002, 194-197; 209-216; Walbank 2007, 349-355, usp. Pédech 1964, 331-354; Gruen 1984, 343-351.

<sup>18</sup> Walbank 2002, 217-218.

<sup>13</sup> *Polyb.* VI, 2, (1); Walbank 2002, 221.

<sup>14</sup> For more on this topic, see Walbank 1970, 635-663; Walbank 2002, 193-211.

<sup>15</sup> Walbank 1970, 659-746; Eckstein 1995, 166-168; 172-173; Champion 2004, 67-142.

<sup>16</sup> Walbank 2002, 193-211.

<sup>17</sup> *Polyb.* I, 63, 6-I, 64, 2; III, 2, 6; 118, VI, 10, 13-14; 50; Walbank 1970, 16-26; Walbank 2002, 194-197; 209-216; Walbank 2007, 349-355, cf. Pédech 1964, 331-354; Gruen 1984, 343-351.

da protiv volje građana, da mrzi i da je sam omrznut od potčinjenih; kralj, pak, čini svima dobro, voljen je zbog svojih dobročinstava i čovječnosti te vodi i štiti ljude koji ga rado slijede (*Polyb.* V, 11). Polibijevog idealnog kralja krasio je plemenit duh (μεγαλοψυχία) spojen s blagošću i umjerenošću (εὐγνωμοσύνη; μετριότης).<sup>19</sup> Kod Polibija, prelazak iz monarhije u kraljevinu usko je povezan sa samom ličnošću monarha, koji, kada razum (λογισμός) preuzme vodstvo od sile i snage, neprimjetno postaje kralj.<sup>20</sup> Kraljevina se, dakle, rađa i nastaje s predstavama o dobrom i pravednom, a u svoj izobličeni oblik tiraniju prelazi uslijed poroka i moralnog opadanja koje se pojavljuje kod nasljednika.<sup>21</sup>

Šestu knjigu *Historije*, Eckstein procjenjuje ne samo ključnom za analizu političke i državne postojanosti, nego i karaktera. On objašnjava da je Polibije veličao odlike rimskog mješovitog ustava i stabilnosti osigurane ravnotežom ravnopravne raspodjele vlasti na tri organa - senat, konzul i narod. Zahvaljujući tome, Rimljani su se održali u ratu protiv Hanibala. Opis rimskog pogreba smatra mjestom gdje je Polibije nastojao predočiti kako su rimski običaji inspirirali ljude da traže καλόν. Polibijev opis rimskog načina života i rimskih političkih institucija imao je za primarni cilj pokazati sposobnost da se u potpunim promjenama sreće sve podnosi uzvišeno i hrabro (μεγαλοψύχως καὶ γενναίως), i da je upravo ta sposobnost države proizlazila iz njenih političkih institucija.<sup>22</sup> Poput Walbanka, ukazuje da se Polibijev prikaz kraljevine oslanjao na teoriju o dobrom kralju.<sup>23</sup> Polibije je, između ostalog, pisanje o časnim i pravičnim djelima (τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια) smatrao

the rule of a king and the rule of a tyrant.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, the characteristic of a tyrant is that he does evil and he uses fear to rule the government against the will of the citizens, to hate and to be hated by his subordinates; the king, in turn, does good to everybody, is loved because of his charity and humanity, and leads and protects his people, who are happy to follow him (*Polyb.* V, 11). Polybius's ideal king is adorned by a generous spirit (μεγαλοψυχία) along with gentleness and moderation (εὐγνωμοσύνη; μετριότης).<sup>19</sup> According to Polybius, the transition from monarchy to kingship is closely linked to the very personality of the monarch himself, who, once reason (λογισμός) has taken over leadership from force and power, seamlessly becomes a king.<sup>20</sup> A kingship is thus born and emerges with the notions of good and right, but it becomes distorted into the form of tyranny due to the vices and moral decline that is to befall its successors.<sup>21</sup>

For Eckstein, Book VI of the *Histories* is crucial for the analysis not only of political and civil stability, but also of character. He explains that Polybius praises the qualities of the Roman mixed constitution and stability that had ensured the balance of equal distribution of power in three bodies: the Senate, the Consul and the people. Thanks to this, the Romans endured the war against Hannibal. The description of a Roman funeral, he thinks, is a place where Polybius tries to point out how Roman traditions inspired people to seek the καλόν. Polybius's description of the Roman way of life and the Roman political institutions had the primary objective of demonstrating the ability to endure and remain noble and brave (μεγαλοψύχως καὶ γενναίως) in a complete twist of luck, and it is precisely this ability of the state that resulted from its political institutions.<sup>22</sup> Like Wal-

<sup>19</sup> Walbank 1984, 81-84; Walbank 2002, 218-219.

<sup>20</sup> *Polyb.* VI, 6, 12; 7, 1-3; Walbank 2002, 220-225.

<sup>21</sup> Walbank 1970, 655; Walbank 2002, 222.

<sup>22</sup> Eckstein 1995, 65-67.

<sup>23</sup> Eckstein 1995, 36, 227, 273-274.

<sup>18</sup> Walbank 2002, 217-218.

<sup>19</sup> Walbank 1984, 81-84; Walbank 2002, 218-219.

<sup>20</sup> *Polyb.* VI, 6, 12; 7, 1-3; Walbank 2002, 220-225.

<sup>21</sup> Walbank 1970, 655; Walbank 2002, 222.

<sup>22</sup> Eckstein 1995, 65-67.

obvezom povjesničara.<sup>24</sup> Njegovi nazori bili su obrazovani tradicionalnim, aristokratskim idealima o moralno lijepom i dobrom (καλόν).<sup>25</sup> Eckstein je mišljenja da je Polibijeva percepcija barbara izdank opće grčke predodžbe o »drugom«, shodno tome, barbari, najamnici, mase, mladež i žene bili su destruktivne snage koje su konstantno ugrožavale i prijetile civiliziranom, uređenom društvu.<sup>26</sup> Držao ih je opasnim zbog njihovih navodnih urođenih sklonosti nasilju, bijesu i nedostatku samokontrole. Gledano u ovom kontekstu, Polibije je vjerovao da je grčka i rimska elita (oni kojima je i posvetio svoje djelo) imala dužnost (τὸ καθήκον) zaštititi društvo od sila nereda i kaosa koje su mu prijetile. Zreli aristokratski muškarac mogao je biti dorastao ovom izazovu samo hrabrošću i razumnim postupcima, dakle, ispravno i časno ponašanje elite trebalo je biti glavna zaštita protiv prijetećeg kaosa.<sup>27</sup>

U *Cultural Politics in Polybius's Histories*, Champion pokazuje da je Polibijev stav prema Rimljanima bio dvosmislen, on ih je prikazivao civiliziranim, pripisujući im helenske vrline, što autor naziva »politics of cultural assimilation of the Romans to Hellenism«, ali i neciviliziranim, kada pokazuje njihovu brutalnost prema Grcima »politics of cultural alienation of the Romans to Hellenism«. <sup>28</sup> Položaj Rimljana unutar dva pola, helenizma i barbarizma analizirao je preko Polibijevih narativnih prikaza Rimljana, Ahejaca i drugih. Smatra da je okosnica unutar koje je Polibije radio bila helensko–barbarski bipolaritet i da je koristio tri tradicionalna objašnjenja razlika među narodima: 1) distinktivne značajke urođene jednom naro-

bank, he indicates that Polybius's representation of kingship relies on the theory of a good king.<sup>23</sup> Polybius, among other things, felt that writing about right and honourable deeds (τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια) was an obligation of historians.<sup>24</sup> Traditional and aristocratic ideals of moral good and aesthetic properties (καλόν) educated and influenced his worldview.<sup>25</sup> Eckstein believes that Polybius's perception of barbarians presents an offshoot of the general Greek notion of 'otherness'. Therefore, barbarians, mercenaries, the masses, youth and women were destructive forces that were constantly jeopardizing and threatening the civilized, organized society.<sup>26</sup> He believed they were dangerous because of their alleged innate propensity to violence, anger and lack of self-control. Seen in this context, Polybius believed that the Greek and Roman elites (to whom he dedicated his works) had a duty (τὸ καθήκον) to protect society from the threatening forces of disorder and chaos. A mature aristocratic man could be able to cope with this challenge only if he had courage and reasonable actions; therefore, a proper and honourable behaviour of the elite was to be the main protection against the threatening chaos.<sup>27</sup>

In his *Cultural Politics in Polybius's Histories*, Champion shows that Polybius's attitude toward the Romans was ambiguous; he pictured them as civilized, attributing to them Hellenic virtues, which the author calls the "politics of cultural assimilation of the Romans to Hellenism", but also uncivilized, showing their brutality toward the Greeks ("politics of cultural alienation of the Romans to Hellenism").<sup>28</sup> Using Polybius's narrative representation of Romans, Achaeans and others, he analyses the Roman position within

<sup>24</sup> Eckstein 1995, 22.

<sup>25</sup> Eckstein 1995, 28-55.

<sup>26</sup> Eckstein 1995, 118-160, usp. Cartledge 1993; Walbank 2002, 212-213; Champion 2004, 70-71.

<sup>27</sup> Eckstein 1995, 119, 158-160.

<sup>28</sup> Champion 2004, 4.

<sup>23</sup> Eckstein 1995, 36, 227, 273-274.

<sup>24</sup> Eckstein 1995, 22.

<sup>25</sup> Eckstein 1995, 28-55.

<sup>26</sup> Eckstein 1995, 118-160, cf. Cartledge 1993; Walbank 2002, 212-213; Champion 2004, 70-71.

<sup>27</sup> Eckstein 1995, 119, 158-160.

<sup>28</sup> Champion 2004, 4.

du (*phusis*), 2) klimatski i geografski faktori determiniraju grupne karakteristike i 3) državno uređenje.<sup>29</sup> Međutim, autor pokazuje da je Polibije vješto izmanipulirao političko-kulturni jezik helenizma kako bi odgovorio na političke i ideološke izazove svoga vremena. Koristeći političke i društvene institucije kao presudne u povijesnom uzrokovanju općih kolektivnih karakteristika, Polibije nije Rimljanima odredio čvrst položaj unutar helenско-barbarskog bipolariteta, nego se oni kreću između ta dva pola. U Polibijevoj političkoj teoriji, zajednice prolaze kroz ciklične stadije razvoja, uživajući period »helenskih« vrlina, kada su bile direktno vođene razumom (λογισμός) i prelazeći u stanje iracionalnog i razuzdanog nagona (θυμός), što je u osnovi, polje Polibijevih barbara. Svaki narod može se pogoršati od helenskih vrlina do barbarskih poroka kroz institucionalno propadanje. Svojstva helenizma – razum, red i umjerenost – rezultat su dobrih državnih struktura. Protivno tomu, barbarizam kod Polibija posljedica je institucionalnog propadanja i društvenog kvarenja. Helenizam i barbarizam nisu urođeni i nepromjenjivi u jednom narodu.<sup>30</sup> Champion primjećuje da je Polibije odbacio zamisao da je *Tyche* bila isključivo odgovorna za rimski uspjeh i da je razloge uspona Rima vidio u njihovom dobro organiziranom političkom sustavu.<sup>31</sup> Autor također konstatira da je termin *barbaros* kod Polibija u biti negativan termin koji je imao značenje samo kada je stajao u opreci s helenizmom, i kao takav, da je u Polibijevo vrijeme zazivao sliku stalne prijetnje civilizaciji. Prihvaćajući tradicionalni koncept o bipolarnosti Grci – barbari, za Polibija barbari su bili sve što je bilo suprotno poželjnim značajkama uređenog i skladnog društva.<sup>32</sup> Champion smatra da je za Polibija λογισμός bio

the two poles – Hellenism and Barbarism. He believes that the framework within which Polybius acted was a Hellenic–barbarian bipolarity and that he used three traditional explanations of the differences among peoples: 1) distinctive characteristics inherent to any people (*phusis*), 2) climatic and geographical factors determining the characteristics of the group, and 3) system of government.<sup>29</sup> However, the author shows that Polybius skilfully manipulated the political-cultural language of Hellenism in order to respond to the political and ideological challenges of his time. Using political and social institutions as crucial in historical causation of general collective characteristics, Polybius did not fix the position of the Romans within the Hellenic–barbarian bipolarity, since they move between these two poles. According to Polybius’s political theory, communities go through cyclical stages of development, enjoying a period of “Hellenic” virtue, when they were directly guided by reason (λογισμός), and then passing into a state of irrational and wild instincts (θυμός), which is basically the field of Polybius’s barbarians. Each nation can worsen from Hellenic virtues to barbaric vices through institutional decay. The properties of Hellenism – reason, order and moderation – are the result of good government structures. In contrast to this, Polybius’s barbarism is the result of institutional decline and social decay. Hellenism and barbarism are not innate and unchangeable in one nation.<sup>30</sup> Champion notes that Polybius rejected the idea that *Tyche* itself was solely responsible for the Roman success, and he saw the reasons for the rise of Rome in their well-organized political system.<sup>31</sup> The author also notes that the term *barbaros* used by Polybius is essentially a negative one that had meaning only when it stood in contrast to Hellenism. Therefore, in Polybius’s time, it invoked the image of the constant threat to their civilization. Accepting the traditional concept of the

<sup>29</sup> Champion 2004, 75-84

<sup>30</sup> Champion 2004, 68-75.

<sup>31</sup> Champion 2004, 84.

<sup>32</sup> Champion 2004, 70-71.

<sup>29</sup> Champion 2004, 75-84.

<sup>30</sup> Champion 2004, 68-75.

<sup>31</sup> Champion 2004, 84.

produkt državne strukture i da je Polibije često suprostavljao grčki λογισμός i barbarski θυμός. Polibije je najniže i najiskvarenije državno uređenje ohlokraciju opisao istim značajkama kojima je opisao i barbare.<sup>33</sup> Osobinama pojedinaca često je podcrtavao karakteristike etničko-kulturne grupe kojoj su pripadali, kao što je slučaj s Hanibalom, Agronom, Teutom, Demetrijem Farskim, Etolcem Dorimachom i ahejskim državnikom Aratom.<sup>34</sup> U drugoj i trećoj knjizi gdje su opisani ratovi Rimljana protiv Ilira i Gala, Champion vidi mjesto gdje je θυμός kod Ilira, Gala i Etolaca nadvladao λογισμός.<sup>35</sup>

### Kritika institucije kraljevstva

Prema Polibiju, rimsko poslanstvo upućeno je ilirskoj kraljici Teuti kao posljedica gusarskog napada na italske trgovce, prilikom čega su neki od njih ubijeni, a neki odvedeni u ropstvo (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-13). Pored želje da se zaštite trgovci, bili su upleteni i drugi faktori, ali pritužbe italskih trgovaca protiv Ilira bile su ono što je privuklo pažnju rimskog Senata, koji je odlučio poslati poslanike Teuti da ispituju stvar. Ilirska vladarica primila ih je u isejskim vodama, dok je ilirska vojska opsjedala Isu.<sup>36</sup>

Dion Kasije i Apijan Aleksandrijski iznijeli su drugačiji slijed događaja. Prema Apijanu, ilirski kralj Agron osvojio je dio Epira i Kerkiru, a kasnije i Epidamno i Far (*App. Illyr.* 7), ali kada je napao i druge, Isa je uputila poziv u pomoć Rimu (*App. Illyr.* 7). Rimljani su poslali poslanike Agronu. Ilirski laki brodovi napali su ih na putu za Iliriju i ubili Kleempora, isejskog poslanika i rimskog Korunkanija (*App. Illyr.* 7). Dion Kasije je poput Apijana istaknuo važnost Ise koja je, iz

<sup>33</sup> Champion 2004, 73, 84-95.

<sup>34</sup> Champion 2004, 104.

<sup>35</sup> Champion 2004, 111-117.

<sup>36</sup> *Polyb.* II, 8, 5-6; Gabričević 1974, 9; Šašel Kos 1986, 69.

*Greeks–barbarians* bipolarity, they were, for Polybius, all that was contrary to the desirable features of an ordered and harmonious society.<sup>32</sup> Champion believes that, according to Polybius, λογισμός was a product of the governmental structure and that Polybius often contrasted Greek λογισμός with barbaric θυμός. Polybius described the lowest and most corrupted state of polity – ochlocracy – using the same features he used when describing barbarians.<sup>33</sup> Using characteristics of individuals, he frequently underlined the characteristics of the ethnic-cultural group to which they belonged, as was the case with Hannibal, Agron, Teuta, Demetrius of Pharos, Dorimachus Aetolian and the Achaean statesman Aratus.<sup>34</sup> In the second and third books, which describe the Roman wars against the Illyrians and Gauls, Champion, as for the Illyrians, Gauls and Aetolians, sees a place where θυμός overwhelmed λογισμός.<sup>35</sup>

### Critique of the institution of the kingdom

According to Polybius, a Roman envoy was sent to the Illyrian Queen Teuta as a result of pirate attacks on Italic merchants, during which some of them were killed and some were taken captive (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1-13). Alongside the desire to protect the merchants, some other factors were involved, but it was the complaints of Italic merchants against the Illyrians that drew the attention of the Roman Senate, which decided to send their envoys to Teuta in order to investigate the matter. The Illyrian ruler received them in Issa's waters, while the Illyrian army was in the process of besieging Issa.<sup>36</sup>

Dio Cassius and Appian of Alexandria present a different sequence of events. According to Appian, the Illyrian king Agron captured part of Epirus and also Corcyra, and

<sup>32</sup> Champion 2004, 70-71.

<sup>33</sup> Champion 2004, 73, 84-95.

<sup>34</sup> Champion 2004, 104.

<sup>35</sup> Champion 2004, 111-117.

<sup>36</sup> *Polyb.* II, 8, 5-6; Gabričević 1974, 9; Šašel Kos 1986, 69.

straha od Ilira, sklopila savez s Rimljanima, a potom je više uzgredno dodao da su Rimljani namjeravali kazniti Ardijejce jer su ometali plovidbu lađa iz Brundizija (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 1-7). Na isejski zahtjev Rim je poslao poslanstvo Agronu, kako bi mu predložili da Isejcima čini nepravde, ali u međuvremenu on je umro i poslanike je primila Teuta (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49, 1-2).

Posljedica gusarskog akta na autoritet ilirske vladarice, i uopće na zakonsku snagu ilirskih vladara, vrlo je dobro ilustrirana u dijalogu između Teute i rimskog poslanika (*Polyb.* 2, 8, 6-11). Nakon što je izložio razloge dolaska rimskog poslanstva u Iliriju, Polibije je opisao držanje i ponašanje ilirske vladarice tijekom diplomatskog razgovora. Naime, ona je rimske poslanike slušala vrlo oholo (*Polyb.* II, 8, 7). Kada su završili s iznošenjem zločina počinjenih protiv njih, Teuta im je odgovorila sljedeće:

a) da će se pobrinuti da Rimljane ne zadesi nikakva nepravda od Ilira,

b) da ilirski kraljevi nemaju zakonsko pravo ometati privatne osobe u pljačkanju na moru (*Polyb.* II, 8, 8).<sup>37</sup>

Početak Teutina odgovora odnosi se na autoritet javne vlasti u Iliriji, tj. na zakonska prava ilirskih vladara.<sup>38</sup> Drugi dio pokazuje da je nadležnost javne vlasti bila ograničena na određene društvene strukture. To je, po svemu sudeći, bio odraz društveno-ekonomskih prilika u Teutinoj

<sup>37</sup> καταπαυσάντων δὲ τὸν λόγον, κοινῆ μὲν ἔφη πειρᾶσθαι φροντίζειν ἵνα μηδὲν ἀδίκημα γίνηται Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν· ἰδίᾳ γε μὴν οὐ νόμιμον εἶναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κολύειν Ἰλλυριοῖς τὰς κατὰ θάλατταν ὠφελείας (*Polyb.* II, 8, 8).

<sup>38</sup> O ustrojstvu Ilirskog kraljevstva v. Holleaux 1954, 826-827; Hammond 1966, 239-253; Papazoglu 1967, 123-144; Wilkes 1969, 163, 189; Domić-Kunić 1993, 210-212. O društveno-gospodarskim prilikama u Iliriji v. Cabanes 2002, 105-131.

Epidamnus and Pharos in succession (*App. Illyr.* 7), but when he threatened others, Issa asked Rome for help (*App. Illyr.* 7). The Romans sent their ambassadors to Agron. Illyrian light vessels attacked them on the way to Illyria and killed Cleemporus, the envoy of Issa and the Roman Coruncanus (*App. Illyr.* 7). Dio Cassius, like Appian, stresses the importance of Issa, which, out of fear of the Illyrians, surrendered itself voluntarily to the Romans. More incidentally, he added that the Romans intended to punish the Ardiaeans, who were annoying those who sailed from Brundisium (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 1-7). At the request of Issa, Rome sent a mission to Agron in order to point out he was doing injustice to the Issaeans. He died, however, and Teuta received the ambassadors (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49, 1-2).

The consequence of pirate acts on the authority of the Illyrian queen and the legal force of Illyrian kings in general is well illustrated in the dialogue between Teuta and the Roman legate (*Polyb.* 2, 8, 6-11). Having laid out the reasons for the arrival of the Roman envoys in Illyria, Polybius describes the attitude and behaviour of the Illyrian queen during diplomatic talks. She listened arrogantly to the Roman legates (*Polyb.* II, 8, 7). When they had finished presenting the crimes committed against them, Teuta responded as follows:

a) That care would be taken that the Illyrians did not commit any injustice against the Romans,

b) That Illyrian kings have no legal right to interfere with privateers in winning booty from the sea (*Polyb.* II, 8, 8).<sup>37</sup>

The beginning of Teuta's response refers to the authority of the public government in Illyria, i.e. the legitimate rights of the Illyrian

<sup>37</sup> καταπαυσάντων δὲ τὸν λόγον, κοινῆ μὲν ἔφη πειρᾶσθαι φροντίζειν ἵνα μηδὲν ἀδίκημα γίνηται Ῥωμαίοις ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν· ἰδίᾳ γε μὴν οὐ νόμιμον εἶναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κολύειν Ἰλλυριοῖς τὰς κατὰ θάλατταν ὠφελείας (*Polyb.* II, 8, 8).

Iliriji.<sup>39</sup> Teuta je, dakle, ponudila Rimljanima jednu vrstu garancije da im njene trupe neće činiti nikakve nepravde,<sup>40</sup> i jasno im dala do znanja da nije odgovorna za gusarski napad na italske trgovce jer nema zakonskih prava nad privatnim osobama.<sup>41</sup> Na osnovi toga može se reći da je povijesni lik Teuta postupila korektno, ali ne i u skladu s rimskim očekivanjima.<sup>42</sup> Izvješće Diona Kasija podudara se s Polibijevim po pitanju držanja ilirske vladarice (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 1-7). On je naveo da Teuta nije dala primjeren odgovor rimskim poslanicima i da je pokazala tipičnu žensku prenatgljenost i slabost pojačanu osjećajem moći zbog vlasti koju je imala (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49).

Poslanikov govor dijametralno je suprotan Teutinom odgovoru.<sup>43</sup> Njime je poslanik naglasio da su rimski običaji pravedniji od ilirskih. Naime, Rimljani imaju odličan običaj (κάλλιστον ἔθος) kojim država kažnjava privatna zlodjela i pomaže oštećenima, čime se sprječava nepravda i zločin. Nasuprot tome postavio je zakonska prava kraljeva (βασιλικὰ νόμιμα) prema Ilirima, koja su loša jer nekažnjavanjem zlodjela podržavaju i ohrabruju nepravedne radnje.<sup>44</sup> Riječima mlađeg poslanika Polibije je potvrdio svoje izne-

rulers.<sup>38</sup> The second part shows that the jurisdiction of public authorities was limited to certain social structures. It most likely presents a reflection of the socio-economic conditions in Teuta's Illyria.<sup>39</sup> Teuta, therefore, offered the Romans a sort of guarantee that her troops would not do them any injustice<sup>40</sup>, and she clearly indicated that she had not been responsible for the pirate attack on the Italic merchants, because she had no legal rights over privateers.<sup>41</sup> On this basis, we can say that the historical figure of Teuta acted correctly, but not in accordance with Roman expectations.<sup>42</sup> Dio Cassius's report coincides with Polybius's in terms of the Illyrian queen's manner (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 1-7).

He states that Teuta did not give a respectful reply to the Roman legates and showed a typical female temerity and weakness intensified because of the power she possessed (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49). The envoy's speech is diametrically opposed to Teuta's response.<sup>43</sup> In his speech, he stresses that Roman customs are fairer than Illyrian ones. In fact, the Romans have an admirable custom (κάλλιστον ἔθος) by which the government punishes private crimes and helps the victims, thus pre-

<sup>39</sup> Za gusarenje kao priznat način stjecanja sredstava za život kod Ilira v. Badian 1952, 75; Walbank 1970, 159; Ormerod 1997, 67, 169-173; de Souza 1999, 76-78; Šašel Kos 2002, 140-141.

<sup>40</sup> Walbank 1970, 159; Badian 1952, 75.

<sup>41</sup> U privatnim osobama valja prepoznati lokalne moćnike: Ormerod 1997, 169-176; Domic-Kunić 1993, 212; Bajrić 2009, 39-41.

<sup>42</sup> Stipčević 1989, 41, bilj. 91; Bajrić 2009, 44.

<sup>43</sup> εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις μὲν, ὃ Τεῦτα, κάλλιστον ἔθος ἐστὶ τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀδικήματα κοινῇ μεταπορεύεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις πειρασόμεθα δὴ θεοῦ βουλομένου σφόδρα καὶ ταχέως ἀναγκάσαι σε τὰ βασιλικὰ νόμιμα διορθώσασθαι πρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦς (*Polyb.* II, 8, 10-11).

<sup>44</sup> Champion sugerira da je Polibije nastojao pokazati da su Iliri podredili zajedničko dobro privatnim zahtjevima, dok je kod Rimljana opće dobro bilo iznad svega (Champion 2004, 112).

<sup>38</sup> On the organization of the Illyrian Kingdom, see Holleaux 1954, 826-827; Hammond 1966, 239-253; Papazoglu 1967, 123-144; Wilkes 1969, 163, 189; Domic-Kunić 1993, 210-212. On the socio-economic conditions in Illyria, see Cabanes 2002, 105-131.

<sup>39</sup> For piracy as a recognized way of earning a livelihood for the Illyrians, see Badian 1952, 75; Walbank 1970, 159; Ormerod 1997, 67, 169-173; de Souza 1999, 76-78; Šašel Kos 2002, 140-141.

<sup>40</sup> Walbank 1970, 159; Badian 1952, 75.

<sup>41</sup> Privateers should be recognized as local power holders: Ormerod 1997, 169-176; Domic-Kunić 1993, 212; Bajrić 2009, 39-41.

<sup>42</sup> Stipčević 1989, 41, n. 91; Bajrić 2009, 44.

<sup>43</sup> εἶπεν γὰρ ὅτι Ῥωμαίοις μὲν, ὃ Τεῦτα, κάλλιστον ἔθος ἐστὶ τὰ κατ' ἰδίαν ἀδικήματα κοινῇ μεταπορεύεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις πειρασόμεθα δὴ θεοῦ βουλομένου σφόδρα καὶ ταχέως ἀναγκάσαι σε τὰ βασιλικὰ νόμιμα διορθώσασθαι πρὸς Ἰλλυριοῦς (*Polyb.* II, 8, 10-11).

sene navode o pljačkaškom karakteru ilirskih aktivnosti na kopnu i moru i Teutinu odgovornost za iste.

Arogantno držanje i »sloboda« neprimjerena diplomatu mogli su biti prouzročeni i pretpostavkom da se je odnosio prema nekome manje vrijednim. Takvo ponašanje rimskog poslanika može se opisati grčkom riječju ἡ ὑπερηφάνια, u smislu kako je istaknuo J. P. V. D. Balsdon »the higher a Roman's rank, the worse he suffered from the disease which the Greeks called *hyperêphania*, bossiness, arrogance, the sense of innate superiority«. <sup>45</sup> Radi usporedbe, pokazivanje rimske superiornosti preko predstavnika u stranim zemljama, uglavnom prema nosiocima kraljevske vlasti, očigledno je u odnosu rimskih poslanika prema makedonskom kralju Filipu V. i sirijskom kralju Antiohu Epifanu. <sup>46</sup>

Sam sadržaj poslanikova govora bio je poučavanje o običajima i zakonima civiliziranog društva u kojem do izražaja dolazi poimanje »drugog« i odražava Polibijevu percepciju Ilira kao barbara.

U nastavku pripovijedanja, Polibije je iznio Teutinu reakciju na poslanikove riječi. Naime, ona je Korunkanijevu otvorenost primila ljutito i nerazumno kao žena, i toliko se razbjesnila da je zanemarila utvrđene ljudske zakone poslavši ljude da ubiju poslanika koji joj se otvoreno obratio (*Polyb.* II, 8, 12). A ovaj Teutin *hybris* prouzročio je rimsku vojnu intervenciju. Time je Polibije, prije svega, istaknuo odgovornost ilirske vladarice za rat s Rimljanima, ali i potvrdio svoj stav da je u vođenju političkih poslova prosuđivala na ženski način (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8).

Polibije je ovdje vrlo jasno prikazao da je rimski poslanik primjer rimskog slobodoumlja, a ilirska vladarica njegova suprotnost. Jednakost (ἰσηγορία) i sloboda

venting injustice and crime. Conversely, he set forth the legal rights of kings (βασιλικὰ νόμιμα) upon the Illyrians, which are poor, given that their impunity supports atrocities and encourages unfair actions. <sup>44</sup> Through the words of the younger messenger, Polybius confirms his statements on the aggressive and predatory nature of Illyrian activities on land and sea and Teuta's responsibility for the same. An arrogant posture and "freedom" that is inappropriate to any diplomat may have been caused by the assumption that one treated someone as inferior. Such behaviour of the Roman legate can be described by the Greek word ἡ ὑπερηφάνια, in terms of how J.P.V.D. Balsdon pointed out "the higher a Roman's rank, the worse he suffered from the disease which the Greeks called *hyperêphania*, bossiness, arrogance, the sense of innate superiority." <sup>45</sup> For comparison, the manifestation of Roman superiority over representatives in foreign countries, mainly to the holders of royal power, is apparently in relation to the Roman legates sent to the Macedonian King Philip V and the Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes. <sup>46</sup>

The content of the envoy's speech was to teach about the customs and laws of a civilized society in which the understanding of "otherness" has come to the fore, and reflects Polybius's perception of the Illyrians as barbarians.

In the narrative that follows, Polybius presents Teuta's reaction to the words of the envoy. In fact, she receives Coruncanian's openness with anger and caprice as a woman, and is so infuriated that she ignores the established human laws by sending her people to kill the legate who had openly addressed her (*Polyb.* II, 8, 12). This *hybris* of Teuta's

<sup>44</sup> Champion suggests that Polybius sought to present the Illyrians as subjugating the common good to the benefit of private claims, while the common good was in first place for the Romans (Champion 2004, 112).

<sup>45</sup> Balsdon 1979, 25-26, 170-171.

<sup>46</sup> Balsdon 1979, 25-26; Bajrić 2009, 39.

<sup>45</sup> Balsdon 1979, 25-26, 170-171.

<sup>46</sup> Balsdon 1979, 25-26; Bajrić 2009, 39.



govora (παρρησία) bili su obilježja prave demokracije.<sup>47</sup> U ovom je kontekstu polarizacija Rimljani – Iliri na političkom polju analogna konceptualnoj shemi Grci – barbari, prema kojoj je grčko društvo demokratsko i ravnopravno, dok je barbarsko tiransko i hijerarhijsko.<sup>48</sup> Poput Grka, Rimljani su predstavljeni kao ljubitelji slobode, zaštitnici prava i zakona, a Iliri kao kontrast svim načelima ljudskosti i rimskim vrlinama.

Polibijeva konstrukcija događaja iz ilirske prošlosti prožeta je ocrnjivanjem rimskog protivnika i stereotipiziranjem Ilira. To je bio dio rimske političke i vojne propagande, usko povezan s konceptom pravednog rata.<sup>49</sup> Odluka za rat protiv Teute bila je donesena nakon ubojstva poslanika, čime je rat dobio moralno opravdanje i imao je karakter legitimnog odgovora na ilirsko nasilje i zločin (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8; *Flor.* 1, 21; *Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7).

<sup>47</sup> *Polyb.* VI, 9, 4; Walbank 1970, 656-659; Walbank 2002, 212-216.

<sup>48</sup> Salmon 1986, 203-204; Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; Nippel 2002, 278-310.

<sup>49</sup> Rich 1976; Harris 1979, 165-175.

caused the Roman military intervention. Thereby, Polybius primarily emphasized the responsibility of the Illyrian queen for the war with the Romans, but also reaffirmed his view that her conduct of political affairs was assessed in a woman's way (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8).

Polybius clearly illustrates here that the Roman ambassador was an example of Roman broadmindedness, and the Illyrian queen its opposite. Equality (ἰσηγορία) and freedom of speech (παρρησία) were the characteristics of true democracy.<sup>47</sup> In this context, the polarization between the Romans and Illyrians in the field of politics was analogous to the conceptual scheme of Greeks–barbarians, according to which Greek society was democratic and equal, while barbarian society was tyrannical and hierarchical.<sup>48</sup> Like the Greeks, the Romans were presented as freedom lovers, protectors of law, while the Illyrians were presented as a contrast to all the principles of humanity and Roman virtues.

Polybius's construction of events from the Illyrian past was imbued with denigrating Roman opponents and stereotyping the Illyrians. It was part of the Roman military and political propaganda, closely linked to the concept of the just war.<sup>49</sup> The decision to wage the war against Teuta was made after the murder of the messenger. The war thereby won moral justification and had the character of a legitimate response to the Illyrian violence and crime (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8; *Flor.* 1, 21; *Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7).

<sup>47</sup> *Polyb.* VI, 9, 4; Walbank 1970, 656-659; Walbank 2002, 212-216.

<sup>48</sup> Salmon 1986, 203-204; Hall 1989; Cartledge 1993; Nippel 2002, 278-310.

<sup>49</sup> Rich 1976; Harris 1979, 165-175.

## Razlike između rimskih i ilirskih običaja i zakona

U poglavlju gdje je prikazao rimsku diplomatsku misiju u Iliriji,<sup>50</sup> Polibije je Ilire istaknuo sa dva elementa, to su *ἀδικία*<sup>51</sup> i *παρανομία*,<sup>52</sup> čime je sugerirao da su ilirski običaji i zakoni bili suprotni općepriznatim normama. Riječ *ἀδικία* koristio je u kontekstu ilirskog pohoda u Epiru (*Polyb.* II, 8, 4) i napada na italske trgovce.<sup>53</sup> U oba primjera nastojao je pokazati karakter ilirskih aktivnosti. Centralno mjesto u ovim prikazima zauzima sklonost pljački, osobina koju je Polibije često koristio kao barbarsku značajku usko povezanu s pohlepom (*πλεονεξία*).<sup>54</sup>

Prema Polibiju, pohodi u Elidi, Meseniji i Epiru bili su pljačkaški pothvati koje je organizirala ilirska vladarica Teuta, poslavši flotu i trupe na more, i uputivši ih da svaku zemlju smatraju neprijateljskom (*Polyb.* II, 4, 9).<sup>55</sup> Upućene trupe su kao prvi cilj odabrale Elidu i Meseniju

<sup>50</sup> v. bilj. 4.

<sup>51</sup> Osnovno značenje riječi je nepravda, krivnja, uvreda, oštećivanje. Njoj srodna riječ *τὸ ἀδικημα* označava: a) učinjena nepravda, zločin, krivnja, uvreda; b) nepravdom stečeno dobro. Champion naglašava da se kod Polibija pojavljuje vrlo često u raznim kontekstima, između ostalog, *ἀδικία* je značajka izrođenih Polibijevih državnih uređenja, redovno se pojavljuje i u prikazima barbara (Champion 2004, 241-242).

<sup>52</sup> *Παρανομία* je kod Polibija općenito bezakonje, nezakonito postupanje, preziranje (zakona i običaja), zločin, nepravda i opisuje ohlokraciju i barbarsko ponašanje Gala, Ilira, Mamertina, kartaginskih najamnika, Etolaca (Champion 2004, 243-244, usp. Eckstein 1995, 121-122). Također, *παρά-νομος* označava nezakonit, nedopustiv i nepravedan čin, ali i bezbožan i kazneni kada se odnosi na osobu.

<sup>53</sup> U vezi s ovim događajem, pojavljuje se tri puta u diplomatskom razgovoru (*Polyb.* II, 8, 6, 8 i 10).

<sup>54</sup> Champion 2004, 242-243.

<sup>55</sup> Prema Marjeti Šašel Kos pljačke na moru, kao što je slučaj s ilirskim gusarenjem, bile su uvijek organizirane na razini »države« i dio njene politike, te način stjecanja sredstava za život, sasvim priznat od vladajuće elite (Šašel Kos 2002, 139).

## Differences between Roman and Illyrian customs and laws

In the chapter where he presents the Roman diplomatic mission in Illyria<sup>50</sup>, Polybius points out two elements regarding the Illyrians: *ἀδικία*<sup>51</sup> and *παρανομία*<sup>52</sup>, suggesting that the Illyrian customs and laws were contrary to generally accepted standards. The *ἀδικία* word was used in the context of the Illyrian military campaign in Epirus (*Polyb.* II, 8, 4), and the attack on the Italic merchants.<sup>53</sup> In both cases, he tried to present the character of the Illyrian activities. Central to these representations was a propensity to plunder, which was a characteristic Polybius often used as a barbaric feature closely associated with greed (*πλεονεξία*).<sup>54</sup>

According to Polybius, the military campaigns to Elis, Messenia and Epirus were predatory ventures organized by the Illyrian queen, Teuta, who sent her fleet and troops to sea, instructing them to consider each country hostile (*Polyb.* II, 4, 9).<sup>55</sup> The first target chosen by the instructed

<sup>50</sup> see n. 4.

<sup>51</sup> The basic meaning of the word is injustice, culpability, insult, damage. The similar word *τὸ ἀδικημα* means: a) committed injustice, crime, injustice, insult, b) unjustly gained goods. Champion points out that Polybius, very often and in various contexts, uses *ἀδικία*, which presents a feature of Polybius's invented government regulation, and it regularly appears in depictions of barbarians (Champion 2004, 241-242).

<sup>52</sup> For Polybius, *παρανομία* presents general lawlessness, illegal actions, contempt (of laws and customs), crime and injustice, and it describes ochlocracy and the barbaric conduct of the Gauls, Illyrians, Mamertines, Carthaginian mercenaries and Aetolians (Champion, 2004, 243-244, cf. Eckstein 1995, 121-122). Also, *παρά-νομος* means *an illegal, unacceptable and unfair act*. It also means *godless and punishable* when referring to a person.

<sup>53</sup> In connection with this event, it appears three times in the diplomatic talks (*Polyb.* II, 8, 6, 8 and 10).

<sup>54</sup> Champion 2004, 242-243.

<sup>55</sup> In Marjeta Šašel Kos's opinion, depredations at sea, as is the case with the Illyrian pirates, were always organized at the state level and were part of its policy, and the methods of acquisition of livelihood were fully recognized by the ruling elite (Šašel Kos 2002, 139).

(*Polyb.* II, 5, 1).<sup>56</sup> Ovo područje opisao je kao zemlje koje su Iliri i inače stalno (ἀεί) pljačkali.<sup>57</sup> Kako bi predočio opseg i jačinu pothvata usporedio ga je s ranijim ilirskim aktivnostima: dotada Iliri su uvijek neometano pljačkali obalno područje koje je bilo prirodno nezaštićeno, no tada su došli do Fenike (*Polyb.* II, 3); osvajanje Fenike, najjačeg i najmoćnijeg grada, izazvalo je među Helenima užas i strah, i nisu se više plašili za prinose sa zemlje, kao u ranijim vremenima, već za sebe same i svoje gradove (*Polyb.* II, 6, 8).<sup>58</sup>

Polibije je i Teutinom reakcijom na stečeni plijen iz Fenike sugerirao da pothvat nije imao vojno-strateške ciljeve,<sup>59</sup> nego da je bio potaknut isključivo stjecanjem plijena, čija ju je veličina i ljepota iznenadila i dvostruko ohrabrila za daljnje pljačkanje Helena (*Polyb.* II, 8, 4). Ovom kratkom digresijom oslikao je Teutu kao pohlepnu vladaricu čiji su vojni potezi bili motivirani isključivo željom za plijenom.<sup>60</sup>

Pljačka trgovaca koji su plovili iz Italije drugo je mjesto u Polibijevoj naraciji gdje

troops was Elis and Messenia (*Polyb.* II, 5, 1).<sup>56</sup> He described this area as countries that were continually (ἀεί) looted by the Illyrians.<sup>57</sup> To demonstrate the scope and intensity of this venture, he compared it with earlier Illyrian activities: until then, the Illyrians had always freely plundered the coastal area that was naturally unsafe, and then they came to Phoenice (*Polyb.* II, 3); conquering Phoenice, the strongest and most powerful city, caused horror and fear among the Hellenes, and they no longer feared for yields from the land, as in earlier times, but for their own safety and their cities (*Polyb.* II, 6, 8).<sup>58</sup>

Polybius, according to Teuta's reaction to the spoils taken from Phoenice, suggested that the venture had no military-strategic goals<sup>59</sup>, but was driven specifically to gain loot, whose size and beauty surprised Teuta and encouraged her to further plunder the Hellenes (*Polyb.* II, 8, 4). With this brief digression, he depicts Teuta as a greedy ruler whose military actions were motivated solely by the desire for plunder.<sup>60</sup>

The pillage and rapine against the merchants who sailed from Italy takes second place in Po-

<sup>56</sup> *Polyb.* II, 5, 1-2; Dell 1967, 352-353; Salmon 1986, 205-206; Šašel Kos 2002, 140.

<sup>57</sup> Prema Dell-u (1967, 352, bilj. 34), «ἀεί with the imperfect form of the verb seems to connote persistent action.»

<sup>58</sup> Dell smatra da ovaj odlomak pokazuje da su Iliri do 230. god. pr. Kr. bili zainteresirani za pljačkanje polja radi hrane i svega onoga što su njihove *lembi* mogle prevoziti, gusarenje je bilo samo jedan od načina stjecanja prihoda za život i nije imalo šire razmjere. U vezi s time, gledanja na ilirsko gusarenje kao endemsko zlo smatra konstrukcijom literarnih izvora. Gusarenje je eskaliralo s porastom trgovine i posebno s usponom Ardijejaca (Dell 1967, 356-358). Vidi i: Ormerod 1997, 67, 169-173; de Souza 1999, 76-78; Cabanes 2002, 140-142; Šašel Kos 2002, 139-140.

<sup>59</sup> O ilirskom ratovanju u Epiru v. Badian 1952, 73-75; Hammond 1968, 4-9; Gruen 1984, 359-368; Šašel Kos 1986, 54-83; Wilkes 1995, 158-159; Cabanes 2002, 142-144; Šašel Kos 2005, 252-267; Bajrić 2009, 41-43; Džino 2010, 45-47.

<sup>60</sup> Eckstein 1995, 72; Champion 2004, 242-243.

<sup>56</sup> *Polyb.* II, 5, 1-2; Dell 1967, 352-353; Salmon 1986, 205-206; Šašel Kos 2002, 140.

<sup>57</sup> According to Dell (1967, 352, n. 34), «ἀεί with the imperfect form of the verb seems to connote persistent action.»

<sup>58</sup> Dell believes that this passage shows that the Illyrians, until 230 B.C., were interested in looting the fields for food and everything else they could carry on their *lembi*. Piracy was just one way of earning an income for life and did not have a wider scope. In connection with this, he believes that regarding the Illyrian piracy as an endemic evil is a construction of literary sources. Piracy had escalated with the increase in trade; especially with the rise of the Ardiaeans (Dell 1967, 356-358). See also: Ormerod 1997, 67, 169-173; de Souza 1999, 76-78; Cabanes 2002, 140-142; Šašel Kos 2002, 139-140.

<sup>59</sup> On Illyrian warfare in Epirus see Badian 1952, 73-75; Hammond 1968, 4-9; Gruen 1984, 359-368; Šašel Kos 1986, 54-83; Wilkes 1995, 158-159; Cabanes 2002, 142-144; Šašel Kos 2005, 252-267; Bajrić 2009, 41-43; Džino 2010, 45-47.

<sup>60</sup> Eckstein 1995, 72; Champion 2004, 242-243.

se ἀδικία pojavljuje kao značajka Ilira.<sup>61</sup> Kao i u opisu pohoda na Elidu i Meseniju, Polibije je i ovdje naglasio da su Iliri i ranije stalno pljačkali trgovce koji su plovili iz Italije.<sup>62</sup> Time je sugerirao da su ovi prijestupi bili kontinuirani, što je kontradiktorno njegovom navodu da je Teuta bila ta koja je dopustila privatnim osobama da pljačkaju brodove (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8).

Prema Polibiju, načini stjecanja dobitka bili su u uskoj vezi s društvenim običajima i zakonima. To se jasno vidi iz 6. knjige *Historije*, gdje je iznio da su običaji i zakoni (ἔθη καὶ νόμοι) bili temelji svake države, da su o njima ovisile njene osobenosti i uređenje, kao i sam karakter ljudi (*Polyb.* VI, 47, 1-2). Primjenjujući ih na privatni i javni život, Polibije je prihvatljivim smatrao samo one koji su ljude činili poštenim i skromnim, a državu miroljubivom i pravednom (*Polyb.* VI, 47, 3-4).<sup>63</sup> Kao primjer utjecaja loših običaja i zakona naveo je Krećane, koje je smatrao najlažljivijim, a njihove državne postupke najnepravednijim (*Polyb.* VI, 47, 5). Za njih je karakteristična prljava žudnja za dobitkom i pohlepa, jer nijedan način stjecanja dobitka kod njih nije sramotan (*Polyb.* VI, 46, 3). Walbank ukazuje da su njihovi postupci bili proverbijalno loši još od Homerova vremena, kada su bili gusari.<sup>64</sup> Gotovo prema istom obrascu istaknuo je i Kartažane (*Polyb.* VI, 56, 1-2) i Etolce (*Polyb.* IX, 38, 6).<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω μὲν χρόνους συνεχῶς ἠδίκουν τοὺς πλοῖζομένους ἀπ' Ἰταλίας (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1).

<sup>62</sup> V. i usp. Holleaux 1954, 822-827; Dell 1967, 353-354; Gruen 1984, 363-364; Wilkes 1995, 158; Ormerod 1997, 67, 169ss; de Souza 1999, 78-80; Cabanes 2002, 140-141; Walser 1954, 310-311; Šašel Kos 2002, 137-155; Šašel Kos 2005, 252ss.; Džino 2010, 44-45, 49.

<sup>63</sup> Više o ovome v. Eckstein 1995; Champion 2004.

<sup>64</sup> Walbank 1970, 733.

<sup>65</sup> Kartažanima je to pripisao kako bi pokazao da su rimski običaji i zakoni o bogaćenju bolji od njihovih, a Etolcima, kada je govorio o njihovim pljačkama na moru.

lybius's narration where ἀδικία appears as a feature of the Illyrians.<sup>61</sup> As in the description of the invasion of Elis and Messenia, Polybius emphasizes here that the Illyrians, much earlier, tended to raid merchants who sailed from Italy.<sup>62</sup> He thereby suggests that these offenses were frequent and continuous, which is contradictory to his allegation that Teuta was the one who allowed privateers to loot the ships (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8).

According to Polybius, ways of earning income were closely related to social customs and laws. This is evident from Book VI of the *Histories*, where he states that customs and laws (ἔθη καὶ νόμοι) were the foundations of every state, and that the characteristics of a state and its regulation were dependent on them, as well as the character of its people (*Polyb.* VI, 47, 1-2). Applying them to private and public life, Polybius considered acceptable only those customs that made people honest and humble, and the country peaceful and just (*Polyb.* VI, 47, 3-4).<sup>63</sup> As an example of the impact of bad customs and laws he cites the Cretans, whom he considered treacherous, and their government actions most unjust (*Polyb.* VI, 47, 5). They are characterized as having dirty lust for profit and greed, since no method of earning income was shameful for them (*Polyb.* VI, 46, 3). Walbank suggests that their actions had been initially bad since Homer's time, when they were pirates.<sup>64</sup> Polybius mentions Carthaginians (*Polyb.* VI, 56, 1-2) and Aetolians (*Polyb.* IX, 38, 6)<sup>65</sup> using almost the same pattern.

<sup>61</sup> οἱ δ' Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνωτέρω μὲν χρόνους συνεχῶς ἠδίκουν τοὺς πλοῖζομένους ἀπ' Ἰταλίας (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1).

<sup>62</sup> See and cf. Holleaux 1954, 822-827; Dell 1967, 353-354; Gruen 1984, 363-364; Wilkes 1995, 158; Ormerod 1997, 67, 169ff; de Souza 1999, 78-80; Cabanes 2002, 140-141; Walser 1954, 310-311; Šašel Kos 2002, 137-155; Šašel Kos 2005, 252ff; Džino 2010, 44-45, 49.

<sup>63</sup> For more on this, see Eckstein 1995; Champion 2004.

<sup>64</sup> Walbank 1970, 733.

<sup>65</sup> He attributed this to the Carthaginians in order to demonstrate that Roman customs and laws on enrichment were better. He did the same with the Aetolians when he spoke of their pirate sea looting adventures.

Pljačkanje na moru i kopnu, kod Tukidida prizivalo je stari helenski način života koji je bio sličan barbarskom.<sup>66</sup> Smatrao zgodnim usporediti Tukididovo i Polibijevo viđenje istih pojava u različitom vremenu. Iz Tukididova opisa nazire se da je ove aktivnosti smatrao kao sasvim normalne pojave u svoje vrijeme. Prema Tukididu, gusarenje su vodili najmoćniji ljudi zbog svoje koristi i prehrane slabih; napadali su i plijenili neutvrđene i poput sela nastanjene gradove i od toga živjeli najveći dio života. Taj im posao nije donosio sramote nego, štoviše, i neku čast. To se očituje još i sada kod nekih kopnenih stanovnika, kojima je dika, da to vješto rade. I na kopnu su plijenili jedni druge. I dosad se veliki dio Helade ravna po starom običaju, kao kod ozolskih Lokrana, Etolaca, Akarnanaca i onih na tom dijelu kopna (*Thuc.* I, 5). Za razliku od njega, Polibije ih je percipirao kao nedostojne, sramotne i nepravedne radnje, što se jasno nazire iz njegovih opisa Ilira i Etolaca.<sup>67</sup>

Drugi element kojim je Polibije konstruirao ilirski identitet je *παρανομία*. Time je Ilirima imputirao sklonost nasilju. Ilirsku vladaricu Teutu optužio je za ubojstvo rimskog poslanika (*Polyb.* II, 8, 13). Dok ga je u prikazu 1. ilirskog rata neposred-

<sup>66</sup> *Thuc.* I, 5; Cabanes 2002, 142.

<sup>67</sup> Etolce i Ilire u mnogo čemu je prikazao prema identičnom modelu:

- Etolci stalno vode razbojnički život u kome nemaju prijatelja, već svakog drže za neprijatelja (*Polyb.* IV, 3, 1) usp. s Teutom koja je poslala trupe uputivši ih da svaku zemlju smatraju neprijateljskom (*Polyb.* II, 4, 9);

- stari običaj ih je vodio u pljačkanje Peloponeza (*Polyb.* IV, 3, 3). Dok su bili slobodni da otimaju i pljačkaju Helene, živjeli su na njihov račun i svaku zemlju smatrali neprijateljskom (*Polyb.* XXX, 11, 2) usp. s opisom Ilira koji stalno pljačkaju Elidu i Meseniju (*Polyb.* II, 5, 1);

- Etolci su stekli naviku da žive od gusarenja i sličnih nezakonitih radnji (*Polyb.* XXX, 11, 1) usp. s opisom ilirskih napada na trgovce (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1).

For Thucydides, looting at sea and on land evoked the old Hellenic way of life that was similar to barbarians.<sup>66</sup> It is opportune to compare Thucydides's and Polybius's views of the same phenomenon at different times. From Thucydides's description of the looting, he regarded these activities as quite normal at the time. According to Thucydides, piracy was led by the most powerful people for their own gain and to feed the poor; they attacked and plundered unfortified and village-like inhabited cities, and lived that way most of their lives. These activities did not bring them shame, but honour. Even today, this is made evident by some inland residents that are proud to perform these activities skilfully. They also attacked and plundered each other on the mainland. A large part of Hellas had been, until then, in compliance with the old customs of the Ozolian Locrians, Aetolians, Acarnanians, and other inhabitants in that part of the land (*Thuc.* I, 5). Unlike him, Polybius perceived those customs as dishonest, shameful and unfair actions, which can be clearly discerned from his description of the Illyrians and Aetolians.<sup>67</sup>

Another element which Polybius used to construct Illyrian identity was *παρανομία*. He thereby imputed to the Illyrians a propensity for violence. He accused Teuta, the Illyrian

<sup>66</sup> *Thuc.* I, 5; Cabanes 2002, 142.

<sup>67</sup> In many ways, he presented the Aetolians and Illyrians in accordance with an identical model:

- The Aetolians permanently lead a predatory way of life where there are no friends, but each is held as an enemy (*Polyb.* IV, 3, 1), cf. with Teuta, who sent her troops instructing them to consider each country hostile (*Polyb.* II, 4, 9);

- Old customs led them to plunder the Peloponnese (*Polyb.* IV, 3, 3). While they were free to rob and plunder the Hellenes, they lived at their expense and considered each country hostile (*Polyb.* XXX, 11, 2), cf. the description of the Illyrians who repeatedly sacked Elis and Messene (*Polyb.* II, 5, 1);

- The Aetolians acquired the habit of living off piracy and related illegal activities (*Polyb.* XXX, 11, 1), cf. the description of the Illyrian attack on the merchants (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1).

no pripisao Ilirima, naglašavajući da su se Kerkirani stavili pod rimsku zaštitu jer su smatrali da će im u budućnosti to biti jedina garancija protiv ilirskog nasilja (*Polyb.* II, 11, 5). Sklonost nasilju i zločinu kod Polibija može se tumačiti na dva načina, kao osobina koja je bila svojstvena barbarima i kao tipičan element koji je potjecao iz barbarskih običaja i zakona. U oba primjera riječ je o kulturnim stereotipima kojima su podlijegali uglavnom svi narodi koji su prema rimskom konceptu spadali u kategoriju barbarskog »drugog«.<sup>68</sup>

Sa stajališta međunarodnog prava (*ius gentium*), napad na trgovce i ubojstvo poslanika smatralo se kršenjem općepriзнatih normi. Norme općenarodnog prava izgrađuju se, u skladu sa zahtjevima vremena, na temelju općih običaja međunarodnog trgovačkog prometa, iz pravnih institucija drugih naroda i samog rimskog građanskog prava. Zakon o pravu i svetosti poslanika (*ius et sacra legationis*) također je bio dio međunarodnog prava. Tim je zakonom i običajem poslanikova osoba bila zaštićena, a bilo kakva povreda poslanikove ličnosti vrijedila je kao zločin i neprijateljski akt protiv države i bogova koje je zastupao.<sup>69</sup>

Polibijevi Iliri i njihova vladarica kao uzurpatori općenarodnog prava bili su stalna prijetnja civiliziranom društvu. Takvu sliku o Ilirima Polibije je pojačao opisom reakcije Grka na dolazak Rimljana. Kerkirani su im se obradovali, vidjevši u njima zaštitnika od ilirskog nasilja (*Polyb.* II, 11, 5). U istom kontekstu valja promatrati i postupke Apolonije, Epidamna i Ise koji su se također stavili pod rimsku zaštitu (*Polyb.* II, 11, 8-12). Pri-

queen, of killing a Roman legate (*Polyb.* II, 8, 13). Having ascribed the first Illyrian war to the Illyrians, he pointed out that the Corcyreans were put under Roman protection because they thought the Romans would in future be the only guarantee against Illyrian violence (*Polyb.* II, 11, 5). This propensity for violence and crime in Polybius's descriptions can be interpreted in two ways: as a feature that was inherent to barbarians, and as a typical element that came from barbaric customs and laws. In both cases, we are dealing with cultural stereotypes that were mostly associated with all the peoples who belonged to the Roman concept of the category of barbaric "otherness".<sup>68</sup>

From the standpoint of international law (*ius gentium*), the attack on the merchants and murder of the legate was considered a violation of universally recognized norms. The norms of international law were developed, in accordance with the requirements of the time, on the basis of the general practices of international commercial transportation, legal institutions of other nations, and Roman civil law itself. The Law on the Rights and Sanctity of Legates (*ius et sacra legationis*) was also part of international law. This law and custom protected the personality of a messenger, and any violation of the messenger's personality was a crime and hostile act against the state and the gods he represented.<sup>69</sup> Polybius's Illyrians and their queen as the usurpers of nation-wide rights were a constant threat to civilized society. Polybius heightened such a picture of the Illyrians, describing Greek reactions to the arrival of the Romans. The Corcyreans were glad that the Romans had arrived and saw them as protectors against Illyrian violence (*Polyb.* II, 11, 5). In this context, we should also observe the

<sup>68</sup> V. Dauge 1981. gdje je autor dao iscrpnu analizu o različitim narodima koje je antička historiografija percipirala kao barbare; Eckstein 1995, 118-160; Champion 2004, 243-244.

<sup>69</sup> O statusu poslanika u međunarodnom pravu starog vijeka v. Bederman 2001.

<sup>68</sup> See Dauge 1981, where the author gives a detailed analysis of the various nations that ancient historiography perceived as barbarians; Eckstein 1995, 118-160; Champion 2004, 243-244.

<sup>69</sup> On the status of delegates in the international law of the ancient world, see Bederman 2001.

kaz prvog rimskog vojevanja protiv Ilira završio je konstatacijom da su Rimljani oslobodili Helene velikog straha, jer Iliri tada nisu bili neprijatelji samo nekima, već svima zajedno (*Polyb.* II, 12, 5-6).

Polibije je razliku između Ilira i Rimljana podcrtao suprotnošću između njihovih običaja i zakona, definirajući ilirske radnje kao nepravedne i nezakonite,<sup>70</sup> u velikoj mjeri kao sramotne u kontekstu načina stjecanja dobitka. Suprotno tome, rimski postupci koji su potjecali iz njihovih običaja i zakona, bili su pravedni i u skladu s općepriznatim civiliziranim normama. Na taj je način kreirao sliku o Rimljanima kao dostojnim zaštitnicima Grka. Rimljani su provodili zakon i pravo, dok su Iliri činili nezakonite radnje i nasilje.

### Karakterizacije ilirske vladarice Teute

Polibijev prikaz 1. ilirskog rata ispunjen je izravnim karakterizacijama ilirske vladarice Teute koje se uglavnom iznose u kratkim digresijama. Takve digresije Polibije je napravio na nekoliko mjesta kako bi objasnio razloge njenih vojnih i političkih poteza. U njima je iznio osim karaktera i neka Teutina emocionalna stanja i način razmišljanja. Poput iznošenja govora, i ovaj dio Polibijeve naracije može se smatrati subjektivnim, pristranim i tendencioznim. Na početku opisa njene vladavine, prikazujući smjenu na ilirskom prijestolju, u kratkoj digresiji istaknuo je da je Teuta prosuđujući na ženski način, to jest imajući na umu samo Agronovu pobjedu kod Mediona, dopustila onima koji plove za svoj račun da pljačkaju brodove na koje naiđu i uputila trupe u

<sup>70</sup> *Polyb.* II, 5, 1-2; II, 8, 1-4; Ormerod 1997, 67, 169-189; Bederman 2001, 125; Šašel Kos 2002, 137-155.

actions of Apollonia, Epidamnus and Issa, which also put themselves under Roman protection (*Polyb.* II, 11, 8-12). The presentation of the first Roman warfare against the Illyrians ends with the statement that the Romans had liberated the people of Hellas from great fear, because the Illyrians, at the time, were enemies not to some people, but to all of them (*Polyb.* II, 12, 5-6).

Polybius underlined the difference between the Illyrians and Romans using a contradiction between their customs and laws, thus defining Illyrian actions as unjust and illegal<sup>70</sup>, largely as shameful in the context of their methods to acquire gains. By contrast, the Roman actions originating from their customs and laws were fair and in accordance with universally civilized and recognized norms. In this way, he created an image of the Romans as worthy guardians of the Greeks. The Romans practised the law, while the Illyrians did unlawful acts and violence.

### Characterization of the Illyrian queen Teuta

Polybius's representation of the First Illyrian War is filled with random characterizations of the Illyrian queen, Teuta, mostly reduced to brief digressions. Polybius makes such digressions in several places in order to explain the reasons for her military and political moves. Besides her character, he also presents some of Teuta's emotional states and her way of thinking. Like the presentation speech, this part of Polybius's narration can also be considered subjective, partial and tendentious. At the beginning of the description of her reign, showing the shift in the Illyrian throne, in a brief digression, he notes that Teuta, judging in a woman's way, that is, keeping in mind only Agron's victory at Medion, had permitted those who sailed as private persons to loot ships they encountered,

<sup>70</sup> *Polyb.* II, 5, 1-2; II, 8, 1-4; Ormerod 1997, 67, 169-189; Bederman 2001, 125; Šašel Kos 2002, 137-155.

grčke oblasti (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8-9).<sup>71</sup> Kako bi objasnio njen odnos prema podanicima i prema Helenima, Polibije je ilirskoj vladarici pripisao kratkovidnost tipičnu za ženski spol, riječima *χρωμένη δὲ λογισμοῖς γυναικεῖοις* (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8). Za shodno opravdanje ovakvog stava uzeo je primjerenim usporediti njene vojno-političke poteze s onim kralja Agrona. Prvim navodom nesumnjivo joj je imputirao krivicu za nasilje nad trgovcima (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1). Dok je drugim nastojao pokazati da je ilirska vladarica poslala trupe na more, uputivši ih da svaku zemlju smatraju neprijateljskom (*Polyb.* II, 4, 9).

Polibijeva ocjena Teutinih političkih poteza kao nepromišljenih i kratkovidnih kontradiktorna je njegovom prikazu ilirskog rata u Epiru, čiji su rezultati bili osvajanje Fenike, tada najjačeg i najmoćnijeg grada u Epiru, sklapanje saveza između Ilira s jedne i Epiraca i Akarnanaca s druge strane, u čemu se može vidjeti širenje ilirskog utjecaja i moći na ova područja (*Polyb.* 5, 1-8; 6, 1-11).<sup>72</sup> Može se pretpostaviti da se povijesni lik Teuta u vođenju pojedinačnih poslova oslanjala na pomoć povjerljivih prijatelja. Polibije je to spomenuo na početku prikaza njene vladavine (*Polyb.* II, 4, 7). Međutim, on se u nastavku nije više osvrnuo na ovu instituciju i njen mogući utjecaj na ilirsku

and sent her troops into Greek areas (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8-9).<sup>71</sup> In order to explain her relationship towards her subjects and the Hellenes, Polybius attributes short-sightedness, typical of the female sex, to the Illyrian queen using the following words: *χρωμένη δὲ λογισμοῖς γυναικεῖοις* (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8). In order to properly justify this attitude, he found it appropriate to compare her military-political moves with those of King Agron. The first allegation was undoubtedly an insinuating blaming of her for the violence against the merchants (*Polyb.* II, 8, 1). The second allegation he makes is to present the Illyrian queen as having sent her troops to sea, instructing them to consider each country hostile (*Polyb.* II, 4, 9).

Polybius's assessment of Teuta's political moves as hasty and short-sighted is contradictory to his description of the Illyrian war in Epirus, which led to the conquest of Phoenice, the strongest and most powerful city in Epirus, and the forming of an alliance between the Illyrians, on one hand, and the Epirots and Acarnanians on the other. This can be seen as spreading Illyrian influence and power in these areas (*Polyb.* 5, 1-8; 6, 1-11).<sup>72</sup> It can be assumed that the historical figure of Teuta, in the conduct of some individual affairs, relied on the help of trusted friends. Polybius mentions it at the beginning of his description of her rule (*Polyb.* II, 4, 7). However, in his following narrative he

<sup>71</sup> Polibijev prikaz početka Teutine vladavine omogućava viđenje Teute u odnosu prema Agronu (*Polyb.* II, 4, 7-8). Uspoređujući njihovu politiku on je istaknuo da je Teuta dopustila privatnim osobama gusarenje, što bi u danom kontekstu moglo implicirati da je kralj Agron to bio zabranio (više v. Bajrić 2009, 39-43).

<sup>72</sup> Prema ugovoru o savezu, Iliri su od Akarnanaca primili sedam ratnih brodova i izvojevali pobjedu nad Ahejcima u pomorskoj bici kod Paksa (*Polyb.* II, 10, 1-9). V. Badian 1952, 73-75; Hammond 1968, 4-9; Gruen 1984, 359-368; Šašel Kos 1986, 54-83; Wilkes 1995, 158-159; Cabanes 2002, 142-144; Šašel Kos 2005, 252-267; Bajrić 2009, 41-43; Džino 2010, 45-47.

<sup>71</sup> Polybius's representation of the beginning of Teuta's rule allows us to see Teuta in relation to Agron (*Polyb.* II, 4, 7-8). In comparing their politics, he notes that Teuta permitted private individuals to perform piracy, which, in the given context, may imply that King Agron had banned it. (For more, see Bajrić 2009, 39-43).

<sup>72</sup> According to the contract of alliance, the Illyrians accepted seven warships from the Acarnanians, and thereby scored a victory over the Achaeans in the battle of Paxi (*Polyb.* II, 10, 1-9). See Badian 1952, 73-75; Hammond 1968, 4-9; Gruen 1984, 359-368; Šašel Kos 1986, 54-83; Wilkes 1995, 158-159; Cabanes 2002, 142-144; Šašel Kos 2005, 252-267; Bajrić 2009, 41-43; Džino 2010, 45-47.



vladaricu.<sup>73</sup> Institucija prijatelja, φίλοι, postojala je na dvoru helenskih vladara i imala je veliki značaj u kreiranju vladarske politike.

Također, kratkom digresijom opisao je Teutino oduševljenje veličinom i ljepotom plijena iz Fenike (*Polyb.* II, 8, 4), kako bi objasnio razloge njenih pohoda na Isu, Kerkiru i Epidamno (*Polyb.* II, 8, 5; 9, 1-2).

Polibije je iznio izravne bilješke karakterizacije Teute koje su bile determinirane ženskim osobinama i u odlomku o rimskom poslanstvu. Istaknuo ju je snažnim emocijama. Opisujući njenu reakciju na govor mladog poslanika Korunkanija, iznio je da je Teuta njegove riječi primila »ljutito i nerazumno kao žena«. <sup>74</sup> Vođena ovim osobinama počinila je *hybris*, naredivši da se ubije poslanik koji joj se otvoreno obratio (*Polyb.* II, 8, 12). Pouzdano je, da ovakva slika ilirske vladarice djelomično odražava stavove helenističke povijesne tradicije, koja je stvorila jedan stanovit model antičke žene koju karakteriziraju slabost, nedostatak razuma, strastvenost i taština.<sup>75</sup>

Polibije je Teutinu pripadnost ženskom spolu naglasio i kada je prikazivao kako su Rimljani prihvatili vijest o ubojstvu poslanika, ističući da je Rimljane razbjesnio zločin koji je ta žena počinila (*Polyb.* II, 8, 13).

Dion Kasije (12. fragm. 49, 2-7) i Flor (1, 21) prihvatili su rimsku verziju događaja, pronalazeći razlog rata u postupcima ilirske vladarice. Kod Flora postoje gotovo istovjetne konstrukcije, što je očito u

<sup>73</sup> Radi usporedbe, instituciju »kraljevi prijatelji« spomenuo je i Tit Livije u prikazu Gencijeve vladavine. Prema Liviju, ilirski kralj Gencije ubio je brata Platora i svoja dva prijatelja, Etrita i Epikada, da bi što sigurnije vladao (*Liv.* 44. 30, 2-4).

<sup>74</sup> *Polyb.* II; 8, 12; Eckstein 1995, 154-155; Champion 2004, 112-113.

<sup>75</sup> Walbank 1970, 156; Šašel Kos 1986, 81.

no longer refers to this institution and its possible influence on the Illyrian queen.<sup>73</sup> The institution of friends, φίλοι, is found in the courts of Hellenic rulers and played a big role in creating royal policy.

Also, in his short digression he describes Teuta's enthusiasm at the sight of the size and beauty of the booty from Phoenice (*Polyb.* II, 8, 4) in order to explain the reasons for her military campaigns to Issa, Corcyra and Epidamnus (*Polyb.* II, 8, 5, 9, 1-2).

Polybius presents direct notes on the characterization of Teuta, which were determined by female characteristics, even in the section on the Roman mission. He emphasizes her strong emotions. Describing her reaction to the speech of the young legate Coruncanus, he states that Teuta had received his words "with anger and caprice, as a woman."<sup>74</sup> Guided by these properties, she committed *hybris* and ordered the killing of the messenger who had openly addressed her (*Polyb.* II, 8, 12). What is for sure is that this image of the Illyrian queen partly reflects the views of Hellenistic historical tradition, which has created a certain model of an ancient woman, characterized by weakness and lack of reason, full of passion and vanity.<sup>75</sup>

Polybius emphasizes Teuta's affiliation to femininity when describing how the Romans accepted the news of the murder of the messenger, and points out that the Romans were infuriated by the crime this woman had committed (*Polyb.* II, 8, 13).

Dio Cassius (12. fragm. 49, 2-7) and Florus (1, 21) accept the Roman version of events, finding the reason for the war in the actions of the Illyrian queen. Florus comprises almost

<sup>73</sup> For comparison, the institution of "the king's friends" was mentioned by Livy in his description of Gentius's rule. According to Livy, the Illyrian king Gentius killed his brother Plator and two friends of his, Etritus and Epicadus, for the greater security of his reign (*Liv.* 44. 30, 2-4).

<sup>74</sup> *Polyb.* II; 8, 12; Eckstein 1995, 154-155; Champion 2004, 112-113.

<sup>75</sup> Walbank 1970, 156; Šašel Kos 1986, 81.

njegovom stavu da je ubojstvo poslanika bio zločin koji su Iliri počinili, a počinjeni zločin je tim veći i stravičniji jer ga je naredila žena (*Flor.* 1, 21). Dion Kasije iznio je izravne karakterizacije u kojima je naglasio njenu pripadnost ženskom spolu (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49, 2-7). Poput Polibija, Dion je dotične osobine istaknuo u vezi s njenim vojno-političkim postupcima, najprije u opisu smjene na ilirskom prijestolju (Τεύτα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μητρικὰ δὲ τοῦ Πίννου, ἐκράτει τῶν Ἀρδιαίων) i dva puta u epizodi s rimskim poslanicima (gdje je dodana i opaska koja se tiče generalno ženskog roda). Posredne karakterizacije (kod Zonare neposredne) mogu se izlučiti iz prikaza rimske vojne i odnosa prema Demetriju Farskom. Prema Dionu Kasiju ona je pokazala žensku slabost i prenagljenost (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7). Kao uzrok kršenja svetosti poslanstva Dion Kasije je naveo Teutinu tipičnu žensku naglost, što se u ovom kontekstu, prije svega, treba shvatiti kao nerazuman i nagonski potez. Pripisao joj je slabost tipičnu za ženski spol, žensku prenagljenost i taštinu koja ometa rasuđivanje zbog osjećaja nadmoći zaradi vlasti koju je posjedovala (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7). Dionov navod o Teutinoj politici podsjeća na onaj Polibijev da je ilirska vladarica imala isključivo na umu Agronovu pobjedu nad Etolcima (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8-9). U nastavku, Dion je bio još oštriji kada je karakterizirao Teutu riječima da je u kratkom vremenu pokazala slabost ženskog spola, koji brzo plane zbog pomanjkanja prosuđivanja i brzo je se prestrašila zbog kukavičluka (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7). Takav stav iznio je kada je prikazivao njen odnos prema Rimu, nakon napada na poslanstvo i vijesti da su Rimljani glasali za rat protiv nje. Apijan Aleksandrijski, čiji se prikaz 1. ilirskog rata razlikuje od gore navedenih, Teutu je prikazao u sasvim drugom svjetlu. Ilirska vladarica, poslala je izaslanike u Rim

identical structure, which is evident in his attitude that the murder of the ambassador was a crime committed by the Illyrians, which was far greater and terrifying, for it was ordered by a woman (*Flor.* 1, 21). Dio Cassius presents direct characterization which emphasizes her affiliation with femininity (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49, 2-7). Like Polybius, Dio points out these specific characteristics in connection with her military-political actions, once when describing the shift in the Illyrian throne (Τεύτα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, μητρικὰ δὲ τοῦ Πίννου, ἐκράτει τῶν Ἀρδιαίων), and twice in the episode with the Roman legates (where a remark on womanhood was added). Indirect characterization (for Zonaras it is direct) can be extracted from the description of the Roman military and the relationship towards Demetrius of Pharos. According to Dio Cassius, she showed feminine weakness and temerity (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7). As the cause of violating the holiness of the mission, Dio Cassius cites Teuta's typical feminine impetuosity, which, in this context, should be seen as an irrational and instinctive move. He attributes her with weakness that was typically female, feminine temerity and vanity that interferes with sound judgment because of the sense of superiority due to the power she possessed (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7). Dio's allegation on Teuta's policy resembles that of Polybius, that is, the Illyrian queen had in mind only Agron's victory over the Aetolians (*Polyb.* II, 4, 8-9). In addition, Dio is even sharper when he characterizes Teuta by saying that, in a short period of time, she manifested the weakness of a woman, who quickly became furious due to a lack of judgment and quickly became frightened out of cowardice (*Dio. Cass.* 12. fragm. 49, 2-7). He expresses this attitude when describing her relationship towards Rome, after the attack on the envoys and the news that the Romans had voted for the war against her. Appian of Alexandria, whose representation of the First Illyrian War differs from those aforementioned, presents Teuta in a com-

kako bi im predala zarobljenike i dezertere. Molila je i oprost za ono što je učinjeno ne za njene, nego Agronove vladavine (*App. Illyr. 7*). Apijanova Teuta bila je savjesna i oštroumna vladarica, svjesna posljedica i mogućeg rata s Rimljanima, te je diplomatskim putem pokušala urediti odnose s Rimom.

Usklađena izvješća Polibija, Flora i Dion Kasija istovjetna su po pitanju karakterizacije Teute, i ona je predstavljena kao loša i nesposobna vladarica, jer je bila žena. Ključno je reći da oni nisu bili zainteresirani za dublju analizu prilika u Iliriji za vrijeme Teutine vladavine i da su njihovi prikazi bili jedna vrsta opravdanja prve rimske vojne intervencije na istočnoj obali Jadranskog mora, ali i prilika da se Rimljani istaknu i prikažu kao dostojni zaštitnici Grka.

Osobine ilirske kraljice u potpunom su kontrastu s osobinama dobrog državnika, Aratom, kojeg je Polibije u četvrtoj knjizi istaknuo kao savršenog državnika i uzora svakome tko se bavi politikom (*Polyb. IV, 8, 1-12*). To su bile i osobine vladara koji nije upravljao razumom, nego strahom i nasiljem. Po principima koje je Polibije postavio u šestoj knjizi *Historije* (*Polyb. VI, 4*), Teutina bi se vladavina mogla okarakterizirati kao tiranska. U vezi s tim, stari su pisci iznijeli poteze Demetrija Farskog, čime su željeli pokazati njezin odnos prema podanicima (*Polyb. II, 11, 2-5; Dio. Cass. 12, fragm. 49, 1-7; 12, Zon. 8, 19, 3-7*). Prema Polibiju, Demetrije Farski bojao se Teute pa je Rimljanima predao Kerkiru i prešao na njihovu stranu (*Polyb. II, 11, 2-5*). U diskursu kojim je Zonara prenio Dionovo kazivanje, također se osuđuje Teutino loše i nerazumno vladanje, proizročeno ženskom nestabilnošću, što je dovelo do dezerterstva njenih podanika na čelu s Demetrijem Farskim i potpu-

pletely different light. The Illyrian queen sent her envoy to Rome in order to return the prisoners and deserters. She also prayed for forgiveness for what had been done only during Agron's reign, but not hers (*App. Illyr. 7*). Apian's Teuta was a conscientious and shrewd ruler, aware of the consequences and possible war with the Romans, who tried to settle the relationship with Rome through diplomacy.

The adjusted reports of Polybius, Florus and Dio Cassius are identical in terms of their characterization of Teuta, who is presented as a poor and incompetent ruler, because she was a woman. It is important to say that they were not interested in any deeper analysis of the situation in Illyria during Teuta's reign. Their views were a kind of justification of the first Roman military intervention on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, and also an opportunity to highlight and present the Romans as worthy protectors of the Greeks.

The characteristics of the Illyrian queen are in complete contrast to the characteristics of the good statesman Aratus of Sicyon, whom Polybius mentioned in his Book IV as a perfect statesman and role model for anyone who was involved in politics (*Polyb. IV, 8, 1-12*). These are the characteristics of a ruler who is not driven by reason, but by fear and violence. According to the principles that Polybius sets forth in Book VI of his *Histories* (*Polyb. VI, 4*), Teuta's reign could be characterized as tyrannical. In this regard, the ancient writers showcased the moves of Demetrius of Pharos in order to present her relationship towards her subjects (*Polyb. II, 11, 2-5; Dio. Cass. 12, fragm. 49, 1-7; 12, Zon. 8, 19, 3-7*). According to Polybius, Demetrius of Pharos was afraid of Teuta, so he handed Coreyra to the Romans and crossed over to their side (*Polyb. II, 11, 2-5*). The discourse by which Zonaras presents Dio's narratives also condemns Teuta's bad and unreasonable behaviour, caused by woman's instability, which led to the desertion of her subjects, led

nog poraza u ratu protiv Rimljana (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49, 1-7; 12, *Zon.* 8, 19, 3-7).

Polibije se često u danim situacijama pozivao na *Tyche*, ali su njegove izjave o njenoj ulozi u povijesnim procesima vrlo proturječne.<sup>76</sup> Međutim, sudeći prema 17. poglavlju 36. knjige, gdje je kritizirao one koji odgovornost za svjetske događaje i privatne nevolje pripisuju *Tyche* i Usudu, može se reći da je Polibije vjerovao da su povijesni događaji rezultat ljudskih djela. Gledano u ovom kontekstu, prikaz i sudbinu ilirske vladarice Teute ne možemo vidjeti kroz prizmu *Tyche*. Polibije je kroz cijeli opis njene vladavine prikazuje kao nepromišljenu i naglu ženu, koja je svojim potezima prouzročila rat s Rimljanima što je dovelo do kraja njene vladavine.

Polibijev odlomak o rimskoj diplomatskoj misiji u Iliriji nesumnjivo govori u prilog da se slika rimskog neprijatelja kreirala pod utjecajem općih rimskih predodžbi o kraljevskoj vlasti i barbarima. Polibije je Ilire i Teutu istaknuo negativnim osobinama. U njegovom prikazu najizraženije su ilirske navodne mentalne karakteristike čiji su izvor ilirski običaji i način života. Polibijeva slika ilirske vladarice podliježe dvostrukom odrugovljenju, budući da je determinirana barbarskim i ženskim osobinama. Ilustrativni je primjer prijenosa općih kulturnih i društvenih stereotipa.

<sup>76</sup> Walbank 1970, 16-26; Walbank 2002, 194-197, 212-216.

by Demetrius of Pharos, and complete defeat in the war against the Romans (*Dio. Cass.* 12, fragm. 49, 1-7; 12, *Zon.* 8, 19, 3-7).

In a given situation, Polybius often calls for *Tyche*, but his statements about its role in the historical process are very contradictory.<sup>76</sup> However, according to Chapter XVII, Book XXXVI, where he criticizes those who cast responsibility for world events and private troubles on *Tyche* and Fate, we can say that Polybius believed that historical events were the result of human actions. Seen in this context, the representation and fate of the Illyrian queen, Teuta, cannot be seen through the prism of *Tyche*. In the full description of her rule, Polybius portrays Teuta as a reckless and abrupt woman whose actions caused the war with the Romans, which eventually led to the end of her reign.

Polibius's section on the Roman diplomatic mission in Illyria undoubtedly speaks to the fact that the image of the Roman enemy was created under the influence of the general Roman idea of the royal government and the barbarians. Polybius uses negative characteristics to describe the Illyrians and Teuta. His description abounds with allegedly Illyrian mental characteristics whose source was to be found in Illyrian customs and their way of living. Polybius's image of the Illyrian queen is subject to a double perspective, since he uses both barbaric and female traits to define her personality. She is an illustrative example of a transfer of general cultural and social stereotypes.

<sup>76</sup> Walbank 1970, 16-26; Walbank 2002, 194-197, 212-216.

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ŠČITNA GRBA IZ EMONE  
(LJUBLJANA): KELTSKO OROŽJE  
V ZGODNJRIMSKEM  
KONTEKSTU

**UDK: 904:623.4(497.4 Ljubljana)''652''**  
**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*Prispevek obravnava najdbo namerno poškodovane železne ščitne grbe, ki je bila odkrita med zaščitnimi raziskavami na območju insule XLIII v Emoni (Ljubljana, Slovenija). Okrogla grba sodi v skupino poznolatenskih ščitnih grb vzhodnokeltskega oz. balkanskega tipa, ki so jih bojevniki plemen jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora posamično uporabljali še v okviru zavezniških oz. pomožnih enot zgodnjecesarskega časa. Simetrična zvitost krajca in vdrtá kalota morda kažeta na obredno dejanje veterana, ki je daroval orožje ob vrnitvi v civilno življenje in naselitvi v novozgrajeno mesto.*

*Ključne besede: arheologija, orožje, mlajša železna doba, Mokronoška skupina, rimsko obdobje, rimska vojska, auxilia, Emona*

THE SHIELD BOSS FROM  
EMONA (LJUBLJANA): CELTIC  
WEAPONRY IN AN EARLY  
ROMAN CONTEXT

**UDC: 904:623.4(497.4 Ljubljana)''652''**  
**Original scientific paper**

*The article discusses an intentionally deformed iron umbo that was discovered during rescue excavations in the area of insula XLIII in Emona (Ljubljana, Slovenia). The round umbo belongs to the group of Late La Tène Eastern Celtic or Balkan type shield bosses, which were individually used by the warriors of the local tribes of the southeastern Alpine region in the auxiliary infantry and cavalry of the Early Imperial Period. The symmetrical deformation of the flange and the concave dome are perhaps indicative of a ritual act by a veteran, who made an offering of his weapons upon returning to civilian life and settlement in the newly constructed city.*

*Key words: archaeology, weapons, Late Iron Age, Mokronog group, Roman Period, Roman army, auxilia, Emona*



## Uvod

Po prijavi nenadzorovanega uničevanja ostalin antične Emone v objektu na Vegovi ulici 8 v Ljubljani je bilo investitorju gradbenega posega, Zbornici za arhitekturo in prostor Slovenije, naloženo financiranje zaščitnih arheoloških raziskav, ki jih je marca leta 2008 izvedla ekipa podjetja Arhej pod nadzorom Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, območne enote Ljubljana. V razmeroma majhnem izkopu v kletnem prostoru stavbe na navedenem naslovu so bile dokumentirane zidane strukture in pripadajoči depoziti osrednjega dela insule XLIII, ki se nahaja v severovzhodnem delu obzidanega areala rimskega mesta (sl. 1: 1). V najglobljem delu izkopa je bila nepričakovano odkrita namerno deformirana ščitna grba, ki odpira zanimiva vprašanja o pojavu orožja v civilnih kontekstih.

## Najdiščne okoliščine

Vegova ulica, del današnje mestne četrti Gradišče, katere ime odseva prisotnost ruševin rimske Emone,<sup>1</sup> poteka vzporedno z okoli 100 metrov oddaljenim robom terase, kjer se ravnica vršaja, ki ga je v ožino t. i. Ljubljanskih vrat med Grajskim hribom in Rožnikom oziroma Šišenskim hribom nasula reka Sava v poznem pleistocenu, prevesi v blago pobočje nad levim bregom reke Ljubljanice. Hiša, v kateri je potekala obravnavana raziskava, leži v zahodnem nizu stavb ob Vegovi, na prostoru insule XLIII in okoli 50 m od vzhodne stranice rimskega obzidja.

Ščitna grba je bila odkrita v polnilu ovalne jame s strmimi stenami in ravnim dnom,<sup>2</sup> ki je bila ugotovljena na površini

<sup>1</sup> Plesničar Gec 1999.

<sup>2</sup> Dokumentirana dolžina 1,1 m; širina 0,95 m; globina 0,3 m; stratigrafska enota – SE 2032/2031; posebna najdba – PN 2008.

## Introduction

After reports of unsupervised destruction of remains from Roman Emona at the building at 8 Vegova Street in Ljubljana, the developer of the building plot, the Chamber of Architecture and Environmental Planning of Slovenia (ZAPS), was forced to finance archaeological rescue excavations, carried out in March 2008 by a team from the Arhej company, under the supervision of the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Ljubljana Regional Office. In the relatively small area of excavation in the basement of the building at the above address, masonry structures were documented along with the corresponding deposits of the central part of insula XLIII, which is located in the northeastern section of the walled area of the Roman town (Fig. 1: 1). The deepest part of the excavations unexpectedly uncovered a deliberately deformed shield boss, which raises interesting questions about the appearance of weapons in civilian contexts.

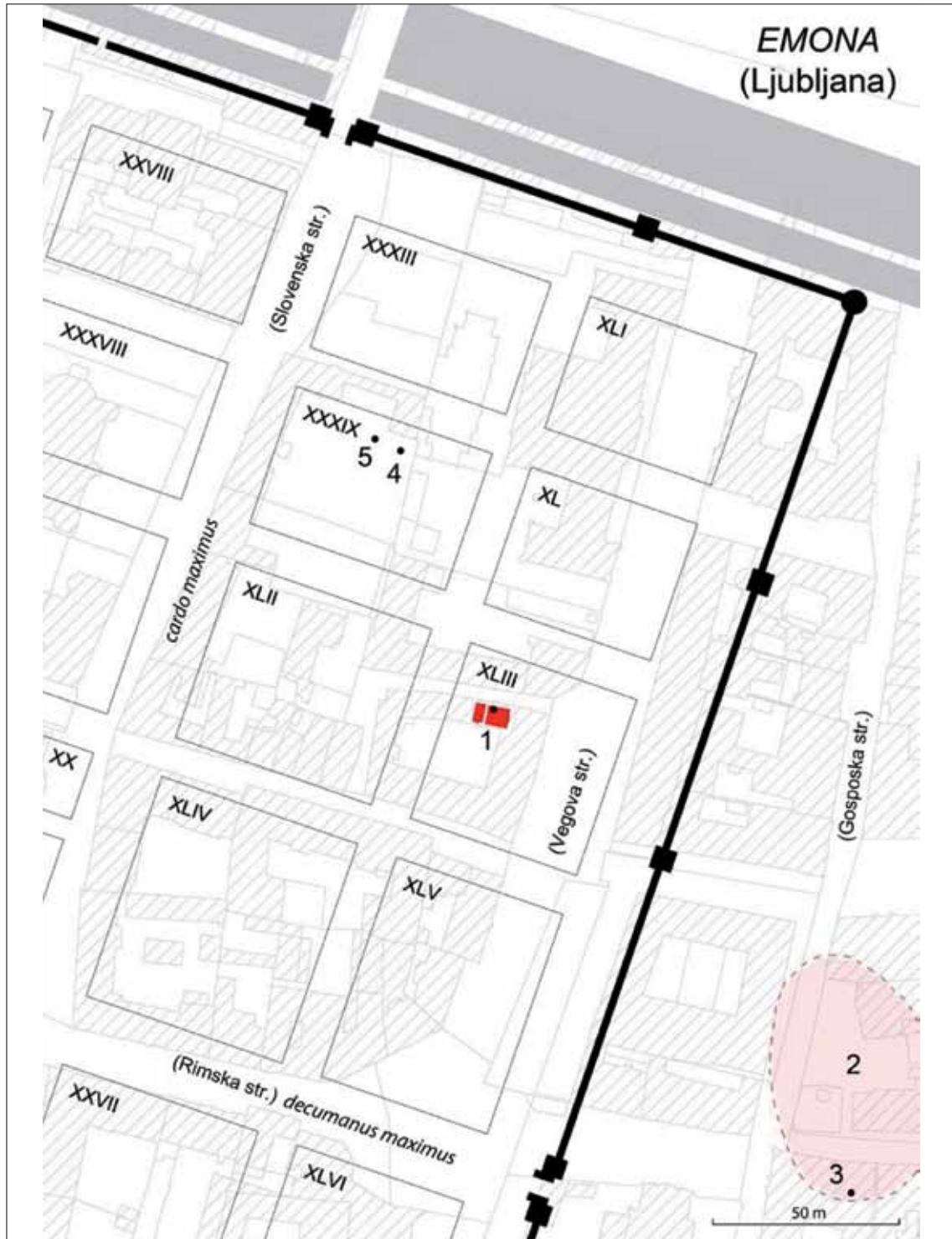
## Circumstances of discovery

Vegova Street, part of the present-day quarter called Gradišče, whose name reflects the presence of the ruins of Roman Emona,<sup>1</sup> runs parallel to the circa 100 meters distant edge of the terrace where the plain ends, deposited by the Sava River in the Late Pleistocene in the narrows called the Ljubljana Straits between Castle Hill and Rožnik and Šiška Hills, turning it into a gentle slope above the left bank of the Ljubljanica River. The house in which the excavations took place lies in the western row of buildings along Vegova Street, in the area of insula XLIII and some 50 m from the eastern side of the Roman walls.

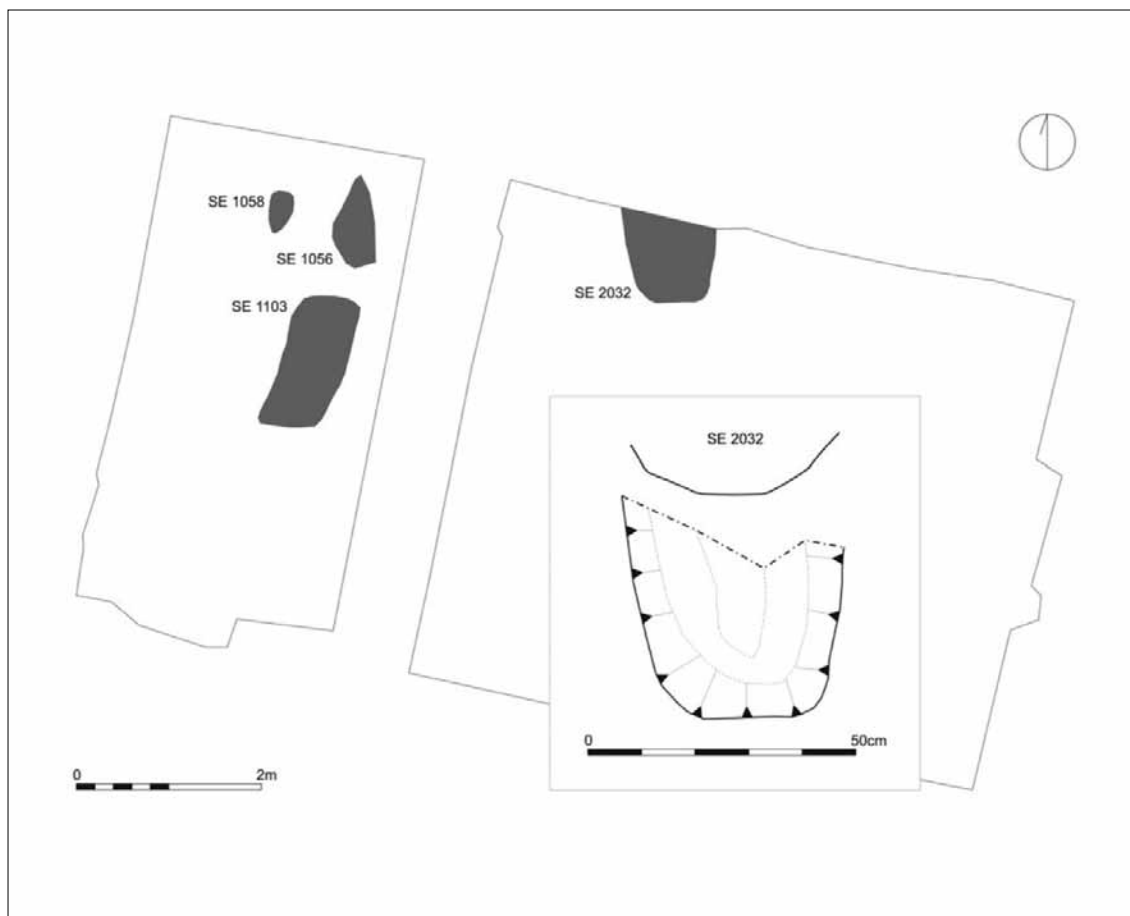
The umbo was discovered in the fill of an oval pit with steep sides and a flat base,<sup>2</sup> which was located on the surface of an ar-

<sup>1</sup> Plesničar Gec 1999.

<sup>2</sup> The documented length 1.1 m; width 0.95 m; depth 0.3 m; stratigraphic unit – SE 2032/2031; find no. – PN 2008.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Načrt severovzhodnega dela Emone z v besedilu omenjenimi najdišči. 1 – izkopno polje v objektu Vegova 7; 2 – osrednji del raziskanega območja prazgodovinske nekropole na dvorišču SAZU; 3 – ostanki srednjelatenskih bojevnških grobov; 4 – najdišče kompleta medicinskega orodja; 5 – najdišče gema z dionizično upodobitvijo / Plan of the northeastern part of Emona with the sites mentioned in the text. 1 – The excavated trench in the building at 7 Vegova Street; 2 – The central section of the excavated area of the prehistoric cemetery in the courtyard of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts; 3 – The remains of middle La Tène warrior graves; 4 – The site of discovery of the set of medical implements; 5 – The site of discovery of the of the gem with a Dionysian representation (izdelal A. Gaspari / executed by A. Gaspari)



Sl. / Fig. 2: Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Tloris in profil vkopa s ščitno grbo / Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Plan and profile of the pit with the shield boss (risba / drawing by René Masaryk)

umetno znižanih paleotal (295,3 m n. m.) in je segala izven sonde (sl. 2). V polnilu jame, ki ga je sestavljala temno rjav glinast pesek z majhnimi prodniki, razen ostankov grbe in maloštevilnih drobcev oglja ni bilo drugih najdb. Jama je bila po oceni izkopavalcev izkopana z enega od nivojev nasipanja obsežne izravnave, ki se pojavlja na celotnem območju *intra muros*. V skladu s to razlago njen izkop in zapolnitev najverjetneje sodita v čas gradnje rimskega mesta na levem bregu Ljubljanice, okvirno datirane v čas med panonsko-delmatskim uporom (6–9 n. št.) in prva leta Tiberijeve vladavine,<sup>3</sup> povsem pa ni izključen niti starejši nastanek celote.

<sup>3</sup> Plesničar Gec *et al.* 2006, 65-67, 74-75, 93; Gaspari 2010.

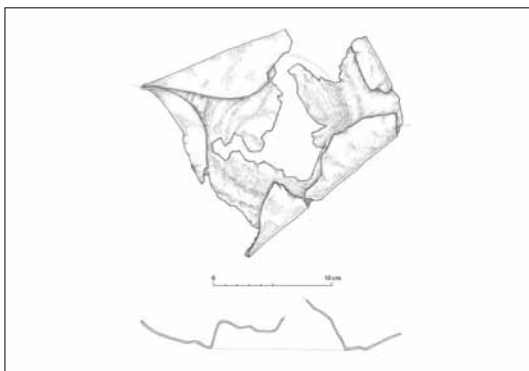
tificially lowered paleosol (295.3 m asl) and extended beyond the trench (Fig. 2). The fill of the pit, composed of a dark brown clayey sand with tiny pieces of gravel, contained no finds other than the remains of the shield boss and a few fragments of charcoal. The pit, according to the excavators, had been dug into one of the deposition levels of the extensive levelling that took place throughout the entire *intra muros* area. In accordance with this explanation, its digging and filling most probably occurred during the period of construction of the Roman city on the left bank of the Ljubljanica River, dated approximately to the period between the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion (6–9 AD) and the first years of the reign of Tiberius,<sup>3</sup> although an even earlier origin cannot be entirely excluded.

<sup>3</sup> Plesničar Gec *et al.* 2006, 65-67, 74-75, 93; Gaspari 2010.

## Opis predmeta

Okroglo grbo, kovano iz 1–2 milimetra debele železne pločevine, označuje zaobljena kalota, ki z nizkim rebrom oz. klenkom trikotnega preseka prehaja v vodraven okrajek. Kalota je imela zelo verjetno nizek polkrožen obris, zaradi poškodovanosti pa ni izključena niti njena konično zaobljena oz. kopasta oblika. Na okrajku je ohranjena ena luknjica za zakovico s stebлом premera 4 mm, s katero je bila grba od zunaj pritrjena na ščitno ploščo. Premer kalote znaša 11,5 cm, rekonstruirana višina kalote 4,5–5 cm, širina okrajka 5,5 cm, premer celotne grbe pa 24,1 cm (sl. 3–4, 5: 10).

Železna grba, najdena v treh večjih in osmih manjših fragmentih, je bila močno deformirana že pred položitvijo v jamo. Namerne poškodbe se kažejo v vrtem osrednjem delu kalote in nasilno zvitih okrajkih, ki so simetrično zavihani na štirih mestih. Sledovi ognja oz. morebitnega sežiganja niso vidni. Grba je bila verjetno v jamo položena še cela oz. v enem kosu, nadaljnjo fragmentacijo pa pripisujemo poodložitvenim procesom. Predmet je bil konserviran v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije.



Sl. / Fig. 3: Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Ostanki ščitne grbe / Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Remains of the shield boss (risba / drawing by Ida Murgelj)

## Description of the object

The circular boss, forged from 1–2 millimetre thick sheet iron, is characterized by a rounded dome, which passes into a low rib or knee of triangular section leading to the horizontal flange. The dome very probably had a low hemispherical outline, but because of damage it is not excluded that it had been conically rounded or sugarloaf shaped. One hole was preserved on the flange for a rivet with a shank diameter of 4 mm, with which the umbo was attached from the inside to the surface of the shield. The diameter of the dome measured 11.5 cm, the reconstructed height of the dome 4.5–5 cm, the width of the flange 5.5 cm, while the diameter of the entire boss was 24.1 cm (Fig. 3–4, 5: 10).

The iron umbo, found in three large and eight small fragments, was badly deformed even before it had been placed in the pit. The deliberate damage is shown in the hollow central section of the dome and the forcibly bent flange, which has been symmetrically folded in four places. Traces of fire or eventual burning are not visible. The umbo was probably placed in the pit still whole, i.e. in one piece, while the further fragmentation can be attributed to the process of decay. The umbo was conserved in the National Museum of Slovenia.



Sl. / Fig. 4: Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Ostanki ščitne grbe / Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Remains of the shield boss (foto / photo by Maja Lavrič)

### Tipološko-kronološka opredelitev

Oblika in velikost grbe ter razmerje med premerom kalote in širino okrajka uvrščajo obravnavano najdbo v širšo skupino poznolatskih ščitnih grb t. i. vzhodnokeltskega oz. balkanskega tipa. Te so bile v stopnji Lt D1 oz. med sredino 2. stoletja in prvo tretjino 1. stoletja pr. n. št. značilni del bojovniških grobnih inventarjev Mokronoške skupine ob spodnjem toku Krke, pri Skordiskih v hrvaškem in srbskem Podonavju, na območju skupine Padea – Pangjurski Kolonii v severni Bolgariji, Olteniji in Transilvaniji ter v Zakarpatju. Njihov pojav v tračansko-getskih grobovih z izrazito konjeniško komponento podpira domnevo, da so tovrstne grbe v spodnjem Podonavju uporabljali predvsem bojovniki na konjih.

Obravnavni grbi ne poznamo neposrednih analogij. Še najbolj ji je podoben primerek iz domnevnega inventarja groba konjenika, ki naj bi izviral iz okraja Montana v severozahodni Bolgariji<sup>4</sup> in ga hrani Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (odslej RGZM). Grbo s premerom 22,6 cm, višino 5,5 cm in okrajkom s širino 5,6 cm, na katerega spodnjem in zgornjem robu se nahajata ovalna izreza, ob straneh pa po trije žebli za pritrditev s ploščatimi glavicami (sl. 5: 8), sta avtorja objave P. Łuczkiwicz in M. Schönfelder vzporejala s primerki, pripisanimi tipu Minusio, in to zlasti na podlagi oblikovanosti nizke kalote konično zaobljenega obrisa. Po njunem mnenju tej opredelitvi ne nasprotujejo niti nizka rebra, ki posamično ali v paru označujejo citirane primerke omenjenega tipa iz groba 1661/4 iz Mihovega (pr. 22,5 cm),<sup>5</sup> groba II iz Roj pri Moravčah (pr. 20,4 cm),<sup>6</sup> groba 144 (pr. 20 cm) in 286 (pr. 20,6 cm) s Kapi-

<sup>4</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, 183-185, sl. 1: 3; 18.

<sup>5</sup> Windl 1975, T. 66: 16.

<sup>6</sup> Knez 1977, T. 3: 1.

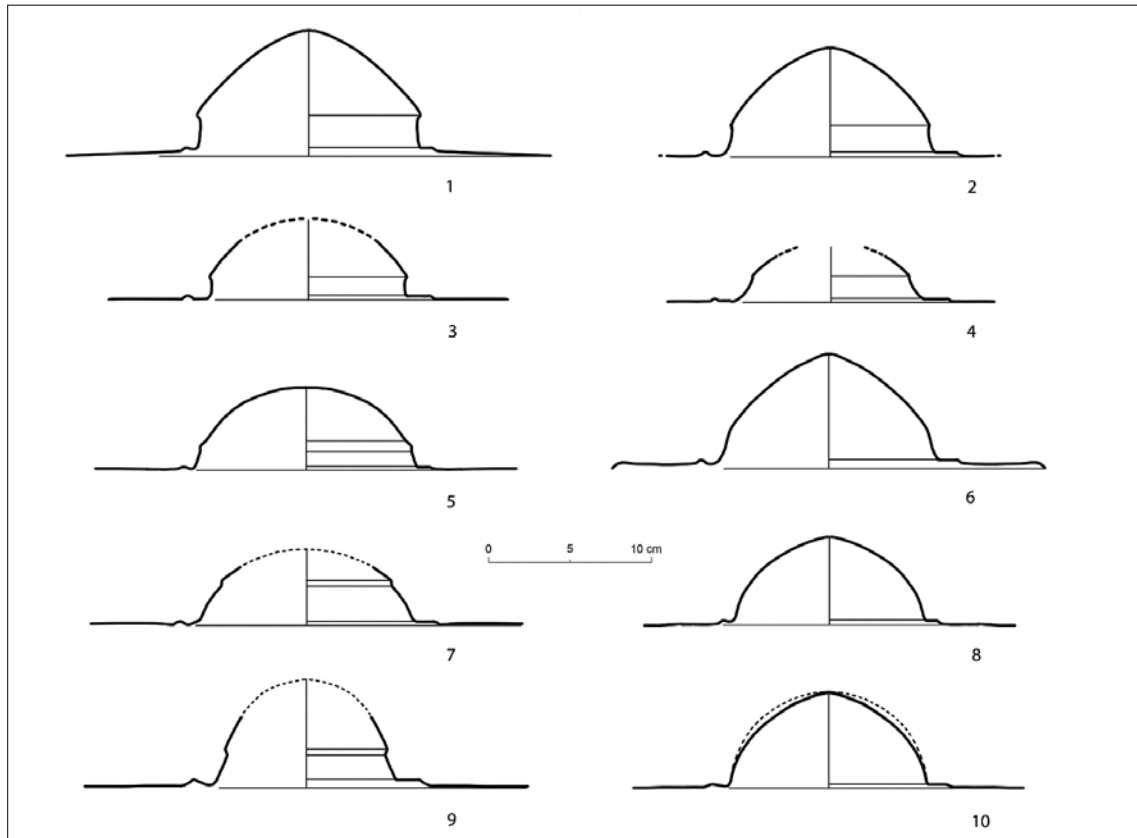
### The typological-chronological definition

The form and size of the umbo and the proportion between the diameter of the dome and the width of the flange place the find under discussion in the broader group of Late La Tène shield bosses, of the so-called eastern Celtic or Balkan type. These represented in the LT D1 phase, or between the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the first third of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, a characteristic element of the warrior grave inventories of the Mokronog group along the lower course of the Krka River, among the Scordisci in the Croatian and Serbian Danube basin, in the region of the Padea – Pangjurski Kolonii group in northern Bulgaria, Oltenia and Transylvania and in the Trans-Carpathian region. Their appearance in Thracian (Getan) graves with a distinct equestrian component supports the hypothesis that such shield bosses in the lower Danube basin were utilized primarily by mounted warriors.

The shield boss has no direct analogies. It is most similar to an example from the supposed inventory of the grave of a horseman, which was said to come from the Montana district in northwestern Bulgaria<sup>4</sup> and is kept in the Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (further RGZM). The umbo with a diameter of 22.6 cm, height of 5.5 cm, and flange with a width of 5.6 cm, with oval cuts on the upper and lower flange, and on the sides three nails with flat heads for attachment (Fig. 5: 8), was compared by the authors of the publication, P. Łuczkiwicz and M. Schönfelder, to examples attributed to the Minusio type, particularly on the basis of the formation of the low dome with a conically rounded contour. In their opinion, this attribution is not precluded by the low ribs that individually or in pairs characterize the cited examples of the above type from grave 1661/4 from Mihovo (dia. 22.5 cm),<sup>5</sup> grave

<sup>4</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, 183-185, Fig. 1: 3; 18.

<sup>5</sup> Windl 1975, Pl. 66: 16.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Ščitne grbe tipa Novo mesto 169 in njegove različice: 1 Novo mesto – Beletov vrt, gr. 169; 2 Dobrosloveni; 3 Chellenitsa I; 4 Braunsberg; 5 Magdalenska gora, gr. V/42; 6 Beograd – Karaburma, gr. 92; 7 Sotin, gr. 3; 8 »Distrikt Montana« (RGZM); 9 Sotin, gr. 2; 10 Ljubljana/Emona, insula XLIII. Scale 1:4 / Shield bosses of the Novo Mesto 169 type and its variants: 1 Novo mesto – Beletov vrt, gr. 169; 2 Dobrosloveni; 3 Chellenitsa I; 4 Braunsberg; 5 Magdalenska gora, gr. V/42; 6 Beograd – Karaburma, gr. 92; 7 Sotin, gr. 3; 8 «Montana District» (RGZM); 9 Sotin, gr. 2; 10 Ljubljana/Emona, insula XLIII. Scale 1:4 (1 po Knez 1992; 2 po Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004; 3 po Kotygoroshko 2010; 4 po Urban 1995; 5 po Hencken 1978; 6, 7 in 9 po Božič 1981; 8 po Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010 / 1 from Knez 1992; 2 from Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004; 3 from Kotygoroshko 2010; 4 from Urban 1995; 5 from Hencken 1978; 6, 7, and 9 from Božič 1981; 8 from Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010)

teljske njive v Novem mestu<sup>7</sup> ter grbo (pr. okoli 19 cm) iz skeletnega groba III/5 s Strmca nad Belo Cerkvijo,<sup>8</sup> vendar pa se ne nahajajo na prehodu kalote v okrajek, kot navajata avtorja, temveč praviloma bliže njegovi sredini oz. zunanjemu robu. Pri grbi iz RGZM je rebro od kalote ločeno z ozkim žlebom, pri najdbi iz Emone pa je zaradi deformiranosti težko določiti ali gre za rebro ali pa le klekasto oz. trikotno profiliran prehod. Prav tako

II from Roje near Moravče (dia. 20.4 cm),<sup>6</sup> grave 144 (dia. 20 cm) and 286 (dia. 20.6 cm) from Kapiteljska njiva in Novo Mesto,<sup>7</sup> and the umbo (dia. ca. 19 cm) from inhumation grave III/5 at Strmec above Bela Cerkev,<sup>8</sup> although they are not located at the transition from the dome to the flange, as noted by the authors, but are rather as a rule closer to the middle or the outside edge of the flange. On the shield boss from the RGZM, the rib is separated from the dome by a narrow groove,

<sup>7</sup> Križ 2005, T. 27: 3; 68: 5.

<sup>8</sup> Dular 1991, 88, T. 51: 34.

<sup>6</sup> Knez 1977, Pl. 3: 1.

<sup>7</sup> Križ 2005, Pl. 27: 3; 68: 5.

<sup>8</sup> Dular 1991, 88, Pl. 51: 34.

se obe grbi od primerkov tipa Minusio, eni vodilnih oblik ščitnih grb iz prehoda srednjega v pozni laten in starejše faze poznega latena,<sup>9</sup> razlikujeta po bistveno širšem okrajku, ki pri tipu Minusio obsega le med 29 in 38 % premera celotne grbe, pri obravnavanih najdbah iz RGZM in Emone pa 49 oz. 45 %.

Obe grbi sta po obliki in omenjenem razmerju med posameznimi elementi bliže primerkom, ki sta jih R. Bockius in P. Łuczkiwicz pripisala tipu Novo mesto 169. V slednjem sta združila oblikovno precej raznoliko skupino grb z območja med vzhodnimi Alpami in spodnjim Podonavjem (sl. 7), pri čemer izvirata skoraj dve tretjini od njunih skupno 33 zbranih primerkov iz prostora med Posočjem in Gorjanci.<sup>10</sup> Za klasične primerke tega tipa sta značilna konično zaobljena kalota s spodrezanim robom in razmeroma širok raven okrajek, ki obsega okvirno 48-61 % celotnega premera. Ta znaša pri večini grb stopnje Lt D1 med 25 in 31 cm. Okrajek in kaloto praviloma ločijo ozka rebra ali nizke stopnice oz. trikotno profilirani kleki.

Grba iz celote v okraju Montana ima neposredno primerjavo v zelo podobnem konjeniškem inventarju stopnje Lt D1a iz nekropole Dobrusha v sosednjem okraju Vratsa.<sup>11</sup> Sorodna profilacija prehoda kalote v okrajek, kot jo ima grba iz RGZM, se pojavlja tudi pri primerku (pr. 31,2 cm) iz eponimnega groba stopnje Lt D1 z Beletovega vrta v Novem mestu,<sup>12</sup> ki ga

while the deformity of the find from Emona means that it is difficult to distinguish whether there was a rib or merely a knee-shaped or triangular moulded transition. Similarly, the shield bosses of the Minusio type, one of the leading forms of shield bosses from the transition from the middle to the Late La Tène and the earlier phases of the Late La Tène,<sup>9</sup> are distinguished by a significantly narrower flange, which encompasses only 29-38% of the diameter of the entire umbo, while for the above finds in the RGZM and from Emona this was 49% and 45%, respectively.

Both shield bosses are in form and the noted proportion between individual elements closer to the example attributed by R. Bockius and P. Łuczkiwicz to the Novo Mesto 169 type. The latter contains a group of shield bosses of fairly varied form from the area between the eastern Alps and the lower Danube basin (Fig. 7), with almost two thirds of the total of 33 examples, documented by the authors, coming from the region between the Soča River valley and the Gorjanci region (Cro. Žumberak).<sup>10</sup> The classic examples of this type are characterized by a conical rounded dome with an undercut edge and a relatively wide flat flange, which encompasses approximately 48-61% of the entire diameter. It measures for the majority of shield bosses of the Lt D1 phase between 25 and 31 cm. The flange and the dome are as a rule separated by a narrow rib or a low step or triangular joint.

The umbo from the grave unit in the Montana District has a direct comparison in the highly similar equestrian inventory of phase LT D1a from the cemetery of Dobrusha in the

<sup>9</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 92-94, sl. 13: 1-2; seznam 13/B3.

<sup>10</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 94-97, sl. 15: 1-2; karta 32; seznam 13/B11. Ta slika se je delno spremenila s številnimi novodkritimi grobnimi najdbami iz Bolgarije, od koder je po zadnjih podatkih znanih skupno 19 ščitnih grb skupine Novo mesto 196 (za podatek se zahvaljujem Jordanu Anastassovu).

<sup>11</sup> Torbov, Anastassov 2008, sl. 4: 8.

<sup>12</sup> Knez 1992, T. 61:2.

<sup>9</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 92-94, Fig. 13: 1-2; List 13/B3.

<sup>10</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 94-97, Fig. 15: 1-2; Map 32; List 13/B11. This picture significantly changed with the numerous newly discovered grave finds from Bulgaria, from where 19 shield-bosses of Novo mesto 196 group are known according to the latest information (by Jordan Anastassov).

označuje konično zaobljena, spodrezana kalota z navpičnim robom (sl. 5: 1). Zaobljeno rebro tik ob kaloti je znano tudi pri pogostejši različici z usločenim in občasno dodatno profiliranim robom. Tej pripadajo npr. grbe iz konjeniških grobov stopnje Lt D1 iz najdišč Kamburovo (okraj Turgovishte, severovzhodna Bolgarija) in Koinare (okraj Pleven, severozahodna Bolgarija),<sup>13</sup> z grobišča Chellenitsa I pri gradišču Mala Kopanya na zahodu Ukrajine (sl. 5: 3)<sup>14</sup> ter okvirno sočasna primerka z nizko kaloto in rekonstruiranim premerom okoli 20 cm iz groba v kraju Dobrosloveni v Olteniji<sup>15</sup> (sl. 5: 2) in z naselbine na Braunsbergu<sup>16</sup> (sl. 5: 4). Primerljive najdbe iz jugovzhodno-predalpskega prostora vključujejo grbi premera okoli 25 cm oz. 28,7 cm iz poznolatskih grobov 1656/31 in 1656/64 iz Mihovega.<sup>17</sup>

Morda najboljši primerjavi za grbi iz RGZM in iz emonske insule XLIII izvirata iz iste celote, in sicer groba 92 na beograjski Karaburmi, ki predstavlja enega najbogatejših inventarjev stopnje Lt D1. Bronasta grba premera 27,5 cm<sup>18</sup> je po nizkem profilu kalote, izvedbi rebra, simetričnih izrezih, številu pritrditev ter splošnem razmerju med okrajkom in kaloto (sl. 5: 6) zelo blizu grbi iz RGZM. Večji primerek iz groba 92<sup>19</sup> spominja po zaobljenem profilu kalote s premerom 12,8 cm na grbo iz Emone, vendar ima bistveno širši okrajek (9,1 cm), ki obsega kar 58 % celotnega premera grbe.

Podobna rebra se pojavljajo tudi pri grbah z nizko polkrožno kaloto večjega premera, ki je na sredini oz. v spodnjem delu

neighbouring district of Vratsa.<sup>11</sup> A similar modelling of the transition from the dome to the flange as on the umbo from the RGZM also appears on the example (dia. 31.2 cm) from the eponymous grave of phase LT D1 at Beletov vrt in Novo Mesto,<sup>12</sup> which is characterized by a conically rounded undercut dome with a vertical edge (Fig. 5: 1). The rounded rib just by the dome is also known on frequent variants with curved and occasionally additionally moulded edges. They are found, for instance, on shield bosses from equestrian graves of phase LT D1 from the site of Kamburovo (Turgovishte District, northeastern Bulgaria) and Koinare (Pleven District, northwestern Bulgaria),<sup>13</sup> from the cemetery of Chellenitsa I at the hillfort of Mala Kopanya in western Ukraine (Fig. 5: 3),<sup>14</sup> and an approximately contemporary example with a low dome and a reconstructed diameter of around 20 cm from a grave in the Dobrosloveni region in Oltenia<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 5: 2), as well as from the settlement at Braunsberg<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 5: 4). Analogous finds from the southeastern pre-Alpine region include shield bosses with diameters of ca. 25 cm and 28.7 cm, respectively from the Late La Tène graves 1656/31 and 1656/64 at Mihovo.<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps the best comparisons for the shield bosses from the RGZM and the Emona insula XLIII come from the same unit, grave 92, at Karaburma in Beograd, which represents one of the richest inventories of the LT D1 phase. The bronze shield boss with a diameter of 27.5 cm<sup>18</sup> is very similar to the umbo from the RGZM in the low profile of the dome, the workmanship of the ribs, the symmetrical cuts, number of attachment elements, and the general ratio between the flange and the

<sup>13</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, sl. 8 in 29.

<sup>14</sup> Kotygoroshko 2010, T. 7: 1-2.

<sup>15</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 84, sl. 13: 81.

<sup>16</sup> Urban 1995, 77, sl. 50: AF 269.

<sup>17</sup> Windl 1975, T. 16: 11; 22: 7.

<sup>18</sup> Todorović 1972, 30; Božič 1981, sl. 2: 3.

<sup>19</sup> Tasić 1992, T. 24: 71.

<sup>11</sup> Torbov, Anastassov 2008, Fig. 4: 8.

<sup>12</sup> Knez 1992, Pl. 61:2.

<sup>13</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, Fig. 8 and 29.

<sup>14</sup> Kotygoroshko 2010, Pl. 7: 1-2.

<sup>15</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 84, Fig. 13: 81.

<sup>16</sup> Urban 1995, 77, Fig. 50: AF 269.

<sup>17</sup> Windl 1975, Pl. 16: 11; 22: 7.

<sup>18</sup> Todorović 1972, 30; Božič 1981, Fig. 2: 3.



prekinjena s klekom. Tej pripadata npr. bronasta grba (pr. okoli 26,5 cm) s simetričnima izrezoma iz groba 2 v Sotinu v vzhodni Slavoniji<sup>20</sup> (sl. 5: 7) in železna grba z zelo podobnim profilom (pr. okoli 26 cm) iz groba 42, vkopanega v gomilo V na Magdalenski gori<sup>21</sup> (sl. 5: 5), ki sodita med značilne celote stopnje Lt D1. Oba primerka sta grbama iz RGZM in Emone sorodna tudi po razmerju med širino okrajka in celotno grbo, ki znaša pri grbi z Magdalenske gore 43 %, pri najdbi iz Sotina pa 46 % celotnega premera.

Neposredno primerjavo za trikotno profiliran prehod pri najdbi iz emonske insule XLIII ponuja železna grba premera okoli 27,5 cm iz poznolatskega groba 3 v Sotinu (sl. 5: 9).<sup>22</sup> Njena deformirana, razmeroma visoka kalota z domnevno zaobljenim obrisom in s klekasto spodrezanim robom, ki se z enakim nagibom spusti do okrajka, je blizu najpogostejšim različicam obravnane skupine grb, združenih v tipu Novo mesto 169, za katere je značilna visoka, konično zaobljena oz. kopasta kalota s prekinjenim ali usločeno spodrezanim robom in praviloma stopničastim prehodom v raven ali nagnjen okrajek. Klekasto spodrezan rob se pojavlja tudi pri grbi z visoko strmo kaloto in ozkim poševnim okrajkom iz enega od grobov na nekropoli Vajuga-Pesak<sup>23</sup> (sl. 6: 13) in podobni grbi rekonstruiranega premera okoli 21 cm iz domnevnega inventarja konjeniškega groba stopnje Lt D1, najdenega na romunskem bregu Donave v Železnih vratih (*Portilor de Fier*),<sup>24</sup> ki sta sorodni primerkom tipa Dubova.<sup>25</sup>

V okviru klasičnih grb tipa Novo mesto 169 je enaka klekasta prekinitvev kalote

dome (Fig. 5: 6). The larger example from grave 92<sup>19</sup> is reminiscent of the umbo from Emona in terms of the rounded profile of the dome with a diameter of 12.8 cm, although it has a considerably wider flange (9.1 cm) that encompasses some 58% of the total diameter of the umbo.

Similar ribs also appear on shield bosses with a low hemispherical dome of larger diameter, which displays a knee-shape breakpoint in the middle or lower section. These include, for example, the bronze umbo (dia. ca. 26.5 cm) with symmetrical cuts from grave 2 at Sotin in eastern Slavonia<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 5: 7) and the iron umbo with a very similar profile (dia. ca. 26 cm) from grave 42, dug into tumulus V at Magdalenska gora<sup>21</sup> (Fig. 5: 5), which are considered as characteristic grave units of the LT D1 Phase. Both examples are also similar to the shield bosses from the RGZM and Emona in terms of the ratio between the width of the flange and the entire umbo, which measures 43% for the umbo from Magdalenska gora, and 46% for the find from Sotin.

Direct comparisons for the triangular transition on the find from the Emona insula XLIII are offered by the iron umbo with a diameter of circa 27.5 cm from the Late La Tène grave 3 in Sotin (Fig. 5: 9).<sup>22</sup> Its deformed, relatively high dome with supposedly rounded contours and a knee-shaped undercut edge, which slopes at the same angle down to the flange, is close to the most frequent variants of the discussed group of shield bosses united into the Novo Mesto 169 type, characterized by a high, conically rounded or sugarloaf shaped dome with an intermittent or curved undercut edge and, as a rule, a step-like transition to the straight or slanted flange. A knee-shaped undercut edge also appeared on an umbo with a tall steep dome and narrow slanted flange from one of the graves at the

<sup>20</sup> Božič 1981, T. 8: 1.

<sup>21</sup> Hencken 1978, 40, sl. 163-164.

<sup>22</sup> Božič 1981, T. 9: 4.

<sup>23</sup> Popović 1991, 171.

<sup>24</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, sl. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 98, sl. 16: 5, seznam 13/B16.

<sup>19</sup> Tasić 1992, Pl. 24: 71.

<sup>20</sup> Božič 1981, Pl. 8: 1.

<sup>21</sup> Hencken 1978, 40, Fig. 163-164.

<sup>22</sup> Božič 1981, Pl. 9: 4.

znana pri primerkih s stopničastim prehodom v širok okrajek iz avgustejskega groba 3 v Reki pri Cerknem (pr. 27,3 cm; sl. 6: 14)<sup>26</sup> in okvirno sočasnega groba 1657/60 iz Mihovega (pr. 27,7 cm).<sup>27</sup> Na omenjeni grbi in druge primerke s stopničastim prehodom kopaste kalote v razmeroma širok okrajek iz zgodnjerskih grobov iz Mihovega (npr. grobovi 1657/57, 1657B/83)<sup>28</sup> se navezuje skupina grb s skupnim premerom okoli 23–24 cm in praviloma petimi pritrdišči (sl. 6: 16), ki ji pripadajo primerki z usločenim robom iz bogatega groba s štirikolesnim vozom iz gomile II v Cugirju (Transilvanija), datiranega v stopnjo Lt D1,<sup>29</sup> in tri grbe iz poznolatenskih grobov iz Mihovega (grobovi 1656/56, 1656/57 in 1656/62).<sup>30</sup>

V mlajšem delu stopnje Lt D2 se pojavi še sorodna različica,<sup>31</sup> za katero so značilni premeri okoli 19–20 cm, stopnica ali rebro na prehodu poševnega okrajka v kaloto in enako število pritrdišč kot pri prej omenjeni skupini. Poleg primerkov z visoko kopasto kaloto in ravnim okrajkom iz zgodnjavgustejskega groba 37 (sl. 6: 15) in tiberijsko-klavdijske celote 131 iz Verduna<sup>32</sup> velja opozoriti še na sorodno grbo z nizko zaobljeno kaloto s spodrezanim robom in poševnim okrajkom rekonstruiranega premera okoli 20 cm iz domnevnega kulturnega mesta na Starem gradu nad Uncem<sup>33</sup> (sl. 6: 12). Slednje je mogoče po obliki primerjati z nekoliko večjo grbo (pr. okoli 24 cm) iz obrtni delavnici pripisanih plasti v dačanski utrdbi

cemetery of Vajuga-Pesak<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 6: 13) and a similar umbo with a reconstructed diameter of around 21 cm from the presumed inventory of an equestrian grave of the LT D1 phase found on the Romanian bank of the Danube in the Iron Gates (*Portilor de Fier*),<sup>24</sup> which are examples related to the Dubova type.<sup>25</sup>

In the context of the classic umbo of the Novo Mesto 169 type, an identical knee-shaped breakpoint of the dome is known for examples with a step-like transition to a wide flange from the Augustan period grave 3 at Reka pri Cerknem (dia. 27.3 cm; Fig. 6: 14)<sup>26</sup> and the approximately contemporary grave 1657/60 from Mihovo (dia. 27.7 cm).<sup>27</sup> To the above shield bosses and other examples with a stepped transition of the sugarloaf shaped dome to a relatively wide flange from Early Roman graves at Mihovo (e.g. graves 1657/57, 1657B/83),<sup>28</sup> are linked a group of shield bosses with a total diameter of circa 23–24 cm and usually five attachment elements (Fig. 6: 16), which includes an example with a curved edge from a rich grave with a four-wheeled wagon from tumulus II at Cugir (Transylvania), dated to the LT D1 phase,<sup>29</sup> and three shield bosses from Late La Tène graves at Mihovo (graves 1656/56, 1656/57, and 1656/62).<sup>30</sup>

In the later part of the LT D2 phase other related variants appear,<sup>31</sup> characterized by diameters of around 19–20 cm, a step or a rib at the transition from the slanted flange to the dome and an equal number of attachment elements as in the previously discussed group. In addition to examples with a high

<sup>26</sup> Guštin 1991, T. 30: 4.

<sup>27</sup> Windl 1975, T. 43: 9.

<sup>28</sup> Windl 1975, T. 42: 1; 55: 17.

<sup>29</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, sl. 11: 3.

<sup>30</sup> Windl 1975, T. 20: 4, 8; 21: 16.

<sup>31</sup> Božič 1999, 199; Božič 2008, 52–54, sl. 25.

<sup>32</sup> Križ *et al.* 2009, kat. št. 9.2.1, 9.3.20; Breščak 2013.

<sup>33</sup> Gaspari 2009, 322–323, sl. 6: 7.

<sup>23</sup> Popović 1991, 171.

<sup>24</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, Fig. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 98, Fig. 16: 5, List 13/B16.

<sup>26</sup> Guštin 1991, Pl. 30: 4.

<sup>27</sup> Windl 1975, Pl. 43: 9.

<sup>28</sup> Windl 1975, Pl. 42: 1; 55: 17.

<sup>29</sup> Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, Fig. 11: 3.

<sup>30</sup> Windl 1975, Pl. 20: 4, 8; 21: 16.

<sup>31</sup> Božič 1999, 199; Božič 2008, 52–54, Fig. 25.

Tilišca v Transilvaniji<sup>34</sup> (sl. 6: 11), ki ima ohranjen del razmeroma visoke zaobljene kalote, pa tudi z bronasto prevleko železne grbe z ohranjenim premerom 18,9 cm iz Rena pri Xantnu, ki se grbi s Starega gradu približuje tudi po nizki profilaciji in gumbastem vrhu kalote.<sup>35</sup> Oblika in dimenzije dveh grb s Štalenskega vrha (Magdalensberg)<sup>36</sup> (sl. 6: 17), ki se od prej omenjene različice ločita po visoki kaloti z navpičnim robom (21,1 cm oz. 18,3 cm), že nakazujejo povezavo s klasičnimi grbami s konično kaloto, navpičnim robom in ozkim vodoravnim okrajkom s petimi do sedmimi pritrđišči in skupnim premerom 16,5–18,5 cm iz srednje- do poznoavgustejskih in poznejših celot v jugovzhodnih Alpah<sup>37</sup> in Porenju<sup>38</sup> ter Barbariku.<sup>39</sup>

Zmanjševanje (okroglih grb) ščitov v teku druge polovice 1. stoletja pr. n. št. časovno sovpađa z obdobjem intenzivnega vključevanja Keltov in Germanov v pomožne oz. zavezniške enote rimske vojske v spopade proti še nepokorjenim plemenom<sup>40</sup> in je najverjetneje neposredno povezano s spremembami v načinu bojevanja, ki sta jih prinesla prenos težišča bojevanja v zahtevne hribovite in gozdne predele ter zmanjšana možnost uporabe projektilov. Pojav tipološko dokaj enotnih grb enostavnega profila v zadnjih dveh desetletjih pr. n. št. obenem odraža vzpon serijske in rokodelsko manj zahtevne izdelave za potrebe opremljanja pomožnih enot. Zasedovanje tega motiva dokazujejo tudi posamične zgodnje- in srednjecesarke železne grbe s polkrožno

sugarloaf-shaped dome and a flat flange from the Early Augustan grave 37 (Fig. 6: 15) and the Tiberian-Claudian grave unit 131 from Verdun,<sup>32</sup> attention should also be drawn to a related umbo with a low rounded dome with an undercut edge and slanted flange with a reconstructed diameter of around 20 cm from the hypothesized cult site at Stari grad nad Uncem<sup>33</sup> (Fig. 6: 12). The latter can be compared in terms of form to a somewhat larger umbo (dia. circa 24 cm) from a layer attributed to craft workshops at the Dacian fortress of Tilišca in Transylvania<sup>34</sup> (Fig. 6: 11), which has a preserved section of a relatively high rounded dome, as well as the bronze coating to an iron umbo with a preserved diameter of 18.9 cm from the Rhine at Xanten, which is close to the umbo from Stari grad also in terms of the low profile and button-like top to the dome.<sup>35</sup> The shape and dimensions of the two shield bosses from Magdalensberg<sup>36</sup> (Fig. 6: 17), which differ from the previously mentioned variant in the height of the dome with a vertical edge (21.1 cm and 18.3 cm), indicate a connection with the classical shield bosses with a conical dome, vertical edge, and narrow horizontal flange with five to seven attachment elements and a total diameter of 16.5–18.5 cm from Middle to Late Augustan and later units in the southeastern Alps,<sup>37</sup> the Rhine basin,<sup>38</sup> and Barbaricum.<sup>39</sup>

The reduction of the shield size (and circular boss) during the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC chronologically coincides with the period of more intensive inclusion of Celts and Germans in auxiliary units of the Roman army in fighting against still unconquered

<sup>34</sup> Lupu 1989, 49, 74-75, T. 25: 4.

<sup>35</sup> Nabbefeld 2008, 190-191, T. 33: 351.

<sup>36</sup> Dolenz 1998, T. 17: M217; 18: M218.

<sup>37</sup> Npr. Polhov Gradec; Ložar 1938, sl. 22d; glej Mráv 2005.

<sup>38</sup> Npr. Oberesch pri Kalkrieseju; Harnecker, Franzius 2008, T. 4.

<sup>39</sup> Npr. Zemplín; Pieta 2005, 52-53, T. 11: 3.

<sup>40</sup> Glej Bochnak 2006, 180-186.

<sup>32</sup> Križ *et al.* 2009, cat. no. 9.2.1, 9.3.20; Breščak 2013.

<sup>33</sup> Gaspari 2009, 322-323, Fig. 6: 7.

<sup>34</sup> Lupu 1989, 49, 74-75, Pl. 25: 4.

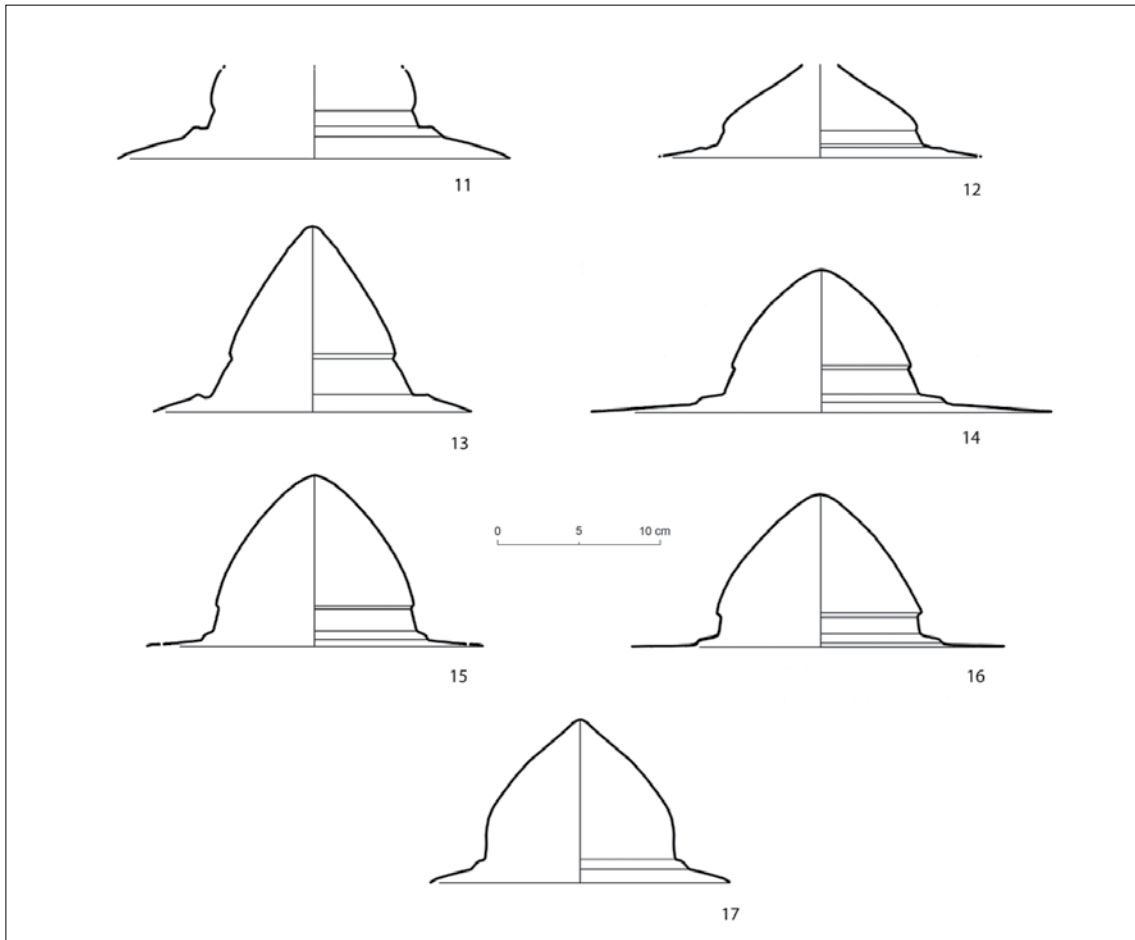
<sup>35</sup> Nabbefeld 2008, 190-191, Pl. 33: 351.

<sup>36</sup> Dolenz 1998, Pl. 17: M217; 18: M218.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. Polhov Gradec; Ložar 1938, Fig. 22d; see Mráv 2005.

<sup>38</sup> E.g. Oberesch near Kalkriese; Harnecker, Franzius 2008, Pl. 4.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Zemplín; Pieta 2005, 52-53, Pl. 11: 3.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Ščitne grbe tipa Novo mesto 169 in njegove različice: 11 Tilišca; 12 Stari grad nad Uncem; 13 Vajuga – Pesak ; 14 Reka pri Cerknem, gr. 3; 15 Verdun, gr. 37; 16 Mihovo, gr. 1656/56; 17 Magdalensberg, SH/5. Scale 1:4 (11 po Lupu 1989; 12 po Gaspari 2009; 13 po Popović 1991; 14 po Guštin 1991; 15 po Breščak 2013; 16 po Windl 1975; 17 po Dolenz 1998 / 11 from Lupu 1989; 12 from Gaspari 2009; 13 from Popović 1991; 14 from Guštin 1991; 15 from Breščak 2013; 16 from Windl 1975; 17 from Dolenz 1998)

oz. konično zaobljeno kaloto in širokimi vodoravnimi krajci ter praviloma štirimi pritrdišči,<sup>41</sup> ki so bile sodeč po profilaciji ter razmerju med premerom kalote in širino okrajka nedvomno izdelane po vzoru poznolatskih germanskih in keltskih ščitnih grb.<sup>42</sup> Uspešnost te oblike potrjuje tudi izjemna pogostost bronastih izvedb premerov 18,5–21,5 cm iz obdobja med koncem 1. stoletja in sredino 3. stoletja,

<sup>41</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, T. 10: 54; 17: 148-150.

<sup>42</sup> Npr. tipov Bohnsack 3/4, varianta Kehlheim ali Novo mesto 187 po Bockiusu in Łuczkiwiczu.

tribes,<sup>40</sup> and was most probably directly connected with changes in the manner of warfare, brought about by a change in the focus of fighting to difficult hilly and forested regions, with a lessened possibility of using projectiles. The appearance of typologically quite uniform shield bosses of simple profile in the last two decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC also reflects the rise of mass production and less demanding manufacture for the outfitting of auxiliary units. The pursuit of this motive is also proven by individual Early and Mid-

<sup>40</sup> See Bochnak 2006, 180-186.

znanih praktično iz vseh delov imperija.<sup>43</sup>

Ikonografski viri, ki prikazujejo keltske ščite, kažejo, da so bili le-ti praviloma ploščati in podolgovato ovalnega ali šestkotnega obrisa. Antični avtorji posebej izpostavljajo njihovo živobarvno poslikavo in pogosto izstopajočo velikost.<sup>44</sup> Kot značilni del opreme so ščiti postavljeni tudi v ospredje upodobitev keltskih in galsko-rimskih vojakov ter zaplenjenega orožja na poznorepublikanskih in zgodnjecesarskih trofejih (*tropaeum*), slavolokih in mavzolejih. Med najbolj znane prikaze poznolatskih ščitov z okroglimi grbami sodijo tisti na kotlu iz Gundestrupa na Danskem, ki upodablja vrsto bojevnikov s sulicami in z velikimi ščiti podolgovate pravokotne oz. šestkotne oblike. Realistična nagrobna plastika iz provansalskega kraja Vacherès, datirana med 50 in 30 pr. n. št., upodablja galsko-rimskega vojaka z gladijem v verižni srajci, ki sloni na ovalnem oz. šestkotnem ščitu z okroglo grbo in ocenjeno velikostjo 110 x 45 cm.<sup>45</sup> Primerljivih dimenzij so tudi podolgovati ovalni in šestkotni ščiti z okroglimi grbami na prizorih keltskih bojevnikov s slavoloka v Orangeju, ki naj bi sodil v tiberijsko obdobje.<sup>46</sup> Ne glede na visoko stopnjo stilizacije prikazov na reverjih nekaterih tipov bojskih heksadrahm je iz njih razvidno, da so bili z velikimi ovalnimi ščiti pri Keltih opremljeni tudi konjeniki.<sup>47</sup>

Ikonografski viri, ki se nanašajo na oborožitev rimske vojske zgodnjecesarskega časa, kažejo, da je legijska pehota uporabljala »italski« tip pravokotnega zaobljenega ščita (*scutum*) z navpičnim rebrom ali grbo s kvadratno ploščo in polkrogla-

dle Imperial period iron shield bosses with hemispherical or conically rounded domes and wide horizontal flanges, and usually four attachment elements,<sup>41</sup> which were undoubtedly, judging by the profile and the ratio between the diameter of the dome and the width of the flange, manufactured according to the model of the Late La Tène Germanic and Celtic shield bosses.<sup>42</sup> The success of this form is also confirmed by the exceptional frequency of bronze versions with diameters of 18.5–21.5 cm from the period between the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century and the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, known from virtually all parts of the Empire.<sup>43</sup>

Iconographic sources that depict Celtic shields indicate that they were usually flat and had an elongated oval or hexagonal shape. Ancient authors particularly emphasized their colourful painting and frequently outstanding size.<sup>44</sup> As a significant part of their equipment, shields are also placed in the foreground of depictions of Celtic and Gallo-Roman soldiers, and as confiscated weapons on Late Republican and Early Imperial war trophies (*tropaeum*), triumphant arches, and mausoleums. Among the best known images of Late La Tène shields with circular shield bosses are those on the cauldron from Gundestrup in Denmark, which depicts a row of soldiers with spears and large shields with an elongated rectangular or hexagonal shape. The realistic funerary sculpture from the Provençal commune of Vacherès, dated to between 50 and 30 BC, depicts a Gallo-Roman soldier with a gladius and a chain mail tunic leaning on an oval or hexagonal shield with a circular umbo and an estimated size of 110 x 45 cm.<sup>45</sup> The elongated oval and hexago-

<sup>43</sup> Npr. Nabberfeld 2008, T. 15: 137; 103: 687.

<sup>44</sup> Strabon, *Geogr.* IV, 4, 3; Diodor V, 30, 2-4.

<sup>45</sup> Pernet 2010, 221, T. 83.

<sup>46</sup> Brunaux, Rapin 1988, 17.

<sup>47</sup> Pieta 2005, 53, T. 9: 1, 3.

<sup>41</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 10: 54; 17: 148-150.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. type Bohnsack 3/4, variant Kehlheim or Novo mesto 187 according to Bockius and Łuczkiwicz.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 15: 137; 103: 687.

<sup>44</sup> Strabo, *Geogr.* IV, 4, 3; Diodorus V, 30, 2-4.

<sup>45</sup> Pernet 2010, 221, Pl. 83.

sto kaloto, pomožna pehota ter legijska in pomožna konjenica pa keltsko-germanske oblike ščitov s šestkotnim, šestkotno-konveksnim, ovalnim ali okroglim obrisom, na katerih so bile praviloma nameščene okrogle grbe.<sup>48</sup> Uporabo šestkotnih ščitov v legijski konjenici dokazuje tudi upodobitev na steli Publija Sulpicija (*P. Sulpicius*), konjenika (*equus legionis*) XV. legije *Apollinaris*, doma iz Cremona, ki jo je dal med leti 39/40 in 61 n. št. postaviti njegov tovariš na nekropoli južno od avksiliarnega tabora v Carnuntumu-Petronellu pri Dunaju.<sup>49</sup>

O obliki in dimenzijah ščitov pomožnih enot je mogoče poleg upodobitev na nagrobnikih in drugih kamnitih spomenikih sklepati tudi na podlagi ohranjenih kožnih prevlek, miniaturnih votivov<sup>50</sup> ter redkih v celoti ohranjenih grobnih najdb robnih okovov in pogostejših prečk držajev. Značilni primerki pravokotnega ali D-preseka s štirimi krožnimi pritrdišči iz grobišč, taborov in drugih vojaških celot v jugovzhodnih Alpah in v Porenju, ki praviloma nastopajo skupaj z grbami premerov med 16,5 in 18,5 cm, merijo v dolžino okoli 38–42 cm.<sup>51</sup> Najverjetneje gre za ovalne ščite z višino 85–95 cm in širino 45–55 cm, kakršnega upodablja relief avksiliarnega pešaka s tremi kopji na enem od podstavkov iz legijske principije v Mainzu.<sup>52</sup> Ocenjene dimenzije ščita in oblika grbe s štirimi zakovicami s tega spomenika se približujejo grobni najdbi iz Mannheim-Freudenheima, datirani v sredino 1. stoletja n. št. Robni okovi iz tega groba nakazujejo ovalen ščit s približnimi dimenzijami 2 x 1,5 čevelj, na

nal shields with round bosses in the images of Celtic warriors at the triumphal arch in Orange, most likely dated to the Tiberian period, have comparable dimensions.<sup>46</sup> Despite the high degree of stylization of the depictions on the reverse of several types of hexadrachms of the Boii, it is evident that horsemen among the Celts were also outfitted with large oval shields.<sup>47</sup>

Iconographic sources referring to the weapons of the Roman army in the Early Imperial Period indicate that the legionary infantry utilized an "Italic" type of rectangular rounded shield (*scutum*) with a vertical rib or a boss with a square field and hemispherical dome, while auxiliary infantry, and legionary and auxiliary cavalry used Celtic-Germanic types of shields with hexagonal, hexagonal-convex, oval, or circular forms, with a circular umbo usually attached.<sup>48</sup> The use of hexagonal shields in legionary cavalry is also proven by the image on the stele of *Publius Sulpicius*, a legionary horseman (*equus legionis*) of the XV legion *Apollinaris*, originally from Cremona, which was erected between 39/40 and 61 AD by his comrade at the cemetery south of the auxiliary camp at Carnuntum-Petronell on the Danube.<sup>49</sup>

The shape and dimensions of the shields of auxiliary units can also be inferred, in addition to depictions on tombstones and other stone monuments, from preserved leather coating, miniature votive figures,<sup>50</sup> and rare entirely preserved grave finds of edge elements and the more frequent bars of the handle. Typical examples of the latter with a rectangular or D-shaped section with four circular attachments from cemeteries, camps, and other military units in the southeastern Alps and the Rhine basin, which usually occur

<sup>48</sup> Glej Nabberfeld 2008, 23-24; Caumont 2011, 188-193, 442.

<sup>49</sup> Mosser 2003, št. 107.

<sup>50</sup> Glej Caumont 2011, sl. 44-45.

<sup>51</sup> Npr. Dular 1991, T. 75: 20, 23; Križ *et al.* 2009, kat. št. 9.3.8; Nabberfeld 2008, T. 13: 84; 14: 103; 30: 320; 38: 230; Pernet 2010, T. 189: 2.

<sup>52</sup> Goldsworthy 2003, 55.

<sup>46</sup> Brunaux, Rapin 1988, 17.

<sup>47</sup> Pieta 2005, 53, Pl. 9: 1, 3.

<sup>48</sup> See Nabberfeld 2008, 23-24; Caumont 2011, 188-193, 442.

<sup>49</sup> Mosser 2003, no. 107.

<sup>50</sup> See Caumont 2011, Fig. 44-45.

katerem sta bila nameščena železna grba premera 19 cm s konično zaobljeno kaloto, širokimi vodoravnimi krajci in štirimi pritrdišči ter prečka držaja z razcepljenima zaključkoma.<sup>53</sup>

Iz zgodnjecesarskega časa so znane tudi okoli 50–60 cm dolge prečke,<sup>54</sup> ki najverjetneje pripadajo okroglim ščitom s premerom dveh čevljev. Večja od citiranih grb s Štalenskega vrha (pr. 21,1 cm), ki je bila skupaj s fragmentirano prečko držaja dolžine 55,9 odkrita v poznotiberijski-zgodnjeklavdijski žganinski plasti v stavbi SH/5,<sup>55</sup> je bila najverjetneje nameščena prav na tak ščit. Glede na dele voza, žvale in okras konjske opreme iz iste plasti<sup>56</sup> bi lahko pripadala enemu od avksiliarnih vojakov *cohors (equitata) Montanorum I*, ki je epigrafsko izpričana na šestih nagrobnikih s širšega območja Štalenskega vrha oz. osrednjenoriškega prostora.<sup>57</sup> Uporabo okroglih grb v avksiliarni konjenici dokazuje tudi friz s konjeniki, opremljenimi z okroglimi ščiti in kopji, na čaši tipa ACO iz srednjeavguštejskega tabora Dangstetten<sup>58</sup> in upodobitev podobnega ščita na steli Burija Treboka (*Burrius Trebocus*), vojaka *cohors Aquitanorum*, iz vasi Hrvace pri Sinju (*CIL III 9760*).<sup>59</sup> Navedeni ščiti po obliki in dimenzijah spominjajo na tri v celoti ohranjene ščite iz kulnega mesta v barju pri Thorsbergu v Schleswigu, datiranega v 2./3. stoletje. Okrogle bronaste grbe vseh treh ščitov so primerljivih dimenzij (15,9 cm, 16,6 oz. 16,7 cm), pri čemer znaša premer lesene plošče v enem primeru 65,0 cm, v drugih dveh pa en meter.<sup>60</sup>

together with shield bosses with diameters between 16.5 and 18.5 cm, measure around 38–42 cm in length.<sup>51</sup> These were most probably from oval shields with a height of 85–95 cm and width of 45–55 cm, such as is depicted on the relief of an auxiliary infantry soldier with three spears on one of the pedestals from the legionary headquarters in Mainz.<sup>52</sup> The estimated dimensions of the shield and shape of the umbo with four rivets from this monument are close to the grave finds from Mannheim-Freudenheim, dated to the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> Century AD. The edge elements from this grave indicate an oval shield with approximate dimensions of 2 x 1.5 feet, onto which was fitted an iron umbo with a diameter of 19 cm with a conical rounded dome, a broad horizontal flange, and for attachment elements, and a handle bar with forked ends.<sup>53</sup>

From the Early Imperial Period are also known circa 50–60 cm long bars,<sup>54</sup> which most probably belong to circular shields with a diameter of two feet. The larger of the mentioned shield bosses from Magdalensberg (dia. 21.1 cm), which was together with a fragmentary handle bar 55.9 cm long discovered in a Late Tiberian – Early Claudian burnt layer in building SH/5,<sup>55</sup> had most probably been mounted on such a shield. Given the sections of a wagon, bits, and decorative horse equipment from the same layer,<sup>56</sup> it could have belonged to one of the auxiliary soldiers of the *cohors (equitata) Montanorum I*, which is epigraphically documented with six funerary monuments from the broader area of Magdalensberg, i.e. the central Norican region.<sup>57</sup> The use of circular shield bosses among the auxiliary cavalry is also proven by a frieze

<sup>53</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, 144–145, T. 9: 54.

<sup>54</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, T. 26: 273.

<sup>55</sup> Dolenz 1998, 85.

<sup>56</sup> Dolenz 1998, 86–87, 118–119.

<sup>57</sup> Dolenz 1998, 113.

<sup>58</sup> Fingerlin 1986, 113, št. 318, 38.

<sup>59</sup> Radman-Livaja 2010, 111.

<sup>60</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, 201–202, T. 42: 410; 43: 411; 44: 412.

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Dular 1991, Pl. 75: 20, 23; Križ *et al.* 2009, cat. no. 9.3.8; Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 13: 84; 14: 103; 30: 320; 38: 230; Pernet 2010, Pl. 189: 2.

<sup>52</sup> Goldsworthy 2003, 55.

<sup>53</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, 144–145, Pl. 9: 54.

<sup>54</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 26: 273.

<sup>55</sup> Dolenz 1998, 85.

<sup>56</sup> Dolenz 1998, 86–87, 118–119.

<sup>57</sup> Dolenz 1998, 113.

Vojaški grobovi iz konca latena in zgodnjericimskega časa med Sočo in Gorjanci sicer ne vsebujejo značilnih kosov konjeniške opreme, vendar bi bila zanesljivo prezgodnja tako sklep, da gre izključno za z različnimi kompleti orožja opremljene pešake, kot domneva, da so med pripadnike elitnih enot konjenice v vzhodnoalpskem prostoru novačili izključno iz tradicionalno zavezniškega osrednjericimskega območja. Ob srednjem toku Rena in Mozeli so bile sicer izjemno redke ostroge namreč najdene tako v grobovih s popolno oborožitvijo (meč, ščit in ena ali več sulic) kot tistih s kombinacijo meča in dveh sulic, sulice in ščita ali samo z enim orožjem, mečem ali sulico.<sup>61</sup> Sodeč po grobnih inventarjih je bila na območju osrednje in jugovzhodne Slovenije v izteku latenskega obdobja pogosta kombinacija ščitne grbe z eno ali več suličnimi ostmi, posebej pa izstopa visok delež zgodnjericimskih grobov, v katerih se omenjeni orožji pojavljata skupaj z mečem.<sup>62</sup>

### Komentar k najdiščnim okoliščinam

Za razpravo o dataciji vkopa z obravnavano grbo in ozadju njene odložitve v insuli XLIII je pomembno, da s poznejšega območja *intra muros* ni znanih nobenih grobnih ali naselbinskih celot niti izrazitejših koncentracij latenskih najdb. Maloštevne najdbe keltskih tipov fibul in drugih kovinskih predmetov ter nekoliko bolj številne keramike izvirajo iz zgodnjericimskih depozitov, kjer se praviloma pojavljajo skupaj z italskim gradivom.<sup>63</sup> V prid dataciji vkopa v zgodnjericimsko obdobje in proti morebitnemu poznolatenškemu grobu govori tudi odsotnost žganine in drugih predmetov, čeprav je kulturni značaj konteksta praktično nesopen. Posebej v primerih »regularno«

with riders equipped with circular shields and spears on an Aco beaker from the middle Augustan period camp of Dangstetten<sup>58</sup> and the depiction of a similar shield on the stele of Burrius Trebocus, a soldier of the *cohors Aquitanorum*, from the village of Hrvace near Sinj (*CIL* III 9760).<sup>59</sup> The above shields in form and dimensions are reminiscent of three completely preserved shields from the cult site in the Thorsberg Moor in Schleswig, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. The circular bronze shield bosses of all three shields have comparable dimensions (15.9 cm, 16.6, and 16.7 cm), while the diameter of the wooden boards of the shields in one case measured 65 cm, and for the two others 1 meter.<sup>60</sup>

Military graves from the end of the La Tène and the Early Roman Period between the Soča River and the Gorjanci region do not contain characteristic pieces of equestrian equipment, although it would definitely be premature to conclude that these represented exclusively foot soldiers equipped with various sets of weaponry, as well that members of the elite cavalry units in the eastern Alpine region were recruited exclusively from the traditionally allied central Norican area. Along the middle courses of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers spurs, although extremely rare, were namely found both in graves with full weaponry sets (sword, shield, and one or more spears), as well in those with a combination of sword and two spears, spears and shield, or just with one weapon, a sword or spear.<sup>61</sup> Judging from the grave inventories, in the region of central and southeastern Slovenia at the end of the La Tène Period a frequent combination occurred of shield bosses with one or more spear points, while the high proportion of Early Roman graves stands out in which both above mentioned weapons appear together with a sword.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Fingerlin 1986, 113, no. 318, 38.

<sup>59</sup> Radman-Livaja 2010, 111.

<sup>60</sup> Nabberfeld 2008, 201-202, Pl. 42: 410; 43: 411; 44: 412.

<sup>61</sup> Schumacher 1999, 82-83, 92-93, Fig. 32.

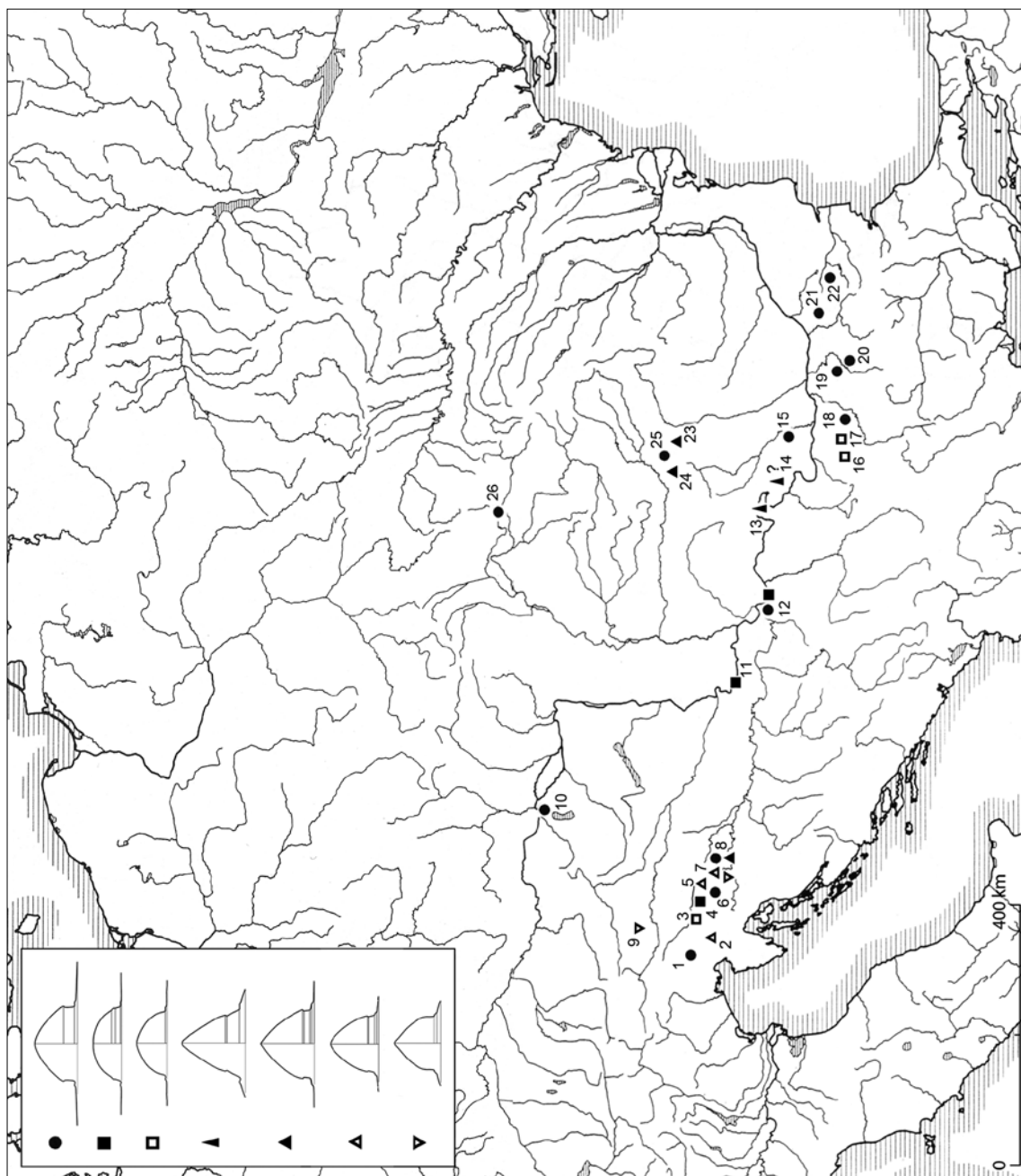
<sup>62</sup> See Pernet 2010, 223-225, 230-231, Fig. 138, 146.

<sup>61</sup> Schumacher 1999, 82-83, 92-93, sl. 32.

<sup>62</sup> Glej Pernet 2010, 223-225, 230-231, sl. 138, 146.

<sup>63</sup> Gaspari 2010, 82-83.





Sl. / Fig. 7: Najdišča ščitnih grb tipa Novo mesto 169 in njegovih različic: 1 Reka pri Cerknem; 2 Stari grad nad Uncem; 3 Ljubljana; 4 Magdalenska gora; 5 Strmec nad Belo Cerkvijo; 6 Novo mesto; 7 Verdun; 8 Mihovo; 9 Magdalensberg; 10 Braunsberg; 11 Sotin; 12 Beograd – Karaburma; 13 Vajuga – Pesak; 14 Portilor de Fier; 15 Dobrosloveni; 16 »Distrikt Montana«; 17 Dobrusha; 18 Koinare; 19 Smočan; 20 Dojranci; 21 Vinograd; 22 Kamburovo; 23 Tilišca; 24 Cugir; 25 Čaplna; 26 Chellenitsa – Mala Kopanya; / Distribution map of shield bosses of the Novo Mesto 169 type and its variants: 1 Reka near Cerkno; 2 Stari grad above Unec; 3 Ljubljana; 4 Magdalenska gora; 5 Strmec above Bela Cerkev; 6 Novo mesto; 7 Verdun; 8 Mihovo; 9 Magdalensberg; 10 Braunsberg; 11 Sotin; 12 Beograd – Karaburma; 13 Vajuga – Pesak; 14 Portilor de Fier; 15 Dobrosloveni; 16 “Montana District”; 17 Dobrusha; 18 Koinare; 19 Smočan; 20 Dojranci; 21 Vinograd; 22 Kamburovo; 23 Tilišca; 24 Cugir; 25 Čaplna; 26 Chellenitsa – Mala Kopanya (dopolnjeno po Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004 / supplemented from Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004)

uničenih kosov orožja profana odložitve skoraj ne pride v poštev, medtem ko bi lahko posamezne naselbinske najdbe močno poškodovanih grb, kot je npr. tista iz poznolatenske plasti na Devínu pri Bratislavi, interpretirali tudi kot surovino, namenjeno poznejši predelavi.<sup>64</sup>

Opisane poškodbe na obravnavani grbi spominjajo na sistematično deformirane in pogosto sežgane grbe iz latenskih kulturnih mest v jugovzhodnih Alpah in predalpskem prostoru, ki so bile podobno kot v primeru svetišč belgijskega tipa po manipulaciji bodisi izpostavljene na drevju ali lesenih podlagah v smislu *tropaeuma* bodisi temeljito fragmentirane in depnirane na mestih sežiganja, ki so pogosto locirana na prostoru starejših grobišč (Misincinis pri Paularu v Karniji, Repelc na Mostu na Soči in morda tudi Stari grad nad Uncem na Notranjskem).<sup>65</sup> Orožje (meči, sulične osti, čelade, ščiti), praviloma razsekano na drobne kose, označuje vse faze odlaganja (Lt C2 – avgustejsko obdobje) v obodnem jarku svetišča na Frauenbergu pri Lipnici (Leibnitz) na avstrijskem Štajerskem,<sup>66</sup> medtem ko je bilo mogoče iz polnil obodnega jarka znanega svetišča Gournay-sur-Aronde v Picardiji (Lt B2–Lt C2/Lt D1) razbrati težnjo k vedno temeljitejši fragmentaciji.<sup>67</sup> Prehod iz razobešanja razmeroma velikih kosov orožja iz časa med Lt B2 in avgustejskim obdobjem (ščitne grbe, naličnice, nožnice, meči, sulična kopita in osti) k depniranju manjših fragmentov (nožnica gladija in keltski ščiti) v jame iz najmlajše faze odlaganja je bil dokumentiran tudi v primeru kulturnega kompleksa na hribu Sorantri pri Raveu v Karniji.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Pieta 2005, 52, T. 13: 6.

<sup>65</sup> Gaspari 2008, 33; Gaspari 2009, 326.

<sup>66</sup> Tiefengraber, Grill 2007, 160.

<sup>67</sup> Brunaux, Meniel, Poplin 1985, 118-124; Brunaux, Rabin 1988.

<sup>68</sup> Donat, Righi, Vitri 2007, 109-112, sl. 22-23.

### Commentary on the circumstances of discovery

For a discussion of the dating of the pit with the umbo under discussion and the background to its deposition in insula XLIII, it is important to note that no grave or settlement units nor pronounced concentration of La Tène finds are known from the area of the later *intra muros*. The few finds of Celtic type fibulae and other metal objects and the somewhat more numerous pottery finds come from Early Roman deposits, and as a rule appear together with Italic material.<sup>63</sup> The dating of the deposition to the Early Roman Period and not to a possible La Tène grave is also supported by the absence of burnt remains and other objects, although the cult meaning of the context is practically unquestionable. Particularly in cases of “regularly” destroyed pieces of weapons, a profane deposition almost never comes into consideration, while individual settlement finds of badly damaged shield bosses, such as the one from Late La Tène layers at Devín near Bratislava, could also be interpreted as raw material intended for further processing.<sup>64</sup>

The described damage to the umbo under discussion is reminiscent of the systematically deformed and often burnt shield bosses from La Tène cult sites in the southeastern Alps and the pre-Alpine region, which similarly as in the case of sanctuaries of the Belgic type in terms of manipulation were either placed in trees or on a wooden platform in the sense of a *tropaeum* or were thoroughly fragmented and deposited at the place where they were burnt, often located in the area of earlier cemeteries (Misincinis near Paularo in Carnia, Repelc at Most na Soči, and perhaps also Stari grad above Unec in Inner Carniola).<sup>65</sup> Weapons (swords, spearheads, helmets, shields), usually chopped into tiny pieces, characterize all

<sup>63</sup> Gaspari 2010, 82-83.

<sup>64</sup> Pieta 2005, 52, Pl. 13: 6.

<sup>65</sup> Gaspari 2008, 33; Gaspari 2009, 326.

Podoben tip poškodb srečamo tudi pri grbah v bojevnih grobovih, v katere so po keltskem običaju položili sežgano in zvito orožje, pri čemer opozarjamo na podobno vdrstost kalote in simetrično deformiranje okrajka, ki mu je bila podvržena okrogla grba tipa Minusio iz Roj pri Moravčah.<sup>69</sup> Obredno so bili onesposobljeni tudi pridatki uničenih srednjelatskih bojevnih grobov z vrha ježe nad levim bregom Ljubljanice na območju severnega trakta Turjaške palače. V sprimku, ki je bil prvotno nedvomno del polnila jaškaste grobne jame in mu verjetno pripadajo tudi ostanki para prostoročno izdelanih posod lokalne tradicije, je viden štirikrat prepognjen meč v nožnici, zvita trakasta ščitna grba in uhata sekira ter delci sežganih človeških kosti. V istem zgodnjem nasutju je bila najdena še prepognjena nožnica, katere ustje je okrašeno s kombiniranim motivom para zmajčkov, kačje glave in rastlinskega okrasa.<sup>70</sup> Pojav grobov na območju poznobronastodobne in starejše železnodobne nekropole s središčem na dvorišču Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (sl. 1: 2) ne preseneča, saj sta bila sorodna primera vkopov latenskih grobov v halštatske gomile dokumentirana že na bližnjem Molniku<sup>71</sup> in 12 km oddaljeni Magdalenski gori pri Šmarju-Sapu,<sup>72</sup> ponovno uporabo starega pokopališčnega prostora pa dokazujejo tudi avgustejski grobovi avksiliarnih vojakov z območja halštatskih gomil na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani.<sup>73</sup> Poleg tega so bile v premešanih plasteh na območju med dvoriščem SAZU, Salendrovo in Turjaško palačo odkrite tudi nekatere poznolatske ko-

the phases of deposition (LT C2 – Augustan Period) in the surrounding ditch of the cult site at Frauenberg near Leibnitz in Austrian Styria,<sup>66</sup> while it was possible from the fill of the ditch surrounding the well-known sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde in Picardy (LT B2–LT C2/LT D1) to distinguish a tendency towards even more thorough fragmentation.<sup>67</sup> The transition from suspending relatively large pieces of weapons from the period between LT B2 and the Augustan Period (shield bosses, cheek-pieces, daggers, swords, spearheads and spear-butts) to the placement of smaller fragments (gladius sheaths and Celtic shields) in pits in the latest phase of ritual deposition was also documented in the case of the cult complex at Monte Sorantri near Raveo in Carnia.<sup>68</sup>

A similar type of damage can also be found on shield bosses from warrior graves where burnt and bent weapons were placed in accordance with Celtic customs. Similar breakage of the dome and symmetrical deformation of the flange had been applied to the circular umbo of the Minusio type from Roje near Moravče.<sup>69</sup> The grave goods had also been ritually disabled in the destroyed middle La Tène warrior graves at the top of the slope above the left bank of the Ljubljanica River in the area of the north wing of the Auersperg Palace. The conglomerate, which was undoubtedly part of the original fill of the shaft-like grave pit and probably also contained the remains of a pair of hand-thrown vessels of the local pottery tradition, contained a four-times folded sword in a scabbard, a twisted band-shaped shield boss, a shaft-hole axe, and fragments of burnt human bones. The same Early Roman fill also contained a folded scabbard, whose mouth was ornamented with a combined motif of a pair

<sup>69</sup> Knez 1977, T. 7: 5.

<sup>70</sup> Štrajhar, Gaspari 2013.

<sup>71</sup> Bregant *et al.* 1996, 61.

<sup>72</sup> Hencken 1978, 40; Tecco Hvala 2012, 40-41, 135.

<sup>73</sup> Gaspari *et al.* 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Tiefengraber, Grill 2007, 160.

<sup>67</sup> Brunaux, Meniel, Poplin 1985, 118-124; Brunaux, Rapin 1988.

<sup>68</sup> Donat, Righi, Vitri 2007, 109-112, Fig. 22-23.

<sup>69</sup> Knez 1977, Pl. 7: 5.

vinske in keramične najdbe,<sup>74</sup> ki dopuščajo možnost obstoja daritvenega mesta na mestu stare nekropole.

Komu je torej pripadala obravnavana ščitna grba in v kakšnih okoliščinah je bila odložena? Najdbe iz okvirno sočasnih kontekstov z območja *intra muros* dokazujejo, da so bili pri gradnji mesta udeleženi oddelki legij ilirske (panonske) vojske in pomožnih enot ter italiski naseljenci in lokalno prebivalstvo, zelo verjetno tudi znatno število vojnih ujetnikov iz južno-panonskega prostora. Lastnika oz. posestnika ščitne grbe moramo skoraj zagotovo iskati med aktivnimi vojaki (ali veterani) in ne civilnimi naseljenci. Posest gladijev in bodal ter sulic, kopij, puščic in svinčenih izstrelkov v nasprotju s tem ni bila v izključni domeni vojske, saj se je ofenzivno orožje uporabljalo tudi za lov, samoobrambo in gladiaturo.<sup>75</sup> Glede na veliko število sorodnih najdb iz staroselskih grobov v jugovzhodnopredalpskem prostoru je še najverjetnejša domneva, da gre pri obravnavani grbi za lastnino aktivnega vojaka ali veterana pomožnih enot rimske vojske, novačenih med lokalnimi plemeni.

Med orožjem in vojaško opremo iz zgodnjih emonskih plasti nakazujejo prisotnost avksiliarnih enot poleg obravnavane grbe še svinčeni izstrelki za pračo in deli čelad tipa Weisenau, pri čemer slednje pogosto upodabljajo tudi prikazi, pripisani legionarjem. Za slednje so v tem času tipične bronaste čelade tipa Buggenum in Hagenau, ki na avksiliarnih grobiščih manjkajo<sup>76</sup> in so na ožjem območju Ljubljane zastopane z naličnico<sup>77</sup> in vrhnjimi gumbi,<sup>78</sup> ter segmentni oklepi, ki jim

of dragons, a snake head, and floral decoration.<sup>70</sup> The appearance of graves in the area of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age cemetery with its centre in the courtyard of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Fig. 1: 2) is not surprising, as similar examples of the burial of La Tène graves in Hallstatt tumuli have already been documented at the nearby Molnik<sup>71</sup> and the 12 km distant Magdalenska gora near Šmarje-Sap,<sup>72</sup> while the reuse of earlier burial space is also proven by the Augustan Period graves of auxiliary soldiers in the area of Hallstatt tumuli at Congress Square in Ljubljana.<sup>73</sup> Additionally, several Late La Tène metal and pottery finds were discovered in mixed strata in the area between the SASA courtyard, Salendrova Street, and the Auersperg Palace,<sup>74</sup> allowing for the possibility of the existence of a ritual site at the location of the old necropolis.

Who, then, owned the discussed shield boss and under what circumstances was it deposited? Finds from approximately contemporary contexts in the area *intra muros* prove that units of the Illyrian (Pannonian) legions and auxiliary units attached to them were involved in the construction of the city, along with Italic settlers and local inhabitants, and very probably also considerable numbers of prisoners of war from the southern Pannonian region. The owner or possessor of the umbo must almost certainly be sought among the active soldiers (or veterans) and not civilian settlers. However, possessing a gladius and dagger, a spear, javelin, arrows, and lead projectiles, in contrast to this, was not the exclusive domain of the army, as offensive weaponry was also used for hunting, self-defence, and gladiator fighting.<sup>75</sup> Given the large number of similar finds from indigenous graves in

<sup>74</sup> Npr. Stare 1954, T. 43: 3; 64: 9, 12; Puš 1982, T. 46, 1-4; Horvat 2002, 59.

<sup>75</sup> Junkelmann 2002, 19-21; Nicolay 2007, 207-216.

<sup>76</sup> Gaspari 2008, 42.

<sup>77</sup> Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4.

<sup>78</sup> Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4; Gaspari 2010, 90, T. 28: Š 1181, Š 899, Š 1307.

<sup>70</sup> Štrajhar, Gaspari 2013.

<sup>71</sup> Bregant *et al.* 1996, 61.

<sup>72</sup> Hencken 1978, 40; Tecco Hvala 2012, 40-41, 135.

<sup>73</sup> Gaspari *et al.* 2014.

<sup>74</sup> E.g. Stare 1954, Pl. 43: 3; 64: 9, 12; Puš 1982, Pl. 46, 1-4; Horvat 2002, 59.

<sup>75</sup> Junkelmann 2002, 19-21; Nicolay 2007, 207-216.

pripadajo številne sponi. Večino delov gladijev oz. odlomkov njihovih nožnic ter žebličke za čevlje in dele pasov bi lahko pripisali tako opremi legionarjev kot pomožnih vojakov, enako velja tudi za pugio v nožnici tipa Mainz z odlomljeno konico z območja ceste C.<sup>79</sup> Precejšnje število kovinskih okrasov konjske opreme prej govori za auxilio, saj je bila legijska konjenica maloštevilna.<sup>80</sup>

Na razlago o votivnem ozadju odložitve ščitne grbe iz insule XLIII napeljujejo tudi druge najdbe iz zgodnjih emonskih depozitov. V podobnem kontekstu kot grba, torej v polnilu vkopa, ki ni vsebovalo drugih predmetov, je bila na bližnji lokaciji Šumi najdena poznorepublikanska gema iz karneola z vgravirano dionizično upodobitvijo (sl. 1: 5).<sup>81</sup> Odsotnost značilnega odpada s kostmi, keramiko, lepom, ogljem in ostanki talilnih lončkov je pomembna tudi za interpretacijo več bronastih novcev in kompleta medicinskega orodja, odkritih v polnilu naravne vodne kotanje (sl. 1: 4) v neposredni bližini najdišča omenjene geme. Oba konteksta iz Šumija pripisujemo fazi gradnje prvih zidov ali času neposredno pred njo.<sup>82</sup>

V obravnavi možnih ozadij za ne povsem običajen pojav popolnega oz. skoraj nepoškodovanega orožja v vojaških taborih in civilnih naselbinskih kontekstih je potrebno upoštevati tako profani kot ritualni vidiki.<sup>83</sup> Prvi se zarisuje na ravni reverzibilnega deponiranja z namenom zavarovanja pred krajo ali celo skrivanja ukradenih stvari, pri čemer je za interpretacijo ključna vsakokratna lega oziroma dostopnost deponiranih predmetov. Ta je seveda drugačna npr. pri čeladi različice tipa Weisenau iz poznoavgustejskega

the southeastern pre-Alpine region, it is still most likely that the umbo in question was the property of an active soldier or veteran of an auxiliary unit of the Roman army, recruited from among the local tribes.

Among the weapons and military equipment from the early layers of Emona that display the presence of auxiliary units, in addition to the shield boss, are lead projectiles for slingshots and parts of Weisenau type helmets, with the latter also often being depicted in images attributed to legionaries. For the latter at that time, the bronze helmets of the Buggenum and Hagenau types were typical, which are lacking at auxiliary cemeteries,<sup>76</sup> and are represented in the Ljubljana region with cheekpieces<sup>77</sup> and knobs,<sup>78</sup> and segments of plate armour to which numerous clasps belonged. Most of the gladius fragments or pieces of their scabbards, along with nails for shoes and belt parts could be attributed either to the equipment of legionary soldiers or auxiliary soldiers, while the same is also true for the pugio in a Mainz type sheath with a broken off point from the area of Road C.<sup>79</sup> The fairly numerous metal decorations for horse equipment would indicate the presence of auxiliary units, as few cavalrymen were attached to the legions.<sup>80</sup>

An interpretation of a votive background to the deposition of the shield boss from insula XLIII is further suggested by other finds from early deposits in Emona. In a similar context as the umbo, i.e. in the fill of a pit that did not contain other objects, a Late Republican carnelian gem with an engraved Dionysian image was found at the nearby site of Šumi (Fig. 1: 5).<sup>81</sup> The absence of characteristic refuse with bones, pottery, daub, charcoal, and

<sup>76</sup> Gaspari 2008, 42.

<sup>77</sup> Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4.

<sup>78</sup> Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4; Gaspari 2010, 90, Pl. 28: Š 1181, Š 899, Š 1307.

<sup>79</sup> Plesničar Gec 1999, 164, Fig. 241, 248b; Gaspari 2010, 93, Fig. 54.

<sup>80</sup> Goldsworthy 2003, 58.

<sup>81</sup> Gaspari 2009a.

<sup>79</sup> Plesničar Gec 1999, 164, sl. 241, 248b; Gaspari 2010, 93, sl. 54.

<sup>80</sup> Goldsworthy 2003, 58.

<sup>81</sup> Gaspari 2009a.

<sup>82</sup> Gaspari 2010, 124.

<sup>83</sup> Thiel, Zanier 1994, 59-81.

vkopa v kastelu Tenedo-Zurzach,<sup>84</sup> bodalu v nožnici in pripadajočemu pasu iz jame v taboru Dangstetten<sup>85</sup> ali pri gladiju z reliefno okrašeno nožnico in pasom iz manjše jame v severnem delu legijskega tabora Vindonissa, ki se je po mnenju E. Deschler-Erba v času odložitve nahajala v eni od barak za moštvo<sup>86</sup> kot pa v primeru izoliranih najdb iz vodnih zbiralnikov in vodnjakov. Možnost, da gre za zavrženo ali zapuščeno lastnino, zanikajo običajno skrbna odložitve in odsotnost spremljajočih najdb, najdišče v bivalnem prostoru pa govori tudi proti shranjevanju reciklaži namenjenega materiala in kulturni odložitvi. Slednja je verjetnejša pri v celoti ohranjeni nožnici iz kasarne v kastelu Valkenburg na Nizozemskem, ki je interpretirana kot gradbena daritev,<sup>87</sup> nadalje štirih bodalih v nožnicah, od katerih je bil eden najden skupaj s cingulumom, iz vodnih zbiralnikov zgodnjecesarske naselbine na Auerbergu v Algäu na Bavarskem<sup>88</sup> ali najdbi avgustejskega gladija v nožnici, na katero je bilo prijavljeno bodalo v nožnici, iz struge Ljubljani pri Blatni Brezovici na Ljubljanskem barju.<sup>89</sup> Ritualni kontekst odložitve domnevata A. Thiel in W. Zanier<sup>90</sup> za že omenjeno bodalo iz Dangstettna, par bodal v nožnicah iz drenažnega jarka pred obzidjem tabora v Mainzu in bodalo v nožnici iz polnila vadbenega jarka v bližini legijskega tabora v Karnuntumu.<sup>91</sup> Nasprotno bi lahko veljalo za v kožni vreči shranjeno železno čelado, ki je bila najdena v vsebini latrine v Vindonissi in je interpretirana kot založni depo ukradenega blaga.<sup>92</sup> Tudi najdba

remains of smelting pots is also important for the interpretation of several bronze coins and a set of medical implements discovered in the fill of a natural water hollow (Fig. 1: 4) in the immediate vicinity of where the gem was found. Both contexts at Šumi are attributed to the phase of construction of the first walls or the period immediately before that.<sup>82</sup>

In dealing with the possible background to the not entirely common appearance of completely or rather almost undamaged weapons in a military camp or civilian settlement context, it is necessary to consider both secular and ritual aspects.<sup>83</sup> The former can be outlined on the level of a reversible deposit with the intention of protection from theft or even hiding stolen items, with the key element for the interpretation always being the location or accessibility to the deposited objects. This is certainly different, for example, in the case of the Weisenau type helmet from a Late Augustan pit at Tenedo-Zurzach,<sup>84</sup> the dagger in a sheath with an accompanying belt from a pit at the camp of Dangstetten,<sup>85</sup> or the gladius with a relief decorated scabbard and a belt from a small pit in the northern part of the legionary camp of Vindonissa, which according to E. Deschler-Erb at the time of deposition would have been located in one of the barracks for the soldiers,<sup>86</sup> than for examples of isolated finds from water reservoirs and wells. The possibility that these had been discarded or abandoned property is countered by the usually careful deposition and the absence of accompanying finds, while sites in dwelling areas also speak against the storage of material intended for recycling and ritual cult deposition. The latter is more likely for the completely preserved scabbard from the barracks in the castellum of Valkenburg in the Netherlands, which was interpreted as a con-

<sup>84</sup> Hänggi, Doswald, Roth-Rubi 1994, 148, 554, sl. 105, T. 35: 119.5.

<sup>85</sup> Fingerlin 1986, kat. št. 207, 3.

<sup>86</sup> Deschler-Erb 1997, 29.

<sup>87</sup> Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, op. 78.

<sup>88</sup> Ulbert, Zanier 1996, 73.

<sup>89</sup> Istenič 2012, 159, sl. 1-2.

<sup>90</sup> Thiel, Zanier 1994, op. 41.

<sup>91</sup> Kandler, Veters 1986, 219-220.

<sup>92</sup> Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, op. 79.

<sup>82</sup> Gaspari 2010, 124.

<sup>83</sup> Thiel, Zanier 1994, 59-81.

<sup>84</sup> Hänggi, Doswald, Roth-Rubi 1994, 148, 554, Fig. 105, Pl. 35: 119.5.

<sup>85</sup> Fingerlin 1986, cat. no. 207, 3.

<sup>86</sup> Deschler-Erb 1997, 29.

železne čelade tipa Weisenau z ostanki odtrgane srebrne obrobe in manjkajočima naličnicama, odkrite skupaj s keramiko in drugimi kovinskimi predmeti v cisterni na zahodnem delu Akvileje,<sup>93</sup> po mnenju M. Buore nima kulturnega ozadja. Avtor povzema mnenje L. Bertacchi, da gre verjetno za izgubljeno posest iz leta treh cesarjev.<sup>94</sup>

Med sklopi bolj ali manj nepoškodovanih kosov orožja, pri katerih ni nobenih pokazateljev za religiozno ozadje odložitve, sodijo na obravnavanem območju npr. omenjene najdbe iz tiberijsko-klavdijskega nasutja za hodno površino v stavbi SH/5 na Štalenskem vrhu ali danes izgubljena skupna najdba štirih kratkih mečev, 60 cm dolgega meča, piluma, ščitne grbe, večje količine železnega orodja, ključavnic in tečajev vrat, strigilisa, brnastega vedra in nekaj keramičnih vrčev iz ruševinske plasti v prostoru 6 v emonski insuli II, ki jo je W. Schmid datiral v 2. stoletje.<sup>95</sup>

V okviru obravnave rimskega orožja in konjske opreme iz naselbin, grobov in kulturnih mest severne Galije je J. Nicolay med drugim opozoril na verjetno ritualno naravo skupine jam z neobičajno vsebino na naselbini Oosterhout - Van Boetzelaerstraat na Nizozemskem. Na ravnem dnu ene od jam so bili odkriti gladij tipa Pompeji, sulično kopito, nekaj železnih žebeljev in fragmenti živalskih kosti.<sup>96</sup> Podobne okoliščine izkazujejo depo čelade tipa Weisenau, železne ščitne grbe in strigilisa iz lesene kašte, odkrite v neposredni bližini avgustejskega legijskega tabora na Hunerbergu v Nijmegnu, in več skupnih najdb iz bližnjega kastela na Kops Plateau. V konjeniški utrdbi iz predflavijskega časa, v kateri je bila morda stacionirana

struktura offering,<sup>87</sup> further four daggers in sheaths, one found together with a cingulum, from the water reservoir of the Early Imperial settlement at Auerberg in Allgäu in Bavaria,<sup>88</sup> or the find of an Augustan gladius in a scabbard onto which a dagger in a sheath had rusted from the bed of the Ljubljana River near Blatna Brezovica in the Ljubljana Moors.<sup>89</sup> A ritual context of deposition was suggested by A. Thiel and W. Zanier<sup>90</sup> for the previously mentioned dagger from Dangstetten, a pair of daggers in sheaths from the drainage ditch in front of the camp walls in Mainz, and a dagger in its sheath from the fill of a ditch in the vicinity of the legionary camp at Carnuntum.<sup>91</sup> The opposite could apply to an iron helmet preserved in a leather bag, which was found in the contents of a latrine at Vindonissa and was interpreted as a hoard of stolen goods.<sup>92</sup> The find of an iron Weisenau type helmet with the remains of torn silver edging and missing cheekpieces, discovered together with pottery and other metal objects in a cistern in the western part of Aquileia,<sup>93</sup> would not have any cult significance according to M. Buora. The author cites the opinion of L. Bertacchi that this was probably a lost possession from the Year of the Three Emperors.<sup>94</sup>

Sets of more or less undamaged weapons without any indications of a religious background for the deposition consist in the region under consideration, for example, of the mentioned find from the Tiberian-Claudian fill for the walking surface in building SH/5 at Magdalensberg, or the lost hoard of four short swords, a 60 cm long sword, a pilum, a shield boss, a large quantity of iron tools, locks, door hinges, a strigilis, a bronze pail,

<sup>87</sup> Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, n. 78.

<sup>88</sup> Ulbert, Zanier 1996, 73.

<sup>89</sup> Istenič 2012, 159, Fig. 1-2.

<sup>90</sup> Thiel, Zanier 1994, n. 41.

<sup>91</sup> Kandler, Veters 1986, 219-220.

<sup>92</sup> Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, n. 79.

<sup>93</sup> Bertacchi 1982, 86-89.

<sup>94</sup> Buora 2002, 44; Künzl 1998, 443, n. 250.

<sup>93</sup> Bertacchi 1982, 86-89.

<sup>94</sup> Buora 2002, 44; Künzl 1998, 443, op. 250.

<sup>95</sup> Schmid 1913, 100-101; Schmid 1941, 47.

<sup>96</sup> Nicolay 2007, 195, sl. 5.15.

*ala Batavorum*, je bilo najdenih več jam z ritualno deponiranim orožjem. V posameznih vkopih, ki jih ni mogoče povezati z bivalnimi objekti ali odpadnimi jamami, so našli po eno čelado skupaj z odlomki namerno razbitih keramičnih posod, ki jih v nekaterih primerih spremljajo kosti perutnine. V eni od jam sta bili najdeni dve čeladi, druga je vsebovala varianto čelad tipa Weisenau in zvito ščitno grbo, tretja pa zvito ščitno grbo in ostanke črepij loncev. Bolj zapletene celote so znane iz kastela Newstead, v katerem je ena od jam z domnevnim kulturnim značajem vsebovala dve železni in eno medeninasto čelado, lobanjo konja in psa, jelenje rogovje, brzde, kovinske dele sedla in druge konjske opreme ter odlomke keramike.<sup>97</sup>

Večina avtorjev objav v prejšnjem odstavku naštetih najdb je mnenja, da gre za daritve z ostanki ritualnih pojedin, ki so jih analogno orožju iz rečnih strug ali kulturnih mest odložili vojaki ob ključnem trenutku kariere, zelo verjetno ob častnem odpustu (*missio honesta*).<sup>98</sup> Morda so, preden so za vedno zapustili garnizijo oz. zadnje mesto službovanja, darovali del opreme v zahvalo božanstvu, ki jih je varovalo in jim zagotavljalo uspeh v boju.<sup>99</sup> Med možnimi dedikanti orožja iz kulturnih mest in rečnih strug vidi Nicolay vojake, predvsem veterane in višje rangirane posameznike, pri čemer se da na podlagi lastniških napisov na orožju iz vodotokov med njimi prepoznati tako legionarje kot pomožne vojake.<sup>100</sup> Roymans domneva, da so zgodnjerimsko vojaško opremo v reke severne Galije in spodnjega Porenja darovali predvsem domači avksiliarni vojaki, in sicer predvsem zaradi tega, ker gre za neitalski oz. nerimski običaj s koreninami v prazgodovinski tradiciji ce-

and several pottery jugs from the layer of ruins in room 6 in insula II at Emona, dated by W. Schmid to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>95</sup>

In the framework of discussing Roman weapons and equestrian equipment from the settlements, graves, and cult sites of northern Gaul, J. Nicolay drew attention, among other things, to the probably ritual nature of the group of pits with unusual contents at the settlement of Oosterhout - Van Boetzelaerstraat in the Netherlands. A gladius of the Pompeii type, a spear butt, several iron nails, and fragments of animal bones were discovered on the flat base of one of the pits.<sup>96</sup> Similar circumstances are shown by a hoard of a Weisenau type helmet, an iron shield boss, and a strigilis in a wooden box discovered in the immediate vicinity of the Augustan legionary camp at the Hunerberg in Nijmegen, and several hoards from the nearby castellum at Kops Plateau. In the cavalry fort from the pre-Flavian Period, where the *ala Batavorum* was perhaps stationed, several pits were found with ritually deposited weapons. In individual pits, which could not be connected to dwelling structures or refuse pits, they found one helmet each, together with fragments of deliberately broken pottery vessels in some cases accompanied by poultry bones. One pit contained two helmets, another a variant of the Weisenau type helmet and a bent umbo, a third a bent umbo and remains of pot shards. More complex units are known from the fort of Newstead, where one of the pits with an alleged cult character contained one brass and two iron helmets, skulls of a horse and a dog, deer antlers, bits, metal saddle parts and other equestrian equipment, and pottery fragments.<sup>97</sup>

Most of the authors of the publications cited in the previous paragraph consider that the above finds were sacrifices with the remains

<sup>97</sup> Enckevort, Willems 1994, 132.

<sup>98</sup> Enckevort, Willems 1994, 134.

<sup>99</sup> Roymans 1996, 34; Nicolay 2007, 181.

<sup>100</sup> Nicolay 2007, 189.

<sup>95</sup> Schmid 1913, 100-101; Schmid 1941, 47.

<sup>96</sup> Nicolay 2007, 195, Fig. 5.15.

<sup>97</sup> Enckevort, Willems 1994, 132.



linske Evrope.<sup>101</sup> Dejstvo, da se v rokavih in pritokih Rena pojavlja tudi legionarsko orožje, po van Enkevortu in Willemsu pomeni, da je *auxilia* uporabljala enako orožje ali da so darovalci rimski državljani, rekrutirani med keltskimi plemeni iz severne Italije.<sup>102</sup> Od 335 dokumentiranih legionarjev iz časa Avgusta, Tiberija in Kaligule je bilo 207 vojakov italskega porekla, od tega 135 iz severne Italije, med slednjimi pa zavzemajo največji delež (64) legionarji iz X. regije (*Venetia et Histria*).<sup>103</sup> Tradicija odlaganja orožja v vodotoke Padske nižine, Benečije in Furlanije, ki sega v bronasto dobo, je bila sodeč po izrazitem upadu najdb v zadnjih stoletjih pr. n. št. postopno opuščena, kar lahko morda pripišemo napredujoči romanizaciji lokalnih keltskih plemen po rimski osvojitvi Transpadane, povsem drugačno sliko pa kažejo obsežni sklopi latenskih in zgodnjericimskih najdb iz Ljubljane.<sup>104</sup> Razpoložljivi viri ne dopuščajo bolj določnega odgovora na vprašanje, do kakšne mere je pojav rimskega orožja in druge opreme v strugi na Ljubljanskem barju povezan z izpopolnjevanjem pozno-republikanskih in zgodnjecesarških enot z možmi iz širšega območja Ljubljanske kotline, ki je verjetno že s priključitvijo Galije Cisalpine leta 42/41 pr. n. št. postala del rimske Italije. Vojaki, ki so bili rekrutirani na območju delovanja enote, so se navadno naseljevali v okolici nekdanjih domov,<sup>105</sup> kar bi v kontekstu emonske najdbe lahko pomenilo zapuščino veterana, ki je ob vrnitvi v civilno življenje daroval orožje kot del rituala ob prehodu (*rite de passage*),<sup>106</sup> podobno pa bi lahko prišlo v poštev za določen del zgodnjericimskega orožja na območjih starejših

of ritual feasts, where analogously to rivers or cult sites, soldiers deposited weapons at some crucial moment in their career, most probably upon being honourably discharged (*missio honesta*).<sup>98</sup> Perhaps before they permanently left the garrison and their last posting, they sacrificed part of their equipment as thanks to a deity that had protected them and ensured success in battle.<sup>99</sup> Among the possible dedicators of weapons at cult sites and river beds, Nicolay suggested soldiers, particularly veterans and high-ranking individuals, while on the basis of inscriptions by the owners on weapons from watercourses both legionary and auxiliary soldiers can be recognized.<sup>100</sup> Roymans considered that the Early Roman military equipment in the rivers of northern Gaul and the lower Rhine valley was sacrificed primarily by indigenous auxiliary soldiers, primarily because this is a non-Italic or non-Roman custom with roots in the prehistoric tradition of continental Europe.<sup>101</sup> The fact that legionary equipment also appeared in the backwaters and tributaries of the Rhine meant, according to van Enkevort and Willems, either that the auxiliaries used identical weapons or that the donors were Roman citizens, recruited from among the Celtic tribes in northern Italy.<sup>102</sup> Of 335 documented legionaries from the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, 207 soldiers were of Italic origin, of these 135 were from northern Italy, while among the latter the largest share (64) were legionaries from regio X (*Venetia et Histria*).<sup>103</sup> The tradition of depositing weapons in the watercourses of the Po valley, Veneto, and Friuli, which extends into the Bronze Age, was gradually abandoned judging from the sharp decline in finds in the last centuries BC, which can perhaps be attributed to the advancing Romanization of

<sup>101</sup> Roymans 1996, 34.

<sup>102</sup> Enkevort, Willems 1994, 134.

<sup>103</sup> Junkelmann 1986, 104-105.

<sup>104</sup> Glej Turk *et al.* 2009.

<sup>105</sup> Nicolay 2007, 196-197.

<sup>106</sup> Roymans 1996, op. 45.

<sup>98</sup> Enkevort, Willems 1994, 134.

<sup>99</sup> Roymans 1996, 34; Nicolay 2007, 181.

<sup>100</sup> Nicolay 2007, 189.

<sup>101</sup> Roymans 1996, 34.

<sup>102</sup> Enkevort, Willems 1994, 134.

<sup>103</sup> Junkelmann 1986, 104-105.

kulturnih mest v strugi Ljubljanice.<sup>107</sup> Običaj prilaganja orožja v grobove je bil kot ključni del širšega sistema izražanja bojevniških vrednot pri plemenih jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora v glavnem opuščen že pred sredino 1. stoletja n. št.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Gaspari 2007, 150-153; Gaspari 2009b, 76.

<sup>108</sup> Gaspari 2008.

the local Celtic tribes after the Roman conquest of Transpadane Gaul, while an entirely different picture is shown by the extensive sets of La Tène and Early Roman finds from the Ljubljanica River.<sup>104</sup> Available sources do not permit a more definitive answer to the question to what extent the appearance of Roman weapons and other equipment in the river bed at the Ljubljana Moors was related to the complementation of the Late Republican and Early Imperial units with men from the broader area of the Ljubljana basin, which had already probably become a part of Roman Italy with the incorporation of Cisalpine Gaul in 42-41 BC. Soldiers who were recruited in the area of operation of the unit usually settled in the vicinity of their former homes,<sup>105</sup> which in the context of the Emona finds might indicate a legacy from veterans, who upon returning to civilian life sacrificed weapons as part of a ritual of transition (*rite de passage*),<sup>106</sup> and similarly, this could be relevant for a certain part of the Early Roman weapons deposited at earlier cult sites in the bed of the Ljubljanica River.<sup>107</sup> The custom of placing weapons in graves as a key element of a broader system of warrior values in the tribes of the southeastern Alpine region had mostly been abandoned even before the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>104</sup> See Turk *et al.* 2009.

<sup>105</sup> Nicolay 2007, 196-197.

<sup>106</sup> Roymans 1996, n. 45.

<sup>107</sup> Gaspari 2007, 150-153; Gaspari 2009b, 76.

<sup>108</sup> Gaspari 2008.

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NEUES ZUR URBANISTIK DES  
MUNIZIPIUMS ANDAUTONIA -  
ŠČITARJEVO (PANNONIA SUPE-  
RIOR, KROATIEN): AUSWERTUNG  
UND ARCHÄOLOGISCH-HISTORI-  
SCHE INTERPRETATION DER GEO-  
PHYSIKALISCHEN MESSUNGEN  
2012

**UDC:** 550.83(497.5 Ščitarjevo)

**Original scientific paper**

*Im Rahmen einer Forschungs Kooperation zwischen dem Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut und dem Archäologischen Museum in Zagreb wurden 2012 im südpannonischen Municipium Andautonia-Ščitarjevo geophysikalische Prospektionen auf einer Fläche von 4,3 ha durchgeführt. Die Interpretation der Messergebnisse gibt wichtige neue Aufschlüsse zum Straßenraster und Stadtplan, zu einzelnen Gebäudetypen und zur chronologischen Entwicklung der Stadt. Gebäude mit divergierenden Orientierungen lassen auf zwei Straßenraster schließen. In der ältesten, frühkaiserzeitlichen Phase I folgen die Häuser dem Verlauf der wichtigen, von Siscia nach Poetovio führenden Nord-südstraße. In der mittelkaiserzeitlichen*

NOVOSTI U URBANIZMU MUNICI-  
PIJA ANDAUTONIJE - ŠČITARJEVO  
(GORNJA PANONIJA, HRVATSKA):  
ANALIZA I ARHEOLOŠKO - POVIJE-  
SNA INTERPRETACIJA GEOFIZIČKIH  
MJERENJA IZ 2012. GODINE

**UDK:** 550.83(497.5 Ščitarjevo)

**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*U okviru istraživačke suradnje Austrijskog arheološkog instituta i Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu provedeno je geofizičko istraživanje površine 4,3 ha na prostoru južnapanonskog municipija Andautonije (Ščitarjevo). Interpretacija dobivenih podataka dala je značajne zaključke o rasteru ulica i gradskom planu te pojedinih oblika zgrada i kronološkog razvitka grada. Zgrade s različitom orijentacijom daju naslutiti da se radi o dva ulična rastera. U starijoj, ranocarskoj fazi I., zgrade prate smjer najvažnije ulice, odnosno ceste pravca sjever-jug koja je vodila od Siscije do Petovija. U srednjocarsko vrijeme, tj. fazi II., razvila*



*Phase II entwickelt sich ein der Topografie des 27 ha großen Geländesporne folgender; orthogonaler Straßenraster mit einer dichten Insula-Verbauung. Gebäude- und Haustypen bezeugen starke italische Einflüsse in dem am Kreuzungspunkt wichtiger Handelsrouten im Savetal gelegenen Municipium.*

*Keywords: Urbanismus, Pannonien, Andautonia - Ščitarjevo, geophysikalische Prospektion, Stadtentwicklung, Haustypen*

*se topografija koja je pratila uzvisinu veličine 27 ha, pravokutnog uličnog rastera s gusto izgrađenim inzulama. Građevine i tipovi kuća ukazuju na jaki italiski utjecaj u ovom municipiju koji se nalazio u dolini Save na križanju važnih trgovačkih puteva.*

*Ključne riječi: urbanizam, Panonija, Andautonija - Ščitarjevo, geofizičko istraživanje, razvoj grada, tipovi kuća*

## Einleitung

Im Rahmen einer Forschungskoope-ration zwischen dem Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut (Fachbereich Zentraleuropäische Archäologie, St. Groh) und dem Archäologischen Museum in Zagreb (J. Balen) werden urbanistische Studien zu dem südpannonischen Municipium Andautonia-Ščitarjevo vorgenommen. Der Schwerpunkt der Feldarbeiten liegt in der geophysikalischen Prospektion des noch weitgehend unverbauten Nordteils des antiken Siedlungsgebiets (Gradišče)<sup>1</sup> und in der Erstellung eines neuen Gesamtplanes. 2012 gelang es, die nördliche und westliche Bebauungsgrenze des Municipiums anhand geophysikalischer Messungen mit Magnetik zu definieren.<sup>2</sup> Insbesondere im Nordteil der Stadt ist eine mehrphasige Bauabfolge mit repräsentativen Gebäuden nachzuweisen. Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden die Ergebnisse der 2012 vorgenommenen geophysikalischen Prospektionen vorgestellt.

Die südwestpannonische Stadt Andautonia-Ščitarjevo befindet sich in der Ebene des Flusses Savus (Save), der einer der wichtigsten zentraleuropäischen Ost-West-Handelsrouten der Antike darstellt (Abb. 1). Die

<sup>1</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (Abb. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Die Auswahl der Messflächen erfolgte nach den örtlichen Gegebenheiten (Erlaubnis der Grundeigentümer und Bewuchs).

## Uvod

U okviru istraživačke suradnje Austrijskog arheološkog instituta (Odsjek za srednjoeuropsku arheologiju, S. Groh) i Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (J. Balen) provedeno je istraživanje urbanizma južnopanonskog municipija Andautonije (Ščitarjevo). Glavni cilj terenskog rada bilo je geofizičko istraživanje sjevernog dijela antičkog naselja (Gradišća),<sup>1</sup> koji je većim dijelom još uvijek neizgrađen, te izrada novog cjelovitog plana. Geofizičkim mjerenjima, uz pomoć magnetometrije 2012. godine, uspješno je definirana sjeverna i zapadna granica teritorija municipija.<sup>2</sup> Osobito se u sjevernom dijelu grada može identificirati višefazna gradnja s reprezentativnim građevinama. U nastavku ovoga rada prikazani su rezultati geofizičkog istraživanja koji su provedeni 2012. godine.

Grad Andautonija (Ščitarjevo) nalazi se u jugozapadnom dijelu Panonije, uz rijeku Savu koja je u antičko vrijeme predstavljala jednu od najvažnijih centralnoeuropskih trgovačkih ruta na relaciji istok-zapad (sl. 1). Prometna transverzala vodila

<sup>1</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (sl. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Odabir površina za istraživanje rezultat je lokalnih okolnosti (dozvola vlasnika zemljišta, biljni pokrov).



Abb. / Sl. 1: Andautonia-Ščitarjevo in der Provinz Pannonia Superior / Andautonija-Ščitarjevo u provinciji Gornjoj Panoniji (ESRI Basemap; Grafik: ÖAI, V. Lindinger / ESRI Basemap; grafika V. Lindinger, ÖAI)

Verkehrstransversale führt von der Bernsteinstraße im Territorium von Emona-Ljubljana (Regio X) annähernd parallel zur adriatischen Küste durch das südliche Pannonien bis zur Einmündung der Save in die Donau bei Singidunum-Belgrad in Moesien.<sup>3</sup> Mit dem Fluss als Transportweg und seinen Zuflüssen aus dem Dinarischen Gebirge konnten die wichtigen Erzlagerstätten der Savefallen ausgebeutet und bis zum Schwarzen Meer verhandelt werden. Die Region ist daher auch für die spätrepublikanisch-frühaugusteische Erschließung der nördlichen Provinzgebiete unter Octavianus und Tiberius und als militärische Aufmarschzone von besonderer Bedeutung.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Zur Bedeutung von Andautonia-Ščitarjevo an der Save-Flussroute: Knezović 2010, 188-193.

<sup>4</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 161-172.

je od Jantarnog puta na području Emone (Ljubljana-X. regija) otprilike paralelno s jadranskom obalom kroz južnu Panoniju do ušća Save i Dunava kod Singidunuma (Beograd) u Meziji.<sup>3</sup> Rijeka Sava, kao prijevozni put, i njene pritoke s Dinarskog gorja, omogućavali su eksploataciju rudnih bogatstava na zavoju rijeke i njihovu trgovinu sve do Crnog mora. Zbog toga je ovo područje vrlo važno za kasnorepublikanski/ranoaugustovski razvoj sjevernih provincija u vrijeme vladavine careva Oktavijana i Tiberija te kao područje raspoređivanja vojnih snaga.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Knezović 2010, 188-193.

<sup>4</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 161-172.



Abb. / Sl. 2: Geophysikalische Messungen 2012 im Nordteil des Munizipiums Andautonia-Ščitarjevo, Messflächen F 1–3 / Geofizička mjerenja 2012. g. u sjevernom dijelu municipija Andautonije-Ščitarjevo, površina F 1–3 (Karte: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109, Abb. 4; Grafik: ÖAI, V. Lindinger) / karta: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109, sl. 4: grafika: V. Lindinger, ÖAI)



Abb. / Sl. 3: Geophysikalische Messungen 2012 mit Magnetik im Nordteil des Municipiums Andautonia-Ščitarjevo / Geofizička mjerenja 2012. g. s magnetskom metodom u sjevernom djelu municipija Andautonije-Ščitarjevo (Foto: ÖAI, A. Langendorf / snimio A. Langendorf, ÖAI)

Das Municipium Andautonia-Ščitarjevo besitzt einen wichtigen Flusshafen und liegt am Schnittpunkt der Save mit einer bedeutenden Nord-Süd-Straße, die bei Poetovio-Ptuj in die Bernsteinstraße mündet. Die genaue Ausdehnung und chronologische Entwicklung von Andautonia ist bislang noch nicht bekannt. Man geht von einem ca.  $250 \times 250$  m bzw. 6,25 ha großen Siedlungsareal im 1.–2. Jh. n. Chr. aus, das im 3.–4. Jh. n. Chr. bis auf  $300 \times 900$  m bzw. 27 ha erweitert wird. Nach Plinius war Andautonia vom pannonischen Stamm der Varciani besiedelt, es dürfte bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jhs. v. Chr. unter römische Herrschaft gelangt sein. Anhand der archäologischen Funde kann von einem Siedlungsbeginn ab der ersten Dekade des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. und der größten Prosperität im 2. Jh. n. Chr. ausgegangen werden. Gegen Ende des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. besaß es bereits munizipalen Status, die Stadt (»Dautonia«) wird im *Itinerarium Antonini* als Ort an der Straße von Poetovio-Ptuj nach Siscia-Sisak erwähnt.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1981, 129-154; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Vojvoda 1994, 39-45; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 38-41.

Municipij Andautonija (Ščitarjevo) imao je važnu riječnu luku i nalazio se na križanju Save sa značajnom prometnicom sjever-jug, koja se kod Petovija (Ptuj) križala s Jantarnim putom. Podaci o točnim dimenzijama i kronološkom razvoju grada do danas nisu poznati. Pretpostavlja se da se radilo o području površine  $250 \times 250$  m, odnosno 6,25 ha u 1.-2. stoljeću, a koje se u 3.-4. stoljeću proširilo na površinu od  $200 \times 900$  m, odnosno 27 ha. Prema Pliniju, Andautoniju je nastanjivalo panonsko pleme Varcijana, a vjerojatno već u drugoj polovini 1. st. pr. Kr. područje je dospjelo pod rimsku vlast. Na temelju arheoloških nalaza može se pretpostaviti da se naselje počinje razvijati otpočetak 1. stoljeća, a da je 2. stoljeće bilo doba najvećeg prosperiteta. Krajem 1. stoljeća grad je već imao status municipija, a grad (»Dautonia«) spomenut je u Antoninovom itineraru kao mjesto na cesti od Petovija (Ptuj) do Siscije (Sisak).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1981, 129-154; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Vojvoda 1994, 39-45; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 38-41.

## Die Auswertung der geophysikalischen Messungen

Die geophysikalischen Messungen des ÖAI 2012 in Andautonia-Ščitarjevo erfolgten auf den Messflächen F 1–3 mit einer Gesamtgröße von 4,3 ha im äußersten Norden und Nordwesten des Siedlungsgebietes (Abb. 2).

Mit den geophysikalischen Messungen auf der Fläche F 1 (Abb. 3–4) sollten die nördlichen Grenzen der Stadt und eine etwaig vorhandene Stadtmauer untersucht werden. Anhand des Höhenmodells wird ersichtlich, dass das Gelände im Ortsteil Gradišče von 107,5 m üA auf ca. 105 m üA auf drei Seiten abfällt. Diese Geländedepression ist durch antike Flussläufe bzw. ein Überschwemmungsgebiet bedingt. Die geophysikalischen Messungen zeigen, dass Siedlungsreste nur auf dem erhöhten Sporn vorhanden sind, eine Stadtmauer konnte nicht festgestellt werden, vielmehr dürften Altarme der Save die Siedlung begrenzt haben.

Im Nordwesten der Messfläche kann eine ca. 5 m breite Straße auf einer Länge von 32 m erkannt werden (Straße 5). Die Straße wird bei der Anlage des Gebäudes 3 überbaut bzw. aufgegeben.

Am äußersten Nordrand der Siedlung sind drei Gebäude (Gebäude 1–3) auszumachen, deren teilweise Überlappung als Indiz für eine chronologische Abfolge zu werten ist.<sup>6</sup>

Das älteste Gebäude 1, das teilweise von den Gebäuden 2 und 3 überbaut wird, besitzt mit  $28 \times 28$  m bzw.  $784 \text{ m}^2$  einen annähernd quadratisch Grundriss. Um einen ca.  $15 \times 13,5$  m großen Innenhof gruppieren sich Reihen rechteckiger Räume entlang der Außenmauern. Das Gebäude folgt in seiner Orientierung nicht jener des Straßenrasters, sondern ist exakt Nord-Süd ausgerichtet.

<sup>6</sup> Die Messgenauigkeit der geophysikalischen Daten liegt höchstens im Dezimeterbereich. Maßangaben werden deshalb immer als Annäherungswerte (circa) verstanden.

## Analiza geofizičkih mjerenja

Geofizička mjerenja Austrijskog arheološkog instituta u Andautoniji (Ščitarjevu) 2012. godine provedena su na površinama F 1-3 ukupne površine 4,3 ha na krajnjem sjevernom i sjeverozapadnom dijelu naselja (sl. 2).

Geofizičkim mjerenjima na površini F1 (sl. 3-4) trebalo je istražiti sjeverne granice grada i eventualno postojanje gradskog bedema. Na temelju reljefnog modela vidljivo je da teren na području Gradišća na tri strane pada sa n.v. 107,5 m na cca 105 m n.v. Ulegnuće terena posljedica je drevnih tokova rijeka, tj. poplavljenog područja. Geofizička mjerenja pokazuju da su ostaci naselja na povišenom terenu, dok se ostaci bedema nisu mogli utvrditi. Veća je vjerojatnost da su rukavci rijeke Save činili granicu naselja.

Na sjeverozapadu istražene površine može se uočiti cesta širine cca 5 m u dužini od 32 m (cesta 5). Cesta je prekinuta, odnosno preko nje je izgrađena građevina 3.

Na krajnjem sjevernom rubu naselja mogu se razabrati tri građevine (1-3), koje se djelomično preklapaju, što je moguća naznaka kronoloških faza.<sup>6</sup> Najstarija građevina 1, preko čijeg su jednog dijela izgrađene građevine 2 i 3, svojim dimenzijama  $28 \times 28$  m, tj.  $784 \text{ m}^2$  ukazuje na skoro kvadratni tlocrt. Oko unutarnjeg dvorišta dimenzija  $15 \times 13,5$  m raspoređeni su nizovi pravokutnih prostorija uzduž vanjskih zidova. Zgrada je orijentirana u smjeru sjever-jug te se ne uklapa u ulični raster.

<sup>6</sup> Točnost mjerenja kod geofizičkih podataka kreće se u okvirima decimetra, pa mjere treba uvijek shvatiti kao približnu vrijednost (cca).

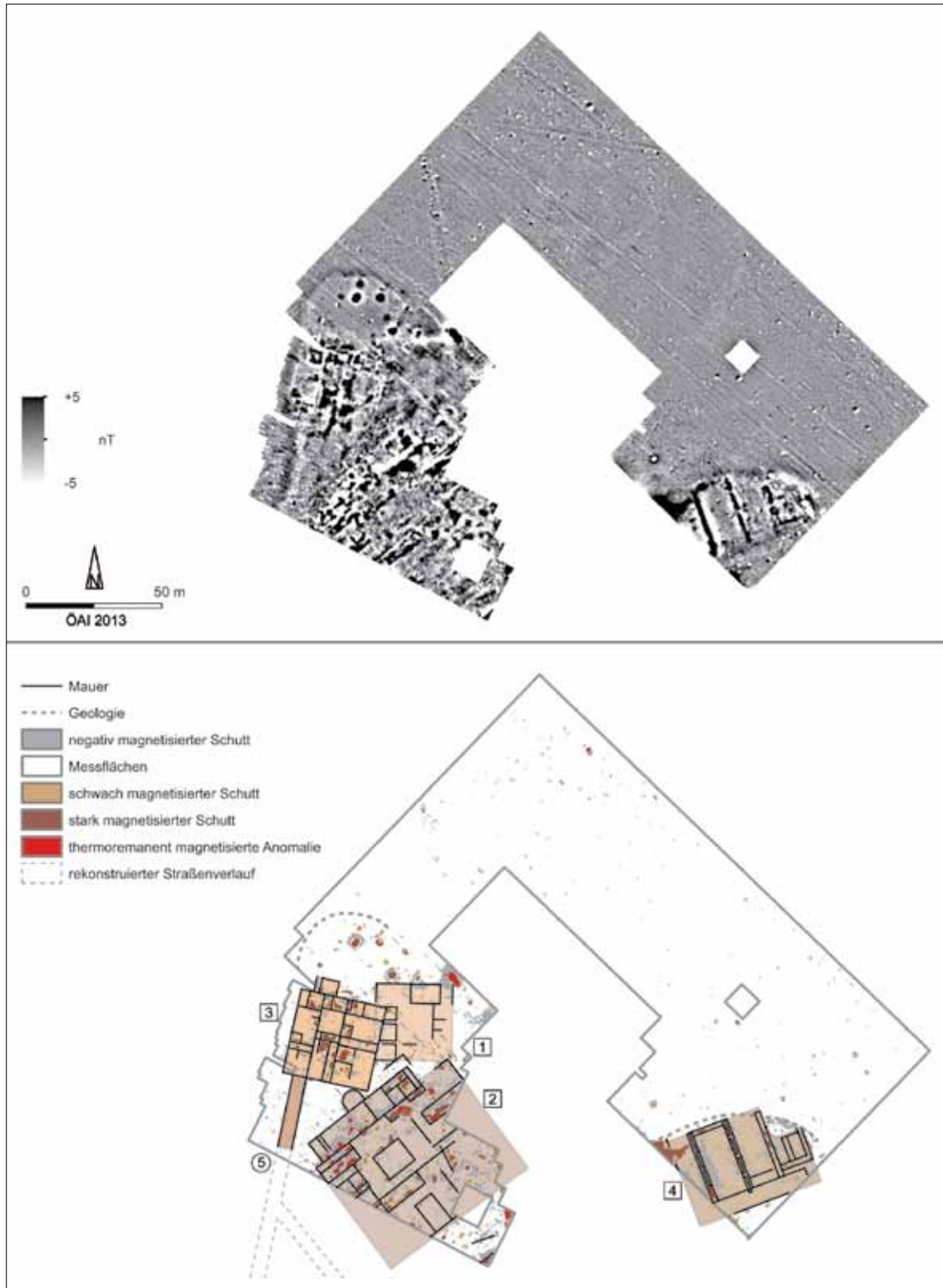


Abb. / Sl. 4: Geophysikalische Messungen 2012 im Nordteil des Municipiums Andautonia-Ščitarjevo, Fläche F 1. 1: Magnetik-Daten. 2: Interpretation der geophysikalischen Messdaten. Rechtecksymbole mit Gebäudenummern. Kreissymbole mit Straßennummern / Geofizicka mjerenja 2012. g. s magnetskom metodom u sjevernom djelu municipija Andautonije-Ščitarjevo, površina F 1. 1: Podaci dobiveni magnetometrijom 2: Interpretacija podataka dobiveni geofizickim istraživanjem. Pravokutnici s brojevima građevina, krugovi s brojevima ulica (Grafik: ÖAI, V. Lindinger / grafika V. Lindinger, ÖAI)

Das Gebäude 2 ist als größte Baustruktur zu werten, die anhand der geophysikalischen Messungen untersucht bzw. neu entdeckt werden konnte. Es liegt exakt im Raster der Insulae bzw. Straßen im Nordteil der Stadt und dürfte ursprünglich den nördlichen Abschluss der Bebauung dargestellt haben. Es handelt sich um ein (in der Ergänzung) mindestens  $55 \times 63$  m bzw.  $3465 \text{ m}^2$  großes repräsentatives Bauwerk mit einem ca.  $24 \times 27$  m großen peristylartigen Innenhof. Die Nordseite nimmt ein querliegender, ca.  $9 \times 46$  m langer Gebäudeteil ein, der sich aus mehreren Zimmern und einer axialsymmetrisch außen angebauten Apsis zusammensetzt. Stark thermoremanent magnetisierte Anomalien lassen vermuten, dass dieser Trakt entweder teilweise hypokaustiert war oder durch ein Schadfeuer zerstört worden ist. Die Positionierung und architektonische Ausgestaltung des Gebäudes 2 lässt an eine Domus bzw. Stadtvilla am Übergang zum Suburbium von Andautonia denken. Die Dimension dieses Bauwerks übertrifft alles bislang Bekannte in der Stadt.

Als jüngste Baumaßnahme ist die Anlage des Gebäudes 3 zu werten, bei dessen Bau die den Stadtteil im Nordwesten begrenzende Straße 5 aufgegeben wird. Dieses Gebäude 3 kommt eindeutig über dem Gebäude 1 zu liegen, interferiert jedoch, wie anhand der Prospektionsdaten zu ersehen ist, nicht zwingend mit dem Gebäude 2. Ein Nebeneinander beider Bauten wäre denkbar, ist jedoch wenig wahrscheinlich. Das quadratische,  $32 \times 32$  m bzw.  $1024 \text{ m}^2$  große Gebäude 3 ist in eine 14 m breite und zwei 9 m breite Parzellen mit analogen Baumustern gegliedert. Auf kleinere rechteckige Räume im Norden folgt ein größerer Zentralraum (Innenhof?) mit einem kleineren Raum in einer Ecke. Den Südteil nehmen jeweils ein schmaler querliegender Korridor und größere, längsorientierte rechteckige Räume ein. Das Parzellierungs- und Bebauungsschema lässt an drei Häuser auf Streifenparzellen mit Innenhof und getrennten Wohn- bzw. Arbeitsbereichen denken.

Građevinu 2 može se ocijeniti kao najveću novootkrivenu građevinu dobivenu geofizičkim istraživanjem. Nalazi se točno u rasteru inzula, odnosno ulica u sjevernom dijelu grada i vjerojatno je prvobitno predstavljala sjevernu granicu izgrađenih objekata. Radi se o reprezentativnom zdanju veličine najmanje  $55 \times 63$  m, odnosno  $3456 \text{ m}^2$  s unutarnjim dvorištem, u stilu peristila dimenzija cca  $24 \times 27$  m. Na sjevernoj strani, poprečno se nalazi dio zgrade dužine  $9 \times 46$  m u kojem je nekoliko prostorija, a izvana je aksijalnosimetrično nadograđena apsida. Na temelju anomalija koje su posljedica jake termoremanentne magnetizacije može se pretpostaviti da se taj trakt ili grijao pomoću hipokausta ili je uništen u požaru. Pozicija i arhitektonsko oblikovanje građevine 2 daju naslutiti da se radi o domusu, tj. gradskoj vili na prijelazu u suburbano područje. Dimenzije ove građevine veće su od svih dosada poznatih u gradu.

Procjenjuje se da zgrada 3 predstavlja najmlađi građevinski projekt, čijom je izgradnjom presječena cesta 5 koja je omeđivala sjeverozapadni dio grada. Zgrada 3 nesumnjivo je izgrađena na mjestu zgrade 1, ali podaci dobiveni geofizičkim istraživanjem ne daju uvjerljive rezultate da se ona preklapa i sa zgradom 2. Moguće bi bilo istovremeno postojanje obje građevine, no ipak je za to vrlo mala vjerojatnost. Građevina 3 kvadratnog je tlocrta, veličine  $32 \times 32$  m, tj.  $1024 \text{ m}^2$  te se sastoji od jedne parcele široke 14 m i dvije parcele široke 9 m, s istovrsnim načinom gradnje. Na male pravokutne prostorije nadovezuje se veća središnja prostorija (dvorište?) s jednom malom prostorijom u kutu. Južni dio zauzimaju uzak poprečni hodnik i veće, uzduž poredane pravokutne prostorije. Plan parcelacije i izgradnje daju naslutiti da se radi o tri kuće na izduženim parcelama s unutarnjim dvorištem i odvojenim stambenim i radnim područjem.

Stark thermoremanent magnetisierte Anomalien sind vor allem in den nördlichen, vielleicht als Wohnräume zu interpretierenden Abschnitten festzustellen. Die Orientierung des Gebäudes 3 folgt der Geländemorphologie (der auch die überbaute Straße 5 folgt), entspricht jedoch nicht jener des mittelkaiserzeitlichen Straßenrasters von Andautonia im Bereich des heutigen Ortsteils Gradišče.

Im Osten der Messfläche befindet sich das Gebäude 4, ein ca.  $27 \times 49$  m bzw.  $1323 \text{ m}^2$  großer Bau, der sich aus drei 11–12 m weiten Räumen zusammensetzt, begrenzt von massiven ca. 2 m breiten Mauern. Die extrem hohen geomagnetischen Anomalien der Mauerzüge, wie sie für Betonmauern üblich sind, lassen an einer antiken Datierung Zweifel aufkommen, fraglich ist, ob dieses Gebäude 4, das in seiner Orientierung nicht dem Straßenraster folgt, neuzeitlicher Provenienz ist.

Die Befunde der Messflächen F 2–3 gliedern sich in Straßenverläufe (Straßen 4–5 und 7) und die Gebäude 5–9 (Abb. 5).

Den Westrand des Stadtgebietes (Messfläche F 2) säumt die ca. 4 m breite Straße 5, in welche die niederrangige, 4,5 m breite Straße 7 des orthogonalen Straßennetzes mündet. Die das Stadtgebiet im Westen säumende Straße 5 ist auch im Norden auf der Messfläche F 1 mit einer Breite von ca. 5 m belegt (Abb. 4). Auf der Messfläche F 3 konnte die 6 m breite, bereits 1999 bei Georadar- und Widerstandsmessungen von B. Mušić entdeckte, höher-rangige Straße 4 des orthogonalen Rasters, weiter verfolgt werden.<sup>7</sup>

Westlich der Straße 5, bereits am Rande des Geländesporns, liegt das  $18 \times 29$  m bzw.  $522 \text{ m}^2$  große Gebäude 5. Reste eines weiteren Bauwerks dürften im Norden der Messfläche noch zu erkennen sein. Das Gebäude 5 setzt sich aus zwei Einheiten mit je einer ca. 6 m und einer ca. 9 m breiten Raumreihe zusammen. In die schmälere Korridore werden kleinere, in den Messdaten höher magneti-

Jake anomalije kao posljedica termoremanentne magnetizacije mogu se utvrditi u sjevernom dijelu zemljišta koji je možda bio stambeni prostor. Orijentacija građevine 3 odgovara morfologiji terena (kao i pregrađena cesta 5), ali ne uklapa se u srednjocarski ulični raster Andautonije na području današnjeg Gradišča.

Na istoku istraživane površine nalazi se građevina br. 4, veličine  $27 \times 49$  m, tj.  $1323 \text{ m}^2$  koja se sastoji od prostorija širine 11–12 m, a omeđena je masivnim zidovima širine 2 m. Ekstremno velike geomagnetiske anomalije zidova koje su uobičajene za betonske zidove dovode u sumnju da građevina datira iz antike. Nije sigurno je li dotična građevina br. 4, koja svojom orijentacijom ne odgovara uličnom rasteru, novovjekovnog porijekla.

Nalazi istraživanih površina F 2-3 obuhvaćaju smjerove cesta (ceste 4-5 i 7) te građevine 5-9 (sl. 5).

Zapadni rub gradskog područja (istraživana površina F 2) proteže se uzduž cca 4 m široke ceste 5 na koju se spaja sporedna cesta širine 4,7 m (cesta 7), a koja čini dio pravokutne ulične mreže. Cesta 5, koja se proteže uzduž zapadnog dijela grada, dokazana je i na sjevernom dijelu istraživane površine F 1 u širini od cca 5 m (sl. 4). Na površini F 3 mogla se dalje pratiti 6 m široka glavna cesta 4, koju je još 1999. godine otkrio B. Mušić georadarskom metodom i metodom električnog otpora.<sup>7</sup>

Zapadno od ceste 5, već na rubu povišenog dijela terena, nalazi se građevina 5, veličine  $18 \times 29$  m, odnosno  $522 \text{ m}^2$ . Ostaci još jednog građevinskog objekta mogu se prepoznati na sjevernom dijelu istraživane površine. Građevina br. 5 sastoji se od dvije cjeline, od kojih jedna sadržava niz prostorija širine oko 6 m, a druga niz prostorija širine oko 9 m. U uže hodnike

<sup>7</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 17; Mušić 2005, 258 (Abb. 7).

<sup>7</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 17; Mušić 2005, 258 (sl. 7).



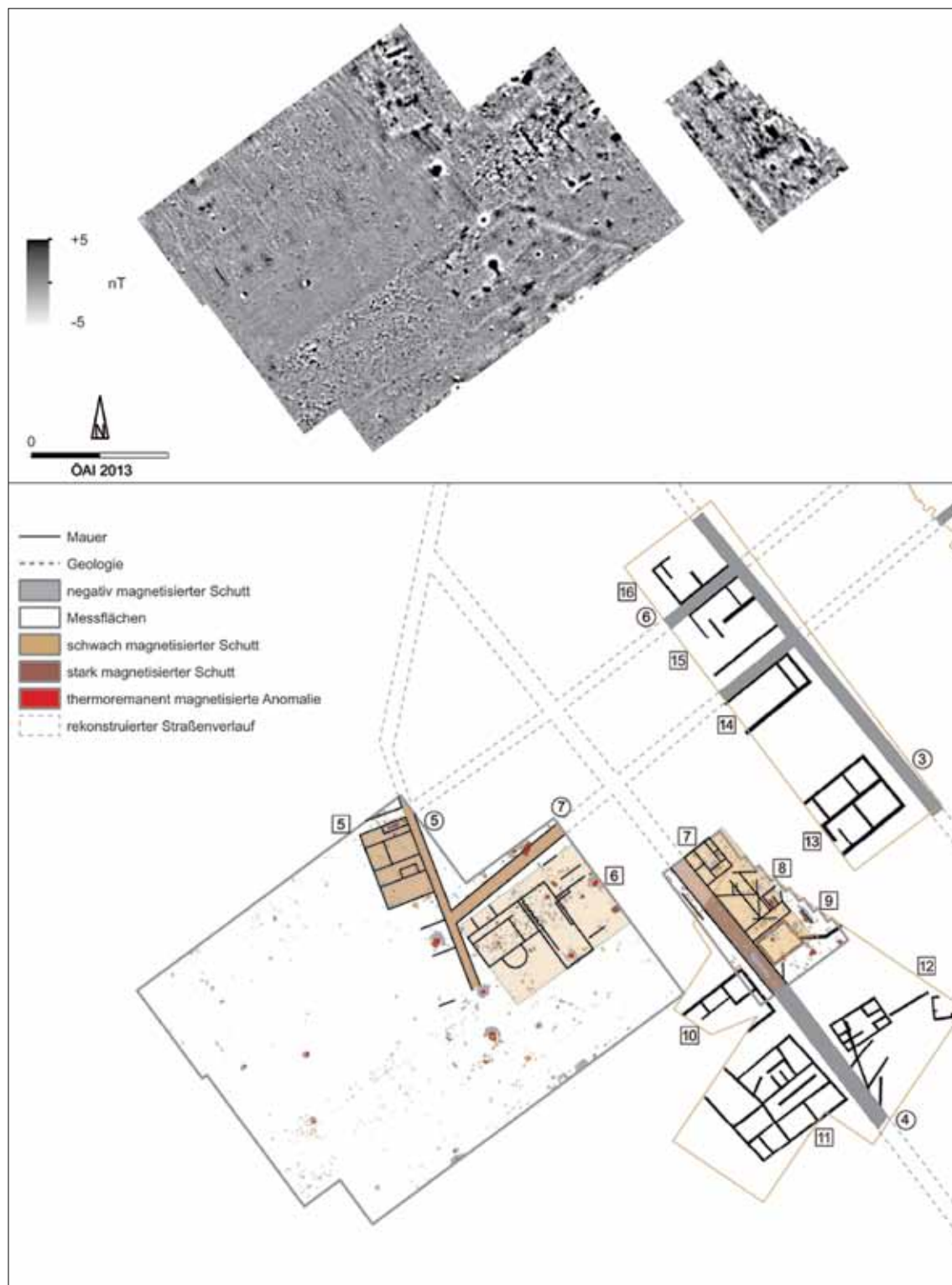


Abb. / Sl. 5: Geophysikalische Messungen 2012 im Nordteil des Munizipiums Andautonia-Ščitarjevo, Flächen F 2–3. 1: Magnetik-Daten. 2: Interpretation der geophysikalischen Messdaten. Rechtecksymbole mit Gebäudeummern. Kreissymbole mit Straßennummern / Geofizička mjerenja 2012. g. s magnetskom metodom u sjevernom djelu municipija Andautonije-Ščitarjevo, površine F 2–3. 1: Podaci dobiveni magnetometrijom 2: Interpretacija podataka dobivenih geofizičkim istraživanjem. Pravokutnici s brojevima građevina, krugovi s brojevima ulica (Grafik: ÖAI, V. Lindinger / grafika V. Lindinger, ÖAI)

sierte, längsrechteckige Räume gesetzt. Das Gebäude 5 kann wohl als Wohn- und Werkbereich interpretiert werden.

Das südlich der zum Zentrum führenden Straße 7 gelegene Gebäude 6 zeichnet sich in den Messdaten nur sehr schwach ab, was durch starke Übersättigungen oder durch sehr schlecht erhaltene Bausubstanz erklärbar ist. Dennoch lassen die erkennbaren Strukturen darauf schließen, dass es sich hier um eine mehrteilige Baustruktur handeln dürfte. Der über  $35 \times 52$  m bzw.  $1820 \text{ m}^2$  große Komplex setzt sich aus einem  $13,5 \times 22$  m langen Westtrakt mit im Süden annähernd mittig situierter Apsis, einem längsrechteckigen  $12 \times 31$  m großen Mittelteil und einer nicht näher spezifizierbaren Bebauung im Osten zusammen. Der Westtrakt wird über einen ca. 8 m breiten Vorbau von der Straße erschlossen. Von diesem aus gelangt man in einen querliegenden Korridor von rund 3 m Weite und eine größere, zweigeteilte Halle. Der mittlere Trakt besitzt massive, ca. 1,5 m breite Außenmauern, die an der westlichen Innenfront durch Lisenen gegliedert werden. Von dem Osttrakt sind nur ansatzweise einzelne Mauerzüge vorhanden, die jedoch auch auf größere Räume bzw. Hallen oder Hofflächen schließen lassen. Das Gebäude 6 liegt, wie auch das Gebäude 5, im Randbereich des Geländesporns, weiter südlich sind in den tiefer gelegenen Flächen keine Baustrukturen mehr vorhanden. Einzelne hier befindliche punktuelle geomagnetische Anomalien könnten am ehestens als Öfen bzw. Feuerstellen gedeutet werden, beides Indizien einer gewerblichen Nutzung suburbaner Gebiete.

Östlich der höherrangigen Straße 4 ist auf der Messfläche F 3 der Nachweis einer mehrphasigen Bebauung mit Gebäuden zweier Orientierungen gegeben (Gebäude 7–9). An der Ostseite der Straße liegt im Norden das ca.  $12 \times 13$  m bzw.  $156 \text{ m}^2$  große Gebäude 7 mit Innenhof und U-förmig angeordneten Räumen. Die Verbauung setzt sich in derselben Breite mit zwei parallel zur Straße und einer

smještene su pravokutne prostorije, koje prema mjernim podacima pokazuju veći stupanj magnetizacije. Građevina 5 može se interpretirati kao stambeni i radionički prostor.

Južno od ceste 7 koja vodi prema centru, smještene su građevine 5 i 6. Građevina 6 koja se vrlo slabo pokazuje u mjernim podacima, što se može objasniti snažnim zatrpavanjem ili lošom očuvanošću građevne konstrukcije. Unatoč tome može se na temelju teško raspoznatljivih struktura zaključiti da se ovdje vjerojatno radi o građevnoj strukturi koja se sastoji od više dijelova. Komplex koji se proteže na više od  $35 \times 52$  m, odnosno  $1820 \text{ m}^2$  sastoji se od zapadnog trakta dužine  $13,5 \times 22$  m s apsidom u južnom dijelu, postavljenoj gotovo u sredini, uzdužnog pravokutnog srednjeg dijela dimenzija  $12 \times 31$  m i građevine na istoku koja se ne može pobliže specificirati. Zapadnom traktu može se pristupiti s ceste, s više od 8 m širokog ulaznog prostora, a iz njega se dospjeva u hodnik širine oko 3 m i u jednu veću dvoranu podijeljenu na dva dijela. Srednji trakt sadrži masivne, cca 1,5 m široke, vanjske zidove koji su sa zapadne unutarnje strane raščlanjeni lezenama. Što se tiče istočnog trakta daju se tek malo naslutiti pojedinačni zidovi koji upućuju da se radilo o većim prostorijama, odnosno dvoranama ili dvorišnim površinama. Građevina br. 6 nalazi se, kao i građevina 5, na rubnom području uzvišenja, dok dalje na jugu na nižim površinama više nema građevinskih objekata. Pojedinačne geomagnetske anomalije koje su ovdje primijećene mogu se protumačiti kao peći, tj. ognjišta, što ukazuje na postojanje obrtničkih djelatnosti u suburbanom području.

Istočno od glavne ceste 4, na istraživanoj površini F 3, postoji dokaz višefazne izgradnje s građevinama s različitim orijentacijom (građevine 7-9). Na istočnoj strani ceste, na sjevernom dijelu, nalazi

im rechten Winkel zur Straße orientierten Hallen nach Süden fort (Gebäude 9). Diese im Straßenraster der Stadt liegenden Bauten überlagern ältere, nicht näher spezifizierbare Bausubstanz (Gebäude 8), die, wie das Gebäude 1 auf der Messfläche F 1 (Abb. 3), exakt Nord-Süd ausgerichtet ist. Daraus kann wohl auf eine ausgedehnte ältere Verbauung im Siedlungsgebiet von Andautonia (Ortsteil Gradišče) geschlossen werden.

Die geomagnetischen Messungen 2012 schließen hier direkt an die Georadarmessungen des Jahres 1999 an. In diesen Messungen wurden südlich der Straße 4 zwei im Grundriss rechteckige Gebäude untersucht, die aber auch Teile einer durchgehenden Insula-Verbauung sein könnten. Gebäude 10 misst in der Breite 20,5 m und ist mindestens 28 m lang. Die nördliche Seite des Gebäudes mit streifenförmigem Grundriss ist mit einzelnen Räumen verbaut. Das  $32,5 \times 39$  m bzw. 1267 m<sup>2</sup> große Gebäude 11 besitzt an der Westseite einen großen Hof. Es wird über einen mittig gelegenen Korridor erschlossen, an der Südseite befindet sich eine Raumreihe.

Nördlich der Straße 4 ist ein  $12 \times 20$  m bzw. 240 m<sup>2</sup> großes, aus einem mittig gelegenen Hof und zwei Raumreihen bestehendes Einzelhaus (Gebäude 12) zu erkennen. Die übrigen, größtenteils schräg zum Straßenraster verlaufenden Strukturen können vielleicht als Kanäle interpretiert werden.

Südlich der Straße 3 sind bei den Georadar- und Widerstandsmessungen des Jahres 1999 die Straßen 3, 6 und 7 sowie die Reste von mindestens vier Gebäuden (Gebäude 13–16) untersucht worden.<sup>8</sup> Dabei dürfte es sich um sog. Streifenhäuser handeln, die durchwegs nach dem Straßenraster ausgerichtet sind. Lediglich das 25 m breite und mindestens 28 m lange Gebäude 13 lässt eine detailliertere Innenverbauung mit zwei Raumreihen erkennen.

<sup>8</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 17 mit Abb. unten (Georadar 29) bzw. Mušić 2005, 258 (Abb. 7): Die Interpretation, Georeferenzierung und Umzeichnung der Messdaten wurden nach den publizierten Bildern von V. Lindinger (ÖAI) vorgenommen.

se građevina 7, dimenzija 12x13, tj. 156 m<sup>2</sup> s unutarnjim dvorištem i prostorijama raspoređenim u obliku slova U. Izgradnja se nastavlja prema jugu u istoj širini sa dvije dvorane paralelne s cestom i jednom dvoranom u desnom kutu usmjerenoj prema cesti (građevina 9). Ove građevine nalaze se unutar gradskog uličnog rastera i prekrivaju stariju građevnu konstrukciju koja se ne da točnije opisati (građevina 8) i koja je, kao i građevina 1 na istraživanoj površini F 1 (sl. 3), orijentirana u smjeru sjever-jug.

Geomagnetska mjerenja iz 2012. godine nadovezuju se ovdje izravno na georadarska mjerenja iz 1999. godine. U tim mjerenjima istražene su dvije građevine pravokutnog tlocrta južno od ceste 4, koje bi se mogle uklopiti u sustav gradnje u inzulama. Građevina 10 široka je 20,5 m, a duga najmanje 28 m. Sjeverna strana građevine izduženog tlocrta pregrađena je pojedinim prostorijama. Građevina br. 11, dimenzija  $32,5 \times 39$  m, tj. 1267 m<sup>2</sup> na zapadnoj strani ima veliko dvorište. Do njega se dolazi preko centralno smještenog hodnika, a na južnoj strani nalazi se niz prostorija. Sjeverno od ceste br. 4 može se prepoznati zasebna kuća (građevina br. 12) veličine  $12 \times 20$  m, tj. 240 m<sup>2</sup>, koja se sastoji od središnjeg dvorišta i dva niza prostorija. Ostale strukture koje većinom prolaze dijagonalno s uličnim rasterom mogle bi se protumačiti kao kanali. Južno od ceste br. 3 georadarskom su metodom i metodom električnog otpora zemljišta 1999. godine istraženi ostaci od najmanje 4 građevine (građevina 13-16).<sup>8</sup> Pritom se vjerojatno radi o karakterističnom izduženom tipu kuća uklopljenih u ulični raster. Samo se u 25 m širokoj i najmanje 28 m dugoj građevini 13 može detaljnije raspoznati unutrašnjost sa 2 niza prostorija.

<sup>8</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 17 sa slikom ispod (Georadar 29), tj. Mušić 2005, 258 (sl. 7): interpretacija, georeferenciranje provedeno je na temelju objavljenih slika (V. Lindinger, ÖAI).

### Archäologisch-historische Interpretation der Messergebnisse

Die geophysikalischen Messungen 2012 geben wichtige Hinweise zum Straßenraster und Stadtplan sowie zur chronologischen Entwicklung der Stadt, situiert auf einem Geländesporn, der sich heute um ca. 3 m von der umgebenden Flussebene absetzt (Abb. 6). Die am rechten Ufer der Save im Inundationsgebiet gelegene Siedlung war wahrscheinlich in römischer Zeit von Altarmen und Flussläufen begrenzt. Anhand der geophysikalischen Messdaten ist kein Ausdünnen der Siedlung in den Randbereichen, sondern eine Bebauung bis exakt zur Kante des spornförmigen Plateaus festzustellen. Die übrigen suburbanen Gebiete blieben, da überschwemmungsgefährdet, frei von Bebauung. Die Grabungsergebnisse und Messdaten sprechen für Hochwässer, im Zuge derer zumindest Teile exponiert gelegener Häuser im Norden und Osten zerstört wurden.

Der Geländesporn besitzt eine sehr unregelmäßige Form, er ist in seinem Südteil lediglich 60–120 m breit und wird hier von der annähernd mittig auf dem Ausläufer des Plateaus gelegenen Straße 1 erschlossen. Diese Straße 1 verbindet Andautonia mit Poetovio-Ptuj bzw. der Bernsteinstraße im Norden und Siscia-Sisak im Süden und ist als Hauptstraße der Stadt zu werten. Nach Norden hin verbreitert sich der Geländesporn zu einem unregelmäßigen, annähernd rechteckigen Plateau von ca. 180 × 450 m bzw. 8 ha Fläche. Die erhöhten Areale werden sehr effizient genutzt und verbaut. Das Straßennetz folgt im Kerngebiet einem orthogonalen Raster, in den Randzonen hingegen der Geländemorphologie. Im Norden und Westen erschließt die periphere Straße 5 die Ränder des Siedlungsgebiets.

Die älteste Phase I von Andautonia wird von der Stadtgründung, den ersten Dekaden des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. bis zum ersten Drittel des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. datiert. Als Spuren der ältesten Siedlung sind partiell ergrabene Abwasserkanäle und Oberflächenfunde aus dem heutigen Ortsteil Gradišče sowie die Befunde aus den an der

### Arheološko-povijesna interpretacija rezultata mjerenja

Geofizička mjerenja iz 2012. godine pružaju važne informacije o uličnom rasteru, planu grada kao i o kronološkom razvoju grada smještenog na uzvišenom dijelu koji se danas izdiže oko 3 m iznad razine obližnje rijeke (sl. 6). Naselje na desnoj obali Save u poplavnom području njenog vodotoka u rimsko je doba vjerojatno bilo omeđeno riječnim rukavcima i tokovima rijeke. Na temelju geofizičkih mjernih podataka nije vidljivo prorjeđivanje naselja na rubnim područjima, već izgradnja sve do ruba uzdužne zaravni. Na ostalim se suburbanim područjima nije gradilo, budući da su bila ugrožena poplavama. Rezultati arheoloških iskopavanja i mjerni podaci upućuju na poplave u kojima je uništen barem dio kuća na sjeveru i istoku.

Izdignuti dio terena nepravilnog je oblika, u južnom je dijelu širok samo 60–120 m, a cesta 1 prolazi otprilike sredinom tog prostora. Cesta 1 povezuje Andautoniju s Petovijem, tj. s Jantarnim putem na sjeveru i Siscijom na jugu, i smatra se glavnom prometnicom grada. Prema sjeveru uzvisina se širi prema nepravilnoj, skoro pravokutnoj zaravni površine cca 180x450, odnosno 8 ha. Povišeni prostor efikasno je iskorišten i izgrađen. Ulična mreža u središtu slijedi pravokutni ulični raster, a u rubnom području morfologiju zemljišta. Na sjeveru i zapadu perifernom cestom 5 pristupa se rubnim područjima naselja.

Najstarija faza (faza I.) postojanja Andautonije trajala je od osnivanja grada u prvom desetljeću 1. stoljeća do prve trećine 2. stoljeća. Tragovima najstarijeg naselja smatraju se djelomično iskopani kanali za otpadne vode i nalazi na površini na području današnjeg Gradišča kao i nalazi iz nekropole smještene na cesti prema Ptuj (Poetovio). Na temelju topografskog

Straße nach Poetovio-Ptuj gelegenen Nekropolen zu werten. Anhand der topografischen Lage und Datierung der Gräber aus der sog. Süd- und Ostnekropole<sup>9</sup> kann man davon ausgehen, dass sich die früheste Siedlung (Phase I) nicht entlang der »Hauptstraße 1«, sondern westlich davon, auf dem ausgedehnten Plateau entwickelt haben dürfte.<sup>10</sup> Vielleicht können die neu entdeckten, annähernd exakt Nord-Süd ausgerichteten, sich am Verlauf der Hauptstraße nach Poetovio-Ptuj bzw. Siscia-Sisak orientierenden Gebäude 1 und 7 als architektonische Indizien dieser ältesten Phase I gewertet werden. Dies spräche für eine frühe Aufsiedlung des gesamten oder zumindest von Teilen des westlichen Geländesporns. Die Hauptstraße 1 im Osten wäre demnach von Nekropolen gesäumt gewesen. Die Orientierung der Gebäude 1 und 7 auf dem Plateau folgt noch nicht jener des orthogonalen Straßenrasters, der demzufolge erst später, in Phase II, angelegt worden sein kann. Das Ende der Phase I markiert eine große Überschwemmung, die sich in mächtigen Ablagerungen von Sedimenten niederschlägt und eine Zäsur in der Siedlungsentwicklung darstellt.<sup>11</sup>

Phase II, die vom zweiten Drittel des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. bis an das Ende des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. datiert, ist, nach der Munizipalisierung der Stadt in den 90er Jahren des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. und der Zäsur durch die Überschwemmungskatastrophe, von einem Bauboom geprägt (Abb. 7–8). Das Siedlungsareal wird auf Kosten der beiden an der Hauptstraße situierten Gräberfelder (Ost- und Südostnekropole) erweitert. Eine Neuanlage der Stadt über ehemaligen Bestattungsarealen war sicherlich nur durch die starke Aufsedimentierung im Zuge der Überschwemmungskatastrophe und/oder einen damit evozierten Bevölkerungswechsel möglich. Die neue Südnekropole wird ca. 750 m weiter südlich, jenseits eines Seitenarmes der Save, im heutigen Ortsteil Kutelo angelegt.<sup>12</sup> Grabungen im sog.

položaja i datiranja grobova tzv. južne i istočne nekropole<sup>9</sup> može se pretpostaviti da se najstarije naselje (faza I.) vjerojatno nije razvilo uzduž »glavne prometnice 1« već zapadno od nje, na uzdužnoj zaravni.<sup>10</sup> Možda bi novootkrivene građevine 1 i 7, koje su orijentirane točno u smjeru sjever-jug, pozicionirane na cesti prema Petoviju (Ptuj), tj. Sisciji (Sisak) mogle biti arhitektonske indicije najstarije faze I. To bi dokazalo rano naseljavanje cijelog zapadnog uzvišenog područja ili barem njegovog dijela. Uz glavnu cestu 1 na istoku su se prema tome trebale nalaziti nekropole. Orijentacije građevina 1 i 7 na zaravni ne uklapaju se u pravokutni ulični raster, koji je prema tome vjerojatno formiran tek kasnije, u drugoj fazi. Kraj prve faze obilježava velika poplava koja rezultira taloženjem sedimenta i predstavlja prekretnicu u daljnjem razvoju naselja.<sup>11</sup>

Druga faza trajala je od druge trećine 2. stoljeća do kraja 3. stoljeća. Nakon što grad dobiva status municipija, vjerojatno 90-ih godina 1. stoljeća i naglog prekida u razvoju, zbog katastrofe uzrokovane poplavom, došlo je do velikog građevinskog procvata (sl. 7-8). Areal naselja proširen je na prostor istočne i južne nekropole koje su se nalazile uz glavnu cestu. Nova izgradnja grada preko nekadašnjih nekropola vjerojatno je bila posljedica velikih oštećenja uzrokovanih poplavom i/ili izmjenom stanovništva do koje je zbog nje došlo. Nova južna nekropola smještena je cca 750 m južnije, uz jedan pritok Save, u današnjem Kutelu<sup>12</sup>. Istraživanja u »dvorištu župnog ureda« pružila su dokaz o cca 6 m širokoj, popločenoj glavnoj ulici iz koje se odvajaju 3,5-4 m široke sporedne ulice. Zgrade i ulice izgrađene u Hadrijanovo doba u centru grada (Gradišće) slijede pravokutni raster. Istražena

<sup>9</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (Karte 4).

<sup>10</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 117-119.

<sup>11</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 62-65 mit Abb. auf Seite 62 rechts.

<sup>12</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 119-120.

<sup>9</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (karta 4).

<sup>10</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 117-119.

<sup>11</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 62-65 sa slikom na str. 62 desno.

<sup>12</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 119-120.

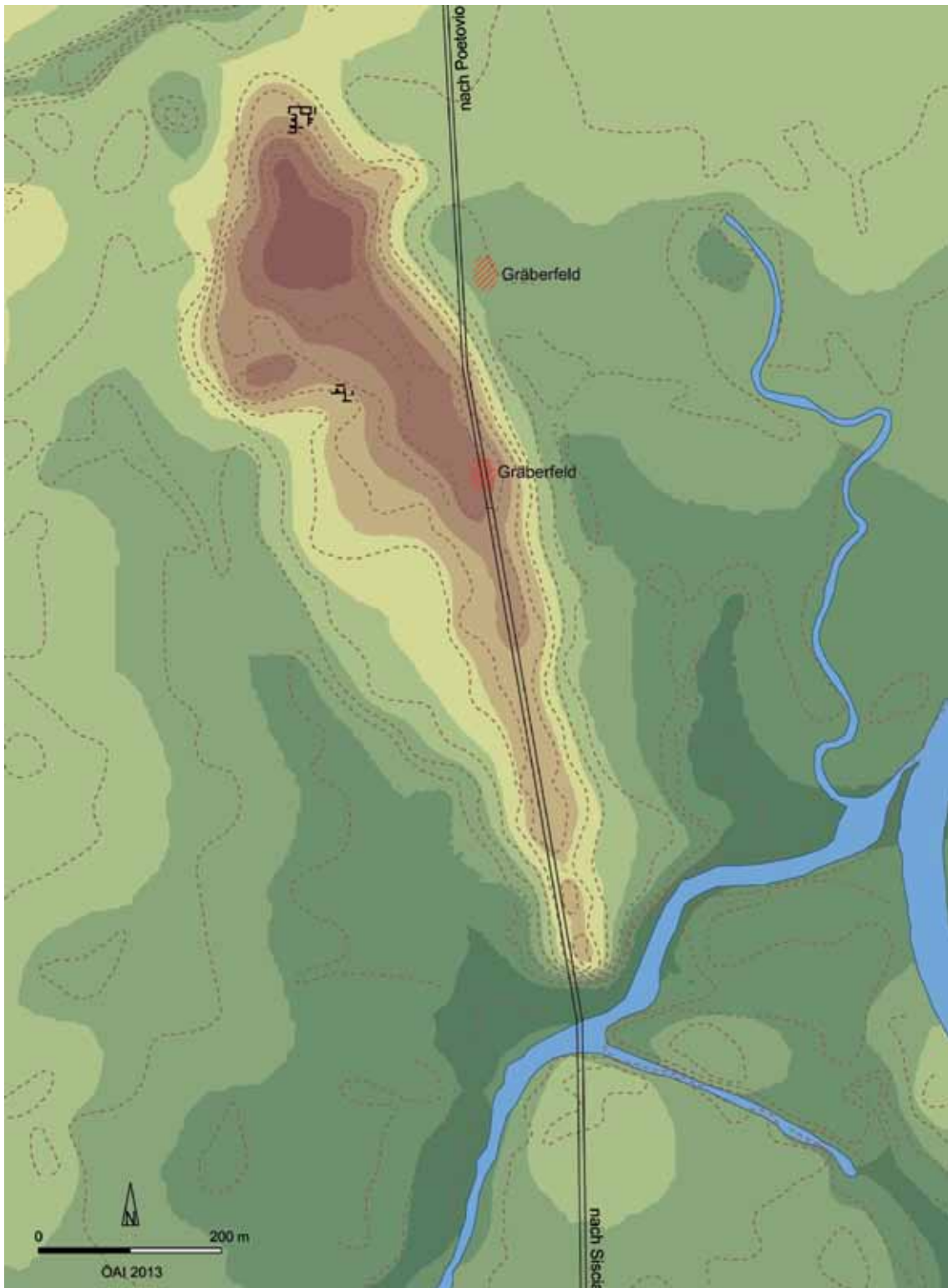


Abb. / Sl. 6: Gesamtplan der archäologischen Strukturen im Municipium Andautonia-Ščitarjevo, Periode I, Stand 2012 (Digitales Höhenmodell, Gewässer: Map Service Layer: HOK (Kroatische Grundkarte 1:5000) Blatt 5J22-49 und 5J21-9. Archäologie: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (Abb. 4). / Ukupni plan arheoloških struktura u municipiju Andautoniji-Ščitarjevo, faza I, stanje 2012. (Digitalni model reljefa, vode: Map Service Layer: HOK (Hrvatska osnovna karta 1:5000) list 5J22-49 i 5J21-9. Arheologija: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (sl. 4); (Daten ÖAI. Grafik: ÖAI, V. Lindinger / podaci ÖAI; grafika V. Lindinger, ÖAI)

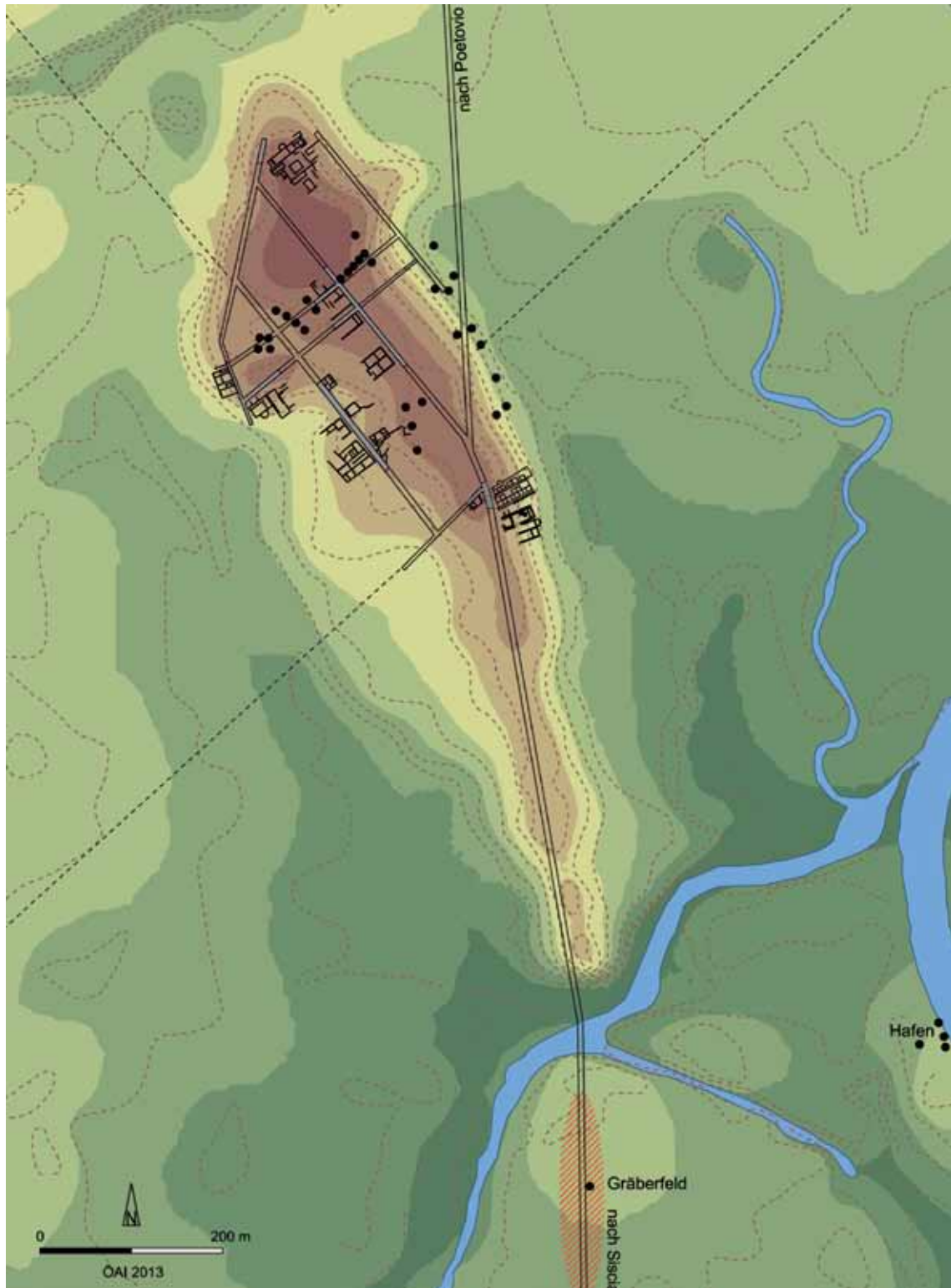


Abb. / Sl. 7: Gesamtplan der archäologischen Strukturen im Munizipium Andautonia-Ščitarjevo, Periode II, Stand 2012 (Digitales Höhenmodell, Gewässer: Map Service Layer: HOK (Kroatische Grundkarte 1:5000) Blatt 5J22-49 und 5J21-9. Archäologie: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (Abb. 4); 118 (Abb. 22); 124 (Abb. 34). / Ukupni plan arheoloških struktura u municipiju Andautoniji-Ščitarjevo, faza II, stanje 2012. (Digitalni model reljefa, vode: Map Service Layer: HOK (Hrvatska osnovna karta 1:5000) list 5J22-49 i 5J21-9. Arheologija: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (sl. 4); 118 (sl. 22); 124 (sl. 34); (Daten ÖAI. Grafik: ÖAI, V. Lindinger / podaci ÖAI; grafika V. Lindinger, ÖAI)

refectory yard erbrachten den Nachweis einer 6 m breiten, gepflasterten Hauptstraße, von der 3,5–4 m breite Nebenstraßen abzweigen. Die in hadrianischer Zeit errichteten Gebäude und Straßen folgen im Kern des Siedlungsgebietes (im Bereich von Gradišče) einem orthogonalen Raster. Die ergrabene Straße 1 ist 6,4 m breit. Die in nordwest-südöstlicher Richtung verlaufenden Hauptstraßen 2–4 sind 6 m bzw. 20 röm. Fuß breit, wobei die Straßen 3–4 durch die geophysikalischen Messungen belegt sind und die Straße 2 hypothetisch ergänzt wird. Die von diesen Straßen abzweigenden Nebenstraßen 6–8 sind durchschnittlich 4,5 m bzw. 15 röm. Fuß breit. Mit diesen Ausmaßen folgen die *Viae Urbicae* des Straßenrasters von Andautonia dem Schema von *Viae Publicae* und *Viae Vicinalis*. Erstere sind als Hauptverkehrswege der Stadt zu betrachten, sie sind in der Regel ca. 6 m breit und besitzen einen bombierten Schotterkörper oder, wie in Andautonia, ein Straßenpflaster.<sup>13</sup> Die Nebenstraßen besitzen mit 4–4,5 m Breite die Dimension von *Vicinalstraßen*, die von den Hauptverbindungen abzweigen und das Siedlungsgebiet erschließen.<sup>14</sup>

Der Abstand zwischen den beiden befundenen Hauptstraßen 3–4 beträgt 80 m. Fügt man hypothetisch im Norden einen weiteren im Abstand von 80 m parallel verlaufenden Straßenzug 2 hinzu, dann wäre dieser exakt nördlich der Außenmauer des Gebäudes 2 situiert. Der Abstand der zwei einzigen befundenen Nebenstraßen 6–7 beträgt 29 m. Die Anordnung der bislang bekannten Gebäude spricht in genere gegen regelmäßige *Insulae* von 29 × 80 m Seitenlänge. Allerdings orientieren sich alle durch geophysikalische Messungen nachgewiesenen, im Kerngebiet des Siedlungsareals gelegenen Gebäude 2 und 5–16 am orthogonalen Raster. Lediglich in den Randbereichen weicht man vom Raster ab, richtet sich nach dem Gelände und nützt das vorhandene Bauland sehr effizient bis zu den Rändern des Plateaus (Gebäude 4). Offensichtlich stellten Überschwemmun-

ulica 1 (u dvorištu župnog ureda) široka je 6,4 m. Glavne ceste 2–4 koje se pružaju u smjeru sjeverozapad-jugoistok široke su 6 m, tj. 20 rimskih stopa, pri čemu su ceste 3–4 dokazane geofizičkim mjerenjima, dok je cesta 2 samo hipotetski nadopunjena. Sporedne ulice 6–8 koje se odvajaju iz spomenutih cesta u prosjeku su široke 4,5 m, odnosno 15 rimskih stopa. Tim dimenzijama gradske su ceste (*viae urbanae*) uličnog rastera Andautonije slijedile koncept državnih cesta (*viae publicae*) i mjesnih cesta (*viae vicinalis*). Prve se smatraju glavnim prometnicama u gradu, u pravilu su široke 6 m te, kao u Andautoniji, imaju pločnik.<sup>13</sup> Sporedne ceste širine 4–4,5 m posjeduju dimenzije mjesnih cesta (*viae vicinalis*), koje se odvajaju od glavnih cesta i vode u naseljeno područje.<sup>14</sup>

Razmak između dviju otkrivenih glavnih cesta 3–4 iznosi 80 m. Ako bismo, hipotetski, na sjever dodali još jednu cestu koja se paralelno proteže u razmaku od 80 m, tada bi ona bila točno sjeverno od vanjskog zida građevine br. 2. Razmak između jedinih otkrivenih dviju sporednih cesta 6–7 iznosi 29 m. Raspored do sada poznatih građevina uglavnom ne upućuje na pravilne inzule dimenzija 29×80 m. Međutim, građevine 2 te 5–16, koje su dokazane geofizičkim mjerenjima te se nalaze u središtu areala naselja, uklapaju se u pravokutni raster. Samo u rubnim područjima se odskače od rastera, orijentira prema zemljištu te se to građevinsko zemljište vrlo efikasno iskorištava sve do rubova zaravni (građevina br. 4). Poplave su očigledno predstavljale stalnu opasnost gradu. Istodobno s formiranjem uličnog rastera započela je izgradnja na južnom dijelu uzvisine gdje su se, slično kao u selima uz ceste, građevine podizale na izduženim parcelama.

<sup>13</sup> usp. Bolliger 2005.

<sup>14</sup> Chevallier 1997, 32.

<sup>13</sup> Vgl. dazu Bolliger 2005.

<sup>14</sup> Chevallier 1997, 32.



gen eine permanente Bedrohung der Siedlung dar. Mit der Einrichtung des Straßennetzes geht auch eine Bebauung des südlichen Ausläufers des Geländespornes einher, wo, vergleichbar mit Straßendörfern, Gebäude auf Steifenparzellen errichtet werden. Die Ergebnisse der geophysikalischen Messungen sind von eminenter Bedeutung für die Kenntnisse um die Erschließung und Urbanistik der Städte in Südpannonien. Aufgrund der rezenten Topografie sind viele dieser antiken Städte neuzeitlich überbaut. In Andautonia können hingegen weite Gebiete mit Prospektionen untersucht werden und bieten daher die Chance noch dichtere Informationen zum Straßennetz- und Insularraster zu gewinnen. Stadtanlagen mit orthogonalem Straßennetz sind in Südpannonien für Siscia-Sisak, Mursa-Osijek, Andautonia-Ščitarjevo und Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica bezeugt.<sup>15</sup>

Eine weitere, gegen das Ende des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. datierte Überschwemmungskatastrophe markiert in Andautonia den Übergang zur Phase III, die vom Ende des 3. bis zum Ende des 4. Jhs. n. Chr. gesetzt wird. Im Zuge der Überschwemmung werden weite Teile der Häuser, Straßen und Kanäle von einem dicken Schotterstratum bedeckt, die spätantiken Gebäude errichtet man über dieser Schwemmschicht.<sup>16</sup> Dies spricht für die Errichtung des im äußersten Norden der Stadt situierten Gebäudes 3 in Phase III, zumal man bei seiner Anlage keine Rücksicht auf den Straßennetz und bestehende Baustrukturen nimmt. Der Westteil des Gebäudes 3 überlagert die Straße 5 und seine Südostecke reicht bis auf Entfernung von nur 0,8 m an die Apsis des Gebäudes 2 heran. Dies könnte daraus zurückzuführen sein, dass beide, Straße und Peristylhaus (Gebäude 2), zum Zeitpunkt des Baues nicht mehr in Funktion bzw. nur partiell sichtbar waren. Aus Andautonia sind keine römerzeitlichen Siedlungsbefunde bekannt, die über das 4. Jh. n. Chr. hinausreichen.

<sup>15</sup> Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 197-199.

<sup>16</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 120-125.

Rezultati geofizičkih mjerenja vrlo su važni za poznavanje razvoja i urbanizma gradova južne Panonije. Na mjestu većine tih antičkih gradova u novije doba izgrađeni su novi gradovi, a što se može pratiti i prema recentnoj topografiji. Međutim, u Andautoniji mnogo je prostora na kojima se mogu provesti geofizička istraživanja, što omogućava prikupljanje još detaljnijih informacija o rasteru ulica i inzulaa. Planovi grada s pravokutnim uličnim rasterom dokazani su u južnoj Panoniji – u Sisku (Siscia), Osijeku (Mursa), Andautoniji-Ščitarjevu i Srijemskoj Mitrovici (Sirmium).<sup>15</sup>

Još jedna katastrofa uzrokovana poplavom krajem 3. stoljeća u Andautoniji obilježila je prijelaz u 3. fazu koja je trajala od kraja 3. do kraja 4. stoljeća. Kao posljedica poplave većina je kuća, ulica i kanala pokrivena debelim slojem šljunka.<sup>16</sup> Kasnoantičke građevine izgrađene su preko tog sloja. To bi mogao biti dokaz da je građevina 3, koja se nalazila na samom sjeveru grada, podignuta u trećoj fazi, budući da se njen položaj ne bi uklapao u ulični raster i postojeće građevinske strukture. Zapadni dio građevine 3 prekriva cestu br. 5 i njen jugoistočni kut udaljen samo 0,8 m od apside građevine br. 2. Iz toga bi se moglo zaključiti da u vrijeme njene izgradnje cesta i kuća s peristilom (građevina 2) nisu više bili u funkciji, tj. samo su djelomično bili vidljivi. U Andautoniji nisu pronađeni ostaci rimskog naselja koji bi se datirali nakon 4. stoljeća.

<sup>15</sup> Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 197-199.

<sup>16</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 120-125.

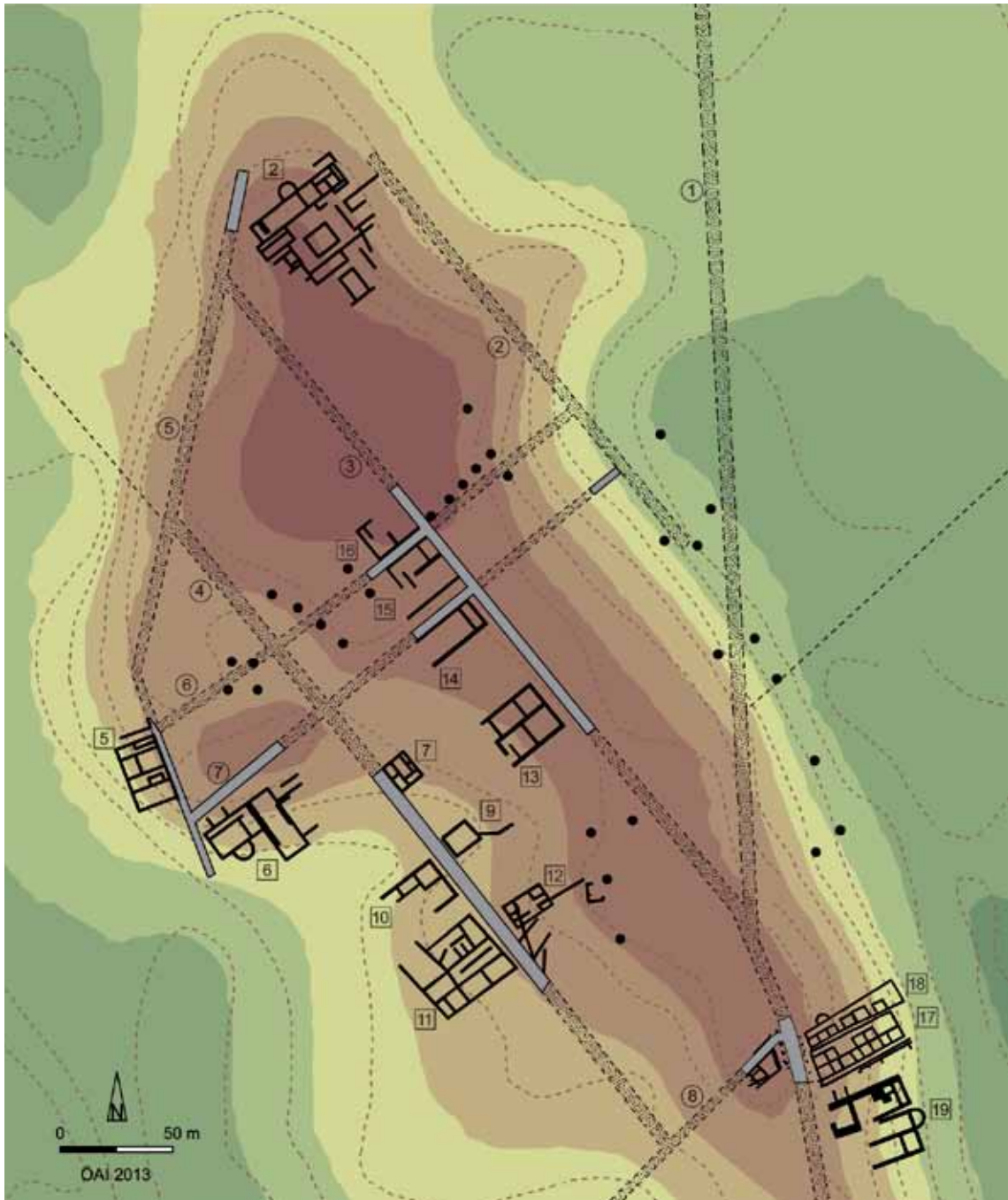


Abb. / Sl. 8: Detailplan der archäologischen Strukturen im Munizipium Andautonia-Ščitarjevo, Periode II, Stand 2012. Rechtecksymbole mit Gebäudenummern. Kreissymbole mit Straßennummern (Digitales Höhenmodell, Gewässer: Map Service Layer: HOK (Kroatische Grundkarte 1:5000) Blatt 5J22-49 und 5J21-9. Archäologie: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (Abb. 4); 118 (Abb. 22); 124 (Abb. 34). / Detaljni plan arheoloških struktura u municipiju Andautoniji-Ščitarjevo, faza II, stanje 2012. Pravokutnici s brojevima zgrada, krugovi s brojevima ulica (Digitalni model reljefa, vode: Map Service Layer: HOK (Hrvatska osnovna karta 1:5000) list 5J22-49 i 5J21-9. Arheologija: Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 109 (sl. 4); 118 (sl. 22); 124 (sl. 34); (Daten ÖAI. Grafik: ÖAI, V. Lindinger / podaci ÖAI; grafika V. Lindinger, ÖAI)

## Gebäudegrundrisse in Andautonia und Vergleichsbefunde

Die meisten der 2012 prospektierten Gebäude besitzen einfache Grundrisse, die sie als Korridorhäuser mit und ohne Zentralraum sowie Reihen-Grundriss oder als einfache Mehrraumhäuser von 150–250 m<sup>2</sup> Grundfläche ausweisen (Abb. 9).<sup>17</sup> Als Korridorhäuser mit streifenförmigem Grundriss (= Streifenhäuser) können Baustrukturen der Gebäude 3, 5 und 11 und 13–18 angesprochen werden. Innerhalb eines Gebäudegrundrisses sind häufig Häuser vom Reihentyp (Langhäuser mit Räumen in Reihenanordnung, z. B. Gebäude 11, 13) mit Häusern mit längs- oder querliegenden Korridoren kombiniert, über die man die Räume erschließt (z. B. Gebäude 3, 17–18). Die kleinsten und architektonisch einfachsten Häuser sind die Gebäude 7 und 12, die als Mehrraumhäuser mit Innenhof anzusprechen sind.

Die Gebäude 1 und 2 besitzen zentral gelegene Innenhöfe und sind somit als Bauten mit Zentralhof oder Peristylhäuser anzusprechen. Die beiden ergrabenen, an der Hauptstraße 1 gelegenen Gebäude 17 und 18 werden bislang aufgrund der Ausstattung einzelner Räume als Badeanlage interpretiert,<sup>18</sup> wobei der Hausgrundriss und die Dimension des waserdichten halbrunden Beckens eher als Indizien für ein privates Wohnhaus mit Bad, denn für eine öffentliche Thermenanlage sprechen.

Die Funktion der meisten bislang untersuchten Gebäude von Andautonia dürfte in der als Wohnhäuser mit gewerblicher Nutzung zu suchen sein.

Die Domus mit Peristylhof am Nordrand (Gebäude 2) und das Gebäude mit Apsis und Lisenen (Gebäude 6) im Westteil der Siedlung fallen aus dem architektonischen Rahmen. Gebäude 2 kann wahrscheinlich als repräsentative, italischen Vorbildern verpflichtete Pe-

<sup>17</sup> Zur typologischen Ansprache der Gebäude und Häuser: Zsidi 2008, 259-262.

<sup>18</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 73-78.

## Tlocrti građevina u Andautoniji i slični arheološki nalazi

Većina građevina koje su istražene geofizičkim istraživanjem 2012. godine imaju jednostavne tlocrte, kao kuće s hodnicima sa ili bez središnje prostorije, s prostorijama u nizu ili jednostavne kuće s više prostorija površine 150-250 m<sup>2</sup> (sl. 9).<sup>17</sup> Konstrukcije građevina 3, 5 i 11 te 13-18 mogle bi se opisati kao kuće s hodnicima izduženog tlocrta (=izduženi tip kuće). Često se kombinira tip izdužene kuće s prostorijama u nizu (npr. građevine 11, 13) s kućama s uzdužno ili dijagonalno položenim hodnikom preko kojeg se dolazi do prostorija (građevine 3, 17-18). Najmanje i arhitektonski najjednostavnije su građevine 7 i 12 – kuće s više prostorija i dvorištem.

Građevine 1 i 2 imaju dvorišta u sredini i stoga se definiraju kao građevine sa središnjim dvorištem ili kuće s peristilom. Smatra se da su obje iskopane građevine 17 i 18, koje se nalaze na glavnoj cesti 1, zbog uređenosti pojedinih prostorija bile termalni kompleksi<sup>18</sup>, iako tlocrt kuće i dimenzije polukružnog bazena upućuju na to da se prije radi o privatnoj stambenoj kući s bazenom nego o javnim termama.

Većine dosad istraženih građevina vjerojatno su bile stambene kuće koje su služile i za obrtničke djelatnosti.

Domus s peristilom na sjevernom rubu (građevina 2) i građevina s apsidom i lezenama (građevina 6) u zapadnom dijelu naselja ne uklapaju se u arhitektonske okvire. Građevina br. 2 mogla bi se protumačiti kao reprezentativna vila s peristilom, tj. domus po talijanskom uzoru, koja zauzima iznimno veliku površinu grada od minimalno 3500 m<sup>2</sup>, tj. 0,35 ha

<sup>17</sup> O tipologiji zgrada i kuća vidi: Zsidi 2008, 259-262.

<sup>18</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 73-78.

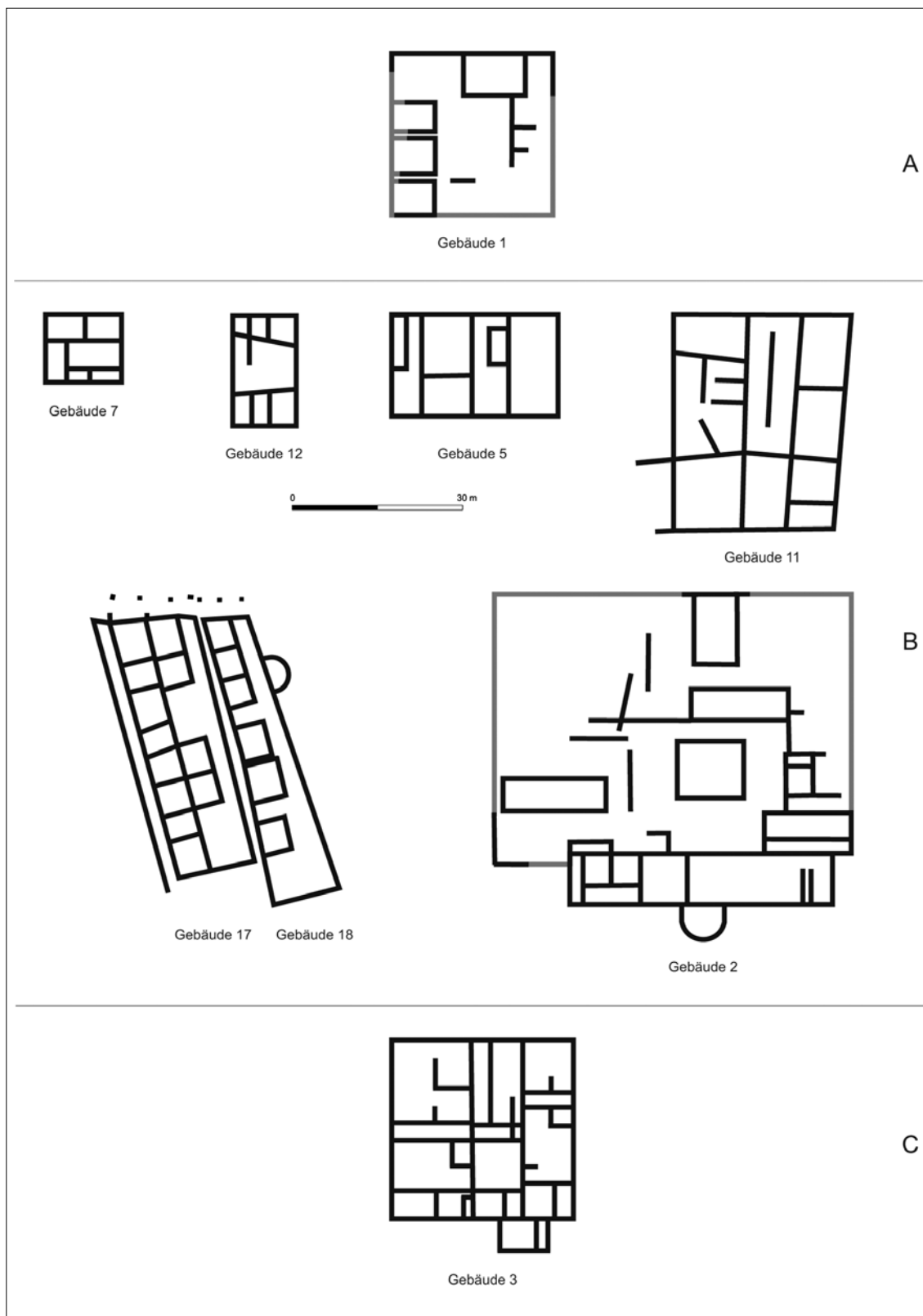


Abb. / Sl. 9: Gebäudegrundrisse aus Andautonia. A: Periode I. B: Periode II. C: Periode III / Tlocrtni zgrada iz Andautonije. A: faza I, B: faza II, C: faza III (Grafik: ÖAI, H. Sedlmayer / grafika H. Sedlmayer, ÖAI)

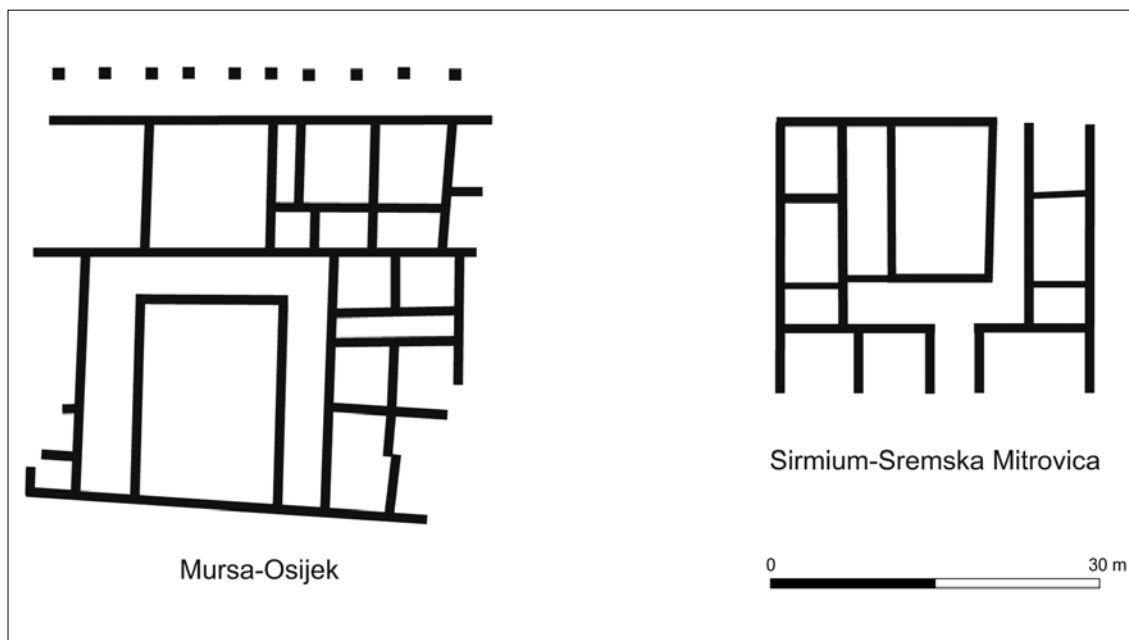


Abb. / Sl. 10: Grundrisse repräsentativer Wohnbauten (Domus) in Mursa-Osijek (nach Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 216, Fig. 21) und Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica (Milošević 2008, 370, Fig. 4.) / Tlocrt reprezentativne stambene zgrade (domus) u Mursi (Osijek) (Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 216, sl. 21) i Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica (Milošević 2008, 370, sl. 4); (Grafik: ÖAI, H. Sedlmayer / grafika H. Sedlmayer, ÖAI)

ristylvilla bzw. Domus interpretiert werden, die eine für die Stadt immens große Grundfläche von mindestens ca. 3500 m<sup>2</sup> bzw. 0,35 ha und damit ca. 2,3% der gesamten Stadtfläche auf dem Plateau einnimmt.<sup>19</sup> Die axialsymmetrische Konzeption des Gebäudekomplexes mit mittig situierter, außen angebaute Apsis und großem Innenhof lässt an vergleichbare, am Stadtrand gelegene Villae urbanae denken, wie sie z. B. im norischen Munizipium Flavia Solva-Wagna oder im unterpannonischen Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica festgestellt werden konnten.<sup>20</sup> Sieht man von einer Interpretation als zusammenhängende Domus ab, könnte man auch davon ausgehen, dass es sich bei Gebäude 2 um die Parzellierung einer Insula in mehrere Häuser mit Peristylhöfen handelt, wie sie in italisch geprägten römischen Städten bekannt sind.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Rinaldim 2012, 71-95.

<sup>20</sup> Groh 2002, 106-115; Mirković 2004, 155 (fig. 6); Milošević 2008, 371-375; Popović 2008, 356-364.

i time cca 2,3% čitave gradske površine na uzvišenom platou.<sup>19</sup> Aksijalnosimetrična koncepcija građevine s vanjskom apsidom postavljenoj na sredini i velikim dvorištem može se usporediti s gradskom vilom (*villae urbanae*) na rubu grada, kao što možemo naći, primjerice, u noričkom municipiju Flavia Solva (Wagna) ili u donjopanonskom Sirmiju (Srijemska Mitrovica).<sup>20</sup> U vezi interpretacije domusa, moglo bi se poći od pretpostavke da se kod građevine 2 radi o parcelaciji jedne inzule u više kuća s peristilom, kakve se mogu naći u rimskim gradovima po uzoru na italisku arhitekturu. Iz susjednih južnopanonskih gradova do sada je poznato, tj. objavljeno tek nekoliko, često samo djelomičnih primjera reprezentativne stambene arhitekture. Osim pojedinih nalaza

<sup>19</sup> Usp. Rinaldim 2012, 71-95.

<sup>20</sup> Groh 2002, 106-115; Mirković 2004, 155 (sl. 6); Milošević 2008, 371-375; Popović 2008, 356-364.

Aus den benachbarten südpannonischen Städten sind bislang nur wenige, oft ausschnittshafte Beispiele für repräsentative Wohnarchitektur bekannt bzw. publiziert. Neben einzelnen Befunden repräsentativer Wohnarchitektur aus Siscia-Sisak<sup>21</sup> kann vor allem der Grundriss einer suburbanen Domus mit Peristylhof aus Mursa-Osijek und jener einer Domus im Westteil von Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica angeführt werden (Abb. 10). Die am Decumanus Maximus von Mursa-Osijek außerhalb der Stadtmauer gelegene, in das 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. datierte Domus bedeckt ein Areal von mindestens 1400 m<sup>2</sup>. Sie setzt sich aus Atrium, Peristyl und 15 ergrabenen Räumen von bis zu 25 m<sup>2</sup> Größe zusammen.<sup>22</sup> Die im Westteil innerhalb der Stadtmauer von Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica gelegene Domus erstreckt sich über mindestens 2700 m<sup>2</sup>. In der kaiserzeitlichen Bauphase gruppieren sich im Mittelteil des Gebäudes 10 Räume um ein zentral gelegenes Atrium von 13,8 × 8,8 m bzw. 114,4 m<sup>2</sup> Größe.<sup>23</sup>

Dem dreigeteilten Gebäude mit Apsis im Westtrakt und Halle mit Lisenen im Mitteltrakt (Gebäude 6) von Andautonia kann vielleicht eine öffentliche Funktion zugewiesen werden. Die Lisenenarchitektur spricht für eine besondere Stützfunktion der Außenmauern, wie sie bei Speicherbauten/Horra oder auch basilikalischen Hallen und Badeanlagen angewandt wird. Ähnliche Bausubstanz ist in Andautonia bei Grabungen auf dem Gelände des sog. refectory yard und, durch Georadarmessungen, südlich davon untersucht worden. Vergleichbare Architektur findet auch bei den sog. Licinischen Badeanlagen von Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica Anwendung.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Baćani 2011, 26-34, 45-62.

<sup>22</sup> Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 216 f. (fig. 21).

<sup>23</sup> Milošević, 2008, 367-371 (Structure 1); Popović 2008, 353-356.

<sup>24</sup> Mirković 2004, 154 (fig. 4).

repräsentative stambene architekture u Sisciji (Sisak)<sup>21</sup> treba spomenuti tlocrt suburbane vile (domusa) s peristilom u Mursi (Osijek) kao i tlocrt vile (domusa) u zapadnom dijelu Sirmija (sl. 10). Vila podignuta na glavnoj prometnici u Mursi (Osijek) izvan gradskog zida koja datira iz 2.-3. st. pokriva areal površine najmanje 1400 m<sup>2</sup>. Sastoji se od atrija, peristila i 15 otkopanih prostorija do 25 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>22</sup> Vila u zapadnom dijelu unutar gradskog zida Sirmija proteže se na površini od najmanje 2700 m<sup>2</sup>. U fazi izgradnje u doba Carstva, u središnjem dijelu građevine nalazi se 10 prostorija raspoređenih oko središnjeg atrija veličine 13,8×8,8 m, tj. 114,4 m<sup>2</sup>.<sup>23</sup>

Trodijelnoj zgradi u Andautoniji s apsidom u zapadnom traktu i dvoranom s lezenama u središnjem traktu (građevina br. 6) možda bi se mogla pripisati javna funkcija. Arhitektura u kojoj su prisutne lezene dokaz je osobite potporne funkcije vanjskih zidova kao, primjerice, kod rimskih skladišta (horrea) ili u baziličnim dvoranama i termalnim kompleksima. Slična građevna konstrukcija istražena je u dvorištu župnog ureda te s pomoću georadara na prostoru južno od te lokacije. Slična arhitektura pronađena je i u tzv. Licinijevim termama u Srijemskoj Mitrovici (Sirmium).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Baćani 2011, 26-34, 45-62.

<sup>22</sup> Lolić, Wiewegh 2012, 216 f. (sl. 21).

<sup>23</sup> Milošević, 2008, 367-371 (Structure 1); Popović 2008, 353-356.

<sup>24</sup> Mirković 2004, 154 (sl. 4).

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## RIMSKE STAKLARSKE RADIONICE NA PODRUČJU HRVATSKOG DIJELA PROVINCIJE PANONIJE

**UDK:** 904:748(497.5)''652''

**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*U radu su obrađene i nanovo analizirane antičke peći iz Siska i Vinkovaca, za koje se pretpostavlja da su staklarske, odnosno da su se u rimskome razdoblju koristile za izradu staklenih posuda. S obzirom na to da te peći do sada nisu detaljno obrađene naša je namjera bila, na temelju dostupnih podataka, analizirati stanje i pokušati saznati nešto više o funkciji tih peći. U radu smo se osvrnuli i na pretpostavku o mogućnosti staklarske proizvodnje i na Štrbincima te općenito problemu dokazivanja rimskih staklarskih radionica i njihove proizvodnje na području hrvatskog dijela provincije Panonije.*

*Ključne riječi: staklarske radionice, staklarske peći, staklarski otpad, sekundarna proizvodnja, Sisak, Vinkovci, Panonija, Hrvatska*

## ROMAN GLASS WORKSHOPS IN THE CROATIAN PART OF THE PROVINCE OF PANNONIA

**UDC:** 904:748(497.5)''652''

**Original scientific paper**

*This work contains an examination and renewed analysis of Roman kilns from Sisak and Vinkovci which are assumed to have been used to make glass vessels in the Roman period. Since these kilns have not been considered in detail previously, our intention is to analyze their status and attempt to learn something more of their function based on available data. We also consider hypothesis on the possibility of glass production at Štrbinci as well, and the general problem of proving the existence of Roman glass workshops and their output in the Croatian part of the province of Pannonia.*

*Key words: glass workshop, glass furnaces, glass waste, secondary production, Sisak, Vinkovci, Pannonia, Croatia*

Pretpostavlja se da su na prostoru cijele Hrvatske do sada pronađene samo tri staklarske peći: u Saloni, Sisku i Vinkovcima. U Saloni je peć pronađena 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća na području sjeverno od salonitanske kurije. Točnije, pronađen je spremnik za taljenje staklene mase koji se nalazio unutar peći, a na čijem dnu su zatečeni ostaci rastaljenog stakla. Također je pronađen i dio krovne opeke peći te veća količina staklenih ulomaka, kao i rastaljenih grumenastakla, grudice različitih oksida za bojenje, ostaci ugljena, i drugo. Smatra se da je peć bila u upotrebi od 1. do 4. st., s time da je prvotno služila za taljenje metala, a kasnije za proizvodnju staklenih predmeta. Ne zna se u kojem se razdoblju koristila kao staklarska peć.<sup>1</sup>

Konteksti u kojima su pronađene sisačka i vinkovačka peć u potpunosti se razlikuje od onog salonitanskoga, ponajviše zbog toga što osim djelomično sačuvanih peći nikakvi drugi konkretni nalazi na temelju kojih bismo sa sigurnošću mogli utvrditi da je zaista riječ o staklarskima nisu uočeni.

### Peć iz Siska

Godine 1998. prilikom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja u ulici Ante Starčevića 37 u Sisku pronađena su dva sloja rimske arhitekture, oba datirana u 1. st.<sup>2</sup> Mlađi sloj čine ostaci temelja dvaju zidova te dvije kružne konstrukcije. Zid koji se pružao u smjeru sjever-jug nalazio se između dviju kružnih konstrukcija, tako da se jedna od njih, ona manja, nalazila zapadno od zida, a druga, većih dimenzija, istočno od zida. Drugi zid pružao se u smjeru istok-zapad, dotičući manju kružnu konstrukciju s istočne strane (sl. 1 i 2).

Veća kružna konstrukcija smještena istočno od zida ostatak je zdenca za vodu, kao dijela radioničkog kompleksa. Bila je

<sup>1</sup> Clairmont 1975, 59; Buljević 1999, 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Lolić, Petrincec 2000, 42.

It is generally assumed that thus far only three glass furnaces have been found in the entire territory of today's Croatia: in Salona, Sisak and Vinkovci. A furnace was discovered in Salona in the area north of the Salona curia already in the 1970s. Specifically, a tank for glass melting, normally located inside the furnace, was discovered, and the remains of melted glass were found on its bottom. A part of the dome bricks of the furnace and a considerable quantity of glass fragments were found, as well as melted glass lumps, grains of various oxide dyes, charcoal remains, etc. The furnace is believed to have been in use from the first to fourth centuries, although it was initially used for smelting and only later to make glass objects. The period in which it was used as a glass furnace is not known.<sup>1</sup>

The context in which the Sisak and Vinkovci kilns were found differ entirely from that in Salona, mostly because little other direct evidence was noted besides the remains of the kilns, which could serve as the basis for an unequivocal conclusion that these were truly glass furnaces.

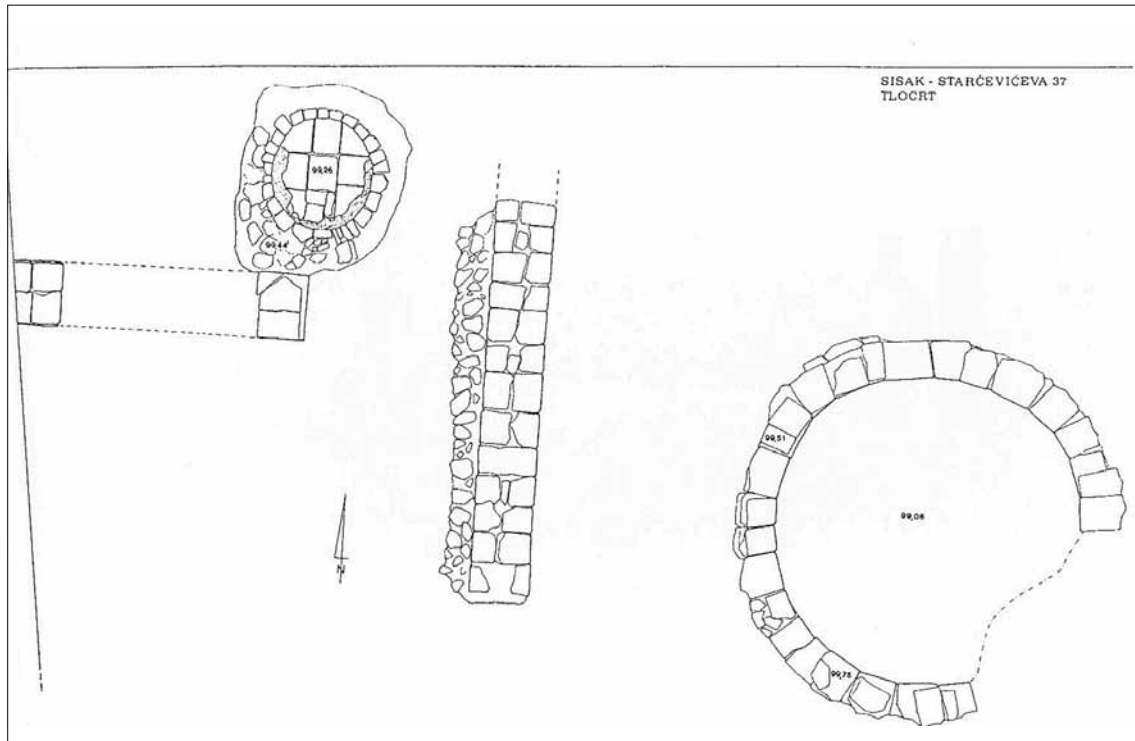
### The furnace in Sisak

In 1998, during rescue archaeological excavation at the street address Ante Starčevića 37 in Sisak, two layers of Roman architecture were found, both dated to the first century.<sup>2</sup> The younger layer consists of the remains of foundations for two walls and two circular structures. The wall, extending in the north-south direction, was situated between the two circular structures, so that one of them, the smaller one, was west of the wall, while the other, with larger dimensions, was east of the wall. The other wall extended in an east-west direction, touching the smaller circular structure on its eastern side (Figs. 1 and 2).

The larger circular structure situated east of the wall is the remains of a water well, which

<sup>1</sup> Clairmont 1975, 59; Buljević 1999, 20, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Lolić, Petrincec 2000, 42.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Sisak, tlocrt ostataka arhitekture / Sisak, floor-plan of architectural remains (Vidošević 2003, 13)

promjera 2,60 m, a sačuvana u visini od 70 cm. Druga, manja kružna konstrukcija, smještena zapadno od zida, promjera je 85-90 cm, sagrađena od opeke s popločanim dnom također od opeke i prekrivenim slojem vapnene žbuke. Konstrukcija je bila zapunjena šutom u kojoj su pronađeni ulomci staklenih posuda i rastaljenog stakla. Upravo zbog tih nalaza pretpostavlja se da je riječ o staklarskoj peći.<sup>3</sup> Uokolo peći pronađeni su ostaci popločenja od opeke. Sloj u kojemu su zatečeni peć, zdenac i zidovi datiran je u razdoblje oko sredine ili u 2. polovinu 1. st. te se smatra, na temelju nalaza keramike, da je arhitektura mogla biti u funkciji i u 2. st.

Za sisačku peć također ne možemo sa sigurnošću reći je li služila za izradu staklenih posuda ili ne. O lokalitetu se pisalo već nekoliko puta,<sup>4</sup> međutim u tim se

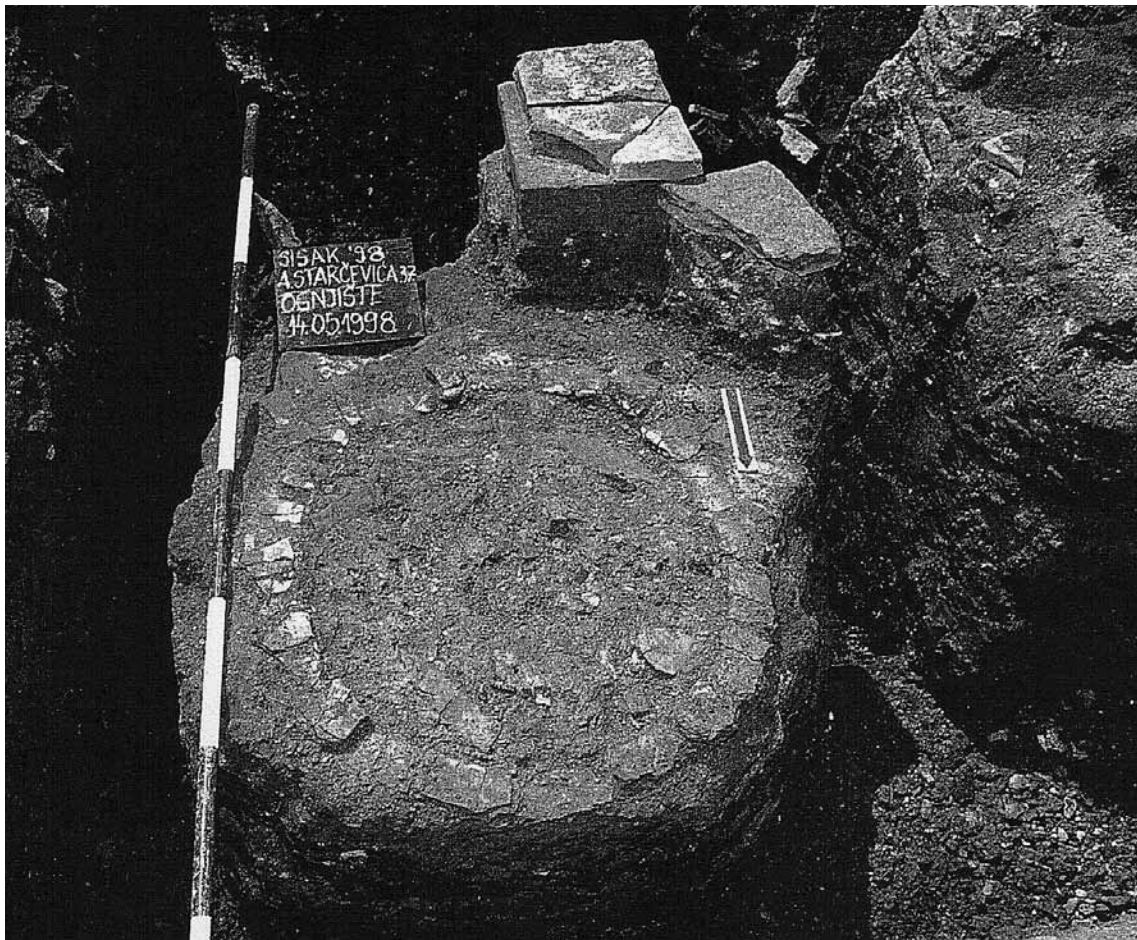
was part of the workshop complex. It was 2.6 m in diameter, and preserved to a height of 70 cm. The other, smaller circular structure, situated west of the wall, is 85-90 cm in diameter, made of brick with a brick lined floor that is covered by a layer of lime plaster. The structure was filled with construction debris, in which shards of glass vessels and melted glass were found. These finds in fact led to the assumption that this was a glass furnace.<sup>3</sup> Remains of brick lining were found around the furnace. The layer in which the furnace, well and walls were found has been dated to the mid- or latter half of the first century, and based on the pottery finds, it is believed that the architecture may have been in use into the second century.

In the case of the Sisak furnace as well, it cannot be said with certainty whether or not it was used to make glass vessels. The site

<sup>3</sup> Vidošević 2003, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Burkowsky 2000, 42; Vidošević 2003, 12, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Vidošević 2003, 12.



Sl. / Fig. 2: Fotografija peći iz Siska / Photograph of the furnace from Sisak (Burkowsky 1999, 67)

objavama spominje samo činjenica da je peć istražena te se određuje kao staklarska. Na jednome mjestu navodi se da su u peći pronađeni stakleni ulomci i polomljeno staklo,<sup>5</sup> ali se nigdje ne spominje količina tog stakla, ili o ulomcima kakvih posuda je riječ, i slično. Stoga se može pretpostaviti da je najvjerojatnije riječ o izrazito maloj količini stakla. Nigdje se ne spominje je li općenito na lokalitetu zatečeno staklo, staklene posude ili nešto što bi se moglo povezati s proizvodnjom stakla.

<sup>5</sup> Vidošević 2003, 12.

has already been written about several times.<sup>4</sup> However, these texts only mention the fact that the structure was examined and that it was classified as a glass furnace. One such text mentions that glass shards and broken glass were found in the furnace,<sup>5</sup> but the quantity of this glass is not specified, nor the type of vessels the shards belonged to nor any similar information. Therefore, it may be assumed that this was probably a very small quantity of glass. Nowhere is there any mention as to whether glass, glass vessels or something that may be associated with glass production were found at the site in general.

<sup>4</sup> Burkowsky 2000, 42; Vidošević 2003, 12, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Vidošević 2003, 12.

Po svome obliku, dimenzijama te materijalu od kojeg je sagrađena, sisačka peć odgovara općem izgledu (sl. 3a, b) rimskih staklarskih peći<sup>6</sup>, međutim to je da-

<sup>6</sup> Dugo vremena jedini dokaz o izgledu rimskih staklarskih peći bili su prikazi na keramičkim svjetiljkama pronađenima u Aseriji, Ferrari i Spodnjim Škofijama u blizini Kopra (Abramić 1959; Baldoni 1987; Fadić 2004; Lazar 2003a, 227). Prikazi na svjetiljkama iz Ferrare i Slovenije identični su, te su najvjerojatnije izrađeni u istom kalupu, dok se prikaz na svjetiljci iz Aserije razlikuje u tome, što je na njoj ispisano ime ATHENIO. Na dobro očuvanom reljefu svjetiljke iz Slovenije nalazi se prikaz staklara koji sjedi ispred peći i puše u cijev. S druge strane peći prikazana je još jedna osoba, najvjerojatnije staklarev pomoćnik, koji promatra nešto što drži u svojoj ruci. Peć se sastoji od dva dijela: donji kružni dio, koji je služio kao ložište, te gornji četvrtasti s kupolom koji je služio za zagrijavanje stakla (Lazar 2003a, 230). Da su rimske staklarske peći zaista izgledale kao što je prikazano na svjetiljkama, potvrđeno je tek 2000. god., kada su u Lyonu pronađene dvije staklarske peći, od čega je jedna sačuvana u cijelosti, odnosno imala je sačuvan i gornji dio. Peć je podijeljena na dva dijela: donji kružni, koji je služio kao ložište, te gornji s kupolom, koji je najvjerojatnije služio za hlađenje posuda, budući da nikakvi stakleni otpaci nisu pronađeni (Foy, Nenna 2001, 48, 49). Peć je datirana u 1. st. pos. Kr. Većina pronađenih staklarskih peći imala je isti oblik kao i ova lyonska, a izrađivane su od opeka i tegula pomiješanih s glinom. Na lokalitetima je većinom pronađeno više peći na jednom mjestu, međutim ne zna se kako je radionica funkcionirala. Peći su bile relativno malih dimenzija, 45-65 cm, a svaka je imala samo jedan otvor, što bi značilo da je samo jedan staklar mogao raditi na njoj. Više peći na jednom mjestu vjerojatno je bilo potrebno zato da bi više staklara moglo izrađivati predmete istovremeno, odnosno da bi proizvodnja bila brža. Problem dinamike proizvodnje rimskih staklarskih peći bio je u tome što je svaka peć imala samo jedan otvor, stoga je samo jedan staklar mogao raditi na njoj. Međutim, u kasnijem rimskom razdoblju postojali su i drugačiji oblici rimskih staklarskih peći. Na području Hambacher Forsta, 35 km zapadno od Kelna, pronađeno je šest radioničkih centara u kojima su zabilježena četiri različita tipa peći: kružne ili ovalne, polukružne, kvadratne do pravokutne i pravokutne. Ne zna se je li oblik pojedine peći podrazumijevao i određenu fazu proizvodnje. Peći su najvjerojatnije u upotrebi bile tijekom 2. polovine 4. st. (Wedepohl, Gaitzsch, Follmann Schulz 2003, 56).

In terms of its form, dimensions and the materials from which it is made, the Sisak furnace corresponds to the general appearance (Fig. 3a, b) of Roman glass furnaces,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For the longest time, the sole evidence for the appearance of Roman glass furnaces were depictions on the ceramic lamps found in Asseria, Ferrara and Spodnje Škofije near Kopar (Abramić 1959; Baldoni 1987; Fadić 2004; Lazar 2003a, 227). The depictions on the lamps from Ferrara and Slovenia are identical, and they were probably made in the same cast, while the depiction on the lamp from Asseria differs in that the name ATHENIO is written on it. The well-preserved relief lamp from Slovenia features an image of a glassblower sitting in front of a furnace blowing into a tube. Another person is shown on the other side of the furnace, mostly likely the glassblower's apprentice, who is observing something held in his hand. The furnace consist of two parts: the lower circular section, which served as the combustion chamber, and an upper section with a dome which served to work with the glass (Lazar 2003a, 230). That Roman glass furnaces truly appeared as shown on the lamps was only confirmed in 2000, when two glass furnaces were discovered in Lyon, of which one was preserved in its entirety, i.e., its upper section was also preserved. The furnace is divided into two sections: the lower circular section, which served as the combustion chamber, and an upper section with a dome, which was probably used to anneal vessels, since no glass discards were found (Foy, Nenna 2001, 48, 49). The furnace was dated to the first century AD. Most glass furnaces found have the same shape as the one in Lyon, and they are made of brick and tegulae mixed with clay. In most cases, several furnaces were found at a single site, although there is no knowledge as to how the workshops functioned. The furnaces had relatively modest dimensions, 45-65 cm, and each had only one opening, which would mean that only one glassmaker could work at one. Several furnaces in a single location were probably necessary so that more glassmakers could make objects at the same time, i.e., so that production would proceed more rapidly. The problem of the production tempo of Roman glass furnaces lay in the fact that each furnace had only a single opening, so only one glassmaker could work at it at one time. However, in the later Roman period, the glass furnaces had different shapes. In the area of Hambacher Forst, 35 km, west of Cologne, six workshop centres were found in which four different types of furnaces were recorded: circular or oval, semi-circular, square to rectangular and rectangular. Whether or not the shape of individual furnaces also implied a certain production phase is not known. The furnaces were probably used during the latter half of the fourth century (Wedepohl, Gaitzsch, Follmann Schulz 2003, 56).

leko od sigurnog dokaza za njeno određenje. Nisu, naime, pronađeni stakleni otpaci, alatke, ostaci posuda za taljenje i slično, odnosno elementi na temelju kojih bismo mogli pouzdano ustanoviti namjenu tog objekta. Ako je ipak riječ o staklarskoj peći, onda je sačuvan samo njezin donji dio, koji je vjerojatno služio za taljenje stakla. Ložište nije sačuvano, kao niti gornji kupolasti dio. S obzirom na kontekst u kojemu je peć pronađena, odnosno na postojanje zidova uokolo te na zdenac u neposrednoj blizini, mogli bismo pretpostaviti da je riječ o radioničkom kompleksu. Međutim, pitanje njegove naravi, odnosno proizvodnje koja se ondje odvijala, i dalje ostaje otvoreno.

Vrlo je vjerojatno da je Sisak imao aktivnu staklarsku proizvodnju, samo je pitanje otkada. Opisana peć datirana je na temelju novca, koji je pronađen u njezinoj neposrednoj blizini, u 1. st., a kao što smo već spomenule, moguće da je bila aktivna i u 2. st. Aktivnost lokalnih panonskih radionica smješta se u kasno rimsko razdoblje,<sup>7</sup> međutim Sisak je već u vrijeme cara Vespazijana dobio status kolonije (*Colonia Flavia Siscia*), dok je za vrijeme cara Dioklecijana bio sjedište Panonije Savije.<sup>8</sup> Također, kroz čitavo rimsko razdoblje imao je i važnu prometnu ulogu.<sup>9</sup> Ne bi smjelo biti dvojbe o tome da su staklarske radionice u Sisku postojale i prije 3. ili 4. stoljeća. S jedne strane, u prilog tome ide i velika količina stakla, cjelovitih posuda i ulomaka, te nekoliko većih ulomaka sirovog stakla do sada pronađenih iz ranijeg rimskog razdoblja, što je

although this is far from certain evidence for its classification. This is because none of the following were found: glass waste, tools, remains of crucibles and similar accessories, i.e., elements which would allow the certain determination of the purpose of this structure. Even if this is a glassmaking furnace, then only part of it has been preserved – the part used for glass melting. The combustion chamber has not been preserved, nor the upper domed portion. Given the context in which the kiln was found, i.e., the existence of walls around it and the well in its immediate vicinity, it is safe to assume that this was a workshop complex. However, the question of its nature, meaning the type of production that proceeded there, remains open.

It is very likely that glass production existed in Sisak, the only question is from which period of time. The above-described furnace was dated on the basis of coins found in its immediate vicinity to the first century, and as we have already mentioned, it is possible that it was also active in the second century as well. The activity of the local Pannonian workshops has been assumed for the late Roman period,<sup>7</sup> although Sisak had already acquired colonial status (*Colonia Flavia Siscia*) during the reign of Emperor Vespasian, while during the reign of Emperor Diocletian it was the seat of Pannonia Savia.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, throughout the Roman era it played an important transit role.<sup>9</sup> There should be no doubt that glass workshops existed in Sisak even prior to the third and fourth centuries. On the one hand, this is additionally confirmed by the high quantity of glass, complete glass vessels and shards, and several larger

<sup>7</sup> Šaranović Svetek 1986, 53; Gregl 1997, 72; Košćević 2003, 92.

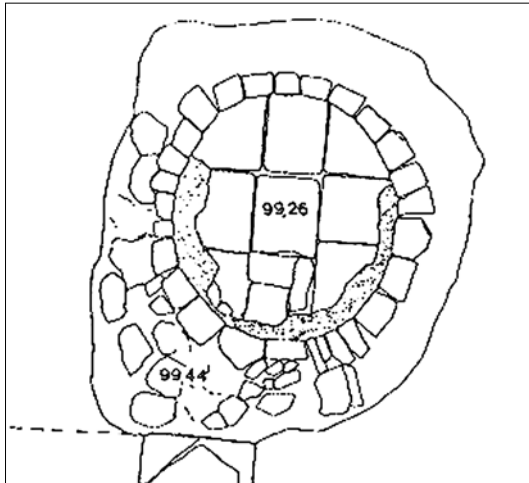
<sup>8</sup> Šašel 1974, 702; Burkowsky 1999, 30; Lolić 2003, 131; Wiewegh 2003.

<sup>9</sup> U Sisku su se odvajale dvije glavne ceste: prva je prolazila kroz Andautoniju do Poetovija, druga je išla dijagonalno preko graničnog područja sa Savom, prolazila kroz Cibale, i spojila se na glavnu cestu za Sirmij (Soproni 1980, 211).

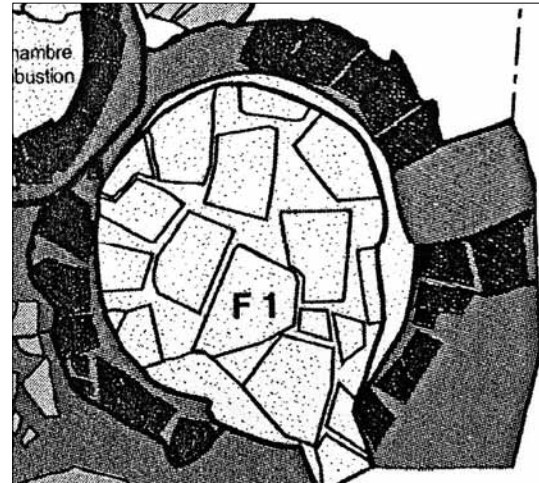
<sup>7</sup> Šaranović Svetek 1986, 53; Gregl 1997, 72; Košćević 2003, 92.

<sup>8</sup> Šašel 1974, 702; Burkowsky 1999, 30; Lolić 2003, 131; Wiewegh 2003.

<sup>9</sup> Two main roads branched off from Sisak: the first passed through Andautonia to Poetovio, while the other ran diagonally across the border zone with the Sava River and passed through Cibalae, and intersected with the main road for Sirmium (Soproni 1980, 211).



Sl. / Fig. 3a: Peć, Sisak / Furnace, Sisak  
(Vidošević 2003, 13)



Sl. / Fig. 3b: Staklarska peć, Lyon / Glass furnace, Lyon (Foy, Nenna 2001, 48)

iznimka. Naime, većina stakla iz Panonije datirana je u kasnije razdoblje. Međutim, tipološki gledano staklene posude iz Siska tipični su primjerci ranorimskog staklenog posuda rasprostranjenog diljem Carstva i za sada niti struktura stakla<sup>10</sup>, kvaliteta izrade niti tipologija ili neki drugi elementi ne upućuju na panonsku proizvodnju.

<sup>10</sup> Ako usporedimo posude iz Siska s kasnoantičkim, npr. iz Vinkovaca ili Štrbinaca, jasno je vidljiva razlika u kvaliteti stakla te izradi. Naime, na stijenkama posuda iz Siska, koje su ranorimske, mjehurića te vertikalnih linija kao posljedica irizacije, gotovo nema ili su slabije vidljivi, a posude su većinom svijetloplave ili svijetlozelene boje, te pravilnije oblikovane. Mjehurići su posljedica plina u staklenoj smjesi, koji kod dovoljno visoke temperature prilikom obrade stakla isplivaju na površinu; posude puhanе iz takve čiste smjese nemaju mjehurića. U lokalnim, naročito kasnoantičkim radionicama, staklari nisu vodili računa o tome i u smjesi su ostali mjehurići koji su vidljivi i na staklenim proizvodima (Henderson 2001, 30; Lazar 2003, 224-227). Za razliku od sisačkih, kod kasnoantičkih posuda prisutni su svi nabrojani elementi, a posude su većinom tamnozelenе boje, što upućuje i na recikliranje stakla i, vjerojatnu, panonsku proizvodnju.

pieces of raw glass thus far found from the early Imperial period, which is an exception. Namely, the bulk of the glass material from Pannonia is dated to the late Roman period. However, from the typological standpoint, the glass vessels from Sisak are typical examples of early Roman glass vessels widespread throughout the Empire and thus far neither the structure of the glass,<sup>10</sup> the quality of its rendering nor the typology or other elements point to local Pannonian production.

<sup>10</sup> If the vessels from Sisak are compared to those from Late Roman period, such as, for example, those from Vinkovci or Štrbinci, the differences in the quality of the glass and its forming are clearly visible. The walls of the vessels from Sisak, which are early Roman, contain almost no bubbles and vertical lines resulting from irisation, or they are hardly visible, and the vessels are mostly light blue or light green, with more standard formation. Tiny bubbles result from gases in the glass admixture, which surface when temperature is high enough during glass melting; vessels blown from such a fine raw glass have no bubbles. In local and, particularly, Late Roman workshops, glassworkers did not take this into account and bubbles remained in the glass which were then visible on the glass products (Henderson 2001, 30; Lazar 2003, 224-227). As opposed to the Sisak vessels, the Late Roman vessels all feature these elements, and the vessels are mostly dark green, which indicates the recycling of glass and, probably, local Pannonian production.



## Peć iz Vinkovaca

Prilikom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja, 2008. god. u Ulici bana Josipa Jelačića 11 u Vinkovcima, pronađeni su ostaci rimske peći, a s obzirom na to da je u peći pronađeno rastaljeno staklo, istraživači su zaključili da je riječ o staklarskoj peći.<sup>11</sup> Peć je bila ukopana u predzdravični sloj, stoga kada je skinuta njezina konstrukcija ostao je dobro vidljiv negativ dimenzija 2,80x0,70 m. S obzirom na to da je recentni ukop oštetio peć po dužini, sačuvano je samo pola donjeg dijela, dimenzija 2,36x0,68 m. Donji dio je pravokutnog oblika i sastoji se od dva zasebna, najvjerojatnije kvadratna dijela sagrađena od opeke, dimenzija 1,28x0,68 m te 1,08x0,40 m. S obzirom na lošu sačuvanost tih ostataka, nije moguće sa sigurnošću ustanoviti namjenu komora. Na temelju analogija s drugim pećima, možemo samo pretpostaviti da je jedan dio vjerojatno služio za taljenje staklene smjese, budući da je dio rastaljene smjese i sačuvan, dok je drugi dio vjerojatno služio za hlađenje gotovih posuda ili također za taljenje stakla. Ložište nije sačuvano, kao ni gornji dio peći, za koji možemo samo pretpostaviti da je također bio pravokutnog oblika s kupolom. Na temelju novca Konstancija II., pronađenog ispod sloja pepela, peć je datirana u razdoblje 1. pol. i sredinu 4. st.<sup>12</sup> Uz samu peć zatečen je i ostatak urušenja od rimskih opeka, za koji bismo mogli pretpostaviti da je urušenje gornjeg kupolastog dijela peći, ili eventualno ostatak neke arhitekture koja ju je okruživala. S druge strane, moguće da to urušenje uopće nije povezano s ostatkom peći.

Do sada je poznato tek nekoliko staklarskih peći pravokutnog oblika. U Srijemskoj Mitrovici (*Sirmium*) pronađene su tri pravokutne peći: jedna je imala sačuvano pravokutno ložište, druga se sastojala od

<sup>11</sup> Vulić 2009, 100; Rapan Papeša 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Vulić 2009, 100.

## The furnace from Vinkovci

During rescue archaeological research in Vinkovci in 2008 at the street address Bana Josipa Jelačića 11, the remains of a Roman oven were found, and since melted glass was found inside it, researchers concluded that this was a glass furnace.<sup>11</sup> The furnace was dug in a layer immediately above sterile soil, so when its structure was removed, its impression with dimensions of 2.8 x 0.7 m was clearly visible. Since the recent dig damaged the kiln down its length, only half of the lower section was preserved, with dimensions of 2.36 x 0.68 m. The lower part is rectangular and consists of two separate, probably square sections made of brick, with dimensions of 1.28 x 0.68 m and 1.08 x 0.4 m. Given the poor condition of these remains, it is impossible to ascertain the purpose of the chamber with any certainty. Based on the analogies with other furnaces, it may only be assumed that one part was probably used to melt glass, since some of this melted glass has been preserved, while the other section was probably used to anneal finished vessels or also to melt glass. The combustion chamber has not been preserved, nor has the furnace's upper section, which may only be assumed to have had a rectangular shape with a dome. Based on the coins of Constantius II, found below a layer of ash, the furnace has been dated to the first half of the fourth century.<sup>12</sup> A ruin consisting of Roman bricks was found next to the furnace itself, and this may be assumed to have been the remains of the dome section of the furnace, or possibly the remains of some architectural element that surrounded it. On the other hand, it is possible that this debris is entirely unconnected to the remains of the furnace.

Thus far, only a few rectangular glass furnaces are known. Three rectangular furnaces were discovered in Srijemska Mitrovica (*Sirmium*): one had a preserved rectangular com-

<sup>11</sup> Vulić 2009, 100; Rapan Papeša 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Vulić 2009, 100.

dva dijela,<sup>13</sup> jednog pravokutnog a drugog kvadratnog, dok je treća bila pravokutnog oblika.<sup>14</sup>

U ostacima radioničkog kompleksa rimske kolonije Auguste Raurice<sup>15</sup> pronađene su također tri pravokutne peći, za koje se pretpostavlja da nisu služile za taljenje stakla, već za hlađenje gotovih posuda.<sup>16</sup> Pravokutne peći pronađene su i na lokalitetu Hambacher Forst u Njemačkoj<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Milošević 1976, 102-108; Ružić 1994, 63.

<sup>14</sup> Peć 1 dosta je udaljena od peći 2 i 3 pa se smatra da su postojale dvije radionice u različitim vremenskim razdobljima. Nije poznato zbog čega je prva radionica prestala s proizvodnjom, moguće zbog požara, dok se proizvodnja u druge dvije radionice datira u razdoblje 4. do sredine 5. st. Također nije sigurno jesu li radionice proizvedile staklene predmete ili su se bavile pretapanjem stakla polomljenih posuda, s obzirom na to da nisu nađeni kalupi niti staklarske alatke (Ružić 1994, 66).

<sup>15</sup> U regiji Äussere Reben, u naselju Kaiseraugst u Švicarskoj, odnosno području donjeg grada nekadašnje rimske kolonije Auguste Raurice, pronađena su dva staklarska centra. Jedan je imao 14 peći, koje su bile u upotrebi u razdoblju od približno 130. do 160. god., a drugi samo jednu koja se koristila u prvoj četvrtini 3. st. (Fischer 2009, 137). Peći se prema obliku i namjeni mogu podijeliti u tri tipa: kružne, koje su se koristile za taljenje sirovog i reciklažnog stakla, pravokutne koje su se koristile za hlađenje gotovih proizvoda te pravokutne peći sa spremnicima čija se funkcija ne može sa sigurnošću odrediti (Fischer 2009, 137).

<sup>16</sup> Fischer 2009, 137.

<sup>17</sup> Na području Hambacher Forsta, 35 km zapadno od Kelna, pronađeno je šest radioničkih centara u kojima su zabilježena četiri različita tipa peći: kružne ili ovalne, polukružne, kvadratne do pravokutne i pravokutne. Ne zna se je li oblik pojedine peći podrazumijevao i određenu fazu proizvodnje. Peći su najvjerojatnije u upotrebi bile tijekom 2. pol. 4. st. (Wedepohl, Gaitzsch, Follmann Schulz 2003, 56; Seibel 2000). Jedan od ovih šest radioničkih centara u Hambacher Forstu služio je za primarnu proizvodnju stakla, odnosno sirovog stakla, što potvrđuje pronađena peć, zapravo spremnik, dimenzija 1,7x1,1 m. Smatra se da se je u peći mogao proizvesti blok sirovog stakla težine 1,1 tone, otprilike svakih dvadesetak dana (Wedepohl, Gaitzsch, Follmann Schulz 2003, 60).

bustion chamber, the other consisted of two parts,<sup>13</sup> one rectangular and the other square, and the third was rectangular.<sup>14</sup>

Three rectangular furnaces were also found in the remains of the workshop complex of the Roman colony of Augusta Raurica,<sup>15</sup> and it is believed that they were not used to melt glass, but rather to anneal finished products.<sup>16</sup> Rectangular furnaces were also found at the Hambacher Forst site in Germany.<sup>17</sup> It is diffi-

<sup>13</sup> Milošević 1976, 102-108; Ružić 1994, 63.

<sup>14</sup> Furnace 1 is rather far from furnaces 2 and 3, so it is believed that there were two workshops that operated in different periods. Why the first workshop ceased production is not known (a fire is possible), while production in the other two workshops has been dated to the period spanning the fourth to mid-fifth centuries. It is also uncertain as to whether the workshops produced glass objects or melted the recycled glass, given that no moulds nor glassmaking tools were found (Ružić 1994, 66).

<sup>15</sup> Two glass production centres were found in the Äussere Reben region, in the village of Kaiseraugst in Switzerland, i.e., the territory of the lower town of the former Roman colony of Augusta Raurica. One had 14 furnaces, which were used during the period from roughly 130 to 160 AD, while the other had only a single furnace that was used in the first quarter of the third century (Fischer 2009, 137). The furnaces may be divided into three types based on their form: circular, which were used to melt raw and recycled glass, rectangular, which were used to anneal finished products, and rectangular furnaces with chambers whose function cannot be ascertained (Fischer 2009, 137).

<sup>16</sup> Fischer 2009, 137.

<sup>17</sup> At the Hambacher Forst area, 35 km west of Cologne, six workshop centres were discovered in which four different furnace types were recorded: circular or oval, semi-circular, square to rectangular and rectangular. Whether or not the shape of individual furnaces also implied a certain production phase is not known. The furnaces were probably used during the latter half of the fourth century (Wedepohl, Gaitzsch, Follmann Schulz 2003, 56; Seibel 2000). One of these six workshop centres in Hambacher Forst was used for primary glass production, i.e., to make raw glass, which is confirmed by the furnace discovered, actually a tank furnace, with dimensions of 1.7 x 1.1 m. It is believed that a block of raw glass weighing 1.1 ton could be produced in the furnace roughly every ten days (Wedepohl, Gaitzsch, Follmann Schulz 2003, 60).



Sl. / Fig. 4a: Ostaci staklarske peći iz Vinkovaca / Remains of glass furnace from Vinkovci (fototeka Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci / photothèque of the Vinkovci Town Museum)



Sl. / Fig. 4b: Rastaljeno staklo u peći / Melted glass in a furnace (fototeka Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci / photothèque of the Vinkovci Town Museum)

Teško je reći je li se i vinkovačka peć koristila za hlađenje gotovih posuda, budući da je ona bila jedina takva konstrukcija na lokalitetu, odnosno da u njezinoj blizini nije pronađena druga peć koja se eventualno mogla koristiti za izradu posuda.

Postoje dva tipa rimskih peći:<sup>18</sup> 1. s keramičkim posudama za taljenje stakla (sl. 5a); 2. sa spremnicima za taljenje stakla (sl. 5b).<sup>19</sup>

Zanimljivo je da na cijelome lokalitetu u Vinkovcima, pa tako ni u peći ili njezinoj blizini, nije pronađena ni jedna staklena posuda ili bilo kakvi stakleni ulomci. Također nije uočen nikakav stakleni otpad, sirovine ili alatke za proizvodnju stakla, kao ni ostaci keramičkih posuda u kojima se staklo talilo. S obzirom na to, moguće da se radi o peći koja je imala spremnik za taljenje od opeke, kao ona u Saloni.

Na lokalitetu (sl. 6) nisu zatečeni nikakvi drugi nalazi, primjerice ostaci arhitekture, keramika ili neki drugi pokretni nalazi, koji bi potvrdili pretpostavku o namjeni te konstrukcije. Stoga je na temelju samih istraženih ostataka peći, bez ikakvih drugih elemenata, nemoguće govoriti o točnom vremenu kada je ona bila u upotrebi

to say whether the Vinkovci furnace was used as an annealing oven, since it was the only such structure at the site and no other furnaces that could have been used to make vessels were found in its vicinity.

There are two types of Roman furnaces:<sup>18</sup> 1. with crucibles for melting glass (Fig. 5a); 2. with tanks for melting glass (Fig. 5b).<sup>19</sup>

It is interesting that not a single glass vessel or any type of glass shards or fragments were found anywhere at the site in Vinkovci, neither in the furnace nor in its vicinity. Similarly, no glass waste, raw materials nor glass-making tools were observed, nor any remains of the crucibles in which glass was melted. Given these factors, it is possible that this was a furnace that had a melting tank made of brick, like the one in Salona.

No other finds were discovered at the site (Fig. 6), such as, for example, remains of architecture, pottery or some other small finds that would confirm the hypothesis on the purpose of this structure. Thus, based on the actual examined remains of the furnace, without any other elements, it is impossible to speak of any precise time when it was in use and what exactly its function was. What can

<sup>18</sup> Charleston 1978, 11.

<sup>19</sup> Rekonstrukcije rimskih staklarskih peći preuzete su s internet stranice <http://www.romanglassmakers.co.uk/> (25.8.2013.).

<sup>18</sup> Charleston 1978, 11.

<sup>19</sup> The reconstructions of Roman glass furnaces were taken from the web-site <http://www.romanglassmakers.co.uk/> (25.8.2013.).



Sl. / Fig. 5a: Peć s posudama / Furnace with crucibles (<http://www.romanglassmakers.co.uk/>) (25.8.2013.)



Sl. / Fig. 5b: Peć sa spremnikom za staklo / Furnace with chamber for glass (<http://www.romanglassmakers.co.uk/>) (25.8.2013.)

te čemu je točno služila. Ono što sa sigurnošću možemo reći jest to da je staklarska radionica u Cibalama u razdoblju kasne antike mogla biti aktivna, što potvrđuje i pronalazak staklenih posuda datiranih u 4. st. Naime, svi elementi poput kvalitete stakla i tehnike izrade, oblici posuda, njihova boja te analogije s istim ili sličnim posudama, ali i nedostatak analogija za pojedine oblike u drugim provincijama, upućuju na domaću proizvodnju. Je li radionica bila smještena upravo na ovome području gdje je pronađena peć, teško je reći, kao i to je li postojala samo jedna ili ih je bilo više. Arheološki dokazi za sada su nedovoljni za potvrdu pretpostavke o staklarskoj peći u Cibalama.

Peć je pronađena na lokalitetu koji je u rimsko doba pripadao rubnome dijelu grada, što i odgovara smještaju staklarskih radionica. Zbog mogućnosti požara, sve rimske staklarske radionice u zapadnom dijelu Carstva bile su smještene na rubnim dijelovima grada. Međutim, tako nije bilo i na istočnom Mediteranu, gdje radionice nisu nužno bile smještene izvan gradova, što potvrđuje i pronalazak bizantske radionice u središtu Bet She'ana.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Stern 1999, 458.

be concluded with certainty is that a glass workshop in Cibalae in Late Roman period may have been active, which is confirmed by the discovery of glass vessels dated to the fourth century. This is because all elements, such as the quality of the glass and glass-working skills, the vessel forms, their colour and analogies with the same or similar vessels, as well as the absence of analogies for individual forms in other provinces, point to local production. Whether the workshop was located in precisely this area where the furnace was discovered is difficult to say, just as it is similarly difficult to state whether there was only one or several. Thus far, the archaeological evidence is insufficient for any confirmation of the hypothesis of a glass-making workshop in Cibalae.

The furnace was discovered at a site which was in the periphery of the town during the Roman era, which corresponds to the customary location of glass workshops. Due to the possibility of fires, Roman glass workshops in the western half of the Empire were situated at the peripheries of cities. However, this was not the case in the eastern Mediterranean, where workshops were not necessarily situated outside of cities, which is confirmed by the discovery of Byzantine workshops in the centre of Bet She'an.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Stern 1999, 458.

## Štrbinci

B. Migotti<sup>21</sup> pretpostavila je aktivnost staklarske radionice i na Štrbincima, na temelju nalaza poput ostataka staklaste smjese u jednoj od lončarskih peći, veće količine narukvica od crnog stakla te nekolicine prstenova i umetaka od plavog stakla srodnih privjescima iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, međutim znatno lošije kvalitete, na temelju čega i jest pretpostavljena njihova lokalna proizvodnja.<sup>22</sup> Također su pronađeni manji komadi staklene troske, te komadić kremen<sup>23</sup> uz smrvljene staklene posude u grobu, za koji B. Migotti<sup>24</sup> smatra da ako je zaista stavljen kao prilog, mogao bi izravno i simbolički upućivati na izradu staklenih predmeta na Štrbincima. Nažalost, staklarska peć na Štrbincima za sada nije pronađena budući da naselje nije istraživano osim nekropole. Ostaci staklastog sloja u lončarskoj peći ne mogu biti dokaz o tome da su se u toj peći izrađivale staklene posude zbog toga što staklasti sloj nastaje fuzijom silicija na keramici ili zidu peći. Također, za sada nikakve analize staklenih posuda nisu izrađene, stoga, iako kremen jest sastojak rimskog stakla, ali ne uvijek osnovni,<sup>25</sup> ne znamo je li bio osnovni sastojak sirovog stakla od kojeg su štrbinačke posude izrađene ili nije. Međutim, na lokalitetu je pronađen zaista velik broj staklenih predmeta, koji količinski nadilaze sve ostale nalaze. Od posuda dominiraju stožaste čaše, kao tipičan kasnoantički oblik posude, te ovalni vrčevi i kuglaste boce. Različiti elementi, poput lošije kvalitete izrade, odnosno asimetričnosti navedenih posuda ili lošeg oblikovanja pojedinih dijelova, zatim lošije kvalitete stakla, odnosno vidljivih

<sup>21</sup> Migotti 1998, 100.

<sup>22</sup> Migotti 1998a, 14; Migotti 2000.

<sup>23</sup> Kremen pijesak jedan je od sastojaka sirovog stakla.

<sup>24</sup> Migotti 2009, 164.

<sup>25</sup> Henderson 2000, 25.

## Štrbinci

B. Migotti<sup>21</sup> assumed that a glass workshop was also active in Štrbinci, based on finds such as remains of molten glass in one of the pottery kilns, considerable quantities of bracelets made of so-called black glass and several rings and inserts made of blue glass similar to the pendants from the Archaeological Museum in Split, albeit of lower quality, which is precisely why it is believed they were locally produced.<sup>22</sup> Small quantities of glass slag and a piece of flint were also found<sup>23</sup> together with intentionally crushed glass vessels in a grave, which Migotti<sup>24</sup> believed, insofar as it was truly deposited as goods, may directly and symbolically indicate the production of glass objects in Štrbinci. Unfortunately, a glass-making furnace has not yet been discovered at Štrbinci, since other than the necropolis the settlement has not been researched. The remains of a glass slag in the pottery kiln cannot serve as evidence that glass vessels were made in it, because glass slag is formed by the fusion of silicon on ceramic or the wall of the kiln. Also, so far no analyses of the glass vessels have been made, so even though quartz is a constituent (albeit not always basic) of Roman glass,<sup>25</sup> there is no way of knowing whether it was a basic constituent of the raw glass from which the Štrbinci vessels were made. However, a truly high quantity of glass items were found at the site, a quantity that surpasses that of all other finds. Conical beakers, as a typical Late Roman vessel form, as well as oval jugs and cylindrical bottles, dominate among the vessels. Various elements, such as the lower quality of glass workmanship, i.e., the asymmetry of these vessels or the poorer formation of individual parts, and then the poor quality of glass, i.e., the visible bubbles and

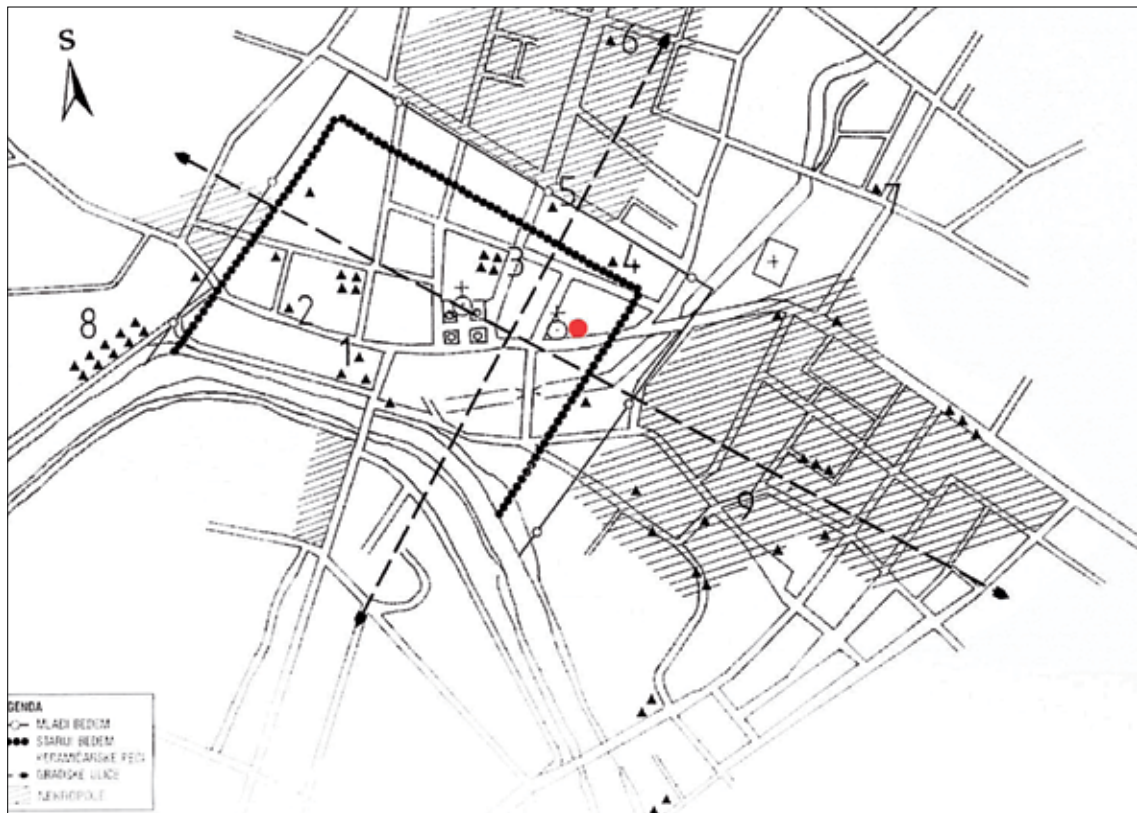
<sup>21</sup> Migotti 1998, 100.

<sup>22</sup> Migotti 1998a, 14; Migotti 2000.

<sup>23</sup> Quartz sand is one of the components of raw glass.

<sup>24</sup> Migotti 2009, 164.

<sup>25</sup> Henderson 2000, 25.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Karta Cibala s položajem lokaliteta na kojemu je pronađena peć / Map of Cibalae with location of the site at which the furnace was found (Iskra Janošić 2001, 112)

mjhurića i vertikalnih linija na stijenka-  
ma, boja (različite nijanse zelene), oblik  
i datacija, ponajviše u razdoblje 4. st.,  
upućuju na južnopanonsku proizvodnju.  
U prilog tome ide i činjenica da je riječ  
o uobičajenim stolnim posudama i svjet-  
ljkama za svakodnevnu upotrebu, ali i  
analogije s istim ili sličnim posudama te  
nedostatak analogija za pojedine oblike  
što također upućuje na južnopanonsku  
proizvodnju. Stoga, upravo zbog nave-  
denih činjenica, nikako ne možemo sa si-  
gurnošću isključiti mogućnost staklarske  
proizvodnje i na Štrbincima, što bi ujedno  
značilo da su se na Štrbincima u razdo-  
blju 4. i prve pol. 5. st., jer to je razdo-  
blje u koje je većina materijala datirana,  
proizvodile i staklene posude, ali i nakitni  
predmeti. Međutim, za sada još uvijek ne  
možemo sa sigurnošću tvrditi da su ove  
posude zaista proizvod južnopanonskih  
radionica smještenih na području današ-

vertical lines on the walls, colour (various  
shades of green), form and dating, most in the  
fourth century, indicate local southern Pan-  
nonian production. This conclusion is based  
on the fact that these are examples of ordi-  
nary tableware and lamps for everyday use,  
as well as comparisons with similar vessels  
and a lack of analogies for individual forms,  
which also points to southern Pannonian pro-  
duction. Thus, due precisely to these facts,  
we certainly cannot discount the possibility  
of glass production at Štrbinci as well, which  
would also mean that glass vessels, as well as  
glass jewellery, were produced in Štrbinci in  
the fourth and first half of the fifth centuries,  
because this is the period to which most of  
the materials were dated. However, for now  
it is still impossible to state with certainty  
that these vessels were truly the product of  
southern Pannonian workshops in the territo-  
ry of today's northern Croatia, because such  
workshops have not yet been archeologically

nje sjeverne Hrvatske, zato što te radionice još uvijek nisu arheološki dokazane. Nedostaje još dosta konkretnih arheoloških dokaza na temelju kojih bismo te pretpostavke mogli potvrditi.

Ne zna se kada su s radom započele radionice u hrvatskom dijelu nekadašnje provincije Panonije. Da bismo mogli potvrditi da su pronađene peći iz Siska i Vinkovaca zaista staklarske, nedostaju najvažniji arheološki dokazi (posude za taljenje, stakleni otpaci, alatke i slično). S obzirom na to da stakleni materijal sjeverne Hrvatske u većem dijelu nije objavljen, nije poznato u kojem opsegu je postojala trgovina između pojedinih gradova. Prilikom obrade posuda s područja sjeverne Hrvatske, pronašli smo određenu, ali malu, količinu istih ili sličnih posuda na različitim lokalitetima, ili u neposrednoj blizini. Npr. analogija za jedan balzamarij<sup>26</sup> pronađena je u Muzeju Slavonije u Osijeku.<sup>27</sup> Svi elementi: oblik posude, loša kvaliteta stakla, loša kvaliteta izrade i slično, gotovo su isti i upućuju na panonsku ili južno-panonsku proizvodnju. Identičan slučaj je i s bocom s brušenom ornamentikom sa štrbinačke nekropole<sup>28</sup> koja ima analogiju u jednoj gotovo identičnoj boci iz osječkog muzeja<sup>29</sup> te kuglastim bocama s ljevkastim vratom koje su pronađene na Štrbincima, Osijeku i Dalju.<sup>30</sup> Sličnih primjeraka ima i više, a oni svakako idu u prilog intenzivnoj razmjeni između gradova. Jedna mogućnost jest ta da su se ovi navedeni tipovi posuda proizvodili u jednoj od mogućih u tekstu navedenih radionica. Drugo moguće rješenje jest da su se isti oblici posuda proizvodili u različitim radionicama. Zbog činjenice da staklarske radionice nisu potvrđene niti u Vin-

proven to exist. Much of the direct archaeological evidence that would serve as the basis for confirming this hypothesis is still absent.

When the workshops in the Croatian part of the former province of Pannonia began its production is not known. Missing is the most important archaeological evidence (crucibles, glass waste, tools, etc.) that would confirm that the ovens found in Sisak and Vinkovci were truly used for glass production. Since the glass materials from northern Croatia have largely gone unpublished, the extent to which trade between individual cities existed is not known. When processing the vessels from the territory of northern Croatia, we found a certain – albeit small – quantity of the same or similar vessel forms at different sites, or in their immediate vicinity. For example, an analogy to a balsamarium<sup>26</sup> was found in the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek.<sup>27</sup> All elements – the vessel form, the poor glass quality, the poor workmanship and similar features – are almost identical, pointing to Pannonian or southern Pannonian production. The case of the bottle with engraved decoration from the Štrbinci necropolis<sup>28</sup> is an identical example, as it has an analogy in a virtually identical bottle from the Osijek Museum,<sup>29</sup> while spherical bottles with funnelled necks were found in Štrbinci, Osijek and Dalj.<sup>30</sup> There are more similar examples, and they certainly support the theory of intense trade between cities. One possibility is that these vessel types were made in one of the workshops mentioned herein. Another possible solution is that these same vessel forms were produced in different workshops. Since glass workshops have not been confirmed in Vinkovci nor in Osijek, nor in Štrbinci for that matter, it is difficult to say whether these aforementioned vessel types were produced

<sup>26</sup> Dimitrijević 1979, 175, T. 21/4.

<sup>27</sup> Bulat 1976, 100.

<sup>28</sup> Migotti 2004, 173, 174, 238.

<sup>29</sup> Bulat 1976, 89/3, T. VII/6.

<sup>30</sup> Migotti 2009, 134, T. XX/3; Bulat 1976, 89/2, T. I/1; 90/15, T. II/4.

<sup>26</sup> Dimitrijević 1979, 175, P. 21/4.

<sup>27</sup> Bulat 1976, 100.

<sup>28</sup> Migotti 2004, 173, 174, 238.

<sup>29</sup> Bulat 1976, 89/3, P. VII/6.

<sup>30</sup> Migotti 2009, 134, P. XX/3; Bulat 1976, 89/2, P. I/1; 90/15, P. II/4.

kovcima niti u Osijeku, a niti na Štrbincima, teško je reći jesu li spomenuti oblici posuda proizvedeni u Cibalama, Mursi ili nekoj trećoj panonskoj radionici te uvezeni u ove gradove. Promatrajući kasnoantičke staklene posude iz hrvatskog dijela Panonije i tražeći njihove analogije, možemo zamijetiti da se isti ili slični oblici najčešće pojavljuju u Mađarskoj i Srbiji. U Mađarskoj se spominje nekoliko staklarskih radionica: u Arraboni, Brigetiu, Aquincumu te Gorsiumu,<sup>31</sup> ali i u Srijemskoj Mitrovici,<sup>32</sup> stoga je velika vjerojatnost da je upravo jedna od tih radionica, ili možda više njih, bila glavni proizvođač nekih oblika posuda za cijelu Panoniju, pa i susjedne provincije, odnosno Meziju. U Sloveniji i nema baš mnogo analogija za kasnoantičke panonske posude, već samo za rane, zbog toga što na tome području u većoj mjeri prevladava rani materijal, koji u južnoj Panoniji nedostaje. Međutim, to i ne čudi budući da je taj dio Panonije prije našeg dijela potpao pod rimsku vlast.<sup>33</sup> Rani materijal u većoj mjeri prevladava i na području Dalmacije, stoga ni na tome području nema mnogo analogija za kasnoantičke posude s područja hrvatskog dijela Panonije, već isključivo za ranije oblike. Na području Dalmacije, osim Salone, rimske peći za proizvodnju staklenih posuda također nedostaju. Međutim, na temelju izrazito velike količine staklenih posuda, naročito na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, te nekoliko specifičnih tipova karakterističnih upravo za to područje, dana je pretpostavka o lokalnoj rimskoj staklarskoj proizvodnji.<sup>34</sup>

Kada govorimo o rimskome staklarstvu na području sjeverne Hrvatske, još je puno nepoznanica. Zaključci o tome da su pronađene peći u Sisku i Vinkovcima staklarske po našem su mišljenju ipak pre-

in Cibalae, Mursa or some third Pannonian workshop and imported to these cities. Upon examining Late Roman glass vessels from the Croatian part of Pannonia and seeking comparisons to them, we must note that the same or similar forms most often appear in Hungary and Serbia. Several glass workshops are supposed for Hungary: in Arrabona, Brigetio, Aquincum and Gorsium,<sup>31</sup> but also in Serbia in Srijemska Mitrovica,<sup>32</sup> so there is a great probability that one or perhaps several of these workshops were the primary producers of certain types of glass vessels for all of Pannonia, and even the neighbouring province of Moesia. There are not many analogies to the Late Roman Pannonian vessels in Slovenia, rather only for those dating to early Roman period, because early materials absent in southern Pannonia largely predominate there. However, this should not be surprising, since this part of Pannonia came under Roman rule earlier than the Croatian part of that province.<sup>33</sup> Early glass vessel forms generally predominate in the territory of Dalmatia, so there are not many analogies there to the Late Roman vessels from the Croatian part of Pannonia, rather only for earlier forms. However, based on the exceptionally large quantities of glass vessels, particularly in the eastern Adriatic coast, and several forms of glass vessels specific of precisely this region, a hypothesis on local Roman glass production has been put forward.<sup>34</sup>

There are still many unknowns with reference to Roman glass production in northern Croatia. The assertions that the oven structures found in Sisak and Pannonia are glass furnaces are, in our opinion, open. The discovery of a lower section or simply the foundations of a kiln with a small piece of melted glass, but without any other archaeological evidence on glasswork *in situ* cannot serve as certain proof that these were without doubt

<sup>31</sup> Thomas 1980, 382; Barkóczi 1988, 31.

<sup>32</sup> Milošević 1976, 102-108.

<sup>33</sup> Šaranović Svetek 1986, 55.

<sup>34</sup> Fadić 2004, 95-106.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas 1980, 382; Barkóczi 1988, 31.

<sup>32</sup> Milošević 1976, 102-108.

<sup>33</sup> Šaranović Svetek 1986, 55.

<sup>34</sup> Fadić 2004, 95-106.



uranjeni. Pronalazak donjeg dijela ili tek ostataka temelja peći s malim ulomkom rastaljenog stakla, a bez ikakvih drugih arheoloških dokaza o obradi stakla *in situ*, ne može biti siguran dokaz da je bez sumnje riječ o staklarskim pećima. Elementi, na osnovi kojih se nedvojbeno potvrđuje sekundarna proizvodnja, dobro su poznati u međunarodnoj stručnoj literaturi i prihvaćeni.<sup>35</sup> Bez ovakvih direktnih nalaza, ideja o lokalnoj proizvodnji jest moguća, ali, nažalost, nije nedvojbeno potvrđena s nalazima.

Nažalost i elementi na kojima je temeljena mogućnost staklarske proizvodnje na Štrbincima, također su nedostatni. Činjenica jest da neki drugi elementi poput tipologije kasnoantičkih posuda, nedostatka njihovih analogija u drugim provincijama, a veći broj sličnih ili istih na našem području, loša kvaliteta stakla kao i same izrade i sl., idu u prilog hipotezi o mogućem postojanju domaće staklarske proizvodnje.

Na kraju moramo ustanoviti da postoje elementi koji upućuju na vjerojatnost postojanja lokalne staklarske proizvodnje na više lokaliteta na području hrvatskog dijela provincije Panonije (grumeni stakla u rijeci, količina staklene građe, tlorisi peći, vjerojatni lokalni oblici posuda). Međutim, brojni neposredni arheološki dokazi obrade stakla<sup>36</sup> još uvijek nedostaju i dok se ne pronađu nećemo moći bez sumnje dokazati postojanje rimskih staklarskih radionica na području južne Panonije.

<sup>35</sup> Lit. o tome: Amrein 1996; Amrein 2001; Amrein, Hochuli-Gysel 2000; Stern 1999, Stern 2004, Stern 2008; Lazar 2003, 215, sl. 57.

<sup>36</sup> Amrein 1996; Amrein 2001; Amrein, Hochuli-Gysel 2000; Lazar 2003, 224-230.

glass furnaces. The elements that would unambiguously confirm secondary production are well known and accepted in the international scholarly literature.<sup>35</sup> Without such direct finds, the idea of local production is possible, but, unfortunately, not unequivocally proven with finds.

Unfortunately, the elements upon which the possibility of glass production in Štrbinci are based are also insufficient. To be sure, certain other elements, such as the typology of Late Roman vessels, the lack of analogies in other provinces and the high number of similar or identical vessels in the territory in question, the poor quality of the glass and workmanship, etc., do back the hypothesis on the possible existence of local glass production.

In the end, we must state that there are elements which indicate the likelihood of the existence of local glass production at several sites in the Croatian part of the province of Pannonia (raw glass lumps in the river, the quantity of glass materials, the ground-plan of the furnaces, probable local vessel forms). However, numerous direct archaeological proofs of glassworking<sup>36</sup> are still absent, and until they are found we shall not be able to prove without doubt the existence of Roman glass workshops in the territory of southern Pannonia.

<sup>35</sup> For sources on this, see Amrein 1996; Amrein 2001; Amrein, Hochuli-Gysel 2000; Stern 1999, Stern 2004, Stern 2008; Lazar 2003, 215, Fig. 57.

<sup>36</sup> Amrein 1996; Amrein 2001; Amrein, Hochuli-Gysel 2000; Lazar 2003, 224-230.

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DUHOVNI SVIJET I BOŽANSTVA  
GLADIJATORA U SKLOPU RIMSKIH  
AMFITEATARA NA TLU DANAŠNJE  
HRVATSKE

**UDK:** 725.826:255(497.5)

**Pregledni rad**

*U ovom se radu, na temelju sačuvanih materijalnih nalaza i povijesnih izvora, nastoji rekonstruirati prisutnost takozvanih gladijatorskih božanstava na području istočnojadranske obale i panonskog prostora. Također se uzimaju u razmatranje pojedina božanstva i protagonisti iz grčko-rimske mitologije, koji uz svoje uobičajene atribucije razvijaju pojedine zaštitničke sklonosti i pritom zauzimaju specifičan odnos prema gladijatorskom svijetu. Interdisciplinarnim pristupom autor svoje zaključke potkrepljuje povijesnim izvorima, natpisnom građom, arheološkim ostacima, onomastičkim istraživanjima, arhivskim i drugim vrstama podataka.*

*Ključne riječi: amfiteatar, rimski gladijatori, Nemeza, grifoni, ikonografija, svetišta*

THE SPIRITUAL WORLD AND DEITIES  
OF GLADIATORS IN ROMAN AMPHI-  
THEATRES IN THE TERRITORY OF PRE-  
SENT-DAY CROATIA

**UDC:** 725.826:255(497.5)

**Review**

*Based on physical finds and historical sources, this work constitutes an attempt to reconstruct the presence of so-called gladiatorial deities in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard and Pannonia. Also considered are certain deities and protagonists from Graeco-Roman mythology who, besides their customary attributes, acquired individual protective qualities and thus assumed a specific relationship to the gladiatorial world. Using an interdisciplinary approach, the author backs his conclusions with historical sources, epigraphic materials, archaeological artefacts, onomastic research, archival and other types of data.*

*Key words: amphitheatre, Roman gladiators, Nemesis, griffins, iconography, shrine*

Životna sudbina rimskih gladijatora, koja se odvijala unutar gladijatorskih škola i amfiteatara, predstavlja jednu sasvim specifičnu domenu istraživanja kojoj dosad u našim znanstvenim krugovima nije posvećena adekvatna pozornost.<sup>1</sup> Upravo je duhovni aspekt svakog pojedinog gladijatora morao igrati važnu ulogu u neizvjesnim životnim prilikama obilježenim svakodnevnim nastupima u raznim vrstama borilišta diljem prostranoga Rimskog Carstva jer je svaki novi nastup značio novu priliku za smrt. Postavljaju se sljedeća pitanja: Kome su se gladijatori u danom trenutku obraćali za pomoć, kome su upućivali svoje molitve i kojim su božanstvima podizali pojedine spomenike?

Upravo na području rimske kolonije Salone i njezina amfiteatra postoji zabilježen slučaj duhovnog svijeta i religijskog vjerovanja tamošnjih gladijatora, koji se u sklopu spomenute građevine manifestirao u arhitektonskom obliku. Naime, na južnom dijelu salonitanskog amfiteatra, u supstrukcijskom koridoru ispod prostora gledališta, otkrivene su dvije nadsvođene prostorije koje su predstavljale omanja svetišta božice Nemeze koju su štovili gladijatori diljem prostranoga Rimskog Carstva.<sup>2</sup> Nemezeji su bili, kao što je poznato, gladijatorska svetišta božice Nemeze (*nemeseum*) koja su na području salonitanskog amfiteatra bila izravno povezana s onim dijelom dotične građevine koji je bio predviđen za gladijatore.<sup>3</sup> Upravo iza *via venatorum*, prolaza koji okružuje salonitansko borilište, vodio je pristup u spomenuta dva nemezeja.<sup>4</sup> Budući da su na području salonitanskog amfiteatra svoje živote izgubili brojni klerici i laici, u vrijeme prvih kršćana se spomenuta svetišta pretvaraju i adaptiraju u me-

The lives of Roman gladiators, which proceeded in gladiatorial schools and amphitheatres, constitute a very specific field of research which in Croatian scholarly circles has thus far not received adequate attention.<sup>1</sup> It is precisely the spiritual aspect of each individual gladiator which had to play a vital role in a precarious lifestyle characterized by daily appearances in various types of combat venues throughout the expansive Roman Empire, because each new appearance signified a new threat of death. The following questions arise: to whom did gladiators appeal for aid at any given moment, to whom did they convey their prayers and to which deities did they raise monuments?

A case of the spiritual life and religious beliefs of the local gladiators was in fact recorded in the territory of the Roman colony of Salona and its amphitheatre, where it assumed an architectural form. Two vaulted rooms which served as small shrines to the deity Nemesis, who was worshiped by gladiators throughout the Roman Empire,<sup>2</sup> were discovered in the southern section of the Salona amphitheatre, in the substructure corridor beneath the spectator seating area. Nemesea (sing. *Nemeseum*) were, as known, gladiatorial shrines to the goddess Nemesis, which in the Salona amphitheatre were directly linked to that part of this structure foreseen for gladiators.<sup>3</sup> Access to the aforementioned two Nemesea was precisely behind the *via venatorum*, the passage encircling the arena.<sup>4</sup> Since many clerics and lay believers lost their lives in the Salona amphitheatre, in the Early Christian era these shrines were transformed and adapted into memorial chapels to commemorate Christian martyrs, convicts sentenced to death, and all slain gladiators.<sup>5</sup> An analogous Christian

<sup>1</sup> I would like to take this opportunity to thank my colleague Dijana Pekić for proofreading this text.

<sup>2</sup> Suić 2003, 264; Rendić-Miočević 2003, 174.

<sup>3</sup> Dyggve 1933, 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> Rapanić 1971, 22.

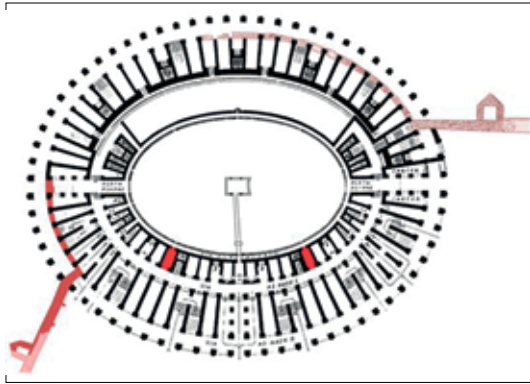
<sup>5</sup> Bulić 1986, 75; Vallance Mackie 2003, 214-221; Kapitanović 2006, 164-166; Gorys 2003, 101-102, 343.

<sup>1</sup> Ovom prigodom htio bih najiskrenije zahvaliti kolegici Dijani Pekić na lekturi teksta.

<sup>2</sup> Suić 2003, 264; Rendić-Miočević 2003, 174.

<sup>3</sup> Dyggve 1933, 84-85.

<sup>4</sup> Rapanić 1971, 22.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Položaj dvaju svetišta božice Nemeze (lijevo) i pogled na porta Libitinae (desno) unutar salonitanskog amfiteatra / Location of the two shrines to Nemesis (left) and the porta Libitinae (right) inside the Salona amphitheatre (Jeličić Radonić 2008, 40; snimio / photo by M. Buovac)

morijalne kapele u spomen na kršćanske mučenike, na smrt osuđene prijestupnike, odnosno na sve ubijene gladijatore.<sup>5</sup> Analognu kršćansku kapelu također iz VI. stoljeća nalazimo na području amfiteatra u antičkom Draču (*Dyrrachium*).<sup>6</sup>

Religijski sustav salonitanskog amfiteatra također upotpunjuje podzemni prolaz za odvođenje zvijeri, oružja i tijela mrtvih ili teško ranjenih gladijatora, koji se naziva *porta Libitinae*. Naime, u središtu borilišta nalazio se dotičan podzemni hodnik, odnosno pravokutni otvor<sup>7</sup>, koji je s južne strane vodio izvan građevine salonitanskog amfiteatra.<sup>8</sup> Shodno tome,

chapel, also dated to the seventh century, was found in the vicinity of the amphitheatre in ancient *Dyrrachium* (modern Durrës, Albania).<sup>6</sup>

The religious system of the Salona amphitheatre was also supplemented by an underground passage for herding wild beasts and moving weapons and the bodies of slain or gravely wounded gladiators, which was called the *porta Libitinae*. This underground passage, or rather its rectangular opening,<sup>7</sup> was in the middle of the arena, and it led outside the Salona amphitheatre on its south side.<sup>8</sup> In this vein, a cemetery for slain and executed gladiators was located in the immediate vicinity

<sup>5</sup> Bulić 1986, 75; Vallance Mackie 2003, 214-221; Kapitanović 2006, 164-166; Gorys 2003, 101-102, 343.

<sup>6</sup> Marin 2008, 254. Tragove kršćanskog kulta u sklopu građevina amfiteatara također nalazimo i u brojnim drugim mjestima, poput današnjeg Trieria (*Augusta Treverorum*), Metz (*Divodurum*) ili pak Petronell-Carnuntum (*Carnuntum*). Vidjeti: Bulić 1984, 549-551.

<sup>7</sup> Mardešić 2006, 241. Zasad još nije poznat razlog zašto je podzemna prostorija ispod samog borilišta salonitanskog borilišta smanjena, niti je utvrđeno koliko je izvorna veličina dotične prostorije bila ni u koje je svrhe u pojedinim fazama korištena. Vidjeti: Piplović 2005, 4-5, 10.

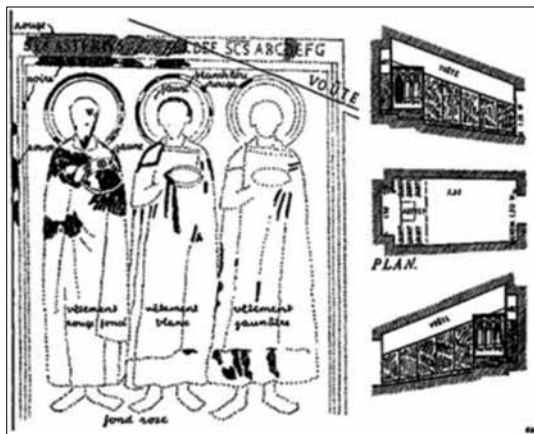
<sup>8</sup> Dyggve 1933, 105. Libitina je rimska božica podzemlja, smrti i tuge, odnosno zaštitnica ožalošćenih, koja skrbi i bdije nad obezama pogreba. Vidjeti: Hajnocy, Mezos 1999, 117; Liu 2009, 372-373; Jacobelli 2003, 26; Holzapfel 2008, 217.

<sup>6</sup> Marin 2008, 254. Vestiges of a Christian cult within the amphitheatre building can be found at numerous other sites, such as modern-day Trier (*Augusta Treverorum*), Metz (*Divodurum*) or even Petronell-Carnuntum (*Carnuntum*). See: Bulić 1984, 549-551.

<sup>7</sup> Mardešić 2006, 241. Thus far, the reason why the underground facility below the arena in the Salona arena was reduced remains unknown, nor have its original size or functions in various phases been ascertained. See: Piplović 2005, 4-5, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Dyggve 1933, 105. Libitina was the Roman goddess of the underworld, death and grieving, and the patron of the bereaved, who cared for and watched over funerary rites. See: Hajnocy, Mezos 1999, 117; Liu 2009, 372-373; Jacobelli 2003, 26; Holzapfel 2008, 217.





Sl. / Fig. 2: Usporedba kršćanskih svetišta u supstrukcijama amfiteatara u Saloni (lijevo) i Dirarhiju (desno) / Comparison of Christian shrines in the substructures of the amphitheatres in Salona (left) and Dyrrachium (right) (Cambi 2002, 285)

u neposrednoj se blizini amfiteatra nalazilo i samo groblje poginulih i pogubljenih gladijatora, što je ujedno zabilježeno i na primjeru polatičkog amfiteatra.<sup>9</sup> Neposto-

<sup>9</sup> Sanader 2008, 135 i dalje. Kao posebnu cjelinu i tematiku izdvojio bih tzv. gladijatorske urne. Zasad su jedino na našim prostorima posvjedočene na području rimske kolonije Salona. Na području salonitanskog amfiteatra i njegove bliže okolice nalaze se groblja poginulih gladijatora. Tako je pronađeno i dvanaest gladijatorskih urni datiranih u 2. ili pak u 3. stoljeće (AMS, inv. br. A174; A 1636; A 5053; A 409; A 1594; A 1443; A 1593; A 3312; A 4333; A 789; D 114; D 371). Danas se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu. Također je sačuvan i mramorni kalup za izlivanje natpisa i prikaza gladijatora (inv. br. A 826). Na njima su sačuvani reljefni prikazi gladijatora, kao i razni natpisi, iz kojih možemo dosta korisnih informacija saznati primjerice o gladijatorskim vrstama i rodovima tzv. *armaturae*. Također je važno napomenuti da su sondažna istraživanja iz 2005. godine provedena uz zapadni dio gradskih zidina, na prostoru spoja zidina i građevine amfiteatra. Na južnoj strani jedne sonde pronađen je grob sastavljen od vapnenačkih obložnica nepravilnog pravokutnog oblika. U dotičnom grobu, u kojem je bio pokopan samo jedan pokojnik, nije bilo grobnih nalaza. Stoga svakojaka nagađanja oko atribucije tog groba kao gladijatorske grobne cjeline zasad nisu utemeljena. Usporedi: <http://www.mdc.hr/UserFiles/File/Izvjescja/2006/62-AM%20Split.pdf> (26.8.2013.)

of the amphitheatre, which was also recorded at the Pola amphitheatre.<sup>9</sup> The absence of a larger underground area suggests that the logistics for the normal holding of games was

<sup>9</sup> Sanader 2008, 135 ff. I would set aside the so-called gladiatorial urns as a separate unit and theme. So far in Croatia they have only been confirmed in the territory of the Roman colony of Salona. Cemeteries for slain gladiators are located at the Salona amphitheatre and its immediate vicinity. Twelve gladiatorial urns were also found in this way, and dated to the second or even third centuries (AMS, inv. no. A174; A 1636; A 5053; A 409; A 1594; A 1443; A 1593; A 3312; A 4333; A 789; D 114; D 371). Today they are held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. A marble mould for casting inscriptions and images of gladiators (inv. br. A 826) has also been preserved. Relief images of gladiators are preserved on them, as well as various inscriptions, from which a considerable amount of useful information can be gleaned, such as, for example, the gladiatorial types and classes, the so-called *armaturae*. Also noteworthy is the test research conducted in 2005 along the western part of the city walls, at the point where the wall connects with the amphitheatre structure. A grave consisting of limestone panels with irregular rectangular shape was discovered on the southern side of one test trench. There were no goods in this grave, which contained the body of only a single deceased individual. The diverse speculation on the attribution of this grave as a gladiatorial grave unit is thus not founded. Cf. <http://www.mdc.hr/UserFiles/File/Izvjescja/2006/62-AM%20Split.pdf> (26.8.2013.)

janje većeg podzemnog prostora upućuje na zaključak da je logistika za normalno odvijanje igara bila u gladijatorskoj zgradi (*ludus gladiatorius*) koja se nalazila u neposrednoj blizini amfiteatra.<sup>10</sup>

U sklopu salonitanskog amfiteatra i gladijatorskih borbi valja ukazati i na njihov daljnji religijsko-mitološki značaj. Na području samog gledališta amfiteatra bile su postavljene dekorativne mramorne skulpture, odnosno herme,<sup>11</sup> od kojih su neke i danas sačuvane.<sup>12</sup> Dvije takve herme čuvaju se u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu, a svojedobno su krasile središnju ložu salonitanskog amfiteatra.<sup>13</sup> To su prikazi međusobno spojenih dvoglavih mitoloških bića ili ličnosti smrtnika, čiji su pogledi usmjereni u suprotnim pravcima. U punoj plastici ističe se spomenuti niz hermi lokalne provenijencije, od kojih je velika većina pripadala, kao konstruktivni dio, ogradama svećanih loža ili galerija salonitanskog amfiteatra. Među njima je također pronađena i glava mitološkog lika, kiklopa Polifema (AMS, inv. br. C 170) iz prve polovice 3. stoljeća, odnosno početka 4. stoljeća.<sup>14</sup> Njegova uloga u salonitanskom amfiteatru svakako je usuglašena sa surovim podvizima gladijatora, koji su se izvodili na području tamošnjeg borilišta. U mitološku sferu salonitanskog amfiteatra spada i prikaz

in the gladiatorial building (*ludus gladiatorius*) which was in the amphitheatre's immediate vicinity.<sup>10</sup>

Within the context of the Salona amphitheatre and gladiatorial combat, their continued religious and mythological significance is noteworthy. Decorative marble sculptures, i.e., hermae,<sup>11</sup> were installed in the area of the amphitheatre's seating, of which some have been preserved to this day.<sup>12</sup> Two such hermae are held in the Archaeological Museum in Split, and at one point they adorned the central loggia of the Salona amphitheatre.<sup>13</sup> These portrayals were connected by a two-headed mythical creature or the personages of mortals, whose gazes are oriented in opposite directions. A number of hermae of local origin in full sculptural form stand out; the vast majority constituted constructive components of the fences of ceremonial loggias or galleries in the Salona amphitheatre. A mythical figure, Polyphemus the Cyclops (AMS, inv. no. C 170), from the first half of the third century or the early fourth century was found among them.<sup>14</sup> His role in the Salona amphitheatre certainly complied with the savage feats of the gladiators which proceeded on the arena. The image of the personification of the winds, probably Boreas, with wings on its head and high eyebrows, also belongs to the mythical sphere in the Salona amphitheatre (AMS, inv. no. C 156).

<sup>10</sup> Cambi 2002, 74; Dyggve 1933, 105, 140, sl. 71; Rendić-Miočević, 2003, 178.

<sup>11</sup> Usporedi: Smith 1853, 602-604; Cambi 1991, 14-15; Cambi 2002, 370; Puglisi 2012, 7, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Cambi 2005, 97-100, 183-184.

<sup>13</sup> Cambi 2000, 63-64.

<sup>14</sup> Dyggve 1933, 72. Usporedi: Cavendish, Ling 1990, 124-125; Ciurca, Bologna 1998, 97; Giovanni 2001, 111-113. Kiklopi su prema grčkoj mitologiji jednooki divovi – ljudožderi divlje prirode. Najpoznatiji među njima je Polifem (*Polyphemus*), sin boga Posejdona, kojega je Odisej uspio oslijepiti te nadmudriti. Stoga njegov prikaz u amfiteatru stvara alegoriju krvoločnog nadmudrivanja, u vidu pitanja života i smrti prilikom gladijatorskih borbi.

<sup>10</sup> Cambi 2002, 74; Dyggve 1933, 105, 140, Fig. 71; Rendić-Miočević, 2003, 178.

<sup>11</sup> Cf.: Smith 1853, 602-604; Cambi 1991, 14-15; Cambi 2002, 370; Puglisi 2012, 7, 12.

<sup>12</sup> Cambi 2005, 97-100, 183-184.

<sup>13</sup> Cambi 2000, 63-64.

<sup>14</sup> Dyggve 1933, 72. Cf.: Cavendish, Ling 1990, 124-125; Ciurca, Bologna 1998, 97; Giovanni 2001, 111-113. Cyclopes were, according to Greek myth, savage one-eyed giants that ate human flesh. The best known among them was Polyphemus, the son of Poseidon, who was blinded and outwitted by Odysseus. Thus his image in the amphitheatre suggests an allegory for ruthless cleverness with regard to questions of life and death during gladiatorial combat.



Sl. / Fig. 3: Herme kiklopa Polifema (lijevo) i božanstva Boreja (desno) iz salonitanskog amfiteatra / Herm of Polyphemus the Cyclops (left) and the deity Boreas (right) from the Salona amphitheatre (Cambi 2005, 184)

personifikacije vjetra, vjerojatno Boreja (*Boreas*), s krilcima na glavi i visokim obrvama (AMS, inv. br. C 156).

Kakav je njezin kontekst u sklopu salonitanskog amfiteatra zasad je teško pretpostaviti.<sup>15</sup> Moguće je da dotični prikaz više nema dublje mitološko značenje u kontekstu salonitanskog amfiteatra i gladijatorskih borbi. Međutim, postoji vjerojatnost da se mitološko značenje spomenutih hermi s vremenom zagubilo, mada je nekoć posjetiteljima salonitanskog amfiteatra bilo jasno što pojedine skulpture predstavljaju i dočaravaju. Vjerojatno je na području salonitanskog amfiteatra postojala čitava skupina svjesno odabranih mitoloških likova i božanstava, koji su svojom pojavnošću, nazočnošću i izrazom reflektirali tematski ugođaj koji je primjeren gladijatorskim borbama i predstavama koje su se izvodile na salonitanskom borilištu.

Jednako vrijedan prikaz rimskog gladijatorskog božanstava upotpunjuje reljefni prikaz egipatskog božanstva Hat-

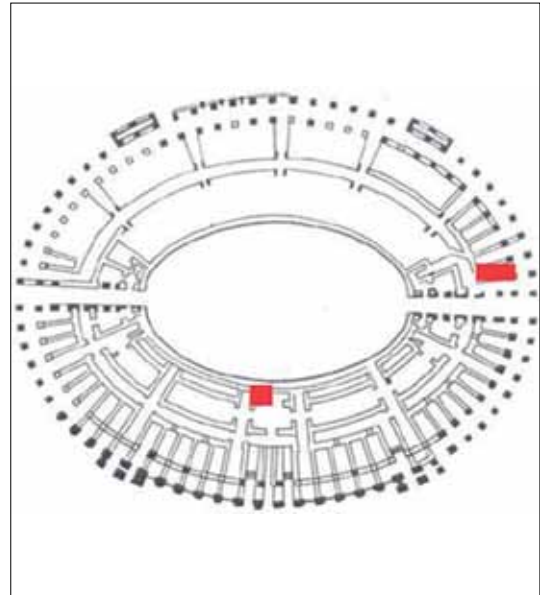
For now it is difficult to speculate on its context as part of the Salona amphitheatre.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that this portrayal has no deeper mythical significance within the context of the Salona amphitheatre and gladiatorial combat. However, it is also possible that the mythical significance of these hermae was lost with time, although formerly visitors to the amphitheatre clearly knew what individual sculptures represented and evoked. There was probably an entire group of deliberately selected mythical figures and deities in the Salona amphitheatre, which with their appearance, presence, and expression reflected the thematic ambient suited to gladiatorial combat and performances on the Salona arena.

An equally valuable portrayal of a Roman gladiatorial deity is enhanced by a relief image of the Egyptian deity Hathor (AMIP, inv. no. A 8712), found within the amphitheatre building in ancient Pula.<sup>16</sup> In her iconography, the goddess Hathor is frequently portrayed as a cow who milks and weighs dead souls, or she masticates and drinks their blood, which corresponds perfectly to the bloody gladi-

<sup>15</sup> Cambi 2005, 184.

<sup>15</sup> Cambi 2005, 184.

<sup>16</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2004, 98; Džin 2005, 186, 190.



Sl. / Fig. 4: Prikaz egipatskog božanstva Hathor (lijevo), položaj nemezeja i navodnog mitreja u polatičkom amfiteatru (desno) / Portrayal of the Egyptian deity Hathor (left), and position of the Nemeuseum and assumed position of the Mithraeum in the Pola amphitheatre (right) (Girardi-Jurkić 2005, 224; Crnković, Miko 1991, 2)

hor (AMIP, inv. br. A 8712), pronađenog u sklopu građevine amfiteatra u antičkoj Puli.<sup>16</sup> U ikonografskoj predstavi božica Hathor često je prikazivana kao krava koja doji i važe mrtve duše, odnosno ona proždire ljude i pije njihovu krv, što se izvrsno uklapa u krvoločne gladijatorske priredbe priređivane i na području pulskog amfiteatra.<sup>17</sup> Hathor se, kao božanstvo zaštitničkog karaktera, pojavljivalo kao dekoracija u pulskom amfiteatru, tim više što su i sami sudionici u gladijatorskim nastupima često bili egipatskog podrijetla.<sup>18</sup>

Na području rimskog amfiteatra u Puli također je u supstrukcijama tamošnjeg gledališta pronađena prostorija s malom nišom, koja predstavlja svetište božice Nemeze, zaštitnice gladijatora i gladijatorskih igara.<sup>19</sup> U sklopu amfiteatra, na

atorial spectacles organized in the Pula amphitheatre.<sup>17</sup> Hathor, as a protective deity, appeared as a decoration in the Pula amphitheatre, all the more so since the actual participants in gladiatorial combat were often of Egyptian origin.<sup>18</sup>

A room with a small niche, which constituted a shrine to the goddess Nemesis, the patron of gladiators and gladiatorial combat, was also found in the Roman amphitheatre in Pula.<sup>19</sup> A votive altar dedicated to the goddess *Nemesis Augusta* was found in the amphitheatre complex on the way to the main entrance (*porta principalis*). Research has shown that Nemesis and Fortuna bearing the epithet *Augusta* were the patrons of theatres and amphitheatres.<sup>20</sup> Individual historical sources also indicate interpenetration and mutual influence and ties between Nemesis and Fortuna.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2004, 98; Džin 2005, 186, 190.

<sup>17</sup> Ions 1985, 82-83; Cavendish, Ling 1990, 109. Sa stražnje strane dotičnog mramornog spomenika urezana je i oznaka *XIII*, što bi moglo upućivati da je dotičnih aplika u polatičkom amfiteatru moglo biti nekoliko primjeraka.

<sup>18</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2001, 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> Starac 2010, 40-41.

<sup>17</sup> Ions 1985, 82-83; Cavendish, Ling 1990, 109. The designation *XIII* is engraved onto the rear side of this marble monument, which may indicate that there could have been several examples of these appliques in the Pola amphitheatre.

<sup>18</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2001, 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> Starac 2010, 40-41.

<sup>20</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2005, 206-207.

<sup>21</sup> Kapitolin 1994, 295.

putu glavnog ulaza (*porta principalis*), pronađen je zavjetni žrtvenik koji je posvećen božanstvu *Nemesis Augusta*. Istraživanja pokazuju kako su Nemeza i Fortuna s epitetom *Augusta* bile zaštitnice kazališta i amfiteatara.<sup>20</sup> Također pojedini povijesni izvori bilježe podatak o međusobnom prožimanju, utjecaju i povezanosti božica Nemeze i Fortune.<sup>21</sup>

Ispred svečane dvorane i samog borilišta nalazila se jedna manja prostorija koja je s nišom u pročelju mogla biti neko manje svetište; Štefan Mlakar pretpostavlja da bi se moglo raditi o svetištu posvećenom orijentalnom božanstvu Mitri.<sup>22</sup> Moguće je da su upravo gladijatori orijentalnog podrijetla postavili Mitri svetište u sklopu amfiteatra u Puli, međutim, koliko je meni zasad poznato, na području prostranog Rimskog Carstva nemamo zabilježen slučaj neposredne povezanosti gladijatorskih borbi i amfiteatara s jedne, i orijentalnog-vojničkog božanstva Mitre s druge strane. Stoga na ovom mjestu valja naglasiti kako nema opravdane osnove za tezu da se pritom radi o Mitrinom svetištu.

U sklopu perimetalnog zida borilišta na području vojnog amfiteatra u Ivoševcima kod Kistanja (*Burnum*) pronađena je naknadno izrađena uvlaka pravokutnoga oblika. Prema sačuvanom otisku u žbuci unutar spomenute uvlake na području zapadnog prolaza, pretpostavlja se postojanje malog žrtvenika koji se *per ananlogiam* pripisuje božici Nemezi. Prema svemu navedenom, radi se o skromnom svetištu, odnosno o minijaturnom hramu unutar amfiteatra, gdje su tamošnji gladijatori upućivali svoje molitve. Spomenuti obrisi (konture) žrtvenika u dotičnoj niši pravokutnoga oblika nadomak zapadnoj strani još uvijek neiskopanih zapadnih vrata građevine amfiteatra pripadaju vje-

A small room was situated in front of the ceremonial hall and the actual arena, which with its niche in the façade may have been a small shrine; Štefan Mlakar assumed that this may have been a shrine dedicated to the oriental deity Mithra.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that gladiators of oriental origin in fact installed a shrine to Mithra in the amphitheatre in Pula, although to the best of my knowledge, there is no recorded case in the entire territory of the Roman Empire of a direct link between gladiatorial combat and amphitheatres on the one hand, and the oriental/military deity Mithra on the other. Therefore, at this point it should be stressed that there are no justifiable grounds for the theory that this is a shrine to Mithra.

A subsequently made rectangular recess was found as part of the perimeter wall of the arena in the military amphitheatre in Ivoševci near Kistanje (*Burnum*). Based on the preserved imprint in plaster inside this recess at the western passage, the existence of a small altar was ascertained, which has by analogy been ascribed to the goddess Nemesis. According to all of the aforementioned aspects, this was a modest shrine, i.e., a miniature temple inside the amphitheatre, whence the local gladiators conveyed their prayers. The aforementioned contours of the altar in this rectangular niche opposite the western side of the still unexcavated western gate of the amphitheatre structure probably belong to Nemesis, the patron of gladiators and gladiatorial games, to whom the gladiators conveyed their prayers prior to combat.<sup>23</sup> Shards of a ceramic oil-lamp and a coin testify to the fact that prior to combat gladiators made sacrifices here. During the reign of the Flavian dynasty in particular, many amphitheatre structures throughout the entire Roman Empire contained aediculae, altars or even epigraphic testimony that record her name and patronage, which is also the case with

<sup>20</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2005, 206-207.

<sup>21</sup> Kapitolin 1994, 295.

<sup>22</sup> Mlakar 1996, 30.

<sup>22</sup> Mlakar 1996, 30.

<sup>23</sup> Cambi *et al.* 2006, 20, 23.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Usporedba uvlaka amfiteatara pretpostavljenih svetišta božice Nemeze u Ivoševcima (Burnum) i Silchesteru (Calleva Atrebatum) / Comparison of recesses in amphitheatres assumed to be shrines to the goddess Nemesis in Ivoševci (Burnum) and Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum) (Cambi *et al.* 2006, 21)

rojatno božici Nemezi, zaštitnici gladijatora i gladijatorskih igara, kojoj su se gladijatori prije borbe obraćali i upućivali svoje molitve.<sup>23</sup> Krhotine keramičkih uljanica i novčića svjedoče da su gladijatori prije borbe ondje prinostili žrtvu. Osobito u razdoblju vladavine dinastije Flavijevaca mnogobrojne građevine amfiteatara na području prostranog Rimskog Carstva sadržavaju edikule, žrtvenike ili pak epigrafska svjedočanstva obilježnih njenim imenom i zaštitništvom, što je ujedno slučaj s amfiteatrima u sljedećim rimskim gradovima/vojnim logorima: *Leptis Magna* (Lebda), *Virunum* (Magdalensberg – Zollfeld), *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch-Altenburg), *Deva Victrix* (Chester), *Flavia Solva* (Wagna), *Aquincum* (Obuda – Budimpešta), *Venafrum* (Venafrö), *Ulpia Traiana* (Sarmizegetusa), *Italica* (Santiponce).<sup>24</sup>

O postojanju amfiteatra na području rimske kolonije *Aequum* (Čitluk) također indicira kip božice Fortune koja je također uz božicu gladijatora Nemezu glasila

the amphitheatres in the following Roman cities/military camps: *Leptis Magna* (Lebda), *Virunum* (Magdalensberg-Zollfeld), *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch-Altenburg), *Deva Victrix* (Chester), *Flavia Solva* (Wagna), *Aquincum* (Obuda-Budapest), *Venafrum* (Venafrö), *Ulpia Traiana* (Sarmizegetusa), and *Italica* (Santiponce).<sup>24</sup>

The existence of a statue of Fortuna, who also, together with the gladiator goddess Nemesis, had a reputation as a patron of theatres, amphitheatres, and gladiatorial games (as confirmed by numerous evidence in the context of Roman polytheism), indicates the existence of an amphitheatre in the territory of the Roman colony of *Aequum* (Čitluk). In many works and certain Classical-era sources, Fortuna is mentioned as the manifestation, or *alter ego*, of Nemesis.<sup>25</sup> Thus, the possibility cannot be excluded that it is precisely the statue of Fortuna and many other iconographic portrayals present in Čitluk which indicate the gladiatorial domain and significance of the Roman colony of *Aequum*. Assuming that the role of these iconographic portray-

<sup>23</sup> Cambi *et al.* 2006, 20, 23.

<sup>24</sup> Hornum 1993, 48-49.

<sup>24</sup> Hornum 1993, 48-49.

<sup>25</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2005, 206; Hornum 1993, 79; Szirmai 2005, 287-291.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Usporedba prikaza Nemeze iz Andautonije i sinkretizma Nemeze-Lune/Viktoria iz Virunuma / Comparison of portrayals of Nemesis from Andautonia and the syncretism of Nemesis-Luna/Victoria from Virunum (<http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm>) (26.8.2013.)

kao zaštitnica teatra, amfiteatra i gladijatorskih igara, što potvrđuju brojna svjedočanstva u sklopu rimske politeističke religije. U mnogim djelima i ponekim antičkim izvorima se božica Fortuna spominje kao oličenje, odnosno *alter ego* božice Nemeze.<sup>25</sup> Stoga nije isključena mogućnost da upravo kip božice Fortune i brojnih drugih zastupljenih čitlučkih ikonografskih prikaza upotpunjuje gladijatorsku domenu i značaj rimske kolonije Aequum. Na krivi bi nas put spomenuta hipoteza odnijela ako pretpostavimo da je uloga dotičnih ikonografskih prikaza isključivo gladijatorska, ali svakako je usuglašena i podudarna s možebitnim postojanjem građevine amfiteatra, tamošnjih gladijatorskih borbi i vojnim značajem grada. Spomenuti nalazi indirektno upućuju na mogućnost postojanja čitluš-

<sup>25</sup> Girardi-Jurkić 2005, 206; Hornum 1993, 79; Szirmai 2005, 287-291.

als is solely gladiatorial would lead us down the wrong path, but it is certainly aligned and congruent with the potential existence of an amphitheatre structure, local gladiatorial combat and the military significance of the city. These finds indirectly point to the possibility of the existence of an amphitheatre in Čitluk, because a sculpture of the patron goddess of amphitheatrical and gladiatorial games found inside this city provide a sound basis for more thorough research.<sup>26</sup> A certain concentration of (gladiatorial) deities, i.e., deities which may be linked to the existence of gladiatorial games and an amphitheatre building may point to their typical program which proceeded in that city.

<sup>26</sup> This forms the basis for the theory of “gladiatorial deities”, whose portrayals were recorded in the territory of the Roman colony of Aequum, such as sculptures of the deities Victoria, Fortuna, Diana-Hecate and Heracles (the personification of victory, fortune, the hunt, beasts – *venatio*, power, courage and unrelenting struggle).

kog amfiteatra jer skulptura zaštitnice amfiteatarskih, odnosno gladijatorskih igara, pronađene unutar dotičnog grada daje dobru osnovu za njihovo podrobnije istraživanje.<sup>26</sup> Određena koncentracija (gladijatorskih) božanstava, odnosno božanstava koje je moguće dovesti u svezu s postojanjem gladijatorskih igara i građevine amfiteatra može upućivati na njihov karakteristični program koji se upravo u tom gradu odvijao.

Na području rimske provincije Panonije iznimno vrijedan spomenik predstavlja reljef božice Nemeze, koji je pronađen na području Petrovine Turopoljske (AMZ, inv. br. 125).<sup>27</sup> Na spomenutom reljefu nalazi se prikaz božice Nemeze smještene u edikuli koju podupiru dva pilastra s korintskim kapitelima. Nemeza je odjevena u kratki hiton, pričvršćen s kružnim pločastim fibulama na svakom ramenu, odnosno opasana je pojasom vezanog u čvor ispod grudi. Bujnu kosu božice Nemeze dodatno ukrašava dijadema na vrhu glave, što je ujedno zabilježeno na primjeru božice Nemeze iz Sankt Peter in Holz (*Teurnia*)<sup>28</sup>, odnosno sinkretič-

<sup>26</sup> Na spomenutoj osnovi se zasniva teorija o »gladijatorskim božanstvima«, čije su predstave zabilježene na području rimske kolonije Aequuma, poput pronađenih skulptura božanstava Viktorije, Fortune, Dijane – Hekate i Herakla (personifikacije pobjede, sreće, lova, zvijeri – *venatio*, snage, hrabrosti i ustrajne borbe).

<sup>27</sup> CIL III, 4008. Natpis u restituciji glasi:  
D(eae) NEM(esi) REG(inae) AVG(ustae)  
SAC(rum)/... IVL(ius) VICTORINVS  
VE(teranus ?)/DEC(urio) ? MVN(icipii)  
AND(autoniensium) CVM SVIS/V(otum)  
S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).

Ispod samog reljefa nalazi se zavjetni natpis koji spominje izvjesnog Julija Viktorina (Iulius Victorinus), po svoj prilici veterana i vijećnika andautonijskog municipija. Usporedi: Hornum 1993, 175-176; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 24-26; Gregl 1991, 60-61. Zanimljivo je tumačenje Marcusa Junkelmana prema kojem je dotičan spomenik podignuo bivši gladijator Julije Viktorin. Usporedi: Junkelmann 2010, 37.

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=4946> (26.8.2013.)

A relief image of Nemesis found in Petrovina Turopoljska (AMZ, inv. No. 125) constitutes an extremely valuable monument in the territory of Pannonia.<sup>27</sup> In this relief, the portrayal of Nemesis is situated in an aedicule supported by two pilasters with Corinthian capitals. Nemesis is wearing a short chiton, fastened with circular plate fibulae on each shoulder, and with a belt tied into a knot below her breasts. Her abundant hair is additionally adorned with a diadem on top of her head, which is also noted on an example of Nemesis from Sankt Peter in Holz (*Teurnia*),<sup>28</sup> and the syncretic deities Nemesis-Luna and Nemesis-Victoria from *Virunum* (Magdalensberg-Zollfeld).<sup>29</sup>

However, the significance of the gladiatorial attributes of the goddess Nemesis shown in this relief is crucial to this discussion:

**1. Torch** = Besides illuminating the way in the corridors of the substructures under many amphitheatres for gladiators treading toward the arena for the last time, they could also be used as a type of weapon in confrontations with wild and infuriated animals (*venationes*). Additionally, in iconographic portrayals it may also represent the symbolism of light and darkness, or the question of life and death that inevitably characterized the fate of every gladiator. In the upper corners of the relief there are images of the deities Sol and

<sup>27</sup> CIL III, 4008. The restored inscription reads:

D(eae) NEM(esi) REG(inae) AVG(ustae)  
SAC(rum)/... IVL(ius) VICTORINVS  
VE(teranus ?)/DEC(urio) ? MVN(icipii)  
AND(autoniensium) CVM SVIS/V(otum)  
S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito).

Below the relief itself there is a votive inscription which mentions a certain Julius Victorinus, a veteran and municipal councillor in Andautonia. Cf.: Hornum 1993, 175-176; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 24-26; Gregl 1991, 60-61. Interesting is Marcus Junkelmann's interpretation, according to which this monument was raised by a former gladiator named Julius Victorinus. Cf.: Junkelmann 2010, 37.

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=4946> (26.8.2013.).

<sup>29</sup> <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.).



kih božanstava Nemeze-Lune i Nemeze-Viktorije iz *Virunuma* (Magdalensberg – Zollfeld).<sup>29</sup>

Međutim, presudni značaj za ovu raspravu imaju gladijatorski atributi božice Nemeze koji su prikazani na spomenutom reljefu:

**1. Baklja** = Osim što su u hodnicima supstrukcija brojnih amfiteatara osvjetljavale stazu kojom su brojni gladijatori po zadnji puta kročili prema areni, također su mogle biti upotrebljavane i kao vrsta oružja u borbi protiv divljih i razjarenih životinja (*venationes*). Također u ikonografskim prikazima može predstavljati simboliku svjetla i tame, odnosno pitanje života i smrti koje neminovno obilježava sudbinu svakog gladijatora. U gornjim kutovima reljefa nalazimo prikaz božanstava Sola i Lune, koji dodatno pojačavaju spomenutu personifikaciju života i smrti. Prikaz baklje u ovdje obrađivanom kontekstu nalazimo na predstavi sinkretičkog božanstava Nemeze – Viktorije iz *Virunuma*,<sup>30</sup> kao i na reljefu iz Flavije Solve.<sup>31</sup> Upotrebu vatre (baklje?) venatora u borbi protiv bikova se također bilježi u povijesnim izvorima slavnog rimskog pjesnika Marcijala: *Qui modo per totam flammis stimulatus harenam sustulerat raptas taurus in astra pilas. Occubuit tandem cornuto adore petitus, dum facilem tolli sic elephantia putat* (Mart., Lib. Spect. XIX).<sup>32</sup>

**2. Palmina grančica** = Predstavlja simbol pobjede koju dobivaju gladijatori na kraju borbe, čiji je prikaz zabilježen na gladijatorskoj urni iz Salone (AMS, inv. br. A 826).<sup>33</sup> Prikaz gladijatora s palminim

Luna, which additionally reinforce the aforementioned personification of life and death. The image of the torch in the context under consideration here can be found in the image of the syncretic deity Nemesis-Victoria from *Virunum*,<sup>30</sup> and on the relief from Flavia Solve.<sup>31</sup> The use of fire (torches?) by *venatores* in combat against bulls was also recorded in the historical sources of the famed Roman poet Martial: *Qui modo per totam flammis stimulatus harenam sustulerat raptas taurus in astra pilas. Occubuit tandem cornuto adore petitus, dum facilem tolli sic elephantia putat* (Mart., Lib. Spect. XIX).<sup>32</sup>

**2. Palm fronds** = a symbol of victory that was given to gladiators at the end of combat, with a depiction recorded on a gladiatorial urn from Salone (AMS, inv. no. A 826).<sup>33</sup> A portrayal of a gladiator with palm fronds can also be found on a graffiti from Pompeii, a ceramic vessel from Cologne (*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*), and the gravestones from Ephesus, Izmir (*Smyrna*) and Patras (*Patrae*).<sup>34</sup>

**3. Trident** (*fuscina* or *vetum*) = is a weapon of the *retiarius*, with depictions also recorded on examples of individual relief images,<sup>35</sup> and gladiatorial urns found in the immediate vicinity of the Salone amphitheatre (AMS, inv. no. A 174; A1594).<sup>36</sup> The depiction of a trident as a gladiatorial weapon can also be seen on individual relief images from Chester (*Deva Victrix*),<sup>37</sup> Rome (*Vigna Aquari*),<sup>38</sup> Izmir (*Smyrna*) and Ephesus, and on scenes of gladiatorial combat shown on

<sup>29</sup> <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.).

<sup>30</sup> Hornum 1993, 70.

<sup>31</sup> Matthews 2001, 131.

<sup>32</sup> Cf.: Sanader 2008, 138. See also: Schmidt 2003, 20; Jacobelli 2003, 26; Lewandowski 2007, 218.

<sup>33</sup> Junkelmann 2010, 23-25. Cf.: Cooley, Cooley 2004, 62-63.

<sup>34</sup> Hornum 1993, 70.

<sup>35</sup> See: Sanader 2008, 136-137.

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.chestertourist.com/amphitheatre.htm> (26.8.2013.).

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/57.11.7> (26.8.2013.).

<sup>29</sup> <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.).

<sup>30</sup> <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.).

<sup>31</sup> Hornum 1993, 70.

<sup>32</sup> Matthews 2001, 131.

<sup>33</sup> Usporedi: Sanader 2008, 138. Također vidi: Schmidt 2003, 20; Jacobelli 2003, 26; Lewandowski 2007, 218.



Sl. / Fig. 7: Nadgrobni spomenik s prikazom gladijatora i oštećenja lubanje preminulog gladijatora iz antičkog Efeza / Gravestone with image of a gladiator and damaged skull of a deceased gladiator from ancient Ephesus (Merrony 2007, 5; <http://archive.archaeology.org/0811/abstracts/gladiator.html>) (26.8.2013.)

grančicama također nalazimo na grafitu iz Pompeja (*Pompeii*), keramičkoj posudi iz Kölna (*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*), odnosno na nadgrobnim spomenicima iz Efeza (*Ephesus*), Izmira (*Smyrna*) i Patrasa (*Patrae*).<sup>34</sup>

**3. Trozubac** (*fuscina* ili *vetum*) = Predstavlja oružje retijara (*retiarius*), čiji su prikazi ujedno zabilježeni na primjeru pojedinih reljefa,<sup>35</sup> odnosno gladijatorskih urni pronađenih u neposrednoj blizini salonitanskog amfiteatra (AMS, inv. br. A 174; A 1594).<sup>36</sup> Prikaz trozupca kao gladijatorskog naoružanja također nalazimo na pojedinim reljefima iz Chestera (*Deva Victrix*),<sup>37</sup> Rima (*Vigna Aquari*),<sup>38</sup> Izmira (*Smyrna*) i Efeza (*Ephesus*), odnosno na scenama gladijatorskih borbi prikazanih na mozaicima u rimskoj *Aenoni* (Nin),<sup>39</sup> muzeju Verone, villi *Bignor* (West Sussex),<sup>40</sup> villi *Nenning* (Saarland), Via



mosaics in Roman *Aenona* (Nin),<sup>39</sup> the museum in Verona, the *Bignor* Roman Villa (West Sussex),<sup>40</sup> the *Villa Nenning* (Saarland), Via Appia<sup>41</sup> and the *Borghese* Gallery (both in Rome).<sup>42</sup> It was precisely with a net and trident, as fishing implements, that *retiarii* were depicted confronting pursuers (*secutores*), whose helmets had crests resembling fish fins.

**4. Whip** = may have served not only in gladiatorial combat, but also in the *venationes* (slaying of wild animals) and similar spectacles which proceeded in arenas throughout the Roman Empire. The use of the whip in the context examined herein was recorded on images linked to Nemesis, shown on relief portrayals from *Virunum* (Magdalensberg-Zollfeld), *Flavia Solva* (Wagna) and *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch Altenburg).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> See: Suić 1968, 46, P. XXII – no. 4; Cambi 2002, 187.

<sup>40</sup> McCloy, Midgley 2008, 104.

<sup>41</sup> Junkelmann 2010, 25.

<sup>42</sup> See: Abbondanza 2008, 40-41; Futrell 2006, 99; Hönle, Henze 1984, 35-36.

<sup>43</sup> Hornum 1993, 70, 166. Cf.: Olalla 2007, 232; <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.).

<sup>34</sup> Junkelmann 2010, 23-25. Usporedi: Cooley, Cooley 2004, 62-63.

<sup>35</sup> Hornum 1993, 70.

<sup>36</sup> Vidi: Sanader 2008, 136-137.

<sup>37</sup> <http://www.chestertourist.com/amphitheatre.htm> (26.8.2013.)

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/57.11.7> (26.8.2013.)

<sup>39</sup> Vidi: Suić 1968, 46, T. XXII – br. 4; Cambi 2002, 187.

<sup>40</sup> McCloy, Midgley 2008, 104.

Apiji<sup>41</sup> i galeriji *Borghese* (oboje Rim).<sup>42</sup> Upravo mrežom i trozubom, kao ribolovnim oruđem, retijari su bili suprostavljani goničima (*secutor*), čija je kaciga imala hrbat nalik na riblju peraju.

**4. Bič** = Mogao je poslužiti ne samo u gladijatorskim borbama, već i u venacijama (*venationes*) i sličnim predstavama koje su se odvijale u arenama diljem prostranog Rimskog Carstva. Upotreba biča u ovdje obrađenom kontekstu zabilježena je na predstavama vezanim uz božicu Nemezu, prikazanim na reljefima iz *Virunuma* (Magdalensberg – Zollfeld), *Flavije Solve* (Wagna) i *Carnuntuma* (Bad Deutsch Altenburg).<sup>43</sup>

**5. Bodež/kratki mač** = U lijevoj ruci božice Nemeze nalazimo bodež ili pak kratki mač, koji je okrenut prema gore. Upravo je znamenita upotreba mača u gladijatorskim borbama, od čega se ujedno izvodi naziv za gladijatore (od lat. *gladius*).<sup>44</sup> Osim što bič i kratki mač simboliziraju attribute venatora, odnosno lovaca na divlje i razjarene životinje, upravo je znamenita uloga kratkog mača i štita, koje upotrebljavaju dvije vrste gladijatorskih armatura: Samničani i Tračani. Sličan bodež nalazimo na reljefu sinkretičkog božanstva Dijane – Nemeze iz *Carnuntuma* (Bad Deutsch Altenburg).<sup>45</sup>

**6. Štit** = Pravokutni štit s istaknutim romboidnim umbom i ojačanim rubovima predstavlja obrambeno oružje koje je prikazano na reljefu božice Nemeze.

<sup>41</sup> Junkelmann 2010, 25.

<sup>42</sup> Vidi: Abbondanza 2008, 40-41; Futrell 2006, 99; Hönle, Henze 1984, 35-36.

<sup>43</sup> Hornum 1993, 70, 166. Usporedi: Olalla 2007, 232; <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.)

<sup>44</sup> Usporedi: Futrell 2009, 230; Velkovski 2011, 14; Blanch, Arranz 2012, 237.

<sup>45</sup> Hornum 1993, 70; <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.)

**5. Dagger/short sword** = A dagger or perhaps short sword turned upward can be seen in the left hand of Nemesis. The term gladiator in fact derives from the use of this sword in gladiatorial combat (from Lat. *gladius*).<sup>44</sup> Besides the sword and whip symbolizing the attributes of the *venator*, i.e., hunter of wild and enraged animals, the role of the sword and shield was also significant, used as it was by two gladiatorial *armaturae*, the Samnites and Thracians. A similar dagger can be seen on the relief of the syncretic deity Diana-Nemesis from *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch Altenburg).<sup>45</sup>

**6. Shield** = A rectangular shield with prominent rhomboid umbo and reinforced edges served as a defensive weapon which is shown on the relief of the goddess Nemesis. Shields in general were recorded among individual gladiatorial *armaturae*, such as the cavalymen (*eques*), the fish-helmeted *murmillos* (*murmillio*), the challengers (*provocatores*), Thracians (*Thraex*) and others. The depiction of a shield as a defensive weapon among individual gladiatorial *armaturae* was also recorded on gladiatorial urns in the territory of Roman Salona. Depictions of a shield that are associated with Nemesis and gladiatorial combat can be found on relief images in the following cities: *Virunum* (Magdalensberg-Zollfeld), *Scarbantia* (Sopron), *Ovilava* (Wels), *Halikarnas* (Bodrum) and *Flavia Solva* (Wagna).<sup>46</sup>

**7. Wheel** = Below the shield, next to the left leg of Nemesis, there is a wheel with six spokes which symbolize changing fates and fortunes. The presence of a wheel on the relief here has much deeper symbolism which

<sup>44</sup> Cf.: Futrell 2009, 230; Velkovski 2011, 14; Blanch, Arranz 2012, 237.

<sup>45</sup> Hornum 1993, 70; <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.)

<sup>46</sup> Junkelmann 2010, 37; <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.)

Štitovi su općenito zabilježeni kod pojedinih gladijatorskih armatura, kao što su primjerice konjanici (*equus*), murmiloni (*murmillo*), izazivači (*provocator*), tračani (*thraex*) i ostali. Prikaz štita kao dijela obrambenog naoružanja pojedinih gladijatorskih armatura također je zabilježen na pojedinim gladijatorskim urnama na području rimske Salone. Predstave štita, koje vežemo uz božicu Nemezu i gladijatorske borbe, nalazimo na reljefima iz sljedećih gradova: *Virunum* (Magdalensberg – Zollfeld), *Scarbantia* (Sopron), *Ovilava* (Wels), *Halikarnas* (Bodrum) i *Flavia Solva* (*Wagna*).<sup>46</sup>

**7. Kolo** = Ispod štita, pored lijeve noge božice Nemeze, nalazi se kolo sa šest žbica koje simbolizira mijenu sudbine i sreće. Nazočnost kola na ovdje obrađivanom reljefu ima mnogo dublju simboliku koju povezujemo s grifonom i božicom Nemezom.<sup>47</sup> Prikazi Nemeze, odnosno grifona s atributom kola također nalazimo na pojedinim spomenicima, kao i na predstavama na novcu, koji su zabilježeni na području sljedećih rimskih gradova: *Leptis Magna* (Lebda), *Philippi* (Krinides), *Ulpia Traiana* (Sarmizegetusa), *Apulum* (Alba Iulia), *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch Altenburg), *Ovilava* (Wels) i *Tarraco* (Tarragona).<sup>48</sup>

**8. Grifon** = Uloga grifona u grčko-orijentalnom svijetu svakako je utjecala na razvoj i formiranje predstave grifona u rimskoj umjetnosti. Drevne predstave

can be linked to the griffin and the goddess Nemesis.<sup>47</sup> Portrayals of Nemesis and the griffin with the wheel attribute can also be found on individual monuments, and on images on coins, as recorded in the following Roman cities: *Leptis Magna* (Lebda), *Philippi* (Krinides), *Ulpia Traiana* (Sarmizegetusa), *Apulum* (Alba Iulia), *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch Altenburg), *Ovilava* (Wels) and *Tarraco* (Tarragona).<sup>48</sup>

**8. Griffin** = The role of the griffin in the Hellenistic-Oriental world certainly influenced the development and formation of its representations in Roman art. As a rule, griffins appeared in ancient images as servants, guardians and attendants of various deities.<sup>49</sup> Since griffins also often appear in the presence of the gods Apollo and Helios, one should not be surprised at the notion of its possible link to a solar cult, i.e., with an image of Sol in an Andautonia relief. Equally noteworthy is its sepulchral role as an angel of death and a possible link to the goddess Luna, on which the syncretic Nemesis-Luna from *Virunum* (Magdalensberg-Zollfeld) may offer some supplemental insight. It was only in Late Antiquity that the griffin lost its initial role and became a purely decorative element in art, to which a frieze from a temple in Diocletian's Palace testifies. However, the relationship between the griffin and the goddess Nemesis constitutes a specific episode in Roman art, as encountered on individual monuments from the realm of Graeco-Roman iconography, for example in *Aquileia*, Sopron (*Scarbantia*), *Wagna* (*Flavia Solva*), Wels (*Ovilava*), Bad

<sup>46</sup> Junkelmann 2010, 37; <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/elisabeth.trinkl/forum/forum0301/18gugl.htm> (26.8.2013.)

<sup>47</sup> Kao ikonografski prikaz kolo se također pojavljuje na brojnim spomenicima kao atribut božice Fortune i Tihe. O mogućoj povezanosti kola i gladijatorskog svijeta ujedno svjedoči gladijatorska armatura *essedarius* (esedarij) koja se borila na bojnim kolima. Vidjeti: Sanader 2008, 135.

<sup>48</sup> Hornum 1993, 18, 58, 62, 65, 167, 251; [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch\\_result.php?result\\_id=24395&page=1](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch_result.php?result_id=24395&page=1) (26.8.2013.)

<sup>47</sup> As an iconographic image, the wheel also appears on numerous monuments as an attribute of the goddess Fortuna and Tyche. A possible link between the wheel and the gladiatorial world is also shown by the armaturae known as the *essedarii* (*essedarius*) which fought in chariots. See: Sanader 2008, 135.

<sup>48</sup> Hornum 1993, 18, 58, 62, 65, 167, 251; [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch\\_result.php?result\\_id=24395&page=1](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch_result.php?result_id=24395&page=1) (26.8.2013.)

<sup>49</sup> Zamarovsky 2004, 122-123.



Sl. / Fig. 8: Usporedba prikaza grifona u dekorativnom (lijevo) i gladijatorskom kontekstu (desno) / Comparisons of images of griffins in decorative (left) and gladiatorial (right) contexts (Fadić, Štefanac 2011, 330; Nossov 2009, 82)

grifona u pravilu se javljaju u funkciji sluge, čuvara i pratioca pojedinih božanstava.<sup>49</sup> Budući da se predstave grifona također često pojavljuju u prisutnosti božanstva Apolona ili Heliosa, ne treba čuditi njegova moguća povezanost sa solarnim kultom, odnosno s prikazom Sola na andautonijskom reljefu. Jednako tako valja upozoriti i na njegovu sepulkralnu ulogu kao demona smrti i moguću povezanost s božicom Lunom, o čemu upotpunjavajuća saznanja nudi sinkretizam Nemeza – Luna iz *Virunuma* (Magdalensberg – Zollfeld). Tek u razdoblju kasne antike predstave grifona gube svoju prvobitnu ulogu i postaju čisto dekorativni element u umjetnosti, o čemu ujedno svjedoči friz hrama u Dioklecijanovoj palači. Međutim, posebnu epizodu u rimskoj umjetnosti predstavlja odnos grifona i božice Nemeze, koje susrećemo na pojedinim spomenicima iz domene grčkoroimske ikonografije, primjerice u Akvileji (*Aquileia*), Sopronu (*Scarbantia*), Wagni (*Flavia Solva*), Welsu (*Ovilava*), Bad Deutsch Altenburgu (*Carnuntum*), Budimpešti (*Aquincum*), Sarmizegetusi (*Ulpia Traiana*) i Albi Iulii (*Apulum*).<sup>50</sup> Također

<sup>49</sup> Zamarovsky 2004, 122-123.

<sup>50</sup> Hornum 1993, 166; [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch\\_result.php?result\\_id=24400&page=1](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch_result.php?result_id=24400&page=1) (26.8.2013.)



Deutsch Altenburg (*Carnuntum*), Budapest (*Aquincum*), Sarmizegetusa (*Ulpia Traiana*) and Alba Iulia (*Apulum*).<sup>50</sup> The view has also been put forth that the griffin is a zoomorphic incarnation of Nemesis, which would open an entirely new dimension in research into the religious-mythological context of amphitheatres and gladiatorial combat.<sup>51</sup> In this context, its apotropaic value also bears mention, as it was observed in individual examples of military or gladiatorial gear.<sup>52</sup> In this sense, it is noteworthy that the crest on a helmet worn by a *Thraex* was adorned with a griffin-shaped protome.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Hornum 1993, 166; [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch\\_result.php?result\\_id=24400&page=1](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/simplesearch_result.php?result_id=24400&page=1) (26.8.2013.).

<sup>51</sup> Plesničar-Gec 2006, 31-32.

<sup>52</sup> Grosser 2009, 38.

<sup>53</sup> Abbondanza 2008, 55; Sanader 2008, 134.

se javlja mišljenje da grifoni predstavljaju zoomorfni oblik božice Nemeze, što bi u istraživanju religijsko-mitološkog konteksta amfiteatara i gladijatorskih borbi davalo jednu sasvim novu dimenziju.<sup>51</sup> U dotičnom kontekstu valja upozoriti na njegovu apotropejsku vrijednost koju opažamo na pojedinim primjerima bojne, odnosno gladijatorske opreme.<sup>52</sup> U tom smislu vrijedan je podatak da je hrbat kacige koju je nosio *thraex* bio ukrašen protomom u obliku grifona.<sup>53</sup>

Iz svega navedenog nepobitna je činjenica da na dotičnom reljefu božice Nemeze spomenute predstave i ikonografski atributi odražavaju gladijatorski aspekt. Stoga s punim pouzdanjem možemo pretpostaviti priređivanje gladijatorskih igara na području rimske Andautonije, bilo da se radilo o mogućem drvenom ili kamenom amfiteatru, prostoru foruma ili pak neke treće, nama još nepoznate lokacije (obična ledina, terme, svetište itd). Uistinu je prava šteta što spomenuti reljef nije pronađen na svojem izvornom mjestu, jer bi nam dotičan kontekst nalaza mogao vjerojatno riješiti pitanje oko ubikacije poprišta gladijatorskih borbi na području rimske Andautonije, odnosno topografije rimske Andautonije.

Ilustrativan primjer rimskih svetišta božice Nemeze nalazimo također na području današnjeg Daruvara (*Aquae Balissae* - AIJ 585) i Siska (*Siscia*), na temelju čega se također pretpostavlja priređivanje gladijatorskih priredbi na spomenutim lokacijama.<sup>54</sup> Međutim, dosadašnja arheološka istraživanja na području spomenutih gradova nisu uspjela zabilježiti određene arhitektonske formacije koje bi mogle odgovarati drvenim ili kamenim

Based on the aforementioned points, it is an irrefutable fact that in the relief of Nemesis the images and iconographic attributes reflect the gladiatorial aspect. Thus, it may be assumed with complete confidence that gladiatorial games were organized in the territory of Roman Andautonia, in either a wooden or stone amphitheatre, the forum or some other, unknown site (an ordinary meadow, the baths, a shrine, etc). A truly unfortunate circumstance is that the relief not discovered at its original location, because this find context could have probably resolved the question surrounding the exact location of gladiatorial combat in Roman Andautonia, i.e., the topography Roman Andautonia.

An illustrative example of a Roman shrine to Nemesis can also be found in the territory of present-day Daruvar (*Aquae Balissae* – AIJ 585) and Sisak (*Siscia*), on which basis the organization of gladiatorial performances at these locations has been hypothesized.<sup>54</sup> However, all archaeological research conducted thus far in these cities has not managed to record any architectural formations that could correspond to wooden or stone Roman amphitheatre buildings.<sup>55</sup> Within the context of the chronological and historical framework of this work, there is an entire series of indicated and research Roman amphitheatres.<sup>56</sup> However, only a few amphitheatres have cults and religious features that may be linked to the spiritual world of the gladiators. In most of these cases, these are shrines to Nemesis incorporated into the Roman amphitheatre complexes. In this context, it is worthwhile mentioning that shrines

<sup>54</sup> Knezović 2010, 196; Hoti 1992, 144; Buovac 2007, 304.

<sup>55</sup> Cf.: Vukelić, Pernjak 2013, 7. As opposed to the indicated amphitheatre in Siscia, thus far there are no other indications that would point to the organization of gladiatorial games in present-day Daruvar (*Aquae Balissae*).

<sup>56</sup> Buovac 2011, 457, note 3; Buovac 2012, 83-93; Buovac 2012a, 36; Buovac 2012b, 388; Buovac 2012c, 63; Buovac 2012d, 52-68.

<sup>51</sup> Plesničar-Gec 2006, 31-32.

<sup>52</sup> Grosser 2009, 38.

<sup>53</sup> Abbondanza 2008, 55; Sanader 2008, 134.

<sup>54</sup> Knezović 2010, 196; Hoti 1992, 144; Buovac 2007, 304.

zdanjima rimskih amfiteatara.<sup>55</sup> U sklopu vremenskog i prostornog okvira ovoga rada postoji čitav niz indiciranih i istraženih rimskih amfiteatara.<sup>56</sup> Međutim, tek nekolicina amfiteatara bilježi kultove i religijske odrednice koje možemo vezati uz duhovni svijet gladijatora. Pritom se u većini slučajeva radi o svetištima božice Nemeze koja su inkorporirana u sklopu rimskih amfiteatara. U tom kontekstu valja napomenuti kako se svetišta božice Nemeze na području prostora današnje Hrvatske nalaze u supstrukcijama amfiteatara neposredno uz samu arenu, odnosno ulaz amfiteatra koji vodi na područje borilišta. Oni amfiteatri koji nemaju supstrukcijske prostorije, poput amfiteatra u Burnumu, imaju svetište koje se nalazi u uvlacu u neposrednom perimetru zidina borilišta. Posebnu znanstvenu pozornost zaslužuje kameni spomenik Nemeze iz Andautonije (Ščitarjevo) na kojem je spomenuta božica prikazana s brojnim gladijatorskim atributima. Dotični reljefni prikaz opravdano navodi na razmišljanje o priređivanju gladijatorskih igara na tlu andautonijskog municipija. Stoga se na ovom mjestu opravdano postavljaju određena pitanja, poput mjesta izvođenja i priređivanja dotičnih igara koje su bile pod zaštitništvom spomenute božice. Također valja postaviti pitanje: Koliko je opravdano očekivati drveni ili pak kameni amfiteatar na području rimske Andautonije?! Na izvjesna pitanja se iz sadašnjeg stupnja istraženosti ne može dati zadovoljavajući odgovor, stoga se nadamo da će buduća istraživanja rasvijetliti spomenutu problematiku.

<sup>55</sup> Usporedi: Vukelić, Pernjak 2013, 7. Za razliku od indiciranog amfiteatra u Sisciji zasad ne postoji niti jedna druga indicija koja bi mogla govoriti u prilog odvijanju gladijatorskih igara na području današnjeg Daruvara (*Aquae Balissae*).

<sup>56</sup> Buovac 2011, 457, bilj. 3; Buovac 2012, 83-93; Buovac 2012a, 36; Buovac 2012b, 388; Buovac 2012c, 63; Buovac 2012d, 52-68.

to Nemesis in the territory of present-day Croatia are located in the sub-structure of amphitheatres next to the arena itself, or at the entrance to the amphitheatre which leads to the arena. Those amphitheatres that do not have sub-structures, such as the one in Burnum, have a shrine located in a recess in the immediate perimeter of the arena walls. A stone monument of Nemesis from Andautonia (Ščitarjevo), on which this goddess is depicted with numerous gladiatorial attributes, merits particular scholarly attention. This relief image arouses justifiable speculation on the organization of gladiatorial games in the municipality of Andautonia. Certain questions are thus justifiably raised at this point, such as the site at which these games under this deity's protection were organized and held. Another worthwhile question is: to what extent is it reasonable to expect a wooden or stone amphitheatre in the territory of Roman Andautonia?! A satisfactory answer to some questions cannot be provided based on the current degree of research, so one may hope that future research will shed light on this problem.



Sl. / Fig. 9: Distribucija istraženih i indiciranih amfiteatara na području današnje Hrvatske / Distribution of researched and marked amphitheatres in the territory of present-day Croatia (Buovac 2012b, 388)

Na kraju valja napomenuti kako inspekcijom povijesnih izvora, arheoloških nalaza, natpisne građe, arhivske građe, toponomastičkih prežitaka i drugih vrsta podataka na definiranom prostoru Hrvatske nemamo u ovom trenutku istraženosti zabilježen slučaj štovanja božanstava Mitre, Marsa, Dijane, Herakla ili Silvana kao možebitnih *gladijatorskih božanstava*.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Usporedi: Rnjak 1979, 36.

In the end, it is also worthwhile noting that an inspection of historical sources, archaeological finds, epigraphic and archival materials, toponyms and other sources of data in the delineated territory of Croatia has not at this point resulted in any recorded cases of worship of the gods Mithra, Mars, Diana, Heracles or Silvanus as possible *gladiatorial deities*.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Cf.: Rnjak 1979, 36.



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SOLDIERS, MEDALS AND MILITARY  
INSIGNIA ON TOMBSTONES FROM  
*VIMINACIUM*

**UDC:** 904:726.82(497.11)''652''

**Review**

*The soldiers, medals and military insignia on tombstones from Viminacium are known by eight stelae and one sarcophagus. The figure of a soldier depicted on one of the tombstones was a person of rank. The inscription tells us that the monument was made in honour of C. Cornelius Rufus, decurio and augur of Viminacium. The soldier shown on the sarcophagus is of lower rank. Military medals are shown as a wreath with taenia in the upper niches of five of the tombstones. The wreath is depicted not alone, but with a rosette or a smaller wreath in the middle. Three of these tombstones belong to soldiers, of whom the first was a beneficiarius, the second a tesserarius, and the third a regular soldier of legion VII Claudia. The other two monuments with wreaths were erected in honour of veterans of the same legion. On only one stele were the military insignia (signa) of legion VII Claudia presented, with an eagle and the head of a bull. The monument belongs to a legion veteran who had the function of signifer, standard-bearer. A scene from the deceased's life is presented in the niche of a stele, a*

VOJNICI, ODLIKOVANJA I VOJNO  
ZNAKOVLJE NA NADGROBNIM  
SPOMENICIMA IZ VIMINACIJA

**UDK:** 904:726.82(497.11)''652''

**Pregledni rad**

*Vojnici, odlikovanja i vojna obilježja na nadgrobnim spomenicima iz Viminacija poznati su sa osam stela i jednog sarkofaga. Cijela figura vojnika prikazana na jednoj steli predstavlja osobu višeg ranga. Iz natpisa saznajemo da je spomenik napravljen u čast Gaja Kornelija Rufa, dekuriona (vijećnik) i augura (svećenik koji je imao zadatak protumačiti volju bogova promatrajući let i ponašanje ptica) iz Viminacija. Vojnik prikazan na sarkofagu je nižeg ranga. Vojna odlikovanja su prikazana u obliku vijenca s tenijama u gornjim nišama pet nadgrobni spomenika. Vijenac nije predstavljen sam, već s rozetom ili s manjim vijencem u sredini. Tri nadgrobna spomenika pripadaju vojnicima, od kojih je prvi bio beneficiarius, drugi tesserarius, dok je treći bio redovni vojnik legije VII Claudia. Druga dva spomenika s vijencem su podignuta u čast veterana iste legije. Samo na jednoj steli je predstavljeno vojno znakovlje (signa) legije VII Claudia s orlom i glavom bika. Spomenik pripada legijskom veteranu koji*

*speculator of legion VII Claudia. The earliest monuments are from the first half and the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, while most of them are from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. Although not numerous, the monuments of soldiers and veterans, as well as their decorations or ranks, offer evidence of their lives and accomplishments immortalised in stone.*

*Key words: soldiers, tombstones, stelae, Viminacium, legion VII Claudia, Upper Moesia.*

*je imao funkciju signifera (stjegonoša). Scena iz života pokojnika prikazana je u niši stele, spekulatora (izviđač) legije VII Claudia. Najstariji spomenici su iz prve polovine 2. stoljeća i s kraja 2. stoljeća, a većina njih su od 2. do 3. stoljeća. Iako ne tako brojni, spomenici vojnika i veterana, kao i njihova vojna obilježja, pružaju dokaze o njihovom životu i postignućima koja su ovjekovječena u kamenu.*

*Ključne riječi: vojnici, nadgrobni spomenici, stele, Viminacij, legija VII Claudia, Gornja Mezija*

The aim of the Roman Empire at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and the beginning of the new era was to move to the Danube. The establishment of the province of Moesia is likely to have occurred between 11 and 15 AD, when the province was first mentioned in literary sources. The first military camps were installed along the Danube in order to protect the border. Among them was *Viminacium* (Kostolac, Serbia), a site near the River Mlava at its confluence with the Danube. The remains of a stone-built military camp dated to the time of Trajan and Hadrian, as well as the original camp from the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century, are not yet archaeologically confirmed. Legion *VII Claudia* formed a permanent garrison in *Viminacium*.<sup>1</sup> This legion was transferred from Dalmatia (*Tilurium*)<sup>2</sup> to Moesia

<sup>1</sup> Mirković 1968, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 45. Most authors agree that this Roman legion came to Gardun (*Tilurium*), in Dalmatia, no later than the Delmatian-Pannonian revolt, from 6 to 9 AD – or just afterwards. See also: E. Ritterling, *Legio*, RE 12, Stuttgart, 1924-25, 1617-1618; J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969, 92-94; M. Zaninović, "Vojni značaj Tilurija u antici", in Zaninović, M., *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1996, 280-290.

Cilj Rimskog Carstva krajem 1. stoljeća prije Krista i početkom novog doba bio je širenje na Dunav. Uspostava provincije Mezije vjerojatno se dogodila između 11. i 15. godine poslije Krista kada se provincija prvi put spominje u književnim izvorima. Prvi vojni logori postavljeni su na Dunavu kako bi zaštitili granicu. Među njima je Viminacij (Kostolac, Srbija) mjesto u blizini rijeke Mlave na njenom ušću u Dunav. Ostaci vojnog logora od kamena, povezuju se s vremenom Trajana i Hadrijana, dok prvobitni logor iz sredine 1. stoljeća još nije arheološki potvrđen. Stalnu posadu u Viminaciju činila je legija *VII Claudia*.<sup>1</sup> Legija je iz Dalmacije (*Tilurium*)<sup>2</sup> prebačena u Meziju između 63. i 66. godine poslije Krista.

<sup>1</sup> Mirković 1968, 59.

<sup>2</sup> Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 45. Mnogi autori se slažu da je ova rimska legija došla u Dalmaciju kod Garduna (*Tilurium*) nešto prije dalmatskopanonskog ustanka između 6. i 9. godine ili malo nakon toga. Također vidjeti u: E. Ritterling, *Legio*, RE 12, Stuttgart, 1924-25, 1617-1618; J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969, 92-94; M. Zaninović, »Vojni značaj Tilurija u antici«, u Zaninović, M., *Od Helena do Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1996, 280-290.

between 63 and 66 AD. Its presence in Moesia is reliably confirmed in 69 AD, when Tacitus mentions it as one of the Moesian legions which fought that year in Italy during the civil war.<sup>3</sup> Legion *IV Flavia* may have spent a short time in the same camp from 86 AD until 89 AD, when it moved from Upper Moesia to *Aquincum* (Lower Pannonia). In 107 AD this legion went back to Upper Moesia, where it remained, in *Singidunum*, until late antiquity.<sup>4</sup>

*Viminacium* obtained its municipal status (*municipium*) during the reign of Hadrian (117 AD), while during the reign of Gordian III it became a colony (239 AD). Significant military events regarding legion *VII Claudia* relate primarily to its aforementioned involvement in the civil war in Italy in 69 AD, when the Moesian legions supported Vespasian, and then Trajan during the Dacian wars (101-102 AD, and 105-106 AD). On the "Traiana panel" of 100 AD, carved into the rock at a site in the Lower Iron Gate gorge near "Ogradina", the stonemason mentions legions *IV Flavia* and *VII Claudia*, who constructed the console and the road through the gorge.<sup>5</sup> Legion *VII Claudia* took part in the wars in the East, the Parthian and the Armenian wars, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.<sup>6</sup> At the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century the city was very prosperous. This is witnessed by numerous inscriptions on monuments erected by the rich local aristocracy, which mention their financial investments in the city.<sup>7</sup> The political troubles which put the Empire in turmoil during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century did not spare *Viminacium*, either. In 248 AD, during the reign of Philip the Arab, the Moesian army chose, as Emperor, Marinus Pacatianus, who commanded the Pannonian and Moesian troops against the

Njena prisutnost pouzdano je potvrđena 69. godine, kada je Tacit spominje među mezijskim legijama koje su se borile te godine u Italiji u građanskom ratu.<sup>3</sup> Legija *IV Flavia* možda je provela kratko vrijeme u istom logoru u razdoblju od 86. do 89. godine, kada je preseljena iz Gornje Mezije u *Aquincum* (Donja Panonija). Godine 107. legija se vratila u Gornju Meziju, gdje je ostala, u *Singidunumu*, do kasne antike.<sup>4</sup>

*Viminacium* dobija svoju autonomiju (*municipium*) tijekom vladavine Hadrijana (117. godine), dok je za vrijeme vladavine Gordijana III. dobio kolonijalni status (239. godine). Značajni vojni događaji u vezi legije *VII Claudia* odnose se, prije svega, na spomenuto sudjelovanje u građanskom ratu u Italiji 69. godine, kada su mezijske legije podržavale Vespazijana, a zatim Trajana tijekom dačkih ratova (101.-102. god. i 105.-106. godine). Na »Trajanovoj ploči« iz 100. godine poslije Krista, koja je uklesana u stijeni u donjem dijelu Željeznih vrata u klancu blizu »Ogradine«, klesar spominje legije *IV Flavia* i *VII Claudia*, koje su izradivale konzole na cesti kroz klanac.<sup>5</sup> Legija *VII Claudia* sudjelovala je u ratovima na Istoku, u partskim i armenskim ratovima, tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća.<sup>6</sup> Početkom 3. stoljeća *Viminacium* je bio u najvećem ekonomskom prosperitetu. O tome svjedoče brojni natpisi sa spomenika bogate lokalne aristokracije na kojima se spominju njihova financijska ulaganja u grad.<sup>7</sup> Neredi koji su zahvatili Carstvo tijekom 3. stoljeća nisu mimoišli *Viminacium*. Mezijska vojska je 248. godine, za vrijeme vladavine Tiberija Klaudija, izabrala

<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Hist.* II, 85; Mirković 1986, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Alföldy 1959, 118.

<sup>5</sup> CIL III 1699.

<sup>6</sup> Mirković 1968, 59-60.

<sup>7</sup> CIL III 14217, 14506, 13805; Mirković 1968, 64; Mirković 1986, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Hist.* II, 85; Mirković 1986, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Alföldy 1959, 118.

<sup>5</sup> CIL III 1699.

<sup>6</sup> Mirković 1968, 59-60.

<sup>7</sup> CIL III 14217, 14506, 13805; Mirković 1968, 64; Mirković 1986, 48.



Goths. The usurper was probably proclaimed emperor in *Viminacium*, but he was killed by his own troops the same year. A revolt in the camp of legion *VII Claudia* occurred in 249 AD, after Traianus Decius took with him legion *VII Claudia* to Italy and left, in the camp, soldiers who supported Philip and his son. The governor of Lower Moesia, Trebonianus Gallus, was proclaimed emperor in 251 AD, while Aemilius Aemilianus, governor of Upper and Lower Moesia, took the imperial title in 253 AD. Both were depicted on coins minted in *Viminacium* because they probably stayed in this town.<sup>8</sup> In the vicinity of *Viminacium*, in Margum (Dubravica), Diocletian clashed with Carinus in 284 AD and afterwards took the imperial throne. At the time of Constantine, legion *VII Claudia* was divided into smaller units. One part remained in *Viminacium*, while the other moved downstream, to *castellum Cupe* (Golubac). Constantine's sons, Constantine II and Constantius, shared the throne in *Viminacium* after the death of their father in 337 AD, and peace reigned until 340 AD, when the elder heir was killed, and the throne was again taken over by a single monarch, Constantius.<sup>9</sup> A military base was probably situated at *Viminacium* in 358 AD, during the war between Constantius and the Sarmatians.<sup>10</sup>

The military camp in *Viminacium* was abandoned in the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century AD, when the town was destroyed by the Huns. During Justinian's reign a small fortress was built on the left bank of the River Mlava, or perhaps reconstructed, since it may originally have been constructed during the reign of Diocletian or Constantine.<sup>11</sup> The town was taken by Avars in 584 AD, but soon became a mainstay of the Byzantine army, as the last mention in Byzantine sources as a military base for the war against the Avars in 600 AD.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Mirković 1968, 66-67, 70-71.

<sup>9</sup> Hunt 1998, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Amm. Marc. XVI 10, 20; XVII 12, 5; XIX 11; Mirković 1968, 72.

<sup>11</sup> Mirković 1968, 60-61, 73.

<sup>12</sup> Theoph. Sim. *Hist.* III 2, 2; Mirković 1968, 44.

za cara Marina Pakacijana koji je zapovijedao panonskim i mezijskim trupama protiv Gota. Za cara je vjerojatno proglašen u *Viminaciumu*, ali iste su ga godine ubili vlastiti vojnici. Pobuna u logoru legije *VII Claudia* dogodila se 249. godine, kada je Trajan Decije poveo sa sobom legiju *VII Claudia* u Italiju, te je logor prepustio jedinicama Donje Mezije koje su podržale Filipa i njegovog sina. Regent Donje Mezije, Trebonijan Gal, proglašen je carem 251. godine, dok je Emilije Emilijan, guverner Gornje i Donje Mezije, preuzeo carsku titulu 253. godine. Oba cara prikazivana su na kovanicama kovnice u Viminaciju, jer su obojica vjerojatno boravila u ovom gradu.<sup>8</sup> U blizini Viminacija, u Margumu (Dubravica), 284. godine, Dioklecijan se sukobio s Karinom, a nakon pobjede preuzeo je carsko prijestolje. U vrijeme Konstantina, legija *VII Claudia* bila je podijeljena. Jedan dio je ostao u Viminaciju, dok je drugi preseljen nizvodno, u kastelum *Cupe* (Golubac). Konstantinovi sinovi, Konstantin II. i Konstancije, dijele prijestolje u Viminaciju nakon smrti njihovog oca 337. godine i mir je vladao do 340. godine, kada je stariji nasljednik ubijen, a prijestolje je ponovno preuzeo samo jedan car, Konstancije.<sup>9</sup> U Viminaciju je vjerojatno bila vojna baza 358. godine, tijekom borbe Konstancija protiv Sarmata.<sup>10</sup>

Vojni logor u Viminaciju napušten je sredinom 5. stoljeća kada su Huni uništili grad. U vrijeme vladavine Justinijana izgrađena je ili obnovljena mala utvrda na lijevoj obali rijeke Mlave koja je mogla biti sagrađena u vrijeme Dioklecijanove ili Konstantinove vladavine.<sup>11</sup> Grad su zauzeli Avari 584. godine, ali ubrzo je postao glavno uporište bizantske vojske, a posljednji puta se u bizantskim izvori-

<sup>8</sup> Mirković 1968, 66-67, 70-71.

<sup>9</sup> Hunt 1998, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Amm. Marc. XVI 10, 20; XVII 12, 5; XIX 11; Mirković 1968, 72.

<sup>11</sup> Mirković 1968, 60-61, 73.

On the monuments of *Viminacium* and its vicinity, one can find the names of many soldiers of various ranks from legion *VII Claudia: praefectus legionis, tesserarius, aquilifer, tubicen, signifer, speculator*, several *beneficarii*, centurions and decurions, as well as ordinary soldiers and veterans.<sup>13</sup>

This paper aims to present eight gravestone and one sarcophagus. Two monuments show depictions of soldiers, and one shows the *signum* of legion *VII Claudia*, while one depicts a *speculator*. The remaining five monuments bear depictions of wreaths with *taeniae* as symbols of honours given to deceased soldiers and veterans.

Images of soldiers on tombstones from *Viminacium* are known from one stele and one sarcophagus. Both soldiers are presented as whole figures. The soldier depicted in the niche of the marble stele (Fig. 1) was a man of considerable rank, namely *C. Cornelius Rufus, decurio* and *augur* of *Viminacium*.<sup>14</sup> He is depicted in short armour: *lorica* with *pteryges*. On the breastplate is a picture of Medusa's head. Under the armour is a short-sleeved tunic. Over his left arm one can see a cloak (*sagum*). He wears shallow, closed footwear with straps. On the soldier's right side stands a woman, while on his left one sees a damaged figure, whose feet only are still discernible. The deceased wears armour which was used by prominent individuals, such as army commanders and officers of elite units.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The monuments of soldiers of the legion *VII Claudia* were not published separately. A number of monuments have been published, in N. Vulić and A. Premestein, *Antike Denkmälern aus Serbien*, Jahreshefte VI, Vienna 1903; Н. Вулић, "Антички споменици наше земље", *Споменик СКА LXXI, LXXV, LXXVII, XCVIII* Београд 1931, 1933, 1935, 1941-1948. After that, М. Мirković, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, vol. II: Viminacium et Margum*, Belgrade, Filozofski fakultet, Centar za antičku epigrafiku i numizmatiku, 1986.

<sup>14</sup> Mirković 1986, 110-111, n. 73.

<sup>15</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 40-41.

ma spominje kao vojna baza u ratu protiv Avara 600. godine.<sup>12</sup>

Na spomenicima iz Viminacija i njegove bliže okolice nalaze se imena vojnika legije *VII Claudia* različitih činova. Tu su jedan *praefectus legionis, tesserarius, aquilifer, tubicen, signifer, speculator*, nekoliko beneficijara, centuriona, dekuri-ona te običnih vojnika i veterana.<sup>13</sup>

U radu je predstavljeno osam nadgrob- nih spomenika - stela i jedan sarkofag. Na dva spomenika su prikazani vojnici, a na druga dva, *signum* legije *VII Claudia* i jedan *speculator*. Na preostalim pet spomenika prikazan je vijenac s tenijama kao simbol odlikovanja umrlih vojnika i veterana.

Prikazi vojnika na nadgrob- nim spomeni- cima iz Viminacija poznati su s niše stele i sa sarkofaga. Oba vojnika prikazana su kao cjelovite figure. Vojnik prikazan na niši mramorne stele (sl. 1) bio je čovjek višeg ranga, odnosno *C. Cornelius Rufus*, dekurion (vijećnik) i augur (svećenik koji je imao zadatak protumačiti volju bo- gova promatrajući let i ponašanje ptica) municipija *Viminacium*.<sup>14</sup> Prikazan je u kratkom oklopu - *lorica* s pterigama. Na prsima oklopa prikazana je glava Medu- ze. Ispod oklopa je tunika kratkih rukava. Preko lijevog ramena je plašt - *sagum*. Na nogama nosi plitku, zatvorenu obuću s remenima. S vojnिकove desne strane je žena, a s lijeve oštećena figura od koje su

<sup>12</sup> Theoph. Sim. *Hist.* III 2, 2; Mirković 1968, 44.

<sup>13</sup> Spomenici vojnika *VII Claudia* nisu posebno publicirani. Veći broj spomenika je objavljen, u N. Vulić i A. Premestein, *Antike Denkmälern aus Serbien*, Jahreshefte VI, Wien 1903; Н. Вулић, »Антички споменици наше земље«, *Споменик СКА LXXI, LXXV, LXXVII, XCVIII* Београд 1931, 1933, 1935, 1941-1948. Nakon toga, М. Мirković, *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure, vol. II: Viminacium et Margum*, Beograd, Filozofski fakultet, Centar za antičku epigrafiku i numizmatiku, 1986.

<sup>14</sup> Mirković 1986, 110-111, n. 73.

From the inscription, one can see that *Cornelius Rufus* was a *decurio municipii Viminacii*, meaning that he had a civilian function, and he was an *augur* as well. However, the tomb picture stands contrary to his occupation, since parade armour would be more suitable for an officer of rank than for a civilian *decurio*. We may assume that *Cornelius Rufus* began his career as a soldier, which allowed him afterwards to reach a higher social class in his civilian life. Such cases are already known from *Singidunum* and *Viminacium*.<sup>16</sup> The son of *Cornelius Rufus* followed in his father's footsteps and became *decurio flamen* of the same *municipium*. The priests' titles could be hereditary. The cognomen *Rufus* was frequent in Italy and Spain, and present as well in *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*.<sup>17</sup> We may presume that the deceased originated from one of those areas.

From the formula *D(is) M(anibus), b(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)* written on the tombstone, as well as the mention of *Viminacium* as a *municipium* (after 117 AD), the tombstone is dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, or to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>18</sup>

The muscle cuirass consisted of two parts: the front part covered the chest and abdomen, while the back part protected the back and the shoulders. Both parts were connected with leather strips on the shoulders and sides. The section below the waist was protected by leather straps reinforced with metal applications (*pteryges*). The upper arms were also covered in the same way. Although present in artistic representations, this type of armour has not yet been archaeologically confirmed. The origin of the Roman muscle cuirass is Hellenistic armour inherited from the

samo noge prepoznatljive. Luksuzni mišićni oklop koristili su istaknuti pojedinci, vojni zapovjednici i elitne postrojbe.<sup>15</sup>

Iz natpisa, može se vidjeti da je *Corneilius Rufus decurio municipii Viminacii*, što znači da je obnašao civilnu funkciju u koju spada i *augur*. Međutim, prikaz sa spomenika je suprotan njegovom pozivu. Paradni oklop prije je pogodan za vojnika visokog ranga nego za civilnog dekuriona. Možemo pretpostaviti da je *C. Cornelius Rufus* svoju karijeru započeo kao vojnik, što mu je omogućilo da lakše napreduje u javnoj, odnosno, civilnoj službi. Takvi slučajevi su već poznati iz područja *Singidunuma* i *Viminacija*.<sup>16</sup> Sin Kornelija Rufa je naslijedio titulu svog oca i postao *decurio flamen* u istom gradu. Titule svećenika mogle su biti nasljedne. Ime *Rufus* bilo je često u Italiji i Španjolskoj, a bilo je prisutno i u Dalmaciji i Panoniji.<sup>17</sup> Vjerojatno je preminuli došao iz tih područja.

Prema formulama *D(is) M(anibus), B(ene) m(erenti) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)* s nadgrobnih spomenika, kao i na osnovi spominjanja *Viminacija* kao *municipija* (nakon 117. godine), nadgrobnji spomenik se datira u drugu polovinu 2. st. ili u prvu polovinu 3. stoljeća.<sup>18</sup>

Anatomski oklop sastoji se od dva dijela: prednji dio pokriva prsa i trbuh, a stražnji dio štiti je leđa i ramena. Oba dijela su povezana s kožnim trakama na ramenima i sa strane. Odjeljak ispod struka bio je zaštićen kožnim trakama ojačanim metalnim aplikacijama (*pteryges*). Nadlaktice su također pokrivene na isti način. Iako je često prisutan na umjetničkim prikazima, ovaj tip oklopa još nije arheološki potvrđen. Podrijetlo rimskog mišićnog oklopa

<sup>16</sup> Zotović 2007, 16-17; Mirković 1968, 63-64; Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 52-53, n. 16; Mirković 1986, n. 38, n. 110.

<sup>17</sup> Lörincz 2002, 35-36.

<sup>18</sup> Петровић 1975, 82-83; Mirković 1968, 64.

<sup>15</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 40-41.

<sup>16</sup> Zotović 2007, 16-17; Mirković 1968, 63-64; Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 52-53, n. 16; Mirković 1986, n. 38, n. 110.

<sup>17</sup> Lörincz 2002, 35-36.

<sup>18</sup> Петровић 1975, 82-83; Mirković 1968, 64.

Greeks.<sup>19</sup> The monument from Gardun (*Tilurium*), i.e. the tropaion in honour of Tiberius' triumph over the Illyrians in 12 AD, shows a similar muscle cuirass with dolphins on the chest. The same site has yielded a fragment of a relief from a tropaion depicting a muscle cuirass with Medusa's head on the chest. The monument belongs to the second decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>20</sup> On the funerary monuments of the praetorian veteran *Caulinius Maximus* one sees similar armour with a single row of *pteryges* and a tunic beneath the *pteryges*. The tombstone was found in Pula. Stylistic characteristics of the monument date it to the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>21</sup> Most striking is the depiction of a soldier on a marble sarcophagus from Šid, with a spear, armour with *pteryges*, a tunic, a sword and a richly decorated belt, from the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Vujović 1998, 23-24.

<sup>20</sup> Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 107, cat. 113. The second part of the same monument is in the Archaeological Museum in Split.

<sup>21</sup> Starac 2006, 111-112, cat. 71.

<sup>22</sup> Pop-Lazić 2009, 163-173.

je od helenističkog oklopa koji predstavlja kopiju grčkog.<sup>19</sup> Spomenici s Garduna (*Tilurium*), prikazuju tropaion u čast Tiberijevog trijumfa nad Ilirima 12. godine poslije Krista sa sličnim anatomskim oklopom i delfinima na prsima. S istog lokaliteta je ulomak reljefa s prikazom tropaiona s anatomskim oklopom i glavom Meduze na prsima. Spomenik pripada drugom desetljeću 1. stoljeća.<sup>20</sup> Na nadgrobnom spomeniku pretorijanskog veterana Kaulinija Maksima prikazan je sličan oklop sa jednim redom pteriga i tunikom ispod. Spomenik je pronađen u Puli. Stilske karakteristike datiraju spomenik u drugu četvrtinu 1. stoljeća poslije Krista.<sup>21</sup> Najupečatljiviji je prikaz vojnika na mramornom sarkofagu iz Šida s kopljem, oklopom s pterigama, tunikom, mačem i bogato ukrašenim pojasom iz 4. stoljeća poslije Krista.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Vujović 1998, 23-24.

<sup>20</sup> Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 107, kat. 113. Drugi dio istog spomenika se nalazi u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu.

<sup>21</sup> Starac 2006, 111-112, kat. 71.

<sup>22</sup> Pop-Lazić 2009, 163-173.



Fig. / Sl. 1: Monument of C. Cornelius Rufus, decurio augur municipii Viminacii / Spomenik Gaja Kornelija Rufa, dekuriona i augura municipija Viminacija (National Museum of Požarevac, photo by B. Milovanović / Nacionalni muzej Požarevac, snimila B. Milovanović)

### 1. Marble stele

(Fig. 1. *Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)  
National Museum of Požarevac. Dimensions  
300 x 125 x 35 cm.

Inscription:

*D(is) M(anibus)/C. Cornelius Rufus/  
dec(urio) augur mun(icipii) Vim(inacii)/  
vixit ann(is) LXX/ Ulpia Rufina uxor et/  
C. Corn(elius) Pacatus dec(urio) fl(amen)/  
Mun(icipii) eiusdem et Corneliae Rufina et/  
Bassa fil(iae) et hered(es)/ b(ene) m(erenti)  
f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).*

Translation: *To the Manes, C. Cornelius Rufus, decurio and augur of municipium Viminacium, died at the age of 70 years. The monument was erected by Ulpia Rufina, his wife, and by C. Cornelius Pacatus, decurio flamen of the same municipium, and by Cornelia Rufina and Bassa, his daughters with successors.*

The longer side of a limestone sarcophagus from *Viminacium* (Fig. 2.) is divided into three panels. The large one is for the inscription, and there are two small side panels. The inscription panel has a Norican-Pannonian volute on the lateral sides. On the side, in moulded end panels with a saddle-shaped volute, stand depictions of a human couple.<sup>23</sup> In the left niche there is a couple: a woman in a tunic, probably sleeveless (*stola*), and a long cloak (*palla*). Next to her is a man in a short, long-sleeved tunic, probably shallow footwear, and with a round shield (*scutum*) in his left hand. In the right niche there is a divine couple, Amor (Eros) and Psyche, hugging each other. The scene on the left panel shows a soldier with a shield that separates him from his beloved woman. The reason for their parting could be military service or death. From the inscription one can see that the sarcophagus was erected by *Aurelius Gallicus* to his wife *Aurelia Teodota*, who died in her thirty-first year. In the second niche, Eros

<sup>23</sup> Mirković 1986, 158-159, n. 163; Ђорђевић 1989-90, 137-138, n. 8. Only one long side of the sarcophagus is preserved.

### 1. Mramorna stela

(sl. 1. *Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)  
Nacionalni muzej u Požarevcu. Dimenzije  
300x125x35 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/C. Cornelius Rufus/  
dec(urio) augur mun(icipii) Vim(inacii)/  
vixit ann(is) LXX/ Ulpia Rufina uxor et/  
C. Corn(elius) Pacatus dec(urio) fl(amen)/  
Mun(icipii) eiusdem et Corneliae Rufina et/  
Bassa fil(iae) et hered(es)/ b(ene) m(erenti)  
f(aciendum) c(uraverunt).*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Gaj Kornelije Ruf, dekurion i augur municipija Viminacija, preminuo je u dobi od 70 godina. Spomenik je podigla Ulpija Rufina, njegova supruga i Gaj Kornelije Pakat dekurion i flamen istog municipija i Kornelija Rufina i Basa, njegove kćeri s nasljednicima.

Duža strana vapnenačkog sarkofaga iz Viminacija (sl. 2) podijeljena je na tri polja. Šire je za natpis, dok su dva uža na bočnim stranama. Polje s natpisom ukvireno je noričko-panonskom volutom na bokovima. Sa strane, u poljima profiliranim sedlastom volutom, prikazani su ljudski parovi.<sup>23</sup> U lijevoj niši je par: žena u tunici, vjerojatno dugih rukava (*stola*) i dugačkim plaštom (*palla*). Pokraj nje je čovjek u kratkoj tunici dugih rukava, vjerojatno plitkoj obući s okruglim štitom (*scutum*) u lijevoj ruci. U desnoj niši je božanski par: Amor (Eros) i Psiha u zagrljaju. Prizor na lijevoj strani prikazuje vojnika sa štitom koji se rastaje od svoje voljene žene. Razlog za njihov rastanak mogao bi biti vojna služba ili smrt. Iz natpisa se može vidjeti da je sarkofag podigao Aurelije Galik supruzi Aureliji Teodoti, koja je preminula u trideset i prvoj godini života. U drugoj niši, Eros i Psiha simboliziraju božansku ljubav,

<sup>23</sup> Mirković 1986, 158-159, n. 163; Ђорђевић 1989-90, 137-138, n. 8. Sačuvana je samo jedna duža strana sarkofaga.

and Psyche symbolise divine love, for which the spouse that is left behind hopes. There is no mention in the inscription that *Aurelius Gallicus* is a soldier, but, according to the round shield depicted, one can tell that we are dealing with a soldier, probably of somewhat low rank.<sup>24</sup> In the Roman army, this kind of round shield was carried by light troops (*velites*), auxiliaries and the cavalry.<sup>25</sup> The round shield is presented on the stele of *Burrius Trebocus*, who died during service in the cohort of *Aquitani*, which arrived in *Dalmatia* during the reign of Emperor Vespasian. The tombstone was found in Hrvace near Sinj.<sup>26</sup> Among the weapons, the shield and sword are often depicted on the monuments of the Roman Empire, either alone or as a part of a soldier's arms. The tunic worn by *Aurelius Gallicus* is typical of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, when short, long-sleeved tunics were widespread. The sleeves were sewn separately, as wool was used more often than linen. Every soldier would have had more than one tunic, with at least one lighter tunic that could have been made of linen. From a papyrus copy from Egypt, we can learn more about the military tunic. One tunic is specified in this document and was to be 1.55 m long and 1.40 m wide.<sup>27</sup> Tunics were of various colours, and members of the same military unit wore tunics of the same colour.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. Limestone sarcophagus

(Fig. 2. *Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)

National Museum of Požarevac. Dimensions 200 x 94 x 21.5 cm.

Inscription:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ Aureliae Theodote (!)/ rarissimae femine (!)/ quae vixit annis XXXI m(ensibus) IIII/ dies (!) XVII Aur(elius) Gallicus/ coniugi bene de se meritae.*

<sup>24</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 29, 40.

<sup>25</sup> Vujović 1998, 43-44.

<sup>26</sup> Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 111, cat. 116.

<sup>27</sup> Sumner 2002, 5-7.

<sup>28</sup> Sumner 2003, 16-17.

koju su ostavili iza sebe i kojoj se supružnici nadaju. U natpisu se ne spominje da je *Aurelius Gallicus* vojnik, ali u skladu s prikazom okruglog štita, može se reći da se radi o vojniku, vjerojatno nižeg ranga.<sup>24</sup> U rimskoj vojsci, ovu vrstu okruglog štita nosilo je lako pješništvo (*velites*), pomoćni odredi i konjica.<sup>25</sup> Okrugli štit je predstavljen na steli Burija Treboka, koji je preminuo za vrijeme obavljanja službe u kohorti Akvitanaca, koja je boravila u Dalmaciji u vrijeme vladavine cara Vespazijana. Spomenik je pronađen u mjestu Hrvace.<sup>26</sup> Od oružja, štit i mač su često prikazivani na spomenicima Rimskog Carstva, bilo samostalno ili kao dio vojničkog naoružanja. Tunika koju nosi *Aurelius Gallicus* tipična je za 3. stoljeće, kada je kratka tunika dugih rukava bila široko rasprostranjena. Rukavi su ušivani odvojeno, a vuna je korištena češće od lana. Svaki vojnik je imao više od jedne tunike, a barem jedna, tanja tunika mogla je biti napravljena od lana. Iz natpisa sačuvanog na jednom egipatskom papirusu, možemo saznati više o vojnoj tunici. Jedna tunika, kako je navedeno u ovom dokumentu, trebala je biti duga 1,55 m, a široka 1,40 m.<sup>27</sup> Tunike su bile različitih boja, a pripadnici iste vojne jedinice nosili su tunike iste boje.<sup>28</sup>

## 2. Sarkofag od vapnenca

(sl. 2. *Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)

Nacionalni muzej u Požarevcu. Dimenzije 200x94x21,5 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ Aureliae Theodote (!)/ rarissimae femine (!)/ quae vixit annis XXXI m(ensibus) IIII/ dies (!) XVII Aur(elius) Gallicus/ coniugi bene de se meritae.*

<sup>24</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan, Vujović 2006, 29, 40.

<sup>25</sup> Vujović 1998, 43-44.

<sup>26</sup> Sanader, Tončinić 2010, 111, kat. 116.

<sup>27</sup> Sumner 2002, 5-7.

<sup>28</sup> Sumner 2003, 16-17.



Fig. / Sl. 2: Sarcophagus of Aureliae Theodote from Viminacium / Sarkofag Aurelije Teodote iz Viminacija (National Museum of Požarevac, photo by B. Milovanović / Nacionalni muzej Požarevac, snimila B. Milovanović)

Translation: *To the Manes, to Aureliae Theodote, a rare woman, who died at the age of 31 years, 4 months and 17 days. The monument was erected by Aurelius Gallicus to his wife.*

On the stele of the soldier *Vibius Arator, frumentarius* of legion *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, which was found in Bardovici (near *Scupi*), one can see the whole figure of the soldier. The soldier holds a spear in one hand and a round shield in the other. At his right side is a seated woman, and at his left is a man in a short tunic with a patera and some other object in the hands. The tombstone is from the time of Hadrian.<sup>29</sup> Whole figures, or just profiles, of soldiers were most often depicted in profiled niches of the stela, with or without pilasters. By the clothes shown, especially those worn by the standing figures, one can distinguish soldiers from civilians. Pictures of standing soldiers (full-length and half-figure) are known from monuments of soldiers from many sites: Bergamo (of the 1<sup>st</sup> century), Wiesbaden, *Aquincum* (of the late 1<sup>st</sup> to the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD). Figural stela with soldiers became less common in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, but the situation changed in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Most of the monuments dated to that period were found in the Upper and Middle Danubian region and in Rome. This could be explained by Severus'

<sup>29</sup> Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 78-79, n. 47.

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Aureliji Teodoti, rijetkoj ženi, koja je preminula u dobi od 31 godina, 4 mjeseca i 17 dana. Aurelije Galik je podigao spomenik svojoj ženi.

Na steli vojnika Vibija Aratora frumentarija legije *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, koja je pronađena u blizini mjesta Bardovici (*Scupi*) prikazana je cijela figura vojnika. Vojnik drži koplje u jednoj ruci i okrugli štit u drugoj. Na desnoj strani je žena koja sjedi, a na lijevoj čovjek u kratkoj tunici s paterom i nekim drugim predmetom u ruci. Spomenik je iz doba Hadrijana.<sup>29</sup> Cijele figure ili samo poprsja vojnika najčešće su prikazani u profiliranim nišama stela, s ili bez pilastra. Prema prikazanoj odjeći, osobito onoj koju su nosile stojeće figure, mogu se razlikovati vojnici od civila. Prikazi vojnika u stojećem stavu (cijele figure ili samo poprsja) poznate su sa spomenika iz mnogih mjesta: Bergamo (iz 1. stoljeća), Wiesbaden, *Aquincum* (od kraja 1. do početka 2. stoljeća). Figuralni prikazi vojnika na stelama su manje zastupljeni u 2. stoljeću, ali situacija se promijenila u ranom 3. stoljeću. U to vrijeme, većina njih je iz gornjeg i srednjeg Podunavlja i Rima. Vjerojatno se to može objasniti reformama Septimija Severa

<sup>29</sup> Dragojević-Josifovska 1982, 78-79, n. 47.

reform of the Praetorian Guard recruitment. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, they are less present. The military monuments of that period are known from Aquileia (of 352 AD), from Strasbourg,<sup>30</sup> from Šid, etc.<sup>31</sup>

Military medals in the shape of wreaths with *taeniae* are shown on five monuments erected by serving soldiers and veterans (Fig. 3, 4 and 5). All the stelae are of limestone. Three stelae bear this wreath motif in an *aedicula* with pilasters and acroteria with a grapevine above it.<sup>32</sup> On the other two stelae the same motif is presented in a rectangular niche with pilasters.<sup>33</sup> Above the niche, there is a tympanum with a rosette and dolphins on acroteria. In the middle of the wreath is a smaller rosette, while on one of the stelae there is a smaller wreath inside a bigger one.<sup>34</sup> Three monuments belong to serving soldiers, one of which was a *beneficiarius*, and another a *tesserarius* of legion *VII Claudia*, while the third was an ordinary soldier from the same legion. One former *tesserarius* of legion *VII Claudia* was mentioned on the monument from *Timacum Minus* (Upper Moesia, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD)<sup>35</sup> and another one on a stela from Bulgaria.<sup>36</sup> The other two monuments with wreaths were devoted to veterans from the same legion. According to the formulas used on the tombstones, the oldest one would be the monument of the veteran *Q. Helvius Probus*, which simultaneously contains three shortened formulas: *D(is) M(anibus), H(ic) s(itus) e(st)* and *B(ene) M(erenti) P(osuit)*, which appear together on military monuments of Upper Moesia only during the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>37</sup> On the monument of *Valerius Valens* the name of his tribe is mentioned as

koje je proveo u pretorijanskoj gardi. Tijekom 4. stoljeća, spomenici s prikazom vojnika su manje prisutni. Vojni spomenici iz tog razdoblja poznati su iz Akvileje (iz 352. godine), Strasbourga,<sup>30</sup> Šida i dr.<sup>31</sup>

Vojna odlikovanja u obliku vijenca s tenijama prikazane su na pet spomenika aktivnih vojnika i veterana (sl. 3, 4 i 5). Sve stele su od vapnenca. Na tri stele je prikazan motiv vijenca u edikuli s pilastrima, a iznad u akroterijima je vinova loza.<sup>32</sup> Na druge dvije stele isti motiv je predstavljen u pravokutnoj niši s pilastrima.<sup>33</sup> Iznad niše, u timpanonu, je rozeta i delfini u akroterijima. U sredini vijenca je manja rozeta, dok je na jednoj od stela prikazan manji vijenac unutar većeg.<sup>34</sup> Tri spomenika pripadaju aktivnim vojnicima, od kojih je jedan *beneficiarius*, drugi *tesserarius* legije *VII Claudia*, dok je treći bio običan vojnik iste legije. Jedan bivši *tesserarius* legije *VII Claudia* spominje se na spomeniku iz mjesta *Timacum Minus* (Gornja Mezija, iz 3. stoljeća),<sup>35</sup> a drugi na steli iz Bugarske.<sup>36</sup> Druga dva spomenika s vijencem posvećena su veteranima iste legije. Prema najčešće korištenim formulama na stelama, najstariji bi bio spomenik veterana Kvinta Helvija Proba koji istodobno sadrži tri formule: *D(is) M(anibus), H(ic) s(itus) e(st)* i *B(ene) M(erenti) P(osuit)*, koje se pojavljuju zajedno na vojnim spomenicima Gornje Mezije samo tijekom 2. stoljeća.<sup>37</sup> Na spomeniku Valerija Valensa se spominje ime tribusa i prebivalište, koji su prisutni na spomenicima iz prve polovine 2. stoljeća. Veteran je upisan u tribus Fabija,

<sup>30</sup> Bishop, Coulston 2006, 9-12.

<sup>31</sup> Pop-Lazić 2009, 163-173.

<sup>32</sup> Mirković 1986, 142-143, n. 131; 144, n. 134; Kondić 1965, 99, n. 54.

<sup>33</sup> Mirković 1986, 138, n. 123; 141, n. 128.

<sup>34</sup> Миловановић 2001, 109-134.

<sup>35</sup> Petrović 1995, 82-83, n. 30.

<sup>36</sup> Mirković 1986, 138, n. 123.

<sup>37</sup> Petrović 1995, 82-83.

<sup>30</sup> Bishop, Coulston 2006, 9-12.

<sup>31</sup> Pop-Lazić 2009, 163-173.

<sup>32</sup> Mirković 1986, 142-143, n. 131; 144, n. 134; Kondić 1965, 99, n. 54.

<sup>33</sup> Mirković 1986, 138, n. 123; 141, n. 128.

<sup>34</sup> Миловановић 2001, 109-134.

<sup>35</sup> Petrović 1995, 82-83, n. 30.

<sup>36</sup> Mirković 1986, 138, n. 123.

<sup>37</sup> Petrović 1995, 82-83.



well as his origin, which is common on monuments from the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD. The veteran was enrolled in the tribe of *Fabia*, and was born in *Heraclea* (*Heraclea Sitnica* or *Lyncestis*, because both belonged to the *Fabia* tribe, or possibly *Heraclea* in Trachis).<sup>38</sup> The gentilicium *Valerius* was extremely common in the Empire, especially in Northern Italy, Dalmatia and Pannonia. The name *Valerianus* was most popular in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>39</sup> *Quintus Helvius Probus* was probably from Dalmatia, as the gentilicium *Helvius* and the cognomen *Probus* were often present in that province. He perhaps came to Upper Moesia with legion *VII Claudia*, where he remained afterwards as a veteran, but he might have been the descendant of a Dalmatian recruit, as well.<sup>40</sup> The other stelae with wreath-motifs that bear the formulas *D(is) M(anibus)* and *B(ene) M(erenti) P(osuit)* belong to a broader time-frame, from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Similar examples from Lower Pannonia also belong to the same period.<sup>41</sup>

### 3. Limestone stele

(Fig. 3. *Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)  
National Museum of Požarevac. Dimensions  
223 x 91 x 40 cm.

Inscriptions:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ Q. Helvius Probus/  
vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)/  
vix(it) ann(is) LIII/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/  
Pontia Optata/ coniugi suo pi(ent(issimo)  
Ben(e) mer(enti) pos(uit)/ Q. Helvius Optatus/  
[patr(i) s]uo [be(ne)] mer(enti)/ [posuit].*

Translation: *To the Manes, here lies Q. Helvius Probus, veteran of legion VII Claudia, died at the age of LIII years. The monument was erected by Pontia Optata, his wife, and Q. Helvius Optatus, his son.*

<sup>38</sup> Mirković 1986, 145.

<sup>39</sup> Lörincz 2002, 141-146.

<sup>40</sup> Alföldy 1969, 89, 273; Ферјанчић 2002, 162, n. 358.

<sup>41</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 48.

a rođen je u Herakleji (*Heraclea Sitnica* ili *Lyncestis*, jer obje su ulazile u sastav tribusa *Fabia*, ili eventualno *Heraclea* u Trakiji).<sup>38</sup> Gentilicij *Valerius* obično je bio često prisutan u Carstvu, u sjevernoj Italiji, Dalmaciji i Panoniji. Ime *Valerianus* bilo je najpopularnije u kasnom 2. stoljeću.<sup>39</sup> *Quintus Helvius Probus* je vjerojatno iz Dalmacije, gentilicij *Helvius* i kognomen *Probus* često su bili prisutni u ovoj provinciji. On je možda došao u Gornju Meziju s legijom *VII Claudia* gdje je ostao kao veteran, ili je samo potomak vojnika regrutiranog u Dalmaciji.<sup>40</sup> Ostale stele s motivom vijenca koje nose formule *D(is) M(anibus)* i *B(ene) M(erenti) P(osuit)* pripadaju širem razdoblju od 2. stoljeća do prve polovine 3. stoljeća. Slični primjeri iz Donje Panonije također pripadaju istom razdoblju.<sup>41</sup>

### 3. Stela od vapnenca

(sl. 3. *Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)  
Nacionalni muzej u Požarevcu. Dimenzije  
223x91x40 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ Q. Helvius Probus/  
vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)/  
vix(it) ann(is) LIII/ h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/  
Pontia Optata/ coniugi suo pi(ent(issimo)  
Ben(e) mer(enti) pos(uit)/ Q. Helvius Optatus/  
[patr(i) s]uo [be(ne)] mer(enti)/ [posuit].*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, ovdje leži Kvint Helvije Prob, veteran legije *VII Claudia*, preminuo je u dobi od 53 godine. Spomenik je podigla Poncija Optata, njegova supruga i Kvint Helvije Optat, njegov sin.

<sup>38</sup> Mirković 1986, 145.

<sup>39</sup> Lörincz 2002, 141-146.

<sup>40</sup> Alföldy 1969, 89, 273; Ферјанчић 2002, 162, n. 358.

<sup>41</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 48.



Fig. / Sl. 3: Monument of Q. Helvius Probus, veteranus VII Claudiae from Viminacium / Spomenik Kvinta Helvija Proba, veterana VII. legije Claudia iz Viminacija (National Museum of Požarevac, photo by B. Milovanović / Nacionalni muzej Požarevac, snimila B. Milovanović)

#### 4. Limestone stele

(*Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)

Missing. Dimensions 193 x 63 x 26 cm.

Inscriptions:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ M. Val(erius) Va/lens  
Fab(ia)/  
Eracl(ea) (!) ve[t(eranus)]/ [leg(ionis) VII  
Cl(audiae)  
p(iae) f(idelis)]/ vix(it) an(nis) LXX/ Val(eria)  
Vener(ia)/  
lib(erta) patro[no] b(ene) m(erenti) et s[ibi  
pos(uit)].*

Translation: *To the Manes, M. Valerius Valens of the Fabius Tribus, a native of Heraclea, veteran of legion VII Claudia Pia Fidelis, died at the age of 70 years. The monument was erected by Valeria Veneria, a freedman of Valerius.*

#### 4. Stela od vapnenca

(*Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)

Nestala. Dimenzije 193x63x26 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ M. Val(erius) Va/lens  
Fab(ia)/  
Eracl(ea) (!) ve[t(eranus)]/ [leg(ionis)  
VII Cl(audiae)  
p(iae) f(idelis)]/ vix(it) an(nis) LXX/  
Val(eria) Vener(ia)/  
lib(erta) patro[no] b(ene) m(erenti) et  
s[ibi pos(uit)].*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Marko Valerije Valens iz tribusa *Fabia*, rodom iz Herakleje, veteran legije *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, preminuo je u dobi od 70 godina. Spomenik je svome gospodaru i sebi, podigla Valerija Venerija, Valerijeva oslobođenica.

#### 5. Stela od vapnenca

(*Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)

Nestala. Dimenzije 164x73x18 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ G. Pomponi/us  
Valerian/us mil(es) leg(ionis)/  
VII Cl(audiae) b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)  
s(ularis)/  
vix(it) an(is) XXVIII/ mil(itavit) an(is)  
X[?gna..]./  
Valeria Pomponia/ soror eius...*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Gaj Pomponije Valerijan, vojnik legije *VII Claudia, beneficiarius consularis*, preminuo je u dobi od 28, nakon 10 godina vojne službe. Spomenik je podigla Valerija Pomponija, njegova sestra.

#### 6. Stela od vapnenca

(sl. 4. *Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)

Nacionalni muzej u Požarevcu. Dimenzije 216x90, 5x32 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ M. Aurel(ius) Rufus/  
tess(erarius) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)/*



Fig. / Sl. 5: Monument of L. Cassianus Potens miles legionis VII Claudiae Piae Fidelis from Viminacium / Spomenik Lucija Kasijana Potensa vojnika VII. legije Claudia Pia Fidelis iz Viminacija (National Museum of Požarevac, photo by B. Milovanović / Nacionalni muzej Požarevac, snimila B. Milovanović)

### 5. Limestone stele

(*Viminacium* in Upper Moesia)

Missing. Dimensions 164 x 73 x 18 cm.

Inscriptions:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ G. Pomponi/us  
Valerian/us mil(es) leg(ionis)/  
VII Cl(audiae) b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)  
s(ularis)/  
vix(it) an(is) XXVIII/ mil(itavit) an(is)  
X[?gna..]/  
Valeria Pomponia/ soror eius...*

*vix(it) ann(is) XL milit(avit)/ ann(is) XX  
Aurel(ius)/*

*Longinus et Au(rel(ius) Aulutral[i]s/ mili-  
tes leg(ionis) ei/*

*ustem (!) coh(eredes) b(ene) m(erenti)  
p(osuerunt).*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Marko Aurelije Ruf, tesararij legije VII Claudia, preminuo je u dobi od 40, nakon 20 godina vojne službe. Spomenik su podigli Aurelije Longin i Aurelije Aulutral, vojnici iste legije.

### 7. Stela od vapnenca

(sl. 5. *Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)

Nacionalni muzej u Požarevcu. Dimenzije 230x76x26 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ L. Cassianus Potens  
mil(es)/*

*leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis)/  
mil(itavit) annis XI/ vixit annis/ XXVIII  
Cassia(na?)/*

*Valentina/ b(ene) m(erenti) fratri/ posuit.*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Lucije Kasijan Potens, vojnik legije VII Claudia Piae Fidelis, preminuo je u dobi od 28, nakon 11 godina vojne službe. Spomenik je podigla Kasijana Valentina svom bratu.

Počasti ili vojna odlikovanja u obliku vijenaca (*corona*) dodjeljivane su vojnicima za izuzetne doprinose kao što su: oslobađanje opkoljenog grada, pobjeda u bitci, spašavanje života rimskog građanina ili osvajanje neprijateljskih utvrda ili vojnih logora. Na spomenicima iz Viminacija, vijenci s tenijama bi odgovarali odlikovanju *corona civica* ili *corona obsidionalis*. Pravljeni su od materijala koji nije odolijevao vremenskim prilikama, *corona civica* od hrastovog lišća, a *corona obsidionalis* od bilo koje vegetacije. *Corona civica* je nagrada za čovjeka koji je u boju spasio život rimskom građaninu i

Translation: *To the Manes, G. Pomponius Valerianus, a soldier of legion VII Claudia, beneficiarius consularis, died at the age of 28 after 10 years of military service. The monument was erected by Valeria Pomponia, his sister.*

### 6. Limestone stele

(Fig. 4. *Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)

National Museum of Požarevac. Dimensions 216 x 90.5 x 32 cm.

Inscriptions:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ M. Aurel(ius) Rufus/  
tess(erarius) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)/  
vix(it) ann(is) XL milit(avit)/ ann(is) XX  
Aurel(ius)/*

*Longinus et Au/rel(ius) Aulutral[i]s/ milites  
leg(ionis) ei/  
ustem (!) coh/eredes b(ene) m(erenti)  
p(osuerunt).*

Translation: *To the Manes, M. Aurelius Rufus, tesserarius of legion VII Claudia, died at the age of 40 after 20 years of military service. The monument was erected by Aurelius Longinus and Aurelius Aulutralis, soldiers of the same legion.*

### 7. Limestone stele

(Fig. 5. *Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)

National Museum of Požarevac. Dimensions 230 x 76 x 26 cm.

Inscriptions:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ L. Cassianus Potens mil(es)/  
leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) p(iae) f(idelis)/  
mil(itavit) annis XI/ vixit annis/ XXVIII  
Cassia(na?)/*

*Valentina/ b(ene) m(erenti) fratri/ posuit.*

Translation: *To the Manes, L. Cassianus Potens, a soldier of legion VII Claudia Pia Fidelis, died at the age of 28 after 11 years of military service. The monument was erected by Cassiana Valentina to her brother.*

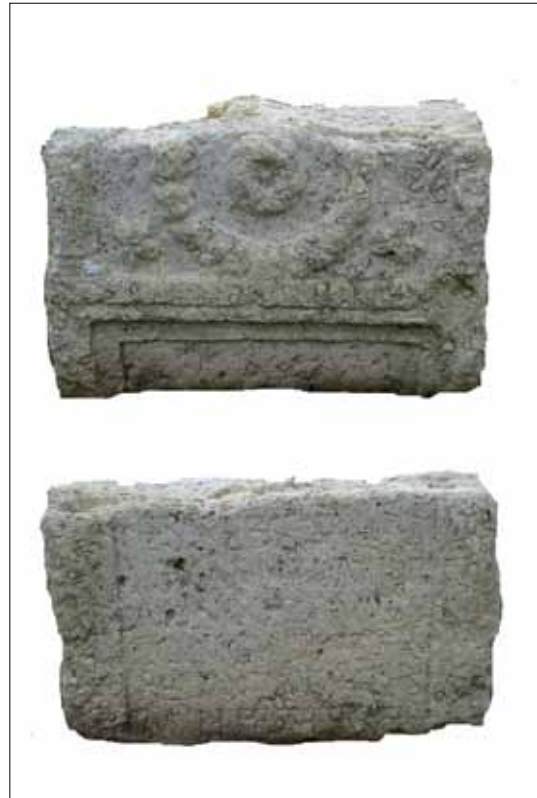


Fig. / Sl. 4: Monument of M. Aurelius Rufus tesserarius legionis VII Claudiae, from *Viminacium* / Spomenik Marka Aurelija Rufa, teserarija legije VII. Claudia, iz *Viminacija* (National Museum of Požarevac, photo by B. Milovanović / Nacionalni muzej Požarevac, snimila B. Milovanović)

ostao na mjestu događaja.<sup>42</sup> Drugi vijenac je dodjeljivan čovjeku odgovornom za savladavanje protivnika i spašavanje života ljudi, vojske ili utvrđenja.<sup>43</sup> Na spomenicima s vijencima iz *Viminacija* ne spominju se odlikovanja, tako da s tim u vezi moramo biti oprezni. Možda je motiv vijenca predstavljen samo kao ukras. Vijenac je bio omiljen i na spomenicima ne samo vojnika već i civila. Poznate su još tri stele iz *Viminacija* s istim motivom u niši. Sve one pripadaju civilima. Jedna od njih je podignuta augustalu municipija *Viminacija*, a druge dvije bračnim parovima. Vijenac s rozetom je prikazan ne

<sup>42</sup> Maxfield 1981, 70-74.

<sup>43</sup> Maxfield 1981, 67-69.

Honours or military medals shaped as wreaths (*corona*) were given to soldiers for acts of bravery such as liberating a besieged city, victory in battle, saving the life of a Roman citizen or conquering enemy walls or military camps. On monuments from *Viminacium*, wreaths with *taeniae* are depicted, which would correspond to the *corona civica* or the *corona obsidionalis*. They were made of materials of no intrinsic value whatsoever, the *corona civica* being made from oak-leaves, the *corona obsidionalis* from grass or whatever vegetation grew. The *corona civica* was awarded to a man who, in battle, saved the life of a Roman citizen.<sup>42</sup> The second *corona* was awarded to a man responsible for raising a siege and saving the lives of people and soldiers.<sup>43</sup> As far as monuments with depictions of wreaths from *Viminacium* are concerned, there are no mentions of awards in the inscriptions, and one has to be cautious about their interpretation, since the wreaths might simply be displayed as decoration, favoured on both military and civilian monuments. Three other stelae from *Viminacium* are known with the same motif in a niche, but all of them belonged to civilians. One of them was erected for the *augustalis* of the *municipium Viminacium*, and the other two for married couples. A wreath with a rosette is depicted on stelae dedicated not only to men, but also to women, as in *Singidunum*, Guberevac,<sup>44</sup> *Timacum Minus*, *Ratiaria*<sup>45</sup> and *Taurunum* in Lower Pannonia.<sup>46</sup> A wreath was also depicted in the niche under the tympanon on stelae from *Aquincum* and *Intercisa*. In *Aquincum* there was a workshop which produced stelae decorated with wreaths. Its clients belonged to the *collegium fabrum et centonariorum*, as well as the *collegium cultorum*. Two production phases can be determined: phase A, from the

<sup>42</sup> Maxfield 1981, 70-74.

<sup>43</sup> Maxfield 1981, 67-69.

<sup>44</sup> Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 68; 143, n. 40; 131.

<sup>45</sup> Petrović 1995, 89, n. 38; 108, 65; Димитров 1942, Т. XV-XVI, 20-22; 24-25; Т. XXVII, 56-57.

<sup>46</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 48.

samo na stelama posvećenim muškarcima, već i ženama. Stele s istim motivom poznate su iz *Singidunuma*, Guberevac,<sup>44</sup> mjesta *Timacum Minus*, *Ratiarije*<sup>45</sup> i *Taurunuma* u Donjoj Panoniji.<sup>46</sup> Vijenac je također bio prikazan u niši ispod timpnona na stelama iz Akvinka i Intercise. U Akvinku je postojala radionica za proizvodnju stela s prikazom vijenca. Ona je radila za potrebe udruženja *collegium fabrum et centonariorum*, a kasnije i za *collegium cultorum*. Mogu se odrediti dvije proizvodne faze: prva faza A, od prve polovine 2. stoljeća poslije Krista, s prikazom vijenca s klipijem, tenijama i rozetom u sredini i druga faza B, s kraja 2. stoljeća poslije Krista.<sup>47</sup> Isti motiv prikazan je i na stelama iz susjednih provincija: Dakije i, vrlo rijetko, Dalmacije.<sup>48</sup>

Na mnogim spomenicima prikazuju se vojna odlikovanja pripadnika pojedinih legija, kao što su: *dona obsidionalis* na nadgrobnom spomeniku Gaja Vibija Mace; *corona civica*, falere, dva torkvesa i armile na nadgrobnom spomeniku Marka Celija; *corona muralis* na nadgrobnom spomeniku Sulpicija Celza; *corona aurea* na nadgrobnom spomeniku Gaja Gavija Celera i *corona vallaris* na nadgrobnom spomeniku Seksta Vibija Gala.<sup>49</sup>

Na laterkulu iz Viminacija na kome su imena vojnika regrutiranih između 169. i 195. poslije Krista, deset vojnika nosi nagradu *d(onis) d(onatus)* koju su vjerojatno dobili u ratovima protiv Markomana.<sup>50</sup> Na očuvanom ulomku stele iz Singidunuma očuvan je natpis u kome se spominje

<sup>44</sup> Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 68, 143, n. 40, 131.

<sup>45</sup> Petrović 1995, 89, n. 38; 108, 65; Димитров 1942, Т. XV-XVI, 20-22; 24-25; Т. XXVII, 56-57.

<sup>46</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 48.

<sup>47</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 48.

<sup>48</sup> Димитров 1942, 72-73; Zotović 1995, 50-51.

<sup>49</sup> Maxfield 1981, Pl. 2a, b, c; Pl. 5c, d; Pl. 6a, b, c; Pl. 8a; Coatu 2012, 53, Fig. 14a, b; 56, fig. 15a, b, c; 61, fig. 17a, b, c; 62, fig. 18a, b; 65, fig. 19a.

<sup>50</sup> Mirković 1986, 90-99, n. 53.

first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, with pictures of wreaths with a *clipeus*, *taeniae* and rosettes in the middle, and phase B, from the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD.<sup>47</sup> The same motif is also depicted on stelae from neighbouring provinces such as *Dacia* and, more rarely, in *Dalmatia*.<sup>48</sup>

The depiction of military honours on monuments is in any case not uncommon, as witnessed by several examples: *dona obsidionalis* on the tombstone of *C. Vibius Mace*; *corona civica*, *phalerae*, two *torques* and *armilla* on the tombstone of *M. Caelius*; *corona muralis* on the tombstone of *Sulpicius Celsus*; *corona aurea* on the tombstone of *C. Gavius Celer*; and *corona vallaris* on the tombstone of *Sex. Vibius Gallus*.<sup>49</sup>

On a *laterculum* from *Viminacium*, which bears the names of soldiers recruited between 169 and 195 AD, there are ten soldiers who were awarded decorations, *d(onis) d(onatus)*, likely obtained during the Marcomannic wars.<sup>50</sup> A fragment of a stele from Singidunum has a preserved inscription mentioning the soldier *Flavius Victorinus*, who also received awards – *hasta pura* and *corona muralis* – most likely under Trajan.<sup>51</sup> On one monument from Hispania (*Aeso*), one can read the name of a *centurio legionis VII Claudiae Piae Fidelis*, *L. Aemilius Paternus*, who was twice decorated during Trajan's wars against the Dacians and Parthians. He was awarded *torques*, *armillae*, a *phalera* and a *corona vallaris*.<sup>52</sup> One monument found in the village of Grammeni, in the vicinity of Philippi, mentions *Ti. Claudius Maximus*, a former *eques* of *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* and an *explorator alae*, who was twice decorated for bravery in the wars against the

vojnika *Flavius Victorinus* koji je odlikovan nagradama *hasta pura* i *corona muralis*, vjerojatno tijekom osvajačkih ratova, za vrijeme Trajana.<sup>51</sup> Na spomeniku iz Hispanije (*Aeso*), spominje se bivši centurion legije *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, *L. Aemilius Paternus* koji je dva puta odlikovan za vrijeme Trajana u ratu protiv Dačana i Parta. Dobio je torkvese, armile, falere i *corona vallaris*.<sup>52</sup> Na spomeniku koji je pronađen u selu Grammeni, sjeverozapadno od mjesta Philippi, spominje se *Ti. Claudius Maximus* bivši konjanik legije *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, kao *explorator alae* bio je dva puta odlikovan za hrabrost u ratu protiv Dačana i Parta. Na dnu spomenika prikazane su njegove nagrade: dva torkvesa, dvije armile i, možda, dvije falere.<sup>53</sup>

Vojno znakovlje (*signum*) legije *VII Claudia*, s glavom bika, prikazano je u akrotelijima mramorne stele jednog veterana. Spomenik pripada veteranu legije *VII Claudia - Lucius Aurelius Andronicus*, bivšem signiferu - zastavniku, iste legije (sl. 6).<sup>54</sup> Posve je jasno zašto je obilježje legije prikazano na spomeniku signifera, dok je u timpanonu prikazan orao s poluraširenim krilima i glavom okrenutom ulijevo. To je dosad jedini poznati spomenik s prikazima vojnih insignija legije *VII Claudia* u Gornjoj Meziji.

Na temelju kognomena *Andronicus*, može se pretpostaviti da je vojnika iz istočne provincije dospio u legiju *VII Claudia* i da je ostao u Viminaciju nakon završetka vojne službe. Spomenik je posvećen veteranu koji nosi carsko ime *Aurelius*, a na osnovi imena spomenik je datiran od druge polovine 2. i u 3. stoljeće.<sup>55</sup> Spomenici podignuti zastavnicima poznati su

<sup>47</sup> Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 48.

<sup>48</sup> Димитров 1942, 72-73; Zotović 1995, 50-51.

<sup>49</sup> Maxfield 1981, Pl. 2a, b, c; Pl. 5c, d; Pl. 6a, b, c; Pl. 8a; Coatu 2012, 53, fig. 14a, b; 56, fig. 15a, b, c; 61, fig. 17a, b, c; 62, fig. 18a, b; 65, fig. 19a.

<sup>50</sup> Mirković 1986, 90-99, n. 53.

<sup>51</sup> Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 58-59, n. 26.

<sup>52</sup> Coatu 2012, 80.

<sup>51</sup> Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 58-59, n. 26.

<sup>52</sup> Coatu 2012, 80.

<sup>53</sup> Coatu 2012, 96-97.

<sup>54</sup> Mirković 1986, 136-137, n. 121.

<sup>55</sup> Ферјанчић 2002, 162, 289.

Dacians and Parthians. His awards are shown at the bottom of the monument: two *torques*, two *armillae*, and perhaps two *phalerae*.<sup>53</sup>

Military insignia (*signum*) of legion *VII Claudia*, with a bull's head, were depicted on the acroteria of the marble stele of a veteran. The monument belongs to *Lucius Aurelius Andronicus*, a veteran of legion *VII Claudia*, a former *signifer*, standard-bearer, of the same legion (Fig. 6).<sup>54</sup> It is perfectly clear why the insignia of a legion were depicted on the monument of a *signifer*, while in the tympanum an eagle was depicted, with its wings half spread and its head turned to the left. This is the only monument known so far with pictures of the military insignia of legion *VII Claudia* in Upper Moesia.

Based on the cognomen *Andronicus*, it can be assumed that this soldier originated from an eastern province before being drafted into legion *VII Claudia*, and that he remained in *Viminacium* after his military service. A monument dedicated to a veteran bearing the imperial gentilicium *Aurelius* has been dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD.<sup>55</sup> Monuments to *signiferi* are known from *Viminacium*,<sup>56</sup> *Singidunum*<sup>57</sup> and *Timacum Minus*.<sup>58</sup>

On the thorax of the parade armour (pectoral) from Ritopek (*Castrum Tricornia*), dated to the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, appears the *signum* of legion *VII Claudia*. Relief busts of military deities (*dii militares*) are presented in three rows, while the bust of Mars (*Mars Ultor*) stands in the middle. Below is a scene of combat between two soldiers. On the left side of one of the soldiers stands a

sa sljedećih lokaliteta: *Viminacium*,<sup>56</sup> *Singidunum*<sup>57</sup> i *Timacum Minus*.<sup>58</sup>

Na paradnom oklopu - pektoralu iz Ritopeka (*Castrum Tricornia*) iz druge polovine 3. stoljeća pojavljuje se oznaka (*signum*) legije *VII Claudia*. Prikazana su u tri reda reljefna poprsja vojnih božanstava (*dii militares*), a u sredini se nalazi bista mladog boga Marsa (*Mars Ultor*). Ispod je prikazana borba između dvaju vojnika. Na lijevoj strani jednog od vojnika je bik, simbol legije *VII Claudia*, a između gornja dva poprsja predstavljeni su *Virtus* i genije legije, tu su i oznake legija, dva signuma i jedan veksilum (*vexillum*). U donjem desnom uglu je natpis: *Aur(elius) Herculanus [Le]g(ionis) VII C(laudiae) / [Le]g(atus) Augustis*. Dakle, vlasnik paradnog oklopa bio je legat legije *VII Claudia*, što također potvrđuje prikazana oznaka navedene legije.<sup>59</sup> Na fragmentu središnjeg dijela stele iz Burnuma prikazan je *signum*. Iz natpisa saznajemo da je nadgrobni spomenik pripadao rimskom signiferu iz prve ili početka druge polovine 1. stoljeća.<sup>60</sup>

## 8. Mramorna stela

(sl. 6. *Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)  
Beograd, Kalemegdan. Dimenzije  
172x80x20 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ L. Aur(elius) Andro(nicus) vet(eranus) ex/ signifero leg(ionis)/ VII Cl(audiae) vix(it) a(nnis) LIII/ L. Aur(elius) Salvianus libr(arius) co(n)s(ularis)/ filius.*

<sup>56</sup> Mirković 1986, 92; 137-138, n. 122 (the year of 224); 121, n. 92; Mirković 2003, 104, n. 15.

<sup>57</sup> Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 52-53, n. 16; 64-65, 35; Ферјанчић 2002, 287, n. 348, 352; Гарашанин 1954, 63.

<sup>58</sup> Zotović 2007, 115, n. 12.

<sup>59</sup> Ратковић 2013, 201-202, 284-285, kat. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Miletić 2010, 175-176, kat. 81.

<sup>53</sup> Coatu 2012, 96-97.

<sup>54</sup> Mirković 1986, 136-137, n. 121.

<sup>55</sup> Ферјанчић 2002, 162, 289.

<sup>56</sup> Mirković 1986, 92; 137-138, n. 122 (the year of 224); 121, n. 92; Mirković 2003, 104, n. 15.

<sup>57</sup> Mirković, Dušanić 1976, 52-53, n. 16; 64-65, 35; Ферјанчић 2002, 287, n. 348, 352; Гарашанин 1954, 63.

<sup>58</sup> Zotović 2007, 115, n. 12.



Fig. / Sl. 6: Monument of L. Aurelius Andronicus veteranus ex signifero legionis VII Claudiae from Viminacium / Spomenik Lucija Aurelija Andronika, veterana i bivšeg signifera legije VII. Claudia iz Viminacija (Belgrade / Beograd - Kalemegdan, Mirković 1986, 136-137, n. 121)

bull, the symbol of legion VII Claudia, and between the upper two busts, which represent *Virtus* and *Genius* of the legion, one can see the insignia of the legion, two *signa* and one standard (*vexillum*). In the lower right corner stands an inscription: *Aur(elius) Herculanus [Le]g(ionis) VII C(laudiae) / [Le]g(atu)s Augustis* Therefore, the owner of the armour was the legate of legion VII Claudia, as evidenced by the displayed insignia of that legion.<sup>59</sup> A fragment of a *Burnum* stele also depicts a *signum*. The inscription shows that the tombstone belonged to a Roman *signifer* of the first half or the early second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Рагковић 2013, 201-202, 284-285, kat. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Miletić 2010, 175-176, kat. 81.

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Lucije Aurelije Andronik, veteran i bivši signifer legije VII Claudia, preminuo je u dobi od 53 godine. Spomenik je podigao njegov sin, Lucije Aurelije Salvijan, *librarius consularis*.

Scena iz pokojnikovog života prikazana je u niši stele jednog spekulatora legije VII Claudia - L. Blassius Nigellio (sl. 7).<sup>61</sup> Ime Blassius ilirskog je podrijetla, često prisutno u Italiji, dok je Nigellio potvrđeno u sjevernoj Italiji i južnoj Galiji, ali ne često.<sup>62</sup> *Speculator* je prikazan u kolima sa svitkom u ruci. Ispred njega je kočijaš s kapuljačom na glavi, a iza njega, okrenutih leđa, je osoba, najvjerojatnije rob, s bakljom u ruci. *Speculator* je u rimskoj vojsci bio neka vrsta izvidnika, koji je prikupljao podatke i dokumente te izvještavao svoje nadređene o neprijatelju. Svitak u ruci svjedoči o njegovom zanimanju. Kočija s tri konja, pripada tzv. ekspres-pošti koja je bila u službi spekulatora tijekom njegovih putovanja. Zanimanje *speculator* također se spominje na nadgrobnom spomeniku iz Ulpiane, međutim, samo je jedan dio natpisa sačuvan na osnovi čega možemo reći da je *speculator* pripadao legiji IV Flavia Severiana.<sup>63</sup> Motivi kočija s konjima rijetko su prikazivani na spomenicima. Takav prizor može se shvatiti kao prikaz iz svakodnevnoga života pokojnika ili to može biti povezano s njegovim putovanjem u drugi svijet. Na steli iz Viminacija riječ je o prvom slučaju, tj. službenom putovanju pokojnika. Analogni prikazi kočija s konjima mogu se naći na spomenicima iz Donje Panonije (*Sirmium*, u timpanonu; *Intercisa*, na dva ulomka srednjeg dijela spomenika). Na steli iz Sirmija, vjerojatno je riječ o bogatom, autohtonom stanovniku, kome je bogatstvo omogućilo da po-

<sup>61</sup> Mirković 1986, 128, n. 106.

<sup>62</sup> Lörincz 2000, 101.

<sup>63</sup> Zotović 2007, 165.



## 8. Marble stele

(Fig. 6. *Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)  
Kalemegdan, Belgrade. Dimensions 172 x 80 x 20 cm.

Inscriptions:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ L. Aur(elisu) Andro(nicus) vet(eranus) ex/ signifero leg(ionis)/ VII Cl(audiae) vix(it) a(nnis) LIII/ L. Aur(elius) Salvia(nus) libr(arius) co(n)s(ularis)/ filius.*

Translation: *To the Manes, L. Aurelius Andronicus, veteran and former signifer of legion VII Claudia, died at the age of 53 years. The monument was erected by L. Aurelius Salvianus, librarius consularis, his son.*

A scene from the life of the deceased was depicted in the niche of the stele of *L. Blassius Nigellio*, a *speculator* of legion *VII Claudia* (Fig. 7).<sup>61</sup> The name *Blassius* is of Illyrian origin, often present in Italy, while *Nigellio* is confirmed in Northern Italy and Gallia Narbonensis, but only occasionally.<sup>62</sup> The *speculator* is depicted in a chariot with a *rotulus* in his hand. In front of him is a coachman with a hood on his head, and behind him, with his back to the viewer, stands a figure, most likely a slave, with a torch in his hand. A *speculator* in the Roman army was a sort of scout who gathered data and documented it in order to inform his superiors. The roll in his hand testifies to his occupation. The three-horse chariot belongs to the so-called "express post" that was in the *speculator*'s service during his journeys. The profession of *speculator* is also mentioned on a tombstone from *Ulpiana*; however, only one part of the inscription is preserved, from which we can tell that the *speculator* in question belonged to legion *IV Flavia Severiana*.<sup>63</sup> Chariot motifs with horses are rarely depicted on monuments. Such a scene can be under-

digne takav spomenik, dok je ovaj motiv na spomenicima iz Intercise povezan sa žrtvenim običajem - *tripus* i na taj način povezan s heroiziranjem pokojnika. Identični prikazi poznati su iz Akvinka, Maria Saala, Ulcisije Kastre, Gorsija itd. Mnogi autori povezuju takve motive s grobovima u kojima su pohranjeni konji, jer su mnoge takve stele podignute točno iznad takvih grobova. Spomenici koji prikazuju kočije s konjima najbrojniji su u Galiji, a primjerci iz Italije obično se povezuju sa svakodnevnim životom pokojnika.<sup>64</sup>

## 9. Mramorna stela

(sl. 7. *Viminacium*, Gornja Mezija)  
Beograd, Kalemegdan. Dimenzije 175x132x30 cm.

Natpis:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ L. Blassius Nigellio/ specul(ator) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) vixit/ ann(is) XXXV.*

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima, Lucije Blasije Nigelijo, spekulator legije *VII Claudia*, preminuo je u dobi od 35 godina.

Najraniji vojni spomenici iz Viminacija su iz prve polovine 2. stoljeća poslije Krista, a većina su od kraja 2. do početka 3. stoljeća. Najmlađi je sarkofag koji pripada 3. stoljeću. Datiranje spomenika je prikazano na tabeli 1. Na ostalim spomenicima vojnika i veterana iz Viminacija nema ikonografskih prikaza koji mogu ukazati na njihova zanimanja, ali to su jednostavni nadgrobni spomenici bez ukrasa ili s ukrasima koji su jednako zastupljeni na spomenicima civila i nisu vezani za njihovu struku.

<sup>64</sup> Visy 1997; Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 47.

<sup>61</sup> Mirković 1986, 128, n. 106.

<sup>62</sup> Lörincz 2000, 101.

<sup>63</sup> Zotović 2007, 165.

stood as a picture from the everyday life of the deceased, or it can be connected with his journey to the other world. On the stele from *Viminacium* one is dealing with the first case, i.e. an official journey of the deceased. Analogous pictures of chariots with horses can be found on monuments from Lower Pannonia (*Sirmium*, in a tympanon; *Intercisa*, two fragments of the middle part of the monument). On the stele from *Sirmium*, one is probably dealing with a rich, autochthonous inhabitant, whose wealth enabled him to erect such a monument, while the monuments from *Intercisa* are connected with the depicted sacrificial tripod (*tripus*) and thus connected with heroising the deceased. Identical pictures are known from *Aquincum*, *Maria Saal*, *Ulcisia Castra*, *Gorsium* and other sites. Many authors connect such motifs to graves with horses, since many of the stelae were erected exactly above such graves. Monuments depicting chariots and horses are most numerous in Gaul, while such pictures from Italy can usually be connected with the everyday occupation of the deceased.<sup>64</sup>

### 9. Marble stele

(Fig. 7. *Viminacium*, Upper Moesia)  
Kalemegdan, Belgrade. Dimensions 175 x 132 x 30 cm.

Inscriptions:

*D(is) M(anibus)/ L. Blassius Nigellio/  
specul(ator) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) vixit/  
ann(is) XXXV.*

Translation: *To the Manes, L. Blassius Nigellio, speculator of legion VII Claudia, died at the age of XXXV years.*

The earliest military monuments from *Viminacium* are dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, while most belong to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The most recent is a sarcophagus belonging to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The dating



Fig. / Sl. 7: Monument of L. Blassius Nigellio speculator legionis VII Claudiae from *Viminacium* / Spomenik Lucija Blasija Nigelija, speculatora legije VII Claudia iz *Viminacija* (Belgrade / Beograd - Kalemegdan, Mirković 1986, 128-129, n. 106)

Valja napomenuti razliku između spomenika vojnika i veterana legije *VII Claudia* iz *Tilurija* i *Viminacija*. Poznata je klesarska radionica koja je radila u neposrednoj blizini vojnog logora u *Tiluriju* koja je proizvodila posebnu vrstu arhitektonskih spomenika koji prikazuju neku vrstu vrata u donjem dijelu spomenika. O radionici, njenim fazama i ikonografskim prikazima pisalo se u nekoliko navrata. Premještanjem legije *VII Claudia* iz *Dalmacije* u *Meziju*, kamenorezačka radionica je, po svemu sudeći, preseljena u obli-

<sup>64</sup> Visy 1997; Dautova-Ruševljan 1983, 47.

TOMBSTONE	NAME	FORMULA	DATE
	<i>...C. Cornelius Rufus/dec(urio) augur mun(icipii) Ael(ii) Vim(inacii)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus) B(ene)M(erenti) F(aciendum) C(uraverunt)</i>	2/3 <sup>rd</sup> century
	<i>...Aur(eli)us Gallicus...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus) B(ene)M(erenti)</i>	3 <sup>rd</sup> century
	<i>...Q. Helvius Probus/vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus) H(ic) S(itus) E(st) B(ene)M(erenti) Pos(uit)</i>	The first half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century
	<i>...L. Cassianus Potens mil(es) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) P(iae) F(idelis)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus) B(ene)M(erenti) Pos(uit)</i>	2/3 <sup>rd</sup> century
	<i>...M. Aur(eli)us Rufus/tess(erarius) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus) B(ene)M(erenti) Pos(uit)</i>	2/3 <sup>rd</sup> century
Missing	<i>...M. Val(erius) Va/lens Fab(ia)/Eracl(ea) vet(eranus)/ VII Cl(audiae) P(iae) F(idelis)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus) B(ene)M(erenti) Pos(uit)</i>	The first half of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century
Missing	<i>...G. Pomponi/us Valerian/us mil(es) VII Cl(audiae) B(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus)</i>	2/3 <sup>rd</sup> century
	<i>...L. Aur(eli)us Andro/nicus vet(eranus) ex/ signifero leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus)</i>	2/3 <sup>rd</sup> century
	<i>...L. Blassius Nigellio/ specul(ator) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae)...</i>	<i>D(is) M(anibus)</i>	The end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century

Tab. / T. 1: Soldiers, medals and military insignia on tombstones from Viminacium (names, formulas and dating) / Vojnici, odlikovanja i vojno znakovlje na nadgrobnim spomenicima iz Viminacija (imena, formule i datiranje).

of the monuments is shown in Table 1. Other soldiers and veterans of *Viminacium* do not have iconographic representations that would indicate their interests, but these are simple tombstones without ornament, or with decorations that are equally represented on the monuments of civilians and do not relate to their profession. A difference between the monuments of soldiers and veterans of the *VII Claudia* of *Tilurium* and *Viminacium* should be pointed out. One workshop is presumed to have been active in the vicinity of the camp in *Tilurium*, and is especially known for a special kind of decoration depicting a door in the lower part of the tombstone. This workshop, its phases and iconographic representations, have been discussed on several occasions in different publications. When legion *VII Claudia* left Dalmatia and moved to Moesia, the *Tilurium* stone workshop in all probability moved to *Burnum*, where it continued its activity.<sup>65</sup> Once settled in *Viminacium*, soldiers of legion *VII Claudia* had to rely on Moesian

<sup>65</sup> Tončinić 2007; Tončinić, Demicheli 2008; Tončinić, Ivčević 2013; Sanader, Tončinić 2009; Dodig 2008. See also: H. Hofmann, *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer*, Sonderchriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien 5, Vienna, A. Hölder, 1905; N. Cambi, "Two Soldiers Stelai from Salona", *Römisches Österreich: Jahresschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie*, Vienna, 17/18, 1991, 61-72; N. Cambi, "Rimski nadgrobni spomenici iz Aserije", *Radovi. Filozofski fakultet u Zadru*, Zadar, 31, 1993, 25-51; N. Cambi, "Stele iz kasnoantičke grobnice u Dugopolju", *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Split, 86, 1994, 147-181; N. Cambi, *Imago animi: antički portret u Hrvatskoj*, Split, Književni krug, 2000; M. Sanader, "Grabsteine der Legio VII aus Tilurium: Versuch einer Typologie", in Noelke, P., Naumann-Steckner, F. und Schneider, B. (hrsg.), *Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens*, Mainz am Rhein, Zabern, 2003, 501-510; D. Tončinić, *Spomenici VII. legije na području rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Katalozi i monografije/Arheološki muzej Split 4, Split, Arheološki muzej, 2011.

žnji *Burnum*, gdje je nastavila s radom.<sup>65</sup> Vojnici legije *VII Claudia* prihvatili su usluge mezijskih radionica koje nisu imale uobičajenu ikonografsku shemu, a bile su i skromnije s ponudom.

Spomenici vojnika i veterana legije *VII Claudia* iz *Viminacija* su od vapnenca i mramora. Brojni nalazi nadgrobni spomenika, sarkofaga, oltara i skulptura pokazuju da je u ovom gradu bilo nekoliko kamenorezačkih i kiparskih radionica. Za proizvodnju se koristio lokalni kamen (pješčenjak i vapnenac) iz jednog od obližnjih kamenoloma, vjerojatno iz Kučeva ili homoljske oblasti. Postoje spomenici izrađeni od mramora uvezenog s otoka Prokoneza.<sup>66</sup> Nadgrobni spomenici iz *Viminacija* nisu jedinstveni. Različite vrste kamena i stilskih obilježja upućuju na to da je postojalo više radionica.

<sup>65</sup> Tončinić 2007; Tončinić, Demicheli 2008; Tončinić, Ivčević 2013; Sanader, Tončinić 2009; Dodig 2008. Također vidjeti u: H. Hofmann, *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer*, Sonderchriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts in Wien 5, Wien, A. Hölder, 1905; N. Cambi, »Two Soldiers Stelai from Salona«, *Römisches Österreich: Jahresschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Archäologie*, Wien, 17/18, 1991, 61-72; N. Cambi, »Rimski nadgrobni spomenici iz Aserije«, *Radovi. Filozofski fakultet u Zadru*, Zadar, 31, 1993, 25-51; N. Cambi, »Stele iz kasnoantičke grobnice u Dugopolju«, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Split, 86, 1994, 147-181; N. Cambi, *Imago animi: antički portret u Hrvatskoj*, Split, Književni krug, 2000; M. Sanader, »Grabsteine der Legio VII aus Tilurium: Versuch einer Typologie«, in Noelke, P., Naumann-Steckner, F. und Schneider, B. (hrsg.), *Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens*, Mainz am Rhein, Zabern, 2003, 501-510; D. Tončinić, *Spomenici VII. legije na području rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Katalozi i monografije/Arheološki muzej Split 4, Split, Arheološki muzej, 2011.

<sup>66</sup> Ђорђевић 1989-90, 144, 4.

workshops which did not use the same iconographic schemes and whose work was of a lower quality.

The military monuments of soldiers and veterans of legion *VII Claudia* from *Viminacium* were made of limestone and marble. Numerous finds of tombstones, *sarcophagi*, sacrificial altars and sculptures point to the possibility that several workshops could have been active in this town. Local stone (sandstone and limestone) from one of the nearby quarries was probably used, likely from the Kučevo or Homolje regions. There are, however, monuments made of marble imported from the island of Proconnesus.<sup>66</sup> In any case, it must be pointed out that tombstones from *Viminacium* are far from being uniform. The various types of stone, as well as the stylistic variations, would suggest the existence of several different workshops in *Viminacium*.

<sup>66</sup> Ђорђевић 1989-90, 144, 4.

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RIMSKI NATPISI  
IZ VARAŽDINSKIH TOPLICA

**UDK:** 930.271

(497.5 Varaždinske Toplice)''652''

**Stručni rad**

*Članak obrađuje rimske natpise na spomenicima i tegulama pronađenim na području Varaždinskih Toplica, a koji su do danas objavljeni. Ima ih trideset i šest, a najčešće su ih postavljali vojnici i građani, uglavnom kao zahvalu bogovima za zdravlje. Na natpisima se spominju različiti bogovi, a postavili su ih dedikanti koji pripadaju različitim slojevima društva - vojnici različitih službi te građani. Također je obrađen i jedan carski natpis, jedini takav pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Pozornost se obratila i na legije koje su spomenute na natpisima te na njihovo kretanje i boravak u vrijeme podizanja natpisa. Članak obuhvaća i pečate na tegulama te podatke o ciglarima koji su ih izradili. Natpisi uglavnom prate različite faze gradnje koje je imalo naselje, a kroz iste se može pratiti i kako se kroz vrijeme mijenjao karakter posjetitelja.*

*Ključne riječi: Varaždinske Toplice, rimski natpisi, rimski bogovi, dedikanti, legije, carski natpis, pečati na tegulama, faze gradnje*

THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS  
FROM VARAŽDINSKE TOPLICE

**UDC:** 930.271

(497.5 Varaždinske Toplice)''652''

**Professional paper**

*The article deals with Roman inscriptions on monuments and tegulae found in the area of Varaždinske Toplice that have been published to date. There are a total of thirty-six, and most often they were commissioned by soldiers and citizens, generally to express gratitude to the gods for good health. Various gods are mentioned in the inscriptions, and they were installed by dedicants of different social classes: soldiers from various branches and citizens. An imperial inscription, the only one of its kind found in Varaždinske Toplice, is also considered. Attention is also accorded to the legions mentioned in the inscriptions and their movements and stay at the time when the inscriptions were made. The article also covers stamps on tegulae and information on the brick makers who manufactured them. The inscriptions generally follow the different architectural phases that proceeded in the settlement, and through them the changing character of visitors over time can be observed.*

*Key words: Varaždinske Toplice, Roman inscriptions, Roman gods, dedicants, legions, imperial inscription, stamps on tegulae, architectural phases*



## 1. Današnje spoznaje o *Aquae Iasae*

U Hrvatskom zagorju, na 230 metara nadmorske visine, između terasa Topličke gore i doline Bednje, smjestio se manji grad Varaždinske Toplice. Grad je bio naseljen još od vremena paleolitika, a najveći procvat doživio je u antičko vrijeme.<sup>1</sup> Razlog ovako dugome kontinuiranom naseljavanju možemo naći u činjenici da grad posjeduje dva termalna izvora ljekovite sumporne vode. U predrimsko vrijeme ovaj prostor naseljavali su Iasi<sup>2</sup> (panonsko-ilirsko pleme čije se ime proteže od graničnog područja Republike Hrvatske i Republike Slovenije, preko područja Varaždinskih Toplica i rijeke Sutle, rijekom Dravom do Virovitice, na istok do mjesta Velika, a jug do sredine međuriječja Save i Drave<sup>3</sup>) za koje se smatra da su se već služili izvorima, a arheološkim istraživanjima potvrdila su neprekidnu uporabu istih od rimskog doba.<sup>4</sup> Rimljani, koji su od 13. g. pr. Kr. do 9. g. osvojili prostor nekadašnje provincije Panonije, osnovali su ovo naselje te mu nadjenuli ime *Aquae Iasae*, povezujući izvore s imenom plemena koje je tada tamo obitavalo. Mjesto je administrativno pripadalo općini grada Petovija (*res publica Poetoviensis*),<sup>5</sup> koji je pod Trajanom postao

<sup>1</sup> Kušan Špalj 1999, 109-119; Sanader 2001, 17; Tkalčić 1869, 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 122; Gorenc, Vikić 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111; Mócsy 1959, 26-28; Radman-Livaja, Ivezić 2012, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Schejbal 2003, 394, 395.

<sup>4</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Mócsy 1959, 26-28.

<sup>5</sup> Petovij je, nakon rimske okupacije, uključen u teritorij Ilirika, a kasnije pripojen Panoniji. U to su vrijeme Akve Jaze bile pod upravom Petovija, a tada su nastala i dva natpisa koji podupiru ovu teoriju: KAT. BR. 12. i KAT. BR. 23. Dioklecijanovom podjelom Panonije (297. g.) Petovij je pripao Noriku, dok su Akve Jaze ostale u Panoniji Superior (Horvat 2003, 160; Klemenc, Saria 1936, 92, 93; Šimek 2001, 42), što nam potvrđuje natpis u KAT. BR. 30.

## 1. Current knowledge on *Aquae Iasae*

The town of Varaždinske Toplice is situated in the Croatian region called Hrvatsko Zagorje, at an elevation of 230 meters, between the terraces on the hill called Toplička gora and the Bednja River Valley. The town has been inhabited since the Palaeolithic, and experienced its greatest bloom in Antiquity.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this long continuous inhabitation is due to the fact that the town possesses two thermal springs of medicinal sulphurous water. During the pre-Roman era this area was inhabited by the Jasi<sup>2</sup> (a Pannonian-Illyrian tribe whose range extended along the border zone between the present-day Republics of Croatia and Slovenia, through the area of Varaždinske Toplice and the Sutla River, along the Drava River to Virovitica, and eastward to Velika, and southward to the middle of the Sava-Drava interfluvium<sup>3</sup>) who were believed to have already made use of these springs, while archaeological research has confirmed their uninterrupted use since Roman times.<sup>4</sup> The Romans, who conquered the territory of the former province of Pannonia from 13 BC to 9 AD, established this settlement and named it *Aquae Iasae*, linking the springs to the name of the tribe which resided there at the time. Administratively the settlement was a part of the municipium of Poetovio (*res publica Poetoviensis*),<sup>5</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Kušan Špalj 1999, 109-119; Sanader 2001, 17; Tkalčić 1869, 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 75; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 122; Gorenc, Vikić 1980.

<sup>2</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 111; Mócsy 1959, 26-28; Radman-Livaja, Ivezić, 2012, 139.

<sup>3</sup> Schejbal 2003, 394, 395.

<sup>4</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Mócsy 1959, 26-28.

<sup>5</sup> Poetovio was, after Roman occupation, incorporated into the territory of Illyricum, and later annexed to Pannonia. At that time *Aquae Iasae* were under Poetovio's administration, and it was then that two inscriptions appeared which back this theory: CAT. NO. 12 and CAT. NO. 23. After Diocletian's division of Pannonia (297 AD), Poetovio became a part of Noricum, while *Aqua Iasae* remained in Pannonia Superior (Horvat 2003, 160; Klemenc-Saria 1936, 92, 93; Šimek 2001, 42), which is confirmed by the inscription in CAT. NO. 30.

kolonija.<sup>6</sup> Kako su u Petoviju bile smještene legije (*legio VIII Augusta, legio XIII Gemina, legio XIII Gemina, legio XXI Rapax*<sup>7</sup>), a nakon njih u gradu naseljeni veterani, Toplice su njima predstavljale važno mjesto okrjepe od teške službe te su bile vrlo posjećeno mjesto, što je i potvrđeno brojnim natpisima pronađenima tijekom arheoloških istraživanja.<sup>8</sup> Tijekom vladavine Marka Aurelija, Petovijska je općina, iznad izvora, dala podići nimfej ukrašen mramornim reljefnim pločama,<sup>9</sup> o kojemu će biti riječi kasnije. Budući da se kolonija Petovij nalazila na strateški izvanrednom položaju, a zbog očite povezanosti naselja, od toga su profitirala i obližnje *Aquae Iasae*,<sup>10</sup> o čemu nam svjedoče i brojni pronađeni natpisi (KAT. BR. 12, 23).

Sustavna istraživanja Varaždinskih Toplica započela su 1953. godine kada je u gradskom parku otkriven kompleks rimske arhitekture, koji se prostirao na površini od 6000 m<sup>2</sup>. Pronađeni nalazi datiraju od 1. do 4. stoljeća. Otkriveni kompleks obuhvaća kupališnu zgradu s bazilikom, forum okružen trjemovima, u čijem centru se nalazi termalni izvor, te kapitolij s hramovima koji su najvjerojatnije posvećeni Jupiteru, Junoni i Minervi.<sup>11</sup> Godine 1982. prekinu-

became a colony under Trajan.<sup>6</sup> Since legions were posted in Poetovio (*legio VIII Augusta, legio XIII Gemina, legio XIII Gemina, legio XXI Rapax*<sup>7</sup>), and after them veterans lived in the town, Toplice became an important place for them to recover from their arduous service and it was highly-frequented, which has been confirmed by numerous inscriptions found during the course of archaeological research.<sup>8</sup> During the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the municipium of Poetovio commissioned the construction of a nymphaeum above the springs, adorned with marble relief slabs,<sup>9</sup> which will be discussed below. Since the colony of Poetovio was at a strategically vital point, and due to the obvious links between settlements, nearby *Aquae Iasae* also profited from this,<sup>10</sup> to which numerous inscriptions testify (CAT. NO. 12, 23).

Systematic research into Varaždinske Toplice began in 1953, when a Roman architectural complex was discovered in the town park that extended over a surface of 6,000 m<sup>2</sup>. These finds were dated from the first to fourth centuries. The discovered complex encompassed a bath building with basilica, a forum surrounded by porticos with a thermal spring in the middle, and a Capitolium with temples most likely dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.<sup>11</sup> In 1982, financing was cut off, also ending all works.

<sup>6</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975; Horvat 2003, 156; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić 1961, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Farnum 2005, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173-174; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 43-44; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Šimek 2001, 42; Vikić-Belančić 1996, 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Horvat 2003, 160; Šimek 2001, 42, 43.

<sup>10</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Sanader 2001, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 32-33; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Migotti 1999, 59; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 73; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-84; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-222; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38. Naime, kako u Varaždinskim Toplicama do danas nije pronađen niti jedan nalaz koji bi potvrdio postojanje Jupiterova kulta u tom mjestu, iako je to vjerojatno posljedica nedovoljne istraženosti, posvećenost središnjeg hrama Jupiteru ostaje samo pretpostavka.

<sup>6</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975; Horvat 2003, 156; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić 1961, 47.

<sup>7</sup> Farnum 2005, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173-174; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 43-44; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Šimek 2001, 42; Vikić-Belančić 1996, 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Horvat 2003, 160; Šimek 2001, 42, 43.

<sup>10</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 3; Sanader 2001, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 32-33; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12; Kušan Špalj 2006, 278; Migotti 1999, 59; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 73; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-84; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-222; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38. Since nothing has yet been found in Varaždinske Toplice that would confirm the existence of Jupiter's cult there – although this may be due to insufficient research – the central temple's dedication to Jupiter is still only a hypothesis.

to je financiranje pa samim time i radovi. Devet godina poslije nastavljeno je s istraživanjima, ali je naglasak stavljen na zaštitne i konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove te sanaciju okoliša (npr. padine iznad hramova te izvorišta).<sup>12</sup>

Spomenuti kompleks bio je smješten na najjačem termalnom izvoru, jer je neposredno koristio njegovu vodu radi kupališta i u kultne svrhe. No u sklopu naselja nalazio se i stambeni dio, smješten na terasama koje se spuštaju prema podnožju brijega, te obrtničko-trgovački i sajamski dio, koji se smjestio u samom podnožju brda.<sup>13</sup>

Budući da je termalna voda puna sumpora, njezinim taloženjem nastale su sedre koje su sačuvale veliki dio arhitekture. Zahvaljujući tom procesu, možemo pratiti nekoliko faza gradnje naselja: ranocarska, elijejsko-antoninijanska, konstantinova te postkonstantinova faza.<sup>14</sup>

Najraniji dio kupališta potječe iz 1. st., a otkriven je u južnom i zapadnom dijelu parka. Prostirao se u smjeru istok-zapad, a sastojao od prostorija i bazena pravokutnog tlocrta, te kupališne bazilike, koja je s ostalim prostorijama kupališta bila povezana zapadnim portalom. Bio je odvojen od glavnog termalnog izvora, koji se nalazi u sjeverozapadnom dijelu parka, te se topla voda morala dovesti dugim kanalom. Prostorije iz te faze nisu bile grijane. Ova je faza trajala duže vrijeme, što se očituje u vidljivim popravcima (žbukanje, popravci zidova, temelja...).

<sup>12</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 77-78; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 91; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-85; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137, 461-463; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006, 150-152; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 101; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-223.

<sup>13</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 18-19; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 5.

Research resumed nine years later, but the emphasis was placed on protective and conservationist/restorationist works and rehabilitation of the surrounding terrain (e.g. the slopes above the temples and springs).<sup>12</sup>

This complex was located at the strongest thermal spring, because its waters were used directly to supply baths and for ritual use. However, this complex also had a residential section, situated on terraces which descend toward the foot of a hill, and an artisan/mercantile section, which was at the very foot of the hill.<sup>13</sup>

Since the thermal waters have a high sulphur content, its sedimentation created tufa which preserved much of the architecture. Thanks to this process, several phases of the settlement's development can be observed: early imperial, Aelian-Antonine, Constantinian and post-Constantinian.<sup>14</sup>

The earliest part of the baths originated in the first century, and it was discovered in the southern and western parts of the park. It has an east-west orientation, and it consisted of rooms and a rectangular pool, and the bath basilica, which was connected to the remaining rooms of the baths by a western portal. It was separated from the main thermal spring, which is located in the north-west part of the park, and warm water had to be conveyed by a long canal. The rooms dating to this phase were not heated. This phase lasted for an extended period, which is indicated by visible repairs (plastering, repairs to the walls and foundations). This spring, in the north-west part of the park, stood alone in the beginning,

<sup>12</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997a, 77-78; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 91; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2004, 83-85; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2005, 135-137, 461-463; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006, 150-152; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 101; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2007, 170; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2008, 221-223.

<sup>13</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 18-19; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 8.

<sup>14</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 5.

Spomenuti je izvor, u sjeverozapadnom dijelu parka, u početku bio samostalan, bez popratnog kompleksa. Izgled tadašnjeg izvora-bunara danas je nepoznat. Na padini iznad njega pronađeno je najranije svetište, pravokutnog tlocrta. Tijekom 1. st. uz njega su izgrađena dva manja hrama. U toj prvoj fazi, nepoznato je kojem božanstvu su bili posvećeni.<sup>15</sup>

U vrijeme cara Hadrijana i Antonina Pija izgradilo se novo kupalište, orijentacije sjever-jug. Novo je kupalište obuhvaćalo već postojeću kupališnu baziliku, ali se više primaklo glavnom izvoru. Došlo je i do promjene u tlocrtu. Uvedeni su polukružni prostori s nadsvodenim prostorijama,<sup>16</sup> a kupališnoj je bazilici izgrađen sjeverni portal, koji ju je povezao s prostorijama kupališta, dok je zapadni portal zazidan.<sup>17</sup> U kupališni kompleks uvedeno je podno grijanje, pod je prekriven žbukom, a zidovi oslikani slikarijama s arhitektonsko-iluzionističkim elementima karakterističnim za antoninski period.<sup>18</sup> U to je vrijeme već bio formiran forum te istočni i zapadni trijem s monumentalnim stubištem, koje je povezivalo hramove i forum. U središtu foruma nalazio se izvor oko kojega je u 2. st. podignut nimfej.<sup>19</sup> Nimfej je imao stepeničasto podnožje koje su ukrašavali pilastri s likovima heroiziranih mladića s ratničkim atributima.<sup>20</sup> Između pilastra nalazile su se reljefne ploče s mitološkim scenama i

without an accompanying complex. The appearance of the spring/well at the time is not known. The earliest shrine, with a rectangular layout, was located on the slope above it. During the first century, two smaller temples were built adjacent to it. The deity to which they were dedicated in the first phase is not known.<sup>15</sup>

During the reign of Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, new baths were constructed, with a north-south orientation. The new baths encompassed the already existing bath basilica, but it moved closer to the main spring. The ground layout also changed. Semi-circular facilities with vaulted rooms were introduced,<sup>16</sup> while a northern portal was added to the basilica, which connected the rooms of the baths, and a western portal was built.<sup>17</sup> Under-floor heating was introduced to the bath complex, the floor was covered with plaster, while the walls were decorated with paintings that had architectural-illusion elements typical of the Antonine period.<sup>18</sup> At that time the forum had already been formed, as well as a western portico with a monumental staircase which linked to the temples and the forum. In the second century, a nymphaeum was erected around the spring in the middle of the forum.<sup>19</sup> The nymphaeum had a staired foot which was adorned by pilasters featuring the images of heroized youths with warrior attributes.<sup>20</sup> Between the pilasters there were relief slabs with mythical scenes and symbols of water. The front of the nymphaeum fea-

<sup>15</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 10; Kušan Špalj 1999, 114; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan 1999, 73; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 35; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>17</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 37; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 212; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>15</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 10; Kušan Špalj 1999, 114; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan 1999, 73 Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>16</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 35; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>17</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 37; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11.

<sup>18</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 6.

<sup>19</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 212; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11, 13.

<sup>20</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

simbolima vode. Na prednjoj strani nimfeja nalazio se reljefni prikaz tri nimfe.<sup>21</sup>

U ovo vrijeme nastupila je druga faza hramova. Građevine su povišene, zidovi su im pojačani, napravljen je novi sustav za odvodnju atmosferilija te su dobile zajedničku fasadu. Razlog ovih promjena pronalazi se u novoj namjeni hramova.<sup>22</sup> Središnji je hram bio najveći te najvjerojatnije posvećen Jupiteru, istočni Junoni, a zapadni Minervi. Da je istočni hram bio posvećen Junoni, potvrđuje postament za Junoninu statuu (KAT. BR. 23) pronađen u sjeveroistočnom uglu foruma. Pred ulazom u Minervin hram pronađena je njezina statua s postamentom koji sadrži natpis (KAT. BR. 24).<sup>23</sup> Iako Jupiterova statua nije pronađena, ipak se pretpostavlja da je središnji hram bio posvećen upravo vrhovnom bogu, pa se, na temelju toga, može govoriti o postojanju kapitolija.

U 2. st. izgrađeni su ispred hramova istočni i zapadni trijem, koji su s hramom, ali i međusobno, bili povezani stubištem. U ovo doba smanjen je kupališni prostor, koji je podijeljen na više manjih prostorića, sjeverni portal bazilike je zazidan, odnosno postao je dijelom polukružne ekседre, a na sjevernom zidu izgrađena su dva nova bočna portala. S istočne strane bazilike izgrađen je trijem koji ju je povezivao s forumom. Zidovi su ukrašeni nizovima ornamenta. Iz ovih preinaka može se zaključiti kako je kupalište ove faze imalo naglasak na društvenom faktoru, više nego higijensko-balneološkom.<sup>24</sup> Dio kupališnog kompleksa iz ovog vremena (dio polukružnog bazena, izduženi

tured a relief image of three nymphs.<sup>21</sup>

The second phase of the temples emerged at this time. The buildings were elevated, their walls were reinforced, a new precipitation drainage system was made and they acquired a common façade. The reason for these changes can be found in the new purpose of the temples.<sup>22</sup> The middle temple was the largest, and probably dedicated to Jupiter; the eastern one was dedicated to Juno, and the western one to Minerva. That the eastern temple was dedicated to Juno is confirmed by a pedestal of a statue of Juno (CAT. NO. 23) found in the north-east corner of the forum. A statue of Minerva with pedestal including an inscription (CAT. NO. 24) was found in front of the entrance to her temple.<sup>23</sup> Even though a statue of Jupiter was not found, it is nonetheless assumed that the middle temple was dedicated precisely to this supreme deity, so that on this basis one may speak of the existence of a Capitolium.

The eastern and western porticos were built in front of the temples in the second century; they were connected to the temple, and each other, by the staircase. During this time, the bath area was reduced and divided into several smaller rooms; a northern portal to the basilica was built, and it became a partially semi-circular exedra, while two new lateral portals were built on the northern wall. A portico was built on the eastern side of the basilica which connected it to the forum. The walls were decorated with a series of ornaments. Based on these modifications, one may conclude that in this phase the social factor, more than the hygienic-balneological, was emphasized in the baths.<sup>24</sup> A part of the

<sup>21</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 114; Sanader 2001, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 5-7.

<sup>22</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Gorenc 1984, 95-105; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40-41; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 12.

<sup>24</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 8; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>21</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 114; Sanader 2001, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 5-7.

<sup>22</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>23</sup> Gorenc 1984, 95-105; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 11; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40-41; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 12.

<sup>24</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 8; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

uglati bazen, dovratnici itd.) uklopljen je u Konstantinovsko kupalište te je sačuvao smjer pružanja i vanjsku konturu Antoninijanskog kupališta, a razlika je vidljiva i u teksturi i kvaliteti kamena, vezivnoj žbuci te nivou.<sup>25</sup>

U drugoj polovini 3. st. kapitolij i forum pretrpjeli su oštećenja za koja se pretpostavlja da su nastala provalom Gota.<sup>26</sup> Obnovom su produljeni bočni trjemovi, popločen je forum te promijenjen nivo kupališta.<sup>27</sup>

U 4. st. nastupila je najveća obnova naselja, o čemu nam svjedoči natpis koji spominje da je Konstantin dao obnoviti sve trjemove i ukrase (KAT. BR. 30).<sup>28</sup> Građevine iz ove faze simetrično su izgrađene duž osi sjever-jug, čineći tako jedinstvenu arhitektonsko-urbanističku cjelinu.<sup>29</sup> U ovom razdoblju naglasak je u potpunosti stavljen na društveno-representativnu ulogu foruma i obrednih prostora kapitolija. Forumu su dodana još dva trijema, a nimfej je uklonjen.<sup>30</sup> Forum je u ovo doba popločen za što su upotrijebljeni i spomenici iz ranijeg vremena.<sup>31</sup> Tih devet spomenika, koji su bili ugrađeni kao *spolia*, obuhvaćali su dva cijela postamenta, dio vijenca s profilacijom, te dva dijela žrtvenika koji nose natpis posvećen nimfama,<sup>32</sup> o kojemu će biti riječi kasnije. Treća faza hramova, koja se događa u ovo vrijeme, obuhvatila je prošir-

bath complex from this period (part of the semi-circular pool, an oblong angular pool, lintels, etc.) was incorporated into the Constantinian baths, and the orientation and external contours of the Antoninian baths was preserved, while a difference is nonetheless visible in the texture and quality of the stone, the binding mortar and the level.<sup>25</sup>

In the latter half of the third century, the Capitolium and forum sustained damage, caused – it is assumed – by a Goth incursion.<sup>26</sup> During renovations, the lateral porticos were extended, the forum was lined with tiles and the level of the baths was changed.<sup>27</sup>

The settlement underwent its most extensive reconstruction in the fourth century, as indicated by an inscription which mentions that Constantine commissioned the restoration of all porticos and decorations (CAT. NO. 30).<sup>28</sup> The buildings from this phase were symmetrically built along the north-south axis, thus forming a consolidated architectural/urban unit.<sup>29</sup> During this period, emphasis was placed squarely on the social and representational role of the forum and the ritual facilities of the Capitolium. Two more porticos were added to the forum, while the nymphaeum was removed.<sup>30</sup> At this time, the forum's surface was paved with stone, for which monuments from earlier periods were used.<sup>31</sup> These nine monuments, which were incorporated as *spolia*, encompassed two whole pedestals, a part of a cornice with articulation, and two components of an altar bearing

<sup>25</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>27</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 213.

<sup>29</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 278.

<sup>30</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>31</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11.

<sup>32</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1982, 70.

<sup>25</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 10.

<sup>26</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>27</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 15.

<sup>28</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Sanader 2001, 17; Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 213.

<sup>29</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 278.

<sup>30</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>31</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 19; Vikić, Gorenc 1969, 11.

renje i produljenje središnjeg hrama. Sjeverni trijem postao je prednjom stranom kapitolija,<sup>33</sup> a na njegovoj sjeveroistočnoj te sjeverozapadnoj strani izgrađena je po jedna manja pravokutna prostorija. Pretpostavlja se da je zapadna prostorija služila za carski kult, a da je u istočnoj bio smješten nimfej.<sup>34</sup>

U posljednjoj fazi, kupalište u potpunosti prestaje obnašati lječilišno-balneološku funkciju što je najočitije iz promjene funkcije same bazilike. Ona je u ovom razdoblju postala sakralni objekt.<sup>35</sup> Pridodan joj je oslikani narteks na južnoj strani, a glavna prostorija oslikana je kršćanskim freskama. Ipak, postoji pretpostavka da je kršćanstvo na ovo područje došlo već u vrijeme Konstantina, jer je tad već bazilika bila preuređena za potrebe kršćanskih obreda. Ako je ovo točna tvrdnja, tada je ranokršćanska crkva u Varaždinskim Toplicama najraniji primjerak dvoranske građevine s unutrašnjom apsidom na hrvatskim prostorima.<sup>36</sup> Stambeni dio naselja, smješten na padinama brežuljka, nije poštovao pravilan raster, već je bio raspoređen sukladno terenu. Današnje naselje nalazi se točno iznad antičkog pa su podaci o stambenoj arhitekturi vrlo oskudni te samim time nedovoljni za rekonstrukciju samog naselja. Ipak, mogu se prepoznati dvije faze gradnje. Prva, drvena faza, potječe iz 1. i 2. st. Ona je slijedila starosjedilačku tradiciju u načinu gradnje. Prostorije su pravokutnog oblika, izdužene, s podovima od gline ili dasaka.<sup>37</sup> Krovovi su bili izrađeni od šindre ili slame. Pronađena je keramika, domaća, ali i uvezena, metalni, stakleni, koštani i drveni predmeti.

<sup>33</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16.

<sup>34</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 9; Migotti 1994, 51; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40.

<sup>36</sup> Migotti 1999, 51, 73.

<sup>37</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

an inscription to the nymphs,<sup>32</sup> which will be further discussed below. The third phase of the temples, which transpired during this period, encompassed an expansion and deepening of the middle temple. The northern portico became the front of the Capitolium,<sup>33</sup> while small rectangular rooms were built on the north-eastern and north-western sides. It is assumed that the western room served the imperial cult, while the nymphaeum was accommodated in its eastern counterpart.<sup>34</sup>

In the last phase, the baths ceased performing their medicinal-balneological function, which was best reflected in the change in the function of the basilica itself. During this period it became a sacral building.<sup>35</sup> A painted narthex was added on the southern side, while the main chamber was painted over with Christian frescoes. Even so, according to one hypothesis, Christianity had already arrived in this area already during the reign of Constantine, for already at that time the basilica was remodelled for use in Christian rites. If this hypothesis proves correct, then the Early Christian church in Varaždinske Toplice would be the earliest example in the Croatian lands of a hall structure with internal apse.<sup>36</sup>

The residential portion of the settlement, situated on the slopes of a hill, did not adhere to an orderly layout, rather it was adapted to the terrain. The present-day settlement is situated just above the Roman-era one, so data on the latter's residential architecture are very meagre and thereby insufficient to ideally reconstruct the settlement itself. Even so, two architectural phases can be discerned. The first, wooden phase, dates to the first and second centuries. It adhered to the traditions of the original inhabitants in terms of construction

<sup>32</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1982, 70.

<sup>33</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 16.

<sup>34</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 9; Migotti 1994, 51; Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 40.

<sup>36</sup> Migotti 1999, 51, 73.

Pronađeni su i ostaci hrane. Po nalazima novca zaključuje se da je taj dio naselja uništen u doba Markomanskih ratova.<sup>38</sup> U 3. i 4. stoljeću drvenu gradnju zamijenila je kamena gradnja, o čemu svjedoči nalaz kamenih zidova. Nalazi keramike iz ovog sloja su vrlo brojni, ali pretežno domaće proizvodnje. Raznovrsnost i količina nađenog sitnog arheološkog materijala ukazuje na trgovišno-sajmeni karakter ovog dijela naselja.<sup>39</sup> Ovo naselje vjerojatno je uništeno u Teodosijevom ratničkom pohodu na Maksima u Petoviju.<sup>40</sup>

Ostaci otkriveni u parku lijepo su se uklopili u prirodni ambijent te imaju izvrstan potencijal za uređenje arheološkog parka. Iznad kupališta i bazilike postavljena je nadstrešnica, radi očuvanja i prezentacije,<sup>41</sup> a nakon arheološke i arhitektonske analize te, uz pomoć analognih primjera iz literature,<sup>42</sup> godine 1997. izrađene su i trodimenzionalne računalne rekonstrukcije tri funkcionalne cjeline kompleksa iz kasnocarskog razdoblja: forum s kapitolijem, kompleks kupališta te kupališna bazilika.<sup>43</sup> Upravo te rekonstrukcije daju uvid u to kako su nekoć izgledali, odnosno mogli izgledati, dijelovi naselja *Aquae Iasae*.

## 2. Epigrafska baština

U prethodnom poglavlju izneseni su objavljeni nalazi ovog poznatog termal-

techniques. The rooms were rectangular, oblong, with flooring made of clay or wooden boards.<sup>37</sup> The roofs were made of shingles or straw. Pottery, both locally made and imported, as well as metal, glass, bone and wooden articles were found. Remains of food were also discovered. Based on the coin finds, it has been concluded that this part of the settlement was destroyed during the Marcomanic Wars.<sup>38</sup> In the third and fourth centuries, wooden architecture was replaced with stone structures, to which the discovery of stone walls has testified. The pottery finds from this layer are quite numerous, but they are mostly locally made. The diversity and quantity of the tiny archaeological materials point to the market/fair character of this part of the settlement.<sup>39</sup> This settlement was probably destroyed during military campaign staged by Theodosius against Maximus in Poetovio.<sup>40</sup>

The remains discovered in the park fit nicely into the environment and display outstanding potential for the development of an archaeological park. An awning was installed above the baths and basilica for their preservation and presentation,<sup>41</sup> while after archaeological and architectural analysis and, with the help of analogous examples from the relevant literature,<sup>42</sup> a three-dimensional reconstruction of the three functional units of the complex from the early imperial period was made in 1997: the forum with Capitolium, and the bath complex with bath basilica.<sup>43</sup> It is pre-

<sup>37</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126.

<sup>38</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 45; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 20; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 216.

<sup>39</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić 1961, 48-49; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>40</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 22.

<sup>41</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 279; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan-Špalj 2005, 136; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 107.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. the work by Vitruvius, *De architectura libri decem*.

<sup>43</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 23; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 94-95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 109.

<sup>38</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 45; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 20; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 216.

<sup>39</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1986, 126; Vikić 1961, 48-49; Vikić-Belančić 1977, 38.

<sup>40</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 175; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 22.

<sup>41</sup> Kušan Špalj 2006, 279; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan-Špalj 2005, 136; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 107.

<sup>42</sup> Npr. Vitruvijevog djela *De architectura libri decem*.

<sup>43</sup> Nemeth-Ehrlich 1997, 23; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2003, 94-95; Nemeth-Ehrlich, Kušan Špalj 2006a, 109.



no-lječilišnog i rekreativnog centra. Ti nalazi vrlo dobro pokazuju kakvu je vrijednost imao ovaj kompleks u rimsko vrijeme. Potvrdu njegove vrijednosti nalazimo i u brojnim epigrafskim, posvetnim spomenicima pronađenim u Varaždinskim Toplicama.<sup>44</sup> Kako ondje nije pronađen niti jedan nadgrobni spomenik, nedostaju dokazi koji bi nam pružili uvid u društveni, gospodarski i kulturni život stanovnika Varaždinskih Toplica.<sup>45</sup> Ipak, važnost ovoga kompleksa naglašavaju kulturni spomenici koje su dali podići brojni, čak i vrlo ugledni, pripadnici rimskoga društva, kako bi, putem raznih božanstava, iznijeli zahvalu za svoje ozdravljenje. Iako *Aquae Iasae* nikada nisu dobile status municipija<sup>46</sup>, niti imale autonomnu urbanu strukturu, već su pripadale petovijskoj općini, zahvaljujući vlastitim prihodima uspjele su se razviti u prilično organiziranu urbanu cjelinu s forumom, kapitolijским hramom te velikim termalnim kompleksom s bazilikom (koja je kasnije prenamijenjena u kršćansku baziliku).<sup>47</sup>

## 2.1. Natpisi posvećeni nimfama, Dijani i silvanama

Najviše spomenika pronađenih u Varaždinskim Toplicama posvećeno je lokalnim zaštitnicama, ali i općenito zaštitnicama termalnih izvora - nimfama (KAT. BR. 1-14).<sup>48</sup> Na natpisima nimfe se javljaju bez atributa (KAT. BR. 1-5), s attri-

<sup>44</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173.

<sup>45</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

<sup>46</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68; Ovoj tvrdnji D. Rendića-Miočevića (Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68) suprotna je ona Š. Ljubića koji tvrdi da se na temelju natpisa navedenog u KAT. BR. 8 može pretpostaviti da su *Aquae Iasae* imale status municipija (Ljubić 1879, 41). No ja bih se ipak priklonila mišljenju Rendića-Miočevića, jer ne postoje dokazi koji bi potvrdili Ljubićevu pretpostavku.

<sup>47</sup> Migotti 1999, 61; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

<sup>48</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69.

cisely this reconstruction which provides some insight into the former appearance, or rather assumed appearance, of parts of the settlement of *Aquae Iasae*.

## 2. Epigraphic heritage

In the preceding section, the published finds from this well-known thermal/medical and recreational centre were presented. These finds demonstrate quite nicely the value accorded to this complex during the Roman era. A confirmation of this value can also be found in numerous epigraphic dedicatory monuments found in Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>44</sup> Since not a single gravestone has been found there, evidence is lacking which would provide some insight into the social, economic and cultural life of the residents of Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>45</sup> Nonetheless, the importance of this complex is underscored by the cult monuments which were commissioned by numerous, and even quite reputable, members of Roman society, in order to express gratitude for their good health via various deities. Even though *Aquae Iasae* was never granted the status of municipium,<sup>46</sup> nor did it have an autonomous urban structure, rather it was a component of the Poetovio municipium, thanks to its own revenues it did manage to grow into an organized urban unit with a forum, Capitoline temple and a large thermal complex with basilica (which was later repurposed into a Christian basilica).<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 173.

<sup>45</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

<sup>46</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68. This assertion by D. Rendić-Miočević (Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68) contradicts that of Š. Ljubić, who claimed that based on the inscription cited under CAT. NO. 8 it may be assumed that *Aquae Iasae* had the status of municipium (Ljubić 1879, 41). I prefer, however, the view of Rendić-Miočević, because there is no evidence that would back Ljubić's hypothesis.

<sup>47</sup> Migotti 1999, 61; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 68.

butom *iasae* (KAT. BR. 6, 7), s atributom *salutares* (KAT. BR. 8, 9), uz atribut *augustae* (KAT. BR. 10-13) te kao *salutares augustae* (KAT. BR. 14). Atribut jazejski spominje Duje Rendić-Miočević u svom članku objavljenom u Vjesniku Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu<sup>49</sup> te ga interpretira kao posvetu lokalnom božanstvu - nimfama, a ne u smislu nekog etničko-teritorijalnog značenja.<sup>50</sup> Atribut *salutares* ukazuje na primarnu funkciju nimfi, dakle, one donose zdravlje<sup>51</sup>, u čemu se očituje i funkcija ovih sumpornih izvora, odnosno Toplica. Atribut *augustae* često se susreće i uz druga božanstva<sup>52</sup>, jer predstavlja opću oznaku za božanska bića.<sup>53</sup> Najvažniji spomenik posvećen nimfama slavni je *Nymphaeum* pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama, s natpisom (KAT. BR. 12), koji svjedoči da je petovijska općina podigla nimfej *Nymhis Augustis* u 2. st.<sup>54</sup> Nimfej su krasile različite mitološke scene kao što su: Amfitrita na morskom grifonu, Europa jaše bika, Erot na hipokampu itd. Osim u Varaždinskim Toplicama, nimfe su bile štovane i u *Aquae Balissae*.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>50</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>51</sup> Giunio 2009, 157; Maršić 1998, 122; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 108.

<sup>52</sup> Za usporedbu zastupljenosti atributa *augustus*, tri na natpisima iz Varaždinskih Toplica i onih pronađenih na području Italije, pogledati članak: Gregori 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70; zanimljivo je primijetiti da se atribut *augustae* uz božanstva nimfe, na natpisima iz Varaždinskih Toplica, javlja čak pet puta, dok na području Rima nije pronađen niti jedan takav natpis. S druge strane, na području cijele Italije pronađeno je pet spomenika sa spomenom nimfi uz atribut *augustae* (Gregori 2009, 318)

<sup>54</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Šimek 2001, 43.

<sup>55</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; općenito o Nimfama u: Kossatz-Deissman 1992, 939.

## 2.1. Inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs, Diana and the Silvanae

Most monuments found in Varaždinske Toplice are dedicated to local patron deities, but also to the patron deities of thermal springs in general – the Nymphs (CAT. NO. 1-14).<sup>48</sup> In these inscriptions, the Nymphs appear without attributes (CAT. NO. 1-5), with the attributes *iasae* (CAT. NO. 6, 7), *salutares* (CAT. NO. 8, 9), *augustae* (CAT. NO. 10-13) and *salutares augustae* (CAT. NO. 14). The attribute *iasae* was mentioned by Duje Rendić-Miočević in his article published in journal of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (*Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*)<sup>49</sup> and interpreted it as a dedication to a local deity/the Nymphs and not in the sense of ethnic-territorial significance.<sup>50</sup> The attribute *salutares* indicates the primary function of Nymphs, i.e., they bring good health,<sup>51</sup> in which the function of these sulphur springs, the Toplice (which in Croatian means warm springs) is also reflected. The attribute *augustae* is often encountered together with other deities,<sup>52</sup> because it constitutes a general designation for divine beings.<sup>53</sup> The most important monument dedicated to Nymphs is the renowned *Nymphaeum* discovered in Varaždinske Toplice, bearing

<sup>48</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 69.

<sup>49</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>50</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70.

<sup>51</sup> Giunio 2009, 157; Maršić 1998, 122; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 108.

<sup>52</sup> For a comparison of the share of the attribute *augustus*, three on inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice and those found in Italian territory, see: Gregori 2009.

<sup>53</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 70; it is interesting to note that the attribute *augustae* accompanying the Nymph deities in the inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice appears five times, while in the territory of Rome not one such inscription was found. On the other hand, five monuments which mention nymphs accompanied by the attribute *augustae* were found in the entire territory of Italy (Gregori 2009, 318).

U Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađen je jedinstven natpis na kojem se nimfe spominju uz božicu Dijanu (KAT. BR. 17).<sup>56</sup> Na nekolicini natpisa spominju se silvane (*Silvanae*) (KAT. BR. 18-20). Silvan je, pak, najštovanije domaće božanstvo, duh ili genij u južnoj Panoniji i ostalim južno-ilirskim predjelima. On je jedino rimsko božanstvo koje ima dvojni karakter: božanstvo šuma i kultiviranih krajolika.<sup>57</sup> U Mursi je pronađeno pet Silvanovih žrtvenika na jednom mjestu, što nam ukazuje na moguće postojanje svetišta,<sup>58</sup> no najviše pronađenih oltara posvećenih Silvanu pronađeno je u Daruvaru, čime je potvrđeno da je mjesto bilo važno središte Silvanova kulta.<sup>59</sup> Silvan je štovan i u Topuskom, gdje se nalazio njegov hram i gdje je pronađeno dvanaestak oltara posvećenih tom božanstvu,<sup>60</sup> te u Sisku.<sup>61</sup> Najnoviji objavljeni nalaz zavjetni je natpis posvećen Silvanu Domestiku, pronađen u Vinkovcima 2007. godine, što je bio najpopularniji vid Silvana u Panoniji.<sup>62</sup> Prema dostupnim dokazima, Silvanu je posvećeno 257 natpisnih i 36 reljefnih spomenika pronađenih na tlu Panonije<sup>63</sup> (polovica njih potječe iz Akvinkuma i Karnuntuma, a veliki broj pronađen je u Brigeciju, Skarbanciji, Savariji i Vindoboni)<sup>64</sup> te je zanimljivo primijetiti da u Varaždinskim Toplicama nije pronađen niti jedan. Ipak, susreću se posvete silvanama, uz atribut *augustae*, koje

an inscription (CAT. NO. 12), which shows that the Poetovio municipium erected the nymphaeum *Nymhis Augustis* in the second century.<sup>54</sup> The nymphaeum was decorated by various mythical scenes, such as: Amfitrite on a griffin, Europa riding the bull, Eros on a hippocampus, etc. Besides Varaždinske Toplice, the Nymphs were also worshipped in Aquae Balissae.<sup>55</sup>

A unique inscription was found in Varaždinske Toplice in which the Nymphs are mentioned together with the goddess Diana (CAT. NO. 17).<sup>56</sup> The *Silvanae* are mentioned in several inscriptions (CAT. NO. 18-20). *Silvanus* was the most revered local deity, the spirit and genius in southern Pannonia and other southern Illyrian regions. He is the only Roman deity with a dual character: a god of the forests and of cultivated landscapes.<sup>57</sup> Five altars dedicated to *Silvanus* were found in one site in Mursa, which points to the possible existence of a shrine,<sup>58</sup> but the most altars dedicated to *Silvanus* were found in Daruvar, which confirms that this site was an important centre of the cult of *Silvanus*.<sup>59</sup> *Silvanus* was venerated in Topusko as well, where his temple was located and where about a dozen altars dedicated to him were discovered,<sup>60</sup> and in Sisak.<sup>61</sup> The most recent published find is a votive inscription dedicated to *Silvanus Domesticus*, discovered in Vinkovci in 2007, which

<sup>54</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Šimek 2001, 43.

<sup>55</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; on Nymphs in general, see: Kossatz-Deissman 1992, 939.

<sup>56</sup> Fitz 1980, 165; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>57</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 166; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 119; Thomas 1980, 179, 180; for more on *Silvanus*, see: Nagy 1994, 763-773.

<sup>58</sup> Sanader 2008, 182.

<sup>59</sup> Pinterović 1975, 70; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>60</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 9.

<sup>61</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>56</sup> Fitz 1980, 165; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>57</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 166; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 119; Thomas 1980, 179, 180; više o *Silvanu* u: Nagy 1994, 763-773.

<sup>58</sup> Sanader 2008, 182.

<sup>59</sup> Pinterović 1975, 70; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>60</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 9.

<sup>61</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178; Rendić-Miočević 1980, 110.

<sup>62</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 165.

<sup>63</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 169.

<sup>64</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178.

predstavljaju *numina* srodna nimfama, vrlo bliska iliričko-panonskom božanstvu Silvanu<sup>65</sup>, a koje su bile božice prirode i šuma, te čuvarice i darovateljice zdravlja, stoga ih se povezuje i s termalnim izvorima.<sup>66</sup> Silvanama su zahvale iznijele dvije žene, Kornelija i Pompeja (KAT. BR. 18, 19), po čijim se gentilicijima daje zaključiti da su pripadale višem sloju društva.<sup>67</sup> Posvete silvanama također su pronađene u susjednim sredinama, poput Daruvara, gdje nalazimo posvete Silvanu i silvanama te njihove reljefne prikaze.<sup>68</sup>

Dijana, često štovana u Panoniji, božica je lova, šuma te zaštitnica divljih životinja.<sup>69</sup> Posveta italskoj božici Dijani, osim uz nimfe, susreće se na dva spomenika (KAT. BR. 15, 16). KAT. BR. 16 predstavlja posvetu Dijani,<sup>70</sup> uz atribut *augusta*, a u KAT. BR. 15 Dijanino se ime spominje uz epitete *domina et dea*.

## 2.2. Natpisi posvećeni Fortuni i kapitoljskoj trijadi

KAT. BR. 21 predstavlja natpis posvećen Fortuni Augusti. Postavio ga je centurion XIII. legije koji je podrijetlom iz mezijuskog grada Oeska u kojem se nalazilo Fortunino svetište. Moguće je da je taj grad bio izvor Fortunina kulta i u ovom središtu.<sup>71</sup> KAT. BR. 22 nepotpun je natpis na kojemu je sačuvana samo posveta Fortuni. U južnoj Panoniji ukupno je pronađeno najmanje pet oltara posvećenih ovoj božici, dok Ante Rendić-Miočević i Marina Šegvić pretpo-

was the most popular aspect of Silvanus in Pannonia.<sup>62</sup> According to available evidence, 257 inscriptions and 36 relief monuments found in Pannonian territory are dedicated to Silvanus<sup>63</sup> (half of them are from Aquincum and Carnuntum, while a high number was found in Brigetio, Scarbantia, Savaria and Vindobona)<sup>64</sup> and it is interesting to note that not one was found in Varaždinske Toplice. Nonetheless, there are dedications to the Silvanae, accompanied by the attribute *augustae*, which constituted a *numina* similar to Nymphs, very close to the Illyrian-Pannonian deity Silvanus,<sup>65</sup> and who were goddesses of nature and forests, and protectors and givers of good health, and thus also associated with thermal springs.<sup>66</sup> Two women expressed thanks to the Silvanae, Cornelia and Pompeia (CAT. NO. 18, 19), whose gentilicia point to the conclusion that they belonged to a higher social class.<sup>67</sup> Dedications to the Silvanae were also discovered in neighbouring areas, such as Daruvar, where dedications to Silvanus and the Silvanae and their relief images can be found.<sup>68</sup>

Diana, often venerated in Pannonia, is the goddess of the hunt, forests and the protector of wild animals.<sup>69</sup> Dedications to the Italic goddess Diana, in addition to being accompanied by Nymphs, can also be seen on two monuments (CAT. NO. 15, 16). CAT. NO. 16 is a dedication to Diana,<sup>70</sup> with the attribute *augusta*, while in CAT. NO. 15 Diana's name is mentioned with the epithet *domina et dea*.

<sup>65</sup> Dzino 2013, 263.

<sup>66</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Schejbal 2003, 404.

<sup>67</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Sanader 2008, 182; *Silvano M(agno)/ et Silvanae*

<sup>69</sup> Thomas 1980, 180.

<sup>70</sup> Općenito o Dijani u: Simon, Bauchhenss 1984, 792-854.

<sup>71</sup> Sanader 2008, 72.

<sup>62</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 165.

<sup>63</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 169.

<sup>64</sup> Perinić Muratović, Vulić 2009, 178.

<sup>65</sup> Dzino 2013, 263.

<sup>66</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; Schejbal 2003, 404.

<sup>67</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>68</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1980, 106; Sanader 2008, 182; *Silvano M(agno)/ et Silvanae*.

<sup>69</sup> Thomas 1980, 180.

<sup>70</sup> On Diana in general: Simon, Bauchhenss 1984, 792-854.

stavljaju da ih ima mnogo više. Brončana statua iz Vinkovaca te dvije pronađene u Ščitarjevu dokazuju važnost njezina kulta u južnoj Panoniji.<sup>72</sup>

Na jednom spomeniku (KAT. BR. 23) Fortuna se spominje u zajednici s Junonom<sup>73</sup>, koju prati epitet *regina*. Zanimljivo je da samoj Junoni, kraljici bogova i zaštitnici braka,<sup>74</sup> nije posvećen niti jedan natpis pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama.<sup>75</sup> No Junonino se ime ne javlja često niti u ostalim dijelovima Panonije. Dosad su, uz natpis iz Varaždinskih Toplica, zabilježena još tri natpisa s njezinim imenom, koje prati epitet *Regina* ili *Augusta*.<sup>76</sup>

Još jedno važno rimsko božanstvo predstavlja Minerva, božica rata i mudrosti,<sup>77</sup> koja je imala svoj hram u Varaždinskim Toplicama, a koja je također zastupljena u akvejzejskim epigrafskim spomenicima. Statua Minerve i njezina baza (KAT. BR. 24), izrađene od pohorskog mramora, potječu iz kiparskog kruga koji pripada općem kompleksu noričko-panonske umjetnosti. Središta ovog kruga su Celje, Šempeter, Ptuj, Maribor te Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>78</sup> U samom natpisu Minervu prati atribut *augusta*. Ipak, postoje interpretacije da se uz njezino ime nalazi još i atribut *medica*, tumačenje kratice *M*, u skladu s termalnim kompleksom unutar kojeg je pronađena. Iako *M* na kraju riječi *Minerva* postoji, ja bih ipak bila sklona tumačenju D. Rendića-Miočevića da je riječ o formuli kojom se dedikacija izražava u akuzativu (*Minervam augustam*).<sup>79</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; općenito o Fortuni u: Rausa 1997, 125-141.

<sup>73</sup> Općenito o Junoni u: La Rocca 1990, 814-856.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

<sup>75</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Fitz 1980, 164; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

<sup>78</sup> Gorenc 1971, 18; Gorenc 1984, 96.

<sup>79</sup> Ista formula javlja se i u KAT. BR. 9.

## 2.2. Inscriptions dedicated to Fortuna and the Capitoline Triad

CAT. NO. 21 is an inscription is dedicated to Fortuna Augusta. It was commissioned by a centurion of *legio XIII* who was originally from the Moesian town of Oescus in which there was a shrine to Fortuna. It is possible that this town was the source of Fortuna's cult in this area as well.<sup>71</sup> CAT. NO. 22 is an incomplete inscription in which only the dedication to Fortuna was preserved. In southern Pannonia a total of five altars dedicated to this goddess were found, while Ante Rendić-Miočević and Marina Šegvić speculated that there may be many more. The bronze statue from Vinkovci and two found in Ščitarjevo demonstrate the importance of her cult in southern Pannonia.<sup>72</sup>

On one monument (CAT. NO. 23), Fortuna is mentioned together with Juno,<sup>73</sup> who is accompanied by the epithet *regina*. It is interesting that Juno herself, the queen of the gods and protector of marriage,<sup>74</sup> has not a single inscription dedicated to her in Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>75</sup> But neither does Juno's name appear frequently in other parts of Pannonia. Thus far, besides the inscription of Varaždinske Toplice, three more inscriptions bearing her name have been recorded which are accompanied by the epithet *Regina* or *Augusta*.<sup>76</sup>

Another important Roman deity is Minerva, the goddess of war and wisdom,<sup>77</sup> who had her temple in Varaždinske Toplice, and who is also present in the Aquae Iasae epigraphic monuments. The statue of Minerva and its base (CAT. NO. 24), made of Pohorje marble, originated in the sculptural circle which be-

<sup>71</sup> Sanader 2008, 72.

<sup>72</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8; on Fortuna in general: Rausa 1997, 125-141.

<sup>73</sup> On Juno in general: La Rocca 1990, 814-856.

<sup>74</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

<sup>75</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 71.

<sup>76</sup> Fitz 1980, 164; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas 1980, 184.

Osim toga, taj se epitet na ostalim pronađenim spomenicima (zabilježeno na jednom placentinskom natpisu (CIL XI 1306), te na rimskom (CIL VI 10155)), uz njezino ime, javlja u cijelosti (*Medica*), a ne u kratici, tako da se teško može prihvatiti ova interpretacija.<sup>80</sup> U Panoniji je zabilježeno ukupno osam njezinih spomenika, češće u obliku skulpture nego na samim natpisima. Pored statue i natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica važno mjesto među brončanom figuralnom plastikom zauzima statua Minerve iz Grbavca, blizu Grubišnog polja.<sup>81</sup>

Zanimljivo je, pak, primijetiti kako u Varaždinskim Toplicama nije pronađen niti jedan natpis s posvetom vrhovnom bogu Jupiteru,<sup>82</sup> a s obzirom na to da je njegov hram središnji od tri pronađena hrama, kao što tvrde Gorenc i Vikić.<sup>83</sup> Jupiterov kult bio je vrlo raširen u Panoniji, a najveća je koncentracija natpisa posvećenih Jupiteru u gradovima i mjestima duž važnijih rimskih prometnica u kojima su bila središta rimskog upravnog sustava. Najviše natpisa pronađeno je na području Murse i njezinog agera (22) te na području Siscije (20). Brojni natpisi pronađeni su u okolici Varaždina i Krapine, na području Metuluma, u *Aquis Balissis*, na području Cibala te u Andautoniji.<sup>84</sup> Ipak, moguće je da je razlog nepostojanja natpisa posvećenog Jupiteru u Varaždinskim Toplicama još uvijek nedovoljna istražnost.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73.

<sup>81</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7, 8.; općenito o Minervi u: Canciani 1984, 1074-1110.

<sup>82</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Thomas 1980, 183.

<sup>83</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

<sup>84</sup> Sinobad 2010, 149.

<sup>85</sup> Općenito o Jupiteru i kapitoljskoj trijadi u: Canciani 1997, 421-470.

longs to the general complex of Noric-Pannonian art. The hub of this circle was in Celje, Šempeter, Ptuj, Maribor and Varaždinske Toplice.<sup>78</sup> In the inscription itself, Minerva is accompanied by the attribute *augusta*. Nonetheless, according to one interpretation the attribute *medica*, based on the letter *M*, also accompanies her name, in compliance with the thermal complex within which it was discovered. Even though there is an *M* at the end of the word *Minerva*, I prefer the interpretation of D. Rendić-Miočević, according to which this is a formula in which the dedication is expressed in the accusative case (*Minervam augustam*).<sup>79</sup> Additionally, this epithet on the remaining discovered monuments (recorded on a Placentine inscription (CIL XI 1306), and on a Roman one (CIL VI 10155)), appears next to her name in its entirety (*Medica*), and not abbreviated, making it difficult to accept this interpretation.<sup>80</sup> In Pannonia a total of eight of her monuments have been recorded, more often as sculptures than in actual inscriptions. Besides the statue and inscription from Varaždinske Toplice, the statue of Minerva from Grbavac, near Grubišno Polje, has an important place among bronze figural sculpture.<sup>81</sup>

It is, however, interesting to note that not a single inscription with a dedication to the supreme deity Jupiter has been found in Varaždinske Toplice,<sup>82</sup> particularly given that his was the middle temple of the three found, as Gorenc and Vikić assert.<sup>83</sup> Jupiter's cult was very widespread in Pannonia, and the highest concentration of inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter was found in the cities and other settlements all along the major Roman thoroughfares which served as the centres of

<sup>78</sup> Gorenc 1971, 18; Gorenc 1984, 96.

<sup>79</sup> The same formula also appears in CAT. NO. 9.

<sup>80</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73.

<sup>81</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 7, 8; on Minerva in general: Canciani 1984, 1074-1110.

<sup>82</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Thomas 1980, 183.

<sup>83</sup> Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 12.

### 2.3. Natpisi posvećeni Poluksu, Herkulu i Solu

Božanstvo kojega se moli za ozdravljenje je i Poluks<sup>86</sup> (KAT. BR. 25) od kojega oslobođenik Menander traži zdravlje za Lucija Kasija Cilona, njegova patrona.

U Toplicama se javljaju posvete i Herkulu (KAT. BR. 26) te Solu (KAT. BR. 27). Herkul<sup>87</sup> je štovan u južnim dijelovima Panonije još od ranog Carstva te je služio kako bi promovirao kult cara među vojnicima. Na natpisu se spominje uz atribut *augustus*. Njegov kult ima brojne potvrde, šest natpisa i trinaest figuralnih prikaza (dva reljefa i trinaest skulptura, kamenih i brončanih). Najpoznatije statue su one iz Siska te iz Murščaka, nedaleko od Čakovca.<sup>88</sup> D. Rendić-Miočević smatra da su oba božanstva bila prikazana kao heroizirani mladići-ratnici na topličkom nimfeju, koji je dala podići petovijska općina (kao i pojedine posvete), pod čijom su se jurisdikcijom nalazile Varaždinske Toplice. Posvete Solu vrlo su rijetke. Na žrtveniku reljefa pronađenom u Ptuj u nalazi se dedikacija ovom božanstvu,<sup>89</sup> a nekolicina posveta Solu pronađena je i u Sisku, iako uvijek u zajednici s drugim bogovima.<sup>90</sup> Pronalazak natpisa s imenom boga Sola u Varaždinskim Toplicama ukazuje na štovanje Sola kao boga zdravlja, a za vrijeme cara Aurelijana Sol je proglašen vrhovnim državnim bogom te je postao zaštitnikom vojske, čiji su članovi bili najčešći posjetitelji Toplica.<sup>91</sup>

Mnoštvo božanstava i numina koje se susreću na posvetnim oltarima u Varaždinskim Toplicama daje uvid u kulturni, druš-

the Roman administrative system. The most inscriptions were found in the territory of Mursa and its ager (22) and in the area of Siscia (20). Numerous inscriptions found in the vicinity of Varaždin and Krapina, in the area of Metulum, in Aquis Balissis, in Cibalae and in Andautonia.<sup>84</sup> Nonetheless, it is possible that the reason for the absence of inscriptions dedicated to Jupiter in Varaždinske Toplice is simply due to insufficient research.<sup>85</sup>

### 2.3. Inscriptions dedicated to Pollux, Hercules and Sol

Pollux<sup>86</sup> is another deity to whom prayers for healing were also conveyed (CAT. NO. 25) by the freedman Menander for the health of Lucius Fabius Cilon, his patron.

Dedications to Hercules (CAT. NO. 26) and Sol (CAT. NO. 27) were also found in Toplice. Hercules<sup>87</sup> was revered in the southern parts of Pannonia since the early Empire, and he served to promote the cult of the emperor among soldiers. In the inscription he is mentioned with the attribute *augustus*. His cult has numerous confirmations, six inscriptions and thirteen figural portrayals (two relief images and thirteen sculptures, both stone and bronze). The best known statues are those from Sisak and Murščak, not far from Čakovec.<sup>88</sup> D. Rendić-Miočević believes that both deities were shown as heroic warrior-youths in the Toplice Nymphaeum, which was raised by the Poetovio municipium (as well as individual dedications), which had jurisdiction over Varaždinske Toplice. Dedications to Sol are very rare. The altar on a relief found in Ptuj features a dedication to

<sup>84</sup> Sinobad 2010, 149.

<sup>85</sup> On Jupiter and the Capitoline Triad in general: Canciani 1997, 421-470.

<sup>86</sup> On Pollux in general: Gury 1986, 608-635.

<sup>87</sup> On Hercules in general: Boardman, Palagia, Woodford, 1988, 728-838; Balmaseda 1990, 5-262.

<sup>88</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8.

<sup>86</sup> Općenito o Poluksu u: Gury 1986, 608-635.

<sup>87</sup> Općenito o Herkulu u: Boardman, Palagia, Woodford, 1988, 728-838; Balmaseda 1990, 5-262.

<sup>88</sup> Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 8.

<sup>89</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73; općenito o Solu u: Letta 1988, 592-625.

<sup>90</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.

tveni i kulturni aspekt mjesta, ali i okolice s kojom je lječilište bilo vrlo usko povezano. Raznolikost bogova koji su čuvali i štitili ovo mjesto te ozdravljali ljude koji su ga pohodili iz određenih razloga, pruža uvid u kulturni aspekt mjesta, dok same posvete različitim božanstvima daju uvid u mnoštvo ljudi koji su pohodili ovo mjesto i samim time govore o društvenom aspektu mjesta. Raznolikost oltara, skulptura i hramova, koji su krasili mjesto i činili ga ljepšim i atraktivnijim posjetiocima, svjedoči o kulturnom aspektu Varaždinskih Toplica.

#### 2.4. Dedicanti

Osim božanstava kojima su bili posvećeni oltari, važno mjesto u životu naselja i lječilišta imaju i sami dedikanti. U Varaždinskim su Toplicama najčešći dedikanti pripadnici rimske vojske, od običnih vojnika do onih koji su obnašali važne vojne funkcije. Ovi vojnici pripadali su legijama koje su boravile u susjednim gradovima i naseljima, a koji su se u Toplicama zatekli službeno ili privatno. Najčešće su služili u XIII. legiji Gemini (KAT. BR. 5, 9), XIII. legiji Gemini (KAT. BR. 21, 28) te u XXII. legiji (KAT. BR. 9). No posjetioци Toplica ipak nisu bili samo vojnici već i građani.<sup>92</sup>

KAT. BR. 5 donosi natpis koji je Marko Fabije Fabul posvetio nimfama. Uz Fabulovo ime stoji više magistratura. Prva je navedena *tribunus militum*.<sup>93</sup> Vojni su tribuni u vrijeme Carstva bili postavljani iz senatorskih redova, jer su, prije početka političke karijere bili primorani odslužiti godinu dana kao časnici, ili iz redova vitezova, otkuda su izabirani oni koji su već ispunili godinu službe.<sup>94</sup> Birać ih je

<sup>92</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74.

<sup>93</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 128; Fitz 1993, 90; Holder 1980, 75-77, 82; Keppie 2005, 150; Matijašić 2002, 118; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 359.

<sup>94</sup> Allen 1908, 8.

this deity,<sup>89</sup> and a few dedications to Sol were also found in Sisak, although always in concert with other gods.<sup>90</sup> The discovery of an inscription containing the name of the god Sol in Varaždinske Toplice indicates worship of Sol as a god of health, while during the reign of Emperor Aurelian, Sol was proclaimed a supreme state god and he became a protector of the army, whose members often visited Toplice.<sup>91</sup>

The multitude of deities and *numina* seen on the dedicatory altars in Varaždinske Toplice provide an insight into the cultic, social, and cultural aspect of the site, as well as the milieu to which the spa was closely tied. The diversity of gods who watched over and protected this place and healed the people who visited it for specific reasons provide insight into the cultic aspect of the location, while the actual dedications to the deities provide insight into the multitude of people who came here and thereby indicate the social aspect of this place. The diversity of altars, sculptures and temples which adorned the place and made it more beautiful and attractive to visitors testifies to the cultural aspect of Varaždinske Toplice.

#### 2.4. Dedicants

Besides the deities to whom altars were dedicated, the dedicants themselves also played an important role in the life of the settlement and spa. In Varaždinske Toplice, the most common dedicants were members of the Roman army, from ordinary soldiers to those who performed important military functions. These soldiers belonged to the legions that were stationed in neighbouring towns and settlements, and who visited Toplice either officially or privately. They most often served in *legio XIII Gemina* (CAT. NO. 5, 9), *legio XIII Gemina* (CAT. NO. 21, 28) and *legio*

<sup>89</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 73; on Sol in general: Letta 1988, 592-625.

<sup>90</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.

<sup>91</sup> Migotti 1999, 55.



car, a bili su vođe legije pod upravljanjem legijskog legata. U vojsci je bilo vojnih tribuna bez ikakvog zapovjedništva. Kao znak službe nosili su zlatni prsten.<sup>95</sup> Prvim senatorskim dužnostima, vojni tribuni, kao najniži pripremni stupanj u vojnoj hijerarhiji, imali su pristup tek poslije dvadeset i pete godine života.<sup>96</sup> Sljedeća navedena titula *legatus Augusti provinciae Africae pro praetore* koja nam kazuje da je bio upravitelj provincije Afrike. Naime, upravo su *legati Augusti pro praetore* upravljali carskim provincijama, car ih je imenovao na neodređeno vrijeme, a ovisno o značaju provincije. Bili su ili nekadašnji konzuli ili pretori odgovorni za civilno upravljanje i obranu provincije, a mogli su biti na čelu i do četiri legije te upravljati nekolicinom pomoćnih postrojbi.<sup>97</sup> *Legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae* nam još jednom dokazuje da je bio na čelu legije i to *XIII Gemine*.

Flavije Hermadion<sup>98</sup>, čije ime spominje natpis u KAT. BR. 6, uz svoje ime navodi da je on *circitor vectigalis Illyrici*, funkcija koja nam do danas nije u potpunosti jasna. Nagadanja su da je ova funkcija mogla biti vezana uz nadzorne poslove te poreze, odnosno da su bili svojevrsni podružni inspektori.<sup>99</sup> Pretpostavka je da se u Ptuj u nalazila njihova postaja.<sup>100</sup>

Julije Maksim dao je podići oltar nimfama (KAT. BR. 8) na kojem je navedeno da je on *decurio municipii*, no budući da natpis nije sačuvan u cjelini, nije nam sa-

*XXII* (CAT. NO. 9). But the visitors to Toplice were not only soldiers but also citizens.<sup>92</sup>

CAT. NO. 5 is an inscription dedicated to the nymphs by Marcus Fabius Fabullus. His named is accompanied by several magistratures. The first specified is *tribunus militum*.<sup>93</sup> Military tribunes at the time of the Empire were appointed from among the ranks of senators – because prior to the commencement of their political careers they were required to serve one year as officers – or from among the ranks of knights, whence those who had already fulfilled a year of service were selected.<sup>94</sup> They were selected by the emperor, and they were leaders of the legions administered by a legionary legate. There were military tribunes in the army without any manner of command. They wore a golden ring as an insignia of their service.<sup>95</sup> Military tribunes, as the lowest preparatory stage in the military hierarchy, only had access to genuine senatorial duties after reaching the age of twenty-five.<sup>96</sup> The next title cited on the inscription is *legatus Augusti provinciae Africae pro praetore*, which shows that he was the administrator of the province of Africa. For it was in fact the *legati Augusti pro praetore* who administered the imperial provinces; the emperor appointed them for an indefinite period, which depended on the importance of the province. They were either former consuls or praetorians responsible for civil administration and defence of a province, and they could have stood at the head of as many as four legions and also administer several auxiliary units.<sup>97</sup> *Legatus Augusti legionis XIII Geminae* once more proves that he was at the head of a le-

<sup>95</sup> Musić 1942, 133.

<sup>96</sup> Matijašić 2002, 118.

<sup>97</sup> Fitz 1980a, 134; Fitz 1993, 126; Keppie 2005, 160; Levick 2001, 10; Lintott 1993, 121-122; Musić 1942, 126; Pinterović 1978, 34; Southern 2006, 59, 331.

<sup>98</sup> Ime Flavija Hermadiona posvjedočeno je na još dva natpisa: *ILJug* 1145 (Ptuj) te *CIL* VI731 (Rim)

<sup>99</sup> Aubert 1994, 330; France 1993, 914; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Walser 1994, 85.

<sup>100</sup> Cagnat 1882, 38.

<sup>92</sup> Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74.

<sup>93</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 128; Fitz 1993, 90; Holder 1980, 75-77, 82; Keppie 2005, 150; Matijašić 2002, 118; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 359.

<sup>94</sup> Allen 1908, 8.

<sup>95</sup> Musić 1942, 133.

<sup>96</sup> Matijašić 2002, 118.

<sup>97</sup> Fitz 1980a, 134; Fitz 1993, 126; Keppie 2005, 160; Levick 2001, 10; Lintott 1993, 121-122; Musić 1942, 126; Pinterović 1978, 34; Southern 2006, 59, 331.

čuvano kojeg je municipija bio dekurion. Šime Ljubić smatra da taj natpis dokazuje kako su *Aquae Iasae* uživale prava municipija,<sup>101</sup> ali s obzirom na nepotpunost natpisa i nedostatak drugih dokaza, ova pretpostavka se ne može potvrditi. Dekurioni su bili članovi općinskog vijeća u provincijskim gradovima, koje je bilo odgovorno Senatu u Rimu.<sup>102</sup> Bili su bivši magistrati te vrlo utjecajni građani. Kako su bili skupljači poreza (u vrijeme Carstva) od njih se očekivala velikodušnost te su sami financirali brojne obnove i gradnje u gradovima.<sup>103</sup> Po tome možemo zaključiti da je Julije Maksim bio važan član rimskog društva.

Marko Rutilije Lup (KAT. BR. 9) bio je *tribunus militum* XXII. legije, *legatus Augusti* XIII. Gemine te *quaestor* i *tribunus plebis*. Kvestori su bili magistrati koji su, kao pomoćnici konzula, imali nadzor nad sudstvom (zločinima - *quaestores paricidii*) te financijama (*quaestores aeraarii*), a bili su odgovorni konzulu.<sup>104</sup> Pučki tribuni su u carsko vrijeme bili ovisni o carevima te su im služili da ojačaju svoju carsku moć. Bilo ih je deset, birali su se na godinu dana, a imali su vlast nad zakonodavstvom i sudstvom.<sup>105</sup> U svojoj vojnoj karijeri bio je i na čelu XIII. legije Gemine.

Elije Viktorin bio je *beneficiarius consularis* (KAT. BR. 11). Konzularni beneficijari su pripadali nižim časnici. Naime, bili su izuzeti od svakodnevnih dužnosti u legiji te stavljeni na raspolaganje provincijskom namjesniku, koji ih je radi javne sigurnosti razmještao po važnim točkama i raskrižjima glavnih cesta, te u gospodarska i trgovačka središta. Bili su zaduženi

gion, XIII *Gemina*.

Flavius Hermadion,<sup>98</sup> whose name is mentioned in the inscription in CAT. NO. 6, specified that he was *circitor vectigalis Illyrici*, a function that is not entirely clear to this day. There is speculation that this function may have been tied to inspectorial duties and taxes, or they were some type of regional inspectors.<sup>99</sup> It is assumed that they had a station in Ptuj.<sup>100</sup>

Julius Maximus commissioned an altar to the nymphs (CAT. NO. 8) on which it states that he was a *decurio municipii*, but since the inscription has not been fully preserved, the name of the municipium in which he was decurion cannot be seen. Šime Ljubić believed that this inscription showed that *Aquae Iasae* enjoyed the status of a genuine municipium,<sup>101</sup> but given the incomplete nature of the inscription and the lack of other evidence, this hypothesis cannot be confirmed. Decurions were the members of municipal councils in provincial cities who were accountable to the Senate in Rome.<sup>102</sup> They were former magistrates and very influential citizens. Since they were tax collectors (at the time of the Empire), munificence was expected of them and they personally financed a great deal of construction and renovation in the cities.<sup>103</sup> It may therefore be concluded that Julius Maximus was an important member of Roman society.

Marcus Rutilius Lupus (CAT. NO. 9) was *tribunus militum* of *legio XXII*, *legatus Augusti* of XIII *Gemina* and *quaestor* and *tribunus plebis*. Quaestors were magistrates who, as assistants to a consul, they oversaw the courts (investigating capital crimes – *quae-*

<sup>101</sup> Ljubić 1879, 41.

<sup>102</sup> Matijašić 2002, 120.

<sup>103</sup> Grimal 1968, 431; Lintott 1993, 134.

<sup>104</sup> Cagnat 1914, 94; Grimal 1968, 457; Keppie 2005, 189; Lintott 1993, 145; Richardson 2001, 29, 37, 62, 86; Southern 2006, 332, 340.

<sup>105</sup> Keppie 2005, 188; Musić 1942, 120.

<sup>98</sup> Flavius Hermadion's name appeared in two other inscriptions: *ILJug* 1145 (Ptuj) te *CIL* VI731 (Rome).

<sup>99</sup> Aubert 1994, 330; France 1993, 914; Rendić-Miočević 1992, 74; Walser 1994, 85.

<sup>100</sup> Cagnat 1882, 38.

<sup>101</sup> Ljubić 1879, 41.

<sup>102</sup> Matijašić 2002, 120.

<sup>103</sup> Grimal 1968, 431; Lintott 1993, 134.

za sigurnost i zaštitu prometa, transport robe i rude te za nadzor sigurnosti carinskih postaja.<sup>106</sup> Po završetku službe, običavali su na mjestu službe podizati zavjetne žrtvenike, u čast raznih božanstava.<sup>107</sup>

KAT. BR. 12 prikazuje spomenik koji je petovijska općina podigla u čast nimfama, a po nalogu Lucija Tulija Tuska koji je bio *legatus Auggustorum pro praetore*, odnosno propretorski legat kojeg je car, odnosno, u ovom slučaju, carevi, postavio za upravitelja provincije.<sup>108</sup> Ovaj kataloški broj spominje i Tita Geminija Rufina koji je bio *procurator Auggustorum* (carski prokurator), odnosno skupljač poreza.<sup>109</sup> Titule *legatus Auggustorum* te *procurator Auggustorum* nam ukazuju da su u to vrijeme vladala dva cara. Iz djela Ivana Krstitelja Tkalčića saznajemo da je to bila vladavina Marka Aurelija Antonina Filozofa i Lucija Aurelija Vera Komoda te nam to pomaže datirati ovaj natpis između 161. i 170. godine.

Tit Flavije Domicije Valerijan, kojeg spominje natpis u KAT. BR. 21, bio je *centurio legionarius*, odnosno legijski centurion u XIII. legiji Gemini, a taj je čin postigao *ad suffragium*, odnosno glasanjem, a ne imenovanjem od višeg časnika, što je češći način stjecanja čina. Centurioni su bili zapovjednici centurija.<sup>110</sup>

Lucije Klaudije Moderat, KAT. BR. 24, bio je *decurio coloniae Claudiae Savaariae* te *decurio municipii Aeli Sallae*

<sup>106</sup> Aubert 1994, 384; Dobruna-Salih 2013, 219, 220; Domaszewski 1908, 32; Fitz 1980a, 128; Nélis-Clément 2000, 78, 80; Ott 1995, 30-32; Perinić Muratović 2004, 101; Southern 2006, 335.

<sup>107</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86.

<sup>108</sup> Lintott 1993, 121-122; Matijašić 2002, 119; Musić 1942, 126.

<sup>109</sup> Cagnat 1914, 113; Demougin 1988, 722; Lintott 1993, 122; Matijašić 2002, 120; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 323, 389; Musić 1942, 126; Richardson 2001, 62, 85; Slootjes 2006, 37.

<sup>110</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 80-112; Musić 1942, 133.

*stores parricidii*) and finances (*quaestores aerarii*), and they were accountable to the consul.<sup>104</sup> Plebeian tribunes were dependent on the emperor in the imperial era, and they were used by the emperor to reinforce his authority. There were of ten of them, they were appointed for a term of one year, and they had authority over legislation and the judiciary.<sup>105</sup> In his military career he was at the head of *legio XIII Gemina*.

Aelius Victorinus was a *beneficiarius consularis* (CAT. NO. 11). Consular *beneficarii* were among the lower-ranking officers. They were exempted from everyday duties in a legion and placed at the disposal of the provincial consul, who in the interest of public safety posted them at important points and intersections of major roads, and in hubs of the economy and commerce. They were charged with the safety and protection of traffic, transportation of goods and ores and supervision of the security of customs stations.<sup>106</sup> Upon the end of their service, they customarily raised votive altars at the site of their service in honour of various deities.<sup>107</sup>

CAT. NO. 12 shows a monument raised to the nymphs by the Poetovio municipium at the behest of Lucius Tullius Tuscus, who was *legatus Auggustorum pro praetore*, or propraetorian legate appointed by the emperor or, in this case, emperors, to administer a province.<sup>108</sup> This catalogue number also mentions Titus Geminus Rufinus, who was *procurator Auggustorum* (imperial procurator),

<sup>104</sup> Cagnat 1914, 94; Grimal 1968, 457; Keppie 2005, 189; Lintott 1993, 145; Richardson 2001, 29, 37, 62, 86; Southern 2006, 332, 340.

<sup>105</sup> Keppie 2005, 188; Musić 1942, 120.

<sup>106</sup> Aubert 1994, 384; Dobruna-Salih 2013, 219, 220; Domaszewski 1908, 32; Fitz 1980a, 128; Nélis-Clément 2000, 78, 80; Ott 1995, 30-32; Perinić Muratović 2004, 101; Southern 2006, 335.

<sup>107</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86.

<sup>108</sup> Lintott 1993, 121-122; Matijašić 2002, 119; Musić 1942, 126.

*sacerdotalis arae Augusti*, odnosno dekurion kolonije Savarije i dekurion municipija *Aelii Sallae*<sup>111</sup> (*Savaria* je današnji Szombathely, a *Aelium Salla* današnje Zalalövö<sup>112</sup>).

KAT. BR. 26 donosi natpis koji je Marko Aurelije Kasije posvetio Herkulu. Marko Aurelije Kasije bio je *beneficiarius consularis*. Na temelju tog natpisa Brunšmid zaključuje da se u Varaždinskim Toplicama nalazila postaja konzularnih beneficijara,<sup>113</sup> a natpis iz KAT. BR. 11, koji je podigao Elije Viktorin, također konzularni beneficijar, ovu tvrdnju još učvršćuje.

Ara Lucija Larija Celera (KAT. BR. 28) spominje ga kao primipila XIII. legije Gemine (*primus pilus legionis XIII Geminae*). Primipil je bio centurion najvišeg položaja. Svaka legija imala je jednog primipila, a isti je na toj dužnosti mogao biti godinu dana.<sup>114</sup>

## 2.5. Legije

Na natpisima pronađenim u Varaždinskim Toplicama spominju se tri legije: *legio XIII Gemina*, *legio XIII Gemina* te *legio XXII Primigenia*. U vrijeme Augusta u Panoniji su boravile tri legije: *VIII Augusta*, *VIII Hispana* i *XV Apollinaris*.<sup>115</sup> Osmo je legija bila smještena u Petoviju, deveta se legija nalazila u Sisciji (iako ostaci logora nisu još pronađeni), a petnaesta u Emoni.<sup>116</sup> Nije sigurno gdje

or tax collector.<sup>109</sup> The title *legatus Auggustorum* and *procurator Auggustorum* indicate that two emperors reigned at that time. From the work of Ivan Krstitelj Tkalcic we learn that this was the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus the Philosopher and Lucius Aurelius Verus Commodus, and that helps date this inscription between 161 and 170.

Titus Flavius Domitius Valerianus, who is mentioned in the inscription in CAT. NO. 21, was a *centurio legionarius*, a legionary centurion in *legio XIII Gemina*, and he achieved this rank *ad suffragium*, i.e., by vote, and not by appointment by a superior officer, which was the more common way to achieve rank. Centurions were the commanders of centuries.<sup>110</sup>

Lucius Claudius Moderatus, CAT. NO. 24, was *decurio coloniae Claudiae Savariae* and *decurio municipii Aeli Sallae sacerdotalis arae Augusti*, i.e., he was decurion of the colony of Savaria and decurion of the *Aelium Salla municipium*<sup>111</sup> (*Savaria* is present-day Szombathely, while *Aelium Salla* is present-day Zalalövö.)<sup>112</sup>

CAT. NO. 26 contains an inscription which Marcus Aurelius Cassius dedicated to Hercules. Marcus Aurelius Cassius was a *beneficiarius consularis*. Based on this inscription, Brunšmid concluded that there was a station of the *beneficarii consulari* in Varaždinske Toplice,<sup>113</sup> while the inscription under CAT. NO. 11, raised by Aelius Victorinus, also a *beneficiarius consularis*, reinforces this assertion.

The altar of Lucius Larius Celer (CAT. NO. 28) mentions him as *primipilaris* of *legio XIII Gemina* (*primus pilus legionis XIII*

<sup>111</sup> Fitz 1993a, 427; Ørsted 1985, 180.

<sup>112</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Redő 2003, 191.

<sup>113</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86; Fitz 1993a, 385, 386; Nelis-Clément 2000, 137, 183-184; Southern 2006, 101, 129, 130.

<sup>114</sup> Cheesman 1914, 91; Domaszewski 1908, 112-119; Fitz 1993, 289; Holder 1980, 82-83; Keppie 2005, 151, 188; Southern 2006, 130.

<sup>115</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>116</sup> Farnum 2005, 23, 29; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612.

<sup>109</sup> Cagnat 1914, 113; Demougin 1988, 722; Lintott 1993, 122; Matijašić 2002, 120; Mommsen, Marquardt 1888, 323, 389; Musić 1942, 126; Richardson 2001, 62, 85; Sloopjes 2006, 37.

<sup>110</sup> Domaszewski 1908, 80-112; Musić 1942, 133.

<sup>111</sup> Fitz 1993a, 427; Ørsted 1985, 180.

<sup>112</sup> Migotti 1999, 59; Redő 2003, 191.

<sup>113</sup> Brunšmid 1907, 86; Fitz 1993a, 385, 386; Nelis-Clément 2000, 137, 183-184; Southern 2006, 101, 129, 130.

su se legije nalazile u vrijeme legijskog ustanka 14. godine, ali se pretpostavlja da su bile smještene u blizini Petovija ili Siscije.<sup>117</sup> Deveta je legija dvadesetih godina premještena u Afriku,<sup>118</sup> a nakon toga u Panoniju, vjerojatno u Sisciju, gdje je boravila do oko 43. godine, kada je premještena u Britaniju, gdje je trajno ostala.<sup>119</sup> Osmu je legiju, oko 45. godine,<sup>120</sup> u Petoviju zamijenila *XIII Gemina*,<sup>121</sup> koja je početkom drugog stoljeća premještena u Vindobonu.<sup>122</sup> Petnaesta je legija, oko 15. godine, premještena na sjever, moguće u Vindobonu, a pedesetih godina u Karnunt.<sup>123</sup> Naposljetku je, oko 62. godine, otišla na istok,<sup>124</sup> a u Karnuntu ju je zamijenila *X Gemina*.<sup>125</sup> Devedesetih godina prvog stoljeća, *legio XIII Gemina* prebačena je iz Germanije Superior u Panoniju, gdje je zamijenila dvadeset i prvu legiju (*legio XXI Rapax*), koja je uništena u ratu sa Sarmaćanima.<sup>126</sup> Točna linija kretanja ove legije, kao ni sva mjesta njezina boravka, nisu poznati. Nepoznata su nam i mjesta gdje su se povremeno nalazile njezine *vexillationes*. Ipak nam je poznata nekolicina mjesta gdje se zadržavala kroz dulje vrijeme. Logor u Vindoboni mjesto

*Geminae*). A *primipilaris* was a centurion of the highest rank. Each legion had one *primipilaris*, and he could remain at this post for a year.<sup>114</sup>

## 2.5. Legions

Three legions are mentioned in the inscriptions found in Varaždinske Toplice: *legio XIII Gemina*, *legio XIII Gemina* and *legio XXII Primigenia*. During the time of Augustus, three legions were stationed in Pannonia: *VIII Augusta*, *VIII Hispana* and *XV Apollinaris*.<sup>115</sup> The eighth legion was posted in Poetovio, the ninth legion was in Siscia (even though the remains of its camp have yet to be found), and the fifteenth in Emona.<sup>116</sup> The whereabouts of the legions during the legionary uprising in the year 14 AD is not known, but it is assumed that they were posted near Poetovio or Siscia.<sup>117</sup> The ninth legion was transferred to Africa in the twenties,<sup>118</sup> and after this to Pannonia, probably in Siscia, where it remained until about the year 43, when it was transferred to Britannia, where it then remained permanently.<sup>119</sup> At around the year 45, the eighth legion<sup>120</sup> replaced *XIII Gemina* in Poetovio,<sup>121</sup> which was transferred to Vindabona at the beginning of the second century.<sup>122</sup> The fifteenth legion was trans-

<sup>117</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169.

<sup>118</sup> Ritterling 1925, 1665; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>119</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Ritterling 1925, 1666; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>120</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>121</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 28; Mócsy 1962, 613; Wissowa 1925, 1710-1724.

<sup>122</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Fitz 2003, 50; Mócsy 1959, 83; Vikić 1961, 49; Wissowa 1925, 1710.

<sup>123</sup> Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>124</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>125</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>126</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Lőrincz 2003, 25; Mócsy 1959, 49; Mócsy 1962, 613; Ritterling 1925, 1736.

<sup>114</sup> Cheesman 1914, 91; Domaszewski 1908, 112-119; Fitz 1993, 289; Holder 1980, 82-83; Keppie 2005, 151, 188; Southern 2006, 130.

<sup>115</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>116</sup> Farnum 2005, 23, 29; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 612.

<sup>117</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169.

<sup>118</sup> Ritterling 1925, 1665; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>119</sup> Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Ritterling 1925, 1666; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>120</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>121</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Horvat 2003, 156; Mócsy 1959, 28; Mócsy 1962, 613; Wissowa 1925, 1710-1724.

<sup>122</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Fitz 2003, 50; Mócsy 1959, 83; Vikić 1961, 49; Wissowa 1925, 1710.

je gdje se legija nalazila prije dačkih ratova, a nakon istih legija bila je smještena u Karnunt, gdje je ostala gotovo dva stoljeća kao važan dio obrambenog sustava dunavsko-panonskog limesa.<sup>127</sup> *Legio XXII Primigenia* bila je kratko vrijeme, sedamdesetih godina prvog stoljeća, smještena u Karnuntu, nakon čega je premještena u Germaniju, gdje je i ostala.<sup>128</sup>

## 2.6. Carski natpis

U Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađen je i jedan carski natpis naveden u KAT. BR. 30. Taj nam natpis daje informaciju da je car Konstantin dao obnoviti, odnosno ponovo izgraditi Toplice, koje su stradale u požaru.<sup>129</sup> I. K. Tkalčić ovaj požar ne pripisuje nikakvom neprijateljskom napadu, već smatra da je bio slučajan. U vrijeme Konstantina (306.-335.), Panonija Superior, kao i ostale rimske provincije, bila je uzdrmana unutarnjim i vanjskim ratovima, te su joj bili nametnuti brojni porezi čime je ona postupno siromašila. Takva situacija utjecala je i na Toplice, koje nisu više bile toliko posjećene te su zbog nedovoljnih prihoda počele propadati. U tom se trenutku iskazao car Konstantin. Poznato je da je Konstantin često pohađio Panoniju.<sup>130</sup> I. K. Tkalčić pretpostavlja da je na tom svom putovanju posjetio Toplice i uvidio njihovo siromaštvo, te, spoznajući njihovu prijašnju slavu, ljekovitost i veliku korist za ranjene vojnike, naložio Valeriju Katulinu, koji je u to vrijeme bio zapovjednik Panonije Superior,

<sup>127</sup> Farnum 2005, 29, 30; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-170; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 42; Wissowa 1925, 1727-1746.

<sup>128</sup> Farnum 2005, 25, 29; Gugl 2003, 57; Mócsy 1959, 84; Wissowa 1925, 1797-1819.

<sup>129</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 122.

<sup>130</sup> Migotti 1999, 52.

ferred north at around the year 15, possibly to Vindobona, while in the fifties it was moved to Carnuntum.<sup>123</sup> Finally, at around the year 62, it departed for the east,<sup>124</sup> and it was replaced in Carnuntum by *X Gemina*.<sup>125</sup> In the nineties, *legio XIII Gemina* was transferred from Germania Superior to Pannonia, where it replaced the twenty-first legion (*legio XXI Rapax*), which was annihilated in the war against the Sarmatians.<sup>126</sup> The exact route on which this legion moved, as well as the places where it stayed, are not known. Even the places where its *vexillationes* temporarily stayed are not known. Nonetheless, a few of the places where it stayed for longer periods are known. The camp in Vindobona is where the legion was located before the Dacian wars, and thereafter this same legion was posted in Carnuntum, where it remained almost two centuries as an important component of the defensive system along the Danubian-Pannonian limes.<sup>127</sup> For brief time in the seventies, *legio XXII Primigenia* was accommodated in Carnuntum, after which it was transferred to Germania, where it remained.<sup>128</sup>

## 2.6. Imperial inscription

An imperial inscription, cited under CAT. NO. 30, was also found in Varaždinske Toplice. This inscription provides the information that Emperor Constantine commissioned the restoration, in fact the reconstruc-

<sup>123</sup> Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169; Tóth 2003, 23.

<sup>124</sup> Farnum 2005, 23; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 169, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>125</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1962, 613; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170; Tóth 2003, 24.

<sup>126</sup> Fitz 1980a, 131; Lőrincz 2003, 25; Mócsy 1959, 49; Mócsy 1962, 613; Ritterling 1925, 1736.

<sup>127</sup> Farnum 2005, 29, 30; Fitz 1980a, 131; Mócsy 1959, 49, 83; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163-170; Rendić-Miočević 1975, 42; Wissowa 1925, 1727-1746.

<sup>128</sup> Farnum 2005, 25, 29; Gugl 2003, 57; Mócsy 1959, 84; Wissowa 1925, 1797-1819.

da ih obnovi o državnom trošku.<sup>131</sup> Na natpisu je navedeno da je Valerije Katulin bio vlasnik perfektoisimata te zapovjednik Panonije Superior.

Naime, u Konstantinovo vrijeme Carstvo je bilo podijeljeno u četiri prefektore (Galija, Orijent, Ilirik i Italija), a na čelu svake nalazio se *praefectus praetorio*. Prefektore su bile podijeljene na mali broj dijeceza. Svakom dijecezom upravljao je *vicarius praefecti*, kojega je izabirao car.<sup>132</sup> Panonija je u to vrijeme pripadala italskoj prefekturi, a ilirskoj dijecezi, a bila je podijeljena na Panoniju Primu (ili Panoniju Superior), Panoniju Saviju, Panoniju Sekundu (ili Panoniju Inferior) te Panoniju Valeriju.<sup>133</sup> Na čelu civilne administracije bio je *praeses*, viteškog staleža, koji se nazivao *vir perfectissimus*, a vojnu je administraciju vodio *dux*, također *vir perfectissimus*.<sup>134</sup> U natpisu stoji da je Valerije Katulin bio *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(rae)p(ositus) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*. Ipak, postoji i drugo razrješavanje kratica: *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raes) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) <p> Super(ioris)*.<sup>135</sup> S takvim razrješanjem možemo zaključiti da je Valerije Katulin bio *vir perfectissimus*, upravitelj Panonije Superior, te da je bio na čelu civilne administracije.

Na natpisu je zabilježeno da je Konstantin naložio da se svake nedjelje u Toplicama održe sajmovi, no moguće je da su se sajmovi održavali i prije, jer su Varaždinske Toplice zasigurno i ranije imale potrebu za većim optjecajem robe, kako bi se zadovoljile potrebe gostiju i pacije-

tion, of Toplice, which was damaged by a fire.<sup>129</sup> I. K. Tkalčić did not ascribe this fire to any sort of enemy attack, rather he deemed it an accident. During the reign of Constantine (306-335), Pannonia Superior, like other Roman provinces, was shaken by internal and external wars, and numerous taxes were imposed upon it which gradually impoverished it. This situation had an impact on Toplice, which no longer received as many visitors, and began to deteriorate due to dwindling revenues. At this point Constantine took action. It is known that Constantine frequently toured Pannonia.<sup>130</sup> Tkalčić assumed that on such a tour he visited Toplice and observed its impoverishment and, aware of its previous fame and the medicinal properties and great benefits for wounded soldiers, ordered Valerius Catullinus, who was the commander of Pannonia Superior at the time, to carry out reconstruction at the state's expense.<sup>131</sup> The inscription specifies that Valerius Catullinus was a *vir perfectissimus* and the commander of Pannonia Superior.

In Constantine's time, the Empire was divided into four prefectures (Gallia, Oriens, Illyricum and Italia), and each was headed by a *praefectus praetorio*. The prefectures were divided into a small number of dioceses. Each diocese was administered by a *vicarius praefecti*, who was selected by the emperor.<sup>132</sup> At that time, Pannonia was a part of the Italian prefecture, but in the Illyrian diocese, and divided into Pannonia Prima (or Pannonia Superior), Pannonia Savia, Pannonia Secunda (or Pannonia Inferior) and Pannonia Valeria.<sup>133</sup> Civilian administration was headed by the *praeses*, of the knightly class, who was called *vir perfectissimus*, while mil-

<sup>131</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17.

<sup>132</sup> Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.

<sup>133</sup> Barkóczy 1980, 109; Buckland 2007, 52; Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.

<sup>134</sup> Barkóczy 1980, 109; Fitz 1980a, 127; Kelly 2004, 146; Pinterović 1978, 87; Tkalčić 1869, 20, 21.

<sup>135</sup> CIL III 4121; PLRE 1971, 188.

<sup>129</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 122.

<sup>130</sup> Migotti 1999, 52.

<sup>131</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 16, 17.

<sup>132</sup> Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.

<sup>133</sup> Barkóczy 1980, 109; Buckland 2007, 52; Fitz 1980a, 127; Pinterović 1978, 87; Redő 2003, 210.

nata.<sup>136</sup> Sama činjenica da su se sajmovi održavali cijelu godinu pokazuje da Toplice nisu bile samo kupalište, koje je bilo otvoreno od svibnja do listopada, već i važno trgovačko središte. Tim činom car je »unaprijedio standard domaćeg stanovništva i znatno doprinjeo razvoju trgovine i obrta.«<sup>137</sup>

## 2.7. Pečati na tegulama

U Varaždinskim Toplicama, osim natpisa na spomenicima, pronađene su i tegule s pečatima. Šime Ljubić daje podatak da je nekolicina tegula s pečatima pronađena u Varaždinskim Toplicama (KAT. BR. 31-33), kao i u blizini Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca (KAT. BR. 34-36).<sup>138</sup> I. K. Tkalčić također spominje tegule s pečatima (KAT. BR. 33-36).<sup>139</sup> Na tegule s pečatom Q. Sp. osvrnula se i B. Vikić koja spominje da su iste pronađene u jednom kanalu koji je odvodio vodu iz bazena.<sup>140</sup> O tegulama s pečatom Junija Firma (KAT. BR. 31, 32) ipak detaljnije pišu B. Vikić-Belančić i M. Gorenc te kažu da su u Ptujju pronađene tri ciglarske peći i zaključuju da je Junije Firm ciglar iz Ptujja, koji je djelovao u 2., odnosno 3. stoljeću, kada je bio veliki priljev keramičara u Ptuj.<sup>141</sup>

## 2.8. Faze gradnje

Zanimljivo je primijetiti da rasprostiranje kupališta prati njegovu namjenu, ali i karakter posjetitelja. U ranocarskom razdoblju kupalište je bilo velikih dimenzija, što se vjerojatno može opravdati velikom frekventnošću vojske, koja je tada bila

itary administration was led by the *dux*, also called *vir perfectissimus*.<sup>134</sup> The inscription specifies that Valerius Catullinus was *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(rae)p(ositus) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*. However, there is another interpretation of the abbreviation: *v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raes) p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) <p> Super(ioris)*.<sup>135</sup> With such a solution it may be concluded that Valerius Catullinus was *vir perfectissimus*, the administrator of Pannonia Superior, and that he was in charge of civilian administration.

The inscription records that Constantine ordered the holding of fairs every Sunday in Toplice, but it is possible that fairs were also held earlier, because Varaždinske Toplice certainly had the need for greater circulation of goods even earlier in order to meet the needs of guests and patients.<sup>136</sup> The very fact that fairs were held all year indicates that Toplice was not just a spa, which was opened from May to October, but also an important market centre. By this act, the emperor “advanced the standard of the domestic population and significantly contributed to the development of commerce and trades.”<sup>137</sup>

## 2.7. Stamps on tegulae

Besides inscriptions on stone monuments, tegulae with stamps were also found in Varaždinske Toplice. Šime Ljubić reported that several tegulae with stamps were discovered in Varaždinske Toplice (CAT. NO. 31-33), and also in its immediate vicinity, beyond Gromače, near Tuhovec (CAT. NO. 34-36).<sup>138</sup> I. K. Tkalčić also mentioned stamped tegulae (CAT. NO. 33-36).<sup>139</sup> B. Vikić also examined tegulae bearing the stamp Q. Sp., mentioning that they were found in a canal

<sup>136</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123.

<sup>137</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1996, 30.

<sup>138</sup> Ljubić 1879, 43.

<sup>139</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 24.

<sup>140</sup> Vikić 1962, 172.

<sup>141</sup> Istenič 2001, 29; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 138.

<sup>134</sup> Barkóczi 1980, 109; Fitz 1980a, 127; Kelly 2004, 146; Pinterović 1978, 87; Tkalčić 1869, 20, 21.

<sup>135</sup> CIL III 4121; PLRE 1971, 188.

<sup>136</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1973, 123.

<sup>137</sup> Vikić-Belančić 1996, 30.

<sup>138</sup> Ljubić 1879, 43.

<sup>139</sup> Tkalčić 1869, 24.



jedan od najčešćih posjetitelja.<sup>142</sup> Ova tvrđnja može se potkrijepiti ranocarskim natpisima koje su postavili vojnici XIII., XIII. i XXII. legije (KAT. BR. 5, 9, 28). Ovom vremenu mogao bi se pripisati i natpis kataloškog broja 6.

U drugoj građevinskoj fazi kupališta jasno je da se kupalištem služe, uz vojnike, i građani, o čemu nam svjedoče natpisi KAT. BR. 12, KAT. BR. 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 29.

U Konstantinovo doba zadržan je dvojni karakter Toplica, iako sam Konstantin, osnivanjem sajmišnih dana, stavlja naglasak na ekonomiju, odnosno trgovinu, koja je važna djelatnost građanskog staleža (KAT. BR. 30).<sup>143</sup> Ovom dobu pripada i natpis naveden u KAT. BR. 10.

M. Gorenc i B. Vikić smatraju da su ovakve česte promjene u namjeni i posjećenosti kupališta u kasnocarsko doba bile razlog sužavanja kupališnog prostora, te, na koncu, i prestanka njegova javnog funkcioniranja.<sup>144</sup>

### 3. Statistički podaci

Ponajviše obrađenih natpisa posvećeno je božicama i nimfama. Njih četrnaest posvećeno je isključivo nimfama (KAT. BR. 1-14), dok je jedan posvećen nimfama i božici Dijani (KAT. BR. 17). Ova činjenica je u potpunosti razumljiva, jer su nimfe bile božice izvora, kojih u Varaždinskim Toplicama ima čak dva. Samojoj božici Dijani posvećena su dva natpisa (KAT. BR. 15, 16), što je također razumljivo jer je Dijana zaštitnica prirode. Šumskim silvanama, družicama boga Silvana, posvećena su također tri natpisa (KAT. BR. 18,

that drained water from a pool.<sup>140</sup> B. Vikić-Belančić and M. Gorenc wrote in greater detail about tegulae bearing the stamp of Junius Firmus (CAT. NO. 31, 32), noting that three brick kilns were found in Ptuj, and thus concluding that Junius Firmus was a brick maker from Ptuj who operated in the second and third centuries, when a high number of potters came into Ptuj.<sup>141</sup>

### 2.8. Architectural phases

It is interesting to notice that the layout of the baths adhered to their use, as well as the character of the visitors. In the early imperial period the baths had large dimensions, which may be explained by the high presence of the military, as soldiers were then among the most frequent visitors.<sup>142</sup> This assertion may be backed by early imperial inscriptions placed by the soldiers from the eighth, fourteenth and twenty-second legions (CAT. NO. 5, 9, 28). The inscription under catalogue number 6 may also be ascribed to this period.

In the second architectural phase at the baths, it is clear that the baths were used by citizens as well as soldiers, to which the following inscriptions testify: CAT. NO. 12, CAT. NOS. 14, 16, 21, 24, 25, 29.

This dual character of Toplice was retained in the Constantinian era, although Constantine himself, by establishing fair days, placed the emphasis on the economy, i.e., commerce, which was a vital activity for the citizen class (CAT. NO. 30).<sup>143</sup> The inscription under CAT. NO. 10 also dates to this period.

Gorenc and Vikić believed that such frequent changes in the purpose and visitation rate of the baths during the imperial era were the rea-

<sup>140</sup> Vikić 1962, 172.

<sup>141</sup> Istenič 2001, 29; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 138.

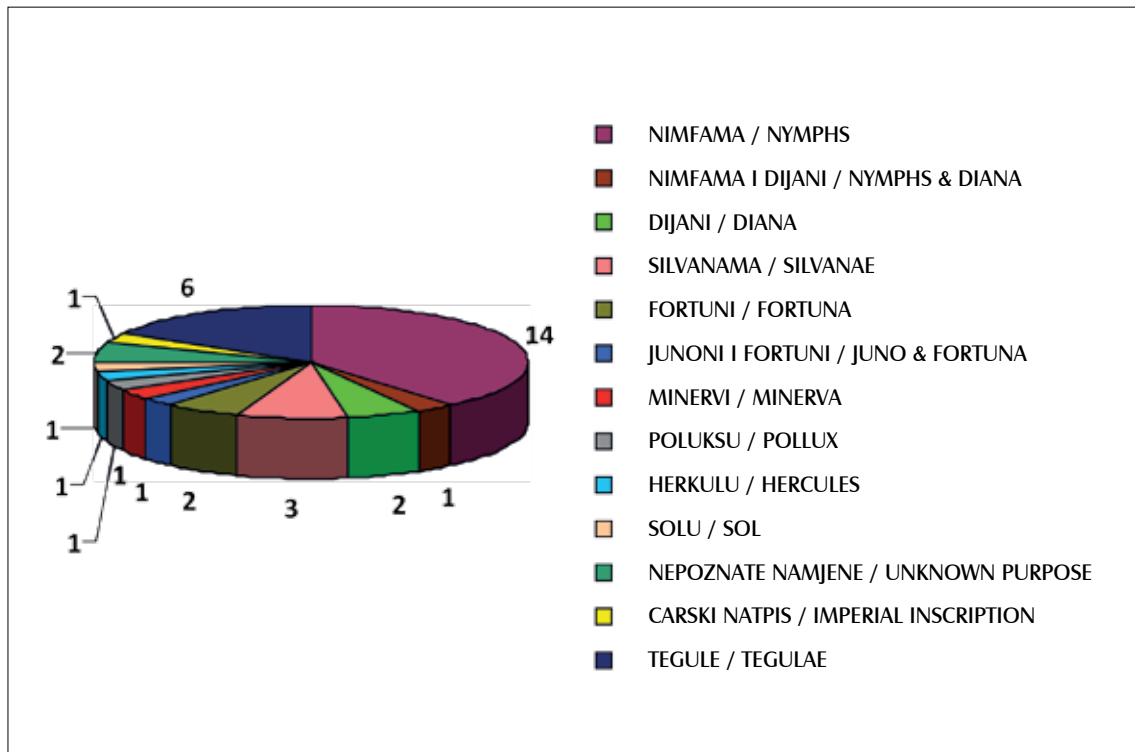
<sup>142</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>143</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>142</sup> Galić, Radman-Livaja 2006, 174; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>143</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.

<sup>144</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.



Dijagram / Diagram 1: Posvete natpisa / Dedications on inscriptions (Lovorka Lučić, 2012)

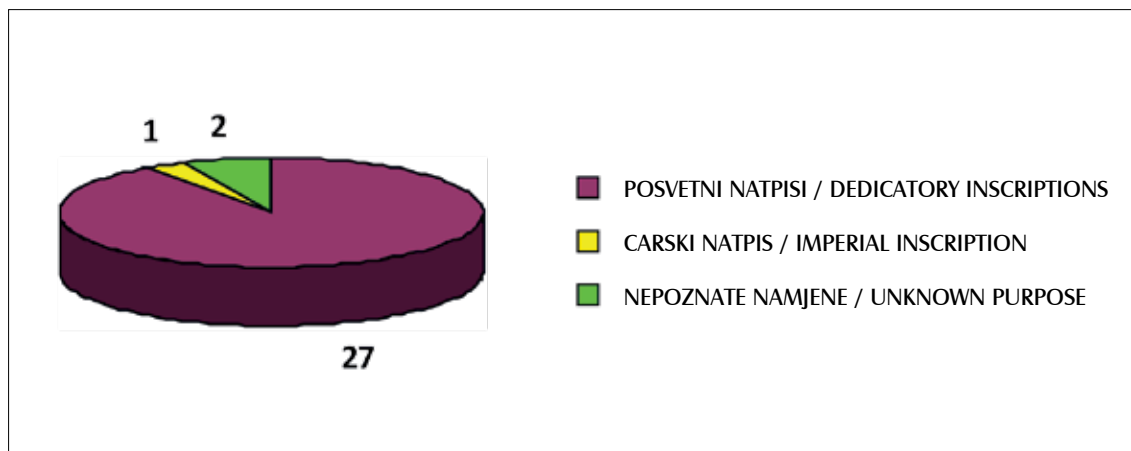
19, 20). Fortuni su posvećena dva natpisa (KAT. BR. 21, 22), a na jednom je spomenuta uz Junonu (KAT. BR. 23). Samo Junoni nije posvećen niti jedan natpis. Minervi, božici koja ozdravlja, posvećen je jedan natpis na bazi njezine statue (KAT. BR. 24). Poluksu (KAT. BR. 25) i Herkulu (KAT. BR. 26) posvećen je po jedan spomenik. Iako je Sol rijetko spominjano božanstvo, u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađen je jedan natpis posvećen tom božanstvu (KAT. BR. 27). Dva natpisa pronađena u Varaždinskim Toplicama nepoznate su namjene, ali su im poznati dedikanti (KAT. BR. 28, 29). KAT. BR. 30 predstavlja jedinstveni natpis koji spominje da je car Konstantin dao obnoviti Varaždinske Toplice i tako im povratio sjaj koji je bio uništen »vatrom i ognjem«, što je podatak vrlo bitan za razumijevanje povijesti Toplica.

son for the narrowing of the actual bath area and, ultimately, the cessation of their operation.<sup>144</sup>

### 3. Statistical data

Most of the analyzed inscriptions are dedicated to goddesses and nymphs. Fourteen of them are dedicated exclusively to the Nymphs (CAT. NO. 1-14), while one is dedicated to the nymphs and the goddess Diana (CAT. NO. 17). This fact is entirely understandable, because the Nymphs were the goddesses of springs, of which there are two in Varaždinske Toplice. Two inscriptions are dedicated to the goddess Diana exclusively (CAT. NO. 15, 16), which is also understandable because Diana was the guardian of nature. The forest Silvanae, the companions of the god Silvanus, also have three inscriptions dedicated to them (CAT. NO. 18, 19, 20). Two inscriptions are dedicated Fortuna (CAT. NO.

<sup>144</sup> Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 152.



Dijagram / Diagram 2: Vrste natpisa / Types of inscriptions (Lovorka Lučić, 2012)

Iz navedenog možemo iščitati da je u Varaždinskim Toplicama pronađeno dvadeset i sedam posvetnih natpisa te jedan carski. Za dva natpisa nemoguće je odrediti jesu li bili posvetni ili nadgrobni spomenici.

21, 22), while on another she is mentioned together with Juno (CAT. NO. 23). Not a single inscription is dedicated solely to Juno. One inscription is dedicated to Minerva – it is on the base of a statue of her (CAT. NO. 24). One monument each is dedicated to Pol-lux (CAT. NO. 25) and Hercules (CAT. NO. 26). Even though Sol is a rarely mentioned deity, one inscription dedicated to this deity was found in Varaždinske Toplice (CAT. NO. 27). Two inscriptions with unknown purpose were found in Varaždinske Toplice, although the names of their dedicants are known (CAT. NO. 28, 29). CAT. NO. 30 is a unique inscription which relates that Emperor Constantine arranged for the restoration of Varaždinske Toplice and thereby return their shine destroyed by “fire and conflagration”, which is information quite vital to an understanding of Toplice’s history.

Based on the above data, it may be stated that twenty-seven dedicatory inscriptions and one imperial inscription were found in Varaždinske Toplice. In case of two inscriptions, it is impossible to determine whether they are dedicatory or gravestone inscriptions.

## 5. Katalog

### 1. Natpisi posvećeni nimfama (Tituli sacri Nymphis)

#### 1.1. Nimfama bez atributa (Nymphis sine attributo)

##### 1. Natpis sa spomenom nimfe (Titulus cum mentione Nymphae)

OPIS: Mramorni ulomak natpisa (v. 0,46 m; š. 0,58 m; deb. 0,10 m; visina slova 0,028 m) sa spomenom nimfe vrlo je loše očuvan, a predstavlja trećinu cijelog natpisa. Teško je čitljiv. Na ulomku su vidljivi ostaci gornjeg i desnog ruba. Natpis je pronađen u kući Šoštaković 1937. godine. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Fragmentum tituli, ex lapide calcario, tertia pars omnis tabulae est (0,46x0,58x10). Titulus lectu difficilis est. In superiore et dextra parte margo antiquus conservatus est. Aquis Iasis anno 1937 in domo Šoštaković repertum, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservatum.)

##### NATPIS:

[ - - - ] *cursu perpeti*  
 [ - - - v ] *olatu similis*  
 [ - - - famam ] *secutus nobilem*  
 [ - - - qua ] *m credebam repperi*  
 [ dis ] *cordant ignea*  
 [ - - - ] *flamma persona*  
 [ - - - ] *morbo luitur*  
 [ - - - ] *u corpus est*  
 [ - - - ] *viscera*  
 [ - - - N ] *ympa est*  
 [ - - - ] *mo uri* [ - - - ]

##### PRIJEVOD:

... neprekidnim trkom  
 ... poput vjetra ...  
 ... slijedivši slavnu glasinu ...  
 ... za koju vjerovah da se otkriva ...  
 ... razbuktavaju se vatrene ...  
 ... vatrom osoba ...  
 ... bolešću je kažnjena ...  
 ... tijelo je ...  
 ... utroba ...  
 ... Nimfa je ...

## 5. Catalogue

### 1. Inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs (Tituli sacri Nymphis)

#### 1.1. Nymphs without attributes (Nymphis sine attributo)

##### 1. Inscription mentioning Nymphs (Titulus cum mentione Nymphae)

DESCRIPTION: Marble fragment of inscription (ht. 0.46 m; wd. 0.58 m; thk. 0.10 m; height of letters 0.028 m) mentioning Nymphs is very poorly preserved, and constitutes a third of the entire inscription. Scarcely legible. Remains of upper and right edge visible on fragment. Inscription found in the Šoštaković house in 1937. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Fragmentum tituli, ex lapide calcario, tertia pars omnis tabulae est (0.46 x 0.58 x 10). Titulus lectu difficilis est. In superiore et dextra parte margo antiquus conservatus est. Aquis Iasis anno 1937 in domo Šoštaković repertum, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservatum.)

##### INSCRIPTION:

[ - - - ] *cursu perpeti*  
 [ - - - v ] *olatu similis*  
 [ - - - famam ] *secutus nobilem*  
 [ - - - qua ] *m credebam repperi*  
 [ dis ] *cordant ignea*  
 [ - - - ] *flamma persona*  
 [ - - - ] *morbo luitur*  
 [ - - - ] *u corpus est*  
 [ - - - ] *viscera*  
 [ - - - N ] *ympa est*  
 [ - - - ] *mo uri* [ - - - ]

##### TRANSLATION:

... uninterrupted pace  
 ... like the wind ...  
 ... having followed the widely-known rumour ...  
 ... for which I believed uncovered ...  
 ... inciting the flaming ...  
 ... the fire of persons ...  
 ... punished by illness ...  
 ... the body is ...  
 ... abdomen ...  
 ... Nymph is ...

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 470

## 2. Natpis posvećen nimfama (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

OPIS: Natpis posvećen nimfama, pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Avitus*

PRIJEVOD: Avit nimfama

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1171a; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 3. Natpis posvećen nimfama (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

OPIS: Natpis posvećen nimfama, pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Caesius*

PRIJEVOD: Cezije nimfama

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1171b; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 4. Natpis posvećen nimfama (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

OPIS: Natpis posvećen nimfama, pronađen u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Aurelius*

PRIJEVOD: Nimfama Aurelije

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1171c; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 470

## 2. Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs, found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Avitus*

TRANSLATION: Avitus to the Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171a; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 3. Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs, found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Caesius*

TRANSLATION: Caesius to the Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171b; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

## 4. Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Inscription dedicated to the Nymphs, found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus in Varaždinske Toplice.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Aurelius*

TRANSLATION: Aurelius to the Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171c; Vikić 1962, 172; Vikić-Belančić 1963, 113.

### 5. Votivni oltar posvećen nimfama (Ara Nymphis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar (š. 0,44 m; v. 0,85 m; deb. 0,27 m; visina slova 0,052-0,035 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište je oltara oštećeno, stepenasto se sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Baza spomenika nije sačuvana. (Ara Nymphis sacra (0,44x0,85x0,27), cum corona detrimento affecta, quae gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*M(arcus) Fabius*

*Fabullus*

*trib(unus) militum*

*leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) provinc(iae)*

*Africae pr(o) pr(aetore)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII*

*Gem(inae)*

*sacr(um) Nymph(his)*

PRIJEVOD: Marko Fabije Fabul, vojni tribun XIII. legije Gemine, Augustov legat s propretorskim ovlastima u provinciji Africi, Augustov legat XIII. legije Gemine, posvetio nimfama.

DATACIJA: Neronovo doba (između 54. i 68. g.)

LITERATURA: AIJ 463; CIL III 4118; Tkalčić 1869, 3; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 6; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 7; Fitz 1993, 187, no. 78; Šimek 2001, 47, sl. 5.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5338> (25.5. 2013.).

### 5. Votive altar dedicated to the Nymphs (Ara Nymphis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar (wid. 0.44 m; v. 0.85 m; thk. 0.27 m; height of letters 0.052-0.035 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Today held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown damaged, narrows stair-like to inscription field, which is not framed. Base of monument not preserved. (Ara Nymphis sacra (0,44x0,85x0,27), cum corona detrimento affecta, quae gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*M(arcus) Fabius*

*Fabullus*

*trib(unus) militum*

*leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) provinc(iae)*

*Africae pr(o) pr(aetore)*

*leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

*sacr(um) Nymph(his)*

TRANSLATION: Marcus Fabius Fabullus, military tribune of *legio XIII Gemina*, legate of Augustus with propraetorian authority in the province of Africa, legate of Augustus in *legio XIII Gemina*, dedicated to the Nymphs.

DATING: Neronian era (between 54 and 68 AD)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 463; CIL III 4118; Tkalčić 1869, 3; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 6; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 7; Fitz 1993, 187, no. 78; Šimek 2001, 47, Fig. 5.

ONLINE BIBLIOGRAPHY: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5338> (25.5.2013.)

## 1.2. Jazejskim nimfama (Nymphis Iasis)

### 6. Votivni oltar posvećen jazejskim nimfama (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni votivni oltar (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,64 m; deb. 0,14 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište je oltara oštećeno, ali je vidljivo da je plitko te da se iznad njega nalaze dva akroterija, od kojih lijevi nije sačuvan. Primjećuje se da je krunište izvedeno u istoj ravnini kao natpisno polje, a od kojeg je odijeljen stepenastom profilacijom. Natpisno polje nema okvira. Od baze je odvojeno polukružnom profilacijom. Baza oltara je očuvana u prilično lošem stanju te nije moguće vidjeti je li bila profilirana ili sadržavala kakav ukras. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra (0,20x0,64x0,14), ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona detrimento affecta. Corona duo acroteria habet, sed sinistrum non conservatum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars a basis separata lineamentis semicircularibus. Basis male conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis*

*Iasis*

*Fl(avius) Herm*

*adion cir(citor)*

*vec(tigalis) Illy(rici) et*

*Ul(pia) Piste ei(us?)*

*cum Avito*

*et Suriaco*

*f(iliis) phialam*

*arg(enteam) p(ondo) II d(ono) d(ederunt)*

PRIJEVOD: Jazejskim nimfama Flavije Hermadion carinik u Iliriku i njegova Ulpija Piste, sa sinovima Avitom i Suriakom dali su kao dar srebrnu čašu, tešku dvije libre.

DATAČIJA: 151.-250. g.

## 1.2. Nymphs of Iasae (Nymphis Iasis)

### 6. Votive altar dedicated to the Iasae Nymphs (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble votive altar (wid. 0.20 m; ht. 0.64 m; thk. 0.14 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown damaged, but visibly shallow with two acroteria above it, of which the left-hand one is not preserved. Notable that the crown is rendered at the same level as the inscription field, and separated from it by stair-like articulation. Inscription field has no frame. Separated from frame by semi-circular moulding. Base of altar preserved in rather poor condition and impossible to ascertain whether it contains any manner of ornamentation. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra (0,20x0,64x0,14), ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona detrimento affecta. Corona duo acroteria habet, sed sinistrum non conservatum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars a basis separata lineamentis semicircularibus. Basis male conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis*

*Iasis*

*Fl(avius) Herm*

*adion cir(citor)*

*vec(tigalis) Illy(rici) et*

*Ul(pia) Piste ei(us?)*

*cum Avito*

*et Suriaco*

*f(iliis) phialam*

*arg(enteam) p(ondo) II d(ono) d(ederunt)*

TRANSLATION: Flavius Hermadion, a customs official in Illyricum, and his Ulpia Pisteius, with their sons Avitus and Suriacus, bequeath as a gift to the Nymphs of Iasae a silver cup, weighing two libras.

DATING: 151-250 AD

LITERATURA: ILJug 1171; Vikić 1962, 173 (AE 1985, 00714); Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, sl. 20; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 47, Abb. 14; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD002222, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD002222?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5323> (25.5.2013.).

### **7. Votivni oltar posvećen jazejskim nimfama (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)**

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen jazejskim nimfama pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:  
*Nymphis Iasis*

PRIJEVOD: Jazejskim nimfama

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1170.

### **1.3. Nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Nymphis Salutaribus)**

#### **8. Votivni oltar posvećen nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra)**

OPIS: Votivni oltar (š. 0,475 m; v. 0,67 m; deb. 0,26 m; visina slova 0,05 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Oltar je prilično oštećen te je nemoguće govoriti o kruništu i bazi. Ni natpisno polje nije sačuvano u cijelosti. (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra (0,475x0,67x0,26), detrimento affecta sine corona et basi. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata et fragmentaria. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1171; Vikić 1962, 173 (AE 1985, 00714); Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, Fig. 20; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 47, Abb. 14; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD002222, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD002222?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5323> (25.5.2013.).

### **7. Votive altar dedicated to the Iasae Nymphs (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra)**

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Iasae Nymphs found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Ara Nymphis Iasis sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Nymphis Iasis*

TRANSLATION: To the Iasae Nymphs

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1170.

### **1.3. Nymphs bringing good health (Nymphis Salutaribus)**

#### **8. Votive altar dedicated to the Nymphs who bring good health (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra)**

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar (w. 0.475 m; ht. 0.67 m; thk. 0.26 m; height of letters 0.05 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Altar is rather damaged and it is impossible to say anything about the crown and base. Even the inscription field has not been entirely preserved. (Ara Nymphis Salutaribus sacra (0,475x0,67x0,26), detrimento affecta sine corona et basi. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata et fragmentaria. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)



## NATPIS:

*Nymphis  
salutarib(us)  
Aug(ustis) sac(rum)  
Iul(ius) Maximu[s]  
dec(urio) muni[c(ipii)]  
[- - -*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama koje donose zdravlje posvećeno, Julije Maksim dekurion municipija [- - -

DATAČIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 464; CIL III 10891; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 4; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243.

### 9. Votivni natpis posvećen nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Titulus Nymphis Salutaribus sacer)

OPIS: Mramorna ploča (š. 1,45 m; v. 0,67 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama, a danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Pravokutnog je oblika, s posvetnim natpisom. Uzidana. (Tabula (1,45x0,67), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis Salutaribus sacro. Inaedificata. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Nymphas salutare M(arcus) Rutilius Lupus tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

PRIJEVOD: Nimfe koje donose zdravlje, Marko Rutilije Lup vojni tribun XXII. legije, kvestor, pučki tribun, legat Augustove XIII. legije Gemine

DATAČIJA: 69.-84. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 462; CIL III 10893; Fitz 1993, 186, no. 77.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5330> (25.5.2013.).

## INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis  
salutarib(us)  
Aug(ustis) sac(rum)  
Iul(ius) Maximu[s]  
dec(urio) muni[c(ipii)]  
[- - -*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Nymphs who bring health, Julius Maximus municipal decurion [- - -

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 464; CIL III 10891; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 4; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243.

### 9. Votive inscription dedicated to the Nymphs who bring good health (Titulus Nymphis Salutaribus sacer)

DESCRIPTION: Marble slab (w. 1.45 m; ht. 0.67 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice, and currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Rectangular shape, with dedicatory field. Elevated. (Tabula (1.45 x 0.67), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis Salutaribus sacro. Inaedificata. In Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphas salutare M(arcus) Rutilius Lupus tr(ibunus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XXII q(uaestor) tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae)*

TRANSLATION: To the Nymphs who bring health, Marcus Rutilius Lupus, military tribune of *legio XXII*, quaestor, plebeian tribune, legate of *legio XIII Gemina* of Augustus

DATING: 69-84

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 462; CIL III 10893; Fitz 1993, 186, no. 77.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5330> (25.5.2013.).

#### 1.4. Uzvišenim nimfama (Nymphis augustis)

##### 10. Votivni oltar posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni oltar (š. 0,25 m; v. 0,60 m; visina slova 0,023-0,014 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Oltar je heksagonalnog oblika. Plitko oblikovano krunište stepenasto se sužava u jednostavno oblikovano natpisno polje. Ostale stranice ukrašene su profilacijom. Tijelo se trostrukom profilacijom širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,25x0,60), ex lapide marmoreo, sexangula. Tenuis corona se gradatim in media parte contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Cetera latera cum lineamentis ornata. Media pars a basis separata triplicibus lineamentis. Basis simplex. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Nym*

*phis*

*Aug(ustis)*

*sacr(um)*

*T(itus) Iul(ius)*

*Ianu*

*arius*

*pro ♠ T(ito) ♠ Iul(io)*

*Secundo*

*Fil(io)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama posvećeno. Tit Julije Januarij za sina Tita Julija Sekunda rado je učinio zavjet

DATACIJA: 306.-337. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 465; CIL III 4119; Tkalčić 1869, 5; Ljubić 1879, 40, Nr. 3; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić, 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5327> (25.5.2013.).

#### 1.4. To the revered Nymphs (Nymphis augustis)

##### 10. Votive altar dedicated to the revered Nymphs (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar (w. 0.25 m; ht. 0.60 m; height of letters 0.023-0.014 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar is hexagonal. Shallowly formed crown narrows stair-like into a simply formed inscription field. Other sides adorned by moulding. Body expands by triple moulding into simply formed base. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,25 x 0,60), ex lapide marmoreo, sexangula. Tenuis corona se gradatim in media parte contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Cetera latera cum lineamentis ornata. Media pars a basis separata triplicibus lineamentis. Basis simplex. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nym*

*phis*

*Aug(ustis)*

*sacr(um)*

*T(itus) Iul(ius)*

*Ianu*

*arius*

*pro ♠ T(ito) ♠ Iul(io)*

*Secundo*

*Fil(io)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Nymphs. Titus Julius Januarius sincerely offered this prayer for his son Titus Julius Secundus

DATING: 306-337

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 465; CIL III 4119; Tkalčić 1869, 5; Ljubić 1879, 40, Nr. 3; Rendić-Miočević, Šegvić, 1998, 14, Fig. 3.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5327> (25.5.2013.).

### 11. Votivni oltar posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

OPIS: Oltar izrađen od vapnenca (š. 0,34 m; v. 1,00 m; deb. 0,21 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Ima jednostavno oblikovano plitko krunište iznad kojeg se nalaze dva akroterija, od kojih je desni oštećen. Stepnasti prijelaz povezuje ga s natpisnim poljem, koje se opet stepenasto širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. Pukotina razdvaja gornju trećinu natpisnog polja od donjeg dijela. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,34x1,00x0,21), ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona duo acroteria habet, dexterum detrimento affectum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Rima tertiam partem superiorem et inferiorem partem separat. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) Ael(ius)  
Victorinus  
b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) et  
Lucilia  
coniunx  
v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama, Elije Viktorin konzularni beneficijar i žena Lucilia rado su zavjetovali.

DATACIJA: 2. st.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5322> (25.5.2013.).

### 12. Natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacrum)

OPIS: Mramorna ploča (š. 2,90 m; v. 0,62

### 11. Votive altar dedicated revered Nymphs (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Limestone altar (w. 0.34 m; ht. 1.0 m; thk. 0.21 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. It has a simply formed shallow crown above which there are two acroteria, of which the right one is damaged. The stair-like transition connects it to the inscription field, which again expands stair-like into a simply formed base. A fissure separates the upper third of the inscription field from the lower portion. (Ara Nymphis augustis sacra (0,34x1,00x0,21), ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona duo acroteria habet, dexterum detrimento affectum. Corona gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Rima tertiam partem superiorem et inferiorem partem separat. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) Ael(ius)  
Victorinus  
b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) et  
Lucilia  
coniunx  
v(otum) s(olverunt) l(ibentes) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: To the revered Nymphs, Aelius Victorinus, beneficiarius consularis and his wife Lucilia sincerely offered this prayer.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5322> (25.5.2013.).

### 12. Inscription dedicated to the revered Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacrum)

DESCRIPTION: Marble slab (w. 2.9 m;

m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se nalazi uzidana u vrata u parku u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Natpis na ploči uokviren je trostruko profiliranim okvirom. Ploča je oštećena na nekoliko mjesta. (Tabula (2,90x0,62), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro. Area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata triplicibus lineamentis. Tabula detrimento affecta in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in porta hortorum inaedificata.)

**NATPIS:**

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacr(um)  
res publica Poet(ovionensis) mandante  
L(ucio) Tvllio Tvsco leg(ato) Augg(ustorum)  
pr(o) pr(aetore) curante T(ito) Gem(i)nio  
Rufino proc(uratore) Augg(ustorum)*

**PRIJEVOD:** Uzvišenim nimfama posvećeno, općina Petovijanaca po zapovijedi Lucija Tulija Tuska Augustova legata s propretorskim ovlastima, a uz brigu Tita Geminija Rufina Augustovog prokuratora.

**DATACIJA:** 162.-166. g. (prema Fitzu)

**LITERATURA:** AIJ 461; CIL III 4117; ILJug 357; Tkalčić 1869, 7; Ljubić 1879, 38, no. 2; Dobronić 1952, 147; Vikić 1961, 49; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, n. 5, 7.; Fitz 1993a, 487, no. 289, 727, no. 404.

**ONLINE LITERATURA:** <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5346> (25.5.2013.).

**13. Natpis posvećen uzvišenim nimfama (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacer)**

**OPIS:** Ploča s natpisom posvećenim uzvišenim nimfama pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tabula cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro, in Varaždinske toplice reperta.)

**NATPIS:**

*N(ympHis)*

ht. 0.62 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently built into a gate in a park in Varaždinske Toplice. The inscription on the slab is framed by triply-moulded frame. Slab is damaged at several places. (Tabula (2,90x0,62), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro. Area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata triplicibus lineamentis. Tabula detrimento affecta in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in porta hortorum inaedificata.)

**INSCRIPTION:**

*Nymphis Aug(ustis) sacr(um)  
res publica Poet(ovionensis) mandante  
L(ucio) Tvllio Tvsco leg(ato) Augg(ustorum)  
pr(o) pr(aetore) curante T(ito) Gem(i)nio  
Rufino proc(uratore) Augg(ustorum)*

**TRANSLATION:** Dedicated to the revered Nymphs, by the municipium of Poetovio at the behest of Lucius Tullius Tuscus, the legate of Augustus with propraetorian authority, with the care of Titus Geminus Rufinus, the procurator of Augustus.

**DATING:** 162-166 (according to Fitz)

**BIBLIOGRAPHY:** AIJ 461; CIL III 4117; ILJug 357; Tkalčić 1869, 7; Ljubić 1879, 38, no. 2; Dobronić 1952, 147; Vikić 1961, 49; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, n. 5, 7; Fitz 1993a, 487, no. 289, 727, no. 404.

**ONLINE SOURCES:** <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5346> (25.5.2013.).

**13. Inscription dedicated to the revered Nymphs (Titulus Nymphis augustis sacer)**

**DESCRIPTION:** Slab with inscription dedicated to the revered Nymphs found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tabula cum titulo Nymphis augustis sacro, in Varaždinske toplice reperta.)

**INSCRIPTION:**

*N(ympHis)*

*Aug(ustis) s(acrum)*  
*Fl(avius) Valentinus*  
 [- - -]e[- - -]  
 [- - - -]stilli[- - -]  
 [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]

PRIJEVOD: Posvećeno uzvišenim nimfama. Flavije Valentin [- - -] rado je učinio zavjet.

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: Tkalčić 1869, 23; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 5.

### 1.5. Uzvišenim nimfama koje donose zdravlje (Nymphis augustis salutaribus)

#### 14. Votivni oltar posvećen nimfama (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni oltar (š. 0,26 m; deb. 0,20 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Plitko krunište oltara jednostavno je oblikovano, iznad njega nalazi se plinta s natpisom. Stepenasto se sužava u jednostavno natpisno polje. Baza nije sačuvana. (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra (0,26x0,20), ex lapide marmoreo. Super simplicem coronam plinthis cum titulo inscribendo. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:  
*Nymp(his)*  
*Aug(ustis)*  
*Salutarib(us)*  
*collatores*  
*pec(unia) sua fec(erunt)*  
*imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro)*  
*Gordiano*  
*Aug(usto)*

*Aug(ustis) s(acrum)*  
*Fl(avius) Valentinus*  
 [- - -]e[- - -]  
 [- - - -]stilli[- - -]  
 [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Nymphs. Flavius Valentinus [- - -] sincerely offered this prayer.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tkalčić 1869, 23; Ljubić 1879, 41, no. 5.

### 1.5. To the revered Nymphs who bring good health (Nymphis augustis salutaribus)

#### 14. Votive altar dedicated to the Nymphs (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar (w. 0.26 m; thk. 0.20 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Shallow altar crown is simply formed, above which there is a plinth with the inscription. Narrows stair-like into a simple inscription field. Base not preserved. (Ara Nymphis augustis salutaribus sacra (0,26x0,20), ex lapide marmoreo. Super simplicem coronam plinthis cum titulo inscribendo. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Basis non conservata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Nymp(his)*  
*Aug(ustis)*  
*Salutarib(us)*  
*collatores*  
*pec(unia) sua fec(erunt)*  
*imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro)*  
*Gordiano*  
*Aug(usto)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim nimfama koje donose zdravlje, prinositelji su učinili (zavjet) o svom trošku u vrijeme cara, našeg gospodara, uzvišenog Gordijana.

DATACIJA: 239.-244. g.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5325> (25.5.2013.).

## 2. Natpisi posvećeni Dijani (Tituli Dianae sacri)

### 15. Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani (Ara Dianae sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar od pješčenjaka (š. 0,33 m; v. 0,78 m; deb. 0,34 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Oltar je loše sačuvan. Krunište je jednostavno, plitko izvedeno, a iznad njega se nalaze dva akroterija. Krunište je od natpisnog polja odijeljeno stepenastom profilacijom. Natpisno polje nije uokvireno te se spušta u jednostavno profiliranu bazu. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,33x0,78x0,34), ex petra arenaria, detrimento affecta. Simplex corona cum duo acroteria gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi transit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Dom(inae) at  
d(eae) [Di]anae  
m(onitu) v(otum) s(olvit)  
Epuria  
Ur[s]ula Re  
[- - -*

PRIJEVOD: Gospodarici i božici Dijani Epurija Ursula rado je prinijela žrtvu...

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

TRANSLATION: To the revered Nymphs who bring health, (prayer) offered by the contributors at their own expense at the time of the emperor, our lord, the exalted Gordianus.

DATING: 239-244

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5325> (25.5.2013.).

## 2. Inscriptions dedicated to Diana (Tituli Dianae sacri)

### 15. Votive altar dedicated to Diana (Ara Dianae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Sandstone votive altar (w. 0.33 m; ht. 0.78 m; thk. 0.34 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar poorly preserved. Crown is simply, shallowly rendered, with two acroteria above it. Crown divided from the inscription field by stair-like moulding. Inscription field is framed and descends to a simply moulded base. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,33x0,78x0,34), ex petra arenaria, detrimento affecta. Simplex corona cum duo acroteria gradatim in media parte transit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi transit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Dom(inae) at  
d(eae) [Di]anae  
m(onitu) v(otum) s(olvit)  
Epuria  
Ur[s]ula Re  
[- - -*

TRANSLATION: Epuria Ursula sincerely made this offering to the mistress and goddess Diana ...

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

LITERATURA: AIJ 459.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5341> (25.5.2013.).

### 16. Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani (Ara Dianae sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani (š. 0,16 m; v. 0,47 m; deb. 0,135 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Izrađen je od pješčenjaka. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,16x0,47x0,135), ex petra arenaria, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta).

NATPIS:

*Dian[ae]*

*Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*

*Ve[- -]*

*v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)]*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenoj Dijani posvećeno. Ve... je rado zavjetovao

DATACIJA: 201.-300. g.

LITERATURA: ILJug 356b; ILJug 1166; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114, tab. 21, 62.

### 3. Natpisi posvećeni nimfama i Dijani (Tituli Nymphis et Dianae sacri)

#### 17. Votivni oltar posvećen Dijani i nimfama (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra)

OPIS: Oltar posvećen Dijani i nimfama (š. 0,44 m; v. 0,95 m; deb. 0,25 m; visina slova 0,05-0,025 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od pješčenjaka. Krunište oltara ukrašeno je rozetama, a na vrhu se nalaze dva akroterija, od kojih jedan, onaj desni, nije sačuvan. Sačuvani akroterij je također ukrašen rozetom. Stepeničasta profilacija povezuje krunište s natpisnim poljem, koje nema okvir. Natpis je pomalo izlizan. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra (0,44x0,95x0,25) ex pe-

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 459.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5341> (25.5.2013.).

### 16. Votive altar dedicated to Diana (Ara Dianae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Diana (w. 0.16 m; ht. 0.47 m; thk. 0.135 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Made of sandstone. (Ara Dianae sacra (0,16x0,47x0,135), ex petra arenaria, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta).

INSCRIPTION:

*Dian[ae]*

*Aug(ustae) sac(rum)*

*Ve[- -]*

*v(otum) s(olvit) [l(ibens) m(erito)]*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the exalted Diana. Ve... sincerely offered this prayer

DATING: 201-300

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 356b; ILJug 1166; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1958, 114, pl. 21, 62.

### 3. Inscriptions dedicated to the Nymphs and Diana (Tituli Nymphis et Dianae sacri)

#### 17. Votive altar dedicated to Diana and the Nymphs (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Altar dedicated to Diana and the Nymphs (w. 0.44 m; ht. 0.95 m; thk. 0.25 m; height of letters 0.05-0.025 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of sandstone. Crown of altar adorned by rosettes, with two acroteria on top, of which one, on the right side, has not been preserved. The preserved acroterion is also adorned by a rosette. Stair-like moulding links the crown to the inscription field, which has no frame. Inscription is slightly worn. Inscription field expands into a simply formed base. (Ara Nymphis et Dianae sacra (0,44x0,95x0,25) ex petra arenaria. Corona

tra arenaria. Corona rosetis ordinata cum duobus acroteriis, dexterum non conservatum. Sinistrum acroterium etiam rosetis ordinatum. Gradalia lineamenta coronam cum mediam partem ligat. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Titulus detritus. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Dianae et  
Nymphis  
sacr(um)  
collegium  
iuventutis  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Dijani i nimfama kolegij mladeži rado je zavjetovao

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 460.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD022299, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022299?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5340> (25.5.2013.).

#### 4. Natpisi posvećeni silvanama (Tituli Silvanis sacri)

##### 18. Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (Ara Silvanis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (š. 0,21 m; v. 0,58 m; deb. 0,15 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Krunište oltara jednostavno je profilirano s jednostavnom plintom iznad. Stepenasto se sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,21x0,58x0,15) ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona cum simplici plinthide

rosetis ordinata cum duobus acroteriis, dexterum non conservatum. Sinistrum acroterium etiam rosetis ordinatum. Gradalia lineamenta coronam cum mediam partem ligat. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Titulus detritus. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Dianae et  
Nymphis  
sacr(um)  
collegium  
iuventutis  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Sincerely offered to Diana and the Nymphs by the collegium of youth

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 460

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD022299, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022299?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5340> (25.5.2013.).

#### 4. Inscriptions dedicated to the Silvanae (Tituli Silvanis sacri)

##### 18. Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (Ara Silvanis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (w. 0.21 m; ht. 0.58 m; thk. 0.15 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Altar crown simply moulded with simple plinth above. Narrows stair-like into the inscription field, which is not framed. Inscription field expands into a simply formed base. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,21x0,58x0,15) ex lapide calcario. Simplex corona cum simplici plinthide gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media



gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Silvanis*

*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*

*Cornel*

*ia Restu*

*ta pro se et su(is)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim silvanama posvećeno. Kornelija Restuta u svoje ime te u ime svojih rado je zavjetovala.

DATAČIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 467.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5343> (25.5.2013.).

### 19. Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (Ara Silvanis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,57 m; deb. 0,17 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Djelomično oštećeno krunište oltara jednostavno je profilirano s jednostavnom plintom iznad. Krunište se stepenasto sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Silvanis*

*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*

*Cornel*

*ia Restu*

*ta pro se et su(is)*

*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Silvanae. Prayer offered sincerely by Cornelia Restuta on her own and her family's behalf.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 467.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5343> (25.5.2013.).

### 19. Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (Ara Silvanis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (w. 0.20 m; ht. 0.57 m; thk. 0.17 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Partially damaged crown simply moulded with simple plinth above. Crown narrows stair-like into inscription field, which is not framed. Inscription field expands into simply formed base. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim silvanama posvećeno, Pompeja Florentina je rado, u svoje ime i u ime svojih, zavjetovala.

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 468.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 20. Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (Ara Silvanis sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen silvanama (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,57 m; deb. 0,17 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Djelomično oštećeno krunište oltara jednostavno je profilirano s jednostavnom plintom iznad. Krunište se stepenasto sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno. Natpisno polje se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

## INSCRIPTION:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Silvanae, offered sincerely by Pompeia Florentina, on her own and her family's behalf.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 468.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 20. Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (Ara Silvanis sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to the Silvanae (w. 0.20 m; ht. 0.57 m; thk. 0.17 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Partially damaged altar crown simply moulded with simple plinth above. Crown narrows stair-like into inscription field, which is not framed. Inscription field expands into simple formed base. (Ara Silvanis sacra (0,20x0,57x0,17), ex lapide calcario, cum simplici corona detrimento affecta, quae plinthidem habet. Ea gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, sine margine. Media pars in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## INSCRIPTION:

*Silvanis*  
*Aug(ustis) sac(rum)*  
*Pompeia*  
*Florentina*  
*pro se et suis*  
*v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenim silvanama posvećeno, Pompeja Florentina je rado, u svoje ime i u ime svojih, zavjetovala.

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 468.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 5. Natpisi posvećeni Fortuni (Tituli Fortunae sacri)

### 21. Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni (Ara Fortunae sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni (š. 0,45 m; v. 1,28 m; deb. 0,22 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađen je od vapnenca. Oltar je većim dijelom sačuvan, okrhnut mu je desni rub kruništa te prednji dio baze. Krunište je plitko i jednostavno izvedeno. Iznad njega nalaze se neukrašeni akroteriji između kojih se nalazi ukras u obliku tordirane vrpce. Stepenamom profilacijom sužava se u natpisno polje. Natpisno polje uokvireno je s lijeve i desne strane tordiranim vrpčama. Natpisno polje stepenasto se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu oltara. (Ara Fortunae sacra (0,45x1,28x0,22), ex lapide calcario, cum corona et basi detrimento affectae. Simplex tenuis corona cum duobus acroteriis et taenia in cochleam retorta inter ea. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata dextro et sinistro in latere taeniis in cochleam retortis. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Fortunae Aug(ustae)*

*T(itus) Fl(avius) Titi fil(ius) Papiria Oesci Domi*

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to the revered Silvanae, offered sincerely by Pompeia Florentina, on her own and her family's behalf.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 468.

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5344> (25.5.2013.).

## 5. Inscriptions dedicated to Fortuna (Tituli Fortunae sacri)

### 21. Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna (Ara Fortunae sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna (w. 0.45 m; ht. 1.28 m; thk. 0.22 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of limestone. Altar mostly preserved, right edge of crown broken off, as is front part of base. Crown is shallowly and simply rendered. Above it there are unadorned acroteria between which there is an ornament shaped like twisted ribbons. Narrows stair-like into inscription field. Inscription field framed by twisted ribbons to left and right. Inscription field expands stair-like into simply formed altar base. (Ara Fortunae sacra (0,45x1,28x0,22), ex lapide calcario, cum corona et basi detrimento affectae. Simplex tenuis corona cum duobus acroteriis et taenia in cochleam retorta inter ea. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit. In media parte arae area titulo inscribendo ordinata, circumdata dextro et sinistro in latere taeniis in cochleam retortis. Media pars gradatim in simplici basi se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Fortunae Aug(ustae)*

*T(itus) Fl(avius) Titi fil(ius) Papiria Oesci Domi*

*tius Valerian  
us |(centurio) legion  
arius factus at  
suffragium leg(ionis)  
XIII Gem(inae) M(artiae) V(ictricis)  
Seve(rianae)  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)  
Po[m]peiano et [Paelignia]no co(n)s(ulibus)*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenoj Fortuni, Tit Flavije, sin Tita, upisan u tribus Papirije, grada Oeska, Domicij Valerijan učinjen legionarskim centurionom na temelju glasovanja XIII. legije Gemine Marcije Pobjednice Severijane, rado je zavjetovao, u vrijeme konzula Pompejana i Pelignijana.

DATACIJA: oko 231. g.

LITERATURA: Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37 (AE 1976, 00540); Fitz 1993b, 1145, no. 807.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD012321, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD012321?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5321> (25.5.2013.).

## 22. Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni (Ara Fortunaе sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Fortuni pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Ara Fortunaе sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:  
*Fortunaе*

PRIJEVOD: Fortuni

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug-02, 1167; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 130.

## 6. Natpis posvećen Junoni i Fortuni (Titulus Iunoni et Fortunaе sacer)

*tius Valerian  
us |(centurio) legion  
arius factus at  
suffragium leg(ionis)  
XIII Gem(inae) M(artiae) V(ictricis)  
Seve(rianae)  
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)  
Po[m]peiano et [Paelignia]no co(n)s(ulibus)*

TRANSLATION: To revered Fortuna, done by Titus Flavius, his son Titus, enrolled in the Papiria tribe, city of Oescus, Domitian Valerianus with the legionary centurion pursuant to the votes of *legio XIII Gemina Martia Victrix Severiana*, sincerely offered, at the time of the consuls Pompeianus and Paelignianus.

DATING: ca. 231

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Rendić-Miočević 1975, 37 (AE 1976, 00540); Fitz 1993b, 1145, no. 807.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD012321, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD012321?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5321> (25.5.2013.).

## 22. Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna (Ara Fortunaе sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Fortuna found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Ara Fortunaе sacra, in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Fortunaе*

TRANSLATION: To Fortuna

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug-02, 1167; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 130.

## 6. Inscription dedicated to Juno and Fortuna (Titulus Iunoni et Fortunaе sacer)

### 23. Baza Junoninog kipa (Basis statuae Iunonis)

OPIS: Mramorna baza Junoninog kipa pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se nalazi uz kapitolinski hram. Višestruko profilirano krunište, s plintom iznad, stepenasto se sužava u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno, a koje se opet stepenasto širi u jednostavno profiliranu bazu. (Basis, ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona multipliciter delineata, quae plinthidem habet. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici delineata se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie ad templum Capitolinum.)

NATPIS:

*Iunoni  
reginae  
adq(ue)  
Fortunae  
d(onum) d(ederunt)  
Poet(ovionenses) pub(lice)*

PRIJEVOD: Kraljici Junoni i Fortuni Petovljani su javno dali dar.

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1168; Gorenc, Vikić 1967, 103; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 7; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 8; Šimek 2001, 47, sl. 6.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD034992, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034992?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5324> (25.5.2013.).

### 7. Natpis posvećen Minervi (Titulus Minervae sacer)

### 24. Baza Minervinog kipa (Basis statuae Minervae)

OPIS: Mramorna baza Minervinog kipa

### 23. Base of a statue of Juno (Basis statuae Iunonis)

DESCRIPTION: Marble base of statue of Juno found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently located next to the Capitoline temple. Multiply moulded crown, with plinth above, narrows stair-like into inscription field, which is not framed, and which expands stair-like into simply moulded base. (Basis, ex lapide marmoreo, cum corona multipliciter delineata, quae plinthidem habet. Corona gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici delineata se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie ad templum Capitolinum.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Iunoni  
reginae  
adq(ue)  
Fortunae  
d(onum) d(ederunt)  
Poet(ovionenses) pub(lice)*

TRANSLATION: The people of Poetovio publicly gave this gift to Queen Juno and Fortuna.

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1168; Gorenc, Vikić 1967, 103; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 7; Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 8; Šimek 2001, 47, Fig. 6.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD034992, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034992?> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5324> (25.5.2013.).

### 7. Inscription dedicated to Minerva (Titulus Minervae sacer)

### 24. Base of a statue of Minerva (Basis statuae Minervae)

DESCRIPTION: Marble base of a statue of

(š. 0,85 m; v. 1,36 m; deb. 0,50 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Baza Minervinog kipa pronađena je u više fragmenata. Krunište je plitko, jednostavno profilirano s plintom iznad te se stepenasto sužava u natpisno polje. Natpisno polje je uokvireno te na taj način višestruko profilirano, a stepenasto se širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Basis (0,85x1,36x0,50), ex lapide marmoreo, in fragmentis. Simplex tenuis corona cum plinthide gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars, circumdata lineamentis, gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## NATPIS:

*Minervam**Aug(ustam)**L(ucius) Cl(audius) Ti(beri) f(ilius) Quirina**Moderatus**dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae)**Savaria(e)**dec(urio) municipi(i)**Ae(li) Sallae sacerdot(alis)**arae Aug(usti) e q(uingue) decur(iis)**posuit*

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenu Minervu, Lucije Klaudije Moderat, sin Tiberija upisan u tribus Quirina, dekurion kolonije Klaudije Savarije, dekurion kolonije Savarije i dekurion municipija Eli Sale, svećenik Augustova žrtvenika iz pet dekurija je postavio...?

DATACIJA: 151.-200. g.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1169; RIU 2, 13; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 8. (AE 1979, 00468; AE 1983, 00774); Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 9, 32, Abb. 19, 20; Mócsy 1982, 309; Gorenc 1984, 95; Redő 2003, 204.

Minerva (w. 0.85 m; ht. 1.36 m; thk. 0.50 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. The base of Minerva's statue was found in several fragments. Crown is shallow, with a simply moulded with plinth above and narrows stair-like into inscription field. Inscription field is framed by multiple moulding, and expands stair-like into a simply formed base. (Basis (0,85x1,36x0,50), ex lapide marmoreo, in fragmentis. Simplex tenuis corona cum plinthide gradatim in media parte se contrahit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars, circumdata lineamentis, gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Basis in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

## INSCRIPTION:

*Minervam**Aug(ustam)**L(ucius) Cl(audius) Ti(beri) f(ilius) Quirina**Moderatus**dec(urio) c(oloniae) C(laudiae) Savaria(e)**dec(urio) municipi(i)**Ae(li) Sallae sacerdot(alis)**arae Aug(usti) e q(uingue) decur(iis)**posuit*

TRANSLATION: To revered Minerva, Lucius Claudius Moderatus, son of Tiberius, enrolled in the Quirina tribe, decurion of the colony of Claudia Savaria, and decurion of the municipium of Aelae Sallae, priest of the altar of Augustus from five decuria installed by ...?

DATING: 151-200

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1169; RIU 2, 13; Gorenc, Vikić 1975, 39, Abb. 8. (AE 1979, 00468; AE 1983, 00774); Gorenc, Vikić 1980, 14, Abb. 9, 32, Abb. 19, 20; Mócsy 1982, 309; Gorenc 1984, 95; Redő 2003, 204.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD000496, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg>.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD000496, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/000496> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5388> (25.5.2013.).

### 8. Natpis posvećen Poluksu (Titulus Polluci sacer)

#### 25. Votivni oltar posvećen Poluksu (Ara Polluci sacra)

OPIS: Mramorni oltar posvećen Poluksu (š. 0,20 m; v. 0,60 m; deb. 0,19 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište oltara jednostavno je oblikovano sa dva neukrašena akroterija. Stepenasto prelazi u natpisno polje, koje nije uokvireno, a koje se stepenasto širi u jednostavno oblikovanu bazu. (Ara Polluci sacra (0,20x0,60x0,19), ex lapide marmoreo, cum simplici corona, quae duo acroteria habet. Corona gradatim in media parte transit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Polluci  
pro salute  
L(uci) F(abi) Cilonis  
c(larissimi) v(iri) et fili(i)  
nep(o)tesq(u)e eiu[s]  
Menande[r]  
liber(tus)*

PRIJEVOD: Poluksu, za zdravlje Lucija Fabija Ciona, vrlo važnog muža i sina i unuka, Menandar, njegov oslobođenik, (je zavjetovao).

DATAČIJA: 197.-202. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 466; CIL III 4120; Tkalčić 1869, 6.; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 8; Ochsenschlager, Premk 1991, 88, no. 1; Fitz 1993, 507, no. 299.

de/EDH/inschrift/000496 (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5388> (25.5.2013.).

### 8. Inscription dedicated to Pollux (Titulus Polluci sacer)

#### 25. Votive altar dedicated to Pollux (Ara Polluci sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar dedicated to Pollux (w. 0.20 m; ht. 0.60 m; thk. 0.19 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown is simply formed with two unadorned acroteria. Transitions stair-like to inscription field, which is framed, and which expands stair-like into simply formed base. (Ara Polluci sacra (0,20x0,60x0,19), ex lapide marmoreo, cum simplici corona, quae duo acroteria habet. Corona gradatim in media parte transit, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata est. Media pars gradatim in basi simplici se expandit. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Polluci  
pro salute  
L(uci) F(abi) Cilonis  
c(larissimi) v(iri) et fili(i)  
nep(o)tesq(u)e eiu[s]  
Menande[r]  
liber(tus)*

TRANSLATION: To Pollux, for the health of Lucius Fabius Cilonus, a very important man and son and grandson, (offered by) Menandar, his freedman.

DATING: 197-202

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 466; CIL III 4120; Tkalčić 1869, 6; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 8; Ochsenschlager, Premk 1991, 88, no. 1; Fitz 1993, 507, no. 299.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD053171, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/000496>

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD053171, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/053171> (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5342> (25.5.2013.).

### 9. Natpis posvećen Herkulu (Titulus Herculi sacer)

#### 26. Votivni oltar posvećen Herkulu (Ara Herculi sacra)

OPIS: Votivni oltar posvećen Herkulu (š. 0,66 m; v. 0,67 m; deb. 0,19 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se nalazi u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. Krunište oltara je uništeno. Sačuvano je samo tijelo s početnim dijelom natpisa. Baza oltara nedostaje. (Ara Herculi sacra (0,66x0,67x0,19), deletae coronae et basis. Corpus arae, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata, partim conservatum. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Herculi*

*Aug(usto) Sac(rum)*

*M(arcus) Au[r]el(ius)*

*Cassivs*

*b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*

[ - - -

PRIJEVOD: Uzvišenom Herkulu, posvetio Marko Aurelije Kasije konzularni beneficijar.

DATAČIJA: prva polovina 3. st.

LITERATURA: AIJ 458; Foto; CBI 357; CIL III 10890; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 7; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243; Sanader 1994, 107, no. 39, Foto.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD056619, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/056619> (25.5.2013.).

[de/EDH/inschrift/053171](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5342) (25.5.2013.); <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5342> (25.5.2013.).

### 9. Inscription dedicated to Hercules (Titulus Herculi sacer)

#### 26. Votive altar dedicated to Hercules (Ara Herculi sacra)

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar dedicated to Hercules (w. 0.66 m; ht. 0.67 m; thk. 0.19 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently located in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Altar crown destroyed. Only body with initial part of inscription preserved. Altar base missing. (Ara Herculi sacra (0,66x0,67x0,19), deletae coronae et basis. Corpus arae, ubi area titulo inscribendo ordinata, partim conservatum. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Herculi*

*Aug(usto) Sac(rum)*

*M(arcus) Au[r]el(ius)*

*Cassivs*

*b(ene)ff(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis)*

[ - - -

TRANSLATION: Dedicated to revered Hercules by Marcus Aurelius Cassius, beneficiarius consularis.

DATING: 1<sup>st</sup> half of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 458; Photo; CBI 357; CIL III 10890; Ljubić 1879, 42, no. 7; Brunšmid 1907, 139, no. 243; Sanader 1994, 107, no. 39, Foto.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD056619, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/056619> (25.5.2013.).



**10. Natpis posvećen Solu (Titulus Soli sacer)****27. Natpis posvećen Solu (Titulus Soli sacer)**

OPIS: Ploča s natpisom posvećenim Solu (š. 0,585 m; v. 0,675 m; deb. 0,22 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Izrađena je od pješčenjaka. (Tabula (0,585x0,675x0,22 ), ex petra arenaria, cum titulo Soli sacro, in Varaždinske Toplice repertus. Hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservatus.)

NATPIS:

*Soli*

*[- - -]ra[- -]niis*

*simo*

*[A]polli[ni]*

*[- - -*

PRIJEVOD: Suncu Apolonu, koje najviše sja...

DATACIJA: prva četvrtina 3. stoljeća

LITERATURA: Demo 1994, 72, no. 1 (AE 1994, 1386; AE 1998, 01044); Migotti 1999, 56.

ONLINE LITERATURA: EDH-Nr.: HD049105, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/049105> (25.5.2013.).

**11. Natpisi nepoznate posvete (Tituli ignotae dedicationis)****28. Votivni oltar L. Larija Celera (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris)**

OPIS: Votivni oltar Lucija Larija Celera pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

**10. Inscription dedicated to Sol (Titulus Soli sacer)****27. Inscription dedicated to Sol (Titulus Soli sacer)**

DESCRIPTION: Slab with inscription dedicated to Sol (w. 0.585 m; v. 0.675 m; thk. 0.22 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Made of sandstone. (Tabula (0,585x0,675x0,22 ), ex petra arenaria, cum titulo Soli sacro, in Varaždinske Toplice repertus. Hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservatus.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Soli*

*[- - -]ra[- -]niis*

*simo*

*[A]polli[ni]*

*[- - -*

TRANSLATION: To the Sun Apollo, which shines most brightly ...

DATING: 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Demo 1994, 72, no. 1 (AE 1994, 1386; AE 1998, 01044); Migotti 1999, 56.

ONLINE SOURCES: EDH-Nr.: HD049105, URL: <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/EDH/inschrift/049105> (25.5.2013.).

**11. Inscriptions with unknown dedications (Tituli ignotae dedicationis)****28. Votive altar of L. Larius Celer (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris)**

DESCRIPTION: Votive altar of Lucius Larius Celer found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Ara Lucii Laurii Celeris in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

PRIJEVOD: Lucije Larije Celer primipil legije XIII. Gemine

DATACIJA: 2. st.

LITERATURA: ILJug 1172; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970, 151, nota 13.

**29. Oltar podignut za vrijeme konzulovanja Gordijana i Avijole (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita)**

OPIS: Mramorni oltar (š. 0,26 m; v. 0,67 m; deb. 0,21 m) pronađen je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Krunište oltara nije sačuvano. Natpisno polje nije uokvireno, a gornji dio je uništen. Baza je višestruko profilirana i dosta oštećena. (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita (0,26x0,67x0,21), ex lapide marmoreo. Corona deleta, superior pars mediae partis detrimento affecta. Basis, detrimento affecta, multipliciter delineata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice repertus, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

[ - - Gordiano Aug(usto)]  
 et Aviola  
 co(n)s(ulibus)  
 pr(idie) nonas  
 octobres  
 Val(erius) Vitalinus  
 Val(erius) Crispinianus

PRIJEVOD: Valerije Vitalin i Valerije Krispinian, dok su uzvišeni Gordijan i Aviola bili konzuli, 6. listopada.....

DATACIJA: 239. g.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5326> (25.5.2013.).

TRANSLATION: Lucius Larius Celer, primipilaris of legion *XIII Gemina*

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: ILJug 1172; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1970., 151, note 13.

**29. Altar raised during the consulship of Gordianus and Aviola (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita)**

DESCRIPTION: Marble altar (w. 0.26 m; ht. 0.67 m; thk. 0.21 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Altar crown not preserved. Inscription field not framed, upper portion destroyed. Base multiply moulded and considerably damaged. (Ara Gordiano Augusto et Aviola consulibus posita (0,26x0,67x0,21), ex lapide marmoreo. Corona deleta, superior pars mediae partis detrimento affecta. Basis, detrimento affecta, multipliciter delineata. Ara in Varaždinske Toplice repertus, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

[ - - Gordiano Aug(usto)]  
 et Aviola  
 co(n)s(ulibus)  
 pr(idie) nonas  
 octobres  
 Val(erius) Vitalinus  
 Val(erius) Crispinianus

TRANSLATION: Valerius Vitalinus and Valerius Crispinianus, while the revered Gordianus and Aviola were consuls, 6 October...

DATING: 239

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5326> (25.5.2013.).

**12. Carski natpis (Titulus imperialis)****30. Natpis cara Konstantina (Titulus imperatoris Constantini)**

OPIS: Mramorna ploča s natpisom cara Konstantina (š. 1,61 m; v. 0,70 m; deb. 0,06 m) pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. Danas se čuva u Zavičajnom muzeju Varaždinske Toplice. Ploča s natpisom, uokvirena trostruko profiliranim okvirom. Ploča je puknula na dva dijela, koja su spojena. Uzidana. (Tabula (1,61x0,51), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo, triplicibus lineamentis circumdata. Duo fragmenta in totum connexa. Tabula in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fl(avius)  
Val(erius) Constantinus Pius Felix  
Maximus Aug(ustus)  
Aguas Iasas olim vi ignis consumptas  
cum porticibus  
et omnib(us) ornamentis ad pristinam  
faciem restituit  
provisione etiam pietatis su(a)e nundinas  
die Solis perpeti anno constituit  
curante Val(erio) Catullino v(iro)  
p(erfectissimo) p(rae)p(osito)  
p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*

PRIJEVOD: Car Cezar Flavije Valerije Konstantin Pobožni Sretni Najveći Uzvišeni, Jazejske Toplice, nekoć snagom ognja uništene s trijemovima i svim ukrasima, povratio je u nekadašnji izgled te je zbog vlastite pobožnosti ustanovio nedjeljne sajmove tijekom cijele godine, uz pomoć Valerija Katulina, vrlo izvrsnog muža, koji je na čelu provincije Panonije Superior

DATAČIJA: 321.-326. g.

LITERATURA: AIJ 469; CIL III 4121; Tkalčić 1869, 16; Ljubić 1879, 34, no. 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 121;

**12. Imperial inscription (Titulus imperialis)****30. Inscription of Emperor Constantine (Titulus imperatoris Constantini)**

DESCRIPTION: Marble slab bearing inscription of Emperor Constantine (w. 1.61 m; ht. 0.70 m; thk. 0.06 m) found in Varaždinske Toplice. Currently held in the Varaždinske Toplice Local History Museum. Slab with inscription, frame triply moulded. Slab broken into two parts, which have been connected. Built into wall. (Tabula (1,61x0,51), ex lapide marmoreo, cum titulo, triplicibus lineamentis circumdata. Duo fragmenta in totum connexa. Tabula in Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Zavičajni muzej Varaždinske Toplice conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Imp(erator) Caes(ar) Fl(avius) Val(erius)  
Constantinus Pius Felix Maximus  
Aug(ustus)  
Aguas Iasas olim vi ignis consumptas cum  
porticibus  
et omnib(us) ornamentis ad pristinam faciem  
restituit  
provisione etiam pietatis su(a)e nundinas  
die Solis perpeti anno constituit  
curante Val(erio) Catullino v(iro)  
p(erfectissimo) p(rae)p(osito) p(rovinciae)  
P(annoniae) Super(ioris)*

TRANSLATION: Emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus the Pious, Fortunate and Greatest Augustus, who restored Aquae Iasae, formerly destroyed by the force of fire with its porticos and all adornments, to its former appearance and due to his own piety established Sunday fairs during the entire year, with the aid of Valerius Catullinus, *vir perfectissimus*, who heads the province of Pannonia Superior

DATING: 321-326

BIBLIOGRAPHY: AIJ 469; CIL III 4121; Tkalčić 1869, 16; Ljubić 1879, 34, no. 1; Vikić-Belančić, Gorenc 1961, 121; Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 112; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, Fig. 20; Demo 1994, 110.

Gorenc, Vikić 1963, 112; Vikić, Gorenc 1966, 14, sl. 20; Demo 1994, 110.

ONLINE LITERATURA: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5339> (25.5.2013.).

### 13. Pečati na tegulama (Signa in tegulis)

#### 31. Tegula s pečatom (Tegula cum signo)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*Iun(i) Firm(ini)*

PRIJEVOD: Junija Firmina

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 4679; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(1); Szilágyi 1933, 109, no. 56.

#### 32. Tegula s pečatom (Tegula cum signo)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*Iun f̄un*

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 4680; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(2).

#### 33. Tegula s pečatom (Tegula cum signo)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je u Varaždinskim Toplicama. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

NATPIS:

*Q(uintus) Sp(urius)*

PRIJEVOD: Kvint Spurije

ONLINE SOURCES: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=5339> (25.5.2013.).

### 13. Stamps on tegulae (Signa in tegulis)

#### 31. Stamped tegula (Tegula cum signo)

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Iun(i) Firm(ini)*

TRANSLATION: [of] Junius Firminus

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 4679; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (1); Szilágyi 1933, 109, no. 56.

#### 32. Stamped tegula (Tegula cum signo)

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Iun f̄un*

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 4680; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (2).

#### 33. Stamped tegula (Tegula cum signo)

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in Varaždinske Toplice. (Tegula cum signo in Varaždinske Toplice reperta.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Q(uintus) Sp(urius)*

TRANSLATION: Quintus Spurius

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 4684; CIL III 11466; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no.

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 4684; CIL III 11466; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(3); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 68; Vikić 1962, 172; Šimek 2001, 49, T. 1.6.

**34. Tegula s pečatom pronađena nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:  
*LX C Flor*

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(4); Szilágyi 1933, 60, no. 169.

**35. Tegula s pečatom pronađena nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:  
*Cas(siae) Cri(spinae)*

PRIJEVOD: Kasije Krispine

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: CIL III 11461; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9(5); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 58.

9 (3); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 68; Vikić 1962, 172; Šimek 2001, 49, P. 1.6.

**34. Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice, beyond Gromače, near Tuhovec. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*LX C Flor*

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (4); Szilágyi 1933, 60, no. 169.

**35. Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found near Varaždinske Toplice, beyond Gromače, near Tuhovec. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:  
*Cas(siae) Cri(spinae)*

TRANSLATION: [of] Cassius Crispinus

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: CIL III 11461; Tkalčić 1869, 24; Ljubić 1879, 43, no. 9 (5); Szilágyi 1933, 110, no. 58.

**36. Stamped tegula found in the vicinity of Varaždinske Toplice (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)**

DESCRIPTION: Stamped tegula found near Varaždinske Toplice, beyond Gromače, near

### 36. Tegula s pečatom pronađena nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta)

OPIS: Tegula s pečatom pronađena je nedaleko od Varaždinskih Toplica, iza Gromača, blizu Tuhovca. Danas se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

NATPIS:

*Cri(spi)*

PRIJEVOD: Krispija

DATACIJA: 2./3. st.

LITERATURA: Tkalčić 1869, 24.

#### 4. Appendix

U ovom članku prikupljeni su svi objavljeni natpisi iz Varaždinskih Toplica te poredani po kataloškim brojevima. Samih natpisa u užem smislu ima trideset i jedan, uz šest pečata na tegulama. Natpisi su razvrstani po adresatima (nimfe, silvane, Fortuna, Junona, Minerva, Poluks, Herkul Sol te nepoznati adresati), a uključen je i jedan carski natpis (car kao autoritet), kao i već spomenuti pečati. Tako skupljen katalog natpisa znanstveno je vrijedan ukoliko ga učinimo dostupnim javnosti. Postavlja se, međutim, pitanje: kako to učiniti?

U Hrvatskoj je trenutno najzastupljeniji tradicionalni način objavljivanja putem knjiga i časopisa (katalozi izložbi, izvješća s iskopavanja...), a mnogi su naši natpisi uvršteni i u velike međunarodne zbirke kao što su CIL, AIJ, *Ubi erat lupa*. Nažalost, ovaj način objavljivanja ne znači da će natpisi biti lako dostupni široj javnosti. Za početak, tiskanje knjige ili časopisa predstavlja dugotrajan proces, a često prođe i nekoliko godina dok neki nalaz bude objavljen. Uz to, problem

Tuhovec. Currently held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. (Tegula cum signo prope Varaždinske Toplice reperta, hodie in Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu conservata.)

INSCRIPTION:

*Cri(spi)*

TRANSLATION: [of] Crispus

DATING: 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tkalčić 1869, 24.

#### 4. Appendix

All published inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice are gathered in this article and listed under catalogue numbers. There are thirty-one inscriptions themselves in the narrower sense, as well as six stamped tegulae. The inscriptions are classified on the basis of those to whom they are addressed (Nymphs, Silvanae, Fortuna, Juno, Minerva, Pollux, Hercules, Sol and unknown addressees), and one imperial inscription was also included (the emperor as an authority), as well as the aforementioned stamps. A catalogue compiled in this manner has scholarly value insofar as it is made available to the public. A question that arises, however, is how to do so.

In Croatia, the most common manner currently is the traditional method of publication by means of a books and journals (exhibition catalogues, excavation reports...), and many local inscriptions are incorporated into major international collections such as CIL, AIJ, *Ubi erat lupa*. Unfortunately, this publication method does not mean that the inscriptions will be easily accessible to the wider public. First and foremost, printing of a book or journal is a long-term process, and often several years pass before a given find is published. Another problem is a small print run, as well as expensive editions, thereby limiting distribution and limiting the availability of data. Many overcome these obstacles by publishing on the internet.

predstavljaju i male naklade, kao i skupa izdanja, a samim time i ograničena distribucija, čime se smanjuje dostupnost podataka. Mnogima se od ovih zapreka može doskočiti objavljivanjem putem Interneta.

Neki poticaji za takvo objavljivanje već postoje. Odsjek klasične filologije Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu na Internetu je objavio grčke natpise s područja Hrvatske pod naslovom *Inscriptiones Graecae in Croatia repertae*. Odsjek za arheologiju istog fakulteta, koji ima važnu ulogu u prikupljanju natpisa s našeg područja za CIL, radi na objavi latinskih natpisa (CIL je također počeo s objavljivanjem natpisa putem Interneta). Upravo želja, ali i potreba, za objedinjavanjem natpisa te želja da budu dostupniji i lakši za pretraživanje i analiziranje, a samim time i uspoređivanje, predstavlja važan poticaj ovakvom načinu objavljivanja.

Natpisi obrađeni unutar ovog rada lako bi se mogli uključiti u neku već postojeću zbirku, ali mogu i sami tvoriti cjelinu. Neki natpisi iz kataloga ovoga rada objavljeni su unutar manjeg broja mrežnih zbirki (kao što su *Ubi erat lupa*, *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*), ali niti jedna od njih ne sadrži sve natpise obuhvaćene ovim radom. Stoga sam smatrala potrebnim okupiti ih na jednom mjestu i na taj način učiniti dostupnima.

Kako bi digitalno priređeni natpisi mogli biti prikazani u jednakom obliku na različitim računalima, te kako bi bila omogućena distribucija specijalističkog znanja koje stoji iza kritičkog izdanja jednog natpisa, bilo je potrebno uvesti standardni računalni format. Tako što već postoji u knjižnom objavljivanju, uz dodatnu prednost - radi se o formatu koji je čitljiv i ljudima i računalima.

Radi se o računalnom označiteljskom jeziku XML, razvijenom devedesetih godi-

Some drives for such publication already exist. The Classical Philology Department of the Faculty of Social Science and Humanities in Zagreb has posted online Greek inscriptions from Croatia's territory under the title *Inscriptiones Graecae in Croatia repertae*. The same faculty's Archaeology Department, which plays a major role in gathering inscriptions from Croatia's territory for CIL, is working on the publication of Latin inscriptions (CIL has also begun to post inscriptions online). It is precisely the desire, but also the need, to make inscriptions public and the desire for them to be more accessible and easier to examine and analyze, and thereby also compare, which constitutes an important impetus for this type of publication.

The inscriptions considered in this work may easily be incorporated into an already existing collection, but they may also form their own unit. Some inscriptions from the catalogue herein were published in a smaller number of networked collections (such as *Ubi erat lupa*, *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*), but not one of them contains all of the inscriptions encompassed by this work. I therefore deemed it necessary to bring them together in one place and thereby make them available.

In order to facilitate the display of digitally prepared inscriptions in the same form on different computers, and in order to facilitate distribution of specialist knowledge that underlies the critical publication of a single inscription, it will be necessary to introduce a standard computer format. Something like this already exists in print publications, with an additional advantage: this is a format readable by both people and computers.

This involves the computer markup language XML, developed in the 1990s. The basic principle of XML is to frame the relevant components of any given content with the appropriate signifying designations, i.e. "marking up". The use of such abstract marking allows for the separation of presentation, which

na dvadesetog stoljeća. Osnovno je načelo XML-a uokviriti relevantne dijelove sadržaja odgovarajućim oznakama značenja (*markup*). Upotreba ovakvog apstraktnog označavanja dopušta odvajanje prezentacije, koje obuhvaća tipografsko oblikovanje teksta pomoću kurziva, feta itd., od semantike, pri čemu kurziv znači *naglašeno*, odnosno *nesigurno* u epigrafiji.

Budući da je XML vrlo općenit sustav označavanja, za epigrafiju je bilo nužno specificirati oznake, odnosno urediti konkretan skup oznaka za opisivanje elemenata natpisa na predmetima. Takav standardni podskup XML oznaka namijenjenih epigrafskim opisima i izdanjima naziva se EpiDoc. Oblikovali su ga znanstvenici s University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Tom Elliott, Hugh Cayless i Amy Hawkins početkom 21. stoljeća, kako bi omogućili epigrafičarima da se njihovo znanje prenese u formalni sustav.<sup>145</sup>

Prvi veliki projekt EpiDoc udruge bilo je prevođenje u ovaj format korpusa natpisa iz Afrodizijade, kojima se bavio King's College London. U tom projektu objavljeno je više od 1500 natpisa. Naknadnom obradom EpiDoc formata natpisi su za prezentaciju numerirani prema mjestu pronalaska, a izvedene su podjele i prema tipu spomenika, datumu, vrsti teksta, ukrasima... Također je priređen i indeks, kako bi olakšao pretraživanje, te bibliografija.

Možda će netko prigovoriti: zašto objavljivati natpise u EpiDoc formatu, a ne jednostavno priređene u nekakvom programu za obradu teksta? Iako je dokument nastao programom za obradu teksta jednostavnije izraditi, on nije idealan za

encompasses the typographic formation of a text with the help of italics, feta, etc., from semantics, wherein italics indicate *emphasis*, or *uncertainty* in epigraphy.

Since XML is a very general markup system, it was necessary to specify the marks for epigraphy, i.e., set up a concrete set of marks to describe the elements of inscriptions on physical objects. This standard sub-set of XML marks geared toward epigraphic descriptions and editions is called EpiDoc. It was formed in 2000 by scholars from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Tom Elliott, Hugh Cayless and Amy Hawkins, in order to help epigraphers to convey their knowledge into a formal system.<sup>145</sup>

The first major EpiDoc project was the translation of the Aphrodisias inscriptions into this format, done by King's College in London. Over 1,500 inscriptions were published in this project. By means of subsequent processing in the EpiDoc format, the inscriptions were numbered for presentation based on find sites, and divisions were made according to the type of monument, the date, type of text, ornamentation... An index, to simplify searches, and a bibliography were also compiled.

An objection that may arise is: why publish inscriptions in EpiDoc format instead of a simply edited format using word processing software? Even though a document made by word processing software is simple to make, it is not ideal for network publication. One of the principal reasons for the impracticability is the rapid change of computer formats: often, due to incompatibility, it happens that someone who has an older version of the word processing software cannot read a newer document. Another frequent problem is that when the same document is opened on different computers the presentation appears different.

<sup>145</sup> Detaljniji podaci o EpiDocu mogu se pronaći na internetskoj adresi: <http://epidoc.sourceforge.net/index.shtml> (25.5.2013.).

<sup>145</sup> More detailed data on EpiDoc can be found at <http://epidoc.sourceforge.net/index.shtml> (25.5.2013.).



mrežne objave. Jedan od glavnih razloga nepraktičnosti predstavlja brza promjena računalnih formata: često se, zbog nekompatibilnosti, događa da netko tko ima stariju verziju programa za obradu teksta ne može čitati noviji dokument. Čest je problem i da, kad isti dokument otvorimo na više računala, dobivamo različite prezentacije.

Dokumenti izrađeni u EpiDoc formatu predstavljaju građu koja može biti oblikovana u različite formate - od iste osnove možemo doći do različitih prezentacija - kao što su PDF za tisak, HTML za mrežu te sam XML ili tekst za baze podataka. PDF format nije idealan za istraživački rad na natpisima jer nam ne pruža dovoljno mogućnosti, odnosno omogućava nam pretraživanje samo po slovnim znakovima, što epigrafičarima svakako nije dovoljno. EpiDoc format može se oblikovati i u format samostalne objave na Internetu, odnosno HTML. I kod ovog formata nailazimo na isti problem kao i kod PDF-a.

EpiDoc format sadrži eksplicitne iskaze o značenju pojedinog (epigrafičkog) podatka. To se ostvaruje semantičkim označavanjem. Semantički označen epigrafički tekst možemo pretraživati po slovnim znakovima, ali i po oznakama, te po raznim njihovim kombinacijama. To znači da je moguće pretraživanje lakuna, novih redaka - mnogo toga što je u uobičajenom tiskanom dokumentu izvedivo tek uz ogroman utrošak vremena i energije. Brzim i jednostavnim pretraživanjem XML dokumenata dobivamo odjednom sve rezultate za skup koji pretražujemo, čime su nam olakšani uspoređivanje i »eksperimentiranje«. Dakako, što je kodiranje detaljnije, to pojedinac ima više mogućnosti.

Na principu obrade Natpisa iz Afrodizijade, upotrebljavajući XML, odnosno se-

Documents created in EpiDoc format constitute a material which may be formed in different formats – from the same base one can obtain different presentations – such as PDF for printing, HTML for online viewing and XML itself or text for a database. PDF is not ideal for research work on inscriptions because it does not offer sufficient opportunities, i.e., allow for searches only by individual letters, which is certainly not adequate for epigraphers. EpiDoc format may also be formed in a format for independent online publication, i.e., HTML. But this format also presents the same problem as PDF.

EpiDoc format contains explicit registers on the meaning of individual (epigraphic) data. This is achieved by semantic markers. A semantically marked epigraphic text may be searched by letters, but also by symbols, and various combinations thereof. This means that it is possible to search lacunae, new lines – much of which is feasible in a customarily printed document only with great expenditure of time and energy. Quick and simple searching of XML documents leads to instant results for the set being searched, thus facilitating comparison and “experimentation”. To be sure, the more detailed the coding, the more possibilities available to an individual.

I processed the Roman-era inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice based on the principles employed in processing the Inscriptions of Aphrodisias by using XML, or rather the semantic markers in EpiDoc. I added semantic markers for the title, editor and data on publication, encompassing the publication place and date, to the inscriptions. I designated each inscription with a number which corresponds to its catalogue unit, and specified the type of inscription (dedicatory, imperial). I then described the inscription (appearance, dimensions, find site, current whereabouts), followed by the inscription itself, in which I marked all names (of people, gods, legions, municipia, cities...). The inscription is then translated and a bibliography is provided

mantičke oznake unutar EpiDoca, obradila sam antičke natpise iz Varaždinskih Toplica. Natpisima sam dodala semantičke oznake za naslov, urednika te podatke o publikaciji koji obuhvaćaju mjesto izdanja i godinu. Svaki sam natpis označila brojem koji odgovara njegovoj kataloškoj jedinici te navela o kojoj je vrsti natpisa riječ (posvetni, carski). Zatim sam natpis opisala (izgled, mjere, mjesto pronalaska, mjesto gdje se trenutno nalazi), nakon čega slijedi sam natpis u kojemu sam označila sva imena (imena ljudi, bogova, legija, općina, gradova...). Nakon toga natpis je preveden i navedena je bibliografija gdje se pojedini natpis može pronaći.

Kako funkcionira označavanje prema EpiDoc XML shemi možda je najjednostavnije objasniti na primjeru kratica. Kada se natpis nalazi na kamenu, uglavnom sadrži mnoge kratice (skraćena imena, titule, formule...). Epigrafičarima su te kratice uglavnom poznate te ih u pisanom izdanju često nalazimo razriješene. Dio kratice koji je priređivač razriješio naznačen je oblim zagrada. U EpiDoc formatu to ćemo prikazati kako slijedi.

Kataloški broj 28 sadrži natpis koji spominje Lucija Larija Celera primipila XII-II. legije Gemine. Natpis sadrži kratice, a u izdanjima je razriješen ovako:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

Kratice L u EpiDoc formatu bila bi razriješena ovako:

```
<expan>
L
<supplied reason="abbreviation"
cert="high">ucius</supplied>
</expan>
```

Mnemotehnički naziv *Expan* u prvoj

which shows where a given inscription may be found.

How the EpiDoc XML marking scheme functions is perhaps most easily explained by the example of abbreviations. When an inscription is carved in stone, it generally contains many abbreviations (abbreviated names, titles, formulas...). Epigraphers are generally familiar with these abbreviations and when the inscription is written out the abbreviation is solved. The part of the abbreviation for which the editor provides the solution is marked in parentheses. In EpiDoc format this will be shown as follows.

Catalogue number 28 contains an inscription mentioning Lucius Larius Celer, the *primipilaris* of *legio XIII Gemina*. The inscription includes abbreviations, resolved as follows in publications:

*L(ucius) Larius Celer primus pilus leg(ionis) XIII Geminae*

The abbreviation L would be resolved as follows in EpiDoc:

```
<expan>
L
<supplied reason="abbreviation"
cert="high">ucius</supplied>
</expan>
```

The mnemotechnical term *Expan* in the first angled brackets signals both us and computers that an abbreviation is beginning. The next angled brackets containing the marker *supplied* with the attribute *reason* specifies why we supplemented something, in this case why we know that this is an abbreviation. The attribute *cert* indicates our certainty in this solution. In our case, the certainty was marked with the value *high*, because the abbreviation L is quite frequent and it is known that in such a context it regularly designates the masculine name *Lucius*. Possible options

izlomljenoj zagradi daje i nama i računali signal da počinje kratica. U idućoj izlomljenoj zagradi oznakom *supplied* s atributom *reason* navedeno nam je zašto smo nešto nadopunjavali, u ovom slučaju zato što znamo da je riječ o kratici. Atribut *cert* označava našu sigurnost u ovo rješenje. U našem slučaju sigurnost smo označili vrijednošću *high*, jer je kratica L vrlo česta i poznato je da ona u ovakvom kontekstu redovno označava muško ime *Lucius*. Moguće opcije su *medium*, kada nismo potpuno sigurni, te *low*, koji više upućuje na to da nismo uopće sigurni, već da samo nagađamo. Navedeni atributi najčešće su opcionalni, odnosno ne moramo ih koristiti ako to ne želimo.

Identične oznake upotrijebili bismo i kod rješavanja kratice *leg*.

U EpiDoc formatu i imena se mogu, ako tako odluči priređivač, posebno označavati. Tipologija u korpusu natpisa iz Varaždinskih Toplica uključuje osobna imena, imena legija, bogova, naroda, gradova, provincija. Primjer njihova označavanja pokazat ću na imenu istog Lucija Larija Celera.

Njegovo se osobno ime u EpiDoc formatu označava ovako:

```
<persName type="homo">L(ucius) Larius Celer</persName>
```

Dakle, riječ *homo* nam objašnjava da je riječ o imenu osobe (a ne mjesta ili stvari), ljudskog bića (a ne boga ili životinje). Možemo označavati i organizacije - npr. legiju:

```
<persName type="legio">XIII Geminae</persName>
```

Na sličan način, samo s drukčijom vrijednošću (*deus*, *urbs*, *populus*, *provincia*...) označavaju se i druga imena iz natpisa.

are *medium*, when we are not entirely certain, and *low*, which indicates that we are not at all certain, rather we are speculating. These attributes are most often optional, meaning that they need not be used if we do not want to.

We would use identical markers to solve the abbreviation *leg*.

In EpiDoc names may, if the editor so decides, be specially marked. The typology of the inscriptions from Varaždinske Toplice incorporates personal names, the names of legions, gods, peoples, cities and provinces. I shall demonstrate their marking again using the example of the name Lucius Larius Celer.

His personal name in EpiDoc is marked as follows:

```
<persName type="homo">L(ucius) Larius Celer</persName>
```

Thus, the word *homo* here explains that this is the name of a person (and not a place or thing), a human being (not a god or animal). We may also mark organizations, e.g. a legion:

```
<persName type="legio">XIII Geminae</persName>
```

Other names from an inscription are marked in similar fashion, only with different assigned values (*deus*, *urbs*, *populus*, *provincia*...). We choose the attribute's value ourselves, and noteworthy that the names of markers and attributes, and their values, need not be in the English language.

Already here it may be noted that each "section" begins and ends with an angled bracket, although the ending is specially marked with a slash (/).

Such marking is important because once the inscriptions are published online, it offers users additional search possibilities. Thus, for example, if we are interested in which

Vrijednost atributa odabiremo sami, a važno je napomenuti da nazivi oznaka i atributa, kao i njihove vrijednosti, ne moraju nužno biti na engleskom jeziku.

Već se ovdje može uočiti kako svaki »odjeljak« počinja i završava oznakom unutar izlomljenih zagrada, s tim da je završetak posebno označen kosom crtom (/).

Ovakvo označavanje važno je jer će, jednom kad se natpisi objave na Internetu, korisnicima ponuditi dodatne mogućnosti pretraživanja. Dakle, ako nas, na primjer, bude zanimalo u kojim se sve natpisima i kojem kontekstu spominje određeno božanstvo, računalo će lako pretražiti natpise te nam prikazati sve rezultate, koje onda možemo lako analizirati i interpretirati.

Nakon što smo demonstrirali osnove označavanja u EpiDoc formatu, pređimo na analizu kataloga izrađenog pomoću odabranih oznaka. Katalog koji sam priredila sadrži neke bitne informacije: broj kataloške jedinice, naslov, mjesto pronalaska, mjesto gdje se predmet sada čuva, dimenzije, opis, natpis, prijevod, dataciju te literaturu. Kako to izgleda u EpiDoc formatu, prikazat ću na jednostavnijem primjeru kataloške jedinice 2. Prvo je naveden broj kataloške jedinice te tip natpisa. To se označava ovako:

```
<text xml:id="VZT002"
type="votivumNymphis">
```

Nakon naslova slijedi opis natpisa:

```
<body>
  <div type="description">
    <p>Titulus Nymphis sacer, reper-
tus in Varaždinske Toplice.</p>
  </div>
```

Kad je natpis opisan, slijedi tekst:

inscriptions and in which context a certain deity is mentioned, the computer can easily search the inscriptions and show us all of the results, which can then be easily analyzed and interpreted.

Having demonstrated the basic EpiDoc markers, I shall now turn to an analysis of the catalogue made using selected markers. The catalogue I compiled contains several essential pieces of information: the number of the catalogue unit, the title, find site, the site where the object is currently held, the dimensions, description, translation, dating and sources. I will show how this looks in EpiDoc format using the simple example of catalogue unit 2. First the catalogue unit and inscription type are specified. This is marked thusly:

```
<text xml:id="VZT002"
type="votivumNymphis">
```

After the title, a description of the inscription follows:

```
<body>
  <div type="description">
    <p>Titulus Nymphis sacer, repertus
in Varaždinske Toplice.</p>
  </div>
```

When the inscription is described, the text follows:

```
<div type="edition">
  <p><persName
type="deus">Nymphis</persName> <pers-
Name type="homo">Avitus</persName></
p>
</div>
```

In this example we can once more see the marking of names.

After this the translation is cited:

```

<div type="edition">
  <p><persName
type="deus">Nymphis</persName>
<persName type="homo">Avitus</per-
sName></p>
</div>

```

Na ovom primjeru možemo ponovno vidjeti označavanje imena.

Poslije je naveden i prijevod:

```

<div type="translation">
  <p>Avit Nimfama</p>
</div>

```

Kad je taj paragraf zatvoren, slijedi literatura:

```

<div type="bibliography">
  <bibl>ILJug 1171a</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić, Va-
raždinske Toplice-naselje. Arheološki
pregled 4, 1962, 172</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić, Va-
raždinske Toplice-rimsko kupalište. Ar-
heološki pregled 5, 1963, 113</bibl>

```

A posebno su označene (*ref target*) internetske stranice na kojima je objavljen natpis:

```

<bibl><ref target="http://
oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/
epigr">Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss /
Slaby</ref></bibl>
</div>
</body>
</text>

```

Na ovim primjerima uočava se kako se u XML-u eksplicitno primjenjuju oznake koje su u tipografiji implicitne.

Uvođenjem EpiDoca omogućeno je znanstvenicima da u digitalnom obliku predstave materijale koje istražuju, ali i da međusobno dijele rezultate koristeći

```

<div type="translation">
  <p>Avit Nimfama</p>
</div>

```

When this paragraph closes, the bibliography follows:

```

<div type="bibliography">
  <bibl>ILJug 1171a</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić,
Varaždinske Toplice-naselje. Arheološki
pregled 4, 1962, 172</bibl>
  <bibl>B. Vikić-Belančić, Varaždinske
Toplice-rimsko kupalište. Arheološki pregled
5, 1963, 113</bibl>

```

The web pages on which the inscription is posted are separately marked (*ref target*):

```

<bibl><ref target="http://oracle-vm.
ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr">Epigraphik-
Datenbank Clauss / Slaby</ref></bibl>
</div>
</body>
</text>

```

These examples show that in XML markers are applied explicitly which in typography are implicit.

The introduction of EpiDoc allows scholars to present the materials they are researching in digital format, and also to share results by using this common language. The program's high value lies in the fact that larger documents compiled in this manner and published electronically are usable together, even if they were prepared separately. Even though the body of materials covered in this article is rather small, all of the *Inscriptiones Latinae in Croatia repertae* could be marked in the same way, and then the advantages of EpiDoc and its high value would be most apparent, for the advantages of computer processing are best observed in a larger body of materials.

<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/aquae.form.html> (25.5.2013.).

ovaj zajednički jezik. Velika vrijednost programa leži u tome da će veći dokumenti priređeni na ovaj način i objavljeni elektronički biti iskoristivi zajedno, čak i ako su pripremljeni odvojeno. Iako je korpus obrađen u ovom članku prilično malen, na isti način bi se mogle označiti sve *Inscriptiones Latinae in Croatia re-pertae* i tada bi se najviše vidjele prednosti EpiDoca i njegova velika vrijednost, jer se na većem korpusu najbolje uočavaju prednosti računalne obrade.

<http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/aquae.form.html> (25.5.2013.).

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**Popis kratica / List of abbreviations**

AE – L'Année Epigraphique  
AIJ – Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien  
CBI – Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiärer-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches  
CIL – Corpus inscriptionum latinarum  
HD – Epigraphic Database Heidelberg  
ILJug – Inscriptiones latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt  
PLRE – The prosopography of the Later Roman Empire  
RIU – Die Römischen Inschriften Ungarns

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*SIGILLUM DOMINI TRIPCO COMES AULAE: ZLATNI PEČATNI PRSTEN IZ ARHEOLOŠKOG MUZEJA U ZAGREBU*

**UDK: 904:739.1"653"**

**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*Zlatni pečatni prsten pronađen je pod nepoznatim okolnostima u Bosni u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća te je poklonjen tadašnjem Narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu. Prsten je izvrsno sačuvan, na glavi se nalazi potpuni grb s legendom dok je karika ukrašena u gotičkom stilu - vegetabilnim i zoomorfnim motivima i profilaktičnim latinskim natpisom. Vlasnik prstena bio je Tripe Buća (Triphon Buche), dubrovački trgovac i dvorski službenik bosanskog kralja Tvrtka I. Kotromanića. U radu se donose podaci i analogije vezani uz tip prstena, analizira se natpis i raspravlja o grbu te obrazlaže identifikacija s tom uglednom i istaknutom povijesnom osobom druge polovine četrnaestog stoljeća.*

*Ključne riječi: zlato, pečatni prsten, Bosna, Tripe Buća, Tvrtko I., kasni srednji vijek*

*SIGILLUM DOMINI TRIPCO COMES AULAE: THE GOLD SIGNET RING FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM IN ZAGREB*

**UDC: 904:739.1"653"**

**Original scientific paper**

*A gold signet ring was discovered under unknown circumstances in Bosnia in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and was donated to the National Museum in Zagreb. The ring is superbly preserved; its bezel features an entire coat of arms with legend, while the hoop is adorned in the Gothic style, with plant and zoomorphic motifs and a prophylactic Latin inscription. The ring's owner was Triphon Buche (Tripe Buća), a merchant from Dubrovnik and an official in the court of Bosnian King Tvrtko I Kotromanić. The paper provides data and analogies pertaining to the ring type, an analysis of the inscription, and a discussion of the coat of arms and an explanation its identification with this respected and distinguished historical figure of the late 14<sup>th</sup> century.*

*Key words: gold, signet ring, Bosnia, Triphon Buche, Tvrtko I, Late Middle Ages*



## Uvod

Jedan raskošno ukrašen zlatni pečatni prsten s natpisom čuva Srednjovjekovni odjel Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu (inv. br. S-3380). Točno mjesto i okolnosti njegovog pronalaska nažalost nisu poznati, no zna se da potječe iz Bosne. Prsten je tadašnjem Narodnom muzeju darovao Fidelis Höpperger<sup>1</sup> koji ga je pronašao *negdje u Bosni*, i to moguće u trećoj četvrtini 19. stoljeća, budući da Šime Ljubić 1887. godine navodi da ga je Höpperger našao davno.<sup>2</sup> U starim knjigama koje sadrže popise darovanih i otkupljenih predmeta koji su pristizali u fundus Narodnog muzeja, podaci o prstenu nažalost nisu pronađeni.<sup>3</sup> Prvi broj koji je prsten imao u općem muzejskom inventaru je P-10857, a formiranjem Srednjovjekovnog odjela sredinom 20. st., izlučen je iz Pretpovijesnog odjela te je inventiran brojem S-3380. Javnosti je bio predstavljen jedino na izložbi »Spomenici zlatarstva od prethistorije do srednjeg vijeka iz zbirki Arheološkog muzeja« koja je bila

<sup>1</sup> Fidelis Höpperger (1822.-1896.) rođen je u Tirolu, a na nagovor zagrebačkog nadbiskupa Haulika 1853. g. dolazi u Zagreb na službu profesora u sjemeništu. Od 1857. g. do svoje smrti (1896. g.) bio je superior Kuće matice sestara milosrdnica u Zagrebu i upravljao je svim podružnicama i zavodima. Bio je utemeljitelj i doživotni predsjednik Katoličkog dječićkog društva (Vilenica 2006, 458, 459). Da je povremeno boravio u Bosni govori i podatak o posjeti prilikom posvećivanja sarajevske prvostolnice 1889. g., gdje je došao u društvu J. J. Strossmayera i drugih visokih crkvenih dužnosnika, ali i činjenica da su sestre milosrdnice imale škole u Sarajevu, Mostaru, Livnu, Banja Luci, Travniku, Dolcu kraj Travnika, Derventi, Maglaju, Zenici i Brčkom (J. L. 1889, 286, 288, 289, bilj. 3.) koje je zasigurno s vremena na vrijeme obilazio.

<sup>2</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>3</sup> Arhiv AMZ, sign. 8, Inventar iz raznog starijeg vremena; sign. 23, Opis darovah od 1855. do 1864.; sign. 86, Knjiga darovah od 1908. do 1913.

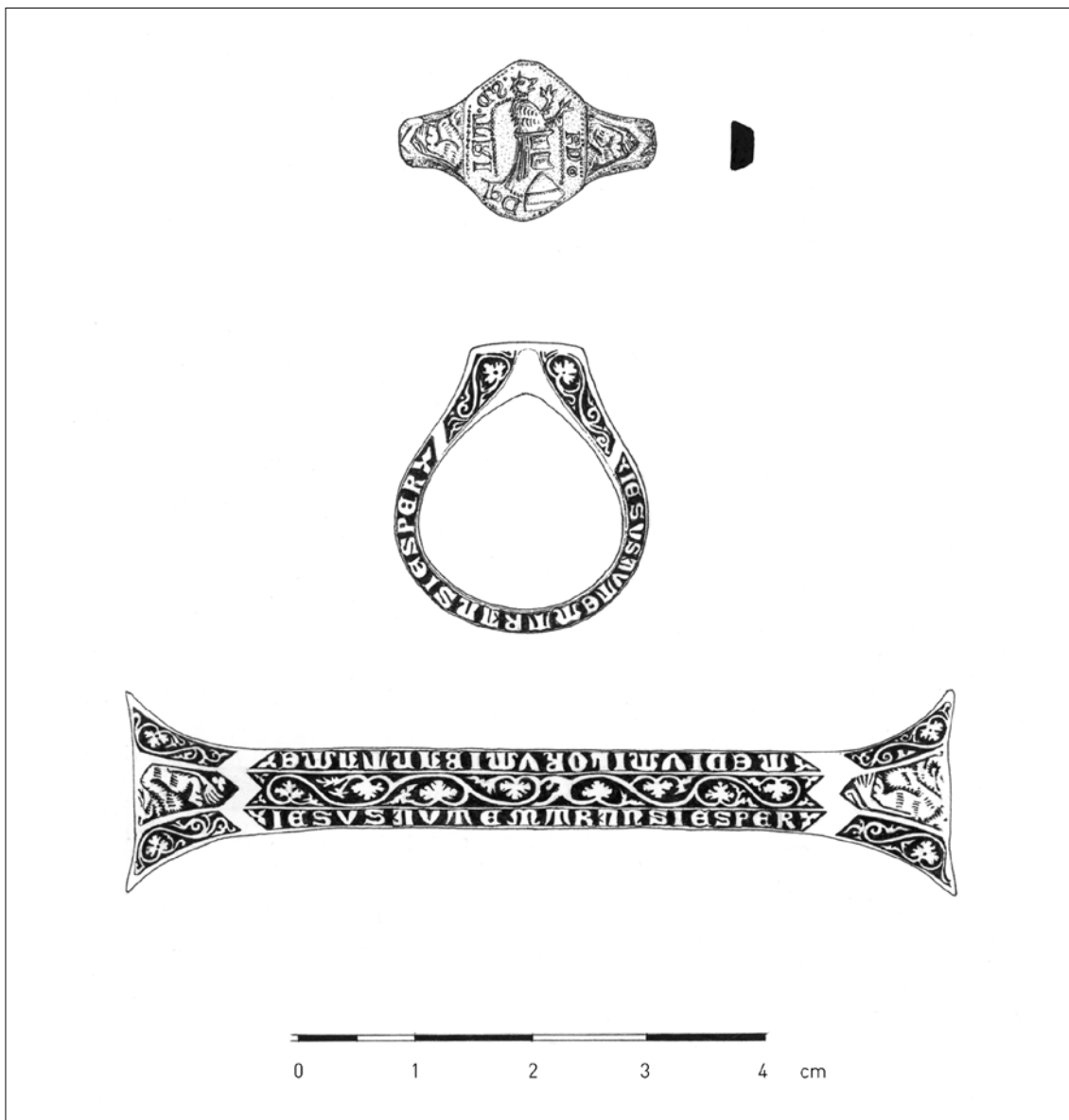
## Introduction

A lavishly adorned gold signet ring with inscription is kept in the Medieval Collection of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (inv. No. S-3380). Unfortunately, the precise site and circumstances of its discovery are not known, but it is known for certain that it originated in Bosnia. The ring was donated to the National Museum of the time by Fidelis Höpperger,<sup>1</sup> who found it *somewhere in Bosnia*, possibly in the third quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since in 1887 Šime Ljubić wrote that Höpperger found it long before.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, no data concerning the ring have been found in the old logs containing lists of donated and collected items which made their way into the National Museum's collection.<sup>3</sup> The first number which the ring had in the general museum's inventory was P-10857, but after the formation of the Medieval Collection in the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was removed from the Prehistoric Collection and inventoried under number S-3380. It was only presented to the public in the exhibition "Monuments of Goldsmithery from Prehistory to the Middle Ages in the Archaeological Museum's Collec-

<sup>1</sup> Fidelis Höpperger (1822-1896) was born in Tyrol, and at the urging of Zagreb Archbishop Haulik, he came to Zagreb in 1853 to serve as a professor at the seminary. From 1857 until his death (1896), he was the superior of the Mother-House of the Sisters of Mercy in Zagreb, and he administered all of its branches and institutes. He was the founder and life-long president of the Catholic Apprentice Association (Vilenica 2006, 458, 459). That he occasionally spent time in Bosnia is indicated by the information on his visit for the dedication of the Sarajevo Cathedral in 1889, where he came in the company of J. J. Strossmayer and other high church dignitaries, and also by the fact that the Sisters of Mercy had schools in Sarajevo, Mostar, Livno, Banja Luka, Travnik, Dolac near Travnik, Derventa, Maglaj, Zenica and Brčko (J. L. 1889, 286, 288, 289, note 3), which he certainly toured from time to time.

<sup>2</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>3</sup> AMZ archives, sign. 8, Inventory from various earlier periods; sign. 23, Description of donations from 1855 to 1864; sign. 86, Log of donations from 1908 to 1913.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Prsten, Bosna, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. S-3380 / Ring, Bosnia, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. No. S-3380 (crtež / drawing by Miljenka Galić)

postavljena 1969. godine u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.<sup>4</sup>

Prsten je vjerojatno ubrzo po darovanju i objavljen uz svoje ključne podatke i interpretaciju<sup>5</sup> te su se s njim mogli

<sup>4</sup> *Spomenici zlatarstva* 1969. Prsten se u ovome katalogu ne spominje, međutim, iz dokumentacije Srednjovjekovnog odjela Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu poznato je da je bio izložen.

<sup>5</sup> Ljubić 1887.

tion,” which was set up in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb in 1969.<sup>4</sup>

Probably quite soon after its donation, the ring was published with its key data and an interpretation<sup>5</sup> and thus other, similar rings from

<sup>4</sup> *Spomenici zlatarstva* 1969. In this catalogue, the ring is not mentioned. However, according to the documentation of the Medieval Department of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the ring was indeed exhibited.

<sup>5</sup> Ljubić 1887.



Sl. / Fig. 2: (a-g) Prsten, Bosna, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, inv. br. S-3380 / (a-g) Ring, Bosnia, Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, inv. No. S-3380 (snimio / photo by Igor Krajcar)

kasnije uspoređivati neki slični prsteni iz bosanskih i srpskih muzeja.<sup>6</sup> Od te je objave prošlo već 126 godina, a iako je ona u mnogočemu relevantna, određene je spoznaje o prstenu potrebno revidirati, nadopuniti te osvježiti novim usporedbama i tumačenjima, posebice fotografijama i crtežom.<sup>7</sup> Ovaj je prsten od višestrukog značaja i iznimne je vrijednosti. On predstavlja luksuzan primjerak pečatnih prstena i rad je vrhunskog majstora. Njegova izuzetno dobra sačuvanost omogućila je čitanje legende i natpisa te jasno prepoznavanje heraldičke kompozicije i ostalih dekorativnih elemenata. Zbog navedenih značajki on stoga postaje zanimljiv i dragocjen osim u sferi arheologije, i na polju heraldike i sfragistike, epigrafije, povijesti i umjetničke obrade metala. Sretna okolnost što je prsten moguće pripisati poznatoj i istaknutoj povijesnoj osobi koja je djelovala u drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća daje mu još veću važnost.

### Opis prstena, analiza grba i natpisa

Prsten je masivan i lijevan je iz komada zlata. Karika je nepravilnog kružnog (kruškolikog) oblika i trapezoidnog presjeka (sl. 1, sl. 2 b, c). Puna i masivna glava izdiže se iz karike dok vrat nije posebno naglašen. Glava je osmerokutna, iako je u svojem donjem dijelu zbog istrošenosti poprimila zaobljeni oblik (sl. 2 a). Traka izvedena gustim nizom točkica (tzv. bisera), koja se pojavljuje između

Bosnian and Serbian museums could later be compared to it.<sup>6</sup> 126 years have passed since its publication, and even though the publication is relevant in many aspects, some knowledge on the ring must be revised, supplemented and refreshed by new analogies and interpretations, particularly by photographs and sketches.<sup>7</sup> This ring has manifold significance and exceptional value. It constitutes a luxurious example of a signet ring and it is a product of a master craftsman. Its exceptionally good state of preservation allows a reading of the legend and inscription, and clear identification of the heraldic composition and other decorative elements. These features make it interesting and precious not only in the sphere of archaeology, but also in the fields of heraldry and sigillography, epigraphy, history and artistic metallurgy. A fortunate circumstance is that the ring can be attributed to a known and distinguished historical personality who was active in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, according it even greater importance.

### Description of ring, analysis of coat of arms and inscription

The ring is massive and cast from a piece of gold. The hoop is irregularly circular (pear-shaped) with trapezoidal cross-section (Fig. 1, Fig. 2 b, c). The full and massive bezel rises from the hoop, while the neck is not particularly prominent. The bezel is octagonal, even though its lower portion has acquired a rounded form due to wear (Fig. 2 a). The band is rendered with a dense series of dots (so-called pearls), which appear between the

<sup>6</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252; Milošević 1990, 125, 126.

<sup>7</sup> Crtež koji donosi Š. Ljubić djelomično je idealiziran i nepotpun (Ljubić 1887, 99). Glava prstena prikazana je u obliku osmerokuta oštrih rubova a prikazan je samo pečat – zrcalna slika, a ne pogled na glavu prstena. Središnja traka karike, ukrašena floralnim motivom, nije prikazana na crtežu plašta prstena, a njezina oštećenost je vjerojatno tomu i razlog. Na ovom je crtežu ona dana u potpunosti jer je djelomično rekonstruirana.

<sup>6</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252; Milošević 1990, 125, 126.

<sup>7</sup> The sketch published by Š. Ljubić is partially idealized and incomplete (Ljubić 1887, 99). The ring's bezel is depicted as an octagon with sharp edges, and only the mirror image of the seal is shown, but not a view of the ring's bezel. The middle band of the hoop, adorned with a floral motif, is not shown on the sketch of the ring's body, probably due to the damage to it. In this sketch it is shown in full because it has been partially reconstructed.

legende i samog ruba prstena, u gornjem dijelu ukazuje da je glava nekada bila, ili trebala biti osmerokutna, dok je u donjem dijelu ta traka slabije vidljiva. Glava je postavljena okomito na kariku, a po njezinoj dužini ugravirana je heraldička kompozicija. Pečatni simbol smješten je unutar okvira istovjetnom vanjskome, no s nešto gušćim i dubljim ubodima. Vjerojatno je i taj okvir trebao biti osmerokutan, no nepotpun je jer ga vučja glava u gornjem te štit u donjem dijelu sijeku, tj. prelaze liniju okvira. Iza tog unutarnjeg okvira, uz rub prstena smještena je legenda. Dimenzije prstena su: visina: 2,55 cm, širina karike: 2,31 cm, dužina glave: 1,44 cm, širina glave: 1,1 cm, debljina karike: 0,25 cm i težina 18,637 g.

Pečatni simbol čini potpuni grb koji se sastoji od štita, kacige s plaštem i perjanice – odnosno dodatka na gornjem dijelu kacige. U donjem dijelu smješten je štit trokutastog oblika, malo izdužen tako da je samo donja trećina trokutasta. Polje štita podijeljeno je kosom desnom gredom, a cijeli je štit nagnut u lijevu stranu.<sup>8</sup> Na desni ugao štita naslonjena je duboka kaciga s naglašenim otvorom za oči. S njezine desne strane prikazan je jednostavan plašt s malo nabora, koji seže do linije točkastog okvira. Na kacigu je postavljena perjanica, u ovome slučaju u obliku vuka. Prikazano je poprsje vuka okrenuto u lijevu stranu s podignutim prednjim nogama i raširenim šapama. Krzno mu je naglašeno, uši podignute a čeljust otvorena.

Legenda je ispisana slovima gotičke majuskule i moguće ju je čitati na dva načina (s minimalnim razlikama koje ne utječu na njezino tumačenje). Slova teku od desnog gornjeg kuta u smjeru kazaljke na satu. Prva, i vjerojatnija, varijanta je .S.D.

<sup>8</sup> Kod opisivanja heraldičke kompozicije opisuje se orijentacija na pečatu a ne na prstenu, odnosno negativu (sl. 3).

legend and the very edge of the ring, indicating that the in the upper portion the bezel once was, or should have been, octagonal, while in the lower portion this band is less discernible. The bezel is set vertically on the hoop, and the heraldic composition is engraved on its length. The seal symbol is situated inside a frame identical to the external frame, but with somewhat denser and deeper stippling. This frame was probably also supposed to be octagonal, but it is incomplete as the wolf's head in the upper section and the shield in the lower section lie over it, i.e., surpass the boundary of the frame. The legend is situated behind the internal frame, along the edge of the ring. The dimensions of the ring are as follows: height: 2.55 cm, width of hoop: 2.31 cm, length of bezel: 1.44 cm, width of bezel: 1.1 cm, thickness of hoop: 0.25 cm and weight 18.637 g.

The seal symbol is made of a full coat of arms consisting of an shield, helm with mantling and crest – i.e. appendices to the top of the helm. In the lower section there is a triangular shield, slightly oblong so that only the lower third is triangular. The field is divided by a diagonal bend, and the entire shield is tiled leftward.<sup>8</sup> A deep helm with a prominent eye slot leans against the right corner of the shield. To its right, there is a simple mantle with a few folds, which extends to the line of the dotted frame. The helm has a crest, in this case shaped like a wolf. The wolf's upper body is shown turned leftward with raised forelegs and paws spread. The fur coat is prominent, the ears are raised and the jaw is gaping.

The legend is written in Gothic majuscule letters and it can be read in two ways (with minimal differences that do not influence its interpretation). The letters run clockwise from the upper right-hand corner. The first, and most likely, variant is .S.D. TRIPCO CA. The

<sup>8</sup> When describing heraldic compositions, the orientation on the seal is described rather than on the ring, i.e., its reverse image (Fig. 3).

TRIPCO CA. Druga je varijanta .S.D. TRIPCI (O) CA.<sup>9</sup> Izraz kojim se označuje pojam pečata u ovom su slučaju slova, odnosno kratica S. D. - *Sigillum domini*. Ime vlasnika najvažniji je dio legende i glasi TRIPCO ili TRIPCI. U odnosu na *Sigillum domini* ispravno bi bilo označiti ime u genitivu, dakle Tripci, što bi išlo u prilog takvom čitanju imena, odnosno drugoj varijanti gdje su C i I spojeni u jedno slovo.<sup>10</sup> Stoga bi kružić, odnosno ono što tumačimo kao O u prvoj varijanti, ovdje bio samo znak koji razdvaja ime od titule, a ono i jest ipak nešto manje veličine od ostalih slova. Titula vlasnika označena je slovima CA - *Comes aulae*, što se odnosi na dvorskog kneza.<sup>11</sup> S obzirom na to da je slovo C u imenu i u tituli jednako napisano, izglednija je ipak prva varijanta čitanja imena. Za interpunkcijski znak korištena je točka.

Karika je trapezoidnog presjeka a sve su tri vanjske plohe bogato ukrašene, dok je unutrašnja strana neukrašena. Promatrajući ju kao rašireni plašt, ona je ravna traka koja se na krajevima (ramenima) prema spoju s glavom trapezoidno širi (sl. 1). Podijeljena je na tri vodoravna polja. Vanjska polja središnjeg dijela trake nose natpis a središnje je ukrašeno vegetabilnim motivom, dok su vanjska polja ramena ukrašena vegetabilnim a središnje zoomorfnim motivom. Oni su međusobno odijeljeni (rameni ukras i središnji dio karike) praznim, neukrašenim prostorom koji se u plaštu ocrtava poput cik-cak

<sup>9</sup> Općenito, sadržaj legendi na pečatima sastoji se od tri elementa: naznake da se radi o pečatu, imena vlasnika pečata i vlasnikove titule (Anđelić 1970, 113). Prema toj formuli ova je legenda potpuna.

<sup>10</sup> Zbog latinskog se jezika često na grbovnim legendama susreće nespretnost u transkripciji narodnih imena i glasova, pogrešna upotreba padeža pa čak i miješanje latiničnih i ćiriličnih slova (Anđelić 1970, 113).

<sup>11</sup> O ovom tumačenju bit će riječi kasnije.

second variant is .S.D. TRIPCI (O) CA.<sup>9</sup> The expression indicating the concept of a seal in this case consists of the letters S. D. – *Sigillum domini*. The name of the owner is the most important part of the legend, and it is TRIPCO or TRIPCI. In relation to *Sigillum domini*, it would be correct to give the name in the genitive, that is, Tripci, which would support such a reading of the name, i.e. the second variant in which the C and I are rendered as a single letter.<sup>10</sup> In this case, the small circle, which has been interpreted as the letter O in the first variant, is only a symbol separating the name from the title, and it is in fact somewhat smaller in size than the other letters. The title of the owner is indicated by the letters CA – *Comes aulae*, which pertains to a prince in a royal court.<sup>11</sup> Given that the letters C in both the name and title are uniformly written, the first reading of the name is still more likely. A dot is used as a punctuation mark.

The hoop has a trapezoidal cross-section and all three external surfaces are richly adorned, while the internal side is unadorned. Viewing it as a spread-out surface, it is a straight band which expands at its ends (shoulders) toward the connection with the bezel in form of a trapezoid (Fig. 1). It is divided into three horizontal fields. The external fields of the band's midsection bear an inscription, the middle one is adorned with a plant motif, while the external fields of the shoulders are adorned with plant motifs and the middle one with zoomorphic motifs. The shoulder ornament and the central part of the hoop are separated from one another by an emp-

<sup>9</sup> Generally, the content of legends on seals consists of three elements: an indication that it is a seal, the name of the seal's owner and the owner's title (Anđelić 1970, 113). Based on this formula, this legend is complete.

<sup>10</sup> Due to the use of Latin, often the legends on coats of arms contain awkward transcriptions of ethnic names and phonemes, erroneous use of grammatical cases and even the intermingling of Latin and Cyrillic letters (Anđelić 1970, 113).

<sup>11</sup> More about this interpretation will be said subsequently.

linije. Vegetabilni motiv čini valovita kontinuirana grana s listovima vinove loze. Zoomorfni motiv koji se pojavljuje u središnjem ramenom polju nije toliko prepoznatljiv, no vjerojatno je riječ o lavu.<sup>12</sup> Karika je ukrašena nielom koji je vrlo dobro očuvan, a ponajviše se vidi u ramenom pojasu. To i ne čudi jer je taj dio prstena izdignutiji i nikada se ne nalazi u doticaju sa susjednim prstima, odnosno s unutarnje strane, uz dlan, gdje su uslijed nošenja prsteni obično najviše izlizani.<sup>13</sup> Na početku i kraju sva tri središnja polja nalazi se znak u obliku trolista, na vanjskim sa svake strane po jedan, a na središnjem po dva trolista sa svake strane. Natpis na karici pisan je također gotičkom majuskulom na latinskom jeziku i u cijelosti glasi: IESUS AUTEM TRANSIE(N)S PER MEDIUM IL(L)ORUM IBA[N]T AME(N). Riječ je o biblijskom tekstu iz Evanđelja po Luki (Djelovanje u Galileji, Isus u Nazaretu, glava 4,30), a rečenica u hrvatskom prijevodu Biblije glasi: *Ali on prođe između njih i umakne*.<sup>14</sup>

Navedene ga karakteristike oblikom, ukrasima i tehnikama izrade svrstavaju u viteški tip prstena, koji svoj naziv duguje uglavnom društvenom sloju kojemu su njihovi vlasnici pripadali.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Životinji je prikazan donji dio tijela s naglašenim krznom, a vidljiva je jedna noga i rep. Takav dugačak rep, koji je doduše prikazan raščlanjeno pa izgleda poput četiri prsta, moguće je poistovjetiti s lavljim repom koji ima takav specifičan čuperak na završetku repa. Također vidi se jasna razlika u prikazu šape i repa (sl. 2 d, e).

<sup>13</sup> I ovaj je prsten djelomično oštećen u donjem dijelu (sl. 2 f) što je, zbog odlične sačuvanosti na ostalom dijelu karike, uspješno rekonstruirano na crtežu (sl. 1).

<sup>14</sup> Nakon što je Isus u Nazaretu izjavio da nije dan prorok nema priznanja u svome zavičaju, mnoštvo se u sinagogi razljutilo i istjeralo ga iz grada. Dovedli su ga na rub brijega na kojemu je sagrađen grad u nadi da ga strmoglave. No Isus je sigurno prošao kroz njih (*Biblija* 1974, 987).

<sup>15</sup> Milošević 1990, 124, 125; Ivanić 1998, 15.

ty, unadorned space which is delineated on the surface as a zigzag line. The plant motif consists of a wavy uninterrupted branch with grape leaves. The zoomorphic motif which appears in the central shoulder field is not as recognizable, but it probably depicts a lion.<sup>12</sup> The hoop is adorned with niello which is very well preserved, and mostly visible in the shoulder belt. This should not be deemed unusual as this part of the ring is raised and never in contact with neighbouring fingers, and it is on the inside, along the palm, where rings normally exhibit the most wear.<sup>13</sup> A trefoil-shaped symbol is located at the beginning and end of all three middle fields, with one each on the external side and two trefoils on each side on the middle field. The inscription on the hoop is in Latin, also written in Gothic majuscule, and reads in its entirety: IESUS AUTEM TRANSIE(N)S PER MEDIUM IL(L)ORUM IBA[N]T AME(N). This is the biblical text from the Gospel of Luke (The Ministry in Galilee, Jesus in Nazareth, chapter 4:30), and the sentence in King James Version of the Bible reads: *“But he passing through the midst of them went his way”*.<sup>14</sup>

These features, in terms of shape, adornment and rendering techniques, indicate that this is a knightly ring, which generally owes its designation to the social class to which its owners belonged.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The lower part of the animal's body, with a prominent fur coat, one leg and its tail, is visible. Such a long tail, which, to be sure, is articulated in such a way that it resembles four fingers, can be identified as a lion's tail which has such a specific tuft at its end. Also visible is a clear difference in the portrayal of the paw and tail (Fig. 2 d, e).

<sup>13</sup> This ring is also partially damaged in its lower section (Fig. 2 f) which was, due to the excellent state of preservation of the rest of the hoop, successfully reconstructed in a sketch (Fig. 1).

<sup>14</sup> When in Nazareth, Jesus declared, *“Verily I say unto you, No prophet is accepted in his own country”*. The crowd in the synagogue was angry and expelled him from the city. They took him to the edge of the hill on which the city was built, hoping that they might throw him down headlong. But Jesus safely passed through the crowd (<http://www.king-jamesbibleonline.org/Luke-Chapter-4/>) (8.10.2013.)

<sup>15</sup> Milošević 1990, 124, 125; Ivanić 1998, 15.



Sl. / Fig. 3: Otisak pečatnog prstena / Imprint of the signet ring (izradila / made by Slađana Latinović; snimio / photo by Igor Krajcar)

### Srodna građa

Nekoliko je elementa prema kojima treba utvrditi analogije ovome prstenu, a to su oblik prstena, odnosno njegov viteški tip, heraldička kompozicija na glavi prstena te natpis na karici. Ipak, legenda i grb najvažniji su elementi koji su ključ za identifikaciju nositelja prstena. Ukratko će se ukazati na one najvažnije usporedbe za svaku pojedinu karakteristiku. Natpis, dekorativni elementi i upotreba niela ocrtaavaju zapadni<sup>16</sup> i mediteranski stil, osobito čest u Italiji,<sup>17</sup> dok heraldička kompozicija najviše sličnosti pokazuje s grbovima s područja Bosne i Hercegovine te drugih, južnih dijelova bivše Jugoslavije. Općenito, srebrno i zlatno prstenje u srpskim i bosanskim zemljama stilski je isto, osobito ono s kraja 14. i početka 15. stoljeća,<sup>18</sup> a ti će se upravo i razmatrati.

<sup>16</sup> Zapadni utjecaji koji se šire Balkanom u 14. i 15. stoljeću dolaze iz tri moguća pravca: s juga Italije preko Dukljanskog primorja i Zete, drugi (i nama u ovome slučaju najvažniji) ide sa sjevernih jadranskih obala, preko Venecije i Dubrovnika, a treći iz srednje Europe preko Ugarske (Radojković 1973, 207).

<sup>17</sup> Dalton 1912, xxii; 39/231, 41/239, 48/283, 138/877, 878, 879, 142/895; Ivanić 2008, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Radojković 1973, 214.

### Similar artefacts

There are several elements on which analogies to this ring should be based, and these are the shape of the ring, its knightly type, heraldic composition on the bezel and the inscription on the hoop. Nonetheless, the legend and coat of arms are the most crucial elements to identifying the ring's bearer. The most important comparisons for each individual feature will be briefly presented. The inscription, decorative elements and use of niello indicate the western<sup>16</sup> and Mediterranean style, particularly common in Italy,<sup>17</sup> while the heraldic composition bears the greatest similarity to the coats of arms from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina and other, southern parts of the former Yugoslavia. In general, silver and gold rings in the Serbian and Bosnian lands are stylistically identical, particularly those originating from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>18</sup> and these will in fact be considered.

The closest analogy is a ring kept in the National Museum in Belgrade (inv. No. 2170; Fig. 4). Its find-site is similarly not known,<sup>19</sup> and it has been dated to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. D. Milošević pointed out their simi-

<sup>16</sup> Western influences which spread through the Balkans in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries came from three possible directions: the first from southern Italy through the Dioclean littoral and Zeta, the second (and most important in this case) running from the northern Adriatic coast, via Venice and Dubrovnik, and the third from Central Europe via Hungary (Radojković 1973, 207).

<sup>17</sup> Dalton 1912, xxii; 39/231, 41/239, 48/283, 138/877, 878, 879, 142/895; Ivanić 2008, 15.

<sup>18</sup> Radojković 1973, 214.

<sup>19</sup> A mistake found its way into the work by M. Čorović-Ljubinković when she wrote the inventory number from the National Museum in parenthesis next to the description of this ring and Ljubić's citation and linked this to the photograph of the ring from an unidentified site. Later, citing her, Đ. Janković wrote of this ring that it originated in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is inaccurate (Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 176, note 20; Fig. 16; Janković 1989, 151, 161, Pl. IV/3).





Sl. / Fig. 4: Prsten, nepoznato nalazište, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 2170 / Ring, find-site unknown, National Museum in Belgrade, inv. No. 2170 (Ivanić 1998, 45, sl. / Fig. 22)

Najbližu analogiju predstavlja prsten koji se čuva u Narodnom muzeju u Beogradu (inv. br. 2170; sl. 4). On također potječe s nepoznatog nalazišta,<sup>19</sup> a datiran je u prvu polovinu 15. stoljeća. Na njihovu se sličnost osvrnula 1990. g. D. Milošević.<sup>20</sup> Tehnike izrade su im iste, kao i oblik (karika i okomito postavljena glava) koji pokazuje minimalne razlike - karika je pravilnijeg kružnog oblika, pa su ramena nešto šira a glava niže postavljena. Heraldika kompozicija sastoji se od kacige iznad koje je prikazana vučja glava. Grb je pripisan crnogorskoj plemićkoj obitelji Balšić, ili nekom od njihovih velikaša. Ornamenti na karici vrlo su slični, a također sadrži latinski natpis ispisan gotičkim pismom, koji nije u potpunosti čitljiv, no tumači se kao *Ave mani toracia* (Zdravo ukrasu ruke). Taj natpis nije detaljno opisan, stoga nije jasno teče li on na oba

<sup>19</sup> U radu M. Ćorović-Ljubinković potkrala se greška kada je uz opis našega prstena i Ljubićev citat u zagradi napisala inventarni broj iz Narodnog muzeja i povezala s fotografijom tog prstena s nepoznatog nalazišta. Kasnije, citirajući nju, Đ. Janković uz taj je prsten napisao da potječe iz Bosne i Hercegovine, što je netočan podatak (Ćorović-Ljubinković 1975, 176, bilj. 20; sl. 16; Janković 1989, 151, 161, T. IV/3).

<sup>20</sup> Milošević 1990, 125, 126, kat. br. 175; Ivanić 1998, 15, 45, sl. 22.

larly in 1990.<sup>20</sup> Their rendering technique is the same, as is the shape (hoop and vertically set bezel), which exhibits minimal differences: the hoop has a more regular circular shape, so the shoulders are somewhat wider while the bezel is set lower. The heraldic composition consists of a helm with a wolf's head depicted above it. The coat of arms has been attributed to the Balšić family of Montenegrin nobles, or one of their magnates. The ornaments on the hoop are very similar, and this ring also bears a Latin inscription written in Gothic script, which is not entirely legible, but it has been interpreted as *Ave mani toracia* ("Hail the adornment of the hands"). This inscription has not been described in detail, so it is not clear whether it runs on both external fields or not. The legend on the bezel is written in Cyrillic, and it is also unclear. The demi-wolf is depicted on the left shoulder in the external fields, while in the middle field there is a rosette with a curved leaf. On the right shoulder, a wolf is depicted in all three fields.<sup>21</sup> On this ring, a considerable difference between the ornaments on the hoop and on the bezel is discernible. It is entirely obvious that the coat of arms and legend on the bezel were engraved subsequently, and that

<sup>20</sup> Milošević 1990, 125, 126, cat. No. 175; Ivanić 1998, 15, 45, Fig. 22.

<sup>21</sup> Milošević 1990, 126.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Prsten, Arnautovići (BiH), Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, inv. br. 620 / Ring, Arnautovići (Bosnia-Herzegovina), The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inv. No. 620 (Anđelić 1980, 222)

vanjska polja plašta ili ne. Na glavi je legenda pisana ćirilicom, i također je nejasna. Na lijevom ramenu u vanjskim poljima prikazano je poprsje vuka, a u srednjem polju rozeta sa savijenim listom. Na desnom ramenu vuk je prikazan u sva tri polja.<sup>21</sup> Na ovome se prstenu vidi velika razlika u izvedbi između ukrasa na karici i na glavi. Sasvim je očito da su grb i legenda na glavi urezani naknadno, i da su djelo nekog lokalnog zlatara koji je manje vješt od onoga koji je urezivao pečatni simbol na našem prstenu iz Bosne. No oblik, tehnika izrade, ukras na karici i slova pokazuju pak veliku sličnost između dva prstena pa se može pretpostaviti i njihovo isto porijeklo, odnosno radionica.

S prstenom pronađenim u Arnautovićima kod Visokog u Bosni i Hercegovini također nalazimo dosta sličnosti (inv. br. 620; sl. 5). Riječ je o masivnom pečatnom srebrnom prstenu s osmerokutnom glavom na kojoj je urezana gotovo identična heraldička kompozicija. Ona se sastoji od štita na kojemu je kaciga s plaštem, a nad kacigom poprsje vuka s uzdignutim prednjim nogama, raširenim šapama,

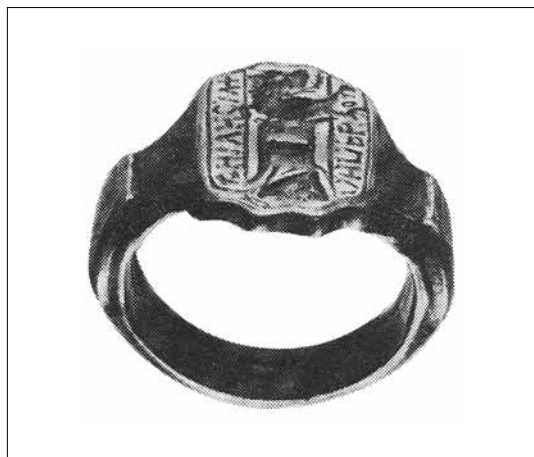
<sup>21</sup> Milošević 1990, 126.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Prsten, Novo Brdo (Kosovo), Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 3381 / Ring, Novo Brdo (Kosovo), National Museum in Belgrade, inv. No. 3381 (Zečević 2006, 202/79)

they are the work of a local goldsmith who was less adept than the one who engraved the seal symbol on the ring from Bosnia. However, the shape, rendering technique, ornament on the hoop and letters demonstrate a considerable similarity between the two rings, so one may assume a common origin, i.e., the same workshop.

Considerable similarities can also be seen in the ring discovered in Arnautovići near Visoko in Bosnia-Herzegovina (inv. No. 620; Fig. 5). This is a massive silver signet ring with an octagonal bezel on which a virtually identical heraldic composition is engraved. It consists of a shield on which there is a helm with mantling, and a demi-wolf above



Sl. / Fig. 7: Prsten, nepoznato nalazište, Narodni muzej u Beogradu, inv. br. 1422 / Ring, find-site unknown, National Museum in Belgrade, inv. No. 1422 (Milošević 1990, 127/177)

otvorenom čeljusti i naglašenim krznom. I. Čremošnik ovaj je prsten pripisala obitelji Radojević te s rezervom datirala u 15. stoljeće.<sup>22</sup> Budući da Radojevići i Radosalići pripadaju velikaškoj obitelji Pribinića, tako se u kasnijoj literaturi taj prsten pripisuje velikašu iz roda Pribinića. P. Anđelić iznio je pretpostavku da bi nositelj toga prstena mogao biti Brajko Pribinić koji je umro oko 1392. godine i bio pokopan s navedenim prstenom.<sup>23</sup>

U opljačkanom grobu unutar katedrale na kosovskom znamenitom lokalitetu Novo Brdo pronađen je srebrni prsten istog tipa (inv. br. 3381, sl. 6). Karika mu nije ukrašena, dok je heraldička kompozicija na osmerokutnoj glavi<sup>24</sup> gotovo identična – štit, kacija i poprsje vuka otvorene čeljusti.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252, T. III/6. Obitelji Radojević pripisan je jer je mjesto nalaza pripadalo njihovom teritoriju kao i zbog prikaza vuka na stečku Radića Radojevića, odnosno vjerojatnije kneza Radoja Radosalića (Čremošnik 1951, 252; Janković 1989, 152, 161, T. IV/7).

<sup>23</sup> Anđelić 1980, 222-223; 223, bilj. 47.

<sup>24</sup> Autorica ju doduše opisuje kao *šestougaonu*, s čime se ne bih složila (Zečević 2006, 202).

<sup>25</sup> Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, kat. br. 79.

the helm with raised front legs, outspread paws, a gaping jaw and a prominent coat of fur. I. Čremošnik attributed this ring to the Radojević family, and cautiously dated it to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup> Since the Radojević and Radosalić families belonged to the Pribinić magnate family, this ring was attributed to a magnate from the Pribinić line in the more recent literature. P. Anđelić speculated that the ring's bearer could have been Brajko Pribinić, who died around 1392 and was buried with this ring.<sup>23</sup>

A silver ring of the same type (inv. No. 3381, Fig. 6) was discovered in a looted tomb inside the cathedral at the notable site of Novo Brdo in Kosovo. The hoop is not adorned, while the heraldic composition on the octagonal bezel<sup>24</sup> is almost identical: an shield, helm and demi-wolf with jaws agape.<sup>25</sup>

Another gilded ring from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century from the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade bears a heraldic composition similar to the ring being discussed herein (inv. No. 1422; Fig. 7). Its hoop is different, but the oblong octagonal bezel is also set on it vertically. The depicted coat of arms is framed by two lines behind which, at the bezel's edge, an inscription runs. The coat of arms consists of an shield, helm and demi-wolf with forelegs raised. Its inscription (*My dear ring*) suggests that the ring was personal, possibly with a prophylactic character.<sup>26</sup>

In the well-known Dalton ring catalogue, a total of seven rings with the same inscription

<sup>22</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252, Pl. III, 6. It was ascribed to the Radojević family because its find-site was in their territory and because of an image of a wolf on the monolithic tombstone (*stećak*) of Radić Radojević, or, more likely, Prince Radoje Radosalić (Čremošnik 1951, 252; Janković 1989, 152, 161, Pl. IV/7).

<sup>23</sup> Anđelić 1980, 222-223; 223, note 47.

<sup>24</sup> The author, however, described it as *hexagonal*, with which I would not agree (Zečević 2006, 202).

<sup>25</sup> Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, cat. No. 79.

<sup>26</sup> Milošević 1990, 127, cat. No. 177.



Sl. / Fig. 8: Plašt prstena, nepoznato nalazište / Ring mounting, find-site unknown (Dalton 1910, 39/231)

Još jedan pozlaćeni prsten s početka 15. st. iz beogradskog Narodnog muzeja nosi sličnu heraldičku kompoziciju poput prstena o kojemu govorimo (inv. br. 1422; sl. 7). Njegova je karika drugačija, no izdužena osmerokutna glava također je postavljena okomito na nju. Prikazani grb uokviren je sa dvije linije iza kojih, uz rub glave, teče natpis. Grb se sastoji od štita, kacige i vučjeg poprsja s uzdignutim nogama. Njegov natpis (*Moj mili prsten*) sugerira da je prsten bio osobni, vjerojatno zaštitnog karaktera.<sup>26</sup>

U čuvenom Daltonovom katalogu prstenja ukupno je predstavljeno sedam prstena s istim natpisom, uz poneke varijacije, što ga čini jednim od statistički najzastupljenijih natpisa.<sup>27</sup> Šest ih je zlatnih a pripadaju skupini pečatnih (s umetnutim gemama ili s urezanim grbovima) i amuletних prstena. Svi su talijanske proizvodnje i datiraju u 14. st., osim jedinog srebrnog koji potječe iz 15. stoljeća.<sup>28</sup> Osvrnut ćemo se na neke od njih. Zlatni prsten s nešto kompleksnijim natpisom (*Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat Iesus nomma tuo s(alus)*) izvedenim urezanim lombardskim slovima potječe iz Italije. Iako je tipološki prsten različit - karika je trokutasta u presjeku, ramena su šuplja, a glava je ovalna s umetnutom gemom, tekst i slova vrlo su bliski naše-

are presented, with some variations, which makes it one of the statistically most common inscriptions.<sup>27</sup> Six of them are gold and belong to the group of signet rings (with inserted gems or engraved coats of arms) and amulet rings. All are Italian products and dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, except for the sole silver ring which has been dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> I shall consider some of them. The gold ring with a somewhat more complex inscription (*Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat Iesus nomma tuo s(alus)*) rendered in engraved Lombard letters originated in Italy. Although typologically different – the hoop has a triangular cross-section, the shoulders are hollow, while the bezel is oval with an inserted gem, the text and letters are very similar to the ring considered herein and reflect the style and trend of its time (Fig. 8).<sup>29</sup> A very luxurious signet ring with an arched hoop and with this same inscription and stylistic features on a niello base has been found in Greece, in the Peloponnese, and is kept in the British Museum (AF. 568, Fig. 9). It is richly adorned on both the outside and inside of the hoop and on the octagonal bezel with a legend reading S(IGNUM) DE ZENO DONAT(I). Besides the inscription *Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat eloi*, which is not the sole inscription, it also features plant motifs and two heraldically portrayed mythological winged beasts. The ring is Italic in origin, attributed to the Venetian

<sup>26</sup> Milošević 1990, 127, kat. br. 177.

<sup>27</sup> Dalton 1912, 362.

<sup>28</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231; 41/239; 48/283; 138/877, 878, 879; 142/895.

<sup>27</sup> Dalton 1912, 362.

<sup>28</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231; 41/239; 48/283; 138/877, 878, 879; 142/895.

<sup>29</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231.



Sl. / Fig. 9: Prsten, Peloponez (Grčka), The British Museum, inv. br. AF. 568 / Ring, Peloponnese (Greece), British Museum, inv. No. AF. 568 (©Trustees of the British Museum)

mu i odražavaju stil i trend toga vremena (sl. 8).<sup>29</sup> Vrlo raskošan pečatni prsten s karikom lučnog tipa te s istim natpisom i stilskim karakteristikama na nielo podlozi pronađen je u Grčkoj, na Peloponezu a čuva se u British museumu (AF. 568, sl. 9). Bogato je ukrašen s vanjske i unutrašnje strane karike i na osmerokutnoj glavi s legendom koja glasi S(IGNUM) DE ZENO DONAT(I). Osim natpisa *Iexus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat eloi*, koji nije i jedini natpis, prikazani su i vegetabilni motivi te dvije, heraldički prikazane, mitološke krilate zvijeri. Porijeklo prstena je italsko, pripisano venecijanskim radionicama.<sup>30</sup> Brojni su i talijanski prsteni s drugačijim natpisima, što je, dakako, osobni izbor pojedinca koji ga nosi, ali koji također sadrže slične stilske karakteristike. Osobito se to odnosi na podjelu karike na dva ili tri vodoravna polja koja sadrže natpis i dekorativne elemente.<sup>31</sup> Istovjetne stilske karakteristike, osim ovalne glave s umetnutom gemom, i identičan natpis ima prsten pronađen

<sup>29</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/231.

<sup>30</sup> Dalton 1912, 41/239; [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1) (27.5.2013.).

<sup>31</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/230; 43/254; 44/258.

workshops.<sup>30</sup> There are also numerous Italian rings with different inscriptions, which was, obviously, the personal choice of the individual who wore them, but which also contain similar stylistic features. This particularly pertains to the division of the hoop into two or three horizontal fields containing the inscription and decorative elements.<sup>31</sup> Identical stylistic features (besides the oval bezel with inserted gem) and an identical inscription can be found on a ring discovered not far from Bucharest and kept in Romania's National Museum (No. 101915). It has been dated to the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>32</sup> Also noteworthy is another Italian-produced gold ring of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which, by all indications, is a knightly type. The sketch is not sufficient for an unambiguous assertion, although the rectangular cross-section of the (unadorned) hoop, octagonal bezel with an almost identical composition – shield, helm, mantling and crest (hound?) and a framed legend along the longer side of the bezel, undoubtedly exhibits the same stylistic-typological features as our ring from Bosnia.<sup>33</sup>

The origin of the inscription on the hoop, and by all indications the goldsmith's workshop or at a minimum the master craftsman, can therefore be sought in neighbouring Italy. Although this inscription also appeared in other European countries and on other types of jewellery, the most similar analogies with a combination of the inscription and other stylistic features can be found precisely in Italy. The textual elements which pertain to Jesus appear on numerous amulets from the 13<sup>th</sup> c. until the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> c. Often the words of Jesus are used, or the Greek letters

<sup>30</sup> Dalton 1912, 41/239; [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=49994&partId=1) (27.5.2013.).

<sup>31</sup> Dalton 1912, 39/230; 43/254; 44/258.

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/PCN/clasate/Detailu.asp?k=F9DE438BAB7411DAA0605254ABDD25F5> (27.5.2013.).

<sup>33</sup> Dalton 1912, 44/255.

nedaleko od Bukurešta koji se čuva u rumunjskom Nacionalnom muzeju (br. 101915). Datiran je u drugu polovinu 14. stoljeća.<sup>32</sup> Vrijedi spomenuti još jedan zlatni prsten talijanske proizvodnje 14. stoljeća, koji, po svemu sudeći, pripada viteškom tipu. Crtež nije dostatan za stopostotnu tvrdnju, međutim četverokutni presjek (neukrašene) karike, osmerokutna glava s gotovo identičnom kompozicijom – štit, kaciga, veo i perjanica (pas?) te uokvirena legenda uz rub duže strane glave, pokazuje nesumnjivo iste stilsko-tipološke karakteristike s našim prstenom iz Bosne.<sup>33</sup>

Porijeklo natpisa na karici, a po svemu sudeći i zlatarsku radionicu ili barem majstora, možemo dakle tražiti u susjednoj Italiji. Iako se natpis javlja i u drugim europskim zemljama i na drugim vrstama nakita, upravo se najsličniji primjerci s kombinacijom natpisa i ostalim stilskim karakteristikama nalaze u Italiji. Tekstualni elementi koji se odnose na Isusa pojavljuju se na brojnim amuletima od trinaestog sve do početka šesnaestog stoljeća. Često se koriste Isusove riječi, ili pak grčka slova alfa i omega, ili pak navodi iz evanđelja. Tako se i Isusov prolaz (*Jesus autem* ...) odnosi na Isusa koji je uz Božju pomoć prošao kroz neprijatelje i sigurno nastavio svoje putovanje u Galileju. Ta se biblijska rečenica (*Jesus autem*) obično koristila kao amulet za sigurna putovanja morem ili kopnom, a posebno protiv napada pljačkaša.<sup>34</sup> Trgovci, vojnici i putnici običavali su nositi te riječi tijekom putovanja uvjereni da će njihovim nošenjem biti blagoslovljeni božanskom zaštitom.<sup>35</sup> Ova se formula pojavljuje i na raznim

alpha and omega, or even quotes from the Gospels. Thus, Jesus passing through (*Jesus autem* ...) pertains to Jesus passing through his enemies with God's help and safely continuing his journey to Galilee. This biblical passage (*Jesus autem*) was normally used as an amulet for safe journeys by land or sea, and particularly to defend against attacks by robbers.<sup>34</sup> Merchants, soldiers and travellers normally bore these words when travelling, convinced that by this they would be blessed with divine protection.<sup>35</sup> The same formula appears on various other jewellery, with the aim of protecting travellers from bandits and other misfortunes.<sup>36</sup> Generally, prophylactic inscriptions, which protected their bearers from evil, were common in the (High and Late) Middle Ages, and they generally consisted of religious or some other magical names or invocations.<sup>37</sup>

The above examples show that the variants of the knightly ring type and signet rings in general with similar heraldic compositions were not rare in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c., and, particularly, in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the territory of today's Bosnia-Herzegovina, Republic of Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia and Croatia. Such a distribution is the result of the intense activity of the Janjevo workshop known far and wide and its assumed branches in northern Serbia whence most of these rings came. Noteworthy in the evaluation of the ring being discussed here-

<sup>34</sup> Dalton 1912, 138.

<sup>35</sup> Skemer 2006, 89, 90.

<sup>36</sup> Lightbown 1992, 99; Skemer 2006, 90, ft 43. The same inscription also appeared on the reverse of the English royal (gold) coins from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> to late 16<sup>th</sup> centuries (Edward III, Richard II, Henry IV, Henry V, Henry VI, Edward IV, Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Elizabeth) (Kenyon 1884, 17, 19, 23-27, 35, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48-50, 57-60, 75-78, 83, 84, 93-94, 96-97, 99, 100, 106, 109, 112-114, 124, 126). I would like to thank my colleague Miroslav Nađ for assisting me with this numismatic topic.

<sup>37</sup> Lightbown 1992, 98.

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.cimec.ro/scripts/PCN/clasate/Detaliiu.asp?k=F9DE438BAB7411DAA0605254ABD D25F5> (27.5.2013.).

<sup>33</sup> Dalton 1912, 44/255.

<sup>34</sup> Dalton 1912, 138.

<sup>35</sup> Skemer 2006, 89, 90.

drugim nakitnim oblicima s ciljem da zaštiti putnike od lopova i nesreća.<sup>36</sup> Općenito su profilaktični natpisi, koji su štitali nositelja od zla, bili česti u (razvijenom i kasnom) srednjem vijeku, a koristila su se uglavnom religijska ili neka druga magična imena ili formule.<sup>37</sup>

Iz navedenih primjera pokazalo se da varijante viteškog tipa prstena te općenito pečatnih prstena sa sličnim heraldičkim kompozicijama nisu rijetke u drugoj polovini 14., a osobito početkom i u prvoj polovini 15. stoljeća na prostorima današnje Bosne i Hercegovine, Republike Srbije, Kosova, Makedonije i Hrvatske. Takva je distribucija rezultat snažnog djelovanja nadaleko poznate janjevačke radionice i njezinih pretpostavljenih ogranaka u sjevernoj Srbiji iz kojih je potekla većina tih prstena. Za vrednovanje prstena o kojemu je riječ važno je istaknuti da je veći broj tih prstena izrađen od srebra, a tek pokoji je zlatan, uglavnom ukrašen još i nielo tehnikom.<sup>38</sup> Stoga ga činjenica da je izrađen u zlatu s vrlo vješto urezanim grbom i legendom, koju je usput, i moguće identificirati, s pravom svrstava među najdragocjenije od svih spomenutih. Osim toga, na navedenom području Balkana prsteni s takvim kompleksnim natpisom nisu standardni. Iz druge perspektive ustanovili smo da su talijanski prsteni koji nose isti

<sup>36</sup> Lightbown 1992, 99; Skemer 2006, 90, ft 43. Isti se natpis pojavljuje i na reversima engleskog kraljevskog (zlatnog) novca od sredine 14. do kasnog 16. st. (Edward III., Richard II., Henry IV., Henry V., Henry VI., Edward IV., Henry VII, Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth ) (Kenyon 1884, 17, 19, 23-27, 35, 36, 39, 42, 45, 48-50, 57-60, 75-78, 83, 84, 93-94, 96-97, 99, 100, 106, 109, 112-114, 124, 126). Zahvaljujem kolegi Miroslavu Nađu što mi je pomogao oko ove numizmatičke teme.

<sup>37</sup> Lightbown 1992, 98.

<sup>38</sup> Milošević 1990, 19, 121-129; Ivanić 1998, 56; Zečević 2006, 202, kat. br. 79; Acović 2008, 215; Maneva 2007, kat. br. 46.

in is that a high number of these rings were made of silver, and only some of gold, generally also decorated by niello technique.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the fact that this one was made of gold with a very skilfully engraved coat of arms and legend, which may incidentally also be identified, rightfully puts it in the more valuable among all those mentioned. Additionally, rings with such a complex inscription are not standard in this area of the Balkans. From another point of view, I have ascertained that the Italian rings bearing the same biblical inscription are almost as a rule gold, and this combination of material, inscription, ornamentation and shape demonstrates that the person who commissioned and owned the ring stood shoulder to shoulder with the contemporaneous European elite of wealthy merchants and high officials.

#### On the signet ring and its owner

Signet rings are often mentioned in Late Mediaeval wills and inventories,<sup>39</sup> which means that they remained in use over extended periods, being preserved as familial bequests.<sup>40</sup> The actual value of the gold or silver is not the only reason for this, as there was also the sentimental value reflected in the personal and familial symbols depicted on them.<sup>41</sup> From the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century onward, jewellery was worn by all wealthier

<sup>38</sup> Milošević 1990, 19, 121-129; Ivanić 1998, 56; Zečević 2006, 202, cat. No. 79; Acović 2008, 215; Maneva 2007, cat. No. 46.

<sup>39</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>40</sup> A good example of this is the ring from the cemetery in Vodoča (Macedonia). Additionally, it is one of the rare examples of this type of ring which has a find context (grave 489). The ring has been dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it was used for two or three generations, and buried in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Maneva 2007, cat. No. 46).

<sup>41</sup> Despite some damage, the vaunted degree of preservation of the example considered herein suggests that it was not used very long, or that it was exposed to favourable conditions until its discovery.

biblijski natpis gotovo u pravilu zlatni te je tom kombinacijom materijala, natpisa, ukrasa i oblika naručitelj i vlasnik prstena pokazao da je ravnopravan sa suvremenim europskim elitnim krugom bogatih trgovaca i visokih dužnosnika.

### O pečatnjaku i vlasniku

Pečatni se prsteni često spominju u kasno-srednjovjekovnim oporukama i popisima,<sup>39</sup> što znači da obično ostaju u upotrebi kroz duži period, čuvajući se kroz obiteljsku ostavštinu.<sup>40</sup> Nije samo materijalna vrijednost zlata ili srebra razlog tomu, već i sentimentalna vrijednost koja se odražava kroz osobne i obiteljske simbole prikazane na njemu.<sup>41</sup> Od druge polovine 14. st. nakit nose svi imućniji ljudi, a posebno trgovci i zanatlije, koji se ponekad i nadmeću u luksuzu s vlastelom. Prstenje izrađuju u srebru i zlatu s urezanim natpisima, dok se na pečatnjacima pojavljuju heraldički elementi ili pak umetnute antičke geme.<sup>42</sup> Uspostavom grbovlja, pečatne heraldičke prstene usvajaju svi koji imaju pravo nositi oružje. U Italiji oni postaju česti u 14. st., a u ostalim su zemljama češći u 15. stoljeću.<sup>43</sup> Nakit je općenito u 15. st. brojan i skupocjen, a o tome svjedoče brojne ostave, arhivski podaci iz dubrovačkih arhiva kao i zanimljiv podatak poljskog putopisca koji je među svom srednjovjekovnom vlastelom posebno istaknuo bosanske i

people, particularly merchants and craftsmen, who sometimes competed in luxury with the nobility. Rings were made of silver and gold with engraved inscriptions, while heraldic elements or even inserted gems from Antiquity appeared on signet rings.<sup>42</sup> With the establishment of heraldry, heraldic signet rings were adopted by everyone who had the right to bear arms. In Italy, they became common in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, while in other countries they were more frequent in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>43</sup> Jewellery in general was numerous and expensive in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, to which many hoards testify, as well as data from the Dubrovnik archives and the interesting information provided by a Polish travel writer who among all of the Mediaeval landed nobility especially emphasized Bosnian and Serbian knights, who wore unusual attire, expensive gear and rich jewellery.<sup>44</sup> Coats of arms in their full significance, and particularly the whole ones, spread from the west and it can be said that they arrived rather late and slowly in the territories that were under Byzantine influence. In the territories discussed here, they appeared in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, earlier in Bosnia than in Serbia.<sup>45</sup> The most significant features of the western influence on the Bosnian and Zachlumian seals are the seal images with symbolic meaning and the Latin letters and language in the legends.<sup>46</sup> As a rule, seals were possessed by those who exercised or represented public authority. These were primarily people who held the highest authority, i.e. rulers.<sup>47</sup> Large seals were used exclusively on documents with a public character, while the remaining, medium-size and smaller ones (signet rings) were used by rulers to certify official documents, and also to validate entirely private attestations, letters, authoriza-

<sup>39</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>40</sup> Dobar primjer za to je prsten iz groblja u Vodoči (Makedonija). On je osim toga i jedan od rijetkih primjeraka toga tipa prstena koji ima svoj kontekst (grob 489). Prsten je datiran u 15. stoljeće, no korišten je kroz dvije ili tri generacije te je zakopan u 16. stoljeću (Maneva 2007, kat. br. 46).

<sup>41</sup> Unatoč određenim oštećenjima, stupanj očuvanosti kojim se diči naš primjerak, sugerira ipak da i nije bio dugo upotrebljavan, ili je pak do pronalaska bio izložen povoljnim uvjetima.

<sup>42</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>42</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Dalton 1912, xxxi.

<sup>44</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Ćorović-Ljubinković 1975, 171, 177.

<sup>46</sup> Anđelić 1970, 105.

<sup>47</sup> Anđelić 1970, 83.



srpske vitezove koji su nosili neobična odijela, skupocjenu opremu i bogat nakit.<sup>44</sup> Grbovi u punom svom značenju, a posebno oni potpuni, šire se sa zapada i može se reći da su prilično kasno i sporo stizali na područja koja su bila pod bizantskim utjecajem. Na prostorima koja razmatramo, oni se pojavljuju od druge polovine 14. stoljeća, u Bosni ranije nego u Srbiji.<sup>45</sup> Najznačajnije karakteristike zapadnog utjecaja na bosanske i humske pečate pečatne su slike simboličkog značaja te latinsko pismo i jezik u legendama.<sup>46</sup> Pečate su po pravilu imali nositelji ili predstavnici javne vlasti. To su prije svega nositelji najviše vlasti, dakle vladari.<sup>47</sup> Veliki pečati upotrebljavaju se isključivo na ispravama javnog karaktera, dok ostali, srednji i mali (pečatni prsteni) služe vladarima i za ovjeravanje službenih isprava, ali i za potvrđivanje sasvim privatnih priznanica, pisama, punomoći i sl. I velik broj ostale vlastele imao je svoje pečate, kao i bosanski biskupi i franjevački vikari u 14. stoljeću. Kada je ispravu trebalo ovjeriti u drugom mjestu tada su punomoćnici sa sobom nosili pečate svojih naredbodavaca i njima ovjeravali dokumente. Često je pečatnjak služio kao legitimacija kojom je trebalo dokazati status punomoćnika i istinitost usmenih poruka.<sup>48</sup> Srednjovjekovni prsteni s heraldičkim predstavama često su sadržavali natpise, a poput našega, poznato ih je nekoliko (uglavnom s nepoznatih nalazišta, vjerojatno u Srbiji) s imenom vlasnika. Neki od njih su Radoslavov, Božikov, Jovov i Dragojev prsten, ili primjerice onaj čelnika Gradislava, vojvode Ivana itd., a nošeni su u razdoblju između druge polovine 14. do druge polovine 15. stoljeća.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Radojković 1969, 11.

<sup>45</sup> Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 171, 177.

<sup>46</sup> Anđelić 1970, 105.

<sup>47</sup> Anđelić 1970, 83.

<sup>48</sup> Anđelić 1970, 84, 85.

<sup>49</sup> Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 173, bilj. 9; 175; Milošević 1990, 90, 91, kat. br. 98; 91, 92, kat. br. 99; 97, 98, kat. br. 115; 99, kat. br. 117; 118, 119, kat. br. 161; 119, 120, kat. br. 162.

tions, etc. A high number of the remaining landed nobility had their own seals, as well as the Bosnian bishops and Franciscan vicars of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. When a document had to be validated at another location, then the proxies would carry with them the seals of their superiors and stamp documents with them. Often the signet ring served as a form of identification which verified the status of the proxy and the truthfulness of orally-conveyed messages.<sup>48</sup> Mediaeval rings with heraldic depictions often bore inscriptions, and like the one considered herein, several of them feature the name of the owner (generally from unknown sites, probably in Serbia). Among others, there are rings of Radoslav, Božik, Jovo and Dragoje, or, for example, that of the chief Gradislav, Duke Ivan, etc., and they were worn during the period between the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. and the latter half of 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>49</sup>

Ljubić's prompt interpretation of the legend and attribution of the ring from Bosnia to a person named *Triphon Buche de Catharo*<sup>50</sup> are results of his active studying of Venetian archives.<sup>51</sup> This was probably the reason why he did not spend much time considering its stylistic features, the inscription on the hoop and so forth, rather he mostly dealt with the ring's bearer. It is therefore worthwhile recalling his interpretations, which served as a starting point for further confirmations and/or refutations. Š. Ljubić linked this ring to the Bosnian court, which is certainly supported by its find site (although not precisely identified) and the chronological framework (Late Mediaeval) to which the ring belongs, based on its type. The ring's owner, Tripko of Kotor, as Ljubić called him, was the Bosnian

<sup>48</sup> Anđelić 1970, 84, 85.

<sup>49</sup> Čorović-Ljubinković 1975, 173, note 9; 175; Milošević 1990, 90, 91, cat. No 98; 91, 92, cat. No 99; 97, 98, cat. No 115; 99, cat. No 117; 118, 119, cat. No. 161; 119, 120, cat. No. 162.

<sup>50</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>51</sup> Ljubić spent time in Venice and gathered materials from the Venetian archives which were later published in ten volumes, and which contain transcripts of documents in Latin (Ljubić 1868-1891).

Ljubićeva promptna interpretacija legende i pripisivanje prstena iz Bosne osobi pod imenom *Triphon Buche de Catharo*<sup>50</sup> rezultat je njegovog aktivnog djelovanja na polju proučavanja mletačkih arhiva.<sup>51</sup> To je vjerojatno i bio razlog što se nije previše bavio stilskim značajkama, natpisom na karici i sl., već ponajviše nositeljem prstena. Podsjetimo se stoga njegove interpretacije koja je poslužila kao polazište za daljnje argumentiranje i/ili demantiranje. Š. Ljubić ovaj je prsten povezo s bosanskim dvorom, čemu svakako ide u prilog mjesto nalaza (iako ne znamo koje je to točno) te vremenski (kasnosrednjovjekovni) okvir u koji prsten tipološki pripada. Vlasnik prstena, Tripko Kotoranin, kako ga Ljubić naziva, bio je nadkomornik bosanski za vrijeme vladanja Tvrtka I.,<sup>52</sup> a trgovačkim vezama Kotora i Bosne te svojevremenom Tvrtkovom vladavinom Kotorom objašnjava njegovo porijeklo. Grb je zbog prikaza vuka pripisao moćnoj zetskoj dinastiji Balšić.<sup>53</sup> Prihvatimo li te činjenice kao rješenje, jer sumnja u osobu koju više puta spominju povijesni izvori nije utemeljena, problem se pojavljuje prilikom identifikacije grba. Usprkos Ljubićevoj, nipošto lošoj pretpostavci potkrijepljenoj numizmatičko sfragističkim izvorima, te se dvije činjenice – Tripko, tj. Tripe Buća i Balšići - ne mogu nikako povezati, stoga je ili prsten pripisan krivoj osobi ili grb krivoj obitelji. Jer ukoliko se radi o dvorskom knezu bosanskome, a tu tezu slijedimo, zašto bi njegov pečat nosio prikaz grba obitelji Balšić, s kojom, usput,

protovestiary during the reign of Tvrtko I,<sup>52</sup> while the trade ties between Kotor and Bosnia and Tvrtko's one-time rule over Kotor explain his origin. The coat of arms featuring a wolf was attributed to the powerful Balšić dynasty of Zeta.<sup>53</sup> If these facts are accepted as a solution – because doubts concerning the person mentioned several times in historical sources are not founded – a problem emerges when attempting to identify the coat of arms. Despite Ljubić's hypothesis, by no means untenable, backed by numismatic and sigillographic sources, these two facts – Tripko, i.e. Triphon Buche and the Balšićs – cannot be linked in any way, so either the ring has been attributed to the wrong individual or the coat of arms to the wrong family. For insofar as its owner was a Bosnian courtly knight, and this hypothesis is accepted herein, why would his seal feature the Balšić family coat of arms, with whom, incidentally, Tvrtko I did not have particularly good relations, in fact they were rather adversarial, mostly in respect of Kotor.<sup>54</sup> The next problem is that the coat of arms of the Buch(i)a family, to which Triphon belonged, also does not correspond to the coat of arms on the ring (Fig. 10).<sup>55</sup> It should also be noted that it does not exhibit any particular similarity to Tvrtko's coat of arms, since on his coat of arms, as those of his successors, the basic heraldic symbol is the lily.<sup>56</sup> Did Tripko of Kotor have his own coat of arms, or was this some modified royal coat of arms? An attempt, at least partial, will be made to explain this. Thanks to the level of processing, particularly of the Dubrovnik Archives, much more is known today about Triphon and the Bucchia family. Additionally, the body of published coats of

<sup>50</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>51</sup> Ljubić je boravio u Veneciji i sakupljao građu iz mletačkih arhiva koja je kasnije objavljena u deset svezaka, koji donose prijepise isprava na latinskom jeziku (Ljubić 1868.-1891.).

<sup>52</sup> Ljubić navodi i za vrijeme vladanja Jelene Grube (supruga Stjepana Dabiše), međutim tu funkciju Tripe prestaje obavljati Tvrtkovom smrću 1391. g. kada ga zamjenjuje Žore Bokšić (Ljubić 1887, 100; Tošić 1974, 35).

<sup>53</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>52</sup> Ljubić stated also during the reign of Jelena Gruba (the wife of Stjepan Dabiša), however, Tripe ceased performing this function after Tvrtko's death in 1391 when he was replaced by Žore Bokšić (Ljubić 1887, 100; Tošić 1974, 35).

<sup>53</sup> Ljubić 1887, 100.

<sup>54</sup> Klaić 1882, 154, 164.

<sup>55</sup> Heyer 1995, Taf. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Anđelić 1970, 22, 95-96.

Tvrtko I. i nije održavao posebno dobre odnose, već su naprotiv bili u sukobu, ponajviše oko Kotora.<sup>54</sup> Iduća je nevolja što niti grb obitelji Buch(i)a iz koje potječe Tripko, također ne odgovara grbu na prstenu (sl. 10).<sup>55</sup> Spomenimo usput da posebnu sličnost ne pokazuje niti s Tvrtkovim grbom, budući da je na njegovom grbu, i na grbovima njegovih nasljednika ljljan osnovni heraldički simbol.<sup>56</sup> Je li Tripko Kotoranin imao svoj vlastiti grb ili je riječ o nekom modificiranom kraljevskom grbu, nastojat će se, barem djelomično, objasniti. Zahvaljujući stupnju obrađenosti, posebice Dubrovačkog arhiva, danas puno više znamo o samome Tripku i obitelji Bucchia. Također, korpus objavljenih grbova, pečatnih prstena i druge građe s heraldičkim elementima daleko je veći nego u vrijeme kada je prsten prvi put objavljen, što, dakako, ne uvjetuje sigurno i ispravno rješenje. Ipak, činjenice koje ukazuju na poistovjećivanje prstena sa spomenutom osobom dovoljno su jake te će se u tome smjeru i argumentirati. Tko je, dakle, bio Tripko, vlasnik ovog luksuznog zlatnog prstena? Tripko, odnosno Tripe (Petrov) Buća bio je uspješan i ugledan Dubrovčanin, rodom Kotoranin, koji je djelovao u drugoj polovini 14. stoljeća.<sup>57</sup> Bucchie<sup>58</sup> su bili istaknuto kotorsko plemstvo<sup>59</sup> koje je tijesno surađivalo s

arms, signet rings and other items containing heraldic elements is far greater than at the time the ring was first published which, to be sure, is no guarantee of a certain and correct solution. Nonetheless, the facts which indicate that the ring can be linked to the aforementioned individual are sufficiently strong to justify arguments in this vein. Who, then, was Tripko, the owner of this luxurious gold ring? Tripko, or Tripe (Triphon, son of Peter) Buche was a successful and respected citizen of Dubrovnik, born in Kotor, who was active in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>57</sup> The Bucchias<sup>58</sup> were distinguished members of the Kotor nobility,<sup>59</sup> who worked closely with the people of Dubrovnik and who had influence in the Serbian court, participating in diplomatic and political affairs in Serbia during the Nemanjić dynasty.<sup>60</sup> The Buche family also included, besides Tvrtko's *protovestiaros*, the famed *protovestiaroi* of Emperor Dušan (Nikola and Mihailo), Emperor Uroš (Petar and Trifun), Princess Milica and Despot Stefan (Ivan).<sup>61</sup> Triphon Buchia was born in 1341, and in 1365 he moved to Dubrovnik. The name Tripko or Trifun<sup>62</sup> appears fre-

<sup>54</sup> Klaić 1882, 154, 164.

<sup>55</sup> Heyer 1995, Taf. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Anđelić 1970, 22, 95-96.

<sup>57</sup> Njegovu je iscrpnu biografiju objavio kroz dva rada Đuro Tošić (Tošić 1974, 2007).

<sup>58</sup> Buća, Bucchia, Bucha, Buchya; pogr. Bucho; slav. Bučić; hrv. Buća; lat. Buchius varijante su pod kojima se susreće njihovo ime, dok kroničari o rodu Bucchia pišu *di Cattaro, da Cattaro, Catharensis* (Vekarić 2012, 146; 146, bilj. 1173).

<sup>59</sup> Rod Bucchia pripada mlađim vlasteoskim rodovima. Zbog zasluga za stjecanje poluotoka Pelješca dubrovačko su plemstvo dobili prije dolaska u Dubrovnik. Bucchia nikad nije bio brojani rod. Godine 1400. bila je samo jedna njihova *casata* koja se u prvoj polovini 15. st. razgranala u četiri *casate*. Nešto više od 20 g. bili su bez plemstva, a plemstvo obitelji ponovno stječe Tripe (Petrov) 1388. godine (Vekarić 2012, 146, 147, 151).

<sup>57</sup> His exhaustive biography has been published in two works by Đuro Tošić (Tošić 1974, 2007).

<sup>58</sup> Buća, Bucchia, Bucha, Buchya; incorr. Bucho; Slav. Bučić; Cro. Buća; Lat. Buchius are the variants of their surname, while chroniclers wrote of the Bucchia family as *di Cattaro, da Cattaro, Catharensis* (Vekarić 2012, 146; 146, note 1173).

<sup>59</sup> The Bucchia family was among the younger families of landed nobility. In return for their efforts to acquire the Pelješac Peninsula, they were granted the nobility status in Dubrovnik prior to their arrival in the city. The Bucchia were never a numerous family. In 1400, they had only one lineage which in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century branched into four lineages. For slightly over 20 years they were without a noble station, while nobility was once more acquired for the family by Tripe (son of Peter) in 1388 (Vekarić 2012, 146, 147, 151).

<sup>60</sup> Vekarić 2012, 146; Tošić 1974, 26.

<sup>61</sup> Acović 2008, 115.

<sup>62</sup> In the documents, his name is written in several variations, as follows: Triphon, Triphoni, Tripe and Tripko (Tošić 2007, 84, 86, 90; Ljubić 1887, 100).



Sl. / Fig. 10: Grb Bucchia / Bucchia coat of arms (Heyer 1995, Taf. 22)

Dubrovčanima i koje je imalo utjecaja na srpskome dvoru sudjelujući u diplomatskim i političkim poslovima nemanjičke Srbije.<sup>60</sup> Rodu Buća su, osim Tvrtkovog protovestijara, također pripadali slavni protovestijari cara Dušana (Nikola i Mihailo), cara Uroša (Petar i Trifun), kneginje Milice i despota Stefana (Ivan).<sup>61</sup> Tripe Buchia rođen je 1341. godine, a 1365. godine preselio se u Dubrovnik. Tripko ili Trifun<sup>62</sup> često je ime u kotorskim spomenicima, a u rodu Buća nasljedno je obiteljsko ime – to su ime nosili njegovi djed i unuk.<sup>63</sup> Prvi se put oženio 1367. godine Katarinom iz plemićkog roda Volcasso/Volkasić, s kojom je imao troje djece.<sup>64</sup> Nakon njezine smrti ponovo se oženio 1373. godine s Tomušom (Tomussa) iz

<sup>60</sup> Vekarić 2012, 146; Tošić 1974, 26.

<sup>61</sup> Acović 2008, 115.

<sup>62</sup> U dokumentima njegovo se ime navodilo u nekoliko varijanti, a to su Triphon, Triphoni, Tripe i Tripko (Tošić 2007, 84, 86, 90; Ljubić 1887, 100).

<sup>63</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99; Tošić 1974, 26; Vekarić 2012, 148.

<sup>64</sup> Kako je Volcasso bila jedna od najutjecajnijih *casata* Gučetićeva klana, rod Bucchia se pridružio tome klanu (Vekarić 2012, 147).

quently on Kotor monuments, and in the Bucche family it was an inherited familial name: his grandfather and grandson also had this name.<sup>63</sup> He was married the first time in 1367 to Katarina from the Volcasso/Volkasić family of nobles, with whom he had three children.<sup>64</sup> After her death, he married again in 1373, to Tomuša (Tomussa) from the Menčetić family, with whom he also had three children.<sup>65</sup> At the beginning of his career, he procured grain for Dubrovnik in Apulia and performed various intermediary activities between Bosnia and Dubrovnik.<sup>66</sup> Archival data first link him to Bosnia at the end of 1381, when he served as Dubrovnik's emissary to the Bosnian king, and the impression he made and his distinguished familial background, influenced his further career. He was first mentioned as the *protovestiaros* of Bosnian King Tvrtko I on 27 April 1386.<sup>67</sup> He performed various other tasks (traded, brought artisans to Bosnia, engaged in politics, etc.), and most often he travelled to Dubrovnik as Tvrtko's emissary.<sup>68</sup> He held this post until Tvrtko's death (in March 1391), when he probably immediately returned to Dubrovnik, where, as an influential landowner and feudal magnate, he continued to engage in trade and provide credit to citizens of Dubrovnik and Kotor. He probably died at the very end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, because the last document in which he is mentioned is dated 1399.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99; Tošić 1974, 26; Vekarić 2012, 148.

<sup>64</sup> Since Volcasso was one of the most influential *casata* of the Gučetić clan, the Bucchia family joined the clan (Vekarić 2012, 147).

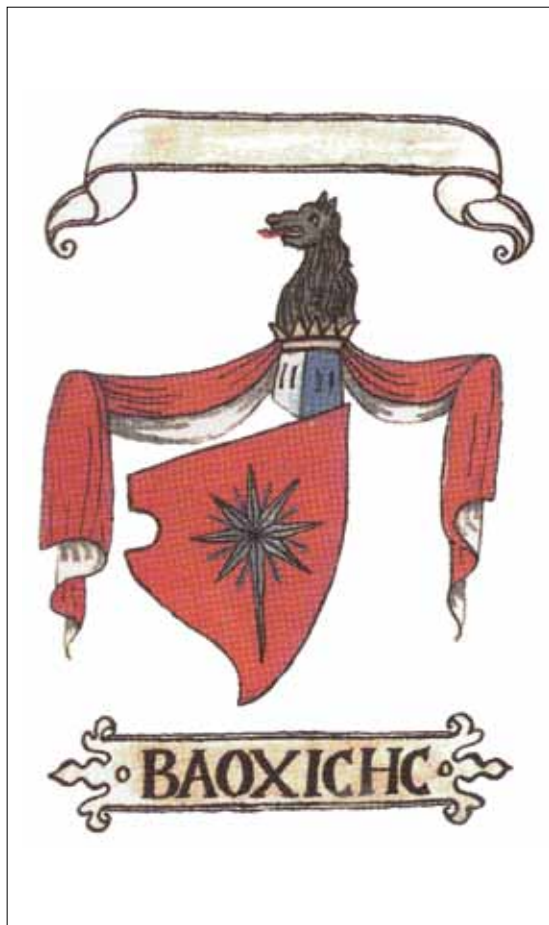
<sup>65</sup> Tošić 1974, 38; Tošić 2007, 84, 85.

<sup>66</sup> Tošić 1974, 27.

<sup>67</sup> Tošić 1974, 28, 29. Tvrtko wanted to organize the Bosnian court using the Serbian court as model, and he took on many court positions, services and ceremonies, including, among others, the post of *protovestiaros*. The *protovestiaros* has its origins in the Byzantine court, and this official managed finances. Tripe was Tvrtko's second *protovestiaros* (Tošić 1974, 30).

<sup>68</sup> Tošić 1974, 31, 32.

<sup>69</sup> Tošić 1974, 35-37; Tošić 2007, 96.



Sl. / Fig. 11: Grb Balšića, Fojnički grbovnik / Balšić coat of arms, Fojnica Armorial (Acović 2008, 223)

roda Menčetić s kojom je također imao troje djece.<sup>65</sup> U početku svoje karijere u Apuliji je nabavljao žito za Dubrovčane te obavljao razne posredničke poslove između Bosne i Dubrovnika.<sup>66</sup> Arhivski podaci prvi put ga krajem 1381. g. dovede u vezu s Bosnom kada je bio u službi dubrovačkog poslanika kod bosanskoga kralja, a dojam koji je na njega ostavio te zasigurno i ugledna obiteljska pozadina, utjecali su na njegovu daljnju karijeru. Kao protovestijar bosanskoga kralja Tvrtka I. prvi se put spominje 27. travnja

<sup>65</sup> Tošić 1974, 38; Tošić 2007, 84, 85.

<sup>66</sup> Tošić 1974, 27.

The coat of arms depicted on the ring is a full coat of arms consisting of a heraldic shield, helm with mantling and a crest, which constitutes the zenith of the developmental line of coats of arms. Full coats of arms were only used as symbols of individuals or families.<sup>70</sup> The use of a coat of arms with helm spread through the Balkan Peninsula from the west, and did not go farther east than the Serbian lands.<sup>71</sup> The helm depicted is a deep type with a prominent eye-slot, which normally also appears on the Kotromanić and Vlatković coats of arms.<sup>72</sup> It has already been noted that the legend on the bezel and the inscription on the hoop are written in Gothic majuscule. It can be observed on the Bosnian and Zachlumian seals from the onset of the 14<sup>th</sup> century until the 1450s or 1460s, and in the view of some it is the most decorative script ever used in epigraphy.<sup>73</sup> The ornament on the hoop is rendered in niello technique, and the motif used on this and similar rings was selected from the general Mediterranean repertoire, and these are normally palmettes or grape vines, ribbons and sometimes monograms.<sup>74</sup> In this case, the wolf depicted on the coat of arms constitutes the most confounding problem. In seeking an answer to the portrayal of the wolf on the seal image, Šime Ljubić pointed out its similarity to the depictions on the coins of the Balšić family of Zeta, specifically those issued by Đurađ II Stracimirović and Balša III.<sup>75</sup> The demi-wolf facing left is in most

<sup>70</sup> Anđelić 1970, 93. The oldest full coat of arms tied to Bosnia is that of Pavao Šubić, which appeared at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. But the first ascertained original Bosnian coat of arms is associated with the name of Tvrtko I (Anđelić 1970, 93).

<sup>71</sup> Janković 1989, 147. On Bosnian coins, the helm above the shield was shown as of Tvrtko's ascension to the throne as king in 1377, and in Pomorje (*Littoral region*) on the coins of Balša II (1378-1385), until his final heir (Janković 1989, 153, 154).

<sup>72</sup> Anđelić 1970, 94.

<sup>73</sup> Anđelić 1970, 120.

<sup>74</sup> Ivanić 1998, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

1386. godine.<sup>67</sup> Obavljao je i razne druge poslove (trgovao, dovodio zanatlije u Bosnu, bavio se politikom i sl.), a najčešće je u ulozi Tvrtkovog poslanika odlazio u Dubrovnik.<sup>68</sup> Na tome je položaju do Tvrtkove smrti (ožujak 1391.) kada se najvjerojatnije odmah vratio u Dubrovnik, gdje se kao moćan zemljoposjednik i feudalac i dalje bavi trgovinom te kreditiranjem Dubrovčana i Kotorana. Umro je vjerojatno na samome kraju 14. stoljeća, jer zadnji spis koji ga spominje potječe iz 1399. godine.<sup>69</sup>

Grb prikazan na prstenu pripada potpunim grbovima koji se sastoje od heraldičkog štita, kacige s plaštem i perjanice, što predstavlja vrh razvojne linije grbova. Potpuni grbovi upotrebljavaju se samo kao simboli pojedinaca ili obitelji.<sup>70</sup> Upotreba grba s kacigom širi se na Balkanski poluotok sa zapada, a ne prodire dalje na istok od srpskih zemalja.<sup>71</sup> Prikazana kaciga dubokog je tipa s naglašenim izrezom za oči, kakve se obično i pojavljuju na grbovima Kotromanića i Vlatkovića.<sup>72</sup> Spomenuto je već da su legenda na glavi i natpis na karici prstena pisani gotičkom majuskulom. Ona se bosanskim i hum-

<sup>67</sup> Tošić 1974, 28, 29. Tvrtko je po uzoru na srpski, želio urediti i bosanski dvor te je preuzeo mnoga dvorska zvanja, službe i ceremonijal, a između ostaloga i službu protovestijara. Ta je služba bizantskog porijekla, a protovestijar se bavi finansijskim poslovima. Tripe je bio drugi Tvrtkov protovestijar (Tošić 1974, 30).

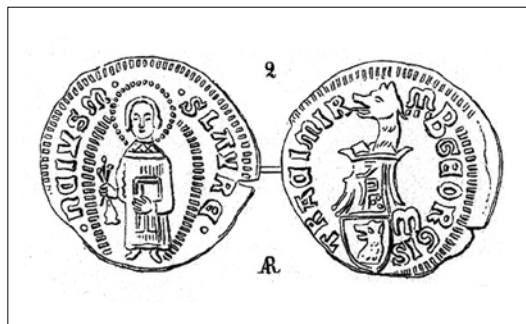
<sup>68</sup> Tošić 1974, 31, 32.

<sup>69</sup> Tošić 1974, 35-37; Tošić 2007, 96.

<sup>70</sup> Anđelić 1970, 93. Najstariji potpuni grb vezan uz Bosnu je grb Pavla Šubića nastao krajem 13. st. No prvi pouzdano utvrđeni i izvorno bosanski grb vezan je uz ime kralja Tvrtka I. (Anđelić 1970, 93).

<sup>71</sup> Janković 1989, 147. Na bosanskim novcima kaciga iznad štita prikazuje se od Tvrtkovog proglašenja za kralja 1377. g., a u Pomorju na novcu Balše II. (1378.-1385.), pa sve do njegovog posljednjeg nasljednika (Janković 1989, 153, 154).

<sup>72</sup> Anđelić 1970, 94.



Sl. / Fig. 12: Novac Balšića / Balšić coins (Ljubić 1875, Taf. XIV)

cases placed above the helm and mantling, however on these images the forelegs are not shown as they are on the coat of arms on the ring, with rather prominent outspread paws. Also, the shield located beneath the helm and mantling on the Balšić coins bears the same depiction of a wolf, as opposed to the diagonal bend that appears on the ring's coat of arms (Fig. 12).<sup>76</sup> Only a wolf's head is depicted on Balša's seals of 1379, which was, in fact, the heraldic symbol of the Balšićs.<sup>77</sup> But the wolf has been attributed to the Balšićs quite often, whether depicted as only a head or the entire upper body.<sup>78</sup> In addition to the Balšićs, the wolf was a common heraldic symbol in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and besides this ring, it also appears on the monolithic tombstone of Radić Radojević (a confidant

<sup>76</sup> Ljubić 1875, Taf. XIV, 2-10. Later, after the appearance of similar compositions on rings, this problem of a coat of arms depicting a wolf with jaws agape above the helm and its similarity to the Balšić coat of arms was recalled by M. Ćorović-Ljubinković (1975, 176, note 20), which was also referred to by D. Acović (2008, 202, note 505).

<sup>77</sup> These are heraldic monuments on which recognizable heraldic motifs stand outside of the context of the crest or shield (Acović 2008, 192).

<sup>78</sup> Đ. Janković also touched upon this when describing the silver medallion from Kosovo on which there is a demi-wolf with raised forelegs and paws outspread. Instead of the Balšićs, he attributed it to Đurađ Branković, alluding that it was more likely a lion (Janković 1989, 155; 162, Pl. V/8).

skim pečatima prati od početka 14. pa do šestog ili sedmog desetljeća 15. stoljeća i predstavlja, smatraju neki, najdekorativnije pismo koje se ikad upotrebljavalo u epigrafiji.<sup>73</sup> Ukras na karici izveden je u nielo tehnicu, a motiv koji se koristio na ovome i na sličnim prstenima biran je iz općeg mediteranskog repertoara, a to su obično palmeta ili vinova loza, mašna a ponekad i monogrami.<sup>74</sup> Vuk na grbu u ovome nam slučaju predstavlja najveći problem. Tragajući za odgovorom oko prikaza vuka na pečatnoj slici Šime Ljubić upozorio je na sličnost s prikazima na novcu zetske obitelji Balšić i to Đurđa II. Stracimirovića i Balše III.<sup>75</sup> Poprsje vuka okrenutog ulijevo u većini je slučajeva prikazano iznad kacige i plašta, međutim na tim prikazima nisu istaknute prednje noge, koje su na grbu prstena prikazane, i to s dosta naglašenim raširenim šapama. Također, štit koji se nalazi ispod kacige i plašta na novcu Balšića nosi istu predstavu vuka, za razliku od kose grede koja se pojavljuje na grbu prstena (sl. 12).<sup>76</sup> Na Balšinih pečatima iz 1379. g. prikazana je samo glava vuka, što i jest heraldički simbol Balšića.<sup>77</sup> No vrlo se često vuk pripisivao Balšićima, bilo da je prikazana samo glava ili cijelo poprsje.<sup>78</sup> Osim

of King Tvrtko II from 1420),<sup>79</sup> a ring from Arnautovići, and the coats of arms of Vladislav Hercegović and Vlatko, the Duke of St. Sava.<sup>80</sup> Later, however, the animals on the coats of arms of Vladislav and Vlatko were differently interpreted as lions, or griffons.<sup>81</sup> Previously, certain other signet rings with images of wolves from the National Museum in Belgrade were mentioned. The old element of Tvrtko's (the ban's, or Kotromanić's) coat of arms is an shield with a bend, while only later was the lily symbol introduced to the royal coat of arms.<sup>82</sup> However, one seal of Tvrtko II is known on which there is a bend without lilies (Fig. 13).<sup>83</sup> In this sense, a link may be established between the image of a shield on Triphon's ring and the Kotromanić's, since the bend constitutes an archaic Kotromanić coat of arms, which obviously was not forgotten even in later times. The wolf, as we have seen, is a heraldic animal that can often be found on Late Mediaeval coats of arms, so in this sense it does not represent some sort of unusual symbol. However, the question of the tie to Triphon Buche, Tvrtko's *protoves-tiarios*, is more difficult to answer. The only trace that now indicates some sort of coherent link leads to Tripe's first marriage. Katarina was from the Volkasić (Volcasso) family of nobles, which was the most influential in the Gučetić clan. Since the Buches joined their clan, the conclusion can be drawn that the familial ties encouraged the maintenance of good relations and joint interests.<sup>84</sup> There are no data on their coat of arms, but due to

<sup>73</sup> Anđelić 1970, 120.

<sup>74</sup> Ivanić 1998, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>76</sup> Ljubić 1875, Taf. XIV, 2-10. Kasnije je, nakon pojave sličnih predstava na prstenju, na taj problem grba koji prikazuje vuka s otvorenim čeljustima iznad kacige, odnosno njegove sličnosti s grbom Balšića podsjetila M. Čorović-Ljubinković (1975, 176, bilj. 20), što je i D. Acović također doveo u vezu (2008, 202, bilj. 505).

<sup>77</sup> Riječ je o heraldičkim spomenicima kojima se prepoznatljivi heraldički motiv nalazi izvan konteksta perjanice ili štita (Acović 2008, 192).

<sup>78</sup> Toga se dotaknuo i Đ. Janković opisujući srebrnu plaketu s Kosova na kojoj se nalazi vučje poprsje s uzdignutim nogama i raširenim šapama. On ju je umjesto Balšićima pripisao Đurđu Brankoviću aludirajući da je vjerojatnije riječ o lavu (Janković 1989, 155; 162, T. V/8).

<sup>79</sup> This was a monolithic tombstone (*stećak*) from Zabrdje near Kiseljak which mentions in the inscription Radoje, the grand prince of Bosnia (1405-1420). The demi-wolf with paws outspread is depicted on the helm inside a circular field. It has been dated between 1405 and 1420 (Janković 1989, 152; 161, Pl. IV/7).

<sup>80</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252.

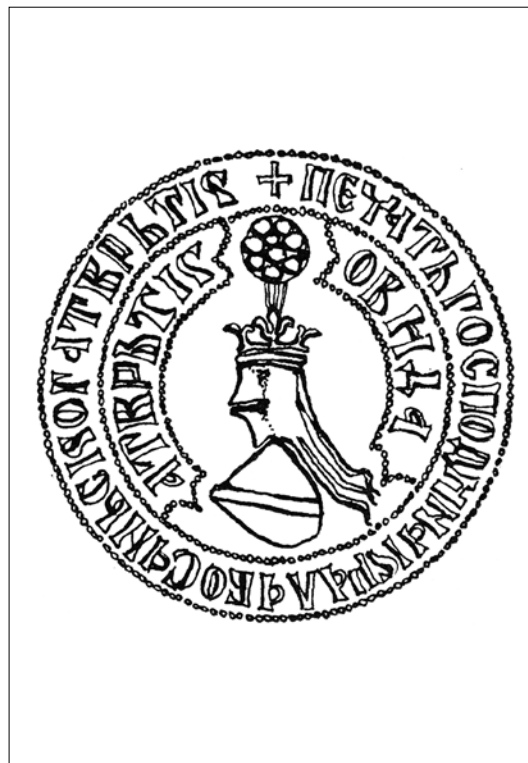
<sup>81</sup> Anđelić 1970, 77, 78, Fig. 55; 79, Fig. 57; 80, Fig. 58; 81, Fig. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Anđelić 1970, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Anđelić 1970, 41, No. 17, 42.

<sup>84</sup> Vekarić 2012, 147.

kod Balšića, vuk je čest heraldički znak u Bosni i Hercegovini, a uz ovaj prsten, nalazi se još i na stečku Radića Radojevića (pouzdanika kralja Tvrtka II. iz 1420. g.),<sup>79</sup> prstenu iz Arnautovića, zatim na grbu Vladislava Hercegovića te Vlatka, Hercega od sv. Save.<sup>80</sup> Kasnije su međutim drugačije interpretirane životinje na Vladislavljevom i Vlatkovom grbu i pripisane lavu, odnosno grifonu.<sup>81</sup> Ranije su spomenuti i neki drugi pečatnjaci s prikazom vuka iz Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu. Stari element Tvrtkovog (banskog, odnosno Kotromanića) grba je štit s kosom gredom, dok se tek kasnije na kraljevski grb uvodi simbol ljiljana.<sup>82</sup> No poznat je jedan pečat Tvrtka II. na čijem se štitu nalazi kosa greda bez ljiljana (sl. 13).<sup>83</sup> U tom se smislu može uspostaviti veza između prikaza štita na Tripinom prstenu i Kotromanića, budući da kosa greda predstavlja arhaičan grb Kotromanića, koji očito nije bio zaboravljen niti u kasnijim vremenima. Vuk je, vidjeli smo, heraldička životinja koju je često moguće sresti na kasnosrednjovjekovnim grbovima pa u tom smislu on ne predstavlja neki neuobičajeni simbol. Međutim, na pitanje o povezanosti s Tripom Bućom, Tvrtkovim protovestijarom, teže je odgovoriti. Jedini trag koji zasada nagovještava neku suvislu poveznicu vodi nas prema Tripinom prvome braku. Katarina je potjecala iz plemićke obitelji Volkasić (Volkasso) koja je unutar Gučetićeveg klana bila najutjecajnija. Kako su se i Buće priklonile njihovom klanu možemo zaključiti da



Sl. / Fig. 13: Pečat Tvrtka II. / Seal of Tvrtko II (Anđelić 1970, 41, sl. / Fig. 17)

the root of their surname, which is the Old Slavonic origin of the noun for wolf (*vuk*),<sup>85</sup> it is possible that the wolf was in fact their symbol. Anything beyond this is pure speculation: whether Tripe retained this symbol to commemorate his deceased spouse and the firm ties with her family, or whether some branch of the Buches to which he belonged himself assumed this symbol.

Significant to interpretation of the legend is the fact that Triphon held the title of *dominus*, which often appears before his name in the written sources, and also the title of knight (*miles*) which was held by a very small number of people in Mediaeval Bosnia.<sup>86</sup> Nothing particular needs to be said about the name, but the owner's title nonetheless creates certain doubts. Ljubić interpreted it as *comes*

<sup>79</sup> Riječ je o stečku iz Zabrđa kod Kiseljaka koji u natpisu navodi Radoja, velikog kneza Bosne (1405.-1420.) Na kacigi unutar kružnog polja prikazano je poprje vuka s raširenim šapama. Datiran je između 1405. i 1420. godine (Janković 1989, 152; 161, T. IV/7).

<sup>80</sup> Čremošnik 1951, 252.

<sup>81</sup> Anđelić 1970, 77, 78, sl. 55; 79, sl. 57; 80, sl. 58; 81, sl. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Anđelić 1970, 99.

<sup>83</sup> Anđelić 1970, 41, br. 17, 42.

<sup>85</sup> Skok 1973, 635, 636.

<sup>86</sup> Tošić 1974, 31.



su obiteljske veze potaknule održavanje dobrih odnosa i zajedničkih interesa.<sup>84</sup> O njihovom grbu nema podataka, no zbog korijena njihovoga prezimena, koje je staroslavensko porijeklo imenice *vuk*,<sup>85</sup> moguće je pretpostaviti da je upravo *vuk* bio njihov simbol. Dalje je puko nagađanje - je li *Tripe* zadržao taj simbol zbog uspomene na pokojnu suprugu i čvrste povezanosti s njezinom obitelji, ili je pak neki ogranak *Buća* kojemu je i sam pripadao preuzeo taj simbol.

Za tumačenje legende značajan je i podatak da je *Tripe* imao titulu *dominus* koja se u izvorima često nalazi ispred njegovog imena, ali i titulu viteza (*miles*) koju je imao vrlo mali broj ljudi u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni.<sup>86</sup> O imenu ne treba posebno govoriti, međutim, vlasnička titula stvara ipak određene nedoumice. *Ljubić* ju je interpretirao kao *comes aulae*, odnosno dvorski knez.<sup>87</sup> Ta se tvrdnja može, ali i ne mora prihvatiti. *Tripina* titula i primarna obveza na dvoru bila je *prothovestiarus*, kako se i najčešće spominjao u ispravama, međutim, kao čovjek od povjerenja obavljao je i razne druge poslove te je nesumnjivo visoko kotirao na dvoru i mogao je imati takvo dvorsko dostojanstvo. *Comes aulae* doslovan je prijevod za zvanje dvorskoga kneza, a razne su inačice koje imaju isto to značenje – *praefectus aulae*, *palatinus*, *maestro de la corte*.<sup>88</sup> Svakako je moguće da je i navedena kombinacija bila upotrebljavana. Prema pravilu na kraju legende dolazi vlasnikova titula, u suprotnome mogli bismo pomisliti da je *CA* kratica koja se odnosi na porijeklo vlasnika, s obzirom na to da je često spominjan kao *de Cataro* ili *de Catharo*.

<sup>84</sup> Vekarić 2012, 147.

<sup>85</sup> Skok 1973, 635, 636.

<sup>86</sup> Tošić 1974, 31.

<sup>87</sup> *Ljubić* 1887, 100.

<sup>88</sup> *Truhelka* 1901, 103, 104.

*aulae*, or knight of the court.<sup>87</sup> This assertion can, but need not, be accepted. *Tripcon's* title and primary duty in the court was *prothovestiarus*, and he is mentioned in the documents most often as such. However, as a trusted individual, he performed various other duties and was undoubtedly held in high regard in the court and he could have had such courtly prestige. *Comes aulae* is a literal translation of the post of knight of the court, while there are other variants which have the same meaning: *praefectus aulae*, *palatinus*, *maestro de la corte*.<sup>88</sup> It is certainly possible that the aforementioned combination was also used. According to the accepted rule, the owner's title comes at the end of the legend. Otherwise, it can be assumed that *CA* is an abbreviation for the owner's place of origin, given that he was often designated as *de Cataro* or *de Catharo*.

Seal stamps were made by the more skilful goldsmiths, who could manage the engraving of often complicated seal designs in hard materials, as reverse images. Besides seals, these master craftsmen also made casts for the minting of coins, and they made signet rings and similar items.<sup>89</sup> This type of ring with such rendering and adornment of the hoop was produced by European workshops, and such items were imported/delivered to other regions on commission, while, it would appear, local goldsmiths engraved familial coats of arms and legends subsequently. A comparison of the letters on the hoop and bezel indicates considerable similarity, and the precision and detail with which the coat of arms was rendered point to the work of a highly-talented master craftsman, regardless of whether he was a local goldsmith or possibly an itinerant artisan.<sup>90</sup> The Italian origin

<sup>87</sup> *Ljubić* 1887, 100.

<sup>88</sup> *Truhelka* 1901, 103, 104.

<sup>89</sup> *Andelić* 1970, 102.

<sup>90</sup> A specialized seal engraver and top-level artisan from the best school of that era, which according to some hypotheses operated in Paris, worked in *Tvrčko's* court (*Andelić* 1970, 103).

Izradom pečata bavili su se zlatari, i to oni vješiji, koji su se mogli upustiti u graviranje često kompliciranih pečatnih slika u tvrdom materijalu, i to u negativu. Osim pečata ti su majstori radili i kalupe za kovanje novca, izrađivali pečatno prstenje i sl.<sup>89</sup> Tip prstena s ovakvim načinom izrade i ukrasom karika pripada europskim radionicama te su se takvi primjerci po narudžbama uvozili/dopremali u druge krajeve, dok su, čini se, naknadno domaći zlatari urezivali obiteljske grbove i legende. Uspoređujući slova na karici i glavi primjećuje se velika sličnost, a preciznost i pedantnost kojom je izveden grb ukazuje na rad također vrhunskog majstora, bilo da je riječ o nekom lokalnom zlataru ili možda putujućem majstoru.<sup>90</sup> Talijansko porijeklo prstena, odnosno rad talijanskog majstora, samo je odraz vremena u kojemu su postojali snažni trgovački, ali i brojni drugi međusobni interesi. Dobre odnose s Venecijom imao je i Tvrtko I. kao i njegovi nasljednici (Dabiša, Ostoja, Tvrtko II., Stjepan Tomaš). Mlečanima je bila zajamčena slobodna i sigurna trgovina i u Kotoru i svim ostalim dijelovima bosanskog kraljevstva, a ona se, dakako, živo i odvijala.<sup>91</sup> Međutim, postoje i indicije da je Tripe četiri godine (1382.-1386.) boravio u Novom Brdu<sup>92</sup> te mogućnost da je tamo došao u kontakt s nekim vrsnim, vjerojatno putujućim zlatarom, koji mu je mogao prodati prsten ili samo urezati predstavu na glavi.

<sup>89</sup> Anđelić 1970, 102.

<sup>90</sup> Na Tvrtkovom dvoru radio je specijalizirani pečatorezac i vrhunski umjetnik iz najbolje škole toga vremena, koja je prema nekim pretpostavkama djelovala u Parizu (Anđelić 1970, 103).

<sup>91</sup> Brković 2011, 52-59. Isprava kralja Tvrtka I. Mlečanima (23.8.1385., Sutjeska) kojom im potvrđuje sva prava koja su ih otprije imali u gradu Kotoru (Brković 2011, 52-55), Isprava kralja Ostoje (22.4.1404.) kojom mletačkim trgovcima daje prava i povlastice u pogledu trgovine po Bosni (Brković 2011, 56-59).

<sup>92</sup> Tošić 2007, 86.

of the ring, or the work of an Italian craftsman, is only a reflection of the time in which there was strong trade and many other mutual interests. Tvrtko I and his successors (Dabiša, Ostoja, Tvrtko II and Stjepan Tomaš) maintained good relations with Venice. Free and safe trade was guaranteed to the Venetians in Kotor and all other parts of the Bosnian kingdom, and it certainly proceeded vigorously.<sup>91</sup> However, there are also indications that Triphon spent four years (1382-1386) in Novo Brdo,<sup>92</sup> and it is possible that while there he came into contact with some highly-skilled, possibly itinerant goldsmith who could have sold him the ring or simply engraved the composition on its bezel. The interpretation of the inscription *Iesus autem* suggests that it belonged to a person who spent a great deal of time travelling, and given Triphon's duties prior to his service in the Bosnian court, and also during that time, when he generally went back and forth from Dubrovnik to Bosnia (mostly often probably to Bobovac and Kraljeva Sutjeska), the selection of this prophylactic inscription was entirely appropriate and suited to his lifestyle.

A ring of this type could only be worn by a distinguished, highly-placed individual, a noble, feudal magnate, or court official, and in this regard it should be assumed that it was found in a place such as a church or monas-

<sup>91</sup> Brković 2011, 52-59. A document from King Tvrtko I to the Venetians (23 Aug. 1385, Sutjeska) whereby he confirmed all rights for them which they enjoyed previously in the city of Kotor (Brković 2011, 52-55), Document from King Ostoje (22 Apr. 1404) whereby Venetian merchants are granted rights and privileges with reference to trade in Bosnia (Brković 2011, 56-59).

<sup>92</sup> Tošić 2007, 86.

Tumačenje natpisa *Iesus autem* sugerira pripadnost osobi koja je dobar dio svog vremena provodila na putu, a s obzirom na Tripine dužnosti prije službe na bosanskom dvoru, ali i za vrijeme trajanja, kada je uglavnom boravio na relaciji Dubrovnik - Bosna (najčešće vjerojatno Bobovac i Kraljeva Sutjeska), odabir tog natpisa zaštitnog karaktera sasvim je prigodan i priliči njegovom načinu života.

Prsten ovakve izrade mogao je jedino nositi neki istaknuti, visokopozicionirani pojedinac, plemić, feudalac ili dvorski službenik, a u skladu s tim trebalo bi pretpostaviti da je pronađen na nekome mjestu poput crkve ili samostana te da je riječ o grobnom nalazu.<sup>93</sup> Međutim, Tripe Buća se nakon završene službe u Bosni vratio u Dubrovnik, pa se može očekivati da je negdje u okolici i pokopan. Stoga se nameće pretpostavka da je prsten morao na dvoru i ostaviti kako ga ne bi eventualno zloupotrebjavao. Ipak, poznato je da je i nakon što je razriješen funkcije protovestijara, tu titulu zadržao te se u nekim izvorima spominje kao *olim prothouestiaro (jednom protovestijar)*. Kada je točno umro i gdje je pokopan Tripe još uvijek nije poznato.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Ako uzmemo u obzir da su dva slična prstena, iako nipošto raskošna kao ovaj jer su prije svega srebrni, pronađena unutar grobova u katedrali u Novom Brdu i crkvi u Arnautovićima (Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, kat. br. 79, Čremošnik 1951, 252, T. III, 6), a znajući da takvo grobno mjesto nije mogao imati bilo tko, jasno je da je taj prsten mogao nositi jedino netko tko je posjedovao vrlo visoki status ali i veliko bogatstvo. Tripe je kao trgovac iz plemićke obitelji i svojevremeno kraljeva desna ruka s titulom viteza, sve to i posjedovao.

<sup>94</sup> Tošić 1974, 36.

tery and that this was a grave good.<sup>93</sup> However, Triphon Buče returned to Dubrovnik after the end of his service in Bosnia, so it can be assumed that he was buried somewhere in the vicinity. This imposes the hypothesis that he had to leave the ring with the court to prevent its misuse. Even so, it is known that even after he was dismissed from the post of *protovestiaros*, he retained this title and in some sources he is mentioned as *olim prothouestiaro* ("once a *protovestiaros*"). When Triphon died and where he was interred remains unknown.<sup>94</sup>

### Conclusion

We have before us a ring of exceptional value based on the following characteristics: from the standpoint of artistic crafts, it is the product of an exceptionally skilled and precise craftsman with impeccable mastery of contemporary engraving techniques, both in terms of the inscription and the niellated plant and zoomorphic motifs. It has been preserved in virtually its original form, with minor damage to the lower portion of the hoop, which has enabled a comprehensive reading of the inscription on the hoop and the legend on the bezel, and the identification of the heraldic composition, while its material value – a weight of 18.637 grams of gold – speaks for itself. The heraldic features in the form of a full coat of arms used, by all indications, for official purposes, combined with the magical

<sup>93</sup> Taking into account that two similar rings – although by no means as luxurious as this one primarily because they are made of silver – were discovered in tombs in the cathedral in Novo Brdo and the church in Arnautovići (Zečević 2006, 103, 104; 202, cat. No. 79, Čremošnik 1951, 252, Pl. III, 6), and knowing that not just anybody could be interred at such a site, it is clear that this ring could have been worn only by someone who had a very high position but also great wealth. As a merchant from a noble family and a king's "right-hand man" who bore the title of knight, Triphon had all of this.

<sup>94</sup> Tošić 1974, 36.

## Zaključak

Pred nama je prsten čija se izuzetna vrijednost temelji na sljedećim karakteristikama. S umjetničko-obrtničkog stajališta on predstavlja rad izuzetno vještog i preciznog majstora koji je savršeno vladao suvremenim tehnikama graviranja kako natpisa tako i vegetabilnih i zoomorfnih motiva koji su ispunjeni nielom. Očuvan je u gotovo izvornom obliku, s manjim oštećenjima u donjem dijelu karike, što je omogućilo cjelovito čitanje natpisa na karici i legende na glavi, kao i jasno raspoznavanje heraldičke predstave, dok o materijalnoj vrijednosti - težina od 18,637 grama zlata govori sama za sebe. Heraldičko obilježje u obliku potpunog grba, upotrebljavano, po svemu sudeći, u službene svrhe, u kombinaciji s magijskim karakterom natpisa ne sreće se često na prstenju. Prstenje ovoga tipa puno je kompleksnijeg značenja koje nadilazi osnovnu estetsku funkciju nakita. Iz njegovog se sadržaja crpe podaci koji svjedoče o osobi i vremenu kojemu je pripadao. U našem je slučaju on odraz potrebe, ali i mogućnosti koje je imao nositelj prstena kao bliski kraljev suradnik iz plemićke obitelji, a one su kako na financijskom tako i na kulturnom i na trendovskom polju bile na najvišem nivou. Na osnovi ranije iznesenih podataka o Tripinom životu i radu, a potkrijepljeno i nalazima sličnih suvremenih prstena, ovaj je prsten moguće vrlo precizno datirati i to u drugu polovinu osamdesetih i sam početak devedesetih godina 14. stoljeća. Prsten je rad neke talijanske radionice (Venecija?), dok je heraldički prikaz s legendom na glavi najvjerojatnije po narudžbi vlasnika naknadno urezan na bosanskom dvoru.

Uz dužnu zahvalnost *prečastnom gosp.*<sup>95</sup> Fidelisu Höppergeru što je prsten poklo-

character of the inscription, is not often encountered on rings. Rings of this type have a much more complex significance which surpasses the basic aesthetic function of jewelry. Information on the person and the time to which it belonged can be discerned from its content. In this case, it is a reflection of the need, and also the opportunities that the ring's bearer had as a close associate of the king from a noble family, and these were at the highest level whether they concerned finances, culture or fashion. Based on the previously noted data on Triphon's life and work, backed also by finds of similar contemporaneous rings, this ring may be precisely dated to the latter half of the 1380s and the very beginning of the 1390s. The ring is the product of an Italian workshop (Venice?), while the heraldic design with legend on the bezel were probably subsequently engraved in the Bosnian court at the owner's request.

With all due gratitude to the *most reverend*<sup>95</sup> Fidelis Höpperger, who bequeathed the ring to the National Museum of the time in Zagreb, and taking into consideration the fact that the discovery of the ring itself and its journey to the Museum belong to an entirely different era, we can nonetheless testify to the importance of the archaeological context for a clearer illumination of the problem. Some additional information would certainly enrich our knowledge, particularly the actual find site, which would provide an answer to the question of how and why Triphon's ring ended up where it did. The gathering and preservation of data is exceptionally important, because each piece of recorded information is useful – if not at the moment, then perhaps for future research.

<sup>95</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

<sup>95</sup> Ljubić 1887, 99.

nio tadašnjem Narodnom zemaljskom muzeju u Zagrebu te uvažavajući činjenicu da pronalazak samog prstena i njegov put do Muzeja pripadaju jednom sasvim drugom vremenu, ipak ponovno svjedočimo važnosti arheološkog konteksta u jasnijem rasvjetljenju problema. Uz još poneki podatak bili bismo svakako bogatiji, posebno s mjestom pronalaska koje bi i dalo odgovor kako je i zašto Tripin prsten završio na tome mjestu. Prikupljanje i čuvanje podataka iznimno je važno, jer svaka zabilježena informacija je korisna. Ako i ne trenutno, možda za buduća istraživanja.

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O RECEPCIJI RADA ĆIRE TRUHELKE NA PRAPOVIJESNOJ ARHEOLOGIJI U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI NAKON DRUGOG SVJETSKOG RATA

**UDK:** 902-051 Truhelka, Ć.

**Izvorni znanstveni rad**

*Svojom muzeološkom djelatnošću, stručnim i znanstvenim radom Ćiro Truhelka ostavio je velik trag u Bosni i Hercegovini. Bilo da se radilo o iskopavanjima, publiciranju nalaza ili administraciji, Ćiro Truhelka je s puno entuzijazma, poduzetnosti i odlučnosti pristupao svakom poslu. Njegovi suvremenici relativno su rano počeli neargumentirano kritizirati i kontroverzno ocjenjivati njegova postignuća, što su potom »preuzeli« i njegovi nasljednici u Zemaljskom muzeju. Ovim radom nastoji se ispraviti nepravda učinjena ovom velikom arheologu, kako pogrdna i ružna riječ ne bi bila posljednje što ostaje iza njegovog djela.*

*Ključne riječi: Ćiro Truhelka, prapovijesna arheologija, Zemaljski muzej, Bosna i Hercegovina*

ON THE RECEPTION OF ĆIRO TRUHELKA'S PREHISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY WORK IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

**UDC:** 902-051 Truhelka, Ć.

**Original scientific paper**

*Ćiro Truhelka left a major mark on Bosnia-Herzegovina through his museum activities and professional and scholarly work. Whether working on excavations, publishing his finds or in administration, Truhelka approached each task with great enthusiasm, energy and dedication. His contemporaries began to baselessly disparage and tendentiously critique his accomplishments rather early, a practice "taken on" by his successors in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This work constitutes an attempt to rectify the injustice done to this great archaeologist, so that belittling and unseemly comments do not remain the final word on his work.*

*Key words: Ćiro Truhelka, prehistoric archaeology, The National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnia-Herzegovina*



Kako bi se moglo govoriti o biti i pozadini recepcije Truhelkinog rada u Bosni i Hercegovini nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, treba posegnuti u zadnji decenij 19. i prvi 20. stoljeća. To je ujedno vrijeme vrlo intenzivnog i uspješnog rada mladog Ćire Truhelke u Zemaljskom muzeju. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata taj je rad doživio začudno kontroverznu i, kako ću nastojati pokazati, neopravdanu kritičnu ocjenu upravo od njegovih nasljednika – prapovjesničara u Muzeju: Alojza Benca, Borivoja Čovića i Zdravka Marića. Uz njih se može vezati i kustosicu na Srednjovjekovnoj zbrici Nadu Miletić, no njezin je odnos specifičan i ovdje ga ostavljam po strani.<sup>1</sup>

Kritike su počele rano, zapravo s kataloškim objavama nalaza s Glasinca, ubrzo i s drugih lokaliteta. Znanja i materijal s tih nalazišta dugujemo u velikoj (Glasinac) ili potpunoj mjeri (Donja Dolina, Veliki Mošunj, Gorica itd.) upravo Truhelkinom istraživačko-znanstvenom radu.<sup>2</sup> Dok se taj negativni, gotovo podcjenjivački odnos prema Truhelkinom doprinosu očitovao najprije suzdržano, u objavi kataloga Glasinca, a zatim se izrazio jasnije u disertaciji Zdravka Marića,<sup>3</sup> u potpunosti je izašao na vidjelo u dva priloga B. Čovića u Spomenici stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine: 1888.-1988<sup>4</sup>. Upravo, dakle, na mjestu gdje je bilo posve neprikladno, s obzirom na značajni jubilej, iznositi takve stavove.

<sup>1</sup> Nada Miletić nije imala negativan stav prema Truhelkinom radu, dapače. Nije se jedino slagala s interpretacijom starokršćanske arhitekture. Tu je temu opširno i temeljito obradio Nenad Cambi najbolji stručnjak za starokršćansku i općenito antičku arheologiju (Cambi 1994).

<sup>2</sup> Benac, Čović 1956; Benac, Čović 1957; Truhelka 1899; Truhelka 1904; Truhelka 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Marić 1964, 5-6, 11-19.

<sup>4</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 40-42; Čović 1988, 74-83.

In order to speak about the essence and background underlying the reception of Ćiro Truhelka's work in Bosnia-Herzegovina after the Second World War, one must look back to the final decade of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries. This corresponded to the period of the young Truhelka's very intensive and successful work in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in that country. After the Second World War, his work became subject to a controversial and, as I shall endeavour to show, unjustifiably critical assessment by his very successors – the Museum's prehistory specialists: Alojz Benac, Borivoje Čović and Zdravko Marić. The curator of the Medieval Collection, Nada Miletić, may also be added to this list, although her stance was specific, so I shall set it aside herein.<sup>1</sup>

Criticism began early, actually with the first catalogue publications of the finds from Glasinac, and then from other sites. The knowledge and materials derived from these sites are largely (Glasinac) or entirely (Donja Dolina, Veliki Mošunj, Gorica, etc.) the result of Truhelka's research and scholarly work.<sup>2</sup> While this negative, almost disparaging attitude toward Truhelka's contributions initially manifested itself with some restraint in the publication of the Glasinac catalogue, it was clearly expressed Zdravko Marić's dissertation,<sup>3</sup> and come to the fore entirely in two articles by Borivoje Čović in the memorial book for the one-hundredth anniversary of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (*Spomenica stogodišnjice rada Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*:

<sup>1</sup> Nada Miletić did not have a negative view of Truhelka's work, quite the contrary. She only disagreed with his interpretation of Early Christian architecture. This topic was extensively and thoroughly covered by Nenad Cambi, the top expert on Early Christian and Classical architecture in general (Cambi 1994).

<sup>2</sup> Benac, Čović 1956; Benac, Čović 1957; Truhelka 1899; Truhelka 1904; Truhelka 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Marić 1964, 5-6, 11-19.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Povelja za zlatnu medalju Svjetske izložbe u Bruxellesu 1897. godine / Brussels World Exhibition 1897 Gold Medal Charter (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Potaknuti Čovićevim tekstovima u *Spomenici* u dva smo navrata reagirali u Zagrebu. Tri su rada objavljena u časopisu *Marulić*<sup>5</sup>, a 1992. godine obilježili smo pedesetogodišnjicu Truhelkine smrti manjim simpozijem u Matici hrvatskoj i uspjeli tih devet predavanja tiskati 1994.<sup>6</sup> Kako bismo, dakle, obuhvatili većinu djelatnosti koje je Truhelka vršio na području arheologije i povijesti, bilo je potrebno okupiti devet stručnjaka. Ta su predavanja iznijela suvremene ocjene koje su u mnogočemu riješila kontroverzne ocje-

1888.-1988.).<sup>4</sup> Such sentiments therefore appeared precisely where – given the momentous anniversary being observed – they were entirely inappropriate.

Prompted by Čović's texts in *Spomenica*, we responded twice in Zagreb. Three works were published in the journal *Marulić*,<sup>5</sup> while in 1992 we marked the fiftieth anniversary of Truhelka's death with a small symposium in Matica Hrvatska, the Croatian literary and cultural foundation, and managed to publish the nine lectures delivered there in 1994.<sup>6</sup> In

<sup>5</sup> Majnarić Pandžić 1989; Mirmik 1989; Jarak 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Majnarić Pandžić 1994.

<sup>4</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 40-42; Čović 1988, 74-83.

<sup>5</sup> Majnarić Pandžić 1989; Mirmik 1989; Jarak 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Majnarić Pandžić 1994.



Sl. / Fig. 2: Francuski orden »Les palmes académiques« / French medal “Les palmes académiques” (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

order to encompass the majority of the work Truhelka did in the fields of archaeology and history, it was necessary to gather nine experts. These lectures set forth contemporary assessments which in many ways resolved the tendentious critiques of Truhelka’s accomplishments. I also spoke of this in Sarajevo<sup>7</sup> – in the city and in the country to which Truhelka devoted the most productive period of his life (1886-1922). During that time, he set the foundations for all cultural/historical collections in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, filled the volumes of the museum’s publications *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* (hereinafter: GZM) and *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina* (hereinafter: WMBH) with numerous and very up-to-date publications of his finds, and thereby also set the foundations for many scholarly branches on the history – both old and new – of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Čović’s assertions depended on the letters of Moriz Hoernes sent to Benjamin Kállay in the Joint Finance Ministry in Vienna or to the Territorial Government in Sarajevo. These letters were published thanks to Hamdija Kapidžić, in a very learned German to be sure, 15 years before the *Spomenica* was published in 1988, where Čović very imprecisely cited them in two chapters.<sup>8</sup> Ergo, insofar as Čović wanted to use these letters for far-reaching assertions and assessments, he should have analyzed them carefully, and not only the one or two he cited in excerpts, but the entire collection of letters, for only then could he have obtained the proper insight into their character.

Since Čović obviously did not do so, I shall do so here in very general terms, with citations from the whole which enable anyone to

<sup>7</sup> The lecture was delivered on 5 May 2011, organized by the Croatian Science and Arts Association, Sarajevo.

<sup>8</sup> Kapidžić 1973. Darko Periša and Dean Zadro pointed me to this book, for which I sincerely thank them.

ne Truhelkinih postignuća. O tome sam govorila i u Sarajevu<sup>7</sup> – u gradu i zemlji kojima je Truhelka posvetio svoje najkreativnije životno razdoblje (1886.-1922.). Postavio je tada temelje svim kulturno-historijskim zbirkama u Zemaljskom muzeju, ispunjavao brojnim i vrlo ažurnim objavama svojih nalaza i interpretacija sveske Glasnika Zemaljskog muzeja (dalje GZM) i Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina (dalje WMBH), postavljajući ujedno temelje brojnim znanstvenim granama o povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine – staroj i novoj.

Čovićevi navodi oslanjali su se na pisma Moriza Hoernesa upućivana ministru Benjaminu Kállayu u Zajedničko ministarstvo financija u Beču ili Zemaljskoj vladi u Sarajevu. Ta su pisma zahvaljujući Hamdiji Kapidžiću bila objavljena, doduše na jednom vrlo školovanom njemačkom jeziku, 15 godina prije Spomenice iz 1988., gdje ih u dva poglavlja Čović posve neprecizno citira.<sup>8</sup> Ergo, ukoliko ih je autor Čović htio koristiti za dalekosežne izjave i ocjene, trebao je pisma pažljivo proanalizirati, i to ne samo jedno ili dva koja citira u izvatku, nego čitavu zbirku pisama, jer bi jedino tako dobio uvid u njihov karakter.

Kako to očito nije učinio Čović, učinit ću to ovdje vrlo okvirno ja sama, s citatima iz cjelina koje svakome omogućavaju provjeru u Kapidžićevoj knjizi. Mislim da to treba iznijeti jer pogrdna i ružna riječ ostaje sve dok se ne razotkrije u punoj istini.

<sup>7</sup> Predavanje je održano 5.5.2011. godine u organizaciji Hrvatskog društva za znanost i umjetnost, Sarajevo.

<sup>8</sup> Kapidžić 1973. Na knjigu su me upozorili Darko Periša i Dean Zadro, pa im ovdje najljepše zahvaljujem.

verify the content of Kapidžić's book. I believe that this should be set forth, because belittling and untoward words remain until they are overturned by the complete truth.

M. Hoernes (1852-1917), Truhelka's senior by 13 years, was at the time of this roughly decade of regular correspondence with Kállay the curator (*adiunctus*) in the Royal Natural History Museum in Vienna, and very, very interested in the prehistory of the Austro-Hungarian lands, particularly the recently occupied Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was with the greatest interest and delight that he received the exceptional finds from Glasinac, which the occupation army procured for the Vienna museum when it unearthed some grave mounds.<sup>9</sup> Hoernes himself rushed to Bosnia-Herzegovina immediately and published several works on the finds there and future prospects for archaeology.<sup>10</sup> The establishment of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Truhelka's arrival as the curator of the still nascent museum halted the outflow of valuable finds to Vienna. Once the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina was established, Kállay charged Hoernes to report on the progress of archaeological research in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and in that capacity, Hoernes, who soon became professor of prehistoric archaeology at the Viennese university, sent many letters on every event and mishap in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I should note that in 1886, Truhelka was the sole educated trained archaeologist with a degree from Zagreb, and he also held a doctorate in art history. All of the remaining associates who came in subsequent years had only received some tutoring in archaeologi-

<sup>9</sup> Hochstetter 1881.

<sup>10</sup> Hoernes 1882; Hoernes 1883. See further the list of his works published in Benac 1987, 957 – out of 9 works, 6 pertain to sites in this region.

M. Hoernes (1852.-1917.), stariji od Truhelke 13 godina, bio je u vrijeme svog otprilike desetogodišnjeg redovitog pisanja Kállayu kustos (adiunctus) u Kraljevskom prirodoslovnom muzeju u Beču i vrlo, vrlo zainteresiran za prapovijesnu arheologiju austrougarskih zemalja, naročito za nedavno okupiranu Bosnu i Hercegovinu. S najvećim je zanimanjem i oduševljenjem primio izuzetne nalaze s Glasinca koje je raskopavanjem grobnih humaka okupaciona vojska pribavila bečkom muzeju.<sup>9</sup> Sam Hoernes je odmah pohrlio u Bosnu i Hercegovinu i objavio nekoliko radova o tamošnjim nalazima i budućim arheološkim perspektivama.<sup>10</sup> Osnivanjem Zemaljskog muzeja i dolaskom Truhelke za prvog kustosa Muzeja u osnivanju, bio je zaustavljen priliv dragocjenih nalaza u Beč. Kállay je po osnutku Zemaljskog muzeja zadužio Hoernesa da ga izvještava o napretku arheoloških istraživanja u Bosni i Hercegovini i s tog je položaja Hoernes, koji je postao uskoro profesor prapovijesne arheologije na Bečkom sveučilištu, odaslao veliki broj pisama o svakoj zgodi i nezgodi u Zemaljskom muzeju.

Napominjem da je 1886. Truhelka bio jedini školovani stručnjak – arheolog sa zagrebačkom diplomom i doktoratom povjesničara umjetnosti. Svi ostali suradnici u sljedećim godinama bili su tek priučeni arheološkom radu.<sup>11</sup> Kako je poznato (upozoravam ovdje na izvrstan članak u

cal work.<sup>11</sup> As known (I should point out here the outstanding entry in Wikipedia,<sup>12</sup> which provides basic information on Truhelka and a substantial bibliography featuring many authors on his work in various disciplines), Truhelka arrived in Sarajevo at the age of 21 to serve as secretary of the Museum Association, and he actively participated in all possible aspects of preparations for the establishment of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He immediately became thoroughly engaged in a number of tasks, and among these archaeological excavations assumed a major role from the very beginning. He began to work at Glasinac already in 1888. He presented his finds to the Anthropology Association in Vienna already in the next year, and he brought specific excavated materials with him for perusal. From year to year afterward, this was followed by reports, lectures abroad by invitation, and publications concerning everything on which he worked in the preceding year, appearing in the Museum's bulletin (*Glasnik*) as of 1889. In the first year, he published 11 works. Besides regular reports on Glasinac, he also covered other topics; it is apparent that already at that time he had opened many themes, discovered many sites and, in with his characteristic lucidity, specified the scope of significance of individual major themes (e.g., Early Christian architecture, the *Bosančica* script, monolithic tombstones – *stećci*, medieval inscriptions, numismatics). The organization of the archaeological congresses in Sarajevo in 1894 and 1895 (with participation by anthropologists from

<sup>9</sup> Hochstetter 1881.

<sup>10</sup> Hoernes 1882; Hoernes 1883. Vidi nadalje popis njegovih radova objavljen u Benac 1987, 957 - od 9 radova 6 ih se odnosi na nalazišta iz naših krajeva.

<sup>11</sup> Radimský je bio rudarski inženir (kapetan), Fiala kemičar i botaničar, ali su se obojica dobro snašla u arheološkim radovima. Tek 1893. stiže u Sarajevo Patsch na Gimnaziju, a od 1898. na antičku zbirku u Zemaljskom muzeju. Patsch raspolaze odličnom naobrazbom s Bečkog sveučilišta.

<sup>11</sup> Radimský was a mining engineer (captain), while Fiala was a chemist and botanist, but both found their bearings quite well in archaeological work. It was only in 1893 that Patsch arrived in Sarajevo, first to teach at the Classics Gymnasium, and then, as of 1898, he began to work in the National Museum's Antiquity Collection. Patsch had received an exemplary education at the University of Vienna.

<sup>12</sup> [http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro\\_Truhelka](http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka) (31.10. 2013.).



Sl. / Fig. 3: Povelja o proglašenju Ćire Truhelke vitezom od strane cara Franje Josipa I / Knighthood charter of Ćiro Truhelka by the Emperor Franz Joseph I (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Wikipediji<sup>12</sup> koji je donio osnovne podatke o Truhelki kao i bogatu bibliografiju raznih autora o njegovom radu u raznim disciplinama), Truhelka je stigao u Sarajevo, star 21 godinu, za tajnika Muzealnog društva i živo sudjelovao u svim mogućim aspektima priprema za osnivanje Zemaljskog muzeja. Odmah je započeo vrlo angažiran rad na više zadataka, a među njima su od samog početka važno mjesto zauzimala arheološka iskopavanja. Na Glasincu je počeo raditi već 1888. Sljedeće je već godine predstavio Antropološkom društvu u Beču svoje nalaze, a ponio je na uvid i konkretni iskopani materijal. Slijede iz godine u godinu izvještaji, predavanja uz poziv u inozemstvu,

<sup>12</sup> [http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro\\_Truhelka](http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka) (31.10.2013.).

Vienna and Berlin) and preparations and set-up of the Bosnian pavilions at the Millennial Exhibition in Budapest (1896), the exhibition in Brussels in 1897, in Vienna in 1898 and at the World Expo in Paris in 1900 greatly preoccupied him, leaving him with little time for anything else. This was why he turned over the research at Glasinac to Fiala in 1892, and nowhere was there any indication that he was removed from the Glasinac research, as Ćović claimed.

As a corresponding member of the Anthropology Associations in Vienna, Berlin, Munich, Stockholm, Copenhagen, St. Petersburg and Moscow, he truly enjoyed an international reputation. Less known is that in 1895, at the behest of Msgr. Anton de Waal, the re-



Sl. / Fig. 4: Povelja o počasnom članstvu u Carskom moskovskom arheološkom društvu / Honorary membership charter of the Imperial Moscow Archaeological Society (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

objave svega što je radio tekuće godine, od 1889. u muzejskom Glasniku. U prvom godištu objavio je 11 radova. Uz redovito izvještavanje o Glasincu, tu su i brojne druge teme; vidi se da ih je velik broj načeo već tada, otkrio mnoga nalazišta i sebi svojstvenom lucidnošću odredio gabarite značenja pojedinih većih tema (starokršćanska arhitektura, bosančica, stećci, srednjovjekovni natpisi, numizmatika, npr.). Poslovi oko organizacije arheoloških kongresa u Sarajevu 1894. i 1895. (bečki i berlinski antropolozi) te pripreme i izvedba bosanskih paviljona na Milenijskoj izložbi u Pešti (1896.), izložbi u Bruxellesu 1897. u Beču 1898. te na Svjetskoj izložbi u Parizu 1900. vrlo su ga okupirali i nije baš preostajalo vre-

nowned Catholic writer and publisher of the journal *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, he published his excavations of Early Christian architecture in Bosnia-Herzegovina.<sup>13</sup> I believe there is no need for further explication on Truhelka's unusually vigorous and competent activities during the decade when, according to Čović, the right to conduct excavations at Glasinac was "denied" him. In his own memoirs, he stated that he very gladly relinquished this work to Fiala.<sup>14</sup>

Hoernes certainly became a respected scholar in the Monarchy, but he did not participate in field excavations himself. He wrote about the

<sup>13</sup> Truhelka 1895; Truhelka 1942, 98; Cambi 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Truhelka 1942, 55.

mena. Stoga je rado predao 1892. istraživanja na Glasincu Fiali i nije bilo nigdje govora o stvarnom oduzimanju glasinčkih istraživanja, kako tvrdi Čović.

Kao dopisni član Antropoloških društava u Beču, Berlinu, Münchenu, Stockholmu, Kopenhagenu, Petrogradu i Moskvi doista je uživao međunarodni ugled. Manje je poznato da je 1895. godine, na želju mons. A. de Waala, glasovitog katoličkog pisca i izdavača lista »Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte«, objavio svoja iskopavanja starokršćanske arhitekture u Bosni i Hercegovini.<sup>13</sup> Mislim da ne treba dalje navoditi neobično živu i kompetentnu Truhelkinu djelatnost u desetljeću kada mu je po Čoviću »oduzeto« pravo kopanja na Glasincu. Da je taj rad vrlo rado prepustio Fiali svjedoči sam u svojim Uspomenama.<sup>14</sup>

Hoernes je svakako postao uglednim znanstvenikom u Monarhiji, ali sam nije iskopavao na terenu. Pisao je o nalazima što su ih drugi otkopali u raznim dijelovima Monarhije.<sup>15</sup> Kako je sam djelovao 1894. u Dolenjskoj (tada Kranjskoj) iznijet ću malo kasnije. Pređimo sada na Hoernesova pisma koja su poslužila za negativne napomene o Truhelkinom radu u Spomenici iz 1988.

Počnimo s dugim pismom od 20.11.1893.<sup>16</sup> na koje se, bez navoda o datumu i adresatu poziva Čović.<sup>17</sup> Zanimljivo je tu razmotriti Hoernesove prigovore koje iznosi Kállayu: u Zemaljskom muzeju se ne briše prašina s eksponata, neki su spomenici netočno etiketirani, fragmenti nekih antičkih kamenih spomenika smješteni su na brzinu u zahod (sic!) prije dolaska

finds that others excavated in various parts of the Monarchy.<sup>15</sup> His own role in events in Lower Carniola (in Slovenia) in 1894 will be discussed below. I would now like to turn to Hoernes' letters, which served as the basis for the negative characterizations of Truhelka in the *Spomenica* in 1988.

Let us begin with the second letter dated 20 November 1893,<sup>16</sup> which Čović cited without specifying the date and addressee.<sup>17</sup> Interesting to consider here are Hoernes' complaints to Kállay: that dust was not wiped from the exhibits in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that some monuments were inaccurately labelled, that fragments of certain ancient stone monuments were hastily placed stored in the lavatory (sic!) prior to the arrival of some distinguished visitor. K. Patsch complained that Truhelka worked too quickly and superficially, that he rushed from field site to field site and that, allegedly, on one occasion he mocked a much older colleague named Radimský... That year Hoernes spent a total of three days in inspection work in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In those three days, he was at the digs in Butmir (in which he had considerable scholarly interest, as he wanted to participate in the publication of this sensational discovery of European import); he was furthermore at Ilidža and Glasinac and he inspected everything on exhibit in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He also found time for proposals and opinions on the arrangement of the museum library. Having read all of the letters published in Kapidžić's book, I cannot dispel the impression, almost a certainty, that his reports on circumstances in the Museum reflected information "from the first hand, from a confidential source," K. Patsch. I shall allow myself a touch of malice: Patsch and *Klatsch* rhyme perfectly, and Patsch's "informing" can be discerned in

<sup>13</sup> Truhelka 1895; Truhelka 1942, 98; Cambi 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Truhelka 1942, 55.

<sup>15</sup> Vidi bilj. 10.

<sup>16</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 112-115.

<sup>17</sup> Vidi bilj. 4.

<sup>15</sup> See note 10.

<sup>16</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 112-115.

<sup>17</sup> See note 4.



nekog uglednog posjetitelja. K. Patsch se tuži da Truhelka radi prebrzo i površno, da žuri s terena na teren i da se, navodno, nekom prilikom rugao mnogo starijem Radimskom... Te je godine Hoernes bio u sveukupno trodnevnoj inspekciji rada u Zemaljskom muzeju. U ta je tri dana bio na iskopavanjima u Butmiru (za koja je bio znanstveno vrlo zainteresiran, sa željom da sudjeluje u objavi tog senzacionalnog otkrića europskog ranga); nadalje na Ilidži i na Glasincu te inspicirao sve izloženo u Zemaljskom muzeju. Našao je vremena i za prijedloge i mišljenje o uređenju muzejske knjižnice. S iskustvom čitanja svih pisama, objavljenih u Kapidžićevoj knjizi, ne mogu se oteti dojmu, gotovo sigurnosti, da je o odnosima i situaciji u Muzeju odavao podatke »iz prve ruke, iz povjerljivog izvora« K. Patsch. Neka mi bude dopušteno malo zlobe: Patsch – Klatsch izvrsno se rimuje, a Patschevo »informiranje« zapaža se doista u više pisama. Na kraju svog opširnog izvještaja Hoernes iznosi mišljenje da bi Truhelki »trebalo oduzeti prapovijesnu zbirku« (vrlo zanimljivu sâmom Hoernesu) »dodatno još antičku« (na kojoj je želio neometano raditi Patsch), a da se Truhelki prepuste srednjovjekovna i etnografska zbirka! Za voditelja prapovijesne zbirke preporuča Franju Fiala, kemičara i botaničara, koji se kasnije ipak pokazao dobrim arheologom, a krajem stoljeća, 1899. preporučit će za taj položaj preparatora Vejsila Čurčića, upravo u godini kada je Truhelka započeo svoje višegodišnje iskopavanje, dokumentiranje i objavu jednog od tada najznačajnijih prapovijesnih lokaliteta u Europi – Donje Doline na Savi.<sup>18</sup>

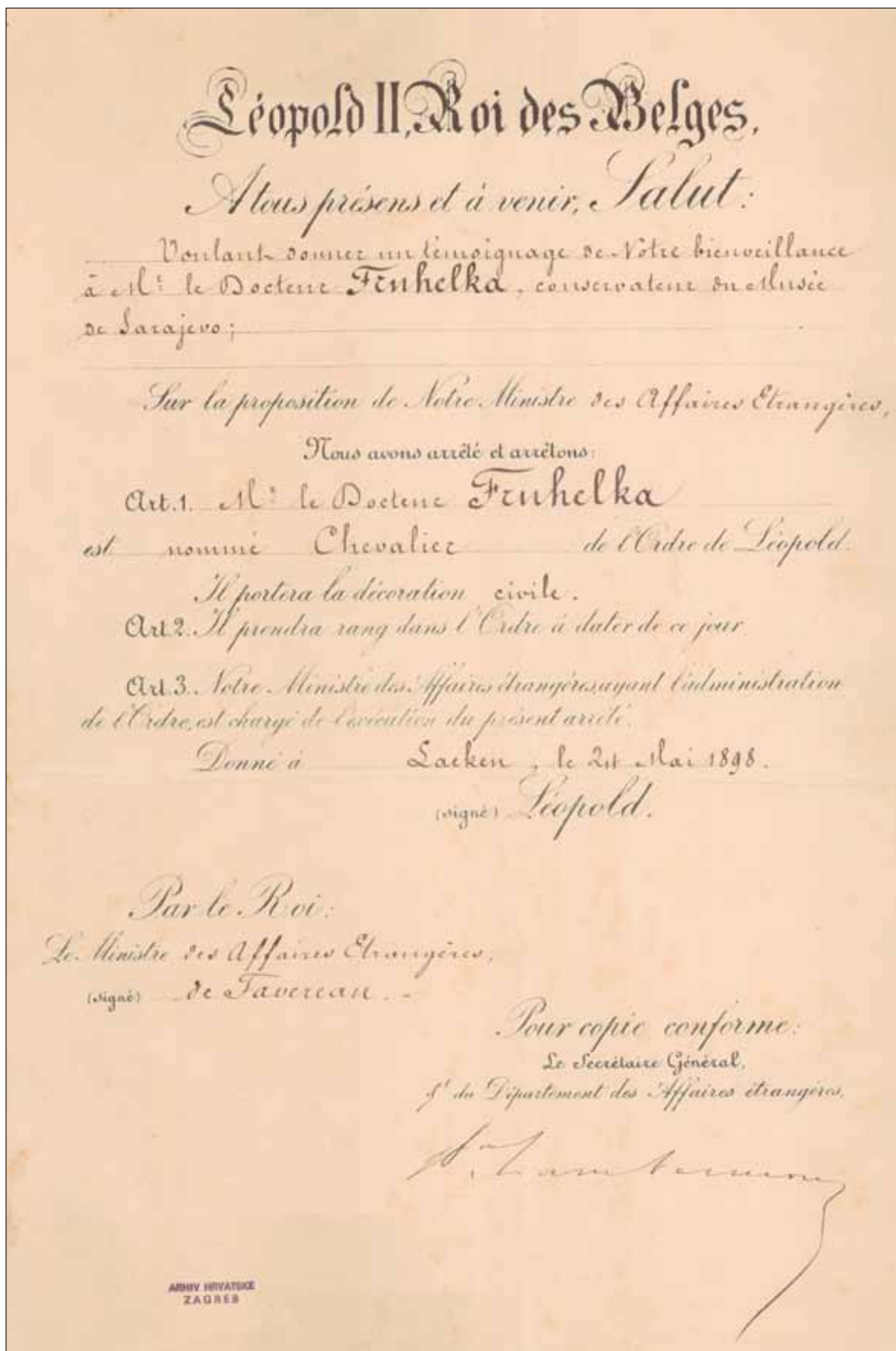
<sup>18</sup> Truhelka 1902; Truhelka 1903; Truhelka 1904 – sinteza na njemačkom jeziku. Zanimljivo je da Čović iznosi niz ozbiljnih nedostataka Fialinog iskopavanja na Glasincu (Čović 1959), ali ih ne spominje u Spomenici iz 1988. nego ga u biografiji čak neumjereno hvali (Čović 1988a). Izvanrednu pohvalu Truhelkinih iskopavanja u Donjoj Dolini donosi Habulant u recenziji (Kapidžić 1973, 342-343).

several letters. At the end of his extensive report, Hoernes proffered the view that Truhelka “should be removed from the prehistory collection” (interesting to Hoernes himself) “and also the Antiquity collection” (on which Patsch wanted to work unhindered), and allowed to only hold the medieval and ethnographic collections! He recommended that the prehistory collection be entrusted to Franjo Fiala, a chemist and botanist, who later nonetheless proved to be a good archaeologist, while at the end of the century, in 1899, he recommended the museum technician Vejsilo Čurčić for this post, in the very year that Truhelka began his many years of excavations, documentation and publication of one of the most significant prehistoric sites in Europe at the time: Donja Dolina on the Sava River.<sup>18</sup>

Hoernes demonstrated unconcealed antipathy and a desire to persecute Truhelka in his letter dated 15 February 1899.<sup>19</sup> He complained to Kállay that Truhelka and Apfelbeck were seeking higher funding for their annual work than Patsch and Reiser. Hoernes warned Kállay not to approve these funds, particularly to Truhelka, because “then his dilettantism would become even more vigorous than before”. This was, therefore, only a matter of efforts to reduce the funds Truhelka received for his work! Hoernes always proffered “sound justifications” for his proposals – savings for the Territorial Government and the Joint Finance Ministry. If one were to read F. Hauptmann’s excellent analysis of the economic situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then it becomes apparent that Hoernes’ “reason” had sound psychological grounds and was

<sup>18</sup> Truhelka 1902; Truhelka 1903; Truhelka 1904 – synthesis in German. It is interesting that Čović pointed out a series of serious shortcomings to Fiala’s excavations in Glasinac (Čović 1959), but he did not mention them in the *Spomenica* in 1988, rather excessively praising him in the biography he wrote (Čović 1988a). In a review, Habulant highly praised Truhelka’s excavations at Donja Dolina (Kapidžić 1973, 342-343).

<sup>19</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 256-258.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Povelja o proglašenju Ćire Truhelke vitezom od strane belgijskog kralja Leopolda II / Knight-hood charter of Ćiro Truhelka by the Belgian king Leopold II (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Primjer neskrivene antipatije i želje za proganjanjem Truhelke pokazao je Hoernes u pismu od 15.2.1899.<sup>19</sup> Tuži se Kállaya da Truhelka i Apfelbeck traže veća novčana sredstva za godišnji rad od Patscha i Reisera. Hoernes opominje Kállaya da ne odobri ta sredstva, osobito Truhelki jer »bi tada oživio njegov diletantizam još snažnije nego nekoć«. Radi lo se tu, dakako, samo o nastojanju da se Truhelki smanji dotacija za rad!!! Hoernes je uvijek podastirao »važno opravdanje« za svoje prijedloge – uštedu za Zemaljsku vladu i Zajedničko ministarstvo financija. Kada pročitamo izvrsnu analizu F. Hauptmanna o gospodarskoj situaciji u Bosni i Hercegovini, taj Hoernesov »razlog« psihološki postaje razumljiv i dobro pogođen.<sup>20</sup> Pokazuje se nadalje da je Hoernes dobro poznao Kállayeva slaba mjesta.

Da takav postupak nije bio osamljen slučaj, vidimo i u pismu od 9.1.1897.<sup>21</sup> u kojemu Hoernes traži od Kállaya da Truhelki smanji broj zatraženih separata rada o slavonskim banovcima.<sup>22</sup> Truhelka, koji je uložio veliki trud i tromjesečni studijski boravak u muzejima Zagreba, Osijeka i Pešte zbog komparacije tih srednjovjekovnih novaca, molio je, naime, za dodatne separate koje bi sam razaslao ili dao u prodaju. I ovdje Hoernes pridobiva Kállaya nadom u uštedu financijskih sredstava; i doista, Kállay 21.1. iste godine dopisom Zemaljskoj vladi smanjuje broj separata Truhelki na polovicu.<sup>23</sup>

U početku je Hoernes nastupao pred Kállayem protiv Truhelke vrlo oprezno. 19.1.1891. piše da Truhelka »kao povjesničar umjetnosti ima na Glasincu smisla

<sup>19</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 256-258.

<sup>20</sup> Hauptmann 1987.

<sup>21</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 201-202.

<sup>22</sup> Truhelka 1897; Truhelka 1899a. Literatura o Truhelkinim slavonskim banovcima citirana u Mirnik 1989.

<sup>23</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 202.

well chosen.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, it becomes apparent that Hoernes had a keen awareness of Kállay's weak points.

That this was not an isolated case is shown by the letter dated 9 January 1897,<sup>21</sup> in which Hoernes asked Kállay to reduce the number of offprints sought by Truhelka for his work on Slavonian *banovci* (medieval coins).<sup>22</sup> Truhelka, who invested great effort and spend three months on a study leave in the museums of Zagreb, Osijek and Budapest in order to compare these medieval coins, asked for additional offprints which he would send out himself or attempt to sell. Here as well, Hoernes won Kállay over with the hope saving money; and indeed, on 21 January of that same year Kállay sent a letter to the Territorial Government in which he halved the number of offprints for Truhelka.<sup>23</sup>

Initially Hoernes trod very cautiously before Kállay in his efforts against Truhelka. On 19 January 1891, he wrote that Truhelka, "as an art historian, primarily has a sense for aesthetic values or some new forms at Glasinac, but he cannot properly assess the value of individual finds [which do not possess these qualities – *author's note*] in the scholarly sense". Here he naturally failed to mention Truhelka's study of and degree in archaeology. Later he would move from these cautious insinuations to graver incriminations of "dilettantism, superficiality, lack of concern for work in the Museum," and so forth. In a series of letters to Kállay, Hoernes extolled his enormous and painstaking work on editing WMBH, while underscoring the much lower rank of *Glasnik*, and he made a series of requests for the delivery of data and documentation. He lambasted the editorial board of *Glasnik* (its editor-in-chief was Kosta Hörmann), etc., and he further complained rather caustically to Kállay about Radimský, who in some manner violated

<sup>20</sup> Hauptmann 1987.

<sup>21</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 201-202.

<sup>22</sup> Truhelka 1897; Truhelka 1899a. The sources on Truhelka's Slavonian *banovci* are cited in Mirnik 1989.

<sup>23</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 202.

u prvom redu za estetske vrijednosti ili za neke nove oblike, no vrijednost pojedinih nalaza (koji ta svojstva ne posjeduju, op. aut.) ne može pravilno procijeniti u znanstvenom smislu«. Prešućuje pritom, dakako, Truhelkin studij i diplomu arheologije; kasnije će od tih opreznih insinucija prijeći na teže inkriminacije »diletantizam, površnost, nebriga za rad u Muzeju« i sl. Hoernes u nizu pisama Kállayu ističe svoj ogroman i naporan rad na uređivanju WMBH, ističe mnogo niži rang Glasnika i podnosi niz zahtjeva za dostavu podataka i dokumentacije. Tuži se na redakciju Glasnika (glavni urednik je bio Kosta Hörmann) itd., tuži se nadalje Kállayu vrlo oštro na Radimskog koji je nešto na Butmiru, kao njegov istraživač, učinio protiv dogovora s Hoernesom.<sup>24</sup> Hoernes objavljuje u Analima svog Muzeja u Beču<sup>25</sup> da je 1889. »u pratnji kustosa Truhelke preduzeo nova iskopavanja na Glasincu, prije dolaska J. Hampela«. Nigdje to, osim u bilješkama bečkih Anal, nije spomenuto! Bojim se ustvrditi, ali izgleda da se pred svojom bečkom publikom Hoernes kitio tuđim perjem.

Simptomatičan je Hoernesov način oslovljavanja, njegove »pokornosti« i dvorske učtivosti nasuprot jasnom i jednostavnom Truhelkinom obraćanju Kállayu.<sup>26</sup> Usprkos Hoernesovom trudu Kállay nije protiv Truhelke poduzeo ništa, nema ni traga o nekoj opomeni. Truhelka je i dalje sudjelovao u svim važnim poduhvatima bosanskohercegovačke znanstvene i muzealne djelatnosti. Zanimljivo je da u popisu Prvog sarajevskog kongresa iz 1894., koji je bio pomno pripreman i pod pažljivim auspicijama Kállaya i Zemaljske vlade, u popisu uzvanika, gdje čitamo tada najslavnija imena europske antropologije i arheologije, poput Bormana, v. Duhna, Ghirardinia, Hampela, Munroa,

an agreement with Hoernes while working as his researcher at Butmir.<sup>24</sup> Hoernes wrote in the Annals of his Museum in Vienna<sup>25</sup> that in 1889, “accompanied by curator Truhelka, he assumed charge of the excavations at Glasinac, prior to J. Hampel’s arrival”. Except in this notation in the Viennese Annals, this is mentioned nowhere else! I am almost hesitant to say so, but it would appear that Hoernes took credit for the achievements of others before his Viennese public.

Symptomatic in this regard were Hoernes’ manner of address, his “obeisance” and courtly civility, as opposed to Truhelka’s clear and straightforward communication with Kállay.<sup>26</sup> Despite Hoernes’ efforts, Kállay undertook no action against Truhelka, and there is no trace of any form of reprimand. Truhelka continued to participate in all major scholarly and museum undertakings in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is interesting that the documentation of the First Sarajevo Congress in 1894, which was carefully prepared under the watchful auspices of Kállay and the Territorial Government, the list of guests, which includes the most notable names of European anthropology and archaeology, such as Borman, von Duhn, Ghirardini, Hampel, Munro, Pigorini, and Szombathy, does not mention Hoernes. I do not know the reason for this, for perhaps Hoernes was a member of some internal group at the Congress. This would be an intriguing question to explore in further detail.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 155-156.

<sup>25</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 60-61.

<sup>26</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 32-33.

<sup>27</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 133-138; the extent of Hoernes’ scholarly appetite is reflected in a letter dated 19 January 1891, precisely in the year when he sought Truhelka’s “removal” from the work at Glasinac. Stratimirović was working at Glasinac that year, but Hoernes made no mention of him. Kapidžić cited Stratimirović’s report for 1891 (Kapidžić 1973, 40-41). In the aforementioned letter, Hoernes recommended to Kállay the annual excavation of 50-100 tumuli! By way of comparison, in an annual campaign employing modern methods, Čović conducted research in two tumuli (Čović 1959).

<sup>24</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 155-156.

<sup>25</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 60-61.

<sup>26</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 32-33.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Komemorativna diploma Svjetske izložbe u Parizu 1900. godine / Commemorative diploma of the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Pigorinia, Szombathya npr., Hoernesovog imena nema. Razloge ne znam, možda je Hoernes bio uključen u neku unutarnju kongresnu ekipu. Bilo bi to zanimljivo istražiti.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 133-138; koliki je znanstveni apetit Hoernes posjedovao pokazuje u pismu od 19.1.1891, upravo u godini kada je tražio da se Truhelki »oduzme« rad na Glasincu. Te je godine na Glasincu radio Stratimirović no Hoernes ga uopće ne spominje. Kapidžić je donio Stratimirovićev izvještaj za 1891. (Kapidžić 1973, 40-41). U navedenom pismu Hoernes Kállayu preporuča da se godišnje otkopa 50-100 tumula! Nevjerojatan broj! Za usporedbu navodim da je Ćović u jednoj godišnjoj kampanji modernim metodama istražio dva tumula (Ćović 1959).

Truhelka, thus, continued to work in all fields. Nonetheless, Minister Kállay, because of the seed of doubt planed by Hoernes' ever-present reports, did verify: on 17 May 1893<sup>28</sup> he wrote to Mommsen for his thoughts on the work of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and GZM; Mommsen replied to him on 30 June with a favourable assessment of the scholarly work being done in Bosnia-Herzegovina. On another occasion (27 March 1896), Kállay contacted Thallóczy, a great authority on Balkan history. Thallóczy responded on 17 November 1896, also favourably evaluating Truhelka's work on the Slavonian *banovci*. It thus follows that all of Hoernes' accusations, complaints and denunciations

<sup>28</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 97-99.

Truhelka, dakle, djeluje na svim područjima dalje. Ipak, ministar Kállay, zbog crva sumnje vječno prisutnog u Hoernesovim izvještajima provjerava: 17.5.1893.<sup>28</sup> piše Mommsenu po mišljenje o radu u Zemaljskom muzeju i GZM-u; Mommsen mu 30.6. odgovara s povoljnom ocjenom znanstvenog rada u Bosni i Hercegovini. Drugi se puta (27.3.1896.) Kállay obratio Thallóczyu, velikom autoritetu za povijest Balkana. Thallóczy odgovara 17.11.1896. i daje također povoljnu ocjenu Truhelkinog rada o slavonskim banovcima. Kako iz ovoga proizlazi, sva Hoernesova optuživanja, prigovaranja i denuncijacije nisu ni kod Kállaya ni kod Zemaljske vlade izazvala nikakav odjek. Truhelka radi na mnogim lokalitetima, odaziva se na svaku dojavu o novim nalazima i tako je spasio mnoga nalazišta. Sve ažurno objavljuje – ništa od njegovih istraživanja nije ostalo neobjavljeno.<sup>29</sup> Radi redovito na izdavanju Glasnika, od 1905. je ravnatelj Zemaljskog muzeja i glavni urednik Glasnika. Mislim da analiza Hoernesovih pisama iz Kapidžićeve knjige nepovoljnije govori o sâmom piscu negoli o Truhelki.

Hoernes je zapravo slijedio svoje probitke pa je katkada ispadao iz takta i prema drugim bosanskim arheolozima. Tako je želio na svaki način kontrolirati Radimskog na Butmiru, kasnije na istom nalazištu i Fialu (pismo od 22.12.1894.).<sup>30</sup> Ističući svoj značajni udio u korigiranju i dotjerivanju teksta butmirskog kataloga uvest će u oba sveska svoje opširne uvode, zamišljene kao glavnu valorizaciju nalazišta.<sup>31</sup> U oba sveska te velike i kra-

did not generate any effect on Kállay or the Territorial Government. Truhelka worked at many sites, and he responded to any report of new finds and thereby saved many sites. He regularly published everything – none of his research remained unpublished.<sup>29</sup> He worked continually on the publication of *Glasnik*, and as of 1905 he was the director of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and *Glasnik*'s editor-in-chief. I believe that an analysis of Hoernes' letters published in Kapidžić's book reflect more negatively on their author than on Truhelka.

Hoernes remained consistent in pursuing his aims, so he sometimes found himself at odds with other Bosnian archaeologists. Thus, he wanted to control Radimský at Butmir in every way, and later Fiala as well at the same site (letter of 22 December 1894).<sup>30</sup> Highlighting his considerable contribution to the correction and refinement of the text of the Butmir catalogue, he incorporated his own extensive introductions in both volumes which he conceived as the primary validation of the site.<sup>31</sup> He is specified as the co-author in both volumes of these large and beautifully appointed German-language monographs.

In concluding this overview of M. Hoernes and his activities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, another indicative detail of his archaeological work in the Monarchy bears mention. As is known, in the final decades of the nineteenth century, Slovenia in general, and Lower Carniola in particular, were an archaeological El Dorado for supplying the museums and private collections of Vienna. In 1894, Jernej Pečnik, an amateur archaeologist, dug out some large and very rich tribal tumuli and

<sup>28</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 97-99.

<sup>29</sup> Za razliku od Truhelke, Patsch nije objavio svoja višegodišnja iskopavanja (1899.-1914.) vrlo značajne arhitekture u Mogorjelu kod Čapljine, ni srednjovjekovne grobove u Arnautovićima kod Visokog.

<sup>30</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 153-154.

<sup>31</sup> Radimský, Hoernes 1895; Fiala, Hoernes 1898.

<sup>29</sup> As opposed to Truhelka, Patsch did not publish his many years of excavations (1899-1914) of the very significant architecture in Mogorjelo near Čapljina, nor the medieval graves in Arnautovići at Visoko.

<sup>30</sup> Kapidžić 1973, 153-154.

<sup>31</sup> Radimský, Hoernes 1895; Fiala, Hoernes 1898.

sno opremljene monografije na njemačkom jeziku naveden je kao koautor.

U završnici predstavljanja M. Hoernesa i njegovih akcija u Bosni i Hercegovini navest ću još jedan simptomatičan detalj njegovog arheološkog djelovanja u Monarhiji. Kako je poznato, u posljednjim dekadama 19. stoljeća Slovenija je općenito, a Dolenjska naročito, bila arheološki eldorado za opskrbljivanje bečkih muzeja i privatnih zbirki. 1894. Jernej Pečnik, amater-arheolog, raskopavao je velike i vrlo bogate rodovske tumule i nalaze prodavao u Beč ili Trst.<sup>32</sup> M. Hoernes je, doznajući za novootkrivene velike tumule u Novom Mestu, tamo poslao svoga brata Rudolfa, profesora paleontologije u Grazu, da provede iskopavanja dva od njih. Ovaj je to i obavio, premda je samo dio vremena proveo na terenu (ostalo je vodio preparator). R. Hoernes je, ne poznavajući karakteristike sastava dolenjske zemlje bogate željeznim oksidima, proglasio sve pronađene grobove paljevinskima, premda su bili skeletni. Primjenjujući već tada neprihvatljivu tehniku iskopavanja tumula, dobio je dvostruki broj grobova u svakom od njih.<sup>33</sup> Sve je to bilo objavljeno 1986. u Novom Mestu u velikom i reprezentativnom katalogu i Čoviću je ta knjiga njegovog dobrog kolege morala biti i dostupna i poznata. Čudi, dakle, da te podatke nije uzeo u obzir pri pisanju ocjene Truhelkinog rada na Glasincu u Spomenici iz 1988.

<sup>32</sup> O Jerneju Pečniku vidi Teržan 1974. I vojvotkinja Mecklenburška kopala je na svojim imanjima u Sloveniji i njezina je raskošna arheološka zbirka prodana na aukciji 1934. (Treasures of Carniola). Velikim je dijelom stigla u Peabody Museum na Harvardu. Slovenija je tako ostala bez svog značajnog arheološkog blaga za razliku od Bosne i Hercegovine gdje su domaći nalazi ostajali u Zemaljskom muzeju.

<sup>33</sup> Knez 1986.

sold the finds in Vienna and Trieste.<sup>32</sup> Hoernes, having learned of the newly-discovered large tumuli in Novo Mesto, sent his brother Rudolf, a palaeontology professor in Graz, to conduct excavations at two of them. The latter did so, although he only spent a part of his time at the actual site (the rest of the work was led by a museum preparation technician). Due to his unfamiliarity with the features of the Lower Carniolan soil, rich in iron oxides, R. Hoernes proclaimed all of the graves discovered as incineration graves, even though they were in fact skeletal. Applying a tumulus excavation technique that was already deemed unacceptable at that time, he obtained double the number of graves in each.<sup>33</sup> All of this was published in Novo Mesto in 1986 in a large and representative catalogue, and Čović should have known of and had access to this book by his good colleague. It is therefore puzzling that he did not take this information into account when writing his assessments of Truhelka's work at Glasinac for the *Spomenica* in 1988.

The Bosnian opposition's attitude toward the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e., Kállay's cultural policies, and thereby also Truhelka as the proponent of the Museum's progress, could be read in the press of the time.<sup>34</sup> Besarović cited an excerpt from the local press: "In the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the

<sup>32</sup> For more on Jernej Pečnik see Teržan 1974. Even the Duchess Mecklenburg conducted digs on her estates in Slovenia, and her rich archaeology collection was sold at auction in 1934 (Treasures of Carniola). Much of it made its way to the Peabody Museum at Harvard. Slovenia was thus left without its major archaeological treasures, as opposed to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where local finds remained in the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

<sup>33</sup> Knez 1986.

<sup>34</sup> Besarović 1987, 367-402.

Raspoloženje bosanske opozicije prema Zemaljskom muzeju, tj. Kállayevoj kulturnoj politici, a time i protagonistu muzejskog napretka Truhelki, moglo se očitati u tadašnjem tisku.<sup>34</sup> Besarović donosi odlomak iz ondašnjeg tiska »U Zemaljskom muzeju i Institutu za Balkan<sup>35</sup> objavljen je rad u onim naučnim disciplinama koje je forsirala okupaciona uprava diktiran opštim političkim interesima Dvojne monarhije. U istom »nastojanju« su i međunarodni kongresi, pa ekskurzije i svjetske izložbe... Ta prenaplašena reklamerska nota nije ostala nezapažena ni među bosanskohercegovačkim stanovništvom. Odatle i neskrivena odbojnost prema Zemaljskom muzeju i Institutu, iskazana na stranicama nekih opozicionih listova i sa govornice u Bosanskohercegovačkom saboru.«<sup>36</sup> Ta se linija otpora prema kulturno-znanstvenom radu u Bosni i Hercegovini u vrijeme austrougarske okupacije produžila i znatno kasnije, u međuratno razdoblje<sup>37</sup>, pa kako smo već vidjeli sve do kraja 1980-ih. Neukusan i nedopustiv napad na Truhelkin rad i znanstveni renome desio se 1945. u tekstu J. Korošca kada je analizirao jedinstvenu (od Truhelke spašenu i objavljenu ostavu luksuznog oružja iz Velikog Mošunja,

<sup>34</sup> Besarović 1987, 367-402.

<sup>35</sup> Balkanski institut (Institut für Balkanforschungen) osnovan je tek 1904., a vodio ga je Patsch koji se želio odvojiti od Zemaljskog muzeja, točnije uz Hoernesovu pomoć od Truhelke (Kapidžić 1973, 115). Institut je znanstveno i publicistički djelovao do 1918.

<sup>36</sup> Vidi bilj. 34; Besarović dodaje »Spektakularni efekti... sračunati za opravdavanje mandata«. To je osnovni motiv austrougarske kulturne politike u BiH (Besarović 1987, 369).

<sup>37</sup> U međuratnom razdoblju Truhelku nitko i ne spominje, no ipak postoji zgodan članak Milenka Filipovića (Filipović 1928) u kojem objavljuje nalaze iz Olova (koje je Truhelka već objavio!). Uredništvo broja smatra »pošto je g. Filipović ovu temu iscrpno obradio i snabdjeo je sa više slika, odlučili smo se da njegov rad publikujemo«.

Balkan Institute<sup>35</sup> a work was published on the scholarly disciplines being imposed by the occupation administration, dictated by the general political interests of the Dual Monarchy. The international conferences, and even excursions and world exhibitions are dedicated to these same "efforts" ... This excessive promotion did not go unnoticed among the public in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hence the unconcealed loathing of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Institute conveyed on the pages of certain opposition newspapers and from the podium of the diet of Bosnia-Herzegovina".<sup>36</sup> This resistance to cultural and scholarly work in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation persisted even significantly afterward, into the interwar period,<sup>37</sup> and, as shown above, until the 1980s. A tasteless and impermissible attack on Truhelka's work and scholarly reputation can be found in a text by J. Korošec in 1945, when he analyzed a unique hoard of luxurious weapons from Veliki Mošunj (which was rescued and published by Truhelka, and often cited and examined in the European literature). Korošec claimed that Truhelka purposely reconstructed a part of the pectoral on a fibula and thus "raised" the dating of the entire find. Leav-

<sup>35</sup> The Balkan Institute (Institut für Balkanforschungen) was only established in 1904, and it was led by Patsch, who wanted to separate himself from the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, more precisely from Truhelka with Hoernes' aid (Kapidžić 1973, 115). The Institute was active in research and publishing until 1918.

<sup>36</sup> See note 34; Besarović added, "Spectacular effects... calculated to justify their mandate. This was the fundamental motive of Austro-Hungarian cultural policy in Bosnia-Herzegovina" (Besarović 1987, 369).

<sup>37</sup> During the interwar years, Truhelka was never mentioned by anyone, but there is an odd article by Milenko Filipović (Filipović 1928) in which he publishes the finds from Olovo (which Truhelka had already published!). The issue's editors believed that "since Mr. Filipović covered this topic so exhaustively and supplemented it with many illustrations, we decided to publish his work".



otada često citiranu i razmatranu u europskoj literaturi). Korošec je ustvrdio da je Truhelka namjerno rekonstruirao dio pektorala u fibulu i da je tako »podigao« dataciju cijelog nalaza. Ostavivši po strani tko je zapravo radio na čišćenju i rekonstrukciji oštećenih i rastavljenih dijelova predmeta, vjerojatno preparator, možemo samo zaključiti da je i tako Truhelka znatno manje pogriješio u datiranju ostave nego li Korošec, koji je znameniti mač datirao 800 godina prekasno određivši ga kao rimski gladius!!!<sup>38</sup> Čović je, dakako, preuzeo Koroščevu ocjenu Truhelke kao falsifikatora u Spomenici iz 1988.<sup>39</sup>

Truhelka je zaokružio svoja istraživanja prapovijesti Bosne i Hercegovine u Glasniku 26 iz 1914.<sup>40</sup> i dodatno u vodiču »Kulturne prilike Bosne i Hercegovine u prehistoričko doba«. Takvim se vodičem, i sadržajno i grafički, moglo tada, uoči Prvog svjetskog rata, pohvaliti vrlo malo muzeja u Europi.

U međuratnom razdoblju Zemaljski je muzej vegetirao u nepovoljnim okolnostima za rad, o Truhelki se šutjelo. Ipak, postoji mala i rječita epizoda kako se Truhelka već 1928. zaobilazio. Radi se o već spomenutom članku »Starine u Bakićima kod Olova«. U bilj. 1 se navodi da je o toj temi pisao Truhelka, ali uredništvo odlučuje da se objavi ista tema od Milenka Filipovića, jer ima više slika.<sup>41</sup>

U pedesetim godinama pa nadalje slijedi niz primjera o nevoljkom, podcjenjivačkom ocjenjivanju Truhelkinog doprinosa. O nepovoljnom odnosu u objavi kataloga

ing to one side the question of who actually did the cleaning and reconstruction on the damaged and dismantled parts of the items – probably a museum technician – we may only conclude that Truhelka erred considerably less than Korošec, who dated a notable sword 800 years later, classifying it as a Roman gladius!!!<sup>38</sup> Čović, to be sure, repeated Korošec's characterization of Truhelka as a falsifier in the *Spomenica* in 1988.<sup>39</sup>

Truhelka rounded off his research into the prehistory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in *Glasnik* 26 in 1914<sup>40</sup> and additionally in the guide on "Cultural Circumstances in Bosnia-Herzegovina in Prehistory". Very few museums in Europe on the eve of the First World War could boast of such a guide, both in terms of content and graphic layout.

During the interwar years, the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina stagnated under unfavourable operating conditions, and Truhelka was never mentioned. Nonetheless, there is a minor episode that nonetheless speaks volumes about how Truhelka was already being ignored in 1928. This is the already mentioned article on "Antiquities in Bakići near Olovo". In note 1, it is noted that Truhelka wrote about this topic, but the editorial board decided to publish a piece on the same topic by Milenko Filipović, because he provided more illustrations.<sup>41</sup>

A series of reluctant or disparaging evaluations of Truhelka's contributions followed in the 1950s. I have already mentioned the negative stance on the publication of the *Glasi-nac* 1 and *Glasi-nac* 2 catalogues; what fol-

<sup>38</sup> Korošec 1945, 6-7.

<sup>39</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 41 – »Najzad, nedopustive intervencije na materijalu pomoću kojih je izveo rekonstrukciju fibule iz ostave Veliki Mošunj... na granici su naučnog falsifikata i ne služe mu na čast (Truhelki, op. aut.), pogotovo što je u to doba (1913.) bio već zreo naučni radnik.«

<sup>40</sup> Truhelka 1914.

<sup>41</sup> Vidi bilj. 37; Filipović 1928.

<sup>38</sup> Korošec 1945, 6-7.

<sup>39</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 41 – "Finally, the unacceptable interventions into the materials whereby he carried out a reconstruction of a fibula from the Veliki Mošunj hoard... border on scholarly forgery and do not speak well of him [Truhelka], particularly at a time (1913) when he was a mature scholar".

<sup>40</sup> Truhelka 1914.

<sup>41</sup> See note 37; Filipović 1928.



Sl. / Fig. 7: Povelja o počasnom članstvu u Kraljevskom društvu za nordijske starine / Honorary membership charter of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

Glasinac 1 i Glasinac 2 već sam rekla, slijedi objava 10 Truhelkinih grobova – iz Donje Doline u međunarodnom izdanju *Inventaria archaeologica* kojom je Čović izašao u međunarodnu stručnu javnost.<sup>42</sup> Crteži u tom izdanju daleko su ispod kvaliteta Truhelkine originalne objave, ali ovo je izdanje kotiralo. Godine 1963. proslavljeno je u Sarajevu 75 godina postojanja i neprekinutog rada Zemaljskog muzeja. U novinskom izvještaju kćerka Ćire Agata čita da je njezin otac svrstan među »Austrijance ili pripadnike drugih naroda« pa reagira pismom Bencu koji je to na proslavi izrekao. U ostavštini su

<sup>42</sup> Čović 1961.

followed was the publication of 10 of Truhelka's graves – from Donja Dolina in an international edition of *Inventaria archaeologica* which Čović presented to the international scholarly public.<sup>42</sup> The sketches in this edition were far below the quality of Truhelka's original publication, but this edition was circulated. In 1963, the 75 years of the existence and uninterrupted work of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina was celebrated. In a newspaper report, Ćiro's daughter Agata read that her father was placed among the "Austrians or members of other nationalities", so she responded by writing to Benac, who made this claim at the celebration ceremony. Both

<sup>42</sup> Čović 1961.

sačuvana oba pisma. Benac se naravno ispričava »zbog nesporazuma« i navodi da je u tisku ispala riječ »uglavnom« a da je »nama ovdje svima dobro poznato da je pok. Ćiro Truhelka bio Hrvat...«. <sup>43</sup> Takvim nesporazumima nije bilo kraja ni u sljedećim godinama, a naročito su se pokazali u Spomenici iz 1988.

Z. Marić je u svojoj disertaciji iz 1964. nepovoljno i neadekvatno prikazao tehniku iskopavanja i dokumentiranja u Donjoj Dolini o čemu sam pisala i ispravila Marićeve tvrdnje pa da ovdje ne ponavljam. <sup>44</sup> Nasuprot tome, gotovo zadanom i orkestriranom kritiziranju Truhelkinog stručnog i znanstvenog doprinosa, kao da postoji zadano »vježbanje strogoće«, postoje i vrlo pozitivne procjene. U Spomenici iz 1988. čitamo »Donja Dolina je ušla u red najznačajnijih nalazišta željeznog doba u južnom dijelu panonskog bazena... Kad je u pitanju praistorija, iskopavanje i publikovanje Donje Doline najznačajniji je istraživački doprinos Ć. Truhelke, moglo bi se reći - njegovo životno djelo u toj oblasti«. <sup>45</sup> Truhelkine grobovi iz Donje Doline služili su i u kasnije vrijeme kao pouzdan oslonac u stvaranju novih kronoloških sustava: njih je koristila ugledna europska zajednica prapovjesničara kao osnovicu regionalnih kronologija. S priznanjem Truhelkinom radu koristili su ih B. Teržan i Rastko Vasić u više navrata u svojim kronološkim razmatranjima. <sup>46</sup>

Dok Čović minorizira Truhelkino određenje glasilačke kulture ilirskim Autarijatima i to u jednoj sinteznoj i teorijskoj

letters are preserved in the bequest materials. Benac naturally apologized for the misunderstanding, and stated that the word "generally" was left out by the press, and that "here we all know that the deceased Ćiro Truhelka was a Croat...". <sup>43</sup> There was no shortage of such misunderstandings in the coming years, and this came to the fore especially in the *Spomenica* in 1988.

In his dissertation in 1964, Z. Marić unfavourably and inadequately portrayed the excavation and documentation techniques in Donja Dolina, about which I wrote, correcting Marić's assertions, so I shall not repeat this here. <sup>44</sup> By contrast to the virtually established and orchestrated criticism of Truhelka's professional and scholarly contributions, as though there was some sort of mandatory "hard-line stance" that had to be adopted, there are also very positive assessments. In the 1988 *Spomenica*, we can read that "Donja Dolina entered the ranks of the most important finds of the Iron Age in the southern part of the Pannonian basin... When speaking of the prehistory, excavation and publication of Donja Dolina, the most important research contribution was made by Ć. Truhelka, one may even say that this was his life's achievement in this field". <sup>45</sup> At a later date, Truhelka's graves from Donja Dolina served as a foundation for the creation of new chronological systems: they were used by the European community of prehistorians as the basis for regional chronologies. Acknowledging Truhelka's work, they were used by B. Teržan and Rastko Vasić at several points in their chronological considerations. <sup>46</sup>

While Čović downplayed Truhelka's attri-

<sup>43</sup> Pisma su sačuvana u Truhelkinoj ostavštini koja se čuva u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu u 9 kutija. Dodatne 2 kutije sadrže ostavštinu kćeri Agate.

<sup>44</sup> Majnarić Pandžić 1989, 291-293.

<sup>45</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 40.

<sup>46</sup> Teržan 1974; Teržan 1985; Teržan 1987; Vasić 1972; Vasić 1973; Vasić 1975.

<sup>43</sup> The letters are preserved in Truhelka's bequest in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb in 9 boxes. Two additional boxes contain the bequest of his daughter Agata.

<sup>44</sup> Majnarić Pandžić 1989, 291-293.

<sup>45</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 40.

<sup>46</sup> Teržan 1974; Teržan 1985; Teržan 1987; Vasić 1972; Vasić 1973; Vasić 1975.

raspravi<sup>47</sup>, Vasić je govoreći o istoj temi koristio Truhelkine rezultate.<sup>48</sup> Čović pak u petom svesku velike sinteze Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja,<sup>49</sup> Truhelkinu najstariju i ispravnu tvrdnju da su na Glasinu u starije željezno doba živjeli Autarijati uopće ne spominje, a citira autore koji su istu tvrdnju iznijeli pola stoljeća kasnije.

Zanimljiv je slučaj Čovićevog negativnog stava prema Truhelkinom otkriću u Gorici kraj Posušja. Truhelka je Goricu uzorno iskopao i dokumentirao no interpretacija mu u ono vrijeme nije mogla biti ispravna, jer još tada nisu bila poznata grčka i egejska svetišta. Čović Goricu određuje kao epihorsko svetište željeznog doba i oštro kritizira Truhelkino tumačenje nalazišta kao prapovijesnog krematorija. Međutim, Čović je 1987. posve zanemario, upravo prešutio Reineckeove identične interpretacije iz 1933., stare, dakle, više od pola stoljeća.<sup>50</sup>

U članku o Autarijatima,<sup>51</sup> Čović između dva poglavlja u raspravi umeće par sljedećih redaka, nepovezanih s ostalim tekstom, prava interpolacija (naknadna?, na nečije upozorenje?) »Dužnost mi je na ovom mjestu istaći da je misao o pripadnosti glasinčkih nalaza Autarijatima došao, već krajem prošlog vijeka Ćiro Truhelka (GZM 1893., 115-116), ne navodeći, doduše, nikakve sigurnije dokaze. Novi arheološki nalazi i njihova analiza, pokazali su, kako se čini, opravdanost Truhelkinih mišljenja«. <sup>52</sup>

Zadovoljstvo je čitati kod poslijeratnih stručnjaka, okupljenih u Spomenici iz

tribution of the Glasinac culture to the Illyrian Autariatae in a synthesis and theoretical discussion,<sup>47</sup> Vasić used Truhelka's results when speaking of the same topic.<sup>48</sup> In the fifth volume of a major synthesis of the prehistory of the Yugoslav lands,<sup>49</sup> Čović did not even mention Truhelka's first, and correct, assertion that the Autariatae lived in Glasinac in the older Iron Age, while citing other scholars who made the same assertion fifty years later.

The case of Čović's negative stance on Truhelka's discovery in Gorica, near Posušje, is interesting. Truhelka's excavation and documentation of Gorica were exemplary, but at the time his interpretations could not be correct, as the Greek and Aegean shrines were still not known at the time. Čović classified Gorica as an epichoric Iron Age shrine and sharply criticized Truhelka's interpretation of the site as a prehistoric crematorium. However, in 1987 Čović entirely overlooked, actually purposely ignored Reinecke's identical interpretation from 1933 over 50 years before.<sup>50</sup>

In an article on the Autariatae,<sup>51</sup> Čović inserted the following few lines between two chapters in the discussion, entirely unconnected with the rest of the text and a genuine interpolation (subsequent? In response to someone's advice?): "I must point out here that the idea of the attribution of the Glasinac finds to the Autariatae came already at the end of the preceding century from Ćiro Truhelka (GZM 1893, 115-116), without, to be sure, specifying any certain evidence. New archaeological finds and their analysis have shown, it would appear, that Truhelka's opinion was justified". <sup>52</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Čović 1967.

<sup>48</sup> Vasić 1972.

<sup>49</sup> Čović 1987, 642, bilj. 314.

<sup>50</sup> Truhelka 1899; Čović 1976; Čović 1987, 996; Reinecke 1933 (na ovu recenziju upozorio me D. Periša).

<sup>51</sup> Čović 1967, 115.

<sup>52</sup> Čović 1967.

<sup>47</sup> Čović 1967.

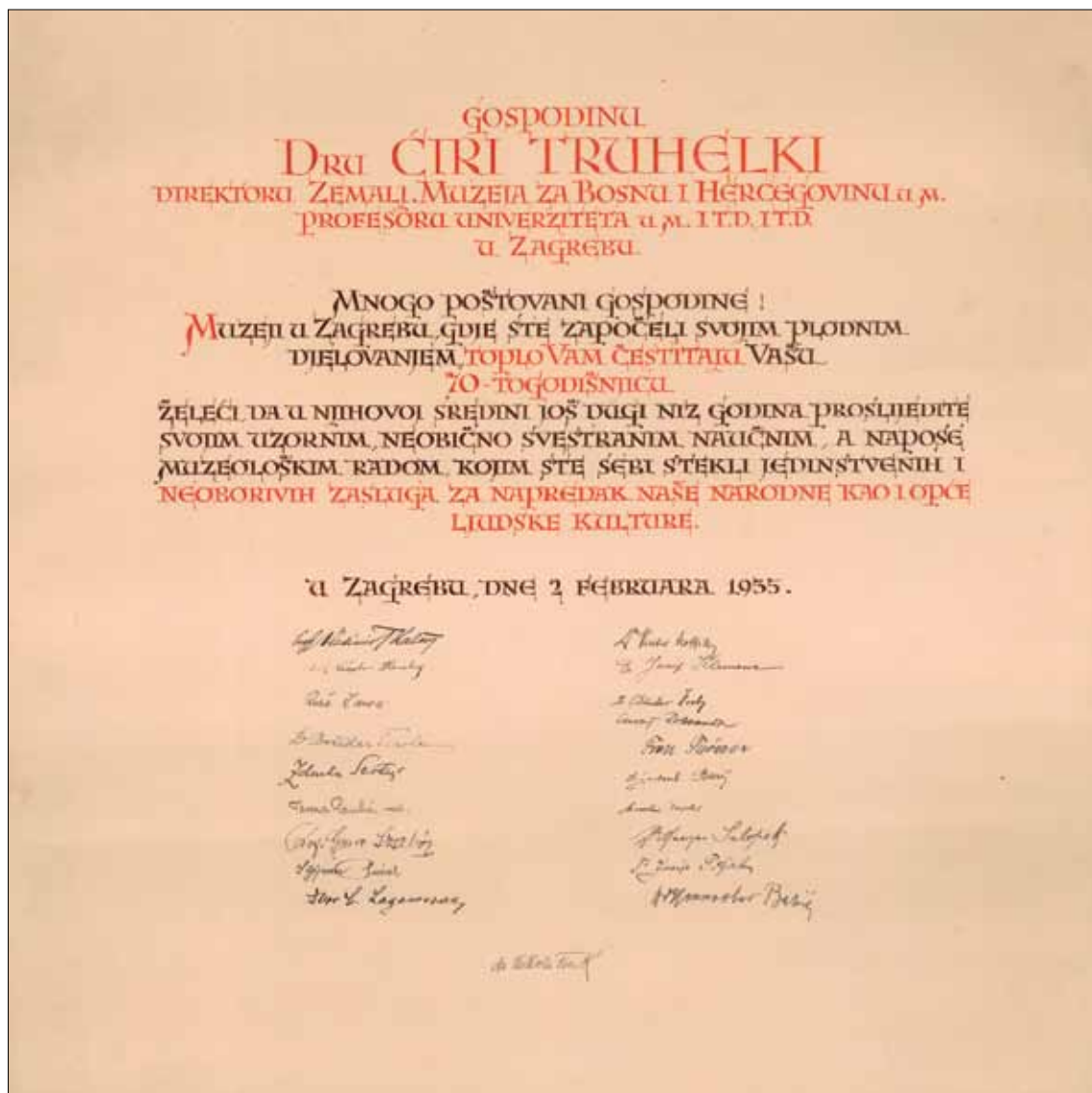
<sup>48</sup> Vasić 1972.

<sup>49</sup> Čović 1987, 642, note 314.

<sup>50</sup> Truhelka 1899; Čović 1976; Čović 1987, 996; Reinecke 1933 (I was informed of this review by D. Periša).

<sup>51</sup> Čović 1967, 115.

<sup>52</sup> Čović 1967.



Sl. / Fig. 8: Čestitka ravnatelja zagrebačkih muzeja povodom 70. godišnjice života / Celebratory greetings by the Zagreb Museums directors on the occasion of the 70th birthday (HDA, Osobni arhivski fond Ćiro Truhelka / Croatian State Archives, Personal archives of Ćiro Truhelka)

1988.<sup>53</sup> pohvalne izjave o Truhelkinom radu. Brunislav Marijanović to iznosi u poglavlju o Muzeološkoj djelatnosti Arheološkog odjeljenja, Zorislava Čulić za Etnološko odjeljenje, Đuro Basler o zaštiti spomenika kulture, a Jela Božić o nezaobilaznom Truhelkinom trudu u izgradnji i stvaranju novih zgrada Zemaljskog muzeja. Čak i Nada Miletić, koja je inače žestoko osporavala Truhelkinu interpretaciju bosanskohercegovačke starokr-

<sup>53</sup> Palavestra 1988.

It is gratifying to read laudatory statements on Truhelka's work by the post-war experts gathered in the *Spomenica* from 1988.<sup>53</sup> Brunislav Marijanović does so in the chapter on the museological activities of the Archaeology Section, Zorislava Čulić in the Ethnography Section, Đuro Basler in his work on the protection of cultural monuments, and Jela Božić on Truhelka's inescapable efforts dedicated to the construction and creation of new buildings for the National Museum of

<sup>53</sup> Palavestra 1988.

ščanske arhitekture, piše: »Ali, u zahuktalom vremenu naučnoistraživačkog rada Zemaljskog muzeja, u kome je (Truhelka, op. aut.) radio najveći dio svoga života, u kraju gdje je sve bilo nepoznato i gdje je svaki podatak, makar i nepotpun, značio... rad Ć. Truhelke bio je kapitalan doprinos, nemjerljiv po obimu i izuzetno značajan – i kao samo djelo i kao osnova za kasnija, specificirana istraživanja, kojima je, to se mora priznati, postavio prve temelje«. <sup>54</sup>

Truhelkino izvanredno pažljivo iskopavanje i dokumentiranje Arareve gromile na Glasincu i lucidna interpretacija situacije u tumulu omogućili su dugotrajno korištenje tih sjajnih podataka i u modernim sinteznim studijama. <sup>55</sup>

Bešlagić u svojim monografijama o stećcima mnogo koristi Truhelkine radove i izražava se s priznanjem o njegovom doprinosu: »Najobimniji i najkvalitetniji doprinos proučavanju stećaka u ovom austrougarskom periodu dao je Ćiro Truhelka, koji je istovremeno najviše učinio za stvaranje i prosperitet Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu... ovaj neumorni naučni radnik je mnogo vremena posvetio stećcima. Putovao je po terenu, opisivao, sam crtao, fotografisao i u gips odljevao natpise i ukrase stećaka...«. <sup>56</sup> Truhelkin doprinos priznaju i Dominik Mandić i Franjo Šanjek i Ivan Lovrenović te čitav niz mlađih autora koje je popisala Wikipedija. <sup>57</sup>

U ovom sam se tekstu dugo zadržala na analizama Hoernesova utjecaja na kasnija mišljenja i izražene stavove u bosanskohercegovačkoj arheološkoj znanosti. Hoernes je vjerojatno pružao samo izliku

<sup>54</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 43.

<sup>55</sup> Truhelka 1893; Truhelka 1893a; Čović 1979; Jovanović 1979.

<sup>56</sup> Bešlagić 1982, 15.

<sup>57</sup> Mandić 1982; Šanjek 1975; Lovrenović 2002; [http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro\\_Truhelka](http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka) (31.10.2013.).

Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even Nada Miletić, who otherwise harshly refuted Truhelka's interpretation of Early Christian architecture in Bosnia-Herzegovina, wrote: "But in a tumultuous time in the scholarly research work of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in which he [Truhelka] worked most of his life, in a region where everything was unknown and where each piece of data, however incomplete, meant something... Ć. Truhelka's work was a capital construction, immeasurable in its extent and exceptionally significant – in and of itself and as the basis for later, specific research, for which, it must be said, he set the foundations". <sup>54</sup>

Truhelka's extraordinarily careful excavation and documentation of the Arareva mound at Glasinac and his lucid interpretation of the situation in the tumulus facilitated the long-term use of these outstanding data even in modern synthetic studies. <sup>55</sup>

In his monographs of monumental tombstones (*stećci*), Bešlagić made much use of Truhelka's works and acknowledged his contributions: "The most extensive and highest quality contribution to the study of *stećci* in the Austro-Hungarian period was made by Ćiro Truhelka, who simultaneously did the most for the creation and prosperity of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo... This tireless scholar dedicated much time to the *stećci*. He travelled in the field, described them, sketched them himself, photographed them and made gypsum castings of the inscriptions and ornamentation on them..." <sup>56</sup> Truhelka's contribution was also recognized by Dominik Mandić, Franjo Šanjek and Ivan Lovrenović, and an entire series of young writers who are listed in the Wikipedia entry. <sup>57</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Miletić, Čović 1988, 43.

<sup>55</sup> Truhelka 1893; Truhelka 1893a; Čović 1979; Jovanović 1979.

<sup>56</sup> Bešlagić 1982, 15.

<sup>57</sup> Mandić 1982; Šanjek 1975; Lovrenović 2002; [http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro\\_Truhelka](http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka) (31.10.2013.).

za kasnije stavove koji se ipak činjenično iskazuju kao ideološki obojeni. Čini mi se da ne bismo pogriješili kada bismo odnos čovjeka Hoernesa prema čovjeku Truhelki (znanost je samo nadgradnja u ovom slučaju) prisposodili odnosu Salieria prema Mozartu, kako ga je pročitao Puškin, a nama ocrtao Miloš Forman. Sve kasnije ocjene lagano je protumačiti političkim i ideološkim prilikama.

Na kraju moram reći da smo ne tako davno doživjeli da su kronologije i teorije zamišljene ambiciozno i na nivou svog vremena (Benac-Čović-Marić) danas korigirane i postavljene na druge osnove.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Pare 1999; Majnarić Pandžić 2002 - U svojoj recenziji tog obimnog eseja branila sam upravo Čovićevu kronologiju Glasinca, kao što sam se protivila i Pareovom napuštanju regionalnih kronologija ostvarenih dugotrajnim znanstvenim nastojanjima.

In this text, I dedicated the most consideration to an analysis of Hoernes' influence on later views and attitudes expressed in the archaeological field in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hoernes probably only provided a pretext for later views which proved to be ideologically driven. It would appear to this author that it would be fair to characterize the attitude of Hoernes the man toward Truhelka the man (scholarship was only a superstructure in this case) as similar to Salieri's view of Mozart, as read by Pushkin and illustrated for us by Miloš Forman. All later assessments may easily be interpreted by the given political and ideological circumstances.

In the end, I must say that not so long ago we saw that the chronologies and theories so ambitiously conceived at the top level of their time (Benac-Čović-Marić) were corrected and set on different foundations.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Pare 1999; Majnarić Pandžić 2002: In my review of this extensive essay, I defended none other than Čović's chronology of Glasinac, just as I opposed Pare's abandonment of regional chronologies based on long-term scholarly efforts.

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[http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro\\_Truhelka](http://bs.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C4%86iro_Truhelka) (31.10.2013.)

*Upute za predaju rukopisa*  
*Instructions for submission of manuscripts*



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Bilić 2011, 451.

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**Book – dissertation (online)**

Radman-Livaja 2010 – I. Radman-Livaja, *Les plombs inscrits de Siscia*, doctorat, Paris, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, 2010, [http://www.academia.edu/513800/Les\\_plombs\\_inscrits\\_de\\_Siscia](http://www.academia.edu/513800/Les_plombs_inscrits_de_Siscia), (3.1.2013.)

**Journal article – single author**

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in Pécs, Hungary, September 2003, Pécs, University of Pécs, 2005, 955-970.

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#### **Novinski članak – pristup preko web stranice**

Majnarić-Pandžić 2012 – N. Majnarić-Pandžić, »Brojna svjedočanstva iz ledenoga doba«, *Vijenac*, Zagreb, 13. prosinac 2012, [http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac490.nsf/AllWebDocs/Brojna\\_svjedocanstva\\_iz\\_ledenoga\\_doba](http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac490.nsf/AllWebDocs/Brojna_svjedocanstva_iz_ledenoga_doba), (6.1.2013.)

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Citate na grčkom ne treba stavljati u kurziv, kao i duže latinske citate, koje treba odvojiti u zasebni paragraf; kratke latinske citate stavljati u kurziv. Uredništvo preporučuje da se duži latinski i grčki citati prevode na jezik glavnog teksta, kao što je uobičajeno u najznačajnijim časopisima ovog tipa, kako bi tekst bio što dostupniji i razumljiviji široj publici. Ako je to moguće, prijevod klasičnog teksta s umetnutim grčkim ili latinskim terminima pretpostavlja se originalnom citatu. Uredništvo neće inzistirati na ovom pravilu, ali savjetuje autorima da u svome interesu nastoje slijediti navedene postavke. Umeci u citat stavljaju se u uglatu zagradu. Grčki citati moraju biti u fontu *Athena Unicode*.

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#### **Newspaper article – printed**

Majnarić-Pandžić 2012 – N. Majnarić-Pandžić, "Brojna svjedočanstva iz ledenoga doba", *Vijenac*, Zagreb, 13. prosinac 2012., broj 490-491, 31.

#### **Newspaper article – online**

Majnarić-Pandžić 2012 – N. Majnarić-Pandžić, "Brojna svjedočanstva iz ledenoga doba", *Vijenac*, Zagreb, 13. prosinac 2012, [http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac490.nsf/AllWebDocs/Brojna\\_svjedocanstva\\_iz\\_ledenoga\\_doba](http://www.matica.hr/Vijenac/vijenac490.nsf/AllWebDocs/Brojna_svjedocanstva_iz_ledenoga_doba), (6.1.2013.)

#### **Greek and Latin**

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Slika 1. Pogled na krunište kule iz 1984. (snimila J. Čus-Rukonić)

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Slika 1. Zdjela s figuralnim ukrasom (Gregl 2008, 58)

Ako slikovni prilog prikazuje predmet koji se čuva u nekoj ustanovi, navodi se ustanova i inventarni broj predmeta.

Slika 1. Pismo L. Maruna Š. Ljubiću, Knin, 21.03.1891. (HPM, Dokumentarna zbirka I., inv. br. 14934/24)

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Figure 1. View of the tower battlement taken in 1984. (photo by J. Čus-Rukonić)

If an illustration is reproduced from a published material an appropriate reference should be given.

Figure 1. Bowl with figural ornament (Gregl 2008, 58)

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Figure 1. L. Marun's letter to Š. Ljubiću, Knin, 21<sup>st</sup> of March, 1891 (Croatian History Museum, Collection of documents I., inv. no. 14934/24)

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