

## RIMSKI VOJNI PEČATI NA CRIJEPU IZ LJUBUŠKOGA

## ROMAN MILITARY STAMPS ON TILES FROM LJUBUŠKI

Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper

UDK: 904:736.3](497.6 Ljubuški)"652"

Primljeno / Received: 27. 2. 2007.

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 8. 11. 2007.

Radoslav Dodig  
Gimnazija Metković  
Kralja Zvonimira 12  
HR – 20350 Metković  
radoslav.dodig@ht.ba

*Na području Ljubuškoga (Bigeste) pronađen je dvadeset jedan pečat na krovnome crijepu (tegulae) iz rimskih vojnih radionica. Najviše ih pripada postrojbama Cohors I Belgarum (10), Legio VIII Augusta (7), Legio IIII Flavia felix (3) i Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum (1). Gotovo svi pečati pronađeni su na lokalitetu Gračine na Humcu (20), jedni slučajno, drugi u sondažnim iskapanjima ili za arheoloških istraživanja od 1977. do 1980. Dosad je bilo poznato deset pečata na crijepu iz Ljubuškoga, dok se jedanaest njih objavljuje prvi put. Pečati LEG VIII AVG mogu se okvirno datirati oko 69. godine, LEG IIII F F od 70. do 86, COH I BELG oko 173. godine, a COH VIII VOL u 3. st. po. Kr. Oni potvrđuju da su od 1. do 3. stoljeća u auxilijarnome vojnom taboru na Gračinama zasigurno boravile, između ostalih, I. belgijska kohorta i VIII. dobrovoljačka kohorta te vjerojatno odjeljenja (vexillatio) IV. Flavijeve legije i VIII. Augustove legije.*

*Ključne riječi: vojni pečati, crijep, Ljubuški, COH I BELG, LEG VIII AVG, LEG IIII F F, COH VIII VOL, Gračine, tabor*

*In the territory of Ljubuški (Bigeste), twenty-one military stamps were found on roof tiles (tegulae) from Roman military workshops. Most of them belong to the Cohors I Belgarum (10), Legio VIII Augusta (7), Legio IIII Flavia felix (3) and Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum (1). Almost all of these stamps were found at the Gračine site at Humac (20), some incidentally, others during test excavations or during archaeological excavations conducted from 1977 to 1980. Previously ten tegula stamps were known from Ljubuški, while eleven are being published for the first time. The stamps LEG VIII AVG may be tentatively dated to around the year 69 AD, LEG IIII F F from 70 to 86 AD, COH I BELG to approximately 173 AD, and COH VIII VOL to the third century AD. They confirm that the Cohors I Belgarum and Cohors VIII voluntariorum and probably vexillations (vexillatio) of the Legio IV Flavia felix and the Legio VIII Augusta were certainly stationed in the auxiliary military camp at Gračine from the first to the third centuries.*

*Key words: military stamps, tile, Ljubuški, COH I BELG, LEG VIII AVG, LEG IIII F F, COH VIII VOL, Gračine, camp*

Rimski vojni pečati na crijepu važan su epigrafski materijal za proučavanje povijesti rimske vojske

Roman military stamps on tiles and bricks are an important epigraphic material to study the his-

koja je bila glavni nositelj romanizacije u provincijama. Na području Ljubuškoga, desetak milja u zaleđu Narone, uz obilje kamenih natpisa pronađena su i pedeset dva pečata na crijepu, od čega dvadeset jedan potječe iz rimskih vojnih radionica (Dodig 2007: 104). Ipak, taj epigrafski korpus uglavnom nije poznat stručnoj javnosti. Početkom 20. stoljeća bila su poznata samo dva vojna pečata: pečat IV. Flavijeve legije i pečat VIII. Augustove legije (Patsch 1908: 111). U kasnijim radovima i monografijama također se spominju samo ta dva pečata (Alföldy 1967: 44–51; Wilkes 1969: 116). Nakon arheološkoga iskapanja rimskoga kompleksa na Gračinama na Humcu (1977–1980) u literaturi je objavljeno nekoliko novih pečata, pa se njihov broj popeo na deset (Bojanovski 1985: 81; 1990: 702; Škegro 1991: 224, T. 1: 3). Istom nakon novoga postava Arheološke zbirke Franjevačkoga samostana Humac kod Ljubuškoga 2002, kada je izložen dio nalaza s lokaliteta Gračine, utvrdilo se da je na području Ljubuškoga pronađen ukupno dvadeset jedan vojni pečat na crijepu.

Kronologija vojnih pečata iz Ljubuškoga temelji se na saznanjima o povijesti boravka rimskih vojnih postrojba u provinciji Dalmaciji.

## COHORS I BELGARUM

Krajem 1. stoljeća kohorta je iz Gornje Germanije došla na Humac. Jedan odjel bio je stacioniran u Tiluriju, a u Saloni je bio *officium*. Na Humcu se vrlo aktivno posvetila građevinskim radovima (CIL III: 8484). Krajem 2. stoljeća odlazi u Germaniju te u Britaniju i tada se prozvala *Cohors I. Septimia Belgarum*. Od pet kohorti u Ljubuškom je najviše epigrafskih spomenika ostavila upravo I. belgijska kohorta: sedam nadgrobničkih spomenika, jedan žrtvenik, jednu počasnu ploču i deset pečata na crijepu. Opširnije su o njoj pisali: Patsch 1896: 12–14, Bersanetti 1941: 51–52, Zaninović 1967: 66, Wilkes 1969: 472, Alföldy 1987: 248–249 i Spaul 2000: 190–191.

Pečati na crijepu *Cohors I Belgarum* mogu se podijeliti u tri skupine: u prvu ulaze pečati pod brojevima 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 i 10 (sl. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 i 10), u drugu oni pod brojevima 2, 8 i 9 (sl. 2, 8 i 9), a broj je 7 osamljen (sl. 7). Slova nisu ujednačena; često je broj *I* spojen sa slovima *H* i *B* ili ima tako široke gornje serife da nalikuju slovu *T*. Sličan tip broja *I*, ali bez serifa, susrećemo na pečatu *Legio I Adiutrix* (Dolata *et al.* 2007: T. 3: 1). Osim toga, na četirima pečatima (br. 5, 6, 8 i 9) iza pokrate *BELG* nalazi se slovo *I* ili broj *I*. Taj znak razlikuje se od broja *I* ispred oblika *BELG* jer je otisnut ili s duljom gornjom vodoravnom hastom (br. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 i 9) ili sa serifima (br. 5 i 10). Zacijelo je u pitanju slovo *I*

tory of the Roman military, which was the principal driver of Romanisation in the provinces. In the territory of the Herzegovinian town of Ljubuški, approximately ten miles into the hinterland of the settlement of Narona, besides an abundance of inscriptions in stone, fifty-two stamps on tiles were found, out of which twenty-one originated in Roman military workshops (Dodig 2007: 104). Even so, experts are largely unfamiliar with this source of epigraphic materials. At the beginning of the twentieth century, only two military stamps were known: the stamp of the *Legio IV Flavia Felix* and the stamp of the *Legio VIII Augusta* (Patsch 1908: 111). In later works and monographs, only these two stamps are mentioned (Alföldy 1967: 44–51; Wilkes 1969: 116). After archaeological excavations of the Roman complex in Gračine near Humac (1977–1980), several new stamps were published so their total number grew to ten (Bojanovski 1985: 81; 1990: 702; Škegro 1991: 224, pl. 1: 3). Only after a new exhibit in the Archaeological Collection of the Humac Franciscan Monastery near Ljubuški was set up in 2002, when a part of the finds from the Gračine site were put on display, it was ascertained that a total of twenty-one military stamps on tiles were discovered in the wider Ljubuški area.

The chronology of military stamps from Ljubuški is based on knowledge of the history of the sojourn of Roman military units in the Dalmatian province.

## COHORS I BELGARUM

At the end of the first century a cohort from Germania Superior arrived in Humac. One section was stationed in Tilurium, while the *officium* was in Salona. This unit actively engaged in construction works in Humac (CIL III: 8484). At the end of the second century it departed for Germania and then Britannia, after which it was called *Cohors I. Septimia Belgarum*. Out of the five cohorts in Ljubuški, the most epigraphic monuments were left behind precisely by the *Cohors I Belgarum*: seven grave monuments, one altar, one commemorative plaque and ten stamps on tiles. More has been written on them by: Patsch 1896: 12–14, Bersanetti 1941: 51–52, Zaninović 1967: 66, Wilkes 1969: 472, Alföldy 1987: 248–249 and Spaul 2000: 190–191.

The tile stamps of the *Cohors I Belgarum* can be divided into three groups: the first includes the stamps under numbers 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 10 (Figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 10), the second those under numbers 2, 8 and 9 (Figs. 2, 8 and 9), while number 7 stands alone (Fig. 7). The letters are not uniform; often the number *I* is connected to the letters *H* and *B* or it

koje ima znatno kraću gornju vodoravnu hastu. U tome bi se slučaju natpis pročitao ovako: *COH(ortis) I BELGI(cae)*. U Ljubuškom je na natpisima dva puta urezan naziv kohorte u punome obliku: *Coh I Belgarum* (AE 1913: 138 i AE 1913: 139) i jednom *Coh I Belga* (CIL III: 14630). U ostalim slučajevima navodi se standardno *I Belg* ili fragmentirano *I Bel* i *I Be*. Na drugim se nalazištima u Dalmaciji također susreće inačica *Belgarum* (Alföldy 1987: 283–284). Oblik *Belgica* zabilježen je u Gornjoj Germaniji: (*centurio*) *c(o)ho(rtis) I Belgica(e)* (CIL XIII: 7038). Pojedini istraživači razlikuju tri kohorte unovačene u *Gallia Belgica: I Belgica* i *I Septimia Belgarum* u Gornjoj Germaniji te *I Belgarum* u Dalmaciji (Cheesman 1914: 171–173). Drugi pak drže da je u pitanju jedna postrojba (*Cohors I Septimia Belgarum*) koja je služila u dvjema provincijama (Spaul 2000: 191). Teško je pretpostaviti da slovo *I* označava što drugo (*magister fabricae?*). Primjerice na pojedinim se pečatima *Legio XXI Rapax* nalaze dodatna slova *L*, *C* i *SCVI*, ali njihovo značenje nije potpuno razjašnjeno (Giacomini 2005: 4). Koliko je iz dostupnih izvora poznato, *Cohors I Belgarum* (ili *Cohors I Belgica*) ostavila je pečate samo na crijepu u Ljubuškom, zbog čega se natpisi mogu čitati i na neki drugačiji način.

## LEGIO VIII AUGUSTA

Ova vrlo stara legija, osnovana još u Cezarovo vrijeme, bila je za Augusta stacionirana na istoku (Wilkes 2000: 110). Njezina uloga i veza s Dalmacijom u 1. stoljeću nije potpuno poznata. Patsch je pretpostavljao da je *Legio VIII Augusta* sudjelovala u suzbijanju ustanka od 6. do 9. godine, ali da nije morala biti stacionirana u Dalmaciji (Patsch 1895: 144). Osim toga Patsch piše da je *Leg. VIII. Augusta* boravila u Dalmaciji sredinom 2. stoljeća (*ibid.* 143–144), o čemu nema uvjerljivih dokaza. Za istraživanja rimskoga vojnog kompleksa na Gračinama Bojanovski je isticao da je jedno odjeljenje boravilo u Ljubuškom, i to u doba ilirskoga ustanka od 6. do 9. godine (Bojanovski 1980: 25). U svojem zadnjem članku o VIII. legiji Bojanovski zaključuje da je na putu prema Italiji 69. godine ta legija nakratko boravila u Dalmaciji (Bojanovski 1990: 707). Sukladno s tim crijep s pečatom *LEG VIII AVG* s Humca, iz Burnuma, Aserije i Smrdelja Bojanovski datira u 69. godinu. Postoji mišljenje da je dio legije bio smješten u Burnumu jer je u Smrdeljima proizvodila crijep sa svojim žigom (Wilkes 1969: 116; Zabehtlicky-Scheffenegger 1979: 42; Wilkes 2000: 110). To su ranije pretpostavljali Mommsen i Hirschfeld (CIL III: p. 1039 i 1474). Ipak, i dalje ostaje dvojba o sudjelova-

has such wide upper serifs that it resembles the letter *T*. A similar type of *I*, but without serifs, can be seen in the stamp of the *Legio I Adiutrix* (Dolata *et al.* 2007: pl. 3: 1). Additionally, on four stamps (no. 5, 6, 8 and 9) after the abbreviation *BELG* there is a letter *I* or number *I*. This symbol differs from the number *I* before the form *BELG* as it is impressed with a longer upper horizontal hasta (no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8 and 9) or with serifs (no. 5 and 10). This is certainly a letter *I* which has a considerably lower upper horizontal hasta. In this case, the inscription would be read as follows: *COH(ortis) I BELGI(cae)*. The full form of this cohort's name was twice inscribed on inscriptions in Ljubuški: *Coh I Belgarum* (AE 1913: 138 and AE 1913: 139) and once as *Coh I Belga* (CIL III: 14630). In the remaining cases, the standard *I Belg* or fragmentary *I Bel* and *I Be* are cited. The *Belgarum* variant is also encountered at other sites in Dalmatia (Alföldy 1987: 283–284). The form *Belgica* was recorded in Germania Superior: (*centurio*) *c(o)ho(rtis) I Belgica(e)* (CIL XIII: 7038). Individual researchers distinguish three cohorts recruited in *Gallia Belgica: I Belgica* and *I Septimia Belgarum* in Germania Superior and *I Belgarum* in Dalmatia (Cheesman 1914: 171–173). Others hold that this was a single unit (*Cohors I Septimia Belgarum*) which served in two provinces (Spaul 2000: 191). It is difficult to assume that the letter *I* indicated anything else (*magister fabricae?*). For example, individual stamps of the *Legio XXI Rapax* contain additional letters *L*, *C* and *SCVI*, but their meaning is not entirely clear (Giacomini 2005: 4). As far as it is known from available sources, the *Cohors I Belgarum* (or *Cohors I Belgica*) left behind only stamps on tiles in Ljubuški, which is why the stamps can be read in other ways as well.

## LEGIO VIII AUGUSTA

This very old legion, established during Caesar's time, was stationed in the east during the reign of Augustus (Wilkes 2000: 110). Its role and tie to Dalmatia in the first century is not fully known. Patsch assumed that the *Legio VIII Augusta* participated in combating the rebellion from 6 to 9 AD, but it need not have been stationed in Dalmatia (Patsch 1895: 144). Patsch additionally wrote that the *Leg. VIII. Augusta* stayed in Dalmatia in the mid-second century (*ibid.* 143–144), about which there is no convincing evidence. During research at the Roman complex in Gračine, Bojanovski stressed that one vexillation was posted in Ljubuški, during the Illyrian rebellion from 6 to 9 AD (Bojanovski 1980: 25). In his last article on the Seventh Legion, Bojanovski concluded that on the way to Italy in 69 AD, this

nju *Legio VIII. Augusta* u *Bellum Batonianum* od 6. do 9. godine (Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 429–430; Alföldy 1989: 206; Reddé 2000: 121). Vojni put *Leg. VIII Augusta*, uključujući i proizvodnju žigovana crijepa, u novije su doba temeljito obradili Mirković (1998: 89–98) i Bohec (2000: 273–284).

Na temelju oblika pečata može se zaključiti da oni pod brojevima 11, 13 i 15 (sl. 11, 13 i 15) pripadaju jednomu kalupu, sličnom onom u Smrdelji (Bojanovski 1990: 702). Pečati pod brojevima 12, 16 i 17 (sl. 12, 16 i 17) pripadaju drugoj skupini, što možda upućuje na to da su napravljeni na području Ljubuškoga. Pečat pod brojem 14 (sl. 14) izdvaja se po duktusu svojih slova. Svi su ulomci crijepa pronađeni bez tragova žbuke jer su se vjerojatno srušili s krova. Zanimljivo je da samo pečati ove legije imaju oblik *tabula ansata*, što je česta pojava i u nekih drugih legija, primjerice u Vindonisi (Giacomini 2005: 4).

### LEGIO IIII FLAVIA FELIX

Legiju je osnovao Vespazijan nakon građanskih ratova i ona se uskoro, nakon odlaska XI. legije, našla u Burnumu (Wilkes 1969: 97). Nije se dugo zadržala u Dalmaciji: već je 86. bila u Meziji u borbama protiv Dačana (Wilkes 2000: 107). Legija je imala ciglanu u Smrdeljima (Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979: 40) odakle su njezini proizvodi stizali do Tilurija (Sanader 2002: 135; Tončinić 2003: 260) te Vitine i Ljubuškoga (Wilkes 1979: 66; Alföldy 1987: 320). Ne treba *a priori* odbaciti ni Patschovu tvrdnju da je u taboru na Humcu boravila jedna *vexillatio* (Patsch 1893: 681; 1908: 111).

### COHORS VIII VOLUNTARIORUM CIVIUM ROMANORUM

Kao i druge dobrovoljačke kohorte, utemeljena je za vrijeme *Bellum Batonianum* 6. godine po. Kr. Natpisi su potvrđeni u Andetriju (prvo boravište u 1. stoljeću), zatim u Tiluriju (stalno boravište), Epidauru, Halapiću i Ljubuškom (detašmani) i krajem 2. st. u Čačku (*vexillatio*) (Zaninović 1985: 74). U Dalmaciji se nalazila do 245. godine, a nakon toga preselila se u Arabiju (Sergejevski 1924: 113–123; Bersanetti 1941: 56–58; Holder 1980: 238; Alföldy 1987: 254–255; Zaninović 1999: 217; Tončinić 2004: 154–155). U Ljubušcome su pronađena dva nadgrobna spomenika vojnika VIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte, dok je u Dalmaciji kohorta ostavila preko četrdeset epigrafskih spomenika, najviše u Saloni, potom u Muću, Vidu, Stobreču, Dubrovniku, Halapiću, Biaćima i Tučepima (Spaul 2000: 35–37).

legion briefly stayed in Dalmatia (Bojanovski 1990: 707). In this vein, tiles bearing the seal *LEG VIII AVG* from Humac, Burnum, Asseria and Smrdelji are dated by Bojanovski to the year 69. There are views that a section of the legion was stationed in Burnum, because it produced tiles bearing its seal in Smrdelji (Wilkes 1969: 116; Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979: 42; Wilkes 2000: 110). This was earlier assumed by Mommsen and Hirschfeld (CIL III: p. 1039 and 1474). Nonetheless, there is still some doubt as to the participation of the *Legio VIII. Augusta* in the *Bellum Batonianum* from 6 to 9 AD (Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 429–430; Alföldy 1989: 206; Reddé 2000: 121). The military career of the *Leg. VIII Augusta*, including production of stamped tiles, has been thoroughly examined in more recent times by Mirković (1998: 89–98) and Bohec (2000: 273–284).

Based on the shape of the stamp, it can be concluded that those under numbers 11, 13 and 15 (Figs. 11, 13 and 15) come from the same mould, similar to the one in Smrdelji (Bojanovski 1990: 702). The stamps under numbers 12, 16 and 17 (Figs. 12, 16 and 17) belong to another group, which may indicate that they were made in the Ljubuški area. The stamp under number 14 (Fig. 14) is distinguished by the *ductus* of its letters. All tile fragments were found without any traces of plaster, because the roofs they were on probably collapsed. It is interesting that only the stamps of this legion have the *tabula ansata* form, which is frequent with some other legions, e.g. in Vindonissa (Giacomini 2005: 4).

### LEGIO IIII FLAVIA FELIX

This legion was established by Vespasian after the civil wars, and it was posted in Burnum soon after the departure of the Legio XI (Wilkes 1969: 97). It did not remain in Dalmatia long: already in 86 AD it was in Moesia battling against the Dacians (Wilkes 2000: 107). The legion had a brick workshop in Smrdelji (Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979: 40) whence its products made their way to Tilurium (Sanader 2002: 135; Tončinić 2003: 260) and Vitina and Ljubuški (Wilkes 1979: 66; Alföldy 1987: 320). Patsch's assertion that a *vexillatio* stayed in the camp at Humac should not be rejected *a priori* (Patsch 1893: 681; 1908: 111).

### COHORS VIII VOLUNTARIORUM CIVIUM ROMANORUM

Like other volunteer cohorts, it was established during the *Bellum Batonianum* in 6 AD. Inscriptions

## ZAKLJUČAK

Iz priložena kataloga vidi se da od dvadeset jednog pečata na krovnome crijepu (*tegulae*) iz rimskih vojnih radionica, pronađenoga na području Ljubuškoga, najveći broj pripada sljedećim postrojbama: *Cohors I Belgarum* (10), *Legio VIII Augusta* (7), *Legio III Flavia felix* (3) i *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* (1). Korpus pečata na crijepu nedvojbeno je svjedočanstvo o boravku rimskih vojnih postrojbi u provinciji Dalmaciji. Prema dosadašnjim saznanjima u Dalmaciji su potvrđeni vojni pečati na crijepu pet rimskih legija: *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*, *Legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*, *Legio VIII Augusta*, *Legio III Flavia felix* i *Legio XIII gemina* (Škegro 1999: 253–255) te triju kohorti: *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *Cohors I Belgarum* i *Cohors III Alpinorum* (Škegro 1999: 255; Tončinić *et al.* 2006: 27). Unatoč tome u europskoj su se stručnoj literaturi dugo navodili podaci kako su u Dalmaciji pronađeni vojni pečati četiriju legija i jedne kohorte (Wilkes 1979: 65), a na taj se podatak nailazi i u recentnim monografijama (Kurzmann 2006: 109–115).

S obzirom na to da su gotovo svi vojni pečati pronađeni na Gračinama, na tome lokalitetu treba tražiti rimski vojni tabor. O tome su šturo pisali pojedini autori (Alačević 1878: 52–53; Hoernes 1880: 40; Patsch 1897: 468) te nešto više Kahrstedt, nazivajući ga *Erdkastell* (Kahrstedt 1940: 183–188) i Sergejevski koji piše “o najvećem vojnom logoru u BiH” (Sergejevski 1955: 67). U arheološkim istraživanjima od 1977. do 1980. na Gračinama otkriveni su ostaci jednoga rimskog objekta. Voditelj iskapanja Ivo Bojanovski bio je uvjeren da se radi o zgradi zapovjedništva – *principia* i paviljonima za momčad – *contubernia* (Bojanovski 1981: 63–66; 1985: 92–93; 1988: 366–368). Ipak, na temelju raščlambe položaja i plana istraženih prostorija i pokretnih nalaza može se pretpostaviti da je na Gračinama otkopano kupalište (*balneum*) i jedan stambeni objekt (*casa*) koji su često prateći objekti uz vojne tabore (Dodig 2006: 31).

Kad je u pitanju materijal za proizvodnju crijepa, primjećuje se da su legijski crijepovi kvalitetnije izrađeni. U njih prevladava crvenkasto-žučkasta (Munsell 5YR 7/4-7/5) i blijedosmeđa glina (10YR 7/4), dok je u produkciji I. belgijske kohorte šira paleta boja crijepa, od crvenkasto-žučkaste do svijetlocrvene i blijedosmeđe (7.5YR 7/5, 5YR 7/5, 10YR 7/4). Teško je bez arheometrijskih ispitivanja govoriti o podrijetlu materijala za crijep, ali je vjerojatno da su kohorte koristile lokalnu glinu (šire područje Ljubuškoga, uključujući i Čapljinu), za razliku od legija koje su mogle koristiti usluge tabora iz Burnuma i Tilurija.

have been confirmed in Andetrium (their first post in the first century), followed by Tilurium (permanent post), Epidaurum, Halapić and Ljubuški (detachments) and, at the end of the second century, in Čačak (*vexillatio*) (Zaninović 1985: 74). It was in Dalmatia until 245 AD, and afterward it moved to Arabia (Sergejevski 1924: 113–123; Bersanetti 1941: 56–58; Holder 1980: 238; Alföldy 1987: 254–255; Zaninović 1999: 217; Tončinić 2004: 154–155). Two grave monuments to soldiers of the seventh volunteer cohort were found in Ljubuški, while in Dalmatia it left behind over forty epigraphic monuments, mostly in Salona, followed by Muć, Vid, Stobreč, Dubrovnik, Halapić, Biaći and Tučepi (Spaul 2000: 35–37).

## CONCLUSION

Based on the attached catalogue, it can be seen that out of the twenty-one stamps on roof tiles (*tegulae*) from Roman military workshops found in the territory of Ljubuški, the most come from the following units: *Cohors I Belgarum* (10), *Legio VIII Augusta* (7), *Legio III Flavia felix* (3) and *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* (1). This body of stamps on roof tiles is certain testimony to the presence of Roman military units in the province of Dalmatia. According to previous knowledge, in Dalmatia the stamps of five Roman legions have been confirmed: *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*, *Legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*, *Legio VIII Augusta*, *Legio III Flavia felix* and *Legio XIII gemina* (Škegro 1999: 253–255); and of three cohorts: *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *Cohors I Belgarum* and *Cohors III Alpinorum* (Škegro 1999: 255; Tončinić *et al.* 2006: 27). Even so, the data long cited in the European scholarly literature speaks of the military stamps of four legions and one cohort found in Dalmatia (Wilkes 1979: 65), and this data can even be found in recent monographs (Kurzmann 2006: 109–115).

Since almost all of the military stamps were found at Gračine, a Roman camp should be sought at this site. Individual authors have written about this briefly (Alačević 1878: 52–53; Hoernes 1880: 40; Patsch 1897: 468), while somewhat more attention has been accorded by Kahrstedt, who called it an *Erdkastell* (Kahrstedt 1940: 183–188) and Sergejevski, who wrote “about the largest military camp in Bosnia-Herzegovina” (Sergejevski 1955: 67). During archaeological research conducted at Gračine from 1977 to 1980, the remains of a Roman structure were discovered. The excavation leader, Ivo Bojanovski, was convinced that it was the command building – *principia* and troop pavilions –

## KATALOG

*Napomena.* Za određivanje boje crijepe korišteni su priručnici *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (Gretamacbeth, New Windsor, 2000) i *The New Munsell Student Color Set* (J. Long i J. T. Luke, Fairchild, New York, 2001). Kod navođenja inventarnih brojeva treba napomenuti da su inventarizirana samo četiri pečata (dva u Zemaljskome muzeju BiH u Sarajevu – kratica ZMS i dva u Arheološkoj zbirci Franjevačkoga samostana Humac kod Ljubuškoga – kratica FSH). Jedanaest pečata navodi se samo u Terenskom inventaru predmeta s arheološkoga iskapanja lokaliteta Gračine – Humac (kratica TIP). Šest pečata nema nikakvih inventarnih brojeva.

**A. Cohors I Belgarum**

1. OH I BELG = [C]oh(ortis) I Belg(arum) (sl. 1, T. 1: 1)

Ulomak crijepe dimenzija 15 × 7 × 3 cm (Munsell 7/5YR 7/5, *reddish yellow*), dobre fature, ali slabije pečen, sa zrcima crvene opeke. Očuvani dio pečata veličine je 9 × 2,6 cm, ima reljefna slova duljine 2 cm u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Pronađen je za rekognosciranja Gračina oko 1976. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; nije inventariziran.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: AE 2000: 1180f; Atanacković-Salčić 1977: 84; Bojanovski 1985: 81, br. 5, T. I: 5; Škegro 1997: 107, br. 153.; HD 039844.



Slika 1. Crijep s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, bez inv. broja (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 1. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, no inv. no. (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

2. COH I BELG = Coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) (sl. 2, T. 1: 2)

Ulomak crijepe dimenzija 20 × 13 × 2,8 cm (Munsell 10YR 7/4, *very pale brown*), slabije pečen, s primjesama tamnosmeđe opeke. Pečat ima dimenzije 10 × 2,6 cm, dobro je očuvan, osim manjega dijela

*contubernia* (Bojanovski 1981: 63–66; 1985: 92–93; 1988: 366–368). However, based on an analysis of the position and layout of the examined rooms and the movable finds, it can be assumed that a bath (*balneum*) and a residential building (*casa*) were unearthed at Gračine; these are often the buildings accompanying a military camp (Dodig 2006: 31).

With regard to the materials used to produce the tiles, it is noticeable that the legion tiles exhibit higher quality work. Reddish-yellow (Munsell 5YR 7/4-7/5) and pale-brown clay (10YR 7/4) predominates in them, while a broader palette of tile colours can be found in the production of the first Belgian cohort, from reddish-yellow to light red and light brown (7.5YR 7/5, 5YR 7/5, 10YR 7/4). Due to a lack archaeometric tests it is difficult to speak of the origin of the tile materials, but it is probable that the cohorts used local clay (the wider Ljubuški area, including Čaplina), as opposed to legions who could have used the services of the encampments in Burnum and Tilverium.

## CATALOGUE

*Note.* The manuals *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (Gretamacbeth, New Windsor, 2000) and *The New Munsell Student Color Set* (J. Long and J. T. Luke, Fairchild, New York, 2001) were used to determine the colour of the tiles. With reference to citation of inventory numbers, it should be noted that only four stamps have been inventoried (two in the Zemaljski muzej of Bosnia-Herzegovina in Sarajevo – abbreviated ZMS, and two in the Archaeological Collection of the Humac Franciscan Monastery at Ljubuški – abbreviated FSH). Eleven stamps are cited only in the Field Inventory of Items from the Archaeological Excavation at the Gračine-Humac Site (abbreviation TIP). Six stamps have no inventory numbers.

**A. Cohors I Belgarum**

1. OH I BELG = [C]oh(ortis) I Belg(arum) (Fig. 1, Pl. 1: 1)

Tile fragment, dimensions 15 × 7 × 3 cm (Munsell 7/5YR 7/5, *reddish yellow*), good fature, but less fired, with grains of red brick. Preserved portion of stamp is 9 × 2.6 cm, 2 cm long letters in relief in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Found during reconnaissance of Gračine at around 1976. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; not inventoried.

Dating: ca 173 AD.

References: AE 2000: 1180f; Atanacković-Salčić 1977: 84; Bojanovski 1985: 81, no. 5, pl. I: 5; Škegro 1997: 107, no. 153.; HD 039844.

na desnoj strani. Ima reljefna slova duljine 1,7 cm u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši, s polukružnicom utisnutom prstom u svježoj glini. Pronađen je 1977. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1977, br. 41.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: Bojanovski 1978: 13, sl. 11: 2; Škegro 1991: 224, T. I: 3.



Slika 2. Crijepe s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1977, br. 41 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 2. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 41 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

3. COH I B = Coh(ortis) I B[elg(arum)] (sl. 3, T. 1: 3)

Ulomak crijepe dimenzija 15 × 13 × 3,5 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), meko pečen, bez vidljivih primjesa. Očuvani dio pečata ima dimenzije 6,5 × 2,2 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1,5 cm u udubljenoj



Slika 3. Crijepe s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1977, br. 35 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 3. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 35 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

2. COH I BELG = Coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) (Fig. 2, Pl.1: 2)

Tile fragment, dimensions 20 × 13 × 2,8 cm (Munsell 10YR 7/4, very pale brown), less fired, with admixture of dark-brown brick. Stamp has dimensions of 10 × 2.6 cm, well preserved, except for minor portion on the right side. It has 1.7 cm long letters in relief in an impressed rectangular cartouche with semi-circle made by finger impression in the fresh clay. Found in 1977 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 41.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: Bojanovski 1978: 13, fig. 11: 2; Škegro 1991: 224, pl. I: 3.

3. COH I B = Coh(ortis) I B[elg(arum)] (Fig. 3, Pl. 1: 3)

Tile fragment, dimensions 15 × 13 × 3.5 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), lightly fired, no visible admixtures. Preserved portion of stamp has dimensions of 6.5 × 2.2 cm, 1.5 cm long letters in relief in impressed rectangular cartouche, impressed over semi-circular slot made by finger in fresh clay. Found in 1977 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 35.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.

4. I BELG = [Coh(ortis)] I Belg(arum) (Fig. 4, Pl. 1: 4)

Tile fragment, dimensions 22 × 21.5 × 2.5 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow), lightly fired, with traces of plaster. Partially preserved stamp has dimensions of 5.5 × 1.2 cm, 1 cm letters in relief in an impressed



Slika 4. Crijepe s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1977, br. 137 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 4. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 137 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

pravokutnoj kartuši, a utisnut je preko polukružnih utora napravljenih prstom u svježoj glini. Pronađen je 1977. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1977, br. 35.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.

4. I BELG = [Coh(ortis)] I Belg(arum) (sl. 4, T. 1: 4)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 22 × 21,5 × 2,5 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/6, reddish yellow), meko pečen, s tragovima žbuke. Djelomično očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 5,5 × 1,2 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1 cm u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši, a utisnut je između polukružnica zaparanih oštrim predmetom. Pronađen je 1977. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1977, br. 137.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.

5. OH I BELGI = [C]oh(ortis) I Belgi(cae) I (sl. 5, T. 1: 5)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 23 × 19 × 2,6 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), dobre fature sa zrnima opeke, meko pečen, sa svijetlosivim primjesama. Dobro očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 12 × 2,3 cm u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši, s manjim oštećenjem na početku. Duljina mu reljefnih slova iznosi 1,7 cm, a utisnut je između triju polukružnica napravljenih prstom u svježoj glini. Pronađen je 1978. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1978, br. 237.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.



Slika 5. Crijep s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1978, br. 237 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2007).

Figure 5. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1978, no. 237 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2007).

rectangular cartouche, impressed between semi-circles incised with sharp implement. Found in 1977 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 137.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.

5. OH I BELGI = [C]oh(ortis) I Belgi(cae) I (Fig. 5, Pl. 1: 5)

Tile fragment, dimensions 23 × 19 × 2.6 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), good facture with brick grains, lightly fired, with light-grey admixtures. Well preserved stamp has dimensions of 12 × 2.3 cm in an impressed rectangular cartouche, with minor damage at the beginning. Length of letters in relief 1.7 cm, impressed between three semi-circles made by fingerprint in fresh clay. Found in 1978 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1978, no. 237.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.

6. BELGI = [Coh(ortis)] I Belgi(cae) I (Fig. 6, Pl. 1: 6)

Tile fragment, dimensions 22.5 × 14.5 × 3.2 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), good facture



Slika 6. Crijep s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1978, br. 248 (snimio: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

Figure 6. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1978, no. 248 (photograph: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).



6. BELGI = [Coh(ortis) I] Belgi(cae) I (sl. 6, T. 1: 6)  
 Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 22,5 × 14,5 × 3,2 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/5, *reddish yellow*), dobre fature sa zrcima opeke i tragovima žbuke. Djelomično očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 5,5 × 2 cm, slova duljine 1,7 cm i reljefno je utisnut u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Pronađen je 1978. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1978, br. 248.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.

7. COH I BELG = Coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) (sl. 7, T. 1: 7)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 37 × 26 × 2,5 cm od triju komada (Munsell 2.5YR, *light red*), dobre fature sa zrcima opeke i tragovima žbuke. Pečat ima dimenzije 12,5 × 2,5 cm, slova duljine 1,8 cm u plitkome reljefu, a utisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Pronađen je 1980. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1980, br. 84.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.



Slika 7. Crijepe s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1980, br. 84 (snimio: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

Figure 7. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1980, no. 84 (photograph: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

8. COH I BELGI = Coh(ortis) I Belgi(cae) I (sl. 8, T. 1: 8)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 27 × 26 × 3 cm od dvaju dijelova (Munsell 10YR, 7/4, *very pale brown*), meko pečen, sa zrcima opeke i tragovima žbuke. Pečat ima dimenzije 12 × 2,5 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1,8 cm, a utisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Pronađen je vjerojatno na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; nije inventariziran.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.

with grains of brick and traces of plaster. Partially preserved stamp has dimensions of 5.5 × 2 cm, 1.7 long letters, impressed in relief in indented rectangular cartouche. Found in 1978 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1978, no. 248.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.

7. COH I BELG = Coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) (Fig. 7, Pl. 1: 7)

Tile fragment, dimensions 37 × 26 × 2.5 cm in three pieces (Munsell 2.5YR, *light red*), good fature with grains of brick and traces of plaster. Stamp has dimensions of 12.5 × 2.5 cm, 1.8 cm long letters in shallow relief, impressed in indented rectangular cartouche. Found in 1980 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1980, no. 84.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.

8. COH I BELGI = Coh(ortis) I Belgi(cae) I (Fig. 8, Pl. 1: 8)

Tile fragment, dimensions 27 × 26 × 3 cm in two pieces (Munsell 10YR, 7/4, *very pale brown*), lightly fired, with grains of brick and traces of plaster. Stamp has dimensions of 12 × 2.5 cm, 1.8 cm long letters in relief, impressed in indented rectangular cartouche.



Slika 8. Crijepe s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, bez inv. broja (snimio: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

Figure 8. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, no inv. no. (photograph: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

9. COH I BELGI = Coh(ortis) I Belgi(cae) I (sl. 9, T. 1: 9)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 20 × 11 × 2,6 cm (Munsell 10YR, 7/5, yellow), meko pečen, sa zrcima opeke i tragovima žbuke. Pečat ima dimenzije 12,5 × 2,5 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1,8 cm, a utisnut je preko dvaju polukružnih utora napravljenih prstom u svježoj glini, u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Preko njega poprečno je udaren još jedan identičan pečat s ostacima slova H I BELG. Vjerojatno je slučajna nalaz na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; nije inventariziran.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.



Slika 9. Crijep s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, bez inv. broja (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 9. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, no inv. no. (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

10. COH I = Coh(ortis) I [Belg(arum)] (sl. 10, T. 1: 10)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 14 × 9,5 × 2,1 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow), meko pečen, sa zrcima opeke i tragovima žbuke. Djelomično očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 9 × 2,5 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1,7 cm, a utisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Pronađen je 1977. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1977, br. 156.

Datiranje: oko 173. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.

### B. Legio VIII Augusta

11. LEG VIII AVG = Leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) (sl. 11, T. 1: 11)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 15 × 13,5 × 3,5 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4, pink), dobre fature, sa zrcima crvene opeke i svijetlosivim primjesama. Dobro očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 10 × 3,3 cm, reljefna slova duljine 2,2 cm, a utisnut je u obliku *tabula ansata* u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Pronađen je na

Probably found at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; not inventoried.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.

9. COH I BELGI = Coh(ortis) I Belgi(cae) I (Fig. 9, Pl. 1: 9)

Tile fragment, dimensions 20 × 11 × 2.6 cm (Munsell 10YR, 7/5, yellow), lightly fired, with grains of brick and traces of plaster. Stamp has dimensions of 12.5 × 2.5 cm, 1.8 cm long letters in relief, impressed over two semi-circular slots made by fingerprint in fresh clay, in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Another stamp with the remains of the letters H I BELG was stamped over them. Probably a chance find at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; not inventoried.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.

10. COH I = Coh(ortis) I [Belg(arum)] (Fig. 10, Pl. 1: 10)

Tile fragment, dimensions 14 × 9.5 × 2.1 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/6, reddish yellow), lightly fired, with grains of brick and traces of plaster. Partially preserved stamp has dimensions of 9 × 2.5 cm, 1.7 cm long letters in relief, impressed in indented rectangular cartouche. Found in 1977 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 156.

Dating: ca 173 AD

References: unpublished.



Slika 10. Crijep s pečatom Cohors I Belgarum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1977, br. 156 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2007).

Figure 10. Tile bearing stamp Cohors I Belgarum, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 156 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2007).

### B. Legio VIII Augusta

11. LEG VIII AVG = Leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) (Fig. 11, Pl. 1: 11)

Tile fragment, dimensions 15 × 13.5 × 3.5 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4, pink), good fature, with grains of

Gračinama. Sada je u Zemaljskom muzeju u Sarajevu, inv. broj 4.

Datiranje: oko 69. po. Kr.

Literatura: CIL III: 6435 = 10181<sup>1</sup> = 13339<sup>2</sup>; Patsch 1895: 43 (= Patsch 1897: 338–340); Patsch 1899: 508–510, sl. 25 (= Patsch 1900: 96, sl. 69); Patsch 1914: 162, sl. 22; Alföldy 1967: 46 (= Alföldy 1987: 319); Bojanovski 1990: 702, br. 1a; Škegro 1991: 223, T. I: 1.



Slika 11. Crijep s pečatom Legio VIII Augusta, ZMS, inv. broj 4 (snimila: A. Pravidur, 2007).

Figure 11. Tile bearing stamp Legio VIII Augusta, ZMS, inv. no. 4 (photograph: A. Pravidur, 2007).

12. G VIII AVG = [Le]g(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) (sl. 12, T. I: 12)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 32 × 23 × 2,8 cm (Munsell 2.5YR 6/6, *light red*), dobre fature, meko pečen, sa zrnima kvarcnoga pijeska i tragovima žbuke. Djelomično očuvan pečat u slabo zamjetnom obliku *tabula ansata* ima dimenzije 10 × 2,3 cm, ostatke slova u plitkome reljefu duljine 1,6 cm, u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Nađen je 1980. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; nije inventariziran.

Datiranje: oko 69. po. Kr.

Literatura: Bojanovski 1985: 81, br. 4, T. I: 4; 1990: 702, br. 1b; Škegro 1997: 106, br. 148.

13. III AVG = [Leg(ionis) V]III Aug(ustae) (sl. 13, T. I: 13)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 20 × 16,5 × 3,2 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/5, *reddish yellow*), dobro pečen, sa zrnima crvene opeke i svijetlosivim primjesama. Djelomično očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 8 × 3,5 cm, reljefna slova duljine 2 cm, a otisnut je u obliku *tabula*

red brick and light-grey admixtures. Well preserved stamp has dimensions of 10 × 3.3 cm, 2.2 cm long letters in relief, stamped in the form of a *tabula ansata* in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Discovered at Gračine. Currently held in ZMS, inv. no. 4.

Dating: ca 69 AD

References: CIL III: 6435 = 10181<sup>1</sup> = 13339<sup>2</sup>; Patsch 1895: 43 (= Patsch 1897: 338–340); Patsch 1899: 508–510, fig. 25 (= Patsch 1900: 96, fig. 69); Patsch 1914: 162, fig. 22; Alföldy 1967: 46 (= Alföldy 1987: 319); Bojanovski 1990: 702, no. 1a; Škegro 1991: 223, pl. I: 1.

12. G VIII AVG = [Le]g(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) (Fig. 12, Pl. 1: 12)

Tile fragment, dimensions 32 × 23 × 2.8 cm (Munsell 2.5YR 6/6, *light red*), good facture, lightly fired, with grains of quartz sand and traces of plaster. Partially preserved stamp in scarcely discernable *tabula ansata*, dimensions 10 × 2.3 cm, remains of letters in shallow relief are 1.6 cm long, in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Found in 1980 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; not inventoried.

Dating: ca 69 AD

References: Bojanovski 1985: 81, no. 4, pl. I: 4; 1990: 702, no. 1b; Škegro 1997: 106, no. 148.



Slika 12. Crijep s pečatom Legio VIII Augusta, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, bez inv. broja (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 12. Tile bearing stamp Legio VIII Augusta, FSH Archaeological Collection, no inv. no. (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

*ansata* u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Pronađen je 1977. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, TIP 1977, br. 28.

Datiranje: oko 69. po. Kr.

Literatura: Bojanovski 1990: 702, br. 1c, T. 2: 1; Škegro 1997: 106, br. 150.



Slika 13. Crijep s pečatom Legio VIII Augusta, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1977, br. 28 (snimio: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

Figure 13. Tile bearing stamp Legio VIII Augusta, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 28 (photograph: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

14. LEG VII = Leg(ionis) VII[I Aug(ustae)] (sl. 14, T. 1: 14)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 6 × 5 × 3,5 cm (svijetlo-crvene boje; Bojanovski 1990: 702), kvalitetne fakture i dobro pečen. Djelomično očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 3 × 5 cm, reljefna slova duljine 2 cm, a otisnut je u obliku *tabula ansata* u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Pronađen je 1978. za iskapanja na Gračinama (TIP 1978, br. 90). Izgubljen je pri evidentiranju u Mostaru.

Datiranje: oko 69. po. Kr.

Literatura: Bojanovski 1990: 702, br. 1e, T. 1; Škegro 1997: 106, br. 152.

15. VIII AVG = [Leg(ionis) VI]II Aug(ustae) (sl. 15, T. 1: 15)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 15 × 10 × 2 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4, pink), dobro pečen, sa zrcima crvene opeke i svijetlosivim primjesama. Djelomično očuvan pečat ima dimenzije 6,9 × 3,3 cm, reljefna slova duljine 2 cm, a otisnut je u obliku *tabula ansata* u

13. III AVG = [Leg(ionis) V]III Aug(ustae) (Fig. 13, Pl. 1: 13)

Tile fragment, dimensions 20 × 16.5 × 3.2 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), well fired, with grains of red brick and light-grey admixtures. Partially preserved stamp has dimensions of 8 × 3.5 cm, 2 cm long letters in relief, stamped in *tabula ansata* form in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Found in 1977 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 28.

Dating: ca 69 AD

References: Bojanovski 1990: 702, no. 1c, pl. 2: 1; Škegro 1997: 106, no. 150.

14. LEG VII = Leg(ionis) VII[I Aug(ustae)] (Fig. 14, Pl. 1: 14)

Tile fragment, dimensions 6 × 5 × 3.5 cm (light red; Bojanovski 1990: 702), quality facture and well fired. Partially preserved stamp has dimensions of 3 × 5 cm, 2 cm letters in relief, stamped in *tabula ansata* form in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Found in 1978 during excavations at Gračine (TIP 1978, no. 90). Lost during documenting in Mostar.

Dating: ca 69 AD

References: Bojanovski 1990: 702, no. 1e, pl. 1; Škegro 1997: 106, no. 152.



Slika 14. Crijep s pečatom Legio VIII Augusta, TIP 1978, br. 90, izgubljen (Bojanovski 1990: 711).

Figure 14. Tile bearing stamp Legio VIII Augusta, TIP 1978, no. 90, lost (Bojanovski 1990: 711).

15. VIII AVG = [Leg(ionis) VI]II Aug(ustae) (Fig. 15, Pl. 1: 15)

Tile fragment, dimensions 15 × 10 × 2 cm (Munsell 7.5YR 7/4, pink), well fired, with grains of red brick and light-grey admixtures. Partially preserved

udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Pronađen je 1978. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u zbirci FSH, TIP 1978, br. 236.

Datiranje: oko 69. po. Kr.

Literatura: Bojanovski 1990: 702, br. 1d, T. 2: 2; Škegro 1997: 106, br.151.



Slika 15. Crijev s pečatom Legio VIII Augusta, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1978, 236 (snimio: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

Figure 15. Tile bearing stamp Legio VIII Augusta, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1978, 236 (photograph: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

16. LEG = Leg[(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)?] (sl. 16, T. 1: 16)

Ulomak crijeva dimenzija 16 × 12 × 3,5 (Munsell 10YR 8/4, *very pale brown*), meko pečen, sa zrnima crvene opeke. Očuvan je samo početak pečata dimenzija 4,2 × 2,8 cm, s reljefnim slovima duljine 2 cm; otisnut je u obliku *tabula ansata* u udubljenoj pravokutnoj kartuši. Slučajan nalaz, vjerojatno s lokaliteta Gračine. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; inv. broj 132.

Datiranje: oko 69. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.

7. VIII AVG = [Leg(ionis)] VIII A[ug(ustae)?] (sl. 17, T. 1: 17)

stamp has dimensions of 6.9 × 3.3 cm, 2 cm long letters in relief, stamped in *tabula ansata* form in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Found in 1978 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH collection, TIP 1978, no. 236.

Dating: ca 69 AD

References: Bojanovski 1990: 702, no. 1d, pl. 2: 2; Škegro 1997: 106, no. 151.

16. LEG = Leg[(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)?] (Fig. 16, Pl. 1: 16)

Tile fragment, dimensions 16 × 12 × 3.5 (Munsell 10YR 8/4, *very pale brown*), lightly fired, with grains of red brick. Only beginning of stamp preserved, dimensions 4.2 × 2.8 cm, with 2 cm long letters in relief; stamped in *tabula ansata* form in an impressed rectangular cartouche. Chance find, probably from Gračine site. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; inv. no. 132.

Dating: ca 69 AD

References: unpublished.



Slika 16. Crijev s pečatom Legio VIII Augusta, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, inv. br. 132 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2007).

Figure 16. Tile bearing stamp Legio VIII Augusta, FSH Archaeological Collection, inv. no. 132 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2007).

17. VIII AVG = [Leg(ionis)] VIII A[ug(ustae)?] (Fig. 17, Pl. 1: 17)

Tile fragment, dimensions 21 × 17 × 3.7 cm (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/4, *pink*), well fired, with grains of red brick and brown admixtures. Partially preserved and hardly legible stamp has dimensions of 9 × 2.8 cm, 2 cm long letters in relief, stamped in impressed rectangular cartouche. Chance find, probably from Gračine site. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; not inventoried.

Dating: ca 69 AD

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 21 × 17 × 3,7 cm (Munsell 7.5 YR 7/4, *pink*), dobro pečen, sa zrcima crvene opeke i smeđim primjesama. Djelomično očuvan i teško čitljiv pečat ima dimenzije 9 × 2,8 cm, reljefna slova duljine 2 cm, a otisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Slučajan nalaz, vjerojatno s lokaliteta Gračine. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; nije inventariziran.

Datiranje: oko 69. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.



Slika 17. Crijep s pečatom Legio VIII Augusta, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, bez inv. broja (snimio: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

Figure 17. Tile bearing stamp Legio VIII Augusta, FSH Archaeological Collection, no inv. no. (photograph: Studio Omega, Ljubuški, 2007).

### C. Legio IIII Flavia felix

18. LEG IIII F = Leg(ionis) IIII F[(laviae) f(elicis)] (sl. 18, T. 1: 18)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 25 × 16 × 3,5 cm (Munsell 10YR 7/4, *very pale brown*), dobro pečen, sa zrcima crvene opeke i sivo-maslinastim primjesama. Pečat ima dimenzije 8 × 2 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1,4 cm, a otisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Između slova i brojeva nalazi se *hedera distinguens*, a iznad srednjih manjih hasta broja četiri utisnuta je vodoravna ukrasna hasta. Pronađen je u Vitini. Sada je u ZMS; inv. broj 1.

Datiranje: 70–86. po. Kr.

Literatura: CIL III: 14021; AE 1894: 124; Patsch 1893: 679–681 (= Patsch 1895a: 526–527, sl. 33); Truhelka 1893: 675, sl. 4; Patsch 1899: 493 (= Patsch 1900: 81, sl. 55); Patsch 1914: 162, sl. 21; Pašalić 1960: 57 (2); Alföldy 1967: 47 (= Alföldy 1987: 320); Škegro 1991: 224, T. I: 2; HD 028888.

19. EG IIII FF = [L]eg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis) (sl. 19, T. 1: 19)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 16 × 10 × 3 cm (Munsell 10YR 7/4, *very pale brown*), dobro pečen i kvalitet-

References: unpublished.

### C. Legio IIII Flavia felix

18. LEG IIII F = Leg(ionis) IIII F[(laviae) f(elicis)] (Fig. 18, Pl. 1: 18)

Tile fragment, dimensions 25 × 16 × 3.5 cm (Munsell 10YR 7/4, *very pale brown*), well fired, with grains of red brick and grey-olive green admixtures. Stamp has dimensions of 8 × 2 cm, 1.4 cm long letters in relief, stamped in impressed rectangular cartouche. There is a *hedera distinguens* between the numbers and letters, and a horizontal decorative bar is imprinted above the middle small bars of the number four. Found in Vitina. Currently held in ZMS; inv. no. 1.

Dating: 70–86 AD

References: CIL III: 14021; AE 1894: 124; Patsch 1893: 679–681 (= Patsch 1895a: 526–527, fig. 33); Truhelka 1893: 675, fig. 4; Patsch 1899: 493 (= Patsch 1900: 81, fig. 55); Patsch 1914: 162, fig. 21; Pašalić 1960: 57 (2); Alföldy 1967: 47 (= Alföldy 1987: 320);



Slika 18. Crijep s pečatom Legio IIII Flavia felix, ZMS, inv. broj 1 (snimio: A. Pravidur, 2007).

Figure 18. Tile bearing stamp Legio IIII Flavia felix, ZMS, inv. no. 1 (photograph: A. Pravidur, 2007).

Škegro 1991: 224, pl. I: 2; HD 028888.

19. EG IIII FF = [L]eg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) f(elicis) (Fig. 19, Pl. 1: 19)

Tile fragment, dimensions 16 × 10 × 3 cm (Munsell 10YR 7/4, *very pale brown*), well fired and good fac-  
ture, with grains of red brick. Hardly legible stamp

ne fature, sa zrcima crvene opeke. Teško čitljiv pečat ima dimenzije 8 × 2 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1,5 cm, a otisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Slučajan nalaz, vjerojatno s lokaliteta Gračine. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; inv. broj 133.

Datiranje: 70–86. po. Kr.

Literatura: AE 2000: 1180a; Bojanovski 1985: 78–81, br. 3, T. I: 3; Škegro 1997: 147; HD 039826.



Slika 19. Crijep s pečatom Legio III Flavia felix, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, inv. broj 133 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 19. Tile bearing stamp Legio III Flavia felix, FSH Archaeological Collection, inv. no. 133 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

20. LEG II = Leg(ionis) [II]II [F(laviae) f(elicis)?] (sl. 20, T. 1: 20)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 12 × 10 × 3 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), sa zrcima opeke i sa svijetlomaslinastim primjesama. Djelomično očuvan i teško čitljiv pečat ima dimenzije 7 × 2 cm, reljefna slova duljine 1,2 cm, a otisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Pronađen je 1977. za iskapanja na Gračinama. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH; TIP 1977, 157.

Datiranje: 70–86. po. Kr.

Literatura: neobjavljeno.

#### D. Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum

21. CHO VI = C(o)ho(rtis) VI[II vol(untariorum)?] (sl. 21, T. 1: 21)

Ulomak crijepa dimenzija 11 × 9,5 × 2 cm (Munsell 10 YR 7/4, very pale brown), meko pečen i osrednje fature, sa zrcima opeke i crvenkasto-smeđim

has dimensions of 8 × 2 cm, 1.5 cm long letters in relief, stamped in impressed rectangular cartouche. Chance find, probably from Gračine site. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; inv. no. 133.

Dating: 70–86 AD

References: AE 2000: 1180a; Bojanovski 1985: 78–81, no. 3, pl. I: 3; Škegro 1997: 147; HD 039826.

20. LEG II = Leg(ionis) [II]II [F(laviae) f(elicis)?] (Fig. 20, Pl. 1: 20)

Tile fragment, dimensions 12 × 10 × 3 cm (Munsell 5YR 7/5, reddish yellow), with grains of brick and light olive green admixtures. Partially preserved and scarcely legible stamp has dimensions of 7 × 2 cm, 1.2 cm letters in relief, stamped in impressed rectangular cartouche. Found in 1977 during excavations at Gračine. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection; TIP 1977, 157.

Dating: 70–86 AD



References: unpublished.

Slika 20. Crijep s pečatom Legio III Flavia felix, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, TIP 1977, br. 157 (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 20. Tile bearing stamp Legio III Flavia felix, FSH Archaeological Collection, TIP 1977, no. 157 (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

#### D. Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum

21. CHO VI = C(o)ho(rtis) VI[II vol(untariorum)?] (Fig. 21, Pl. 1: 21)

Tile fragment, dimensions 11 × 9.5 × 2 cm (Mun-

primjesama. Očuvani dio pečata ima dimenzije 8,5 × 2,5 cm, reljefna slova duljine 2 cm, a otisnut je u udubljenu pravokutnu kartušu. Nađen je za rekonosciranja Gračina oko 1976. Sada je u Arheološkoj zbirci FSH, Ljubuški; nije inventariziran.

Datiranje: 3. st. po. Kr.

Literatura: AE 2000: 1180g; Atanacković-Salčić 1977: 81; Bojanovski 1985: 81, br. 6, T. I: 6; Škegro 1997: 107, br. 154; HD 039845.



Slika 21. Crijep s pečatom Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum, Arheološka zbirka FSH-a, bez inv. broja (snimio: R. Dodig, 2006).

Figure 21. Tile bearing stamp Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum, FSH Archaeological Collection, no inv. no. (photograph: R. Dodig, 2006).

sell 10 YR 7/4, very pale brown), lightly fired and middling facture, with grains of brick and reddish-brown admixtures. Preserved portion of stamp has dimensions of 8.5 × 2.5 cm, 2 cm letters in relief, stamped in impressed rectangular cartouche. Found during reconnaissance of Gračine at around 1976. Currently held in FSH Archaeological Collection, Ljubuški; not inventoried.

Dating: 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.

References: AE 2000: 1180g; Atanacković-Salčić 1977: 81; Bojanovski 1985: 81, no. 6, pl. I: 6; Škegro 1997: 107, no. 154; HD 039845.



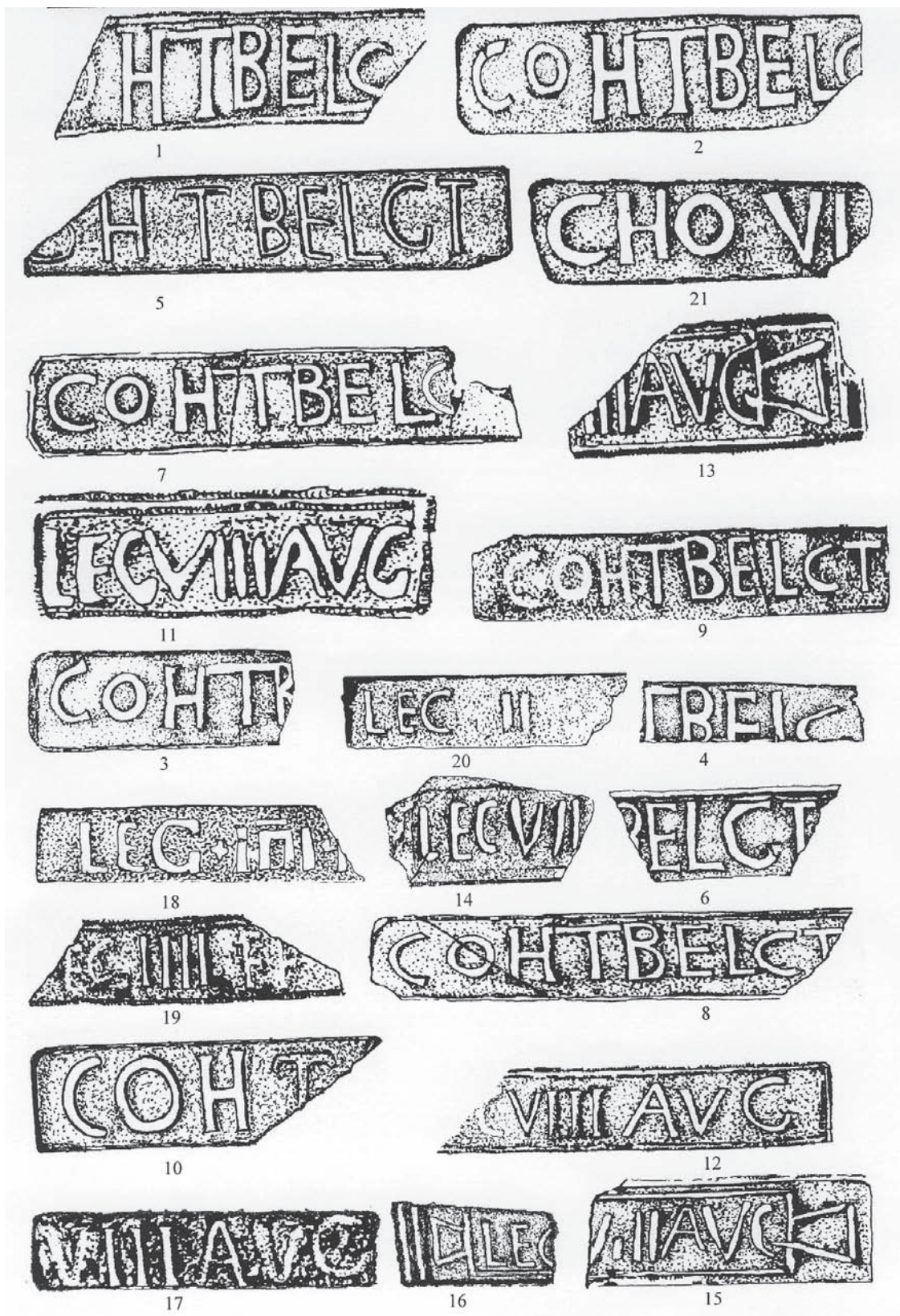


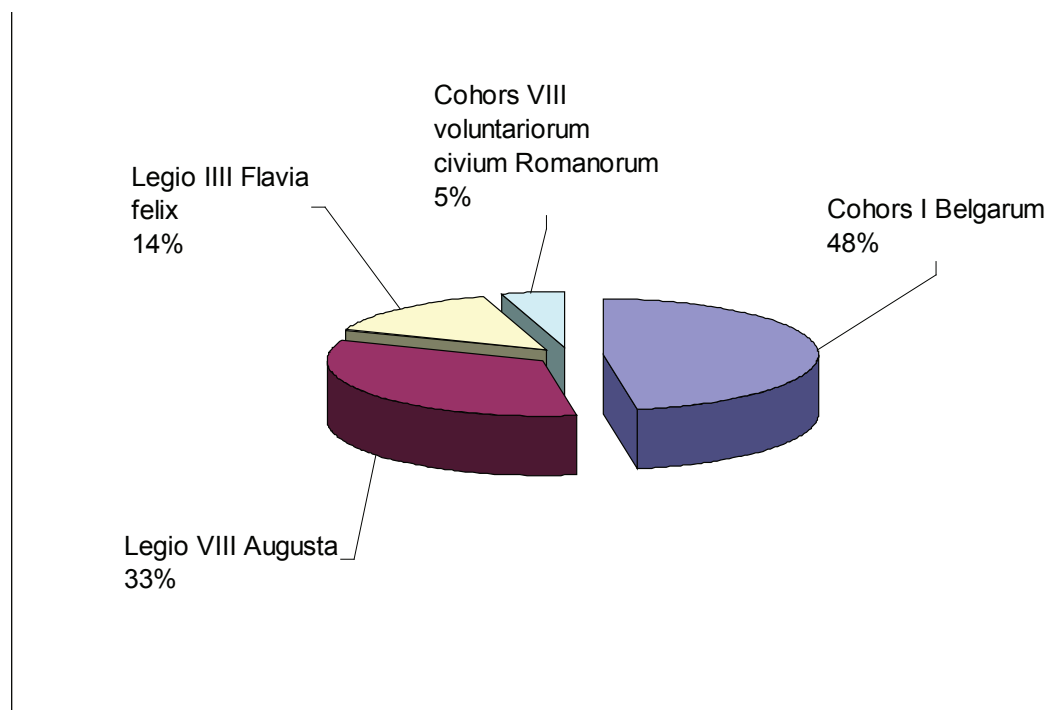
Tabla 1. Crteži pečata (br. 1–4, 11–17, 19–21: izradio A. Tolić, 2007; br. 11 i 18: Škegro 1991: T. I: 1–2; br. 5. i 10: R. Dodig, 2007).

Plate 1. Drawings of stamps (no. 1–4, 11–17, 19–21: by A. Tolić, 2007; no. 11 and 18: Škegro 1991: Pl. I: 1–2; no. 5. and 10: R. Dodig, 2007).

| Tip pečata / Type of stamp                        | Broj primjeraka / N° of pieces | Kataloški broj / Catalogue N° |
|---|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Cohors I Belgarum</i>                          | 10                             | 1–10                          |
| <i>Legio VIII Augusta</i>                         | 7                              | 11–17                         |
| <i>Legio III Flavia felix</i>                     | 3                              | 18–20                         |
| <i>Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum</i> | 1                              | 21                            |

Tablica 1. Rimske vojne radionice zastupljene u Ljubuškom (Bigeste) (R. Dodig, 2007).

Table 1. Roman military workshops represented in Ljubuški (Bigeste) (R. Dodig, 2007).



Graf 1. Rimske vojne radionice zastupljene u Ljubuškom (Bigeste) (R. Dodig, 2007).

Chart 1. Roman military workshops represented in Ljubuški (Bigeste) (R. Dodig, 2007).

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| AE         | <i>L'année épigraphique</i> , Paris.   |
| ANUBiH     | Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo.  |
| CIL        | <i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Consilio et auctoritate Accademiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum</i> , Berolini, 1873– .  |
| FSH        | Franjevački samostan Humac, Ljubuški.  |
| GZM        | <i>Glasnik Zemaljskoga muzeja BiH</i> , Sarajevo.  |
| HAD        | Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Zagreb.   |
| HD         | www.epigraphische-datenbank-heidelberg.de (28. 2. 2007.).  |
| ILIUG 1978 | A. & J. Šašel: "Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt", <i>Situla</i> 19, Ljubljana.  |
| TIP 1977   | Terenski inventar predmeta, Lokalitet Gračine, 1977. godina, Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode, Mostar.  |
| TIP 1978   | Terenski inventar predmeta sa arheološkog iskopavanja na lokalitetu Gračine na Humcu kod Ljubuškoga 1978. godine, Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode, Mostar. |
| TIP 1980   | Terenski inventar predmeta, lokalitet Gračine, 1980. godina, Humac kod Ljubuškoga, Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode, Mostar.                                |
| ZMS        | Zemaljski muzej BiH, Sarajevo.   |

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| Bojanovski 1980         | I. Bojanovski: "Arheološko istraživanje antičke arhitekture vojnog logora na Gračinama kod Ljubuškoga (1977–1979)", <i>Naučnoistraživački program III</i> , Sarajevo, 1980.  |
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