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RIMSKI TRNOKOP IZ SISKA S UREZANIM NATPISOM

UDK: 903.21(497.5 Sisak):930.271»652«
Izvorni znanstveni rad

U radu se obrađuje jedan stari nalaz iz rijeke Kupe kod Siska. Riječ je o rimskom vojničkom trnokopu, što je vidljivo po djelomično sačuvanom natpisu koji spominje zapovjednika centurije u kojoj se rabila ta alatka.

The article discusses an old find from the Kupa river at Sisak. It is a mattock which belonged to the Roman army, as witnessed by the partially preserved inscription mentioning the commander of the century whose soldiers used that tool.

Ključne riječi: Trnokop, rimska vojska, Siscia

Key words: mattock, Roman army, Siscia

Jaružanjem Kupe kod Siska u godinama prije 1. svjetskog rata otkrivena je iznimno velika količina rimskih artefakata, preko 9000 predmeta. Dok je dio tog materijala razmjerno dobro poznat u stručnoj literaturi, nekim cjelinama se nije poklanjala pretjerana pažnja. Rimski alat pronađen u Kupi, unatoč svojoj brojnosti, nije dosad pozorno znanstveno obrađivan, a taj bi propust u nekoj skorijoj budućnosti svakako trebalo ispraviti. No, dok čekamo detaljniju monografsku obradu pojedinih kategorija alata s tog lokaliteta, vrijedi posvetiti barem koji redak pojedinim alatkama, posebice onim primjercima koji kriju zanimljiviju priču od puke tipološke analize. Vjerujem da je trnokop koji će biti predstavljen u ovom radu upravo jedan takav predmet. On naime nije samo tipičan primjerak te vrste motike,¹ već posjeduje i urezani natpis, po svemu sudeći vojničkog karaktera.

¹ Pretpostavlja se da su je Rimljani nazivali *ligo* (TLL, VII.2, 1395, s.v. *ligo*; OLD, 1030, s.v. *ligo*) no moguće je da je rabljen i izraz *rutrum* (OLD, 1672, s.v. *rutrum*), pa i generički *sarculum* (OLD, 1691, s.v. *sarculum*). Njemački izraz za ovu vrstu alata je *Schaufelhacke* ili *zweischneidige Hacke*, engleski je *mattock*, odnosno *cutter mattock*, a francuski *serfouette*.

Motike ovog tipa, plosnatog trapezoidnog sječiva zaobljenog vrha na jednom kraju, te uskog kraka, točnije masivnijeg sječiva četverokutnog presjeka na drugom, s oblim otvorom za nasad ojačanim postraničnim izbojcima, nisu neuobičajene među nalazima rimskog alata.² Iako se većina poznatih nalaza datira u ranije carsko razdoblje, nema sumnje da se ovaj tip alata koristio u nepromijenjenom obliku sve do kasnoantičkog razdoblja.

Sisački primjerak nije u savršenom stanju, posebno je oštećeno lopatasto sječivo kojem nedostaje dobar dio ruba, no osnovni je oblik uglavnom sačuvan. Ukupna dužina po središnjoj osi iznosi oko 27 cm, od toga na kramp otpada 10 cm, a na lopatu 14 cm. Lopatasti dio je otprilike širok 12,5 cm. Obloj ušici je promjer nešto veći od 3 cm.

Zbog kombinacije dva različita sječiva je riječ o idealnoj alatci za krčenje zemljišta, iskopavanje kamenja i korijenja te općenito ukopavanje. Iako joj je prvotna namjena poljoprivredna, nimalo ne čudi da je ovako praktična alatka našla svoju primjenu u vojsci kao osnovni alat za kopanje rovova i šančeva, pa mnogi nalazi potječu upravo s rimskih lokaliteta nesumnjivo vojnog karaktera. U našem slučaju je takva uporaba sasvim izvjesna jer sačuvani natpis nedvojbeno ukazuje da je riječ o vojnoj alatki.

Dubokim pravocrtnim urezima pod oštrim kutem - nesumnjivo zbog tvrdoće podloge – netko je urezao natpis > *MARCI P* . .

Na žalost, površina alata je oštećena u nastavku natpisa, pa je interpretacija slova koja izgleda slijede slovo P vrlo dvojbena.³ Možda se može iščitati slovo E (izvedeno kao kurzivno II) ili pak slovo V, nije sasvim isključeno da zatim slijedi slovo T, a nakon toga ne možemo više ni nagađati jer je nestao cijeli izvorni površinski sloj željeza. Lijevo od natpisa se možda nazire, ukoliko nije riječ o običnim ogrebotinama, broj III. Ukoliko je uopće riječ o urezanim natpisu, po svemu sudeći ne bi bio istovremen s natpisom > *MARCI P* . .

S druge strane, točnije na ušici, nešto se bolje vide urezani znakovi koje bi mogli interpretirati kao broj IV.

Upisivanje, točnije urezivanje imena vlasnika na vojnu opremu i oružje je često zabilježena praksa.⁴ Iako ima daleko više primjera kad su kacige ili oružje u pitanju, vojnički alat se također katkad obilježavao na isti način.⁵ Nema stoga nikakve sumnje da je trnokop pripadao centuriji kojom je zapovijedao izvjesni *Marcus* ili pak *Marcus*, odnosno nekom vojniku koji je služio pod tim centurionom.

Naime, onomastički se to ime može interpretirati na više načina. Izvorno se ime *Marcus* koristi kao *praenomen* (CAGNAT 1914: 39; SALOMIES 1987: 37-38, 114, 155-159, 186), no tijekom carskog razdoblja se sve više koristi i kao *cognomen* i kao peregrinsko osobno ime. To je posebno učestala pojava u keltskim krajevima carstva, no nije nimalo neuobičajeno ni na

² CURLE 1911: 283, Pl. LXI. 9; HERRMANN 1969: 136, Abb. 6. 1-2; PIETSCH 1983: 20-21, 81, Kat. 81-86; JUNKELMANN 1986: 204; POPOVIĆ 1988: 39, 42-43, T. III, 3; HARNECKER 1997: 14, Kat. 289; DOLENZ 1998: 140, L 31-L 33.

³ Zbog vrlo diskutabilnog čitanja sam u dogovoru s kolegicom Miljenkom Galić odustao od crtanja natpisa nakon slova P, a na fotografijama se tek nazire da su neka slova mogla slijediti to zadnje jasno vidljivo slovo.

⁴ *RIB* 2425.1-9, *RIB* 2426.1-4, *RIB* 2427.1-24; MACMULLEN 1960: 33-39; BREEZE 1976: 93-95; REUTER – SCHOLZ 2005: 38-42; BISHOP – COULSTON 2006: 43-46.

⁵ *RIB* 2428.1; *RIB* 2428.4; CURLE 1911: 282-283, fig. 41, Pl. LXI. 4; KLUMBACH 1961, 98, Abb. 1; REUTER – SCHOLZ 2005: 35; BISHOP – COULSTON 2006: 117.

Istoku kao ni u Africi.⁶ Iako vrlo rijetko, ime *Marcus* se može pojaviti i kao gentilicij.⁷ Kad je riječ o Panoniji, to se ime učestalije bilježi kao kognomen i kao idionim tek od druge polovice 2. stoljeća, i to posebice u području limesa. Po natpisima se čini da su njegovi nositelji mahom bili porijeklom iz zapadnih provincija ili pak Orijentalci.

Gentilicij *Marcus* je bio razmjerno učestao, te se bilježi u natpisima diljem carstva, posebice u Italiji, na iberском poluotoku, u južnoj Galiji (*Gallia Narbonensis*), te Panoniji i Dalmaciji.⁸

Zbog nepotpune očuvanosti natpisa, u ovom je slučaju teško sa sigurnošću definirati karakter imena *Marcus* (ili *Marcus*). Drugo ime je nesumnjivo počinjalo sa slovom P, no bitno više od toga se ne može reći. Ne možemo znati je li riječ o jednom ili dva čovjeka. Moguće je da natpis spominje zapovjednika centurije i vojnika pod njegovim zapovjedništvom koji je dužio ovu alatku, no isto tako nije isključeno da je trnokop pripadao zajedničkoj opremi centurije te se po potrebi izdavao vojnicima. U tom slučaju bi bilo dovoljno navesti samo ime zapovjednika, u našem slučaju izvjesnog Marka ili Marcija. Iako je nedvojbeno riječ o vojnoj alatki, ne možemo biti sigurni da je bila dijelom standardne, uvjetno rečeno obavezne opreme svakog rimskog pješaka. Kao što je već naglašeno, nije nimalo sporno da su rimski vojnici uz oružje dužili i raznorazni alat. To nam potvrđuju kako arheološki nalazi tako i pisani izvori.⁹ U suvremenoj stručnoj literaturi se redovito citira Flavija Josipa koji, kad nabraja alat kojim je opremljen svaki rimski pješak, među ostalim, spominje ἄμην τε καὶ πέλεκυν.¹⁰ Riječ ἄμη se uglavnom prevodi kao lopata a πέλεκυς kao sjekira. Često se ta rečenica Flavija Josipa na engleski jezik prevodi kao »dolabra i sjekira« (odnosno »a pick-axe and an axe«),¹¹ ali i kao »lopata i sjekira« (»a spade and an axe«)¹² te trnokop i sjekira (»a mattock and an axe« ili »a mattock and a hatchet«).¹³ U francuskom prijevodu se koriste izrazi »une pioche et une hache« (PELLETIER 1980: 133), odnosno kramp i sjekira ili pak, nešto slobodnije, »une hache, un cercloir ou un pic« (D'ANDILLY 1982: 764). Njemački prijevod bi bio »Schaufel und Axt« (KOHOUT 1901: 237). Nije možda isključeno da je Flavije Josip s tom sintagmom mislio na samo jednu kombiniranu alatku, za pretpostaviti dolabru,¹⁴ no ukoliko je riječ o dvije alatke, pretpostavljam da je pod izrazom πέλεκυς mislio na dolabru dok bi ἄμη valjda bila obična lopata.

⁶ DEAN 1916: 36-38; MEINERSMANN 1927: 84; SCHMIDT 1957: 237; MÓCSY 1959: 180; BARKÓCZI 1964: 317; KAJANTO 1965: 20, 27, 30, 39-40, 101, 112, 173; ALFÖLDY 1969: 238, s.v. *Marcus*; MÓCSY 1983: 178, s.v. *Marcus*; MÓCSY 1984: 209-210, 216; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994: 414, s.v. *Marcus*; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 358, s.v. *Marcus*; DEGAVRE 1998: 295, s.v. *marco-*; LÓRINCZ 2000: 57, 176, s.v. *Marcus*; MINKOVA 2000: 204, s.v. *Marcus*; DELAMARRE 2001: 183, s.v. *marcos*; DONDIN-PAYRE 2001: 301, 304; FORIER 2001: 479-485, 520-525; RÉMY 2001: 153; DELAMARRE 2003: 217, s.v. *marcos*; DELAMARRE 2007: 226.

⁷ SCHULZE 1904: 294; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 112, s.v. *Marcus*; LÓRINCZ 2000: 57, 176, s.v. *Marcus*; MINKOVA 2000: 66, s.v. *Marcus*.

⁸ SCHULZE 1904: 188, 466; MÓCSY 1959: 156; BARKÓCZI 1964: 302; ALFÖLDY 1969: 97-98; MÓCSY 1983: 178, s.v. *Marcus*; MÓCSY 1985: 83-87; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994: 181-182, s.v. *Marcia/us*; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 112, s.v. *Marcus*; LÓRINCZ 2000: 56-57, 176, s.v. *Marcus*; MINKOVA 2000: 65-66, s.v. *Marcia, Marcus*; RÉMY 2001: 150.

⁹ Caes. *Bgall.* II.19; Caes. *BCiv.* I.41; Joseph. *BJ.* III, 95; Frontin. *Str.* IV.7.2; Veget., I.24; WATSON 1969: 63; JUNKELMANN 1986: 203-205; FUENTES 1991: 65-76, 81-82; CONNOLLY 1998: 239; GILLIVER 1991: 57; ROTH 1999: 72-75, 77-78; GOLDSWORTHY 2003: 135; GILBERT 2004: 134; SOUTHERN 2006: 223.

¹⁰ Joseph. *BJ.* III, 95 (3.5.5.): φέρουσι δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ φάλαγξ ξυστόν τε καὶ θυρεὸν ἐπιμήκη, πρὸς οἷς πρίονα καὶ κόφινον ἄμην τε καὶ πέλεκυν, πρὸς δὲ ἰμάντα καὶ δρέπανον καὶ ἄλυσιν, ἡμερῶν τε τριῶν ἐφόδιον: ὡς ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἀχθοφορούντων ὁρέων τὸν πεζόν.

¹¹ WHISTON 1737: <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/2/8/5/2850/2850-h/2850-h.htm#32HCH0005>

¹² Cf. SOUTHERN 2006: 223.

¹³ Cf. TRAILL 1851: 13; FUENTES 1991: 67.

¹⁴ Sličnu opasku izriče i Fuentes koji smatra da je Flavije Josip tako opisao dolabru, cf. FUENTES 1991: 74.

Citirani povjesničari i arheolozi se slažu u pretpostavci da svaki vojnik nije nužno sa sobom uvijek nosio sve navedene alatke (dolabra, lopata, srp, pila, košara, kožni remen odnosno konopac te lanac).¹⁵ Sasvim uvjerljivo zvuči Fuentesova hipoteza da nije ni bilo potrebe da svaka kontubernija posjeduje po 8 primjeraka svakog alata: veći alat rasporedio bi se među vojnicima, no svaki vojnik vrlo vjerojatno nije dužio iste alatke.¹⁶ Dio opreme je ionako nedvojbeno bio zadužen na razini kontubernije, a ne individualno. Isto je tako moguće da je dio alata bio uskladišten na razini centurije te se po potrebi dijelio vojnicima prilikom izvođenja radova.¹⁷

Da je kojim slučajem natpis urezan na ovom trnokopu sačuvan u cijelosti, mogli bi s velikom sigurnošću ustvrditi je li riječ o alatki koja je bila dio osobne opreme vojnika ili je pak riječ o opremi postrojbe. Ovakom možemo samo iznijeti više hipoteza i mogućih interpretacija, od kojih nijednu ne možemo sa sigurnošću potvrditi.

Krenimo od pretpostavke da natpis spominje dvije osobe: jedna je, naravno, centurion *Marcus* ili *Marcus*, a drugi je vojnik čije je ime započinjalo sa slovom P. Kao što je već rečeno, genitiv imena *Marci* se može interpretirati na više načina, kao praenomen, gentilicij ili kognomen *Marcus*, odnosno kao gentilicij *Marcus*.¹⁸

S obzirom da je gentilicij *Marcus* iznimno rijedak, ne bih previše računao s tom mogućnošću, no ostaju nam vrlo učestali praenomen i ne bitno rijedi kognomen. Pretpostavljam da bi se autor natpisa zadovoljio uobičajenom kraticom M da je riječ o praenomenu, čisto da se ne muči urezivanjem cijelog imena u tvrdu željeznu podlogu.¹⁹ I na popisu koji je sastavio R. MacMullen vidljivo je da se *praenomina*, kada su uopće zabilježena, redovito pojavljuju u skraćenom obliku (MACMULLEN 1960: 33-36, cat. 3-8, 13, 39-42, 44, 47, 49).

Kognomen *Marcus* nije rijedak, no ipak nije toliko rasprostranjen kao *praenomen* pa bi njegova nositelja možda ipak bilo lakše prepoznati. Slična opaska bi vrijedila i za nekog centuriona s gentilicijem *Marcus*. Ovakav natpis na alatu ima za cilj jasno određenje vlasništva nad predmetom te bi bilo poželjno korisnike opreme ne dovoditi u nedoumicu navođenjem imena koja nisu dovoljna distinktivna. U rimskoj onomastičkoj shemi, praenomen već u ranocarskom razdoblju, odnosno do sredine 1. st. pos. Kr., gubi distinktivna svojstva, te njegovu ulogu preuzima kognomen.²⁰ Jednostavnije rečeno, rimske građane se tada razlikuje po njihovim kognomenima, koji su raznoliki i brojni, a ne po praenomenu, kojih se u carskom razdoblju u uporabi zadržalo manje od 20.

¹⁵ Fuentes pretpostavlja da je riječ o korupteli prepisivača, te smatra da je umjesto lanca Flavije Josip vjerojatnije naveo lopatu; cf. FUENTES 1991: 74.

¹⁶ Zanimljivu analogiju nalazimo u bizantinskoj vojsci u ranom 10 st.: bizantski car Leon VI (ili netko od njegovih tajnika i dvorjana) opisuje u svom djelu *Taktiká* kako svako pješačko odjeljenje od 16 ljudi posjeduje određen broj alatki (ručni mlinski kamen, kosir, sjekiru, pilu, dvije dolabre, odnosno krampa, čekić, dvije lopate, veliku košaru, srp, itd.), Leo, *Tactica*, VI.23 (DENNIS 2010); cf. FUENTES 1991: 69

¹⁷ Za kasniju analogiju cf. Leo, *Tactica*, V. 5.

¹⁸ Vrlo rijetko se *Marcus* pojavljuje i kao muški kognomen odnosno idionim, cf. MÓCSY 1983: 178, s.v. *Marcus*; LŐRINCZ 2000: 56, s.v. *Marcus*

¹⁹ S obzirom na raširenost praenomina *Marcus* možemo se zapitati koliko je vjerojatno da niti jedan drugi centurion u toj postrojbi nije nosio taj praenomen? Istina, od 6 centuriona u jednoj kohorti, moguće je da je samo jedan imao taj praenomen, no što ako nije riječ o auksilijarnoj postrojbi već o legiji? Koliko je vjerojatno da je od njih 59 ili 60 u cijeloj legiji, samo jedan centurion nosio praenomen *Marcus*?

²⁰ THYLANDER 1952: 77-81; KAJANTO 1963: 3, 13-17; ETIENNE 1971: 229-233; ANDREAU 1974: 155-162; KAJANTO 1977: 421-422; SALOMIES 1987: 390-406; SALWAY 1994: 130-131; DONDIN-PAYRE 2001: 206-207; RÉMY 2001: 57-58.

Druga je pretpostavka da natpis sadrži samo ime centuriona. U tom slučaju postoje dvije mogućnosti²¹: ili je riječ o čovjeku koji je nosio praenomen *Marcus* i gentilicij koji počinje sa slovom P (o kognomenu, ukoliko ga je uopće imao, možemo samo nagađati) ili je pak naveden njegov gentilicij, vjerojatno *Marcus*, kojeg slijedi nepoznati kognomen na P.

Kao što sam već prije spomenuo, skloniji sam vjerovati da bi praenomen bio naveden kraticom, a ne cjelovito, te mi se čini vjerojatnije da bi u ovom slučaju bila riječ o gentiliciju *Marcus*. To je naravno samo nagađanje, jer ipak ne možemo sasvim isključiti ni mogućnost da je autor natpisa svjesno htio urezati puno ime ne koristeći kratice.

Preciznije određenje karaktera imena bi nam bilo vrlo korisno i za dataciju. Primjerice, ako bi prihvatili pretpostavku da se u natpisu spominje samo ime centuriona, uporaba praenomena i gentilicija bez kognomena bi upućivala na raniju dataciju, a kad bi bili sigurni da je riječ o gentiliciju i kognomenu, natpis na trnokopu se vjerojatno ne bi datirao puno prije flavijevskog razdoblja. Ukoliko je pak natpis puno kasniji, odnosno iz kasnog 3. ili 4. stoljeća, korištenje samo jednog osobnog imena za svakog navedenog pojedinca bi bilo sasvim uobičajeno.

Tipološki gledano, riječ je o alatu čiji se oblik nije bitno mijenjao stoljećima, pa bi nam samo epigrafija mogla donekle pomoći u preciznijem pokušaju datiranja, no za to nam je potreban cjeloviti natpis, što ovdje nije slučaj.

Ukoliko usporedimo naš nepotpuno očuvani natpis s par drugih natpisa na vojničkim alatima možemo primjetiti da se na čekiću pronađenom u Bar Hillu pojavljuje samo gentilicij centuriona - > *IIBVTI*²² – dok je na sjekiri iz Newsteada ukucan natpis > *BARRI | COMPITALICI* koji se interpretira kao » (property) of *Compitalicius* of the century of *Barrus*«. ²³ Nema ništa sporno u toj interpretaciji, no vrijedi napomenuti da se genitiv *Barri* ne mora nužno odnositi na kognomen *Barrus*.²⁴ Ime *Compitalicius* po svemu sudeći je kognomen (ili pak idionim ako je riječ o peregrinu),²⁵ no postoji i gentilicij *Barrius*,²⁶ a čak je i ime *Barrus* barem jednom zabilježeno kao gentilicij.²⁷ Utoliko nije isključeno da se potonji natpis odnosi na samo jednog čovjeka, odnosno centuriona pod imenom *Barrius Compitalicius*.

Epigrafičkih dokaza nema puno, a njihova interpretacija nije bez dvojbi, no osobno sam skloniji mišljenju da se alat, za razliku od oružja, oklopa i kaciga, nije dužio individualno već da je pripadao postrojbi, odnosno kontuberniji ili centuriji. Ako prihvatimo mišljenje da se alat uglavnom raspoređivao ljudima po potrebi, načelno bi bilo dovoljno označavati samo pripadnost pojedinoj postrojbi. Urezani broj IV (a možda i stariji trag broja III) na trnokopu iz Siska se možda može interpretirati kao svojevrsni inventarni broj – trnokop br. 4 centurije pod zapovjedništvom Marcija P[_ _ _].

Pouzdana interpretacija natpisa kao ni približno točna datacija ovog trnokopa nažalost nisu mogući, no nekakav zaključak, makar i u vidu oprezno iznesene pretpostavke, se mora dati.

²¹ Postoji i treća mogućnost, mada slabo vjerojatna: natpis se možda može čitati i kao *M(arcus) Arci(i) P[_ _ _]*, odnosno centurion se mogao zvati *M(arcus) Arcius P[_ _ _]*? Gentilicij *Arcius* je zabilježen, iako iznimno rijedak, cf. CIL VIII 9683; SCHULZE 1904: 126, 403; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 21, s.v. *Arcius*; Zanimljivo je napomenuti da je ime *Arcius* na iberском poluotoku zabilježeno i kao kognomen, odnosno peregrinski idionim domorodačkog porijekla, cf. MÓCSY 1983: 27, s.v. *Arcius*; LÖRINCZ – REDŐ 1994: 164, s.v. *Arcius*

²² (*centuria*) *(A)ebuti(i)*, RIB 2428.1

²³ *Ephemeris Epigraphica* IX 1327; CURLE 1911: 282-283, fig. 41, Pl. LXI. 4; RIB 2428.4

²⁴ *TLL*, vol. II, 1757, s.v. *Barrus*; MÓCSY 1983: 45, s.v. *Barus*; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 301, s.v. *Barrus*; LÖRINCZ – REDŐ 1994: 272, s.v. *Barus*

²⁵ KAJANTO 1965: 220; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 316, s.v. *Compitalicius*

²⁶ *TLL*, vol. II, 1757, s.v. *Barrius*; SCHULZE 1904: 207, 350, 423; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 32, s.v. *Bar(r)ius*

²⁷ CIL II 2838; MÓCSY 1983: 44, s.v. *Barrus*; LÖRINCZ – REDŐ 1994: 271, s.v. *Barrus*

Iako ne mogu biti siguran, čini mi se vjerojatnijim, zato što je riječ o alatki, da je natpis izvorno sadržavao ime samo jednog pojedinca, i to centuriona. Da je kojim slučajem prisutan, mislim da bi mu praenomen bio naveden u skraćenom obliku, a ne u cjelosti, te se stoga genitiv *MARCI* prije treba interpretirati kao gentilicij *Marcius* (ili možda, ali slabo vjerojatno, kao *Marcus*). Drugo ime, od kojeg je sačuvano samo prvo slovo P, bi shodno tome bio njegov kognomen. Ukoliko prihvatimo pretpostavku da se u ovom slučaju centurionova nomenklatura sastoji od gentilicija i kognomena, trnokop bi se okvirno mogao datirati od druge polovice 1. st. do 3. st.

Predložena interpretacija natpisa i datacija se ipak temelje samo na više ili manje uvjerljivim pretpostavkama, a pitanje identiteta postrojbe koja je rabila ovaj trnokop (neka legija ili auksilijarna kohorta?) mora ostati otvoreno.

Preostaje nam samo nada da će se na nekim drugim alatkama iz Siscije otkriti natpisi čija interpretacija neće biti ovako dvojbena.

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AN INSCRIBED ROMAN MATTOCK FROM SISCIA

The dredging of the Kupa river at Sisak in the years before WWI yielded an impressive number of Roman artifacts, over 9000 objects. Part of this material is relatively well known in the scientific literature, but certain categories of objects did not receive a comprehensive attention. The Roman tools found in the Kupa, despite their number, were not studied by scholars, an unfortunate oversight which should be taken care of in the near future. However, while we are waiting for a monographic treatment of different categories of tools from that site, some pieces deserve to be studied more thoroughly, especially tools that can tell a more interesting story than simply an insipid typological analysis. I believe that the mattock presented in this article represents exactly such an artefact, not because it is a typical example of such a tool,¹ but because it has an incised inscription of a likely military character. Mattocks of this type, with a flat trapezoidal spade on one side and a massive pick of rectangular cross section on the other, as well as a circular shaft-hole with lateral protrusions are not uncommon among finds of Roman tools.²

Although most similar items are dated to the earlier imperial period, there is no doubt that this type of tool was used in an unchanged form till late Antiquity. The Siscia specimen is not in perfect condition, the spade is especially damaged and missing a large part of its edge but its general form is still mostly preserved. Its overall length, looking at the central axe is ca. 27 cm, the length of the pick is 10 cm while the length of the spade is 14 cm. The width of the spade is ca. 12.5 cm. The diameter of the circular loop slightly exceeds 3 cm.

Due to the combination of two different blades, it is an ideal tool for digging, grubbing and entrenching. Although it was first meant to be used in agricultural work, it is not surprising that such a versatile tool found its use in the army as a primary tool for digging trenches. Thus, many finds come from Roman sites of unquestionably military character. In this particular case, a military use is quite certain since the inscription points to a soldier's tool.

Somebody incised, with deep and steep linear cuts – undeniably because of the hard surface – the inscription > *MARCI P* . .

Unfortunately, the surface of the tool is badly damaged towards the end of the inscription, which leaves the interpretation of the letters following the letter P very questionable.³ One may perhaps read the letter E (in the cursive form II), or perhaps the letter V, followed possibly by the letter T. After that, we cannot even guess since the whole original surface of the iron disappeared. Left of the inscription, one might discern, unless those are simple scratches, the number III. If it really is an incised inscription, it certainly would not be contemporaneous with the inscription > *MARCI P* . .

¹ The Romans probably called such a tool - a mattock or a cutter mattock - *ligo* (*TLL*, VII.2, 1395, *s.v. ligo*; *OLD*, 1030, *s.v. ligo*), but the term *rutrum* could have been used as well (*OLD*, 1672, *s.v. rutrum*), or even the more generic *sarculum* (*OLD*, 1691, *s.v. sarculum*). The German term for this tool is Schaufelhacke or zweischneidige Hacke, while the French call it serfouette.

² *CURLE* 1911: 283, Pl. LXI. 9; *HERRMANN* 1969: 136, Abb. 6. 1-2; *PIETSCH* 1983: 20-21, 81, Kat. 81-86; *JUNKELMANN* 1986: 204; *POPOVIĆ* 1988: 39, 42-43, T. III, 3; *HARNECKER* 1997: 14, Kat. 289; *DOLENZ* 1998: 140, L 31-L 33.

³ Because of the dubious reading, I agreed with my colleague Miljenka Galić not to draw the rest of the inscription following the letter P. One can only discern on the photographs that few more letters might have followed that last clearly visible letter.

On the other side of the loop, one can see more clearly incised signs which could be interpreted as the number IV. Inscribing the owners' names on military equipment was a common practice.⁴

Although there are far more examples of inscribed helmets or weapons, military tools were also sometimes marked in a similar way.⁵ There is thus no doubt that this mattock belonged to a century commanded by one *Marcus* or *Marcus*, or to a soldier serving under that centurion. From the onomastic point of view, this name can be interpreted in several ways. Originally, the name *Marcus* was a *praenomen* (CAGNAT 1914: 39; SALOMIES 1987: 37-38, 114, 155-159, 186), but during the Imperial period it was also used both as a cognomen and as an individual name by peregrines. It was particularly common in the Celtic areas of the Empire, but it was also far from seldom in the East or in Africa.⁶ Although very rarely, the name *Marcus* could have also been a gentilicium.⁷ As far as Pannonia is concerned, this name is more often encountered as a cognomen or a peregrine's single name only since the mid second century AD, especially in the Limes area. According to the inscriptions, it would seem that most bearers originated from the western provinces or from the East. The gentilicium *Marcus* was quite widespread and is encountered all over the Empire, especially in Italy, on the Iberian Peninsula, in southern Gaul as well as Pannonia and Dalmatia.⁸

Since the inscription is not preserved in its entirety, it is quite difficult to define with any certainty in this particular case the exact character of the name *Marcus* (or *Marcus*).

The second name must have started with the letter P, but not much else can be said about it. As a matter of fact, we do not even know if the inscription mentions one or two individuals.

The inscription might be mentioning the commander of the century and a soldier under his command, who happened to be in charge of the tool, but we cannot exclude the possibility that the mattock belonged in fact to the equipment of the century and was only issued to individual soldiers when need arose. In that case, it would have been sufficient to only mention the name of the commanding officer, in our case a certain *Marcus* or *Marcus*.

Although this mattock was undeniably a military tool, we cannot be certain that it belonged to the standard pack of every Roman infantryman. As already stated out, besides weapons, Roman soldiers were also issued all kinds of tools. That fact is confirmed both by written sources and archaeological research.⁹ Flavius Josephus is regularly quoted in the scientific publications when he enumerates the tools carried by every Roman infantryman, he also men-

⁴ *RIB* 2425.1-9, *RIB* 2426.1-4, *RIB* 2427.1-24; MACMULLEN 1960: 33-39; BREEZE 1976: 93-95; REUTER – SCHOLZ 2005: 38-42; BISHOP – COULSTON 2006: 43-46.

⁵ *RIB* 2428.1; *RIB* 2428.4; CURLE 1911: 282-283, fig. 41, Pl. LXI. 4; KLUMBACH 1961, 98, Abb. 1; REUTER – SCHOLZ 2005: 35; BISHOP – COULSTON 2006: 117.

⁶ DEAN 1916: 36-38; MEINERSMANN 1927: 84; SCHMIDT 1957: 237; MÓCSY 1959: 180; BARKÓCZI 1964: 317; KAJANTO 1965: 20, 27, 30, 39-40, 101, 112, 173; ALFÖLDY 1969: 238, s.v. *Marcus*; MÓCSY 1983: 178, s.v. *Marcus*; MÓCSY 1984: 209-210, 216; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994: 414, s.v. *Marcus*; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 358, s.v. *Marcus*; DEGAVRE 1998: 295, s.v. *marco*-; LÓRINCZ 2000: 57, 176, s.v. *Marcus*; MINKOVA 2000: 204, s.v. *Marcus*; DELAMARRE 2001: 183, s.v. *marcos*; DONDIN-PAYRE 2001: 301, 304; FORIER 2001: 479-485, 520-525; RÉMY 2001: 153; DELAMARRE 2003: 217, s.v. *marcos*; DELAMARRE 2007: 226.

⁷ SCHULZE 1904: 294; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 112, s.v. *Marcus*; LÓRINCZ 2000: 57, 176, s.v. *Marcus*; MINKOVA 2000: 66, s.v. *Marcus*.

⁸ SCHULZE 1904: 188, 466; MÓCSY 1959: 156; BARKÓCZI 1964: 302; ALFÖLDY 1969: 97-98; MÓCSY 1983: 178, s.v. *Marcus*; MÓCSY 1985: 83-87; ABASCAL PALAZÓN 1994: 181-182, s.v. *Marcia-us*; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 112, s.v. *Marcus*; LÓRINCZ 2000: 56-57, 176, s.v. *Marcus*; MINKOVA 2000: 65-66, s.v. *Marcia, Marcus*; RÉMY 2001: 150.

⁹ Caes. *Bgall.* II.19; Caes. *BCiv.* I.41; Joseph. *BJ.* III, 95; Frontin. *Str.* IV.7.2; Veget., I.24; WATSON 1969: 63; JUN-KELMANN 1986: 203-205; FUENTES 1991: 65-76, 81-82; CONNOLLY 1998: 239; GILLIVER 1991: 57; ROTH 1999: 72-75, 77-78; GOLDSWORTHY 2003: 135; GILBERT 2004: 134; SOUTHERN 2006: 223.

tions, among others, ἄμην τε καὶ πέλεκυν.¹⁰ The word ἄμη is usually translated by the words shovel or spade, while πέλεκυς is translated by the word axe. This Flavius Josephus' sentence is often translated into English by »a pick-axe and an axe«,¹¹ but also by »a spade and an axe«¹² as well as »a mattock and an axe« or »a mattock and a hatchet«.¹³ The French translation would be »une pioche et une hache« (PELLETIER 1980: 133), or more freely »une hache, un cercloir ou un pic« (D'ANDILLY 1982: 764). The German translation is »Schaufel und Axt« (KOHOUT 1901: 237). Perhaps Flavius Josephus had in mind a single combined tool, presumably a dolabra,¹⁴ but if he really meant two different tools, I suppose that he used the word πέλεκυς for the dolabra, while ἄμη could simply have been a shovel or spade. The historians and archaeologists I quoted all agree that every soldier did not necessarily carry with him all the items mentioned by Flavius Josephus (dolabra, shovel, sickle, saw, basket, leather thong or rope and a chain).¹⁵ Fuentes is quite convincing when he states that there was simply no need for every contubernium to have 8 specimens of every tool: larger tools were likely distributed among soldiers, but each soldier was probably not issued the same tools.¹⁶ Part of the equipment was in any case most likely issued to the contubernium as a whole and not to individual soldiers. We may also conjecture that some tools were stored by the century and were only issued to soldiers for specific working duties.¹⁷

If this inscription had been entirely preserved, we would have been able to determine quite accurately if this mattock belonged to the individual pack of a soldier or to the equipment of the unit. Since this is not the case, we can only suggest several hypotheses and likely interpretations, none of which can be absolutely convincing.

Let us start with the assumption that the inscription mentions two individuals: the first one would of course be the centurion *Marcus* or *Marcus*, while the second one would be a soldier whose name started with a P. As already pointed out, the genitive *Marci* can be interpreted in several ways, as the praenomen, the gentilicium or the cognomen *Marcus*, as well as the gentilicium *Marcus*.¹⁸ Since the gentilicium *Marcus* is very uncommon, I would not count too much on that possibility, and we are left with an extremely common praenomen and quite a frequent cognomen. I suppose that the author of the inscription would have been satisfied with the abbreviation M if it really was a praenomen, in order to spare all the effort needed to incise the complete name on the hard iron surface.¹⁹

¹⁰ Joseph. *BJ*. III, 95 (3.5.5): φέρουσι δ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπίλεκτοι πεζοὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀσπίδα, ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ φάλαγξ ξυστόν τε καὶ θυρεὸν ἐπιμήκη, πρὸς οἷς πρίονα καὶ κόφινον ἄμην τε καὶ πέλεκυν, πρὸς δὲ ἰμάντα καὶ δρέπανον καὶ ἄλυσιν, ἡμερῶν τε τριῶν ἐφόδιον: ὡς ὀλίγον ἀποδεῖν τῶν ἀχθοφορούντων ὀρέων τὸν πεζόν.

¹¹ WHISTON 1737: <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/2/8/5/2850/2850-h/2850-h.htm#32HCH0005>

¹² cf. SOUTHERN 2006: 223.

¹³ cf. TRAILL 1851: 13; FUENTES 1991: 67.

¹⁴ A similar observation is stated by Fuentes, who considers that Flavius Josephus was describing a dolabra in that sentence, cf. FUENTES 1991: 74.

¹⁵ Fuentes presumes that it is a mistake made by the transcribers, believing that Flavius Josephus more likely mentioned a shovel instead of a chain; cf. FUENTES 1991: 74.

¹⁶ An interesting analogy can be found in the Byzantine army of the early 10th century: the emperor Leo VI (or one of his secretaries and courtiers) describes in his Τακτικά how every infantry squad of 16 men has a given number of tools (a hand mill, an axe, a hatchet, an adze, a saw, two picks, a hammer, two shovels, a basket, a scythe, etc.), Leo, *Tactica*, VI.23 (DENNIS 2010); cf. FUENTES 1991: 69

¹⁷ For a later analogy cf. Leo, *Tactica*, V. 5.

¹⁸ Only rarely does the name *Marcus* appear as a cognomen or single name, cf. MÓCSY 1983: 178, s.v. *Marcus*; LŐRINCZ 2000: 56, s.v. *Marcus*

¹⁹ Considering how widespread was the praenomen *Marcus*, we might wonder how likely would it be that no other centurion in that unit had the same praenomen? Out of 6 centurions in one cohort, it is not unlikely, indeed, that only one had the praenomen *Marcus*, but what if this was not a tool belonging to an auxiliary cohort? How likely is it that out of 59 or 60 centurions in a legion, only one bore the praenomen *Marcus*?

The list compiled by R. MacMullen also clearly shows that *praenomina*, when they are mentioned at all, regularly appear in the abbreviated form (MACMULLEN 1960: 33-36, cat. 3-8, 13, 39-42, 44, 47, 49). The cognomen *Marcus* is far from being unusual, but it was not as widespread as the praenomen. Thus, a bearer of that name could have been more easily recognised. The same remark applies to a centurion bearing the gentilicium *Marcus*. Such an inscription was certainly meant to clearly state the ownership of the item and it would have been important not to confuse users by stating names which are not sufficiently distinctive. In Roman onomastics, the praenomen already lost its distinctive character in the early Imperial period, i.e. by the mid 1st century AD, as this role was taken over by the cognomen.²⁰ To put it simply, Roman citizens were then distinguished by their cognomina, numerous and diverse, and not by their praenomina, of which less than 20 remained in use during the Imperial period.

Another hypothesis would be that the inscription contained only the name of the centurion. If this is the case, there are two possibilities²¹: either it was a man bearing the praenomen *Marcus* and a gentilicium starting with the letter P (we can only conjecture about the cognomen, if he had any) or the inscription mentions his gentilicium, likely *Marcus*, and an unknown cognomen starting with P. I already pointed out that a praenomen would have likely appeared in the abbreviated form. Therefore, I am more inclined to believe that the inscription mentions the gentilicium *Marcus*. Obviously, this is only a speculation, since we cannot absolutely rule out the possibility that the author of the inscription consciously incised the praenomen in full, without using the abbreviation.

A more precise definition of the name would be very useful for dating as well. For example, if we agree with the assumption that the inscription mentions only the name of the centurion, the use of the praenomen and the gentilicium would point to an earlier date. However, if we could be certain that it is in fact a gentilicium and a cognomen, this inscription could probably not be dated much earlier than the Flavian period. If the inscription happens to be much later, i.e. from the late 3rd or 4th century, the use of a single name for any of the individuals mentioned in the inscription would be quite ordinary.

From a typological point of view, this is a tool whose form has not changed for centuries, and it is only thanks to epigraphy that we could date it more accurately. However, we would need a completely preserved inscription for that, and this is not the case.

If we compare our inscription with other similar inscriptions found on tools, we can observe that the hammer from Bar Hill bears an inscription stating only the gentilicium of the centurion - > *IIBVTI*²² - while the axe from Newstead has the inscription > *BARRI |COMPI-TALICI*, interpreted as » (property) of *Compitalicius* of the century of *Barrus*«. ²³

²⁰ THYLANDER 1952: 77-81; KAJANTO 1963: 3, 13-17; ETIENNE 1971: 229-233; ANDREAU 1974: 155-162; KAJANTO 1977: 421-422; SALOMIES 1987: 390-406; SALWAY 1994: 130-131; DONDIN-PAYRE 2001: 206-207; RÉMY 2001: 57-58.

²¹ We might even think of a third reading, albeit not a very likely one: the inscription could perhaps be read as *M(arci) Arci(i) P[___]*, i.e. the name of the centurion might have been *M(arcus) Arcius P[___]*? The gentilicium *Arcius* did exist, although it was extremely rare, cf. CIL VIII 9683; SCHULZE 1904: 126, 403; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 21, s.v. *Arcius*; Interestingly, *Arcius* was also an indigenous cognomen or peregrine single name on the Iberian peninsula, cf. MÓCSY 1983: 27, s.v. *Arcius*; LŐRINCZ – REDŐ 1994: 164, s.v. *Arcius*

²² (*centuria*) *(A)ebuti(i)*, *RIB* 2428.1

²³ *Ephemeris Epigraphica* IX 1327; CURLE 1911: 282-283, fig. 41, Pl. LXI. 4; *RIB* 2428.4

It is not an erroneous interpretation, but it should be pointed out that the genitive *Barri* is not necessarily related to the cognomen *Barrus*.²⁴ The name *Compitalicius* is most likely a cognomen (or a peregrine's single name),²⁵ but the gentilicium *Barrus*²⁶ exists as well, and even the name *Barrus* appears at least once as a gentilicium.²⁷ Thus, we cannot exclude the possibility that the Newstead axe inscription refers to just one individual, i.e. the centurion *Barrus Compitalicius*.

The epigraphic record is scant and admittedly quite dubious, but I am more inclined to believe that tools, contrary to weapons, armour and helmets, were not issued to individuals but to units, either to a contubernium or to a century. If we accept this assumption, since the tools were issued to soldiers only when need arose, it would have been sufficient, in principle, only to state the owning unit. The incised number IV (and perhaps even the dubious older trace of the number III) on the Siscia mattock could perhaps be interpreted as some kind of inventory number – the mattock n. 4 belonging to the century commanded by *Marcus P[_ _ _]*.

A more accurate interpretation of this inscription as well as a precise dating of this mattock is unfortunately not possible, but some kind of conclusion, even if it is only a cautious hypothesis, must be articulated. Although I cannot be absolutely confident, it seems more likely to me, since it is a tool, that the inscription contained the name of a single individual, i.e. the name of the officer in charge. If the praenomen was meant to be mentioned, I believe that it would have appeared in the abbreviated form. Therefore, the genitive *MARCI* should rather be interpreted as the gentilicium *Marcus* (or, far less likely, as *Marcus*). The second name, of which only the first letter P remains, should thus be the cognomen of this centurion.

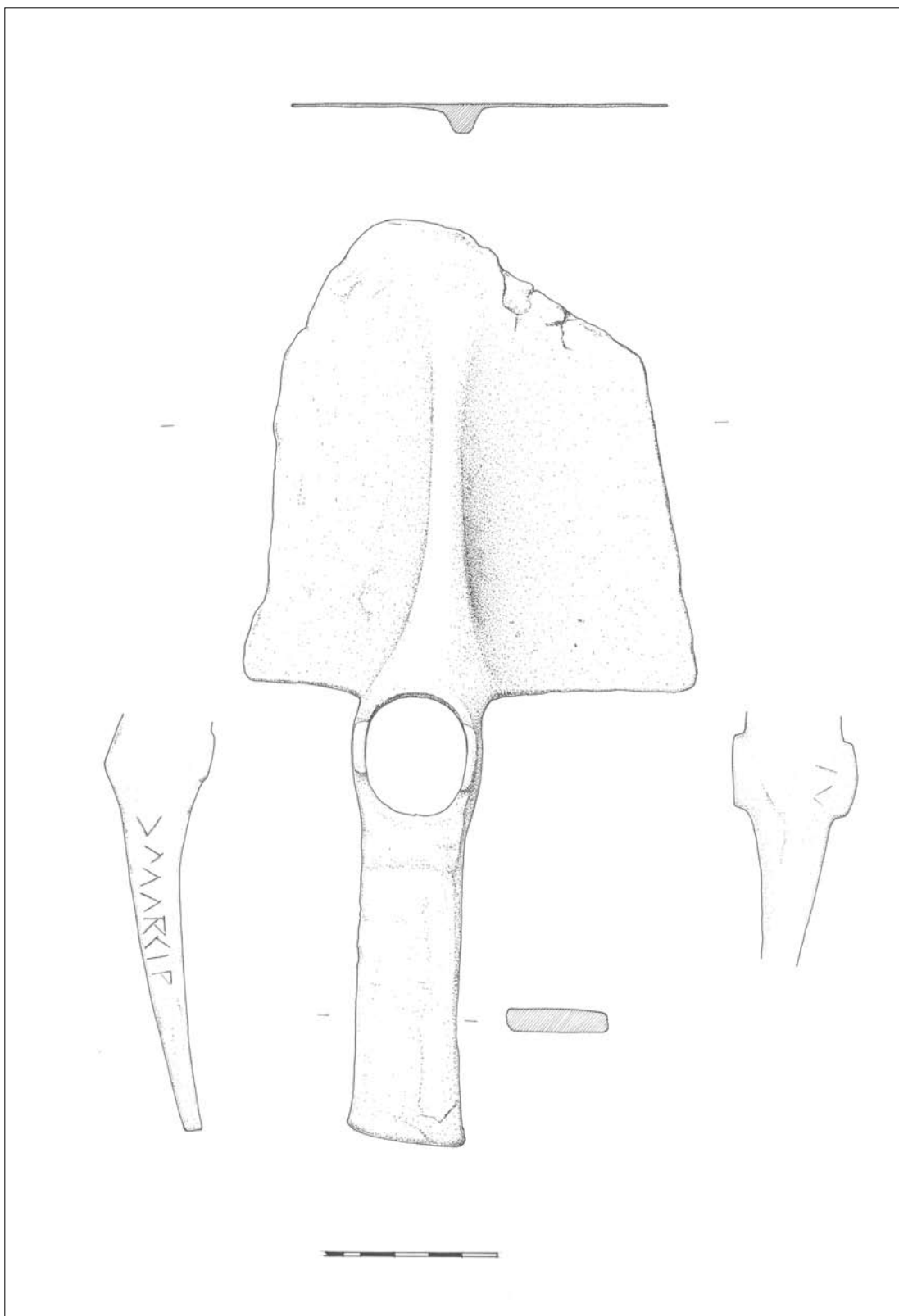
If we agree with the assumption that in this particular case the centurion's nomenclature consists of the gentilicium and the cognomen, the mattock could roughly be dated from the second half of the 1st century till the 3rd century AD. Nevertheless, I must admit that the proposed interpretation and dating mostly relies on more or less convincing conjectures. The question of identity of the unit which used this item (a legion or some auxiliary unit ?) must obviously remain open. For the time being we can only hope that we might discover one day other tools from Siscia whose inscriptions will be less subject to doubts.

²⁴ *TLL*, vol. II, 1757, s.v. *Barrus*; MÓCSY 1983: 45, s.v. *Barus*; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 301, s.v. *Barrus*; LÖRINCZ – REDŐ 1994: 272, s.v. *Barvs*

²⁵ KAJANTO 1965: 220; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 316, s.v. *Compitalicius*

²⁶ *TLL*, vol. II, 1757, s.v. *Barrus*; SCHULZE 1904: 207, 350, 423; SOLIN – SALOMIES 1994: 32, s.v. *Bar(r)ius*

²⁷ *CIL* II 2838; MÓCSY 1983: 44, s.v. *Barrus*; LÖRINCZ – REDŐ 1994: 271, s.v. *Barrvs*



T. / Pl. 1: rimski trnokop iz Siska / Roman mattock from Siscia



Sl. / Fig. 1-4: rimski trnokop iz Siska / Roman mattock from Siscia