
PRILOZI POZNAVANJU ANTIČKE VARVARIJE**TOWARDS UNDERSTANDING OF ANCIENT
VARVARIA**

Rad se sastoji od tri dijela. U prvome se preispituju faze gradnje bedema Varvarije, u drugome se prvi put objavljuje gornji dio stele iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru koji je pronađen u Bribiru, dok se u posljednjem dijelu propituje funkcija kamenoga bloka s natpisom cara Vespazijana s istoga lokaliteta.

Bedemi Varvarije pokazuju veliku raznolikost u gradnji i najbolji su primjer za proučavanje razvoja obrambenih utvrđenja na liburnskome prostoru. Dosad su u literaturi navođene faze u gradnji fortifikacija koje su ovdje dopunjene dvjema fazama, jednom koja prethodi onoj čiji se početak stavlja u sredinu 1. st. pr. Kr. i drugom koja je nastala u vremenu prije adaptacije provedene za vrijeme Justinijana, a temelji se na usporednoj analizi zapadnoga i istočnoga poteza.

Stela iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru s prikazom vojnika dopunjava skromnu zbirku stela takvoga tipa na istočnoj jadranskoj obali. Riječ je o steli sa zabatnim završetkom kojoj natpisno polje nije sačuvano. Na fragmentu koji je tema ovoga rada prikazana je stojeća figura koju bi se na temelju analize likovnoga prikaza i opreme moglo datirati u sredinu ili početak druge polovice 1. stoljeća.

Blok s natpisom cara Vespazijana CIL III 10179, naveden kao miljokaz, koji je u međuvremenu uništen, na temelju svega o njemu napisana i mjesta nalaza trebalo bi identificirati kao natpis podignut u čast nekoga važnijeg događaja, moguće adaptacije dijela zapadnoga bedema s kojega se vjerojatno otkotrljao prigodom neke od devastacija.

Gljučne riječi: bedemi, faze gradnje, stela, stojeća figura, počasni natpis, Vespazijan.

The paper consists of three parts: the first one examining the phases of the construction of Varvaria's defense walls, the second one presenting for the first time the upper part of a Bribir stela from the Archaeology Museum Zadar, and the last one examining the purpose of the stone block with a Vespasian's inscription, also found in Bribir.

Exhibiting various approaches used in their construction, Varvaria's walls are the best example for studying the development of defense fortifications in the Liburnian territory. Complementing the literature on the phases of fortification construction, this paper elaborates on two phases – the one preceding the phase the beginning of which is dated to the mid-1st century BC and the one that was built before the adaptation in the Justinian period and has been recreated on the basis of a comparative analysis of the western and eastern sections.

The stela from Archaeology Museum Zadar, depicting a soldier, is part of the modest collection of stelae of this type found on the Eastern Adriatic coast. It is a gabled stela the inscribed part of which has not been preserved. The fragment this paper is focused on contains a standing figure that, based on its accouterments and the way it is depicted, could be dated to the mid-1st century AD or the beginning of its second half.

Based on the available literature and the site where it was found, the stone block with an inscription to Emperor Vespasian (CIL III 10179), identified as a milestone that was destroyed in the meantime, should be identified as an inscription erected to honor an important event – possibly the adaptation of part of the western wall from which it probably rolled away during one of the devastations the wall had sustained.

Keywords: defense walls, phases of construction, stela, standing figure, honorary inscription, Vespasian.

1. UVOD

Antička Varvarija značajan je lokalitet bogat raznovrsnim arheološkim spomenicima, no nažalost još je uvijek nedovoljno istražen. Sva dosadašnja istraživanja, bez obzira na njihov relativno skroman obim, značajno su obogatila spoznaje osobito o urbanizmu i kulturnoj klimi ovoga važnog liburnsko-rimskog središta. Bedemi Varvarije pokazuju veliku raznolikost u gradnji i pružaju najbolji primjer za proučavanje razvoja obrambenih utvrđenja na liburnskome prostoru. O bedemima je već pisano, a najznačajniji doprinos njihovu poznavanju pripisuje se M. Suiću, kojega citiraju svi autori koji se bave problemom fortifikacija. Ovaj će rad na temelju obrađene literature vezane za ovu temu i detaljne analize zatečene situacije donijeti neke nove momente u poznavanju tijeka transformacije ovoga izuzetno zanimljivoga urbanog naselja. Stela pronađena na užem području grada, dosad neobjavljena, i blok s natpisom koji spominje cara Vespazijana obogatit će skromno znanje o plastici i natpisima vezanim za ovaj lokalitet.

2. BEDEMI ANTIČKE VARVARIJE

Bedemi Varvarije pokazuju veliku raznolikost uvjetovanu dugim razdobljem gradnji, dogradnji i popravaka i pružaju najbolji primjer za proučavanje razvoja obrambenih utvrđenja na liburnskome prostoru. Poznavanje bedema Varvarije zasluga je M. Suića, koji se sustavno bavio tim problemom gotovo dva desetljeća. On je iznio rezultate istraživanja na Kolokviju o Bribiru 1965. g. te ih je objavio u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti* 1968. g. Ovom problemu ponovno se vraća i radi manje korekcije u radu iz 1980. g., koji je objavljen u *Gunjačinu zborniku*. Svi autori koji su se bavili problematikom utvrđivanja naselja u antičkome razdoblju doslovno citiraju njegova zapažanja kada je riječ o ovome važnom lokalitetu. Detaljnom analizom bedema Varvarije uočeni su neki detalji o kojima će biti riječi u tekstu koji slijedi i na temelju kojih bi se mogla korigirati dosadašnja razmišljanja o fazama njihove gradnje.

Analizirajući pretpovijesne i ranoantičke bedeme s obila Jadrana može se uočiti da su lica zidova građena uporabom velikih kamenih blokova, no oni ni približno ne dosežu veličinu i obradu onih mikenskih. Po pitanju smještaja, zapaža se prilagodljivost naselja konfiguraciji terena, s posebnim obzirom na položaj luke. Birana su mjesta koja su sigurna i koja je lako braniti, a najistaknutiji dio mjesta bio je određen za posebne namjene bilo kao mjesto kulta i sjedište prvaka ili kao utvrda unutar utvrđenoga naselja.¹ Lokacija, način utvrđivanja, perimetar i raspored ulaza gradinskih naselja kao da su poslužile i Vitruvijku kao uzor.²

1. INTRODUCTION

Ancient Varvaria is a significant site abounding in various archaeological monuments. Unfortunately, it is still scantily explored. Despite their relatively limited scope, the excavations carried out so far have substantially contributed to our knowledge, especially of the urban development and cultural climate of this important Liburnian center. Varvaria's defense walls indicate a large diversity of approaches used in their construction and are the best example for studying the development of defense fortifications in the Liburnian territory. The literature about the walls already exists, the most important works being the ones of M. Suić. They are quoted by all the authors dealing with the subject of fortifications. Drawing on the existing literature and a detailed analysis of the situation, this paper will introduce some new moments to our knowledge of the course of transformation of this exceptionally interesting urban settlement. The stela found within the town's limits, presented here for the first time, and a stone block with Emperor Vespasian's name on it, will improve our scarce knowledge of the sculptures and inscriptions on this site.

2. DEFENSE WALLS OF ANCIENT VARVARIA

Varvaria's defense walls exhibit a large diversity, resulting from the lengthy period of constructions, extensions and reconstructions. They are the best example for studying the development of defense fortifications in the Liburnian territory. The credit for our knowledge of Varvaria's walls goes to M. Suić, who systematically studied them for almost two decades. He presented the results of his excavations at the Colloquium on Bribir (1965) and published them in *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* in 1968. He returned to the subject in his 1980 work, published in Gunjača's anthology, making minor corrections. All the authors dealing with the problem of fortification of settlements in antiquity literally quote Gunjača's observations on this important site. A detailed analysis of Varvaria's walls has revealed some details – which are to be discussed below – based on which corrections of the existing view at the phases of its construction could be made.

When analyzing the protohistoric and early-antiquity walls on both sides of the Adriatic, one notices that large stone blocks were used for the faces of the walls, although their size and dressing do not compare with those in Mycenae. As regards the position, the settlements are visibly adapted to the configuration of the terrain, with particular attention being paid to the position of the harbor. Safe and easily defensible locations would be picked and the most prominent part of the location would be assigned to special purposes, either as a place for cult worshipping or as the seat of prominent persons, or for building a fortification within the fortified settlement.¹ The location, type of fortification,

1 R. Martin, 1956, 82 i 109; E. Egli, 1959, 30; M. Suić, 1976, 77.

2 Vitruvije I, 5, 2 i 3: „Najviše se treba brinuti o tome da ne bude lak pristup k zidu kod opsjeđanja, već da ide uokrug uz strmenita mjesta i valja pronaći rješenje nek putovi k vratima ne vode ravno, nego s lijeve strane. Jer kad bude

1 R. Martin, 1956, 82 and 109; E. Egli, 1959, 30; M. Suić, 1976, 77.

Bedemi autohtonih gradinskih naselja na istočnoj strani Jadrana podizani su u suhozidu, a dokumentirana je i upotreba gline kao vezivnoga sredstva, koja će ostati u uporabi sve dok je ne zamijeni čvršća i kompaktnija žbuka.³ Za gradnju je korišten lomljeni ili grubo klesani kamen lomljenac većega formata, koji bi se nalazio u blizini naselja⁴ i koji je slegan kao vanjsko lice zida. Ispunu je činilo manje, nasuto kamenje, koje nije pružalo dovoljnu čvrstoću bedemu koji se u slučaju potresa često urušavao pretvarajući se u amorfnu masu. Ukoliko je u blizini postojala veća količina gline, ispuna se formirala nabijenom glinom, čime se povećavala čvrstoća bedema, o čemu svjedoče dionice pretpovijesnih bedema u Osoru i Krku, gdje je zemljana jezgra bedema sačuvana do danas, iako je uništena vanjska oplata rađena kamenim blokovima.⁵ Dovoljno sigurna visina zida varirala je između dva i pol do tri metra ili više, a širina je bila različita, počevši od dva pa do pet metara. U slučajevima urušavanja zida podizalo bi se novo lice zida u dnu urušenja, a prostor između popunio bi se materijalom koji je ostao od srušenoga bedema. Posebna pažnja posvećivala se smještaju ulaza i ostrim zakretanjima bedema.⁶

Krajem 5. te do sredine 4. st. pr. Kr. počela je urbanizacija u južnoj Iliriji, koja je donijela promjene u tehnici gradnje bedema vidljive u masivnim zidinama koje okružuju naselja i koje su građene pod grčkim utjecajem.⁷ Osnivanje grčkih kolonija doprinijelo je daljnjem usavršavanju gradnje fortifikacija u skladu s novim potrebama uvjetovanim razvojem tehnike ratovanja. Među došljacima vjerojatno su bili i graditelji vještiji u obradi kamena i s boljim metalnim alatom.

Kamen za gradnju bedema dijelom se vadio na licu mjesta te se na taj način poravnavao i pripremao temeljni sloj kako za bedeme tako i za prostor unutar naselja namijenjen podizanju objekata. Blokovi su bili klesani u obliku kvadra, izrazito izduženih kvadara i poligonalnih formi uglavnom fino obrađenih rubova, a primjećuje se i tendencija uslojavanja. Oblikovali su se još uvijek i rustičniji, poligonalni blokovi izvedeni u „megalitskoj“ tehnici. Mogli su biti koso rezani (poligonalna gradnja), a klesanje „na zub“ također se koristilo pri uslojavanju zida. Ako se koristilo vezivo, obično je to bila glina. Prednja ploha bloka uglavnom je bila oblikovana s manje ili više izraženom bunjom, a primjećuje se više ili manje izražena anatiroza. Fino klesanje

perimeter and arrangements of hill-fort gates are as if they were modeled on the basis of Vitruvius' principles.²

The walls of the autochthonous fortified settlements on the eastern Adriatic coast were built as drywalls. Use of clay as a mortar has also been documented: clay would remain in use until it was replaced by harder and more compact plaster.³ Crushed or roughly dressed large stones found in the vicinity were used for the construction of the walls⁴ and they were laid as the outer face of the walls. The filling consisted of smaller rocks that by themselves could not provide sufficient strength required for a defense wall; as a result, it would often collapse in case of an earthquake, turning into an amorphous mass. If there happened to be a substantial quantity of clay in the vicinity, the filling would be made of rammed clay, thus increasing the walls' strength. The sections of the prehistoric walls in Osor and Krk are evidence to it: their earthen core has been preserved to this day, although the outer formwork, made of stone blocks, has been destroyed.⁵ To provide safety, the walls were between 2.5 and three meters high – or even higher – and their width varied from two to five meters. In case of caving in, a new face of the wall would be built on the bottom of the cave-in and the space in between would be filled with the material from the collapsed wall. Special attention was paid to the position of the gate and sharp turns of the walls.⁶

Southern Illyricum saw the beginning of urban development between the late 5th century BC and mid-4th century BC. It brought changes to the wall-building technique. It can be seen in the massive walls surrounding the settlements, built under Greek influence.⁷ The founding of Greek colonies contributed to further improvement of fortifications, required to meet the new needs arising from the development of warfare techniques. Among the newcomers were probably builders who possessed better metal tools and stone-scabbling skills.

Some of the stones for the construction were partly quarried on the spot. The foundation for both the walls and the space for urban structures within them would thus be leveled and prepared. The blocks were dressed in the shape of very elongated cuboids and polygons, usually with finely hewn edges. The tendency of layering can be noticed, too.

2 Vitruvius I, 5, 2 i 3, "When it comes to a siege, the main concern should be to avoid having easy access to the wall; instead, the access to it should go round and up steep slopes and paths to the gate should not lead straight to it but along the left-hand side. For such a design will force the approaching enemy to have their right side, unprotected with shields, exposed to the ramparts. Cities should not have square layouts or protruding corners. They should be circular instead, so that the enemy could be spotted from several places. Those with protruding corners are hard to defend because corners protect the enemy more than they protect the citizens. In my opinion, the thickness of the wall should be such that armed men approaching each other on the upper walkway can pass each other with ease", according to M. Suić 2003, 409.

3 Z. Brusić, 2000, 139.

4 Z. Brusić, 2000a, 126.

5 A. Faber, 2000, 155.

6 A. Faber, 2000, 155.

7 T. Ippen, 1907; K. Jireček, 1916; C. Praschniker - A. Schober, 1919.

učinjeno na ovaj način, tada će onima koji nadolaze, desna strana, koja nije zaštićena štitom, biti blizu bedema. Ne valja graditi gradove četvorne osnove niti s isturenim uglovima, već uokrug, kako bi se neprijatelj mogao opaziti s više mjesta. Oni, naime, u kojima se istureuju kutovi, teško se brane jer ugao štiti više neprijatelja negoli građanina. Debljinu pak zida mislim da treba tako graditi da se naoružani ljudi na gornjem prolazu dolazeći ususret jedan drugome, mogu bez zapreke mimoći", prema M. Suić, 2003, 409.

3 Z. Brusić, 2000, 139.

4 Z. Brusić, 2000a, 126.

5 A. Faber, 2000, 155.

6 A. Faber, 2000, 155.

7 T. Ippen, 1907; K. Jireček, 1916; C. Praschniker - A. Schober, 1919.

sljubnica sлагanoga kamena onemogućuje umetanje poluga kojima bi se kameni blok mogao odvaliti, čime bi se urušila ispunjena zida koja je bez veziva.

Oblikovanje vanjskoga lica bedema značajno je za datiranje istoga, a bilo je uvjetovano novom tehnikom ratovanja,⁸ koja se vjerojatno razvila upravo u Hipodamovo vrijeme⁹ izumom prototipa današnjih oklopnih kola, na kojima su obojima mogli napadati bedeme. U uporabu je ušla tehnika obrade kamenih blokova na bunju s anatirom velikih dimenzija – do dva metra dugih, do šezdeset centimetara visokih, dok je debljina varirala.¹⁰

Iako su Liburni mogli upoznati tehniku „megalitske“ gradnje u dodiru s grčkim i južnoilirskim prostorima, korištenje ove tehnike u Liburniji vjerojatno nije počelo prije kraja 3. st. pr. Kr., a kulminiralo je tijekom 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr.,¹¹ kada su Liburni usvojili i gradnju grobnica helenističkoga tipa, u kojima je pronađeno importirano posuđe helenističkih radionica iz južne Italije i susjednih grčkih centara.¹²

Dolaskom pod rimsku dominaciju pojedini gradovi dobili su povlašteni status, a neki od njih i rang kolonije, što se odrazilo kako na urbanom rasteru tako i na gradskim bedemima. Dolazak Liburna pod vlast Rima uzrokovao je bogaćenje domaćega i doseljenoga italskog stanovništva, koje uz donacije careva proširuje gradske prostore i gradi nove monumentalne fortifikacije još uvijek u megalitskoj tehnici, ali uz uporabu žbuke kao veziva.¹³ Obnavljaju se neadekvatni ili podižu novi potezi gradskih bedema, gradska vrata i kule. Bedemi su se mogli podizati ponovo od temelja ili se obnavljalo samo vanjsko lice uporabom bunjastih blokova koje su koristili i grčki graditelji, a sve veće intervencije bile su popraćene javnim zapisom. U ranorimskim bedemima kod nas se još uvijek gradilo u suhozidu, ali se postepeno uvodila žbuka kao vezivo kod popravljivanja i učvršćivanja bedema, ostavljajući stari slog u plaštu bedema. Višestruke obnove fortifikacija tijekom stoljeća, koje su mijenjale tlocrt i strukturu bedema, otežavaju njihovo datiranje, osobito u slučajevima kada se ponovno koristio materijal ranijih konstrukcija.

Liburni su imali povoljan položaj u kasnorepublikanskom i ranocarskom vremenu, za razliku od Delmata, Histra i Japoda, koji su bili u dugotrajnim sukobima s Rimom. Od Augustova do Tiberijeva razdoblja na području Liburnije nastao je najveći broj monumentalnih gradskih bedema zidanih u tehnici velikih ili manjih blokova (Jader i Enona) povezanih žbukom.

More rustic, polygonal blocks made in the “megalithic” technique were still used. They could be slant-cut (polygonal building) and “jigsaw” pattern was also used for the layering of the walls. If a mortar was used, usually it was clay. The front surface of a stone block was usually shaped with a more or less pronounced boss; a somewhat pronounced anathyrosis can also be seen. The fine chiseling of the joints on the stones prevents wedging in of crow-bars that could be used for prying the stone blocks loose, resulting in caving in of the filling, which does not contain mortar.

The shape of the outer face of the wall is important for fixing the wall's date. It was conditioned by the invention of a new warfare technique⁸ that was probably introduced in the days of Hippodamus:⁹ a prototype of the present-day armored vehicle on which a battering-ram could be installed for attacking walls. Bossed stone blocks with an anathyrosis were introduced. They were up to two meters long and up to sixty centimeters high, their thickness varying.¹⁰

Although the Liburni had probably been familiar with the “megalithic” construction technique due to their contacts with Greek and South Illyrian territories, it was probably not used in Liburnia before the late 3rd century BC. It had its peak in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC,¹¹ when Liburni adopted the construction of Hellenistic-type grave vaults where imported vessels made in the Hellenistic workshops in Southern Italy and the neighboring Greek settlements were found.¹²

Having fallen under Roman domination, some towns were granted a special status – some of them even became colonies – which reflected on both the urban grid and the town walls. Falling under the Roman rule resulted in increased wealth of autochthonous population and Italic immigrants. Supported by donations from emperors, this mixed population expanded urban areas and built monumental fortifications – still in the megalithic technique, but using plaster as mortar.¹³ Inadequate sections of the town walls, gate and turrets were reconstructed and new ones were erected. The walls would either be rebuilt from the foundations or only their outer face would be reconstructed using bossed stone blocks used also by Greek builders. All major interventions would be entered in public records. While the early Roman walls in the territory of present-day Croatia were still built as drywalls, plaster was gradually introduced as mortar when the walls were repaired or strengthened, leaving the old layering pattern in the face

8 J. Kromayer – G.Veith, 1928, 184.

9 Hippodam, 7, 10, 5: „Potrebno je zastupati da grad bude utvrđen zidinama, koje su u ratu najvažnije, pogotovo sada kad su usavršeni izumi oružja i naprava za opsjeđanje gradova“, prema M. Suić, 1976, 289.

10 B. Fletcher, 1948, 72. Razdoblje helenizma na Mediteranu je ostavilo značajna dostignuća u gradnji fortifikacija u rasponu od 7. do 4. st. pr. Kr., a njihov je upliv potrajao i do 2. stoljeća pr. Kr.

11 Z. Brusić, 2000, 141.

12 Z. Brusić, 1988, 30-36.

13 Z. Brusić, 2000, 148.

8 J. Kromayer – G.Veith, 1928, 184.

9 Hippodamus, 7, 10, 5 “Fortifying the city with walls should be advocated, them being the most important thing in war, particularly now that weapons and siege engines have been perfected”, according to M. Suić, 1976, 289.

10 B. Fletcher, 1948, 72; The Hellenistic period left its significant imprint on the construction of fortifications in the Mediterranean between the 7th and 4th centuries BC. This influence can sometimes be traced all the way to the 2nd century BC.

11 Z. Brusić, 2000, 141.

12 Z. Brusić, 1988, 30-36.

13 Z. Brusić, 2000, 148.



Slika 1. Satelitski snimak grada s označenim potezima bedema

Figure 1. Satellite image of the town, with wall sections identified

prema / according to: Geoportal

Najraniji gradinski bedemi Varvarije, koja je morala biti utvrđena u 9. st. pr. Kr., u prvoj fazi kulture starijega željeznog doba Liburnije,¹⁴ do sada nisu utvrđeni. Stoga se ne može ništa argumentirano reći o njihovoj tehnici gradnje i perimetru, ali se može pretpostaviti na temelju obrasca primjenjivanoga na gradinama istoga razdoblja. Jedan od razloga usavršavanja gradskih bedema mogla je biti prijetnja susjednih Delmata, osobito u slučaju Varvarije, koja je

of the walls. The multiple reconstructions of fortifications through centuries make it harder to date them, particularly when the material from earlier reconstructions was used.

Unlike the Delmatae, Histri and Iapodes, who had had long-standing conflicts with Rome, the Liburni were in a favorable position during the Late Republic and Early Empire periods. Most of the monumental defense walls in the Liburnian territory that were made of larger or smaller stone blocks joined together by plaster (as in Lader and Enona) were built in the period from Augustus' reign to Tiberius' reign.

As the earliest fortified walls of Varvaria, which must have been fortified in the 9th century BC – in the first phase of the Early Iron Age in Liburnia¹⁴ – have not been established yet,

¹⁴ Pretpovijesna epoha Bribira gotovo je u cijelosti objavljena, uglavnom u radovima Š. Batovića; J. i P. Korošec, 1980, 95 i dr.; Š. Batović, 1980, 55 i dr.

¹⁴ Almost entire prehistoric epoch of Bribir has been published, mostly in the works of Š. Batović; J. and P. Korošec, 1980, 95 and on; Š. Batović, 1980, 55 and on.

bila smještena na rubu liburnskoga teritorija.¹⁵ Obnavljanje je vjerojatno krenulo od zapadnih gradskih vrata, koja su bila glavni ulaz na gradinu, i nastavilo se postepeno opasavajući naselje sa sjeverne i sjeveroistočne strane, a moguće i istočne i jugoistočne (iako nema sačuvanih tragova na tom dijelu, logično ih je pretpostaviti), negirajući postojeće bedeme koji više nisu pružali adekvatnu zaštitu, dok je na južnoj i jugozapadnoj strani visoka litica osiguravala gradski areal (Sl. 1).

Neprijateljstva između Liburna i Delmata spominju povijesni izvori, a osobito je važan sukob s Delmatima zbog Promone.¹⁶ To je bilo u vrijeme Cezarove uprave nad provincijom kada su Varvarini vjerojatno ponovno morali obnoviti veći dio gradskoga bedema gradeći novom tehnikom pravilnih megalitskih blokova, što bi moglo pomaknuti donju granicu izgradnje istočnoga i jugoistočnoga trakta u pedesete godine pr. Kr.¹⁷ Postojeći se bedem uklanjao, a dijelom se na njegovu mjestu podizao novi. Da linija ranorimskoga bedema nije u cijelosti pratila duktus ranijih zidina, može se vidjeti na jugoistočnome potezu uz istočna gradska vrata, gdje se nalazi raniji trakt koji je bio u funkciji do dovršetka novoga, datiranoga natpisom posvećenim Tiberiju.¹⁸ Kako se povećala gradska površina, starija je struktura poslužila za niveliranje terena tako što je između nje i novoga bedema došlo do nasipanja međuprostora. Na temelju dosad navedenoga mogu se pretpostaviti četiri faze gradnje fortifikacija do najranijega Carstva uz povremene intervencije kao što su učvršćivanje i popravci nekih segmenata. Gradnja kontrafora, kojim se dodatno učvršćuju istočni i sjeveroistočni potez, ne može se precizno vremenski odrediti jer ne postoje nalazi koji bi na to ukazivali. U svakom slučaju uslijedila je između faza dosad navedenih i jedne čija je gradnja potvrđena nalazima iz kasnoantičkoga razdoblja i uže datirana u vrijeme obnove nakon istjerivanja Istočnih Gota iz Dalmacije.¹⁹ Istraživanja na dijelu istočnoga poteza rezultirala su otkrićem te faze u gradnji bedema koja se očituje u podizanju zida paralelnoga s bedemom koji povezuje potpornjake, a prostor između njih bio je ispunjen ruševnim materijalom i zemljom. Tako je učvršćen najosjetljiviji dio fortifikacije, kojim je Varvarija dočekala provalu Avara i doseljenje Slavena u 7. st.

Raznolikost u gradnji bedema Varvarije rezultat je dugoga razdoblja gradnji, dogradnji i popravaka nastalih zbog povijesnih okolnosti. Oni imaju izuzetnu važnost

we cannot make a good case of their perimeter and the building technique used. However, assumptions can be made based on the pattern used for the hill-forts of the same period. One of the reasons for the improvement of the defense walls could have been the threat of the neighboring Delmatae. This particularly concerned Varvaria, keeping on mind its location on the outskirts of the Liburnian territory.¹⁵ The reconstruction probably started with the western gate, which served as the main entrance to the hill-fort, and gradually continued engirdeling the settlement along its northern and northeastern sides (and, possibly, eastern and southeastern sides; although there is no evidence to it, we can logically assume it), neutralizing the function of the existing walls which could not provide adequate protection any more (the cliff looming above the settlement on the southern and south-western sides provided protection as such – Fig. 1).

The hostilities between the Liburni and Delmatae are mentioned in historical sources. The conflict about Promona was of particular importance.¹⁶ It was in the days of Caesar's rule over the province, when Varvaria's inhabitants probably had to reconstruct most of the walls once again, using a new technique based on symmetrical megalithic blocks. This could place the earliest time of the construction of the eastern and southeastern sections in the fifth decade BC.¹⁷ While the existing wall was gradually being removed, the new one was built in places. The southeastern section next to the eastern gate (where an earlier tract had stood until the new one, that can be dated owing to an inscription dedicated to Tiberius, was completed) shows that the line of the Early Roman walls did not strictly follow the line of the earlier walls.¹⁸ As the town was growing, the older structure was used for levelling of the terrain: the space in between it and the new wall was filled. Based on the above mentioned, we can suppose that four phases of construction of the fortifications had been completed by the earliest period of the Empire, including occasional interventions such as consolidation and repairs of some segments. The construction of the counterforts for additional consolidation of the eastern and northeastern sections cannot be dated accurately because there are no finds indicating that. At any rate, the construction took place in between the above mentioned phases and the one that has been confirmed by the finds from the Late Antiquity and that can be closely dated to the period of reconstruction after the

15 M. Zaninović, 1966, 80 i dr. govori o ekspanziji Delmata navodeći faze te ekspanzije, pa bi se u 4. fazu, koja je slijedila poslije Gencijeve propasti 167. g. pr. Kr., mogli smjestiti početak pritiska Delmata na Liburne i prvi sukobi među njima.

16 M. Zaninović, 1966, 40.

17 M. Suić, 1980, 37.

18 M. Suić, 1980, 36.

19 M. Suić, 1980, 40: „Ovu fazu (kasnoantičku) izgradnje zidina smjestio sam još pred 15 godina (1965.) u period nakon istjerivanja Istočnih Gota iz Dalmacije (na Kolokvijaju o Bribiru, sp. Shp, str. 34). Analiza kasnije istraženih slojeva i nalaz Justinijanovog novca potvrdili su to mišljenje.“

15 M. Zaninović, 1966, 80 and on; tackles the expansion of the Delmatae, specifying the phases of the expansion: the beginning of the Delmatae's pressure on the Liburni and the first conflicts between them could thus be dated to the fourth phase that ensued following Gentius' fall in 167 BC.

16 M. Zaninović, 1966, 40.

17 M. Suić, 1980, 37.

18 M. Suić, 1980, 36.



Slika 2. Zavojiti propugnakul
Figure 2. Sinuous propugnaculum

foto / photo: R. Sekso

kada je riječ o proučavanju razvoja obrambenih utvrđenja na liburnskome prostoru.

Dosad najstariji segment bedema predrimskoga razdoblja otkriven je na jugoistočnoj strani i bio je u funkciji do dovršetka novoga (Sl. 2). Ostatci toga zida vidljivi su s prekidom u dužini od 8,90 m, počevši od bazena nimfeja (sustava gradskih rezervoara za vodu) južno od istočnih gradskih vrata i nešto dalje u pravcu sjevera ispod temeljne nivelete zidova rimske kuće smještene sjeverno od istočnih gradskih vrata, koja je s nimfejem na suprotnoj strani flankirala vjerojatno glavni dekuman koji se pružao sredinom Glavice spajajući istočna i zapadna gradska vrata. Otkrivena je gornja površina bedema široka 2,90 m, a linija mu je udaljena od pravca pružanja rimskoga zida oko 15 m i teče gotovo paralelno s rimskim bedemom. Građen je od domaćega čvrstog vapnenca kao i blokovi ranorimskoga zida. Ploče su priklesane samo s lica, dok su bočne strane potpuno neobrađene jer su se odlamale u kamenolomu, tako

Ostrogoths had been driven out from Dalmatia.¹⁹ That phase of the wall construction was established during the research undertaken on a part of the eastern section. Evidence of it is the wall connecting the buttresses, erected in parallel with the defense wall. The space between them was filled with debris and earth. So this is how the most sensitive portion of the fortification was consolidated – the one with which Varvaria received the invasion of Avars and arrival of Slavs in the 7th century.

The various approaches to the construction of Varvaria's defense walls were a result of a lengthy period over which the building, extensions and repairs had taken place due to changing historical circumstances. They are of a great importance for studying the defense fortifications in the Liburnian territory.

A segment of the Pre-Roman wall, the oldest known so far, was discovered on the southeastern side. It had been

19 M. Suić, 1980, 40: "Fifteen years ago (in 1965) I dated this phase of the (Late Antiquity) wall construction to the period after the Ostrogoths had been driven out of Dalmatia (at the Colloquium on Bribir, sp. Shp, p. 34). The analysis of the later strata and the finding of Justinian coins confirmed this opinion".



Slika 3. Dio najstarijega bedema desno od glavnih vrata
Figure 3. Part of the oldest wall, to the right from main gate

foto / photo: R. Sekso



Slika 4. Tehnika gradnje zapadnoga bedema
Figure 4. Technique used for construction of western wall

foto / photo: R. Sekso

da su gornja i donja površina ploča prirodne slojnice litice s koje su odlomljene, pa ih nije trebalo posebno obrađivati. Velike dimenzije i težina ploča dugih i širokih povremeno i preko 1 m, a debljine oko 0,20 m osiguravale su čvrstoću konstrukcije. Zidnu ispunu čini krš pomiješan s bogatim slojem žute gline.

Arhaičnost u gradnji zapadnoga bedema upućuje na zaključak da je gradnja monumentalnih bedema u megalitskoj tehnici vjerojatno počela na tom dijelu sjeverno od zapadnih gradskih vrata, čemu u prilog ide i rješavanje ulaza sa zavojitim propugnakulom (Sl. 3) uz obod strme litice, što je tipična gradinska koncepcija.²⁰ Na tom traktu, počevši od ruba zida na kojem se nalaze bočna vrata, na vanjskoj me lici vidljivi su ogromni blokovi, čija su lica bez bunje, s trbuhom *a baule*, kako ih Lugli naziva, teški i nekoliko tona, različitih oblika, kvadratnih, trapezoidnih i poligonalnih, kojima je međuprostor popunjen tamponima (Sl. 4). Blokovi su složeni bez tendencije vodoravnoga uslojavanja te po tipologiji i klasifikaciji²¹ pripadaju starijoj razvojnoj fazi ove tehnike.²²

Prigodom slaganja koristila se glina za njihovo međusobno povezivanje. Unutarnje lice građeno je nešto manjim blokovima, a između njih podignuta su tri reda kosih zidova koji se naslanjaju jedan na drugi (Sl. 5). Za prednje lice kosih zidova upotrijebljeno je veće kamenje povezano žbukom, a ispunu čini manje gotovo neoblikovano kamenje. Širina prvoga kosog (zida) segmenta ispune uz vanjsko lice jest 1,30 cm, a ostalih dvaju oko 1 m, što ukupno iznosi

in use until a new one was built (Fig. 2). The 8.90-meter-long remnants of that wall can be seen, with an interruption, stretching from the nymphaeum pool (the water reservoir system) south of the eastern town gate and further to the north under the foundation level line of the Roman house located north of the eastern gate, which, together with the nymphaeum, probably flanked the main *decumanus* that used to stretch toward the middle of Glavica, connecting the eastern and western gates. The upper surface of a 2.90-meter-wide wall has been discovered. The wall extends around 15 meters from the line of the Roman wall and is almost parallel with it. It is made of a hard local limestone, and so are the blocks of the Early Roman walls. The slabs are chiseled on the front side only; laterally they are not dressed at all because, in a quarry, they would be knocked off the cliff in such way that their upper and lower surfaces would be the natural contour lines of the cliff, thus not requiring special dressing. The large dimensions and weight of the slabs – sometimes they would exceed one meter in length and width and would be 0.2 meters thick – ensured the strength of the structure. The masonry infill consists of demolition fragments mixed with a rich layer of yellow clay.

The archaic style of the western wall indicates that the megalithic technique in the construction of monumental walls was probably first used on that part, north of the western gate. Evidence to it is also the entrance, which was executed with a sinuous *propugnaculum* (Fig. 3) along the rim of a steep cliff – a typical hill-fort concept.²⁰ Starting from the edge of the wall where the lateral gate is, on the

20 B. Bačić, 1970, 215 i dr.

21 G. Lugli, 1957, I, 169, II, Tab. XXXTV – XLVIII.

22 M. Suić, 2000, 37: „Nećemo pogriješiti ako ovaj trakt bibrirskih utvrda promatramo kao najstariji primjer gradnje u megalitskoj tehnici na tlu Liburnije.“

20 B. Bačić, 1970, 215 and on.



Slika 5. Ispuna zapadnoga bedema

Figure 5. Filling of western wall

foto / photo: R. Sekso

oko 3,30 m. Uporaba gline i način podizanja bedema, gdje su se između vanjskoga i unutarnjega lica postavljala tri reda kosih konstrukcija koje se međusobno naslanjaju jedna na drugu dajući čvrstoću konstrukciji, datira iz ranijega razdoblja i vjerojatno je tekovina starih liburnskih suhozidnih sustava rađenih od lomljenoga kamena prilagođena novoj tehnici gradnje.²³ Ova manira u gradnji upućuje na to da je na sličan način moglo biti građeno najranije gradinsko utvrđenje Bribira.

Zapadni bedem lomi se pod pravim kutom i potom nastavlja tvoreći dio bedema sačuvanoga u dužini od 11 m, na kojem se nalaze bočna gradska vrata. Širina mu je znatno manja (1,30 m), a primijenjena je i potpuno drugačija tehnika gradnje. Na mjestu loma bedema primjećuje se težnja vertikalnoj pravilnosti, a blokovi kojima su građena lica toga segmenta značajno su manji, uži (duguljastiji), pravilnije klesani, pliće izbočenosti i s tendencijom horizontalnoga uslojavanja, što upućuje na kasniju gradnju prigodom koje je oblikovan (adaptiran?) ulaz u grad. Kada se gleda od dna prema vrhu, može se uočiti smanjivanje visine pojedinih blokova. Bedem je prekinut prilazom vratima širokim 3,80 m i nastavlja se do litice. Zavojiti propugnakul na glavnom zapadnom ulazu, koji je nasljeđe prapovijesnih gradina, ima bočni prilaz, podijeljen je na dva uža prostora, vanjski (ispred vrata) i unutrašnji (iza vrata),²⁴ između kojih su bila gradska vrata široka oko 3 m, a uvučena 2 m od ruba. Prag gradskih vrata nije očuvan, osim dvaju segmenata koji su služili za fiksiranje vratnica, od kojih se pruža glavna komunikacija s podnicom u živoj stijeni.

23 M. Suić, 1968, 28-32; 1980, 27.

24 M. Suić, 1980, 37, v. crtež koji pokazuje rekonstrukciju propugnakula.



Slika 6. Temeljna struktura (željeznodobni bedem?)

Figure 6. Foundation structure (Iron Age wall?)

foto / photo: R. Sekso

face of this tract we can see huge blocks without bosses, a *baule*, as Lugli calls it, weighing up to a few tons; they are of square, trapezoid and polygonal shapes and the space between them is filled with sub-bases (Fig. 4). The blocks are not laid with a horizontal layering tendency like the ones that, by their typology and classification²¹, belong to the older developmental phase of this technique.²²

Clay was used as mortar between them when they were laid. Somewhat smaller blocks were used for the inner face. Three rows of slanting walls, supported by each other, were erected between them (Fig. 5). Larger stones joined together by plaster were used for the front face of the slanting walls and the filling is made of smaller, almost unshaped stones. The width of the first slanting (wall) segment of the filling adjacent to the outer face is 130cm and of the other two segments 100cm each, totaling approx. 330cm. The use of clay and the pattern of the walls – with three rows of slanting structures erected between the outer and inner faces, supporting each other and thus increasing the strength of the overall structure – are dated to the earlier periods and are probably an example of the old Liburnian drywall systems made of crushed stone and adapted to the new building technique.²³ This type of construction indicates that Bribir's earliest hill-fort could have been built in a similar way.

The western wall turns at a right angle and then goes on, forming part of the 11-meter-long wall containing the lateral town gate. Its width is substantially smaller (1.3m) and a completely different building technique was used.

21 G. Lugli, 1957, I, 169, II, Tab. XXXTV-XLVIII.

22 M. Suić, 2000, 37: "It would not be a mistake to consider this tract of Bribir's fortifications the oldest example of megalithic construction in Liburnia".

23 M. Suić, 1968, 28-32; 1980, 37.



Slika 7. Lom na sjevernome dijelu bedema

Figure 7. Turn on the northern part of the wall

foto / photo: R. Sekso

62 Od zapadnoga ulaza nastavljala se gradnja uglavnom po liniji postojećega gradskog perimetra sa sjeverne, sjeveroistočne, istočne i jugoistočne strane, pri čemu se uklanjao stari bedem. Duži trakt toga bedema izgrađen je na liniji starijega, osim dijela od istočnih vrata prema jugu. Na nekim dijelovima, osobito na skretanju zapadnoga prema sjevernom traktu, vidi se u nižim slojevima kamenje iz ranijega bedema, koje se može protumačiti kao ostatak starijega željeznodobnog bedema ili sekundarno upotrijebljen materijal za gradnju temeljne strukture novoga antičkog bedema (Sl. 6).

Sjeverni dio bedema u pravcu istoka najslabije je očuvan, a neki su segmenti u cijelosti urušeni. Na mjestu skretanja prema istoku došlo je do izmicanja zida u defenzivne svrhe (Sl. 7). S unutarnje strane najoštećenijega dijela, a paralelno s njim, nalazi se struktura koju je moguće protumačiti kao stariji željeznodobni bedem koji je prethodio megalitskom. Između njih je u jednome dijelu vidljiva konstrukcija u suhozidu koja je pregradama povezana s unutarnjim licem megalitskoga bedema.

Bedemi s istočne i jugoistočne strane (Sl. 8) uži su od zapadnoga i širina im iznosi oko 2,50 m. Pokazuju potpuno drugačiju tehniku gradnje. Uočljivo je vodoravno uslojavanje blokova koji su pravilnije, izduženije forme, s tendencijom smanjivanja visine blokova gledajući od temelja prema vrhu. Na licu je blokova bunja plića, finija, a na bridovima se primjećuje anatroza. U donjim i srednjim dijelovima bedema bunje su srednje veličine, a odnos je širine i visine 1 : 2,3.

Razlika u odnosu na zapadni potez vidljiva je i na primjeru rješavanja istočnoga ulaza (Sl. 9a–b), koji je smješten frontalno, a linija je bedema izmaknuta, tako da istureni desni zid ima ulogu bočne kule. Na ovome ulazu širokom oko 1,30 m vidi se nekoliko faza gradnje. U prvoj fazi od ulaza vode tri komunikacije, od kojih dvije uz gradski bedem, a

Where the wall makes its turn, a tendency to a vertical symmetry can be seen and the blocks used for the face of this segment are significantly smaller, narrower (more elongated), more symmetrically cut, less protruding and horizontally layered. This indicates a later period of construction during which the entrance to the town was shaped (adapted?). When observed from the bottom to the top of the wall, the height of individual blocks decreases. Interrupted with a 3.80-meter-wide gate access, the wall continues to the cliff. The sinuous propugnaculum on the main western gate – a legacy of prehistoric hill-forts – has a lateral access and is divided into two narrow areas: the outer (in front of the gate) and the inner one (behind the gate).²⁴ Between them used to be a 3-meter-wide gate, retracted two meters from the edge. The town gate threshold has not been preserved, except for the two segments that were used for fixing the doorframe from which the main communication with a solid rock floor stretches.

From the western entrance on, the construction of the wall continued mostly along the line of the existing town perimeter on northern, northeastern, eastern and southeastern sides; the old wall was simultaneously removed. The longer tract of the wall was built along the line of the older one, with the exception of the part stretching southward from the eastern gate. On some parts, particularly where the western tract turns to the northern tract, stones from the earlier wall can be seen in the lower layers. They can be interpreted as a remnant of an older, Iron Age wall, or as a secondary material for the foundation structure of the new wall, built in antiquity (Fig. 6).

The northern part of the wall, stretching eastward, is the least preserved; some of its segments have caved in completely. The wall was shifted for defense purposes at the point where it makes an eastward turn (Fig. 7). Parallel with it, inside the most damaged section, there is a structure that could be interpreted as an older, Iron Age wall that preceded the megalithic one. Between them can be seen a drywall structure. Partitions connect it with the inner face of the megalithic wall.

The walls on the eastern and southeastern sides (Fig. 8) are narrower than the western wall, their width being approx. 2.50 meters. Clearly, a completely different building technique was used for them. The blocks are layered horizontally; they are more symmetrical and elongated and their height tends to decrease from the bottom to the top of the wall. The bosses on block faces are finer and less pronounced and anathyrosis can be seen on the edges. The bosses in the lower and middle sections of the wall are of medium size, with the width – height ratio of 1:2.3.

24 M. Suić, 1980, 37, see the figure showing the reconstruction of the propugnaculum.



Slika 8. Istočni trakt

Figure 8. Eastern tract

foto / photo: R. Sekso

jedna je glavna uzdužna gradska komunikacija koja vodi prema zapadnim vratima. U sljedećoj fazi izgradnja nimfeja mijenja postojeću situaciju tako što lijevi pravac preuzima funkciju ulaza u nimfej. Intervencija koja vjerojatno nastaje u 5. i 6. st. negira funkciju vrata, zatvaraju se centralni prolaz i prolaz koji vodi desno od vrata ostavljajući lijevi kao pristup rezervoaru za vodu. Uz bedem južno i sjeverno od vrata naknadno su bili dograđeni potpornjaci i kula desno od vrata s vanjske strane ulaza. Zadnja faza bila bi u 13. i 14. st., kada se uz oštećeni bedem s unutarnje strane, lijevo od vrata podiže četvrtasta kula.

Na potezu od istočnih vrata u smjeru sjevera nalaze se još dva ulaza, jedan su vrata nešto uža od glavnih, otprilike 1,10 m široka, koja su naknadno zazidana, a drugi je koso postavljen propust širok 0,80 m. Oba su ulaza građena istom tehnikom kao i glavna istočna vrata. Blokovi su im s fino obrađenim rubovima pravilno uslojeni, što upućuje na istovremenost gradnje. Na spomenutom potezu uz bedem su dograđeni kasnoantički kontrafori široki oko

Another difference compared to the western wall is the way the eastern gate was executed (Fig. 9a-b). The gate is positioned frontally and the line of the wall is retracted, so that the protruding wall on the right-hand side functions as a lateral tower. Several phases of construction can be seen on this 1.30-meter-wide gate. The first phase includes three communications: two of them lead along the town walls and one is the longitudinal thoroughfare leading to the western gate. In the second phase a nymphaeum was built, converting the left-hand communication into the entrance to the nymphaeum. The modifications that probably took place in the 5th and 6th centuries neutralized the function of the gate, shutting off the central and right-hand gateways and leaving the left-hand one as an access to the water reservoir. Buttresses and a tower on the right-hand outer side of the gate were added subsequently along the wall, to the south and north from the gate. The last phase includes the construction of a square tower inside the damaged wall and to the left of the gate in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Two more entrances are located to the north of the eastern gate: one is approx. 1.10 meters wide (somewhat narrower than the main gate and bricked up later on) and the other is a diagonally positioned narrow entrance (0.8m



Slika 9 a-b. Istočni ulaz
Figure 9 a-b. Eastern gate

foto / photo: R. Sekso

1,50 m, istureni u odnosu na vanjsko lice 2,20 m. Na većem dijelu ove dogradnje uočava se kasnija intervencija u kojoj se ti potpornjaci povezuju sa zidom građenim od manjega nepravilnijeg kamena sлагanog bez tendencije horizontalnoga uslojavanja. Zid postavljen paralelno s bedemom u kombinaciji s kontraforima čini svojevrsne džepove (Sl. 10a–b), a mogao bi se pripisati obnovi bedema nakon odlaska Istočnih Gota iz Dalmacije u vrijeme cara Justinijana.

Na temelju svega prethodno navedenog mogu se diferencirati faze u izgradnji fortifikacija Varvarije, počevši od pretpostavljene pretpovijesne gradine početkom starijega željeznog doba koja je postojala na tom mjestu, na što upućuju nalazi, ali koja nije potvrđena ostatcima bedema. Daljnji razvoj može se pratiti na segmentu predrimskog bedema građenoga velikim izduženim pločama kojima je ispunjena krš obilato povezan glinom, a čiji se duktus većim dijelom poklapao s kasnijim rimskim. Slijedi faza gradnje u megalitskoj tehnici rustičkih bunja s gradskim vratima, za koju Suić drži da je započela u vrijeme Cezara na zapadnome traktu, a dovršena je za Tiberijeve vladavine na istočnome i jugoistočnome traktu, što on datira natpisom s Tiberijevim imenom, koji uzima kao *terminus post quem non* za izgradnju bedema u ovoj fazi. Suić konačno dovršenje čitavoga bedema, dugačkoga preko 400 m, na temelju natpisa s imenom Tiberija datira u 23. g. po. Kr., pa bi po njemu izgradnja bedema Varvarije trajala oko osamdeset godina, što bi bio raspon života dviju generacija. Materijalom, oblikom, dimenzijama i obradom blok na kojem je natpis odgovara tipu jedne rustičke bunje. Od takvih su blokova bili su izgrađeni jugoistočni bedemi, što ga navodi na zaključak da je spomenik bio ugrađen u zidni plašt s vanjske strane zidina na visini od oko 1,70 m. Upozorava na analogije s natpisom posvećenim Marku Aureliju zidanom u bedeme Salone te s onima u bedemu antičkoga



(wide). Both entrances were built using the same technique as the main eastern gate. Their blocks with finely worked edges are layered evenly, which indicates they were built at the same time. Late-Antiquity counterforts, approx. 1.5 meters wide and jutting out of the outer face for 2.2 meters, were added to that section of the wall. A subsequent intervention can be seen along large part of this extension, connecting these buttresses with a wall made of smaller, asymmetrical stones with no horizontal layering tendency. This wall is parallel with the town wall and, combined with the counterforts, forms pockets of a sort (Fig. 10a-b). It was probably built during the reconstruction of the defense walls after the Ostrogoths had left Dalmatia during Emperor Justinian's reign.

All of the above said helps us identify the phases of the construction of Varvaria's fortifications, starting with the prehistoric hill-fort from the beginning of Early Iron Age (the existence of which is indicated by finds but not confirmed by remnants of walls). Further development can be reconstructed on the segment of the pre-Roman wall made of large, elongated slabs with filling rich with clay, the line of which largely coincided with the later, Roman wall. Then followed the phase of megalithic technique characterized by rustic bosses, when the town gate was built. According to Suić, it began during Caesar's reign on the western tract and was completed during Tiberius' reign on the eastern and southeastern tracts. Suić dates it on the basis of the name of the latter, contained in an inscription, using it as *terminus post quem non* for the construction of the walls in this phase. As regards the final completion of the entire 400-meter-long wall, Suić dates it back to 23 AD based on the inscription with Tiberius' name. In that case, the construction of Varvaria's walls would have lasted for around eighty years, spanning two generations. By its material, shape, size and dressing, the block with the inscription corresponds to the type of the rustic boss the southeastern walls were made of. This makes Suić conclude that that the monument was embedded in the outer face of the walls, approx. 1.70 meters high. He draws attention to



Slika 10 a-b. Potpornjaci povezani zidom
 Figure 10 a-b. Buttresses connected with a wall
 foto / photo: R. Sekso

Zadra s natpisom posvećenim Augustu i drugim blokom s natpisom prenesenim u Veronu te Tiberijevim natpisom iz Argirunta.²⁵ Uzevši u obzir sve dosad navedno teško je prihvatiti njegovu tezu. Zapadni trakt, građen nepravilnim megalitskim blokovima s ispunom koju čine koso postavljene zidovi čija širina iznosi 3,40 m značajno se razlikuje od ostatka bedema kako u tehnici tako i u širini. Stoga je teško održiva ideja da je cijeli potez dug oko 400 m građen u istome zamahu. Dio od sjeveroistočnoga bedema prema jugoistoku, koji je danas urušen, predstavlja granicu na kojoj se spajaju ova dva dijela. Moguće je da se noviji trakt prema jugoistoku gradio, kako pretpostavlja Suić, od Cezarova do Tiberijeva vremena, ali zapadni, koji se značajno razlikuje, nastao je kao rezultat sinteze iskustava naslijeđenih od gradinskih naselja s novim bedemima nastalim pod grčkim utjecajem. On pokazuje odlike svojstvene bedemima starijega podrijetla koji su se na području Liburnije počeli podizati vjerojatno krajem 3. st. pr. Kr. da bi vrhunac doživjeli u 2. i 1. st. pr. Kr.²⁶ Ukoliko se promatra bedem u cijelosti, očigledno je da je spomenuti urušeni dio, na kojem se spajaju ova dva trakta, slaba defenzivna točka s obzirom na prirodne uvjete jer je mjesto prekida kontinuiteta iz više faza, uključujući i današnju izrazito lošu očuvanost.

Obnova bedema nakon odlaska Istočnih Gota iz Dalmacije u vrijeme cara Justinijana predstavljala bi novu fazu koja se manifestirala podizanjem zida kojim su se povezali kontrafori građeni u jednoj fazi koja je prethodila ovoj, a za koju je teško dati vremensko određenje s obzirom na nedostatak bilo kakvih nalaza koji bi mogli



the analogies with the inscription dedicated to Marcus Aurelius embedded in the walls of Salona, the blocks in the walls of ancient Iader with an inscription dedicated to Augustus, another inscribed block taken to Verona, Italy and the Tiberius' inscription from Argiruntum.²⁵ Considering all the above, Suić's thesis is hard to accept. The western tract, made of asymmetrical megalithic blocks and with a filling consisting of diagonal, 3.40-meter-wide walls, significantly differs from the rest of the walls both in the technique used and in its width. Thus, the idea that the entire 400-meter-long section was built at the same time seems hardly tenable. The part leading from the northeastern wall to southeast, now caved in, is the boundary where these two parts come together. It is possible that the newer tract that leads to the southeast was – as Suić supposes – built between Caesar's and Tiberius' reigns, but the western tract (which is substantially different) was built as a synthesis of the experience inherited from hill-fort settlements and the later experience, gained under Greek influence. It shows characteristics inherent to the older walls that were introduced to Liburnia probably at the end of the 3rd century BC and culminated in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.²⁶ When defense walls are observed as a whole, it is clear that the abovementioned caved-in part where the two tracts meet is a weak spot in terms of defense in the given natural conditions, representing a discontinuity from several phases, including the very poor state of preservation it is in today.

The reconstruction of the walls during the reign of Emperor Justinian, after the Ostrogoths had left Dalmatia, would constitute a new phase, manifested in the construction of a new wall that connected the counterforts built in an earlier phase which is hard to date due to lack of finds that would support it. The adaptation of the antiquity walls during the reign of the House of Šubić in the 13th and 14th

25 M. Suić, 1980, 36.

26 A. Faber, 1976, 244 predlaže listu lokaliteta s megalitskim fortifikacijama, na kojoj svrstava Varvariju u fazu III – II (3. st. pr. Kr.) i u fazu IV (1. st. pr. Kr.).

25 M. Suić, 1980, 36.

26 A. Faber, 1976, 244 proposes a list of sites with megalithic fortifications and classifies Varvaria in phases III – II (3rd century BC) and IV (1st century BC) of the list.

potvrditi pretpostavku o dataciji. Završna intervencija bila bi adaptacija postojećih antičkih bedema u vrijeme Šubića u 13. i 14. st., kada se gradila kula kod istočnih vrata.

3. FRAGMENT VOJNIČKE STELE IZ ARHEOLOŠKOGA MUZEJA U ZADRU

Gornji dio stele koji se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru (inv. br. A27599) dosad nije objavljen.²⁷ Pronašao ga je fra Lujo Marun koji je u svome *Starinarskom dnevniku*²⁸ napisao da je pronađen pokraj starinskoga puta pod Bribirom u jednoj gomili i da taj vršak jedne rimske „stela“ predstavlja jednog stojećeg vojnika u desnici držeć dugo koplje, a u lijevoj velik jajast štiti, dok za pasom ima zadiven nož. Također navodi da je 4. 10. 1910. g. u istoj gomili pronađeno nekoliko ornamentalnih kamenih ulomaka koji vjerojatno pripadaju istoj steli i kojima je kasnije nestao trag.

Na nadgrobni stelama istočne jadranske obale ljudski je lik dominantan motiv koji se pojavljuje u raznim varijacijama. Uglavnom je riječ o polufiguri pokojnika²⁹ uz kojega mogu biti jedan ili više članova obitelji. Figura može biti presječena u visini struka, ali može biti i nešto iznad visine struka, što je uobičajeno za kasnije primjerke,³⁰ ili pak iznad koljena.³¹ Primjerci su sjedeće figure izrazito rijetki,³² kao i figura pokojnika u punoj visini. Figure u punoj visini uobičajene su i omiljene u ostatku rimskoga svijeta,³³ a kod nas su pronađene u relativno malome broju,³⁴ pa su izuzetno važne za proučavanje kiparske produkcije u priobalnome dijelu rimske provincije Dalmacije.

Fragment stele nađene u Bribiru (Sl. 11) izrađen je od domaćega vapnenca, a predstavlja gornji dio stele kojoj donji kraj s natpisom nije sačuvan, a ima trokutasti zabatni završetak, oštećen na gotovo svim stranama. Ovaj ostatak mjeri najveću visinu od 50 cm, širinu od 60 cm, a najveća debljina, koja je zbog oštećenja neujednačena, iznosi 22 cm. Oko kosih krajeva zabatnoga trokuta nalazio se vegetabilni ornament širok 8 cm, vidljiv na dijelu lijeve strane, koja je jedina neoštećena, linijom odvojen od vanjskoga profila koji kao ravna traka uokviruje zabat. Koji je biljni

centuries, when the tower at the eastern gate was built, can be considered the final intervention on the walls.

3. A FRAGMENT OF A MILITARY STELA FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM ZADAR

The upper part of the stela kept in the Archaeological Museum Zadar (item No. A27599) has not been published yet.²⁷ Its founder, father Lujo Marun, made a note in his diary (*Starinarski dnevnik*)²⁸ that he had found it in a pile by an ancient road underneath Bribir and that it was a tip of a Roman stela [which] depicts a standing soldier with a long spear in his right hand, a large, egg-shaped shield in his left hand and with a knife stuck in his belt. He also mentions that several ornamental stone fragments, probably belonging to the same stela, were found in the same pile on 4 October, 1910 but disappeared without a trace.

A human figure in a number of variations is a dominant motif on the grave stelae of Eastern Adriatic. Usually it is a semi-figure of a deceased person²⁹ which is sometimes accompanied by the figures of one or more family members. A figure can be cut at the waist or a bit above the waist (the latter being typical for later specimens)³⁰ or above the knees.³¹ The specimens depicting seated figures are very rare,³² same as those with figures in full height. While the figures in full height were common and popular in the rest of the Roman world,³³ in Dalmatia they are found in relatively small numbers,³⁴ which makes them very important for studying the sculpture production in the coastal parts of the Roman province of Dalmatia.

The fragment of the Bribir stela (Fig. 11) was made of a local limestone. It is the upper part of the stela (the lower part with an inscription is missing) with a triangular gable damaged on almost all sides. The remnant is 50cm high and 60cm wide. Its thickness varies because of the damage, never exceeding 22cm. An ornament with a plant motif, 8cm wide, edged the slanting sides of the triangular gable. Its remnants can be seen on part of the left side, the only undamaged one. A line separates the ornament from

27 Zahvaljujući ljubaznosti ravnatelja Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru S. Gluščevića, u ovaj sam rad mogla uključiti navedenu stelu.

28 L. Marun o tome je pisao u *Starinarskim dnevnicima* pod datumom 24. 9. 1910., v. izdanje MHAS-a 1998 (ur. M. Petrinec), 200.

29 R. Tufi, 1971, 145.

30 R. Tufi, 1971, tab. VII, 2, 3, 4 i dalje.

31 R. Tufi, 1971, 99, tab. V, 3.

32 D. Rendić Miočević, 1954 – 1957, 158, sl. 1; tab. XIV.

33 M. C. Bishop – J. C. N. Coulston, 2006, 11 i 12 prikaz stojeće figure vezuju za početak 1. st.; navode da nastaje u sjevernoj Italiji odakle se širi prema sjeveru. Osim stojeće figure vojnika, prikazuje se i konjanik, a od 82 takve stele koje su sačuvane u Britaniji i u području Rajne više od polovice prikazuje pripadnike konjice pomoćnih postrojbi.

34 N. Cambi, 1987/88, 93-114. Cambi je obradio četiri takve stele i usput spominje stelu Lupe iz Sovića u Hercegovini; D. Maršić, 2008, 63-74 obradio je stelu s prikazom rimskoga *signifera* u punoj visini i u punoj ratnoj opremi, koju je obrađivao i Cambi; B. Migotti, 2009, 155-171 donosi analizu ikonografije i formalne tipologije kao temelj za datiranje stele iz Lobora.

27 I was able to include the stela in this paper through the courtesy of S. Gluščević, the director of Archaeological Museum Zadar.

28 L. Marun made an entry about it in his *Starinarski dnevnik* under 24 September, 1910, see MHAS edition 1998, (edited by M. Petrinec), 200.

29 R. Tufi, 1971, 145.

30 R. Tufi, 1971, Table VII, 2, 3, 4 and on.

31 R. Tufi 1971, 99, Table V, 3.

32 D. Rendić Miočević, 1954-57, 158, Figure 1; Table XIV.

33 M. C. Bishop – J. C. N. Coulston, 2006, 11 i 12; They date the depictions of standing figures back to the early 1st century AD, specifying that their production started in Northern Italy, from where it expanded to the north. Besides standing figures, equestrian figures are also depicted. Of the 82 such stelae preserved in Great Britain and the Rhine region, more than half depict members of the cavalry of auxiliary units.

34 N. Cambi, 1987/88, 93-114. Cambi, who analyzed four such stelae, mentions the stela from Sović (Bosnia-Herzegovina) depicting a Roman girl named Lupa; D. Maršić, 2008, 63-74, analyzed the stela depicting a Roman *signifer* in full height and fully accoutred, also analyzed by Cambi; B. Migotti, 2009, 155-171, analyzes the iconography and formal typology as a basis for dating the stela from Lobor.



Slika 11. Dio stele s prikazom vojnika
Figure 11. Part of stela depicting soldier

foto / photo: R. Sekso

motiv poslužio kao dekoracija, teško je reći zbog velike izlizanosti površine, ali na mjestima se vide tragovi svrdla koji govore u prilog bogatijoj profilaciji i plastičnosti.

U središnjem polju prikazan je rimski vojnik u ratnoj opremi. Površina je poprilično oštećena, pa je teže definirati detalje. Vojnik stoji uspravno s paralelno postavljenim nogama na četvrtastom visokom podestu koji zauzima petinu ukupne visine prikaza. Podest je horizontalnom linijom vizualno podijeljen na dva dijela od kojih je gornji lagano udubljen. Na sebi nosi samo tuniku ovalnoga ovratnika koja je relativno uska, tako da se ne vide nabori, vjerojatno zbog oštećenja površine, kao ni rub na nadlaktici desne ruke. Dosta je kratka, doseže visinu do polovice bedara, ravnoga je ruba na kojem se primjećuje lagana valovitost nabora. Stopala su potpuno uništena, pa je teško govoriti o obući. Struk je opasan remenom *cingulum militare* za kojim je zataknut bodež na lijevome boku, od kojega se vidi samo balčak. Naglašena jabučica na kraju rukohvata i početak oštrice podsjećaju na kratki bodež *gladius hispaniensis*³⁵ tipa Mainz i Fulham³⁶ ili *pugio* Mainz-Weisenau, koji su bili uobičajeni dio opreme *aquilifera*.

U lijevoj ruci nosi veliki elipsoidni štit *scutum*, kojem je donji rub zašiljen,³⁷ a na prednjoj strani nazire se znatno oštećena metalna dekoracija. Štit mu pokriva gotovo cijelu lijevu polovicu tijela od ramena do koljena, skrivajući desnu ruku koja ga drži. Ovalni štit s istaknutim *umbom* bio je uobičajeni dio opreme vojnika pomoćnih postrojbi i konjice. Desna mu je ruka oštro savijena i drži štap koji je donjim rubom naslonjen na kraj podesta i lagano se naginje prema zabatnoj plohi čineći prikaz prostornijim.

the outer profile that frames the gable as a straight band. While the substantially worn out condition of the surface makes it hard to identify the plant motif that was used as a decoration, occasional traces of a stone drill suggest it was a well-defined and graphical ornament.

The central field portrays a fully accoutred Roman soldier. The details are hard to discern because the surface is quite damaged. The soldier stands upright, with his feet resting in parallel on a high square pedestal that accounts for a fifth of the overall height of the portrayal. A horizontal line divides the pedestal in two parts, the upper one being slightly recessed. He wears only a tunic with an oval collar. The tunic is relatively narrow and folds cannot be seen, same as the edge of the right upper arm, probably because the surface is damaged. The tunic is also rather short, mid-thigh-length. It has a straight edge on which slightly wavy creases can be seen. The feet are completely destroyed so we can only speculate about the footwear. He has a *cingulum militare* belt around his waist, with a dagger stuck in it on the left hip. Only the dagger's hilt can be seen. Its pronounced pommel at the end of the handle and the beginning of the blade remind on the short *gladius hispaniensis*³⁵ dagger of Mainz and Fulham³⁶ type or a Mainz-Weisenau *pugio*. Both were common elements of an *aquilifer's* equipment.

In his left hand the soldier holds a *scutum* – a large, ellipsoidal shield with a pointed lower edge.³⁷ Very damaged metal decoration can be seen on the front side of it. The shield covers almost entire left half of his body – from the shoulders to the knees – hiding the right arm that holds it. An oval shield with a pronounced *umbo* was a regular part of the equipment of the members of auxiliary units and cavalry. The sharply bent right arm holds a stick leaning against the edge of the pedestal and slightly inclining toward the gable surface, thus making the portrayal more spatial. The upper part of the stick reaches as far as the mid portion of the deceased person's face. Although the top of the stick is very damaged, the vaguely discernable contours indicate that a pair of spread wings could have been on its end.

A large portion of the head and face is missing and the details of the physiognomy on the remaining part are worn out (Fig. 12). On the chin on the preserved left part of the face we can make out a sharp concave line that reminds of the

35 Vidjeti još crteže u: Bishop & Coulston, 2006, 84.

36 URL: www.britishmuseum.org

37 Štit sa zašiljenim vrhom bio je dio opreme ranocarskoga razdoblja, v. M. C. Bishop – J. C. N Coulston, 2006, 48 i 49.

35 See also the drawings in: Bishop & Coulston, 2006, 84.

36 www.britishmuseum.org

37 The shield with a pointed top was part of the equipment in the early imperial period, see: M. C. Bishop – J. C. N Coulston, 2006, 48 and 49.



U gornjem dijelu štapa doseže visinu do polovice lica pokojnika. Zbog izrazito velikoga oštećenja teško je tvrditi kakav je završetak, ali se nazire forma koja bi se mogla protumačiti kao raširena krila.

Zbog izlzanosti i odlomljene velike površine glave i lica (Sl. 12) nestali su detalji fizionomije, a na očuvanoj lijevoj strani lica vidi se brada na kojoj se nazire oštra konkavna linija koja podsjeća na gornji rub obrazine kacige koju možemo dalje pratiti gotovo do vrha glave. Na dijelu za koji se može pretpostaviti da je kaciga zamjećuju se paralelni nabori koji su previše precizni da bi ih se moglo okarakterizirati kao kosu. Nabori se nižu prema vrhu glave, gdje se zamjećuje ovalni oblik koji strši u odnosu na vanjsku liniju glave (kacige?). Navedeni elementi impliciraju postojanje kacige koja ima formu stilizirane kose tipa Weiler (Sl. 13a–b),³⁸ ali zbog maloga formata lika, kojem je visina svega 38 cm, i izlzanosti to se ne može sa sigurnošću tvrditi.

Razina podloge na kojoj se nalazi vojnik lagano je uzdignuta na lijevoj polovici, počevši od štapa prema lijevoj strani, pa je autor na taj način uspio dočarati perspektivu



Slika 12. Fragment glave
Figure 12 Fragment of head

foto / photo: R. Sekso

upper edge of a helmet's cheek piece. The line can be traced almost all the way to the top of the head. The parallel creases visible on what is supposedly the helmet are too precise to represent the hair. The creases extend toward the top of the head, where an oval shape sticks out from the outer contour of the head (helmet?). The said elements suggest a Weiler-type helmet in the form of stylized hair (Fig. 13a-b),³⁸ but the small format of the figure (only 38cm high) and its worn-out condition prevent us from determining it with certainty.

The left half of the pedestal the soldier stands on is slightly elevated between the stick and the left edge. The author has thus managed to conjure up the perspective and emphasize the plasticity created by a darker shadow. If we analyze the figure's shape, we can notice certain disproportion in parts of its body, particularly the head, legs and feet. The fact that the figure is stylized to an extent does not impair the sharpness and quality of the work.

As only the upper part of the stela has been preserved, we can say it belongs to the type characterized by a gable the lateral slanting sides of which are framed with a plant-motif decoration. The question of the field with an inscription

38 H. Russell Robinson, 1975, 56 i dr., 126 i dr. detaljno je obradio i klasificirao tipove kaciga. Unatoč određenim nedosljednostima njegovu se knjiga često koristi kao izvor. Prema Russelu, to je Weiler tip iz Xantena, Tiberian - 50 AD Hagenau (late), Coolus, tip E-I, Weisenau podtip Guttman, Imperial Gallic C-F, Imperial Italic A-B, namijenjen posebno za konjicu pomoćnih postrojbi, sa ili bez maske.

38 H. Russell Robinson, 1975, 56 and on, 126 and on, analyzed the types of helmets in detail and classified them. Despite certain inconsistencies, his book is often used as a source. According to Russell, it is the Weiler type from Xanten, Tiberian - 50 AD Hagenau (late), Coolus, type E-I, Weisenau sub-type Guttman, Imperial Gallic C-F, Imperial Italic A-B, intended specially for the cavalry of auxiliary units, with or without a mask.



Slika 13a. Weiler tip iz Xantena
Figure 13a. Weiler type from Xanten

preuzeto sa / from: www.romancoins.info/MilitaryEquipment-Helmet-Weiler-Niederermoerter.html

i naglašeniju plastičnost uzrokovanu tamnijom sjenom. Analizirajući oblikovanje lika može se uočiti određena disproporcionalnost gledajući dijelove tijela, osobito glave, nogu i stopala, pa iako je prisutna određena doza stilizacije, ona ne umanjuje finoću obrade i kvalitetu rada.

Kako je sačuvan samo gornji dio spomenika, može se govoriti o tipu stele sa zabatnim završetkom uokvirenim na bočnim, kosim stranama vegetabilnom dekoracijom. Pitanje natpisnoga polja ostaje otvoreno. Uspoređujući



Slika 13b. Rekonstrukcija kacige
Figure 13b. Helmet (reconstruction)

preuzeto sa / from: westernleathercraft.com.au/shop/historical-re-enactment-goods/armor/1st-century-roman-cavalry-helmet-embossed.html

remains open. By comparing it with the similar specimens found in the western parts of the Empire,³⁹ we can speculate that the inscription was probably in a separate field located underneath the relief figure in the lost lower part that was made of the same stone slab (because the preserved fragment contains no traces of an intervention indicating that a separate segment was affixed to it). All the above mentioned examples originate from the middle and second half of the 1st century AD and the most common motif on such stelae is a cavalry unit member or a standard bearer (signifer).⁴⁰ If the Bribir stela is compared to them, a great similarity in the proportions and the summary way of figure carving can be seen. The parallel juxtaposition of the figure and flat background, within a frame not edged with architectural elements (and

³⁹ Some of the examples for drawing a comparison: *Rufus Sita* (RIB 121) – a Roman soldier of the Thracian VI COH from the mid-1st century AD; *Dannicus* (RIB 108) from the 1st century AD – a soldier of the Ala Indiana; *Lucius Duccius Rufinus* (RIB 673), 71– 120 AD; *Caecilius Avitus* (RIB 492) – a soldier of LEGIO XX *Valeria Victrix*.

⁴⁰ See also: CIL XIII 08094 *Vellaunus*; CIL XIII 8079 *Quintus Petilius Secundus*; CIL XIII 07684 *Firmus*; CIL XIII 8095 *Vonatorix*; CIL XIII 07507 *Annaius Daverzus*; CIL XIII 8308 *Titus Flavius Bassus*; CIL 13.6901 *Gnaeus Musius*; CIL XIII 8090 *Pintaius*; CIL XIII 07574 – a soldier of *Aquae Mattiacorum*; CIL XIII 7574 C. *Valerius*; CIL XIII 06911 C. *Valerius Secundus*.



ovaj primjerak sa sličnima u zapadnim dijelovima Carstva³⁹ natpis se vjerojatno nalazio u posebnome polju smještenom ispod reljefnoga prikaza u donjem izgubljenom dijelu koji je bio izrađen od istoga komada kamena jer na postojećem fragmentu nema tragova intervencije koja bi upućivala na spajanje dvaju odvojenih segmenata. Svi navedeni primjeri vezuju se za 1. st. (sredina i druga polovica stoljeća), a najčešći je motiv ovakvih stela vojnik konjaničke jedinice ili nositelj obilježja svoje postrojbe – *signifer*.⁴⁰ Ukoliko se napravi paralela sa stelom iz Bribira, primjećuje se velika sličnost koja se očituje kako u proporcijama tako i u sumarnome načinu obrade likova. Postava lika paralelno s ravnom pozadinom u okvir koji nije arhitektonskim elementima uokviren, a zabatno polje čini dio plohe na kojoj su postavljeni likovi, pokazuje sličnost s prikazima figura konjanika, posebno Danikusa (RIB 108), što se može provjeriti ukoliko se napravi idealna rekonstrukcija gornjega dijela stela (Sl. 14).

Kod prikaza stojeće figure javljaju se dvije varijante; jedna je oblikovanje niše s arhitektonskim okvirom u koju

Slika 14. Rekonstrukcija vrška stela
Figure 14. Stela top (reconstruction)

with the gable field constituting part of the plane on which figures are depicted), shows similarity with the equestrian figures, Danicus (RIB 108) in particular. It could be verified if an ideal reconstruction of the stela's upper part were made (Fig. 14).

There are two sub-types of standing figure portrayals: one has an architectural framework around the niche in which a figure is depicted and the other lacks lateral architectural decoration. The field with a figure can end in various ways: as an interrupted gable, as a vaulted part of the niche or as an architrave.⁴¹ In the case of the Bribir stela, such a gable form could be yet another sub-type based on the regional or ethnic background of the deceased person.

The accoutrements of the figures are telltale signs of the duties they performed in their units. The Bribir stela soldier has a short tunic and large oval shield, as well as – supposedly – a decorated helmet on his head (Fig. 15). He holds a stick the upper end of which cannot be identified because the stela is damaged. The barely visible form could represent the remnants of an eagle, but it may also indicate a spear. This part of the stela is too damaged to conclude what were the duties the soldier performed. The helmet – supposedly of the Weiler type⁴² – was common in the cavalry units in the 1st century AD. This could help us identify the unit the deceased soldier belonged to.⁴³ This type of helmet was worn by Titus Flavius Bassus and C. Romanus Capito, members of *Ala Noricorum*,⁴⁴ and the dagger's hilt and shield on both stelae look very much like their Bribir counterparts (Fig. 16a-b). Based on an analysis of the equipment characteristic for cavalry, the deceased could have belonged to one of the two units stationed in this area, in Burnum. Those were *Ala I Hispanorum* and *Cohors III Alpinorum*.

The Hispanic *ala*, mentioned in the context of army camp builders,⁴⁵ left for Mesia⁴⁶ after its deployment in Burnum. Expert literature does not define the number of units behind the epithets attached to its name. At any rate, it was one of the *alas* that had taken part in the suppression of the Panonian – Dalmatian uprising. Its arrival is dated back to the beginning of Tiberius' reign and its departure

39 Neki od primjera s kojima se može napraviti paralela: *Rufus Sita* (RIB 121) rimski vojnik VI COH Tračana iz sredine 1. st., *Dannicus* (RIB 108), iz 1. st. vojnik ala Indiana, *Lucius Duccius Rufinus* (RIB 673), 71. – 120. g., *Caecilius Avitus* (RIB 492), vojnik LEGIO XX *Valeria Victrix*.

40 Vidjeti još: CIL XIII 08094 *Vellaunus*; CIL XIII 8079 *Quintus Petilius Secundus*; CIL XIII 07684 *Firmus*; CIL XIII 8095 *Vonatorix*; CIL XIII 07507 *Annaius Daverzus*; CIL XIII 8308 *Titus Flavius Bassus*; CIL 13.6901 *Gnaeus Musius*; CIL XIII 8090 *Pintaius*; CIL XIII 07574 vojnik iz *Aquae Mattiacorum*; CIL XIII 7574 *C. Valerius*; CIL XIII 06911 *C. Valerius Secundus*.

41 W. Selzer, 1988, 155 (*Genialis*) and G. Sumner, 1997, 56 (*Caius Valerius Crispus*).

42 J. Nicolay, 2007, 16 and 17.

43 J. Nicolay, 2007, 16, specifies that the helmets of this type were replaced in the early 2nd century AD with the stronger *Niederbieber* type (Type G), made of iron.

44 M. C. Bishop – J. C. N. Coulston, 2006, 13 and 104.

45 N. Cambi *et alii*, 2007, 3-60.

46 This *ala* probably moved to Panonia after 42 AD. This can be concluded on the basis of the diploma of 2 July, 62 AD, mentioning two I Hispanic *alas* (*I Hispanorum et Aravacorum* and *I Hispanorum Auriana*).

Slika 15. Prizor s Trajanove kolumne

Figure 15. Scene from Trajan's column

preuzeto sa / from: www.trajans-column.org/?page_id=107

se smješta lik, a druga je bez bočne arhitektonske dekoracije. Završetak polja s prikazom figure javlja se u više varijanta: kao prekinuti zabat, nadsvođeni dio niše i arhitrav.⁴¹ U slučaju bribirske stele ovakva zabatna forma mogla bi biti još jedna inačica uvjetovana regionalnim ili nacionalnim određenjem pokojnika.

Likovi nose obilježja prema kojima se lako prepoznaje njihova funkcija u postrojbi. Vojnik na steli iz Bribira nosi kratku tuniku i veliki ovalni štit; na glavi se može pretpostaviti dekorirana kaciga (Sl. 15). U ruci drži štap kojemu se zbog oštećenja stele ne može utvrditi završetak. Nazire se forma koja bi mogla biti ostatak figure orla, ali nije isključeno da je riječ o koplju. Oštećenje je prisutno u tolikoj mjeri da nije moguće dati siguran zaključak koju je funkciju obnašao. Pretpostavljena kaciga tipa Weiler⁴² uobičajena je za konjaničke postrojbe u 1. stoljeću, što bi moglo pomoći u određivanju vojne pripadnosti pokojnika.⁴³ Kacigu ovoga tipa nosili su *Titus Flavius Bassus* i *C. Romanus Capito*, pripadnici *Ale Noricorum*,⁴⁴ a balčak bodeža i štit, prikazani na objema stelama, pokazuju veliku sličnost s istima iz Bribira (Sl. 16a–b). Na ovome području u Burnumu boravile su dvije postrojbe kojima bi pokojnik mogao pripadati na temelju analize opreme koja je karakteristična za konjaničke postrojbe. To su *Ala I Hispanorum* i *Cohors III Alpinorum*.

Ala Hispanaca spominje se u kontekstu graditelja logora⁴⁵ te nakon boravka u Burnumu odlazi u Meziju.⁴⁶ U znanstvenoj literaturi nije definiran broj postrojbi iz epiteta koji se vezuju uz njezino ime. Ona je u svakom slučaju bila jedna od onih koje su sudjelovale u gušenju panonsko-delmatskoga ustanka. Njezin dolazak vezuje se za početak Tiberijeve vladavine. Iza 42. g. odlazi u *Aquincum*. Prisutnost joj je dokumentirana na steli konjanika Imeriksa koja se čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru.⁴⁷ Navedena je stela atipična, potpuno drugačije kompozicijski koncipirana od one iz Bribira, jer je lik konjanika umetnut u natpisno polje. Bez obzira na razliku u organizaciji stele, vojna oprema (oružje, kaciga i veliki štit nešto drugačije forme od onog s Bribira, što nije neobičajeno jer su oba tipa bila istovremeno u uporabi) svojstvena je konjaničkim postrojbama s početka 1. st. u



for *Aquincum* after 42 AD. Its deployment in these parts is documented on the stela of cavalryman Imerix, kept in Archeological Museum Zadar.⁴⁷ That stela is atypical because its composition is very different from the one from Bribir: the equestrian figure is shown in the inscription field. Despite the different arrangement of the stelae, the military equipment – weapons, a helmet and large shield of somewhat different form than the one from Bribir (which is not unusual because both types were in use at the same time) – is typical for the cavalry units in the early 1st century Germania, from where *Ala I Hispanorum* came.⁴⁸ This indicates that the soldier on the stela could have been a member of this unit.

Alternatively, the soldier from the stela could have belonged to the Alpine cohort that came to relieve the *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria*. The presence of its squads is documented in the soldiers' inscriptions in Kapitel near Knin, Scardona and Kadina Glavica. Its headquarters was in Burnum, from where it was sent to Humac near Ljubuški around 70 AD.⁴⁹ A number of monuments dedicated to soldiers were found in Humac and its surroundings (Harodomilje). Of those, two stelae depicting equestrian figures, described by Patsch,⁵⁰ are of interest for this problem. One is dedicated to Tiberius Claudius Ligomaris, a cavalryman of the III Alpine cohort, and the other one lacks its inscription field. When these two stelae are analytically compared with the one from Bribir, certain similarity can be noticed in their size, stylization of the figures and flatness of the portrayals. The figures are in parallel juxtaposition with the

41 W. Selzer, 1988, 155 (*Genialis*) i G. Sumner, 1997, 56 (*Caius Valerius Crispus*).

42 J. Nicolay, 2007, 16 i 17.

43 J. Nicolay, 2007, 16 navodi da su kacige ovoga tipa početkom 2. st. zamijenjene čvršćim željeznim *Niederbieber* tipom (Type G).

44 M. C. Bishop – J. C. N. Coulston, 2006, 13 i 104.

45 N. Cambi *et al.*, 2007, 3–60.

46 Ova ala vjerojatno nakon 42. g. odlazi u Panoniju, što se da zaključiti na temelju diplome od 2. srpnja 61. g., na kojoj se spominju dvije I. hispanске ale (*I. Hispanorum et Aravacorum* i *I. Hispanorum Auriana*).

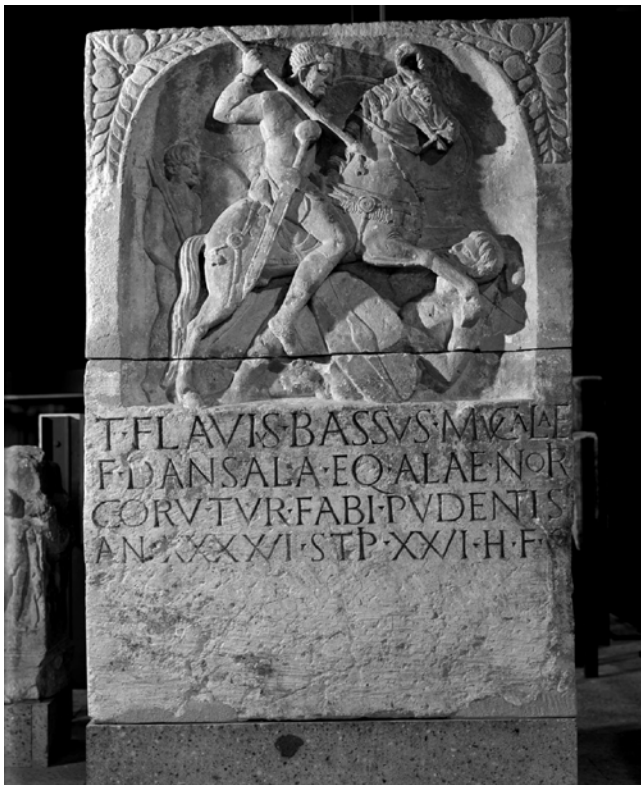
47 N. Cambi *et al.*, 2007, 24.

47 N. Cambi *et alii*, 2007, 24.

48 The unit was deployed in Germania during the early Principate, as was recorded on two CIL XIII 7026–7.

49 N. Cambi *et alii*, 2007, 28 and 29.

50 C. Patsch, 1914, 163 and 166.



Slika 16a. Titus Flavius Bassus

Figure 16a. Titus Flavius Bassus

preuzeto sa / from: www.bildindex.de/obj20392385.html#home

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Germaniji, odakle je došla *Ala I Hispanorum*,⁴⁸ što ukazuje na moguću pripadnost vojnika prikazana na steli ovoj postrojbi.

Druga postojba kojoj bi mogao pripadati vojnik sa stele jest kohorta Alpinaca koja zamjenjuje kohortu Kiresta. Prisutnost njezinih odjeljenja dokumentirana je natpisima vojnika u Kapitulu kod Knina, Skardoni i Kadinoj Glavici, a zapovjedno je središte bilo u Burnumu, odakle su bili prebačeni u Humac kod Ljubuškoga oko 70. g.⁴⁹ U Humcu i njegovoj okolini (Hardomilje) pronađeno je više spomenika posvećenih vojnicima, od kojih su za ovaj problem zanimljive dvije stele s prikazom konjanika o kojima piše Patsch.⁵⁰ Jedna je posvećena Tiberiju Klaudiju Ligomarisu (*Tiberius Claudius Ligomaris*), konjaniku III. kohorte Alpinaca, a drugoj nije sačuvano natpisno polje. Ukoliko se izvrši paralelna analiza ovih dviju stela s onom iz Bribira, primjećuje se izvjesna sličnost, počevši od dimenzija stele, zatim u stilizaciji figura i plošnosti samoga prikaza. Likovi su paralelno postavljeni u odnosu na ravnu podlogu, tijela su im sličnih proporcija, pomalo nezgrapna, a dijelovi opreme

flat base, their bodies are of similar proportions, somewhat ungainly, and parts of their equipment are also the same. Not much can be said about Tiberius Ligomaris' accoutrement because the stela is damaged; only a short sword stuck in the belt can be seen. The horseman on the second Hadromilje stela has an elongated shield, short sword and spiked helmet with a cheek piece,⁵¹ which largely corresponds to the accoutrements of the Bribir soldier. While it is a different type of stela because it depicts a soldier with a different military function, it could belong to the same period and the soldier could belong to the same unit. Since the inscription field has not been preserved, it is hard to say to which of the proposed units could belong the depicted soldier who stands with such a confidence, holding the symbols of his duties. However, we can assume the time span in which he served: between the middle of the first half of the 1st century AD and 70 AD.

With their size and flatness of their figures, two stelae from *Aquincum* from the late 1st or early 2nd century AD, each with a standing figure⁵² – one depicting Castricius Victor and the other Marcus Lucillius Germanus – follow a pattern similar to the one of the Bribir stela, the only difference being a finer portrayal with more details, owing either to a later period or to a better stone-carver.

All the stelae with full-height depictions of deceased persons analyzed so far were made for soldiers because it was an ideal form for portraying parts of military accoutrements, mostly stuck in the belt. Also, by presenting the whole figure of a deceased person, their military function can be shown. H. Hoffmann, who studied military stelae throughout Illyricum and the neighboring provinces, classified those with full figures as of the "Greek type".⁵³ It is partly correct if the origin of this type is kept in mind: such stelae developed from the archaic Greek stelae which spread across the Roman Empire, although the mechanism of their expansion is still unknown.⁵⁴ When analyzing the specimens in western regions, we can see that stelae with full figures are rather common, spanning across Italy,⁵⁵ Gaul,⁵⁶ Germania,⁵⁷ the Danube Basin⁵⁸ and other regions. Hoffmann also claims that this type of stelae started spreading in the late 2nd century, but this is hardly correct if we take into account all the above said.

Cambi and Maršić also offer a different timeframe when it comes to the beginnings of the "stelae with complete human figures". Both authors wrote about the Epidaurus stela portraying a signifer, mentioned in

48 Na području Germanije ova je postrojba operirala za vrijeme ranoga principata, što je zabilježeno na dva natpisa CIL XIII 7026-7.

49 N. Cambi *et al.*, 2007, 28 i 29.

50 C. Patsch, 1914, 163 i 166.

51 C. Patsch, 1914, 141-221.

52 www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.

53 H. Hoffmann, 1905, 72.

54 N. Cambi, 1988, 106.

55 G. A. Mansuelli, 1963, 34, 368.

56 F. Braemer, 1959, 51 and on.

57 R. Weynard, 1902, 221.

58 H. Hoffmann, 1905, 68 and on.

također su zajednički. O opremi Tiberijusa Ligomarisa ne može se puno toga reći jer je stela jako oštećena, vidi se samo kratki mač o pojasu. Konjanik na drugoj steli iz Har-domilja nosi duguljasti štit, kratki mač i kacigu s obrazinom i šiljkom na vrhu,⁵¹ što se velikim dijelom poklapa s opremom vojnika iz Bribira. Ne može se govoriti o istome tipu stele, jer nije prikazana ista vojna funkcija, već o mogućnosti pripadnosti istoj postrojbi ili vremenske razdoblju. Kako nije sačuvano natpisno polje, teško je reći kojoj je od predloženih postrojbi mogao pripadati prikazani vojnik koji samouvjerenom stoji držeći obilježja svoje vojne službe, ali moguće je pretpostaviti vremenski okvir u rasponu od sredine prve polovice 1. st. do 70. g.

Dvije stele s prikazom stojeće figure iz *Aquincuma*⁵² – jedna koja prikazuje Kastričija Viktora (*Castricius Victor*), a druga Markusa Lucilija Germana (*Marcus Lucillius Germanus*) s kraja 1. st. ili početka 2. st. – svojim dimenzijama i plošnom postavom lika slijede obrazac sličan onomu na steli iz Bribira, s razlikom što je obrada finija, s više detalja, što se može pripisati kasnijem razdoblju ili kvalitetnijem majstoru.

Sve dosad obrađene stele s prikazom pokojnika u cijeloj visini pripadale su vojnicima, jer je to idealna forma za prikazivanje vojničkih atributa, koji su velikim dijelom obješeni o pojas. Nadalje, prikazivanjem cijele figure može se precizirati funkcija dotičnoga pokojnika. H. Hoffmann proučavao je vojničke stele na širem području Ilirika i susjednih provincija te je one s cijelom figurom uvrstio u „grčki tip“,⁵³ što je dijelom točno ukoliko se misli na genezu ovoga tipa koji svoje podrijetlo vuče od grčkih arhajskih stela, koje su se proširile po cijelom Rimskom Carstvu, iako je mehanizam širenja još uvijek nepoznat.⁵⁴ Analizirajući primjerke u zapadnim krajevima, stela s cijelom figurom dosta je česta u sjevernoj Italiji,⁵⁵ Galiji,⁵⁶ Germaniji,⁵⁷ Podunavlju⁵⁸ i ostalim krajevima. Hoffmann nadalje navodi da se ovaj tip stela širio od kraja 2. st., što bi se teško moglo prihvatiti kao ispravno ukoliko se uzme u obzir sve dosad navedeno.

Cambi i Maršić o nastanku „stela s čitavom ljudskom figurom“ također navode drugačiji vremenski okvir. Oba autora pisala su o steli s prikazom *signifera* iz Epidaura spomenutoj na početku rada, koju su na temelju analize svih relevantnih elemenata smjestili u ranije razdoblje, Cambi oko sredine ili u drugu polovicu 2. st.,⁵⁹ a Maršić nešto ranije, kraj 1. ili početak 2. st.⁶⁰



Slika 16b. C. Romanius Capito

Figure 16b. C. Romanius Capito

preuzeto sa / from: https://farm8.staticflickr.com/7206/6963274095_aa73d3436b_o.jpg

the beginning of this paper. Based on an analysis of all the relevant elements, they dated it to an earlier period: Cambi to the mid-2nd century or its second half⁵⁹ and Maršić to the late 1st century or early 2nd century.⁶⁰

In Cambi's opinion, portrayals of whole human figures were used neither by the members of larger army units serving or having been detached to Dalmatia in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD nor by the members of smaller units serving there at the same time or immediately after their departure.⁶¹ However, the example of the Imerix's stela

51 C. Patsch, 1914, 141-221.

52 URL: www.ubi-erat-lupa.org.

53 H. Hoffmann, 1905, 72.

54 N. Cambi, 1988, 106.

55 G. A. Mansuelli, 1963, 34, 368.

56 F. Braemer, 1959, 51 i dr.

57 R. Weynard, 1902, 221.

58 H. Hoffmann, 1905, 68 i dr.

59 N. Cambi, 1988, 104 i dr.

60 D. Maršić, 2008, 67. i dr.

59 N. Cambi, 1988, 104 and on.

60 D. Maršić, 2008, 67 and on.

61 N. Cambi, 1988, 111.

Cambi smatra da prikaz čitave ljudske figure nisu koristili pripadnici većih vojnih jedinica koje su služile ili bile detaširane u Dalmaciji u 1. i 2. st., ali ni članovi manjih jedinica koje su služile u isto vrijeme ili neposredno nakon njihova odlaska,⁶¹ što opovrgava stela Imeriksa (*Imerix*) iz Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru, koja, iako mala formatom, prikazuje cijelu figuru konjanika ale Hispanaca. Cambi navodi da su se ovakve stele izrađivale u razdoblju od stotinjak godina, između sredine 2. st. i nešto nakon sredine 3. st., no ako uzmemo u obzir gore navedene primjere i spomenutoga *signifera* iz Epidaura, moguće je spustiti granicu u drugu polovicu 1. st., što ide u prilog datiranju *signifera* u razdoblje koje predlaže Maršić. Stela iz Bribira u svakom bi se slučaju, na temelju usporedne analize s primjercima koji su spomenuti u prethodnome tekstu, također mogla smjestiti u predloženi vremenski okvir, sredinu ili početak druge polovice 1. st.

4. NATPIS S IMENOM CARA VESPAZIJANA

Broj je latinskih natpisa koji potječu iz Varvarije malen, pa je fragment kamenoga bloka s natpisom o kojem će biti riječi u ovome radu mali doprinos poznavanju ovoga grada iz antičkoga razdoblja. Dosad je pronađeno više uglavnom votivnih natpisa, od kojih je osobito značajan onaj posvećen caru Tiberiju, o kojem je pisao Suić, a koji je pronađen na mjesnom groblju na Glavici. Bio je vjerojatno podignut u povodu važnijega događaja, na što upućuje sadržaj natpisa, a zauzimao je prostor jednoga kamenog bloka na vanjskome licu zidnoga plašta.⁶²

Fragment koji je predmet ovoga rada CIL III 10179 jedini spominje L. Marun u svojim *Starinarskim dnevnicima*, (Dne, 2. 11.1907. god.)⁶³ gdje navodi okolnosti nalaza: „kod kuće G. Miloševića ... pred vratima sam opazio ulomak monumentalnog nadpisa, odnosna caru Vespasianu. Ovaj da je donesen pred 20 godina iz točila što je kod vrela Bribirštnice ... Nagađaju seljani, što bi moglo biti – da se je u neko doba skotrljao s glavice Bribira. Za to mislim da je spomenik mogao stati nad zapadnim vratima Bribira, te iza porušenja istih dolje se skotrljao.“ U daljnjem tekstu (dne 24. 9. 1908.) piše da je išao kod braće Milošević po Vespazijanov natpis, koji oni nisu donijeli u muzej, kako je dogovoreno, već su ga oštetili i od njega napravili kamenicu za stupanje ječma. Ističe također da su slova uništena.

Provjeravanjem podataka o ovome kamenom ulomku nije pronađen trag istom u Kninskome muzeju u Kninu, Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru i Muzeju hrvat-

from Archaeological Museum Zadar refutes this opinion: although of a smaller format, it portrays the whole figure of a cavalryman of the Hispanic ala. Cambi states that such stelae were made over a period of around 100 years, from the mid-2nd century to some time after the mid-3rd century, but if we take into account the above mentioned examples and the Epidaurus signifer, we could date them further back to the second half of the 1st century. This would correspond with Maršić's dating of the signifer. In any case, based on a comparative analysis with the specimens mentioned above, the Bribir stela could also be dated to the proposed timeframe – the mid-1st century or the beginning of its second half.

4. INSCRIPTION WITH EMPEROR VESPASIAN'S NAME

Since there are not many Latin inscriptions from Varvaria, the fragment of a stone block with the inscription studied in this paper is a modest contribution toward better understanding of Varvaria of the antiquity. Of a number of inscriptions found so far – mostly votive ones – particularly important is the one dedicated to Emperor Tiberius, found on the local cemetery in Glavica and studied by Suić. It probably marked some important event as indicates the content of the inscription. It was made on a stone block embedded in the outer face of the wall.⁶²

So far, the fragment discussed here (CIL III 10179) has only been mentioned by L. Marun in his diary (*Starinarski dnevnic* – under 2 November, 1907).⁶³ In it he gives details about his find: “Near the house of G. Milošević... next to the door I spotted a fragment of a monument with an inscription dedicated to Emperor Vespasian. Allegedly, it was brought here 20 years ago from near the spring of the Bribirštnica... The villagers' guess is that it rolled down from the hilltop above Bribir. This is why I think the monument could have stood above Bribir's western gate. After the gate had been torn down, it rolled down to the village”. Further in the text (under 24 September, 1908) he says that he returned to the Milošević brothers to collect the Vespasian's inscription since they had failed to bring it to the museum as had been agreed, but it turned out they had damaged it and made a mortar for grinding barley. The inscription was destroyed.

In order to verify Marun's information, a search for the stone fragment or any related records took place in the Museum of Knin, Zadar Archaeological Museum and Split Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments but nothing was found.

The stone block fragment (made of white mudstone, according to Marun) was very damaged and its original

61 N. Cambi, 1988, 111.

62 M. Suić, 1968, 32.

63 Marun je o tome pisao u *Starinarskim dnevnicima* pod datumima 2. 11. 1907. i 24. 9. 1908., v. izdanje MHAS-a 1998 (ur. M. Petrincec), 154 i 171.

62 M. Suić, 1968, 32.

63 Marun made entries about it in his diary (*Starinarski dnevnic*) under 2 November, 1907 and 24 September, 1908, see MHAS edition 1998, (edited by M. Petrincec), 154 and 171.

Slika 17. Natpis kako ga je nacrtao u Starinarskim dnevnicima L. Marun

Figure 17. Inscription as drawn by L. Marun in his diary (Starinarski dnevnic)

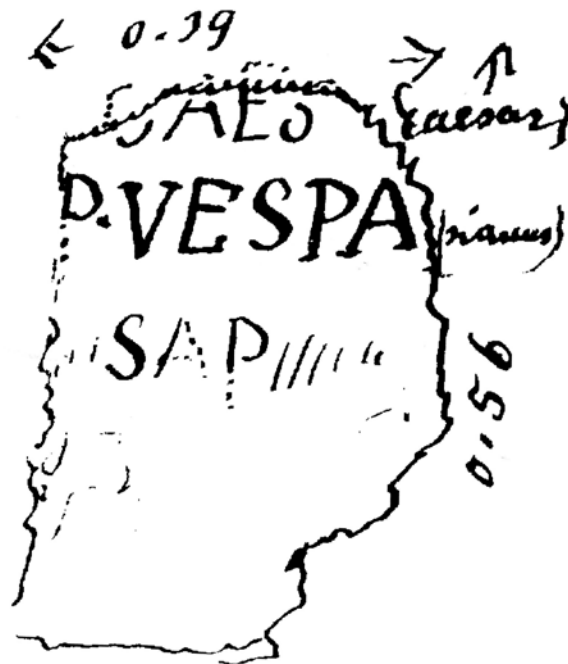
skih arheoloških spomenika u Splitu, što bi potvrdilo podatak koji je naveo Marun.

Ovaj komad kamenoga bloka (bijeli muljikavac, prema navodu Maruna) bio je veoma oštećen te je teško utvrditi njegov izvorni oblik i veličinu. Prema pisanju Maruna navodim dimenzije očuvanoga dijela: visina mu je bila 0,56 m, širina 0,39 m, a debljina 0,40 m. Način registriranja dimenzija upućuje na četvrtasti oblik (vjerojatno kvadra), tim više što pretpostavlja da je stajao poviše vrata. Teško je na temelju crteža govoriti o površini prednjega lica i obradi rubova, što bi bio dragocjen podatak za utvrđivanje njegove funkcije.

Natpis je bio veoma slabo sačuvan (Sl. 17), vidjela su se tri retka, za koja bi se na temelju crteža u kojem se Marun trudio što vjernije prenijeti oblik slova moglo pretpostaviti da su bili ispisani (isklesani) kapitalom. Marun navodi veličinu slova 10 x 8 cm, što se odnosi na drugi redak, u kojem su slova potpuno očuvana, a na temelju crteža vidljivo je da su slova u zadnjem, trećem retku manje veličine. U prvome retku naziru se donji dijelovi slova koja bi se mogla protumačiti kao CAES (*caesar*). Drugi redak ima samo dio slova koji bi mogao biti gornji dio slova P u riječi IMP, nakon čega slijedi VESPA. Kako nedostaje završetak, teško je govoriti o padežu. U trećem retku, prema Marunovu crtežu, nalaze se tri slova koja je on prepoznao kao SAP.

U CILu III zabilježen je kao miljokaz „10179 *columna rotunda rep prope Bribir ad rivum Bribiršnica iuxta aedes Milošević, titulus miliarius videtur esse imperatoris Vespasiani viae Salonis lader*“ na temelju podataka preuzetih od: Ljubić *Viestnik* 12 p. 99 a *Roca praeceptore Stankovciensi descriptam*. U gore navedenom časopisu, koji je poslužio kao izvor, Ljubić piše o tom fragmentu: „pod kućom Milošević Pavla imade prilično okruglo u vrhu manjkav *stećak*: visok je 0,57, a 'promjer' mu je 0,36 i 0,40. Na njem je *položita ploha* i na ovoj *nadpis* iz rimske dobe. Natpis je sasvim manjkav, stučen; samo 3 slova sačuvana su pocielo. Slova su velika 0,07, a brazda od brazde udaljena je 0,05. Dokoturao ga Milošević Nikola Pavlov s pok. bratom Božom iz Orlović-strane odakle Bribiršnica izvire. A sad evo *nadpisa*:

//////////
////////AE////
///P VESPA/// (pa, dosta pokvareno).
////////SAP//////// (sap?, jedva čitljivo).“



shape and size are hard to establish. I quote here the size of the preserved fragment that Marun wrote down: it was 0.56m high, 0.39m wide and 0.40m thick. The dimensions imply a square block (probably a cuboid), all the more so because he supposes it stood above the gate. Although the details of the front face surface and dressing of the edges would be of great importance for establishing its purpose, it is hard to speculate about them on the basis of the drawing.

The inscription was in a very poor condition (Fig. 17), with only three visible lines. Marun tried to duplicate the shape of the letters as best as possible. Based on his drawing, we can assume they were written (carved) as capitals. Referring to the second line, in which the letters were fully preserved, Marun states their size was 10x8cm. The drawing tells us the letters in the last line – the third one – were smaller. In the first line, the lower parts of the letters can be discerned. They could be interpreted as CAES (*Caesar*). The second line includes part of a letter that could be the “P” in the word IMP. It is followed by VESPA, but the ending is missing so it is hard to speculate about the case of the word. The third line in Marun’s drawing contains three letters that he recognized as SAP.

It was entered in CIL III as a milestone, “10179 *columna rotunda rep prope Bribir ad rivum Bribiršnica iuxta aedes Milošević, titulus miliarius videtur esse imperatoris Vespasiani viae Salonis lader*”, based on the data from: Ljubić *Viestnik* 12 p. 99 a *Roca praeceptore Stankovciensi descriptam*. In this periodical that served as a source, Ljubić writes about the fragment: “Under the house of Pavle Milošević there is a rather round tomb-stone with damaged top: its height is 0.57 and its ‘diameter’ is 0.36 and 0.40. It has one *položita* (flat?) surface with an inscription from the Roman period.

Nadalje piše da su natpisi o kojima govori, uključujući i ovaj s „drevnog *Bribira*, pošto *Orlović*-strana jest 'kosa', *Bribir*-gradine.“⁶⁴

U analizi teksta vjerojatno je došlo do krive interpretacije na temelju riječi *okruglo* jer iza nje slijedi *stećak* i navod dimenzija u kojima se za promjer koji je stavljen u navodnike donose dvije dimenzije. Daljnju zabunu donijela je riječ *položita* ploha, koja bi se trebala protumačiti kao ravna. Uporaba termina *poprilično okruglo* vjerojatno je rezultat temeljen na izgledu bloka koji je bio značajnije oštećen zbog kotrljanja.

Kako je već navedeno u prethodnome tekstu, Marun je pretpostavio njegovo mjesto poviše glavnih zapadnih vrata, što znači da nikako nije mogao imati valjkast oblik, kako je navedeno u CILu III. Usto, kamen na kojem je natpis s obzirom na svoju kvalitetu teško bi mogao biti upotrijebljen u tu svrhu. Da je navod u CILu III upitan, dodatno pokazuje veličina slova i pismo kojim su slova oblikovana, pa i njegovo uvrštavanje kao INCERTUM u CIL XVII/4 br. 34, str. 159.

Jedna logična pretpostavka u ovom slučaju mogla bi biti da je riječ o počasnome natpisu koji je podignut u čast cara Vespazijana, moguće povodom nekoga važnijeg događaja, što bi se moglo odnositi na adaptaciju dijela zapadnoga bedema, na kojem su glavna vrata i koji pokazuje značajno odstupanje od segmenta s kojim se spaja pod pravim kutom.

The inscription is incomplete and worn out; only 3 letters are completely preserved. The size of the letters is 0.07 and the spacing between the lines is 0.05. Pavle's son Nikola Milošević and his late brother Božo brought it by rolling it from the Orlović slope where the source of the Bribišnica is. And this is the inscription:

```

////////////////////
////////AE/////
///P VESPA/// (a "P", rather damaged).
////////SAP//////// (sap?, hardly legible)."

```

It also says that the inscriptions, including this one, are from the "ancient Bribir", since the Orlović slope is "the slope of the Bribir hill-fort".⁶⁴

When analyzing the above text we can come to the conclusion that it contains misinterpretations: the word "round" is followed by "tomb-stone" and two different values are given for the diameter (which is written under quotation marks). Further confusion was created by the word *položita* which should be interpreted as "flat". The expression "rather round" was probably used because the stone block must have been substantially damaged from rolling down the slope.

As said above, Marun presumed that the stone block was originally above the main western gate, which means it could not possibly have a cylindrical shape as stated in CIL III. Besides, given its quality, it is unlikely that the stone with the inscription would be used for such a purpose. The size and type of the letters throw additional doubt on the entry in CIL III and even on the entry INCERTUM in CIL XVII/4 No. 34, p. 159.

A logical assumption could be that it was an inscription erected to honor Emperor Vespasian, possibly marking some important event, such as adaptation of the part of the western defense wall that contains the main gate, because that part of the wall exhibits sharp departure from the segment with which it is connected at a right angle.

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