

LEGIO XI CLAUDIA PIA FIDELIS: MILITARIA OF THE *BURNUM* TROOP WHOSE LOYALTY TO THE EMPEROR WAVERED IN THE YEAR 42

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Burnum was the hotspot of a political crisis in the Roman Empire in 42 AD. For a brief period of five days, an insurrection against the Iulian-Claudian imperial house was supported by the 11th Legion stationed there. When the soldiers realized the obvious deception used to foment this rebellion, their desire for revenge led to the manslaughter of several of their superiors. This violation of the regulations against higher ranks was rigidly punished as a capital crime by the provincial governor, newly appointed by Emperor Claudius. The convicted legionaries were executed in front of the headquarters. At almost the same time, however, the troops had also been given the honorific title Claudia Pia Fidelis for their loyalty, professed so quickly to the emperor. The emphasis on this pietas was thus eclipsed by the guilty verdicts' causa capitis of a dubious interpretation of the law. After all, the soldiers sentenced to death had turned against the high traitors of the imperial house (adversus Claudium auctores occiderant).

It is therefore hardly surprising that the site of the executions in the area of the principia was subjected to a complete transformation within a few years, between 42 and 51/52 AD, in the course of a large-scale building programme under Claudius. The terrain was completely changed in its appearance by a mighty levelling; the place was practically sealed. As relics of these structural measures, an abundant spectrum of militaria has been deposited in the backfill. As bronze fragments show, what ended up in the fill is likely to have been waste and metal supplies from a fine forge. Also found among the military gear was a well-preserved belt fitting with niello decoration. On the basis of this significant find, the rich repertoire of belts with niello decoration worn by legionaries of the 11th Legion from Burnum up to the Rhine region via Vindonissa is presented.

Key words:

Burnum, legio XI, Claudian period, insurrection, military gear, niello-decorated belts

Historical framework

The revolt against Emperor Claudius in Dalmatia lasted for five days of the year 42.¹ In his capacity as governor of the Dalmatian province, L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus, offspring of a politically influential patrician family, had attempted to overthrow Claudius, the newly elected emperor, who was considered weak.² Camillus exerted psychological pressure to the extent that Claudius was already considering abdication,³ and military pressure by a concentrated force of the two legions (VII and XI) geographically closest to the capital, Rome. These could have reached Rome in a few days by crossing the Adriatic Sea.

The troops, however, changed sides after only a handful of days and now proceeded in support of Emperor Claudius against Camillus, who, after fleeing, committed suicide or was killed.⁴ It remains an open question how the governor could have induced his legions to break the oath of allegiance (*sacramentum mutaverant*)⁵ and to seduce them to insurrection. Misinformation of the soldiers may most likely have been the weak basis of this upheaval. The revolt was perhaps a result of the claim that the newly appointed emperor had been overthrown or killed.⁶

1 Suet. *Claud.* 13; Cass. Dio 60,15,3.

2 Wiseman 1982, 61–63.

3 Cass. Dio 60,15,4.

4 Cass. Dio 60,15,3; Tac. *Hist.* 2,75.

5 Suet. *Claud.* 13.

6 Flaig 2019, 258.

That the fickleness of the legionaries was due to a deceptive manoeuvre supported by high military officials can be inferred from the violent, severe and momentous reaction of the soldiers during the suppression of the uprising. Some particularly enraged *milites* killed their superiors and were shortly thereafter sentenced to death in a summary trial by the newly appointed governor, Lucius Otho: *in Illyrico milites quosdam, quod motu Camilli ex paenitentia praepositos suos quasi defectionis adversus Claudium auctores occiderant, capite punire*.⁷ The execution of the death sentences was carried out on legionaries whose troops had just received the honorific imperial title of *Claudia Pia Fidelis*,⁸ in front of their headquarters: *quidem ante principia se coram, quamvis ob id ipsum promotos in ampliorem gradum a Claudio sciret*.⁹ The legate proceeded with all severity; a mitigation of punishment due to the general heated mood at the culmination of the revolt, as would have been granted according to the Roman legal understanding,¹⁰ was not at all considered by Lucius Otho. This led to a clouding of the relationship between Emperor Claudius and his legate Otho, but acted as a deterrent in the long term, however.¹¹

In a swift tactical manoeuvre, the imperial house reacted quickly and prudently in this tense situation, not only by conferring on the troops involved, Legions VII and XI, the honorific title *Claudia Pia Fidelis*, but also showering them with an investment programme. Cassius Dio speaks of awards by Claudius to the soldiers in various ways: *στρατιώτας ἄλλοις τέ τισιν ἡμείψατο*.¹² Aimed at appeasement of a different kind, there was an improvement of the infrastructure at the stationing place of the legions during the reign of Claudius. Representing significant documents for this investment programme, there are two inscriptions, one of which is explicitly dated to the years 51/52 AD in *Burnum*, which mentions the completion of construction works under the governor, P. Anteius Rufus: *[Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi] / f(ilius) Ca[es]ar Aug(ustus) G[erman]i(cus)] / pont[if]ex maximu[s] tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) XI] / imp(erator) XX[3] co(n)s(ul) V censo[r] p(ater) p(atriciae)] / P(ublio) Ante[io R]ufo leg(ato) p(ro) pr(aetore)] / [f(aciendum)] c(uravit)*.¹³

In *Burnum*, the garrison of *legio XI*, around the middle of the 1st century AD, not only was the central area of the *castra legionis* completely redesigned, but also the layout of the amphitheatre in stone architecture.¹⁴ Among the building material of the *castra* are stamped bricks from the legion's brickyard.¹⁵ The building inscriptions and the brick stamps as important epigraphic sources, as well as the archaeological findings in the central area of the *castra*, testify to the fact that, in the course of these extensive

building measures, important forces of the 11th Legion were concentrated directly in *Burnum*.¹⁶ The orchestrated infrastructural measures were thus not only aimed at improving the stationing site, and thus the welfare of the soldiers, but also in particular at reprimanding those currently wavering in their loyalty to the Iulian-Claudian imperial house by means of an intensive work process, a common tactic. The reorganization of *Burnum* was thus not so much an 'award'¹⁷ or 'gifts'¹⁸ for the 11th Legion, but a purposeful controlled concentration of forces in one place.

The inscription of the years 51/52 AD gives a conclusive dating for the findings of a massive transformation of the terrain in the centre of the *castra legionis*. This area had been dishonoured as a result of the insurrection, since the execution of those soldiers who had killed their superiors out of resentment took place on the site of the *principia*.¹⁹ The lynching of superiors by ordinary legionaries was punished by the state authorities by sentencing them to death for this capital crime. The place of remembrance of these executions was subsequently subjected to a complete modification in the course of the Claudian building measures.

The headquarters was given a changed, splendid appearance by a new construction in stone architecture, the elevation of the ground level requiring a sealing of the place of execution. The building site was completely redesigned by the placement of thick backfill and the levelling achieved in this way.²⁰ In the course of the construction work, a fireplace was in operation, the red burnt earthy soil of which could be documented together with the ashes stored above it.²¹ This was overlaid by a layer of mortar, which formed the actual building level of the rising structures and formed the seal.²² The application of a mortar layer to level and clean up the ground was a common procedure in the operation of monumental Roman construction sites.²³

The composition of the debris that was deposited in the course of the backfilling over the bedrock and the first levelling is extremely remarkable, since it contains, in addition to the usual components, such as broken pottery (e.g. Consp. 6.2, Consp. 19.2.1, Consp. 20.4.1, Consp. 20.4.4, Consp. 23.2, Consp. 27.1.2, Consp. 32.1, fine ware fabric A, Dressel 6A and 6B, garum pots),²⁴ a diverse spectrum of militaria. The mostly fragmented parts of sword scabbards, belt fittings and horse harnesses were combined with sheet-metal fragments of various shapes that came from the workshop of a fine smithy. This significant closed find assemblage (Fig. 1–2), which most likely dates between the years 42 and 51/52 AD, will be the subject of a detailed typological analysis in the following.

7 Suet. *Otho* 1,2; Jagenteufel 1958, 25–26.

8 Cass. Dio 60,15,4; Suet. *Otho* 1,2.

9 Suet. *Otho* 1,2.

10 Jung 1982, 996.

11 Jung 1982, 996.

12 Cass. Dio 60,15,4.

13 CIL III 14987; ILJug 2809–2810; Miletić 2010, 126; Jagenteufel 1958, 34–36, no. 9.2, 9.4.

14 Glavičić, Miletić 2008, 438–439.

15 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, Tab. 21.

16 Further epigraphic evidence: Cesarik 2022, 58–59.

17 Campedelli 2011, 59.

18 Miletić 2010, 127.

19 Suet. *Otho* 1,2.

20 Kandler 1979, 13.

21 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, 50, "VIII 5/74".

22 Kandler 1979, 13, "als oberstes Niveau ... durchlaufend ein schlechter Mörtelguß".

23 Sedlmayer 2015, 253.

24 Consp. 6.2: Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, Tab. 1: 12, inv. 1366/74; Consp. 19.2.1: Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, Tab. 1: 8, inv. 1330/74; Consp.

Militaria of *legio XI* in the find assemblage ante 51/52 in *Burnum*

From swords, there are preserved fittings of the scabbards (clamps, base of a scabbard chape), as well as suspensions (Fig. 1: 1–13). The fragmented fitting with ivy-shaped ornamentation (Fig. 1: 1) is typical of the troop contingents sent from *Aquileia*, since comparable finds have been attested both in *Virunum* (Magdalensberg) and in *Carnuntum* on the Amber Road.²⁵ The find from Magdalensberg dates to the Augustan-Tiberian time, the one from *Carnuntum* to the Claudian-to-Flavian time. The evidence from Kalkriese belongs to the late Augustan period.²⁶ From *Burnum* itself there is another example of this type from the amphitheatre.²⁷ It is very likely that several pieces came with their owners from *Burnum* to *Vindonissa*.²⁸ There are also river finds from the Saône and from the Rhine at *Mogontiacum*.²⁹

The button-and-loop fastener carved from bone (Fig. 2: 20) could have functioned as part of the suspension of a sword or dagger. The bone buttons found in *Burnum* and also several times in *Salona* (seat of the Dalmatian governor), as well as in *Siscia*,³⁰ probably go back to Italian models. Examples are present in *Campania (Pompeii)*.³¹ A very simple version from *Tilurium* represents an archaic prototype.³² Starting from *Burnum*, such bone knobs reached *Vindonissa*³³ and the area of the Revolt of the Batavi (Xanten) in the years 69/70.³⁴

Two nails with anchor cross-shaped heads (Fig. 1: 14–15) can be regarded as fittings of a throwing weapon. As proved by finds from Oberaden and Kalkriese, comparable designs, somewhat more massive, served to mount the points of *pila* on the wooden shafts.³⁵ The fittings intended for a *pilum* are made of iron, as shown by finds e.g. from Dangstetten, Kalkriese and Oberaden. Even these iron specimens, however, in some cases display the

form of the anchor cross,³⁶ which is yet more detailed here in non-ferrous metal. Since the present finds are somewhat more filigree than their iron counterparts, it is suggested that these served to mount lighter projectile points.

Protective weapons include parts of helmets and armour, as well as workshop waste from the manufacture of scales. The folded-sheet-metal helmet fitting (Fig. 1: 16) was originally fastened with four round-headed rivets, of which only parts have survived from the 1974 excavations. On the helmet this fitting served for the mounting of an organic crest, e.g. made of feathers.³⁷

The shoulder hinge of Thomas Fi type (Fig. 1: 17) is typical of *lorica segmentata* from Late Augustan times onwards, with comparisons at Kalkriese and *Argentorate*.³⁸ Finds of the Thomas Fi type also reached *Vindonissa* and Oberwinthertur.³⁹ Likewise, typical of the Late Augustan period is the armour buckle with incisions at the ridge and distinct profiling at the ends (Fig. 1: 19), with further attestations at *Burnum*.⁴⁰ For comparison, similar buckles can be cited from Dangstetten.⁴¹ Parts of segmented armour made of iron (Fig. 2: 21) were discovered at *Burnum* immediately above the rock levelling in the ash layer. The *t.p.q.* for the context is provided by an as of Tiberius (22/23 AD, Fig. 2: 19).⁴²

Among the numerous sheet-metal fragments from non-ferrous metal processing encountered in the backfill layer, one significant item stands out. This shows the outline of a semicircular scale cut out with tin snips (Fig. 1: 20). For the 11th Legion, there is Early Imperial evidence for the use of scale armour in the representation of its *aquilifer*, Lucius Sertorius Firmus (Fig. 3).⁴³ For the soldier with the legionary eagle, this type of armour provided better mobility, due to its lighter weight, as well as a good protective function.⁴⁴ The field sign bearers, as well as the *cornicines* acting at the foremost front, without shield armament, preferred scale armour.⁴⁵ Other sheet-metal fragments with semicircular contours could also be interpreted as residues from the cutting of scales (Fig. 1: 21–24). Very specifically, the numerous production scraps of sheet-metal strips (Fig. 1: 25–31) also suggest the manufacture or repair of scale armour. These are present in varying widths, from wider strips that would have required further cutting to very narrow strips. The latter would have been ideally suited as connecting elements between the individual scales.⁴⁶

20.4.1: inv. 1331/74; Consp. 20.4.4: Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, Tab. 1: 16, inv. 1313+1365/74; Consp. 23.2: Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, Tab. 1: 10, inv. 1182/74; Consp. 27.1.2: inv. 1314/74; Consp. 32.1: Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, Tab. 1: 14, inv. 1206/74; fine ware fabric A: Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, Tab. 4: 4, 6, inv. 1208/74, 1210/74, 1320/74. Dressel 6A: inv. 1369 + 1372/74; Dressel 6B: inv. 1317/74, 1371/74; garum pots: inv. 1315/74, 1338/74.

25 Deimel 1987, 262, Tab. 69: 3; Grünwald 1983, Tab. 66: 13.

26 Harnecker 2008, 5, Tab. 3: 26.

27 Glavičić 2011, 291, Fig. 21 (ID 1299).

28 Miks 2007, 908, Tab. 186: B328, 53–55.

29 Miks 2007, 660–662, Tab. 186: A457, A463.

30 Ivčević 2013, 304, Tab. 1: 15–17; Radman-Livaja 2004, 92, 134, Tab. 41: 270.

31 Wild 1970, 143, 154, “Class X”.

32 Librenjak in Radman-Livaja (ed.) 2010, 83, no. 58, fig.; cf. Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 54, no. 2122–2124, Tab. 72: 2122–2124.

33 Wild 1970, 143, 154–155; Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 54, no. 2107–2129, Tab. 71: 2107–2119.

34 Lenz 2006, 178, Tab. 50: 490; list of finds in Guillaud 2019, 477, *Pompeii*, Great Saint Bernard, *Vindonissa*–Windisch, *Augusta Raurica*–Augst, Aislingen, Oberstimm, Wiesbaden, Hofheim, *Mogontiacum*–Mainz, Xanten, *Nemausus*–Nîmes, *Lugdunum*–Lyon, *Ruscino*–Château-Roussillon, Villeneuve-sur-Lot, Mâlain, Nuits-St-Georges/Les Bolards, Hayton; Deschler-Erb 1999, 185, Tab. 42: 809, *Augusta Raurica*–Augst.

35 Harnecker 1997, 103; 2011, 22, Tab. 2: 2019.

36 Dangstetten: Fingerlin 1998, 19, no. 625B.6 (Fe); 186, no. 1337.19 (Fe); Haltern: Harnecker 1997, 103, Tab. 91: 993, 995; Kalkriese: Harnecker 2011, 22, Tab. 2: 2024 (Fe).

37 Bishop 1990, 161, Fig. 1: 3.

38 Thomas 2003, 62–63, Fig. 45: 6, 8; Harnecker 2011, 26, Tab. 7: 2120, 8: 2113.

39 Thomas 2003, 63, Fig. 45: 7, 11.

40 Borzić et al. 2016, 199, no. 24, fig. Somewhat simpler in design is a find without context from the 1974 excavations, inv. 1408/74.

41 Fingerlin 1986, no. 161/1, 450/2, 505/1 und 529/1; 1998, no. 869/1, 873/3, 1064/3, 1117/2, 1220/5 und 1258/1.

42 Zabehlicky-Scheffenecker 1979, 20, no. 9; 50, “VIII-8/74. Tiberius (9)”.

43 Groh 2023, 41, Fig. A22; Lupa 21662; CIL V 3375.

44 Groh 2023, 20.

45 Groh 2023, 41–42.

46 Schramm 2023, 160.



FIGURE 1. *Burnum*. Militaria and workshop waste of *legio XI* in the assemblage from 42–51/52 AD. Excavation 1974. Scale 2:3 (photo by H. Sedlmayer; made by H. Sedlmayer).



FIGURE 2. *Burnum*. Militaria of *legio XI* in the assemblage from 42–51/52 AD. Excavation 1974. Scale 2:3, no. 19 scale 1:1 (photo by H. Sedlmayer; made by H. Sedlmayer).



FIGURE 3. Aquilifer of legio XI. Lucius Sertorius Firmus of the Tribus Publilia, Verona, Regio X (photo Lupa 21662, Museo Maffiano).

Another part of the protective armour, also with decorative function, are the fittings of the apron.⁴⁷ There are various forms of this from *Burnum* (Fig. 2: 4–13). The small rectangular fitting (Fig. 2: 4) could possibly have carried a decorative plate of white metal on its smooth upper surface, as can be observed on objects from Kalkriese.⁴⁸ Comparable small artefacts with

four rivet pins on the back are reported in large numbers from Haltern.⁴⁹ The baluster-shaped fitting (Fig. 2: 13) functioned as a strap end; an analogy from Haltern indicates use from the Late Augustan period onwards.⁵⁰

Horse-harness pendants

Characteristic of some horse-harness pendants from *Burnum* is their composition of several elements. Thus, a complete comparison from the excavations of the amphitheatre shows that a smaller lunula was mounted on a large-sized lunula pendant like a plate rattle. The link between the two moon symbols was designed in the form of a cross arm with the representation of a fig sign and a phallus.⁵¹ From the context *ante* 51/52 such an element of a more complex pendant is known (Fig. 2: 18). A comparable representation of the fig sign from Dangstetten already dates to the Late Augustan period.⁵²

Simple leaf-shaped pendants with a smooth surface (Fig. 2: 16) occur several times in *Burnum*.⁵³ On the lower part of a fragmented, more elaborate leaf-shaped pendant (Fig. 2: 17), the round perforations can still be seen in rudiments. A comparable artefact from *Tilurium* shows that, originally, several perforations divided the decorative sheet, shaped as an oak leaf.⁵⁴ This type of pendant reached *Vindonissa*⁵⁵ with the 11th Legion and was further developed there in different variants.

Cingula

Three rectangular belt fittings are present from the backfill layer (Fig. 2: 1–3). A simple smooth fitting (Fig. 2: 3) may originally have supported a sheet-metal overlay. The belt plate with round shield-shaped decoration (Fig. 2: 2) corresponds to another item present in *Burnum*⁵⁶ and belongs to a widespread group of fittings of Tiberian-Claudian time. The plate with niello decoration (Fig. 2: 1) should be emphasized. This is part of a larger differentiated group from *Burnum*, with six different pattern combinations (Fig. 4).

⁴⁷ Bishop 1992.

⁴⁸ Harnecker 2008, 10, Tab. 11: 121.

⁴⁹ Müller 2002, 55, Tab. 63: 635–640, 642–643.

⁵⁰ Müller 2002, 55, Tab. 64: 686.

⁵¹ Cambi *et al.* 2007, 26, Fig. 22 = Glavičić 2011, 291, Fig. 20 (ID 1147) = Glavičić *et al.* in Radman-Livaja (ed.) 2010, 166, no. 71, fig. Cf. Borzić *et al.* 2016, 231, no. 26, fig.

⁵² Fingerlin 1986, 112, no. 318.1.

⁵³ Borzić *et al.* 2016, 226, no. 10, fig.; 251, no. 3, fig.; 272, no. 37, fig.; 273, no. 42, fig.

⁵⁴ Ivčević in Radman-Livaja (ed.) 2010, 99, no. 93, fig.

⁵⁵ Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 41, Tab. 55: 1524, 56: 1550.

⁵⁶ Glavičić *et al.* in Radman-Livaja (ed.) 2010, 152, no. 27, fig. (IDN 1292).

Spectrum of belt fittings with niello decoration in *Burnum*

Burnum variant 1

From the backfill layer, placed *ante* 51/52, comes a belt plate with a central rosette flanked by two rectangular fields filled with lattice pattern and surrounded by a frame of lancets (Fig. 2: 1; 4: 1.1). Two additional items are present in *Burnum* (Fig. 4: 1.2–1.3).⁵⁷ This type is widespread. Starting in Italy (*Campania*), it reached the activity zone of the 11th Legion in *Germania superior* via *Burnum* (Fig. 5: variant 1). Numerous finds are present in *Vindonissa*. The evidence in Rheingönheim could be connected with a detachment of a sub-unit of the legion for construction work in the Rhine region.⁵⁸

A distinct group of finds is formed by the evidence from *Dunum*–Hod Hill and Camerton in the extreme south-west of *Britannia*. They are associated with the legions sent during the Claudian occupation of Britain. It is questionable which soldiers at Hod Hill built the briefly-occupied vexillation camp. In view of the fact that the range of belt fittings of the 11th Legion stationed in Dalmatia resembles that of *Dunum*–Hod Hill in so many respects (with conformity in the variants *Burnum* 1 and 3, Fig. 5), a common source of supply may be assumed. It would therefore seem logical that the artefacts found at Hod Hill come from the possession of a 9th Legion vexillation. This troop was sent from *Pannonia* and the hinterland of the *Caput Adriae*⁵⁹ to *Britannia* and was thus the only one of the forces commanded by Aulus Plautius that also served in the catchment area of the Adriatic before being stationed beyond the English Channel. The discovery of a belt plate of variant 2 from Budaörs in *Pannonia* (Fig. 5) could provide a trace to *legio IX*.

Comparable finds:

Campania: Hoss 2014, 89, Tab. 30: B.300.

Novae–Česava: Redžić 2013, 186–187, Tab. 45: 406.

Budaörs: Mráv 2013, 91, Fig. 4: 3 (= Hoss 2014, 92, Tab. 32: B.356).

Aquae–Baden: Unz 1971, 47, Fig. 4: 12 (= Hoss 2014, 90, Tab. 31: B.317).

Vindonissa–Windisch and Brugg: Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 33, Tab. 39: 1004 (= Hoss 2014, 98, Tab. 34: B.445); 34, Tab. 40: 1013 (= Hoss 2014, 91, Tab. 31: B.346); Tab. 40: 1020 (= Hoss 2014, 89, Tab. 31: B.318); Tab. 40: 1022 (= Hoss 2014, 91, Tab. 32: B.353).

Rheingönheim: Ulbert 1969, 40, Tab. 27: 19.

Dunum–Hod Hill: Brailsford 1962, 4, Fig. 4: A108–A109 (= Grew, Griffiths 1991, 60, Fig. 6: 11–12; Hoss 2014, 89, Tab. 30: B.292, 33: B.428); Grew, Griffiths 1991, 60, Fig. 6: 13–16 (= Hoss 2014, 89, Tab. 30: B.293–B.296).

Camerton: Grew, Griffiths 1991, 78, Fig. 17: 183–184 (= Hoss 2014, 88, Tab. 30: B.286–B.287).

Rutupiae–Richborough: Grew, Griffiths 1991, 60, Fig. 6: 17 (= Hoss 2014, 89, Tab. 30: B.298).

Burnum variant 2

From the excavations of the amphitheatre at *Burnum* (Fig. 4: 2)⁶⁰ comes an item very similar to the 1974 find (Fig. 4: 1.1). Again, a simple rosette forms the centre, flanked by rectangular geometric ornamental zones. These are not latticed as in variant 1, but structured like a game board. The frame is formed by lancets in the same way as in variant 1. The black-grey niello zones stand out clearly against a surface covered with white metal.

As already described in the introduction, the building of the *ludus* in stone was part of the large-scale construction measures initiated after the uprising of the year 42. The belt plates with niello of the variants *Burnum* 1 and 2 are to be regarded as a typical part of the equipment of the 11th Legion. A comparable artefact of variant 2 is furthermore documented in *Tilurium*, the site of the 7th Legion, on which was also conferred the honorific title *Claudia Pia Fidelis* in 42 AD.

Numerous artefacts of variant 2 were found starting from *Burnum* in the greater *Vindonissa* area, with evidence in *Vindonissa* itself, as well as in *Aquae*, *Tenedo*, *Augusta Raurica* and *Brigantium* (Fig. 5: variant 2). In this wide area, the 11th Legion was highly engaged in its building activities, which is indicated by the dense distribution of its brick stamps.⁶¹ As for the *Burnum* 1 variant, it can also be stated for *Burnum* 2 that a small distinct find group reached south-western *Britannia* at the time of the Claudian occupation (see above).

Comparable finds:

Tilurium–Gardun: S. Ivčević in Radman-Livaja (ed.) 2010, 78–79, no. 46, fig.

Vindonissa–Windisch: Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 34, Tab. 40: 1014 (= Hoss 2014, 90, Tab. 31: B.322); Tab. 40: 1016–1019, 1021 (= Hoss 2014, 92, Tab. 31: B.348–B.350; 32: B.351–B.352).

Tenedo–Zurzach: Roth-Rubi 1994, 250, Fig. 175b: B 30 (= Hoss 2014, 98, Tab. 34: B.451).

Augusta Raurica–Augst: Deschler-Erb 1999, 153, Tab. 19: 354 (= Hoss 2014, 90, Tab. 31: B.315).

Brigantium–Bregenz: Kopf 2020, 129, Tab. 12: C 46.

Submuntorium–Burghöfe: Franke 2009, 19, Tab. 7: 148–149.

Camerton: Grew, Griffiths 1991, 60, Fig. 5: 6–9 (= Hoss 2014, 88, Tab. 7: A.260+30: B.282; 30: B.283, B.285).

Weymouth: Grew, Griffiths 1991, 60, Fig. 6: 10 (= Hoss 2014, 89, Tab. 30: B.299).

Burnum variant 3

Due to the lattice decoration and the lancet-shaped frame, a belt plate (Fig. 4: 3) is closely related to the *Burnum* 1 variant (Fig. 4: 1.1–1.3). The evidence of the *Burnum* 3 variant comes from the excavations of the amphitheatre⁶² and is thus, like the evidence of the *Burnum* 1 variant (Fig. 4: 1.1), closely linked to

57 Glavičić et al. in Radman-Livaja (ed.) 2010, 152, no. 25–26, fig. (IDN 1099, 1376) = Cambi et al. 2007, 26, Fig. 21.

58 Brandl 1999, 142, Karte 16.

59 Sedlmayer 2019, 463–464.

60 Glavičić 2011, 291, Fig. 10 (ID 1287) = Borzić et al. 2016, 188–189, no. 66, fig.

61 Brandl 1999, 141–142, Karte 15.

62 Glavičić 2011, 291, Fig. 11 (ID 1206) = Borzić et al. 2016, 187, no. 65, fig.

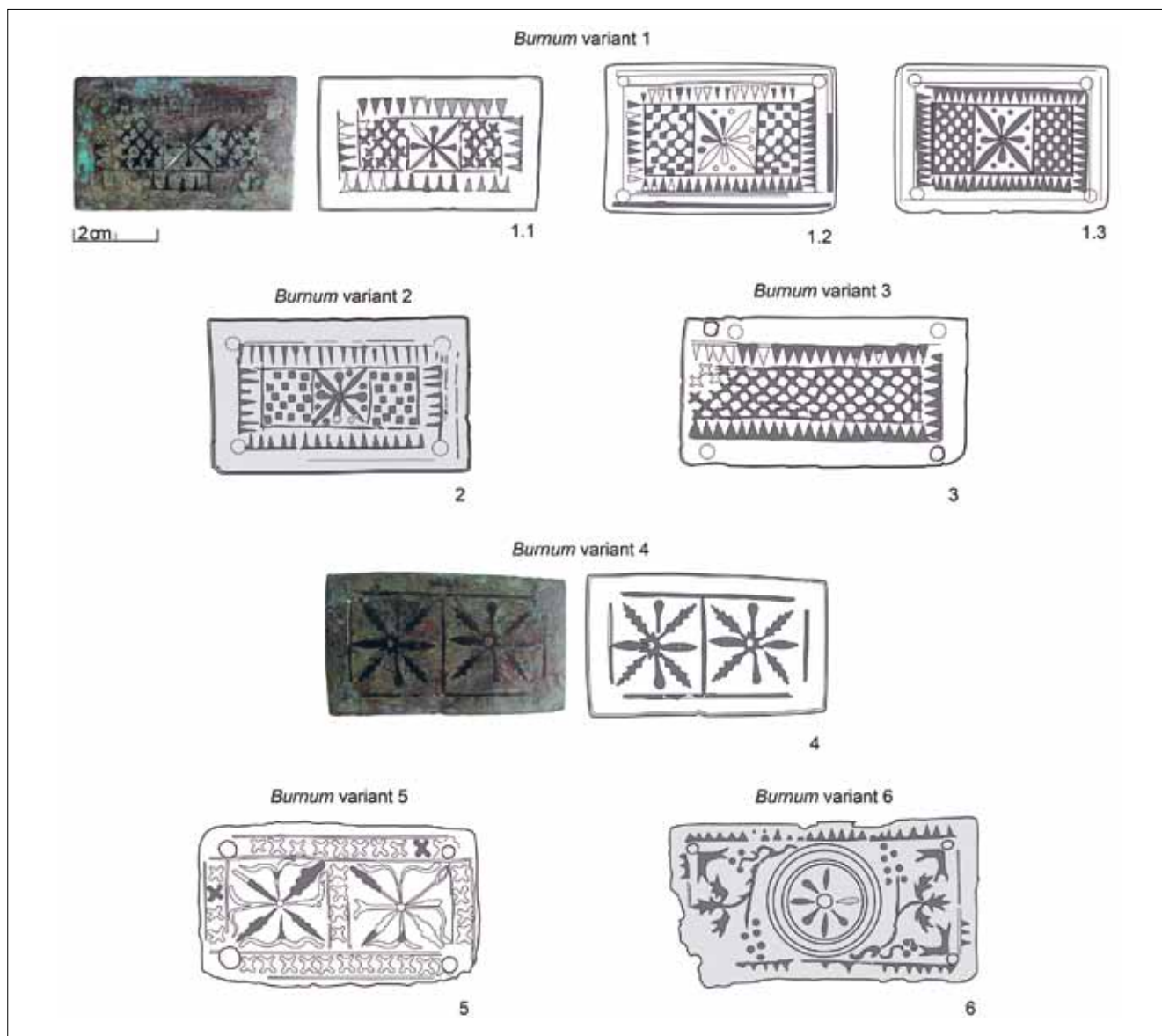


FIGURE 4. *Burnum*. Variants of belt fittings with niello decoration. Ca. Scale 2:3 (made by H. Sedlmayer).

the construction measures of the 11th Legion initiated between 42 and 51/52 AD. Comparable finds are again present from the later stationing of the troops in *Vindonissa* (Fig. 5: variant 3). As already stated for the *Burnum* 1 and 2 variants (see above), the *Burnum* 3 variant is also found in the first Roman bases of the Claudian occupation in *Britannia*, with several examples at *Dunum*–Hod Hill.

Comparable finds:

Vindonissa–Windisch: Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 34, Tab. 40: 1025 (= Hoss 2014, 98, Tab. 34: 449); Tab. 40: 1028 (= Hoss 2014, 94, Tab. 32: B.384).

Thames at Hammersmith/London: Grew, Griffiths 1991, 63, Fig. 7: 24 (= Hoss 2014, 93, Tab. 32: B.377).

Dunum–Hod Hill: Brailsford 1962, 3, Fig. 4: A77 (= Grew, Griffiths 1991, 60, Fig. 6: 18; Hoss 2014, 93, no. B.372); 4, Fig. 4: A104 (= Grew,

Griffiths 1991, 63, Fig. 6: 19; Hoss 2014, 93, Tab. 32: B.373); Grew, Griffiths 1991, 63, Fig. 7: 20–22 (= Hoss 2014, 93, Tab. 32: B.374–B.376).

Burnum variant 4

Variant 4 is represented by another item from the 1974 excavations at *Burnum* (Fig. 4: 4).⁶³ It shows two rosettes composed of stylized laurel and oak leaves with a small serrated flower pistil in the center. The frame is divided into two parts by simple bordering. A similar arrangement of floral decorations is relatively common on belt plates with niello, but an exact parallel is lack-

63 Belt plate, Ae, double rosette-shaped niello decoration in simple cassette-shaped framing, 4 rivet pins on reverse side, 5.7×3.2×0.8 cm, 21 g, inv. 1312/74, section "Bogen" (arch), VIII-3/74, depth of the east-west foundation.



FIGURE 5. Distribution of belt fittings with niello decorations of variants 1–6 equal to the *Burnum* finds (made by H. Sedlmayer).

ing. A close comparison is known from Valkenburg in the area of the Revolt of the Batavi, where the 11th Legion was sent in AD 70.⁶⁴

***Burnum* variant 5**

Similar to the *Burnum* 4 variant, the *Burnum* 5 variant is also divided into two framed parts, each with a rosette. In the case of *Burnum* 5 (Fig. 4: 5), the rosettes are composed of highly stylized oak leaves and rudimentary palmettes.⁶⁵ The frame and the central bar are formed by crosses. The latter are reminiscent of the cross-shaped studs from the assemblage discussed above (Fig. 1: 14–15). Comparable belt plates reached *Vindonissa* with the

11th Legion and, from there, other areas of the military zone of *Germania superior*, where detachments of the troops were engaged in construction work. A very good comparable artefact with an identical combination of patterns but different proportions comes from Hofheim. In the vicinity of this fort, *legio XI* was heavily involved, as their brick stamps prove.⁶⁶

Comparable finds:

Vindonissa–Windisch: Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 33–34, Tab. 38: 975 (= Hoss 2014, 91, Tab. 31: B.333); Tab. 39: 977 (= Hoss 2014, 90, Tab. 31: B.319).

Hofheim: Ritterling 1904, Tab. 3: 22 (= Hoss 2014, 88, Tab. 30: B.273).

64 Hoss 2014, 89, Tab. 30: B.304, similar, no central vertical division.

65 Borzić et al. 2016, 187, no. 63, fig.

66 Brandl 1999, 142, Karte 16.

Asciburgium–Asberg: Deschler-Erb 2012, 113, Tab. 7: C 19.

Similar, Rheingönheim: Ulbert 1969, 40, Tab. 27: 21 (leaf rosette with laurel leaves and rudimentary palmettes, outer frame with lancets).

Burnum variant 6

A rather elaborately designed belt plate with floral decoration grouped around a round shield-shaped centre represents variant 6 from *Burnum* (Fig. 4: 6), which still shows the white metal coating contrasting in colour with the black-grey niello inlays.⁶⁷ In the centre, a simple rosette is surrounded by two circles, each flanked by a beautifully cut vine leaf and grapes. The four spandrels are each filled with a rudimentary serrated leaf. The frame is formed by lancets. Although not matching in all details, comparable finds from *Vindonissa* are decorated with similar ornaments arranged around a round shield (Fig. 6: 1–2).⁶⁸ Due to the matching spandrel motifs in the corners, the provenance of all these artefacts from one workshop can be concluded.

Vine-leaf motifs following the Dionysian iconographic repertoire are displayed on the *Burnum* fitting of variant 6. These wine symbols are much rarer on belt plates with niello than stylized representations of ivy. Horse-harness pendants with elaborate niello inlays are sometimes decorated with vine leaves and grapes.⁶⁹ The best-known find is undoubtedly the set associated with an *ala* once commanded by Pliny from the area of the Revolt of the Batavi.⁷⁰ With regard to the combination of Bacchic motifs, this extravagant horse harness is to be linked to a set from *Iuvanum* (Fig. 6: 3), found in *Regio IV (Samnium)*⁷¹ and thus on approximately the same geographical latitude as *Burnum*, but beyond the Adriatic.

The horse harness from *Iuvanum* is decorated with vine-leaf and grape motifs as well as simple palmettes. As a spandrel motif of the pendant (Fig. 6: 3), a rudimentary serrated leaf is inserted, as on the belt fittings of variant 6 (Fig. 4: 6; 6: 1–2). The motifs are so similar that the origin of the set from *Iuvanum* (Fig. 6: 3) and the belt plates from *Burnum* and *Vindonissa* (Fig. 4: 6; 6: 1–2) could be attributed to one workshop. With these finds, the connection to Italy as the actual country of origin of objects with niello decoration is most tangible. From the Augustan period onwards, Greek-born fine smiths were increasingly at work there, who made elaborate techniques with iridescent colours fashionable, such as the *Corinthium Aes* or the simpler niello.

Higher-ranking military officers may have been the primary transmitters of this trend, as attested by stone monuments.⁷² For the 11th Legion, this is best documented by its *aquilifer* Lu-

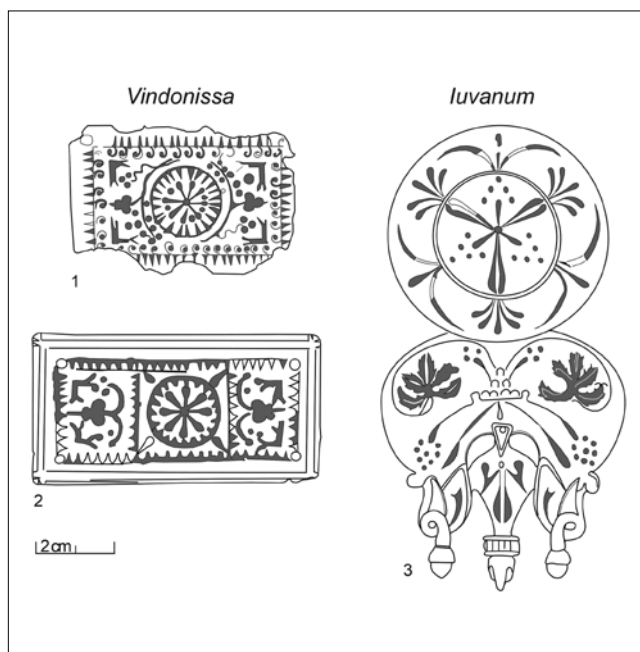


FIGURE 6. *Vindonissa* and *Iuvanum*. Comparisons of finds with Bacchic symbols inlaid in niello. Scale 2:3 (made by H. Sedlmayer).

cius Sertorius Firmus (Fig. 3), who was native to *Regio X*.⁷³ The banner-bearer, equipped with scale armour, wears a richly decorated belt. Even on the stone relief, its details are reproduced with some precision. Suggestively, it could be a decoration in the form of crossed leaves, similar to the niello pattern of the variants *Burnum* 4 and 5. As the finds from *Burnum* and *Vindonissa* prove, a number of soldiers of the 11th Legion followed the fashion trend of black-grey niello inlays on their magnificent shining silver belts.

67 Borzić et al. 2016, 187, no. 64, fig.

68 Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, 33, Tab. 40: 962 (= Hoss 2014, 93, Tab. 32: B365); Unz 1973, 20, Fig. 7: 42 (= Hoss 2014, 92, Tab. 32: B363).

69 Sedlmayer 2020, 74, Fig. 32: 9 (Museum Carnuntinum).

70 Jenkins 1985, 141–157, Fig. 2–14.

71 Staffilani 1995, 125, Tab. 1.

72 Bolla, Buonopane 2024, 220–221, Fig. 2–5.

73 Groh 2023, 41, Fig. A22; Lupa 21662; CIL V 3375.

Appendix: Catalogue of the militaria of *legio XI* in the find assemblage from 42–51/52 AD in Burnum

1. Backfilling and levelling over rocks

Section 'Bogen' (arch), VIII-4/74, 9–11/7/1974.

Weapons

Fig. 4: 1 – Scabbard fitting, Ae, *opus interrasile* in the shape of ivy, 3.1×2.05×0.1 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382a/74 = 1382/17, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 6.

Fig. 4: 2–3 – Scabbard fitting, Ae, longitudinally profiled at the front, smooth at the back, 8.4–8.5×1.15×1.75–2.05 cm, 15 g, inv. 1382w/74 = 1382/11, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 7.

Fig. 4: 4–7 – Scabbard fitting, Ae, longitudinally profiled at the front, smooth at the back, 4.9+2.6×1.14×0.6 cm, 4 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/13.

Fig. 4: 8 – Scabbard fitting, Ae, 1.5×1.0×0.65 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/12.

Fig. 4: 9 – Suspending strap ring, Ae, 2.8×1.4×0.5 cm, 3 g, inv. 1388-89/74 = 1388-89/1.

Fig. 4: 10 – Button-and-loop fastener, soldering trace of the non-extant plating, Ae, 2.8×1.9×0.75 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382p/74 = 1382/7, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 19.

Fig. 4: 11 – Base of a scabbard chape, Fe/Ae, sheet-metal cover (Ae), 9.85×4.5×1.35 cm, 33 g, inv. 1382v/74 = 1382/18, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 20: 4.

Fig. 4: 12 – Scabbard chape, U-shaped cross section, Fe, wood scraps, 6.0×1.3×1.0 cm, 10 g, inv. 1329/74, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 20: 5.

Fig. 4: 13 – Scabbard chape, Ae, 10.75×1.5×0.6 cm, 5 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/14.

Fig. 4: 14 – Fitting of a throwing weapon, anchor cross-shaped head, Ae, 2.3×0.75×0.15 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382f/74 = 1382/15, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 19: 9.

Fig. 4: 15 – Fitting of a throwing weapon, anchor cross-shaped head, Ae, 1.35×1.2×0.15 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/16.

Fig. 4: 16 – Helmet fitting, Ae, 4.0×2.0×0.7 cm, inv. 1391/74, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 19: 39.

Fig. 4: 17 – Shoulder hinge (*lorica segmentata*), Ae, 3.4×2.1×0.4 cm, 3 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/2.

Fig. 4: 18 – Hinged fitting (*lorica segmentata*), Ae, 1.7×1.0×0.5 cm, inv. 1057b/74, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 19: 3.

Fig. 4: 19 – Buckle (*lorica segmentata*), notched buckle ridge, Ae, 2.4×2.0×0.65 cm, 3 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/3.

Production waste from scale-armour manufacture

Fig. 4: 20 – Sheet metal, cut out in a semicircle, contour of a scale, Ae, 3.8×1.5×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/38.

Fig. 4: 21 – Sheet metal, cut in half-round, possible residue of a scale cutting, Ae, 4.0×0.8×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/45.

Fig. 4: 22 – Sheet metal, cut in half-round, possible residue of a

scale cutting, Ae, 2.55×2.05×0.15 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/40.

Fig. 4: 23 – Sheet-metal strip, dot-shaped profiling, Ae, 2.3×0.5×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/50.

Fig. 4: 24 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 1.8×0.9×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/58.

Fig. 4: 25 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 3.5×0.1×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/53.

Fig. 4: 26 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 2.0×0.1×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/54.

Fig. 4: 27 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 2.4×0.1×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/55.

Fig. 4: 28 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 3.1×0.25×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/51.

Fig. 4: 29 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 6.7×0.5×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/49.

Fig. 4: 30 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 7.05×0.65×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/48.

Fig. 4: 31 – Sheet-metal strip, Ae, 6.5×0.55×0.1 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/47.

Military gear/clothing

Fig. 5: 1 – Belt plate, Ae, niello decoration, lancet and cross-shaped, 4 rivet pins on reverse side, 5.3×3.2×0.7 cm, 11 g, inv. 1383b/74 = 1383/4, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 11.

Fig. 5: 2 – Belt plate, concentric shield-shaped decoration, ends of the sheet folded back, 4.8×2.6×0.7 cm, inv. 1057c/74, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 10.

Fig. 5: 3 – Belt plate, smooth surface, Ae, 5.05×3.2×0.5 cm, 8 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/5.

Fig. 5: 4 – Apron fitting, rectangular, surface smooth, 4 bent rivet pins on reverse side, Ae, 1.3×1.1×0.7 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/9.

Fig. 5: 5 – Apron fitting, round-headed, profiled, Ae, 2.6×1.2 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382t/74 = 1382/22, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 19: 10.

Fig. 5: 6 – Apron fitting, round-headed, concentrically profiled reverse side, Ae, 2.4×1.2 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/23.

Fig. 5: 7 – Apron fitting, round-headed, concentrically profiled reverse side, 2.15×1.15 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382q/74 = 1382/24, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 19: 13.

Fig. 5: 8 – Apron fitting, round-headed, Ae, 1.8×0.9 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/25.

Fig. 5: 9 – Apron fitting, round-headed, Ae, 0.88×0.87 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/31.

Fig. 5: 10 – Apron fitting, mushroom-headed, Ae, 0.7×0.6 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/30.

Fig. 5: 11 – Apron fitting, mushroom-headed, Ae, 0.72×0.7 cm, 1 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/29.

Fig. 5: 12 – Apron fitting, mushroom-headed, Ae, 1.7×1.4 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382j/74 = 1382/27, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 19: 22.

Fig. 5: 13 – Apron fitting, baluster-shaped, 1 rivet pin, Ae, 3.9×1.0×0.7 cm, 3 g, inv. 1382c/74 = 1382/10, Lit. Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 23.

Horse harness

Fig. 5: 14 – Strap fitting, rectangular, surface longitudinally profiled, round soldering spots of two rivet pins on reverse side, Ae, 3.8×1.2×0.2 cm, 5 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/8.

Fig. 5: 15 – Strap fitting, sheet metal with two convex circular profiles, Ae, 3.1×3.2×0.5 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382u/74 = 1382/6, Lit. Zabe-hlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 13.

Fig. 5: 16 – Leaf-shaped pendant, Ae, 5.85×1.85×1.1 cm, 10 g, inv. 1382h/74 = 1382/19, Lit. Zabe-hlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 22.

Fig. 5: 17 – Leaf-shaped pendant, multiple round perforations, Ae, 1.8×1.4×0.3 cm, 2 g, inv. 1382/74 = 1382/20.

Fig. 5: 18 – Pendant, with representation of a phallus and a fig sign, Ae, 5.2×1.6×1.7 cm, 15 g, inv. 1382e/74 = 1382/21, Lit. Zabe-hlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, Tab. 18: 25.

2. Red burnt earth, ash

Section 'Bogen' (arch), VIII/74, 9–10/7/1974

Coin

Fig. 5: 19 – As, Tiberius, Rome, 22–23, obv: TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGST IMP VIII, bare head l., rev: [PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN] POTES XXIII, S-C, RIC 44, inv. M15/74, section VIII/74, red burnt earth under ash, 0.44 m below top of mortar layer, Lit. Zabe-hlicky-Scheffenegger 1979, 20, no. 9; 50, "VIII-8/74. Tiberius (9)".

Weapons

Fig. 5: 20 – Button-and-loop fastener, bone, 2.4×1.8×0.8 cm, 2 g, inv. 1404/74 = 1404/1, section VIII/74, east profile, under mortar layer, over ash.

Fig. 5: 21 – *Lorica squamata*, Fe, 12.0×7.2×1.2 cm, 86 g, inv. 1203/74 = 1203/1, section VIII 5/74, ash and red burnt earth underneath, from 0.2 m below top edge of north-south wall.

SAŽETAK

LEGIO XI CLAUDIA PIA FIDELIS: VOJNA OPREMA BURNUMSKE POSTROJBE ČIJA JE ODANOST CARU DOVEDENA U PITANJE 42. GODINE

Burnum je bio središte političke krize u Rimskom Carstvu 42. godine poslije Krista. Tijekom pet dana, ustanak protiv julijevsko-klaudijevske carske dinastije bio je podržan od strane 11. legije stacionirane u tom logoru. Kada su vojnici shvatili očitu obmanu kojom se poticao ovaj ustanak, njihova želja za osvetom dovela je do ubojstva nekoliko njihovih nadređenih. Ovo kršenje propisa protiv viših časnika bilo je strogo kažnjeno smrtnom kaznom od strane provincijskog guvernera, novopostavljenog od cara Klaudija. Osuđeni legionari bili su pogubljeni ispred zapovjednog sjedišta legije. Međutim, gotovo u isto vrijeme, postrojbama je također dodijeljen počasni naslov *Claudia Pia Fidelis* zbog njihove lojalnosti, koju su tako spremno iskazali caru. Naglasak na ovoj *pietas* zasjenila je ipak smrtna presuda,

uzrokovana sumnjivim tumačenjem zakona. Uostalom, vojnici osuđeni na smrt okrenuli su se protiv veleizdajnika carske kuće (*adversus Claudium auctores occiderant*).

Stoga ne čudi da je mjesto pogubljenja u području *principia* bilo podvrgnuto potpunoj transformaciji unutar nekoliko godina, između 42. i 51./52. godine poslije Krista, u sklopu opsežnog građevinskog programa pod Klaudijem. Teren je bio potpuno izmijenjen opsežnom nivelacijom; mjesto je praktički bilo zapečaćeno. Veliki broj predmeta vojne opreme odloženi su u nasipu kao ostaci tih građevinskih zahvata. Kao što pokazuju brončani fragmenti, u nasipu je vjerojatno završio otpad i zalihe metala iz kovačnice. Među pronađenom vojnom opremom nalazio se i dobro očuvan pojasni okov s dekoracijom od *niella*. Na temelju ovog značajnog nalaza prikazuje se bogati repertoar pojaseva s ukrasima od *niella* koje su nosili legionari 11. legije, od Burnuma preko Vindonisse do Porajnja.

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