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VOTIVNA ARA IZ TILURIJA

VOTIVE ALTAR FROM TILURIUM

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U selu Gardunu povrh grada Trilja i tamošnjeg prijelaza preko rijeke Cetine u antičko se vrijeme nalazio rimski legijski logor Tilurij. O tome svjedoče brojni epigrafički spomenici i velika količina sitnog arheološkog materijala, uglavnom slučajni nalazi koji se čuvaju u razlicitim muzejima i privatnim zbirkama. Dio arheološkog materijala posjeduje i nekolicina mještana Garduna. Tako je primjerice učitelj Ante Kutleša u svrhu znanstvene obrade i objave i uz uvjet da se nakon toga materijal predala Muzeju Triljskog kraja u Trilju ustupio ulomak kamenog žrtvenika s ostacima natpisa, brončanu tuljastu sjekiru (kelt), ulomak stеле s ostacima natpisa i ulomke keramičke svjetiljke (lucerne). Ara je dosta oštećena tako da nedostaju prva slova u svim sačuvanim redovima natpisa. Unameć oštećenjima nova votivna ara iz Tilurija može se na osnovi ostatka natpisa i mjesta nalaza pripisati cohorte VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum i datirati u razdoblje kada je ta postrojba boravila u Tiluriju, odnosno u 2/3. stoljeće. Analiza natpisa upućuje na zaključak da je aru vrhovnom državnom bogu Jupiteru (Iovi Optimu Maximo) podigao centurion cohorte VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum porijekлом sa zapada ili iz sjeverne Italije.

Ključnerijeći: Gardun, Tilurium, ara, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum

In Classical Antiquity, the Roman legionary camp of Tilurium was located at the site of today's village of Gardun, overlooking the town of Trilj and the local crossing over the Cetina River. This is above all reflected in the numerous epigraphic monuments and a large quantity of smaller archaeological artifacts, which are mostly chance finds that have made their way to various museums and private collections. Several residents of Gardun also possess such archaeological items. For example, the teacher Ante Kutleša presented four items to the author of this text: a fragment of a stone altar with the remains of an inscription, a bronze socketed axe (kelt), a stella fragment with the remains of an inscription and fragments of a ceramic lamp (lucerne). These items were given for the purposes of scholarly analysis and publication provided that afterward they are bequeathed to the Municipal Museum in Trilj. The altar has been badly damaged, so that the first letters in all preserved lines are missing. Despite the damage, based on the remains of the inscription and the find site, the new votive altar from Tilurium can be attributed to the cohort VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum and dated to the period when this formation was posted in Tilurium, i.e. the second-third centuries. Based on the inscription analysis, one can conclude that this votive altar was dedicated to the supreme state deity Jupiter (Iovi

U selu Gardunu povrh grada Trilja i tamošnjeg prijelaza preko rijeke Cetine u antičko se vrijeme nalazio rimski legijski logor Tilurij. O tome prije svega svjedoče nadgrobni spomenici VII. legije koji već više od stotinu godina pune različite muzeje i zbirke, a neki su još danas uzidani u kuće na Gardunu. Na širem području Tilurija zabilježeno ih je čak 24 (Tončinić 2004: 173–174). Već je zarana zamijećeno da ni na jednom drugom nalazištu na području rimske provincije Dalmacije nije zabilježen toliki broj nadgrobnih spomenika aktivnih vojnika VII. legije kao na širem području Garduna. Iz toga je izведен zaključak da je ovdje morao biti stalni logor VII. legije za vrijeme njenog boravka u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji (Ritterling 1924–25: 1617–1618; Betz 1938: 8–9). Nije poznato kada je točno VII. legija došla u Dalmaciju, a samim time i na Gardun. Većina autora slaže se da je to moralno biti najkasnije tijekom delmatsko-panonskog ustanka – od 6. do 9. godine poslije Krista – ili neposredno nakon njega (Ritterling 1924–25: 1616; Wilkes 1969: 92–94; Zaninović 1996a: 284; Mitchell 1976: 303; Strobel 2000: 528). No, postoje i mišljenja da je legija došla mnogo ranije (Cuntz 1929: 75; Betz 1938: 14–17). Nije poznato ni točno vrijeme odlaska VII. legije iz rimske provincije Dalmacije, ali većina autora taj događaj datira u razdoblje oko sredine 1. stoljeća poslije Krista (Ritterling 1924–25: 1619; Betz 1938: 38; Strobel 2000: 528; Wilkes 1969: 96; Zaninović 1996a: 287). Nakon odlaska VII. legije u Tiluriju do 3. st. borave manje vojne postrojbe – natpisima su potvrđene *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* (CIL III 14934), *ala Claudia nova* (CIL III 9727 [2712]), *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana* (CIL III 9735), *cohors Aquitanorum* (CIL III 9760), *cohors I Belgarum* (CIL III 9739; Bull. Dalm. 26 [1903] 134), *cohors III Alpinorum* (CIL III 14935; Tončinić 2003: 266, br. 17), *cohors VIII voluntarium civium romanorum* (CIL III 9724 [2706]; CIL III 9732; CIL III 13187; CIL III 13975; CIL III 14336¹ [10182]; CIL III 14930; Bull. Dalm. 26 [1903] 129; VAHD 51 [1930–34] 225 i dalje). Uz brojne epigrafičke spomenike s područja Garduna potječe i velika količina sitnoga arheološkog materijala koji je također završio u različitim muzejima i zbirkama (Milošević 1998: 243–248), ali je samo dio tog materijala objavljen (Radman-Livaja 1998; Ivčević 2004). Sitan arheološki materijal posjeduje i nekolicina mještana Garduna (Bekić 1998). Sav taj arheološki materijal upućuje na značaj ovog nalazišta. No, iako je u više navrata naglašeno da je arheološko istraživanje legijskog logora Tilurija jedna od važnih zadaća budućih arheologa (Betz 1938: 8–9; Zaninović 1996a:

Optimo Maximo) by the centurion of the cohort VIII voluntarium civium Romanorum who was originally from the West or from the northern Italy.

Key words: Gardun, Tilurium, ara, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, cohors VIII Voluntarium civium Romanorum

In Classical Antiquity, the Roman legionary camp of Tilurium was located at the site of today's village of Gardun, overlooking the town of Trilj and the local crossing over the Cetina River. This is above all reflected in the grave monuments of the Seventh Legion, which have filled various museums and collections for over a hundred years, some of them even walled into houses in Gardun. In the wider Tilurium area there are 24 of these (Tončinić 2004: 173–174). It was noted early on that this number of grave monuments to active soldiers of the Seventh Legion were not registered at any other site in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia. This led to the conclusion that there must have been a permanent camp for the Seventh Legion here during its stay in the Roman province of Dalmatia (Ritterling 1924–25: 1617–1618; Betz 1938: 8–9). There is no knowledge of when precisely this Roman legion came to Dalmatia, nor to Gardun. Most authors agree that this must have occurred no later than during the Delmati-Pannonian revolt—from 6 to 9 AD—or immediately afterward (Ritterling 1924–25: 1616; Wilkes 1969: 92–94; Zaninović 1996a: 284; Mitchell 1976: 303; Strobel 2000: 528). There are, however, theories that the Legion came much earlier (Cuntz 1929: 75; Betz 1938: 14–17). There is likewise no precise data on when the Seventh Legion departed from the Roman province of Dalmatia, but most authors date this event during the period from approximately the mid-first century AD (Ritterling 1924–25: 1619; Betz 1938: 38; Strobel 2000: 528; Wilkes 1969: 96; Zaninović 1996a: 287). After the departure of the Seventh Legion, smaller military units resided in Tilurium until the third century; inscriptions confirmed *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* (CIL III 14934), *ala Claudia nova* (CIL III 9727 (2712)), *ala (Tungrorum) Frontoniana* (CIL III 9735), *cohors Aquitanorum* (CIL III 9760), *cohors I Belgarum* (CIL III 9739; Bull. Dalm. 26 (1903) 134), *cohors III Alpinorum* (CIL III 14935; Tončinić 2003: 266, no. 17), *cohors VIII voluntarium civium romanorum* (CIL III 9724 (2706); CIL III 9732; CIL III 13187; CIL III 13975; CIL III 14336¹ (10182); CIL III 14930; Bull. Dalm. 26 (1903) 129; VAHD 51 (1930–34) 225 and so on). Besides the numerous epigraphic monuments, the territory of Gardun has also produced a large quantity of smaller archeological artifacts

¹ Ovom prilikom zahvaljujem učitelju Anti Kutleši na ustupljennim nalazima.

¹ I would like to take this opportunity to thank Ante Kutleša for making these items available.

285), ono je započelo tek 1997. godine. Odsjek za arheologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu odonda provodi sustavna arheološka istraživanja u Tiluriju (Sanader 2002; 2003; Sanader & Tončinić 2003; Sanader, Tončinić & Ožanić 2004).

Tijekom 2004. osme po redu sezone iskopavanja učitelj Ante Kutleša, za kojeg je od ranije poznato da posjeduje nekoliko predmeta koji su nađeni na Gardunu, izrazio je spremnost da predloži svoju zbirku. U tri navrata uručio je autoru ovih redaka ukupno četiri predmeta – ulomak kamenog žrtvenika s ostacima natpisa, brončanu tuljastu sjekiru (kelt), ulomak stele s ostacima natpisa i ulomke keramičke svjetiljke (lucerne). Predmeti su predani u svrhu znanstvene obrade i objave uz uvjet da se nakon toga predaju Muzeju Triljskog kraja u Trilju. Ovdje je objavljen ulomak kamenog žrtvenika s ostacima natpisa (**Tab. 1-2**), a ostali će predmeti biti objavljeni naknadno.

Žrtvenik je sačuvan u visini od 0,35 m; širina tijela iznosi 0,225 m, a debljina 0,2 m. Gornji kraj žrtvenika nije sačuvan. Od kruništa je na lijevoj i prednjoj strani sačuvana samo polukružna profilacija, a ispod nje i stepenasta profilacija kojom krunište prelazi u tijelo žrtvenika uže oko 4 cm. Desna je strana žrtvenika otucana tako da nedostaje spomenuta profilacija koja se izvorno sigurno nalazila i na ovoj strani. Za razliku od ostalih strana spomenika, na stražnjoj nije naznačen prijelaz između tijela i kruništa. Ona je izvedena u jednoj ravnini. Na stražnjoj i na bočnim stranama sačuvani su tragovi obrade kamena. Na prednjoj strani nalazi se natpis koji je izvorno vjerojatno zauzimao cijelu širinu žrtvenika. Desni je rub prednje strane otucan tako da nedostaju prva slova u svim sačuvanim redovima natpisa. Tri reda natpisa sačuvana su u izvornoj visini, a od četvrtog samo gornji dio. Donji kraj natpisa i spomenika nije sačuvan.

Natpis glasi:

[_] • O(ptimo) • M(aximo)
 [__] AICVS
 [__] N • COR
 [___] III V[__]

U četvrtom redu natpisa prepoznaju se tri vertikalne haste, slovo "v" i na kraju reda još jedna vertikalna hasta. Redovi natpisa omeđeni su dvjema平行 urezanim tankim linijama koje su međusobno udaljene 0,3 cm – 0,5 cm. Visina prvog reda natpisa iznosi gotovo 4,3 cm, drugog i trećeg 3,5 cm, a četvrti, koji nije u potpunosti sačuvan, vjerojatno je također bio visok 3,5 cm. Slova s minimalnim od-

which have also made their way to various museums and collections (Milošević 1998: 243–248), but only some of these artifacts have been published (Radman-Livaja 1998; Ivčević 2004). Several residents of Gardun also possess such small archeological items (Bekić 1998). All of this archeological material indicates the importance of this site. However, even though archeological research into the legionary camp of Tiluruim has been emphasized as one of the major tasks of future archeologists on many occasions (Betz 1938: 8–9; Zaninović 1996a: 285), such research only commenced in 1997. Since then, the Archeology Department of the Faculty of Arts and Letters in Zagreb has conducted systematic archeological research into Tilurium (Sanader 2003; Sanader 2002; Sanader/ Tončinić 2003; Sanader/ Tončinić/ Ožanić 2004).

During this year's eighth consecutive season of excavations, the teacher Ante Kutleša, who held several artifacts found in Gardun, expressed his willingness to present his collection. On three occasions he gave four items to this author: a fragment of a stone altar with the remains of an inscription, a bronze socketed axe (kelt), a stela fragment with the remains of an inscription and fragments of a ceramic lamp (lucerne). These items were given for the purposes of scholarly analysis and publication provided that afterward they are bequeathed to the Trilj Territorial Museum in Trilj. On this occasion the fragment of the altar bearing the remains of an inscription will be published (**Tab. 1-2**), while the remaining items will be published subsequently.

The altar has been preserved to a height of 0.35 m; the length of its body is 0.225 m, while its width is 0.2 m. The upper end of the altar has not been preserved. Of the **crenellation**, only a semi-circular profile has been preserved on the left and front side, while under it there is a step-like profile from which the **crenellation** merges into the body of the altar that is approximately 4 cm narrower. The right-hand side of the altar is chipped, so that the aforementioned profile, which certainly existed on this side as well, is missing. As opposed to the remaining sides of the altar, the transition from the **crenellation** to the body is not designated on the back. It is rendered in a single plane. Traces of stonework are visible on the lateral sides. There is an inscription on the front which originally probably stretched across the entire length of the altar. The right edge of the front is chipped, so that the first letters in all preserved lines are missing. Three lines have been preserved at their original height, while only the upper portion of the fourth line has been preserved. The lower portion of the inscription and monument have not been preserved.

stupanjima sežu od gornjeg do donjeg ruba reda. Iznimku predstavljaju slovo "s" na kraju drugog reda – visoko je 2,9 cm – i "o" u trećem redu – visoko je svega 1,2 cm i upisano u slovo "c". U prvom i trećem redu riječi su odijeljene srcolikim listovima s peteljkom na vrhu.

Prvi red natpisa je jasan. S obzirom na sačuvani dio na početku reda treba rekonstruirati slovo I, a cijeli red čitati *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*. Žrtvenik je, dakle, bio posvećen državnom vrhovnom bogu Jupiteru.

U drugom redu natpisa nalazi se riječ koja završava s *-aicus*. Sudeći po širini slova i oštećenju na početku reda moglo je izvorno stajati još jedno ili dva slova. Na ovom mjestu natpisa može se očekivati ime dedikanta ili jedan od mogućih dometaka Jupiterovu imenu. Budući da riječ stoji u nominativu – završava na *-icus* – treba je rekonstruirati kao ime dedikanta. Imena sa sufiksom *-icus/-ica* poznata su u Dalmaciji, ali nisu mnogobrojna. Zabilježeni su kognomeni nastali na osnovi običnih kognomena, gentilnih imena i prenomena te na osnovi zemljopisnih imena (Alföldy 1969: 346–347). Zabilježena su i gentilna imena među kojima Alföldy razlikuje nekoliko vrsta: strana venetska imena koja nose sjeverni Italici, domaća venetska imena kod kojih sufiks, korijen i rasprostranjenost svjedoče o venetskom porijeklu, zatim domaća venetska ili ilirska imena te domaća ilirska imena s venetskom tvorbom i domaća keltska imena s venetskom tvorbom (Alföldy 1969: 346–347).

Ako je u drugom redu natpisa naveden nomen dedikanta, onda u nastavku valja očekivati titulu koju je on nosio, odnosno dužnost ili službu koju je obnašao. Čitanje je zbog znatnog oštećenja prilično otežano, ali detaljna analiza ipak vodi do nekih zaključaka. Prva riječ u trećem redu natpisa završava slovom "n" iza kojeg slijedi točka u obliku srcolikog lista s peteljkom na vrhu. Sudeći po završetku drugog reda natpisa, ova riječ je počinjala u trećem redu. Na osnovi širine slova i oštećenja može se zaključiti da joj nedostaju najmanje dva, ali ne više od tri slova. Budući da je riječ izvorno mogla imati samo tri do četiri slova, vjerojatno se radi o kratici. Iza nje slijede tri slova – "cor". Zbog oštećenja na početku četvrtoog reda teško je reći radi li se također o kratici koja završava u trećem ili o početku riječi koja se nastavlja u četvrtom redu. S obzirom na mjesto nalaza – rimski vojni logor – opravdano se može pretpostaviti da je "cor" kratica za riječ *cohors*, odnosno kohortu. Ako je kratica završavala u trećem redu u obzir dolazi čitanje *co(ho)r(tis)*. To nije najučestalija kratica za kohortu. Na latinskim epigrafskim spomenicima najčešće se javlja kratica *coh(ors)*, ali se koriste i druge kratice, među njima

The inscription reads:

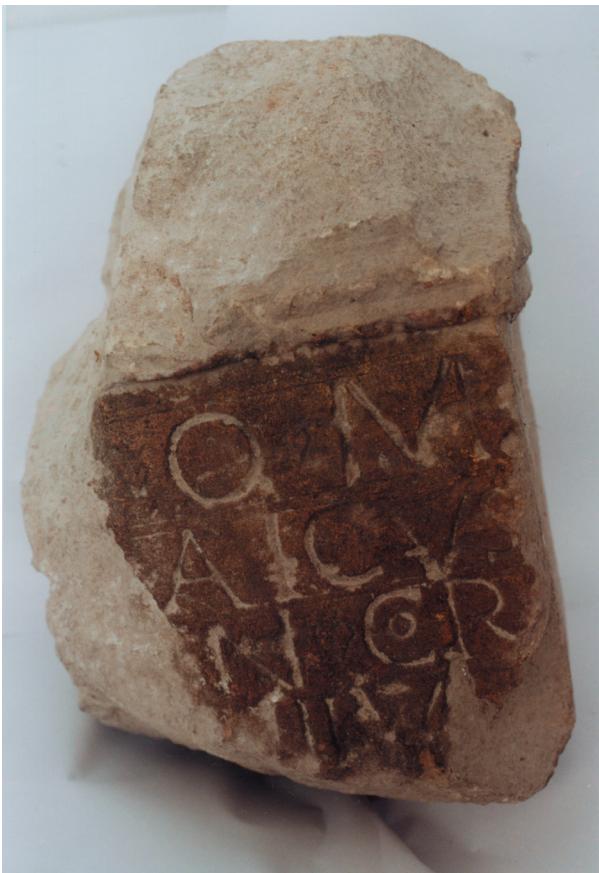
[_] • O(ptimo) • M(aximo)
[_ _] AICVS
[_ _] N • COR
[_ _ _] III V[_ _]

In the fourth line three vertical lines, the letter "v" and another vertical line at the end are discernable. The lines of the inscription are enclosed by two parallel engraved lines that are 0.3 cm to 0.5 cm apart. The height of the first line of the inscription is almost 4.3 cm, while the second and third are 3.5 cm, and the fourth, not completely preserved, is also 3.5 cm. The letters with minimum variance extend from the upper to the lower edge of the line. The exception is the letter "s" at the end of the first line—2.9 cm high—and the "o" in the third line—only 1.2 cm high, and the written-in letter "c." In the first and third lines the words are separated by leaves with stems on the top.

The first line of the inscription is clear. Given that the preserved part at the beginning of the line needs to be reconstructed as the letter I, the entire line should read *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*. The altar was thus dedicated to the Roman state's supreme god Jupiter.

In the second line of the inscription there is a word ending in *-aicus*. Judging by the width of the letters and the damage at the beginning of the line, originally there could only have been one or two letters there. At this point in the inscription, one can either expect the name of the dedicant or one of the possible additions to Jupiter's name. Since the word is in the nominative, ending in *-icus*, it should be reconstructed as the name of the dedicant. Names with the suffix *-icus/-ica* are known in Dalmatia, although not very common. Cognomens based on customary cognomens, gentile names and praenomens and on geographic names have been recorded (Alföldy 1969: 346–347). Gentile names have also been recorded, among which Alföldy distinguished several types: foreign Veneto names borne by northern Italic inhabitants, domestic Veneto names wherein the suffix, root and distribution testify to Veneto origins, and domestic Veneto or Illyrian names and domestic Illyrian names with Veneto formations and domestic Celtic names with Veneto formations (Alföldy 1969: 346–347).

If the name of the dedicant is cited in the second line of the inscription, then the title this person held can be expected in the continuation of the line,



Tablica 1. Votivna ara iz Tilurija (foto: Ante Kutleša)

Table 1. Votive altar from Tilurium (Photo by Ante Kutleša)

i ova navedena (Cagnat 1964: 414–419). Ako se riječ nastavlja u četvrti red, u obzir dolazi čitanje *co(ho)r/tis*. Ni to nije najučestaliji oblik, ali se i on mjestimično pojavljuje. Ovakvim čitanjem olakšana je rekonstrukcija početka trećeg reda. Ondje se očigledno morala nalaziti kratica koja se odnosi na kohortu. U obzir dolazi kratica *gen(ius)*. Treći red bi u tom slučaju trebalo čitati *[ge]n(io) co(ho)r/tis*, što bi značilo da je žrtvenik osim Jupiteru posvećen i zaštitniku kohorte. Takvi zaštitnici potvrđeni su za sve vrste rimskih postrojbi, pa tako i za kohorte (Speidel & Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978: 1544). No, ovakvu bi posvetu bilo logičnije očekivati u drugom redu natpisa, neposredno iza posvete Jupiteru, a prije imena dedikanta. Vjerojatnije je da se kratica odnosi na službu koju je dedikant obnašao u kohorti. U obzir dolaze kratice *cen(turio)* i *sign(ifer)*, ali s obzirom na karakter natpisa ne bi možda trebalo forsirati veći broj slova.

U četvrtom redu jasno se prepoznaju tri okomite

or the post or service such person performed. The considerable damage renders reading it quite difficult, but a detailed analysis nonetheless leads to some conclusions. The first word in the third line ends in the letter "n," followed by a heart-shaped leaf with a stem on top. Judging by the end of the second line of the inscription, this word begins in the third line. Based on the width of the letters and the damage, one can conclude that not less than two, but no more than three letters are missing. Since the word could have originally had three to four letters, it is probably an abbreviation. It is followed by three letters: "cor." The damage in the fourth line makes it difficult to tell whether this is also an abbreviation that ends in the third line or the beginning of a word that ends in the fourth line. Given the site of the find—a Roman military camp—one can justifiably assume that "cor" is an abbreviation for the word *cohors*, or cohort. If the abbreviation ended in the third line, the reading *co(ho)r(tis)* can be considered. This is not the most frequent abbreviation for cohort. The abbreviation *coh(ors)* appears most often on Roman epigraphic monuments, although other abbreviations are also used, among them the one cited here (Cagnat 1964: 414–419). If the word continues in the fourth line, then the reading *co(ho)r/tis* is possible. This is not the most common form, either, but it does appear occasionally. Such a reading renders the reconstruction of the beginning of the third line easier. Here there obviously had to be an abbreviation that refers to cohort. The abbreviation *gen(ius)* can be considered. The third line in this case should read as *[ge]n(io) co(ho)r/tis*, which would mean that the altar was dedicated to the patron of the cohort in addition to Jupiter. Such patrons have been confirmed for all types of Roman military formations, including cohorts (Speidel/Dimitrova-Milčeva 1978: 1544). However, it would be more logical to expect such an inscription in the second line of the inscription, immediately after the dedication to Jupiter, and before the name of the dedicant. It is thus more likely that the abbreviation refers to the service in the cohort performed by the dedicant. The abbreviations *cen(turio)* and *sign(ifer)* are plausible, but given the character of the inscription, it may be excessive to assume a larger number of letters.

In the fourth line, three vertical lines are clearly recognizable, which can hardly be interpreted as anything other than the remains of a Roman number containing three ones. This fact is backed by the assumption that a cohort is mentioned in the third line, because this would then be connected to the designation of the cohort, which, as a rule, contained a number. Judging by the width of the letters and the

haste koje se teško mogu tumačiti drugačije nego kao ostaci rimskog broja koji sadrži tri jedinice. Ta činjenica učvršćuje pretpostavku da se u trećem redu spominje kohorta jer bi se na nju trebala nadovezivati oznaka kohorte koja u pravilu sadrži i broj. Sudeći po širini slova i oštećenja, ispred broja *III* izvorno su mogla stajati još četiri slova. Iza njih jasno se prepoznaće slovo "v" nakon kojeg slijedi oštećenje u širini od jednog slova te na kraju reda još jedna okomita hasta. Kohortu koja se spominje na natpisu treba tražiti među onima smještenima na Gardunu, odnosno u provinciji Dalmaciji, iako ne treba isključiti ni mogućnost da je riječ o nekoj postrojbi koja do sada nije zabilježena u Dalmaciji. Većina autora slaže se da su u rimske provincije Dalmacije boravile kohorte *III Alpinorum, Aquitanorum, I Belgarum, I Bracaraugustanorum, I Flavia Brittonum, I Campana, II Cyrrhestarum, I milliaria Delmatarum, II milliaria Delmatarum, XI Gallorum, I Flavia Hispanorum, I Lucensium, Montanorum, VI voluntariorum civium Romanorum i VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, dok se mišljenja o boravku kohorti *I Alpinorum equitata, Asturum, I Liburnorum razmimoilaze* (Alföldy 1987a: 240–241; Wilkes 1969: 471–480; Bojanovski 1988: 356–357). Od navedenih kohorti broj tri u svom nazivu nose dvije kohorte. To su *cohors III Alpinorum i cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. Obje su, kao što smo vidjeli, zabilježene i na Gardunu. S obzirom na slovo "v" koje slijedi iza broja *III*, dedikant je najvjerojatnije bio pripadnik kohorte *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. U oštećenju iza slova "v" treba rekonstruirati slovo "o", a okomitu hastu iza njega kao slovo "l". Slovo "o" je po uzoru na red iznad njega također moglo imati manje dimenzije. Ovakvom rekonstrukcijom natpisa ispred pretpostavljenog broja *VIII* ostaje prostor za dva do tri slova što bi značilo da se riječ *cohortis* nastavlja u četvrti red. Stoga bi natpis u konačnici trebalo čitati:

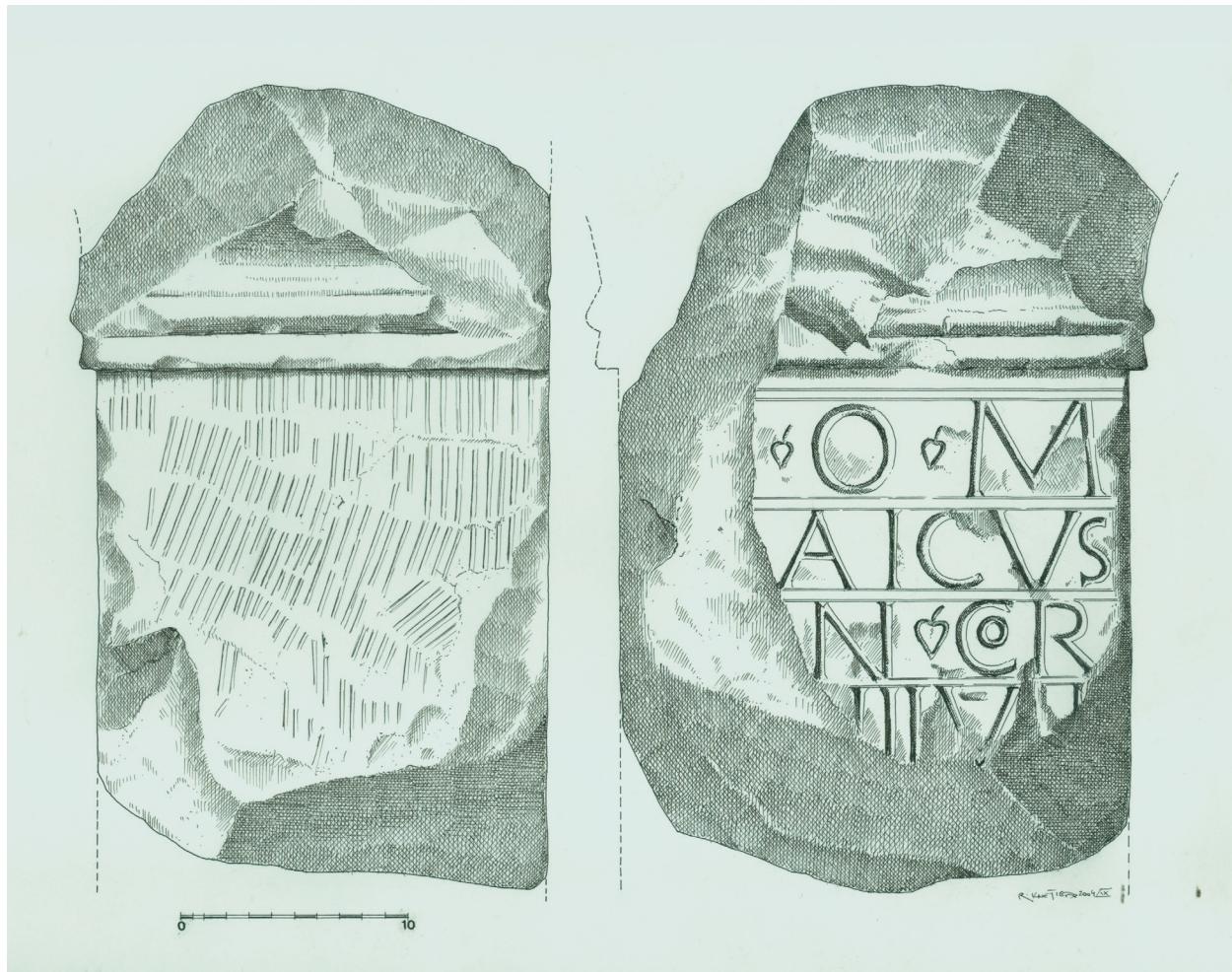
[I(ovi)] • O(ptimo) • M(aximo)
 [_ _]AICVS
 [CE]N(turio) • CO(ho)R
 [TIS V]III V[OL(untariorum)]

Dosad je u rimske provincije Dalmacije zabilježeno preko 40 epigrafičkih spomenika kohorte *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* (Alföldy 1987a: 288–291; Wilkes 1969: 473–474; Spaul 2000: 35–37). Po broju spomenika preostalih za njom prednjači među rimskim augzilijskim postrojbama koje su boravile na tlu provincije Dalmacije (Alföldy

damages, four letters could have originally preceded the number *III*. The letter "v" is clearly recognizable behind them, followed by damage in the width of one letter, while at the end there is another vertical line. The cohort mentioned in the inscription should be sought among those stationed at Gardun, and in the province of Dalmatia, although the possibility that it refers to a unit not yet registered in Dalmatia cannot be excluded. Most authors agree that the following cohorts stayed in the Roman province of Dalmatia: *III Alpinorum, Aquitanorum, I Belgarum, I Bracaraugustanorum, I Flavia Brittonum, I Campana, II Cyrrhestarum, I milliaria Delmatarum, II milliaria Delmatarum, XI Gallorum, I Flavia Hispanorum, I Lucensium, Montanorum, VI voluntariorum civium Romanorum and VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*; while there is some divergence on views of the presence of the cohorts *I Alpinorum equitata, Asturum, I Liburnorum* (Alföldy 1987a: 240–241; Wilkes 1969: 471–480; Bojanovski 1988: 356–357). Out of the aforementioned cohorts, two have them have the number three in their designations. These are *cohors III Alpinorum* and *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. Both, as noted above, have been recorded in Gardun as well. Given that the letter "v" follows the number *III*, the dedicant was most likely a member of cohort *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*. The letter "o" should be reconstructed from the damage following the letter "v," while the vertical line behind it should be read as the letter "l." The letter "o," based on the model of the line above it, could have had smaller dimensions. Such a reconstruction of the inscription leaves space before the assumed number *VIII* for two to three letters, which would mean that the word *cohortis* continues in the fourth line. Therefore, the line should ultimately read:

[I(ovi)] • O(ptimo) • M(aximo)
 [_ _]AICVS
 [CE]N(turio) • CO(ho)R
 [TIS V]III V[OL(untariorum)]

So far over 40 epigraphic monuments to the cohort *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* have been registered in the Roman province of Dalmatia (Alföldy 1987a: 288–291; Wilkes 1969: 473–474; Spaul 2000: 35–37). Based on the number of monuments it left behind, it leads among the other Roman auxiliary units that were posted in the province of Dalmatia (Alföldy 1987a: 278–291; Wilkes 1969: 471–474; Spaul 2000) and it even surpasses all legions with the exception of the VII. and XI.



Tablica 2. Votivna ara iz Tilurija (crtež: Krešimir Rončević)

Table 2. Votive altar from Tilurium (Drawing by Krešimir Rončević)

dy 1987a: 278–291; Wilkes 1969: 471–474; Spaul 2000) te nadmašuje i sve legije osim VII. i XI. (usp. Betz 1938: 65–75). *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* stoga ima značajnu ulogu u proučavanju vojne povijesti rimske provincije Dalmacije. Spomenicima na području provincije Dalmacije treba pridodati i tri spomenika iz Italije (CIL XI: 4749; EDH 2004: HD027330; EDH 2004: HD019440) te po jedan iz provincije Panonije (Bojanovski 1988: 357), Mauretanije (EDH 2004: HD019912), Betike (EDH 2004: HD028214) i Numidijske (EDH 2004: HD018017). Na osnovi tih spomenika rekonstruirane su mnoge pojedinosti vezane uz boravak postrojbe na tlu provincije Dalmacije (Sergejevski 1924; Alföldy 1987a: 254–277, 288–291, 296). *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* po prvi put se spominje na jednom nadgrobnom natpisu iz Italije

(cf. Betz 1938: 65–75). *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* is therefore quite significant in the study of the military history of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Three monuments from Italy (CIL XI 4749; EDH 2004: HD027330; EDH 2004: HD019440) and one each from the province of Pannonia (Bojanovski 1988: 357), Mauretanija (EDH 2004: HD019912), Baetica (EDH 2004: HD028214) and Numidia (EDH 2004: HD018017) should be added to the monuments in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia. Based on these monuments, many details pertaining to the stay of the unit in the territory of the province of Dalmatia have been reconstructed (Sergejevski 1924, Alföldy 1987a: 254–277, 288–291, 296). *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* was mentioned for the first time on a grave inscription from Italy

(Alföldy 1987a: br. 18/41 = EDH 2004: HD027330 = AE 1913, 193). On se datira u 1. polovicu 1. stoljeća i ujedno predstavlja prvi epigrafički spomen provincije Dalmacije (Betz 1938: 5, bilješka 8; Zaninović 1996b: 212). Natpis izričito navodi da se kohorta nalazi u Dalmaciji. Njeno osnivanje i dolazak na područje buduće provincije Dalmacije povezuje se s opasnošću koja je zaprijetila nakon izbijanja panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka koji je trajao od 6. do 9. godine. Kako navodi Velej Paterkul (II, 113), u Iliriku je tada okupljeno 10 legija, više od 70 kohorti, 10 ala, preko 10.000 veterana i dragovoljaca (Zaninović 1996b: 214). Tijekom 1. st. *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* boravila je u Andetriju o čemu svjedoče nadgrobni natpisi (CIL III 9782 i CIL III 2745), a na njen boravak upućuju i tegule s pečatom kohorte (CIL III 10182a-c; Alföldy 1987b: 320–322). Od kraja 1. stoljeća nalazi se u logoru u Tiluriju gdje je potvrđena nadgrobnim (CIL III 13975; CIL III 9732; CIL III 14930), votivnim (CIL III 13187; CIL III 9724 [2706]; Bull. Dalm. 26 [1903] 129) i jednim građevinskim natpisom (VAHD 51 [1930–34] 225), a na njen boravak i ovdje upućuju tegule s pečatom kohorte (CIL III 14336¹; Alföldy 1987b: 320–322). Posljednji natpis koji spominje kohortu na Gardunu datira se u 245. godinu (CIL III 9724 [2706]). To je ujedno i posljednji spomen kohorte na tlu provincije Dalmacije, nakon čega se ona tek u IV. stoljeću ponovno javlja u Arabiji (Not. dign. Or XXXVII: 33). Daleko najveći broj spomenika kohorte *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* zabilježen je u Saloni (CIL III 2002; CIL III 2039; CIL III 2045; CIL III 2052; CIL III 8728; CIL III 8729; CIL III 8751; CIL III 8757; CIL III 8765; CIL III 12902; CIL III 12904; CIL III 14247 [8776]; CIL III 14660¹; Bull. Dalm. 30 [1907] 42; Bull. Dalm. 34 [1911] 31),² a i ovdje su zabilježene tegule s pečatom kohorte (Bull. Dalm. 26 [1903] 199; Bull. Dalm. 28 [1905] 159; Alföldy 1987b: 320–322). Kohorta je zabilježena i na jednoj vojnoj diplomni iz Salone (CIL XVI: 38). Daljnji spomenici zabilježeni su u Biačima kod Trogira (CIL III 9708), Klisu (Bull. Dalm. 30 [1907] 116; CIL III 8672), Pituntiju (CIL III 8522), Tučepima (CIL III 14629¹), Proboju (CIL III 13875), Humcu (CIL III 8490 [6365]), Naroni (CIL III 1808), Epidauru (CIL III 1742; CIL III 1743), Dokleji (CIL III 12679), Čačku (CIL III 8336 [6321]), Halapiću (GZMBH 40 [1928] 82 i d.) i na nepoznatom nalazištu u provinciji Dalmaciji (CIL III 3163). Ovi spomenici uglavnom

(Alföldy 1987a: no. 18/41 = EDH 2004: HD027330 = AE 1913, 193). It dates to the first half of the first century and it simultaneously constitutes the first epigraphic mention of the province of Dalmatia (Betz 1938: 5, note 8; Zaninović 1996b: 212). This explicitly states that the cohort is in Dalmatia. Its establishment and arrival to the territory of the future province of Dalmatia is associated with the imminent threat that loomed after the outbreak of the Delmati-Pannonian revolt which lasted from the years 6 to 9. As stated by Velleius Paterculus (II, 113), 10 legions, over 70 cohorts, 10 alae and over 10,000 veterans and volunteers were gathered in Illyricum at the time (Zaninović 1996b: 214). During the first century, *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* was stationed in Andetria, to which grave inscriptions testify (CIL III 9782 and CIL III 2745), and a tegula bearing the seal of the cohort also testifies to this fact (CIL III 10182a-c; Alföldy 1987b: 320–322). From the end of the first century, there was a camp in Tilurium, which is confirmed by a grave (CIL III 13975; CIL III 9732; CIL III 14930), votive (CIL III 13187; CIL III 9724(2706); Bull. Dalm. 26 (1903) 129) and one building inscription (VAHD 51 (1930–34) 225), and its stay here is also indicated by a tegula bearing the cohort's seal (CIL III 14336¹; Alföldy 1987b: 320–322). The last inscription that mentions the cohort at Gardun has been dated to 245 (CIL III 9724(2706)). This is also the last time the cohort is mentioned in the territory of the province of Dalmatia, after which it once more appears in the fourth century in Arabia (Not. dign. Or XXXVII, 33). By far the largest number of monuments to the cohort *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* has been recorded in Salona (CIL III 2002; CIL III 2039; CIL III 2045; CIL III 2052; CIL III 8728; CIL III 8729; CIL III 8751; CIL III 8757; CIL III 8765; CIL III 12902; CIL III 12904; CIL III 14247 (8776); CIL III 14660¹; Bull. Dalm. 30 (1907) 42; Bull. Dalm. 34 (1911) 31),² and even here tegulae bearing the cohort's seal have been registered (Bull. Dalm. 26 (1903) 199; Bull. Dalm. 28 (1905) 159; Alföldy 1987b: 320–322). The cohort is also mentioned on a military diploma from Salona (CIL XVI 38). More monuments were registered in Biači near Trogir (CIL III 9708), Klis (Bull. Dalm. 30 (1907) 116; CIL III 8672), Pituntium (CIL III 8522), Tučepi (CIL III 14629¹), Proboj (CIL III 13875), Humac (CIL III 8490 (6365)), Narona (CIL III 1808),

² Od navedenih ni Spaul ni Wilkes ne spominju spomenike CIL III 8751 i BD 30 (1907) 42. Osim toga Spaul ne spominje ni CIL III 8765, dok Wilkes ne spominje CIL III 12904. Spaul, za razliku od Alföldya i Wilkesa, navodi spomenike CIL III: 1940; AE 1963, 42 = 1962, 229 = 1921, 64 = ILJug 2076; CIL III 8777. Usporedi Alföldy 1987a: 288–291; Wilkes 1969: 473–474; Spaul 2000: 35–37.

² Of these, neither Spaul nor Wilkes mention monuments CIL III, 8751 and BD 30 (1907) 42. Additionally, Spaul does not mention CIL III, 8765, while Wilkes does not mention CIL III, 12904. Spaul, as opposed to Alföldy and Wilkes, mentions monuments CIL III, 1940; AE 1963, 42 = 1962, 229 = 1921, 64 = ILJug 2076; CIL III, 8777. Cf. Alföldy 1987a: 288–291; Wilkes 1969: 473–474; Spaul 2000: 35–37.

vnom su odraz porijekla pripadnika VIII. kohorte, a u manjoj mjeri boravka kohorte u određenim mjestima. Za razliku od 1. st., kada u redovima kohorte nalazimo vojnike iz Italije i već znatnije romaniziranih provincija, tijekom 2. st. kohortu uglavnom popunjavaju rimski građani iz Salone i Epidaura, a u 3. st. i romanizirano domaće stanovništvo. Ti su vojnici sahranjivani u mjestima iz kojih su potjecali i u kojima su imali rodbinu, dakle u Saloni, njenoj okolici i u drugim mjestima na jugu provincije. Jedinim dokazom boravka kohorte u Saloni mogli bismo smatrati tegule s pečatom kohorte. Pojedini odredi kohorte vjerojatno su bili smješteni samo u Humcu, Čačku i Halapiću, a u Dokleji je zabilježen jedan beneficijar (Alfoldy 1987a: 254–255).

Nova votivna ara iz Tilurija može se na osnovi ostatka natpisa i mjesta nalaza pripisati kohorti *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* i datirati u razdoblje kada je ta postrojba boravila u Tiluriju, odnosno u 2/3. stoljeće. Većina votivnih spomenika koje su u provinciji Dalmaciji postavili pripadnici pomoćnih vojnih postrojbi potječe upravo iz tog razdoblja. Spomenike su najčešće podizali zapovjednici ili časnici kohorti, a najveći broj ih je posvećen najvišem rimskom državnom bogu (Alfoldy 1987a: 266–268). Časnički kadar pomoćnih vojnih postrojbi koje su u 2. stoljeću boravile u Dalmaciji uglavnom je potjecao iz romaniziranih zapadnih provincija i Norika, a u manjoj mjeri iz gradskih dalmatinskih obitelji. U 3. stoljeću većina je časnika potjecala iz lokalne sredine. Ipak se upravo u redovima VIII. kohorte javljaju i stranci – po jedan centurion sa zapada (CIL III 8336 [[6321]]) i iz Italije (CIL III 9724 [2706]; Alfoldy 1987a: 265–266). Na temelju toga i sačuvanog dijela njegova imena, možemo zaključiti da je dedicant votivne are iz Tilurija također mogao biti porijeklom sa zapada ili iz sjeverne Italije.

Epidaurum (CIL III 1742; CIL III 1743), Doclea (CIL III 12679), Čačak (CIL III 8336 (6321)), Halapić (GZMBH 40 (1928) 82 i d.) and at an unidentified site in the province of Dalmatia (CIL III 3163). These monuments generally reflect the origins of members of cohort VIII, and less the stay of the cohort at specific places. As opposed to the first century, when the members of the cohort were soldiers from Italy and the already considerably Romanized provinces, during the second century the cohort's members were generally Roman citizens from Salona and Epidaurum, while in the third century they were Romanized domestic residents. These soldiers were buried in the places from which they came and where they had relatives, thus in Salona, its environs and other places in the province's south. The tegula with the cohort's seal can be deemed the sole proof of the cohort's stay in Salona. Individual cohort detachments were probably posted in Humac, Čačak and Halapić, and a beneficiarius was recorded in Doclea (Alfoldy 1987a: 254–255).

Based on the remains of the inscription and the find site, the new votive altar from Tilurium can be attributed to the cohort *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* and dated to the period when this formation was posted in Tilurium, i.e. the second–third centuries. Most votive monuments raised by members of auxiliary military units in the province of Dalmatia date back to this period. Monuments were most often raised by cohort commanders or officers, while most were dedicated to the highest Roman state deity (Alfoldy 1987a: 266–268). The officers of auxiliary military units who were in Dalmatia in the second century generally came from the Romanized western provinces and Noricum, and only to a lesser extent from urban Dalmatian families. In the third century most officers came from local places. Even so, it is among the ranks of the VIII cohort that foreigners also appear: one centurion each from the west (CIL III, 8336 (6321)) and Italy (CIL III, 9724 (2706)) (Alfoldy 1987a: 265–266). Based on this and the preserved portion of his name, one can conclude that the dedicant of the votive altar from Tilurium was also originally from the west or northern Italy.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

Bull. Dalm.	Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata
CIL	Corpus Inscriptorum Latinarum
EDH 2004	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg – http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html.de (9. 01. 2005.)
GZMBH	Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku

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