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Stela veterana 14. legije Gaja Antonija Sentina iz Siscije

Stele of the Veteran of the 14th Legion *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* from *Siscia*

UDK: 904:726.82(497.5 Sisak)''652''

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Objavljuje se fragmentarno sačuvana nadgrobna stela Gaja Antonija Sentina (Gaius Antonius Sentinus), veterana 14. legije (legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix), nađena 2009. u Kvirinovoj ulici u Sisku, u sjevernome dijelu Siscije unutar gradskih zidina. Razmatraju se epigrafsko-prozopografski i strukturalno-ikonografski aspekti spomenika kao temelj za njegovo datiranje u razdoblje od zadnje trećine 1. stoljeća do ranoga 2. stoljeća. Usprkos fragmentarnosti, reljefni prikaz može se rekonstruirati kao motiv pokojnika u poluležećemu položaju na ležaljci (klinē) i jednoga sluge koji stoji okrenut prema pokojniku. Ispred ležaljke postavljen je tro-nožac na kojemu je kantar, a sa svake njegove strane na podu je po jedna velika posuda; s lijeve vrč, a s desne boca. Opisana ikonografija svojstvena je vojničkim stelama u Germaniji koje su izrađivale radionice u vojnim logorima Mogontijaku (Mainz) i Koloniji Agripini (Köln) u flavijevskom i trajan-

The article discusses the so-far unpublished fragmentary stele of Gaius Antonius Sentinus, a veteran of legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix, found in 2009 in Kvirinova Street in Sisak, in the northern section of Roman Siscia within the town walls. The discussion comprises the epigraphic, prosopographical, iconographic and structural components of the funerary stone in question as the basis for its dating at the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. In spite of the fragmentary state, the relief can be reconstructed as representing a deceased person reclining on a couch (klinē) and a single servant turned towards him. Placed centrally in front of the klinē is a tripod with a kantharos and with large vessels at its sides on the floor – a jug on the left and a bottle on the right side. Such funerary scenes were widespread among the Roman army in both Germanias, and are typical of the army stonemasons' workshops

skom razdoblju. Raspravlja se i o važnosti tog nalaza u kontekstu vojne povijesti rimske Siscije, osobito s obzirom na njezinu siromašnu epigrafsku baštinu povezanu s ranom prisutnošću vojske na području grada. Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina dodatno govori u prilog još uvijek arheološki nedokazanoj pretpostavci o prisutnosti vojnika 14. legije u Sisciji potkraj 1. stoljeća.

Ključne riječi: Panonija, Germanija, Siscia, rimska vojska, nadgrobna stela, 14. legija, veteran

Arheološki kontekst

Spomenik je pronađen 2009. prilikom kopanja rupe za stup ograde na području Rasadnika Mencl u Kvirinovoj ulici br. 7 u Sisku (sl. 1). Vlasnik parcele o nalazu je obavijestio Gradski muzej Sisak koji je stelu preuzeo. Pronađena je na relativnoj dubini od 70 cm, u sloju nasute zemlje.¹ Okolnosti nalaza, odnosno nepostojanje arheološkoga konteksta, otvaraju pitanje njezine izvorne lokacije. Prema mome shvaćanju, postoje dvije mogućnosti: ili je stela izvorno stajala u neposrednoj blizini pronalaska ili je ovamo premještena. U prilog prvoj mogućnosti govori činjenica da spomenik nije imao sekundarnu funkciju, odnosno nije korišten kao spolij, što je u pravilu slučaj s antičkim kamenim spomenicima i građevnim materijalom s područja Siska. Primjeri su brojni; od opeke i kamena korištenih pri izgradnji sisačke utvrde iz 16. stoljeća i drugih objekata na području grada Siska i okolnih mjesta, preko sarkofaga uzidanih u temelje kuća (npr. u Lađarskoj ulici), do nadgrobne stele iz Siska uzidane u školu u Jasenovcu.² Vezano uz urbani karakter predmetnoga područja, dosadašnja istraživanja u blizini pronalaska stele na obližnjemu groblju Sv. Kvirina i na istočnome dijelu Kvirinove ulice rezultirala su nalazima arhitekture iz razdoblja od prve polovice 1. stoljeća do kasne antike, uključujući ostatke sjevernoga ulaza u Sisciju i bedema.³ Treba na-

¹ Čuva se u Gradskom muzeju Sisak pod inventarnim brojem 22659.

² Gregl, Migotti 2000, 119–123.

³ Za pregled dosadašnjih nalaza vidi Vrbanić 1981, 187–200; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2003, 138; Leleković 2013; Lolić 2014. Za detaljan pregled urbanizma antičke Siscije vidi Lolić 2014.

in Mogontiacum (Mainz) and Colonia Agrippina (Köln) in the Flavian and Trajanic periods. The stone is further discussed in terms of its importance for the military history of Siscia, especially in the light of the poorly known epigraphic evidence for the early presence of the army in this town. The funerary stele of Gaius Antonius Sentinus represents an additional argument in favour of the archaeologically still unproven hypothesis that a detachment of the Fourteenth legion was present in Siscia as early as the late 1st century.

Key words: Pannonia, Germania, Siscia, Roman army, funerary stele, Fourteenth legion, veteran

Archaeological context

The stele was found in 2009 during the digging of a posthole for the fence of the nursery garden Mencl at 7 Kvirinova Street (Fig. 1). The owner of the land informed the Town Museum of Sisak about the find, which was then taken into the Museum's charge. The stele was recovered from earth fill at a relative depth of 70 cm.¹ The circumstances of the find, that is, the lack of archaeological context, open the issue of the original find-spot of the stele. According to my understanding of this issue, two possibilities should be considered. Either the find-spot was the original finding place of the stele, or the stone was subsequently brought there. The former possibility seems likely on account of the fact that the stele was not found as reused (*spolium*), which readily happens with Roman monuments and building materials from the Sisak area. The examples are many, from bricks and ashlar used in the building of the 16th-century Sisak stronghold and other buildings in Sisak and nearby settlements, to sarcophagi built into the house walls, such as in Lađarska Street, to a funerary stele built in the school in the village of Jasenovac.² In relation to the urban character of the find-spot of the stele, it should be noted that the excavations conducted so far within the nearby cemetery of Saint Quirinus and in the eastern stretch of Kvirinova Street have yielded architectural remains from the 1st half

¹ The stele is now in the Town Museum of Sisak (inv. no. 22659).

² Gregl, Migotti 2000, 119–123.

pomenuti da je ovo područje, sjeverno od Željezničkog kolodvora, među najslabije istraženima. Sustavno se istražuje tek dio bivšega gradskoga groblja Sv. Kvirina,⁴ a podaci koje imamo izvan toga prostora uglavnom se odnose na postavljanje komunalne infrastrukture i infrastrukture unutar tvorničkoga kruga Segestike. Zapadni dio Kvirinove ulice gdje je stela pronađena i područje sjeverno od njega do sada nisu bili predmetom značajnijih arheoloških istraživanja. Jedino istraživanje provodilo se 2011. godine u Kvirinovoj 1. Njime je utvrđeno postojanje antičkoga opkopa na toj čestici što se poklapa s podacima iz arhivske građe o Sisciji.⁵ Bedem i opkop izgrađeni su u vrijeme vladavine Septimija Severa krajem 2. ili početkom 3. stoljeća te su presjekli, odnosno presložili ranije strukture i slojeve.⁶ Opkop je postojao do 19. stoljeća pod imenom Kontra, a ulijevao se u Kupu.⁷

Ako je stela pronađena na izvornoj lokaciji, to podrazumijeva dvije moguće okolnosti: ili je područje na kojem je pronađena bilo dio nekropole ili je pokojnik sahranjen ovdje zbog nemogućnosti pokapanja na nekropoli.

Dosadašnjim istraživanjima identificirano je ukupno šest antičkih nekropola na području Siska: četiri na lijevoj obali Kupe i dvije na desnoj u Novom Sisku.⁸ Najbliža je mjestu pronalaska nadgrobne stele Sjeverna nekropola. Bila je smještena uz cestu *Siscia – Andautonia – Poetovio* čija trasa je prolazila oko 250 m sjeverno od današnje Kvirinove ulice u pravcu istok – zapad (ispod današnje Ulice Ferde Hefelea i Zagrebačke ulice). Od ove se ceste kod stanice *Ad Fines* (Buševac?) granao odvojak koji je preko Nevioduna vodio do Emone.⁹ Odsječak *Siscia – Neviodunum – Emo-*



Sl. / Fig. 1: Karta Siscije s naznačenim okolnostima pronalaska stele. Sivo – *Siscia intra muros*; crvena točka – lokacija pronalaska stele; plava točka – lokacija pronalaska groba; zeleno – istraženi i djelomično istraženi dijelovi lokaliteta Sv. Kvirin; roza – Sjeverna nekropola; plava trasa – cesta prema Andautoniji; narančasta područja – nekropole / Map of Siscia with finding circumstances marked. Grey area – *Siscia intra muros*; red dot – find-spot of the stele; blue dot – find-spot of the grave; green area – completely or partially explored sections of the Saint Quirinus site; rose area – North cemetery; blue route – the road to Andautonia; orange areas – cemeteries (karta / map by Maximativa d.o.o.)

⁴ Na istočnom dijelu nalazi se dječji vrtić.

⁵ Leleković 2013.

⁶ Lolić 2014. Čini se da se tijekom 2. stoljeća urbana jezgra malo smanjila – na lokalitetu »Šetnica« opkop je presložio objekt s hipokaustom (Tomaš Barišić 2012).

⁷ Lolić 2014.

⁸ U literaturi su se uvriježili nazivi Jugoistočna nekropola, Istočna nekropola, Sjeverna nekropola, Sjeverozapadna nekropola i nekropola u Novom Sisku (Wiewegh 2003, 9). Kako je istraživanjima kod Mosta Gromova 2013. godine (Nakić 2013) na području Novog Siska utvrđeno postojanje još jedne nekropole, Zapadne, na kojoj prevladavaju skeletni ukopi u zemljanoj jamu, njihov ukupan broj je šest.

⁹ Vrbanović 1981, 197; Nenadić 1987, 84; Burkowsky 1996, 78; Wiewegh 2003, 31–32, 34; Leleković 2012, 326–327; Lolić 2014.

na sagrađen je najvjerojatnije već za Tiberija.¹⁰ Sjeverna nekropola bila je miješanoga tipa, a nalazi datiraju od 1. do 4. stoljeća.¹¹ Njezine točne granice nisu utvrđene, kao što nije utvrđeno niti koliko duboko je ona zadirala s južne strane prema današnjoj Kvirinovoj ulici. Osim jednoga potvrđenoga nalaza groba, na ovome području nemamo zabilježene ukope.¹² Taj jedini potvrđeni nalaz odnosi se na grob od opeke sa skeletnim ukopom pronađen u Kvirinovoj 7A, 1970. prilikom gradnje stambenoga objekta. Čestica se nalazi u blizini one na kojoj je pronađena stela. Osim groba, otkriveni su dijelovi zidova i profilirana baza stupa. Grob je bio razoren iskopom za temelj; u dokumentaciji su ucrtane dimenzije zatečenoga stanja i položaj na gradilištu, ali se prilozi ne spominju.¹³ Činjenica da na ovom području nema drugih nalaza grobova može se objasniti nepostojanjem nadzora prilikom izgradnje velikoga kompleksa Mlina i pekara te stambenih objekata u Zvonimirovoj i Kvirinovoj ulici.

Prilikom polaganja instalacija redovito su pronađeni ostaci rimske arhitekture i pokretni nalazi.¹⁴ Opečni grobovi uobičajeni su na siscijskim nekropolama, a datiraju od 1. stoljeća do kasne antike.¹⁵ Po načinu konstrukcije mogli bi izdvojiti dva glavna tipa opečnih grobova: grob od slagane opeke bez uporabe veziva i zidani grob.¹⁶ Grob naden u blizini stele pripada prvomu tipu koji traje od 1. stoljeća do kraja antičkoga razdoblja, a koristi se i za paljevinske i skeletne ukope.¹⁷ Skeletni se ukopi u Panoniji počinju sporadično pojavljivati od kraja 1. stoljeća, a povezuju se s imigrantima iz središta Carstva ili iz istočnih provincija. Češći su od druge polovice 2. stoljeća.¹⁸ S obzirom na to da nema drugih nalaza grobova, postoji mogućnost da se nekropola na ovom prostoru prostirala u razdoblju prije velikih građevinskih zahvata u drugoj

of the 1st century AD to Late Antiquity, including parts of the northern town walls, and the gate.³ It should also be born in mind that this area, situated north of the railway station, is among the least researched. Only a section of the former town cemetery of Saint Quirinus is being systematically excavated,⁴ while the data on the area outside this place mostly stem from the communal infrastructure works and the infrastructure works within the premises of the Segestica factory. The western section of Kvirinova Street (the find-spot of the stela) and the area to the north of it have not been the subject of any considerable archaeological research as of yet. The only excavation took place at 1 Kvirinova Street in 2011, revealing the existence of a ditch there, which corresponds to the archival data on *Siscia*.⁵ The town walls and the ditch were built during the rule of Septimius Severus at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, intersecting or covering earlier architectural structures and layers.⁶ The ditch was named Kontroba and flowed into the Kupa River, and existed up to the 19th century.⁷

If the find-spot of the stela was its original place, two possibilities come into consideration. Either this site was part of a cemetery, or the burial took place there due to the fact that it was not possible to bury the body in the cemetery at that time.

So far, a total of six Roman cemeteries have been identified in the area of Sisak: four on the left bank of the River Kupa, and a further two on its right bank, in Novi Sisak (New Sisak).⁸ The nearest to the find-spot of the stela under discussion is the

¹⁰ Bojanovski 1974, 15.

¹¹ Burkowsky 1996, 78.

¹² Lolić 2014.

¹³ Gradski muzej Sisak DOK-167; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2014. Istraživanjem na adresi Kvirinova 1 također nisu pronađeni ostaci grobova (Leleković 2011).

¹⁴ Lolić 2014.

¹⁵ Vrbanić 1981; Nenadić 1987; Burkowsky 1996; Wiewegh 2003; Lolić 2014.

¹⁶ Wiewegh 2003, 31–3, 34.

¹⁷ Burkowsky 1996, 75–77.

¹⁸ Leleković 2012, 313, 333.

³ For an overview of the finds so far, see Vrbanić 1981, 187–200; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2003, 138; Leleković 2013; Lolić 2014. For a detailed overview of Siscian urbanism, see Lolić 2014.

⁴ The eastern section holds a kindergarten.

⁵ Leleković 2103.

⁶ Lolić 2014. It appears that, during the 2nd century, the urban core shrank a little, as is indicated by the fact that at the site "Šetnica" (Promenade) the ditch overlay a hypocaust building (Tomaš Barišić 2012).

⁷ Lolić 2014.

⁸ The cemeteries are found under the following names in the literature: Southeast cemetery, East cemetery, North cemetery, Northwest cemetery, and the cemetery in Novi Sisak (New Sisak) (Wiewegh 2003, 9). Given that a further burial ground (West cemetery, containing mostly skeletal inhumations in earth pits) was found during the 2013 excavations at the site of Most Gromova in Novi Sisak (Nakić 2013), the total number of Siscian cemeteries amounts to six.

polovici 1. stoljeća koji se povezuju s činjenicom da je Siscija dobila status kolonije za vrijeme Vespazijanove vladavine 71. godine.¹⁹ Grob je pronađen neposredno uz antički objekt kamenih temelja koji su tipični za flavijevsku fazu izgradnje u Sisciji te je moguće da je izgradnja preslojila raniju nekropolu ili njezin dio. Kao što je već spomenuto, neposredna blizina bedema i opkopa mogla je negativno djelovati na očuvanje arheoloških nalaza. Mijenjanje razine vode u opkopu i erozija tla mogli su izobličiti ili izbrisati eventualne tragove grobova iz 1. i 2. stoljeća.²⁰

Skeletni grob iz Kvirinove 7A mogao bi se pripisati nekoj kriznoj situaciji, poput opsade, kada nije bilo moguće vršiti ukope na nekropoli. Takvih kriznih situacija bilo je mnogo od sredine 2. stoljeća i Markomanskih ratova (166. – 180.). Praksa pokapanja unutar rastera grada potvrđena je arheološkim istraživanjima kod crkve Sv. Križa,²¹ zatim u Rimskoj 25²² i kod križanja Frankopanske i Lovrićeve ulice. Kod crkve Sv. Križa radi se o dva dječja groba datirana u 4. stoljeće, a u Rimskoj 25 najvjerojatnije o grobu dojenčeta, također kasnoantičkom.²³ Grobovi u Frankopanskoj bili su razoreni građevinskim radovima, a nalaz lukovičaste fibule također ih smješta u kasnoantičko razdoblje.²⁴ Sve se ove lokacije nalaze u blizini bedema te vjerojatno ukazuju na promjenu pogrebnih običaja u kasnoj antici kada ukopi nisu striktno vezani uz nekropole, odnosno kada nekropole pomalo prodiru u rubne dijelove grada. Kasna antika prihvatljiva je datacija za grob iz Kvirinove 7A, ali ne i za stelu koja se po svojim karakteristikama datira u kraj 1. ili početak 2. stoljeća, što je obrazloženo u drugome dijelu priloga.

Iz navedenoga izlaganja proizlazi da je stela, ako je pronađena na izvornoj lokaciji, bila postavljena na nekropoli ili dijelu nekropole iz ranocarskog

North cemetery. It stretched along the road *Siscia – Andautonia – Poetovio* in the W-E direction under Ferde Hefelea Street and Zagrebačka Street, some 250 metres north of Kvirinova Street. From this road, another one leading towards *Emona* via *Nevidodunum* branched off at the station *Ad Fines* (Buševac?).⁹ The road section *Siscia – Nevidodunum – Emona* was probably built as early as the time of Tiberius.¹⁰ The North cemetery was of a mixed-rite type, spanning the time period from the 1st to the 4th centuries.¹¹ Its boundaries have not been established with certainty, so it remains unknown how far to the south it stretched towards Kvirinova Street. No other burials have been recorded in this area, apart from one grave.¹² It was found at 7A Kvirinova Street during the building of a residential building in 1970; it was made of tiles and contained a skeleton. Its find-spot is in the vicinity of the place where the stele was found. In addition to the grave, sections of walls and a moulded column base have been recovered there. The grave was destroyed by a foundation digging; the situation of the find within the building site and its dimensions have been recorded in the excavation documentation, but there is no mention of grave goods.¹³ The absence of other recorded graves in this area can be explained by the lack of supervision during the construction of the large complexes of the Mill and Bakeries Ltd., as well as of the construction of the residential buildings in the streets Zvonimirova and Kvirinova.

Laying pipes in Sisak has always been accompanied by finds of the remains of Roman architecture and small finds.¹⁴ Brick and tile graves dating from the 1st century to Late Antiquity are commonly found in Siscian cemeteries.¹⁵ In terms of construction, they can be classified into two types: tile tombs built without the use of mortar, and masonry tombs.¹⁶ The grave found in the vi-

¹⁹ Treba napomenuti da na lokalitetu Sv. Kvirin do sada nije pronađen nijedan grob iz antičkog razdoblja te su se eventualni ukopi mogli nalaziti na prostoru koji je omeđen ulicama Biskupa Kvirina i V. Jagića.

²⁰ Takva situacija zabilježena je u blizini, na Sjeverozapadnoj nekropoli 2013. godine (Koprivnjak, Miletić 2014).

²¹ Lolić 2000, 34.

²² Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²³ Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²⁴ Svi ukopi su skeletni, u opečnim grobovima, bez korištenja veziva (Burkowsky 1996, 75; Lolić 2014).

⁹ Vrbanović 1981, 197; Nenadić 1987, 84; Burkowsky 1996, 78; Wiewegh 2003, 31–32, 34; Leleković 2012, 326–327; Lolić 2014.

¹⁰ Bojanovski 1974, 15.

¹¹ Burkowsky 1996, 78.

¹² Lolić 2014.

¹³ The Town Museum Sisak DOK-167; Vuković 1994, 94; Lolić 2014. The excavations at 1 Kvirinova Street also yielded Roman burials (Leleković 2011).

¹⁴ Lolić 2014.

¹⁵ Vrbanović 1981; Nenadić 1987; Burkowsky 1996; Wiewegh 2003; Lolić 2014.

¹⁶ Wiewegh 2003, 31–3, 34.

razdoblja koja je preslojavana gradnjom od druge polovice 1. stoljeća nadalje. Kao što je već spomenuto, u blizini su pronađeni grobovi Sjeverne nekropole te je moguće da je ona južno dopirala do današnje Kvirinove ulice. To bi otprilike bila i njezina južna granica sa zapadne strane. Kako je u blizini pronađen i skeletni grob, moguće je da su grob iz Kvirinove 7A i stela međusobno povezani, odnosno da je riječ o jednoj grobnoj cjelini. U tome bi slučaju grob Gaja Antonija Sentina bio dosad najraniji identificirani skeletni ukop s područja Siscije. Međutim, zasad su to samo spekulacije koje treba potvrditi novim arheološkim istraživanjima.

Ako stela nije izvorno stajala u blizini, mogla je na mjesto nalaza dospjeti sa zemljom za nivelaciju tla ili ju je netko dopremio ovdje s namjerom da je iskoristi pri gradnji ili kao ukras. Nasipavanje i nivelacija tla u Sisku provodili su se najkasnije od početka 19. stoljeća kada je pripreman teren za razvoj suvremenoga grada.²⁵ Međutim, zbog dimenzija stele nije vjerojatno da je ona na mjesto nalaza dospjela slučajno. Stoga radije treba pomišljati o planu da se ona iskoristi kao spolij ili ukras.²⁶ I ovdje moramo zaključiti da odgovore mogu dati samo nova istraživanja.

Rosana Škrgulja

Opis stele

Sačuvan je ulomak stele od žućkastog pješčenjaka visine 95 cm, širine 77 cm i debljine 28 cm koji, po svemu sudeći, sadrži cjelovit natpis i samo manji dio reljefnoga prizora pri dnu arhitektonske niše (sl. 2). Na lijevome rubu sačuvanoga dijela niše razaznaje se donji dio glatkoga stupa koji preko prstenastog zadebljanja prelazi u masivnu okruglastu bazu. Oblik baze nije posve razvidan jer je zasječen stajaćom površinom predočenom u obliku letve na kojoj je smještena glavnina prizora. Ipak, stup je u cjelini najbliži tuskanskomu redu. Neposredno uz njega smješten je ljudski lik kojemu je vidljiv donji dio zvonolike tunike i no-

cinity of the stele was of the former type, and was in use from the 1st century to the end of antiquity for both incinerations and inhumations.¹⁷ Inhumations began sporadically appearing in *Pannonia* at the end of the 1st century, and are ascribed to immigrants from the centre of the Empire or the eastern provinces. They became more frequent from the 2nd half of the 2nd century.¹⁸ Given the lack of more graves, it is possible that the cemetery on this site existed before the large development in the 2nd half of the 1st century, connected with the elevation of *Siscia* to the status of Roman colony during the rule of Vespasian in AD 71.¹⁹ The grave was found in the immediate vicinity of a building with stone foundations, typical of the Flavian building phase in *Siscia*. It is therefore possible that this building overlay part of an earlier cemetery. As was mentioned before, it is also possible that the immediate vicinity of the town walls and ditches endangered the preservation of archaeological finds. The oscillation of the water level in the ditch, as well as the soil erosion, could have deformed or erased possible remains of 1st- and 2nd-century graves.²⁰

The skeletal burial from 7A Kvirinova Street could be ascribed to a situation of crisis such as a siege, which rendered it impossible to bury the dead in the cemetery. Such crises were abundant from the mid 2nd century and the Marcommanic Wars (AD 166-180). The practice of burying within the town walls has been ascertained by the excavations at the church of the Holy Cross,²¹ at 25 Rimska Street²² and at the intersection of the streets Frankopanska and Lovrićeva. On the site of the Holy Cross, two 4th-century child burials were found, while the grave in Rimska Street was most probably a late Roman infant burial.²³ The graves in Frankopanska Street were destroyed by building works, but can be safely considered as late Roman on account of the find of a crossbow

¹⁷ Burkowsky 1996, 75–77.

¹⁸ Leleković 2012, 313, 333.

¹⁹ It should be remembered that the site of Saint Quirinus has so far failed to yield a single Roman burial, which means that possible graves could have been located in the area bounded by the streets Kvirinova and V. Jagića.

²⁰ Such circumstances have been recorded in 2013 in the nearby Northwest cemetery (Koprivnjak, Miletić 2014).

²¹ Lolić 2000, 34.

²² Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²³ Škrgulja 2011, 72.

²⁵ Lolić 2014.

²⁶ U slojevima nasipa do sada su pronalazeni samo manji ulomci, osim na lokalitetu Sv. Kvirin. Međutim, na Sv. Kvirinu nivelirani su spomenici koji su tamo stajali i neznatno su pomaknuti.



Sl. / Fig. 2: Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina, Gradski muzej Sisak, inv. br. 22659 / Stele of Gaius Antonius Sentinus, The Town Museum of Sisak, inv. no. 22659 (foto / photo by Blaženka Suntešić)

gu (potkoljenica i stopala) u profilu, odnosno u koraku nadesno. Tunika, koja doseže do koljena, prikazana je poput teške tkanine bez izraženih nabora. Preostali dio prizora čini okrugli tronožni stol, a na podu sa svake njegove strane po jedna izrazito velika posuda. S lijeve je strane vrč kruškolikoga oblika s izvijenom ručkom koja doseže do oštećenoga oboda, a s desne četvrtasta boca s dvije koljenaste ručke koje ne prelaze razinu ulegnutoga prstenasto obrubljenoga otvora. Tronožac je prikazan odozgo ukoso tako da su mu vidljive ne samo izvijene noge sa završecima u obliku stiliziranih lavljih šapa nego i okrugla gornja površina, gotovo u potpunosti zapremljena trbušastim kantarom na niskoj stožastoj nozi, s dvjema velikim ručkama koje pod kosim kutom nadvisuju ravni prstenasti obod. Između vrča i stola, te poviše boce vodoravno se proteže uska letva koja je očito rub nekoga predmeta od kojeg je iznad boce sačuvan i mali komad površine iznad ruba. Kratki potez te letve sačuvan je i lijevo od ručke vrča, ali je otučen na potezu između toga mjesta i koljena ljudskoga lika. Krajnji desni predmet – valjkasta noga s tri prstenasta zadebljanja, koja je u gornjemu dijelu oštećena, ali je jasno da se proteže sve do opisanoga ruba, otkriva da je posrijedi prikaz ležaja (*klinē*) od kojega su vidljivi samo donji rub i desna noga. Druga noga

brooch.²⁴ All the abovementioned sites are situated in the vicinity of the town walls, probably indicating the change in grave rituals in Late Antiquity, when burials ceased to be strictly limited to cemeteries, or, rather, when cemeteries started penetrating the *intra muros* space. While late antique date is acceptable for the burial from 7A Kvirinova Street, this does not apply to the stela, which should be dated to the turn of the 1st and 2nd centuries, as is explained later in this text.

It transpires from the above discussion that, if the stela was found in its original place, it belonged to the early Imperial cemetery that was overlain by another building from the 2nd half of the 1st century onwards. As was already mentioned, burials belonging to the North cemetery have been found in the vicinity, which suggests that this cemetery possibly stretched as far as Kvirinova Street, which would then delineate its southwest boundary. On balance, it is possible that the late Roman grave from 7A Kvirinova Street can be brought in connection with the stela, meaning that they composed a single burial complex. In that case, the grave of *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* should be the earliest recorded skeletal burial from *Siscia* so far. This, however, remains conjectural until further archaeological evidence.

If the stela was not found originally located in the vicinity, it could have been brought there together with soil for terrain levelling, or perhaps someone transported it there to use it as building material or as a decoration. Filling up and terrain levelling in Sisak were carried out from the early 19th century at the latest, when the terrain was being prepared for the modern urban development.²⁵ However, the dimensions of the stela speak against its chance appearance on the find-spot. Therefore, its intended usage as a spoil or a decoration is more likely.²⁶ Here, again, only future archaeological research could offer more reliable answers.

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²⁴ All graves were skeletal, and made of tiles without mortar (Burkowsky 1996, 75; Lolić 2014).

²⁵ Lolić 2014.

²⁶ So far, earth fills have yielded only smaller fragments, except on the site of Saint Quirinus. However, on this site only the monuments from the spot were levelled, and therefore just slightly relocated.

ležaljke nije prikazana, što odgovara razmjerno uobičajenom ikonografskom obrascu na stelama tog tipa u Germanijama (*Lupa* 15874, 7073, itd.). Premda veoma fragmentaran, reljef ipak sadrži dovoljno elemenata za rekonstrukciju prizora pokojnika u poluležećem položaju na ležaljci uz koju stoji sluga okrenut pokojniku. O toj će slici, koja osim tronošca i raznih posuda na njemu i uza nj može sadržavati različitih pojedinosti, biti riječi u podnaslovu *Tipologija i ikonografija*.

Natpis

Natpisno polje uokvireno je neravno isklesanim profilom u obliku obrnutoga slova S (*cyma reversa*) koji je gotovo cjelovit na gornjoj strani i na bočnim stranama (oštećen je samo u gornjem desnome kutu), dok se na donjoj nazire tek manji potez pri samome dnu ulomka. Natpis glasi:

C(aius) Antonius

Sentinus

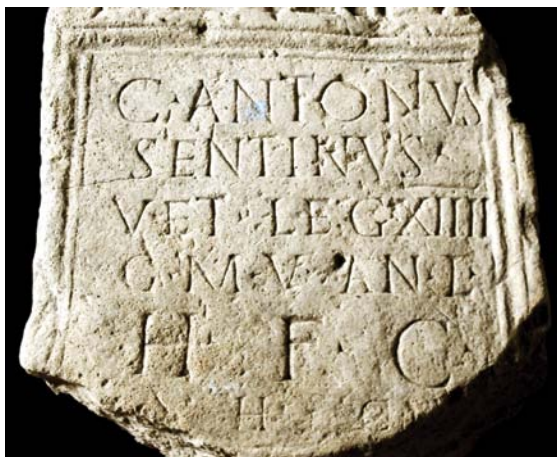
vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XIII

G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis) an(norum) L.

⁵H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

H(ic) c(onditus) ili H(ic) c(ubat) ili H(eres) c(uravit) ili H(onoris) c(ausa).

Slobodan prijevod, bez poštivanja redosljeda redaka, glasi: *Ovdje počiva pedesetogodišnji Gaj Antonije Sentin, veteran 14. Udvojene Martove Pobjedničke legije. (Spomenik) je dao načiniti nasljednik.*



Sl. / Fig. 3: Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina, natpis / Stela of Gaius Antonius Sentinus, the inscription (foto / photo by Blaženka Suntešić)

Description of the stele

The measurements of the preserved fragment, made of yellowish sandstone, are as follows: height 95 cm (relief: 15–21 cm; inscription: 75 cm), width 77 cm, and thickness 28 cm. The epitaph seems to be preserved in its entirety, while of the relief depiction only a smaller part survives at the bottom of the architectonic niche. On the far left bottom part of the niche the lowest segment of a smooth column (probably of stylised Tuscan order) is visible, featuring an annulet and a massive roundish base beneath, whose full shape remains obscured by the narrow horizontal surface supporting the figures in the scene. Next to the column a human figure is depicted, of which only the lower part survives, containing the lowest part of a bell-shaped tunic and the lower legs in profile walking towards the right; a tunic of the mid-knee length is shown as a heavy drapery with no folds. The remainder of the scene is occupied by a round tripod placed centrally in front of a couch and flanked by two large vessels standing on the floor: a pear-shaped, one-handled jug on the left, and a square two-handled bottle on the right side. The tripod is shown from a slanting perspective from above, so that not only its undulating legs with the feet imitating lion's paws are visible, but also its upper surface holding a round-bodied kantharos with high handles and a low conical foot. Between the jug and the tripod and above the bottle runs a horizontal narrow strip of surface, evidently the edge of an object whose small above-edge portion survives above the bottle. A short segment of the edge in question survives to the left of the jug's handle, but is damaged between that point and the knee of the human figure. The terminal feature of the scene on the right side is a cylindrical shaft with three superimposed annulets. In spite of the damage in its uppermost section, the leg is clearly connected to the above-described edge, revealing the motif as a *klinē*, of which only the lower edge and one leg survive. The left leg is not depicted at all, which corresponds with one of the usual patterns of *klinē* representations on this type of stele in the *Germanias* (*Lupa* 1584, 7073, etc.). All in all, despite its fragmentary state, the relief clearly reveals the scene of a deceased person reclining on a *klinē*, with a standing servant turned towards him and a tripod in front. For further information on such

Razrješenje je posljednjega retka ponešto problematično. No sugestija da se znak između slova *H* i *C* protumači kao antisigma i oznaka za centuriona pokazala se neutemeljenom jer ostaci na površini kamena najvjerojatnije prikazuju razdjelnu točku, ali sigurno ne prikazuju slovo. Svojevrsno omalovažavanje spomena centurionske službe (na koju bi pokojnik sigurno bio ponosan) njegovim smještanjem u zadnji redak i klesanjem plićim slovima bilo bi prilično neočekivano. Inačica rješenja formule *heres curavit* u zadnjem retku (*nasljednik se pobrinuo*) manje je vjerojatna jer bi značila ponavljanje neznatno preoblikovane formulacije iz prethodnoga retka. O trećoj, najmanje vjerojatnoj mogućnosti rješenja (*honoris causa*) vidi bilj. 29. Sve u svemu, podjednako vjerojatnima, a ujedno i posve prihvatljivima, smatram prva dva ponuđena rješenja: *hic conditus* i *hic cubat*.

Slova su razmjerno pravilna, klesana u obliku rustične kapitale, ali ipak neujednačene kvalitete izvedbe; pojedina od njih klesana su duboko i pažljivo potezima jednake širine i dubine, dok su druga plića i nepravilnija, ali su sva omeđena istaknutim trokutastim završecima (serifima). Visine su slova različite: u prvome retku 7,5 cm, u drugome 6–6,5 cm, u trećemu 6 cm, u četvrtome 5–6 cm, u petome 8,5–9,5 cm, a u šestome retku 4,5 cm. Zadnji se redak osobito izdvaja malim, plitko uklesanim slovima što je očigledno posljedica skućenoga prostora preostalog nakon klesanja izrazito velikih slova u prethodnome retku. Usprkos takvom objašnjenju, taj redak djeluje kao da je dodan naknadno, možda drugom rukom. U cjelini, slova su istoga oblika uz dvije iznimke. Jedna se odnosi na slovo *S* na kraju prvoga retka koje je uže od onoga u drugome retku, s time da je to nedvojbeno posljedica nedostatka prostora. S druge strane, slovo *G* u trećemu i četvrtom retku različito je jer je potonje uklesano nespreno, s ukošenim donjim potezom. Iduća klesarska nesprenost očituje se u izvedbi slova *T*. U prvome retku ono je povišeno u odnosu na druga slova, ali nije sigurno da je to učinjeno radi uštede na prostoru. Međutim, slovo *T* u drugome i trećemu retku jedva da strši iznad preostalih slova, s tim da je ono u drugome retku izvedeno nepravilno, s ukošenom gornjom hastom. Među oblicima slova ističe se *O* s obzirom na to da je zbog pravilnoga okrugloga oblika više svojstven tzv.

iconography, occasionally enriched with various other components, see a more detailed discussion in the subheading *Typology and iconography*.

Epitaph

The inscription field is framed with fairly crudely carved moulding in the shape of the reversed letter *S* (*cyma reversa*), which is nearly completely preserved on three sides (apart from some damage on the upper right-hand corner), while on the lower side only a slight remain of the upper line of the moulding is preserved. The inscription goes:

C(aius) Antonius

Sentinus

vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XIII

G(eminae) M(artiae) V(ictricis) an(norum) L.

⁵H(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).

H(ic) c(onditus) or H(ic) c(ubat) or H(eres)

c(uravit) or H(onoris) c(ausa).

A free translation, disregarding the line order, goes: *Here lies Gaius Antonius Sentinus, a veteran of the Fourteenth Twin Legion Martial Victorius, aged 50. The heir had (this monument) made.* The expansion of the abbreviated formula in the last line is somewhat problematic. Nevertheless, the suggestion for identifying the sign between the letters *H* and *C* as an *antisigma* denoting a centurion turned out to be unjustified, as the remains on the stone surface most probably represent a punctuation mark, not a letter. Furthermore, to mark the rank of centurion (which would have certainly made its bearer proud) in a slightly degrading manner by placing it at the end of the epitaph and rendering it in shallow carving would have been unusual. The possibility of the expansion of the formula *HC* in the last line as *heres curavit* (*the heir made it*) is less likely, as it amounts to a broad repetition of the statement in the previous line; on the third possibility of expansion (*honoris causa*) see fn. 29. All in all, the first two expansions (*hic conditus* and *hic cubat*) seem to be equally likely.

The letters are fairly regular, cut in the manner of rustic capitals (*scriptura actuarica*), but of uneven execution. Some of them are carefully and deeply cut, with strokes of even width and depth, while

kvadratnoj kapitali negoli rustičnoj. Brojka *četrnaest* izražena je znamenkama nadvišenima vodoravnom crtom. Razdjelne točke između riječi imaju oblik udubljenoga trokuta različito okrenutih vrhova, s time da razdjelnica na kraju drugoga retka nalikuje tzv. rascijepljenoj grančici.²⁷ Jedina ligatura, *NI* u prvome retku, nedvojbeno je upotrijebljena zbog nedostatka prostora, a ne kao epigrafski običaj ili svojevrsni ukras.²⁸ Koristene su uobičajene kratice: *C(aius)*, *vet(eranus)*, *leg(io)*, *G(emina)*, *M(artia) V(ictrix) i an(norum)*. Od dviju kratica grobnih formula prva je posve uobičajena [*h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*]), dok je druga [*h(ic) c(onditus)*] ili [*h(ic) c(ubat)*] prilično rijetka u grobnome kontekstu.²⁹ Uređenje teksta nije najuspjelije jer klesar nije znao procijeniti prostor zbog čega je u prvome redu morao stisnuti slovo *S*, a u trećemu je zadnja znamenka broja naslonjena na rub okvira. Očito je da mu nije pošlo za rukom slijediti uređenje na lijevoj strani koje pokazuje pravilno naizmjenično uvlačenje i izvlačenje redaka. Osim toga, drugi redak nije klesan pravocrtno, nego s laganom krivuljom po sredini, možda prouzročenom time što je čitava površina natpisnoga polja pomalo neravna. Na temelju procjene da je reljefna niša bila visoka otprilike kao i natpisno polje (75 cm), s obzirom na to da je na maloj visini sačuvane površine prikazana otprilike trećina tijela sluge i početak ležaljke (15–21 cm), kao i na temelju usporedbi sa srodnim spomenicima, može se pretpostaviti da je ukupna visina stele bila približno 200 cm. Dvije su mogućnosti za procjenu izgleda njezinoga donjega dijela od kojih ona prva, manje vjerojatna, podrazumijeva dodatnu reljefnu nišu s prizorom sluge koji vodi konja (*calo*) smještenu ispod natpisnoga polja. Vjerojatnije je, međutim, da je donji dio stele (prostor baze) ostao prazan, s time da je mo-

others are of a less regular and shallower cut, but all of them feature prominent triangular terminations. The letter height varies as follows: 7.5 cm in the first line, 6–6.5 cm in the second, 6 cm in the third, 5–6 cm in the fourth, 8.5–9.5 cm in the fifth, and 4.5 cm in the sixth line. The last line differs from the remainder of the text by its small and shallow cut letters, evidently resulting from the limited space left after cutting large letters in the previous line. Despite such an explanation, the formula in the last line leaves the impression of having been cut subsequently, possibly by another hand. Overall, the letters are of the same shape, with two exceptions. One of them is the letter *S* at the end of the first line, which is narrower than the one in the second line; the obvious cause for this was the lack of space in the first line. On the other hand, the letters *G* in the third and fourth lines are mutually different in that the latter was cut clumsily, with the lower stroke slanting instead of rounded. A further incompetence of the cutter transpires in the execution of the letter *T*, which surmounts the other letters in the first line, but it cannot be established with certainty whether this was due to the lack of space. On the other hand, the letters *T* in the second and third lines barely stick out from the rest, but the former is executed irregularly, with a slanting upper stroke. The letter *O* is particularly distinguished by its regular cut and round shape, more appropriate for the best lapidary letters (square capitals, *scriptura monumentalis*). The number *14* is represented with numerals topped by a horizontal stroke. Punctuation marks between the words are shaped as deep triangles with variously directed points; the one at the end of the second line resembles a split twig.²⁷ The only ligature (*NI* in the first line) was evidently used due to the lack of space, and not as an epigraphic standard or a kind of decoration.²⁸ All abbreviations used are common enough: *C(aius)*, *vet(eranus)*, *leg(io)*, *G(emina)*, *M(artia) V(ictrix)* and *an(norum)*. As for the two abbreviations for grave formulae, one of them is ubiquitous [*h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*]), while the other is quite rare in funerary contexts [*h(ic)*

²⁷ Usp. Šašel Kos 1997, br. 13, 15, itd.

²⁸ O funkcionalnoj i običajnoj uporabi ligatura i povišenih slova vidi Thylander 1952, 76, 205.

²⁹ Kratica *HC*, razriješena u okviru grobnog konteksta, rijetko se nađe u popisima kratica u epigrafskim priručnicima; vidi Calabi Limentani 1991, 495. Stoga ne čudi da je rijetka na grobnim spomenicima, a više je svojstvena istočnim provincijama (usmeni podatak Marjete Šašel Kos). Na jednom grobnom natpisu iz bugarskog grada Svištova (*Novae*, Donja Mezija, *CIL* III, 756) formulacija *honoris causa* ispisana je punim riječima.

²⁷ Cf. Šašel Kos 1997, nos. 13, 15, etc.

²⁸ On functional and habitual usage of ligatures, see Thylander 1952, 76, 205.



Sl. / Fig. 4: Stela isluženog vojnika (*missicius*) prve ale Flaviane iz Klein-Winterheima / Stele of a *missicius* of the *ala I Flaviania* from Klein-Winterheim (*Lupa* 15873)

gao biti posve neobrađen ili pak površno obrađen zubatim dljetom kao na usporednim primjerkima iz Germanije (*Lupa* 15873, 15539) (sl. 4).³⁰

³⁰ O prizoru sluga koji vodi konja vidi bilj. 39. Visina od oko 200 cm dobivena je na temelju usporedbe sa stelama istog tipa iz Wiesbadena: 196 x 76 x 28 cm (*Lupa* 7071) i Mainza: 2,14 x 0,78 x 20 cm (Boppert 1992, 156–158, br. 51 i *Lupa* 15873, s pogrešno navedenim mjerama).

c(onditus) or *h(ic) c(ubat)*].²⁹ The ordination of the text was not very successful, in that the cutter was prone to a misjudgement of the available space, so he was compelled to squeeze the letter *S* into the first line, while in the third the last digit rests on the frame. Evidently, he was not able to follow the ordination set at the beginning, which shows a regular interchanging of protruding and indented lines. Furthermore, the second line is not cut straight, but is slightly curved in the middle, which was possibly caused by the fact that the whole surface of the inscription field is slightly uneven. On the basis of the estimation that the height of the relief niche was roughly the same as that of the inscription field (75 cm) because about one third of the picture survives (15–21 cm), as well as on the basis of comparison with similar stelai, the height of the stone discussed here can be estimated at around 200 cm. Its lower part can be hypothetically reconstructed in two ways. The first and less likely version implies a further relief niche below the inscription field, featuring a servant leading a horse (*calo*). It is more likely, however, that the lower section (socle) of the stela remained free of reliefs, and was either left completely rough or was superficially worked with a toothed chisel, as on some parallels from *Germania* (*Lupa* 15873, 15539) (Fig. 4).³⁰

From the very beginnings of the epigraphic discipline, commentators discourage the dating of monuments on the basis of the epigraphic and palaeographic traits of the inscriptions, and especially the dating of provincial stones on the basis of the parameters valid for the inscriptions of Rome and central Italy. In so doing, they usually point out that the only justified approach to dating provincial inscriptions is setting up chronologically

²⁹ The abbreviation *HC*, expanded so as to fit a funerary context, is rarely found in abbreviation lists in epigraphic textbooks; see Calabi Limentani 1991, 495. It is therefore no surprise that this abbreviation is rarely found in funerary contexts, and if so, it is mostly in the eastern provinces (Marjeta Šašel Kos, pers. comm.). In an epitaph in the Bulgarian town of Svištov (*Novae, Moesia Inf.*, *CIL* III, 756) the formula *honoris causa* was inscribed in full words.

³⁰ On the motif of the *calo* leading the horse see fn. 39. The approximate height of 200 cm was assumed by comparison with two stelai of the same type, one from Wiesbaden: 196 x 76 x 28 cm (*Lupa* 7071), and another from Mainz: 214 x 78 x 20 cm (Boppert 1992, 156–158, no. 51 and *Lupa* 15873, with incorrect measurements).

Od samih početaka razvoja epigrafske discipline autori upozoravaju na zamke kod datiranja spomenika prema epigrafskim i paleografskim osobinama natpisa, a osobito na nepouzdanost kronologije provincijalnih spomenika temeljene na parametrima utvrđenima za grad Rim i užu Italiju. Pritom se mahom upućuje na potrebu ustanovljavanja kronološki osjetljivih epigrafsko-paleografskih sustava za uža područja.³¹ Međutim, u nedostatku takvoga alata, uglavnom se ipak pribjegava datiranju prema općim kronološkim obrascima, a kolika-tolika vjerodostojnost takvoga postupka nastoji se osigurati razradom svih epigrafsko-paleografskih elemenata pojedinoga natpisa. Budući da epigrafsko-paleografski kronološki sustav za spomenike Siscije još nije načinjen, ne preostaje drugo nego datirati ovdje predstavljeni natpis prema općim parametrima, oslanjajući se na susjedne krajeve i provincije za koje postoje barem okvirni epigrafsko-kronološki sustavi. S obzirom na gornje primjedbe, ne bi imalo smisla opterećivati tekst tipološkim uspoređivanjem svih pojedinačnih epigrafskih i paleografskih sastavnica natpisa. Međutim, ako se one sagledaju u cjelini, svi elementi natpisa komentirani u gornjemu opisu, uključujući uporabu *tria nomina* i izostanak grobne formule *D(is) M(anibus)*, o čemu nije bilo riječi pri opisu, upućuju na flavijevsko ili trajansko razdoblje, odnosno na zadnju trećinu 1. stoljeća i na početak 2. stoljeća.³²

Tipologija i ikonografija

Prizor gozbe, izvorno orijentalno-grčki motiv, poznat je u grobnoj ikonografiji od arhajskoga razdoblja grčke umjetnosti do rimske kasne antike. Za vrijeme helenizma prenesen je na prostore budućega Rimskoga Carstva gdje se pojavljuje u različitim inačicama u gradu Rimu i provincijama od sredine 1. stoljeća poslije Krista.³³ U starijoj literaturi motiv blagovanja smatrao se predodž-

sensitive epigraphic-palaeographic systems for limited areas.³¹ Such tools missing, dating on the basis of general chronological parameters is still customarily used, but its disadvantages are tentatively mitigated by considering all the epigraphic-palaeographic components of individual inscriptions as a whole. Given that the worked-out system for the epigraphic evidence of *Siscia* is still missing, the inscription studied here cannot be dated otherwise than by using general parameters, but with stress on neighbouring areas whose epigraphic evidence is better researched than that of *Siscia*. In view of the above remarks, it would be superfluous to burden the text with typological considerations of each and every epigraphic and palaeographic component of the Siscian epitaph. It suffices to assert that, if taken as a whole, all the components discussed in this paragraph, as well as the use of the *tria nomina* and the lack of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, which were not commented above, point to a date in the Flavian or Trajanic periods, that is, the later 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century.³²

Typology and iconography

The banqueting scene, as an originally Greco-Oriental motif of funerary iconography, was ubiquitous from the Greek Archaic period to Roman Late Antiquity. During Hellenism, it was transferred to the regions of the future Roman Empire, appearing in various versions in the City of Rome and the provinces from about the mid-1st century.³³ Previously, the banqueting scene was considered to illustrate the funeral banquet (*Totehmahl* – feasting in honour of the deceased). Recently, such interpretations have been mostly discarded in favour of the perception of this scene as relating the message of the deceased's well-being and the

³¹ Thylander 1952, 41, 48, *passim*; Gordon, Gordon 1957, 208–217; Petrović 1975, 122–124; Keppie 2001, 28; Calabi Limentani 1991, 151.

³² Thylander 1952, 40–53; Petrović 1975, 99–121; Calabi Limentani 1991, 150–155; Keppie 2001, 25–29; Šašel Kos 1997, *passim*; Starac 2002, 71–72; Paškvalin 2012, 23–30.

³³ Gabelmann 1972, 70, bilj. 34; Noelke 2005, 155–156, *passim*. A. Busch (2011, 132) datira pojavu tog motiva na grobnim spomenicima Rima na početak 2. stoljeća.

³¹ Thylander 1952, 41, 48, *passim*; Gordon, Gordon 1957, 208–217; Petrović 1975, 122–124; Keppie 2001, 28; Calabi Limentani 1991, 151.

³² Thylander 1952, 40–53; Petrović 1975, 99–121; Calabi Limentani 1991, 150–155; Keppie 2001, 25–29; Šašel Kos 1997, *passim*; Starac 2002, 71–72; Paškvalin 2012, 23–30.

³³ Gabelmann 1972, 70, fn. 34; Noelke 2005, 155–156, *passim*. A. Busch (2011, 132) dates the appearance of this motif in the funerary art of the City of Rome to the beginning of the 2nd century.

bom gozbe u čast pokojnika (*Totenmahl*), ali mu se u novije vrijeme taj smisao odriče ili ostavlja tek kao moguća primisao prizora koji prije svega prenosi poruku o blagostanju pokojnika i njihovu stvarnom ili priželjkivanom društvenom položaju.³⁴ S obzirom na mnogobrojne varijante prizora gozbe te na složenost njihova razvoja u kronološko-prostornim okvirima, na ovome mjestu usredotočit ću se na sliku predočenu na Sentinovoj steli koja prikazuje pokojnika u poluležećem položaju na ležaljci te samo jednoga slugu koji stoji uz nj. Taj se prizor na vojničkim stelama u objema Germanijama pojavljuje najkasnije od ranoflavijevskog razdoblja, istodobno s varijantom na kojoj je uz pokojnika prikazana i ženska osoba koja sjedi na stolici uz ležaljku. Potonji prizor doživljava se kao uvod u nastavak razvitka ovoga tipa stele koji se u ikonografskom pogledu kreće prema daljemu širenju slike obiteljske, vojničke i civilne gozbe obilježene umnožavanjem likova i atributa, svojstvene provincijama Porajnja i Podunavlja u 2. i 3. stoljeću.³⁵

Vratimo se, međutim, prizoru jednoga pokojnika na vojničkim stelama Rajnskoga limesa u 1. stoljeću koje su se izrađivale u vojničkim klesarskim radionicama Mogontijaka (*Mogontiacum*, Gornja Germanija, današnji Mainz) i Kolonije Agripine (*Colonia Agrippina*, Donja Germanija, današnji Köln). U svjetlu činjenice da je i sam koncept kamenoga grobnoga spomenika na to područje donijela rimska vojska, prizor blagovanja na tamošnjim grobnim spomenicima rado se pripisuje pomoćnim trupama iz istočnoga dijela carstva, osobito Trakije.³⁶ Spomenuti je motiv čest na vojničkim stelama obiju Germanija, datanima pretežno od flavijevskoga do trajanskoga razdoblja, s manjim brojem njih iz vremena vlasti cara Hadrijana.³⁷ Većina ih je pripadala augzilijarima, a samo manji broj legionarima i veterani-

real or wished-for social status.³⁴ Given the many variations of the banqueting motif and their complicated chronologies and territorial distributions, I shall dwell only on the picture as represented on *Sentinus'* stela, featuring the reclining deceased person and one standing servant. Such scenes appeared on military stelae from *Germania Superior* and *Germania Inferior* from the early Flavian period at the latest, simultaneously with scenes featuring the deceased and a female companion sitting on a chair. The latter scene represents an introduction to the further development of the motif of the "funerary banquet", which grew to include a larger communion of feasters and their attributes in both military and civilian contexts in the Rhine and Danube provinces of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.³⁵

As said above, the focus here will be on the scenes of a single deceased person on 1st century military stelae on the Rhine *limes*, produced in the camp workshops of *Mogontiacum* (*Germania Superior*, modern-day Mainz) and *Colonia Agrippina* (*Germania Inferior*, modern-day Köln). Since it was the Roman army that introduced the concept of the stone funerary stela to the future German provinces, the banqueting scene has often been ascribed to the mediation of auxiliaries from the eastern provinces, especially Thracia.³⁶ This motif is quite frequently found on stelae from the *Germanias*, dated mostly from the Flavian and Trajanic periods, with only several examples from the reign of the Emperor Hadrian.³⁷ The majority of these stelae were of auxiliary soldiers who died on active duty; only a smaller number belonged to legionaries and veterans of both branches.³⁸ However, these stones were not structurally identical, as some of them had a subsequent relief niche

³⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 70, 115–124; Hope 2001, 42; Noelke 2005, 164, bilj. 31, 205–211; Busch 2011, 132.

³⁵ Gabelmann 1972, 118, bilj. 149; Barkóczy 1984; Noelke 2005, 183–205.

³⁶ Gabelmann 1972, 67, 70; Busch 2011, 132, bilj. 154. Suprotno tome, W. Boppert (2003, 274–275) smatra da spomenuti prizor ne treba povezivati s grčko-tračkim predloškom, jer se u Germaniji pojavljuje najranije kod zapadnih augzilijara.

³⁷ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 156, 205, *passim*.

³⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 70, 115–124; Hope 2001, 42; Noelke 2005, 164, fn. 31, 205–211; Busch 2011, 132.

³⁵ Gabelmann 1972, 118, fn. 149; Barkóczy 1984; Noelke 2005, 183–205.

³⁶ Gabelmann 1972, 67, 70; Busch 2011, 132, fn. 154. Contrary to this, W. Boppert (2003, 274–275) claims that the scene in question should not be connected with a Greco-Thracian prototype, as its first appearance in *Germania* was on stelae of the western auxiliary soldiers.

³⁷ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 156, 205, *passim*.

³⁸ Of the 35 Flavian-Trajanic military stelae with banqueting scene from both *Germanias*, 25 belonged to active auxiliary soldiers, four to auxiliary veterans, and three each to active and retired legionaries (Noelke 2005, 206).

ma obaju rodova vojske.³⁸ Te stele međutim nisu bile strukturalno jednake jer je izvjestan broj njih imao, osim niše s prizorom blagovanja, dodatnu reljefnu nišu s motivom sluge koji vodi konja, smještenu ispod natpisa (sl. 5). Takvi su spomenici odreda pripadali konjanicima pomoćnih četa, poginulima za vrijeme službe.³⁹ Usporedba veličina spomenika s dva reljefna polja sa sačuvanim mjerama Sentinijeve stele dopušta mogućnost da je i potonja ispod natpisa imala još jednu reljefnu nišu.⁴⁰ Međutim, takvu rekonstrukciju gotovo sigurno treba odbaciti zbog prije spomenutoga podatka da su takve stele koristili isključivo auxilijari.

Prethodno navedene usporedbe u germanskoj građi pružaju kronološki okvir siscijske stele, a to je flavijevsko-trajansko razdoblje koje je, usprkos nizu pojedinačnih nedoumica, na području obiju Germanija dobro dokumentirano.⁴¹ Ostaje otvoreno pitanje gornje granice s obzirom na to da se vojničke stele s prizorom blagovanja provlače gotovo do sredine 2. stoljeća. Međutim, u dostupnoj literaturi nije mi poznat nijedan primjer stele iz toga razdoblja s ikonografskom shemom zastupljenom na siscijskome spomeniku. Naime, u 2. stoljeću prevladavaju obiteljske slike s prizorom žene koja sjedi na stolici uz pokojnika te još jednim slugom, a potom i većim brojem likova.⁴² U flavijevsko-trajanski okvir uklapa se i podatak da je 14. legija napustila Mogontijak najkasnije početkom 2. stoljeća (o tome opširnije u podnaslovu *Prozopografija*). Otprilike u to vrijeme prestaje izrada stela s prizorom gozbe u Mogontijaku, a još neko vrijeme traje u Koloniji Agripini gdje se, međutim, već od početka 2. stoljeća razvila u već spomenutome pravcu obiteljskih prizora.⁴³ Važno je napomenuti da 14. legija nije nastavila



Sl. / Fig. 5: Stela konjanika prve ale Flaviane iz Wiesbadena / Stele of a horseman of the *ala I Flaviana* from Wiesbaden (*Lupa* 7073)

featuring the motif of a servant (*calo*) leading a horse, placed below the inscription field (Fig. 5); all of such stelae belonged to active auxiliary soldiers.³⁹ The comparison of the measurements of two-niched stelae with the preserved dimensions of *Sentinus*' stele allows for the possibility that the latter also had an additional niche below the inscription field.⁴⁰ Even though, such a possibility should most probably be discarded on account of the fact that the horse-leading scene in the ad-

³⁸ Od 35 vojničkih stela flavijevskog i trajanskog razdoblja s prizorom blagovanja iz obiju Germanija, njih 25 pripadalo je djelatnim auxilijarima, a 4 umirovljenima, dok su po 3 stele bile spomenici djelatnih i umirovljenih legionara (Noelke 2005, 206).

³⁹ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 187, 211.

⁴⁰ Usp. bilj. 30 i *Lupa* 15538 (75 x 193 x 20 cm), 15874 (85 x 248 x 34 cm), i 7073 (77 x 214 x 24 cm).

⁴¹ O poteškoćama u datiranju pojedinačnih primjeraka vidi Gabelmann 1972, 118 i Noelke 2005, 185, 188, *passim*.

⁴² Gabelmann 1972, 118–122; Barkóczy 1984; Noelke 2005, 174 i dalje.

⁴³ Gabelmann 1972, 118–119; Hope 2001, 44–48; Boppert 2003, 276.

³⁹ Gabelmann 1972, 118; Noelke 2005, 187, 211.

⁴⁰ Cf. fn. 30, and *Lupa* 15538 (75 x 193 x 20 cm), 15874 (85 x 248 x 34 cm), and 7073 (77 x 214 x 24 cm).

upotrebljavati tip opisanih stela u svome novome logoru u Karnuntu (*Carnuntum*, Gornja Panonija, današnja mjesta Petronell i Bad Deutsch-Altenburg u Austriji), niti se on proširio među drugim podunavskim trupama. Naime, prizor gozbe u Panoniji se od 2. stoljeća nadalje primjenjuje na vojničkim i civilnim stelama drukčije strukture i ikonografije od kojih najveći broj potječe iz Mađarske.⁴⁴ Poznata mi je samo jedna vojnička stela iz Karnunta s prizorom gozbe datirana u trajansko razdoblje. Premda je na njoj prikazan samo jedan pokojnik, strukturalno je i ikonografski različita od germanskih primjeraka i od siscijske stele jer je sluga koji vodi konja smješten uz tronožac ispod klinē, a niže od reljefne niše nalazi se natpisno polje u arhitektonskome okviru (sl. 6).⁴⁵ Još je nekolicina stela iz gradova na Dunavskome limesu u sjevernoj Mađarskoj datiranih u 2. i 3. stoljeće i moguće načinjenih prema predlošku koji su onamo prenijeli vojnici s Rajnskoga limesa s obzirom na to da sadrže prikaz jednoga pokojnika na ležaljci. Međutim, sve se one od germanskih predložaka i Sentinove stele razlikuju i strukturalno i ikonografski, a naposljetku i kronološki, pa se mogu protumačiti jedino naknadnom preobrazbom izvornoga oblika koja više ne otkriva izravne predloške germanskih vojničkih radionica.⁴⁶ S Recijskoga limesa poznato je tek nekoliko fragmentarno sačuvanih i loše izvedenih stela koje se ne daju povezati sa stelom Gaja Antonija Sentina, pa bi ih trebalo smatrati tek lokalnim odjekom germanske proizvodnje.⁴⁷

Iz svega proizlazi da je gornja granica nastanka Sentinove stele pouzdano postavljena na početak 2. stoljeća i povezana s klesarskom radionicom u Mogontijaku. Ostaje pitanje mogu li bilo kakve ikonografske pojedinosti na tom spomeniku pomoći sužavanju ili dodatnome potvrđivanju kronologije unutar flavijejsko-trajanskoga razdoblja. Već je na prvi pogled jasno da su takve mogućnosti neznatne, prije svega zato što nedostaje dio slike s najvažnijim podacima, a to su oni koji se odnose na portret pokojnika. Prema zapažanjima H. Gabelmanna, niša sa svodom u obliku školjke

ditional niche was presumably reserved for auxiliary soldiers.

Despite some contentious chronological issues, the above-adduced parallels from the Rhineland provide a sound chronological frame for the Siscian stele: the Flavian-Trajanic period.⁴¹ Although some examples survive as late as the Antonine age, as far as my knowledge goes none of those stones features the iconography as employed on the Siscian stele. As a matter of fact, in the 2nd century, the prevailing type of the banqueting scene comprised a female companion seated on a chair, and sometimes even more banqueters and servants.⁴² The Flavian-Trajanic period for the stelai in question fits well with the fact that the Fourteenth legion left *Mogontiacum* by the beginning of the 2nd century at the latest (see subheading *Prosopography*). Approximately at that time, the production of “banquet stelai” in *Mogontiacum* stopped, only to continue for some time in *Colonia Agrippina* but with a preference for scenes with a family context.⁴³ It is important to notice that the Fourteenth legion did not use such stelai after moving to *Pannonia Superior* and settling in *Carnuntum* (the modern-day villages of Petronell and Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Austria), nor did this type of stele spread among the Pannonian army. It is true that the banquet scene is widely applied on military and civilian stelai in *Pannonia* from the 2nd till the 4th centuries, the majority of them stemming from Hungary, but they differ from Germanic examples in terms of structure and iconography.⁴⁴ I know of only one military stele from *Carnuntum* featuring the banquet scene, dated to the Trajanic period. Although a single deceased person on a *klinē* is depicted on it, the scene is still quite different from the Germanic evidence and the Siscian example, in that the *calo* leading the horse is placed by the tripod in front of the *klinē*, while the inscription field is architectonic (Fig. 6).⁴⁵ Several more 2nd- and

⁴⁴ Barkóczi 1984.

⁴⁵ Barkóczi 1984, 123, bilj. 3; *Lupa* 88.

⁴⁶ *Lupa* 3032, 5152 (Budapest / *Aquincum*), 3056 (Dunaujváros / *Intercisa*), 3829 (Győr / *Arrabona*).

⁴⁷ *Lupa* 6303, 10355, itd.

⁴¹ On some difficulties in dating individual examples, see Gabelmann 1972, 118, and Noelke 2005, 185, 188, *passim*.

⁴² Gabelmann 1972, 118–122; Barkóczi 1984; Noelke 2005, 174 ff.

⁴³ Gabelmann 1972, 118–119; Hope 2001, 44–48; Boppert 2003, 276.

⁴⁴ Barkóczi 1984.

⁴⁵ Barkóczi 1984, 123, fn. 3; *Lupa* 88.

i arhitektonskim okvirom svojstvena je ranijim (flavijevskim) primjercima stela o kojima se ovdje raspravlja.⁴⁸ Gornji dio niše Sentinove stele nažalost je izgubljen, ali se u njezinom donjemu dijelu arhitektonski okvir jasno razabire. Nadalje, način prikazivanja tronošca iz gornje kose perspektive, a ne sa strane, dakle tako da mu se vide i noge i gornja ploha, svojstven je ranijim spomenicima iz radionice Kolonije Agripine.⁴⁹ Taj je podatak osobito zanimljiv zato što je upravo tako prikazan stol na Sentinovoj steli, premda njegova legija nije boravila u Koloniji Agripini (na to pitanje osvrnut ću se kod razmatranja o radioničkome podrijetlu Sentinove stele u podnaslovu *Datiranje i radioničko podrijetlo*). Budući da je uočeno i to da se dimenzije prikazanoga posuda na tronošću i uz njega s vremenom smanjuju, treba primijetiti da su posude na siscijskoj steli izrazito velike u odnosu na tronožac i na ljudski lik.⁵⁰ Sve u svemu, i arhitektonski okvir i način prikazivanja tronošca govore u prilog datiranja siscijske stele u flavijevsko razdoblje, s time da zapažanje o kronološkim parametrima vezanima uz arhitektonski okvir nije tako čvrsto utemeljeno kao ono povezano s prikazom tronošca i veličinom posuda. Naime, veći je broj flavijevskih stela s arhitektonskim okvirom negoli onih bez njega, ali potonjih ima dovoljno za relativiziranje kronološke osjetljivosti toga podatka.⁵¹ Ipak, arhitektonski okvir niše ostaje pokazateljem relativne kronologije s obzirom na to da, barem prema mom uvidu, nema stela iz trajanskog razdoblja s jasno predodređenim arhitektonskim okvirom.⁵² Autori su najmanje određeni, a često i proturječni, u procjeni

⁴⁸ Gabelmann 1972, 118–122.

⁴⁹ Radionica u Mogontijaku primjenjivala je prizor stola iz bočne perspektive, tako da mu se vidi samo bočni rub gornje plohe, a takav motiv naknadno je preuzet i na stelama Kolonije Agripine (Gabelmann 1972, 119–120, bilj. 154). Pregled spomenika iz kruga radionica u Mainzu (*Lupa* 7071, 7072, 7073, 15873, 15874, 15876, itd.; Boppert 1992, 156–162, br. 51–54) i Kölnu (*Lupa* 15531, 15532, 15533, 15538, 15543, 20474, 20696, itd.; Bauchhenss 1978, 44–48, br. 29–31) potvrđuje točnost Gabelmannovog zapažanja.

⁵⁰ O smanjivanju dimenzija posuda, koje počinje već od kasnoflavijevskog vremena, vidi Noelke 2005, 189.

⁵¹ Primjeri stela flavijevskog razdoblja s arhitektonskim nišama: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 2947, itd., i bez njih: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 20474, itd.

⁵² Čini se da se arhitektonski okvir pojavljuje ponovo u antoninskom razdoblju: *Lupa* 15546 (Bonn), 6975 (Oberburg am Mein).



Sl. / Fig. 6: Stela konjanika treće ale Tračana iz Petronella / Stele of a horseman of the *ala III Thracum* from Petronell (*Lupa* 88)

3rd-century stelai from Pannonian towns on the Danube *limes* in Hungary were possibly made on the model of the pattern brought to *Pannonia* by the soldiers from the Rhineland, given that they feature a single reclining deceased. Nevertheless, all those stelai are later in date and are quite different from the Germanic prototype in terms of structure and iconography. Therefore, they can only be interpreted as a far cry from the original model of the Rhineland army workshops.⁴⁶ Only several fragmentary examples of fairly crudely executed steale are known from the Raetian *limes*, which cannot be meaningfully compared with the Siscian stele. Thus, at this stage they should also be considered as a far cry from the Rhineland production.⁴⁷

It transpires from all the above that the model for *Sentinus'* stele was produced in Mogontiacum at

⁴⁶ *Lupa* 3032, 5152 (Budapest / *Aquincum*), 3056 (Dunaujváros / *Intercisa*), 3829 (Győr / *Arrabona*).

⁴⁷ *Lupa* 6303, 10355, ff.

kronologije stilskih odlika razmatrane građe, što ne iznenađuje s obzirom na objektivne poteškoće u dijakronijskom sagledavanju stilema koji se teško daju uklopiti u čvrste kategorizacijske okvire. To je osobito naglašeno u primjerima necjelovitih spomenika kakva je Sentinova stela. Inače, stilski su parametri koji se spominju u opisima i analizama dubina reljefa, optički učinci, živahnost ili ukočenost pokreta i draperije, prikazivanje perspektive i prostornosti i slično, ali predočeni na spomenicima datiranima različito, tako da nije moguće razabrati jasnu i kronološki dovoljno osjetljivu koncepciju argumenata primjenjivih na siscijsku stelu.⁵³ Kako god bilo, ostaje nam provjeriti datiranje germanskih stela s prizorom jednoga pokojnika i jednoga sluge kod kojih je lik sluge podudaran s onime na Sentinovoj steli; podrazumijeva se da se to odnosi samo na izvedbu nogu i predočavanje pokreta nadesno. Svih šest meni poznatih primjera datirano je u flavijevsko razdoblje.⁵⁴ Pritom treba napomenuti da je za kasniji odsječak flavijevskoga razdoblja karakterističan pokret nogu u raskoraku, odnosno iskorak jednom nogom i oslanjanje na drugu.⁵⁵ Budući da je pokret sluge na siscijskoj steli prikazan drugačije, taj bi se detalj mogao smatrati pokazateljem za datiranje u ranije flavijevsko razdoblje. Uzmemo li obzir sve navedene pojedinosti, moguće je ustvrditi da način izvedbe nogu nije osobito pouzdan kronološki pokazatelj, ali nije ni proturječan datiranju u zadnju trećinu 1. stoljeća.

Prozopografija

Uz ikonografske elemente i podaci o kretanju pokojnikove legije mogu doprinijeti čvršćem kronološkom određenju spomenika, a onda i pretpostavljenoj rekonstrukciji vojničke karijere i životnoga puta njegova vlasnika. Gaj Antonije Sentin pokopan je u Sisciji kao veteran 14. legije (*legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*) o čijemu

the beginning of the 2nd century, at the latest. It remains to scrutinise whether any iconographic details on the relief can further substantiate, or perhaps refine the above-established chronology. Evidently, such a possibility is very much hindered by the fact that the most important detail in the relief – the deceased's portrait – is lacking. According to H. Gabelmann, the stelai with niches flanked by half-columns and provided with a half dome in the form of a shell, should be dated to the earlier Flavian period.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, the upper section of the niche of *Sentinus*' stela has not survived, but the column in its lower part is clearly discernible. Also, the depiction of the tripod from the above and side perspective, opening to view both its upper surface and its legs, is typical of earlier stelai from the workshop of *Colonia Agrippina*.⁴⁹ Significantly and curiously, the tripod on *Sentinus*' stela was depicted in exactly the same way, despite the fact that his legion never stayed in *Colonia Agrippina*, but in *Mogontiacum*; I shall return to this issue in more detail in the subheading *Chronology and the workshop provenance*. Given that the dimensions of the vessels on the tripod and at its sides diminished with time, it should be noted that the vessels on *Sentinus*'s stela are strikingly large if compared to the table and the human figure.⁵⁰ On balance, both the architectonic frame of the niche and the depiction of the tripod and vessels point to a date in the Flavian period, with the two latter arguments somewhat stronger than the first one. It should be observed that the niches in Flavian stelai are more often architectonic than simply framed, but quite a number of the latter are still sufficient for refuting this chronological parame-

⁵³ O stilskim elementima raspravljane građe vidi Gabelmann 1972, 118–122 i Noelke 2005, 183–205.

⁵⁴ *Lupa* 15532 (Bonn); *Lupa* 15873 (Klein-Winterheim); *Lupa* 20474 (Köln); *Lupa* 10271 (Windisch); Noelke 2005, 162–163, 185–187, sl. 7 i 34 (Köln). Ipak treba napomenuti da su na većem broju stela toga razdoblja sluge prikazani u prednjem položaju, a ne u koraku nadesno, primjerice *Lupa* 15874 (Dienheim / Oppenheim), *Lupa* 15876 (Mainz), *Lupa* 7071 (Wiesbaden), itd.

⁵⁵ Noelke 2005, 188–189.

⁴⁸ Gabelmann 1972, 118–122.

⁴⁹ The workshop in *Mogontiacum* used the tripod motif shown from the side, with only the rim of its upper surface visible. Curiously, the workshop in *Colonia Agrippina* adopted this fashion only in the later stage (Gabelmann 1972, 119–120, fn. 154). A survey of the evidence from Mainz (*Lupa* 7071, 7072, 7073, 15873, 15874, 15876, ff.; Boppert 1992, 156–162, nos. 51–54) and Köln (*Lupa* 15531, 15532, 15533, 15538, 15543, 20474, 20696, ff.; Bauchhenss 1978, 44–48, nos. 29–31) confirms the accuracy of Gabelmann's perceptions.

⁵⁰ On the gradual reduction of the vessels' measurements, starting from the later Flavian period, see Noelke 2005, 189.

se okvirnome kretanju istraživači uglavnom slažu. Postoje, međutim, i mnoge nedoumice, neusklađenosti i suprotstavljena mišljenja proizišla iz manjkavosti povijesnih i arheoloških izvora. Na ovome ću mjestu u najkraćim crtama navesti samo glavne pravce i mjesta boravka Četrnaeste legije koji su važni za predmet rasprave. Legiju je ustanovio August, a ona je, po svemu sudeći, sudjelovala je u osvajanju Ilirika i gušenju Batonovoga ustanka u Panoniji 6.–9. godine. Najvjerojatnije 9. godine premještena je u Mogontijak u Gornjoj Germaniji gdje je ostala do 43., kada je odvedena u Britaniju. Ondje je, s kraćim prekidima, ostala do 70. godine. Počasni pobjednički naziv *Martia Victrix* dodijelio joj je Neron 61. godine kao nagradu za sudjelovanje u gušenju otpora britanskih plemena. Za vrijeme boravka u Britaniji (43.–70.) privremeno je 68. godine provela neko vrijeme u Panoniji ili, još vjerojatnije, u Dalmaciji. Od 70. godine ponovo je u Mogontijaku gdje je najvjerojatnije boravila do kraja vlasti Flavijejske dinastije (69.–96.) kada je sudjelovala u Domicijanovim ratovima na Dunavskome limesu u Donjoj Panoniji i Meziji. Prebacivanje Četrnaeste legije u Karnunt, gdje je ostala sve do kasne antike, pripisuje se carevima Domicijanu, Nervi ili Trajanu. Smatra se da se to dogodilo između 92. i 106., po završetku Dačkih ratova, a najkasnije 113./114., ali to pitanje i dalje ostaje otvoreno.⁵⁶

Četiri su polazišta za rekonstrukciju Sentinova služenja u 14. legiji: podatak da je umro u dobi od 50 godina, zabilježeno kretanje legije, datiranje spomenika na temelju natpisa, a osobito na temelju počasnog naslova *Martia Victrix*⁵⁷ i tipološko-kronološka razrada stele. Prema prethodno izloženim podacima, okvirno datiranje stele u flavijejsko razdoblje jedino je moguće polazište,

ter as absolutely certain.⁵¹ Nevertheless, the architectonic niche remains a fairly safe chronological indicator at least in terms of relative chronology, given the lack of Trajanic stelai with columned niches.⁵² Commentators are not very clear, and sometimes even contradict each other when it comes to the chronology of artistic styles in the discussed evidence, such as the depth and volume of the relief, optical effects, stiffness or liveliness of movements, gestures and draperies, space and perspective, and the like. This is especially relevant in regard with fragmentary pieces, such as the one discussed here. In any case, these parameters are used in different contexts of the studied evidence, ultimately failing to produce safe chronological grounds applicable to the Siscian stele.⁵³ All in all, the chronology of the Rhineland stelai depicting a single deceased person and one servant remains to be scrutinised by focusing on the pieces comparable to *Sentinus*' monument in the motif of the servant. All six examples of such stelai that I could trace in the Rhineland evidence are dated to the Flavian period.⁵⁴ It might also be useful to remind that, in the later Flavian period, servants were often shown in the frontal position and in the so-called statuary pose, with weight on one of the legs and the other leg drawn slightly back and to the side.⁵⁵ Since this is not the case with the Siscian stele, the way the servant is depicted on it may be taken as an argument in favour of its date in the earlier Flavian period. On balance, although the manner the servant is depicted in cannot be taken as a safe and precise dating criterion, it does not contradict the Flavian chronology.

⁵⁶ Hardy 1887, 627, *passim*; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1727–1747; Keppie 1998, 182; Brandl 1996, 225; Franke 2000; Hope 2001, 40; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163–164, 170. A. Mócsy (1959, 83) navodi da je Četrnaesta legija na početku 1. stoljeća bila u Vindoboni (Gornja Panonija, današnji Beč). Kako ni jedan od preostalih navedenih autora ne barata tim podatkom, mora da je kod Mócsyja posrijedi lapsus ili zablude. Prisutnost spomenute legije uistinu je nalazima opeke posvjedočena u Vindoboni, ali na samom kraju 1. stoljeća (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 224, *passim*; Franke 2000, 198–199). Prema M. Mosseru (2014, 201), 14. legiju u Karnunt je doveo car Nerva 97. godine.

⁵⁷ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1371, *passim*; Keppie 1998, 182.

⁵¹ Examples of Flavian stelai with architectural niches: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 2947, ff., and those lacking them: *Lupa* 15532, 15876, 20474, ff.

⁵² It seems that the architectonic niche reappeared in the Antonine period: see *Lupa* 15546 (Bonn), 6975 (Oberburg am Mein).

⁵³ On the issues of artistic styles in the discussed evidence, see Gabelmann 1972, 118–122, and Noelke 2005, 183–205.

⁵⁴ *Lupa* 15532 (Bonn); *Lupa* 15873 (Klein-Winterheim); *Lupa* 20474 (Köln); *Lupa* 10271 (Windisch); Noelke 2005, 162–163, 185–187, figs. 7 and 34 (Köln). Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are many Flavian stelai depicting servant(s) in the frontal position, and not as pacing towards the right, e. g. *Lupa* 15874 (Dienheim / Oppenheim), *Lupa* 15876 (Mainz), *Lupa* 7071 (Wiesbaden), etc.

⁵⁵ Noelke 2005, 188–189.

premda, nažalost, nedovoljno precizno za nagađanje o vremenu Sentinova novačenja. Ako je stela uistinu nastala u zadnjoj četvrtini 1. stoljeća ili na samom početku 2., može se pretpostaviti da je Sentin unovačen sredinom 1. stoljeća u dobi od dvadesetak godina te da se nakon 20 – 25 godina službe skrasio u Sisciji kao veteran.⁵⁸

Rekonstrukciju Sentinove vojničke karijere razmotrit ćemo u svjetlu izbora Siscije kao mjesta njegova konačnoga boravka. Teoretski je do toga izbora moglo doći već i zato što je Siscija vjerojatno 71. za vrijeme Vespazijanove vladavine postala kolonija (*Colonia Flavia Siscia*) i doživjela svoj prvi procvat.⁵⁹ Na taj je način nesumnjivo postala gradom privlačnim za život jednoga veterana bez obzira na njegovo podrijetlo i vojničku karijeru. Inače, Sentin nije mogao biti sudionik jedinoga poznatoga naseljavanja veterana u Sisciji povezanoga upravo s njezinim podizanjem na status kolonije. Taj je datum, naime, preuran za Sentinovo umirovljenje, a usto, tada su naseljeni veterani Ravenske flote, a ne legionari.⁶⁰ Uobičajeni obrasci ponašanja veterana pri biranju mjesta u kojem će živjeti nakon časnoga otpusta (*missio honesta*) i uz dodjelu novčane potpore (*missio nummaria*) ili pak zemljišta (*missio agraria*), upućuje na dva glavna razloga za taj izbor u slučaju novčanoga otpusta. Dok je dodjela zemljišta isključivala bilo kakve vlastite želje ili sklonosti, u primjerima otpuštanja uz novčanu potporu prevladavala su dva obrasca: povratak u zavičaj ili ostanak u blizini logora u kojemu je boravila legija. Prema postojećoj (pretežno epigrafskoj) evidenciji, ostanak u blizini logora bio je najčešći izbor.⁶¹ S velikom vjerojatnošću mo-

⁵⁸ Budući da izvori nisu posve određeni u vezi s duljinom vojničkog roka, u literaturi se susreću različiti podatci koji se odnose na legionare u 1. stoljeću nakon Augusta: Watson 1969, 134; Campbell 1994, 20; Le Bohec 1994, 64, 229; Ферјанчић 2002, 10–11; Carroll 2006, 216–217; Southern 2006, 99; Gilliver 2011, 186; Wesch-Klein 2011, 436–439. Iz navedene literature proizlazi i to da je duljina vojnog roka mogla ovisiti o različitim neposrednim okolnostima povezanima s potrebama ratovanja.

⁵⁹ Hoti 1992, 143; Lolić 2003, 134.

⁶⁰ Mócsy 1959, 26; Hoti 1992, 143; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19. Do Hadrijana je naseljavanje u kolonije bilo uglavnom skupno, rijetko pojedinačno (*viritim*): Wesch-Klein 2011, 444.

⁶¹ Mócsy 1959, 92; Dušanić 1983, 21, bilj. 45; Campbell 1994, 193–221; Le Bohec 1994, 224–225; Ферјанчић 2002, 19–20, 129, *passim*; Królczik 2003, 330–331; Southern 2006, 164–168; Carroll 2006, 217–218; Wesch-Klein 2011,

Prosopography

The chronology of the Siscian stela can be further improved by establishing the movements of the deceased's legion, which, in turn, can help trace his life curriculum. *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* was buried in *Siscia* as a veteran of the Fourteenth legion (*legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix*), whose movements are known and agreed upon in general lines, but with several lacunas and contested points in its recreation. In this context, I shall trace only its main movements and stays, relevant to the present subject matter. The Fourteenth Twin Martial Victorious legion was raised by the emperor Augustus, and it probably took part in the suppression of the uprising in *Pannonia* in AD 6–9. In AD 9, it was presumably transferred to *Mogontiacum* in *Germania Superior*, to remain there until AD 43, when it was relocated to *Britannia*. Except for the occasional absence for campaigning, it remained there until AD 70. The honorific title *Martia Victrix* was bestowed upon it by the emperor Nero in AD 61 in recognition of the victory over the rebellious Britannic tribes. During its stay in *Britannia* (43–70), the XIV legion was temporarily moved to *Pannonia* or, even more likely, to *Dalmatia*. In AD 70 it returned to *Mogontiacum*, where it probably remained until the end of the Flavian dynasty (AD 69–96), when it took part in Domitian's Danube wars in *Pannonia Inferior* and *Moësia*. Its transfer to *Pannonia Superior* (*Carnuntum*), where it remained until Late Antiquity, has been ascribed to the emperors Domitian, Nerva, or Trajan. Presumably, this happened between AD 92 and 106, after the end of the Dacian wars, or in AD 113/114 at the latest, but the question still remains contentious.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Hardy 1887, 627, *passim*; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1727–1747; Keppie 1998, 182; Brandl 1996, 225; Franke 2000; Hope 2001, 40; Radman-Livaja 2012, 163–164, 170. A. Mócsy (1959, 83) claims that at the beginning of the 1st century the XIV legion was in *Vindobona* (*Pannonia Superior*, modern-day Vienna). Given that none of the other commentators mention this hypothesis, it must have been a mistake or lapse. The presence of the XIV legion was indeed attested in *Vindobona* by stamped bricks, but this was at the end of the 1st century (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 224, *passim*; Franke 2000, 198–199). According to M. Mosser (2014, 201) it was the emperor Nerva who brought the XIV legion to *Carnuntum* in AD 97.

žemo pretpostaviti da je Gaj Antonije Sentin otpušten uz novčanu nagradu koja mu je omogućila naseljavanje u Sisciji.⁶² Mogućnost da je on sredinom 1. stoljeća bio unovačen u tome gradu kao novodoseljeni rimski građanin ili kao potomak još ranijih doseljenika prispjelih u prvim valovima rimskoga nadiranja na razmeđu stare i nove ere, nije velika. Naime, u sredini 1. stoljeća još uvijek su se u legije pretežno novačili rimski građani iz sjeverne Italije ili iz kolonija rano romaniziranih provincija poput Galije i Hispanije, dok je Panonija tim putem krenula tek za Flavijevaca.⁶³ Da je Sentin kojim slučajem bio unovačen u Sisciji, bilo bi realno pretpostaviti da se njegova legija ili neka njezina veksilacija u to vrijeme nalazila u blizini, ali o tome nema sačuvanih podataka. Vjerojatnije je da se on priključio Četrnaestoj legiji na bilo kojemu mjestu gdje se ona trajnije ili privremeno nalazila sredinom 1. stoljeća, primjerice u sjevernoj Italiji, južnoj Galiji, Britaniji ili Gornjoj Germaniji. Prema tome, tražimo li razlog za izbor Siscije kao konačnoga odredišta, najprije bi trebalo pomisliti na mogućnost da je upravo u tome gradu Sentin dočeka veteranski status. Teoretski se to moglo dogoditi nakon odlaska Četrnaeste legije iz Mogontijaka i njezina priključenja panonskoj vojsci u Karnuntu koje se datira u razmjerno širokome rasponu od 92. i 114. ili, prema M. Mosseru, u 97. godinu.⁶⁴ Istina je da bi početak 2. stoljeća već pomalo bio u raskoraku s datiranjem spomenika u flavijevsko razdoblje utemeljenim na ikonografiji, ali to nije presudan razlog protiv takvoga datiranja. Naime, nacrt svoga grobnoga spomenika, načinjen prema predlošku iz Germanije, Sentin je mogao u konkretnome

Four starting points can be used in the recreation of *Sentinus*' service in the XIV legion: 1 – his death at the age of 50; 2 – the movements of his legion; 3 – the date of the epitaph, especially as concerns the title *Martia Victrix* achieved in AD 61⁵⁷; 4 – a typological-chronological analysis of his funerary stone. According to the above data, the only chronological starting point (although fairly broad) in searching for the time of *Sentinus*' recruitment is the Flavian date of his stele. If it was indeed made around the turn of the 1st and 2nd century, *Sentinus* should have joined the army around the mid-1st century, aged 20 or so, to settle in *Siscia* as a veteran after 20-25 years of service.⁵⁸

A recreation of *Sentinus*' military career will be now considered in the light of his choice of *Siscia* as his place of retirement. Theoretically, such a choice could have been prompted by the fact that the Flavians (probably Vespasian in AD 71) elevated the town to the rank of *colonia*, which brought about its first period of prosperity.⁵⁹ This certainly made *Siscia* an alluring place to live in for a veteran, irrespective of his origin or his military career. It should be noted that *Sentinus* could not have participated in the only known settling of veterans in *Siscia*, connected with its newly-gained colonial status. For one thing, it was probably too early a date for him to have become a veteran, and more importantly, it was not legionary veterans that were settled in *Siscia*, but those of the Ravenna fleet.⁶⁰ The veterans' customary behaviour patterns in choosing the place to live in retirement after an honourable discharge (*missio honesta*), accompanied by the award of money (*missio nummaria*) or a piece of land (*missio agraria*), point to two prevailing reasons behind this choice in the case of *missio nummaria*. Whi-

444–445. Za razliku od prevladavajućeg obrasca, auxilijarni veterani iz Donje Mezije i Trakije, kao i oni iz plemena Batava u Donjoj Germaniji, često su se vraćali doma (Derks, Roymans 2006, 120, 133).

⁶² Car August je nakon bitke kod Akcija 31. g. stare ere veteranima podijelio i komad zemlje i novčanu nagradu (Le Bohec 1994, 224). Međutim, prema navodima u literaturi iz bilj. 61, otpust je u pravilu bio alternativan: *missio nummaria* ili *missio agraria*, s time da se potomji način primjenjivao sve rjeđe, da bi posve prestao za Hadrijana.

⁶³ O novačenju vidi Ritterling 1924–1925, 1729, 1733; Mócsy 1959, 26; Mann 1963, 145–146; Campbell 1994, 9–10; Keppie 1998, 152–153. O Sisciji za Flavijevaca vidi bilj. 59, o rimskom osvajanju Siscije, odnosno Segestike, vidi Radman-Livaja 2004, 15–19, a o naseljavanju rimskih građana u tome gradu, vidi Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

⁶⁴ Hardy 1887, 648; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 226; Franke 2000, 197–200; Mosser 2014, 201.

⁵⁷ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1371, *passim*; Keppie 1998, 182.

⁵⁸ Given the vagueness of the written sources, commentators give different data on the length of service for the legionary soldier in the 1st century, after Augustus: Watson 1969, 134; Campbell 1994, 20; Le Bohec 1994, 64, 229; Ферјанчић 2002, 10–11; Carroll 2006, 216–217; Southern 2006, 99; Glliver 2011, 186; Wesch-Klein 2011, 436–439. It transpires from the previous literature that the length of service could have depended on various contingencies necessitated by waging wars.

⁵⁹ Hoti 1992, 143; Lolić 2003, 134.

⁶⁰ Mócsy 1959, 26; Hoti 1992, 143; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19. Until the time of Hadrian, colonial settlement was mostly in groups and exceptionally individual (*virittim*): Wesch-Klein 2011, 444.

obliku ili kao sjećanje ponijeti sa sobom na novo odredište u Panoniji. Postoji međutim i uvjerljiviji put za povezivanje veterana 14. legije sa Siscijom u vrijeme dok mu je legija možda još uvijek bila u Germaniji. Naime, 14. legija sudjelovala je u zadnjim Domicijanovim podunavskim ratovima između 89. i 95./96. Kao moguća mjesta logora u tome kontekstu navode se *Mursella* (Petrijeveci) i *Mursa* (Osijek), ali se spominje i boravak veksilacije te legije u Sisciji ili njezinoj okolini.⁶⁵ Ta se pretpostavka dosad temeljila na razmjerno slabim posrednim argumentima; Sentinova stela donekle osnažuje takvo razmišljanje, premda to pitanje i dalje ostaje otvoreno. Bilo kako bilo, Sentinov nas nadgrobni spomenik na izvjestan način uvodi u epigrafski dobro posvjedočene prilike 2. i 3. stoljeća kada su vojnici i veterani postrojbi 14. legije boravili u Topuskom i Sisciji, kao i u susjednoj Dalmaciji.⁶⁶

U pretpostavku o prisustvu postrojbe 14. legije u južnom dijelu Gornje Panonije krajem 1. stoljeća, u vrijeme dok je trajno mjesto boravka legije još uvijek bio Mogontijak, uklapa se i nacrt Sentinove stele s obzirom na to da on odgovara predlošcima koje je koristila gornjogermanska vojska u Mogontijaku, a koji nisu potvrđeni kod 14. legije po njezinom dolasku u Karnunt.⁶⁷ Čini se da bi upravo grobni spomenici, koji u starijim radovima o 14. legiji nisu uzimani u obzir,⁶⁸ mogli otvoriti mogućnost za drukčiju rekonstrukciju kretanja 14. legije, odnosno vremena njezina odlaska iz Mogontijaka u Karnunt. Prije svega treba naglasiti da je Sentinova stela kuriozitet s obzirom na podatak da, barem prema dostupnoj literaturi, nije sačuvan nijedan spomenik takve strukture i ikonografije koji bi pripadao vojniku 14. legije. Međutim, u ovome je kontekstu važnije to što u

le the awarding of land excluded any individual wishes or preferences, the awarding of money gave impetus to the following patterns: returning home or staying near the camp. The evidence, mostly epigraphic, testifies that the latter choice was prevailing.⁶¹ It is highly probable that *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* was discharged under *missio nummaria*, which enabled him to settle in *Siscia*.⁶² The possibility that he was recruited there in the mid-1st century is very slight. This is because, at that time, legionaries were mostly recruited from north *Italia* or the colonies of the earliest and most profoundly Romanised provinces, such as south *Gallia* or *Hispania*, while *Pannonia*'s Romanisation started only under the Flavians.⁶³ If, by any chance, *Sentinus* was recruited in *Siscia* in the mid-1st century, it would perhaps be realistic to presume the presence of his legion or at least its detachment in the vicinity at that time, but any such evidence is lacking. Therefore, it is more likely that *Sentinus* joined the XIV legion in any of the provinces in which it stayed permanently or temporarily in the mid-1st century, such as north *Italia*, south *Gallia*, *Britannia*, *Germania Superior*, etc. Therefore, if we seek to establish the reason for the choice of *Siscia* as the place to live in retirement, the closest guess would be that *Sentinus* spent his last active years there. Theoretically, this could have happened after the XIV legion left *Mogontiacum* for *Carnuntum*, which happened between AD 92 and 114, or, according

⁶⁵ Dušanić 1983, 22, bilj. 45; Hoti 1992, 143; Franke 2000, 197–198; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170.

⁶⁶ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1740–1741; Hoffiller, Saria 1938, 231.

⁶⁷ Usp. bilj. 45.

⁶⁸ Ovdje mislim prije svega na ključne radove E. Ritterlinga (1924–1925) i Th. Frankea (2000). Tek po dovršenju rukopisa saznala sam za raspravu M. Mossera (2014) u kojoj je taj autor do godine dolaska 14. legije u Panoniju (97.) došao uzimajući u obzir, između ostaloga, i grobne spomenike te legije iz Karnunta. Ti, inače vrijedni rezultati, ni na koji način ne proturječe zaključcima o siscijskoj steli iznesenima u ovome radu, tim više što razmatraju isključivo spomenike iz panonske faze Četrnaeste legije.

⁶¹ Mócsy 1959, 92; Dušanić 1983, 21, fn. 45; Campbell 1994, 193–221; Le Bohec 1994, 224–225; Ферјанчић 2002, 19–20, 129, *passim*; Królczik 2003, 330–331; Southern 2006, 164–168; Carroll 2006, 217–218; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444–445. Contrary to the prevailing pattern, auxiliary veterans from Moesia Inferior and Thracia, as well as the *Batavi* from *Germania Inferior*, often chose to return home (Derks, Roymans 2006, 120, 133).

⁶² In the aftermath of the Battle of *Actium* in BC 31, the emperor Augustus awarded the veterans with both a sum of money and a piece of land (Le Bohec 1994, 224). Nevertheless, according to the literature in fn. 61, the discharge was as a rule alternative, that is, accompanied either by money or land. The latter manner declined with time, until it stopped altogether during Hadrian's rule.

⁶³ On recruiting, see Ritterling 1924–1925, 1729, 1733; Mócsy 1959, 26; Mann 1963, 145–146; Campbell 1994, 9–10; Keppie 1998, 152–153. On *Siscia* during the Flavians, see fn. 59, on the Roman occupation of *Siscia*, that is *Segestica*, see Radman-Livaja 2004, 15–19, and on the settlement of Roman citizens there, see Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

Mogontijaku nije nađena nijedna stela vojnika 14. legije iz Trajanova razdoblja bez obzira na ikonografiju; sve naime potječu iz razdoblja od Augusta do Domicijana.⁶⁹ S druge strane, najranije stele vojnika te legije iz Karnunta potječu s kraja 1. stoljeća, što bi moglo upućivati na ispravnost pretpostavke o tome da je već Domicijan 14. legiju odveo u Karnunt, a odande u svoje dunavske ratove u Donjoj Panoniji i Meziji.⁷⁰ Međutim, točan datum toga događaja ne mijenja ovdje iznesenu pretpostavku da je Gaj Antonije Sentin u Sisciju dospio za vrijeme spomenutih ratova krajem 1. stoljeća kao vojnik 14. legije i to s već gotovom zamisli o svome nadgrobnome spomeniku.

Sudeći prema imenu, Gaj Antonije Sentin bio je najvjerojatnije podrijetlom Kelt iz sjeverne Italije ili južne Galije. Naime, izvorno rimski gentilicij *Antonius* bio je proširen u X regiji Italije (*Venetia et Histria*), ali i u istočnim provincijama. Od zapadnih provincija osobito je čest u Galiji i Hispaniji te Dalmaciji, a u podunavskim provincijama, uključujući i Panoniju, češći je tek od kraja 2. stoljeća.⁷¹ U našem kontekstu važan je podatak da je ime *Antonius* bilo često među vojnicima u Gornjoj Germaniji, dakle na prostoru na kojemu je najdulje boravila 14. Legija prije svoga dolaska u Panoniju.⁷² Sentinovo izvorno keltsko podrijetlo, a time vjerojatno i sjevernoitalski ili galiski zavičaj, može se naslutiti iz njegova moguće keltskoga kognomena.⁷³

Društveni kontekst

Otprilike od sredine 1. stoljeća motiv blagovanja na vojničkim stelama Rajnskog limesa zamijenio je prikaz ratnika-jahača, čest na spomenicima prve polovice 1. stoljeća. Ta se promjena doživljava kao pomicanje naglaska s vojničkih vrlina na

to M. Mosser, in AD 97 precisely.⁶⁴ It is true that the beginning of the 2nd century would be slightly too late for the established Flavian date of the stela, but this is still not the decisive reason against such reconstruction of events. There is the possibility that *Sentinus* took with him to *Pannonia* a draft of his funerary monument based on a model current previously in *Germania*. There is, however, a more plausible way that could have brought a veteran of the XIV legion to *Siscia*, possibly during the time when his legion was still stationed in *Germania*. This would have been occasioned by the last Domitian's wars on the Danube in AD 89–95/96, in which the XIV legion participated. Several places in southern *Pannonia* (such as *Mursa* / Osijek) and *Mursella* / Petrijevci in northeast Croatia) are mentioned as possible locations of its camp during the war. Furthermore, a detachment (*vexillatio*) of the XIV legion was presumably sent to *Siscia* or its surroundings at that time.⁶⁵ This hypothesis, so far based on relatively weak indirect arguments, now gain somewhat in credibility owing to the stela discussed here, but the hypothesis still remains inconclusive. Nevertheless, *Sentinus*' funerary stone represents a good introduction to the circumstances of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, when soldiers and veterans of the XIV legion are amply evidenced in the area of *Siscia*, and at various places in *Dalmatia*.⁶⁶

The presumption that the XIV legion took part in the Danube wars of Domitian at end of the 1st century, while its permanent camp was still in *Mogontiacum*, is further bolstered by *Sentinus*' stela. This is because its structure and iconography corresponds to the models used by the legion during its stay in *Germania Superior*, but disappearing from the evidence as it moved to *Carnuntum*.⁶⁷ It is precisely funerary stones, neglected in previous works on the XIV legion,⁶⁸ which could

⁶⁹ Jedini takav spomenik, prema epitafu vjerojatno iz prve polovice 2. stoljeća, pripadao je sedamdesetogodišnjem vojniku koji je karijeru završio kao orlonoša (*aquilifer*) 30. legije (*legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*), a prije toga bio je promaknuti centurion (*promotus centurio*) u 14. legiji (*Lupa* 16466). S obzirom na godine pokojnika, u 14. legiji lako je mogao biti za flavijevskog razdoblja.

⁷⁰ O dvojbi u vezi s vremenom u kojem je 14. legija napustila Mogontiak vidi bilj. 64.

⁷¹ Mócsy 1959, 151; Lörinz, Redő 1994, 131–135.

⁷² Lörinz, Redő 1994 (karta rasprostranjenosti na str. 132).

⁷³ Delamarre 2007, 166.

⁶⁴ Hardy 1887, 648; Ritterling 1924–1925, 1735–1736; Brandl 1996, 226; Franke 2000, 197–200; Mosser 2014, 201.

⁶⁵ Dušanić 1983, 22, fn. 45; Hoti 1992, 143; Franke 2000, 197–198; Radman-Livaja 2004, 19; Radman-Livaja 2012, 170.

⁶⁶ Ritterling 1924–1925, 1740–1741; Hoffiller, Saria 1938, 231.

⁶⁷ See fn. 45.

⁶⁸ Above all those of E. Ritterling (1924–1925) and Th. Franke (2000). Only after finishing this paper did I learn of M. Mossers's study (2014) in which he established the year AD 97 as the time of the relocation of the XIV legion to *Panno-*

ugode građanske svakodnevice.⁷⁴ Prizor blagovanja koji se od početka pojavljuje i u obiteljskoj varijanti, a potom se sve više razvija u tom smjeru, upućuje na uključivanje vojnika i veterana u građanski društveni život. Sudeći po činjenici da u Sentinovu epitafu nema podataka ni o obitelji ni o ulozi vlasnika stele u upravnome ili vjerskome životu grada, naš se veteran najvjerojatnije nije uključio u život zajednice ni na obiteljskoj ni na javnoj razini, odnosno u municipalnoj upravi. Potonja uloga, praćena preuzimanjem novčanih obveza (*munera*), nije bila tipična za veterane.⁷⁵ Što se obiteljskoga života tiče, istraživanje je pokazalo da su isluženi vojnici u balkanskim provincijama u 1. stoljeću većinom bili neoženjeni.⁷⁶ Mišljenja o društvenome položaju veterana općenito nisu usuglašena, niti mogu biti s obzirom na to da je svaka generalizacija u vezi s većinom sastavnica vojničkoga života nezahvalna i na nekoj razini promašena zbog različitosti uvjeta u kojima je vojska djelovala. Ipak, nerijetko se susreće tvrdnja da su veterani od Augusta nadalje bili povlašten društveni sloj.⁷⁷ Prema A. Mócsyju, veterani u gradovima uz Dunavski limes bili su gradska elita te su uzimali udjele u upravi, za razliku od veterana u provincijama koje nisu bile granične.⁷⁸ Ako je to zapažanje točno, onda treba primijetiti da je krajem 1. stoljeća, kada je Gaj Antonije Sentin u Sisciji proživio svoj kratki veteranski vijek, taj grad radije imao status unutrašnjega negoli po-

possibly open a new perspective on the research of the legion's movements, that is, its relocation from *Mogontiacum* to *Carnuntum*. Otherwise, *Sentinus'* funerary stone is a singular occurrence in that it is the only example of its type owned by a soldier of the XIV legion. Even of greater importance for this context is the fact that no stelae of that legion from the Trajanic period, irrespective of type, have been found in *Mogontiacum*; all of them stem from the period from Augustus till Domitian.⁶⁹ On the other hand, the earliest stelae of soldiers of the XIV legion from *Carnuntum* originate from the end of the 1st century, which could possibly point to the accuracy of the presumption that it was already Domitian who brought the XIV legion to *Carnuntum*, to employ it in his Danubian wars as part of the Pannonian army.⁷⁰ However it may be, the exact year of the arrival of the XIV legion to *Carnuntum* does not in any way invalidate the claim that *Sentinus* came to *Siscia* at the end of the 1st century as a soldier of the XIV legion, with the idea of his funerary stone already shaped in his mind or on a piece of paper.

Judging from the name, *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* was probably of Celtic origin, stemming from north *Italia* or south *Gallia*. His *nomen gentile*, originally Roman, was widely distributed in the X region (*Venetia et Histria*), but also in the eastern provinces. Of the western provinces, it was very frequent in *Gallia*, *Hispania*, and *Dalmatia*, while in the Danube region, including *Pannonia*, it gained in popularity only by the end of the 2nd century.⁷¹ In the present context, it is important that the name *Antonius* was frequent among the soldiers in *Germania Superior*, the main domici-

⁷⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 117–118; Noelke 2005, 217–218. U prilog spomenutom tumačenju ide i podatak da se na nekim stelama augzilijara, na kojima je glavni prizor blagovanje, pojavljuje i dodatan »mirnodopski«⁷⁴ motiv sluga koji vodi konja, za razliku od prikaza konjanika-ratnika. Vidi. bilj. 39.

⁷⁵ Campbell 1994, 222–223; Wilkes 1999, 97–98; Éveillard, Maligorne 2005, 72; Wesch-Klein 2011, 448. Suprotno tome, S. Ферјанчић (2002, 205–206) naglašava da su veterani, barem oni u balkanskim provincijama, uzimali udjela u gradskoj upravi. O postupnoj integraciji vojnika u građansko društvo vidi Mócsy 1959, 85–88; Hope 2001, 43–49; Carroli 2006, 132; Busch 2011, 151, *passim*.

⁷⁶ Ферјанчић 2002, 206.

⁷⁷ Campbell 1994, 193, 222; Le Bohec 1994, 225; Ферјанчић 2002, 28, 62, 89, 207; Królczyk 2003, 328; Allason-Jones 2008, 46; Wesch-Klein 2011, 435. Pritom su pojmovi imovine i društvenog ugleda usko isprepleteni ne samo u vojničkim krugovima nego u rimskom društvu općenito, ali ne u tolikoj mjeri da bi načelno bili istoznačni (Migotti 2008, 66, bilj. 147).

⁷⁸ Mócsy 1959, 91. Općenito, sve do kraja 2. stoljeća malo je dokaza o znatnijem sudjelovanju veterana u razvitku lokalnih zajednica, pri čemu ipak treba imati na umu nepotpunost epigrafskih svjedočanstava (Campbell 1994, 222–223).

nia on the basis of various materials, funerary stones from *Carnuntum* included. These, otherwise very important results, do not in any meaningful way affect the conclusions on the Siscian stela studied in this paper, the more so as they scrutinise only the evidence from the Pannonian phase of the legion.

⁶⁹ The only such stela, stemming probably from the 1st half of the 2nd century on account of the epitaph, belonged to a 70-year-old eagle-bearer (*aquilifer*) of *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, who had previously served as a promoted centurion (*promotus centurio*) in the XIV legion (*Lupa* 16466). Given the deceased's age, it was quite possible that he served in the XIV legion during the Flavian period.

⁷⁰ On the contested period of the relocation of the XIV legion see fn. 64.

⁷¹ Mócsy 1959, 151; Lörinz, Redő 1994, 131–135.

graničnoga grada jer ga je legijska vojska napustila desetljećima prije. Sam spomenik, solidan, ali ipak ne mramoran, nije dovoljan pokazatelj imovinskih mogućnosti našega veterana. Logičnom se čini pretpostavka da se nabavka mramornoga spomenika prije svega temeljila na raspoloživim sredstvima, ali mogući su i drugi razlozi za takav postupak.⁷⁹ Cijene kamenih stela od 1. do 3. stoljeća u rimskoj Africi kretale su se od 96 do 5.000 sestercija, s time da se od 38 zabilježenih primjeraka njih 26 kretalo u cjenovnoj razini od 96 do 1.200 sestercija.⁸⁰ Iz tih podataka izveden je zaključak da je i običnom vojniku u tome dijelu Carstva bio dostupan kameni spomenik.⁸¹ Nema razloga za sumnju da su slične prilike vladale i u drugim provincijama. Ako s navedenim cijenama stela usporedimo teoretske imovinske mogućnosti siscijskoga legijskoga veterana, dopušteno je pretpostaviti da mu nabavka stele od 1.000-2.000 sestercija nije predstavljala prevelik napor. Iznese na nagađanja o mogućnostima nabavke grobnoga spomenika temelje se na općim podacima o veteranskome imutku koja uključuju nekoliko pretpostavki: novčani otpust, štednju za vrijeme aktivnoga služenja, razne mogućnosti za privređivanje i u vrijeme mirovine, ponajprije putem novčanih ulaganja, obiteljsko nasljeđe, itd.⁸² Nažalost, u literaturi se navode dva različita podatka o svoti koju je dobivao legionarski veteran u 1. stoljeću nakon Augusta: 12.000 i 20.000 sestercija.⁸³

Kao što je već rečeno, epitaf Gaja Antonija Sentina ne otkriva nikakve podatke o njegovu uključivanju u javni život grada, a po svoj je prilici ostao neoženjen pri čemu nema nikakve moguć-

le area of the XIV legion before its relocation to *Carnuntum*.⁷² *Sentinus*' Celtic origin, and probable north Italic or Gallic homeland, is further suggested by his possibly Celtic cognomen.⁷³

Social context

From roughly the mid-1st century onwards, the banqueting scene on soldier stelae of the Rhine *limes* replaced the previously popular motif of the horseman warrior. This change is perceived as a shift from a stress on military values to an emphasis on the comforts of private life.⁷⁴ The banquet scene, starting with the family version and developing more and more in that direction, points to the family and social integration of the military. Given that *Sentinus*' epitaph contains no data on family or the possible role of its owner in the administrative or religious life of the community, our veteran presumably did not become integrated at any level, such as, for example, taking the financial burdens (*munera*) of an administrative duty, the latter role apparently not being popular with the veterans in the first place.⁷⁵ As for married life, research on the veterans in the Balkan provinces has revealed that, during the 1st century, they mostly remained single.⁷⁶ Opinions on the social status of veterans are contentious, as is any generalisation on military life; such generalisations often miss the point owing to different conditions in which the army worked. Even though, it is frequently claimed that the veterans were a privileged class from the time of Augustus onwards.⁷⁷ According to A. Mócsy, ve-

⁷⁹ Primjerice, u vojničkoj obitelji iz Lobora u ageru Petovione ili Andautonije stelu su podigli majka i jedan brat, legionarski stjegonoša, preostaloj dvojici braće, odnosno sinova, od kojih je jedan bio legijski centurion a drugi pretorijanac, dakle sve vojnici višeg plaćevnog razreda, a spomenik je ipak od običnog kamena (Migotti 2011).

⁸⁰ Duncan-Jones 1962, 62, 90–91.

⁸¹ Duncan-Jones 1962, 65; Saller, Shaw 1984, 128. Procjena se temelji na podatku o godišnjoj legionarskoj plaći od 1.200 sestercija u ranom Principatu, prema nekim autorima tek od Domicijana (Watson 1969, 91; Alston 1994, 114; Campbell 1994, 20). A. Speidel (2014, 54) navodi svotu od 900 sestercija, koja je prema prethodno citiranim autorima vrijedila samo za Augustove vlasti.

⁸² Watson 1969, 152–153; Le Bohec 1994, 223–225; Southern 2006, 166–168; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444–445.

⁸³ 12.000 sestercija: Watson 1969, 147; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444; 20.000 sestercija: Le Bohec 1994, 224; Southern 2006, 167.

⁷² Lörinz, Redó 1994 (distribution map on p. 132).

⁷³ Delamarre 2007, 166.

⁷⁴ Gabelmann 1972, 117–118; Noelke 2005, 217–218. Such an interpretation is further bolstered by the fact that, in addition to the main banquet scene, some auxiliaries' stelae feature a "peacetime" motif of the servant leading a horse (contrary to the horseman warrior), see fn. 39.

⁷⁵ Campbell 1994, 222–223; Wilkes 1999, 97–98; Éveillard, Maligorne 2005, 72; Wesch-Klein 2011, 448. Contrary to that, С. Ферјанчић (2002, 205–206) points out that the veterans, at least those in the Balkan provinces, took part in the city administration. On the gradual integration of the military into civil society, see Mócsy 1959, 85–88; Hope 2001, 43–49; Carroll 2006, 132; Busch 2011, 151, *passim*.

⁷⁶ Ферјанчић 2002, 206.

⁷⁷ Campbell 1994, 193, 222; Le Bohec 1994, 225; Ферјанчић 2002, 28, 62, 89, 207; Królczik 2003, 328; Alason-Jones 2008, 46; Wesch-Klein 2011, 435. It should be noted that the concept of social status is closely interrelated

nosti za utemeljeno nagađanje o tome kako bi ti aspekti Sentinova života izgledali da je poživio dulje. Može se pretpostaviti da je u mirovini proveo nekih 5 – 10 godina, podijelivši tako sudbinu mnogih veterana koji su bili podložniji smrtnosti nakon napuštanja vojske nego za vrijeme aktivne službe.⁸⁴ Sve u svemu, moguće je da je Gaj Antonije Sentin umro neposredno po umirovljenju i da jednostavno nije stigao razviti svoje društvene želje i namjere, ali to neminovno ostaje u području nagađanja.

Datiranje i radioničko podrijetlo

Iz svih prethodno obrazloženih kronoloških pokazatelja (epigrafskih, ikonografskih i prozopografskih) proizlazi da je spomenik najvjerojatnije nastao u flavijevskom razdoblju (69.–96.), moguće u njegovoj drugoj polovici, ili je barem tada zacrtana njegova ikonografska shema. Pritom se ne može isključiti mogućnost da je do same izvedbe spomenika i klesanja epitafa došlo na početku 2. stoljeća jer na takvu mogućnost upućuju okolnosti Sentinove vojničke karijere, a prije svega činjenica da je s veksilacijom mogao dospjeti u Sisciju tek na samome kraju 1. stoljeća i ondje poživjeti još 5 – 10 godina. Kao što je obrazloženo u podnaslovu *Tipologija i ikonografija*, Sentinova stela tipološki pripada skupini spomenika povezanih s radionicama koje su opskrbljivale vojsku na Rajnskome limesu, prije svega onima u Mogontijaku i Koloniji Agripini. S obzirom na to da je 14. legija boravila u Mogontijaku, logično bi bilo pretpostaviti da je Sentinova stela načinjena ondje ili pak negdje drugdje, ali prema predlošku tamošnje radionice. Međutim, zbog jednoga ikonografskoga detalja za našu je temu znakovita činjenica da se strukturalno-ikonografski isti tip stele izrađivao i u donjogermanskoj Koloniji Agripini kamo se bio proširio upravo iz Mogontijaka. Naime, na Sentinovoj steli tronožac je prikazan ukošeno i odozgo, a ne bočno, dakle onako kako se predočavao na stelama flavijevskog razdoblja načinjenima u radionici Kolonije Agripine;

⁸⁴ O prosječnoj smrtnosti veterana vidi Watson 1969, 151–152, a o duljini vojnog roka vidi bilj. 58. Poznati su i primjeri legionara koji su u 1. stoljeću umjesto uobičajenih 20 godina odslužili i do 30, pa čak i 40 godina, kao i onih koji su doživjeli duboku starost kao veterani; o tome vidi Le Bohec 1994, 64; Allason-Jones 2008, 47; Wesch-Klein 2011, 439.

terans in the towns along the Danube *limes* were indeed a kind of elite that participated in the city administration, in contrast to the veterans in the inner provinces.⁷⁸ If this claim is correct, it should be noted that, at the end of the 1st century, when *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* ended his short life as veteran, *Siscia*'s status was rather of an internal province's town that a border one, because the legion had left it decades before. *Sentinus*' stela, massive and attractive, but still not marble, is not indicative enough of its owner's financial resources. It seems logical to presume that the commission of the marble stone was first and foremost dependant on the money available, but other reasons could have been involved, as well.⁷⁹ The prices of stone stelai in Roman Africa from the 1st to the 3rd centuries ranged between 96 and 5,000 sesterces while, out of the 38 examples evidenced, the price of 26 ranged between 96 and 1,200 sesterces.⁸⁰ These approximations lead to the conclusion that stone funerary stelai were affordable even to a common soldier in Africa.⁸¹ There is no reason to doubt that the circumstances in other provinces of the Empire were comparable. If we now correlate the above stated prices for stelai with theoretical financial resources of *Sentinus* as a legionary veteran, it transpires that the purchase of a stela costing some 1,000 or 2,000 sesterces should not have been too much of a burden. All this conjecturing is based on the general data on a veteran's fortune, which rests on a variety of contingencies: *mission nummaria*, savings amassed during active duty, business pursuits and financial investments the retirement, family inheritance, etc.⁸² Awkwardly, two contradictory data on the

with material wealth, but not to a measure which would allow for their equation (Migotti 2008, 66, fn. 147).

⁷⁸ Mócsy 1959, 91.

⁷⁹ For example, a stela from Lobar in NW Croatia (territory of *Poetovio* or *Andautonia*) was put up by the mother and one brother, a legionary eagle-bearer, for the remaining two sons (brothers), one a legionary centurion and the other a praetorian. Thus, they were all soldiers of a higher pay scale, but the monument was still of limestone (Migotti 2011).

⁸⁰ Duncan-Jones 1962, 62, 90–91.

⁸¹ Duncan-Jones 1962, 65; Saller, Shaw 1984, 128. This claim is based on the average legionary pay of 1.200 sesterces in the early Principate, and according to some authors, starting only with *Domitianus*' rule (Watson 1969, 91; Alston 1994, 114; Campbell 1994, 20). A. Speidel (2014, 54) states the sum of 900 sesterces, which, according to the previously quoted authors, was valid only during the rule of Augustus.

⁸² Watson 1969, 152–153; Le Bohec 1994, 223–225; Southern 2006, 166–168; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444–445.

tek na kasnijim primjercima s početka 2. stoljeća radionica u Koloniji Agripini preuzela je način predočavanja tronošca iz bočne perspektive, kako je to bilo uobičajeno u Mogontijaku (sl. 7).⁸⁵ Budući da je Sentinova stela u cjelini nesumnjivo načinjena prema predlošku mogontijačke radionice, može se zaključiti da poticaji nisu išli samo iz smjera Mogontijaka prema Koloniji Agripini, nego i obratno, ako ne u općemu tipološko-kronološkome razvitku razmatranoga tipa spomenika, a ono u pojedinostima.⁸⁶ One su se mogle prenositi razmjenom klesara, kolanjem uzoraka, ali i osobnim poticajima.⁸⁷ Pitanje gdje je Sentinov spomenik uistinu isklesan ostaje otvoreno. S obzirom na to da je načinjen od pješčenjaka, a ne od mramora, nameće se logična pretpostavka o izradi u domaćoj radionici. Međutim, istraživanje trgovanja mramornim i ostalim kamenim spomenicima na noričko-panonskome prostoru pokazalo je postojanje posebne, vlastite logike koja odudara od očekivanoga pribjegavanja najmanjoj udaljenosti.⁸⁸ Prema tome, samo bi petrografska analiza pokazala sigurno radioničko podrijetlo siscijske stele. Dok ona ne bude načinjena, ostaje veoma vjerojatna pretpostavka da je spomenik isklesan u Sisciji prema predlošku germanskih vojničkih radionica jer se prijevoz od Mogontijaka do Siscije čini prezahtjevnim i preskupim pothvatom.

Zaključak

Stela Gaja Antonija Sentina višestruko je važna za poznavanje uloge vojnika i veterana u Sisciji.⁸⁹ Značajna je kao dodatni argument za pretpostavku da je postrojba 14. legije boravila u Sisciji

⁸⁵ Usp. bilj. 49.

⁸⁶ Kronološki razvoj i preuzimanje modela iz Mogontijaka u Koloniji Agripini uvjerljivo je pokazao H. Gabelmann (1972, 118–119).

⁸⁷ Podsjetimo se legionara 14. legije rođenog u Koloniji Agripini, čiji je grobni spomenik nađen u Baden-Badenu u Gornjoj Germaniji (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1734).

⁸⁸ Tako se pokazalo da su spomenici izrađeni od travertina putovali Dunavom od Akvinka (*Aquincum* / Budimpešta) do Murse (Osijek), premda su na raspolaganju bili mnogo bliži kamenolomi vapnenca na prostoru današnje sjeveroistočne Bosne i Hercegovine, koji su i bili u funkciji kamenoklesarske proizvodnje u Mursi (Djurić, Müller, Filipović 2010, 10).

⁸⁹ Y. Le Bohec (1994, 223) nazvao je veterane »misterioznom kategorijom«, jer ih je razmjerno malo ostavilo traga u epigrafskim spomenicima.

sum awarded to a legionary veteran in the 1st century, after Augustus, can be found in the literature: 12,000 and 20,000 sesterces.⁸³

As previously stated, the epitaph of *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* does not reveal any data on the possible involvement of its owner in civilian public life, and he probably did not even marry; there is no knowing whether all this would have been different had *Sentinus* lived longer in retirement. A plausible guess is that he spent some 5 or 10 years as a veteran, sharing thus the destiny of many companions whose life expectations were worse in retirement than on active duty.⁸⁴ Thus, it is possible that *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* died very shortly after the retirement, and was just not given a chance to fulfil his social expectations, but this inevitably remains in the realm of speculation.

Chronology and workshop origin

If taken together, all the above chronologically sensitive data (epigraphic, iconographic, and prosopographical) support the chronology of the stela in the Flavian period (AD 69–96), possibly in its second part. It is also possible that, at that time, the stela was actually only drafted, to be carved at the beginning of the 2nd century. This is suggested by *Sentinus*' career, and especially the fact that he most probably could not have reached *Siscia* as an active soldier before the very end of the 1st century, to live there for some 5 or 10 years. As was explained in the subheading *Typology and iconography*, *Sentinus*' stela belongs to the type produced in the army workshops on the Rhine *limes*, above all in *Mogontiacum* and *Colonia Agrippina*. Since the XIV legion stayed only in *Mogontiacum*, it should be assumed that either the stela was produced there or somewhere else, but on a model of *Mogontiacum* origin. However, owing to one iconographic detail, we need to remember that the same type of stela was produced also in *Colonia Agrippina*, where it had spread under the influence of the *Mogontiacum* workshop. The

⁸³ 12.000 sesterces: Watson 1969, 147; Wesch-Klein 2011, 444; 20.000 sesterces: Le Bohec 1994, 224; Southern 2006, 167.

⁸⁴ On the average death rate of veterans, see Watson 1969, 151–152, and on the length of active service, see fn. 58. However, we know of 1st-century veterans whose active duty lasted not 20, but 30 or even 40 years, as well as of long-lived veterans; see Le Bohec 1994, 64; Allason-Jones 2008, 47; Wesch-Klein 2011, 439.



Sl. / Fig. 7: Reljefna niša stele veterana ale Skubula iz Wiesbadena / Relief niche of the stele of a veteran of the *ala Scubulorum* from Wiesbaden (Lupa 7071)

već u 1. stoljeću. Nadalje, to je jedini spomenik takvoga tipa u zapadnim provincijama nađen na području istočno od crte koju je činio Dunavski limes u Reciji i Rajnski u Germanijama.⁹⁰ Taj je podatak u skladu s činjenicom da je izvor novčenja sredinom 1. stoljeća, kad pretpostavljamo Sentinovo pristupanje vojsci, bio u sjevernoj Italiji i najsnažnije romaniziranim provincijama, odnosno rano ustanovljenim kolonijama zapadnoga dijela Carstva, što Panonija u to vrijeme nije bila.⁹¹ Najraniji grobni spomenik iz Siscije, datiran

⁹⁰ Tvrdnja se temelji na literaturi navedenoj u popisu, te na internetskoj bazi podataka *Lupi*.

⁹¹ Usp. bilj. 63.

detail in question is the manner of depicting the tripod, which is on *Sentinus'* stele shown from a slanting perspective from above, exactly as in the earlier stage of the production in *Colonia Agrippina* (Fig. 7).⁸⁵ Because of the fact that *Sentinus'* stele was, as a whole, undoubtedly carved on the model of the *Mogontiacum* workshop, it remains to conclude that, despite *Mogontiacum's* dominance, influences between those two production centres still went both ways. Presumably, the impact of *Colonia Agrippina* on *Mogontiacum* did not pertain to its general typological-chronological development, but to certain iconographical details.⁸⁶ These could have been transmitted through exchange of stonecutters, sketch-books, or individual purchases.⁸⁷ The exact location where *Sentinus'* stele was carved remains an open question. The fact that it was made of sandstone and not marble suggests it was manufactured locally. On the other hand, research of the production and trade in marble and other stone monuments in the Norico-Pannonian region has revealed an inner logic of this process, in which the presumed preference for the shortest distance cannot always be taken for granted.⁸⁸ Therefore, only a petrographic analysis could provide a final answer to the question of the origin of stone. Until then, the most plausible assumption is that the stele was made in *Siscia*, but on the model of Germanic army stonemasons' workshops, as the transportation from *Mogontiacum* to *Siscia* appears to be over-demanding and too expensive.

Concluding remarks

The stele of *Gaius Antonius Sentinus* is quite relevant for the insight into the role of the military in *Siscia* and is important as a further (though not conclusive) argument in favour of the hypothesis

⁸⁵ See fn. 49.

⁸⁶ The chronological development and the influence of the production of *Mogontiacum's* workshop on that of *Colonia Agrippina* were convincingly demonstrated by H. Gabelmann (1972, 118–119).

⁸⁷ A legionary of the XIV legion comes to mind, who was born in *Colonia Agrippina* and whose funerary stone was found in Baden-Baden in *Germania Superior* (Ritterling 1924–1925, 1734).

⁸⁸ For example, travertine monuments travelled from *Aquincum* (Budapest) via the Danube all the way to *Mursa* (Osijek), despite the fact that much closer limestone quarries were at disposal, which indeed were used in the stonemasons' production of *Mursa* (Djurić, Müller, Filipović 2010, 10).

u prvu polovicu 1. stoljeća, pripadao je civilu Titu Tuliju Terciju iz Tergesta (Trst).⁹² Ostali epigrafski spomenici uglavnom svjedoče o stanovnicima Siscije od druge polovice 1. stoljeća nadalje; većinom su to bili Italici, ali i doseljenici iz Dalmacije, Galije, Hispanije te istočnih provincija.⁹³ Osim Sentinove stele, jedini siscijski vojnički grobni spomenik, stela Marka Mucija Hegetora, liječnika XXXII dobrovoljne kohorte rimskih građana (*cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) datirana je u sredinu 1. stoljeća.⁹⁴ Spomenute dvije stele dragocjen su izvor za uvid u vojnički život Siscije s obzirom na izrazito siromašan vojnički epigrafski korpus toga grada. I dalje nam nedostaju nalazi iz prve polovice 1. stoljeća koje bi trebalo očekivati s obzirom na izraženu prisutnost vojske u Sisciji upravo u to vrijeme.⁹⁵

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Popis kratica / List of abbreviations

CIL – Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum

Lupa – *Ubi Erat Lupa* – <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org> (27.2.2015.)

that a detachment of the XIV legion stayed in *Siscia* as early as the end of the 1st century.⁸⁹ Also, it is curious as the only example of its type found to the southeast of the Rhine and Danube *limes* in the *Germanias* and *Raetia*.⁹⁰ This corresponds to the fact that recruiting areas in the mid-1st century, when *Sentinus* presumably joined the army, were north *Italia* and the highly Romanised provinces of the western part of the Empire, with *Pannonia* still beyond that circle.⁹¹ The earliest funerary stone from *Siscia*, that of one *Titus Tullius Tertius* from *Tergeste* (Trieste), dates from the 1st half of the 1st century.⁹² The remainder of the inscribed stones largely witness to the inhabitants of *Siscia* from the 2nd half of the 1st century onwards, who mostly arrived from north *Italia*, *Dalmatia*, *Gallia*, *Hispania*, and the eastern provinces.⁹³ The only other soldier's funerary monument from *Siscia*, that of *Marcus Mucius Hegetor*, a physician of *cohors XXXII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, dates from the mid-1st century.⁹⁴ In view of the exceptionally meagre epigraphic corpus of the Siscian military, these two stelae represent a precious source of the insight into the military life of *Siscia*. Still, sorely missing are soldiers' inscribed stones from the 1st half of the 1st century, which should be expected in the light of the massive presence of the army in *Siscia* at that time.⁹⁵

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⁹² Klemenc 1935.

⁹³ Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

⁹⁴ Mócsy 1959, 211, br. 57/3; Lörinz 2001, 297, br. 479. Lörinzovo datiranje osporio je J. Spaul (2000, 47–48), predloživši kraj 2. stoljeće, ali nedovoljno uvjerljivo. U prilog datiranju u sredinu 1. stoljeća govori i tip stele (Djurić 2008, 161–162).

⁹⁵ Radman-Livaja 2004, 18.

⁸⁹ Y. Le Bohec (1994, 223) named veterans “a mysterious category” on account of the scarceness of the epigraphic evidence.

⁹⁰ This claim rests on the evidence from the list of literature attached, and the *Lupa* Internet database.

⁹¹ See fn. 63.

⁹² Klemenc 1935.

⁹³ Mócsy 1959, 25–26.

⁹⁴ Mócsy 1959, 211, no. 57/3; Lörinz 2001, 297, no. 479. Lörinz's chronology was challenged by J. Spaul (2000, 47–48), who suggested the end of the 2nd c. for the stele in question, but his arguments are not convincing enough. The type of stele further speaks in favour of its earlier date (cf. Djurić 2008, 161–162).

⁹⁵ Radman-Livaja 2004, 18.

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