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RADOVI ARHEOLOŠKOG ZAVODA
PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT
O F A R C H A E O L O G Y

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Anita RAPAN PAPEŠA

TOPOGRAFIJA CIBALAE U KASNOJ ANTICI

TOPOGRAPHY OF CIBALAE IN LATE ANTIQUITY

Pregledni članak / Review paper

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Iako arheološka istraživanja u Vinkovcima traju već više od stotinu godina, od objave Brunšmidove Coloniae Aureliae Cibalae i dijela Dimitrijevićeve "Arheološke topografije i izbora nalaza s vinkovačkog tla" nije učinjen velik pomak u definiranju antičke topografije Cibala. Težište doktorske disertacije I. Iskre-Janošić, premda ona donosi pregled istraživanja i nove spoznaje o bedemima Cibala, ipak je na keramičarstvu. Novija istraživanja, zbog pojačane izgradnje koja je u Vinkovcima uvjetovana arheološkim istraživanjima, s kojima kontinuirano pristiže i nova građa, onemogućavala su konkretnije bavljenje tim problemom. Ovim radom bit će predstavljen kasnoantički segment topografije Cibala. Pod kasnom antikom ovdje se ponajprije misli na 4. st., ali u taj okvir ulaze i nešto raniji i kasniji nalazi, ako ih prilikom terenskih istraživanja nije bilo moguće fizički odvojiti. Poseban je problem nepostojanje topografije za razdoblje 1–3. st., odnosno nemogućnost uspoređivanja dobivenih rezultata sa starijim i s mlađim nalazima. Na jednom će se mjestu objediniti kasnoantički nepokretni i pokretni nalazi od prvih istraživanja u 19. st. do preliminarnih rezultata istraživanja 2009. g. te će se njihovom interpretacijom pokušati doći do novih spoznaja o životu u kasnoantičkim Cibalama.

Ključne riječi: Cibalae, kasna antika, topografija, fortifikacije, arhitektura, nekropole, pokretni nalazi

Even though archaeological research has proceeded in Vinkovci for over a hundred years, since Brunšmid's publication of Coloniae Aureliae Cibalae and parts of Dimitrijević's "Archaeological Topography and the Selection of Finds from Vinkovci's Territory," not much progress has been made in defining the topography of Cibalae in Antiquity. The emphasis of the doctoral dissertation by I. Iskra-Janošić, although providing an overview of research and new insight on the ramparts of Cibalae, is nonetheless ceramics. Newer research prompted by enhanced development, which in Vinkovci is subject to archaeological supervision that continually brings in new materials, has prevented more specific consideration of this problem. This work shall present the Late Antique segment of Cibalae's topography. Late Antiquity here means above all the fourth century, but somewhat earlier and later finds also enter this framework, if they could not be physically separated during field research. A special problem is the absence of any topography for the first to third centuries, i.e., the impossibility of comparing results with older and younger finds. The Late Antique fixed and movable finds from the first research in the nineteenth century to the preliminary results of research conducted in 2009 will be consolidated in one place, and an interpretation thereof will constitute an attempt to gain new insight on life in Cibalae during Late Antiquity.

Key words: Cibalae, Late Antiquity, topography, fortifications, architecture, necropolises, movable finds

UVOD

Cibalae su se smjestile na lijevoj, višoj obali Bosuta, kontinuirano naseljenoj već 8 000 godina. U mjestimično 6 do 8 m debelu kulturnom sloju zastupljena su sva vremenska razdoblja i prapovijesne kulture, a direktan je supstrat rimskom keltsko naselje (*Vinkovci* 1999: 11, 52). Razvijajući se kao civilno naselje, Cibale municipalitet (*Municipium Aelium Cibalae*) stječu za Hadrijana (117–138. g.), a status kolonije (*Colonia Aurelia Cibalae*) za Septimija Severa (193–211. g.) ili Karakale (211–217. g.). Ti podaci poznati su nam iz sačuvanih kamenih spomenika. Prvi od njih otkriven je prilikom iskopavanja za temelje katoličke crkve u središtu grada 1772. g. (Brunšmid 1902: 132, n. 3). Riječ je o žrtveniku koji je Liberu i Liberi posvetio Marko Ulpije Fronto Emilijan, vijećnik (*decurion*) municipija Cibale. Žrtvenik je datiran u 2. st. – posthadrijansko razdoblje (Dimitrijević 1979: 168, T. 13/1). Status kolonije zabilježen je i na kamenim žrtvenicima, i to u nekoliko navrata. Osim žrtvenika posvećena Jupiteru, koji je podigao vijećnik kolonije Cibale Elije Prokul, a koji se čuva u Gradskom muzeju Vinkovci (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 62), zapisi o kolonijalnome statusu Cibala čuvaju se i u Pečuhu i Osijeku. Natpis iz Pečuha, rimske Sopijane, spominje duovira ili augura kolonije Cibale (Brunšmid 1902: 132; Iskra--Janošić 2001: 62–63). U Muzeju Slavonije u Osijeku čuvaju se žrtvenik koji je Jupiteru posvetio vijećnik kolonije Cibale Marko Aurelije Kvintilijan (Bulat 1979: 265) i ulomak natpisa u kojem se spominju vijećnik kolonije Cibale Marko Ulpije Florentin i edilis kolonije Cibale Marko Vinicije Amantin (Bulat 1980: 225). Svi navedeni spomenici pri objavi su datirani u prvu polovinu 3. st. i povezani s davanjem građanskoga prava 212. g. aktom poznatim kao *Constitutio Antoniana*, koji je proveo car Karakala (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 59). Ipak, i dalje ostaje otvorena mogućnost da su Cibale status kolonije stekle i za vrijeme posjeta Panoniji cara Septimija Severa 202. g. O tome bi svjedočili i natpisi na kamenim spomenicima. Oba su parcijalno očuvani dijelovi javnih natpisa, jedan je pronađen na pretpostavljenim istočnim gradskim vratima (Dimitrijević 1979: 169, T. 13/3), a drugi na lokaciji PIK. Dijelove prvoga istražio je na lokaciji kuće Kezman i objavio Josip Brunšmid (1902: 80), a s nalazima na lokaciji PIK upotpunila Ljubica Perinić-Muratović (2004). U Cibalama su rođena i dva rimska cara, Valentinijan I. (364–375. g.) 321. g. i njegov brat Valens (364–378. g.) 328. g. (Amm. Marc. XXX 7.2).

U rimskom gradu oblika nepravilna četverokuta govori se o četiri građevinske faze: drvena, prva trajna gradnja (od opeka) s dvostrukim zemljanim

INTRODUCTION

Cibalae were situated on the left, higher bank of the Bosut River, and it have been continually inhabited for 8,000 years now. The cultural layer, at places 6 to 8 m thick, contains all chronological periods and prehistoric cultures, and the Celtic settlement is a direct substratum to the Roman (settlement) (*Vinkovci* 1999: 11, 52). Growing as a civilian settlement, *Cibalae* acquired municipal status (*Municipium Aelium Cibalae*) during the Hadrian's reign (117-138), while it attained colonial status (*Colonia Aurelia Cibalae*) during the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211) or Caracalla (211-217). These data are now known thanks to preserved stone monuments. The first of them was discovered during excavations at the foundations of the Catholic church in the town centre in 1772 (Brunšmid 1902: 132, n. 3). This was an altar which was dedicated to Liber and Libera by Marcus Ulpius Fronto Aemilianus, a decurion of the *Cibalae* municipality. The altar dates to the second century – the post-Hadrianic period (Dimitrijević 1979: 168, P. 13/1). Colonial status was also recorded on stone altars on several occasions. Besides an altar dedicated to Jupiter, which was commissioned by Aelius Proculus, a decurion of the *Cibalae* colony, which is held in the Vinkovci Town Museum (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 62), records on the colonial status of *Cibalae* are also held in Pecs and Osijek. The inscription from Pecs, Roman Sopiana, mentions the duovir or auger of the *Cibalae* colony (Brunšmid 1902: 132; Iskra-Janošić 2001: 62-63). The Museum of Slavonia in Osijek has an altar dedicated to Jupiter by a decurion of the *Cibalae* colony, Marcus Aurelius Quintilianus (Bulat 1979: 265) and a fragment of an inscription that mentions a decurion of the *Cibalae* colony, Marcus Ulpius Florentinus and the aedile of the *Cibalae* colony, Marcus Vinicius Amantinus (Bulat 1980: 225). At the time of their publication, all of the aforementioned artefacts were dated to the first half of the third century and linked to the conferral of citizenship in 212 by the act known as the *Constitutio Antoniana*, which was instituted by Emperor Caracalla (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 59). Nonetheless, the possibility remains that *Cibalae* acquired the status of colony during the time of the visit to Pannonia by Emperor Septimius Severus in 202. Inscriptions on stone monuments would also testify to this. Both are partially preserved parts of public inscriptions, one found at the presumed eastern city gate (Dimitrijević 1979: 169, P. 13/3), and the other at the site of the present-day agribusiness conglomerate (PIK). Parts of the first were examined at the Kezman house site and published by Josip Brunšmid (1902: 80), while the finds from the PIK site were detailed by Ljubica Perinić-Muratović (2004). Two Roman emperors

bedemom širine 12 do 14 m i opkopom širine 5 m između njih, na površini od 381 000 m², druga trajna gradnja s jednostrukim bedemom s palisadnom ogradom širine 14 do 15 m na površini od 568 000 m² te posljednja faza devastacije u 4. st. (Vinkovci 1999: 52, 55). Međutim detaljnim iščitavanjima dnevničkih zapisa, pregledom dokumentacije i terenskim iskustvom došlo se do zaključka da ta "umjetna podjela" koja slijedi Andreasa Mocsy (1974) u Cibalama ne vrijedi. Naime Mocsy je predložio razvoj panonskih gradova kroz četiri faze – urbanizacija starosjedilačkih naselja, prvo i drugo razdoblje prosperiteta te razdoblje dekadencije – koji je preslikan i na Cibale, a da se za pojedine faze nije moglo nesumnjivo potvrditi i njihovo postojanje. Položaj u pozadini limesa *Pannoniae Secundae* te na sjecištu kopnenih i vodenih komunikacija omogućio je Cibalama brz razvoj dokumentiran nizom uvoznih luksuznih predmeta, npr. posuda od *terra sigillate*, stakla i metalnih svjetiljki (usp. Iskra-Janošić 2001: 117–122), a potpomognut jakim keramičarskim obrtom, jer u gradu je otkriveno preko 60 keramičarskih peći (usp. Iskra-Janošić 2001).

Prvi pisani izvori Cibale spominju tek u 4. st., kao poprište velikih bitki – 316. g. između Licinija i Konstantina I. te 351. g. između Konstancija II. i Magnencija. Tom prilikom dan je i prvi opis grada i okolice. Tako Zosim (II, 18,3) Cibale opisuje kao panonski grad, smješten na brdu, do kojeg vodi neravna i uska cesta koja prolazi kroz močvare i uz brdo do grada, ispod kojeg se proteže ravnica. Ravnica na kojoj se vodila bitka između Licinija i Konstantina spominje i anonimni pisac Valesija (I, 5.15–16). Već je Brunšmid (1902: 64, n. 6) uočio da se Zosimov opis okolice Cibala ne uklapa u sliku kakvu o Vinkovcima imamo danas. Takav opis teško da je posljedica tekovina civilizacije u vidu melioracije prostora, vjerojatnije je da je Zosim pogrešno shvatio izvore koje je koristio u pisanju svog djela.

Najraniji rimski nalazi potječu ne s užega područja rasprostiranja antičkog grada, nego iz njegova južnog agera, lokaliteta udaljena oko 5 km od grada, a istražena prilikom gradnje istočne obilaznice. Nalazima keramike i novca lokalitet na kojem je istraženo 25 rimskodobnih jamskih objekata datiran je u kraj 1. i početak 2. st. (Ožanić 2004: 185–186). Još nešto raniji, otprilike iz sredine 1. st., slučajni je nalaz brončanog asa cara Augusta,¹ na poziciji u blizini istočne obilaznice. Prema obrađenim antičkim nalazima iz Cibala, koji uglavnom uključuju keramičke proizvode i sitnu plastiku, grad je na

were also born in Cibalae, Valentinian I (364–375) in 321, and his brother Valens (364–378) in 328 (Amm. Marc. XXX 7.2).

Four construction phases are mentioned with reference to this Roman city shaped like an irregular quadrilateral: wood; first permanent construction (brick) with double earthen ramparts 12 to 14 m wide and a 5 m wide moat between them, covering a surface area of 381,000 m²; the second permanent construction with a single rampart and a palisade fence 14 to 15 m wide on a surface area of 568,000 m²; and the final phase of devastation in the fourth century (Vinkovci 1999: 52, 55). However, a more thorough reading of the log entries, an overview of the documentation and field experience has led to the conclusion that this "artificial division" based on Andreas Mocsy (1974) does not apply in Cibalae. For Mocsy proposed the development of Pannonian cities in four phases – urbanization of indigenous settlements, the first and second periods of prosperity and then a period of decadence – which has been superimposed upon Cibalae as well, although the very existence of individual phases cannot even be ascertained with any certainty. Cibalae's position in the hinterland of the *Pannoniae Secundae* limes and at the intersection of overland and riverine communications facilitated its rapid development, documented by means of a series of imported luxury goods, e.g. *terra sigillata* vessels, glass and metal oil-lamps (cf. Iskra-Janošić 2001: 117–122), and spurred on by the growth of ceramic production activity, as over sixty pottery kilns were discovered in the city (cf. Iskra-Janošić 2001).

The first written sources mention Cibalae only in the fourth century, as the focal point of major battles: in 316 between Licinius and Constantine I, and in 351 between Constantius II and Magnentius. On this occasion, the city and its environs were described the first time. Zosimus (II, 18,3) thus described Cibalae as a Pannonian city, situated on a hill, to which a winding and narrow road leads, passing through a marsh and up the hill to the city, below which a plain stretched. The plain on which Licinius battled Constantius was also mentioned by Anonymous Valesianus (I, 5.15–16). Brunšmid (1902: 64, n. 6) had already observed that the description of the Cibalae environs by Zosimus does not fit into the picture of Vinkovci that we have today. This description can hardly be the result of the advance of civilization in the sense of earthworks to improve the terrain; it is more likely that Zosimus erroneously read the sources he used to write his text.

The earliest Roman finds did not originate in the area of the Antique-era city's extent, but rather from its southern ager, a location 5 km from the city,

¹ Slučajni nalaz novca na ekonomiji Sopot Muzeju je prijavila Bosiljka Sumrak, rođ. Božić, djelatnica PIK-a Vinkovci.

vrhuncu razvoja bio u 2. i 3. st., da bi njegova ekonomska moć prema kraju 4. st. opadala. Takva se slika stječe iz magistarskih radova I. Ožanić (2004a) i T. Lelekovića (2007), koji su obradili dio keramičke ostavštine Cibala, koja je, osim u navedenim djelima, obrađivana prilično marginalno. Sitna plastika zastupljenija je u objavama, ali i tu dominira razdoblje 2. i 3. st. Tako npr. antefiks identificiran kao prikaz carice Sabine iz 2. st. (Iskra-Janošić 1988: 118), glava Apolona (Iskra-Janošić 2004: 171), kao i sva prikazana keramoplastika (Iskra-Janošić 2003: 482 i d.) i brončana plastika (Virč 1967: 373 i d.) iz fundusa Muzeja, uključujući kipić Dijane (Iskra-Janošić 2001b: 33) i brončane aplikacije s prikazima Sokrata i Meduze (Iskra-Janošić 2004a: 65–66). U tu kategoriju možemo ubrojiti i olovnu votivnu pločicu (Iskra-Janošić 1966: 55–60, T. IV/1), zatim marmornu glavu (Iskra-Janošić 1999–2000: 388) te nalaze koje su objavili Josip Brunšmid (1902) i Stojan Dimitrijević (1979).

Topografsku sliku Cibala općenito otežavaju nedostatno očuvana arhitektura te pomanjkanje podataka o starijim nalazima, često i (njihovo) nepotpuno interpretiranje.

PROBLEMATIKA

Jedan od osnovnih problema istraživanja rimskih Cibala leži u činjenici da se one rasprostiru ispod današnjih Vinkovaca. Ni sustavna primjena *Zakona o zaštiti kulturnih dobara*, koji uvjetuje arheološka istraživanja prilikom svake gradnje i koji se u Vinkovcima primjenjuje već skoro 40 godina, nije puno pomogla. Naime iskopavanja uvjetovana opsegom izgradnje modernoga objekta, bilo da se radi o iskopu podruma ili temelja, često daju tek razbacane komadiće slagalice koje je teško interpretirati. Na nekim lokacijama devastacija slojeva baroknim i kasnijim izgradnjama do neprepoznatljivosti je i nepovratno uništila arheološke kulturne slojeve. I nakon više od stotinu godina od prvih istraživanja i dalje o Cibalama ne znamo puno; nije definiran raster gradskih četvrti, položaj foruma, ulica, hramova i drugih sadržaja koje vezujemo za sliku rimske kolonije (usp. Sanader 2001: 29).

Isto tako, antička građa do koje se došlo zaštitnim istraživanjima i nadzorima komunalnih iskopa u najvećoj je mjeri zbog kontinuirana priljeva građe neobjavljena. Štoviše, od svih istraženih lokacija kompletno je objavljena samo jedna – lokalitet “Dječje igralište” (Vikić-Belančić 1970). Ostala objavljena građa uglavnom je izbor pojedinih autora, a najčešći oblik objave prethodna su priopćenja ili sažeci radova Arheološkog odjela tijekom pojedine

which was researched during construction of the eastern beltway. Based on pottery and coin finds, a site at which twenty-five Roman-era pits were examined has been dated to the end of the first and early second centuries (Ožanić 2004: 185–186). The chance find of a bronze as of Emperor Augustus, near the eastern beltway, dates even earlier, to roughly the mid-first century.¹ According to the analyzed Roman-era finds from Cibalae, which generally encompass ceramic products and tiny sculpted pieces, the city experienced the peak of its development in the second and third centuries, while its economic power began to wane toward the end of the fourth century. This picture emerges from the masters dissertations by I. Ožanić (2004a) and T. Leleković (2007), who analyzed the ceramic legacy of Cibalae, which, with the exception of these two works, has only been covered rather marginally. The small sculpted pieces are more present in published works, but even here the second and third centuries predominate. This is, for example, the case with the antefix identified as an image of the Empress Sabina from the second century (Iskra-Janošić 1988: 118), the head of Apollo (Iskra-Janošić 2004: 171), as well as all presented ceramic (Iskra-Janošić 2003: 482 ff.) and bronze sculpture (Virč 1967: 373 ff.) from the Museum’s inventory, including the small statuette of Diana (Iskra-Janošić 2001b: 33) and the bronze appliqué bearing images of Socrates and Medusa (Iskra-Janošić 2004a: 65–66). This category may also include the lead votive plaque (Iskra-Janošić 1966: 55–60, P. IV/1), a marble head (Iskra-Janošić 1999–2000: 388) and the finds published by Josip Brunšmid (1902) and Stojan Dimitrijević (1979).

The insufficiently preserved architecture and lack of data on older finds, often including (their) incomplete interpretation all make it difficult to reconstruct the topographic picture of Cibalae.

PROBLEMS

One of the fundamental problems involved in researching Roman Cibalae lies in the fact that it extends beneath modern-day Vinkovci. Not even the systematic enforcement of Croatia’s Cultural Resource Protection Act, which mandates archaeological research during any construction works and which has been in force in Vinkovci for almost forty years, has not helped much. Namely, excavations were limited by the extent of the construction of modern structures, regardless of whether they involve digging of basements or foundations, often

¹ The chance coin find on the Sopot farm was reported to the Museum by Bosiljka Sumrak (née Božić), an employee of the Vinkovci PIK (agribusiness conglomerate).

godine, koji se redovito objavljuju u *Godišnjaku* vinokovačkog ogranka Matice hrvatske, a u posljednje vrijeme i u *Hrvatskom arheološkom godišnjaku* u izdanju Ministarstva kulture RH.

Kako ni pokretna građa ni arhitektura nije detaljnije obrađivana, svi niže navedeni podaci izvučeni su iz prethodnih priopćenja i dnevničkih zapisa, pa se moraju u obzir uzeti s određenom dozom rezerve.

OPĆI PODACI O TOPOGRAFIJI CIBALA

OPSEG CIBALA DEFINIRAN ARHEOLOŠKIM NADZOROM KOMUNALNIH ISKOPA

Nakon donošenja *Zakona o zaštiti kulture* 1970. g. i uvođenja zaštićene arheološke zone u Vinkovcima svi iskopi, pa tako i oni komunalni, podliježu arheološkoj kontroli. Iz tog razloga praćen je iskop za kanalizaciju 1974. i 1975. g., u više navrata iskopi pri elektrifikaciji i izgradnji plinovoda 1994. i 1995. g., na TKC-svjetlovodnom kabelu 1997. i 1998. g. Kako su ti iskopi prošli gotovo svim današnjim gradskim ulicama, bilo je moguće odrediti raspon koji su zauzimale rimske Cibalae. Na ovom mjestu dat će se kratki prikaz nepokretnih nalaza u komunalnim iskopima bez kronološke atribucije unutar antičkog perioda Cibala.

Podaci o rasprostiranju grada dobiveni praćenjem komunalnih iskopa daju sliku rastera grada općenito u rimskom razdoblju, dakle od 1. do 5. st. Uža kronološka determinacija zbog opsega iskopa uglavnom nije moguća, a podaci se ponajprije donose kao dokaz da nema većih odstupanja u rasteru grada tijekom 4. st., odnosno prema sadašnjem stanju istraženosti grad tijekom tog razdoblja nije bio ni manji ni veći. Zaključci izvedeni iz tih nadzora govore da se u rasteru grada jasno ocrtava arhitektura, iza koje na pojedinim mjestima slijedi veća količina štuta ili deblji zidovi (vjerojatno ostaci zidanih bedema), a zatim slojevi žute, smeđe ili žutosmeđe ilovače, ponekad i višestruki, koji se u literaturi tumače kao zemljani bedemi (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 39), iza kojih slijede opkopi ispunjeni uglavnom recentnim, a pri dnu i rimskodobnim šutom, te nakon njih grobovi cibalitanskih nekropola. Ne začuđuje činjenica da se u takvim situacijama slojevi nabijene ilovače tumače kao zemljani bedemi, ali ipak se nameće pitanje funkcioniranja zemljanih bedema, njihove izgradnje i održavanja u razdoblju od nekoliko stotina godina. Posebno se to dovodi u pitanje arheološkim istraživanjima unatrag nekoliko

yield only scattered pieces of a puzzle which are difficult to interpret.. At some locations, the devastation of layers by Baroque-era and later construction works to the point of irreducibility also irreparably destroyed the archaeological cultural layers. Even over one hundred years after the first research, we still know rather little about Cibalae; the layout of the city's sections, the location of the forum, streets, temples and other facilities associated with the picture of the Roman colony have not been defined (cf. Sanader 2001: 29).

By the same token, the Roman-era materials which have been generated by rescue research and supervision of utility infrastructure digging remain unpublished due to their continual inflow. Moreover, out of the all of the researched locations, only one has been entirely published: the "Children's Playground" site (Vikić-Belančić 1970). The remaining published materials generally constitute the selection of individual scholars, and most often the form of publication is an advance report or summaries of the works of the Archaeology Department during individual years that are regularly published in *Godišnjak* (Almanac) of the Vinkovci branch of the Croatian literary and culture organization Matica hrvatska, and, in recent years in *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak* (Croatian Archaeological Almanac) published by the Croatian Ministry of Culture.

Since neither the movable materials nor the architecture have undergone detailed analysis, all of the data presented below has been drawn from prior reports and log entries, and they must be viewed with a certain degree of caution.

GENERAL DATA ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF CIBALAE

EXTENT OF CIBALAE DEFINED BY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUPERVISION OF UTILITY INFRASTRUCTURE EXCAVATIONS

After passage of the Culture Preservation Act in 1970 and the introduction of protected archaeological zones in Vinkovci, all projects involving excavation, including that for utility infrastructure, became subject of archaeological supervision. Hence, such monitoring was conducted during excavations for the sewage system in 1974 and 1975, excavations for electrical and natural gas lines on several occasions during 1994 and 1995, and construction of telecommunications fibre-optic cable ducts in 1997 and 1998. Since these excavations passed through almost all of the present-day city streets, it

godina, kada se na nekoliko očekivanih pozicija zemljani bedem nije potvrdio (lokacije Ulica Ivana Gundulića 39 /arhitektura/, Glagoljaška bb – CSS /arhitektura/, Josipa Kozarca 4–6 /otpadne jame/, Ulica bana Jelačića 44 /zdravica/). Radi li se u tom slučaju stvarno o umjetno nastalim slojevima, bilo da su ciljano dovezeni u svrhu izgradnje bedema bilo da su nusprodukt nastao kopanjem opkopa, ili je riječ o geološkim formacijama, pitanje je koje stoji pred arheolozima antičarima i geolozima.²

Na sjeveru je u Ulici kralja Zvonimira nakon nalaza grobova, od kućnih brojeva 19 i 17 (karta 1: 1), slijedio obrambeni jarak zapunjen recentnim i rimskim šutom. Ispred kućnog broja 13 (karta 1: 2) uočen je naboj od žute zemlje u dužini od 13,50 m smjera istok–zapad protumačen kao zemljani bedem. Prema kućnom broju 11 (karta 1: 3) nalazi se zidana struktura (sl. 1) od čvrste žbuke, sitnih ulomaka opeka i većih komada kamena s dosta tragova gorenja na vrhu, ali širina joj nije mogla biti ustanovljena (moguće se radi o zidanom bedemu?). Dalje od kućnog broja 9 (karta 1: 4) prema nižim brojevima nastavlja se rimska arhitektura (zidovi). U paralelnoj Ulici Vladimira Nazora grobovi sjeverne nekropole zabilježeni su do kućnog broja 10, a u Bloku Vladimira Nazora ispred kućnih brojeva 8 i 9 istražena su još 3 groba te jedan grob u Ulici Antuna Mihanovića 11. Naboj žute ilovače prati se u Ulici Vladimira Nazora od kućnog broja 10 do 8 (karta 1: 5), a s neparne strane ulice situacija je sljedeća: ispred kućnog broja 21 i 23 (karta 1: 6) nasip je od smeđe zemlje, zatim slijedi kanal dužine 3 m ispunjen rimskim šutom, pa ispred kuća broj 25 i 27 (karta 1: 7) žuti naboj ilovače u dužini od 14 m, sve u nizu. Zanimljiv je nalaz arhitekture, odnosno rimskih zidova, ispred kućnog broja 29 (karta 1: 8), jer je smješten izvan fortifikacijskog sklopa Cibala, na području sjeverne nekropole. Arhitektura se u Nazorovoj ulici prati od kućnih brojeva 17 i 6 (karta 1: 9) prema manjim brojevima. Ulica koja otprilike prati smjer sjevernog opkopa jest Ulica Jurja Dalmatinca, u kojoj je ispred kućnih brojeva 20 do 24 (karta 1: 10) uočen opkop ispunjen isključivo recentnim šutom. Naboj žute ilovače u širini od 14 m uočen je u ulici Hrvatskih žrtava od kućnog broja 15 (karta 1: 11) prema istoku. U ulici Hrvatskih kraljeva 9 (karta 1: 12) uočava se opet naboj od žute ilovače u dužini od 14 m, protumačen kao istočni bedem. Nastavak tog sloja žute ilovače uočen je i u Istarskoj ulici 9 (karta 1: 13) i u Ulici Bana Josipa Jelačića ispred kućnog broja 37 (karta 1: 14) u

was possible to determine the expanse covered by Roman Cibalae. Here a brief overview of the fixed materials discovered during utility infrastructure excavations will be presented without chronological attribution inside Antiquity in Cibalae.

The data on the extent of the city obtained through the monitoring of utility infrastructure excavations provide a picture of the city's general layout during the Roman era, i.e., from the first to fifth centuries. A more precise chronological determination is not generally possible due to the extent of these excavations, and the data primarily serve as evidence that there were no greater deviations in the city's layout during the fourth century, or rather, based on the current level of research the city was neither larger nor smaller during this period. The conclusions derived from this supervision outline the architecture in the city's layout, which is followed at individual sites by considerable quantities of rubble or thicker walls (probably the remains of stone-built ramparts), and then layers of yellow, brown or yellow-brown loam, sometimes multiple, interpreted in the literature as earthen ramparts (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 39), followed by ditch filled with generally recent rubble (but also Roman-era at the bottom) and thereafter by the graves of the Cibalae necropolises. It is unsurprising that in such situations the packed loam is interpreted as earthen ramparts, but the question arises as to the function of earthen ramparts, their construction and maintenance over a period of several hundred years. This has been particularly brought into question by archaeological research conducted several years back, when earthen ramparts were not confirmed at several expected sites (locations: Ivana Gundulića street 39 /architecture/, Glagoljaška bb – CSS /architecture/, Josipa Kozarca 4-6 /waste pits/, Bana Jelačića 44 /sterile soil/). Whether these are truly artificially created layers, either purposefully brought to build ramparts or as a by-product of digging ditches, or simply geological formations is a question for both geologists and archaeologists specializing in Antiquity.²

The finds of graves in Kralja Zvonimira street were followed, from house numbers 19 to 17 (map 1: 1), by a defensive ditch that is filled with recent and Roman-era rubble. In front of house number 13 (map 1: 2), a 13.5 m long section of packed yellow soil was observed which has been interpreted as an earthen rampart. In the direction of house number 11 (map 1: 3) there is a stone-built structure (Fig. 1) made with sturdy mortar, tiny fragments of brick

² Taj podatak usmena je pretpostavka koju je kroz razgovor tijekom probnih istraživanja u Vinkovcima iznio geolog dr. sc. Slobodan Miko, a konačan odgovor dobio bi se geološkim istraživanjima.

² This hypothesis was stated verbally in conversations during test research work in Vinkovci by geologist Slobodan Miko, Ph.D., and a definitive answer should be yielded by geological research.



Karta 1. Istraživane antičke pozicije u Vinjkovcina (autor: A. Rapan Papeša, 2010).

Map 1. Researched Roman-era sites in Vinjkovci (by: A. Rapan Papeša, 2010).

dužini od 15 m, a arhitektura (zid) ispred kuće broj 40 (karta 1: 15). U jednom drugom iskopu zabilježena je duljina bedema od 72 m, a širina 14 m, od kućnog broja 33 do kućnog broja 46 (karta 1: 16). Samo se jednom prilikom spominje zidani bedem širine 2,80 m u Ulicama bana Josipa Jelačića i Ivana Gundulića (Iskra-Janošić 1977: 107), a kasnije je taj podatak preformuliran tako da su zidovi opisivani kao gradska vrata. Arheološko istraživanje provedeno u ožujku 2009. g. pokazalo je da na navedenoj lokaciji u Ulici Ivana Gundulića funkcionira stambeni objekt, a navedeni “bedem/gradska vrata” zid je smjera istok–zapad koji je iskop za kanalizaciju pratio u dužini od 2,80 m. Prema zapadu, u Ulici Ivana Gundulića rimska se arhitektura prati do kućnog broja 28 (karta 1: 17), a onda slijede naboji žute ilovače ispred kućnog broja 40 u dužini od 6,70 m, ispred broja 42 u dužini od 6,80 m te brojeva 46 i 46a (karta 1: 18) u dužini od 9,50 m. Dvostruki naboji žute ilovače otkriveni su na Šetalištu Dionizija Švagelja (karta 1: 19); širina vanjskog naboja je 13 m, unutarnjeg 12 m, a širina opkopa među njima 5 m. U Dugoj ulici (karta 1: 20), istočno od kipa Sv. Roka, uočen je dio obrambenog zida, istraženog nešto južnije i na poziciji “Europa”, a s desne strane Duge ulice (karta 1: 21) opet je uočen naboj žute ilovače širine 14 m (*Terenski dnevnici*; Iskra-Janošić 1996a: 126; 2001: 39; Krznarić Škrivanko 1999: 330–332).

ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA NA FORTIFIKACIJI CIBALA

Prvi nam sliku ostataka njemu nepoznata rimskog grada donosi putopisac grof Marsilije u 18. st., a zatim i biskup Szövényi, koji navodi da se ispod zemlje u selu Vinkovci nalaze kamenom popločene ceste, stari temelji i novac (Andrić 2007: 129).

Problemom opsega Cibala, a samim time i fortifikacija, bavili su svi važniji istraživači rimskog grada, i svatko je imao ponešto novo reći. U općoj slici te se granice dijelom podudaraju, a dijelom ne. Namjera ovoga pregleda nije unijeti nove podatke u ionako zamršenu sliku gradskih bedema, nego jednostavno iznijeti pretpostavku, a to je već dijelom prikazano u prethodnome poglavlju, da za sada ne raspolažemo dovoljnom količinom podataka da bismo sa sigurnošću mogli reći kako su Cibale branjene u pojedinom razdoblju rimske vlasti. Pregled koji slijedi prikaz je istraživanja na pozicijama koje se preklapaju s “granicom” između ostatka arhitekture i nekropola utvrđenom komunalnim iskopima, u svrhu pojašnjenja činjenice da za sada ne možemo dati konkretan odgovor na pitanje izgleda fortifikacije Cibala u 4. st.

and large pieces of stone with considerable traces of burning at the top, while the width could not be ascertained (possibly a stone-built rampart?). The Roman architecture (walls) continue from house number 9 (map 1: 4) toward the lower numbers. In the parallel Vladimira Nazora street, the graves of the northern necropolis were registered up to house number 10, while in the Vladimira Nazora block, three more graves were examined in front of house numbers 8 and 9, as well as one more grave in no. 11 on Antuna Mihanovića street. The packed layer of yellow loam can be followed along Vladimira Nazora street to house numbers 10 to 8 (map 1: 5), while on the odd-numbered side of the street, the situation is as follows: in front of house numbers 21 and 23 (map 1: 6) the fill consists of brown soil, followed by a 3 m long ditch filled with Roman-era rubble, followed by a packed layer of yellow loam in front of house numbers 25 and 27 (map 1: 7) covering a length of 14 m, all in succession. An interesting find is the architecture, i.e., Roman-era walls, in front of house number 29 (map 1: 8), because it lies outside of the fortification complex of Cibala, in the territory of the northern necropolis. The architecture in Vladimira Nazora street can be followed from house numbers 17 and 6 (map 1: 9) toward the lower numbers. The street which roughly follows the direction of the northern defensive ditch is Jurja Dalmatinca street, where, in front of house numbers 20 and 24 (map 1: 10), a trench was observed containing exclusively recent rubble. Packed yellow loam with a width of 14 m was observed in Hrvatskih žrtava street from house number 15 (map 1: 11) eastward. At Hrvatskih kraljeva street 9 (map 1: 12), packed yellow loam with a length of 14 m can once more be observed; it has been interpreted as the eastern rampart. The continuation of this yellow loam layer was observed in Istarska street 9 (map 1: 13) and in Bana Josipa Jelačića street in front of house number 37 (map 1: 14) over a length of 15 m, while architecture (wall) was observed in front of house number 40 (map 1: 15). In another trench, a rampart length of 72 m, with a width of 14 m, was recorded, running from house numbers 33 to 46 (map 1: 16). Only once was a stone-built rampart with a width of 2.8 m mentioned, in Bana Josipa Jelačića and Ivana Gundulića streets (Iskra-Janošić 1977: 107), while later this data was reformulated so that the walls were described as the city gate. Archaeological research conducted in March 2009 showed that a residential building functioned at this location in Ivana Gundulića street, and the aforementioned “rampart/city gate” wall lies in an east-west direction which the sewage trench followed for a length of 2.8 m. Westward along Ivana Gundulića street, Roman architecture can be followed to house number 28 (map 1: 17), followed by



Slika 1. Zidana struktura (ostaci bedema?) u iskopu TKC-svjetlovodnog kabela u Ulici kralja Zvonimira 11 (snimio: M. Dizdar, 1998).

Figure 1. Stone-built structure (remains of rampart?) in telecommunications fibre-optic cable duct way in Kralja Zvonimira street 11 (photograph by: M. Dizdar, 1998).

Rimska *Colonia Aurelia Cibalae* prostirala se od Bosuta ulicama Josipa Kozarca, Ivana Gorana Kovačića, Jurja Dalmatinca, Hrvatskih kraljeva, Vojarskom, da bi u visini Klačnice opet izišla na Bosut (Iskra-Janošić 1986: 71).

Kao što je već rečeno, sjeverni rub grada djelomično se poklapa s današnjom Ulicom Jurja Dalmatinca. Naboj žute ilovače u dužini od 14 m, kao i obrambeni jarak dubine 2,20 m ispunjen recentnim, a pri dnu i rimskim šutom, istraženi su na poziciji Ulica Jurja Dalmatinca 28 (karta 1: 22) (Krznarić Škrivanko 2002: 204). Slični podaci dobiveni su i na iskopu PIK (karta 1: 23), koji je dijelom obuhvatio i obrambeni jarak istražen do dubine 5,60 m, na kojoj se pojavila voda, iza kojeg je slijedio sloj s većom količinom šuta od rimskih opeka, kamena i žbuke, a tada i naboj od žute ilovače širine 15 m u gornjem dijelu (sl. 2), iza kojeg je uslijedila arhitektura (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69). Istraživanja duž ulice Jurja Dalmatinca (sl. 3) 1970-ih otkrila su smjer obrambenog jarka (*ibid.* 107).

packed yellow loam layers in front of house number 40 in a length of 6.7 m, a length of 6.8 m in front of house number 42 and a length of 9.5 m in front of house numbers 46 and 46a (map 1: 18). Double packed layers of yellow loam were discovered on the Dionizija Švagelja promenade (map 1: 19); the width of the outer packed layer is 13 m, while the internal is 12 m wide, and the width of the trench between them is 5 m. In Duga street (map 1: 20), east of the statue of St. Roch, part of a defensive wall was observed, examined slightly southward and at the "Europa" site, while on the right side of Duga street (map 1: 21) a packed yellow loam layer was again observed in a width of 14 m (*Terenski dnevnik*; Iskra-Janošić 1996a: 126; 2001: 39; Krznarić Škrivanko 1999: 330-332).

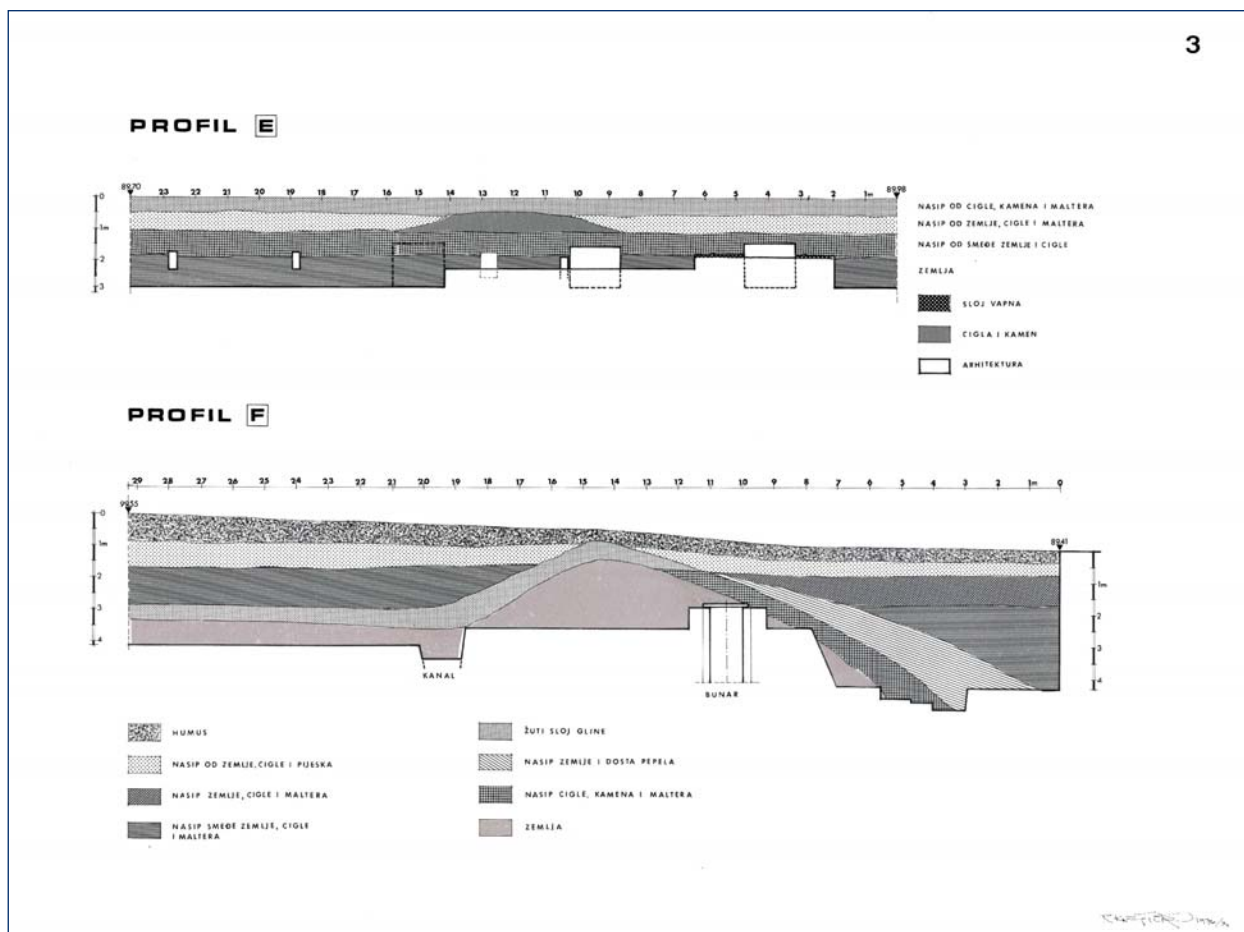
ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON THE CIBALAE FORTIFICATIONS

The first picture of the remains of a Roman city, otherwise unknown to him, was provided by the travel-writer Count Marsigli in the eighteenth century, and then by Bishop Szörényi, who stated that beneath the ground in the village of Vinkovci there are stone-paved roads, old foundations and coins (Andrić 2007: 129).

The problem pertaining to the extent of Cibalae, and thereby of the fortifications as well, was considered by all of the major researchers specializing in Roman city of Cibalae, and each had something to say on the matter. Generally, these boundaries correspond to some extent, and partially not. The intent of this overview is not to introduce new data to the already muddled picture of the city ramparts, rather simply to put forth the hypothesis, already partially presented in the preceding section, that there is currently not enough data to state with certainty the nature of Cibalae's defence during individual periods of Roman authority. The overview which follows highlights research at the positions which overlap with the "border" between the remains of architecture and the necropolis ascertained in the utility infrastructure excavations, for the purpose of clarifying the fact that thus far no concrete answer can be given to the question of the appearance of the Cibalae fortifications in the fourth century.

The Roman *Colonia Aurelia Cibalae* extended from the Bosut River along Josipa Kozarca, Ivana Gorana Kovačića, Jurja Dalmatinca, Hrvatskih kraljeva, and Vojarska streets, only to once more emerge at the Bosut at the level of the Abattoir (Iskra-Janošić 1986: 71).

As already stated, the northern periphery of the city partially corresponded to today's Jurja Dalmatinca



Slika 2. Profil iskopa na lokaciji PIK – prikaz opkopa (autor: K. Rončević, 1977, arhiv GMV).

Figure 2. Profile of excavation at PIK location – depiction of trench (by: K. Rončević, 1977, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

Na poziciji S-7 (karta 1: 24), na južnoj strani Ulice Jurja Dalmatinca, prilikom iskopa za stambenu zgradu, otkopan je spoj sjevernog i zapadnog naboja žuta ilovače u dužini od 22,50 m, bez mogućnosti određivanja njegove širine. Dijelom je otkrivena i drvena palisada, odnosno kanal širine 0,80 m i dubine 0,40 m (sl. 4) u koji je ona bila ukopana (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 37).

Naboj žute ilovače prema zapadu istražen na položaju “Europa” u Dugoj ulici (karta 1: 25) pokazao se kao dvostruk, dodatno ojačan zidom od opeka. Istraženi su unutrašnji, viši naboj širine 14 m, opkop širine 5 m i jedan niži naboj (sl. 5) koji je izlazio iz iskopa, neutvrđene širine. Pojačanje zidom od opeka tumači se blizinom (neubiciranih) zapadnih gradskih vrata (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 37, 39). Istraživanje na lokaciji Duga ulica 63 (karta 1: 26), smještene nasuprot zgrade “Europe”, pokazalo je u zapadnome dijelu iskopa zemljani nasip širine 6 m, u koji je bila ukopana srednjovjekovna lončarska peć (Iskra-Janošić 1996a: 127), a naboj žute ilovače, oštećen srednjovjekovnim i recentnim ukopima, zabilježen je i na poziciji Ulica Josipa Kozarca 2a (karta 1: 27) (Gale 2003: 337).

street. The yellow loam packed layer covering a length of 14 m, like the 2.2 m defensive moat filled with recent and, at the bottom, Roman-era rubble, were researched at the address Jurja Dalmatinca 28 (map 1: 22) (Krznić Škrivanko 2002: 204). Similar data were also obtained in the PIK trench (map 1: 23), which partially encompassed the moat examined to a depth of 5.6 m, in which there was water, followed by a layer with a considerable quantity of rubble consisting of Roman-era brick, stone and plaster, and then a 15 m wide packed layer of yellow loam in the upper section (Fig. 2), followed in turn by architecture (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69). Research down Jurja Dalmatinca street (Fig. 3) during the 1970s revealed the direction of the defensive moat (*Ibid.* 107).

At the S-7 location (map 1: 24), on the southern side of Jurja Dalmatinca street, during digging for a residential building, the northern and western merger of the packed yellow loam layer was uncovered at a length of 22.5 m, with no possibility of ascertaining its width. A wooden palisade was also partially uncovered, as well as the ditch, 0.8 m wide and 0.4 m deep (Fig. 4), in which it was submerged (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 37).



Slika 3. Profil iskopa u Ulici Jurja Dalmatinca – opkop Cibala (snimila: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1975, arhiv GMV).k).

Figure 3. Profile of excavation in Jurja Dalmatinca street – Cibalae trench (photograph by: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1975, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

Opkop s istočne strane Cibala, kao i naboji žute ilovače, zabilježeni su tijekom istraživanja na lokaciji u ulici Hrvatskih kraljeva 11 (karta 1: 28), dok je opkop ispunjen recentnim i rimskim šutom istražen na poziciji Ulica Matije Gupca 29 (karta 1: 29) do dubine od 1,80 m (Rapan Papeša 2006: 204, 209) te u ulici Hrvatskih kraljeva 6 (karta 1: 30) (Krznačić Škrivanko 1999: 319). Naboj žute ilovače potvrđen



Slika 4. Kanal palisadne ograde na lokaciji S-7 (snimila: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1989, arhiv GMV).k).

Figure 4. Channel of palisade fence at S-7 location (photograph by: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1989, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

The packed yellow loam layer examined toward the west at the “Europa” location in Duga street (map 1: 25) proved to be a double, additionally reinforced brick wall. The inside, higher layer with a width of 14 m, a 5 m wide trench and one lower layer (Fig. 5) which passed out of the trench to an undetermined width were all examined. Reinforcement by a brick wall is interpreted as vicinity to the (as yet unlocated) western city gate (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 37, 39). Research at the location on Duga street 63 (map 1: 26), situated opposite to the “Europa” building, has shown that in the western section of the trench the earthen embankment is 6 m wide, and a medieval pottery kiln was buried in it (Iskra-Janošić 1996a: 127), while the packed yellow loam layer, damaged in medieval and recent burials, was also registered at the location on Josipa Kozarca street 2a (map 1: 27) (Gale 2003: 337).

The trench on the eastern side of Cibalae, like the packed yellow loam layers, were registered during research at the location in Hrvatskih kraljeva street 11 (map 1: 28), while the trench filled with recent and Roman-era rubble has been researched at the location in Matije Gupca street 29 (map 1: 29) to a depth of 1.8 m (Rapan Papeša 2006: 204, 209), and in Hrvatskih kraljeva street 6 (map 1: 30) (Krznačić Škrivanko 1999: 319). The packed yellow earth layer has also been confirmed by the excavation in Istarska street 9 (map 1: 13) to a depth of 11 m, to the researched depth of 2.5 m, and in Bana Josipa Jelačića street 28 (map 1: 31), where it extends in a north-south direction along the 23 m length of the trench (Rapan Papeša 2005: 263-264).

Archaeological research on the Cibalae fortifications have provided an overview of the sites at which the packed yellow loam layer/“earthen rampart”, trenches and the presumed remains of stone-built ramparts have all been examined. The layer of yellow loam has certainly been defined in these trenches, albeit quite often damaged and intercut as far back as Antiquity itself and the early medieval period. Assuming acceptance of the theory on two fortifications of Cibalae with earthen ramparts, first the double and older one, then the younger single rampart with a palisade atop, the question arises as to the existence of structures between them. Namely, the distance between the older external rampart and the younger one reaches up to 100 m, and in this intermediate space variously-dated architecture has been found, even though it would be expected, inasmuch as this is a matter of the city’s expansion, that this would be architecture from the late third and fourth centuries. In this case, the temple of the Capitoline Triad at the PIK site and south of it, would be *de facto* outside of the



Slika 5. Sloj žute ilovače – zemljani bedem na lokaciji “Europa” (snimila: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1990, arhiv GMV).k)

Figure 5. Yellow loam layer – earthen rampart at “Europa” location (photograph by: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1990, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

je i iskopom u Istarskoj ulici 9 (karta 1: 13) u duljini od 11 m, do istražene dubine od 2,50 m, te u Ulici bana Josipa Jelačića 28 (karta 1: 31), gdje se u smjeru sjever–jug proteže cijelom duljinom iskopa od 23 m (Rapan Papeša 2005: 263–264).

Arheološka istraživanja na fortifikaciji Cibala donose pregled lokaliteta na kojima je istraživao naboj od žute ilovače – “zemljani bedem”, opkopi i pretpostavljeni ostaci zidanih bedema. U tim iskopima svakako je definiran sloj žute ilovače, ali vrlo često oštećen i ispresijecan još u antičko i ranosrednjovjekovno vrijeme. Prihvatimo li tezu o dvije fortifikacije Cibala zemljanim bedemima, prvo dvostrukim i starijim, a potom mlađim jednostrukim, s palisadom na vrhu, nameće se pitanje o postojanju objekata između njih. Naime udaljenost starijeg vanjskog bedema i mlađeg iznosi do 100 m, a na tom međuprostoru otkrivena arhitektura raznoliko je datirana, iako bi za očekivati bilo, ako je riječ o ekspanziji grada, da se radi o arhitekturi kasnog 3. i 4. st. U tom bi slučaju hram kapitolijske trijade, na položaju PIK i južno od njega, *de facto* bio izvan granica starijega bedema, što onda u pitanje dovodi ili bedem ili interpretaciju arhitekture. Neosporna je činjenica, kako je to zapisano i vidljivo na starim kartama (usp. Grubišić 2004; Filipović 2010: 367), da oko Cibala postoji opkop, višekратно potvrđen i arheološkim istraživanjima. Sadašnje stanje istraživanja pokazuje da u Cibalama nema zidanih bedema, iako bi ih s obzirom na susjedne gradove bilo logično očekivati (Šašel Kos & Scherrer 2003; 2004). Ako se odbaci pretpostavka o zemljanim bedemima, ispostavlja se da grad nije bio branjen. Stoga na ovom stupnju istraživanja predlažem termin *fortifikacijski sklop Cibala*, koji bi obuhvaćao opkop i obrambene strukture, bilo da su egzistirale u obliku zidova ili

boundaries of the older rampart, which then brings into question either the rampart or the interpretation of the architecture. It is an irrefutable fact, as recorded and visible on old maps (cf. Grubišić 2004; Filipović 2010: 367), that there was a trench around Cibalae, confirmed on a number of occasions by archaeological research. The current state of research shows that there were no stone-built ramparts in Cibalae, although considering the neighbouring cities it would be logical to expect them (Šašel Kos & Scherrer 2003; 2004). If the hypothesis about earthen ramparts is rejected, it ensues that the city was not defended. Therefore, at this stage in the research I propose the term *Cibalae fortification complex*, which would encompass the trench and defensive structure, whether it existed in the form of walls or earthen battlements. For all previous knowledge back the city area proposed by Marsigli, Brunšmid, Dimitrijević and Iskra-Janošić, but except for the trenches, their interpretation lacks any solid indicators. Excluding the boundary of the older rampart proposed by Iskra-Janošić, all researchers agree around the position of the northern fortification complex in today’s Jurja Dalmatinca street, which has in fact been confirmed by research on several occasions. This side of Cibalae had to have been artificially defended, and this is why this part of the fortification complex has been the most clearly preserved. The differences manifest themselves in the boundary between the western and eastern rampart. Based on current knowledge obtained by archaeological methods, combined with old topographic maps and the oral reminiscences of older Vinkovci natives, it would appear that the most accurate is the boundary proposed for the western rampart by J. Brunšmid. His proposal adheres to the natural configuration of the terrain, which is today also visible on cadastral maps in the shape of the separate cadastral plots/ditches, which in the configuration of the terrain today are visible only at places, while on older topographic maps it is clearly drawn in as a ditch or trench. The eastern rampart remains the greatest mystery, and the reason lies in the fact that the topography was altered when the Ervenica stream was re-routed into the main sewer line, for it is more than likely that this natural watercourse was used in the fortification of Cibalae. For now the most probable solution would appear to be that there were two fortification complexes on the eastern side of Cibalae, which need not, but may have functioned simultaneously. Out of all the researchers who studied Roman-era Vinkovci, only S. Dimitrijević proposed the location of the southern rampart along the course of the Bosut River, but this proposal has not been backed by the results of

zemljanih grudobrana. Naime dosadašnje spoznaje potkrepljuju areal grada koji su predložili Marsilije, Brunšmid, Dimitrijević i Iskra-Janošić, ali u njihovoj interpretaciji, osim opkopa, nedostaju čvrsti pokazatelji. Izuzev granica starijega bedema, koji predlaže Iskra-Janošić, svi istraživači slažu se oko pozicioniranja sjevernoga fortifikacijskog sklopa u današnju Ulicu Jurja Dalmatinca, što je višekratnim istraživanjima i potvrđeno. Ta strana Cibala morala je biti umjetno branjena, te je zbog toga taj dio fortifikacijskog sklopa najjasnije očuvan. Razlike se pokazuju u granici zapadnog i istočnog bedema. Prema sadašnjem stupnju spoznaja dobivenih arheološkim metodama, kombiniranih sa starim topografskim kartama i usmenim prisjećanjima starijih Vinkovčana, najtočnijom nam se čini granica koju je za zapadni bedem predložio J. Brunšmid. Naime njegov prijedlog prati prirodnu konfiguraciju terena, koja je i danas vidljiva na katastarskim kartama u obliku posebne katastarske čestice – kanala, koji je u konfiguraciji terena danas vidljiv samo mjestimično, dok je na starim topografskim kartama jasno ucrtan kao jarak ili opkop. Istočni bedem i dalje predstavlja najveću nepoznanicu, a razlog tomu dijelom leži i u činjenici što je topografija izmijenjena stavljanjem potoka Ervenice u kolektor, jer je i više nego vjerojatno da je taj prirodni tok iskorišten u fortifikaciji Cibala. Zasad se najvjerojatnijim čini rješenje da na istočnoj strani Cibala postoje dva fortifikacijska sklopa, koja uopće ne moraju, ali mogu, funkcionirati paralelno. Od svih istraživača rimskih Vinkovaca jedino je S. Dimitrijević predlagao pozicioniranje južnoga bedema uz tok Bosuta, no takav prijedlog nema uporište u zaštitnim istraživanjima. Potpuni fortifikacijski sklop Cibala u 4. st., ali i u razdobljima prije ili poslije toga, za sada se ne može rekonstruirati. Jedinu konstantu čini opkop, još i danas dijelom vidljiv, a svi dijelovi fortifikacije poslije njega za sada moraju ostati neriješeni.

KASNOANTIČKA TOPOGRAFIJA

ARHITEKTONSKI OSTACI PRELIMINARNO DATIRANI U 4. STOLJEĆE

U radu predstavljenom sredinom 1980-ih godina Kornelija Minichreiter iznijela je popis 43 kasnoantička lokaliteta na području Slavonije i Baranje, između ostalih i Cibala (1989: 188).

Prvi zabilježen i objavljen nalaz arhitekture 4. st. potječe iz 1897. g., kada je u Ulici kralja Zvonimira 18 (karta 1: 32) J. Brunšmid istražio rimski zid kojem su u temelju bili ugrađeni oštećeni kipovi Posejdona, Herakla i Erosa, kao i dijelovi kamene

rescue research. The complete fortification complex of Cibalae in the fourth century, as well as in the periods before and after, cannot be reconstructed at this point. The only constant is the trench, still partially visible even today, while all parts of the fortification afterward must remain unresolved.

LATE ANTIQUE TOPOGRAPHY

ARCHITECTURAL REMAINS PRELIMINARILY DATED TO THE FOURTH CENTURY

In a work presented in the mid-1980s, Kornelija Minichreiter compiled a list of forty-three Late Antique sites in the territory of Slavonia and Baranja, including Cibalae (1989: 188).

The first recorded and published find of architecture from the fourth century was made in 1897, when Brunšmid examined a Roman wall at Kralja Zvonimira street 18 (map 1: 32), which had built into its foundations damaged statues of Poseidon, Heracles and Eros, as well as components of stone architecture and fragments of various inscriptions, which all testify to the construction of this wall in the latter half of the fourth century (Brunšmid 1902: 137-143). This wall is probably linked to the architecture (map 1: 33), researched in 1955 (Korda 1961: 64), like the component of the younger architecture at the PIK site (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69). The younger phase of architecture from the PIK site (map 1: 23) is part of a public functional structure (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69), probably a granary, of which the foundation base has been preserved (Fig. 6). The existence of ten bases has been ascertained, with dimensions of 1.75 × 1.50 m, organized into three rows (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 93). The western edge of the structure was destroyed during excavation of the basement to the oil factory in the nineteenth century, and the building was closed on the south with a 1.2 m wide wall. The flooring has also been preserved with an absolute depth at the level of 87.91 m (Dimitrijević 1979: 153). The granary has, based on analogies with other Pannonian cities, been dated to the fourth century, and according to Dimitrijević (*Ibid.*) specifically to the Valentinian era.

During the excavation of telecommunication cable ducts, two walls and a column base in Vladimira Nazora street 6 (map 1: 34) were, based on the construction method, dated to the fourth century. However, as it reads in the log, the “poorly made walls” need not testify to later construction, for recent research has shown solid construction in the

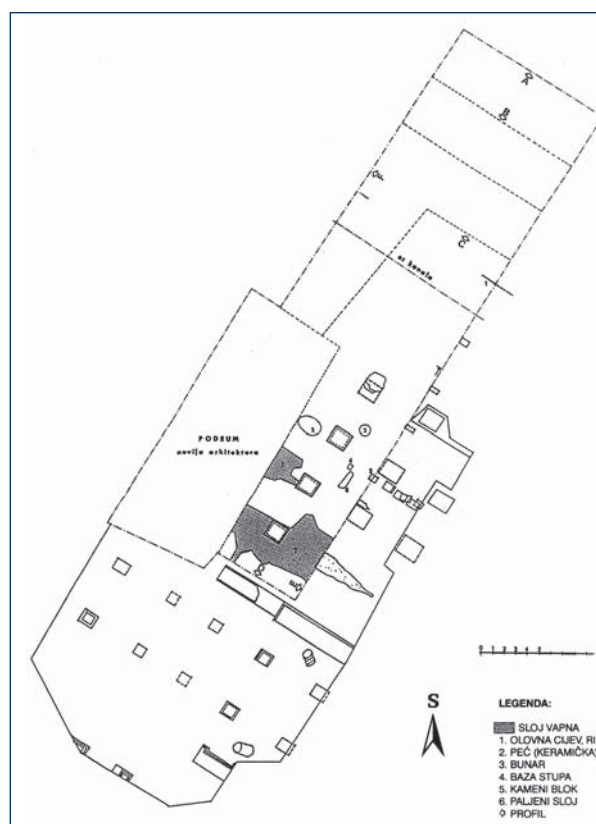
arhitekture te fragmenti raznih natpisa, što sve svjedoči o gradnji navedenog zida u drugoj polovici 4. st. (Brunšmid 1902: 137–143). Vjerojatno je s tim zidom povezana i arhitektura (karta 1: 33) istražena 1955. g. (Korda 1961: 64), kao i dio mlađe faze arhitekture na lokaciji PIK (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69). Mlađa faza arhitekture s PIK-a (karta 1: 23) dio je javnog gospodarskog objekta (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69), najvjerojatnije žitnice, od koje su ostale sačuvane temeljne baze (sl. 6). Ustanovljeno je postojanje 10 baza dimenzija $1,75 \times 1,50$ m, organiziranih u tri reda (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 93). Zapadni rub objekta uništen je prilikom iskopa podruma uljare u 19. st., a objekt je s južne strane zaključen zidom širine 1,20 m. Sačuvana je i podnica s apsolutnom dubinom na koti 87,91 m (Dimitrijević 1979: 153). Žitnica je prema analogijama u drugim panonskim gradovima datirana u 4. st., a prema S. Dimitrijeviću (*ibid.*) čak i konkretno u valentinijansko razdoblje.

U iskopu TKC-kabela dva zida i baza stupa u Ulici Vladimira Nazora 6 (karta 1: 34) prema načinu gradnje datirani su u 4. st. Međutim, kako u dnevniku stoji, “lošije rađeni zidovi” ne moraju nužno svjedočiti o kasnoj izgradnji, jer su nedavna istraživanja pokazala solidnu gradnju u drugoj polovini 4. st.; kako nema pokretnih nalaza koji bi potvrdili takvu dataciju, navedeni zid može, ali i ne mora, pripadati arhitekturi 4. st.

Istraživanje na lokaciji Ulica Vladimira Nazora (objekt Kloss – karta 1: 35) rezultiralo je otkrićem dijelova luksuznijega stambenog objekta 4. st. (Iskra-Janošić 1994: 78). Takva datacija potkrijepljena je pokretnim nalazima, ponajprije novcem careva Valensa (364–378. g.) i Valentinijana II. (375–392. g.), a namjena većom količinom ulomaka *terre sigillate* i stakla. Sličnu sliku dalo je i istraživanje na poziciji “Dječjeg igrališta” (karta 1: 36) u Ulici Vladimira Nazora, gdje su djelomično istraženi zidovi s mramornim oplatom, dijelovi stupova i podnice dvije prostorije (Vikić-Belančić 1970: 160). Datacija pokretnim materijalom (keramikom) u 3. i 4. st. ostaje upitna jer se zbog poremećenih slojeva ne može izravno povezati s nalazima arhitekture (*idem*: 174). Na kućnome broju 3 u istoj ulici (karta 1: 37) tijekom zaštitnih istraživanja otkriveni su zidovi iz dvije građevinske faze (sl. 7), s time da se mlađa faza (sl. 8) nalazima novca careva Konstantina Velikog (306–337. g.) i Konstancija II. (337–361. g.) u strukturi zidova može datirati u 4. st., a preliminarnom analizom ostalih pokretnih nalaza također pripada luksuznom stambenom objektu (Iskra-Janošić 2006: 36–38; Rapan Papeša 2006: 210–212). Iskopi na lokaciji “Pošta” (karta 1: 38) u razdoblju od 1956. do 1989. g. rezultirali su pokretnim nalazima i dijelovima termalne arhitekture datiranim

latter half of the fourth century; since there are no movable finds that would confirm such dating, these walls may, but need not, be fourth-century architecture.

Research at the Vladimira Nazora street site (Kloss building – map 1: 35) has resulted in the discovery of parts of a more luxurious, fourth-century residential building (Iskra-Janošić 1994: 78). Such dating has been backed by movable finds, primarily coins of the Emperors Valens (364–378) and Valentinian II (375–392), and its purpose by the considerable quantity of *terra sigillata* and glass fragments. A similar picture was generated by research at the “Children’s Playground” site (map 1: 36) in Vladimira Nazora street, where walls with marble lining, parts of columns and flooring of two rooms were partially examined (Vikić-Belančić 1970: 160). Dating based on movable materials (pottery) in the third and fourth centuries remains questionable, because disturbed layers cannot be directly tied to architecture finds (*Idem*: 174). During rescue research at house number 3 in the same street (map 1: 37), the walls from two construction phases were discovered (Fig. 7), and the younger phase



Slika 6. Tlocrt zgrade PIK-a s ucrtanom istraženom arhitekturom (arhiv GMV).

Figure 6. Layout of PIK building with researched architecture drawn in (Vinkovci Town Museum archives).



Slika 7. Pogled na objekte istražene na lokaciji Ulica Vladimira Nazora 3 (snimila: A. Rapan Papeša, 2006, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 7. View of structures examined at Vladimira Nazora street 3 (photograph by: A. Rapan Papeša, 2006, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

na osnovi nalaza novca u rasponu od Marka Aurelija (161–180. g.) do Gracijana (367–383. g.), bez bliže odrednice, od 1. do 5. st. (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 75, 84).

U iskopu na lokaciji Glagoljaška ulica 27 (“Općina”) (karta 1: 39), gdje je istražen dio lončarske radionice, otkriveno je i nekoliko vrlo loše sačuvanih zidova, koji pripadaju navedenoj radionici, datiranih nalazima novca i keramike, npr. svjetiljki panonskog tipa – Ivanyi tip XXII – u 4. st. (Iskra-Janošić 1986: 72), dok su na kućnome broju 33 (karta 1: 40) u istoj ulici u iskopu podruma istražene dvije faze rimske stambene gradnje, od kojih je ona gornja datirana u 4. st., a zbog loše očuvanosti namjena se nije mogla odrediti (Krznačić Škrivanko 1999: 330). Datacija tog objekta predložena je tijekom istraživanja jer je navedeni objekt građen na ruševinama starijega, a pokretnim ga nalazima nije bilo moguće uže datirati. Na obližnjoj poziciji, odnosno kućnome broju 31 (karta 1: 41), rezultat istraživanja bio je dio arhitekture, konkretno polukružni zid i dio bočnog sjevernog zida (sl. 9), protumačen kao *villa urbana* s kupatilom, datirana nalazima novca i keramike u 3. i 4. st. (Gale 2003: 336). Iskop na poziciji Glagoljaška ulica bb (CSS – karta 1: 42), iako smješten uz i danas vidljivu depresiju koja je imala funkciju opkopa i činila dio zapadne fortifikacije Cibala, pokazao je loše očuvana i nepovezana urušenja zidova (sl. 10) i jednoslojna popločenja (sl. 11), novcem Konstancija II. datirana u 4. st., te puno pliću zdravicu od uobičajene situacije u gradu (Vulić *et al.* 2008: 71).

U iznimno devastiranim kulturnim slojevima na poziciji Ulica Ivana Gundulića 2 (karta 1: 43) istraženi su urušeni ostaci rimskih temelja i zidova objekta nepoznate namjene, na osnovi stratigrafske pozicije

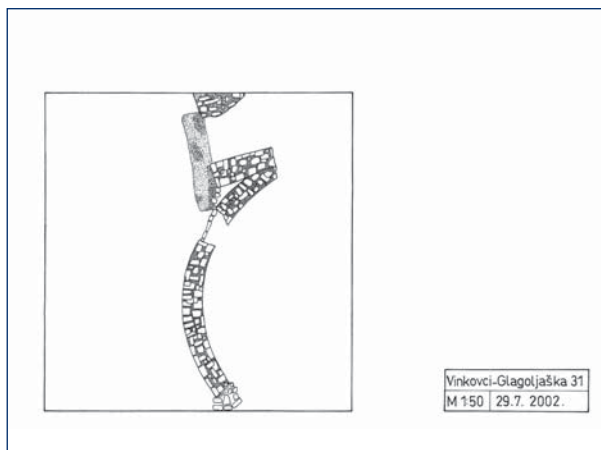


Slika 8. Detalj zida SJ 4 na lokaciji Ulica Vladimira Nazora 3 (snimila: A. Rapan Papeša, 2006, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 8. Detail of wall SJ 4 at Vladimira Nazora street 3 (photograph by: A. Rapan Papeša, 2006, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

(Fig. 8), based on the discovery of coins minted by the emperors Constantine the Great (306-337) and Constantius II (337-361) in the wall structure, may be dated to the fourth century, while based on a preliminary analysis of the remaining movable finds, they also belonged to a luxurious residential building (Iskra-Janošić 2006: 36-38; Rapan Papeša 2006: 210-212). Excavations at the “Post Office” site (map 1: 38) during the period from 1956 to 1989 resulted in movable finds and components of bath architecture dated on the basis of coin finds ranging from Marcus Aurelius (161-180) to Gratianus (367-383), without closer determinants, from the first to fifth centuries (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 75, 84).

In the excavations at the Glagoljaška street 27 site (“Municipal Building”) (map 1: 39), where part of a pottery workshop was examined, several poorly preserved walls were also discovered which belonged to this workshop, and dated using coins and pottery, .e.g. a Pannonian-type oil-lamp – Ivanyi type XXII, to the fourth century (Iskra-Janošić 1986: 72), while at house number 33 (map 1: 40) in the same street, two phases of Roman-era housing construction were researched, of which the upper was dated to the fourth century, and its poor condition precluded any determination of its use (Krznačić



Slika 9. Istražena arhitektura na lokaciji Glagoljaška ulica 31 (autor: I. Gale, 2002, arhiv GMV).
 Figure 9. Researched architecture at Glagoljaška street 31 (by: I. Gale, 2002, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).



Slika 10. Stanje arhitekture na lokaciji Glagoljaška ulica bb – CSS (snimio: H. Vulić, 2007, arhiv GMV).
 Figure 10. Condition of architecture at Glagoljaška street bb – CSS (photograph by: H. Vulić, 2007, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).



Slika 11. Jednoslojno popločenje na lokaciji Glagoljaška ulica bb – CSS (snimio: H. Vulić, 2007, arhiv GMV).
 Figure 11. Single-layer lining at Glagoljaška street bb – CSS (photograph by: H. Vulić, 2007, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

unutar iskopa datiranih u 4. st. (Krznarić Škrivanko 2002: 215), te na kućnome broju 39 (karta 1: 44), gdje su istražena dva zida (sl. 12) jedne prostorije (Rapan Papeša 2008: 181; Rapan Papeša & Vulić 2008: 74). Na osnovi nalaza novca Konstantina i Konstancija II.

Škrivanko 1999: 330). The dating of this structure was proposed during research, for the building was constructed on the ruins of an older one, and the movable finds did not allow for a more precise dating. At a nearby site, house number 31 (map 1: 41), the research resulted in a portion of architecture, specifically a semi-circular wall and part of the lateral northern wall (Fig. 9), interpreted as a *villa urbana* with a bathroom, dated to the third and fourth centuries based on finds of coins and pottery (Gale 2003: 336). Excavations at the Glagoljaška street bb site (CSS – map 1: 42), although situated next to the even now visible depression which served as a trench and formed the part of Cibalae's western fortification, yielded poorly preserved and unconnected collapsed walls (Fig. 10) and a single layer of tiling (Fig. 11), coins of Constantius II dated to the fourth century, and a layer of sterile soil much shallower than usual in the city (Vulić *et al.* 2008: 71).

The collapsed remains of Roman foundations and walls belonging to a building with unknown purpose were examined in the exceptionally devastated cultural layers at the Ivana Gundulića street 2 site (map 1: 43), and based on the stratigraphic position inside the excavation they were dated to the fourth century (Krznarić Škrivanko 2002: 215). While at house number 39 (map 1: 44), two walls (Fig. 12) of a single room (Rapan Papeša 2008: 181; Rapan Papeša & Vulić 2008: 74) were also researched. Based on the finds of coins of Constantine and Constantius II in the foundations and in the plaster next to the wall, the wall (Fig. 13) was not constructed prior to 357. The data that the series "M" of Constantius II coin with the reverse *FEL TEMP REPARATIO* was minted only from the 357 to 358

u temeljima i u žbuci pored zida zid (sl. 13) nije izgrađen prije 357. g. Podatak da je serija "M" novca Konstancija II. s reversom *FEL TEMP REPARATIO* kovana samo od 357. do 358. g. (Šipuš 1987: 94) čini za taj kasnoantički objekt *terminus post quem*.

U iskopu u Dugoj ulici 1 ("Šokadija" – karta 1: 45) na dubini 1,10 m istraženi su zidovi širine 0,90 m, koji pripadaju objektu devastiranu recentnim izgradnjama, tako da mu se namjena nije mogla odrediti, a ispod njega nalazio se stariji luksuzni stambeni objekt. Slična je situacija i na lokaciji Duga ulica 5 ("Zvijezda" – karta 1: 46), gdje su na 0,40 m dubine definirani jedan zid i dvije baze četvrtastih stupova povezani s rimskom arhitekturom na položaju "Hotel" (karta 1: 47), a ispod tog objekta starija arhitektura povezana s onom na lokaciji "Šokadije" (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 72).

Niz manjih objekata datiranih nalazima novca Konstancija II. i drugim pokretnim nalazima 4. st. istražen je na položaju Duga ulica 10 (karta 1: 48) (Rapan Papeša 2005: 261–262). Na položaju "Na-Ma" (karta 1: 49) u Dugoj ulici istražena je rimska arhitektura široko datirana od 1. do 5. st., a među pokretnim nalazima najmlađi je novac Valentinijana II. (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 98–99). U Dugoj ulici 40

(Šipuš 1987: 94) constitutes the *terminus post quem* for this Late Antique structure.

Walls with a width of 0.9 m were researched in the excavation in Duga street 1 ("Šokadija" location – map 1: 45) at a depth of 1.1 m, which belonged to a building devastated by more recent construction works, so that its purpose cannot be determined, while below it there was an older luxurious residential building. A similar situation was found at Duga street 5 ("Zvijezda" location – map 1: 46), where at a depth of 0.4 m there is a wall and two bases of rectangular columns tied to the Roman architecture at the "Hotel" site (map 1: 47), while below that structure there is older architecture tied to that at the "Šokadija" location (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 72).

A series of smaller structures dated by finds of Constantius II coins and other movable finds to the fourth century were researched at the Duga street 10 site (map 1: 48) (Rapan Papeša 2005: 261-262). At the "Na-Ma" site (map 1: 49) in Duga street, Roman architecture dated from the first to fifth centuries was examined, while among the movable finds the youngest are coins of Valentinian II (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 98-99). At Duga street 40 (map 1: 50) the foundations of a semi-circular apse (Fig. 14), with east-west orientation and rather damaged (Krzrnarić Škrivanko 2002: 206), were found; based on this find, Iskra-Janošić concluded that this was an apse of an Early Christian basilica in which the nave extended in the direction of Joze Ivakića street (Iskra-Janošić 2000: 60-63; 2001: 139, 141), but during reconstruction of the street and utility infrastructure in it this find was not confirmed (Krzrnarić Škrivanko 2002: 209). In general, despite statements



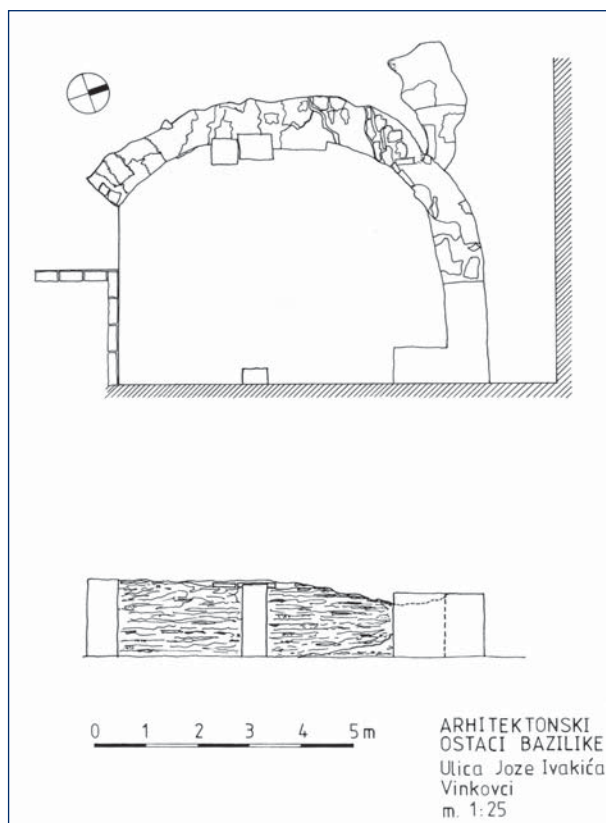
Slika 12. Istraženi dio objekta na lokaciji Ulica Ivana Gundulića 39 (snimio: H. Vulić, 2007, arhiv GMV).k)

Figure 12. Researched part of structure at Ivana Gundulića street 39 (photograph by: H. Vulić, 2007, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).



Slika 13. Zid SJ 4 na lokaciji Ulica Ivana Gundulića 39 – način gradnje u 4. st. (snimio: H. Vulić, 2007, arhiv GMV).k)

Figure 13. Wall SJ 4 at Ivana Gundulića street 39 – construction technique in fourth century (photograph by: H. Vulić, 2007, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).



Slika 14. Istražena apside na lokaciji Duga ulica 40 (autor: D. Filipović, 1999, arhiv GMV).

Figure 14. Researched apse at Duga street 40 (author: D. Filipović, 1999, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

(karta 1: 50) otkriveni su temelji polukružne apside (sl. 14) orijentirane istok–zapad, dosta oštećeni (Krzrnarić Škrivanko 2002: 206); na osnovi tog nalaza I. Iskra-Janošić zaključila je da se radi o apsidi ranokršćanske bazilike kojoj se brod pruža u pravcu Ulice Joze Ivakića (Iskra-Janošić 2000: 60–63; 2001: 139, 141), no prilikom rekonstrukcije ulice i komunalne infrastrukture u njoj taj nalaz nije potvrđen (Krzrnarić Škrivanko 2002: 209). Općenito, u Cibalama unatoč pisanim izvorima do sada nije ubiciran nijedan ranokršćanski objekt. Eventualno bi to mogao biti dio arhitekture na lokaciji PIK, stratigrafski između antičkog hrama i žitnice, što bi arheološkim istraživanjima tek trebalo dokazati (Perinić-Muratović 2004: 80).

Gore opisane pozicije donose pregled objekata, odnosno zidova, koji se mogu datirati u 4. st. Na većini pozicija uočava se da tijekom 4. st. dolazi do prenamjene starijih objekata, odnosno nove izgradnje tijekom koje se često koristi i sirovina dostupna iz starijih objekata.

Ono što Cibalae izdvaja iz prosjeka rimske kolonije jest velik broj zabilježenih lončarskih peći (više

in written sources, thus far not a single Early Empire building has been ascertained in Cibalae. This may be possibly be a part of the architecture at the PIK site, stratigraphically between the Antique temple and granary, which should be proven by future archaeological research (Perinić-Muratović 2004: 80).

The locations described above provide an overview of the buildings, or rather walls, which may be dated to the fourth century. At most locations, it is notable that during the fourth century older buildings were adapted for new purposes and new construction occurred during which the available materials from older buildings were often used.

What sets Cibalae apart from the average Roman colony is the high number of registered pottery kilns (over 60). However, since they were largely discovered empty, while those containing pottery have not been systematically analyzed, thus far no kilns which functioned in the fourth century were found. Although Iskra-Janošić (2001: 107-109) wrote about kilns which operated in the late fourth century, and these were at locations in Hrvatskih žrtava and Frankopanska streets, in earlier works (Iskra-Janošić 1996: 144) the functioning of the kilns from Hrvatskih žrtava street was placed within the Early Christian period, while the kiln from Frankopanska street was dated by Dimitrijević (1979: 156) to the late third and early fourth centuries based on the pottery. The only kiln whose functioning can be placed in the fourth century with any certainty is the glass kiln (Fig. 15), examined at the Bana Josipa Jelačića 11 street site (map 1: 51), based on the coins of Constantius II (337-361) found in the layer of soot below the kiln and dated to the fourth century.

As demonstrated by archaeological research, the ruins of the Roman city were abandoned in their central and eastern sections at the end of the sixth century, and remained that way until the seventeenth century, when the modern town of Vinkovci began to grow on the presumed central zone of Cibalae. The continuity of life has only been archeologically confirmed in the area of western Cibalae, which explains to some extent the destruction of the Roman architecture in this part of the town. This is simply confirmed by the fact that the early Romanesque and Gothic Church of St. Elias at Meraja (also on the Roman city's western periphery) had their foundations made of Roman-era brick. The remainder of Cibalae, however, has also been preserved only in traces, more often of foundations rather than walls. Whether this was just a matter of the ravages of time or levelling of the terrain during construction of the town's Baroque centre cannot be stated with any certainty at the current level of research. That the Roman-era materials were put into secondary



Slika 15. Peć za preradu stakla na lokaciji Ulica bana Josipa Jelačića 11 (snimila: M. Krznarić Škrivanko, 2008, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 15. Glass processing kiln at Bana Josipa Jelačića street 11 (photograph by: M. Krznarić Škrivanko, 2008, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

od 60). Međutim kako se uglavnom nalaze prazne, a one s nađenom keramikom nisu sustavno obrađene, za sada nisu izdvojene peći koje su radile u 4. st. Iako Iskra-Janošić (2001: 107–109) piše o pećima koje su radile u kasnom 4. st., a riječ je o pozicijama u ulici Hrvatskih žrtava i Frankopanskoj ulici, u ranijim radovima (Iskra-Janošić 1996: 144) rad peći iz ulice Hrvatskih žrtava opredjeljuje u ranocarsko razdoblje, dok peć iz Frankopanske ulice Dimitrijević (1979: 156) na osnovi keramike datira u kraj 3. i početak 4. st. Jedina peć koje rad sa sigurnošću možemo smjestiti u 4. st. jest staklarska peć (sl. 15) istražena na poziciji Ulica bana Josipa Jelačića 11 (karta 1: 51), novcem Konstancija II. (337–361. g.) nađenim u sloju gara ispod peći datirana u 4. st.

Kako nam svjedoče arheološka istraživanja, ruševine rimskog grada bile su u svom središnjem i istočnom dijelu napuštene krajem 6. st. te su tako stajale sve do 17. st., kada se na pretpostavljenom središnjem prostoru Cibala razvijaju novovjekovni Vinkovci. Kontinuitet života arheološki je potvrđen samo na prostoru zapada Cibala, što donekle objašnjava razorenost rimske arhitekture u tom dijelu grada. Već i činjenica da su ranoromanička i gotička crkva Sv. Ilije na Meraji (također zapadni rub rimskog grada) u svojim temeljima građene od rimskih opeka govore tomu u prilog. Ostatak Cibala međutim također je sačuvan samo u trgovinama, češće u temeljima nego u zidovima. Radi li se tu o zubu vremena ili o nivelaciji terena prilikom gradnje baroknog središta grada, u sadašnjem stanju istraženosti ne može se sa sigurnošću reći. Da je antička građa sekundarno korištena, možda još i u

use, perhaps even in the Late Antique period, is confirmed by a series of recessed imprints of foundations, i.e., the trenches of foundations from which all of the construction materials have been removed (Fig. 16), and such cases have been registered in all newer research into Cibalae. Thus, it is understandable that under such conditions the “highest” architecture, the buildings of the fourth century, were the first to incur damage.

No definitive conclusions can even be drawn concerning the components of examined architecture dated to the fourth century. The general conclusion is that if the architecture situated relatively shallowly or made rather poorly, then it belongs to the fourth century. Newer research has nonetheless partially negated such stances. For some of the foundations and walls examined at the Ivana Gundulića street 39 site, dated to the fourth century based on coins discovered in the foundations, indicate very high quality construction (Fig. 13). A similar case occurred during research at the city’s main promenade, the Korzo, where the larger part of a building was examined in test trench A which had a coin of Valens in its foundations, and which exhibited quality construction. A poorly constructed building, dated to the third century, was also examined at the same site (Fig. 17). Newer research therefore points to the need to comprehensively publish individual sites, for only such an (interdisciplinary) approach would allow for any final conclusions. Since the Roman-era materials, and thus the architecture as well, have not been analyzed, it is difficult to estimate the quantity ratio between older and younger buildings. At individual locations, there are finds from two or more Roman-era construction phases,



Slika 16. Ispražnjeni rov rimskog temelja – primjer sekundarnog korištenja građevinskog materijala na lokaciji Ulica Matije Gupca 14 (snimio: H. Vulić, 2007, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 16. Emptied Roman foundation trench – example of secondary use of construction material at Matije Gupca street 14 (photograph by: H. Vulić, 2007, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

kasnoantičkome razdoblju, svjedoči i niz temelja u negativu, odnosno ukopa temelja iz kojih je izvađen sav građevinski materijal (sl. 16), a takvi su slučajevi zabilježeni u novijim istraživanjima Cibala. Stoga je razumljivo da u takvim uvjetima najprije stradava “najviša” arhitektura, odnosno građevine 4. st.

Ni kod dijelova istražene arhitekture datirane u 4. st. ne mogu se sa sigurnošću donositi konačni zaključci. Opći je zaključak bio da ako je arhitektura smještena relativno plitko ili ako je rađena lošije, onda pripada vremenu 4. st. Novija nam istraživanja takve stavove ipak dijelom negiraju. Naime nekoliko temelja i zidova istraženih na poziciji Ulica Ivana Gundulića 39, nalazima novca u temeljima datiranih u 4. st., govore o vrlo kvalitetnoj gradnji (sl. 13). Sličan slučaj dogodio se i prilikom istraživanja na Korzu, gdje je u sondi A istražen dio većeg objekta koji je u temeljima sadržavao Valensov novac, a kvalitetno je građen. Na istom lokalitetu istražen je i lošije građen zid, datiran u 3. st. (sl. 17). Nove spoznaje tako nas usmjeravaju ka cjelovitoj objavi pojedinih lokaliteta, jer jedino takvim (interdisciplinarnim) pristupom smijemo donositi konačne zaključke. Kako je antička građa, a time i arhitektura, neobrađena, teško je pretpostaviti količinske odnose starijih i mlađih objekata. Na pojedinim lokacijama nalaze se dvije antičke građevinske faze, pa i više njih, što nije ni neuobičajeno ni čudno uzme li se u obzir vrijeme trajanja života u Cibalama. Takve lokacije potvrđuju i sekundarno korištenje građevinskog materijala, što će također otežati interpretaciju svih urbanih faza Cibala.

GRADSKE ULICE

Nadasve je zanimljiv podatak da brojna arheološka istraživanja i nadzori do danas nisu dali točne odgovore o položaju rimskih ulica unutar grada, kao ni lokaciju foruma. Pitanje jesu li one uništene ranijim iskopima provedenima bez kontrole ostaje otvoreno. U svakom slučaju, još je malo pozicija na kojima bi se one mogle tražiti. Stoga je još zanimljivija činjenica da su tri od četiri istražene rimske ceste datirane baš u 4. st. Izuzmemo li nalaz *decumanusa* na položaju “Foto” u Prolazu Alojzije Ullman, smještenu gotovo u centru grada, ostale tri ceste, odnosno njihovi segmenti, smješteni su u zapadnome dijelu Cibala, i to na sljedećim pozicijama: park sa spomenikom Kozarcu između Šetališta Dionizija Švagelja i Ulice Josipa Kozarca, Ulica Ivana Gorana Kovačića 4 i Duga ulica 20.

Dekuman (karta 1: 51), na kojem su se nalazili gepidski grobovi iz 6. st., vjerojatno je u funkciji bio još u 4. st., što pokazuju i nalazi novca na cesti, između



Slika 17. Istraženi zidovi objekata na lokaciji Korzo – u prvom planu zid iz 3. st., u drugom planu zid iz 4. st. (snimila: M. Krznarić Škrivanko, 2008, arhiv GMV).k)

Figure 17. Researched walls of building at Korzo site – third-century wall in foreground, fourth-century wall in backgrounds (photograph by: M. Krznarić Škrivanko, 2008, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

which is neither unusual nor odd if one takes into account the duration of life in Cibalae. Such locations also confirm the secondary use of building materials, which will also render interpretation of all urban phases of Cibalae even more difficult.

CITY STREETS

An entirely interesting fact is that archaeological research and supervision has thus far not generated any precise responses to the position of the Roman streets inside the city, nor the location of the forum. The question is whether they were destroyed by earlier digs done without supervision remains unanswered. In any case, there are few sites left where they could be sought. It is therefore even more interesting that three out of the four Roman roads were dated to precisely the fourth century. With the exception of the discovery of the *decumanus* at the “Foto” site in Alojzije Ullman alley, situated almost in the very heart of the town, the remaining three roads, or rather segments thereof, are situated in the western section of Cibalae at the following locations: the park with the monument to writer Josip Kozarac between Dionizija Švagelja promenade and Josipa Kozarca street, and Ivana Gorana Kovačića street 4 and Duga street.

The *decumanus* (map 1: 51), in which there were Gepid graves from the sixth century, was probably still functional in the fourth century, which is indicated by the finds of coins on the road, including a coin of Emperor Constans (335-350), while the youngest coin in the excavation at this site was minted by Emperor Gratianus (367-383), and finds of coins minted by all fourth century rulers have been

ostaloga i cara Konstansa (335–350. g.), dok najmlađi novac u iskopu na tom položaju pripada caru Gracijanu (367–383. g.), a zabilježeni su nalazi novca svih vladara 4. st. Iako fragmentarno očuvan, u jednom je dijelu otkriven njegov puni profil. Uz noga stup, rađen od jednog reda opeka, kolnik je (sl. 18) rađen višeslojno. Pravokutno lomljene opeke, koso slagane, sa šupljinama popunjenima kamenjem činile su prvi sloj. Drugi sloj činio je sitan šljunak i žuti pijesak na koji su polagane vodoravno postavljene opeke, učvršćene slojem sivog pijeska i vapna, u koji su umetani tesani kameni blokovi koji su bili hodna površina ceste smjera sjeverozapad–jugoistok (Iskra-Janošić 1994: 81). Cesta na kraju Šetališta Dionizija Švagelja, prema Ulici Josipa Kozarca (karta 1: 52), zabilježena je u iskopu plinovoda 1994. g., a njezin opis donosi terenski dnevnik: širina rimske ulice je 8,40 m, a temelj joj čine lomljeni kamen, šljunak, pijesak i vapno, ukupne debljine 0,60 m (Iskra-Janošić 1996a: 126). Zaštitno istraživanje na položaju Ulica Ivana Gorana Kovačića 4 (karta 1: 53) rezultiralo je mladim ukopima oštećene rimske ceste očuvane širine 4,20 m, datirane u 4. st. Ispod nje otkriven je naime temelj u rimsko doba razrušena objekta, građa kojeg je iskorištena pri gradnji ceste, koja je imala smjer sjeveroistok–jugozapad (Krznić Škrivanko 2002: 212). Jedina indicija za dataciju te ceste u 4. st. jest način gradnje (Iskra-Janošić 2002: 76). Istovremeni segment rimske ceste istog smjera u širini od 6 m, ispod koje je otkriven i kolektor (kanalizacija), istražen je na poziciji Duga ulica 20 (karta 1: 54). Cesta je (sl. 19) izgrađena od jednoslojne lomljene opeke, a na njoj su bili vidljivi kolotrazi. Datacija u 4. st. proizlazi iz načina gradnje i komparacije (sporednog) kolektora na toj lokaciji s glavnim kolektorom u Prolazu Alojzije Ullman (Iskra-Janošić 2001a; Krznić Škrivanko 2002: 210). U sveukupnu nedostatak informacija o Cibalama svakako je jedan od zanimljivijih podataka onaj o samo četiri istražena segmenta rimskih ulica; *decumanus* je djelomično istražen samo na jednoj poziciji, a položaj *cardo* pretpostavljen je samo nalazima grobova i arhitekture. Polovina istraženih cesta nalazi se izvan užeg gradskog areala, odnosno radi se o prilaznim sporednim cestama. Sporedna gradska ulica na položaju Duga ulica 20 potvrđena je i sporednom granom gradskog kolektora istraženom ispod nje. Pitanje jesu li rimske ceste stradale višestoljetnim nivelacijama uslijed intenzivne gradnje ili su ostale nezabilježene (odnosno devastirane) prilikom nekontroliranih gradnji zasada mora ostati otvoreno.

registered. Although fragmentarily preserved, its full profile was discovered at one section. Alongside the sidewalk, made of a single row of bricks, the carriageway (Fig. 18) was made in multiple layers. Rectangularly broken bricks, laid diagonally, with cavities filled by stones, formed the first layer. The second layer consisted of fine gravel and yellow sand on which bricks were laid horizontally, reinforced with a layer of grey sand and limestone, into which dressed stone blocks were placed and which formed the usable surface of the road with a north-west to south-east orientation (Iskra-Janošić 1994: 81). A road at the end of Dionizija Švagelja promenade toward Josipa Kozarca street (map 1: 52) was recorded during the excavation for the natural gas pipeline in 1994, and it was described in the field log: the width of the Roman road is 8.4 m, while its foundation consists of broken stone, gravel, sand and limes, with a total thickness of 0.6 m (Iskra-Janošić 1996a: 126). Rescue research conducted at the Ivana Gorana Kovačića street 4 site (map 1: 53) yielded a Roman road damaged by recent pits preserved to a width of 4.2 m, dated to the fourth century. The foundations of a building demolished in the Roman era were found beneath it, and materials from this building were used to construct the road, which had a north-east to south-west orientation (Krznić Škrivanko 2002: 212). The sole indication for dating this road to the fourth century is the construction technique (Iskra-Janošić 2002: 76). A coterminous segment of a Roman road with the same orientation to a width of 6 m, below which a sewage line was discovered, was researched at the Duga street 20 location (map 1: 54). The road (Fig. 19) was made of a single layer of broken brick, on which wheel ruts were visible. Dating to the fourth century is based on the construction technique and comparison of the (adjunct) sewage line at this location with the main line in Alojzije Ullman alley (Iskra-Janošić 2001a; Krznić Škrivanko 2002: 210).

In the overall absence of information on Cibala, certainly the most intriguing aspect is that there are only four researched segments of Roman roads; the *decumanus* has only been examined at a single location, while the location of the *cardo* has been presumed based only on finds of graves and architecture. Half of the researched roads are outside of the narrower urban zone, i.e., they are secondary access roads. The secondary city street at the Duga street 20 location has been confirmed by the adjunct branch of the city sewer examined below it. The question is whether the Roman roads were devastated by many centuries of levelling for the needs of intensive construction or whether they remained unregistered (and destroyed) during uncontrolled construction thus far remains unanswered.



Slika 18. Pogled na decumanus tijekom istraživanja na lokaciji Prolaz Alojzije Ullman (snimila: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1993, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 18. View of decumanus during research at Alojzije Ullman alley (photograph by: I. Iskra-Janošić, 1993, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).



Slika 19. Rimska ulica s tragovima kola na lokaciji Duga ulica 20 (snimio: M. Dizdar, 2001, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 19. Roman street with traces of wheel ruts at Duga street 20 (photograph by: M. Dizdar, 2001, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

THE PROBLEM OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN HORIZON AND MILITARY CAMPS

When discussing the Late Antique topography, it is certainly necessary to touch upon the heritage of the faith which was proclaimed the state religion by the so-called Edict of Milan in 313. The finds thus far recognized as the Early Christian horizon in Cibalae have also been confirmed in the “The Record of Martyrdom of St. Pollio Primericus Lector in Cibalae” (cf. Ulman 1993: 98-100), a source characterized as a subsequent reworking of an original document (Jarak 1994: 27). The document “The Passion of St. Pollio” has been dated to the latter half of the fourth century, while Pollio’s actual martyrdom is associated with the persecutions of Emperor Diocletian in 304. (*Ibid.* 29-30). Besides Bishop Eusebius in the third century, no written data on the names of his successors have been preserved, and Bishop Gaius, whose diocese has not been recorded in the sources, may possibly be linked to Cibalae (*Ibid.* 34). The appearance of Arianism in Pannonia during the fourth century only exacerbates any attempt at a proper interpretation (*Ibid.* 37-38). According to a statement in the “Passion”, Pollio was burned one Roman mile (1,478.5 m) from the city (Ulman 1993: 100). This site corresponds to the location Kamenica, an integral component of the Vinkovci suburb Mirkovci. Since no research has

PROBLEM RANOKRŠĆANSKOG HORIZONTA I VOJNIH LOGORA

U kasnoantičkoj topografiji svakako je potrebno dotaknuti se i baštine religije koja je tzv. Milanskim ediktom 313. g. proglašena državnom. Nalazi koji su za sada prepoznati kao ranokršćanski horizont Cibala potvrđeni su i *Mučeničkim spisom Svetog Poliona Primericusu Lektora u Cibalama* (usp. Ulman 1993: 98–100), izvoru koji je okarakteriziran kao kasnije prerađen originalni dokument (Jarak 1994: 27). Zapis *Pasije Sv. Poliona* datira se u drugu polovinu 4. st., dok se samo Polionovo stradanje veže uz progone cara Dioklecijana 304. g. (*ibid.* 29–30). Osim biskupa Euzebija iz 3. st. nisu sačuvani pisani podaci o imenima njegovih nasljednika, eventualno se panonski biskup Gaj, kojem u izvorima nije zabilježena biskupija, može vezati uz Cibale (*ibid.* 34). Pojava arijanstva u Panoniji tijekom 4. st. samo još više otežava pravilnu interpretaciju (*ibid.* 37–38). Prema navodu iz pasije Polion je spaljen 1 rimsku milju (1478,5 m) od grada (Ulman 1993: 100). Tom položaju odgovara lokalitet Kamenica, danas integralni dio vinkovačkog predgrađa Mirkovaca. Kako na tom lokalitetu nije bilo istraživanja, pretpostavke koje su iznijete (Dimitrijević 1979: 180 i d.; Migotti 1994: 48) i dalje stoje, odnosno vjerojatno se radi o vili rustici na osnovi koje je izgrađena martijalno-cemeterijalna bazilika. Napominjemo da je lokalitet bio “zaštićen” tijekom Domovinskog rata jer se više od 15 godina nalazio u minski sumnjivu području. Tijekom 2010. g. ponovno je počela intenzivna poljoprivredna obrada tijekom koje na površinu izlaze ulomci mramornih oplata na jednoj od kojih je sačuvan i dio kristograma. U tijeku je proces zaštite lokaliteta. Pokretni nalazi koji svjedoče o tragovima kršćanstva u Cibalama svode se na nalaze sanduka sarkofaga s urezanim prikazom ribe, vjerojatno se radi o sekundarnoj uporabi koju možemo datirati u 4. st., zatim na nadgrobnu ploču s kristogramom i još jedan ulomak nadgrobne ploče (Migotti 1994a: 98). Problem ubikacije crkve, odnosno građevine u kojoj se okupljala kršćanska zajednica također nije adekvatno riješen. Kao moguća rješenja (Migotti 1994: 48; Iskra-Janošić 2001: 141) spominju se sljedeće lokacije: Ulica bana Josipa Jelačića 7 (pravoslavna crkva), Ulica Jurja Dalmatinca (PIK) i Duga ulica 40. Lokacija na položaju današnje pravoslavne crkve spominje se na osnovi nalaza ulomka staokršćanske nadgrobne ploče (Brunšmid 1909: 175, br. 371). Kako je pravoslavna crkva u Vinkovcima za vrijeme Domovinskog rata minirana i srušena, tijekom 2007. g. započeta je njezina obnova tijekom koje je vršen nadzor nad iskopima temelja, koji su u potpunosti pratili stare temelje, tako da nije bilo moguće

been conducted at this site, the hypotheses stated previously (Dimitrijević 1979: 180 ff.; Migotti 1994: 48) still apply, and it is likely that it was a *villa rustica* on which foundations the martial/cemeterial basilica was constructed. It should be noted that it was “safeguarded” during Croatia’s Homeland War, since it was inside a tract suspected of being riddled with landmines for over fifteen years. During 2010, intense agricultural cultivation commenced, bringing to the surface fragments of marble lining, one of which featured part of a Christogram. The process of preserving the site is under way. The movable finds which testify to the vestiges of Christianity in Cibalae are limited to a sarcophagus coffin with a fish image engraved on it, probably in secondary use which may be dated to the fourth century, followed by a gravestone with a Christogram and another gravestone fragment (Migotti 1994a: 98). The problem of pinpointing the church, i.e., the structure in which the Christian community gathered, has not been satisfactorily solved. Possible solutions (Migotti 1994: 48; Iskra-Janošić 2001: 141) are the following: Bana Josipa Jelačića street 7 (Orthodox church), Jurja Dalmatinca street (PIK) and Duga street 40. The location at the site of today’s Orthodox church is mentioned on the basis of finds of fragments of an Early Christian gravestone (Brunšmid 1909: 175, no. 371). Since the Orthodox church in Vinkovci was bombed and demolished in the war in Croatia in the early 1990s, during 2007 its reconstruction was launched, and at this time the excavation of its foundations were supervised. These foundations entirely adhered to the old foundations, so that it was not possible to prove the hypothesis on the existence of an Early Christian structure at the site. The situation concerning the location at Duga street 40 is also clarified here; according to Iskra-Janošić, the apse of the Early Christian church was researched. Thus, it would appear that the location in Jurja Dalmatinca street (PIK administrative building), combined with the research in Kralja Zvonimira street 14-18, is closest to the truth. At the PIK site, a part of a structure – a wall and two footings – stratigraphically situated between the third-century structure (temple) and late fourth-century granary (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 93) were researched. It is assumed to have had an Early Christian purpose (Migotti 1994: 48). If this building is linked to finds of pagan deity statues built into the foundations of the building examined in the Kezman garden in 1897 (Brunšmid 1902: 137-143) and the architectural finds in the form of foundational substructures (Korda 1961: 64), one may speculate as to the site of an Early Christian church at this location. All of the aforementioned finds

dokazati pretpostavke o postojanju starokršćanskog objekta na toj poziciji. U ovome radu pojašnjena je i situacija s lokacijom u Dugoj ulici 40, na kojoj je prema Iskri-Janošić istražena apsida ranokršćanskog objekta. Stoga se najbližom istini čini lokacija u Ulici Jurja Dalmatinca (Upravna zgrada PIK-a), kombinirana s istraživanjima u Ulici kralja Zvonimira 14–18. Na lokaciji PIK istražen je dio objekta – zid i dvije temeljne stope – stratigrafski pozicioniran između građevine 3. st. (hrama) i žitnice iz kasnog 4. st. (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 93), za koji se pretpostavlja ranokršćanska namjena (Migotti 1994: 48). Ako se taj objekt poveže s nalazima kipova poganskih božanstava uzidanih u temelje objekta istraženog 1897. g. u vrtu Kezman (Brunšmid 1902: 137–143) i nalazima arhitekture u vidu temeljnih supstrukcija (Korda 1961: 64), može se na toj lokaciji pretpostaviti položaj starokršćanske eklezije. Sve navedeno neosporno svjedoči o postojanju kršćanstva u Cibalama, ali ne daje jasnu sliku pomoću koje bismo bili u stanju rekonstruirati sliku kršćanske zajednice.

Drugi problem vezan uz Cibale čine u izvorima spomenuti logori rimske carske vojske. Prva velika bitka, poznata i kao *Bellum Cibalensis*, odigrala se 8. oktobra 316. između Konstantina I. i Licinija (Pohlsander 1996: 39). Bitka se u starijoj literaturi redovito datirala u 314. g. (Mirković 1997: 152 i d.), no numizmatički materijal, kao i prikazi Licinija na Konstantinovu slavloluku građenu 315. g., u kombinaciji s Konstantinovima itinerarom doveli su do zaključka da se bitka kod Cibala mogla održati tek 316. g. (Popović 2000: 190). Opis bitke zabilježen je kod antičkih pisaca – Zosima (II, 18,3), anonimna Valesija (I, 5.15–16), Aurelija Viktora (*Epit.* 41, 5), Eutropija (X, 5), Orozija (VII, 28), Sozomena (I, VI). Povod ratu, koji je uslijed čestih razmirica bio neizbježan, Konstantin je našao u Licinijevu neizručivanju rođaka Senecija i rušenju Konstantinovih kipova u Emoni (pod Licinijevom upravom). Odlučujuća bitka vodila se u ravnici pored grada, gdje se Licinije utaborio s 35 000 vojnika, a Konstantinova vojska od 20 000 ljudi dolazi sa zapada i s brežuljka napada Licinijevu. Bitka je trajala cijeli dan i završila je Licinijevim bijegom u Sirmij, nakon čega se i njegova vojska povlači u neredu. Konstantin je pored Cibala ostvario prvu pobjedu nad Licinijem. Prema Zosimovim opisima lokacija odigravanja bitke mogla bi se smjestiti na vrlo široku području toponima Blato, sjeverno od današnjih Vinkovaca, iznad kojeg se nalaze prve padine đakovačkog ravnjaka na toponimu Borinci-Draganovci, odnosno jedino “brdo” u blizini Cibala (Šulzer-Müggenburg 1964: 10, n. 3). Iako je ta ubikacija ponajprije topografska, odnosno nema čvrsta uporišta u arheološkom istraživanju,

irrefutably testify to the existence of Christianity in Cibalae, but do not provide a clear picture that would facilitate the reconstruction of a picture of the Christian community.

The other problem tied to Cibalae pertains the camps of the Roman imperial army mentioned in the sources. The first major battle, known also as *Bellum Cibalensis* (Battle of Cibalae) was waged on 8 October 316 between Constantine I and Licinius (Pohlsander 1996: 39). In the older literature, the battle is regularly dated to 314 (Mirković 1997: 152 ff.), but the numismatic materials, like the portrayals of Licinius on Constantine’s triumphal arch constructed in 315, in combination with Constantine’s itinerary, have pointed to the conclusion that the battle at Cibalae may have only occurred in 316 (Popović 2000: 190). Descriptions of the battle were recorded by the ancient writers: Zosimus (II, 18,3), Anonymous Valesius (I, 5.15-16), Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* 41, 5), Eutropius (X, 5), Orosius (VII, 28) and Sozomen (I, VI). Constantine found the impetus for this war, which became inevitable due to frequent disputes, in the failure of Licinius to hand over Constantine’s relative Senecio and the toppling of Constantine’s statue in Aemona (under the administration of Licinius). The decisive battle was fought in the plain next to the city, where Licinius was encamped with 35,000 soldiers, while Constantine’s army of 20,000 marched from the west and attacked Licinius from a hillock. The battle lasted the entire day and ended with Licinius taking flight to Sirmium, whereafter his army retreated in disorder. Constantine secured his first victory over Licinius next to Cibalae. According to the writings of Zosimus, the site of the battle may be placed at the very broad area known under the toponym Blato, north of today’s Vinkovci, above which stand the first slopes of the Đakovo plain under the toponym Borinci-Draganovci, i.e., the only “hill” in the vicinity of Cibalae (Šulzer-Müggenburg 1964: 10, n. 3). Even though this location has been derived mostly by topography, meaning there is no solid support provided by archaeological research, the discovery of a gold coin of Licinius in a demolished grave at the Žankovac farm, a component of the Blato toponym, provides some indirect evidence in this regard (Tomičić 1999: 207; Jozić 2006: 11).

The other battle is associated with Emperor Constantius II and the usurper Magnentius (for the course of the battle, cf. Gračanin 2003: 13). This battle has also been recorded in the ancient sources: Zosimus (II, 45–63), Sozomen (IV, VII), Orosius (VII, 29), Eutropius (X,12), and Aurelius Victor (*Epit.* 42, 4). As a result of initial losses, Constantius

na nju neizravno ukazuje i nalaz Licinijeva zlatnika iz razorena groba na lokaciji ekonomije Žankovac (Tomičić 1999: 207; Jozić 2006: 11), sastavnome dijelu toponima Blato.

Druga bitka vezana je za cara Konstancija II. i uzurpatora Magnencija (za tijek bitke usp. Gračanin 2003: 13). I ta je bitka zabilježena u antičkim izvorima – Zosim (II, 45–63), Sozomen (IV, VII), Orozije (VII, 29), Eutropije (X,12), Aurelije Viktor (*Epit.* 42, 4). Uslijed početnih gubitaka Konstancije se utvrđuje kod Cibala. Detaljan opis logora dao je Zosim (II, 63): Konstancije podiže logor između brda na kojem leži grad i ravnice kojom teče Sava uključivši u nj čitavo područje koje rijeka opasava dubokim jarkom i jakim bedemom, a mostom od brodova premostio je rijeku koja ga je okruživala. Na osnovi tog opisa pretpostavljen je položaj logora na području današnje gradske četvrti Kanovci, smještene uz desnu obalu velika meandra Bosuta na čijem vrhu leže Vinkovci. Podatak nije potvrđen nikakvim nalazima, odnosno nije arheološki utemeljen. Dapače, na samom vrhu meandra koji Bosut čini kod Vinkovaca nalazi se južna nekropola Cibala, pa je teško vjerovati da se logor diže na toj poziciji. Veća količina pokretnog materijala iz rimskog razdoblja nalazi se na oranicama zapadno od prapovijesnog lokaliteta Marica, smještenog na samom jugu četvrti Kanovci. Taj položaj nalazi se, doduše, dalje od grada, ali se pruža uz pretpostavljeni smjer južne ceste iz Cibala. Ostaje time otvoreno pitanje povezivanja logora i grada mostom, ali ako se u grad ubroji podgrađe, odnosno vile suburbane registrirane na području Krnjaša (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 51), taj položaj postaje trenutno najbolji prijedlog rješenja ubikacije Konstancijeva logora, koji bi se morao dokazati i arheološkim istraživanjima.

NEKROPOLE CIBALA S POSEBNIM OSVRTOM NA KASNOANTIČKE GROBNE CJELINE 4. STOLJEĆA

Tijekom vremena zaštitna arheološka istraživanja i nadzori iskopa u područjima nekropola dali su šarolike rezultate. Cibalitanske nekropole nalaze se na sve četiri strane grada, a karta u prilogu (karta 2) donosi rasprostiranje nekropola prema trenutnom stanju istraženosti. Zastupljeni su svi tipovi ukopa, iako su ukopi u raci i zidanim grobovima daleko nadmašili broj ukopa u sarkofazima (4), olovnim škrinjama (3) i paljevinske grobove (3).

Dugo je najbolje istražena i dokumentirana bila sjeverna nekropola (karta 2, crveno), koja je zauzimala prostor u produžetku sjevernog gradskog bedema, a za svoju je okosnicu imala cestu prema Mursi. Ta

set up a stronghold at Cibalae. A detailed description of the camp was provided by Zosimus (II, 63): Constantius raised a camp between the hill on which the city lies and the plain through which the Sava River flows, encompassing in it the entire territory bounded by the river with a deep trench and sturdy rampart, and he had a bridge made of boats placed to cross the river surrounding him. Based on this description, the location of the camp has been presumed to be in the area of the present-day city district Kanovci, situated along the right bank of a large meander of the Bosut River which terminates in Vinkovci. This has not been confirmed by any concrete finds, i.e., it has no basis in archaeology. In fact, the southern necropolis of Cibalae lies at the very end of this meander made by the Bosut at Vinkovci, so it is difficult to believe that a camp was raised at this site. A high quantity of movable materials from the Roman era was found in the ploughfields west of the prehistoric Marica site, situated at the southern edge of the Kanovci precinct. This location is rather far from the city, but it extends along the presumed direction of the southern road leading out of Cibalae. This leaves open the question of the link between the camp and the city by bridge, but if the suburbs, i.e., the *villae suburbanae* registered in the Krnjaš area (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 51), are included in the city's territory, then this location becomes the currently best possibility for the site of Constantine's camp, which should also be proven by archaeological research.

CIBALAE NECROPOLISES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LATE ANTIQUE GRAVE UNITS OF THE FOURTH CENTURY

Over time, the archaeological rescue research and supervision of excavations in the necropolis zones yielded diverse results. The Cibalae necropolises lie at all four ends of the city, and the attached (map 2) shows the expanse of the necropolises based on the current level of research. All burial types are presented, although burials in simple grave cuts and in stone-built graves far surpass the number of burials in sarcophagi (4), lead coffins (3) and incineration graves (3).

For long the northern necropolis was the best researched and documented (map 2, red); it covered the area just past the northern city rampart, and the road to Mursa formed its axis. This road passed slightly to the of today's Zvonimirova street, and its position has been assumed entirely on the basis of grave finds. The more elite graves were situated

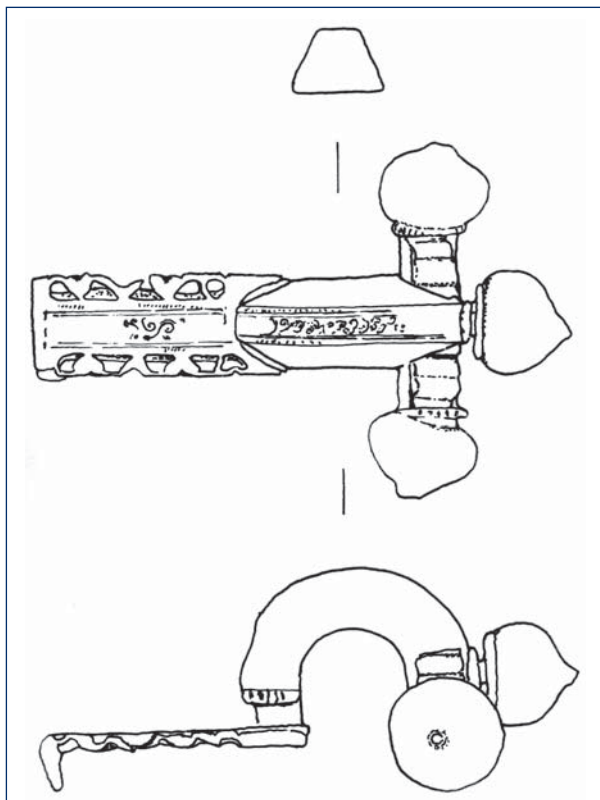


Karta 2. Nekropole Cibala – stanje istraživanja do 2009. g. (autor: A. Rapan Papeša, 2010).

Map 2. Necropolises of Cibalae – state of research as at 2009 (by: A. Rapan Papeša, 2010).

cesta išla je nešto istočnije od današnje Zvonimirove ulice, a njezin je položaj pretpostavljen isključivo nalazima grobova. Elitniji grobovi nalazili su se uz spomenutu cestu i odatle potječu dva sarkofaga, dvije stele umirovljenih časnika i gornji dio stele vojnika u tunici, kao i velik broj ukopa u rakama i zidanim grobnicama. Raspon nalaza iz tih grobova kreće se od početka 2. do početka 5. st. (Dimitrijević 1979: 156). Grobove 4. st. nalazimo na cijelu području rasprostiranja te velike nekropole, a najmlađi grobovi smješteni su u na lokaciji PIK (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69). Sjevernoj nekropoli rimskih Cibala na lokaciji PIK (karta 2.1) pripada 25 ukopa (30 individua) datiranih u 4. i 5. st. U njih 9 otkriveni su prilozi: novac (u rasponu od Konstantina I. /307–337. g./ do Konstancija II. /337–361. g./), lukovičaste fibule (tipovi Prötell 2C i Prötell 3/4 B, koji se datiraju od 330. do 400. g., te tip Prötell 6 /sl. 20/, koji se

along the aforementioned road, whence two sarcophagi, two stelae of retired officers and the upper section of a soldier in a tunic, as well as a large number of grave pits and brick-built graves originated. The chronological range of finds from these graves runs from the second to the early fifth centuries (Dimitrijević 1979: 156). Fourth-century graves can be found throughout the territorial extent of this large necropolis, and the youngest graves are situated at the PIK location (Iskra-Janošić 1977a: 69). Twenty-five burials (thirty individuals) are part of the northern necropolis of Roman Cibalae at the PIK location (map 2.1) and they date to the fourth and fifth centuries. The following goods were found in nine of them: coins (ranging from Constantine I /307-337/ to Constantius II /337-361/), Zwiebelknopf fibulae (Prötell 2C and Prötell 3/4 B, which date from 330 to 400, and Prötell type



Slika 20. Fibula tipa Pröttel 6 iz groba 1 na lokaciji PIK (autor: J. Letunić, 2007, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 20. Pröttel 6 type fibula from grave 1 at PIK site (author: J. Letunić, 2007, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

datira u kraj 4. i prvu polovinu 5. st.), nakit (naušnice i narukvice koje se prema paralelama datiraju u 4. st.), te nalazi željeznih noževa, čavala i klamfi (Rapan Papeša 2009). U 4. st. datiraju se i “masovne” grobnice (karta 2.2) neposredno ispred sjevernog opkopa u Ulici Jurja Dalmatinca (Dimitrijević 1979: 156). Grobove datirane priložima 3. i 4. st. (karta 2.3) istraživao je i Korda (1960: 21–29), a u najvećoj mjeri Iskra-Janošić, i to na nekoliko pozicija u Aninoj ulici, Ulici kralja Zvonimira, Ulici Jurja Dalmatinca, Ulici Vladimira Nazora i Ulici Antuna Mihanovića. Nažalost, većina tih grobova opljačkana je i/ili bez priloga, što otežava preciznije datiranje pojedinačnih nalaza. U Aninoj ulici 2b (karta 2.4) istraženo je 2007. g. 12 kosturnih ukopa. Budući da konzervacija nalaza (sl. 21) još traje, oni se na osnovi nalaza (koštani češalj, kopče, novac) preliminarno mogu datirati u 4. st. (Vulić & Krznarić Škrivanko 2008: 69). U razdoblju od 2007. do 2010. g. u Ulici Jurja Dalmatinca na kućnim brojevima 19 (karta 2.5), 23 (karta 2.6) i 49 (karta 2.7) istraženo je ukupno 12 kosturnih ukopa, od kojih je većina bila bez priloga, a nalazi (koštani češalj) omogućuju datiranje tih grobova u 4. st. Grobovi 4. st. datirani nalazima (koštani češalj) istraživani su na poziciji Ulica



Slika 21. Grob 4 s prilogom koštanog češlja na lokaciji Anina ulica 2b (snimila: M. Krznarić Škrivanko, 2007, arhiv GMVK).

Figure 21. Grave 4 containing bone comb at Anina street 2b (photograph by: M. Krznarić Škrivanko, 2007, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

6 /Fig. 20/ which dates to the end of the fourth and first half of the fifth centuries), jewellery (earrings and bracelets dated based on parallels to the fourth century), and iron knives, nails and clamps (Rapan Papeša 2009). The “massive” graves (map 2.2) immediately in front of the northern trench in Jurja Dalmatinca street have also been dated to the fourth century (Dimitrijević 1979: 156). The graves dated on the basis of goods to the third and fourth centuries (map 2.3) were also researched by Korda (1960: 21-29), and to the greatest extent by Iskra-Janošić at several locations in Anina, Kralja Zvonimira, Jurja Dalmatinca, Vladimira Nazora and Antuna Mihanovića streets. Unfortunately, most of these graves were looted and/or without goods, which renders precise dating of individual finds difficult. At Anina street 2b (map 2.4) twelve skeletal burials were researched in 2007. Since the conservation of finds (Fig. 21) is still ongoing, based on the finds (bone comb, buckles, coins) they may be preliminarily dated to the fourth century (Vulić & Krznarić Škrivanko 2008: 69). During the period from 2007 to 2010, a total of twelve skeletal graves were examined in Jurja Dalmatinca street at house numbers 19

Vladimira Nazora 27 (karta 2.8) (Iskra-Janošić 1994: 69; *Vinkovci* 1999: 139). Iako nedostaje točan broj grobova koje je istraživao J. Brunšmid i zanemarimo li usmene podatke o uništavanju grobova tijekom nelegalnih iskopa, ukupno je na sjevernoj nekropoli registrirano oko 180 ukopa, a za njih 112 postoji i sačuvana dokumentacija. Kako detaljna obrada nije napravljena, teško je odrediti točan broj ukopa 4. st., ali preliminarno se može govoriti o 70-ak ukopa.

Za južnu nekropolu (karta 2, plavo) nedostajali su svježiji podaci, a sva saznanja o njoj bazirala su se donedavno na podacima J. Brunšmida, koji u svom kapitalnom djelu *Colonia Aurelia Cibalae* govori o nalazu rimskih grobova 3. i 4. st. na južnoj nekropoli Cibala, gdje je za Narodni muzej u Zagrebu sakupio veću količinu nalaza s položaja bivšeg vrta Brodske imovne općine i vrta gostionice “Žaba” te na položaju Pjeskana I (Brunšmid 1902: 156–161). Na Pjeskani, unutar kruga bivše tvornice “Proleter”, amaterski je istraživao i Matija Klajn, prvi kustos Muzeja (1961: 12). Sve do jeseni 2008. g. (iskopavanje za vinkovačko plivalište) u tom dijelu grada nije bilo intenzivnije gradnje, tako da nisu zabilježeni novi grobovi, a nove podatke dobili smo i istraživanjem u ljeto 2009. g. Preliminarno, Brunšmidova datacija južne nekropole potvrđena je i novim nalazima, ali svakako upitan ostaje podatak o vojničkome groblju jer među 70 novootkrivenih grobova (karta 2.9) nalazimo sve dobne skupine oba spola (Šlaus *et al.* 2009). Kosturni ukop istražen 2008. g. na položaju Lenije/Bazen (karta 2.10) za sada je najjužnija točka južne nekropole, a da pripada vremenu druge polovine 4. st., svjedoče nalazi novca cara Julijana Apostate (361–363. g.) i lukovičasta fibula (sl. 22). Ukupan broj grobova istraženih na južnoj nekropoli Cibala nije nam poznat jer nedostaje Brunšmidov podatak, a bez tog broja u arhivi Arheološkog odjela Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci čuva se dokumentacija za 71 istražen grob. Kako je obrada nalaza još u tijeku, ne možemo sa sigurnošću reći koliko tih grobova pripada 4. st., ali oni su pojedinim nalazima definitivno potvrđeni.

Najmanje nam je bilo poznato pravo stanje ukopavanja na istočnoj i zapadnoj nekropoli, za koje se uvriježilo mišljenje da su nekoherentne, razbacane i povremeno u uporabi.

Istočna nekropola (karta 2, roza) vjerojatno se pruža uz (neubiciranu) cestu za Sirmium. Premda je evidentirana, sadašnjim stanjem istraživanja teško je odrediti njezine granice. Veću koncentraciju grobova nalazimo na području Ulica bana Jelačića (kod Brunšmida Prkos ulica), Pavleka Miškine i Matije Gupca. Najviše podataka o grobovima daju nam stari nalazi (Brunšmid 1902: 152–154). U novije vrijeme komunalnim radovima otkrivena su tri groba, jedan

(map 2.5), 23 (map 2.6) and 49 (map 2.7), of which most were without goods, while the finds (bone comb) allowed the dating of these graves to the fourth century. Fourth-century graves dated by the finds (bone comb) were researched at the Vladimira Nazora street 27 site (map 2.8) (Iskra-Janošić 1994: 69; *Vinkovci* 1999: 139). Although the exact number of graves examined by J. Brunšmid is missing, and if oral testimony on the destruction of graves during illegal excavations are neglected, approximately 180 burials have been registered in the northern necropolis, and documentation has been preserved for 112 of them. Since no detailed analysis has yet been conducted, it is difficult to ascertain the total number of fourth-century burials, but preliminarily one may speak of roughly seventy burials.

Fresher data were lacking for the southern necropolis (map 2, blue), and all knowledge of it had until recently been based on Brunšmid's data, who in his major work *Colonia Aurelia Cibalae* spoke about the discovery of third- and fourth-century Roman graves in the southern necropolis, where he gathered (for the National Museum in Zagreb) a sizeable quantity of finds from the site of the former gardens of the Brod estate and the “Žaba” inn and at the Pjeskana I site (Brunšmid 1902: 156–161). At Pjeskana, in the ground of the former Proleter factory, amateur research was also conducted by Matija Klajn, the Museum's first curator (1961: 12). Until autumn 2008 (excavation at the Vinkovci bathing area), there was no major construction at this site, so no new graves were registered, but new data was yielded by research in the summer of 2009. Provisionally, Brunšmid's dating of the southern necropolis was confirmed by the new finds as well, although the data on the military cemetery certainly remain dubious, for among the 70 newly-discovered graves (map 2.9) all age groups and both sexes are present (Šlaus *et al.* 2009). The skeletal grave researched in 2008 at the Lenije/Bazen location (map 2.10) is thus far the southernmost point of the south necropolis, and its dating to the latter half of the fourth century is confirmed by the finds of coins of Emperor Julian the Apostate (361–363) and the Zwiebelknopf fibula (Fig. 22). The total number of graves researched in Cibalae's southern necropolis is not known, because Brunšmid's information is missing, while without this number documentation for seventy-one examined graves are held in the archives of the Archaeology Department of the Vinkovci Municipal Museum. Since analysis of the finds is still under way, it cannot be stated with certainty how many of these graves date to the fourth century, but based on some finds such graves have been definitely confirmed.



Slika 22. Grob 1 s prilogom lučne fibule na desnom ramenu na lokaciji Lenije/Bazen (snimio: H. Vulić, 2008, arhiv GMV).

Figure 22. Grave 1 containing bowed fibula at right shoulder of deceased at the Lenije/Bazen location (photograph by: H. Vulić, 2008, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

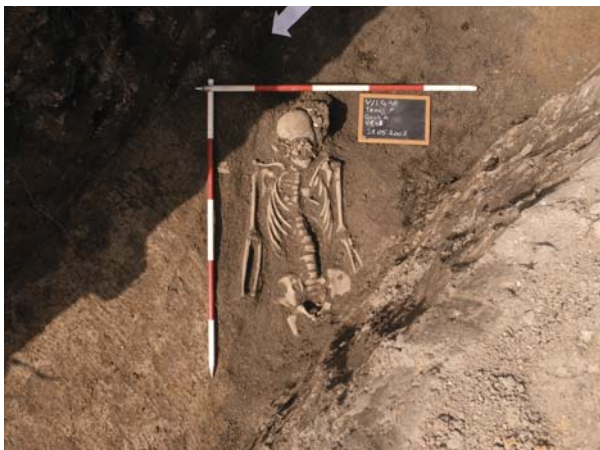
na raskrižju Ulice bana Jelačića i Radićeve, drugi na raskrižju Vojarske ulice i Ulice Pavleka Miškine, a treći u Pavleka Miškine broj 32 (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 106). Većina istraženih grobova datirana je u 3. st. Slično kao i do sada ukupan broj grobova istraženih na istočnoj nekropoli Cibala nije nam poznat jer nedostaju Brunšmidovi i Kordini podaci, a bez tog broja u arhivi Arheološkog odjela Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci čuva se dokumentacija za 4 istražena groba. Prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja grobova 4. st. na istočnoj nekropoli nema, iako je moguće da se neki od grobova bez priloga na toj nekropoli datiraju u kasno 4. st. (Dimitrijević 1979: 160)

Zapadna nekropola (karta 2, zeleno) smještena je uz cestu koja je vodila za Certissu (Štrbinci kod Đakova) i dalje za Marsoniju (Slavonski Brod). Do sada su grobovi zapadne nekropole bili registrirani u Ulici Ivana Gorana Kovačića (kbr. 32–40), Ulici Ivana Gundulića (Meraja), Dugoj ulici (kbr. 70), Ulici Josipa Kozarca (kbr. 4–6) i Ulici Ivana Kozarca (kbr. 25). Nalazi iz tih grobova, djelomično objavljeni, datirani su u 3. i 4. st., bez preciznijeg određivanja. U ljeto 2009. g. na zapadnoj nekropoli istražena su još 54 rimska groba, preliminarno datirana od 1. do 5. st. U Ulici Ivana Gorana Kovačića s desne strane, pod nazivom Vinkova ulica, grobove spominje još i Brunšmid (1902: 162), a kaže da je riječ o siromašnijim grobovima. Slične podatke donosi i Korda (1960: 49), spomenuvši nalaze grobova na kućnim brojevima 34 i 38. Istraživanje 2006. g. na poziciji u Ulici Ivana Gorana Kovačića 32 (karta 2.11) rezultiralo je otkrićem 9 kosturnih ukopa prilozima (keramičke posude, nakit, pojasne kopče) datiranih u kasnoantički period (Rapan Papeša 2007: 292–293; 2007a). Istraživanje u Ulici Ivana Gundulića

The least was known about the actual state of burials in the eastern and western necropolises, which according to the conventional view were incoherent, scattered and only occasionally in use.

The eastern necropolis (map 2, pink) probably extended along the (unlocated) road to Sirmium. Although registered, the present level of research makes it difficult to ascertain its boundary. A higher concentration of graves were found in the area of Bana Jelačića street (called Prkos street by Brunšmid), Pavleka Miškine street and Matije Gupca street. The most data on the graves are provided by older finds (Brunšmid 1902: 152–154). In more recent times, three graves were discovered during the course of utility infrastructure digs, the first at the intersection of Bana Jelačića and Radićeva streets, the second at the intersection of Vojarska and Pavleka Miškine streets, and the third at Pavleka Miškine street 32 (Iskra-Janošić 2001: 106). Most of the researched graves date to the third century. In a manner similar to the previous situation, the total number of graves researched at Cibalae's eastern necropolis is not known, as the data secured by Korda and Brunšmid are missing, and without this number, documentation on four researched graves are held in the archives of the Vinkovci Municipal Museum's Archaeology Department. Based on the current level of research, there are no fourth-century graves in the eastern necropolis, although it is possible that some of the graves without goods at this necropolis date to the late fourth century (Dimitrijević 1979: 160)

The western necropolis (map 2, green) is situated along the road which led to Certissa (Štrbinci, near Đakovo) and farther onward to Marsonia (Slavonski Brod). Thus far, graves of the western necropolis have been registered in Ivana Gorana Kovačića street (cadastral no. 32–40), Ivana Gundulića street (Meraja), Duga street (cadastral no. 70), Josipa Kozarca street (cadastral no. 4–6) and Ivana Kozarca street (cadastral no. 25). The finds from these graves, partially published, have been dated to the third and fourth centuries, without more precise determination. In the summer of 2009, an additional 54 Roman graves were researched, preliminarily dated from the first to fifth centuries. Graves on the right side of Ivana Gorana Kovačića street, then called Vinkova street, were already mentioned by Brunšmid (1902: 162), and he observed that these were poorer graves. Similar information was provided by Korda (1960: 49), who mentioned graves at house numbers 34 and 38. Research in 2006 at Ivana Gorana Kovačića street 32 (map 2.11) resulted in the discovery of nine skeletal burials, dated



Slika 23. Grob 4 s prilogom koštanog češlja na lokaciji Ulica I. Gundulića 48 (snimio: H. Vulić 2008., arhiv GMV/k).

Figure 23. Grave 4 containing bone comb at I. Gundulića 48 street (photograph by: H. Vulić, 2008, Vinkovci Town Museum archives).

48 (karta 2.12) 2007. g. s 5 otkrivenih kasnoantičkih kosturnih ukopa, datiranih priložima (sl. 23) i novcem careva 4. st. (Rapan Papeša 2008: 185–186), ukazalo je na odnos između fortifikacije Cibala i nekropole. Kako se ukopi vrše izvan gradskog areala, fortifikacijski sklop treba tražiti prema nižim kućnim brojevima (ali svakako prije kućnog broja 39, na kojem je istražena arhitektura stambenog objekta). Sve dosadašnje spoznaje o malom broju ukopa i vremenskom trajanju sahranjivanja na zapadnoj nekropoli negira veliko zaštitno istraživanje 2009. g., kada su na površini od oko 8 000 m² istražena 54 antička ukopa, a dio njih već se i preliminarno može odrediti kao kasnoantički. Istraživanje na poziciji trgovačkoga centra “Kaufland” (karta 2.13) dalo je nove spoznaje o vremenu trajanja ukopavanja u zapadnoj nekropoli (2–5. st.), načinu ukopavanja (paljevinski, kosturni u rakama, obični i u drvenim škrinjama, kosturni u zidanim grobnicama različitih konstrukcija), orijentaciji grobova i položaju ruku i nalaza. Među prepoznatljivim nalazima 4. st. s te lokacije potječu srebrni novac cara Konstansa, lukovičaste fibule i dijelovi pojasnih kopči, dok se ostali materijal trenutno nalazi na restauraciji i konzervaciji. Izuzmemo li Brunšmidove i Kordine podatke na zapadnoj je nekropoli dokumentirano oko 80 ukopa, a nakon detaljne obrade bit će poznat i točan broj grobova 4. st.

Što se pak grobova tiče, najveći problem pri istraživanju čine opljačkane i devastirane zidane grobnice, pljačkanje kojih je sigurno započelo još u antičko vrijeme. Najbolje nam podatke daju grobovi ukopani u zemljane rake, ali i u tom slučaju moramo biti oprezni jer uz grobove u rakama s nalazima dosta su česti i oni koji uz sebe nemaju nikakve priloge. Inače, nalazima datirane grobove 4. st. nalazimo

on the basis of their goods (ceramic vessels, jewelry, belt buckles) to Late Antiquity (Rapan Papeša 2007: 292–293; 2007a). Research at Ivana Gundulića street 48 (map 2.12) in 2007, with five discovered Late Antique skeletal burials, dated by the goods (Fig. 23) and imperial coins to the fourth-century (Rapan Papeša 2008: 185–186), has indicated a relationship between the fortifications of Cibalae and the necropolis. Since burials were done outside of the urban zone, the fortification complex should be sought toward the lower house numbers (but certainly before house number 39, at which the architecture of a residential building was examined). All previous knowledge on the small number of burials and the duration of interments in the western necropolis was overturned by the research in 2009, when fifty-four Roman-era burials were examined over a surface of approximately 8,000 m², and a part of them can already preliminarily be specified as Late Antique. Research at the Kaufland shopping centre site (map 2.13) has generated new knowledge on the duration of interments in the western necropolis (2nd–5th cent.), the burial methods (incineration, skeletal in pits, standard and in wooden coffins, skeletal in brick-built graves of varying structures), the orientation of graves and the position of the hands and goods. Among the recognizable finds of the fourth century from this location, there are silver coins of Emperor Constans, Zwiebelknopf fibulae and parts of belt buckles, but the remaining materials are currently undergoing restoration and conservation work. If the information provided by Brunšmid and Korda is excepted, roughly 80 burials have been documented at the western necropolis, and after thorough scrutiny, the exact number of fourth-century graves will be known.

As far as the graves are concerned, the greatest problem confronting research is the looted and devastated brick-built graves – their looting probably began as far back as Antiquity. The best data are provided by graves dug into earthen pits, but in this case caution must be exercised because even though grave pits with goods are frequently accompanied by those that contained no goods. Otherwise, graves dated to the fourth-century based on their goods were found in the northern, western and southern necropolises. These are coins ranging from Constantine the Great to Valens, Zwiebelknopf fibulae, various components of jewellery (bracelets, rings, necklaces), bone combs and ceramic vessels. Viewed by century, third- and fourth-century graves are the most dominant group in the Cibalae necropolises. First-century graves are almost unknown, and the picture for the second century is only slightly better.

na sjevernoj, zapadnoj i južnoj nekropoli. Riječ je o nalazima novca u rasponu od Konstantina Velikog do Valensa, lukovičastim fibulama, raznim dijelovima nakita (narukvice, prstenje, ogrlice), koštanima češljevima te prilozima keramičkih posuda 4. st. Gledano po stoljećima, grobovi 3. i 4. st. najdominantnija su skupina u cibalitanskim nekropolama. Grobovi 1. st. gotovo su nepoznati, a tek je nešto malo bolja slika u 2. st. Uzorak od dvjestotinjak istraženih grobova nije, doduše, reprezentativan, ali svakako svjedoči da u najveći razvoj i prosperitet grada na kraju 2. i početku 3. st. svakako treba uključiti i veći dio 4. st.

POKRETNi NALAZI 4. STOLJEĆA

U depoima Gradskog muzeja Vinkovci čuvaju se i pokretni nalazi 4. st., koji uglavnom potječu iz nekropola, iako bi detaljna obrada pojedinih lokacija unutar grada zasigurno promijenila takav omjer. Kako je primarna tema ovoga rada topografija, pokretni nalazi spominju se samo uzgredno, kao dokaz datacije pojedinih objekata. Isto tako, većina tih lokaliteta nije objavljena, pa će se spomenuti pokretni nalazi obraditi prilikom objave.

Objave materijala vezana za ovo razdoblje mogu se naći u radovima Josipa Brunšmida (1902; 1909; 1912), Branke Vikić-Belančić (1972; 1975), Stojana Dimitrijevića (1979), Ivane Iskre-Janošić (2001), Ivana Radmana-Livaje (2001; 2007), Ljubice Perinić-Muratović (2004), Hrvoja Vulića (2007) i Anite Rapan Papeša (2009) te u katalozima izložbi *Od nepobjedivog sunca do sunca pravde* (Demo 1994), *Vinkovci u svijetu arheologije* (Vinkovci 1999) i *Blago muzeja* (Jozić 2006).

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Na osnovi iznesenoga te činjenice da nigdje u kulturnome sloju ne bilježimo sloj paljevine i nagla prestanka života u Cibalama krajem 4. st. smatram da su Cibale nastavile živjeti i u razdoblju završetka kasne antike, što će daljnjom obradom materijala trebati i dokazati.

Sadašnjim stanjem istraživanja preliminarno možemo reći da se kasnoantičke Cibale ravnomjerno protežu unutar opkopa, bez detaljnije analize namjene i funkcioniranja pojedinih objekata. Preliminarno se može zaključiti da zapadni dio grada zauzimaju privatni stambeni objekti, dok bi se u sjeveroistočnome dijelu nalazile javne građevine. Za jugoistočni dio grada nedostaju nam podaci jer od uspostave zaštićene arheološke zone nije bilo istraživanja koja

The sampling of roughly two hundred graves is certainly not representative, but it nonetheless testifies to the city's peak of growth and prosperity at the end of the second and early third centuries should also encompass most of the fourth century.

MOVABLE FOURTH-CENTURY FINDS

The storage depots of the Vinkovci Municipal Museum include fourth-century movable finds, which generally originated from the necropolises, even though a detailed analysis of individual locations inside the city would certainly alter this ratio. Since the primary topic of this work is topography, the movable finds will only be mentioned in passing, as evidence of the dating of individual items. By the same token, most of these sites were not published, so the aforementioned movable finds will be analyzed upon their publication.

The publication of materials linked to this period may be found in the works of Josip Brunšmid (1902; 1909; 1912), Branka Vikić-Belančić (1972; 1975), Stojan Dimitrijević (1979), Ivana Iskra-Janošić (2001), Ivan Radman-Livaja (2001; 2007), Ljubica Perinić-Muratović (2004), Hrvoje Vulić (2007) and Anita Rapan Papeša (2009) and in the catalogues of the exhibitions "From the Invincible Sun to the Sun of Justice" (Demo 1994), "Vinkovci in the World of Archaeology" (Vinkovci 1999) and "The Museum's Treasures" (Jozić 2006).

CONCLUDING CONSIDERATIONS

Based on the aforementioned points and the fact that an incineration layer and the sudden halt of life in Cibalae at the end of the fourth century have not been found anywhere in the cultural layer, I believe that life continued in Cibalae even in the period after the close of Late Antiquity, which further analysis of the materials should in fact prove.

Based on the current level of research, it can preliminarily be said that Late Antique Cibalae uniformly extended inside the trenches, without a more detailed analysis of the purpose and function of individual structures. Another preliminary conclusion which may be drawn is that residential structures occupied the western part of the city, while public buildings were in the north-east section. Data on the south-east section are absent, because since the establishment of the protected archaeological zone there has been no research which would shed light on the purpose of this area. Research at some positions reveal of mixture of private and public buildings.

bi razjasnila namjenu tog prostora. Istraživanja na pojedinim pozicijama otkrivaju mješavinu privatnih i javnih objekata.

Vezano uz prethodno navedeno mora se istaknuti i da prema sadašnjem stanju istraživanja nema značajnije promjene u veličini grada tijekom 4. st., odnosno ne dolazi do vidljiva smanjenja ili povećanja površine grada. Zasad ostaje otvoreno i pitanje fortifikacijskoga sustava, što je vrlo važno pitanje na koje bi odgovore trebalo tražiti ciljanim manjim istraživanjima na pozicijama koje čine granicu između arhitektonskih ostataka i nekropola.

Uvriježeno mišljenje o dekadenciji gradnje tijekom 4. st. opovrgavaju novija istraživanja iz kojih je vidljivo da se u tom razdoblju gradi iznimno kvalitetno, što uključuje kako izgradnju privatnih stambenih objekata (npr. na poziciji Ulica Ivana Gundulića 37 i 39) tako i izgradnju objekata javne namjene (npr. dio javnog objekta istraženog na poziciji Korzo). Naravno da ti slučajevi ne znače nužno i pravilo, ali upućuju na nove smjerove istraživanja antičkih građevina na prostoru rimskih Vinkovaca.

Uz nalaze iz grobova pokretnim nalazima 4. st. možemo pridodati i bogat i uobičajen repertoar nalaza iz kulturnih slojeva na istraženim pozicijama, koji zbog stalna priljeva građe u muzej još čeka svoju znanstvenu obradu.

Opisani podaci svakako nam govore puno o dinamici života u kasnoantičkim Cibalama. Velik broj grobova 4. st. – u odnosu na broj grobova ranijih razdoblja rimske vlasti – svjedoči o gustoj naseljenosti. Posljednjih godina istraženi zidovi svjedoče o Cibalama kao velikom kasnoantičkom gradilištu. Taj podatak posve je razumljiv ako se u obzir uzmu povijesni podaci o bitkama kod Cibala, kao i činjenica da iz Cibala potječu dva rimska cara. Logično je da carevi na mjestima svoje pobjede, odnosno rođenja, uređuju grad koji ih je privremeno udomio, odnosno svoje rodno mjesto. Sve to uklapa se i u opću sliku stanja u kasnoantičkoj Panoniji, napose u daleko bolje istraženim dijelovima provincije u današnjoj Mađarskoj, gdje je pažljivim istraživanjima dokazano više rekonstrukcija gradova u pozadini limesa u 4. st. (usp. Poulter 1992). Pa ipak, smanjena količina pokretnih nalaza na samom kraju 4. i početkom 5. st. govori o postupnom i jednostavnom odumiranju u turbulentnim i kaotičnim prilikama 5. st. No o tome više drugom prilikom.

With regard to the above, it must be emphasized that based on the current level of research, there has been no change in the size of the city during the fourth century, i.e., there were no visible reductions nor increases in the city's surface area. For now the question of the fortification system also remains open; this is a vital question to which answers should be sought via targeted, limited-scope research at the locations which constitute the boundary between architectural remains and necropolises.

The accepted view on the decadence of construction during the fourth century is refuted by research which has shown that during this period construction was of a high quality, for both private residential structures (e.g. at Ivana Gundulića street 37 and 39) and public buildings (e.g. part of a public structure examined at the Korzo location). To be sure, these cases do not necessarily denote the rule, but they point to new directions during research into Antique-era buildings in Roman Vinkovci.

Besides the finds from the graves, the movable finds of the fourth century also include the rich and customary range of finds from the cultural layers at the researched locations, which due to the constant influx of materials to the Museum are still awaiting scholarly analysis.

The data so described certainly say much about the dynamics of life in Late Antique Cibala. The high number of fourth-century graves – compared to the number of graves from earlier periods of Roman authority – testify to a dense population. The walls examined in recent years testify to Cibala as a large Late Antique construction site. This is entirely understandable if one takes into consideration the historical data on the battles fought near Cibala, and that fact that two Roman emperors were from Cibala. It is logical that Roman emperors would see to the development of the cities in which they were born, or which were near the sites of their victories, or which offered them temporary accommodation. All of this fits in to the general picture of Pannonia in Late Antiquity, particularly in the far better researched parts of the province in today's Hungary, where careful research has shown several reconstructions of cities in the hinterland of the limes in the fourth century (cf. Poulter 1992). Nonetheless, the reduced quantity of movable finds at the very end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries indicates a gradual and simple process of dying off in the turbulent and chaotic circumstances of the fifth century. But more will be said of this on some other occasion.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

GOMHV	<i>Godišnjak Ogranka Matice hrvatske Vinkovci</i> , Vinkovci.
HAG	<i>Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak</i> , Zagreb.
VAMZ	<i>Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu</i> , Zagreb.
VHAD	<i>Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva</i> , Zagreb.

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