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RENATE KURZMANN: *ROMAN MILITARY BRICK STAMPS: A COMPARISON OF METHODOLOGY*, BAR INTERNATIONAL SERIES 1543, ARCHAEOPRESS, OXFORD, 2006, VII + 298 STR., 209 CRTEŽA, TABELA I FOTOGRAFIJA, RJEČNIK POJMOVA (ISBN 1841719757, 43 GBP)

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U uglednoj ediciji *British Archaeological Reports International Series* iz Oxforda objavljena je disertacija Renate Kurzmann *Roman Military Brick Stamps: A Comparison of Methodology*. Autorica je obradila rimske vojne pečate na crijepu, posebno se osvrnuvši na metode, ciljeve i značenje njihova komparativnoga proučavanja. Pritom je obuhvatila čitavo Rimsko Carstvo, što svakako daje posebnu vrijednost knjizi, a istodobno otkriva današnje stanje istraživanja rimskih provincija u znanstvenim institucijama i središtima euroazijskih i afričkih država. Knjiga je podijeljena na četrnaest poglavlja; na kraju je popis kataloških publikacija obrađenih u studiji, bibliografija i mali rječnik stručnih pojmova korištenih u knjizi.

U predgovoru autorica ističe da njezin rad nije katalog rimskih vojnih pečata, nego reprezentativan uzorak istraživačkih metoda za svaku provinciju, odnosno metoda koje su pojedini stručnjaci primijenili u istraživanjima. Težište je na legionarskim pečatima, ali zbog njihova nedostatka pozornost je

The dissertation by Renate Kurzmann, *Roman Military Brick Stamps: A Comparison of Methodology*, has been published as a part of the respected *British Archaeological Reports International Series* from Oxford. The author analysed Roman military stamps on roof tiles, with particular emphasis on the methods, objectives and meaning of their comparative study. Her work encompasses the entire Roman Empire, which makes this book particularly valuable while simultaneously illuminating the current status of research of the Roman provinces in the scholarly institutions and centres of Eurasian and African states. The book is divided into fourteen chapters; at the end there is a list of catalogue publications analysed in the study, a bibliography and a brief glossary of technical terms used in the book.

In the foreword, the author stresses that her work is not a catalogue of military stamps, rather it constitutes a representative sampling of research methods for each province and the methods applied by

## Roman Military Brick Stamps: A Comparison of Methodology

Renate Kurzmann

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posvećena i pečatima auxilijarnih postrojba. U prvome se, uvodnome poglavlju govori o metodama istraživanja vojnih pečata te o rimskome crijevu i opekama kao građevnome materijalu. Među metodama ističu se petrologijska (razvijena u V. Britaniji; ispituje se kemijski sastav crijepa) i epigrafička metoda (istražuju se oblici i tipovi pečata, kratice, jezične osobitosti i slično) te metoda arheološkoga konteksta (proučavaju se mjesto i okolnosti nalaza, stilovi gradnje, namjena objekta i slično). Klasifikacija crijepa temelji se na djelu G. Brodribba *Roman Brick and Tile* (Wolfeboro, 1987) i ukratko se obrađuju svi tipovi crijepa i opeke ugrađivanih u krovove, podove, stupove, zidne kanale i lukove: *tegula*, *tegula bipedalis*, *tegula mammata*, *imbrex*, *antefix*, *bessalis*, *tubulus*, *tubulus cunneatus* i druge. Nadalje, Kurzmann opisuje vrste i tipove pečata, tehnologiju izrade kalupa i način utiskivanja pečata na crijep. Pojedini rimski vojni pečati s današnje su točke gledišta vrlo uspješna dizajnerska rješenja. Ima ih upisanih u *tabulu ansatu*, u stopalo (*planta pedis*), u potkovicu ili u ribu (*Legio XXII Primigenia*).

U glavnome dijelu knjige u osam se poglavlja opisuje stanje istraženosti i metode istraživanja vojnih pečata po zemljama i regijama. Četiri su zemlje – Nizozemska, Francuska, Španjolska i Velika Britanija – obrađene u četirima posebnim poglavljima. U jednome su poglavlju zastupljene Njemačka, Austrija i Švicarska, slijedi jugoistočna Europa (šesto poglavlje) s provincijama *Pannonia*, *Illyricum*, *Dal-*

individual experts in their research. The emphasis is on legionary stamps, but due to their shortage attention is also accorded to the stamps of auxiliary formations. The first, introductory chapter covers the methods used to study military stamps and Roman tile and brick and construction materials. Among the methods, she emphasises petrological (developed in Great Britain; the chemical composition of the tile is tested), epigraphic methods (the forms and types of stamps, abbreviations, specific linguistic features, etc. are studied) and the archaeological context method (the site and circumstances of discoveries, construction styles, purpose of structures and similar aspects are investigated). The classification of tiles is based on the work by G. Brodribb, *Roman Brick and Tile* (Wolfeboro, 1987) and she briefly covers all types of tiles and bricks used in roofs, floors, columns, wall channels and arches: *tegula*, *tegula bipedalis*, *tegula mammata*, *imbrex*, *antefix*, *bessalis*, *tubulus*, *tubulus cunneatus* and others. Furthermore, Kurzmann describes the kinds and types of stamps, the technology for making moulds and the methods for impressing stamps onto tiles. Individual Roman military stamps exhibit, from the modern-day standpoint, very successful designer solutions. They are variously inscribed inside a *tabula ansata*, in a foot (*planta pedis*), in a horse-shoe or in a fish (*Legio XXII Primigenia*).

Over eight chapters that form the bulk of the book, she describes the level of research and research methods for military stamps based on countries and regions. Four countries—the Netherlands, France, Spain and Great Britain—are covered in four separate chapters. One chapter covers Germany, Austria and Switzerland, followed by South Eastern Europe (the sixth chapter) with the provinces of *Pannonia*, *Illyricum*, *Dalmatia* (they are cited separately), *Dacia* and *Moesia*, while in the end she speaks of the Middle East and Northern Africa. At first glance it is apparent that Great Britain is covered most expansively (pp. 164–200), followed by the Germanic countries, Austria, Switzerland and Germany (pp. 32–72), while the least is said of Northern Africa (pp. 153–163) and the Middle East (pp. 142–155). It should be kept in mind that the Romans, guided by strategic considerations, had considerably more soldiers and military camps in some provinces than in others. A large number of soldiers and military camps could be found in the border provinces and on the Danube limes, which is why the production of tiles in military workshops was considerably greater than elsewhere. For example, in Germania, an average of seven legions were posted along the Rhine alone. At the beginning of each chapter, Kurzmann specifies the disposition of military garrisons du-

*matia* (navedene su odvojeno), *Dacia* i *Moesia*, a na kraju se govori o srednjemu Istoku i sjevernoj Africi. Na prvi je pogled vidljivo da je najopširnije obrađena Velika Britanija (164–200), slijede germanske zemlje Austrija, Švicarska i Njemačka (32–72), a ponajmanje se govori o sjevernoj Africi (153–163) i srednjemu Istoku (142–155). Treba imati u vidu da su Rimljani, vođeni strategijskim zamislima, u pojedinim provincijama imali znatno više vojnika i vojnih tabora nego u drugim provincijama. Velik se broj vojnika i vojnih tabora nalazio u graničnim provincijama i na dunavskome limesu zbog čega je ondje produkcija crijepa u vojnim radionicama bila znatno veća nego drugdje. Primjerice, u Germaniji, samo uz Rajnu bilo je stacionirano prosječno sedam legija. Kurzmann na početku svakoga poglavlja navodi dispoziciju vojnih posada u različitim razdobljima, kao i rezultate istraživanja vezanih za rimsku vojsku u Germaniji, Noriku, Reciji i Belgijskoj Galiji. Posebno je obrađena velika produkcija pečata *LEGIO XXII PRIMIGENIA*, o čemu je dosta pisao D. Baatz, i pečati legija *XXI RAPAX*, *X GEMINA*, *I MARTIA*, *V ALAUDA* i drugih. Među njima nalazi se i pečat *LEGIO VIII AVGUSTA* (2. st., Strassbourg). Ta je legija oko 69. godine ostavila više pečata u Dalmaciji.

Istraživanja vojnih pečata u V. Britaniji (*British school*, kako kaže Kurzmann) široko su fundirana, o čemu su pisali W. Grimes, R. P. Wright, G. C. Boon i drugi, uz dobru zbirku natpisa R. G. Collinwooda *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (RIB). Najviše pečata ostavile su legije *XX VALERIA VICTRIX*, *IX HISPANA*, *VI VICTRIX* i *II AVGUSTA*, ali i *CLASSIS BRITANNICA*.

U šestome poglavlju (109–141) Kurzmann piše o vojnim pečatima u jugoistočnoj Europi. U uvodnome dijelu toga poglavlja donosi kratak historijat pojedinih vojnih postrojba i opisuje njihovo stacioniranje i kretanje. Prati kako su se u Panoniji kretale sljedeće legije: *Legio VIII Augusta* (*Poetovio*, uključujući i kratkotrajno zadržavanje u Burnumu oko 69. godine), *Legio IX Hispana* (*Siscia*) i *Legio XV Apollinaris* (*Emona/Carnuntum*); u Dalmaciji prati *Legio XX* (do 9. godine nalazi se u Burnumu, a zatim odlazi u Germaniju), *Legio XI*, *Legio VII* (*Tilurium*, kamo je po Kurzmannovoj došla “some time before AD 6”; str. 109), a opisuje i složena kretanja legija *X*, *XIII* i *XIV Gemina*, *V Macedonica*, *I* i *II Adiutrix*, *I Italica* i drugih u Meziji, Daciji i Donjoj Panoniji. U tome povijesnom dijelu autorica se oslanja isključivo na rad J. J. Wilkesa “Roman legions and their fortresses in the Danube lands” (u R. J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman fortresses and their legions*, London, 2000, 101–113). Navode se i neke pomoćne postrojbe, kao *Cohors I Alpinorum*, *Cohors II Italica*, *Cohors*

ring various periods, and the results of research on the Roman army in Germania, Noricum, Raetia and Gallia Belgica. Special attention is accorded to the immense production of the stamps of *LEGIO XXII PRIMIGENIA*, about which D. Baatz wrote extensively, and the stamps of the legions *XXI RAPAX*, *X GEMINA*, *I MARTIA*, *V ALAUDA* and others. Among them there is the seal of *LEGIO VIII AVGUSTA* (2<sup>nd</sup> cent., Strassbourg). This legion left a number of stamps in Dalmatia at around the year 69.

Research into military stamps in Great Britain (the ‘British school’, according to Kurzmann) is served by abundant collections, about which W. Grimes, R. P. Wright, G. C. Boon and others wrote, and they are accompanied by R. G. Collinwood’s excellent *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (RIB). The most stamps were left behind by these legions: *XX VALERIA VICTRIX*, *IX HISPANA*, *VI VICTRIX* and *II AVGUSTA*, and also *CLASSIS BRITANNICA*.

In the sixth chapter (pp. 109–141), Kurzmann writes about military stamps in South Eastern Europe. In the introductory section of this chapter, she provides a brief history of individual military formations and describes where they were stationed and their movements. She covers the movements of the following legions in Pannonia: *Legio VIII Augusta* (*Poetovio*, including their brief stay in Burnum at around the year 69), *Legio IX Hispana* (*Siscia*) and *Legio XV Apollinaris* (*Emona/Carnuntum*); in Dalmatia she follows the *Legio XX* (located in Burnum until 9 AD, whereafter it departed for Germania), *Legio XI*, *Legio VII* (*Tilurium*, where it arrived, according to Kurzmann, “some time before AD 6”; p. 109), and she describes the complex movements of the legions *X*, *XIII* and *XIV Gemina*, *V Macedonica*, *I* and *II Adiutrix*, *I Italica* and others in Moesia, Dacia and Pannonia Inferior. For this historical period, the author relies exclusively on the work by J. J. Wilkes, “Roman legions and their fortresses in the Danube lands” (in R. J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman fortresses and their legions*, London, 2000, 101–113). She also mentions some auxiliary formations, such as the *Cohors I Alpinorum*, *Cohors II Italica*, *Cohors Aelia sagittariorum* and others. Kurzmann also provides some illustrative materials with drawings of stamps, as follows: stamps from *Ulpia Oescus* (*V Macedonica*, *Italica* and *XI Claudia* – left behind approximately 174 stamps), stamps of *Legio VII Claudia* from Syrmium, *XI Claudia* from Durostorum (an abundance of stamps of various types are present), *I Italica* (*Novae*; many stamps classified into as many as 18 types) and some other individual examples.

Dalmatia is portrayed very scantily: on pp. 113–114 and in passing on p. 235. For military stamps, she cites the work by G. Alföldy from 1967, “Die Ver-



*Aelia sagittariorum* i druge. Kurzmann donosi i dio ilustrativna materijala s crtežima pečata, i to: pečate iz *Ulpia Oescus* (*V Macedonica, Italica* i *XI Claudia*; ostavile su oko 174 pečata), pečate *Legio VII Claudia* iz Sirmija, *XI Claudia* iz Durostoruma (zastupljeno je obilje pečata različitih tipova), *I Italica* (*Novae*; mnoštvo pečata razvrstanih u čak 18 tipova) i još neke pojedinačne primjerke.

Dalmacija je prikazana vrlo oskudno: na 113. i 114. te uzgredno na 235. stranici. Za vojne pečate autorica navodi rad G. Alföldyja iz 1967. “Die Verbreitung von Militärziegeln im römischen Dalmatien” (*Epigraphische Studien* 4; kasnije neznatno izmijenjen i objavljen 1987). Ti su podaci odavno zastarjeli, ne samo s obzirom na broj legija i kohorta koje su ostavile pečate (prema Alföldyju riječ je o četirima legijama i jednoj kohorti) nego i s obzirom na broj pečata. Kao što se vidjelo na kolokviju *Rimska vojska u procesu romanizacije provincije Dalmacije* u Sinju 2006, pojavilo se više novih postrojba koje su ostavile pečate – *Legio VII Claudia*, *Cohors III Alpinorum* i *Cohors I Belgarum* (D. Tončinić *et al.*: “Rimski vojni pečati u Cetinskoj krajini”, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, XXXVIII/2, Zagreb, 2006, 27–28; R. Dodig: “Rimski kompleks na Gračinama kod Ljubuškoga. Vojni tabor ili...?”, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, XXXVIII/2, Zagreb, 2006, 30). Autorica spominje pečate *Legio VIII Augusta* na trima lokalitetima: Burnum, Asseria (u knjizi *Assernia!*) i Gradčine kod Ljubuškoga. Navodi samo jedan pečat iz Ljubuškoga: *LEG VIII AVG* (CIL III: 6435). Međutim s Gračina danas poznajemo sedam pečata te legije, kao i devet pečata *Cohors I Belgarum* (R. Dodig, “Rimski vojni pečati na crijepu iz Ljubuškoga”, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 31, Zagreb, 2007 [2008]). Uz malo truda autorica je mogla pronaći rad I. Bojanovskoga, “Legio VIII Augusta u Dalmaciji” (*Arheološki vestnik* 41, Ljubljana, 1990, 699–712), sa sažetkom na njemačkome jeziku, gdje su opisana četiri nova pečata VIII. Augustove legije, kao i opsežan historijat *Legio VIII. Augusta* u Dalmaciji. Osim toga o vojnim pečatima iz Dalmacije u više je navrata pisao A. Škegro (“Rimska žigosana opeka na području Bosne i Hercegovine”, u B. Čović (ed.), *Zbornik radova posvećen akademiku A. Bencu*, ANUBiH, pos. izdanja XCV, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, k. 27, Sarajevo, 1991, 221–237; “Inscriptiones Latinae et Graecae Bosniae et Hercegovinae”, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 21, Zagreb, 1997, 85–116; *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Hrvatski studiji, Zagreb, 1999, 254–255), a članak im je posvetio i M. Ilkić (“Pečati na antičkim opekama i krovnim crepovima iz Sotina (Cornacum)”, *Vjesnik Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu* XXXVIII, Zagreb, 2005).

breitung von Militärziegeln im römischen Dalmatien” (*Epigraphische Studien* 4; later slightly modified and published in 1987). These data have long since become obsolete, not only with regard to the number of legions and cohorts that left behind stamps (according to Alföldy there were four legions and one cohort), but also with regard to the number of stamps. As seen at the colloquium *Rimska vojska u procesu romanizacije provincije Dalmacije* (“The Roman army in the Romanisation of the Province of Dalmatia”) held in Sinj in 2006, a number of new units appeared which left behind stamps: *Legio VII Claudia*, *Cohors III Alpinorum* and *Cohors I Belgarum* (D. Tončinić *et al.*: “Rimski vojni pečati u Cetinskoj krajini”, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, XXXVIII/2, Zagreb, 2006, 27–28; R. Dodig: “Rimski kompleks na Gračinama kod Ljubuškoga. Vojni tabor ili...?”, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, XXXVIII/2, Zagreb, 2006, 30). The author mentions the stamps of *Legio VIII Augusta* at three sites: Burnum, Asseria (in the book: *Assernia!*) and Gračine near the town of Ljubuški. She cites only a single stamp from Ljubuški: *LEG VIII AVG* (CIL III: 6435). However, today we know of seven of this legion’s stamps from Gračine, as well as nine stamps of *Cohors I Belgarum* (R. Dodig, “Roman military stamps on tiles from Ljubuški”, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 31, Zagreb, 2007 [2008]). With a little effort, the author could have found the work by I. Bojanovski, “Legio VIII Augusta u Dalmaciji” (*Arheološki vestnik* 41, Ljubljana, 1990, 699–712), with a summary in German, which contains descriptions of four new stamps of *Legio VIII. Augusta*, and an extensive history of this legion in Dalmatia. Additionally, A. Škegro wrote about military stamps from Dalmatia on a number of occasions (“Rimska žigosana opeka na području Bosne i Hercegovine”, in B. Čović (ed.), *Zbornik radova posvećen akademiku A. Bencu*, ANUBiH, spec. edition XCV, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka, k. 27, Sarajevo, 1991, 221–237; “Inscriptiones Latinae et Graecae Bosniae et Hercegovinae”, *Opuscula Archaeologica* 21, Zagreb, 1997, 85–116; *Gospodarstvo rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Hrvatski studiji, Zagreb, 1999, 254–255), and M. Ilkić also dedicated an article to them (“Pečati na antičkim opekama i krovnim crepovima iz Sotina (Cornacum)”, *Vjesnik Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu* XXXVIII, Zagreb, 2005).

The bibliography does not cite any authors from Croatia. Serbia fared a little better, as the following three authors are included: M. Mirković (an article on Sirmium from *Arheološki vestnik* 41, 1990, which also contains the aforementioned work by I. Bojanovski), N. Vulić (1905) and A. Milošević (a work on Roman stamps from Sirmium from 1971).

U bibliografiji na kraju rada nema nijednoga autora iz Hrvatske. Nešto bolje prošla je srpska strana jer su u bibliografiju uvrštena sljedeća tri autora: M. Mirković (članak o Sirmiju iz *Arheološkoga vjestnika* 41, 1990, gdje se nalazi i spomenuti rad I. Bojanovskoga), N. Vulić (1905) i A. Milošević (rad o rimskim pečatima iz Sirmija iz 1971). Propustom smatram izostavljanje rada J. J. Wilkesa “Importation and Manufacture of Stamped Brick and Tiles in the Roman Province of Dalmatia” (u A. McWhirr (ed.), *Roman Brick and Tile: Studium in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire*, BAR International Series 68, Oxford, 1979, 65–69). U njemu se Wilkes osvrće i na proizvodnju crijepa s pečatima u vojnim radionicama u Burnumu i Tilveriju. Nakon 86. godine, kad legije napuštaju Dalmaciju, Wilkes spominje tri kohorte: *I. Belgarum*, *III Alpinorum* i *VIII Voluntariorum*. Navodi da su morale proizvoditi crijep za vlastite potrebe, “but did not stamp them” (*ibidem*, str. 67). Međutim danas znamo da su sve spomenute kohorte ostavile pečate na crijepu.

Knjiga R. Kurzmann korisna je i informativna studija o rimskim vojnim pečatima: prvo, zato što je obuhvaćen materijal iz cijeloga Rimskoga Carstva i uzet u obzir stupanj njegove istraženosti; drugo, zato što su analitički i komparativno opisane sve metode proučavanja pečata i njihova vrijednost za poznavanje rimske vojne povijesti. Prigovor se može odnositi na apsolutno manjkavo i nedostatno poznavanje provincije Dalmacije i stanja istraženosti rimskih vojnih pečata, ali i povijesti rimskih postrojba u njoj. Možda je to opomena hrvatskoj stručnoj javnosti, u prvome redu arheološkoj, da uzida koji crijep u europsku znanstvenu kulu. S pečatom, naravno!

I believe it an oversight that she failed to include the work by J. J. Wilkes, “Importation and Manufacture of Stamped Brick and Tiles in the Roman Province of Dalmatia” (in A. McWhirr (ed.), *Roman Brick and Tile: Studium in Manufacture, Distribution and Use in the Western Empire*, BAR International Series 68, Oxford, 1979, 65–69). In it, Wilkes refers to production of stamped tiles in the military workshops in Burnum and Tilverium. After 86 AD, when the legions left Dalmatia, Wilkes mentions three cohorts: *I. Belgarum*, *III Alpinorum* and *VIII Voluntariorum*. He notes that they had to manufacture tile for their own needs, “but did not stamp them” (*ibid.*, p. 67). However, today we know that all of these cohorts stamped their tiles.

R. Kurzmann’s book is a useful and informative study on Roman military stamps: first, because it includes materials from the entire Roman Empire and takes into account the level of research conducted; second, because all methods for studying stamps and their value to knowledge of Roman military history are analytically and comparatively described. A criticism that can be made here is that the knowledge of the province of Dalmatia and the status of research into Roman military stamps, and even the history of Roman military units in it, is absolutely inadequate and insufficient. Perhaps this should serve as a call to Croatian experts, particularly archaeologists, to install a few tiles into the European scholarly tower. Stamped, to be sure!

