

## RIMSKA STRELJAČKA OPREMA NAĐENA NA GARDUNU KOD TRILJA

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*U radu se obrađuje skupina slučajnih nalaza s lokaliteta Gardun izloženih u Muzeju Cetinske Krajine. Svi su nalazi pripadali bojnoj opremi rimskih postrojbi stacioniranih na Gardunu. Nalaze se pokušalo povezati s pojedinim vojnim postrojbama te time približno datirati.*

*Ključne riječi:* malleolus (zapaljivi projektil), koštano ojačanje, kompozitni luk, projektil, sulica

Arheološka zbirka Muzeja Cetinske Krajine u Sinju sadrži izuzetno zanimljive predmete, kako iz prapovijesnog razdoblja, tako i iz antičkog te srednjovjekovnog perioda. Zbog njihove brojnosti, svi eksponati nisu još objavljeni u arheološkoj literaturi, no njihovo je cijelovito predstavljanje stručnoj javnosti samo pitanje vremena<sup>1</sup>.

Predmet ovoga rada bit će četiri projektila i tri koštana ojačanja kompozitnog luka. Usto što ih povezuje namjena, svi ti predmeti potječu s istog lokaliteta, iako vjerojatno nisu nađeni istovremeno, a možda ni na istom položaju. Dva projektila i tri koštana ojačanja luka otkupljeni su od lokalnog skupljača Petra Tadinca krajem 1972. godine, bez pobližih podataka o okolnostima nalaza<sup>2</sup>, dok se za preostala dva projektila zna samo da potječu s Garduna.

Nalaženje takvih predmeta na Gardunu nije iznenadnje, s obzirom na prošlost tog lokaliteta (Zaninović 1976: 169-184; Zaninović 1984: 65-75) i svakako ukazuje na potrebu sustavnog istraživanja tog rimskog vojnog logora. Gardun, tj. Tilurij, bio je razmjerno

kratko legijski logor, ali je i nakon odlaska VII. Legije, sredinom prvog stoljeća (između 45. i 61. g.), zadržao znatniju vojnu posadu do sredine trećeg stoljeća. I u narednom je razdoblju zadržao beneficijarsku posadu, a u nemirnim vremenima kasne antike vjerojatno je opet korišten u obrambene svrhe.

### Zapaljivi projektil (T. 1; 2)

Gardunski je projektil dug 142 mm, od čega na tuljac otpada 59 mm, a na šiljak 30 mm. Teži 65 g. I tuljac i šiljak su oštećeni, tako da im to nije izvorna dužina. Promjer tuljca je 11 mm. Kavez je formiran od šest šipki, od kojih su četiri sačuvane u cijelosti. Otkupljen je od Petra Tadinca 1972. godine.

Paralele za ovaj zapaljivi projektil postoje kako u izvorima, tako i u arheološkim nalazima. U izvorima se ovakav projektil, na latinskom zvan *malleolus* (doslovno je značenje mali čekić, maljić), s više ili manje detalja opisuje kod tri autora: Amijana Marcelina, Vegecija i izvjesnog Euzebija, poznatog po dva sačuvana fragmenta i po tome što ga spominje Euagrije Skolastik u svom popisu grčkih povjesničara (Brok 1978: 57). Za razliku

<sup>1</sup> Zahvaljujući susretljivosti bivšeg ravnatelja Muzeja, gospodina Ante Miloševića, sadašnje ravnateljice, gospode Vedrane Gunjače i kustosice Anite Librenjak, omogućeno mi je objavljivanje skupine površinskih nalaza s lokaliteta Gardun kod Trilja, na čemu sam im veoma zahvalan, kao i Mislavu Mariću na crtežima. Također zahvaljujem dr. Marini Miličević i dr. Mirjani Sanader na savjetima te kolegama Ivani Ožanić i Hrvoju Potrebici.

<sup>2</sup> Kako je pokojni Petar Tadinac živio na Gardunu, vjerojatno odatle potječu i nalazi.

od Vegecija, čiji je opis vrlo općenit (Veg., IV, 18) i ne pruža nam nikakve podrobniye informacije o konstrukciji takvog projektila, Amijan je, unatoč nekim nejasnoćama, dosta precizno opisao izgled zapaljivog projektila (usp. Brok 1978: 57).

*Malleoli autem, teli genus, figurantur hac specie. Sagitta est cannea, inter spiculum et harundinem multifido ferro coagmentata, quae in muliebris coli formam, quo nentur linea stamina, concavatur ventre subtiliter et plurifariam patens, atque in alveo ipso ignem cum aliquo suscipit alimento. Et si emissa lentius arcu invalido (ictu enim rapidiore extinguitur) haeserit usquam tenaciter cremat, aquisque conspersa acriores excitat aestus incendiorum, nec remedio ullo quam superacto pulvere consopitur (Amm. Marc., 23, 4).*

[A maleoli, vrsta strijele, oblikuju se na ovaj način: to je strijela od trske, između držala i vrška sklopljeno je rascijepano željezo; pažljivo se izdubi sredina, kao u preslice kojom žene predu laneno predivo, s mnogostrukim otvorima, te mu u samoj duplji postavimo vatru zajedno s nečim što će je održati. Ako mlako odapnemo strijelu iz polunapetog luka - prebrzo odapinjanje bi je ugasilo - zabije li se igdje, postojano će gorjeti, a ako je polijemo vodom, to će samo potaknuti ljuču žestinu ognja pa je jedino rješenje ugasiti je bacajući pjesak.]

Jedan od dva sačuvana fragmenta Euzebijevog djela<sup>3</sup> (pisanog na grčkom), koje se, po Euagriju, bavilo rimskom poviješću od Oktavijana, ili možda Trajana, do Karove smrti, 283. godine, također sadrži opis zapaljivog projektila. Euzebijev opis dobro upotpunjava Amijanov te pojašnjava nejasnoće: *Té zapaljive strijele imaju sljedeći izgled: Umjesto vrška imale su nešto što je trebalo poslužiti strijeli da prenese vatrnu. Taj je dio bio od željeza te imao prema van savijene šipke. Šipke su bile odvojene jedna od druge, ali su se dalje prema gore savijale, te se gore opet spajale. Kako su na gornjoj strani bile zavarene, sve su se šipke spajale u jedan ravan i vrlo oštar šiljak. Namjena tako izrađenog šiljka bila je da ostane čvrsto zaboden u koji god predmet bude odapet. To je dakle bila namjena šiljka. Djelovanje za vatrnu najvažnijeg dijela bilo je predviđeno na sljedeći način: spojene šipke su u međusobnom razmaku napravile šupljji prostor, isto kao i kod preslica koje žene rabe za vunu. Na vanjskoj se strani preslice omota vuna, odakle se vuče nit. Taj bi se šupljji prostor napunio kućinom ili finom piljevinom na koju bi se naljepila smola, ili bi se to natopilo takozvanim medijskim uljem. Kad bi se odapela strijela bilo iz bacača bilo iz luka, rasplamsala bi se zapaljiva smjesa u*

*unutrašnjosti uslijed brzine te stvarala bukteći plamen. Takve su strijele koristili protiv svih opsadnih strojeva, i kad bi ih se puno odapelo odjednom, uspjeh je bio znatan. Ali ako bi se ograničili na manji broj projektila, uspjeh je bio neznatan, ili bi potpuno izostao. Ili bi se ugasili na govedim kožama ili uz pomoć raznih sredstava za gašenje požara (Fr. Gr.Hist. 101 S. 481, 2-29).*

Arheološka su istraživanja sasvim raščistila dileme o stvarnom izgledu rimskih zapaljivih projektila, kao i o načinu njihove izrade (Coulston 1985: 266; Sim 1992: 116). Nalazi te vrste nisu brojni, tako da je gardunski *malleolus* tek deseti do sada poznati primjerak. Pet primjeraka, s nasadom na trn, dužine između 52 i 60 mm, potječe iz Bar Hilla na Antoninovu zidu. Očito se radi o zapaljivim strijelama. Primjerak iz Wroxetera također ima nasad na trn i nešto je duži<sup>5</sup>, ali se također može identificirati kao zapaljiva strijela. Maleol iz Ptua je znatno duži, 120 mm, i ima nasad na tuljac. Usprkos dužini, tuljac izgleda preuzak za artiljerijski projektil (Bishop&Coulston 1993: 113). Jedna je zapaljiva strelica, dužine 55mm, nađena u Tell Defennehu u Egiptu, u prošlom stoljeću (James 1983: 142). Najveći projektil te vrste nađen je u Dura Europus. Dužina mu je 113 mm, a promjer tuljca 14 mm (James 1983: 142-143). Radi se o projektilu koji se ispaljivao iz katapulte, odnosno baliste<sup>6</sup>.

Dimenzije i težina (Baatz 1966: 204-205) gardunskog maleola navode na pomisao da je bio namijenjen za odapinjanje iz balističkog stroja, a ne iz luka. Prihvatomo li hipotezu da se radi o artiljerijskom projektilu, još treba ustanoviti koja se rimska postrojba (ili više njih) smještala u Tiluriju mogla služiti balističkim spravama, te pokušati približno datirati nalaz. Ta su dva pitanja usko povezana, jer atribuiranjem projektila određenoj vojnoj jedinici, možemo ujedno otrplike odrediti i vrijeme njegovog korištenja, s obzirom da nam je donekle poznato razdoblje boravka pojedinih vojnih formacija u Tiluriju.

Na osnovi podataka iz izvora i onih koje nam pruža arheologija, možemo s gotovo apsolutnom sigurnošću ustvrditi da su artiljerijska oruđa bila u prvom redu dodijeljivana legijama, pretorijancima i ratnoj mornarici (Baatz 1966: 194). Poznato je da su ratni brodovi bili opremljeni katapultima i balistama (Reddé 1986: 98-100), a zahvaljujući Tacitu znamo i da su ih pretorijanci posjedovali u svom arsenalu (Tac., Ann., XII, 56). Što se legija tiče, izvori obiluju opisima uporabe legijske artiljerije kako pri opsadama tako i na bojnom polju<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>3</sup> Ti su fragmenti zapisani u Pariškom rukopisu (Suppl. Graec. 607), kao i u C. und Th. Müller, Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum V (1841-1870), 21ff, te F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, 101 S. 480 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Govede kože su se koristile za oblaganje jurišnih opsadnih strojeva kao sredstvo protupožarne zaštite.

<sup>5</sup> James 1983: 142, navodi dužinu od 82 mm dok Bishop&Coulston 1993: 113, spominju 76 mm

<sup>6</sup> Izvorno je katapult bio naziv za oružje koje je izbacivalo velike strijele, bolje rečeno sulice, dok je balista bio naziv za bacače kamenih kugli. Od trećeg stoljeća poslije Krista, katapultom nazivaju bacač kamenja, a balistom bacač sulica (Le Bohec 1994: 138).

<sup>7</sup> Dovoljno je prelistati Cezara, Tacita, Flavija Josipa, Arijana, Amijana Marcelina

a vojni je teoretičar Vegecije opisao formacijski raspored balističkih strojeva unutar legije i naveo njihov broj (Veg., II, 8). Na osnovi navedenog može se zaključiti da je svaka legija, počevši od kasne Republike pa kroz čitavo carsko razdoblje bila opremljena određenim brojem artiljerijskih sredstava. Po svemu sudeći to nije bio slučaj s auksilijarnim jedinicama (Baatz 1966: 194-207). U slučaju konjičkih jedinica, ala, to nije bilo potrebno iz razumljivih razloga. Vojna formacija kojoj je glavna taktička namjena brzo djelovanje svakako ne treba glomazna borbena sredstva, koja je mogu samo usporiti. U slučaju pješačkih auksilijarnih postrojbi, takva bi bojna oprema naizgled mogla imati smisla, ali s obzirom na ulogu takvih jedinica, barem u prvim stoljećima Carstva, ipak moramo odbiti tu hipotezu. Auksilijarne jedinice su u odnosu na legije bile fleksibilnije, ponajprije zbog manjeg broja ljudi, pa su se lakše mogle upotrijebiti u nekim taktičkim situacijama, u kojima angažiranje cijele jedne legije ne bi bilo isplativo. Tako su bile vrlo pogodne za brze intervencije u graničnim područjima kao i za garnizonsku službu. No, poznato je da legije nisu uvijek borbeno djelovale u punom sastavu, već su se u slučaju potrebe formacijski mogle preustrojiti u manje i mobilnije odrede<sup>8</sup>, te time umanjiti nedostatke velike vojne formacije u nekim oblicima ratovanja. Važno je napomenuti da je prateća logistika auksilijarnih jedinica bila znatno jednostavnija od legijske. U svom sastavu nisu imale radionice i popratne službe, kao ni stručnjake različitih profila, od inženjera i liječnika do obrtnika svih vrsta. To je, uz navedene razloge taktičke i operativne prirode, važan razlog zbog kojega auksilijarne jedinice nisu opremane artiljerijom. S obzirom na složenost artiljerijskih sprava, malo je vjerojatno da bi bile dodijeljene postrojbi koja ih ne bi bila u stanju adekvatno održavati.

Ipak istraživanja ukazuju na mogućnost da su barem na nekim mjestima auksilijarne jedinice raspolagale artiljerijom (Baatz 1966: 197-198; Campbell 1986: 117-132). Iako su neki od tih primjera dvojbeni, poput Hatre (Campbell, 1986, 119-120), Jeruzalema (Campbell 1986: 122-125) i Fazisa (Campbell 1986: 125-126), bilo zato što postoji realna mogućnost krive interpretacije, bilo zato što ne možemo isključiti prisutnost detaširane posade legijskih artiljeraca, očit je taktički imperativ koji je Rimljane možda mogao natjerati na opremanje auksilijarnih postrojbi balističkim oružjem. Vidljiv je i u slučaju High Rochestera, gdje možemo s popriličnom sigurnošću pripisati posjedovanje artiljerijskih oruđa jednoj auksilijarnoj jedinici, *cohors I fida Vardullorum equitata milliaria* (Baatz 1966: 197-198; Campbell 1986: 121-122). Naime, radi se o mjestima u nemirnim, često isturenim graničnim područjima, gdje vojska nije mogla računati na brz dolazak pojačanja, te su prisutne snage morale biti spremne na pružanje dugotrajnog otpora. Kako je bilo realno očekivati opsjedanje takvih mesta, njihovo opremanje artiljerijom nije bilo na odmet, makar

im posada ne bila sastavljena od trupa koje se inače koriste takvim oružjem.

Tilurij je u razdoblju kad je postojala mogućnost ponovne pobune lokalnog stanovništva, u godinama nakon sloma Batonovog ustanka, imao pretežito legijsku posadu koja je ondje ostala sve do razdoblja kada je eventualni ustanak, uslijed pacifikacije i romanizacije, postao malo vjerojatan. Razne auksilijarne jedinice koje su se u narednom vremenu izmjenjivale u posadi Tilurija, s obzirom na mir koji je vladao u provinciji Dalmaciji, sigurno nisu trebale artiljeriju pri obavljanju svojih više policijskih nego vojnih zadaća. Uz mogući kratkotrajni boravak IX. legije (*legio IX Hispana*) na Gardunu (Zaninović 1984: 68), Tilurij je tijekom prvog stoljeća više desetljeća bio stalni logor VII. legije, možda već od 8. ili čak 6. godine (Zaninović 1984: 68) pa vjerojatno sve do ranih šezdesetih godina istoga stoljeća, kada odlazi u Viminacij (Betz 1939: 37-39; Zaninović 1976: 175). Tada je možda privremeno zamjenjuje jedan detaširani odred XI. legije (Zaninović 1984: 72), a nakon njenog odlaska 68. godine iz Burnuma, naredne će posade Tilurija biti isključivo sastavljene od auksilijarnih jedinica (Zaninović 1976: 177-178; Zaninović 1984: 72-73), s izuzetkom legijskih beneficijara (Zaninović 1984: 73), sve do sredine III. stoljeća kada Tilurij izgleda ostaje u funkciji samo kao beneficijarska postaja (Zaninović 1984: 73).

S obzirom na gore navedeno, vjerujem da bi gardunski maleol mogli pripisati arsenalu VII. legije (*legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*) i time ga datirati u prvu polovinu prvog stoljeća, ili najkasnije do šezdesetih godina istog stoljeća. Ako prihvatimo mogućnost kratkotrajnog boravka IX. legije početkom stoljeća u Tiluriju, te kasnije XI. legije (nakon odlaska VII. legije pa do 68. godine), maleol je mogao biti i dio njihove vojne opreme. To mu u svakom slučaju bitno ne mijenja predloženu dataciju. Kako se radi o slučajnom nalazu, bez ikakve popratne dokumentacije o okolnostima nalaza, mislim da je ovakva datacija najvjerojatnija, tim više što se radi o artefaktu koji je vrlo rijedak, te ga je teško vremenski situirati na osnovi analogije s drugim sličnim takvim projektilima (koji su uostalom i sami datirani po kontekstu nalaza). Zato sam se pri pokušaju datiranja držao nekih povijesnih podataka koji su mi jedini omogućavali približnu dataciju nalaza.

Preostale su još dvije hipoteze koje treba spomenuti, iako ih smatram malo vjerojatnima. Gardunski bi maleol mogao imati veze s eventualnim zauzimanjem gradine za Oktavijanova pohoda 34.-33. godine prije Krista, ili, što je vjerojatnije, s gušenjem ustanka 6.-9. godine poslije Krista (Čače 1989: 82-83). Na osnovi izvora možemo samo pretpostaviti da su se tijekom oba navedena rata borbe vodile i za Tilurij (Zaninović 1976: 173; Zaninović 1984: 68), pa bi tako i ovaj projektil mogao imati veze s tim događajima. Ipak povezivanje slučajnih nalaza vojne opreme s povijesnim bitkama (a mi u

<sup>8</sup> privremena legijska formacija *vexillatio*; Le Bohec 1994: 30-31; Goldsworthy 1996: 27-28

ovom slučaju ne možemo ni dokazati da su se borbe stvarno vodile na Gardunu, premda za to postoje indicije) blago je rečeno dubiozno. Tek prava arheološka istraživanja mogu potvrditi takve događaje (Feugere 1993: 32-34). Možda bi podrobnija analiza ovog zapaljivog projektila ukazala na to da je uporabljen u borbi (eventualni tragovi gorenja unutar kaveza), ali zasada ne raspolažemo s takvim mogućnostima. Isto je tako malo vjerojatno da Rimljani nakon pobjede ne bi pokupili ostatke opreme razbacane po bojnom polju radi popravka ili kao jeftinu sirovину за izradu novog oružja. Maleol bi hipotetički mogao pripadati i znatno kasnijem razdoblju. Iako ne raspolažemo podacima o vojnoj funkciji Tilurija u nemirnim vremenima kasne antike i seobe naroda, možemo pretpostaviti da je imao nekakvu vojnu posadu tijekom četvrtog i petog stoljeća, pa i kasnije. Zapaljivim su se projektilima pri obrani opsjedanih mjesta gađale napadačeve opsadne sprave, pa je tako gardunski maleol mogao biti sastavni dio opreme neke kasnoantičke tilurijske posade. Kako barbari gotovo i nisu raspolagali opsadnim spravama, kao ni tehničkim znanjem za njihovu izradu, uporaba takvih projektila u kasnoantičkom opsadnom ratovanju uglavnom je ostajala ograničena na medurimskе sukobe ili pri borbama s Perzijancima (Elton 1996: 261).

Kako je u pitanju slučajni nalaz, a u nedostatku odgovarajućih arheoloških istraživanja, mislim da treba uvažavati samo poznate činjenice, sve dok nam nova istraživanja ne bace novo svjetlo na Gardun.

Gardunski se maleol kao artiljerijski projektil može s velikom sigurnošću atribuirati VII. legiji i time datirati u prvo stoljeće poslije Krista, točnije u razdoblje od kraja prvog do početka sedmog desetljeća tog stoljeća. Ako je pak pripadao IX. ili XI. legiji, to mu značajno ne mijenja dataciju.

Koštana ojačanja kompozitnog luka (T. 1; 1, 4, 7)

Pragmatični Rimljani, nakon što bi se uvjerili u njegovu učinkovitost, često su preuzimali neprijateljevo oružje u svoj bojni arsenal. Nije im bilo teško uočiti velike prednosti koje je kompozitni luk imao nad običnim lukom, te je sasvim očekivano prihvaćen u naoružanje rimske vojske (Coulston 1985: 220, 282-286; Feugere 1993: 211). Vladajući Bliskim Istokom, mogli su regrutirati dovoljan broj ljudi vještih rukovanju takvim oružjem, dok su u istočnomediterskim gradovima pod njihovom vlašću postojale brojne radionice i izučeni majstori. Unovačeni istočnjaci obučavali su druge vojnike rukovanju kompozitnim lukom, a vjerojatno i vještini njihove izrade (Coulston 1985: 286-290).

Kao što mu i ime kaže taj je luk pravljen kombiniranjem i spajanjem različitih materijala, kao što su drvo, kost, rog, tetine i koža, pripremljenih na poseban način, koji međusobno slijepljeni i pričvršćeni,

svojim komplementarnim odlikama oružju daju veću ubojnu moć u odnosu na običan drveni luk. Iako znatno učinkovitiji, kompozitni luk neusporedivo je osjetljiviji od običnog luka, pa zahtjeva pažljivo održavanje. Druga mu je mana dug rok izrade. Naime za kvalitetan luk trebalo je raditi barem godinu dana. Odatle i potreba za specijaliziranim i dobro organiziranim radionicama (Coulston 1985: 248-259; Feugere 1993: 211-212).

S obzirom da se kompozitni luk sastoji od dijelova organskog podrijetla, među arheološkim ostacima, barem u europskim uvjetima, možemo naći samo ostatke koštanih, odnosno rožnatih elemenata. Takvih je ostataka nađeno relativno mnogo, od Britanije, preko Germanije, Recije, Gornje Panonije sve do Sirije i Egipta. Nalaženi su prvenstveno u vojnom kontekstu, unutar vojničkih logora, najčešće na limesu ili u njegovoj blizini. Uvijek se radi o dva karakteristična dijela, o koštanim (ili rožnatim) ojačanjima vrhova luka, te rjeđe o koštanom ojačanju drška luka<sup>9</sup>. Kompozitni luk uporabljivan u carskoj vojsci uglavnom je imao pet takvih elemenata: obvezno po dva na svakom vrhu te eventualno jedan u sredini na dršku (Coulston 1985: 243).

Među predmetima otkupljenima od Petra Tadinca nalaze se dva koštana ojačanja vrhova luka i vjerojatno jedno ojačanje drška. Prvi je primjerak, nađen slomljen u dva dijela, te naknadno slijepljen, (T. 1; 7) dug 13,7 cm, i širok 1,6 cm. To mu nije izvorna veličina, jer mu nedostaje odlomljeni donji kraj. Utor za napinjanje tetine također je lakše oštećen. Površina s unutrašnje strane namjerno mu je ostavljena gruba i neravna radi boljeg prijanjanja ljepila koje je držalo ojačanje pričvršćeno za luk (Coulston 1985: 251). Drugo ojačanje vrha (T.1; 1) također je slomljeno, pa mu je dužina 8,5 cm, a širina 1,8cm. I njegova unutarnja strana je hrapava.

Kompozitni luk imao je na svakom kraju po dva takva ojačanja, koja su pričvršćena s obje strane tvorila vrhove luka, te su uz strukturalnu imala i mehaničku funkciju, jer su prilikom odapinjanja luka djelovala kao poluge koje vuku savitljive krakove luka u početni položaj. Osim što se takvom konstrukcijom oslobađa veća energija, vibracije su manje u usporedbi s običnim lukom pa je i preciznost veća (Coulston 1985: 246-247).

Treći primjerak (T. 1; 4) definirao sam kao ojačanje drška. Oštećen je na oba kraja, dužina mu je 10,4 cm a širina 1,5 cm. Slična takva ojačanja nađena su u većem broju u Caerleonu (Coulston 1985: 227-229). Iako odgovaraju po dimenzijama gardunskom ojačanju, ti britanski primjerici blago se proširuju prema krajevima, što s gardunskim primjerkom nije slučaj (on se s jedne strane vidljivo sužava). Zbog njegovih ravnih rubova mislim da se ovo ojačanje nije nalazilo na vrhovima luka već na njegovoj sredini, na dršku.

<sup>9</sup> Coulston 1985: 224-234; Feugere 1993: 212; Bishop&Coulston 1993: 79, 112-113, 135, 137, 139; Rajtár 1994: 84, 88

Držak kompozitnoga luka nije se smio savijati zajedno s krakovima, već je trebao zadržati isti položaj tijekom uporabe. Koštano ojačanje na dršku dodatno je doprinisalo čvrstoći toga dijela luka koji, kako je već rečeno, strukturalno nije ni bio predviđen za savijanje (Coulston 1986: 246).

Datiranje ovih predmeta nije lako s obzirom da se njihov izgled nije mijenjao kroz cijelo carsko razdoblje. Dodatna komplikacija proizlazi iz činjenice da se hunska koštana ojačanja bitno ne razlikuju od onih koj su rabili Rimljani. Zato je pri pokušaju datacije izuzetno važan kontekst nalaza (Coulston 1985: 242-244). U slučaju Garduna možemo isključiti hunsку prisutnost, pa su ova tri ojačanja gotovo sigurno rimska. Pouzdano znamo za jednu streljačku postrojbu koja je bila stacionirana u Dalmaciji i to vjerojatno u Tiluriju. Riječ je o II. cohorte Kiresta (*cohors II Cyrrhestarum*), koja se onđe nalazila tijekom prvog stoljeća poslije Krista (Zanier 1988: 26; Cambi 1994: 173-174). Ipak istraživanja su pokazala da lukovi nisu isključivo dodijeljivani specijaliziranim streljačkim jedinicama. One su naravno bile posebno uvježbane u njihovu korištenju, ali izgleda da su sve vojne jedinice, a pogotovo one koje su služile kao posade na limesu, mogle raspolagati tim oružjem. Njegova vrijednost u obrani utvrda od neprocjenjive je važnosti, pa ne čudi što je arheološki dokazana uporaba lukova i u utvrdama koje u posadi nisu imale postrojbe strijelaca (*sagittarii*) (Coulston 1985: 282-286). Uvjetno se ova tri koštana ojačanja mogu datirati u I. stoljeće, povežemo li ih s prisutnošću II. cohorte Kiresta, iako ne možemo isključiti mogućnost kasnije datacije.

Željezni vrhovi balističkih projektila s nasadom na tuljac (T. 1;3, 5)

Prvi je projektil (T. 1; 3) otkupljen od Petra Tadinca, dok se za drugi (T. 1; 5) samo zna da potječe s Garduna. Prvi je dug 10,7cm, dok mu je promjer tuljca 1cm. Teži 40 g. Drugi je dug 9,4 cm, a promjer tuljca mu je 1 cm. Težak je 50 g. Zahvaljujući brojnim nalazima rimskih balističkih projektila,<sup>10</sup> identifikacija ova dva gardunska primjerka ne predstavlja poteškoće. Ovakvi piramidalni vrhovi s nasadom na tuljac uglavnom se identificiraju kao vrhovi sulica odapinjanih iz balističkih strojeva. Oprez je ipak nužan jer su takve vrhove mogle imati i obične sulice, te strijele. Iako im je izgled identičan, dimenzije im se razlikuju. Najmanji i najlakši primjerici su očito bili vrhovi strijela (*"bodkin" arrow-heads*) (Erdmann 1982: 5-11). Međutim, najveće poteškoće pričinjava razlikovanje vrhova običnih sulica i onih namijenjenih balističkim projektilima. Petculescu je takve piramidalne vrhove (zanimljivo brončane), nađene u nekoliko rimskih utvrđenja u Daciji, identificirao kao vrhove konjaničkih lakih sulica, povezujući ih s potvrđenom prisutnošću konjaničkih jedinica u tim utvrdama. Svoju je tezu potkrijepio činjenicom što su zajedno s piramidalnim vrhovima nađena i metalna

ojačanja dna drška [*spear butt*] s promjerom identičnim onom kod tuljaca navedenih piramidalnih vrhova. Težina se tih vrhova kreće u prosjeku od 15 do 25 g, iako neki primjerici dosežu i po 30g, dok ih nekoliko teže svega desetak grama (Petculescu 1991: 40-41). Pri pokušaju razlikovanja možemo se osloniti na težinu vrha, jer se čini da su vrhovi artiljerijskih projektila ipak bili u prosjeku teži od vrhova običnih lakih sulica. Kod projektila izbacivanog iz balističkog oružja težište mora biti na vrhu, dok se težište sulice ili koplja za bacanje mora nalaziti otprilike po sredini, dakle na dršku, čime se isključuje potreba za masivnim, teškim vrhom (Baatz 1966: 203-207). No ni projektili manjih balističkih sprava nisu morali biti teški i masivni.. Usljed toga kontekst nalaza, kao i uvijek u arheologiji, ima izuzetnu važnost.

Što se gardunskih nalaza tiče, njihove dimenzije i težina odgovaraju sličnim nalazima koji su identificirani kao artiljerijski projektili. Njihov izduženi vrh pouzdano ih datira u carsko vrijeme (Coulston&Bishop 1993: 81), no kako je takav vrh odlika projektila od početka prvog stoljeća pa nadalje, za pobližu dataciju moramo rabići i druge raspoložive podatke. Budući da je Tilurij bio i legijski logor, svi argumenti navedeni za atribuciju i dataciju maleola iz iste zbirke, vrijede i za ova dva predmeta. Kako posjedovanje artiljerije u slučaju Tilurija možemo povezati samo sa VII., eventualno s IX. ili XI. legijom, ova se dva vrha projektila mogu datirati u prvih sedam desetljeća prvog stoljeća poslije Krista.

Željezni vrh s nasadom na trn (T. 1; 6)

Nalaz je dug ukupno 7,5 cm, od čega na trn otpada od tri do četiri centimetra (prijevod vrha u trn nije jasno određen). Najveća mu je širina, na polovici oktoedra koji čini vrh, 1 cm. Teži 20 g. Zna se da potječe s Garduna, bez ikakvih drugih pobližih podataka. Najvjerojatnije se radi o vrhu sulice. Takvi vrhovi, u obliku dvostrukog piramide i s nasadom na trn nađeni su u nekoliko rimskih vojnih logora u Rumunjskoj. Po tipologiji rumunjskog arheologa Nicolae Gudeae (napravljenoj na osnovi brojnih nalaza vrhova rimskih kopalja, sulica i strijela u tri dobro istražena logora) primjerak s Garduna bi možda pripadao podtipu SU B IV8, kojeg Gudea datira u drugu polovicu trećeg stoljeća poslije Krista. Mislim da u našem slučaju dolazi u obzir i ranija datacija, tim više što su neki podtipovi vrhova sulica u obliku dvostrukog piramide s nasadom na trn datirani i u drugo stoljeće (Gudea 1994: 79-89). Protežnosti gardunskog primjerka odgovaraju najmanjim rumunjskim primjerima vrhova sulica tog tipa (Gudea 1994: 80), ali njegova mala veličina možda ukazuje i na drugaćiju namjenu. Po dimenzijama odgovara strijelama u obliku šila s nasadom na trn (Erdmann 1982: 5), mada je dvostruko teži, dok za specifičan oblik vrha, u obliku oktoedra, odnosno dvostrukog piramide, nisam našao paralele u meni dostupnoj literaturi o strijelama.

<sup>10</sup> Coulston&Bishop 1993: 55-57, 80-81, 114-115, 139-141; Sievers 1995: 76

Prihvatimo li mogućnost da se radi o vrhu strijele, po analogiji sa strijelama piramidalnog vrha (u obliku šila) možemo ga datirati od republikanskog vremena pa sve do kasne antike (Erdmann 1982: 8-9). U našem slučaju možemo ga povezati s II. kohortom Kiresta, što bi dataciju smjestilo u prvo stoljeće poslije Krista, ali kako sam već spomenuo, luk i strijela nisu bili isključivo oružje specijaliziranih jedinica. Problematična je činjenica što je znatno teži od strijela s vrhom u obliku šila (težina im se u prosjeku kreće od 3,5 do gotovo 10 g; Erdmann 1982: 5). To ne znači nužno da ne može u pitanju biti strijela<sup>11</sup>, ali težina od 20g takvu mogućnost dovodi u ozbiljnu sumnju (Erdmann 1982: 6). Slične protežnosti, ali nešto veću težinu (32 g) posjeduje piramidalni vrh s nasadom na trn nađen u Oberammergau, identificiran kao vrh balističkog projektila (Zanier 1994: 588-590). Možda bi se i ovaj vrh mogao pripisati balističkom projektilu. U tom bih ga slučaju datirao u prvo stoljeće poslije Krista, poput ostalih, već navedenih, projektila.

Usprkos ovim dvjema hipotezama ipak je daleko vjerojatnije da se radi o vrhu sulice.

Analiza ovih zanimljivih nalaza, od kojih su neki prvi te vrste poznati u našoj zemlji, ostaje na žalost manjkava, zbog načina na koji su dospjeli do stručne javnosti. Pri obradi slučajno pronađenih artefakata uvijek se postavljaju iste poteškoće: nepoznavanje jasnog konteksta nalaza uvelike ograničava mogućnost preciznog datiranja, pogotovo u slučaju predmeta koji su u nepromijenjenom obliku korišteni kroz dugotrajno razdoblje. Vjerujem da ovih nekoliko slučajnih nalaza ukazuje na neophodnost sustavnog istraživanja Garduna. Iskopavanja bi rasvjetlila mnoge nedoumice i dodatno obogatila poznavanje antičkog perioda u našim krajevima. Srećom hrvatski su arheolozi 1998. godine započeli sa sustavnim istraživanjem Garduna te je sada samo pitanje vremena kada će rezultati tih iskopavanja baciti novo svjetlo na taj kapitalan lokalitet naše antičke baštine.<sup>12</sup>

#### OPIS TABLE T. 1

1. Koštano ojačanje rimskog kompozitnog luka, dužina 85 mm, širina 18 mm.
2. Rimski zapaljivi projektil, tzv. *malleolus*, dužina 142 mm, promjer tuljca 11 mm.
3. Željezni vrh balističkog projektila s nasadom na tuljac, dužina 107 mm, promjer tuljca 10 mm.
4. Koštano ojačanje drške rimskog kompozitnog luka, dužina 104 mm, širina 15 mm.
5. Željezni vrh balističkog projektila s nasadom na tuljac, dužina 94 mm, promjer tuljca 10 mm.
6. Željezni vrh sulice s nasadom na trn, dužina 75 mm, širina 10 mm.
7. Koštano ojačanje rimskog kompozitnog luka, dužina 137 mm, širina 16 mm.

<sup>11</sup> Neki autori smatraju da vrh strijele može težiti do 30 g; Baatz 1966: 204

<sup>12</sup> Obavijest HAD-a 3/98, 75-87, Mirjana Sanader

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## SUMMARY

### ROMAN PROJECTILES AND BONE LATHS FOUND AT GARDUN NEAR TRILJ

Key words: *malleolus* (incendiary projectile), bone lath, bolt, javelin

The archaeological collection of the Museum of Cetinska Krajina in Sinj contains very interesting artifacts from prehistory, Antiquity and Middle Ages. Because of the large number of exhibited objects, some of them have not yet been published<sup>1</sup>.

The aim of this article is to present four projectiles and three bone laths belonging to a composite bow. Those objects are not only linked by their purpose but also by their place of finding, although they probably were not found at the same time nor on the same spot. Two projectiles and the bone laths were sold to the Museum at the end of 1972 by Petar Tadinac, a local collector from Gardun. As far as the other two projectiles are concerned, the archives of the Museum only mention that they were found at Gardun. It is hardly surprising to find such objects at Gardun, considering the history of that site (Zaninović 1976: 169-184 ; Zaninović 1984: 65-75), and it certainly stresses the necessity to excavate that Roman legionary fort.

Gardun, i.e. Tilurium, had been a legionary fortress for a rather short time, but after the departure of the VII. Legion in the mid-first century AD (between 45 and 61) it kept an important garrison until the mid-third century AD. It remained a *beneficiarii* post afterwards, and most probably served as a stronghold in the troubled times of late Antiquity.

#### Incendiary projectile (Pl. 1; 2)

The incendiary projectile from Gardun is 142 mm long (the length of the socket is 59 mm, and the length of the point is 30 mm). It weights 65 g. Considering the fact that both the socket and the point are damaged, these were not their original dimensions. The diameter of the socket is 11 mm. The cage was formed of six bars, four of which have remained completely preserved. The object has been sold to the Museum by Petar Tadinac in 1972.

Parallels for this incendiary projectile exist both in literary sources and in archaeological finds. In the literary

sources a projectile of that kind, called *malleolus* (*small hammer*), is described, with more or less detail, by three authors: Ammianus Marcellinus, Vegetius and Eusebius (a less famous writer, known by two preserved fragments, and from Euagrius Scolasticus' list of Greek historians - Brok 1978, 57). Contrary to Vegetius, whose description is rather scanty (*Veg. IV, 18*) and does not yield any precise information about the construction of such a projectile, Ammianus, despite some abstruseness (Brok 1978: 57), gave us quite a good description of an incendiary projectile (*Amm. Marc. 23, 4*). One of the two preserved fragments of Eusebius' work<sup>2</sup>, which was dealing with Roman history since Octavian, or perhaps Trajan up to the death of Carus in 283 AD, also contains the description of an incendiary projectile. Luckily Eusebius' description, translated by Brok (Brok 1978, 58) helps us to understand more clearly the description of Ammianus.

Archaeological excavations have solved the dilemmas about the exact look of Roman incendiary projectiles, and about the way they were manufactured (Coulston 1985: 266; Sim 1992: 116). The finds of that kind are rare, the one from Gardun being only the tenth example, to my knowledge. Five pieces, with a tang, between 52 mm and 60 mm long, were found at Bar Hill on the Antonine wall. Those are obviously incendiary arrows. The arrowhead from Wroxeter is also tanged, although a bit longer<sup>3</sup>, and can also be identified as an incendiary arrow. The *malleolus* from Ptuj is socketed and much longer, 120mm. Nevertheless the socket seems too narrow for an artillery projectile (Bishop&Coulston 1993: 113). One incendiary arrow, 55 mm long, has been found at Tell Defenneh in Egypt, in the last century (James 1983: 142). The largest projectile of that kind was found at Dura Europus. It is 113 mm long, and the diameter of the socket is 14 mm (James 1983: 142-143). It was a projectile designed to be shot from a catapult, or ballista<sup>4</sup>.

The dimensions and the weight (Baatz 1966: 204-205) of the incendiary arrow from Gardun might indicate that this projectile was intended to be shot from a bolt shooter, and not from a bow. If we accept the hypothesis that it is an artillery projectile, we still have to find out which Roman unit (or units) stationed in Tilurium might have used ballistic machines, and consequently to date the find.

Those two questions are closely connected, since the attribution of the projectile to a particular military unit will also serve to approximately date the object considering

<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the kindness of the former curator of the Museum, Mr. Ante Milošević, his successor Mrs. Vedrana Gunjača and the deputy curator Mrs. Anita Librenjak, I was given the opportunity to publish these finds from the site of Gardun near Trilj. I use this opportunity to thank them once again, as well as to thank Mislav Marić for the drawings.

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<sup>2</sup> Those fragments are presented in the Paris Manuscript (Suppl.Graec.607); the C. und Th. Müller, Fragmenta Historicum Graecorum V (1841-1870), 21ff, and F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, 101 S.480 ff.

<sup>3</sup> James 1983, 142, mentions the length of 82 mm, but Bishop&Coulston 1993,113 mention the length of 76 mm.

<sup>4</sup> Originally a weapon designed to throw bolts was called catapult, and a weapon designed to shoot stone balls was called ballista. It seems that from the fourth century AD onwards, the stone thrower was called catapult, and the bolt shooter ballista. However in the second century AD the term ballista was used for both weapons. (Le Bohec 1994: 138)

the fact that we know at which time certain units were garrisoned at Tilurium. Thanks to the literary sources and to the results of archaeological excavations, we can be almost certain that artillery pieces were primarily used by legions, the Praetorian guard and the navy (Baatz 1966: 194). It is well known that warships were equipped with catapults and ballistas (Reddé 1986: 98-100), and Tacitus mentioned the Praetorians having them (*Tac. Ann.* XII, 56). As far as legions are concerned, sources are abundant with descriptions of use of the legionary artillery during sieges, as well as in battles<sup>5</sup>. The military theoretician Vegetius described the distribution of artillery pieces in a legion and mentioned their number (*Veg. Epitomae rei militaris*, II, 8). Taking in account all those facts, we can conclude that every legion, since the late Republic, and during the whole Imperial period, had been equipped with a certain number of artillery pieces. This does not seem to have been the case with auxiliary units (Baatz 1966: 194-207). In the case of cavalry units, that was not necessary for obvious reasons. A military formation which is supposed to act rapidly certainly does not need bulky war engines which would only slow it down. As far as infantry auxiliary units are concerned, such an equipment would not seem unnecessary. Nevertheless, if we consider the role of those units, at least in the first centuries of the Empire, we must refute such a hypothesis. Compared to legions, auxiliary units were more flexible, mainly because of the lesser number of servicemen and therefore could be more easily used in certain tactical situations where the commitment of a whole legion would not be worth while. That is why they were suited for "low intensity warfare" in the *limes* area and for garrison duties. However, it must be pointed out that a legion was not necessarily sent to combat as a complete unit, but, if need arose, could be organised into smaller and more mobile detachments<sup>6</sup>. So, the disadvantages of a large military formation could be reduced in some types of warfare. It has to be stressed that the logistic service of an auxiliary unit was much simpler than the legion's one. It had neither workshops nor specialists (doctors, engineers, specialised craftsmen<sup>ž</sup>). That was, combined with the already mentioned tactical and operational matters, the main reason why auxiliary units were not equipped with artillery. Considering the complexity of such weapons, it is unlikely that they could have been issued to units which were unable to maintain them adequately. However, it seems that at some places auxiliary units could have been equipped with artillery (Baatz 1966: 197-198; Campbell 1986: 117-132). Although this hypothesis remains quite doubtful in most of the cases (like Hatra [Campbell 1986: 119-120], Jerusalem [Campbell 1986: 122-125], or Phasis [Campbell 1986: 125-126]), either because of a possible misinterpretation, either because the presence of a detached unit of legionary artillerymen can not be excluded, the tactical imperative which could have forced the Romans to issue artillery to auxiliary units is obvious. Those are places in troubled border areas where the army could not count on immediate reinforcements, and the present Roman forces had to be prepared to offer a long resistance. We can assume that such places could be besieged and issuing them bolt shooters and stone throwers was a wise measure of

precaution, although their garrisons might not have been composed of troops which commonly used those weapons, i.e. legionaries. This is also the case with High Rochester, the only place where the possession of artillery pieces by an auxiliary unit (*cohors I fida Vardullorum equitata millaria*) can be assessed with great certainty (Baatz 1966: 197-198; Campbell 1986: 121-122).

During the period when an uprising of the natives could have been expected, in the years following the failure of Bato's revolt, the garrison of Tilurium was mainly legionary. The legionaries had remained there until any rebellion became highly unlikely, because of the intensive pacification and romanisation. Different auxiliary units serving at Tilurium in the following period, considering the period of peace in Dalmatia, certainly did not need artillery to perform what was more a police than a military duty. Without excluding the possibility of a short stay of *legio IX Hispana* at Tilurium (Zaninović 1984: 68), that place was, during the first half of the first century AD, the garrison of the *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, perhaps from 8 or even 6 AD (Zaninović 1984: 68) until the early sixties of the same century, when the legion had been dispatched to Viminatium (Betz 1939: 37-39; Zaninović 1976: 175). It might have been temporarily replaced by a detachment of the *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* (Zaninović 1984: 72), but after that legion left Burnum in 68 AD, all the following garrisons of Tilurium were composed of auxiliary units (Zaninović 1976: 177-178; Zaninović 1984: 72-73), with the exception of *beneficiarii* (Zaninović 1984: 73).

It seems that from the mid third century AD Tilurium remained only a *beneficiarii* post (Zaninović 1984: 73).

Considering the above mentioned, I believe that the incendiary projectile found at Gardun could have belonged to the arsenal of the *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, and therefore we could date it in the first half of the first century AD., or at the latest in the sixties of the same century. If we presume that *legio IX* had been stationed in Tilurium for a short period at the beginning of the first century AD, just like a detachment of *legio XI* had been stationed there until 68 AD, after the departure of *legio VII*, the *malleolus* could have belonged to any of those two units. Nevertheless, that hypothesis does not significantly change the proposed date, which seems the most probable since we do not know anything about the circumstances of the find (except the geographical location). It is a rare artefact that can hardly be dated by analogy with similar projectiles (even more so, since those were dated rather by the context in which they were found than by typological features). In order to date the malleolus, and in absence of the archaeological context, I could only use historical data which permitted me to approximately date the find.

Two other hypothesis deserve to be mentioned, however unlikely they might be. The malleolus from Gardun could be linked to a hypothetical siege of the hillfort situated on the same spot where the future Roman *castra* will be built. Such an event could have occurred during Octavian's campaign in 34-33 BC, or

<sup>5</sup> One has just to read through the works of Caesar, Tacitus, Flavius Josephus, Arrianus, Ammianus<sup>ž</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Like the provisional legionary formation called vexillatio; Le Bohec 1994: 30-31; Goldsworthy 1996: 27-28

more probably during the war against Dalmatian insurgents in 6-9 AD (Čače 1989: 82-83). Considering the literary sources we might presume that on both occasions some fighting took place at Gardun hillfort (Zaninović 1976: 173; Zaninović 1984: 68), and therefore our incendiary projectile could have had something to do with those events. However, making connections between random finds of military equipment and historical battles (and in this case we can not even prove that Gardun was besieged by the Romans, although we have good reasons to presume it) is quite dubious. Only archaeological excavations might prove such events (Feugere 1993: 32-34). Perhaps an analysis of this projectile might show that it was used in combat (like traces of burning inside the cage), but for the time being we do not have means to confirm it. It is also improbable that Romans would not have collected equipment scattered on the battlefield in order to repair it, or to use it as cheap raw material.

The malleolus could perhaps belong to a much later period. Although we do not know if Tilurium had a military function in the late Antiquity and during the "Migration Period", we can assume that it had a garrison in the fourth and fifth century AD, and even later. Incendiary projectiles were used by defenders of besieged places to set fire to siege engines used by the besiegers; therefore the malleolus from Gardun could have belonged to the arsenal of a garrison situated there in the late Antiquity. However considering the fact that Barbarians usually neither possessed siege engines nor the skills and knowledge necessary to built them, the use of incendiary projectiles in late Antiquity siege warfare usually remained restricted to civil wars and fighting with Persians (Elton 1996: 261). As it is a random find, and as we lack the results of adequate archaeological excavations, I believe that we can take in account only confirmed facts until excavations shed a new light upon Gardun. For the moment we can conclude that this *malleolus*, which was most probably used as an artillery projectile, could be attributed to *Legio VII* and therefore dated in the first century AD, or more precisely in the period ranging from the end of the first decade to the beginning of the sixties. If it belonged to the *IX* or *XI*, its date can not be significantly changed.

### Bone laths (Pl. 1; 1, 4, 7)

The Romans, pragmatic as they were, after being convinced of the efficiency of some weapon or piece of military equipment used by their enemies, did not hesitate to adopt it for their own use. They noticed the important advantages of the composite bow over the common one, and, quite understandably, adopted it (Coulston 1985: 220, 282-286; Feugere 1993: 211). As they were ruling the Middle East, they could recruit sufficient number of natives trained in its use, and they could use the services of many workshops and skilled craftsmen in the Eastern Mediterranean. The enlisted Easterners could train other soldiers to use the composite bow, and presumably teach them the skills necessary to manufacture one (Coulston 1985: 286-290).

The composite bow is made by combining and joining different materials, specially prepared (wood, bone, antlers, sinew and leather), which glued and fixed together would insure, by their complementary features, a longer range and better penetration than a simple wooden bow. Although much more efficient, the composite bow is also significantly more fragile than the common bow, and requires therefore an attentive care. Its other disadvantage is the long time needed for its manufacture. It took at least a year to make a good composite bow. Therefore specialised and well organised workshops were necessary (Coulston 1985: 248-259; Feugere 1993: 211-212). Considering the fact that a composite bow is made of organic material, its archaeological remains, at least in Europe, consist only of bone or antler. Such remains are quite numerous, and were found all over what used to be Roman territory: from Britain, both Germaniae, Raetia, Upper Pannonia up to Syria and Egypt. They were found mainly in a military context, inside military camps, mostly on the *limes* or in its vicinity. Those are always two characteristic pieces, the ear lath, and more rarely the grip lath<sup>7</sup>. The composite bow used in the imperial army usually had five such elements: always two laths on each ear and a grip in the middle (Coulston 1985: 243).

Among artefacts bought from Petar Tadinac there are two bone laths and a piece that might be a bone grip lath. The first example (Pl. 1; 7) was found broken in two pieces, that were later glued together. It is now 13,7 cm long and 1,6 cm wide. This is still not its original size, since the lower end is missing. The nock is slightly damaged. The surface of the belly zone is scored in order to give a better purchase to the glue fixing the lath to the bow (Coulston 1985: 251). The second ear lath (Pl. 1; 1) is also broken, its length is 8,5 cm and width 1,8 cm. Its belly zone is also scored. The composite bow had on each end two ear laths, which had a structural and a mechanical function since they were acting as levers pulling the working limbs of the bow back into the initial position. Such a construction allows more energy to be stored, and the vibrations are lesser compared to the common bow, which makes the composite bow more accurate and insures greater range and better penetration (Coulston 1985: 246-247). I believe the third piece (Pl. 1; 4) to be a grip lath. It is damaged on both ends, its length is 10,4 cm and width 1,5 cm. Similar laths were found in Caerleon (Coulston 1985: 227-229). Although their dimensions correspond to those of the Gardun example, British pieces are slightly widening on their extremities, which is not the case of our lath (it is even getting narrower on one end). But because of its straight edges I presume that it was not fixed on the bow ears but on its handle. The handle of a composite bow was not supposed to bend together with the limbs but to remain rigid. The grip lath was contributing to the stability of that part of the bow (Coulston 1985: 246).

Dating such artefacts is not easy since their shape did not change during the Imperial period. It is even more complicated considering the fact that Hunnic bone laths do not differ remarkably from those used by Romans. This only emphasises the importance of the find context (Coulston 1985: 242-244). In the case of Gardun, we can

<sup>7</sup> Coulston 1985: 224-234; Feugere 1993: 212; Bishop&Coulston 1993: 79, 112-113, 135, 137, 139; Rajtár 1994: 84, 88

exclude the Hunnic presence, which implies that those three laths are almost certainly Roman. We know that at least one unit of archers was stationed in Dalmatia, most probably in Tilurium. It was the *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, stationed there during the first century AD (Zanier 1988: 26; Cambi 1994: 173-174). However, research has shown that bows were not exclusively used by specialised units especially trained in their use. It seems that every Roman unit, especially those on the *limes*, could have had bows. Its value in the defence of a fortified position is invaluable, and it is therefore hardly surprising that archery equipment was excavated in forts which did not garrison *sagittarii* (Coulston 1985: 282-286). Those three laths could be dated in the first century AD, if we presume that they could have belonged to *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, although we can not exclude a later date.

#### Socketed iron bolts (Plate 1; 3, 5)

The first bolt (Pl. 1; 3) was sold to the Museum by Petar Tadinac, who found it at Gardun, while the second one (Pl. 1; 5) is only known to have been found at Gardun. The first bolt is 10,7 cm long, the diameter of its socket is 1 cm, and it weights 40 g. The second bolt is 9,4 cm long, the diameter of the socket is 1 cm, and it weights 50 g.

Thanks to numerous finds of Roman projectiles<sup>8</sup> it is rather easy to identify those two objects. Such socketed pyramidal heads are usually identified as bolts, but this is not always the case since javelins and arrows could also have pyramidal heads. Although they look very similar, their dimensions differ significantly. The smallest and lightest exemplars were obviously "bodkin" arrow-heads (Erdmann 1982: 5-11). It is much more difficult to differentiate javelin-heads and bolt-heads. Petculescu identified such pyramidal heads (interestingly made of bronze), found in few Roman forts in Dacia, as heads of light cavalry javelins, making a connection with the confirmed presence of several cavalry *alae* in those forts. He substantiated his theory with the fact that pyramidal heads were found together with spear butts whose diameter is identical with the diameter of the sockets of those pyramidal heads. Their weight varies, in the average, from 15 to 25 g, although certain exemplars can reach up to 30 g, while some weight only about 10 g (Petculescu 1991: 40-41).

In the attempt to differentiate bolt-heads from javelin-heads we can rely on their weight, because it seems that the former were usually heavier than the latter. The centre of gravity of a bolt intended to be shot from an artillery piece has to be in its head, while the centre of gravity of a javelin has to be in the middle, i.e. in the shaft, thus obviating the need for a massive, heavy head (Baatz 1966: 203-207). However the bolts of small catapults were not large and heavy either. This is why the context of the find has always been very important in archaeology.

As far as Gardun finds are concerned their dimensions and weights correspond to similar objects identified as bolts. Their long heads imply that they belong to the Imperial period (Coulston & Bishop 1993: 81), but since

this is a distinctive feature for the whole Imperial period, we need more data in order to date them. Since Tilurium was also a legionary fortress, all the arguments mentioned above for the attribution and dating of the incendiary bolt apply also to those two artefacts. Considering the fact that artillery, in the Tilurium case, could have only been used by *Legio VII*, or perhaps *IX* or *XI*, those two bolts most probably belong to the first seven decades of the first century AD.

#### Tanged iron projectile head (Pl. 1; 6)

The object is 7,5 cm long and the tang itself is approximately 3 to 4 cm long (the transition from the tang to the head is not clearly visible). Its width, in the middle of the octahedron which forms the head, is 1 cm. It weights 20 g. It was found at Gardun, but there is no data about that find. It is most probably a javelin-head. Such tanged javelin-heads, in the shape of a double pyramid, were found in several Roman forts in Romania. According to Nicolae Gudea's typology (based on the extensive number of spearheads, javelin-heads and arrow-heads found in three systematically excavated Roman forts) the piece from Gardun might belong to the SU B IV8 subtype, dated by Gudea in the second half of the third century AD. Still the Gardun javelin-head could belong to an earlier period considering the fact that certain subtypes of tanged double pyramidal javelin-heads are dated in the second century AD (Gudea, 1994, 79-80). The dimensions of the Gardun piece correspond to those of the smallest Romanian samples of that type (Gudea 1994: 80), nevertheless its small size might indicate a different purpose. Its dimensions remind those of a tanged "bodkin" arrow-head (Erdmann 1982: 5), but it weights more than double of their standard weight. I was not able to find anything similar to its head, in the shape of octahedron, in the available literature about arrow-heads. If we accept the possibility that it might be an arrow-head, by making an analogy with bodkin arrow-heads, we can date it from Republican times to the late Antiquity (Erdmann 1982: 8-9). In case of Gardun, it could be linked with the *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, which would date it in the first century AD, but as I have already mentioned bows were not exclusively used by specialised units. However it is too heavy for a bodkin arrow-head, whose weight varies from 3,5 g to 10 g (Erdmann 1982: 5), which makes its identification rather problematic. It does not necessarily mean that it could not have been an arrow-head<sup>9</sup>, but its weight of 20 g induces some doubt (Erdmann 1982: 6). A tanged pyramidal head, found at Oberammergau, and identified as a bolt-head has similar dimensions but it is a bit heavier (32 g - Zanier 1994: 588-590). The tanged head from Gardun might perhaps have been a bolt-head. In that case I would date it in the first century AD, for the same reasons as the above mentioned projectiles. Nevertheless these two hypothesis are quite unlikely. This head was most probably a javelin-head.

Unfortunately the analysis of those interesting finds remains incomplete, mostly because of the way in which those artifacts came to the Museum. Analysing such

<sup>8</sup> Coulston & Bishop 1993 55-57, 80-81, 114-115, 139-141; Sievers 1995: 76

<sup>9</sup> Some authors believe that an arrow-head can weight up to 30 g (Baatz, 1966, 204)

accidental finds brings always the same difficulties: the fact that we do not know the exact context of the find greatly reduces the chances of precise dating, especially in the case of artifacts which were used in an unaltered form over a long period. Fortunately this should not be the case with future finds from Gardun, since the

Croatian archaeologists have started to excavate that site in 1998., and it is only a matter of time when well documented reports of these excavations will give us a much clearer picture of the Roman fort and its former inhabitants.

Translated by Ivan Radman-Livaja

T. 1



