

O VETERANSKOJ KOLONIJI EKVO,
LEGIJSKOM LOGORU TILURIJU I SIN-
JSKOM POLJU IZMEĐU NJIH - PRE-
ISPITIVANJE STAROG PROBLEMA

THE VETERAN'S COLONY AEQUUM,
THE LEGIONARY FORTRESS TILURI-
UM AND THE SINJ FIELD IN BETWEEN.
RE-EXAMINING AN OLD PROBLEM

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Sažetak:

Prema razmatranjima nekih cijenjenih znanstvenika Colonia Aequum u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji se mogla uspostaviti tek nakon odlaska sedme legije iz njenog logora Tilurija. Razlog takvom mišljenju je uvjerenje da je Sinjsko polje, koje se nalazi između ta dva mjesta, moralo biti korišteno od strane sedme legije kao *territorium legionis*. Nakon što je došlo do novih otkrića iz Tilurija i Ekva kao i do objave značajnih radova, pojavila se mogućnost da se ponovno ispita ova pretpostavka. U ovom radu će se stoga koristiti najnoviji podaci s namjerom da se pokuša bolje osvijetliti veze između Tilurija, Ekva i Sinjskog polja.

Ključne riječi: arheologija, rimska provincija, Dalmacija, Tilurij, Ekvo, sedma legija

Abstract:

According to considerations of some respected scholars colonia Aequum in roman province Dalmatia could only have been established following the departure of *legio VII* from their fortress Tilurium. The reason for such thinking is their belief that the Sinj Field, located between these two sites, must have been used by *legio VII* as *territorium legionis*. As there have been new findings from Tilurium and Aequum, and significant works on the subject have been published, we now have the possibility to re-examine some of these presented assumptions. This paper will therefore utilize the latest data with the intent to attempt to bring to greater light the links between Tilurium, Aequum and the Sinj Field.

Key words: archeology, Roman province, Dalmatia, Tilurium, Aequum, legio VII

U zaleđu Salone, glavnom gradu rimske provincije Dalmacije, bila su smještena i dva lokaliteta o kojima će biti riječi u ovom radu: legijski logor Tilurij (Tilurium) i veteranska kolonija Ekvo (Aequum). O oba je ova rimska lokaliteta napisano više radova, a u nekima od njih se ta dva lokaliteta dovode i u izravnu vezu. Razlog tome leži u činjenici što su u Ekvu i njegovoj bližjoj okolici živjeli i poneki veterani koji su služili u sedmoj legiji (*legio VII*) koja je bila stacionirana u obližnjem logoru Tilurij. Valja u tom kontekstu posebno podsjetiti na razmišljanja nekih stručnjaka o tome da se kolonija Ekvo mogla osnovati tek nakon odlaska sedme legije iz Tilurija. Takva se razmišljanja temelje na uvjerenju da se sedma legija zapravo morala koristiti Sinjskim poljem, koje je tako bilo *territorium legionis*. A budući da je to isto polje bilo i gospodarska baza kolonije Ekva, to upućuje po njihovu mišljenju na zaključak da kolonija i vojska nisu mogle koegzistirati na manje-više istom području u isto vrijeme. Te su pretpostavke, logično je, istovremeno potakle i rasprave o vremenu osnutka same kolonije Ekvo, kao i rasprave o datumu odlaska sedme legije iz logora Tilurij. Naime, u znanstvenoj su literaturi stručnjaci - prije svega staropovjesničari - vodili polemike i oko ta dva datuma.

Kako su se u međuvremenu pojavili novi nalazi i iz Tilurija i iz Ekva, te su objavljeni važni referentni radovi, ukazala se mogućnost za preispitivanje nekih od spomenutih pretpostavki. Stoga ćemo se poslužiti najnovijim podacima s namjerom da pokušamo dodatno osvijetliti veze između Tilurija, Ekva i Sinjskog polja.

In the hinterland of Salona, the capital city of the Roman province of Dalmatia, two Roman sites were located which will be discussed in this paper. They are the legionary fortress Tilurium and the veteran's colony Aequum. Several texts have been written regarding these Roman sites, and in some of these texts the two sites have been directly connected. The reason for this lies in the fact that some veterans who served in the *legio VII* in the nearby fortress of Tilurium lived in Aequum and its vicinity. At this point it should be recalled that the thinking of some respected scholars is that *colonia Aequum* could only have been established after the departure of *legio VII*. The reason for such thinking is their belief that the Sinj Field, located between these two sites, must have been used by *legio VII* as their *territorium legionis*. And this same field was the economic base of the colony of Aequum, which in their opinion, leads to the conclusion that the colony and the military could not have coexisted at the same time. These assumptions were also the basis for discussions on the date of the establishment of the colony of Aequum, as well as for discussions on the date of departure of *legio VII* from the fortress of Tilurium. In fact, in scientific literature, experts - primarily historians - led the debate surrounding these two dates.

As there have been new findings from Tilurium and Aequum, and significant works on the subject have been published, we now have the possibility to re-examine some of these presented assumptions. We will therefore utilize the latest data with the intent to attempt to bring to greater light the links between Tilurium, Aequum and the Sinj Field.



Slika 1 Karta s položajima Čitluka (Aequum), Garduna (Tilurium) i Sinjskog polja
Table 1 Map of Čitluk (Aequum), Gardun (Tilurium) and Sinjsko polje in between

O veteranskoj koloniji Ekvo

Colonia Claudia Aequum se smjestila na niskom brežuljku uz zapadnu obalu rijeke Cetine. Spominje je Ptolemej (*Ptol.* 2,16,7) ali i antički itinerari (*Itin. Anton.* 269,6; *Tab. Peut.* 5,3; *Geogr. Rav.* 4,16). Na tom je mjestu rimsko naseljavanje vjerojatno započelo nakon izgradnje ceste koja je od Salone, glavnog grada rimske provincije Dalmacije, prelazeći mostom preko rijeke Cetine vodila u Servicij.¹ Do danas nije sa sigurnošću utvrđeno kada je točno kolonija osnovana. Zbog njezina imena, *Colonia Claudia Aequum*, pretpostavljalo se da ju je osnovao Klaudije (41. – 54.), i to kao veteransku koloniju.

¹ Milošević 2000, 169-182.

The Veteran's Colony

Colonia Claudia Aequum is situated on a low hill along the west bank of the Cetina River. Ptolemy mentions it (*Ptol.* 2,16,7), as do ancient itineraries (*Itin. Anton.* 269.6; *Tab. Peut.* 5.3; *Geogr. Rav.* 4:16). At this place Roman settlement probably began after the construction of a road, which from Salona, the capital city of the Roman province of Dalmatia, crossing a bridge over the Cetina River, led to *Servitium*.¹ To this day it is not clear when the colony was founded. Because of her name *Colonia Claudia Aequum*, it was assumed that it was founded by Claudius (41-54 AD), and as a veteran's colony. However,

¹ Milošević 2000, 169-182.

Međutim, postoje i teze koje kažu da je kolonija mogla biti osnovana i u Neronovo vrijeme.²

Epigrafska su istraživanja pokazala da je stanovništvo Ekva bilo upisano u *tribus Tromentina* i *Sergia*.³ Grad je u ekonomskom smislu dobro napredovao, a jedna od najistaknutijih obitelji bili su Juliji.⁴ U Ekvu i njegovoj okolini pronađen je veliki broj značajnih arheoloških nalaza. Radi se prije svega o epigrafskim spomenicima, kipovima i malim pokretnim nalazima od keramike, stakla, metala, kao i o novcu, a velika je većina nalaza datirana u doba principata. Zahvaljujući analizi tih spomenika smatra se da je život u koloniji zamro već u kasnoj antici.⁵ Kasnija izgradnja okolnih naselja koristila se građevinskim materijalom kolonije, a danas se na mjestu Ekva nalazi neznatno seoce imenom Čitluk.

Ubrzo nakon brojnih, slučajnih nalaza vrlo kvalitetnih arheoloških spomenika u 18. i 19. st., su na području nekadašnje rimske kolonije započela i arheološka istraživanja. Prva je 1860. godine proveo franjevac A. K. Matas.⁶ Nakon toga je 1911. godine istraživanja vodio A. P. Mišura koji je objavio i prvu monografiju Ekva.⁷ Između 1912. i 1913. godine istraživanja je vodio Austrijski arheološki institut.⁸

Kasnije se, sve do današnjih dana, u Ekvu provode samo zaštitna istraživanja potaknuta slučajnim nalazima.⁹ Ipak, u stručnoj se literaturi objavljuju brojni radovi o arheološkom materijalu nađenom na prostoru te rimske kolonije. Iako su ti nalazi donekle obogatili znanje o Ekvu, današnja

there are theses that the colony may have been established during the time of Nero.²

Epigraphic studies have shown that the population of Aequum was registered in the *tribus Tromentina* and *Sergia*.³ Economically the city progressed very well – for example one of the Roman senatorial families, namely the Iulii, was one of the greatest families from Aequum.⁴

In Aequum and its surrounding areas a large number of remarkable archaeological findings were found. Namely and primarily, stone inscriptions, great stone sculptures and also small archaeological finds like pottery, glass, metal, as well as some coin hoards. The vast majority of the findings date to the age of Principate. Thanks to an analysis of these monuments it is believed that life in the colony ended already in the late antiquity.⁵ Subsequent construction of the surrounding villages used construction materials from the colony, and today there is a little village called Čitluk on the site of Aequum.

Soon after numerous accidental archaeological finds (which were of very high quality), archaeological research on the site of the former Roman colony began in the 19th and 20th centuries. Research was first conducted in 1860 by the Franciscan A. K. Matas.⁶ After that, in 1911, research was led by A. P. Mišura, who published the first monography about Aequum.⁷ Between 1912 and 1913, research was led by the Austrian Institute of Archaeology.⁸

Later and even to this day, only rescue archaeological excavations are carried out at Aequum, which are prompted by random finds.⁹ However, in scholarly litera-

2 Alföldy 1965, 119; Wilkes 1969, 242; Vittinghoff 1977, 3–51.

3 Alföldy 1965, 119.

4 Alföldy 1968, 99–144.

5 Cambi 2008, 73–113.

6 Matas 1880, 12–16.

7 Mišura 1921.

8 Reisch 1913, 135–144.

9 Milošević 1980, 251–268; Milošević 1986, 85–87; Milošević 1988, 129–132.

2 Alföldy 1965, 119; Wilkes 1969, 242; Vittinghoff 1977, 3 – 51.

3 Alföldy 1965, 119.

4 Alföldy 1968, 99–144.

5 Cambi, 2008, 73 -113.

6 Matas, 1880, 12-16.

7 Mišura 1921.

8 Reisch 1913, 135 – 144.

9 Milošević, 1980, 251-268; Milošević 1986, 85 – 87; Milošević 1988, 129 – 132.

saznanja o njezinoj arhitekturi i urbanizmu nisu veća od onih s početka 20. st.¹⁰

Kolonija je bila smještena na sjevernom rubu Sinjskog polja, na položaju koji se lagano spušta prema lijevoj obali rijeke Cetine. Bila je zaštićena bedemom (420 x 270 m). Istočni zid bedema u svojoj južnoj polovici je, u jednom trenutku – iz još uvijek nepoznata razloga -, dobio nepravilno, uglato, skoro trapezoidno proširenje. Premda mjere tog proširenja nisu precizno utvrđene, čini se da je njegova površina iznosila skoro četvrtinu ukupne površine grada. Bedemi su imali troja gradska vrata, a ona koja su istražena pokazuju da su imala okrugle i kvadratne kule. Čini se da je grad imao pravilan raspored ulica s forumom u svom središtu. Forum s dimenzijama 90 x 60 m, smješten u blizini dekumana, imao je kolonade te sa svoje tri strane trgovine. Na forumu se nalazila i kurija, a potvrđene su terme i vodovod. Sjeverozapadno od grada utvrđena je i gradska nekropola, a sjeveroistočno suburbij. Čini se da su se u 17. st. još uvijek bili nazirali ostaci antičkih građevina.¹¹

U literaturi se o koloniji Ekvo govori kao o veteranskoj koloniji cara Klaudija. To je bilo potkrijepljeno i činjenicom da je do nedavno znanost poznavala tri nadgrobna spomenika veterana sedme legije (*CIL III 14946; 9761; 2733*) koja su pronađena u okolici ove kolonije. Sva su tri datirana u vrijeme nakon 42. g. jer se sedma legija na tim natpisima spominje kao *Claudia pia fidelis*. Međutim nedavno je objavljen jedan novi nadgrobni spomenik pronađen u Hrvacama, mjestu u neposrednoj blizini Ekva.¹² Radi se o nadgrobnom spomeniku

ture numerous papers are being published on the small findings that were found in the area of this Roman colony. Although these findings have enhanced our knowledge of Aequum, our knowledge about its architecture and urbanism is not substantially greater than that which was formed in the early 20th century.¹⁰

Protected by a rampart (420 x 270 m), the colony was situated on the northern edge of the Sinj Field, at a position that gradually descends toward the left bank of the Cetina River. At one point the southern half of the eastern wall of the rampart - for still unknown reasons - receives an improper angular, almost trapezoidal extension. Although the measurements of this extension have not been precisely determined, it appears that its size was almost a quarter of the total area of the city. The ramparts had three city gates, and research shows that round and square towers bordered them. It appears that the city streets were regularly laid out with a forum at the center. The forum (90 x 60 m), which is located near the decumanus, had a colonnade and on three sides a tabernae, and at the forum a curia was also located. Research has also confirmed the existence of thermae and aqueductus. It has been established that in the northwest of the town was the city necropolis, and in its northeast the suburbium. According to some accounts it appears that some remains of antique buildings existed even in the 17th century.¹¹

The colony Aequum is described in literature as a veteran's colony of Emperor Claudius. This was substantiated by the fact that until recently science knew of

10 Abramić 1952, 317; Marović 1958, 130-145; Cambi 1980, 27-44; Milošević 1981, 1-136; Gabrić 1984, 273-284; Cambi 1984, 29; Cambi 1985, 415-433; Topić 2008.

11 A. Fortis je u svom putopisu protumačio još uvijek vidljive ruševine, koje su tvorile krug do kojeg je dolazilo više kanala za vodu, kao amfiteatar. (Fortis 1984, 195.)

12 Demicheli - Tončinić 2008, 349 – 358.

10 Abramić 1952, 317; Marović 1958, 130-145; Cambi 1980, 27-44; Milošević 1981, 1-136; Gabrić 1984, 273-284; Cambi 1984, 29; Cambi 1985, 415-433; Topić 2008.

11 In his itinerary, A. Fortis interpreted in a rather strange manner still visible ruins, which constituted a circle with multiple canals for water leading to it – like an amphitheater (Fortis 1984, 195).

s portretom Lucija Vetija Sekunda (*Lucius Vettius Secundus*), a on je, kako čitamo na natpisu, bio veteran sedme legije. Dakle, Lucije Vetije Sekundo se naselio u okolici Aequuma prije 42. godine, kad je legija dobila svoj počasni naslov! Zahvaljujući ovom novom podatku možemo pretpostaviti da je uz Sinjsko polje i ranije postojalo naselje veterana, dakle prije nego li je osnovana kolonija.

O legijskom logoru Tiluriju

Logor je bio podignut na prijelazu iz stare u novu eru, najkasnije u prvim godinama 1. st.¹³ Ovaj je lokalitet kao riječni prijelaz zabilježen na Antoninovu itineraru (*Itin. Anton. 337,5*) pod nazivom *Ponte Tiluri*. Drugdje je ipak zabilježen kao logor, na primjer na Peutingerijanoj karti (*Tab. Peut. 6,3*) koja ga spominje kao *Tilurio*. U kozmografiji nepoznatog Ravenjanina (*Raven. An. Cos. IV,16*) se spominju i prijelaz preko rijeke kao *Ponteluri* ali i legijski logor kao *Tilurion*. Ime logora spominje se i na jednom miljokazu datiranom u sredinu 3. st. pronađenom u Runovićima kod Imotskoga (*a tilurio/...m/ilia/ p/assuum*).¹⁴ Sam logor je bio smješten poviše grada Trilja na rijeci Cetini (*Hippus*) na prostranom i ponešto kosom platou. Taj je položaj imao izuzetnu stratešku važnost, jer je omogućavao nadzor prijelaza preko rijeke Cetine, odnosno kontrolu putovanja prema unutrašnjosti provincije Dalmacije.¹⁵

Za sada se misli da je u Tiluriju najranije boravila deveta legija, *legio IX Hispana* (*CIL III 13977*), nakon čega ju je zamijenila *legio VII*.¹⁶ U vrijeme osvajanja unutrašnjosti Dalmacije kao i rimskih prodora na Dunav, Tilurij je, zajedno s legi-

three sepulchral monuments (*stelae*) to the veterans of the VII Legion, *legio VII*, (*CIL III 14946, 9761, 2733*), which were found in the vicinity of Aequum. All three have been dated to after 42 AD since the *legio VII* in their inscriptions is mentioned as *Claudia pia fidelis*. However, an important text was recently published on sepulchral monuments (*stela*) found in Hrvace, a place in the near vicinity of Aequum.¹² It is a sepulchral monument with a portrait of *Lucius Vettius Secundus*. He was, as can be seen from the inscription, a veteran of the *legion VII*, but from a time before the legion received its honorary title since this is not mentioned. The conclusion is therefore that *Lucius Vettius Secundus* settled in the area before 42 AD! Thanks to this new data we can assume there was a veteran's settlement in the that field of Sinj prior to the establishment of the colony.

The Legionary Fortress Tilurium

The camp was built at the transition from the old to the new era, at the latest during the first years of the first century.¹³ This locality as a river crossing was recorded in *Itin. Anton. (337,5)* as the *Ponte Tiluri*. However, on other maps it is identified as a camp: as in *Tab. Peut. (6,3)*, in which it is referred to as *Tilurio*. In *Rav. (IV, 16)* the river crossing is also mentioned as *Ponteluri*, but also a legionary camp as *Tilurion*. The name of the camp is also mentioned in a milestone dated to the middle of the 3rd century and found in the village of Runovići nearby Imotski (*a tilurio/... m/ilia/ p/assuum*).¹⁴ The very camp was located above the city of Trilj on the Cetina River (*Hippus*) on an expansive and somewhat slanted plateau. This position was of ex-

¹³ Rimski povjesničar Plinije je napisao da je Tilurium prije dolaska Rimljana funkcionirao i kao delmatska gradina: "... *Tribulium, nobilitata proeliis castella*." (*NH III 142*)

¹⁴ Abramić 1926/27, 142.

¹⁵ Sanader 2006, 59-66.

¹⁶ Zaninović 1996, 280-291.

¹² Demicheli and Tončinić 2008, 349 – 358.

¹³ Roman historian Pliny (*NH III 142*) wrote that before the arrival of the Romans Tilurium functioned also as a delmatian hill fort: (...) *Tribulium, nobilitata proeliis castella*.

¹⁴ Abramić 1926/27, 142.

jskim logorom Burno i kastelima Andetriji i Bigeste, morao za Rim odigrati važnu ulogu u zaštiti osvojenih područja na obali Jadrana od strane nezadovoljnog domaćeg stanovništva.¹⁷ Povijesna vrela ne javljaju kada je *legio VII*, koja je od 42. g. nositeljica i počasnog naslova *Claudia Pia Fidelis*, napustila Tilurij.¹⁸ U potrazi za preciznim datumom odlaska legije iz Tilurija, istraživači su se koristili i podacima o njezinu dolasku u Meziju.¹⁹ Odlazak legije iz Dalmacije smješta se u vremenskom rasponu od 45. do 66. g., dok posljednji rad koji je raspravljao o njezinu kretanju, napisan je 1999., zagovara tezu da je legija napustila Tilurij u prvom desetljeću prve polovice 1. st.²⁰ Inače, legiju su zamijenile različite kohorte, od kojih je u Tiluriju najduže boravila *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*. Posljednji spomen te kohorte datira iz 243. g.²¹

Danas se čini da legijski logor Tilurij nikada nije prerastao u veće antičko naselje, kao što je to bio slučaj s drugim dalmatinskim legijskim logorom Burnom, koji se razvio u ugledni municipij.²² Jača naseljenost Tilurija pojavljuje se tek u 17. st. kada se na njemu počinje razvijati današnje selo Gardun, zahvaljujući pridošlom stanovništvu iz dijela Dalmacije zvanog Poljica.

Lokalitet je došao u fokus znanstvenih razmatranja nakon što su iz Garduna i njegove okolice u obližnje muzeje

ceptional strategic importance because it enabled surveillance of the crossing of the Cetina River – that is, control over travel to the interior of the province of Dalmatia.¹⁵

For now, it is believed that the earliest roman soldiers of Tilurium were *legio IX Hispana* (CIL III 13977), after which they were replaced by *legio VII*.¹⁶ During the time of the conquest of the interior of Dalmatia, as well as at the time of the Roman invasion of the Danube region, together with the legionary fortress Burnum and the castels of Andetrium and Bigeste, Tilurium must have played an important role for Rome in the protection of its conquests on the eastern coast of the Adriatic from dissatisfied local populations.¹⁷ Historical sources do not mention when *legio VII*, which from 42 AD held the honorary title *Claudia Pia Fidelis*, abandoned Tilurium.¹⁸ In search for a date of departure of *legio VII* from Tilurium, researchers have used data of their arrival in Moesia.¹⁹ The departure of the legions from Dalmatia is for now dated fairly widely, at a time between 45 and 66 AD. However, in a recent work that discusses the movements of *legio VII*, written in 1999, the author opts for the thesis that the legion abandoned Tilurium in the first decade of the first half of the 1st century.²⁰ The legion was replaced by different cohorts, of which the longest Tilurium residents were *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium romanorum*. The last mention

17 Sanader 2002, 713-717; Periša 2008, 507-517.

18 Za vrijeme Klaudijeve vladavine namjesnik Dalmacije Lucije Aruntije Kamilo Skribonijan pokušao je 42. g. protiv cara podignuti pobunu, nadajući se potpori dviju legija (*legio VII* i *legio XI*) koje su tada bile stacionirane u Dalmaciji. Međutim, pobuna je bila ugušena nakon što su mu legije otkazale poslušnost. Kao uspomenu na taj svoj postupak, na privrženost caru, te su dvije legije od 42. g. nosile počasni naslov *claudia pia fidelis*.

19 Nesselhauf, 1941, 41-46; Alföldy 1965, 105-107; Wilkes 1974, 258-274; Mirković, *IMS* II. 36.

20 Wilkes 1999, 95-104.

21 Zaninović 2007, 181-184.

22 Zaninović 1996, 227-279.

15 Sanader 2006, 59-66.

16 Zaninović 1996, 280-291.

17 Sanader 2002, 713-717; Periša 2008, 507-517.

18 During the time of Claudius' reign the governor of Dalmacia Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus attempted an uprising in 42 AD hoping for the support of the two legions (*legio VII* and *legio XI*), who were stationed in Dalmatia at that time. The uprising was suppressed after the legions ended their loyalty to him. In recognition of their loyalty, the Emperor bestowed to both legions the honorary title *claudia pia fidelis*.

19 Nesselhauf 1941, 41-46; Alföldy 1965, 105-107; Wilkes 1974, 258-274; Mirković, *IMS* II.36.

20 Wilkes 1999, 95-104.

počeli stizati zanimljivi arheološki nalazi.²³ Bili su to prije svega brojni vojnički nadgrobni spomenici, novac i dijelovi vojne opreme. Od 1997. g. rimski legijski logor Tilurij po prvi put postaje i objekt sustavnog arheološkog iskopavanja, a sklopu znanstvenog arheološkog istraživačkog projekta. Od tada na svjetlo dana izlaze i obrisi logorske arhitekture.²⁴

Pregledom logorskog prostora i okolice utvrđeno je da je lokalitet Međine točka odakle se prostor logora kaskadno penje prema sjeveru do 440 m nadmorske visine. Nasuprot tome se od Međina prema jugu, prema lokalitetu Podvornice, teren spušta na 377 m nadmorske visine.²⁵ Iskopavanja su pokazala da su se graditelji logora služili nasipavanjem i gradnjom supstrukcija s ciljem niveliranja hodne površine.

Logor se prostirao na otprilike 12 ha i bio je utvrđen bedemom trapezoidnog oblika. Na sjeverozapadu je djelomično sačuvana i vanjska kula jednog od ulaza. Monumentalna konstrukcija sjeverozapadnog dijela bedema bila je podignuta uz pomoć vodoravno i okomito postavljenih drvenih greda unutar čvrstog opusa cementicija. Taj je bedem na jugoistočnoj strani sačuvan samo u dijelovima utemeljenja ali pokazuje se da je bio širok 3 m. Unutar samog logora, u njegovu središtu, nađeni su ostaci podnog mozaika s djelomičnim prikazom životinje (bika?) i rubnim ukrasima s bijelim i crnim rombovima. Otkriveni su i ostaci rimske cisterne za vodu u obliku nepravilnog pravokutnika (cca. 25x20 m). Cisterna je bila ukopana u zemlju zdravicu. U jugoistočnom dijelu logora uz sam bedem istražen je sklop vojničkih baraka.

Tijekom dvadesetogodišnjeg arheološkog istraživanja ovoga legijskog logora pronađeno je mnoštvo manje ili više dobro

of this cohort dates from 243 AD.²¹

Today it seems that the legionary camp Tilurium never grew into a major ancient settlement, as was the case with the Dalmatian legionary camp Burnum, which developed into a prominent municipium.²² Increased populations in Tilurium appear only in the 17th century when the present village of Gardun began to develop thanks to the arrival of populations from a part of Dalmatia known as Poljica.

The locality came into focus of scientific discussion only after interesting archaeological findings from Gardun and its surroundings began arriving at nearby museums.²³ These were primarily a number of gravestones of soldiers, stone inscriptions, coins and military equipment. From 1997, the Roman legionary camp Tilurium becomes for the first time part of an scientific archaeological research project. Since then, contours of fortress architecture have emerged to see the light of day.²⁴

A survey of the camp and surrounding areas record the locality of Međine as the point from where the camp cascades to the north and rises to a height of 440 m above sea level. Opposite to this, from Međine the terrain slopes southwards toward the locality of Podvornica at 377 m above sea level.²⁵ Excavations have shown that the builders of the camp utilized filling and constructing of substructions with an aim to level the walking surface. The camp extended to approximately 12 hectares and was fortified by a wall of a trapezoidal shape. A partially preserved outer tower of one of the gates is found in its northwest. The monumental construction of the northwestern part of the wall was made with the help of wooden horizontal and vertical beams that rested within the

²³ Ibid 280-291.

²⁴ Sanader 2003, 21-63; Sanader 2009, 45-50.

²⁵ Sanader 2003, 12-18.

²¹ Zaninović 2007, 181-184.

²² Zaninović 1996, 227-279.

²³ Zaninović 1996, 280-291.

²⁴ Sanader 2003, 21 - 63; Sanader 2009, 45-50.

²⁵ Sanader, 2003, 12 - 18.

sačuvanih nalaza.²⁶ To se odnosi prije svega na keramiku, metalne nalaze ali i novac. Analiza pokretnih nalaza ali i građevinskih ostataka potvrđuje intenzivan logorski život u prvoj polovici 1. st. U to je vrijeme u logoru djelovala i klesarska radionica, o čemu svjedoče stotine sačuvanih vojničkih natpisa i arhitektonskih ukrasa među kojima se ističu ostaci tropeja (*tropeion*).²⁷ Nalazi isto tako svjedoče o daljnjim, iako smanjenim, logorskim aktivnostima i u 2. i 3. st. Predmeti koji potječu iz razdoblja kasne antike su, međutim, rijetkost, a po svoj je prilici već u to vrijeme logor počeo služiti kao izvor građevinskog materijala.²⁸

Analiza pokretnog materijala koji je došao na svjetlo dana tijekom arheoloških istraživanja od 1997. do 2010. potvrđuje veliku koncentraciju vojske tijekom 1. st. koja se u drugoj polovici 1. st. počela smanjivati.²⁹ Ove analize odgovaraju i zaključcima koji su proizašli iz podataka s epigrafskih spomenika, a svjedoče o boravku sedme legije tijekom 1. st., te kasnijem dolasku u Tilurij manjeg broja vojske odnosno pomoćnih četa.³⁰

Spomenimo i to da je tijekom pregleda terena utvrđeno da se između južnog bedema logora i lokaliteta Podvornica prostire i vrlo plodno polje koje se moglo koristiti i kao *canabae legionis*. Njegova površina iznosi oko 30 hektara.³¹

O sinjskom polju

Sinjsko se polje nalazi u zaleđu Salone, nekadašnjeg glavnog grada provincije Dalmacije, da ostanemo u antičkim koordinatama kad je Salona bila važnija od

solid *opus coementicium*. The foundation of the southeast side of the bastion is only partially preserved, but it shows to have been 3 m wide. Within the very fortress in its center the remains of a floor mosaic with a partial depiction of an animal (a bull?) and border with rhomboid white and black decorations were found. Also discovered were the remains of a Roman water cistern, in the shape of an irregular rectangle (cca. 25x20 m). The cistern was dug in the ground soil. In the southeastern part of the camp, alongside the rampart, a complex of military barracks has been researched.

During the twenty years of archaeological investigation of this legionary camp a multitude of more or less well-preserved finds were.²⁶ This applies primarily to ceramics, found metal findings and also money. An analysis of small findings and construction remains confirms an intensive fortress life in the first half of the 1st century. During this time, the fortress operated a masonry workshop, as evidenced by hundreds of preserved military inscriptions and architectural decorations, among which is the notable remain *tropeion*.²⁷ The findings also testify to further, although reduced, camp activities in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Objects that originate from the period of late antiquity are, however, rare, and at this time the camp started to serve the population as a source of building materials.²⁸ Analysis of small findings found during archaeological excavations from 1997 till 2010 confirms the high concentration of the military during the first century, which began to decline in the second half of the 1st century.²⁹ This analysis corresponds to the conclusions derived from data from the epigraphic monuments that bear witness to the residence of *legio VII*

26 Sanader 2003, 109-338; Šimić Kanaet 2010; Sanader et alii 2014, 147-346.

27 Cambi 1984, 77-90.

28 Sanader 2000, 225-237.

29 Sanader, 2003, 109 - 338; Šimić – Kanaet 2010; Sanader et alii 2014, 147-346.

30 Cambi 1994, 147-181; Fadić 1995, 166-167; Tončinić 2009, 1447-1459; Tončinić 2011.

31 Sanader 2003, 12 - 18.

26 Sanader 2003, 109 - 338; Šimić Kanaet 2010; Sanader et alii 2014, 147 - 346.

27 Cambi 1984, 77-90.

28 Sanader 2000, 225-237.

29 Sanader 2003, 109 - 338; Šimić – Kanaet 2010; Sanader et alii 2014, 147 - 346.



Slika 2 Položaj plodnog polja uz južni bedem legijskog logora Tilurij
Table 2 Map of a fertile field situated close to the south Wall of fortress Tilurium

današnjeg Splita. Ime je dobilo po gradiću Sinju koji dominira među ostalim malim mjestima na tom području. Polje je velikim dijelom smješteno na lijevoj obali, 104 kilometra duge, rijeke Cetine (*Hyppus flumen*). U antici je na platou uz njegove južne rubove bio smješten legijski logor Tilurium, a uz njegov sjeverni rub kolonija Aequum.³² I danas je to plodno zemljište, koje se prostire na 863,75 km², gospodarski vrlo značajno za grad Sinj ali i okolna mjesta, baš kako je bilo i u antici. Zahvaljujući nekolicini natpisa iz raznih dijelova Rimskoga Carstva na kojima se spominje pojam *territorium legionis*, ali i *prata legionis*, stručnjaci su diskutirali o zemljištu koje

during the 1st century, but also to the subsequent arrival of a small number of extra troops and military in Tilurium.³⁰

It should be mentioned that the survey found that between the southern fortress wall and the locality of Podvornica (where a *canabae legionis* could have been located) a very fertile field spreads out, with an area of about 30 ha.³¹

The Sinj Field

The Sinj Field is geographically situated in the hinterland of Salona, speaking in an ancient context, or in the hinterland

³² Prohić – Miho – Peh 1995, 67-86.

³⁰ Cambi 1994, 147 – 181; Fadić 1995, 166-167; Tončinić 2009, 1447-1459.

³¹ Sanader 2003, 12 – 18.

je vojska koristila kao gospodarski resurs.³³ Naglasimo da se ta rasprava odvijala uz pomoć epigrafskih svjedočanstava, jer antički pisci ne spominju odredbe vezane uz vojničko zemljište.



Slika 3. Stela Gaja Laberija; dječaka s loptom; mjesto nalazišta je ili Aequum ili Tilurium, danas u zidu kuće Perković, Sinj
Figure 3. Stela Gaius Laberius; a boy with a ball; the location of the site is either Aequum or Tilurium, today, in the wall of the house Perkovic, Sinj

U citiranim raspravama se govori o Sinjskom polju koje je, kako je uvodno rečeno, razmatrano kao vojnički teritorij koji je koristila sedma legija. Diskusija se

³³ Schulten 1894, 481-516; Mocsy 1953, 179-199; Garcia-Bellido 1961, 114-161; Mocsy 1967, 211-214; Rueger 1968; Mocsy 1972, 134-167; Zaninović 1985, 63-79; Mason 1988, 163-189; Bérard, F. 1992, 75-105; Vittinghoff 1994, 124-139; Колобов 2001.

of Split, speaking in a contemporary context, and it was named after the town of Sinj, which dominates among other small towns in the area. A large part of the field lies along the left bank of the 104 km long Cetina River (*Hyppus flumen*). In antique times, as was previously pointed out, on a plateau along its southern edge, the legionary camp Tilurium was located, and along its northern edges the colony Aequum.³²

Today, as in ancient times, this is an area of fertile land of the size of 863.75 km² and is economically very important for the city of Sinj and the surrounding villages.

Thanks to several inscriptions from various parts of the Empire in which the term *territorium legionis*, as well as *prata legionis*, is mentioned, experts have discussed the various legal possibilities and economic means of the exploitation of fertile lands in the vicinity of the fortresses and castle's.³³ It should be emphasized that these discussions took place with the help of epigraphic sources, while antique literary sources do not mention provisions relating to military land.

In these debates there was discussion about the Sinj Field as an important element in the life of Roman units in this area of the province, primarily the *legio VII*, whose field, as was hypothesized, was used also as military territory. Such thinking seemed most justified especially since in the vicinity of another legionary fortress in Dalmatia (Burnum, where the *legio XI* resided) an inscription was found which mentions *prata legionis*.³⁴ We should mention that the discussion on the use of the Sinj Field by *legio VII* was the basis to determine the date of its departure from

³² Prohić – Miho – Peh 1995, 67-86.

³³ Schulten 1894, 481-516; Mocsy 1953, 179-199; Garcia-Bellido 1961, 114-161; Mocsy 1967, 211-214; Rueger 1968; Mocsy 1972, 134-167; Zaninović 1985, 63-79; Mason 1988, 163-189; Bérard, F. 1992, 75 - 105; Vittinghoff 1994, 124-139; Колобов 2001.

³⁴ Zaninović 1985, 63-79.

mogla činiti opravdanom, pogotovo stoga što je u blizini drugoga legijskoga logora u Dalmaciji, Burna, u kojemu je boravila *legio XI*, pronađen natpis koji spominje *prata legionis*.³⁴ Napomenimo da je rasprava o iskorištavanju Sinjskog polja od strane sedme legije bila i temeljem za utvrđivanje datuma odlaska legije iz Dalmacije. Taj se datum činio stručnjacima vrlo važnim jer su smatrali da se tim istim Sinjskim poljem morala koristiti i veteranska kolonija Ekvo. Po njima je kolonija mogla biti osnovana, kako je rečeno, tek nakon odlaska legije iz Tilurija, jer Polje nije moglo istovremeno zadovoljavati potrebe opskrbe i civila i vojske.³⁵

Zaključak

Najnoviji arheološki podaci o veteranskoj koloniji Ekvo i legionarskom logoru Tilurij, koje smo analizirali u tekstu, pokazali su nekoliko novih činjenica. Danas naime znamo da su se veterani sedme legije (*legio VII*) naseljavali na teritoriju Sinjskog polja i prije nego je car Klaudije dao osnovati veteransku koloniju Ekvo. Taj podatak doduše ne može biti glavnim dokazom tezi o Sinjskom polju kao o *territorium legionis* legionara sedme legije, ali se čini da može svjedočiti o veteranskom naseljavanju tog prostora kao jednom od načina rimske kontrole provincije koja se u to vrijeme još uvijek nazivala Ilirik.

Isto tako držimo da osnivanje kolonije Ekvo ne mora nužno značiti da je *legio VII* morala otići i prepustiti koloniji Sinjsko polje. Ako natpise koji spominju *territorium legionis* i protumačimo na način da su legionari sami morali brinuti o svojoj logistici, svojoj opskrbi, Sinjsko polje, koje ima površinu od oko 863 km², dovoljno je bilo prostrano za prehranjivan-

Dalmatia. The date of departure of this legion seemed very important to scholars because they thought that this same Sinj Field must have been used by the veteran's colony Aequum. According to them, the colony could not have been established until after the departure of the legio from Tilurium, because the Sinj Field could not supply both civilians and legionars.³⁵

Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be stated that the latest research invoked in this study shows that some of the old theses could come into question. The latest archaeological data on the veteran's colony Aequum and the legionary fortress Tilurium, which were analyzed in this paper, show several new facts. Above all else, we now know that the veterans of the VII Legion settled on the territory of the Sinj Field prior to Emperor Claudius' establishment of the veteran's colony Aequum. This data, however, cannot be attached to a thesis of the Sinj Field as a *territorium legionis* of the VII Legion, but it seems that it very well may testify to the veteran's settlement as one means of Roman control of a province which at that time was still called Illyricum.

We are also of the opinion that the act of establishing the colony Aequum does not necessarily mean that legio VII had to leave to allow the newly founded colony use of the Sinj Field. Even if we interpreted the inscriptions referring to *territorium legionis* in a way that the legionnaires themselves only cared for their supplies (thus, if it is interpreted exclusively in terms of economic resources), the Sinj Field, which encompasses an area of approximately 863 square kilometers, is large enough to nourish many tens of thousands of people, which far exceeds the number of Roman

³⁴ Zaninović 1985, 63-79.

³⁵ Alföldy 1965, 119; Wilkes 1969, 242; Galsterer 1971, 79-91; Vittinghoff 1977, 3-51; Southern 2006, 113.

³⁵ Alföldy 1965, 119; Wilkes 1969, 242; Galsterer 1971, 79-91; Vittinghoff 1977, 3-51; Southern 2006, 113.

je više desetaka tisuća ljudi. Osim toga, i uz sam legijski logor Tilurij nalazile su se plodne površine, koje su vojsci mogle poslužiti barem za ispašu životinja, a koje površine neki stručnjaci nazivaju *prata legionis*. Ovim smo tekstom htjeli dati prilog spomenutoj znanstvenoj raspravi, jer je razvidno da ona još ne može biti završena.

legions or even the population of the colony of Aequum. Additionally, there were fertile areas beside the legion fortress of Tilurium - which could have served the military, at least for animal grazing (*prata legionis*). In other words, legionnaires of the VII legion were not only dependent on the large Sinj Field, but they also had at their disposal fertile land in their immediate vicinity that they probably exploited. With this text we wanted to make a contribution to the mentioned scientific debate, because it is evident that it cannot be finished yet.

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