

Tragovi Eniona i Aristeje  
u rimskoj provinciji  
Dalmaciji /  
Traces of Ennion and  
Aristeas in the Roman  
Province of Dalmatia



Arheološki muzej u Splitu  
30. kolovoz - 25. rujan 2012.

**Tragovi Eniona i Aristeje u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji /  
Traces of Ennion and Aristeas in the Roman Province of Dalmatia**

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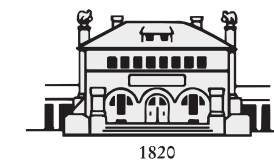
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# Tragovi Eniona i Aristeje u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji / Traces of Ennion and Aristeas in the Roman Province of Dalmatia



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Sl. 1.  
Inv. br. 2046 - Ulomci Enionove čaše, prozirno modro staklo. Narona (Arheološki muzej Narona)

Fig. 1  
inv. no. 2046 - fragments of an Ennion cup, transparent azure glass - Narona (Narona Archaeological Museum)

## Tragovi Eniona i Aristeje u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji

U Dalmaciji su u proteklih nekoliko desetljeća pronađeni ulomci barem trinaest čaša koje se pripisuju poznatim staklarima Enionu i Aristeji.

Donedavno poznate **Enionove** čaše u Dalmaciji potječu iz vojnog logora u Tiluriju (Gardun) i iz temenosa Augusteja u Naroni (Vid). Obje su čaše od tamnomodrog stakla. Čaša iz Narone (**sl. 1**) sačuvana je bez dna, a iz Garduna potječe tek jedan ulomak cilindričnog tijela (**sl. 10**). Ulomci takve čaše (**sl. 2**), možda njih dviju, od prozirnog stakla žute boje nađeni su godine 1985. u Naroni prilikom zaštitnih istraživanja koje je proveo splitski Arheološki muzej na dijelu trase regionalnog vodovoda Prud-Pelješac-Korčula, istočno od ceste Vid-Prud, odnosno Metković-Ljubuški, odnosno Salona-Narona-Bigeste. I druge čaše s tog lokaliteta, od tamnomodrog stakla, također su nađene u ulomcima (**sl. 9**). Kako je na tom mjestu nađena i rana nekropola, može se pretpostaviti mogućnost da su čaše bile grobni prilog. Njihova fragmentiranost tako možda upućuje na uništavanje groblja fazama gradnje, odnosno proširenja grada Narone.

U Tiluriju su, za istraživanja vojnog logora 2002. i 2003. godine, nađeni još ulomci dviju Enionovih čaša od modrikastog i tamnomodrog stakla (**sl. 7 i 8**).

Ulomci Enionovih čaša pronađeni su u Burnu 2004. i 2007. godine, prilikom istraživanja amfiteatra, ispred južnog ulaza, u sloju nastalom nasipavanjem škrapastog terena radi pripreme za gradnju (**sl. 3, 4, 11**). Iz Burna potječe i dosad nepoznat ulomak Enionove čaše (sl. 5) pronađen godine 2011., prilikom istraživanja velikog pravokutnog kompleksa, najvjerojatnije vježbališta (*campus*), lociranog neposredno uz južnu stranu burnskog amfiteatra, u kasnoaugustovsko-ranoklaudijevskom kontekstu.<sup>1</sup>

## Traces of Ennion and Aristeas in the Roman Province of Dalmatia

Fragments of a minimum of thirteen glass cups ascribed to the renowned glassmakers Ennion and Aristeas have been discovered in Dalmatia in recent decades.

**Ennion's** only recently known cups in Dalmatia came from the military camp in Tilurium (Gardun) and from the *temenos* of the Augusteum in Narona (Vid). Both cups are made of dark-blue glass. The cup from Narona (**fig. 1**) has been preserved without its bottom, while a fragment of a cylindrical vessel comes from Tilurium (**fig. 10**). There are also pieces of such cups (**fig. 2**), possibly two, made of transparent yellow glass, found in Narona in 1985 during rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Museum in Split along a section of the regional water supply pipeline running from Prud to Korčula via the Pelješac Peninsula, east of the Vid-Prud and Metković-Ljubuški and also Salona-Narona-Bigestae roads. The other glass cups from this site, made of dark-blue glass, are also in pieces (**fig. 9**). Since an early necropolis was also found at this site, it may be assumed that the cups were grave goods. Their fragmentary condition indicates the destruction of the cemetery during the construction phases which followed the urban expansion of Narona.

Additional fragments of two more cups made of bluish and dark-blue glass were found during the last excavations of the military camp in Tilurium in 2002 and 2003 (**fig. 7 and 8**).

Ennion's cups were found in Burnum in 2004 and 2007 during examination of the amphitheatre, below the southern entrance, in a layer of cracked limestone fill used to build the structure (**fig. 3, 4, 11**). An until recently unknown piece of an Ennion cup (**fig. 5**) also originated in Burnum; it was discovered in 2011 during research conducted at a large rectangular complex, most likely an exercise ground (*campus*) located immediately adjacent to the southern side of the Burnum amphitheatre in a context dated to the late Augustan/early Claudian era.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zahvaljujem kolegama Angeli Tabak, ravnateljici Muzeja triljskog kraja, te mr. sc. Toniju Glučini, v. d. ravnatelja Arheološkog muzeja Narona, na posudbi eksponata, a Jošku Zaninoviću, ravnatelju Gradskog muzeja Drniš i na suglasnosti za izlaganje neobjavljenog staklenog ulomka, te osobito dr. sc. Igoru Borziću, višem asistentu Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, koji je neobjavljeni burnski ulomak identificirao i uključio ga u ovu izložbu.

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank my colleagues Angela Tabak, the directress of the Trilj Local Heritage Museum, mr. Toni Glučina, Acting Director of the Narona Archaeological Museum, for landing the exhibits, and Joško Zaninović, the director of the Drniš Town Museum, also for his consent to exhibit the unpublished glass fragment, and particularly Igor Borzić, Ph.D., a senior assistant professor at the Faculty of Arts and Letters in Zadar, who identified the unpublished fragment and included it in this exhibition.





Sl. 1a.  
Inv. br. 2046 - Ulomci Enionove čaše, prozirno modro staklo. Naronia (Arheološki muzej Naronia)

Nedavno je u depou Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu pronađen ulomak čaše s natpisom (**sl. 6**).

Potpis Eniona, najpoznatijeg puhača stakla u kalup, sačuvan je na više od trideset posuda. Enion je vjerojatno helenizirano semitsko ime. Možda je djelovao u Sidonu, svakako na sirijsko-palestinskom području. Sudeći prema datiranim nalazima, čini se da je najranije stolno posuđe puhanu u kalup izradio upravo Enion. Posuđe s njegovim potpisom na grčkom nađeno je po cijelom Mediteranu, kao i na sjevernoj obali Crnoga mora, što je mjera njegova poslovnog uspjeha kao staklopuhača i trgovca poduzetnika. Glavnina čaša s Enionovim potpisom nađena je u Italiji pa se dugo vjerovalo da se u jednom trenutku majstor odselio iz Sidona u sjevernu Italiju. Nova otkrića drugdje na Zapadu sugeriraju nešto drugo: mogućnost razmjene kalupa između radionica, trgovinu na velike udaljenosti.

Fig. 1a  
inv. no. 2046 - fragments of an Ennion cup, transparent azure glass - Naronia (Naronia Archaeological Museum)

Recently, a fragment of a cup with an inscription was found in the storage depot of the Archaeological Museum in Split (**fig. 6**).

The signature of Ennion, the most recognized maker of mould-blown glass vessels, has been preserved on over thirty articles. Ennion was probably a Hellenized Semitic name. It is possible that he worked in Sidon, but certainly somewhere in Syrian-Palestinian territory. It would appear, judging by the dated finds, that the earliest mould-blown tableware was made precisely by Ennion. Vessels with his signature in Greek script have been found throughout the Mediterranean, and on the northern shores of the Black Sea, which indicates the measure of his success as a glassblower and entrepreneurial merchant. The majority of cups with Ennion's signature were found in Italy, so it was long believed that at some point the master had moved from Sidon to Northern Italy. New discoveries elsewhere in the West suggested another possibility: the exchange of moulds between workshops involving trade over great distances.

#### Hardenov tip A1i; De Bellisova skupina 1.A

Čaša od tamnomodrog stakla (**sl. 1**) iz Augusteja u Naroni urešena je geometrijskim i vegetabilnim motivima sačuvanim u dva pojasa cilindričnog tijela. U prvom pojasu ispod oboda su dva četvrtasta natpisna polja između palmeta, kružnica, stupova, zvijezde i stabla (libanonski cedar), u istočnomediteranskom stilu (moguća veza s Enionovom sidonskom radionicom). Natpisi, u četiri retka, prilično su izlizani, ali možemo ih pripisati Enionu, najpoznatijem puhaču stakla iz prve polovice 1. st. po. Kr. U jednom polju je napisano ENN[ ]/ΩΝΕΠ/ΟΙΗΣΕ/Ν (*Ennion epoiesen; načinio Enion*), dok u drugom čitamo ΜΝΗΘΗ/ΟΑΓΟ/ΡΑΖΩ/Ν (*Mnethē ho agorazon; Neka se kupac upamti*), što je, čini se, grčki prijevod tipičnog semitskog blagoslova, fraza koja se često javlja s obrtnikovim potpisom. Donji pojas urešen je gustim okomitim, odnosno blago ukošenim žljebovima obliha krajeva raspoređenih između vodoravnih rebara. Izravna analogija naronitanskoj čaši je čaša s jednom ručkom iz Cuore kraj Adrije, na području Cavàrzere, te čaša iz istog kalupa, od zelenog stakla, s Tremitusa na Cipru. I ulomak čaše iz Tarragone pripada istoj skupini, kao i ulomak čaše iz Petre u Jordanu, ali ti su ulomci premali da bi se

#### Harden type A1i; De Bellis group 1.A

The cup made of dark blue glass (**fig. 1**) from the Augusteum in Naronia is decorated with geometric and floral motifs preserved in two bands across the cylindrical body. In the first band below the rim, there are two rectangular inscription fields amidst palmettes, circlets, columns, stars and trees (cedars of Lebanon) - in the East-Mediterranean style, a possible link to Ennion's Sidonian workshop. The inscriptions, in four lines, are rather worn, but they may be ascribed to Ennion, the best known glassblower of the first half of the first century AD. In one field the inscription reads ENN[ ]/ΩΝΕΠ/ΟΙΗΣΕ/Ν (*Ennion epoiesen; 'made by Ennion'*), while the other reads ΜΝΗΘΗ/ΟΑΓΟ/ΡΑΖΩ/Ν (*Mnethē ho agorazon; 'May the buyer be remembered'*), which is a Greek translation of a typical Semitic blessing, a phrase which often appears on the signatures of artisans. The lower band is decorated with thick, vertical and slightly diagonal grooves with rounded ends arranged between horizontal ribs. A direct analogy to the Naronitan cup is a cup with one small handle from the Cuora near Adria in the Cavàrzere area, and another, made of green glass from Tremitus, Cyprus, that came from the same mould. The fragment of a cup from Tarragona also belongs to the same group, as does the





Sl. 2.  
Inv. br. 438 (sl. 2a-c), 439 (sl. 2e), 440 (sl. 2d) - Ulomci Enionove čaše ili čaša, prozirno žuto staklo; ulomak dna, inv. br. 440, vjerojatno pripada čaši inv. br. 438, dok ulomak dna, inv. br. 439, možda pripada drugoj takvoj čaši, možda ulomku inv. br. 438. Narona (Arheološki muzej Narona)

Fig. 2  
inv. no. 438 (fig. 2a-c), 439 (fig. 2e), 440 (fig. 2d) - fragments of an Ennion cup or cups, transparent yellow glass, fragment of base, inv. no. 440, probably belongs to the cup under inv. no. 438, while the base fragment, recorded under inv. no. 439, may belong to another such cup, possibly to the fragment inventoried under number 438 - Narona (Narona Archaeological Museum)

moglo odrediti potječu li iz istog kalupa.

Čaše od žutog stakla (**sl. 2**) iz Narone (Trasa vodovoda, 1985. g.), sudeći prema sačuvanom dijelu pojasnog uresa sa stupom i kružnicama, te vertikalnih žljebova oblih krajeva u donjem pojasu, ispod i između vodoravnih rebara, pripadaju istom tipu kojem pripada i naronitanska čaša od tamnomodrog stakla, te postoji mogućnost da potječu iz istog kalupa. Na jednom je dijelu čaše sačuvan trag ručke.

Naronitanske čaše ne potječu iz kalupa izgubljene čaše iz Cure jer na ovoj potonjoj koncentrični krugovi na okomitoj stijenci nemaju središnje ispupčenje kao na naronitanskim primjercima, a, osim toga, na modroj naronitanskoj čaši sačuvana je osmokraka zvijezda, dok su zvijezde na čaši iz Cuore šestokrake.

fragment of a cup from Petra in Jordan, but they are too small to determine whether they were from the same mould.

The yellow-glass cups (**fig. 2**) from Narona (Water Pipeline excavation, 1985), judging by the preserved portions of the band decoration with columns and circlets and the vertical grooves with rounded ends in the lower band below and between the horizontal ribs, belong to the same type and they may have come from the same mould as the Narona dark blue cup. Traces of a handle have been preserved on one part of the cup.

The Naronitan cups do not come from the mould of the lost Cuora cup, for in that cup the concentric circlets on the vertical wall do not have the central knob as they do in the Narona examples, and a Naronitan cup has eight-pointed stars unlike the Cuora cup with six-pointed stars.

Istoj skupini pripadaju čaša od žutog stakla iz Ribnice u Sloveniji (Romula, Panonija), čaša iz Solunta od kobaltnomodrog stakla i jedna s nepoznatog istočnomediteranskog nalazišta od modrikastozelenog stakla, no one potječu iz drugog kalupa. Naronitanske žute čaše nisu iz tog kalupa jer koncentrični krugovi na okomitoj stijenci nemaju umba kakva imaju navedene čaše.

Od žutog je stakla i ulomak čaše iz Burna (**sl. 3**) koji - sudeći prema sačuvanom dijelu drugoga i trećeg retka natpisa u četiri retka [MNHΘH/OAΓ]O/[PAZ]Ω/[N], dijelu uresa desno od okomite linije tabule (vjerojatno palmete) i vertikalnim žljebovima oblih krajeva u pojasu ispod horizontalnih rebara - pripada istom tipu čaše, Harden *A1i*, De Bellis *1.A*, ako nije i iz istog kalupa. De Bellis drži da čaša iz Burna ne potječe iz istog kalupa iz kojeg su čaše iz Cuore i Tremitusa, na kojima se desno od donjeg dijela vertikalne linije tabule nalazi prazan prostor.

Razlike između bliskih analogija odnose se na veličinu ili promjer usta i na drugačiji raspored natpisa, kao na ulomku iz Ribnice: MNH./OAΓOP/AZΩN (zadnje *N* smješteno je iznad Ω). To upućuje na male razlike u kalupima za isti tip čaše i sigurno ih je postojalo nekoliko, a razlike su mogle nastati u vrijeme obnavljanja kalupa ili proizvodnje novoga. Još uvijek se ne može sa sigurnošću ustvrditi jesu li se selile radionice i njihove podružnice ili su radionice međusobno razmjenjivale kalupe .

#### Hardenov tip *A2i*; De Bellisova skupina *2a.D-F*

Ulomci čaše od prozirnog tamnomodrog stakla iz Burna (**sl. 4**) s okomitim obodom ruba odrezanog prema unutra i frizom s viticama vinove loze i bršljana što uokviruju natpis u tri retka *tabulae ansatae*, ENN[ΩN]/EΠO[IH]/CE[N], te s okomitim žljebovima oblih krajeva u donjem pojasu, ispod vodoravnih rebara, pripadaju tipu Harden *A2i*, odnosno De Bellisovoj skupini *2a.D-F* u dionizijevskom stilu (prema De Bellisu taj tip nije izrađivan u Sidonu, nego vjerojatno u sjevernoj Italiji, gdje je Enion rabio kalup koji je načinio lokalni klesar kojemu je grčki jezik bio stran, pa je stoga zamijenio Ω i N u riječi ΑΓΟΡΑΖΩΝ).

Istome tipu pripadaju četiri čaše iz Cuore, jedna iz Adrije, jedna iz Bagnolo Mella, tri ulomka akvilejskih čaša,

A cup made of yellow glass from Ribnica in Slovenia (Romula, Pannonia), a cup from Solunto made of cobalt blue glass and one from unknown site of the Eastern Mediterranean made of bluish green glass belong to the same group but came from a different mould. The Naronitan yellow glass cups were not made in that mould, for the concentric circlets on the vertical wall did not develop into umbones as on those cups.

The cup fragment (**fig. 3**) from Burnum (Ivoševci) is also made of yellow glass, and, judging by the preserved parts of the second and third lines of the four-line inscription [MNHΘH/OAΓ]O/[PAZ]Ω/[N], the portion of the ornaments to the right of the vertical tabulae line (probably palmettes), and the vertical grooves with rounded ends below horizontal ribs, it probably belongs to the same cup type cup: Harden type *A1i*, De Bellis *1.A*, if not from the same mould. De Bellis believed that because Cuora and Tremitus cups have an empty space to the right of the lower part of the vertical tabulae line, the cup from Burnum came from a different mould.

The differences between the close analogies lie in the size or diameter of the mouth and the differing arrangements of the inscription, as on the fragment from Ribnica: MNH[ΘH]/OAΓOP/AZΩN (the last *N* is above the Ω). This indicates small changes in moulds for the same type of cup, and there were certainly more, while the differences may be due to repairs to the mould or production of a new mould. There is still no way to know if workshops or their branches moved, or whether workshops exchanged moulds.

#### Harden type *A2i*; De Bellis group *2a.D-F*

The dark blue glass cup fragments from Burnum (**fig. 4**), which has a vertical rim with inwardly-cut edge and a frieze made of grape vine and ivy tendrils framing a three-line inscription in the *tabulae ansatae* ENN[ΩN]/EΠO[IH]/CE[N] and vertical grooves with rounded edges in the lower band below the horizontal ribs, belong to Harden's two-handed cups of type *A2i*, or De Bellis group *2a.D-F* in the Dionysian style (according De Bellis this type was not made in Sidon but probably in Northern Italy, where Ennion used a mould made by a local carver who was not familiar with the Greek language so he inverted Ω and N in the word ΑΓΟΡΑΖΩΝ).

Four cups from Cuora, one from Adria, and one from Bagnolo Mella, three fragments of Aquileian cups, and a fragment from



Sl. 3.  
Inv. br. 2333 - Ulomak Enionove čaše tipa Harden A1, prozirno žuto staklo. Burnum (Gradski muzej Drniš - Arheološka zbirka Burnum)

Fig. 3  
inv. no. 2333 - fragment of Ennion cup, Harden type A1, transparent yellow glass - Burnum (Drniš Town Museum - Burnum Archaeological Collection)

ulomak iz Aiguières-Frejus (Francuska) i ulomak iz Mogadora (Maroko). Navedeni su ulomci premali da bi se moglo odrediti potječu li iz istog kalupa. Nekoliko detalja na burnskoj čaši, kao što je spoj dvaju slova *N* u prvom retku natpisa s gornjim okvirom tabule s ansama, izdanak u gornjem lijevom uglu slova *Π* u drugom retku natpisa, spoj slova *CE* s donjim okvirom tabule, kao i jasno vidljiva linija kalupa na kraju lijeve anse tabule, čine se potvrdom De Bellisova zaključka o korištenju istog kalupa za sve okomite stijenke čaša skupine 2a.

Burnski ulomak Enionove čaše od prozirnog, bezbojnog stakla (**sl. 5**) zbog nedostatne sačuvanosti nije moguće sa sigurnošću atribuirati, no detalji izvedbe i slabo sačuvane dekoracije ukazuju da ponajprije može pripadati Hardenovu tipu A2i. Riječ je, naime, o ulomku čaše cilindričnog oblika od koje je sačuvan donji dio središnjeg dekorativnog pojasa sa slabo vidljivim, najvjerojatnije

Aiguières-Frejus in France, as well as one from Mogador in Morocco all belong to the same type. These fragments are too small to determine whether they come from the same moulds. On the Burnum cup a few details, like the connection of the letters *N* in the first row with the upper frame of tabula ansata, a sprout on the upper left corner on the letter *Π* in the second row, and the connection of the letters *CE* with the lower frame of the tabula, as well as the clearly visible mould line on the left end of the tabula ansata seem to confirm De Bellis' conclusion that the same mould was used for all vertical walls of cups in group 2a.

The Burnum fragment of an Ennion cup is made of transparent, colourless glass (**fig. 5**). It cannot be attributed with certainty because it is insufficiently preserved, although the details of its rendering and scantily preserved ornamentation indicate that it may most likely belong to Harden type A2i. This is a fragment of a cylindrical cup, of which the lower section of the middle decorative belt has been preserved with a scarcely



Sl. 4.  
Inv. br. 2332 - Ulomci Enionove čaše tipa Harden A2i, prozirno modro staklo. Burnum (Gradski muzej Drniš - Arheološka zbirka Burnum)

Fig. 4  
inv. no. 2332 - fragment of Ennion cup, Harden type A2i, transparent azure glass - Burnum (Drniš Town Museum - Burnum Archaeological Collection)

vegetabilnim motivom, listom vinove loze. Dvostruka rebrasta profilacija, koju u jednoj točki dotiče taj motiv, odvaja središnji dekorativni pojas od friza ispunjenog okomitim kanelurama oblih krajeva koji je i s donje strane ograničen istom profilacijom.

Ulomak čaše od žutog stakla (**sl. 6**), ravnog oboda, koso, prema unutra odrezanog ruba i s djelomično sačuvanim natpisom [M]NHΘ[H/O]AΓO[/PA]ZN[Ω], s nepoznatog dalmatinskog nalazišta, držao se premalim da bi se mogao svrstati u kakvu užu skupinu Enionovih čaša. U riječi AΓOΠAZNΩ, međutim, došlo je do zamjene slova Ω i *N*,



Sl. 5.  
Inv. br. 2335 - Ulomak Enionove čaše tipa Harden A2i, prozirno, bezbojno staklo. Burnum (Gradski muzej Drniš - Arheološka zbirka Burnum); dosad neobjavljeni ulomak čaše pronađen je 2011. g. u sondi 19/sj 55 (*Campus*); dimenzije: šir. 2,5 cm, vis. 3,2 cm, duž. 0,2 cm (Igor Borzić)

Fig. 5  
inv. no. 2335 - fragment of Ennion cup, Harden type A2i, transparent, colourless glass - Burnum (Drniš Town Museum - Burnum Archaeological Collection); until now unpublished cup fragment found in 2011. g. u sondi 19/sj 55 (*Campus*); dimensions: wid. 2.5 cm, ht. 3.2 cm, lng. 0.2 cm (Igor Borzić)

visible, mostly likely plant motif: a grape vine leaf. The doubly ribbed moulding, which touches the aforementioned motif at one point, separates the middle decorative band from the frieze filled with vertical flutes with rounded ends and bordered in the lower section by the same moulding.

It was thought that the fragment of a cup made of yellow glass (**fig. 6**), with straight rim and inwardly-cut diagonal edge and a partially preserved inscription [M]NHΘ[H/O]AΓO[/PA]ZN[Ω] from the Archaeological Museum in Split, from an unidentified Dalmatian site, was too small to allow for its attribution to some narrower grouping among Ennion's cups,





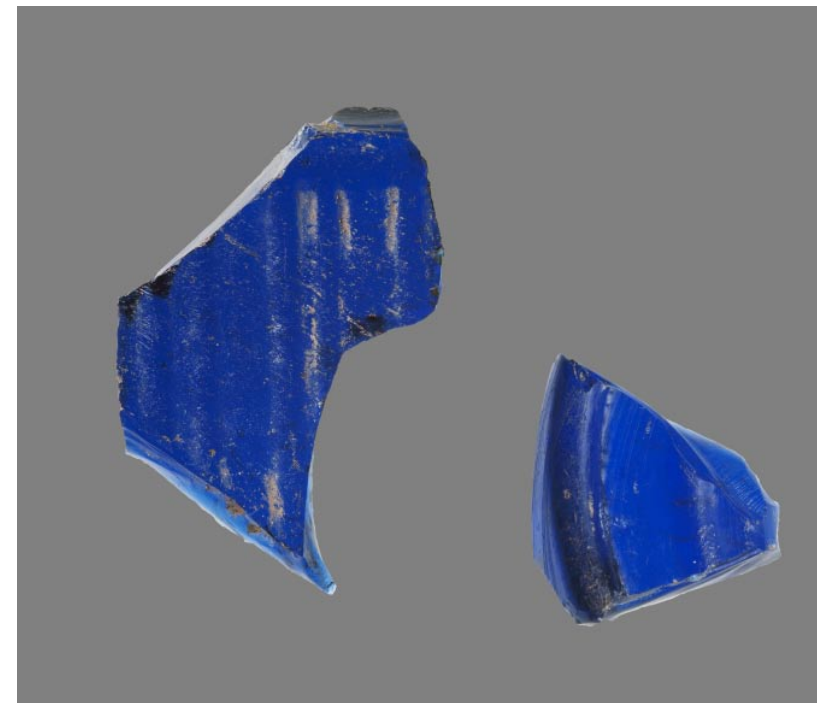
Sl. 6.  
Inv. br. AMS-62758 - Ulomak  
Enionove čaše tipa Harden A2i,  
prozirno žuto staklo. Dalmacija,  
nepoznato nalazište (Arheološki  
muzej u Splitu)

Fig. 6  
inv. no. AMS-62758 - fragment  
of Ennion cup, Harden type  
A2i, transparent yellow glass  
- Dalmatia, unknown find site  
(Archaeological Museum in Split)



Sl. 7.  
Inv. br. MTK 1467 (sl. 7a), MTK  
1469 (sl. 7b), MTK 1468 (sl. 7c)  
- Ulomci Enionove čaše tipa  
Harden A2iv, prozirno, gotovo  
bezbojno staklo zelenkastog  
odsjava. Tilurium (Muzej  
triljskoga kraja)

Fig. 7  
inv. no. MTK 1467 (fig. 7a), MTK  
1469 (fig. 7b), MTK 1468 (fig.  
7c) - fragments of Ennion cup,  
Harden type A2iv, transparent,  
almost colourless glass with  
greenish lustre - Tilurium (Trilj  
Local Heritage Museum)



Sl. 8.  
Inv. br. MTK 1470 (sl. 8a), MTK  
1471 (sl. 8b) - Ulomci Enionove  
čaše tipa Harden A2iv, prozirno  
modro staklo. Tilurium (Muzej  
triljskog kraja)

Fig. 8  
inv. no. MTK 1470 (fig. 8a),  
MTK 1471 (fig. 8b) - fragments  
of Ennion cup, Harden type  
A2iv, transparent azure glass  
- Tilurium (Trilj Local Heritage  
Museum)

karakteristične za De Bellisovu podskupinu 2a.

### Hardenov tip A2iv; De Bellisova skupina 3

U Gardunu je nađeno nekoliko ulomaka Enionovih čaša (sl. 7 i 8), vjerojatno dviju, što uz nalaz ulomka objavljenog u *TILURIUM I* (sl. 10) upućuje na mogućnost postojanja triju Enionovih čaša na samom lokalitetu. Tilurijske čaše pripadaju rijetkima nađenim izvan sjevernoitalskog područja, no ne i izvan njegova dosega. Ulomak čaše od gotovo bezbojnog stakla zelenkastog odsjava, s natpisnim poljem (*tabula ansata*) koje rube okomiti žljebovi, te

but in the word ΑΓΟΡΑΖΝΩ there is a metathesis between the letters Ω and N - a characteristic of De Bellis' sub-group 2a.

### Harden type A2iv; De Bellis group 3

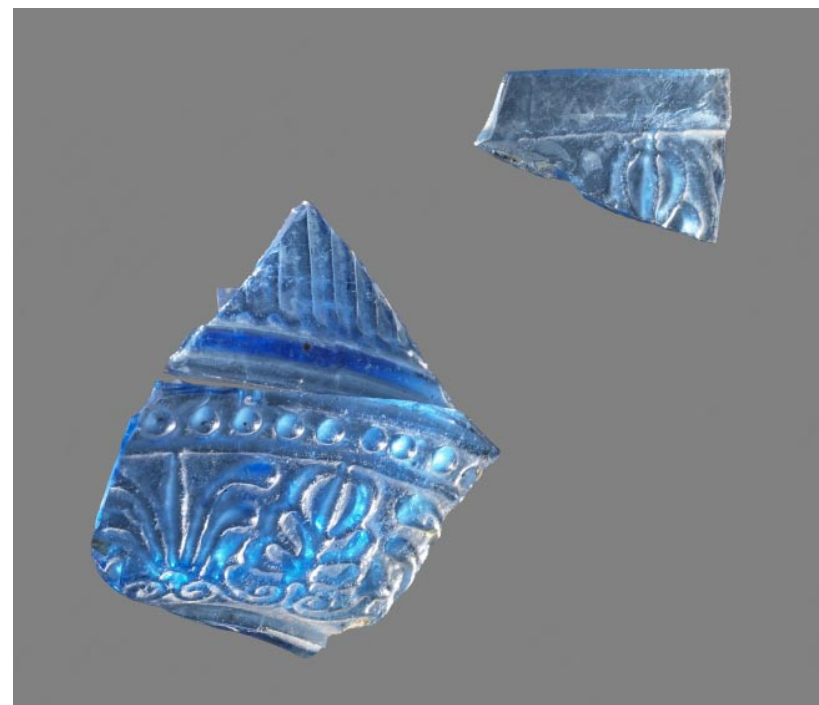
A few fragments of Ennion's cups were discovered in Tilurium (fig. 7 and 8). Two Ennion cups were probably found, which together with the discovery of a fragment published in *Tilurium I* (fig. 10) points to the possibility of the existence of three Ennion cups at the site itself. The Tilurium cups belong to the rare examples found outside of Northern Italy, although not out of its range. The cup fragments made of almost colourless glass with a greenish

oblim dnom koje rese okomiti žljebovi oblih i strjelicašnih vrhova koji se izmjenično redaju, slični bojom, oblikom i uresom naronitanskoj čaši koju je načinio Aristeja Cipranin, Enionov sljedbenik, majstor za fino stolno posuđe (sl. 7). Sačuvani dio natpisa, međutim, upućuje na drugog majstora, na Eniona; zadnje N u prvom retku je, naime, zadnje N u njegovu imenu, a zadnje I u drugom retku je zadnje I u ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. ENNION ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, *Enion me načinio*, svjedočio je natpis na čaši. Vjerojatno je riječ o čaši s dvije ručke Hardenova tipa A2iv i De Bellisove skupine 3, u geometrijskom stilu. Enionove čaše iz Pollenza, Caresane i s nepoznatog sjevernoitalskog nalazišta, sada u Bra, Torinu i Newark muzeju iz istog su kalupa. Analogni fragmenti

hue, bearing an inscription field (*tabula ansata*) bordered by vertical grooves, and a rounded bottom embellished by vertical grooves with alternating rounded and arrowhead tips, is similar in terms of colour, shape and decoration to the Naronitan cup made by Aristeas the Cypriot, Ennion's adherent, a master of fine tableware (fig. 7). However, the preserved portion of the inscription recalls another master, Ennion; the last N in the first line is, namely, the last N in his name, and the last I in the second line is the last I in ΕΠΟΙΕΙ. The inscription on the cup therefore testifies that ENNION ΕΠΟΙΕΙ, 'made by Ennion'. This was probably a cup with two handles, Harden type A2iv and De Bellis group 3 in geometrical style. The Ennion cups from Pollenzo, Caresana, and an unknown North Italian site now in Bra, Turin and Newark Museum came from the same mould. Analogous fragments from Tilurium, as well as the fragments from Posillipo (Naples) and the Athenian Agora are too small to determine whether they came from the same mould. The aforementioned cups may be dated to the second quarter of the first century AD, like his other cups found in Dalmatia. It is possible that this Ennion cup was imported from Northern Italy, although, to reiterate, the matter of a possible workshop or branch of Ennion's in Italy has not been resolved. Also found in Tilurium were fragments of probably another Ennion cup, made of transparent dark-blue glass, Harden type A2iv (fig. 8). Preserved are a fragment of a cylindrical body with five preserved vertical ribs grouped into pairs, with the transition into a subsequent field bordered by a horizontal rib, and the bottom of a cup with parts of a peripheral and internal concentric rib also preserved. The arrangement of the ribs recalls the aforementioned Ennion cup from Tilurium, as well as the aforementioned cups in Bra, Turin, and Newark Museums. Insofar as this is not an Ennion cup, that Tilurium cup may be attributed to a Northern Italian workshop which imitated the master's style.

iz Tilurija, kao i oni iz Posillipa (Napulj) i atenske agore premali su da bi se moglo odrediti potječu li iz istog kalupa. Navedene čaše mogu se datirati u drugu četvrtinu 1. st. po. Kr., kao i druge njegove čaše nađene u Dalmaciji. Možda je ta Enionova čaša uvezena iz sjeverne Italije, premda, ponovimo, još nije razriješeno pitanje o eventualnoj Enionovoj italskoj radionici ili podružnici.

Iz Garduna potječu ulomci vjerojatno još jedne Enionove čaše, od prozirnog tamnomodrog stakla, tipa Harden A2iv (sl. 8). Sačuvan je ulomak cilindričnog tijela čaše s pet sačuvanih okomitih rebara grupiranih u parove, gdje prijelaz u sljedeće polje rubi vodoravno rebro, i ulomak dna čaše sa sačuvanim dijelom rubnog rebra i jednog unutrašnjeg koncentričnog rebra. Raspored rebara podsjeća na spomenutu Enionovu čašu iz Garduna, odnosno na čaše u Bra, Torinu i *Newark Museum*. Ako nije riječ o Enionovoj čaši, ta bi se gardunska čaša mogla pripisati sjevernoitalskoj radionici koja je imitirala majstorov stil.



Sl. 9.  
Inv. br. 437 (sl. 9a), 424 (sl. 9b) -  
Ulomci Enionove čaše ili čaša,  
prozirno modro staklo. Narona  
(Arheološki muzej Narona)

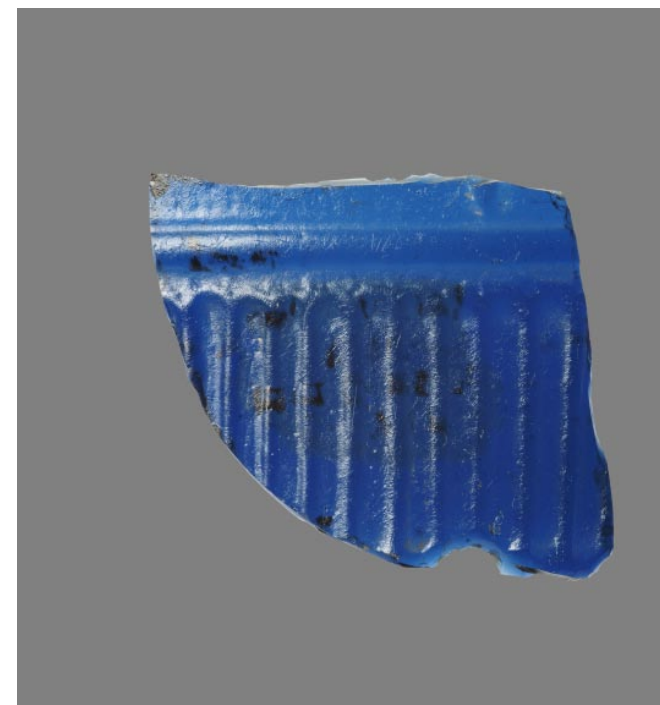
Fig. 9  
inv. no. 437 (fig. 9a), 424 (fig. 9b)  
- fragments of an Ennion cup or  
cups, transparent azure glass -  
Narona (Narona Archaeological  
Museum)

### Neodređeni tipovi

Iz Narone potječu ulomci posude od prozirnog modrog stakla urešene naizmjenično otvorenim i zatvorenim palmetama na pojasu dna (ili ramena); između dva horizontalna rebra su ispupčeni kružići, još dva horizontalna rebra dijele koso profilirani dio posude od cilindričnog dijela, odnosno pojasa vertikalnih žljebova oblih krajeva (sl. 9). To su elementi dekora Enionovih vrčeva iz Kerča i s nepoznatih nalazišta u Ermitažu, te akvilejskih i jeruzalemskih vrčeva tipa Harden A4. Otvoreno je pitanje autorstva nepotpisanih takvih vrčeva, od kojih neki nose vidljive tragove kalupa, što nije karakteristično za Enionov opus. Čini se, ipak, da je riječ o cilindričnoj čaši, od koje je sačuvan možda i obodni ulomak odrezanog ruba s uresom zatvorene palmete i tragovima otvorenih palmeta, a ne o vrču ili amfori, što je karakterističan istočni Enionov proizvod. Palmete kakve su sačuvane na čaši, u

### Uncertain types

Vessel fragments made of transparent azure glass decorated with alternating open and closed palmettes in the band at the bottom (or shoulder), protruding circlets between two horizontal ribs, with two additional horizontal ribs dividing the diagonally moulded portion of the vessel from the cylindrical portion, and a band of vertical grooves with rounded ends are from Narona (fig. 9). These are elements of decoration on Ennion's jugs from Kerch and from an unidentified site, held in the Hermitage, and the Aquileian and Jerusalem jugs of Harden type A4. The question of who crafted these unsigned jugs remains open; several of them bear visible traces of a mould, which is not typical of Ennion's work. It would nevertheless appear that this is a cylindrical cup, of which a rim fragment



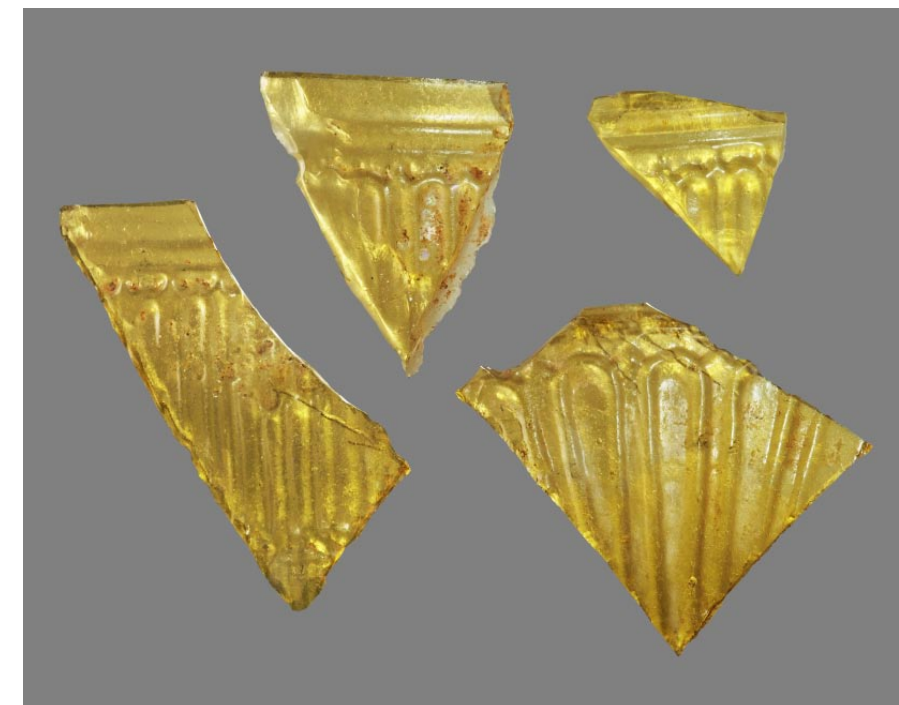
Sl. 10.  
Inv. br. MTK 758 - Ulomak  
Enionove čaše, prozirno modro  
staklo. Tilurium (Muzej triljskog  
kraja)

Fig. 10  
inv. no. 758 - fragment of  
Ennion cup, transparent azure  
glass - Tilurium (Trilj Local  
Heritage Museum)

istočnomediteranskom stilu, moguća su veza s Enionovom sidonskom radionicom, kao i čaše u De Bellisovoj skupini 1.

Iz Tilurija (sl. 10) potječe ulomak cilindričnog tijela čaše od tamnomodrog stakla, urešene gustim okomitim žljebovima oblih krajeva raspoređenih između vodoravnih rebara; ulomak je premalen da bismo ga mogli pripisati kakvoj užoj skupini unutar Enionovih čaša s jednom ručkom, odnosno s dvije ručke.

Ulomci čaše iz Burna (sl. 11) također su premaleni da bi se mogli sigurno atribuirati. Donedavno su se ti ulomci čaše od žutog stakla pripisivali Enionu i klasificirali kao Hardenov tip A2iv, odnosno De Bellisova skupina 3, skromnije dekorirana okomitim žljebovima oko tabule s ansama, s natpisom ENNION EΠΟΙΕΙ u dva retka, s okomitim žljebovima kod kojih se obli vrhovi izmjenjuju sa strjeličastima ispod vodoravnih rebara u donjem polju, te s dvjema ručicama i koso odrezanim



Sl. 11.  
Inv. br. 2334 - ulomci Enionove?  
čaše, prozirno žuto staklo.  
Burnum (Gradski muzej Drniš -  
Arheološka zbirka Burnum)

Fig. 11  
inv. no. 2334 - fragments of  
Ennion (?) cup, transparent  
yellow glass - Burnum (Drniš  
Town Museum - Burnum  
Archaeological Collection)

and decorations of closed and possibly open palmettes have been preserved, and not an amphorae or jug, a typical eastern product of Ennion. Those palmettes, in the East-Mediterranean style, preserved on a cup are possible link to the Ennion's Sidonian workshop as well as the cups in De Bellis group 1.

The fragment from Tilurium (fig. 10) decorated with thick vertical grooves with rounded ends arranged below horizontal ribs is too small to allow for its attribution to some narrower grouping among Ennion's cups with one or two handles.

Cup fragments that are too small for any certain attribution also come from Burnum (fig. 11). Insofar as these fragments can be attributed to Ennion's works, then they can be classified as Harden type A2iv, or De Bellis group 3, having more modestly organized decoration with vertical grooves around the *tabulae ansatae* bearing the inscription





Sl. 12.  
Inv. br. 2047 - Ulomci Aristejine čaše, gotovo bezbojno staklo modrikastog odsjaja. Narona (Arheološki muzej Narona)

Fig. 12  
inv. no. 2047 - fragments of Aristeas cup, virtually colourless glass with bluish lustre - Narona (Narona Archaeological Museum)

obodom. Kako natpis nije sačuvan, Borzić je na osnovi dekorativnog uzorka i tipa posude ostavio otvorenom mogućnost atribucije te burnske čaše Aristeji.

Sada Borzić odbacuje mogućnost pripisivanja te burnske čaše Enionu, i to zbog načina izvedbe vertikalnih žljebova na središnjem dijelu posude. Kod burnskog primjerka vrhovi žljebova su obli, za razliku od ravnih završetaka žljebova Enionovih čaša iz Tilurija, Pollenza (Bra), Caresane (Torino) i s nepoznatog talijanskog nalazišta (Newark). Burnski ulomci, prema temeljnim obilježjima, dakle skifoidnom obliku, središnjem frizu urešenom vertikalnim kanelurama te donjem dijelu urešenom jezičastim profilacijama s izmjenjivanjem oblo-strjelica završetaka, zaista odgovaraju naronitanskom primjerku Aristejine čaše. No zbog nedostatne sačuvanosti ulomak izmiče sigurnoj atribuciji.

**Aristeja** je potpisao četiri čaše, jedna od njih potječe iz Augusteja u Naroni (sl. 12). Ta je čaša cilindričnog tijela

ENNIQN EΠOIEI in two lines, with vertical grooves with alternating rounded and arrowhead tips below horizontal ribs in the lower band, and two handles and a diagonally cut rim. Since the inscription has not been preserved, and given the decorative sample and vessel type, Borzić left open the possibility of attributing the Burnum cup to Aristeas. Now Borzić rejects that the Burnum cup could be Ennion's because of the way vertical flutes end on the middle of the cup where the endings are rounded, unlike the flat endings of the Ennion's cups from Tilurium, Polenzo (Bra), Caresana (Turin) and an unknown Italian site (Newark). Fragments of the Burnum cup based on basic features, meaning the skyphoid form, central frieze adorned with vertical fluting and lower section adorned with tongued articulations with alternating rounded/arrowhead tips, truly correspond to the Narona example of an Aristeas cup. However, its insufficient state of preservation nonetheless precludes certain attribution.

od prozirnog stakla modrikastozelenkastog odsjaja. Ures čaše podijeljen je u četiri pojasa: između dva vodoravno nažlijebljena pojasa, u središnjem pojasu je natpis u polju (*tabula ansata*) okružen okomitim žljebovima obli krajeva; oblo zaobljeno dno urešeno je nizom okomitih žljebova oblo-strjelica vrhova. Vjerojatno je riječ o čaši s dvjema ručkama. Iz sačuvanih dijelova natpisa u tri retka na grčkom jeziku može se pročitati: [APIC]TEA/[CKY] ΠΡΙΟ/[CE]ΠΟΙΕΙ (*Aristeja Cipranin načinio*). Aristeja, Enionov sljedbenik, majstor za fino stolno posuđe, kao Cipranin se potpisuje na naronitanskoj čaši i globularnoj čaši okomita oboda i s natpisom u tri retka: ARICTEAC/KYΠΡΙOC/ EΠOIEI, s nepoznatog nalazišta iz zbirke *Constable-Maxwell*, a bez odrednice majstorova porijekla na čaši, skifu od maslinastozelenog stakla, s natpisom u dva retka: ARICTEAC/ EΠOIEI, iz Albonesea, u Paviji, u zbirci *Strada*.

Navedene čaše mogu se datirati u 2. četvrtinu 1. st. po. Kr. Postoji mogućnost da je ulomak iz Magdalensberga (Austrija) dio Aristejine čaše, datiran na temelju konteksta u Augustovo doba, što bi bio najraniji dokaz puhanja stakla u kalup.

Najnoviji nalazi, tri ulomka najvjerojatnije iste čaše (sl. 13), također Aristejin rad, pronađeni su u Burnu 2008. i 2009. godine, prilikom istraživanja sjevernog perimetralnog zida velikoga pravokutnog kompleksa, najvjerojatnije vježbališta (*campus*) lociranog neposredno uz južnu stranu burnskog amfiteatra u kontekstu datiranom u kasnoaugustovsko-ranoklaudijevsko doba.

Ulomci su izrađeni od prozirnog modrikastog stakla. Ulomak *a* pripada središnjem dijelu tijela posude. Na njemu je vidljiva lijeva strana tabule s ansama s djelomično sačuvanim natpisom izvedenim u tri retka: *ARI[CTEA]/CKY[ΠΡΙΟ]/CEΠO[IEI]* (*Aristeja Cipranin načinio*). Ispod horizontalnih rebara je pojas vertikalnih jezičastih žljebova obli i strjelica vrhova koji se izmjenjuju. Ulomak *b* ima istovjetno oblikovan donji dio, ali je na mjestu središnjeg friza vidljiv reljefni ukras očite vegetabilne tematike s jasno naznačene dvije paralelno postavljene vitice sa zavnutim završetkom te peteljkom i nejasnim motivom lijevo od njih. Treći, najmanji, ulomak *c*, sastoji se od dva sačuvana vodoravna rebra te reljefa na kojem se naziru obli i svinuti krajevi vitica. Iako se ulomci međusobno nigdje ne spajaju, isto mjesto nalaza, tehničke značajke, žljebovi i sigurno postojanje vegetabilnog ukrasa na Aristejinim posudama, upućuju na zaključak da je

**Aristeas** signed four cups, one of them from the Augusteum in Narona (fig. 12). This is a cup with cylindrical body made of transparent blue-green glass. The cup's decoration is divided into four bands: between two horizontally grooved bands, there is an inscription field (*tabula ansata*) in the central band, surrounded by vertical grooves with rounded ends, a rounded bottom decorated with a series of vertical grooves and alternating rounded and arrowhead tips. This was probably a cup with two handles. One can read from the preserved parts of the three-line inscription the following: [APIC]TEA/[CKY]ΠΡΙΟ/[CE]ΠΟΙΕΙ ('made by Aristeas the Cypriot'). Aristeas, Ennion's adherent, a master of fine tableware, signed himself as 'the Cypriot' on the Naronitan cup and the globular cup with high vertical rim and three-line inscription: ARICTEAC/KYΠΡΙOC/EΠOIEI from the unknown site in the Constable-Maxwell Collection, and without an accompanying toponym on the olive-green cup, a skyphos, with two-line inscription: ARICTEAC/EΠOIEI from Albonese, Pavia in the Strada Collection. These cups can be dated to the second quarter of the first century AD. There is a possibility that the fragment from Magdalensberg (Austria) is an Aristeas cup, dated, based on context, to the Augustan era, making it the earliest evidence of mould-blown glass.

The latest discovery, three fragments that very likely belong to the same cup (fig. 13), also a product of Aristeas, originated in Burnum, in 2008 and 2009, during research into the northern perimeter wall of a large rectangular complex, most likely an exercise ground (*campus*) located immediately adjacent to the southern side of the Burnum amphitheatre in the context dated to the late Augustan-early Claudian eras.

The fragments are made of transparent glass with slightly bluish tones. Fragment *a* belongs to the central portion of the vessel's body. The left side of a *tabula ansata* is visible, with partially preserved inscription written in three lines *ARI[CTEA]/CKY[ΠΡΙΟ]/CEΠO[IEI]* ('made by Aristeas'). Below the horizontal ribs there is a band featuring a series of vertical tongue-like grooves with alternating rounded or arrowhead tips. Fragment *b* has an identically formed lower section, although a relief ornament of a floral motif is visible at the position of the central frieze, with clear indication of two tendrils ending in curvature and a stalk with an obscure motif to their left. The third, smallest fragment, *c*, consists of two preserved horizontal ribs and a relief on which the rounded and curved tips of tendrils may be discerned. The three fragments do not connect at any place,



Sl. 13.  
Inv. br. 2336 (sl. 13b), 2337 (sl. 13 a, c) - Ulomci Aristejine čaše, prozirno modrikasto staklo. Burnum (Gradski muzej Drniš - Arheološka zbirka Burnum)

Fig. 13  
inv. no. 2336 (fig. 13b), 2337 (fig. 13 a, c) - fragments of Aristeeas cup, transparent bluish glass - Burnum (Drniš Town Museum - Burnum Archaeological Collection)

najvjerojatnije riječ o dijelovima jedne te iste, čini se, manje globularne čaše, uz napomenu da ulomak *c*, s obzirom na nedostatnu sačuvanost, može predstavljati i gornji rub središnjega dekorativnog friza posude. Oblikom je čaša slična Enionovim čašama Herdenova tipa A3.

Natpisi na naronitanskoj i burnskoj čaši izvedeni su tako da riječi iz prvoga i drugog retka završavaju u drugom i trećem: ARICTEA/CKYΠPPIO/CEΠOIEI, što je različito od situacije kod McClellanove varijante M2 (čaša u zbirci *Constable-Maxwell*), gdje nema takvog lomljenja riječi. Te su dvije čaše različitog oblika, odnosno naronitanska je čaša bliska cilindričnoj varijanti M1 (čaša u zbirci *Strada*), a burnska globularnoj varijanti M2, premda se ni s njima ne mogu u potpunosti poistovjetiti. Osim toga sve se čaše razlikuju i prema dekorativnim uzorcima. Stoga je očito da sva četiri dosad poznata primjerka dolaze iz četiri različito oblikovana kalupa, dakako, ako burnska čaša od žutog stakla (sl. 11) ne

but the same find-site, their technical features, the fluting and the certain existence of floral motifs on vessels made by Aristeeas all indicate that these are probably pieces of the same, apparently small globular cup, although it should be stressed that fragment *c*, given its incomplete state of preservation, may be the upper edge of the vessel's central decorative frieze. The shape of the cup is similar to Ennion's cup of Harden type A3.

In the Naronia and Burnum examples the inscriptions are rendered in the manner that the words in the first and second lines end in the second and third lines, respectively: ARICTEA/CKYΠPPIO/CEΠOIEI, which differs from the situation in McClellan's category M2 (a cup in the *Constable-Maxwell* Collection), in which there is no division of words. But they belong to different vessel shapes, i.e., the Naronia example of a cup makes it similar to McClellan's category M1 (a cup in the *Strada* Collection), while the Burnum example approaches the globular M2 variant, although they cannot be entirely equated. They all differ in

dolazi iz istog kalupa iz kojeg je naronitanska Aristejina čaša (sl. 12). Prema Borziću, sličnost dekorativnih uzoraka burnske i alboneske čaše argument je da ih je izradio isti majstor, premda se na potonjoj Aristēja nije potpisao kao Cipranin, što se na prvi pogled može dovesti u pitanje. No preostala su tri naknadno pronađena primjerka odredila Aristēju kao majstora ciparskog podrijetla: ARICTEAC KYΠPPIOC, što nažalost nije riješilo i pitanje mjesta njegova djelovanja. Gdje god da je djelovao, gdje god da je došao u doticaj s Enionovim proizvodima, koji su mu vjerojatno poslužili kao uzor (zanimljiva je koincidencija uniformnost Enionovih i Aristejinih globularnih čaša, jer se drži da su upravo one dio repertoara Enionove sidonske radionice prije prijelaza u sjevernu Italiju), jedan aspekt koji bi mogao ukazivati na rješenje upada u oči - koncentracija njegovih proizvoda na jadranskom području. Upravo je ta koncentracija velike većine Enionovih čaša na jadranskom području bila jedan od glavnih argumenata za lociranje njegove proizvodnje. Tom se logikom može pretpostaviti i Aristejino djelovanje također negdje na tom području, što je, dakako, samo jedna, još uvijek nedokaziva mogućnost.

Nesporna je činjenica da je obalna Dalmacija, s trinaest čaša koje su Enion i Aristēja izradili u prvoj polovici 1. st., zapadnomediteranska regija najbolje opskrbljena njihovim proizvodima izvan sjeverne Italije, ali, dakako, u njezinu dosegu.

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decorative features as well. So it is clear that the four thus-far known examples came from differently-formed moulds, i.e., if the aforementioned Burnum cup fragment made of yellow glass (fig. 11) did not come from the same mould as the Naronitan Aristeeas cup (fig. 12). According to Borzić the similarity of the decorative models of the Burnum and Albonese cups serves as grounds to argue that they were made by the same craftsman, even though Aristeeas' signature on the latter does not include the appellation *Cypriot*, which may raise questions at first glance.

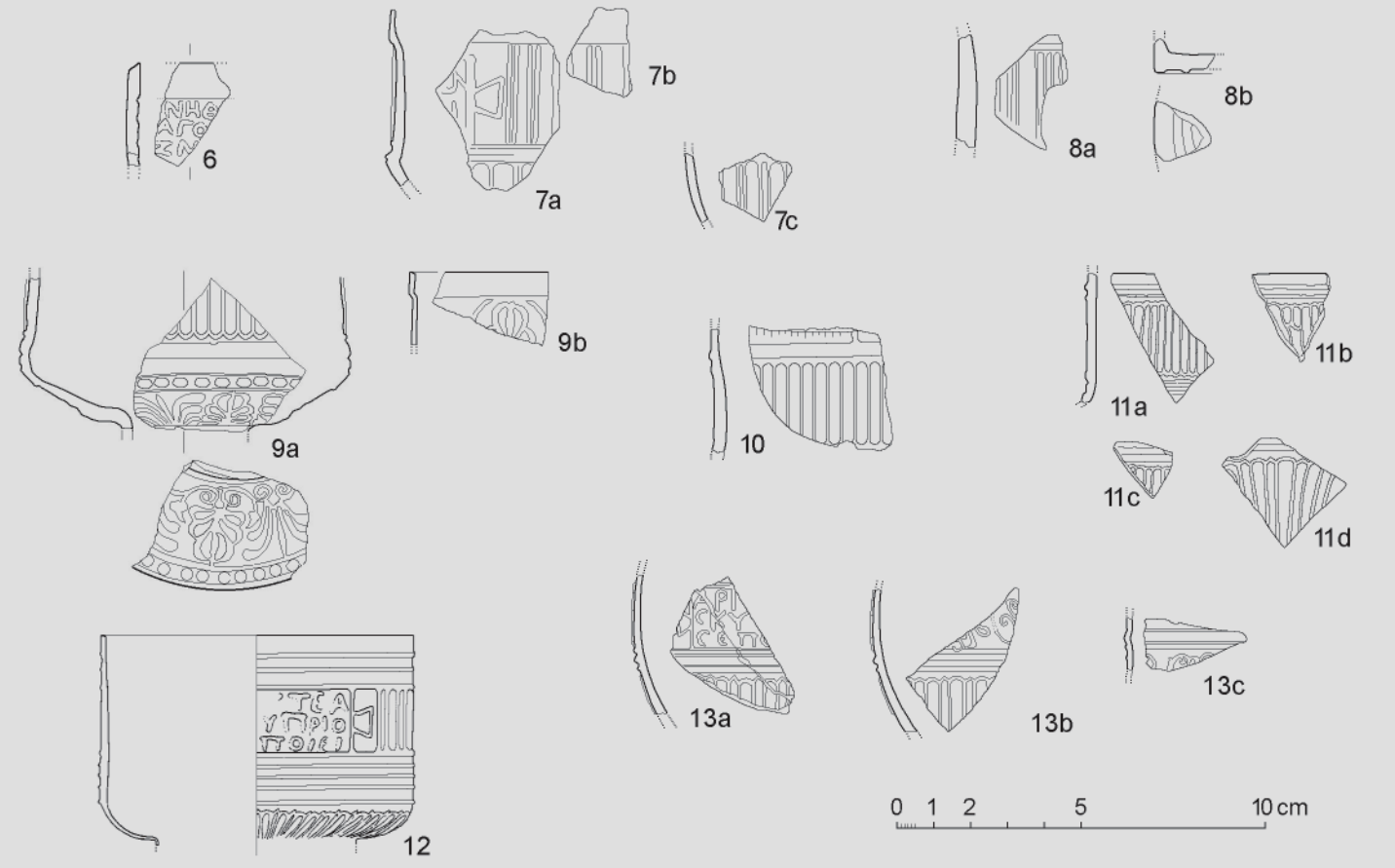
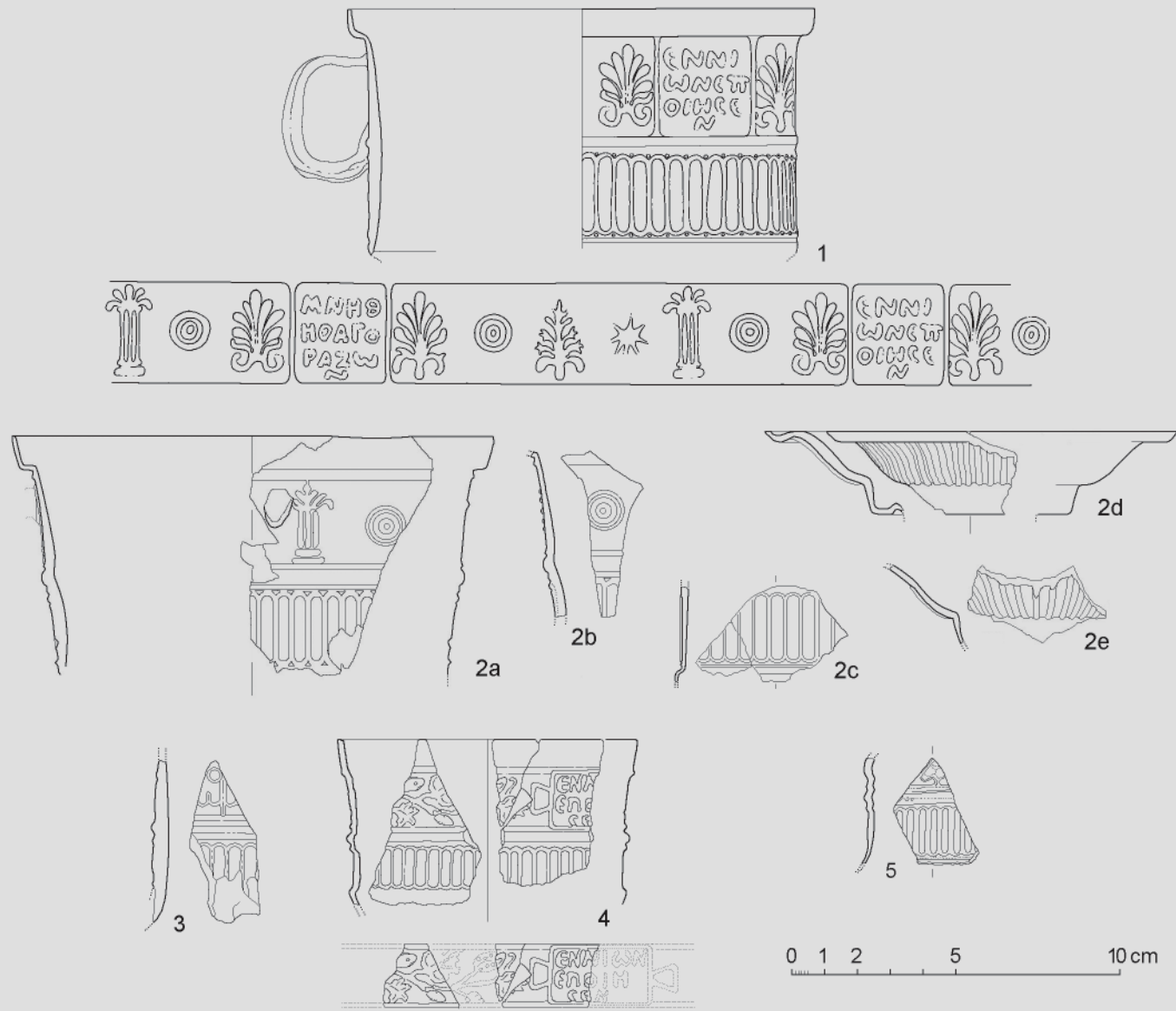
The remaining three subsequently found examples established Aristeeas as a master craftsman of Cyprian origin (ARICTEAC KYΠPPIOC), which unfortunately has not resolved the question of where he worked.

Wherever the production of his vessels proceeded, wherever he came into contact with Ennion's products that probably served him as a model (the uniformity of globular cups produced by Ennion and Aristeeas is deemed an interesting coincidence, for it is believed that these were in fact part of the repertoire Ennion produced in his Sidon workshop prior to his move to northern Italy), the one aspect which may serve as a guide toward a solution stands out: the concentration of his products in the Adriatic zone. The concentration of the vast majority of Ennion's cups in the Adriatic zone served as one of the fundamental arguments for locating his production. By this logic, one may assume that Aristeeas' work also proceeded somewhere in this zone, which is certainly only one, as yet unverifiable, possibility.

The undisputed fact is that with twelve cups made by Ennion and Aristeeas in the first half of the first century coastal Dalmatia was the best supplied western Mediterranean region, after Northern Italy, but within its range.

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Sl. 1.  
Tilurij iz zraka, prema GAR05-dig3143 (foto: Zlatko Sunko)

Fig. 1  
Aerial view of Tilurium, based on GAR05-dig3143 (photo: Zlatko Sunko)

## Legijski logor *Tilurium*

Rimski legijski logor *Tilurium*<sup>2</sup> nalazio se na području današnjeg sela Garduna. Bio je smješten na uzvisini iznad desne obale rijeke Cetine (*Hyppus*), na dominantnom i strateški važnom položaju s kojeg se nadziru sva okolna polja i visoravni te prijelaz preko rijeke Cetine. Bilo je to mjesto pogodno za prijelaz preko rijeke, što je poslije pogodovalo razvoju grada Trilja (sl. 1). Već više od 200 godina arheološki nalazi iz Garduna i njegove bliže okolice dopijevaju u Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Arheološku zbirku Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju i Muzej Cetinske krajine u Sinju. Od godine 2005. nalazi s Garduna čuvaju se u Muzeju triljskog kraja u Trilju. Među pokretnim arheološkim nalazima ističu se dva ulomka tropeja (sl. 2), kao i nadgrobnih spomenici i drugi natpisi kojima su u Tiluriju potvrđene *Legio VII* i *VII Claudia pia fidelis*, *Legio XI* i *XI Claudia pia fidelis* i *IV Flavia felix*, *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, *I Belgarum*, *III Alpinorum*, *VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*, *Aquitanorum*, *Ala Claudia nova*, (*Tungrorum*) *Frontoniana*, te *Cohors IV Noricorum* ili *Ala Tungrorum*. Ni na jednome drugom nalazištu u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji nije zabilježen toliki broj nadgrobnih spomenika aktivnih vojnika VII. legije kao na širem području Garduna (sl. 3), što je pomoglo ubiciranju stalnog logora VII. legije za njezina boravka u Dalmaciji na prostor Garduna. Danas je općenito prihvaćeno tumačenje prema kojem se Gardun u antici zvao *Tilurium*, a Trilj *Pons Tiluri*. Ta imena antički izvori i spomenici bilježe u različitim oblicima: *Tilurio* (*Tab. Peut.*), *Ponte Tiluri* (*It. Ant.* 337,4 i d.), *Tilurion* i *Ponteluri* (*Rav IV* 16 = 210,12 & 210,13), *Til[urio]* (*CIL XVII/4*, 363), *Tilur(io)* (*CIL XVII/4*, 342) te *Tribulium* (*Plin NH* 3,142).

Precizan datum dolaska Rimljana u Tilurij i podizanja logora još uvijek nije utvrđen, ali čini se da je u izravnoj vezi s rimsko-delmatskim sukobima, najkasnije nakon panonsko-delmatskog ustanka 6.-9. godine. Za vrijeme boravka legije u Tiluriju zbila se i pobuna koju je *Lucius Arruncius*

2 Prikazani rezultati proizašli su iz znanstvenog projekta (*Rimski vojni logori u Hrvatskoj*), provedenog uz potporu Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske.

## The legionary camp of Tilurium

The Roman legionary camp of *Tilurium*<sup>2</sup> was located in the area of the present-day village of Gardun. It was situated on a rise above the right bank of the River Cetina (*Hyppus*), at a dominant and strategic site that overlooked all surrounding hills and plateaus and the ford across the Cetina. The river was easiest to cross at that location, which proved conducive to the later growth of the town of Trilj (fig. 1). For over 200 years now, archaeological finds from Gardun and its immediate vicinity have been making their way to the Archaeological Museum in Split and the Franciscan Monastery Archaeological Collection and the Cetina Territorial Museum in Sinj. Since 2005, the finds from Gardun have been held in the Trilj Local Heritage Museum in Trilj. Among the movable archaeological finds, noteworthy are two fragments of a trophy (fig. 2) as well as other gravestones and inscriptions which confirmed the presence in Tilurium of *legio VII* and *VII Claudia pia fidelis*, *XI* and *XI Claudia pia fidelis* and *IV Flavia felix*, *cohort II Cyrrhestarum*, *I Belgarum*, *III Alpinorum*, *VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*, *Aquitanorum*, *ala Claudia nova*, (*Tungrorum*) *Frontoniana*, and *cohort IV Noricorum* or *ala Tungrorum*. At no other site in the Roman province of Dalmatia has such a high number of gravestones of active soldiers of the Seventh Legion (*legio VII*) been found as at the wider vicinity of Gardun (fig. 3) which aided in efforts to pinpoint the location of the permanent camp of the Seventh Legion during its stay in Dalmatia in the area of Gardun. Today the generally accepted interpretation is that Gardun was called Tilurium in Antiquity, while Trilj was Pons Tiluri. These names were recorded in various forms in ancient sources: *Tilurio* (*Tab. Peut.*), *Ponte Tiluri* (*It. Ant.* 337,4 ff.), *Tilurion* and *Ponteluri* (*Rav IV* 16 = 210,12 & 210,13), *Til[urio]* (*CIL XVII/4*, 363), *Tilur(io)* (*CIL XVII/4*, 342) and *Tribulium* (*Plin NH* 3,142).

The precise date of the Romans' arrival in Tilurium and the erection of the camp has yet to be ascertained, but it would appear that these occurrences were directly tied to the Roman-Delmataean conflicts, after the Pannonian/Delmataean revolt of 6-9 AD at the latest. During the legion's stay in

2 Presented here are the results of a research project (Roman Military Camps in Croatia) conducted with the support of the Ministry of Science, Education and Sports of the Republic of Croatia.





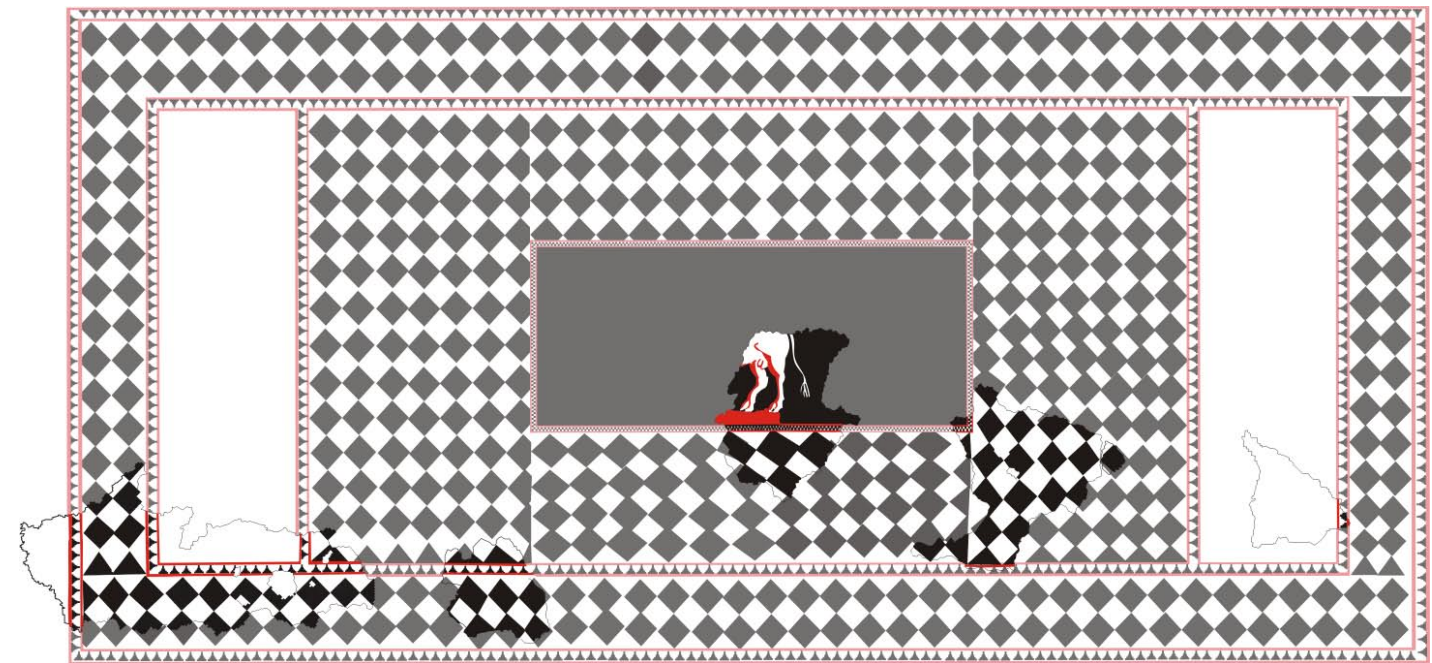
Sl. 2.  
Gardunski tropej, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. br. D 129 (foto: Tonći Seser)

Fig. 2  
The Gardun trophy, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. D 129 (photo: Tonći Seser)



Sl. 3.  
Stela Tita Abharena, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. br. A 2588 (foto: Ante Verzotti)

Fig. 3  
Stela of Titus Abharens, Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A 2588 (photo: Ante Verzotti)



Sl. 5.  
Tilurij, idealna rekonstrukcija mozaika (autor: Branko Matulić)  
●● Boje koje označavaju sačuvane fragmente mozaika  
●● Boje koje označavaju idealnu rekonstrukciju

Fig. 5  
Tilurium, ideal restoration of the mosaic (by: Branko Matulić)  
●● Boje koje označavaju sačuvane fragmente mozaika  
●● Boje koje označavaju idealnu rekonstrukciju

*Camillus Scribonianus*, namjesnik provincije, godine 42. po. Kr. pokrenuo protiv cara Klaudija. Kako VII. i XI. legija nisu poduprle pobunu, car je te dvije legije nagradio časnim naslovom *Claudia pia fidelis*. Oko sredine 1. st. po. Kr. VII. legija seli se na Dunav, u Viminaciji, u provinciji Meziji, o čemu svjedoči i glavnina arheoloških nalaza iz Tilurija, koji se datiraju u rasponu od kraja 1. st. pr. Kr. do kraja prve pol. 1. st. po. Kr.

### Vojničke spavaonice (*centuriae*) u Tiluriju

Legijski je logor zauzimao površinu od oko 12 ha te je bio opasan bedemima koji su istraženi na nekoliko dionica, i to dio bedema na sjeverozapadnom dijelu (sl. 1.3) kao i trasa bedema na južnom dijelu (sl. 1.1 i 6). Tijekom arheoloških istraživanja otkriveno je nekoliko logorskih građevina. Na sjeverozapadnom dijelu logorskog areala otkrivena

Tilurium, a revolt was raised in 42 AD against Emperor Claudius by Lucius Arruncius Camillus Scribonianus, the provincial consul. Since the Seventh and Ninth Legions did not support the revolt, the emperor conferred upon these legions the honorary designation *Claudia pia fidelis*. At roughly the mid-first century AD, the Seventh Legion moved to Viminacium, on the Danube, in the province of Moesia, to which most archaeological finds from Tilurium testify, dating from the first century BC to the end of the first half of the first century AD.

### Military sleeping barracks (*centuriae*) in Tilurium

The legionary camp covered a surface of roughly 12 ha, bordered by defensive walls that have been examined in several segments in the north-west section (fig. 1.3) and in a segment in the southern section (fig. 1.1 and 6). During archaeological research, several camp structures were discovered. In the north-west section of the camp, a structure



Sl. 4.  
Tilurij, ostatci mozaika s figuralnim prikazom (foto: Zoran Alajbeg)

Fig. 4  
Tilurium, remains of a mosaic with a figural image (photo: Zoran Alajbeg)



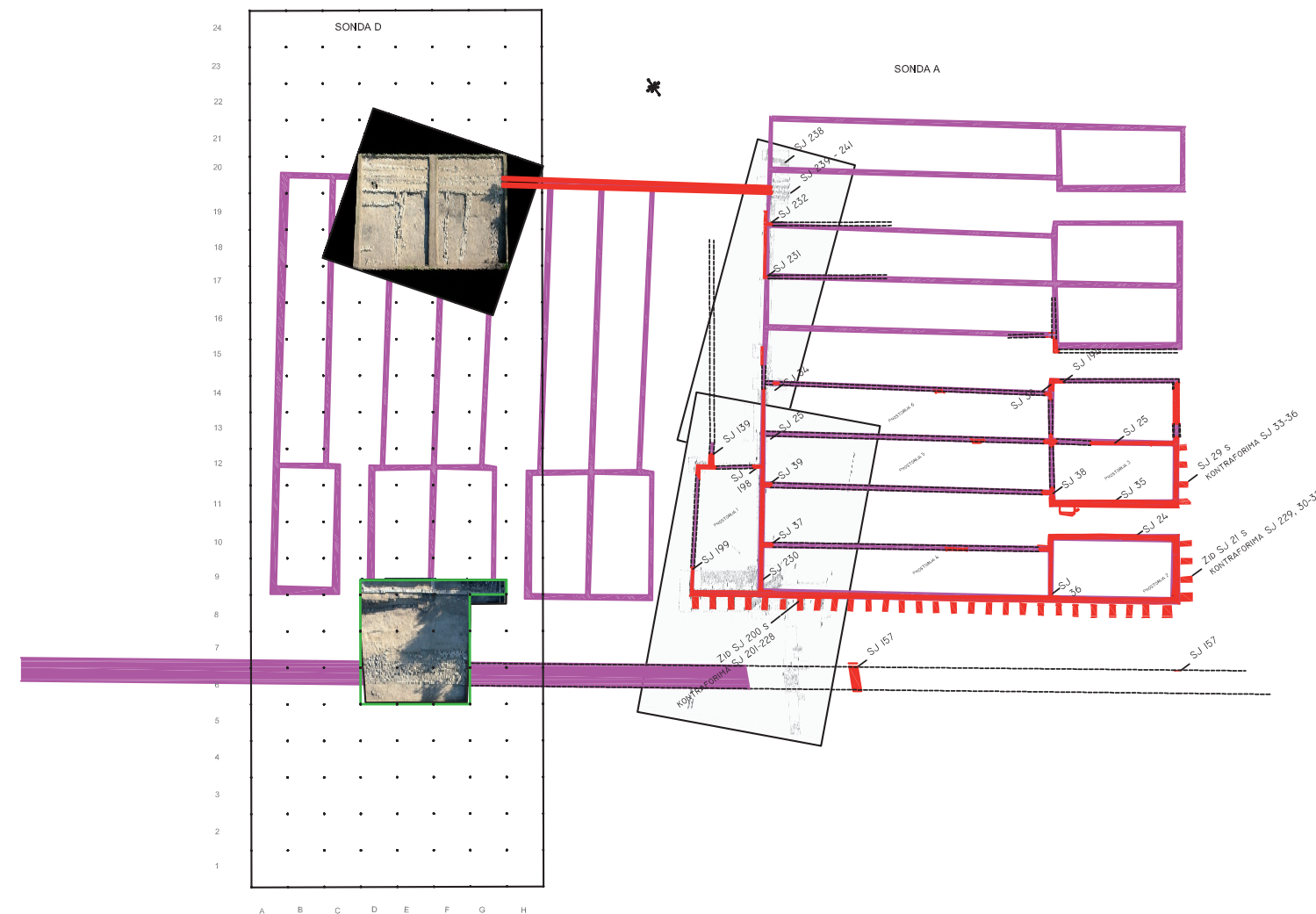


Sl. 6.  
Tilurij, ostatci mozaika,  
GAR05-dig1994

Fig. 6  
Tilurium, remains of the mosaic,  
GAR05-dig1994

je građevina dužine više od 40 m, paralelna s bedemom (sl. 1.5), čiji ostaci zapadnog zida sadrže zanimljive otiske drvenih greda. Nešto dalje, a još uvijek u sjeverozapadnom kvadrantu logora, otkrivena je i dijelom istražena cisterna (sl. 1.4). Bila je konstruirana uz pomoć svoda s potpunim stupovima, a voda je otjecala kanalom koji je vjerojatno vodio prema središtu logora. U središnjem dijelu logora nađeni su ostaci podnog mozaika (sl. 1.2, 4 i 5), na kojem se prepoznaje stražnji dio bika prikazan bijelim i svijetlocrvenim kockicama na crnoj podlozi. Polje je okruženo rubom na koji se nadovezuje niz crnih i bijelih rombova. Ovome mozaiku prethodile su dvije ranije faze, što se može zaključiti na osnovi nalaza ulomka mozaika u njegovoj podlozi. Ti raniji mozaici imaju ukrase s različitim motivima: jedan mali, s plavim viticama na bijeloj podlozi, i jedan veći, na kojem se izmjenjuju pravokutna polja različitih boja (sl. 6). Polaganje ovih mozaika smješta se u razdoblje od prijelaza 1. st. pr. Kr. u 1. st. po. Kr. do kraja 1. st.

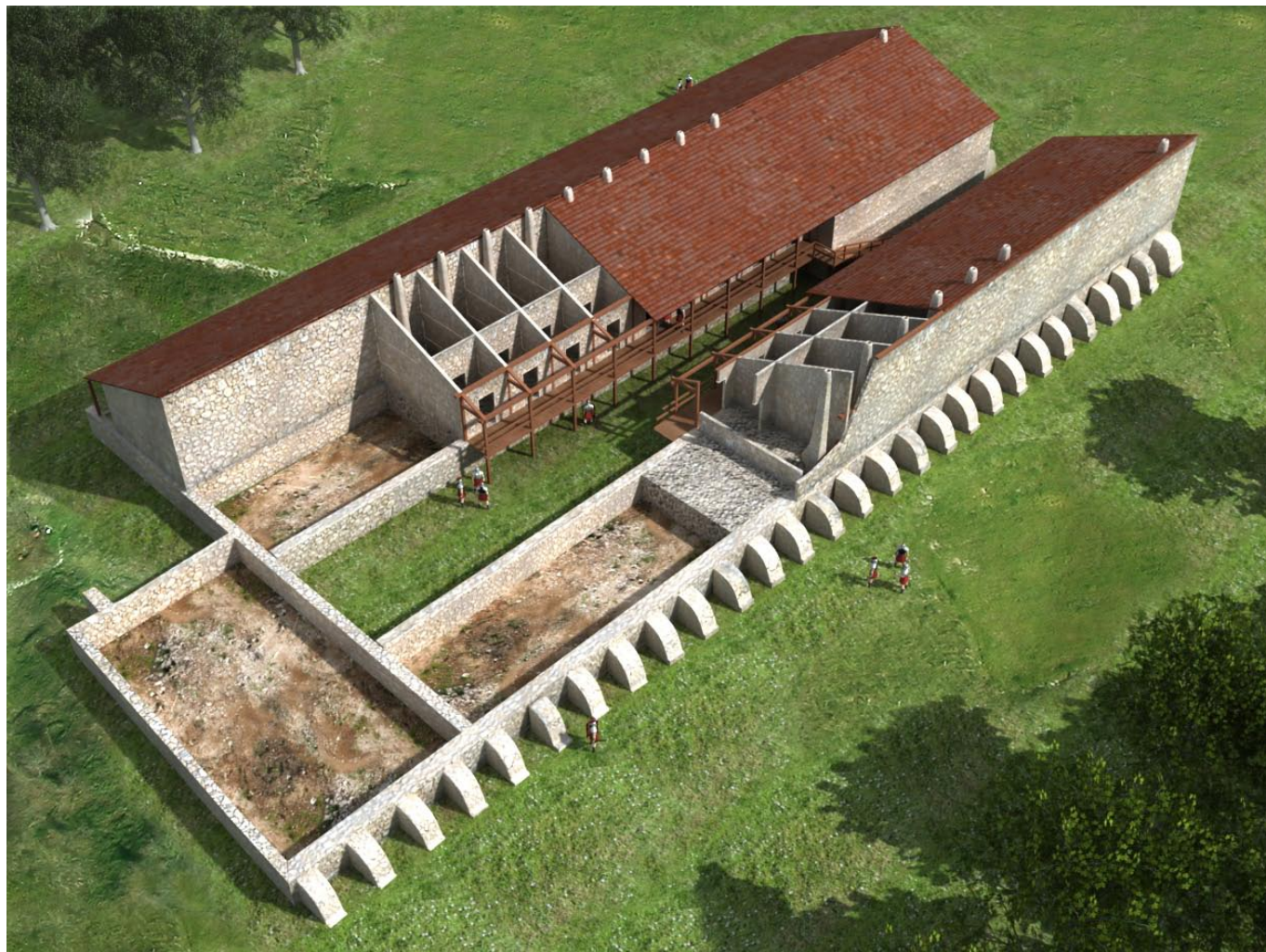
over 40 m long parallel to the wall (fig. 1.5) was discovered in the north-west section of the camp grounds; the remains of its western wall contain fascinating imprints of wooden beams. Somewhat farther away, but still in the north-west quadrant of the camp, a partially examined basin/cistern (fig. 1.4) was discovered. It was constructed with the help of a vault with support columns, while water ran down a channel that probably led to the centre of the camp. In the central part of the camp, the remains of a floor mosaic (fig. 1.2) were discovered, on which the hind quarters of a bull and light red dots on a black background are discernable. The field is encircled by a border on which a series of black and white rhombuses (fig. 6) are interlinked. This mosaic was preceded by two earlier phases, which may be concluded on the basis of the discovery of mosaic fragments in its base. These earlier mosaics have ornaments with various motifs: one small one with blue tendrils on a white base, and a larger one on which rectangular fields of different colours alternate (fig. 8). The installation of these mosaics has been dated to the turn of the first century BC into the first century AD.



Sl. 7.  
Tilurij, tlocrt spavaonica u jugoistočnom dijelu logora

Fig. 7  
Tilurium, ground plan of the sleeping chamber in the south-east part of the camp





Sl. 8.  
Tilurij, idealna rekonstrukcija spavaonica (*centuriae*) (Enter d.o.o.)

U jugoistočnom dijelu logora (**sl. 1.1**) dokumentiran je segment južnog bedema uz koji je otkriven kompleks vojničkih spavaonica (*centuriae*), koje su bile orijentirane u pravcu istok-zapad. Dijelovi spavaonica su istraženi, konzervirani i rekonstruirani (**sl. 7 i 8**). Spavaonice pokazuju niz zanimljivih konstruktivnih rješenja (**sl. 1.1**), kao što je gradnja zidova uz pomoć međusobno povezanih drvenih greda ugrađenih u lice zidova. Kako je jedna centurija smještena u samom kutu logora, njezini su južni i istočni

Fig. 8  
Tilurium, ideal restoration of the sleeping chamber (*centuriae*) (Enter d.o.o.)

In the south-east section of the camp (**fig. 1.1**), a segment of the south wall was recorded, next to which a complex of military sleeping barracks (*centuriae*) with an east-west orientation was discovered. Parts of these sleeping quarters were researched, conserved and reconstructed (**fig. 10**). The sleeping quarters exhibit a series of intriguing architectural solutions (**fig. 1.1**), such as wall construction with the help of interlocking wooden beams built into the face of the walls. Since a single century was accommodated in the very corner of the camp, its

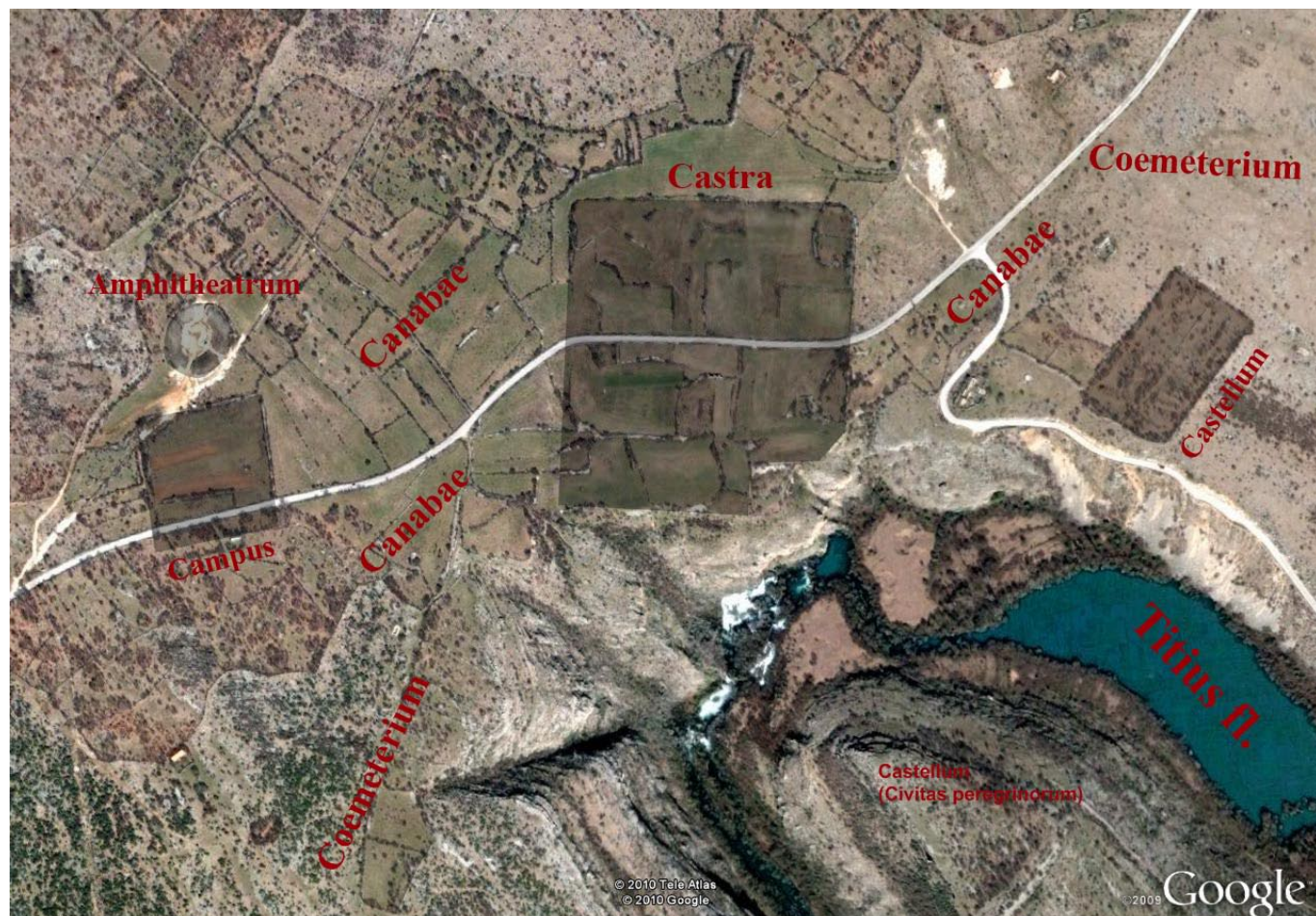
zidovi poduprti kontraforima. Arheološka istraživanja pokazuju da je u jugoistočnom kvadrantu logora (**sl. 1.6**) bio sagrađen niz vrlo sličnih, paralelno postavljenih spavaonica koje su bile orijentirane u pravcu sjever-jug. Svi ulomci Enionovih čaša dosad pronađeni u Tiluriju potječu iz istraživanja vojničkih spavaonica u jugoistočnom kvadrantu logora (**sl. 1.1**).

Domagoj Tončinić  
Mirjana Sanader

southern and eastern walls were undergirded with counterforts. Archaeological research has shown that in the south-east quadrant of the camp (**fig. 1.6**) a series of very similar, adjacently placed sleeping quarters were built which were oriented in the north-south direction. All of the thus far discovered fragments of Ennion cups originated in research of the military sleeping barracks in the camp's south-east quadrant (**fig. 1.1**).

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Mirjana Sanader





Sl. 1.  
Topografija širega burnskog područja  
(foto: GoogleEarth - Igor Borzić)

Fig. 1  
Topography of the wider Burnum area  
(photo: GoogleEarth - Igor Borzić)

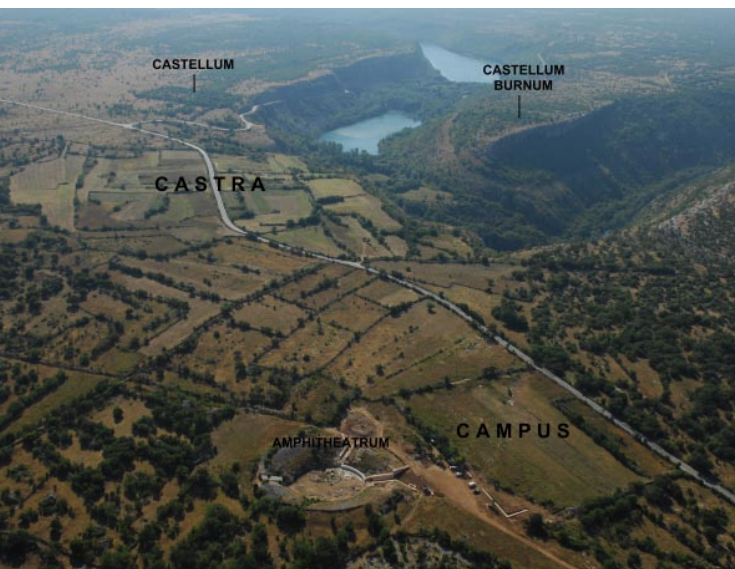
## Legijski logor *Burnum*

Rimski legijski logor *Burnum* nalazi se na platou desne obale kanjonski oblikovanog korita rijeke Krke (ant. *Titius*), nad pregibnim mjestom njezina srednjeg toka (sl. 1 i 2). Logor, kao krajnja zapadna točka svojevrsnog limesa koji je tijekom i nakon Batonova ustanka, 6.-9. godine, presjekao uzbunjenu delmatsku zemlju, nastaje na teritoriju liburnske zajednice Burnista (Plin. NH III, 139 *Burnistas*), čije se središte, poznato po odvijanju velikih bitaka, nalazilo na Gradini kod Puljana na suprotnoj obali rijeke (Plin. NH III, 141 *nobilitata proeliis castella*) (sl. 1-3). Odabir tog mjesta kao stacionara rimske vojske objašnjava se ponajprije strateškim razlozima, a to su sigurno liburnsko zaleđe, blizina opskrbe luke u Skardoni, nadzor rijetkih prijelaza preko teško premostive rijeke Krke (Bobodol), prirodni resursi i dr. Premda su prednosti položaja morale biti prepoznate i za ranijih prodora rimske vojske na delmatski teritorij, kontinuirano iskorištavanje prostora u vojne svrhe raznovrsni arheološki nalazi za sada smještaju u razdoblje od Batonova ustanka pa do kraja 1. i početka 2. st. Uz najraniju fazu vezuje se logor nestalnog karaktera u kojem je stacionirana *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*. Tek nakon gušenja ustanka dolazi do gradnje stalnog kamenog logora (*castra stativa*), dimenzija 330 x 295 m (sl. 4 i 5), u kojem su kontinuirano stacionirane *Legio XI* (od 42. g. po. Kr. *Claudia Pia Fidelis*) (9.-69. g.), *Legio III Flavia Felix* (70.-86. g.) te odjeljenje *Legio VIII Augusta* (kraj 1. st. - početak 2. st.). *Burnum* time postaje kompleksna vojna baza koju osim legijskog logora čini čitav niz na terenu registriranih sastavnica: auxilijarni logor u kojem su stacionirane *Ala I Hispanorum* (6./9.-42. g.), *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria* (42.-60. g.), *Cohors III Alpinorum* (60.-70. g.) i *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum* (70.-86. g.); vježbališni kompleks s amfiteatrom i vježbalištem; teritorij kanaba s civilnim stanovništvom vezanim uz funkcioniranje logora; legijski teritorij svodovodom dužine 37 km, potom legijske livade u Uzdolju (*prata legionis*), opekarska radionica u Smrdeljima, kamenolomi i dr.; ceste iz pravca Skardone, Varvarije i Promone uz koje se protežu burnske nekropole i dr (sl. 1 i 2).

## The legionary camp of Burnum

The Roman legionary camp of Burnum was located on a plateau on the right bank of the canyon-formed bed of the River Krka (ant. *Titius*), above the bend on its middle course (fig. 1 and 2). The camp, as the extreme western point along something of a boundary (*limes*) which intersected the insurgent Delmataean lands during and after the Great Illyrian Revolt of 6-9 AD, emerged in the territory of the Liburnian community known as Burnistas (Plin. NH III, 139 *Burnistas*) and which had its centre, as known based on the progress of major battles, situated at Gradina near Puljani on the opposite bank of the river (Plin. NH III, 141 *nobilitata proeliis castella*) (fig. 1-3). The selection of this site as a station for the Roman army can be best explained by strategic reasons, and these are certainly the Liburnian hinterland, the proximity to the supply harbour in Scardona, control of a ford over the otherwise difficult-to-cross Krka (Bobodol), resource capacity, etc. Although the advantages of the site had to have been recognized even during the Roman army's earlier incursions into Delmataean territory, various archaeological finds have thus far ascertained that the continual use of the area for military purposes began during the period of the aforementioned Illyrian Revolt up to the end of the first and early second century AD. The earliest phase is associated with a transient camp in which legio XX *Valeria Victrix* was posted. It was only after the suppression of the revolt that a permanent stone-fortified camp (*castra stativa*) was constructed with dimensions of 330 x 295 m (fig. 4 and 5) in which legio XI (from 42 AD onward *Claudia Pia Fidelis*) (9-69 AD), legio III *Flavia Felix* (70-86 AD) and a detachment of legio VIII *Augusta* (end of 1<sup>st</sup>-early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD) were posted. Burnum thus became a complex military base which, besides the legionary camp, had an entire series of components registered in field research: an auxiliary camp in which the *ala I Hispanorum* (6/9-42 AD), *cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria* (42-60 AD), *cohors III Alpinorum* (60-70 AD) and *cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum* (70-86 AD) were posted; a training complex with amphitheatre and campus; the territory of the civilian *canabae* tied to the camp's functioning; legionary territory on which a 37 km long aqueduct was registered; the legion's pastures in Uzdolj (*prata legionis*), a brick workshop in Smrdelji, a quarry, etc.; roads from





Sl. 2.  
Topografija Burna (foto: NP Krka  
- Igor Borzić)

Fig. 2  
Topography of Burnum (photo:  
Krka National Park - Igor Borzić)

Epigrafski spomenici svjedoče da tijekom Hadrijanova doba, najkasnije godine 118., *Burnum* postaje municipij (*municipium Burnistarum*), koji okuplja domorodačku zajednicu na Gradini kod Puljana (*civitas peregrinorum*) te stanovništvo kanaba razvijenih uokolo logora, koji sada gubi vojnu funkciju i preuzima ulogu središta civilnog života, o čemu svjedoče civilni sadržaji na prostoru nekadašnjeg principija kastruma (sl. 4 i 5). Tijekom tog razdoblja *Burnum* svoj razvoj temelji na pogodnom prometnom položaju na cestama koje povezuju obalu i unutrašnjost te zapadni i istočni dio šireg istočnojadranskog područja. Prema Prokopiju *Burnum* je za bizantsko-gotskih ratova uporište gotske vojske (Procop. Goth. IV, 26), a ondje registrirani ranosrednjovjekovni grobovi dokazuju život i nakon „propasti“ antičke civilizacije.

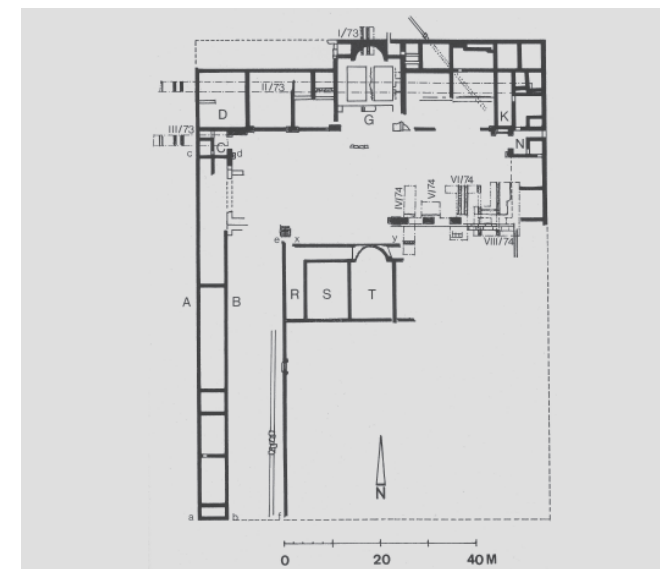


Sl. 3.  
Gradina kod Puljana - liburnski  
Burn (foto: Igor Borzić)

Fig. 3  
Gradina near Puljani - Liburnian  
Burnum (photo: Igor Borzić)

Scardona, Varvaria and Promona along which the Burnum necropolis extended, and so forth (fig. 1 and 2).

Epigraphic monuments indicate that during Hadrian's era, in 118 AD at the latest, Burnum became a municipium (*municipium Burnistarum*) which encompassed the indigenous community at Gradina, near Puljani (*civitas peregrinorum*), and the population of the *canabae* that grew around the camp which had by this time shed its military function and assumed the role of a hub of civilian life, to which the content of the area of the former castrum's headquarters building (*principia*) testifies (fig. 4 and 5). During this period, Burnum based its growth on its favourable transit location along routes connecting the seacoast to the interior and the western and eastern parts of the wider Eastern Adriatic seaboard. According to Procopius, during the Byzantine Empire's Gothic Wars, Burnum was the stronghold of the Gothic armies (Procop. Goth. IV, 26), while the early medieval graves registered there demonstrate that life continued there even after the "fall" of the civilization of Antiquity.



Sl. 4.  
Principij legijskog logora u Burnu  
(Reisch, E., 1913; Zabehlicky-  
Scheffenegger, S. - Kandler, M., 1979)

Fig. 4  
Principium of the legionary camp in  
Burnum (Reisch, E., 1913; Zabehlicky-  
Scheffenegger, S. - Kandler, M., 1979)

### Vježbališni kompleks *Burnum*

Na krajnjem zapadnom dijelu burnske aglomeracije nalazio se kompleks koji je s obzirom na karakter otkrivenih građevina, odnosno amfiteatra i vježbališta, po svemu sudeći bio namijenjen uvježbavanju i rasonodi vojnika stacioniranih u burnskim logorima (sl. 1, 2 i 6). Oba su objekta, zajedno s njihovim međuprostorom, bila predmetom arheoloških istraživanja koja su pokazala da je teren prije izgradnje kompleksa bio praktički potpuno krševit te razlomljen većim i manjim škrapama (sl. 9). Stoga se, radi nivelacije, pristupilo jednokratnom nanošenju kameno-zemljanog nasipa, koji je sadržavao velike količine arheološkog materijala. Među njim su i Enionovi te Aristejini stakleni predmeti, a datiranje nalaza u sloju od kasnoaugustovsko/ranotiberijevskog do ranoklaudijevskog doba odredilo je i *terminus post quem* čitavom građevinskom kompleksu. Vrlo je vjerojatno da je njegov nastanak dio velikih građevinskih aktivnosti koje su se u Burnu odvijale nakon Skribonijanove pobune 42. godine. Tada zbog privrženosti caru Klaudiju dalmatinske legije (VII. i IX.) dobivaju epitet *Claudia Pia Fidelis*, ali očito i



Sl. 5.  
Lukovi principija burnskog  
logora (foto: Željko Miletić)

Fig. 3  
Arches of the Burnum camp  
principium (photo: Željko  
Miletić)

### The Burnum training complex

At the extreme western section of the Burnum agglomeration there was a large complex which, given the character of the structures discovered, i.e., the amphitheatre and campus, was by all indications was for training and leisure by the troops stationed in the Burnum camp (fig. 1, 2 and 6). Both structures, together with the grounds between them, were subjected to archaeological scrutiny, which showed that prior to construction of the complex it was entirely rock-strewn and intersected by larger and smaller hollows (fig. 9). Therefore, to level the terrain, a stone-and-soil fill was made by one-time earthworks, which contained an enormous quantity of archaeological material. The latter includes glass items attributed to Ennion and Aristes, while dating of the materials in the layer from the late Augustan/early Tiberian to early Claudian periods also set the *terminus post quem* for the entire building complex. It very likely emerged as part of major construction activities that proceeded in Burnum after the revolt of Scribonius in 42 AD. At that time, because of their loyalty to Emperor Claudius, the Dalmatian legions (VII and IX) obtained the epithet *Claudia Pia*





Sl. 6.  
Amfiteatar i kampus u Burnu, stanje 2008. (foto: NP Krka)

materijalnu zadovoljštinu izraženu kroz poboljšanje uvjeta i sadržaja svojih logora. Te aktivnosti posvjedočuje carska donacija istaknuta na dva gotovo istovjetna natpisa koja komemoriraju završetak izgradnje nepoznatih burnskih objekata godine 51./52. , ali i situacija u logoru u kojem su arheološka istraživanja utvrdila klaudijevsko proširenje principija (sl. 4), a time vjerojatno i reorganizaciju ostalog njegovog dijela, iz kojeg možda i potječe dio materijala korištenog za nasipavanje terena na kojem se gradi vježbališni kompleks.

Fig. 6  
Amphitheatre and campus in Burnum, as at 2008 (photo: Krka National Park)

*Fidelis*, as well as the apparent material advantages reflected in improved conditions and amenities in their camps. The imperial donation distinguished on two almost virtually identical inscriptions testify to these activities, which comment on the conclusion of construction of unidentified Burnum structures in 51/52 AD, as well as the situation in the camp - in which the Claudian-era expansion of the *principia* building was ascertained by archaeological research - and the likely reorganization of its remaining section (fig. 4). It is likely that the material used to fill the terrain on which the training complex was built originated in this latter section.



Sl. 7.  
Amfiteatar u Burnu, stanje 2009. (foto: NP Krka)

Amfiteatar nastaje kao jednostavna građevina na adaptiranoj prirodnoj vrtači na čijem se tjemenu, kao podloga gledalištu, radi kameni nasip koji je s dvama glavnim te dvama sporednim prolazima bio podijeljen na četiri dijela, koja su okruživala arenu dimenzija 44 x 33 m. U drugoj fazi, koju carski natpis pronađen pred njegovim južnim ulazom datira u godinu 76./77. (sl. 10), kada u Burnu boravi Vespazijanova *Legio IIII Flavia Felix*, amfiteatar dobiva lučno nadsvođene prolaze i istaknute zidove njihovih lijevaka, kvadratnu prostoriju uz južni ulaz, a možda i zidanu oplatu arene te vanjski perimetralni zid koji je pridržavao nasip gledališta (sl. 7).

Fig. 7  
Amphitheatre in Burnum, status as at 2009 (photo: Krka National Park)

The amphitheatre emerged as a simple structure on an adapted natural depression in which stone fill was made on the bottom as a base for the stands; the fill surface was divided into four sections by two main and two ancillary passages, and these sections encircled the arena with dimensions of 44 x 33 m. In the second phase, which has been dated using the imperial inscription found in front of its south entrance to 76/77 AD (fig. 10) when Vespasian's *legio IIII Flavia Felix* was in Burnum, the amphitheatre acquired vaulted passages and prominent walls for their funnels, a square chamber next to the southern entrance, and possibly also





Sl. 8.  
Istraživanje sjevernog ulaza u  
amfiteatar, Burnum 2004. (foto:  
Miroslav Glavičić)

Fig. 8  
Research at the north entrance  
to the amphitheatre, Burnum  
2004 (photo: Miroslav Glavičić)

Sl. 9.  
Prirodna podloga na mjestu  
gradnje vježbališta, Burnum  
2011. (foto: Igor Borzić)

Fig. 9  
Natural base at the training  
ground construction site at  
Burnum 2011 (photo: Igor Borzić)

Južno od amfiteatra gradi se vježbališni *campus*, čiju su prvu fazu prekrili danas vidljivi ostatci s kraja 1. st. po. Kr., kada u Burnu boravi *Legio VIII Augusta*. Objekt je organiziran kao veliko otvoreno dvorište (160 x 145 m) okruženo (zasad utvrđenim) sjevernim i istočnim portikatima širine 9 metara. Po sredini onog istočnog, okrenutog logoru, otkriven je trodijelni nadsvođeni, očito glavni, ulaz u objekt, širine 10 metara, dok se po sredini sjevernog, čije je vanjsko pročelje bilo raščlanjeno uskim istakama, nalazio jednostruki prolaz smješten nasuprot južnom ulazu u amfiteatar. Još uvijek mala količina mlađeg arheološkog materijala ne dopušta određenje datuma do kojeg je čitav kompleks bio u uporabi.

Igor Borzić

stone-built lining for the arena, as well as a perimeter wall that secured the filled foundation for the stands (fig. 7).

South of the amphitheatre, a training *campus* was built. Its first phase was covered by the today visible remains from the end of the first century AD, when *legio VIII Augusta* was in Burnum. The structure was organized like a large open yard (160 x 145 m), encircled by thus far confirmed northern and eastern 9 m wide porticos. In the middle of the eastern one, facing the camp, a 10 m wide, three-part vaulted (obviously main) entrance to the structure was discovered, while in the middle of the northern one, whose exterior façade was articulated by narrow sculpted protrusions, there was a single passage situated opposite the amphitheatre's southern entrance. The still small number of later archaeological materials do not allow for the specification of a date by which the entire complex was in use.

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Sl. 10.  
Vespazijanov natpis s južnog ulaza u amfiteatar  
(foto: Joško Zaninović)

Fig. 10  
Vespasian's inscription from the south entrance to the amphitheatre  
(photo: Joško Zaninović)





Sl. 1.  
Moguća rekonstrukcija kompleksa Augusteja (autori: Zoran Podrug, Branko Pender)

Fig. 1  
Possible reconstruction of the Augusteum complex (by: Zoran Podrug, Branko Pender)

## Antički grad Narona

Na prostoru današnjeg Vida, četiri kilometra sjeverozapadno od Metkovića, nalaze se ostatci antičke Narone. Naselje se tijekom svoje povijesti razvijalo i lepezasto širilo na osunčanoj jugoistočnoj padini brijega i u njegovu podnožju. Nedostatak pretpovijesne građe i izbor lokacije ukazuju da je u urbanoj dispoziciji Narone primijenjen koncept grčko-ilirskog planiranja, a ne uobičajeni ilirski gradinski smještaj na platou brijega. Položaj naselja na vrhu delte rijeke Neretve (grč. *Naron*, lat. *Naro*) izvrsno je odabran za glavnu aktivnost koja se u naselju provodila od njegova osnutka. Naime, Narona je bila posljednja pomorska i prva kopnena stanica na jednoj od prastarih trgovačkih ruta koje su povezivale istočnojadransku obalu i zaleđe. O Naroni kao grčkom trgovištu svjedoče vijesti grčkih geografa Pseudo-Skilaka i Teopompa iz 4. st. pr. Kr. Prvi donosi podatak o troveslarkama i trgovačkim lađama koje uplovljavaju do emporija (Periplus, 24.), dok Teopomp, kojeg citira Strabon (Geographica VII, 317.), donosi vijest o grčkoj keramičkoj robi u Naroni. Postojanje emporija iz 2. st. pr. Kr. ispod rimskodobnog foruma dokazano je i arheološki. Međutim, zbog nedostatka grčkih natpisa u Naroni teško je reći je li u gradu stalno živjela određena grčka etnička skupina. Narona se uz Rimljane veže već od prvog ilirskog rata, odnosno 229. pr. Kr. i ardijejskog uzmaka nakon opsade Ise. U nešto kasnijem razdoblju bila je važno uporište rimskim vojskovođama Gaju Marciju Figulu, Publiju Korneliju Scipionu Naziki, Serviju Fulviju Flaku, Publiju Sulpiciju Rufu i Publiju Vatiniju tijekom dugotrajnih ratovanja s Delmatima. Možda je poslužila i Oktavijanu u kazненоj ekspediciji 35.-33. g. pr. Kr. Godine ratovanja i desetkovanje lokalnog stanovništva na širem području omogućili su pojačan priljev italskih doseljenika, što je u konačnici dovelo do brzog gospodarskog rasta Narone. Nakon dolaska rimske vojske i doseljenika grad sve više poprima fizionomiju rimskih gradova te doživljava procvat u 1. st. pr. Kr. i 1. st. po. Kr., kada se grade ili obnavljaju javni gradski sadržaji (forum, hramovi, terme, teatar i dr.). Gospodarski procvat posvjedočen je i nalazima luksuznih staklenih predmeta (Enionova i Aristejina čaša) iz Augusteuma Narone, te ulomcima pronađenim na lokalitetu Trasa vodovoda. U to doba Narona je uzdignuta na rang kolonije, *Colonia*

## The Antique city of Narona

The remains of Antique Narona are located in the area of the present-day town of Vid, four kilometres north-west of Metković. During the course of its history, the settlement grew and expanded like a fan on the sun-drenched south-eastern slope of a hill and at that hill's foot. The shortage of prehistoric materials and the choice of location indicate that the Graeco-Illyrian planning concept was applied to its urban layout, rather than the standard Illyrian placement of a hillfort on a hilltop plateau. The position of the settlement at the tip of the delta of the River Neretva (Gr. *Naron*, Lat. *Naro*), was an ideal choice for the primary activity conducted by the settlement since its establishment, for Narona was the last maritime and first mainland station on one of the oldest trade routes which linked the Eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland. Reports by the Greek geographers Pseudo-Skylax and Theopompus in the fourth century BC testified to Narona as a Greek emporium. The former wrote about the triremes and merchant ships which sailed to the emporium (Periplus, 24.), while Theopompus, who was cited by Strabo (Geographica VII, 317), reported the presence of Greek ceramic goods in Narona. The existence of an emporium from the second century BC below the Roman-era forum has been proven archeologically as well. However, due to the absence of Greek inscriptions in Narona, it is difficult to state whether a permanent Greek ethnic community actually resided in the city. Narona was associated with the Romans already since the first Illyrian war, in 299 BC, and the Ardiaei retreat after the siege of Issa. Some time later, it was an important stronghold to the Roman military leaders Gaius Marcius Figulus, Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Servius Fulvius Flaccus, Publius Sulpicius Rufus and Publius Vatinus during the long-lasting warfare with the Delmataeans. It may have served Octavian during his penal expedition in 35-33 BC. The years of warfare and the decimation of the local population in the wider area enabled a more intense influx of Italic settlers, which ultimately led to rapid economic growth in Narona. Upon the arrival of the Roman army and settlers, the city increasingly acquired the physiognomy of Roman cities, and experienced a boom during the first centuries BC and AD, when public facilities were either built or reconstructed (forum, temples, thermae, theatre, etc.). This economic boom was also confirmed by the finds of luxury glass items (Ennion and Aristreas cups) from the Augusteum, and the fragments found at the Water Pipeline





Sl. 2.  
Arheološki muzej Naron (foto: Sandro Lendler)

*Iulia Naron.* Još uvijek se vode rasprave je li se to bilo u Cezarovo ili Augustovo doba. Grad je nastavio život punim intenzitetom do početka kasne antike.

Pobjedom kršćanstva nad poganstvom Naron postaje sjedište biskupa. Pisani izvori o gradu iz tog razdoblja su skromni. U aktima salonitanskih sabora iz godine 530. i 533. jedan od potpisnika je i naronitanski biskup Marcel (*Marcellus*). Tijekom sustavnih i zaštitnih istraživanja pronađene su i istražene bazilike iz 5. i 6. st. na lokalitetima Sv. Vid, Erešove bare i one u bivšoj trasi vodovoda, koje ukazuje na ekonomsku snagu naronitanskih biskupa. Naron doživljava urbanu

Fig. 2  
Naron Archaeological Museum (photo: Sandro Lendler)

Section site. During this era Naron was elevated to the rank of colony: *Colonia Iulia Naron.* Whether or not this occurred at the time of Caesar or Augustus is still subject to debate. The city continued to live at full intensity until the onset of Late Antiquity.

After Christianity prevailed over paganism, Naron became the seat of a bishop. Written sources about the city during this period are meagre. One of the signatories to the acts of the Salona synods of 530 and 533 AD was Naron Bishop Marcellus. During systematic and rescue excavations, the fifth- and sixth-century basilicas at the Sveti Vid and Ereš Tower sites, and those at the former aqueduct section were found and examined, all of



Sl. 3.  
Arheološki muzej Naron (foto: Sandro Lendler)

dekadenciju nakon provala Avara i Slavena početkom 7. st., ali tijekom kasnijih povijesnih razdoblja nastavlja život, kao manje značajno naselje.

### **Augusteum**

Pod ingerencijom Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, tijekom 1995. i 1996. godine provedena su arheološka iskopavanja na lokalitetu Plečaševе štale u Vidu, a rezultati tih istraživanja više su nego impresivni. Na povišenom platou na zapadnoj strani naronitanskog foruma otkriven je mali hram s celom i predvorjem, podignut oko 10. g. pr. Kr., u vrijeme cara Augusta. U hramu je pronađena jedna od najbrojnijih skupina carskih kipova na prostoru Rimskog Carstva. Prvi kipovi postavljeni su na zidanom zapadnom postamentu. Njemu su tijekom naknadnog preuređenja hrama pridodana druga dva, bočna, za nove kipove. Skupina carskih kipova u Naroni postavljena je najvjerojatnije u četiri faze, koje odgovaraju razdobljima vladavine careva Augusta, Tiberija, Klaudija i Vespazijana. Kipovi navedenih careva sa sigurnošću

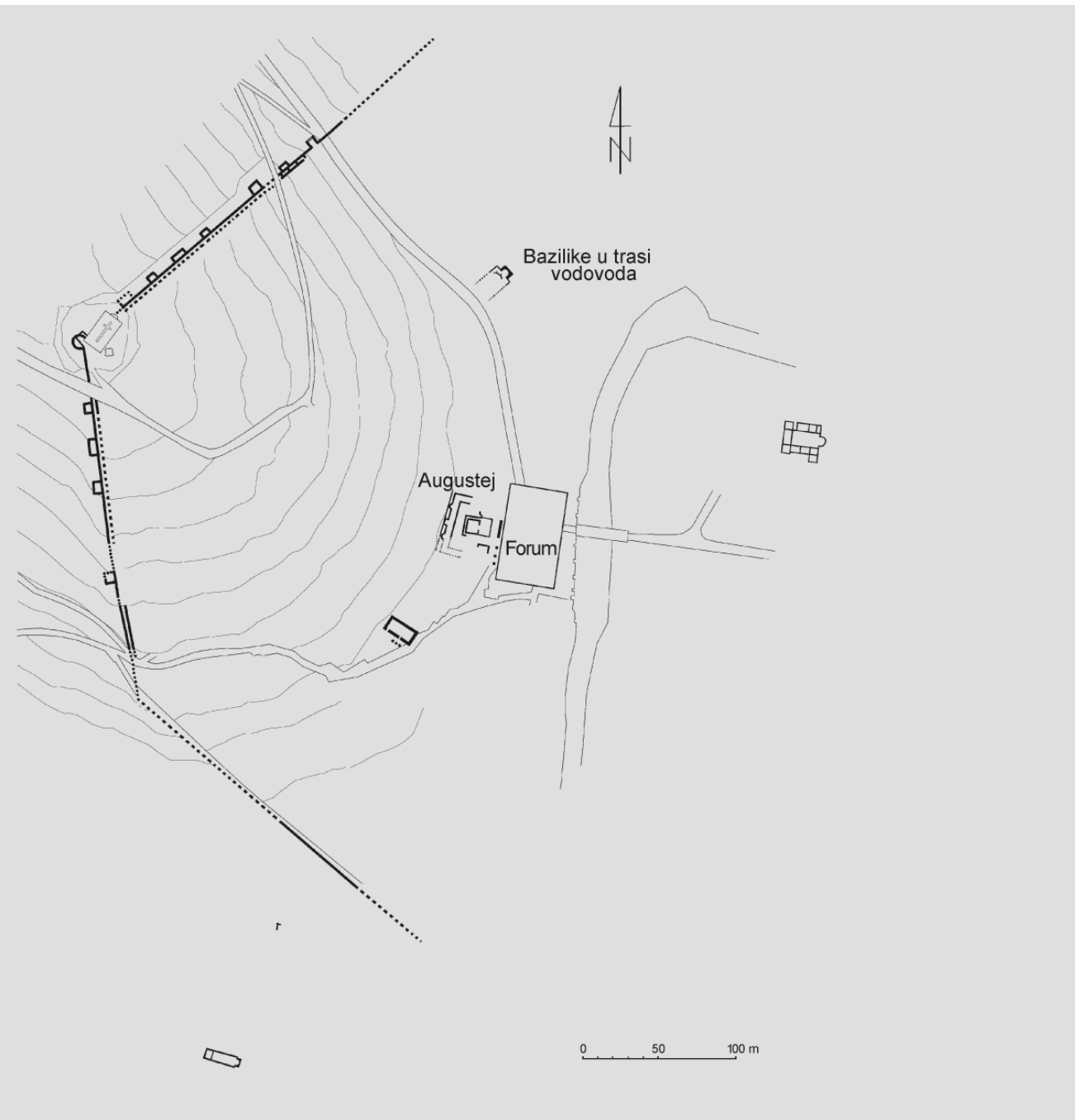
Fig. 3  
Naron Archaeological Museum (photo: Sandro Lendler)

which demonstrate the power of the Naron bishops. Naron fell into urban decadence after the invasion of the Avars and Slavs at the beginning of the seventh century, but it continued to exist during later historical periods as a less significant settlement.

### **Augusteum**

At the urging of the Archaeological Museum in Split, during 1995 and 1996, archaeological excavations at the Plečaš Barn site in Vid, and the results of this research were more than impressive. A small temple with a cella and antechamber, erected around 10 BC during the reign of Emperor Augustus, was discovered on an elevated plateau on the western side of the Naron forum. One of the most numerous groups of imperial statues in the territory of the Roman Empire was found in the temple. The first statues were installed on the stone-built western pedestal. During subsequent renovation of the temple, two more pedestals were added to each side to accommodate new statues. The set of imperial statues in Naron was most likely installed in four phases corresponding to the periods of rule by Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius and Vespasian. The statues of these emperors have been





Sl. 4.  
Topografija Narone u kasnoj antici (autor: Branko Pender)

Fig. 4  
Topography of Narona in Late Antiquity (by: Branko Pender)



Sl. 5.  
Narona - Vid (foto: Tonko Bartulović)

Fig. 5  
Narona-Vid (photo: Tonko Bartulović)

su identificirani. Među drugim kipovima vjerojatno su i carice Livija i Agripina Mlađa, kao i drugi članovi julijevsko-klaudijevske obitelji, Oktavija, Agripa i Julija, Gaj i Lucije Cezar, Druz Stariji i Antonija Mlađa te Germanik i Agripina Starija. Hram je od drugih susjednih građevina bio odijeljen zidom temenosa. Na prostoru temenosa pronađeni su brojni keramički, stakleni, metalni i koštani nalazi koji svjedoče o prosperitetu Narone od 1. do 3. st. Ti nalazi se mogu sagledati i kao depozit predmeta kulturne namjene. Hram je porušen na prijelazu 4. u 5. st. Nad njegovim je ruševinama u 6. st. nastalo groblje sa skromnim dječjim grobovima u amforama i pod tegulama. Ostatci Augusteja u Naroni od iznimne su važnosti jer odlično dokumentiraju uspon i pad rimskoga carskog kulta.

#### Trasa vodovoda

Godine 1980. u pripremnim je radovima za izgradnju regionalnog vodovoda Prud-Korčula, uporabom građevinske

identificirani. The other statues most likely include the empresses Livia and Agrippina the Younger, as well as other members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Octavia, Agrippa and Julius, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Drusus the Elder and Antonia the Younger, as well as Germanicus and Agrippina the Elder. The temple was separated from neighbouring buildings by a temenos wall. A number of ceramic, glass, metallic and bone finds were found in the space of the temenos, which testify to the prosperity of Narona from the first to third centuries. These finds may also be seen as a deposit of items for cult purposes. The temple was demolished at the transition of the fourth into the fifth century. In the sixth century AD, a cemetery emerged on its ruins, with modest children's burials in amphorae and under tegulae. The remains of the Augusteum in Narona are exceptionally important because they superbly document the rise and fall of the Roman imperial cult.

#### Water Pipeline Section

In 1980, during preparatory works for the construction of the regional Prud-Korčula water pipeline using construction machinery, the area east of the Vid-Prud road was devastated. After piercing the northern wall, the construction trench extended through the urban fabric of the ancient city in the direction of its forum. The length of the trench is approximately 150 m, with an average depth and width of 3.5 m. In several archaeological campaigns during 1985 and 1986, experts from the Archaeological Museum in Split conducted rescue archaeological research. All phases of the life of ancient Narona were recorded in this large "entrenched" test dig. This is nicely demonstrated by the remains of architecture. The oldest construction phase dates to the Hellenistic period, while the later construction phases can be followed from the late Republic era to Late Antiquity. The most important architectural find is the Early Christian church and graveyard complex. The triple-nave basilica with semi-circularly rendered apse and lateral annexes was constructed on the foundations of an older complex with an apse reinforced by pseudo-counterforts. Among the remaining materials found, particularly noteworthy are the numerous ceramic and glass items, coins and other metal items, and the remains of painted wall plaster decorated with linear, vegetable and anthropomorphic motifs. According to the preliminary reports, it is apparent that all finds indicate



mehanizacije, devastiran prostor istočno od ceste Vid-Prud. Nakon probijanja sjevernog bedema građevinski prokop se protezao kroz urbano tkivo antičkoga grada u pravcu foruma. Dužina prokopa je oko 150 m, prosječne dubine i širine od 3,5 m. U nekoliko arheoloških kampanja tijekom 1985. i 1986. godine stručnjaci Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu proveli su zaštitna arheološka istraživanja. U toj velikoj "rovovskoj" sondi zabilježene su sve faze života antičke Narone, o čemu lijepo svjedoče ostatci pronađene arhitekture. Najstarija građevinska faza pripada helenističkom razdoblju, a kasnije faze gradnje mogu se pratiti od kasnorepublikanskoga do kasnoantičkog doba. Najvažniji arhitektonski nalaz je starokršćanski crkveno-grobljanski sklop. Trobrodna bazilika s polukružnom upisanom apsidom i bočnim aneksima sagrađena je na temeljima starijeg kompleksa s apsidom ojačanom pseudokontraforima. Među ostalim pronađenim materijalom osobito se izdvajaju brojni keramički i stakleni predmeti, novac i drugi metalni predmeti, te ostatci zidne oslikane žbuke ukrašene linearnim, vegetabilnim i antropomorfnim motivima. Iz preliminarnih izvješća razvidno je da svi nalazi ukazuju na razvoj Narone od 3. st. pr. Kr. do 7. st., s naznakama nastavljanja života i nakon tog vremena u manjem opsegu.

Toni Glučina

the growth of Narona from the third century BC to the seventh century, with indications that life continued even after this time to a lesser extent.

Toni Glučina

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