

BITKA KOD KRKA 49. PR. KR. – OSTATCI LOGORA GAJA ANTONIJA NA BEJAVCU

THE BATTLE OF KRK IN 49 BC – REMAINS OF GAIUS ANTONIUS'S CAMP ON BEJAVEC

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U radu se upućuje na ostatke kamenih temelja zidova koji zatvaraju pravokutni prostor sa zaobljenim uglovima, površine oko 4 hektara, na položaju Bejavec na otoku Krku. S obzirom na to da se u posljednjih sto godina intenzivirala rekonstrukcija sukoba cezarijanskih (pod vodstvom Gaja Antonija) i pompejevskih snaga (pod vodstvom Marka Oktavija) upravo na mjestu o kojemu je riječ, autor zaključuje da pravokutna formacija na Bejavcu može samo predstavljati ostatke logora Gaja Antonija, koji u svojem epu Pharsalia indirektno spominje i sam Lukan.

Ključne riječi:
rimski vojni logor, otok Krk, Bejavec, Gaj Antonije, Cezar, Pompej, Mala Popina

The paper identifies the remains of stone wall foundations enclosing a rectangular space with rounded corners, covering an area of approximately 4 hectares, at the Bejavec site on the island of Krk. Given that reconstructions of the conflict between Caesarian forces (led by Gaius Antonius) and Pompeian forces (led by Marcus Octavius), specifically at the site in question, have been extensively debated over the last century, the author concludes that the rectangular formation on Bejavec can only represent the remains of the camp of Gaius Antonius, which Lucan himself indirectly mentions in his epic Pharsalia.

Keywords:
Roman military camp, island of Krk, Bejavec, Gaius Antonius, Caesar, Pompey, Mala Popina

Uvod

U nedavno objavljenoj knjizi Siniše Bilić-Dujmušića temeljito su razrađeni događaji vezani za bitku kod otoka Krka 49. pr. Kr.¹ U kratkim crtama, pod terminom „bitka kod Krka“ valja razlikovati dva odvojena, ali usko vezana događaja. Prvi je gotovo nepoznata pomorska bitka između Pompejevih legata Marka Oktavija i Lucija Skribonija Libona te Cezarova legata Publija Kornelija Dolabele, za koju se uglavnom pretpostavlja da se dogodila, ako već ne kod otoka Krka, onda barem negdje u njegovoj okolini. Drugi je događaj izravna posljedica prvoga, u kojemu je Marko Oktavije, jedan od pobjednika nad flotom Publija Dolabele, uspješno blokirao i opsjeo Cezarova legata Gaja Antonija na otoku Krku. I prvi i drugi događaj rezultirali su pobjedom pompejevaca, odnosno potpunim krahom Cezarovih snaga, pa je nakon pomorske bitke zaplijenjeno 40 ratnih brodova, a nakon kopnene opsade zaro-

Introduction

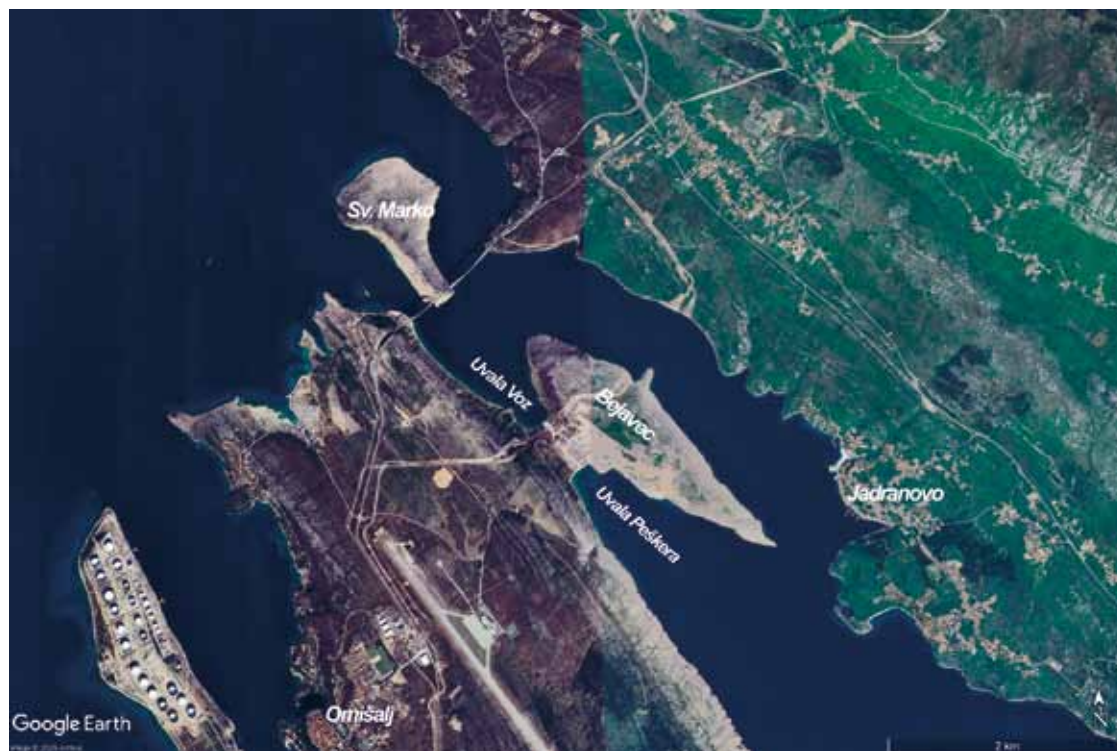
In a recently published book by Siniša Bilić-Dujmušić, events relating to the Battle of Krk in 49 BC have been thoroughly elaborated.¹ In brief, under the term ‘Battle of Krk’, one must distinguish between two separate but closely related events. The first is a nearly unknown naval battle between Pompey’s legates, Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius Libo, and Caesar’s legate, Publius Cornelius Dolabella; it is generally assumed that this took place either just off the island of Krk or at least somewhere in its vicinity. This second event is a direct consequence of the first, in which Marcus Octavius – one of the victors over Publius Dolabella’s fleet – successfully blocked and besieged Caesar’s legate, Gaius Antonius, on the island of Krk. Both the first and second events resulted in a victory for the Pompeians and the complete collapse of Caesar’s forces; following the naval battle,

1 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022.

1 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022.

SLIKA 1. Položaj poluotoka Bejavec (©Google Earth; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 1. Location of the Bejavec peninsula (©Google Earth; edited by N. Cesarik).



bljeno i 15 kohorti pješaka, koji su zajedno s ratnim brodovljem silom prilika prešli na Pompejevu stranu.² I to bi više-manje bilo to. Mogao bih puno ljepše i opširnije opisati navedene događaje, posebice njihovu uvertiru i epilog, ali svi zainteresirani za to imaju na raspolaganju zaista odličnu knjigu.

Budući da je Bilić-Dujmušić detaljno objasnio sve događaje koji su prethodili, kao i one koji su uslijedili nakon događaja na Krku, ovom ću se prilikom usredotočiti samo na ono što smatram bitnim za vlastiti doprinos toj temi. Najprije ću se osvrnuti na samo mjesto na kojemu su se, prema Veithu i Bilić-Dujmušiću, smjestile Antonijeve snage, te na osnovi zračnih i satelitskih snimaka predstaviti vidljive ostatke njihova tabora. Posljedično ću iznijeti zaključke vezane za ukupnu veličinu Antonijeve opkoljene vojske, ali i ponuditi odgovor na pitanje kako je Marko Oktavije uopće uspio opsjesti Cezarova legata te koje su bile posljedice toga razvoja događaja za neke od lokalnih zajednica kvarnerskih otoka.

Ostatci Antonijeve logora na Bejavcu

Mjesto na kojemu se dogodila opsada Antonijevih snaga odredio je još prije sto godina Georg Veith, a da nikada nije kročio na sam otok.³ Njegove je zaključke dodatno utvrdio i nadgradio već spomenuti Siniša Bilić-Dujmušić. Tako je za položaj na kojemu je Antonije smjestio svoje snage određeno mjesto na kojemu je otok Krk najbliži primorskoj obali, točnije na mjestu poluotoka

40 warships were seized, and, after the land siege, 15 infantry cohorts were captured, which, along with the fleet, were forced by circumstances to defect to Pompey's side.³ This, more or less, summarizes the situation. I could describe these events, particularly their prelude and aftermath, much more eloquently and extensively, but a truly excellent book is available to all those interested.

Since Bilić-Dujmušić has explained in detail all the preceding and succeeding events on Krk, I will focus on this occasion only on what I consider essential for my own contribution to the topic. First, I will look at the location where, according to Veith and Bilić-Dujmušić, Antonius's forces were stationed; and, on the basis of aerial and satellite imagery, I will present the visible remains of their camp. Consequently, I will present conclusions regarding the total size of Antonius's besieged army, while also offering an answer as to how Marcus Octavius managed to besiege Caesar's legate and what the consequences of these developments were for some of the local communities on the islands of Kvarner.

Remains of Antonius's Camp on Bejavec

The location of the siege of Antonius's forces was identified a century ago by Georg Veith, despite his never having set foot on the island.³ His conclusions were further confirmed and expanded upon by the aforementioned Siniša Bilić-Dujmušić. Thus, the position of Antonius's forces was determined to be the point where the island of Krk is closest to the mainland – specifically,

² Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 71–73 (pomorska bitka), 74–84 (opsada Antonijeve vojske).

³ Veith 1924, 267–269 (hrvatski prijevod: Veith 2002, 183–186).

² Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 71–73 (naval battle), 74–84 (siege of Antonius's army).

³ Veith 1924, 267–269 (Croatian translation: Veith 2002, 183–186).



SLIKA 2. Vidljivi ostatci temelja zidova na satelitskoj snimci (©Google Earth; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 2. Visible remains of wall foundations on a satellite image (©Google Earth; edited by N. Cesarik).

Bejavca, smještenomu između uvala Voz i Peškera (Sl. 1). Argumenti za takav smještaj i više su nego opravdani, a glavni temelj tomu zaključku nalazi se u činjenici da su odsječene snage Gaja Antonija na otoku Krku mogle prepoznati bojno znakovlje legija pod zapovjedništvom Minucija Bazila i Salustija Krispa,⁴ koje su im bezuspješno došle u pomoć na primorskoj strani jer ih je dijelio morski kanal kojim je gospodarila Oktavijeva mornarica. I doista, kao netko tko dobro poznaje otok Krk, mogu reći da ne postoji nijedno drugo mjesto na otoku na kojemu bih mogao jasno vidjeti čovjeka koji stoji na primorskoj strani. A koliko su Veith i Bilić-Dujmušić lucidno i precizno rekonstruirali mjesto sukoba, najbolje govori činjenica da se upravo na tome mjestu nalaze ostatci nečega u čemu se, po mojemu sudu, mogu prepoznati samo ostatci tabora Gaja Antonija i njegove vojske.

Naime, na središnjemu dijelu poluotoka Bejavca, na povišenome zaravanku (kota 46 na topografskoj karti 1: 25000) jasno su vidljive razvaline kamenih temelja koji čine formaciju nepravilnoga pravokutnika, ukupne branjene površine od oko 4 hektara. Ostatci temelja vide se na svim javnim zračnim i satelitskim snimkama (Sl. 2), a odnedavno se njihove konture mogu pratiti i preko sjenčanog reljefa (Sl. 3), temeljenog na multisenzorskim snimkama iz zraka (LiDAR). Kombiniranim uvidom u sve dostupne snimke jasno su vidljive sve stranice pravokutnika, ali je također vidljivo i da je lokalitet poprilično devastiran između najranijih dostupnih snimaka iz 1968. i 2005.⁵

on the Bejavec peninsula, situated between the bays of Voz and Peškera (Fig. 1). The arguments for this location are more than justified. The primary basis for this conclusion lies in the fact that Gaius Antonius's forces, cut off on Krk, could recognize the battle standards of the legions under the command of Minucius Basilus and Sallustius Crispus.⁴ These units had unsuccessfully attempted to come to their aid from the mainland side, separated by a sea channel controlled by Octavius's navy. Indeed, as someone well-acquainted with the island of Krk, I can confirm there is no other location on the island where one could clearly see a man standing on the mainland shore. The lucidity and precision with which Veith and Bilić-Dujmušić have reconstructed the site of the conflict is best evidenced by the fact that this very location contains remains which, in my view, can only be identified as the camp of Gaius Antonius and his army.

On the central part of the Bejavec peninsula, on an elevated plateau (elevation 46 on the 1:25,000 Topographic Map), the ruins of stone foundations forming an irregular rectangular formation are clearly visible, covering a total defended area of approximately 4 hectares. These foundation remains are visible on all publicly available aerial and satellite imagery (Fig. 2). Since recently, their contours can also be traced on a shaded relief (Fig. 3) based on multisensor aerial (LiDAR) scans. A combined analysis of all available imagery clearly shows all sides of the rectangle; however, it is also evident that the site was significantly devastated between the earliest available images in 1968 and those of 2005.⁵

⁴ Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 46.

⁵ Zračna snimka iz 1968. dostupna je na Geoportalu DGU, a najranija satelitska snimka, ona iz 2005., dostupna je preko Google Earth Pro.

⁴ Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 46.

⁵ The aerial photograph of 1968 is available on Geoportal DGU, while the earliest satellite imagery, from 2005, is available via Google Earth Pro.

SLIKA 3. Vizualizacija arheološke topografije (VAT) logora na Bejavcu (©Geoportal DGU; obradio L. Drahotusky-Bruketa).

FIGURE 3. Visualisation of Archaeological Topography (VAT) at the Bejavac Camp (©Geoportal DGU; edited by L. Drahotusky-Bruketa).



Na jugoistočnome zidu, oko 40 metara od istočnoga kuta pravokutnika, vidljiv je ulaz sa zakrivljenim produžetkom temelja prema unutrašnjosti zatvorenoga prostora (Sl. 4-5). Na paralelnome mjestu sjeverozapadnoga zida također se nalazi otvor koji je pregradio noviji tor za ovce. Gotovo identično preslojavanje vidljivo je i na sjeveroistočnome zidu, samo što se na njemu ulaz nalazi na sredini stranice. Jugozapadni je zid u potpunosti devastiran modernim poljskim putom, ali je vidljiv na zračnoj snimci iz 1968. (Sl. 6), a na njoj je također uočljiv otvor u sredini zida.

Gledajući zračne i satelitske snimke, jugoistočni je zid vidljiv u svojem sjevernom dijelu, ali sjenčani reljef temeljen na lidar-skim snimkama otkriva i njegov južni nastavak, po čemu je vidljivo da se ograde na Bejavcu u tome sektoru rasprostiralo do gornjega ruba vrtače koja mu flankira jugoistočnu stranu (Sl. 6). Sama forma zidova (pravokutnik), kao i površina zatvorenoga prostora (4 ha), zatim zaobljeni uglovi, očuvani ulaz(i) u formi *clavicula* (Sl. 5),⁶ jasno upućuju na pomisao kako je riječ o rimskome vojnom logoru, za čije opravdanje postoje brojne analogije (Sl. 7), od kojih se neke nalaze i na našem tlu (Sl. 8).

Taj se lokalitet nalazi upravo na mjestu na kojemu su istraživači bitke na Krku smjestili tabor Gaja Antonija, a da nisu ulazili u šire detalje o točnome smještaju, kao što nisu ni uputili na ikakve arheološke ostatke na tome položaju.⁷ Lokalitet nisu primijetili ni lokalni istraživači, a pukom srećom po struku nije došlo do veće devastacije od one koja je zadesila jugozapadni bedem. To

On the southeastern wall, approximately 40 metres from the eastern corner of the rectangle, an entrance is visible with a curved foundation extension projecting into the interior of the enclosure (Figs. 4–5). A corresponding opening, partitioned by a more recent sheepfold, is located on the parallel northwestern wall. An almost identical overlay is visible on the northeastern wall, though here the entrance is located in the centre of the side. The southwestern wall has been completely destroyed by a modern field path, yet it remains visible on the 1968 aerial photograph (Fig. 6), which also shows an opening in the centre of the wall.

According to aerial and satellite imagery, the northern part of the southeastern wall is visible. However, the LiDAR-based shaded relief reveals its southern extension, showing that the Bejavac enclosure in this sector stretched to the upper edge of the sink-hole flanking its southeastern side (Fig. 6). The rectangular form of the walls, the 4-hectare area, the rounded corners, and the preserved *clavicula*-style entrance(s) (Fig. 5)⁶ strongly suggest a Roman military camp. This interpretation is supported by numerous analogies (Fig. 7), some of which are found on our own territory (Fig. 8).

This site is located precisely where those researching the Battle of Krk have situated Gaius Antonius's camp, although they did not go into broader details regarding its exact location, nor did they point to any archaeological remains at that position.⁷ The

⁶ Usp. Johnson 1983, 50–51 (*clavicula*), 233 (pravokutnik i zaobljeni uglovi).

⁷ Treba, međutim, napomenuti kako Veith (1924, 268; 2002, 185–186) nije imao priliku obaviti terenski pregled, ali je opet lucidno pretpostavio da „Nešto više, a možda i neke vidljive ostatke trebalo bi pokazati pobliže razgledavanje“.

⁶ Cf. Johnson 1983, 50–51 (*clavicula*), 233 (rectangle and rounded corners).

⁷ It should be noted, however, that Veith (1924, 268; 2002, 185–186) did not have the opportunity to perform a field survey, yet he lucidly assumed that “Something more, and perhaps some visible remains, should be revealed by a closer inspection”.



SLIKA 4. Ulaz na ju-goistočnome zidu sa zakrivljenim produžetkom (snimio N. Cesarik; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 4. Entrance in the southeastern wall with a curved extension (photo by N. Cesarik; edited by N. Cesarik).

posebice naglašavam jer se tristotinjak metara od lokaliteta nalazi granica kamenoloma koji je gotovo u potpunosti devastirao sjevernu obalu uvale Peškera. U današnje se vrijeme na tome položaju planira izgraditi jedan od najvažnijih infrastrukturnih

site was not noticed by local researchers; and, by pure professional luck, no greater devastation occurred beyond that which affected the southwestern rampart. I emphasize this particularly because, only about three hundred metres from the site, lies

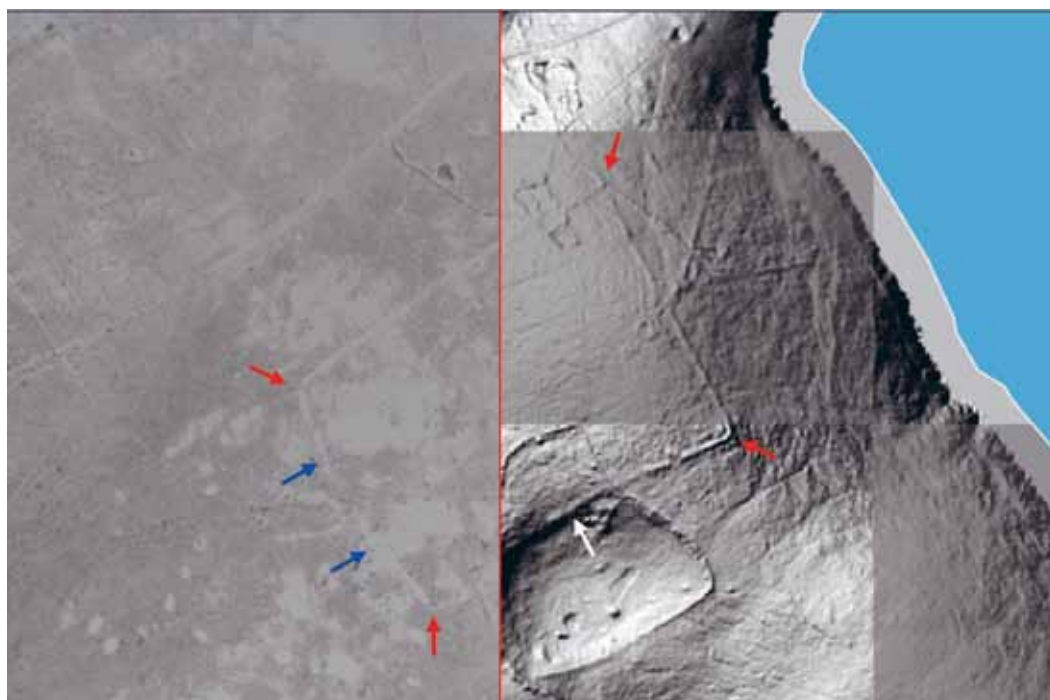


SLIKA 5. Ulaz u obliku claviculae, detalj (snimio N. Cesarik; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 5. Entrance in the form of a clavicula, detail (photo by N. Cesarik; edited by N. Cesarik).

SLIKA 6. Logor na Bejavcu u nekadašnjemu punom obliku; crveno – uglovi logora; plavo – ostatci jugozapadnoga zida na snimci iz 1968.; bijelo – ostatci jugoistočnoga zida na digitalnome modelu reljefa (©Geoportal DGU; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 6. The Bejavec camp in its former complete form: red – camp corners; blue – remains of the southwestern wall on a 1968 image; white – remains of the southeastern wall on a digital terrain model (©Geoportal DGU; edited by N. Cesarik).



SLIKA 7. Ulazi u obliku claviculae u kampu B u Masadi (©Google Earth; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 7. Clavicle-style entrances at Camp B in Masada (©Google Earth; edited by N. Cesarik).

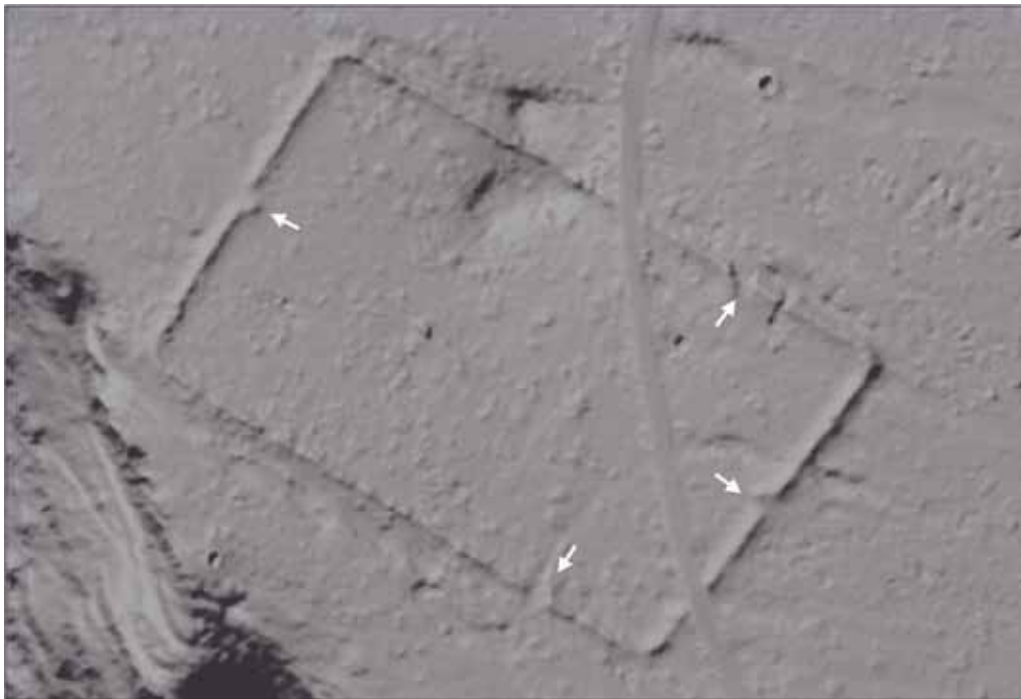


projekata na Kvarneru, onaj novoga krčkog mosta, čiji je glavni strateški plan cestovno i željeznički povezati novoplanirani kontejnerski terminal kod Omišlja.

Stoga mi se čini da je ovo savršena prilika za istraživanje i prezentaciju povijesne baštine otoka Krka. Posebice jer je ovo jedini jasno vidljiv ostatak povijesnoga događaja koji je otok Krk stavio na povijesnu pozornicu. Činjenica je da će za naš narod Bašćanska ploča uvijek biti glavni i najvažniji predmet krčke kulturno-povijesne baštine, ali za strance koje zanima globalna povijest, Krk će prvenstveno biti poznat kao poprište prvoga značajnijeg sukoba u građanskome ratu između Pompejevih i Cezarovih pri-

the boundary of a quarry that has almost completely devastated the northern shore of Peškera bay. Currently, there are plans to construct one of the most important infrastructure projects in the Kvarner region at this location – the new Krk Bridge – the main strategic goal of which is to provide road and rail connections for the newly planned container terminal near Omišalj.

Therefore, it seems to me that this is a perfect opportunity for the research and presentation of the historical heritage of the island of Krk. This is especially true as it represents the only clearly visible remnant of a historical event that placed the island of Krk on the global historical stage. While the Baška Tablet



SLIKA 8. Ulazi u obliku *claviculae* u privremenome logoru kod Roškoga slapa (©Geoportal DGU; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 8. Clavicular-style entrances at the temporary camp near Roški Slap (©Geoportal DGU; edited by N. Cesarik).

staša. A taj je građanski rat, uz to, i jedan od najpoznatijih sukoba u antičkoj povijesti, koji je zauvijek zapečatio sudbinu Rimske Republike i utro put njezinu evoluiranom obliku – Principatu (ili kako ga mi volimo zvati – razdoblju Rimskoga Carstva). I još jedna važna opaska; ako to doista jesu ostatci tabora Gaja Antonija, onda je riječ o jedinome – ili o barem najbolje sačuvanome – taboru iz čitavoga građanskog rata (mnogi su tabori ubicirani u literaturi, ali ne znam da ijedan ovako „strši“ iz zemlje, sačuvan u gotovo čitavome svojem obujmu). Ako se pak uspostavi da to nije rimski logor ili da nema veze sa sredinom 1. stoljeća pr. Kr., onda možemo samo zaključiti da do opsade Antonijevih snaga na položaju Bejavca nikada nije ni došlo, te da cjelokupnu scenu valja tražiti negdje drugdje. No čisto sumnjam u tu mogućnost. Jednostavno je previše toga što se savršeno poklapa (od Veithovih i Bilić-Dujmušićevih lucidnih argumenata, do tlocrta utvrde i sačuvanih ulaza u obliku *claviculae*).

Daljnja promišljanja

Iz svega navedenog mogu izvući i nekoliko zaključaka ili bolje reći promišljanja, kojima bi se mogli potvrditi i/ili nadograditi neki od Bilić-Dujmušićevih argumenata.

Prvo, veličina od oko 4 hektara nikako mi se ne čini dostatnom da bi primila 15 kohorti rimskih vojnika,⁸ kolika je, prema Oroziju, bila ukupna veličina zarobljenih snaga Gaja Antonija te koja

will always be the primary and most important artefact of Krk's historico-cultural heritage for our people, for foreigners interested in global history, Krk will primarily be known as the site of the first significant conflict in the civil war between the supporters of Pompey and Caesar. Furthermore, this civil war is one of the most famous conflicts in ancient history, which forever sealed the fate of the Roman Republic and paved the way for its evolved form—the Principate (or as we prefer to call it, the period of the Roman Empire). One more important remark: if these indeed are the remains of Gaius Antonius's camp, then it is the only – or at least the best-preserved – camp from the entire civil war. Although many camps have been located in the literature, I am unaware of any other example so well preserved above ground, remaining identifiable in its entire extent. If, however, it is established that this is not a Roman camp, or that it has no connection to the mid-1st century BC, then we can only conclude that the siege of Antonius's forces at the Bejavec position never actually took place, and that the entire scene must be sought elsewhere. However, I highly doubt that option. Quite simply, there are too many elements that align perfectly – from the lucid arguments of Veith and Bilić-Dujmušić to the layout of the fortification and the preserved *clavicular*-style entrances.

Further Considerations

From all the above, I can draw several conclusions, or rather considerations, which could confirm and/or build upon some of Bilić-Dujmušić's arguments:

First, the size of approximately 4 hectares does not seem at all sufficient to accommodate 15 cohorts of Roman soldiers – which,⁸ according to Orosius, was the total size of the captured

⁸ U idealnim brojkama, koje vjerojatno nikada nisu bile ni ostvarene na terenu, u republikansko je doba jedna kohorta brojila oko 500 ljudi (Brunt 1971, 687–688), ali izglednije je da su u jeku kampanja kohorte brojile oko 400 legionara.

⁸ In ideal figures, which were likely never achieved in the field, a cohort in the Republican period numbered about 500 men (Brunt 1971, 687–688); however, it is more likely that, during the height of campaigns, cohorts numbered around

je silom prilika prešla na Pompejevu stranu.⁹ To bi išlo u prilog pretpostavci da je Antonije svoje snage raširio na znatno širemu teritoriju kvarnerskog otočja,¹⁰ te da je na Bejavcu više-ma-rije raspolagao snagama koje je mogao smjestiti na prostor od 4 hektara. Epilog predaje generala podrazumijevao bi i predaju ostatka vojske razmještene po kvarnerskim otocima,¹¹ pa otuda možda dolazimo i do konačnoga broja od 15 zarobljenih kohorti.

Drugo se, naravno, veže na prvo, a tiče se pitanja zašto je i kako Marko Oktavije uopće mogao zametnuti opsadu Gaju Antoniju? Jer, kako to Veith dobro primjećuje, Antonijev položaj na otoku, u kontekstu generala kopnene vojske, uopće nema smisla; bez podrške mornarice, on ostaje potpuno odsječen, bez ikakve mogućnosti da se domogne kopna.¹² No, u trenutku dok je Antonije postavljao svoju vojsku na otok, zasigurno je još imao podršku Dolabeline flote. Stoga je očito da ga je poraz Dolabeline flote iznenada stavio u taj položaj.¹³ Bilić-Dujmušić naglašava ideju da se Antonije našao na Bejavcu zato što je planirao evakuaciju svojih snaga, koje su se nakon poraza Dolabeline flote našle u utrci s vremenom kako bi se domogle kopna. Tu je evakuaciju spriječio dolazak Oktavijeve flote, pa je Antonije ostao odsječen svega 600-injak metara udaljen od primorske obale.¹⁴ Naravno, uvjet za to jest pretpostavka da se pomorska bitka dogodila baš kod otoka Krka te da je Antonije odmah saznao za njezin ishod, kao i to da je Oktavije istoga trena znao gdje se nalazi Antonije.

No što ako se pomorska bitka (ili klopka?) dogodila na mjestu koje nije bilo u vidokrugu Antonijevih obavještajaca? S tom se mogućnošću može pomišljati da je Oktavije saznao za položaje Antonijevih snaga te da je, dobro procijenivši situaciju, brзом akcijom iznenadio nespremnoga Antonija natjeravši ga u bezizlaznu situaciju. Odgovor na tako postavljeno pitanje mogli bismo tražiti u događajima koji se vežu za određenu liburnsku „ne-lojalnost“ Cezaru.¹⁵ Nakon poraza od Oktavijeve flote, određene liburnske snage bile su prisiljene prijeći na Pompejevu stranu,¹⁶ a neki od pojedinaca itekako su mogli profitirati odavanjem informacije o točnome položaju Antonijeve vojske. Kao što se čini netaktičkim postaviti kopnenu vojsku na otočni poluotok, bez

forces of Gaius Antonius that were forced to defect to Pompey's side.⁹ This would support the assumption that Antonius had spread his forces across a significantly wider territory of the Kvarner islands,¹⁰ and that at Bejavec he commanded roughly the number of troops that could be stationed within a 4-hectare space. The epilogue of the general's surrender would have implied the surrender of the rest of the army deployed across the Kvarner islands,¹¹ which perhaps accounts for the final number of 15 captured cohorts.

The second point is, of course, linked to the first and concerns the question of why and how Marcus Octavius was even able to besiege Gaius Antonius. As Veith rightly observes, Antonius's position on the island, in the context of a land-army general, makes no sense at all: without naval support, he remains completely cut off, with no possibility of reaching the mainland.¹² However, at the moment Antonius stationed his army on the island, he certainly still had the support of Dolabella's fleet. Therefore, it is evident that the defeat of Dolabella's fleet suddenly placed him in that position.¹³ Bilić-Dujmušić emphasizes the idea that Antonius was at Bejavec because he was planning an evacuation of his forces, which, after the defeat of Dolabella's fleet, found themselves in a race against time to reach the mainland. This evacuation was prevented by the arrival of Octavius's fleet, leaving Antonius cut off only about 600 metres from the coastal shore.¹⁴ Naturally, the conditions for this are the assumptions that the naval battle took place exactly off the island of Krk, that Antonius learned of its outcome immediately, and that Octavius knew Antonius's location at that very moment.

But what if the naval battle (or trap?) occurred at a location that was not within the sight of Antonius's scouts? In that scenario, one could consider that Octavius learned of the positions of Antonius's forces and, having well assessed the situation, surprised an unprepared Antonius with a swift action, forcing him into a hopeless situation. The answer to such a question could be sought in events relating to a certain Liburnian 'disloyalty' to Caesar.¹⁵ Following the defeat by Octavius's fleet, certain

ra (Brunt 1971, 692; Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 54). Dakle, jednostavnom računicom, 15 kohorti u idealnome smislu trebalo bi značiti 7500 ljudi, s tim da je izglednije da je riječ o oko 6000. No konačnoj brojci Antonijeve vojske treba dodati i nama nepoznat broj savezničkih kohorti, poput one Opitergina (Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 54–55). Iako je logor na Bejavcu bio privremen, što bi značilo da nije imao svu infrastrukturu koju su imali kasniji stalni logori iz carskoga razdoblja, valja napomenuti da su u carsko doba logori veličine 4 hektara uglavnom bili namijenjeni kvingenarnoj ali (Johnson 1983, 282). Koliko se točno legionara moglo natiskati unutar 4 hektara, ne mogu reći sa sigurnošću (Eto prilike za eksperimentalnu arheologiju!), ali teško je očekivati da se tamo moglo adekvatno primiti šest ili više tisuća ljudi (logori namijenjeni jednoj legiji u pravilu su veći, a ugrubo za-uzimaju prostor od oko 10 do 20 hektara, usp. Bishop 2012, 43–116). Dakako, većina vojske nije cijelo vrijeme morala boraviti u njemu jer očito je da je Antonije kontrolirao cijelu prevlaku prije Bejavca (Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 75, bilj. 195), ali je logor svakako morao biti dovoljno velik da se u potrebitome trenu u njega mogu skloniti svi Antonijevi vojnici.

9 Oros. *Hist.* 6.15.

10 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 67–69.

11 Sličnoga je razmišljanja i Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 77, n. 202.

12 Veith 2002, 186.

13 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 67–68.

14 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 74.

15 Usp. primjerice Cass. Dio 41.40.2 (Antonija su domorodci ostavili na cjedilu).

16 Čače 1993b, 29.

und 400 legionaries (Brunt 1971, 692; Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 54). Thus, by a simple calculation, 15 cohorts would ideally mean 7,500 men, though a figure of around 6,000 is more probable. However, to the final count of Antonius's army, an unknown number of allied cohorts must be added, such as those of the Opitergini (Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 54–55). Although the camp at Bejavec was temporary, meaning it lacked all the infrastructure of later permanent camps of the Imperial period, it should be noted that, in the Imperial era, 4-hectare camps were generally intended for a quingenary ala (Johnson 1983, 282). Exactly how many legionaries could be crowded within 4 hectares is something I cannot say with certainty (an opportunity for experimental archaeology!), but it is difficult to expect that six thousand or more men could be adequately accommodated there. (Camps intended for a single legion are generally larger, roughly occupying a space of about 10 to 20 hectares; cf. Bishop 2012, 43–116.) Of course, the majority of the army did not have to stay within it at all times, as it is evident that Antonius controlled the entire isthmus before Bejavec (Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 75, n. 195), but the camp certainly had to be large enough to provide shelter for all of Antonius's soldiers in a moment of need.

9 Oros. *Hist.* 6.15.

10 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 67–69.

11 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 77, n. 202, shares a similar view.

12 Veith 2002, 186.

13 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 67–68.

14 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 74.

15 Cf. for example Cass. Dio 41.40.2 (Antonius was left in the lurch by the natives).



SLIKA 9. Rimski marševski logor u Maloj Popini - sjeverozapadni ugao (©Geoportal DGU; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 9. Roman marching camp in Mala Popina – northwestern corner (©Geoportal DGU; edited by N. Cesarik).

podrške mornarice, tako je i nelogično očekivati da bi Oktavijeve pomorske snage nasumce išle tragati za točnim Antonijevim položajem (ako mu je vojska bila razvučena po ključnim točkama kvarnerskoga otočja). No ako je Oktavije dobio informaciju o Antonijevu točnom položaju, kao i o snazi njegova tabora, primamljivim bi se činilo krenuti u iznenadnu akciju. Rezultat toga bio je i više od očekivanoga; nakon 40 zarobljenih ratnih brodova, Pompej dobiva i dodatnih 15 kohorti rimskih građana. Naravno, taj čitavi pasus samo je promišljanje, ne i tvrdnja. Naposljetku, treba biti svjestan da ovdje i nismo u stanju tražiti istinu, nego samo nabrajati mogućnosti.

I treće – lako je moguće da je ta „nelojalnost“ rezultirala konfiskacijom teritorija onih zajednica koje su Cezarova legata ostavile na cjedilu, što se možda može pratiti po ostacima zaista fascinantne zemljišne podjele na čitavome sjevernom dijelu otoka Krka, a koja je također vidljiva i na otoku Cresu.¹⁷ Je li to doista relikv reperkusije pobjednika u građanskome ratu ili pak njegova nasljednika, teško je decidirano reći.¹⁸ No činjenica jest da su zemljišne podjele u rimskome svijetu uglavnom bile proizvod konfiskacije teritorija onih zajednica koje je trebalo kazniti.¹⁹

Liburnian forces were forced to defect to Pompey's side,¹⁶ and some individuals could certainly have profited by disclosing information about the exact position of Antonius's army. Just as it seems untactical to station a land army on an insular peninsula without naval support, it is also illogical to expect that Octavius's naval forces would randomly search for Antonius's exact location (if his army was stretched across key points of the Kvarner island group). However, if Octavius received information regarding Antonius's exact position, as well as the strength of his camp, launching a surprise action would have seemed enticing. The result was more than expected: after 40 captured warships, Pompey also gained an additional 15 cohorts of Roman citizens. Of course, this entire paragraph is merely a consideration, not a claim. Ultimately, we must be aware that we are not in a position to seek the truth here, but only to list the possibilities.

And thirdly: it is highly possible that this 'disloyalty' resulted in the confiscation of territories belonging to those communities that left Caesar's legate in the lurch. This may potentially be traced through the remnants of a remarkable land division across the entire northern part of the island of Krk, which is also visible on the island of Cres.¹⁷ Whether this is indeed a relict of

17 Zemljišnu podjelu na otocima Krku i Cresu prvi su primijetili Doneus *et al.* 2024. Ostatci se mogu lako pratiti i preko digitalnoga modela reljefa na Geoportalu DGU.

18 Ovdje je vrlo korisno spomenuti i nedavno objavljeni rad Davida Štrmelja koji je u istome kontekstu raspravljao o zajednicama s otoka Paga (Štrmelj 2025, 729–731).

19 Campbell 2000, liv, lx, 131, 161, 320, 346, 349–350, 362–363, 382–383, 420–421, 443, 472–473 (u zapisima rimskih mjernika često se spominju konfiskacije, a navedene se stranice referiraju na engleski prijevod njihovih navoda, kao i na Campbellove komentare).

16 Čače 1993b, 29.

17 The land division on the islands of Krk and Cres was first noticed by Doneus *et al.* 2024. The remains can also easily be tracked via the digital terrain model on Geoportal DGU.

SLIKA 10. Rimski marševski logor u Maloj Popini – jugoistočni ugao (©Geoportal DGU; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 10. Roman marching camp in Mala Popina – southeastern corner (©Geoportal DGU; edited by N. Cesarik).



Kod Omišlja postoje barem dva dodatna argumenta koja upućuju na to da je do toga moglo doći. Prvo, prema Plinijevu opisu Liburnije znamo da su otok Krk nastanjivale dvije zajednice, one Kurikta i Fertinata.²⁰ No Ptolemej nam daje toponime *Curicum* i *Fulfinium* (Φουλφίνιον,²¹ čije je točno ime glasilo *Fulfinum*, kako nam to bilježi Domicijanov natpis).²² Razlike kod Plinija i Ptolemeja mogu se tumačiti i tumačile su se na razne načine; od toga da je došlo do pogreške kod Plinija ili u naknadnim redakcijama njegova teksta,²³ pa do toga da se etnik *Fertinates* i otkonim *Fulfinum* mogu lingvistički povezati.²⁴ Naravno, lingvistički je svašta moguće iskombinirati ako za to postoji historijska opravdanost (ili barem dovoljna doza istraživačke želje), ali moguće je i to da

the repercussions of the victor in the civil war or his successor is difficult to say decisively.¹⁸ However, the fact remains that land divisions in the Roman world were mostly the product of the confiscation of territories from communities that needed to be punished.¹⁹

In the case of Omišalj, we have at least two additional arguments indicating that this might have occurred. First, according to Pliny's description of Liburnia, we know that the island of Krk was inhabited by two communities: the Curictae and the Fertinates.²⁰ However, Ptolemy gives us the place names *Curicum* and *Fulfinium* (Φουλφίνιον,²¹ whose exact name was *Fulfinum*, as re-

20 Plin. *NH* 3.139. Plinije, doduše, Fertinate ne smješta doslovno na otok Krk, nego ih, zajedno s Kuriktima, smješta među otočke zajednice koje uživaju imunitet (*inmunesque Asseriatas, et ex insulis Fertinates, Curictae*). No kako Ptolemej na otoku Krku smješta dva grada, Kurikum i Fulfinij, smatra se da su *Fertinates* zajednica smještena na istome mjestu kao i Ptolemejev *Fulfinium*. Uostalom, uzimajući u obzir ostala otočna mjesta koja navodi Plinije, teško je Fertinate smjestiti bilo gdje drugdje osim na otok Krk. Međutim, pravi odnos između Fertinata i Fulfina ostaje nepoznat (Zelić 1991, 30).

21 Ptol. *Geogr.* 2.16.8.

22 [I]mp(erator) Caesar divi f [il(ius) Domitia] / [nus] Aug[ustus] p[ontifex] m[aximus] tribuniciae / [p]otestatis [XIII(?) imp(erator) [XXII(?) consul [XVI(?) / censor perp(etuus) p(ater) p(atriciae) / aquam Flaviam Augustam novis / fontibus collectis Flavio Fulfi/no induxit L(ucius) Sestius Dexter / veteranus coh(ortis) III praetoriae / de sua pecunia faciundum cu/ravit (Rendić-Miočević 1974, 52).

23 Čače 1993a, 10.

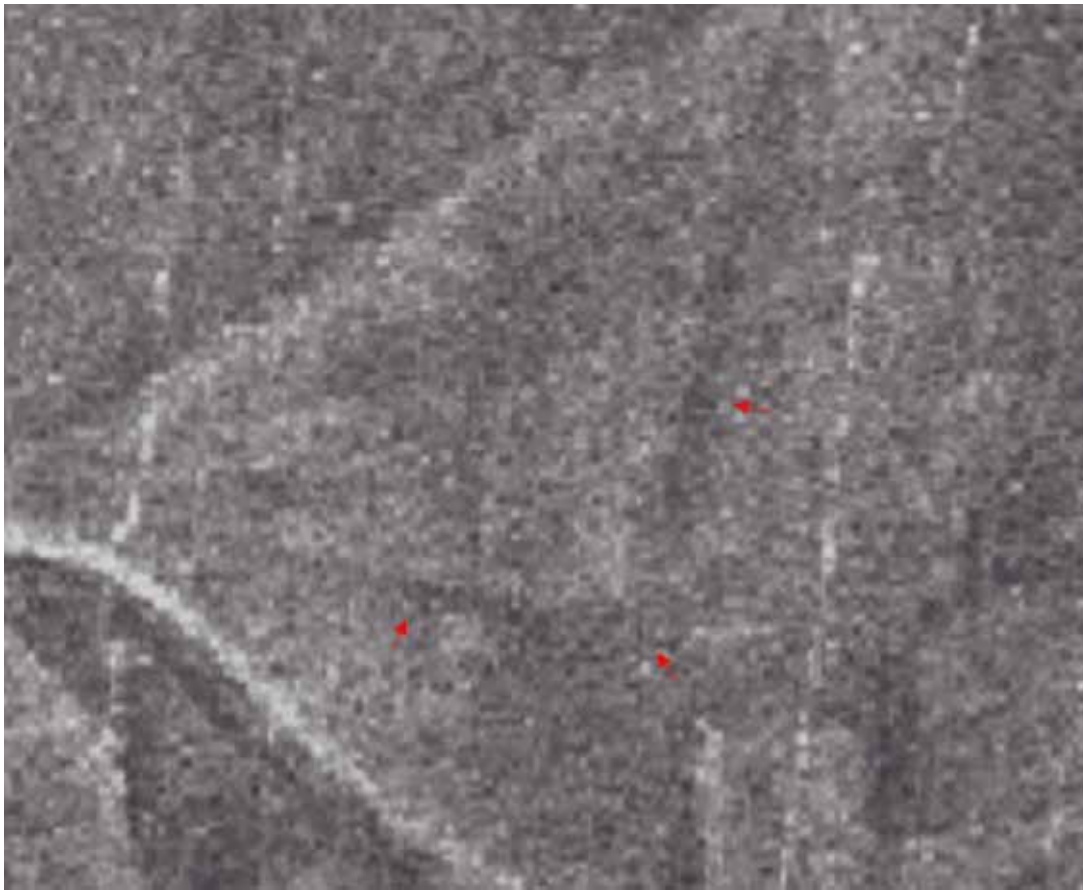
24 CIL III p. 398.

18 It is very useful here to mention the recently published work of David Štrmelj, who discusses the communities on the island of Pag in the same context (Štrmelj 2025, 729–731).

19 Campbell 2000, liv, lx, 131, 161, 320, 346, 349–350, 362–363, 382–383, 420–421, 443, 472–473. (The records of Roman surveyors frequently mention confiscations; the pages listed refer to the English translation of their accounts and to Campbell's commentaries.)

20 Plin. *HN* 3.139. Pliny, admittedly, does not literally place the Fertinates on the island of Krk, but rather – along with the Curictae – groups them among the insular communities enjoying immunity (*inmunesque Asseriatas, et ex insulis Fertinates, Curictae*). However, since Ptolemy places two cities, Curicum and Fulfinium, on the island of Krk, it is considered that the Fertinates were a community located at the same site as Ptolemy's Fulfinium. Furthermore, given the other island locations mentioned by Pliny, it is difficult to place the Fertinates anywhere else but on the island of Krk. Nonetheless, the actual relationship between the Fertinates and Fulfinum remains unknown (Zelić 1991, 30).

21 Ptol. *Geog.* 2.16.8.



SLIKA 11. Rimski marševski logor u Maloj Popini – jugoistočni ugao (©Geoportal DGU; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 11. Roman marching camp in Mala Popina – southeastern corner (©Geoportal DGU; edited by N. Cesarik).

su Fertinati, pa tko god oni bili, u nekom trenutku prestali egzistirati te da je na njihovu teritoriju nastao sasvim novi grad pod imenom *Fulfinum*.²⁵ Nema izravnih dokaza za to, svjestan sam toga, a svakako je da postoje i protuargumenti takvomu mišljenju,²⁶ međutim, i to je opcija koju valja uzeti u obzir, posebice jer je taj *Fulfinum* ipak bio novonastali grad,²⁷ dakle ne kao u ostatku Liburnije – grad koji je nastao na prapovijesnim autohtonim temeljima.

Na to se veže i drugi argument, a on je vidljiv u zapanjujućoj strukturi poznatoga nam stanovništva Fulfina. Naime, čitavo je mjesto gotovo potpuno epigrafski nepoznato. Koliko znam,

cord by the Domitianic inscription).²² The differences between Pliny and Ptolemy can be, and have been, interpreted in various ways: from a potential error by Pliny or in subsequent redactions of his text,²³ to the idea that the ethnonym *Fertinates* and the oikonym *Fulfinum* can be linguistically linked.²⁴ Of course, many combinations are linguistically possible if there is historical justification (or at least a sufficient degree of research desire). However, it is also possible that the Fertinates, whoever they were, ceased to exist at some point and that an entirely new city was established on their territory under the name *Fulfinum*.²⁵ I am aware there is no direct evidence for this, and counterarguments certainly exist;²⁶ nevertheless, it is an option to be considered, es-

25 Usp. Zelić 1995, 60.

26 Tu prvenstveno mislim na Plinijev popis liburnskih zajednica koje imaju italsko pravo te koje uživaju imunitet (Plin. *NH* 3.139). Bez obzira na to odnosi li se navod Fertinata i Kurikta na italsko pravo (kako je to pretpostavio Kubitschek) ili imunitet (kako je to utvrdio Degrassi, a podržali i drugi; usp. Margetić 1977, 403–405), činjenica jest da je teško prihvatiti teoriju o nekakvome kažnjavanju Fertinata ako su oni istovremeno uživali određene povlastice (usp. Čaće 1993b, 29). Međutim, i tu se javlja pitanje (kako je to čest slučaj kod Plinija) točnoga vremena na koje se odnosi izvor iz kojega Plinije crpi blok informacija (usp. Čaće 1993a, 3–5) o zajednicama koje uživaju imunitet, odnosno je li podatak o imunitetu Fertinata, kada god da su ga već ostvarili, validan i za razdoblje nakon građanskoga rata između Cezara i Pompeja (za moguća datiranja stjecanja imuniteta: Čaće 1993b, 29, uz bilj. 97).

27 Čaušević-Bully, Valent 2015, 112.

28 Usp. ovdje bilj. 22.

22 [I]mp(erator) Caesar divi f [il(ius) Domitia] / [nus] Aug(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) tribuniciae / [p]otestatis [XIIII(?)] imp(erator) [XXII(?)] consul [XVI(?)] / censor perp(etuus) p(ater) p(atriciae) / aquam Flaviam Augustam novis / fontibus collectis Flavio Fulfi/no induxit L(ucius) Sestius Dexter / veteranus coh(ortis) III praetoriae / de sua pecunia faciundum cu/ravit (Rendić-Miočević 1974, 52).

23 Čaće 1993a, 10.

24 CIL III p. 398.

25 Cf. Zelić 1995, 60.

26 Here I refer primarily to Pliny's list of Liburnian communities possessing Italian rights and enjoying immunity (Plin. *HN* 3.139). Whether the mention of the Fertinates and Curictae refers to Italian rights (as assumed by Kubitschek) or immunity (as established by Degrassi and supported by others; cf. Margetić 1977, 403–405), it is difficult to accept the theory of some form of punishment for the Fertinates if they simultaneously enjoyed certain privileges (cf. Čaće 1993b, 29). However, as is often the case with Pliny, a question arises concerning the exact date of his source (cf. Čaće 1993a, 3–5). Specifically, it is unclear whether the data on the immunity of the Fertinates – no matter when it was acquired – remained valid after the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. (For potential dating of the acquisition of immunity, see Čaće 1993b, 29, with n. 97).

SLIKA 12. Rimski marševski logor u Maloj Popini – rekonstrukcija ukupne veličine (©Geoportal DGU; obradio N. Cesarik).

FIGURE 12. Roman marching camp in Mala Popina – reconstruction of the total size (©Geoportal DGU; edited by N. Cesarik).



poznata su nam samo dva njegova stanovnika, a oba su vojni veterani. Prvi je veteran III. pretorijanske kohorte,²⁸ a drugi je veteran VIII. legije Auguste²⁹ – legije koja je u građanskome ratu 69. godine, između Vespazijana i Vitelija, stala na pobjedničku stranu,³⁰ što je i potencijalni razlog zašto bi Vespazijan njezinim pripadnicima dodijelio zemljište na otoku Krku. Prvi nam natpis daje i puno ime toga grada – *Flavium Fulfinum*, pa je lako moguće da je taj „novi“ *Fulfinum* i osnovan u Vespazijanovo doba kako bi se tamo smjestili caru lojalni veterani. Po svoj prilici, tada je izgrađena i *aqua Flavia Augusta*, koju je Domicijan poslije pojačao kaptiranjem novih izvora te određenim posredstvom L. Sestija Dekstera na nju spojio i naselje u današnjoj uvali Sepen.³¹ Ako su određeni dijelovi otoka Krka bili dio državne imovine (*ager publicus*), stečeni konfiskacijom teritorija, logički se nameće pomisao da je to jedan od razloga zašto bi se ratne veterane naselilo baš na tome mjestu.

pecially since Fulfinum was a newly established city²⁷ – unlike the rest of Liburnia, where cities were built on prehistoric indigenous foundations.

Linked to this is the second argument, evident in the composition of Fulfinum's documented population. This is that the site is almost entirely devoid of epigraphic evidence. As far as I am aware, only two of its inhabitants have been identified, both of whom were military veterans. The first is a veteran of the III Praetorian Cohort,²⁸ while the second is a veteran of the Legio VIII Augusta²⁹ – a legion that sided with the victors in the civil war of AD 69 between Vespasian and Vitellius,³⁰ which is a potential reason why Vespasian would grant its members land on the island of Krk. The first inscription also gives us the full name of the city – *Flavium Fulfinum* – so it is highly possible that this 'new' Fulfinum was founded during Vespasian's era to settle veterans loyal to the emperor. In all likelihood, the *aqua Flavia Augusta* was built then, which Domitian later reinforced by capturing new springs, and, through the mediation of L. Sestius Dexter, he connected

29 CIL III 3127 = 10126: *L(ucius) Trebius Pau/lus vetera/nus leg(ionis) VIII / Aug(ustae) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*.

30 Tac. *Hist.* 3.10; 21; 27.

27 Čaušević-Bully, Valent 2015, 112.

28 See n. 22 here.

29 CIL III 3127 = 10126: *L(ucius) Trebius Pau/lus vetera/nus leg(ionis) VIII / Aug(ustae) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*.

30 Tac. *Hist.* 3.10, 21, 27.

Sve je to možda bio rezultat određene „nelojalnosti“ koja je Gaja Antonija ostavila na cjedilu u njegovu taboru na poluotoku Bejavcu – taboru koji indirektno spominje i sam Lukan u svojem čuvenom epu *Pharsalia*.³² Što se točno dogodilo nakon opsade Gaja Antonija, u konačnici i nije toliko bitno jer ionako se čitava rasprava odvija u zamršenoj sferi istraživačkih imaginacija. No zato je prilika da se priča o bitci na Krku, nakon odlične historiografske analize, pokuša i arheološki nadograditi. Uz logor na Bejavcu, pozornost bi svakako valjalo baciti i na Lukanovu „ilirsku hrid“, u kojoj Bilić-Dujmušić sasvim opravdano prepoznaje današnji otočić Sv. Marko.³³ Ako je na tome mjestu doista došlo do junačke pogibije transpadanskih Opitergina, kojima su protivnici odali sve počasti pripremivši im pokop dostojan heroja,³⁴ onda postoji i realna šansa da im se konačno počivalište nalazi upravo na mjestu na kojemu su skončali život. Nadam se da će lokalna vlast, kao i njihovi glavni ekonomski oslonci, prepoznati potencijal koji se krije na tome mjestu.

Dodatak: rimski marševski logor u Maloj Popini

Budući da nemam baš priliku pisati o povijesno-arheološkim temama te da nisam siguran hoću li se u budućnosti baviti pitanjima rimske vojske, smatram da je ovo dobra prilika da stručnu javnost obavijestim o još jednome potencijalnom rimskom logoru na našem području. Naime, posljednjih nekoliko godina, dok sam se još bavio poviješću i arheologijom, moj glavni istraživački interes bio je vezan za Napoleonske ratove, osobito za terensko istraživanje austrijsko-francuskoga sukoba iz 1809. na području Dalmacije i Like. Tada sam, uz ostatke šanca i redute koje su Austrijanci izgradili nad Zrmanjskim klancem, uočio i ostatke nečega što najvjerojatnije predstavlja rimski marševski logor. Riječ je o pravokutnoj formaciji (430 x 400 m), veličine oko 17 hektara, sa zaobljenim uglovima, koja se nalazi usred Malopopinskoga polja. Ostatci su vidljivi pomoću zračnih snimki, i to kao tzv. *cropmarks*. Tri stranice i dva ugla vidljiva su na modernim snimkama (Sl. 9-10), a treći ugao vidljiv je na snimci iz 1968. (Sl. 11). Četvrti se ugao ne vidi, ali se, zahvaljujući ostalima, može rekonstruirati originalni oblik i već spomenuta ukupna veličina (Sl. 12). Ako je doista riječ o rimskome logoru, postavlja se pitanje iz kojega je on vremena i kakav je bio njegov karakter (marševski, opsadni ili tzv. *practice camp*). S obzirom na položaj (spoj južne Like s Dalmacijom), logički se nameće mogućnost da je riječ o nekome od logora iz rimskih kampanja protiv Japoda iz republikanskoga razdoblja. No kako je riječ o najvažnijemu prometnom pravcu koji je Dalmaciju

it to the settlement in today's bay of Sepen.³³ If certain parts of the island of Krk were state property (*ager publicus*), acquired through the confiscation of territory, it logically follows that this would be one of the reasons for settling war veterans precisely in that location.

All of this may have been the result of a certain 'disloyalty' that left Gaius Antonius in the lurch at his camp on the Bejavec peninsula – a camp indirectly mentioned by Lucan himself in his famous epic *Pharsalia*.³² What exactly happened after the siege of Gaius Antonius is, ultimately, not so important, as the entire discussion takes place within the intricate sphere of research imagination. However, this is an opportunity for the story of the Battle of Krk, following an excellent historiographical analysis, also to be archaeologically enhanced. Alongside the camp at Bejavec, attention should certainly be directed toward Lucan's "Illyrian cliff", in which Bilić-Dujmušić quite correctly recognizes today's islet of St Mark.³³ If the heroic death of the transpadane Opitergini truly occurred at that location – to whom their opponents paid full honours by preparing a burial worthy of heroes³⁴ – then there is a real chance that their final resting place is located exactly where they met their end. I hope that the local authorities, as well as their main economic pillars, will recognize the potential hidden at this site.

Addendum: A Roman Marching Camp in Mala Popina

Since I rarely have the opportunity to write on historico-archaeological topics and am uncertain whether I will deal with Roman military themes in the future, I consider this a good opportunity to inform the professional public about another potential Roman camp in our region. Over the last few years, while I was still active in history and archaeology, my primary research interest related to the Napoleonic Wars, specifically the field research of the 1809 Austro-French conflict in the regions of Dalmatia and Lika. At that time, alongside the remains of trenches and redoubts built by the Austrians above the Zrmanja Canyon, I noticed the remains of something that most likely represents a Roman marching camp. This is a rectangular formation (430 x 400 m), approximately 17 hectares in size, with rounded corners, located in the middle of Malopopinsko Polje (the Mala Popina karst field). The remains are visible via aerial imagery as so-called cropmarks. Three sides and two corners can be identified on modern images (Figs 9–10), while a third corner is evident on a 1968 photograph (Fig. 11). Although the fourth corner is not discernible, the original shape and the aforementioned total size can be reconstructed on the basis of the other sections (Fig. 12). If this is indeed a Roman camp, questions arise regarding its dating and nature (e.g. marching, siege or practice camp). Given its location (the junction of southern Lika and Dalmatia), the possibility logically arises that it is one of the camps of the Roman campaigns

31 Rendić-Miočević 1974, 51–52.

32 Luc. *Phars.* 4.412–414: *spoliarat gramine campum / miles et attonso miseris iam dentibus aruo / castrorum siccis de caespite uolserat herbas* (prijevod kod Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 173: „Vojska je pobrala vlati po polju i obrstivši nevoljnim zubom oranicu, bila je već počupala i suhu travu s logorskoga busenja.”)

33 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 38–39.

34 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 82.

31 Rendić-Miočević 1974, 51–52.

32 Luc. *Phars.* 4.412–414: *spoliarat gramine campum / miles et attonso miseris iam dentibus aruo / castrorum siccis de caespite uolserat herbas* (translation in Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 173: “The soldiers had stripped the field of its blades and, having grazed the ploughed land with miserable teeth, had already plucked even the dry grass from the camp turf”).

33 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 38–39.

34 Bilić-Dujmušić 2022, 82.

oduvijek povezivao s unutrašnjom Hrvatskom, lako je moguće i da logor datira iz kasnijih vremena. Svakako valja uzeti u obzir i to da se legijski logor u Burnumu nalazi oko 25 kilometara dalje od Male Popine, ali i to da je glavna rimska magistrala jamačno išla putom koji su pratile sve kasnije magistralne ceste (dolinom gornje Zrmanje, pa preko Zrmanjskoga klanca na Malu Popinu i Cerovac). Dalje od toga neću ići, pa je na onima koji se time žele baviti da u budućnosti otkriju o čemu je točno riječ.

against the Iapodes during the Republican period. However, as this is the most important traffic route that has always connected Dalmatia with inland Croatia, it is highly possible that the camp dates from later periods. One must certainly take into account that the legionary camp at Burnum is located about 25 kilometres from Mala Popina, and that the main Roman route almost certainly followed the path taken by all subsequent main roads (through the upper Zrmanja valley, then across the Zrmanja Canyon to Mala Popina and Cerovac). I will go no further than this; it remains for those who wish to pursue this in the future to discover exactly what this site represents.

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