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RADOVI ARHEOLOŠKOG ZAVODA  
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OF ARCHAEOLOGY

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*Marina MILIĆEVIĆ BRADAČ*

**MIRJANA SANADER: DALMATIA: EINE RÖMISCHE PROVINZ AN DER ADRIA, ORBIS PROVINCiarum,  
ZABERNs BILDBÄNDE ZUR ARCHÄOLOGIE,  
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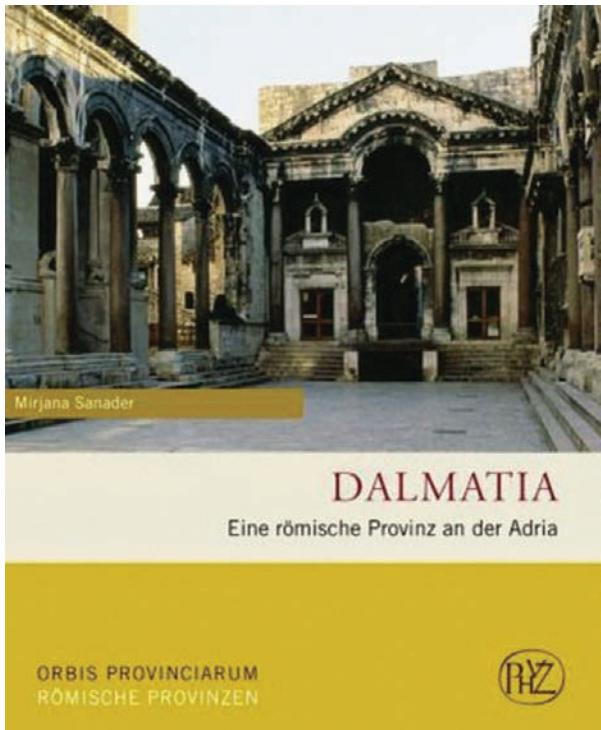
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Najnovija knjiga Mirjane Sanader *Dalmatia: Eine römische Provinz an der Adria* izišla je u bogatoj arheološkoj izdavačkoj djelatnosti Phillipa von Zaberna iz Mainza.<sup>1</sup> Na prvi bismo pogled mogli reći: još jedna knjiga o rimskoj Dalmaciji, ali taj prvi pogled vara jer je riječ o prvoj knjizi o rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji iz pera hrvatskoga autora u kojoj se donosi pregled cijele antičke povijesti te provincije. Osim toga to je prva monografija takve vrste objavljena na svjetskome jeziku kod stranoga izdavača. Rijetke su i knjige o Dalmaciji iz pera stranih autora. Dovoljno je spomenuti monografiju J. J. Wilkesa, *Dalmatia* (1969), koja je godinama bila referentna točka za antičku povijest i arheologiju ovih krajeva bez obzira na to što su joj domaći arheolozi koji su se

Mirjana Sanader's newest book, *Dalmatia: Eine römische Provinz an der Adria*, has been released as a part of the rich archaeological publishing activities of Phillip von Zabern from Mainz.<sup>1</sup> At first glance, one may be tempted to say: yet another book about Roman-era Dalmatia. Yet this first glance is deceptive, for this is the first book about the Roman Dalmatia from the pen of a Croatian author which provides an overview of the entire ancient history of this province. Moreover, this is the first monograph of its type published in a major world language by a foreign publisher. Even books about Dalmatia written by non-Croatian authors are rare. It suffices to mention only the monograph by J. J. Wilkesa, *Dalmatia* (1969), which was long a point of reference for the history and archaeology of this region, despite the

<sup>1</sup> Valja napomenuti da ovo nije prva suradnja autorice sa spomenutom izdavačkom kućom. Dovoljno je spomenuti monografiju *Kroatien in der Antike* koju je uredila M. Sanader, a objavljena je također u izdanju kuće Phillip von Zabern (Mainz am Rhein, 2007). Za nju su urednica i autorica tekstova i njezini suradnici dobili nagradu INA-e za promicanje hrvatske kulture u svijetu i nagradu "Josip Brunšmid" Hrvatskoga arheološkog društva.

<sup>1</sup> It is worth noting that this is not her first collaboration with this publisher. One need only mention the monograph *Kroatien in der Antike*, edited by Sanader, also published by Phillip von Zabern (Mainz am Rhein, 2007). For this book, the editor and author of the texts and her associates received the INA Award for the international promotion of Croatian culture and the Josip Brunšmid Award conferred by the Croatian Archaeological Society.



bavili rimskom arheologijom u provinciji Dalmaciji upućivali ozbiljne prigovore.<sup>2</sup> No kako je često znao reći Marin Zaninović: *Slavica non leguntur*. O antičkome naslijeđu rimske provincije Dalmacije u široj se europskoj javnosti nije znalo dovoljno, iako su generacije izvrsnih stručnjaka ostavile sjajne nalaze i zaključke u domaćoj i stranoj literaturi. Bilo je potrebno da ugledna hrvatska arheologinja stekne reputaciju koja joj omogućuje da izdavačka kuća veličine i ugleda Philippa von Zaberna za svoju seriju *Orbis provinciarum* naruči od nje monografiju o provinciji Dalmaciji i tako omogući hrvatskom autoru da na svjetskoj pozornici iznese rezultate hrvatskih arheoloških istraživanja.

Knjiga započinje uvodom (*Einführung*, str. 9–12) gdje se govori o svima onima koji su pisali o Dalmaciji, počevši s Konstantinom Porfirogenetom u 10. stoljeću i Tomom Arhiđakonom u 13. stoljeću. Govori se o Marku Maruliću i njegovu skupljanju antičkih natpisa, ali i o Robertu Adamu koji je izdao knjigu *Ruins of the Palace of Emperor Diocletian at Spalato in Dalmatia* te o nezaobilaznome Albertu Fortisu čiji je *Viaggio in Dalmazia* tiskan 1774. Stranim je čitateljima trebalo predstaviti i povijest i osnivanje hrvatskih muzeja i časopisa, kao i putovanja velikoga Mommsena dok je skupljao materijal za svoje monumentalno djelo *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.

<sup>2</sup> Druga je knjiga monografskoga karaktera *Dalmazia* S. Rinaldija Tufja (1989) koja nije imala nikakva odjeka s naše strane Jadrana i osim M. Sanader gotovo je nitko i ne citira.

fact that it has been seriously criticized by local archaeologists who deal with the Roman archaeology of the province of Dalmatia.<sup>2</sup> But as Marin Zaninović often said: *Slavica non leguntur*. The broader European public did not know enough about the heritage of the Roman province of Dalmatia, despite the fact that generations of outstanding experts have presented their remarkable finds and conclusions in the relevant domestic and foreign literature. It was necessary for a notable Croatian archaeologist to earn a solid reputation which then prompted a sizeable and respectable publisher like Philipp von Zabern to commission a monograph from her on the province of Dalmatia for its series *Orbis provinciarum*, thereby enabling a Croatian author to present the results of Croatian archaeological research to an international audience.

The book opens with an introduction (*Einführung*, pp. 9–12) which reviews those in the past who have written about Dalmatia, beginning with Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century and Thomas the Archdeacon in the thirteenth century. She covers Marko Marulić and his collection of Roman-era inscriptions, but also Robert Adam, who published the book *Ruins of the Palace of Emperor Diocletian at Spalato in Dalmatia*, and the inescapable Alberto Fortis, whose *Viaggio in Dalmazia* was printed in 1774. The history and establishment of Croatian museums and journals needed to be presented to non-Croatian readers, as did the travels of the great Theodor Mommsen as he gathered materials for his monumental work *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*. A significant part of the introduction consists of a description of the geographic location and borders of the province of Dalmatia. Even though most believe that they at the very least know the province was, this is in fact problematic topic from the very start. Everyone agrees that the province extended from the Adriatic Sea to the southern edges of the Pannonian plain south of the Sava River, from the eastern peripheries of the Alps to the Drina River, but details concerning the borders remain uncertain. The author attempts to answer the question as to how far south of the Sava the province's northern boundary was, for which her primary evidence is an inscription from Banja Luka (CIL III: 14221) which mentions the *beneficiarius consularis Pannoniae Superioris*. This leads to the conclusion that Banja Luka was already in Pannonia (Bojanovski 1988: 325–330). Sanader agrees, and provides several more arguments to back the assertion. The second problem that had to be dealt with prior to turning to the archaeology of the province was its border

<sup>2</sup> Another monograph-type book is *Dalmazia* by S. Rinaldi Tufi (1989), which had almost no impact on this side of the Adriatic and which, with the exception of Sanader herself, is rarely cited.

Poseban dio uvoda čini opis zemljopisnoga položaja i granica provincije Dalmacije. Iako mislimo da znamo barem gdje se provincija nalazila, već na samome početku ulazimo u problematično područje. Svi će se složiti da se provincija prostirala od Jadranskoga mora do južnih rubova Panonske nizine južno od Save, od istočnih rubova Alpa do Drine, ali detalje o granicama još uvijek sa sigurnošću ne znamo. Autorica pokušava odgovoriti na pitanje koliko je sjeverna granica provincije bila južno od Save, za što joj je glavni argument natpis iz Banje Luke (CIL III: 14221) na kojem se spominje *beneficiarius consularis Pannoniae Superioris*. Na temelju toga zaključuje se da je Banja Luka već bila u Panoniji (Bojanovski 1988: 325–330) i autorica se s time slaže, uz podršku još nekih argumentata. Drugo pitanje s kojim se morala uhvatiti ukoštac prije nego što se posveti arheologiji provincije problem je njezinih granica prema Meziji. Procjene o njima u znanstvenoj su se literaturi podosta razlikovale, a stabilizirale su se u radovima Marina Zaninovića koji drži da se te granice mogu locirati negdje oko rijeke Drine.

Slijedi poglavje o Dalmaciji prije Rimljana (*Dalmatien in vorrömischer Zeit*, str. 13–22) koje počinje prikazom Ilira te povijesti i stanja istraživanja te tematike. Donosi se pregled antičkih izvora, a potom pregled ilirskih naroda i kraljevstava. Usto dolazi pregled pomorskih aktivnosti Ilira i osvrt na njihovu gusarsku reputaciju koja se provlači kroz antičke izvore i modernu literaturu. Autorica jednostavno mijenja točku gledanja i upozorava da bi se to moralо promatrati kroz oči antičkih ljudi za koje je gusarenje bilo društveno prihvatljiva aktivnost. Pritom se osvrće i na jednu od uvrježenih teza da su upravo ilirski gusari omeli grčku kolonizaciju istočne obale Jadrana. Izlaže probleme u vezi s vladanjem Gencija i Baleja osvrćući se na radeve Duje Rendića Miočevića i njegove zaključke. Pišući o Delmatima, spominje radeve Marina Zaninovića, znanstvenika koji se najviše kod nas bavio tim ilirskim narodom. Posebni su problemi vezani za narod Liburna, njihov teritorij i porijeklo te za natpise na kojima se spominju njihove božice. Slično je s Japodima koji se danas definiraju kao ilirokeltski narod, što autorica uz argumentaciju prihvaća. Spomenimo i to da je autorica posebnu pažnju posvetila ilustracijama, pa donosi sjajne fotografije nalaza ostataka liburne kod Nina, rekonstrukciju liburne, kao i materijal iz ilirskoga groba iz Vičje luke na Braču, što se ovako snimljeno dosad nije moglo vidjeti.

Drugi dio ovoga poglavlja posvećen je Grcima koji su u velikome broju prisutni na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Ostavili su tragove u urbanizmu Ise, Fara, Tragurija,

with Moesia. The scholarly literature contains considerably diverging views on this matter, and they were only brought together in the works of Marin Zaninović, who asserted that the border may be located somewhere around the Drina River.

The next chapter deals with Dalmatia prior to the Romans (*Dalmatien in vorrömischer Zeit*, pp. 13–22), beginning with a description of the Illyrians and a summary of their history and status of research into this theme. There is an outline of the ancient sources, followed by an overview of the Illyrian peoples and kingdoms. This is accompanied by a brief discussion of the maritime activities of the Illyrians, with particular reference to their reputation as pirates, which runs through the ancient sources and modern literature. Sanader simply alters the point of view and notes that this matter should be viewed in the context of that era, when piracy was a socially acceptable practice. She also considers one of the accepted theories that it was in fact Illyrian piracy which impeded Greek colonization of the eastern shore of the Adriatic. She covers the problems associated with the reigns of Gentius and Ballaios, referencing the works of Duje Rendić Miočević and his conclusions. Writing of the Delmatae, she mentions the works of Marin Zaninović, the Croatian scholar who most extensively dealt with the Illyrian peoples. A special set of problems is tied to the Liburnians, their territory and origin and the inscriptions which mention their goddesses. A similar situation holds for the Iapodes, who are today defined as an Illyro-Celtic people, which Sanader accepts with the relevant arguments. It is worthwhile noting that Sanader accords particular attention to the illustrations, so she provides superb photographs of the remains of a Liburnian galley remains at Nin, a reconstruction of a Liburnian galley, as well as the materials from the Illyrian grave in Vičja luka on the island of Brač, which could thus far not be seen photographed in this manner.

The second part of this chapter is dedicated to the Greeks, of whom there were a large number in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard. They left their mark on the urban planning of Issa, Pharos, Tragurium and Epetium. Sanader cites well-known facts about the oldest colonies (such as the Cnidian colony, for example), but also underscores the most recent discovery that Palagruža was the island of Diomedes as well as the data yielded by research into the Cape of Diomedes (Cape Ploča between Rogoznica and Trogir). These two sites have become renowned in world scholarship as separate locales, and Sanader shows that they are a part of the history of the Greeks in Dalmatia and a part of the history of Dalmatia as a whole, and that they should be viewed as such. She accords particular attention to Pharos, Issa and its empire and provides some new insights. Sanader

Epetija. Autorica navodi već poznate podatke o najstarijim kolonijama (npr. o knidskoj koloniji), ali i najnovije spoznaje o Palagruži kao Diomedovu otoku i podatke s istraživanja na Diomedovu rtu (rt Ploča između Rogoznice i Trogira). Ta su se dva lokaliteta proslavila u svjetskoj znanosti kao izdvojeni lokaliteti, a autorica pokazuje da su bili dio povijesti Grka u Dalmaciji i dio povijesti Dalmacije u cjelini te da ih tako treba promatrati. Posebno govori o Faru (*Pharos*), Isi i njezinu imperiju i iznosi nove spoznaje. Naime M. Sanader posebno se bavila problematikom Ise (Sanader 2002: 24–28) i ranim nalazima na otoku na temelju čega zaključuje da su Grci boravili ondje i prije osnivanja kolonije te da je na otoku vjerojatno postojalo uporište za grčke pomorce, a da je sam otok bio manje zanimljiv trgovcima.

Treće poglavje posvećeno je rimskom ulasku u Ilirik (*Die Eroberung des Illyricum durch die Römer*, str. 23–32). Taj je proces trajao više od dvaju stoljeća, od 229. g. pr. Kr. kad je počeo Prvi ilirski rat do 9. g. po. Kr. i gušenja Panonskoga ustanka. Autorica se ponovno osvrće na ilirsko gusarenje, ali prihvata nova tumačenja prema kojima se ilirski gusari smatraju samo izgovorom, a pravi se uzroci ratovanja s Ilirima vežu uz pohod na Makedoniju. Govoreći o toj temi, poziva se na Marina Zaninovića i njegovu tezu o četirima fazama osvajanja Ilirika, podržava njegove ideje i podupire njihove historijske temelje. To je još jedan primjer koji potvrđuje da se kroz respektabilno izdanje ove monografije svijetu prezentiraju spoznaje hrvatske arheologije. Raspravlja se o ratovima s Gencijem, ratovima s Delmatima te o Cezarovu namjesništvu u Iliriku od 59. g. pr. Kr. Ne može se preskočiti ni bitka kod Krka s Pompejevom vojskom tijekom građanskoga rata. Poseban trag ostavio je gradanski rat između Oktavijana i Marka Antonija (35–33. g. pr. Kr.). Oktavijan je ratovao u unutrašnjosti Ilirika sve do Siscije, što otvara neka nova pitanja: koliko je daleko Oktavijan prodrio u Ilirik? Možda u jednome trenutku i jest došao do Dunava, ali to je vjerojatno bilo na potezu ušća Save u Dunav. Zašto je Oktavijan pošao u Ilirik? Autorica se priklanja tezi da je to bilo planirano osvajanje za osiguranje puta prema Makedoniji.

Poglavlje o uređenju provincije u rimsко vrijeme (*Die Einrichtung der Provinz Dalmatia*, str. 33–44) podijeljeno je na nekoliko manjih dijelova. Sama uprava provincije opisana je kroz republikanski *lex provinciae*, a zatim se govori o carskim namjesnicima čije je sjedište bila Salona. Poseban je problem znanosti podjela Dalmacije na tri sudbena okruga (*conventus iuridicus*), Scardonu, Salonu i Naronu, u kojima su prema Pliniju domaći sta-

has in fact dealt specifically with the problems surrounding Issa (Sanader 2002: 24–28) and the early discoveries made on the island which led to the conclusion that the Greeks had lived there even prior to establishing a colony, that there probably was a stronghold for Greek sailors on the island, and that the island itself was less interesting to merchants.

The third chapter is dedicated to the Roman entry into Illyria (*Die Eroberung des Illyricum durch die Römer*, pp. 23–32). This process lasted for over two centuries, from 229 BC, when the First Illyrian War began, to 9 AD, when the Pannonian Revolt was quelled. Sanader once more refers to Illyrian piracy, but also accepts more recent interpretations according to which Illyrian pirates are only deemed a pretext, while the true causes of warfare with the Illyrians is tied to the march on Macedonia. Speaking on this topic, she cites Marin Zaninović and his theory on the four phases of the conquest of Illyricum, endorsing his ideas and supporting their historical foundations. This is just another example of how this respectably published monograph presents the findings of Croatian archaeology to the world. She discusses the wars with Gentius, the wars with the Delmatae and Caesar's regency in Illyricum from 59 BC. The battle against Pompey's army by the island of Krk during the civil war could not be overlooked, either. A particular trace was left by the civil war between Octavian and Mark Antony (35–33 BC). Octavian waged war in the Illyrian interior up to Siscia, which prompts some new questions: how far were Octavian's incursions into Illyricum? Perhaps he even reached the Danube at one point, but this was probably at the Sava's confluence into the Danube. Why did Octavian enter Illyricum? Sanader presents the theory that this was a planned conquest on the road to Macedonia.

The chapter on the organization of the province during the Roman era (*Die Einrichtung der Provinz Dalmatia*, p. 33–44) is divided into several shorter sections. The actual administration of the province is described through the republican *lex provinciae*, and then the imperial regents, who had their seat in Salona. A special problem confronting scholarship is the division of Dalmatia into three judicial districts (*conventus iuridicus*), Scardona, Salona and Narona, in which, according to Pliny, local residents resolved their legal problems. Then Sanader discusses roads and the many associated problems, such as routes, stations and sources on roads. Many roads have been identified thanks to the work of generations of archaeologists, but many are still subject to debate. Particularly interesting is the Vratnik Pass and its role in the Romanization of the interior and in Roman military campaigns. Sanader also discusses Adriatic seafaring and navigation routes. The section on the Roman military in Dalmatia is particularly interest-

novnici rješavali svoje pravne probleme. Zatim se govori o cestama uz koje se veže mnogo problema, naprimjer problemi s trasama, postajama, izvorima o cestama. Mnoge su ceste identificirane zahvaljujući generacijama arheologa, ali o mnogima se još raspravlja. Posebno je zanimljiv prijevoj Vratnik i njegova uloga u romanizaciji unutrašnjosti i rimskim pohodima. Raspravlja se i o plovidbi Jadranom i ploidbenim putovima. Odlomak o rimske vojske u Dalmaciji posebno je zanimljiv jer je autorica stručnjakinja za problematiku rimske vojske u cjelini, a naročito rimske vojske u Dalmaciji. Zato i očekujemo da razradi neke probleme, kao što je izgled prvih logora bez čvrstih građevina koji arheološki još nisu potvrđeni, a ne zna se ni koje su ih legije prve podizale. Zato znamo koje su legije ratovale u Panonskome ustanku od 6. do 9. g. po. Kr. i koje su ostale u Dalmaciji nakon 9. g. Posebna je pažnja posvećena dvjema dalmatinskim legijama, XI. u Burnumu i VII. u Tiluriju. To su dva velika vojna logora za koja se još uvijek ne može ustvrditi kada su građeni. Autorica je voditeljica istraživanja vojnoga logora Tilurij (Sanader 2003) i toj je problematici posvećena već godinama. Zahvaljujući novim istraživanjima u Burnumu, morali bismo uskoro imati jasniju sliku o boravku rimske vojske u Dalmaciji prije nego što su spomenute legije napustile provinciju (69. g. XI. legija napušta Burnum, a dolazi IV. Flavia i ondje ostaje do 86. g.; 61. g. VII. legija napušta Tilurij, a dolaze kohorte, npr. VIII. *voluntariorum civium Romanorum* koja se posljednji put spominje 243. g.). Iz vojne je perspektive vrlo važan lokalitet Bigeste u Humcu kod Ljubuškoga. Kao kuriozitet uz tu je temu objavljena fotografija stele iz Tilurija na kojoj dječak Gaj Laberije Valent drži u ruci loptu koja neobično nalikuje nogometnoj lopti, što je stelu i proslavilo (Sanader 2008: 145–152).

Život provincije tema je petoga poglavlja (*Stadt und Land*, str. 45–94). Ono počinje pregledom urbanizacije kao arhitektonskoga fenomena usko povezanoga s pravnim osnovama funkciranja gradova. Zato autorica na početku odlomka donosi pravne termine organizacije provincije. Posebnu pažnju posvetila je zajednici rimskih građana (*conventus civium Romanorum*) i iznijela tezu da su upravo oni odgovorni za početak urbanizacije provincije u koju su djelomično uključeni i domaći stanovnici. Tu su i davni problemi znanosti o provincijama: municipiji i juridički konventi. Autorica raspravlja o gotovo svim važnijim gradovima, općinama i naseljima provincije Dalmacije raspoređenima po sudbenim okruzima. To je sažetak velikih radova od Suića (1976) do Cambija (2002) i

ing because the author is an expert on the Roman military as a whole, and particularly the Roman army in Dalmatia. This is why many of us are expecting her to shed more light on certain problems, such as the appearance of the first camps that did not have firm structures – archaeological research has not yet confirmed their location, nor is it known which legions established them. We do know, however, which legions waged war during the Pannonian Revolt from 6 to 9 AD and which remained in Dalmatia after 9 AD. Particular attention is dedicated to the Dalmatian legions, the eleventh in Burnum and the seventh in Tilurium. These were two large military camps, and the precise date of their construction has yet to be determined. Sanader heads research at the Tilurium military camp (Sanader 2003) and her efforts have been dedicated to this matter for many years now. Thanks to the most recent research at Burnum, we may soon have a clearer picture of the Roman army's stay in Dalmatia before the aforementioned legions left the province (*legio XI* left Burnum in 69, replaced by *legio IV Flavia*, which remained until 86; *legio VII* left Tilurium in 61, replaced by cohorts, e.g. the *VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, which was last mentioned in 243). From the military standpoint, the Bigeste site in Humac, near Ljubuški, is very important. As a curiosity tied to this topic, a photograph is included featuring a stela from Tilurium on which the boy Gaius Laberius Valens holds a ball in his hand which bears a striking resemblance to a football, which has in fact made this stela rather famous (Sanader 2008: 145–152).

Life in the province is the topic of the fifth chapter (*Stadt und Land*, pp. 45–94). It begins with an overview of urbanization as an architectural phenomenon closely linked to the legal foundations for the functioning of cities. This is why Sanader first goes over the legal terms pertinent to provincial organisation. She dedicates special attention to the community of Roman citizens (*conventus civium Romanorum*) and puts forth the hypothesis that it is precisely they who were responsible for the onset of urbanization of the province, in which local residents were also partially involved. The long-time problems confronted by scholarship on the provinces come up here: the *municipium* and *conventus iuridicus*. Sanader discusses almost all major cities, municipalities and settlements in the province of Dalmatia dispersed among the court districts. This in fact constitutes a summary of works from Suić (1976) to Cambi (2002), and also the author herself (Sanader 2000; 2007). Life in the countryside was dominated by the Roman villas (*villa rustica*) and what went on around them: labour in stone quarries and clay pits, mines and fields. A notable problem is

same autorice (Sanader 2000; 2007). Život na selu obilježili su gospodarski objekti (*villa rustica*) i ono što se oko njih događalo: rad kamenoloma i gliništa, rudnika i polja. Poseban je problem kako definirati život autohtonoga stanovništva u odnosu prema došljacima u vilama.

Umjetnost i zanati neizostavan su dio života svake provincije, pa tako i provincije Dalmacije i tema su šestoga poglavlja (*Wirtschaft und Handwerk*, str. 95–108). O toj se temi mnogo toga može reći jer mnoštvo nalaza svjedoči o količini lokalne proizvodnje, kao i o uvozu iz drugih dijelova carstva. Stoga ne čudi što je o tome napisana iznimno opsežna literatura i što su gotovo svi detalji već obrađeni. Budući da ova knjiga predstavlja provinciju Dalmaciju stranoj znanosti, možda su najzanimljiviji podaci o onim majstorima koji su se potpisali i koje znamo kao individue, a ne znamo o njima ništa osobno. Zato je istaknuta srebrna fibula koju je potpisao Messor (*Messor fecit* – CIL III: 10195). On ne samo da je majstor s ovih prostora nego ima i ilirsko ime (Ivčević 2000: 148, T. V: 26). Isto se tako u raspravi o kiparstvu ističe ime majstora Maksimina o kojem postoji opširna bibliografija radova, ali u svijetu nije naišao na odjek koji zасlužuje. Naravno da se poglavlje o kiparstvu naslanja na monumentalne doprinose akademika Cambija (2000; 2002; 2005), ali važni su i doprinosi M. Sanader koja se posebno bavila nadgrobnim stelama iz Tilurija te pridonijela opisu kiparstva Dalmacije svojom tipologijom i podjelom vojničkih stela iz Tilurija (Sanader 2003a: 501–511). Posebnu pažnju zасlužuje staklo koje se, prema najnovijim spoznajama, vjerojatno proizvodilo u Zadru. Spomenuti su i nalazi iz brodoloma kod rta Glavat na Mljetu kamo se prevozilo sirovo staklo vjerojatno namijenjeno dalmatinskim staklarskim radionicama. Poseban su slučaj keramičarske i opekarske radionice jer se slika o njima neprestano mijenja sa svakim novim nalazom, naročito nakon senzacionalnoga otkrića keramičarske industrije u Crikvenici (*Ad Turres*) (Lipovac-Vrkljan 2007) vlasnika Seksta Metilija Maksima. Otprije je poznata proizvodnja na lokalitetu *Aquae S...* kraj Sarajeva. Zanimljiva je i radionica koja funkcioniра tijekom gradnje Dioklecijanove palače i svoje proizvode obilježava pečatom *Dalmatia* (CIL III: 2328, 32149, 13340). Govori se i o kolegijsima (*collegia*) majstora. Najznačajniji su među njima klesari s Brača o kojima svjedoče natpisi (CIL III: 10107). Tekst je popraćen fotografijom zlatnoga nakita iz Pljevalja u Crnoj Gori koju nije bilo lako nabaviti, a predstavlja jedan od najznačajnijih nalaza dalmatinskoga zlatarstva.

how to define the life of the indigenous population in relation to the newcomers in the villas.

Arts and crafts were an inescapable component of life in every province, including Dalmatia, and they are the topic of the sixth chapter (*Wirtschaft und Handwerk*, pp. 95–108). Much can be said on this topic, because the multitude of finds testifies to the volume of local production, as well as imports from other parts of the Empire. This is why it comes as no surprise that the literature on this is quite extensive and that almost all details have been covered exhaustively. Since this book serves to present the province of Dalmatia to foreign scholarship, perhaps the most interesting are the data on those masters who signed their work and who are known as individuals, although nothing is known of them personally. This is why the silver fibula signed by Messor is highlighted (*Messor fecit* – CIL III: 10195). Not only was he a master from this territory, he also had an Illyrian name (Ivčević 2000: 148, P. V: 26). By the same token, in the discussion on sculpture, the name of the master Maximinus is stressed, as there is an extensive bibliography of works on him, although he has not received the attention he deserves in wider world scholarship. To be sure, the chapter on sculpture is grounded in the monumental contributions made by academician Nenad Cambi (2000; 2002; 2005), although the contributions made by Sanader herself are no less important, as she did her own detailed study of grave stelae from Tilurium and contributed to the description of Dalmatia's sculpture with her typology and breakdown of military stelae from Tilurium (Sanader 2003a: 501–511). Glass, which – based on the latest findings – was probably manufactured in Zadar, merits special consideration. Also mentioned is the discovery of a shipwreck at Cape Glavat on the island of Mljet, to which raw glass was transported, probably intended for the Dalmatian glass workshops. Pottery and brick workshops are a special case, as knowledge of them constantly changes with each new discovery, particularly after the sensational discovery of a ceramics plant in Crikvenica (*Ad Turres*) (Lipovac-Vrkljan 2007) owned by Sextus Methilius Maximus. Production at the *Aquae S...* site near Sarajevo was known even earlier. Also interesting is the workshop which operated during construction of Diocletian's Palace and which stamped its products with a seal reading *Dalmatia* (CIL III: 2328, 32149, 13340). Crafts guilds (*collegia*) are also mentioned. The most important among them are the masons from Brač, to which inscriptions testify (CIL III: 10107). The text is accompanied by a photograph of gold jewellery from Pljevlja in Montenegro that was not easy to obtain, and it is one of the most important finds of Dalmatian goldsmithing.

Sedmo poglavlje govori o Dalmaciji u kasnoj antići (*Dalmatien in der Spätantike*, str. 109–128). Posebna pažnja posvećena je 1. kongresu rano-kršćanske arheologije održanom u Saloni 1894. (Marin 1993). Nikad se ne može previše naglašavati doprinos hrvatske arheologije razvitu kasnoantičke i ranokršćanske arheologije. Raspravlja se i o posebnim problemima kasne antike: o odnosu urbanih središta i ruralne okoline, o odnosu jednih stanovnika prema drugima, o promjenama koje su nastale u slici gradova s dolaskom kršćanstva. Donosi se popis poznatih biskupija u Dalmaciji uključujući i one kojima se znaju imena, ali ne i lokacije (Ludrum, Sarsenterum). Govori se o problemu Oratorija A u Saloni i njegovoj dataciji. Spominju se i groblja, pogotovo Salona kao najveće dosad poznato ranokršćansko groblje *sub divo*. Svijet za sebe kasnoantički su arhitektonski sistemi o kojima je zaista mnogo rečeno. Riječ je o Dioklecijanovoj palači, Mogorjelu (blisko je Dioklecijanovoj palači i veoma problematično jer se njegove točne karakteristike do danas ne znaju, iako se mnogo o tome pisalo), Polačama na Mljetu (donose se najnoviji podaci o novoj rekonstrukciji i postavlja pitanje čija je uostalom bila ta palača), Ostrvici (Poljica, zaselak Krcatovići), fortifikaciji i Korintiji na Krku kao primjeru utvrde iz 6. stoljeća. Knjiga završava epilogom (*Epilog*, str. 129–130) u kojemu se, što je ovdje najvažnije, najavljuje posebna knjiga edicije *Orbis provinciarum* u kojoj će se posebno obraditi kasnoantička Dalmacija.

Knjiga ima nužne dodatke bez kojih je znanstveno djelo nezamislivo: *Register* (str. 131–135), golem popis najvažnije literature koja je ikad objavljena o provinciji Dalmaciji (*Anhang*, str. 136–142) te izvore ilustracija. Iako možda nije u redu posebno isticati jedan izvor fotografija, moramo spomenuti izvanredna fotografска umjetnička djela Ive Pervana.

Možemo zaključiti da smo ovu knjigu dugo iščekivali i napokon je dočekali. Proizašla je iz pera hrvatske autorice, a objavila ju je velika svjetska izdavačka kuća. Na taj se način dosad gotovo potpuno ignorirani dometi hrvatske arheologije prenose svjetskoj znanstvenoj javnosti.

The seventh chapter deals with Dalmatia in Late Antiquity (*Dalmatien in der Spätantike*, pp. 109–128). Particular attention is dedicated to the First Congress of Early Christian Archaeology held in Salona in 1894 (Marin 1993). The contribution of Croatian archaeology to the development of Late Antique and Early Christian archaeology cannot be stressed enough. The specific problems of Late Antiquity are also discussed: the relationship between urban and rural, the relationship of specific population groups to each other, and the changes which occurred in cities with the arrival of Christianity. A list of known dioceses in Dalmatia is provided, which includes those of which the name is known, but not the location (Ludrum, Sarsenterum). Sanader covers the problem of Oratorium A in Salona and its dating. She mentions cemeteries as well, particularly Salona as the largest thus far known Early Christian cemetery *sub divo*. Late Antique architectural systems are a world unto themselves about which much has truly been said. This includes Diocletian's Palace, Mogorjelo (which is near Diocletian's Palace and very problematic because its exact characteristics remain unknown to this day, even though much has been written about it), Polače on Mljet (with the latest data on its reconstruction; the question as to whom the palace belonged is raised), Ostrvica (Poljica, hamlet of Krcatovići), fortifications and Korintija on the island of Krk as an example of a sixth-century fortification. The book closes with an epilogue (*Epilog*, pp. 129–130) in which, most importantly, the author announces a separate *Orbis provinciarum* edition that will specifically deal with Dalmatia in Late Antiquity. The book contains essential data without which any scholarly work would be unthinkable: the *Register* (pp. 131–135), an enormous list of the most important literature ever published on the province of Dalmatia (*Anhang*, pp. 136–142) and the sources for illustrations. Although it may perhaps be deemed inappropriate to emphasize a single source of photographs, I cannot resist mentioning the outstanding photographic artworks by Ivo Pervan.

In conclusion, it can be said that this long-awaited book has finally arrived. Written by a Croatian scholar, it has been published by a major international publisher. Thus, the previously almost entirely ignored achievements of Croatian archaeology will be conveyed to the wider international scholarly public.

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