

River Crossings and Roman Auxiliary Forts: The Evidence from the River Cetina

Nikola Cesarik

Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute for Historical and Social Sciences in Rijeka, Rijeka, Croatia

ABSTRACT

The author provides a new evidence of the potential Roman auxiliary forts located in the hinterland of Salona – a capital of the province of Dalmatia. The first fort is located at the site called Ograde, near the hamlet of Živaljići in the village of Gardun. It controlled the crossing over the river Cetina from the area of Vojnić and Gardun towards Čaporice. The second fort is located above the karstic plateau of Turjački Podi, on the hilltop known as Radašuša, which controlled the natural route that connected Salona with Aequum. The evidence of these two forts provide a better knowledge of the overall organisation of the garrison in the hinterland of Salona, and by connecting the previous data, it is now evident that this garrison was organised as a complex system of control of the entrance to the main port on the Eastern Adriatic.

Key words: Roman military garrison, Tilverium, Salona, river Cetina, Roman auxiliary forts, river crossings, Pons Tilveri, Roman roads, Gardun, Turjački Podi, Aequum, Andetrium

Introduction

Recent development in the knowledge of the disposition of Roman auxiliary forts along the river Krka^{1,2}, opened a different variety of questions regarding the organisation of the Dalmatian military garrisons during the first century AD. A total of three auxiliary forts, located along the line from Ivoševci to Radučić, were built for the control of river crossings over the travertine barriers of upper Krka. Together with legionary fortress, these forts controlled the entrances into Liburnia from the Delmataean side, and together with smaller outposts positioned on key junctions, they formed a complex system of military control of the Liburnian frontier. The key objective was evidently the control of newly established road network, which provided an exploit of natural resources from the newly conquered province.

New evidence of Roman auxiliary forts on the upper Krka has also resolved some old questions regarding the movements of auxiliary units of the garrison of Burnum during the first century AD. It is evident now that the military garrison on the Liburnian frontier was at the same time occupied by a considerable military force, consisting of one legion and most probably of three auxiliary units, which were shifted in larger contingents than previously thought. It is also evident that these forts were intended for a different variety of auxiliary units, such as

cavalry ala and infantry cohort, as well as a specialized unit of archers².

Further Development: The Question of the Garrison in the Hinterland of Salona

The dispersion of the military presence across the Liburnian frontier opened a question regarding the organisation of another military garrison in the province of Dalmatia – the one in the hinterland of Salona, along the river Cetina (Figure 1). So far, research of the military presence in the outback of Dalmatia's capital, was focused on the archaeological excavations of the legionary fortress of Tilverium³⁻⁹, situated in the village of Gardun, above the city of Trilj. The legionary fortress of Tilverium provided excellent control of the natural crossing over the river Cetina; and with that, it controlled one of the key entrances towards the colony of Salona. Considering the large amount of inscriptions of active soldiers, it is evident that the members of legio VII, known as legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis after AD 42, occupied the fortress of Tilverium¹⁰. However, according to the epigraphic evidence, it is evident that the garrison along the river Cetina also consisted of several auxiliary forts as well⁶. The inscriptions have been mostly published in large epigraphic corpora, such as Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL), works of



Fig. 1. The position of legionary fortresses of Burnum and Tilverium (source: Google Earth).

Anna and Jaro Šašel (ILJug)¹¹⁻¹³, or journals such as L'Année épigraphique (AE). Judging by the three auxiliary forts on the Liburnian frontier, it is logical to assume that the military garrison in the back of the provincial capital should be organised in a rather similar manner. However, such forts were, thus far, never perceived in the field.

The distribution of inscriptions of soldiers in the hinterland of Salona, shows that the legionaries and auxiliaries were scattered across several outposts, which provided essential control of natural routes, just like the case of the garrison at Burnum. So far, besides Tilverium and Salona¹⁰, the inscriptions of Roman legionaries and auxiliaries were found on very important junctions, such as Klis (legionary: ILJug 2028; auxiliary: CIL III, 8746, ILJug 2006, 2007), which controlled the only two natural entrances to Dalmatia's capital; the one from the area of Mučko polje, and the other from the direction of Dugopolje (Figure 2). Both of these areas provided the epigraphical evidence of Roman soldiers as well. In the area of Mučko polje, there was an auxiliary fort, known as Andetrium^{14,15}, which took the name from one of the last strongholds of the Delmatae during the great Illyrian War of AD 6-9 (Cass Dio 56.12.3). Besides auxiliary soldiers (CIL III,

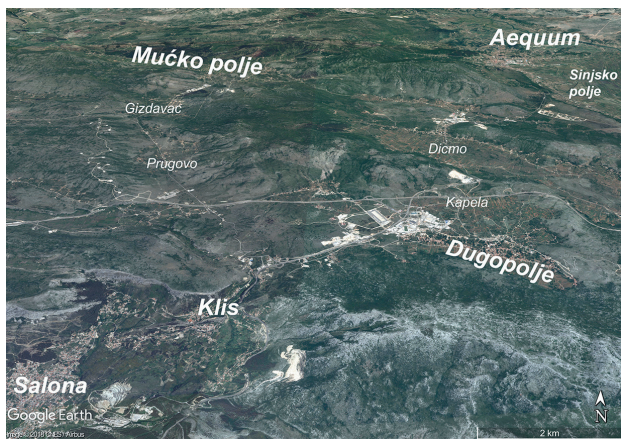


Fig. 2. The location of the military outpost at Klis (source: Google Earth)

2744, 2745, 2746, 9782, 14950), Andetrium also housed a legionary detachment, most probably of legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis (CIL III, 14951), which, together with auxiliaries, controlled the entrance to Salona from the direction of Mučko polje. The strategic importance of the area of Andetrium is especially highlighted by Tiberius' inscription from AD 16/17 (CIL III, 3198a + 3200 = 10156a + 10158), which records that the members of legio VII have *viam Gabianam ab Salonis Andetrium, aperuit et munit*.

The outpost at Dugopolje had a similar function^{16,17}. It controlled the entrances from two directions towards Klis, which further led to Salona (Figure 3). The first of the entrances was from the direction of the colony of Aequum, near today's city of Sinj, which led over Dicmo towards Dugopolje. The second entrance was from the direction of Tilverium, which led over the plateau of Vojnić and Krušvar towards Dugopolje. Besides the legionary from legio VII (AE 1994, 1355), the epigraphic evidence records the presence of several auxiliary soldiers in the outpost at Dugopolje. Two of them were Syrian archers from cohorts II Cyrrhestarum (AE 1994, 1357-58), while the third was an Ubian horseman from ala Tungrorum (AE 1994, 1356 = AE 2002, 1118)¹⁸.

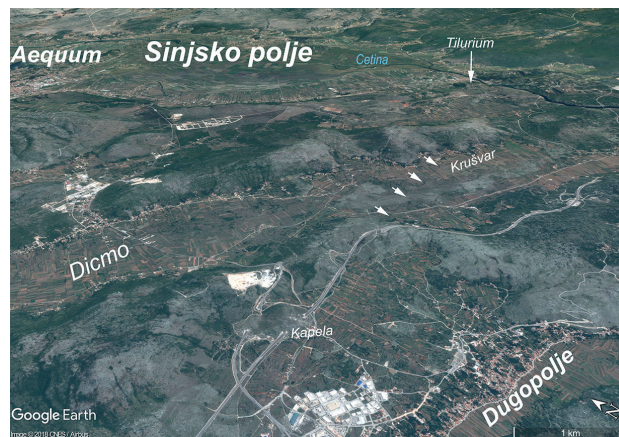


Fig. 3. The location of the military outpost at Kapela in Dugopolje (source: Google Earth).

The presence of legionaries (CIL III, 2733, 9761, 14946, AE 2008, 1058, ILJug 748) and auxiliaries (CIL III, 9760, ILJug 1963) is also recorded in the wider area of the Claudian colony of Aequum (today's Čitluk near Sinj)^{19,20}. According to some recent epigraphic discoveries, it is evident that the veterans were settled in the area of Aequum even before AD 42 and the Claudian deduction of the veteran colony²¹. The main objective of the soldiers dispatched to the area of Aequum was evidently the control of the crossing over the river Cetina, which was a vital point of the great itinerary road that connected Salona with the valley of the river Sava in Pannonia.

The Crossings over the River Cetina

The strategic layout of the garrison in the back of Dalmatia's capital was quite obviously organised with the control of the entrances towards Salona in mind. Again,

the key elements were crossings over the river Cetina. According to ancient itineraries (especially Tabula Peutingeriana), as well as the terrain configuration, it is clear that there were three major river crossings over the Cetina. One of them was located near the colony of Aequum, at a place called Mostina (literally meaning »The Bridge«) between Glavice and Obrovac Sinjski²². The other two were located around Tilverium. The first crossing was part of the road that connected Salona with Central Bosnia, and further with Argentaria²³. The second crossing was part of another important road that connected Salona with the colony of Narona²⁴, in the valley of the river Neretva. The station at this second crossing was also known as Pons Tiluri (or Ponteluri) in the itineraries (Rav. Cosm. IV 16 = 210.13; It. Ant. 337.5).

Considering the layout of the communicational network around the hinterland of Salona, especially the river crossings, it was natural to assume that a significant military force would control such a network, particularly during the first century AD. Besides a legionary encampment, such a force must have been organised with several auxiliary forts as well. After recent developments, the main comparanda in the search of auxiliary forts on the river Cetina, become the forts located along the upper Krka². Therefore, the search incorporated the analysis of satellite images and aerial photographs of the wider area of the legionary encampment in Tilverium, as well as direct field surveys. Special focus has been paid to the rectangular drystone wall structures, with a total area of about 2 hectares, which possess strategic perspectives in the control of natural routes and river crossings that opened the entrance to Dalmatia's capital.

A New Evidence

The results of the survey showed that the garrison at the hinterland of Salona consisted of one legionary fortress and three auxiliary forts, just like the case of the Liburnian frontier. Two of the sites were previously not recognised as auxiliary forts of the Principate. Both sites are located on very important strategic points, which controlled the entrances towards Salona, and both encircle the total area of around 2 hectares. The third fort was already distinguished, but it was never approached by any kind of archaeological excavation, and was never considered as a part of the complex system of military garrison in the hinterland of Salona. Apart from legionary fortress and auxiliary forts, the system also included smaller outposts and veteran settlements, which together controlled all of the entrances that led to the main port on the Eastern Adriatic.

The First Auxiliary Fort

By examining the satellite images and aerial photographs, a rectangular drystone wall structure was noted at the site called Ograde (literary meaning »The Fences«), next to the hamlet of Živaljići in the village of Gardun (Figure 4). The regularity of the structure immediately drew attention, since such enclosure completely depart



Fig. 4. The layout of the first auxiliary fort (source: Google Maps).

from the rest of the structures in the wider area. It was also noticeable that this drystone wall structure encloses a total area of about 1.9 hectares, which perfectly fits with analogies from the river Krka. Like the auxiliary forts from the river Krka, this enclosure is also situated on a level terrain with rounded corners, which perfectly suits the classical 'playing-card' layout of the auxiliary forts from the Participate. By examining the wider area of the enclosure, it is noticeable that the site is located in the proximity of an extremely gentle slope towards the river Cetina, which immediately suggests the possibility of a potential river crossing. Even today, on this slope, there are access roads towards the Cetina, situated on both sides of the river. The possibility of a Roman auxiliary fort was especially emphasized by the fact that this area was previously controlled by the dominant pre-Roman hillfort known as Svalinova Gradina, located on the left bank of the river. The continuity of the strategic importance of this area was additionally stressed by the presence of the medieval fortress of Nutjak on the right bank of the river Cetina²⁵. Furthermore, important evidence was found at the place called »Mostina« (literary meaning »The Bridge«) about 600 meters to the north-east of the potential river crossing. Consequently, the assumption that the enclosure near the hamlet of Živaljići, is actually a Roman auxiliary fort, started to stand on much firmer ground.

With all that, it was noted that this potential crossing represents a natural communication between the banks of the river Cetina (Vojnić and Gardun to the right, and Čaporice to the left) which is naturally connected with the main route towards Imotsko polje, and further to Narona (Figure 5). The working theory suggested that this potential river crossing was originally controlled by the pre-Roman hillfort of Svalinova Gradina, located on the left bank of the river Cetina. After the Romans took the land under their control, the crossing was then controlled by the newly established Roman auxiliary fort on the right bank of the Cetina. Later, during the Middle Ages, the crossing was controlled by the fortress of Nutjak, situated approximately 900 meters south-east of the potential auxiliary fort. Therefore, a certain continuity in the control of a vital communication was evident (Figure 6). A direct survey on the terrain was all that was needed in order to

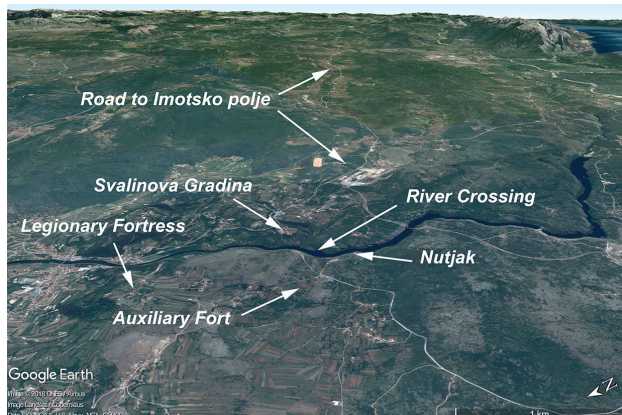


Fig. 5. The natural connection to the road to Imotsko polje (source: Google Earth).



Fig. 7. The layers of the enclosure (photo: N. Cesarik).

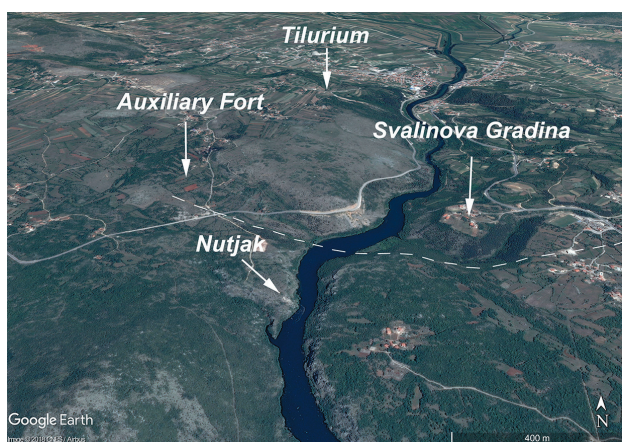


Fig. 6. The crossing over the river Cetina (source: Google Earth).



Fig. 8. The remains of a foundation of the wall (photo: N. Cesarik).

see if there is evidence that indicates the presence of a Roman auxiliary fort at the site of Ograde near the hamlet of Živaljići.

The field survey

The first thing that stood out was the fact that the drystone walls of the whole enclosure were actually made in two layers (Figure 7). The lower layer is thicker than the upper one, and it is not a typical drystone wall at all, but actually a big pile of rocks. The upper layer is thinner, and was made in a typical drystone wall building technique. Exactly the same thing can be observed in the enclosures of the auxiliary forts on the river Krka². All of the three auxiliary forts of the upper Krka are enclosed by big piles of rock, with the more recent drystone wall structures on top of them. The archaeological excavation of the first auxiliary fort on the river Krka – the one next to the Provalije in Ivoševci – showed that the lower piles of rock were actually the ruins of a wall²⁶. A similar thing can be seen in the second auxiliary fort – in the hamlet of Donji Radići in Radučić^{1,2}. At the north-eastern corner, the pile has disintegrated due to the construction of farm buildings belonging to the Bjelobrk household, which revealed the foundations of a fort wall. Therefore, a similar thing

can be expected at the site of Ograde in Gardun, where the lower layer is potentially a ruin of a wall, upon which the later drystone wall was laid in more recent times.

That this is highly evident, is shown by the remains of a foundation at the south-western wall of the enclosure. On one part of that wall, an entrance was formed for the working vehicles, so the pile has disintegrated. Exactly on the line of the rock pile, there are evident remains of the foundations, which, obviously, could not be removed, so the entrance was formed over the rocks (Figure 8). Considering the analogies from the river Krka, it is conceivable that these are the remains of the foundations of the fort's wall, which could prove that the whole pile enclosing the area of Ograde is actually a ruin of a wall, with the subsequent layer of drystone walls built on top of it. A field survey inside the enclosure was difficult to perform due to the overgrown vegetation, but it provided surface finds of several iron nails that could possibly be dated to the Roman period (Figure 9)^{27,28}, which can be the additional evidence that this enclosure is actually a Roman auxiliary fort.

A further survey was conducted on the access road towards the river Cetina. On several locations there are clearly visible kerbs and the pavement of an old road (Figures 10 and 11), which could point to the Roman era.



Fig. 9. The surface finds from the enclosure (photo: N. Cesarik).



Fig. 10. The paved road towards the river Cetina (photo: N. Cesarik).



Fig. 11. The kerbs of the Roman road towards the river Cetina (photo: N. Cesarik).

Considering the natural connection that it provides, as well as the gentle slope towards the Cetina, which was controlled by the pre-Roman hillfort and Medieval fortress, it is highly possible that these are the remains of the Roman road, which led to the natural crossing over the river Cetina.

Therefore, having all of this, it is highly possible that the enclosure at the site of Ograde in the hamlet of Živaljići in the village of Gardun, is actually a ruin of the auxiliary fort which controlled the natural crossing over the river Cetina. Considering the configuration of the terrain, especially the fact that this area represents a natural connection to the main route towards Imotsko polje, it is apparent that this river crossing was a vital point of a road which connected the colonies of Salona and Narona. Therefore, it is most probable that this place was once known as Pons Tiluri, which is recorded in the itineraries as a station on the road from Salona to Narona (Rav. Cosm. IV 16 = 210.13; It. Ant. 337.5).

The auxiliary fort at Živaljići in Gardun, obviously controlled one of the entrances towards Salona, which led over Vojnić and Krušvar, and further to Dugopolje and Klis²⁴. However, further information on this site, as well as the definitive proof that this is an auxiliary fort of the Principate, can only be achieved by future archaeological excavations.

The Second Auxiliary Fort

Given that the garrison at the hinterland of Dalmatia's capital minimally consisted of one auxiliary fort that controlled the entrance towards Dugopolje from the north-east, there existed the possibility of another one, which would control the entrance from the north-west. Through the analysis of the satellite images and aerial photographs, another rectangular drystone wall structure was noticed, which again enclosed an area of approximately 2 hectares (Figure 12).



Fig. 12. The layout of the second auxiliary fort (source: <https://geoportal.dgu.hr/>).

This site is located in the area of Turjački Podi, above the village of Turjaci near the city of Sinj. It is known by the locals as »Brdo iznad Radašuše« (meaning the »Hill above the Radašuša«), or simply as Radašuša (Figure 13). South of the enclosure there is a natural pond which is originally called Radašuša, but the locals use the same name for the hilltop above it. Previously, it was thought that Radašuša was a pre-Roman hillfort^{29,30}, since it is enclosed by strong drystone walls located on a dominant



Fig. 13. The site of Radašuša (photo: N. Cesarik).

hill. However, the rectangular shape of this enclosure completely departs from the shapes of pre-Roman hill-forts, which were never rectangular, especially not that perfectly. Again, the position of this enclosure provides extremely good control of the natural route that connected Salona with Aequum. Furthermore, a total of 2.1 hectares of enclosed area perfectly fits the analogies of the auxiliary forts from the area of the river Krka, as well as the potential fort at Živaljići in Gardun.

It was D. Periša who first perceived Radašuša as a Roman military camp, but he connected it with the Late Republican siege camp from Octavian's campaign against the Delmatae³¹. However, the total of 2.1 hectares of enclosed area, as well as the shape of the fort, which perfectly fits with the classical 'playing-card' layout³², indicates an auxiliary fort from the Principate (Figure 14). It is also notable that J. Britvić spotted the remains of a Roman road, which represents the connection of Radašuša with the main road that led from Salona to Aequum²⁹. All of these facts were clear indicators that Radašuša could be the second auxiliary fort of the garrison in the hinterland of Dalmatia's capital. According to the case of Ograde near Živaljići at Gardun, it was only left to take a direct survey of the terrain, to confirm the assumption with solid evidence.

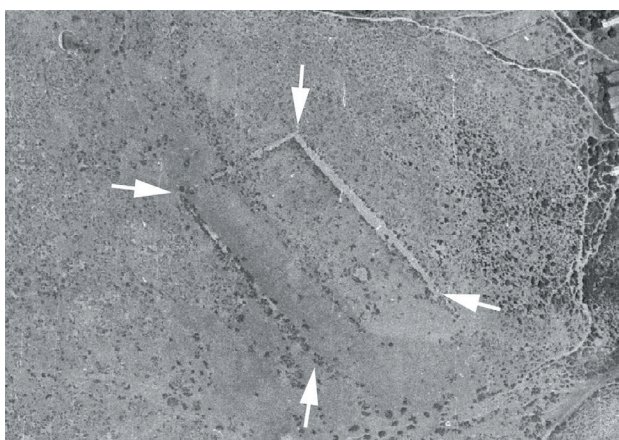


Fig. 14. The 'playing-card' layout of the enclosure at Radašuša on the aerial photograph from 1968 (source: <https://ispu.mgipu.hr/>).

The field survey

I decided to approach the Radašuša from the direction of Turjački Podi. Observing the satellite images, I noticed a pathway that leads to the pond of Radašuša, which is connected to the road from Mojanka towards Vojnić (Figure 15). After the first 100 meters, I started to notice kerbs on both sides of the pathway, which disappeared in the bushes, but which would appear again after a few meters. The line of the kerbs is perfectly straight, and I was able



Fig. 15. The remains of the Roman road towards Radašuša (<https://geoportal.dgu.hr/>).

to follow it for approximately 500 meters. In some parts, the kerbs are preserved on both sides, forming a paved path about 4 to 4.5 meters wide (Figure 16). It was clear that this pathway is formed over the Roman road, which connects Radašuša with the main road from Salona to Aequum. I cannot tell for certain that this road is the same one as described by J. Britvić. He noted that he had spotted the traces of wheel ruts on the north foothill of Radašuša, and that he followed them to the connection with the road Salona – Aequum, in front of Mojanka, some 500 meters north-east of Krivodol²⁹. Considering the strategic importance of this site, it should not come as a surprise that it had several connections with the main road from Salona to Aequum.



Fig. 16. The kerbs of the Roman road towards Radašuša (photo: N. Cesarik).

When I approached Radašuša, I noticed that the enclosed area is formed of two levels. The lower level is spread on a flat terrain, but there is a certain slope towards the upper level (Figure 17). It immediately raised a certain degree of suspicion, since such a terrain levelling has not been spotted at the forts along the river Krka. However, when I climbed the upper level, I noted the significant strategic potential of this site. It enables the visual control of the whole of the Sinjsko polje, especially of its two main components, Aequum to the north, and Tilverium to the south-east (Figures 18 and 19). The upper level is also laid on level terrain (Figure 20), so it seems that the potential fort was organized with an upper level, which provided vital visual control; and the lower level, which provided better accommodation, and especially better access for the supply route. A similar case can be seen with the fort of Housesteads on the Hadrian's Wall (Figure 21)³³.

The walls of the enclosure are best preserved in the upper level, especially on the north-eastern side. The wall is made from a thick pile of rock forming a straight line. The north corner is rounded, just like the ones from the forts on the river Krka. The north-western wall of the enclosure is also well preserved, but it gradually starts to



Fig. 17. The slope between lower and upper level of Radašuša (photo: N. Cesarik).



Fig. 18. The view from Radašuša to the colony of Aequum (photo: N. Cesarik).



Fig. 19. The view from Radašuša to the legionary fortress of Tilverium (photo: N. Cesarik).



Fig. 20. The upper level of Radašuša (photo: N. Cesarik).



Fig. 21. The slope at the Housesteads auxiliary fort (photo: N. Cesarik).

decrease in the lower level, where it again forms a rounded corner which connects it with the south-eastern wall of the enclosure. The south-eastern wall is traceable almost in its entire length, but it was very difficult to follow it due to the dense shrubs that encircled the wall. Despite that, the wall is visible on the outside of the enclosure, since it is obvious that the outside is located on a lower level. There are no clear remains of the south-eastern side of the wall.

At the lower level, it has completely disintegrated, while at the upper level it was impossible to see, since the whole area is covered with extremely dense vegetation.

A. Milošević noted that the remains of ‘untypical prehistoric pottery’ can be found on the surface of the enclosure³⁰. Could it be that the ‘untypical prehistoric pottery’ is actually typical Roman kitchenware, which can be found on every Roman site? Since the whole area of Radašuša is covered by dense vegetation, I could not find any surface finds. I was also short on time while visiting Radašuša, so it was very hard to perform a complex field survey. Whatever the case, it is clear that this site provides a certain archaeological perspective, and a simple ‘shovel test pit’ could answer the question as to whether this is actually a Roman site. The presence of the Roman road, which connects Radašuša with the main road from Salona to Aequum, is a clear indicator that this site possessed an important role in the overall control of one of the entrances to Dalmatia’s capital. The remains of walls, which form a rectangular structure with rounded corners, enclosing the total area of about 2.1 hectares, are clear indicators that Radašuša should be considered as a second auxiliary fort of the military garrison in the outback of Salona. As well as the case of Ograde near the hamlet of Živaljići in the village of Gardun, further information can only be provided by future archaeological excavations.

The Third Auxiliary Fort

After it was clear that the garrison in the hinterland of Dalmatia’s capital, was most possible guarded by two auxiliary forts, I started the search for a third one. Of course, I was guided by the evidence of the three auxiliary forts on the river Krka, since it was natural to assume that the Liburnian and Salonitan garrisons would be organised in a similar manner. While legionary encampment at Liburnian Burnum was occupied by legio XI, the fortress of Tilurium was garrisoned by legio VII^{34,35}. Both of these legions were named Claudia Pia Fidelis after AD 42³⁶, so it seems logical that the same number of auxiliary units accompanied both of these legions. Again, I focused on the area around the legionary encampment, hoping to find another rectangular enclosure with a similar size as the ones at Ograde and Radašuša. However, I could not find any such structure, which led me to assume that such a fort never existed, or it disappeared under recent constructions. The latter particularly applies to the area around the cities of Sinj and Trilj, whose cultural landscapes were completely changed by subsequent architecture.

But then I realised that there is a third auxiliary fort in the environs of Salona, only it was never assumed to be part of the complex system of control regarding Dalmatia’s capital. That fort is already mentioned auxiliary fort of Andetrium (Figure 22)^{14,15}, located in the Mučko polje. Since there was no previous knowledge on the auxiliary forts along the rivers Krka and Cetina, Andetrium could not be connected with the complex military system of a Salonitan garrison. Hence, it was seen as a part of the fictional line from Burnum to Bigeste³⁷⁻⁴⁰, which had even

started to be called ‘Delmataean limes’. However, it is clear that such a frontier line never existed³¹, and that the Dalmatian garrison was formed in order to protect the entrances to the main Roman components on the coastline – the Roman colonies. The Liburnian garrison controlled the entrances towards the colony of Iader, as well as the very important Liburnian port of Scardona⁴¹, which was a centre of the juridical convent of Liburnians and Iapodes⁴². The garrison at the hinterland of Salona clearly had a similar purpose, which was obviously to control the entrance to the capital of the province, which was also the centre of the juridical convent⁴².

Since the approach from the valley of Cetina was guarded by the legionary fortress and two auxiliary forts, as well as by smaller outposts and veteran settlements, the army established complete control of the entrances to the capital over the area of Dugopolje towards Klis. There was only one area left to control and that was the last possible entrance towards the city – the one that led to Klis from the area of Mučko polje. Exactly because of that, the third auxiliary fort of the Salonitan garrison was located at Andetrium. That is the reason why there was a presence of soldiers of legio VII at Andetrium, and that is the reason why the soldiers of the same legion laid out and constructed the road from Salona to Andetrium in AD 16/17. This was only because Andetrium was a part of the complex system of control of the entrances to the main port on the Eastern Adriatic (Figure 23).



Fig. 22. Ordžija in Gornji Muć - the proposed location of the auxiliary fort of Andetrium (<https://geoportal.dgu.hr/>).

Further Questions

It is evident that a similar thing happened in the third centre of the juridical convent of Dalmatia⁴², the one at the colony of Narona. It probably served as the encampment of legio XX after the reorganisation of Illyricum into an imperial province in 11/10 BC, until the outbreak of the great war in Illyricum in AD 6-9⁴³. The entrance towards Narona from the direction of Ljubuško polje was guarded by the auxiliary fort at Gračine in Humac near Ljubuški (Figure 24)⁴⁴, situated on the crossing over the river Trebižat, as well as the veteran settlement of Pagus Scunasticus⁴⁵. The other natural entrance towards Narona

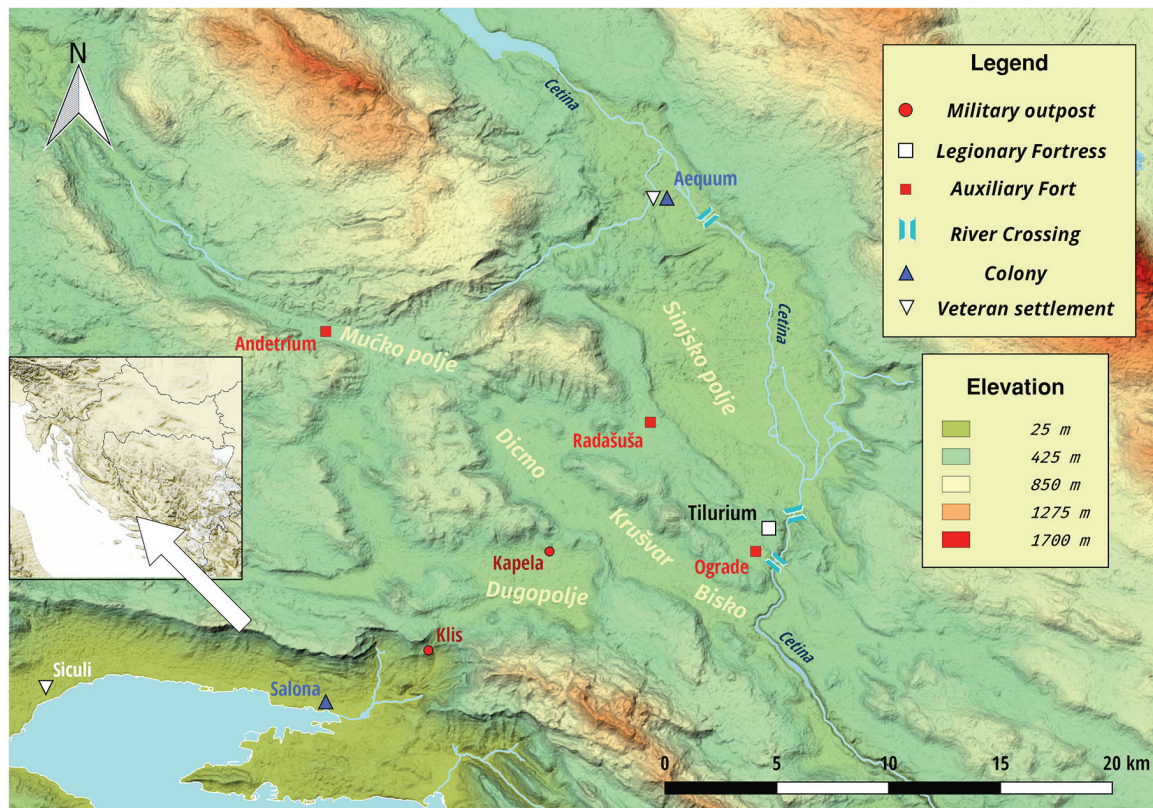


Fig. 23. The system of the military garrison in the hinterland of Salona (author: L. Drahotusky Bruketa).



Fig. 24. The auxiliary fort at Gračine in Humac near Ljubuški (source: <https://www.katastar.ba/geoportal>).

was from the direction of Čapljinā^{46,47}. Considering the analogies from the Liburnian and Salonitan garrison, I must stress that there is a potential fort in the area of Čapljinā – the one at the fortified villa of Mogorjelo, situated at the mouth of Trebižat in the river Neretva. Although theory of Patsch^{48,49}, that Mogorjelo was a Roman auxiliary fort, has been rejected on several occasions, concluding that it was actually a fortified villa from Late Antiquity⁵⁰⁻⁵⁴, it must be noted that its strategic position perfectly suits the need for the control of the natural entrance towards the colony of Narona⁴⁶. The area around the hinterland of Narona was occupied by several auxil-

iary units⁵⁵, so it would not be surprising that at the same time, two units were stationed at this area during the first century AD. However, final answers on the matter can only be provided by systematic archaeological surveys.

Conclusions

The analysis of satellite images and aerial photographs, as well as direct field surveys, provided evidence of the existence of two potential auxiliary forts in the outback of Dalmatia's capital. The first one is located at the site called Ograde, near the hamlet of Živaljići in the village of Gardun. This fort controlled the river crossing over the Cetina from the area of Vojnić and Gardun towards Čaprice, which led to Imotsko polje and further to the colony of Narona. The crossing was previously controlled by the dominant pre-Roman hillfort of Svalinova Gradina. During the Middle Ages, it was controlled by the fortress of Nutjak, situated about 900 meters south-east of the proposed Roman fort. The fort obviously controlled the entrance towards Dugopolje, from the direction of Vojnić and Krušvar, which further led to Salona over Klis. According to ancient itineraries, the station around this crossing was possibly known as Pons Tiluri. The total of 1.9 hectares of enclosed area positioned on a level terrain, as well as the classical 'playing-card' layout with rounded corners, perfectly fits other known auxiliary forts, especially the ones along the river Krka.

The second fort is located above the karstic plateau of Turjački Podi, on the hilltop known as Radašuša. The remains of a Roman road prove that Radašuša was connected to the main road from Salona to Aequum. It is obvious that Radašuša controlled the north-west entrance towards Dicmo and Dugopolje, which led from the crossing over Cetina at the colony of Aequum, and led further to Salona over Klis. Like the fort near Živaljići, the total of 2.1 hectares of enclosed area, as well as the classical 'playing-card' layout, supports the assumption that the Radašuša is actually a Roman auxiliary fort of the Principate. Unlike the forts above the river Krka, the enclosure at Radašuša is formed in two levels. The upper level provided vital control of the whole area of Sinjsko polje, especially its main compartments, such as Aequum and Tilverium. The best analogy for this kind of fort can be found at the fort of Housteads on Hadrian's Wall, which encloses the same amount of area as Radašuša.

The evidence of these two forts provides a better knowledge of the overall organisation of the garrison in the hinterland of Salona, and by connecting the previous data, it is highly evident that this garrison was organised as a complex system of control to the entrance of the main port on the Eastern Adriatic. The garrison consisted of one legionary fortress, and possibly three auxiliary forts. The legionary encampment was located in Tilverium, near the crossing over the river Cetina above today's city of Trilj. The first auxiliary fort controlled the crossing over the Cetina from the area of Vojnić and Gardun to the area of Čaporice. The second fort controlled

the road from Salona to Aequum, and further to the valley of the river Sava in Pannonia. One of the most vital points of that route was certainly the crossing at the colony of Aequum, which was guarded by legionary veterans settled in this area even before the reign of Claudius. Both the legionary fortress and the auxiliary forts of Ograde and Radašuša controlled the entrances towards Klis and Salona from the direction of Dugopolje. The third auxiliary fort is already known fort of Andetrium, which controlled the only entrance left towards Klis and Salona – the one that led from Mučko polje over Gizdovac and Prugovo.

This system was formed in a similar manner to the one on the Liburnian frontier, only in this case the forts were more spread out. The key objective of this military garrison was manifestly to control the natural routes, especially the crossings over the river Cetina, which provided the establishment of a wide road network, and with that, it ensured a vital exploit of natural resources from the inlands of the province.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my dear friend Luka Drahotusky-Bruketa, for all the help received, especially for the technical support in the making of the maps of the Salonitan garrison, as well as for various useful talks that we shared on the subject of the Roman army in Dalmatia.

N. Cesarik

Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute for Historical and Social Sciences in Rijeka, Ružičeva 5, 51000 Rijeka, Croatia
e-mail: ncesarik@gmail.com

REFERENCES

- VRKIĆ Š, Diadora, 31 (2017) 197. – 2. CESARIK N, Coll Antropol, 41.4 (2017) 363. – 3. SANADER M, Tilverium I. Istraživanja – Forschungen 1997. – 2001. (Golden Marketing / Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2003). – 4. ŠIMIĆ-KANAET Z, TONČINIĆ D, RADOVIĆ S, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, 98 (2006) 107. – 5. ŠIMIĆ-KANAET Z, Tilverium II. Keramika 1997. – 2006. (Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga / Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2010). – 6. SANADER M, TONČINIĆ D, Gardun – The ancient Tilverium. In: RADMAN-LIVAJA I (Ed) Finds of the Roman Military Equipment in Croatia (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2010). – 7. SANADER M, TONČINIĆ D, Das Projekt Tilverium. In: SANADER M, RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ A, TONČINIĆ D, RADMAN-LIVAJA I (Eds) Weapons and military equipment in a funerary context. Proceedings of the XVIIIth Roman Military Equipment Conference (Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu / Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2013). – 8. SANADER M, TONČINIĆ D, BULJEVIĆ Z, IVČEVIĆ S, ŠEPAROVIĆ T, Tilverium III. Istraživanja 2002. – 2006. godine (Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2014). – 9. SANADER M, TONČINIĆ D, ŠIMIĆ-KANAET Z, IVČEVIĆ S, BULJEVIĆ Z, ŠEPAROVIĆ T, MILOGLAV I, Tilverium IV. Arheološka istraživanja 2007. – 2010. godine (Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu / FF Press, Zagreb, 2017). – 10. TONČINIĆ D, Monuments of Legio VII in the the Roman province of Dalmatia (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Split, 2011). – 11. ŠAŠEL A, ŠAŠEL J, Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt [Situla 5] (Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1963). – 12. ŠAŠEL A, ŠAŠEL J, Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt [Situla 19] (Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1978). – 13. ŠAŠEL A, ŠAŠEL J, Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt [Situla 25] (Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, 1986). – 14. BEKIĆ L, Ilirski i rimski Andetriji. MS Thesis (Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2002). – 15. BEKIĆ L, Andetriji, rimsko vojno uporište - Topografske odrednice. In: LIBRENJAK A, TONČINIĆ D (Eds) Arheološka istraživanja u Cetinskoj krajini. Radovi kolokvija Rimska vojska u procesu romaniziranja provincije Dalmacije [Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 27] (Hrvatsko arheološko društvo / Muzej Cetinske krajine / Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2011). – 16. CAMBI N, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, 86 (1993) 147. – 17. CAMBI N, Dugopolje u antici. In: GULIN A (Ed) Dugopolje. Zbornik radova Općine Dugopolje (Općina Dugopolje, Zagreb-Dugopolje, 2001). –

18. CESARIK N, Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru, 56 (2014) 1. – 19. SANADER M, Nova antička Duklja, 7 (2016) 39. 20. DEMICHELI D, Aequiculi or Aequum? The origo of two soldiers of Legio XV Apollinaris in the inscriptions from Carnuntum. In: HORVAT J (Ed) The Roman army between the Alps and the Adriatic (Institut za arheologiju ZRC SAZU, Založba ZRC, Ljubljana, 2016). – 21. TONČINIĆ D, DEMICHELI D, Archaeologia Adriatica, 2.1 (2008) 349. – 22. BULIĆ F, Bullettino di archeologia e storia Dalmata, 25 (1903) 113. – 23. BOJANOVSKI I, Dolabelin sistem cesta u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji (Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo, 1974). – 24. BOJANOVSKI I, Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH, 15 (1977) 83. – 25. TABAK A, PETRIČEVIĆ D, ALDUK I, Utvrda Nutjak. In: ŠEPAROVIĆ T (Ed) Zbornik Stjepan Gunjača i hrvatska srednjovjekovna povijesno-arheološka baština 1 (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split, 2010). – 26. MILETIĆ Ž, Production of tegulae in Burnum in the context of building activities. In: LIPOVAC VRKLJAN G, RADIĆ ROSSI I, ŠILJEG B (Eds) Roman Ceramic and Glass Manufactures. Production and Trade in the Adriatic region (Institut za arheologiju / Grad Crikvenica / Muzej grada Crikvenice, Crikvenica, 2011). – 27. MANNING WH, Catalogue of the Romano-British Iron Tools, Fittings and Weapons in the British Museum (British Museum, London, 1985). – 28. DUNGWORTH D, Mystifying Roman Nails: Clavus Annalis, Defixiones and Minkisi. In: FORCEY C, HAWTHORNE J, WITCHER R (Eds) TRAC 97: Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (Oxbow Books, Oxford, 1998). – 29. BRITVIĆ J, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, 65-67 (1963-1965) 27. – 30. MILOŠEVIĆ A, Arheološka topografija Cetine (Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, Split, 1998). – 31. PERIŠA D, Archaeologia Adriatica, 2.2 (2008) 507. – 32. JOHNSON A, Roman Forts of the 1st and 2nd Centuries AD in Britain and the German Provinces (Adam & Charles Black, London, 1983). – 33. RUSHWORTH A, Housesteads Roman Fort - the Grandest Station (English Heritage, Swindon, 2009). – 34. BETZ A, Untersuchungen zur Militärgeschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien (Rudolf M. Rohrer Verlag, Baden bei Wien, 1939). – 35. WILKES JJ, Dalmatia (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969). – 36. WILKES JJ, Army and Society in Roman Dalmatia. In: ALFÖLDY G, DOBSON B, ECK W (Eds) Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit (Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2000). – 37. ŠAŠEL J, Die Limes Entwicklung in Illyricum. In: PIPPIDI DM (Ed) Actes du IXe Congres International d'Etudes sur les Frontiers Romaines (Editura Academiei / Böhlau, București-Köln-Wien, 1974). – 38. WILKES JJ, Augustan limes in Illyricum. In: HAUPT D, HORN HG (Eds) Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms II. Vorträge des 10. Internationalen Limeskongress in der Germania Inferior (Rheinland-Verlag, Köln, 1977). – 39. SANADER M, Arheološke studije i ogledi (Ceres, Zagreb, 2002). – 40. ŠAŠEL-KOS M, Appian and Illyricum [Situla 43] (Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana, 2005). – 41. GLAVIČIĆ M, MILETIĆ Ž, Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, 104 (2011) 113. – 42. DEMICHELI D, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, 108 (2015) 91. – 43. CESARIK N, Osvrt na boravak XX. legije u Iliriku. In: FABIJANIĆ T, GLAVIČIĆ M, RAŠIĆ M (Eds) Kulturno povijesna baština Općine Ljubuški (Općina Ljubuški, Ljubuški, 2017). – 44. MILETIĆ Ž, Rimski auksilijarni logor na Humcu kod Ljubuškog. In: FABIJANIĆ T, GLAVIČIĆ M, RAŠIĆ M (Eds) Kulturno povijesna baština Općine Ljubuški (Općina Ljubuški, Ljubuški, 2017). – 45. GLAVIČIĆ M, PANDŽA Ž, Veterani pagi Scunastici. In: FABIJANIĆ T, GLAVIČIĆ M, RAŠIĆ M (Eds) Kulturno povijesna baština Općine Ljubuški (Općina Ljubuški, Ljubuški, 2017). – 46. BOJANOVSKI I, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu. Nova serija, 24 (1969) 137. – 47. BOJANOVSKI I, Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH, 17 (1978) 51. – 48. PATSCH C, Bosnien und Herzegowina in römischer Zeit (B.-H. Instituts für Balkanforschung, Sarajevo, 1911). – 49. PATSCH C, Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine u Sarajevu, 26 (1914) 141. – 50. DYGGVE E, VETTERS H, Mogorjelo. Ein spätantiker Herrenzitz im römischen Dalmatien (Böhlau, Wien-Graz-Köln, 1966). 51. BASLER Đ, Naše starine, 5 (1958) 45. – 52. BASLER Đ, Kasnoantičko doba. In: ČEHIĆ J (Ed) Kulturna istorija Bosne i Hercegovine. Od najstarijih vremena do početka turske vladavine (Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1966). – 53. BASLER Đ, Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini (Veselin Masleša, Sarajevo, 1972). – 54. ZANINOVIĆ M, Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja ANUBiH, 32 (2002) 447. – 55. DODIG R, Rimski kompleks na Gračinama. Vojni tabor ili...?. In: LIBRENJAK A, TONČINIĆ D (Eds) Arheološka istraživanja u Cetinskoj krajini. Radovi kolokvija Rimsko vojska u procesu romaniziranja provincije Dalmacije [Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 27] (Hrvatsko arheološko društvo / Muzej Cetinske krajine / Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 2011).

RIJEČNI PRIJELAZI I RIMSKI AUKSILIJARNI LOGORI: SPOZNAJE S RIJEKE CETINE

SAŽETAK

Autor donosi nove spoznaje o potencijalnim rimskim auksilijarnim logorima smještenima u zaleđu Salone – glavnoga grada provincije Dalmacije. Prvi je logor smješten na položaju Ograde, pokraj zaseoka Živaljići u naselju Gardun, a kontrolirao je prijelaz preko rijeke Cetine od područja Vojnića i Garduna prema Čaporicama. Drugi je logor smješten poviše krške zaravni Turjačkih Poda, na brdu zvanom Radašuša, a kontrolirao je prirodnu komunikaciju između Salone i Ekvuma. Spoznaje o ta dva logora pridonose boljem poznavanju cjelokupne organizacije vojnoga garnizona u zaleđu Salone. Povezivanjem dosadašnjih spoznaja, postalo je jasno da je taj garnizon bio organiziran kao kompleksni sustav kontrole pristupa glavnoj luci istočnog Jadrana.