

THE CASTRUM OF BURNUM: BETWEEN OLD EXCAVATIONS AND NEW RESEARCHES

The remains of Roman Burnum are located on the right bank of the river Krka, an area today part of the Krka National Park. The information available about the site is mostly based on the excavation campaigns carried out by the Austrian Archaeological Institute of Vienna between 1912 and 1913, and between 1973 and 1974. In latter years, the Burnum's aqueduct was investigated also by the Archaeological museum of Zadar. In 2003 archaeologists from the University of Zadar and Municipal Museum of Drniš started to excavate amphitheatre in Burnum. Between 2005 and 2007, Laboratory of Archaeological Survey of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Bologna (*Laboratorio di Rilievo delle Strutture Archeologiche del Dipartimento di Archeologia dell'Università di Bologna*) conducted three campaigns using non-invasive methods.

KEY WORDS: *Burnum, Roman military, Dalmatia, non-invasive archaeological methods*

INTRODUCTION

Anyone who undertakes the study of the Roman site of *Burnum* faces an objective problem: the shortage of archaeological sources. The information available about the site is in fact almost exclusively based on the excavation campaigns carried out by the Austrian Archaeological Institute of Vienna between 1912 and 1913, and between 1973 and 1974.¹ If we

KASTRUM BURNUM: IZMEĐU STARIH ISKOPAVANJA I NOVIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

Ostaci rimskog Burnuma nalaze se na obali rijeke Krke, unutar istoimenog Nacionalnog parka. Prva sustavna arheološka istraživanja u Burnumu vršio je Austrijski arheološki institut iz Beča: 1912. i 1913. godine te opet 1973. i 1974. godine, kada su započela i istraživanja vodovoda za Burnum pod vodstvom Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru. Godine 2003. započela su istraživanja amfiteatra koja provole Sveučilište u Zadru i Gradski muzej u Drnišu. Između 2005. i 2007. godine u Burnumu su provedene i tri istraživačke kampanje Laboratorija za istraživanje arheoloških struktura Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Bolonji prilikom kojih su se koristile neinvazivne metode. Temeljem tih istraživanja, članak donosi opću sliku povijesno-urbanističkog razvoj *Burnuma* u širem kontekstu povijesti rimske provincije Dalmacije.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *Burnum, rimska vojska, Dalmatia, neinvazivne arheološke metode*

UVOD

Tko god da se primi istraživanja rimskog nalazišta Burnum susreće se s objektivnim problemom koji se odnosi na nedostatak arheoloških izvora. Podaci kojima raspolažemo o ovom nalazištu zapravo mahom potječu s iskopavanja Austrijskog arheološkog instituta iz Beča 1912.–1913. i 1973.–1974.¹ Štoviše, ako uzmemo u razmatranje da se

1 Towards the end of the 19th century a large part of northern Dalmatia was subject to surveys aimed at documenting the presence of antiquities. The data collected on that occasion were quite important in determining the start of the archaeological investigations at the Roman site of *Burnum*, carried out by the Archaeological Institute of Vienna. Actually, even before the Austrians showed a scientific interest in the archaeological aspect, the site of *Burnum* had already been the subject of particular attention. The extraordinary Dalmatian landscape, with its natural and cultural potentials, already evident three centuries ago, had caught the intellectual curiosity of one of the most important exponents of the Venetian Enlightenment: the Paduan abbot Alberto Fortis (1741-1803). The travel experiences of Alberto Fortis produced the most important

1 Krajem 19. stoljeća proveden je terenski pregled velikog dijela sjeverne Dalmacije kako bi se zabilježila prisutnost antičkih nalaza. Podaci koji su tom prilikom prikupljeni su bili tako važni da su potaknuli početak arheoloških istraživanja na rimskom nalazištu Burnum koja je vodio Arheološki institut iz Beča. Zapravo je nalazište Burnum bilo zanimljivo i prije nego što su Austrijanci pokazali znanstveni interes za arheološke ostatke. Jedinstven dalmatinski krajolik, sa svojim prirodnim i kulturnim potencijalima zamjetnim već prije tristo godina, privukao je pažnju jednog od najvažnijih predstavnika mletačkog prosvjetiteljstva – padovanskog opata Alberta Fortisa (1741-1803). Njegova putna iskustva pružila su najvažnije podatke o dalmatinskom teritoriju u djelu *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Put po

consider, moreover, that the second campaign was limited to the verification, through trial excavations, of previously collected data, we understand that our knowledge of these ancient remains still refers to the documentation dating back to the beginning of the 20th century.² So it is objectively impossible to make a scientific and qualitatively modern assessment of the data presented in the archaeological documentation dating back to the Austrian rule over the eastern Adriatic coast. Moreover, we have to consider that the evidence still visible today at the site of *Burnum* is limited to the two-arched structure made of blocks of local stone standing on nearly level ground, characterised by scattered maquis vegetation and low heaps of stones among the cultivated fields.

The problems relating to the lack of archaeological studies and surveys are only increased by the profound and tragic signs left on the territories of the eastern Adriatic coast by its stormy history – also from recent times. The documentation for the site of *Burnum* experienced in fact not merely the war events but also bureaucratic developments that followed: the museum and archives of Knin and the Archaeological Museum of Drniš (where the finds from *Burnum* were kept) were dismembered and transferred from one place to another, and so the historical record of important finds was lost. Due to all this, most of the mobile finds lack reliable data relating to the excavation and other information required to determine the site and the context of the discovery.³

To fully understand the issues deriving from the history of the site, this text aims at illustrating in a comprehensive way the actual knowledge about the site, presenting a synthesis of the previously obtained results, information on the current surveys and excavations carried out by the archaeologists of the University of Zadar and of the Museum of Drniš on the amphitheatre, and a report on the programme which the Laboratory of Archaeological and Topographic

druga kampanja temeljila isključivo na provjeravanju prethodno prikupljenih podataka kroz probna iskopavanja, vidjet ćemo da se naše znanje o ovim antičkim ostacima temelji na dokumentaciji s početka 20. stoljeća.² Međutim, nemoguće je objektivno u modernom znanstvenom i kvalitativnom smislu iskoristiti podatke iz arheološke dokumentacije iz vremena austrijske dominacije na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, a pri tome moramo imati na umu da se materijalni ostaci još uvijek vidljivi na nalazištu Burnum svode na dva luka od lokalnog kamena koji stoje na gotovo ravnom tlu, u području s raštrkanom vegetacijom i niskim hrpama kamenja između obrađenih polja.

Problemima u vezi s nedostatkom arheoloških istraživanja moramo dodati duboke i tragične znakove koje je nemirna povijest ostavila na prostorima istočne jadranske obale, pa i u novije vrijeme. Dokumentacija s nalazišta Burnum prošla je ne samo ratna zbivanja nego i birokratske procedure: arheološka i arhivska građa iz muzeja u Kninu i Drnišu (gdje su čuvani nalazi s Burnuma) bile su rasparčavane i preseljavane te su pritom izgubljeni mnogi podaci o nalazima s tog lokaliteta. Zahvaljujući takvim okolnostima za većinu pokretnih nalaza nedostaju pouzdani podaci o okolnostima nalaza kao i druge informacije korisne u određivanju mjesta i konteksta otkrića.³

Sagledavajući probleme proizašle iz povijesti lokaliteta, ovaj rad nastoji prikazati sadašnje stanje poznavanja Burnuma kroz predstavljanje sinteze dosadašnjih spoznaja uz korištenje informacija s istraživanja amfiteatra, koja se trenutno provode pod vodstvom arheologa sa Sveučilišta u Zadru i iz muzeja u Drnišu. Izvijestiti će se i o programu koji Laboratorij za arheološka i topografska istraživanja (*Laboratorio di Rilievo del Dipartimento di Archeologia*) Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Bolonji provodi u suradnji s hrvatskim partnerima.

evidence for the Dalmatian territory: *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (Travels into Dalmatia), published in two volumes by Tipaldo in Venice in 1774. The precision of the representation and the sound science with which it was presented (Fortis introduced the use of a metric scale), with methods recalling *ante litteram* modern archaeological surveying, lead one to take into consideration the scientific validity of this evidence for archaeology. About the works of Alberto Fortis, see: O. OSTI, 2007, 154-156.

2 In particular, reference is made to the realization of the general layout of the wall structures identified by Reisch during the first excavation campaign.

3 The fate of the Museum of Drniš was even more dramatic, since it was completely razed to the ground during the recent war (1991-1995).

Dalmaciji) koji je Tipaldo objavio u Veneciji u dva sveska 1774. Preciznost i akribičnost predstavljanja (Fortis je uveo upotrebu metričke skale) uz upotrebu metoda koje podsjećaju na suvremeni arheološki pristup, doveli su do razmatranja znanstvene važnosti ovih podataka u arheologiji. O djelima Alberta Fortisa vidi: O. OSTI, 2007, 154-156.

2 Posebice se referira na opći raspored zidnih struktura koje je prepoznao Reisch još u prvoj istraživačkoj kampanji.

3 Sudbina muzeja u Drnišu je bila posebno dramatična jer je u potpunosti razrušen u Domovinskom ratu (1991-1995).

Survey of the Department of Archaeology (*Laboratorio di Rilievo delle Strutture Archeologiche del Dipartimento di Archeologia*) of the University of Bologna is implementing in cooperation with their Croatian partners. In conclusion, given that a publication that supplies a general report on the Roman site is still lacking, we will try hereby to present the available data in their general context, showing the historical and urban development dynamics of *Burnum*.

1. THE SITE

The site of *Burnum*, today called "Šuplja crkva" (ruined church), or "Šupljaja" (ruins), for the remains of Roman arches still visible *in situ*, is located on the right bank of the river Krka (*Titius flumen* in the historical documents), in southern Croatia (Fig. 1), a few kilometres distant from the village of Kistanje, in Šibenik-Knin County, an area today part of the Krka National Park (Fig. 2).

Zaključno, imajući na umu da još uvijek nedostaje publikacija koja bi pružila sveobuhvatan izvještaj o ovom rimskom lokalitetu, na ovom ćemo mjestu pokušati predstaviti dostupna saznanja u njihovu općem kontekstu, donoseći povijesnu i urbanu razvojnu dinamiku *Burnuma*.

1. NALAZIŠTE

Nalazište *Burnum*, koje se danas naziva Šuplja crkva ili Šupljaja jer su ostaci rimskih lukova još uvijek vidljivi *in situ*, smješteno je na desnoj obali rijeke Krke (*Titius flumen* u povijesnim izvorima), u južnoj Hrvatskoj (Sl. 1), nekoliko kilometara od sela Kistanja, u Šibensko-kninskoj županiji, na području koje pripada Nacionalnom parku Krka (Sl. 2).

FIG. 1. / SL. 1.

Topographic map of the Roman province of Dalmatia with the most important centers.

Topografska karta rimske provincije Dalmacije s najvažnijim centrima.





FIG. 2. / SL. 2.

The river Krka's canyon.

Kanjon rijeke Krke.

The hydro-geological characteristics of the river, flowing in a deep canyon in the *Burnum* area, created a mighty natural barrier that made this area one of the few places where fording was possible, and, moreover, a strategically extremely important place: the river marked the boundary between Liburnia and Dalmatia: "*Arsiae gens Liburnorum iungitur usque ad flumen Titium... Liburniae finis et initium Dalmatiae...*" (Pliny, *H.N.*, III, 139-140), that is, between populations respectively friendly and hostile to Rome.⁴ This exceptional position of control over the crossing point of the river was garrisoned since the pre-Roman age, as demonstrated by the remains of a fortified settlement of the Liburnians found on the left bank of the river.⁵

The analysis of the archaeological (and especially epigraphical) remains shows the site was already occupied at the end of the Illyrian campaigns of Octavian (35-33 BC), by the *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*. Around AD 10, this legion left the Dalmatian garrison and moved to *Germania*; they were replaced by *Legio XI* (from AD 42 known as *Claudia Pia Fidelis*), which, after the *Bellum Batonianum* in AD 6-9, became part of the permanent occupation army of the new province. In AD 69, the soldiers of the *XI Legio C.P.F.* abandoned the *castrum* of *Burnum* and were moved to Italy to enter army of Vespasian (Tacit. *Hist.* 2,67; 3,50). In *Burnum* this military unit was replaced by the legionaries of the *IV Flavia Felix*, who occupied the military camp for around fifteen years.⁶ For the whole 1st century AD, this important strategic area was garrisoned, other than by the legionary troops based in the *castrum*, by various auxiliary units settled in one or more fortified camps, the

Hidrogeološka obilježja rijeke koja protječe dubokim kanjonom u području Burnuma su stvorila moćnu prirodnu zapreku koja je učinila to područje jednim od mjesta gdje je prijelaz preko rijeke bio lakši. Štoviše, ovo je bilo strateški neobično važno mjesto: rijeka je označavala granicu između Liburnije i Dalmacije: "*Arsiae gens Liburnorum iungitur usque ad flumen Titium... Liburniae finis et initium Dalmatiae...*" (Plinius, *H.N.*, III, 139-140), odnosno između populacija od kojih je jedna bila na strani Rimljana (Liburni) a druga im je bila protivnik (Delmati).⁴ Ova iznimna pozicija na prijelazu preko rijeke imala je nadzornu funkciju i prije dolaska Rimljana što potvrđuju ostaci utvrđenog liburnskog naselja na lijevoj obali rijeke.⁵

Analiza arheoloških (ponajprije epigrafičkih) ostataka pokazuje da je na ovom mjestu boravila XX. legija (*Legio XX Valeria Victrix*) već na kraju Oktavijanovih pohoda u Iliriku (35-33. pr. Kr.). Oko 10. godine po. Kr. ova legija napušta Dalmaciju i odlazi u Germaniju, zamjenjuje ju XI. legija (od 42. po. Kr. dobiva atribut *Claudia Pia Fidelis*) koja je nakon Batonova ustanka od 6. do 9. godine po. Kr. postala stalni dio okupacijske vojske u novoj provinciji. Vojnici XI. legije (*XI Legio C.P.F.*) napustili su kastrum Burnum 69. po. Kr. otišavši u Italiju kako bi se pridružili Vespazijanovoj vojsci (Tacit. *Hist.* 2,67; 3,50). Ova vojna jedinica je u Burnumu zamijenjena legionarima IV. legije (*legio IV Flavia Felix*) koja se zadržala u logoru oko petnaest godina.⁶ Tijekom cijelog 1. st. po. Kr. na ovom području je boravila vojska. Osim legijskih jedinica u samom logoru, tu su boravile i različite pomoćne (augzilirne) jedinice smještene u jednoj

4 It is the southern boundary of the region of Ravni Kotari, a karstic tableland interrupted by a series of small ridges parallel to the coast. Thanks to its favourable environmental conditions (the presence of flat plateaus with large areas of cultivated fields), this region of the eastern Adriatic coast has been characterised by a high density of population centres since the pre-Roman age: J. J. WILKES, 1969, 79-80.

5 The site is located near the village of Puljane and represents one of the most important prehistoric "gradine" (hillforts) in Croatia. On the top of this promontory, a peninsula lapped by the waters of the Krka, it is still possible to recognise the large defensive embankment delimitating the internal space, in which, in the undulating land, the remains of the ancient Liburnian settlement are visible: around fifty structures built of dry stone walling. A large quantity of pottery fragments from the pre-Roman and Roman ages indicates that the fortified settlement continued to exist after the foundation of the *castrum* on the opposite river bank. Knowledge of the site is almost exclusively due to the researches carried out by W. Butler (*Burgwälle in Norddalmatien*, Ber. Romisch-Germanischen Komm., 21, 1932, pp. 183 ff.) in the thirties of the 20th century.

6 M. PAVAN, 1958, 62-63; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1968, 122.

4 To je i južna granica Ravni kotara, krške zaravni ispresijecane nizom manjih grebena usporednih s obalom. Zahvaljujući povoljnom okolišu (zaravni s velikim područjima obradivih polja), u ovom dijelu istočne jadranske obale gusto su raspoređena naselja još od predrimskih vremena: J. J. WILKES, 1969, 79-80.

5 Nalazište je smješteno kod sela Puljane i jedna je od najvažnijih prapovijesnih gradina u Hrvatskoj. Na vrhu ovog predbrežja, koje je kao poluotok okruženo vodom Krke, još se mogu prepoznati veliki obrambeni nasipi koji ograničavaju unutarnji prostor u kojemu se vide ostaci liburnskih nastambi na neravnom terenu: pedesetak struktura izgrađenih u suhozidu. Veliki broj keramičkih fragmenata iz predrimskog i rimskog doba pokazuje da je utvrđeno naselje nastavilo postojati i nakon osnivanja logora na suprotnoj riječnoj obali. Poznavanje ovoga nalazišta se gotovo u potpunosti temelji na istraživanjima W. Butlera (*Burgwälle in Norddalmatien*, Ber. Romisch-Germanischen Komm., 21, 1932, 183 ss.) iz 30-tih godina prošlog stoljeća.

6 M. PAVAN, 1958, 62-63; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1968, 122.

castella, located close to the *castrum*.⁷ Among these *auxilia* it is worth mentioning the *Ala I Hispanorum*, the *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria* and the *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum*.⁸ The fact that the site of *Burnum* was one of the most important military centres of the Roman province of *Dalmatia* was confirmed by Pliny: "*Burnum, Andetrium, Tribulium (Tilurium), nobilitata populi Romani proeliis castella*" (H.N., III, 142).⁹ The area around the military camp was subdivided into *prata legionis*, the territories in the northeast, towards the town of Knin, and the territories belonging to the community of the *Burnistae* (CIL, III, 2809), which Pliny defined as part of the *civitates Liburnorum* (H.N., III, 139), registered from an administrative point of view in the *conventus iuridicus Scardonotanus*.¹⁰

The area of this *civitas* probably extended along the banks of the Krka River. A possible definition of the territorial boundaries of the *Burnistae* may come from the inscription CIL, III, 9832: unfortunately the text is incomplete and ends with the word "*inter*", after which the names of the communities involved may have been indicated. Since Razvođe, the place where the inscription was found, is located in the middle of the hypothetical territory between *Burnum* and *Promona* (another fortified settlement of the Liburnians), we could expect that the inscription continued like this: "*inter Burnistas et Promonenses*".

In 86 AD, *Dalmatia* was proclaimed *provincia inermis*. From this moment onwards, the defence of its territory was no longer a task of the legions, but of

ili više utvrda (*castella*) u blizini logora.⁷ Među pomoćnim jedinicama važno je spomenuti sljedeće: *Ala I Hispanorum*, *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum sagittaria* i *Cohors I Montanorum civium Romanorum*.⁸ Činjenicu da je *Burnum* bio jedan od najvažnijih vojnih centara rimske provincije Dalmacije potvrđuje i Plinije: "*Burnum, Andetrium, Tribulium (Tilurium), nobilitata populi Romani proeliis castella*" (H.N., III, 142).⁹

Područje oko vojnog logora bilo je podijeljeno u *prata legionis* na sjeveroistoku prema Kninu i na teritorije koji su pripadali zajednici *Burnista (Burnistae)* (CIL, III, 2809). *Burniste* Plinije navodi kao dio *civitates Liburnorum* (H.N., III, 139), a administrativno su pripadali skardonitanskom konventu (*conventus iuridicus Scardonotanus*).¹⁰

Područje ove *civitas* se vjerojatno širilo i na obale rijeke Krke. Definiciju teritorijalnih granica *Burnista* možemo potražiti na natpisu CIL, III, 9832. Nažalost, tekst je nepotpun i završava riječju "*inter*", nakon koje su možda nazivi zajednica koje se razgraničavaju. Budući da je Razvođe, mjesto gdje je natpis nađen, smješteno između hipotetičkih teritorija *Burnuma* i *Promone* (još jednog liburnskog utvrđenog naselja) možemo pretpostaviti da se natpis nastavlja na slijedeći način: "*inter Burnistas et Promonenses*".

Dalmacija je dobila status *provincia inermis* 86. godine po. Kr. Od tog trenutka obrana teritorija više nije bila zadatak legija, već samo pomoćnih jedinica. Logor *Burnum* je napušten, a

7 The aerial photos show the presence of a second and perhaps a third military settlement (*castellum*) to the northeast of the site of the legionary *castrum* of *Burnum*. Even if the area has not been archaeologically surveyed, the surface reconnaissance has detected the presence of walled structures and a great quantity of materials from the Roman age.

8 A. STARAC, 2000, 31-32.

9 The reason for these constructions is to be found both in the strategic-military needs for military control of a recently pacified province, which underwent an organizational phase in the defence of the centres of the eastern Adriatic coast, *in primis* the province capital, the colony *Iulia Martia Salona*. It is symptomatic in fact that the *castra* of *Burnum* and of *Tilurium*, and the *presidium* of *Andetrium*, seats of military occupation of the province, were located near the battlefields where the resistance of the Illyrian and Dalmatian tribes was more intense: M. ŠAŠEL KOS, 2005, 442-450.

10 In autumn 1978 in the village of Uzdolje, about 12 kilometres south of Knin, a stone was found, which bore the following inscription: *T(erminus) · PRA(ti) / LEG(ionis) / XI · C(laudiae) · P(iae) · F(idelis)*. This marked the boundary of the land owned by the *Legio XI C.P.F.*, that is, the territory under the jurisdiction of the Roman legion. Comparing this document with the other inscription, found in 1890, mentioning again the *prata legionis* of the *XI Legio C.P.L.* (CIL, III, 13250), we can state that the *territorium legionis* was about 455 square kilometres, in the direction of Knin: M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1985, 63-73; A. STARAC, 2000, 36-38.

7 Zračne fotografije pokazuju i drugo, a možda i treće vojno naselje (*castellum*) na sjeveroistoku vojnog logora *Burnum*. Iako područje nije arheološki istraženo, površinskim pregledom su otkrivene zidne strukture i velika količina nalaza iz rimskog doba.

8 A. STARAC, 2000, 31-32.

9 Svrhu ovim građevinama treba tražiti u strateško-vojnim potrebama vojne kontrole nad nedavno osvojenom provincijom koja prolazi fazu organizacije obrane centara na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, ponajprije glavnog grada provincije, kolonije *Iulia Martia Salona*. Simptomatično je da su logori *Burnum*, *Tilurium* i *presidium Andetrium*, sjedišta vojnih jedinica provincije, bili u blizini bojnih polja gdje je otpor ilirskih i delmatskih plemena bio jači: M. ŠAŠEL KOS, 2005, 442-450.

10 U jesen 1978. u selu Uzdolju, 12 km južno od Knina pronađen je kamen sa sljedećim natpisom: *T(erminus) · PRA(ti) / LEG(ionis) / XI · C(laudiae) · P(iae) · F(idelis)*. Spominju se granice zemlje u posjedu XI. legije (*Legio XI C.P.F.*) odnosno u nadležnosti rimske legije. Usporedbom tog dokumenta s drugim natpisom koji je nađen 1890. gdje se opet spominje *prata legionis* XI. legije (*XI Legio C.P.L.*) (CIL, III, 13250), možemo zaključiti da je legijski prostor iznosio oko 455 km², u pravcu Knina: M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1985, 63-73; A. STARAC, 2000, 36-38.

the auxiliary contingents only. The *castrum* of *Burnum* was abandoned, and the *canabae*¹¹ located near the military camp first developed as a civilian population centre, and then obtained, in the 2nd century AD, the juridical status of a *municipium*.¹² Among the various epigraphic documents referring to the decurional order and its members, one relates to Lucius Nonius Clementianus, decurion and builder, in which precise reference is made to *municipium Burnistarum*.¹³

We do not know when *Burnum* obtained municipal status. It probably occurred in the age of Hadrian, as demonstrated by an inscription (CIL, III, 2828=9890) dating to AD 118, made in honour of the emperor Hadrian by the *ordo decurionum*: *..Imp] (eratori) Caes[ari / Div]i Traian[i / Par]thici f(ilio) Divi / Ner]vae nepoti / Trai]ano Hadriano / Aug](usto) Pont(ifici) Max(imo) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) II co(n)s(uli) II P(atri) p(atriciae) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.¹⁴

After the declaration of the municipality, the strategic-military control of the area, a crucial crossroads of important routes connecting the coast and the inland of the province,¹⁵ was guaranteed by the

kanabe,¹¹ koje su bile smještene u blizini vojnog kampa, razvile su se isprva kao civilno naselje, koje je u 2. st. po. Kr. dobile pravni status municipija.¹² Među različitim epigrafičkim dokumentima koji se odnose na dekurionski stalež i njegove članove jedan se odnosi na Lucija Nonija Klemen-tijana, dekuriona i graditelja, a izravno spominje *municipium Burnistarum*.¹³

Ne znamo kada je *Burnum* dobio status municipija. Vjerojatno se to dogodilo u doba Hadrijana, na što ukazuje natpis CIL, III, 2828=9890 datiran u 118. po. Kr. koji je *ordo decurionum* podignuo u čast cara Hadrijana: *..Imp](eratori) Caes[ari / Div]i Traian[i / Par]thici f(ilio) Divi / Ner]vae nepoti / Trai]ano Hadriano / Aug](usto) Pont(ifici) Max(imo) / trib(unicia) pot(estate) II co(n)s(uli) II P(atri) p(atriciae) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.¹⁴

Nakon dobivanja municipalnog statusa, strateško-vojna kontrola područja ključnog kao raskršća važnih prometnih pravaca koji su povezali unutrašnjost provincije s obalom¹⁵ bila je osigurana prisutnošću sljedećih postrojbi: *Cohors I Bel-*

11 It was common habit that groups of barracks and temporary constructions were built near the camps; these were used by merchants, craftsmen, etc., who followed the legions and supplied the soldiers with all they needed.

12 Patsch mentioned Ivoševci, a village about two kilometres distant from the site, as the *canabae* from which the *municipium* developed. According to the Austrian researcher, *Burnum* continued to have an exclusively military role. One thing is quite sure: the presence also in *Burnum* of the *canabae*, and their development from the beginnings of the Roman occupation. It is likely however, that these were very close to the *castrum*: M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1968, 126-127.

13 This inscription has been published in: VAHD, 54 (1952), p. 210. Among the other epigraphic documents stating the presence of a decurional class the following are mentioned: the long inscription (CIL III, 2830=9891) made in honour of Sex. Vinicius Faustinus Julius Severus, a friend of the emperor Hadrian and consul *suffectus* in 127 AD; and the fragmentary inscription (CIL III, 14321/24), perhaps related to some building work (*faciendum curavit*), the realisation of which was subject to control by a person appointed by the *ordo decurionum*: M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1968, 124-125; J. MEDINI, 1974, 27-53.

14 Hadrian conferred municipal status on many *canabae*, civil settlements, and to the many *castra* and *castella* along the northeastern *limes* of the Empire: *Augusta Vindelicorum*, *Carnuntum*, *Brigetio*, *Aquincum*, *Cetium*, *Municipium Latobicorum*, *Mursella* in Pannonia; *Viminacium*, *Drobeta* in Mesia; *Napoca* in Dacia.

15 To be able to understand the value of the strategic role of *Burnum*, it is sufficient to look at the Peutinger Map. This document shows *Burno* (*Burnum*) as a crucial crossroad where five important roads met. Three of these crossed the Liburnian territory: the first one ran from *Senia* in the direction of the internal sections of the province and reached the centres on the Danube, the second one from *Jadera* (*Iader*) through *Nedino* (*Nedinum*) and *Aserie* (*Asseria*) reached *Burno*, the third one ran from *Jadera* along the coast and crossed *Scardona*; and two others (one along the coast and the other across the hinterland) crossed the Dalmatian territory and ended in *Salona*: I. BOJANOVSKI, 1974, 203-210.

11 Bila je uobičajena praksa da se uz logore grade barake ili privremeni objekti: koristili su ih trgovci, obrtnici, itd. Oni su pratili legiju i opskrbljivali vojnike svime što im je trebalo.

12 Patsch je spomenuo Ivoševce, mjesto dva kilometra udaljeno od nalazišta, kao *canabae* iz kojih se municipij razvio. Prema tom austrijskom istraživaču *Burnum* je i dalje imao isključivo vojnu ulogu. U svakom slučaju jedno je sigurno: *canabae* su postojale u *Burnumu* i razvile su se na početku rimske okupacije. Vjerojatno su bile vrlo blizu logora: M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1968, 126-127.

13 Natpis je objavljen u VAHD, 54 (1952), 210. Među ostalim epigrafičkim dokumentima koji potvrđuju zastupljenost dekurionskog staleža su: dugi natpis (CIL, III, 2830=9891) podignut u čast Sexta Vinicija Faustina Iulia Severa, prijatelja cara Hadrijana i konzula *suffectus*-a 127. godine po. Kr. i fragmentarni natpis (CIL, III, 14321/24) koji se odnosi na neku gradnju (*faciendum curavit*) čija je realizacija bila pod kontrolom osobe koju je postavio *ordo decurionum*: M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1968, 124-125; J. MEDINI, 1974, 27-53.

14 Hadrijan je dao municipalni status mnogim kanabama, civilnim naseljima i mnogim kastrumima i utvrdama (*castra* i *castella*) uz sjeveroistočni *limes* carstva: *Augusta Vindelicorum*, *Carnuntum*, *Brigetio*, *Aquincum*, *Cetium*, *Municipium Latobicorum*, *Mursella* u Panoniji; *Viminacium*, *Drobeta* u Meziji; *Napoca* u Daciji.

15 Da bismo shvatili vrijednost strateške uloge *Burnuma* dovoljno je pogledati Peutingerovu kartu. Ovaj dokument pokazuje *Burno* (*Burnum*) kao ključno raskršće gdje se susreće pet važnih cesta. Tri od njih su prolazile kroz liburnski teritorij: prva je išla iz *Senie* u smjeru unutrašnjosti i dolazila do gradova na Dunavu, druga je išla iz *Iadera* preko *Nedinuma* i *Aserie* do *Burnuma*, a treća je išla iz *Iadera* uz obalu i prolazila je kroz *Scardonu*; preostale dvije (jedna uz obalu i druga kroz unutrašnjost) prelazile su preko delmatskog teritorija i završavale u *Saloni*: I. BOJANOVSKI, 1974, 203-210.

auxiliaries of the *Cohors I Belgarum*, the *Cohors III Alpinorum*, and, for a short period towards the middle of the 2nd century AD, also by some units of the *Legio VIII Augusta* (again stationed in *Dalmatia* in the age of Antoninus Pius).¹⁶

The concentration of the inscriptions of beneficiaries to consular officers in *Burnum* bears witness, once again, that the former settlement remained an important administrative and military centre of *Dalmatia* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.¹⁷ The municipium had a significant role extending into Late Antiquity. Notwithstanding this, the Gothic-Byzantine War, which involved various centres of the northern inland territories of *Dalmatia*, predicated in 536-537 AD the elimination of *Burnum* from the historical stage.¹⁸

2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH: THE EXCAVATIONS IN 1912-1913

As already mentioned, the first excavation campaign involving the Roman site of *Burnum* took place between 1912 and 1913. The aim of the campaign was to clarify the architectonic typology of the only evidence present *in situ*: the monumental arches described for the first time by Alberto Fortis in his book "*Viaggio in Dalmazia*" ("Travels into Dalmatia"), published in 1774. The results obtained were particularly significant: what immediately ensued was the connection of the remains brought to light with a permanent military camp.

The Austrian researchers determined the presence of two building complexes belonging to different periods. To the most ancient period belonged a small complex with a rectangular form (60 x 40 m), closed on the short northern side by a series of rooms, among which the central one (9 m x 15 m), had an apse corresponding to the central axis of the whole construction¹⁹ (Fig. 3).

These structures were then demolished to make way for the paving of an open space belonging to

garum, *Cohors III Alpinorum* i nakratko sredinom 2. st. po. Kr. pojedinih odjeljenja VIII. legije (*Legio VIII Augusta*) koja je ponovno u Dalmaciji u doba Antonina Pija.¹⁶

Koncentracija natpisa konzularnih beneficijara u Burnumu potvrđuje da je bivše naselje ostalo važan administrativni i vojni centar Dalmacije i u 2. i 3. st. po. Kr.¹⁷ Municipij je zadržao važnost sve do kasne antike. Unatoč tomu, gotsko-bizantski rat, koji je zahvatio i centre sjevernih dijelova unutrašnjosti Dalmacije, uzrokovao je nestanak Burnuma s povijesne scene 536-537. po. Kr.¹⁸

2. ARHEOLOŠKA ISTRAŽIVANJA 1912. I 1913. GODINE

Kao što je već spomenuto, prva istraživačka kampanja u Burnumu poduzeta je 1912. i 1913. Cilj kampanje bio je razjašnjenje arhitektonske tipologije jedinog ostatka sačuvanog *in situ*: monumentalnih lukova koje je prvi opisao Alberto Fortis u svom djelu "*Viaggio in Dalmazia*" (Put po Dalmaciji) objavljenom 1774. Dobiveni rezultati bili su posebno važni budući da je odmah uočena povezanost ostataka sa stalnim vojnim logorom.

Austrijski istraživači pronašli su dva građevinska sklopa koja su pripadala različitim periodima. Mali pravokutni kompleks (60 m x 40 m) pripada najstarijem periodu. Zatvoren je s kraće, sjeverne, strane nizom prostorija od kojih je središnja prostorija (9 m x 15 m) imala apsidu u razini srednje osi cijele konstrukcije¹⁹ (Sl. 3).

Ove strukture su zatim uništene da bi se popločao otvoreni prostor koji je pripadao većem kompleksu. Orijentacija prijašnjih građevina bila je zadržana što je vidljivo u osi prostorije s apsidom (T) zadržanoj u idućoj prostoriji (G). Drugi, mlađi, sklop zauzimao je pravokutnu površinu (93 m x 73 m) koja je na kratkoj sjevernoj strani imala središnju prostoriju s apsidom (G); ta centralna prostorija je s obje strane

16 These military units are documented in *Burnum* starting from the 2nd century AD: M. SUIĆ, 1970, 93-129.

17 The stations (*stationes*) of the consular beneficiaries, officers of the administrative office of the province ambassador, were displaced, after the demilitarization of Dalmatia, along the main arterial roads and near the main commercial nodes. These stations represented the most important administrative and military body for the control of the province.

18 Procop., *Goth.*, I, 16.

19 E. REISCH, 1913, 122-123.

16 Ove vojne jedinice su dokumentirane u Burnumu od 2. st. po. Kr.: M. SUIĆ, 1970, 93-129.

17 Stanice (*stationes*) konzularnih beneficijara, službenika administrativnog ureda namjesnika provincije su premještene nakon demilitarizacije Dalmacije uz glavne ceste i glavna trgovinska čvorišta. Ove stanice su predstavljale najvažnija administrativna i vojna tijela za kontroliranje provincije.

18 Procop., *Goth.*, I, 16.

19 E. REISCH, 1913, 122-123.

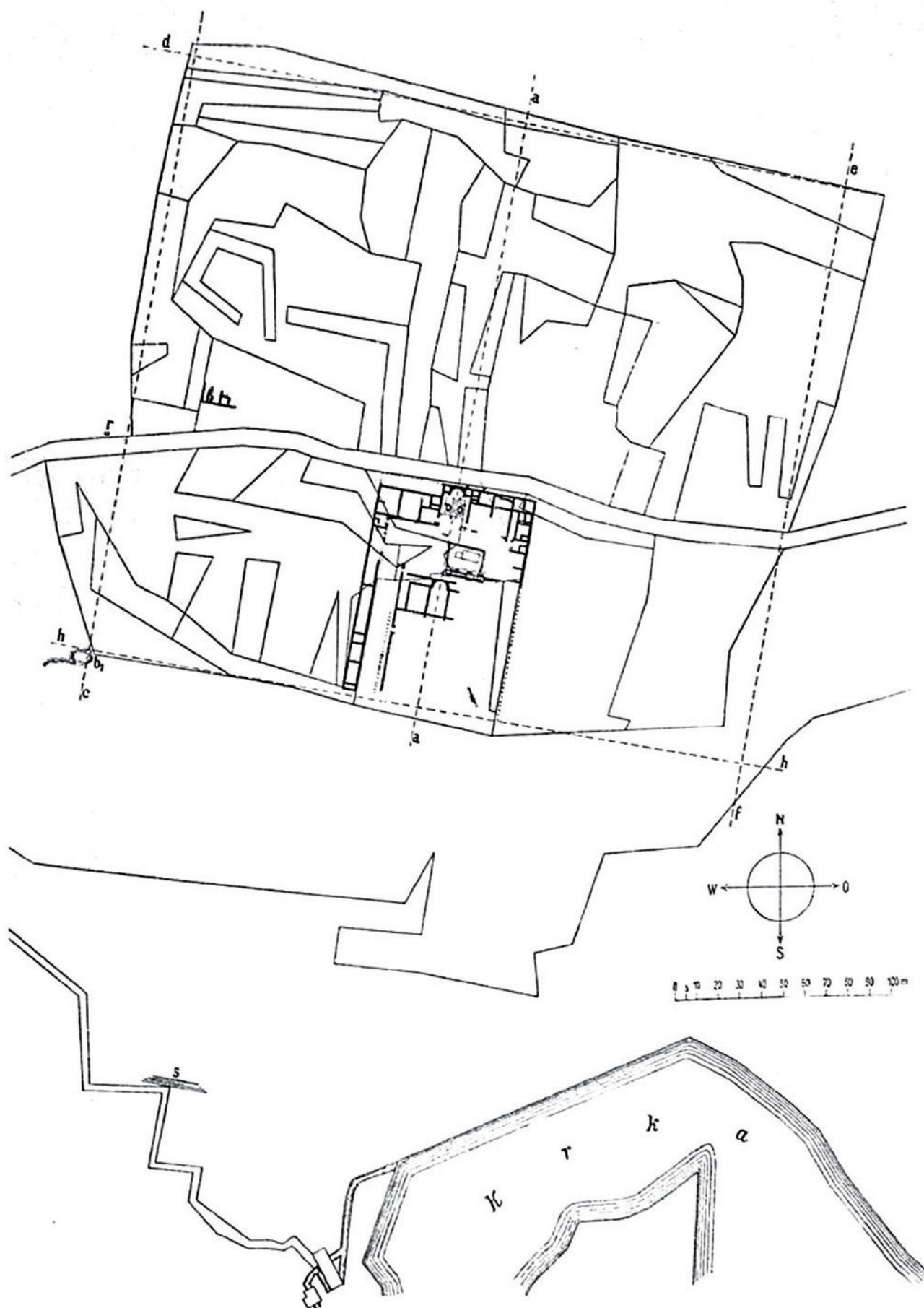


FIG. 3. / SL. 3.

Map of the site of Burnum with the ruins excavated by Reisch in 1912-1913. (E. REISCH, 1913).

Karta nalazišta Burnum s ostacima koje je iskopavao Reisch 1912-1913 (E. REISCH, 1913).

a larger complex, which maintained the orientation of the previous structures, as shown by the axis of the room with the apse (T), maintained in the next room (G). The area of the second complex covered a rectangular surface of 93 x 73 m, having on the short northern side a central room with and apse (G); this central room then had on both sides three identical rooms, symmetric to it.²⁰ A series of rooms opened along the long western side of the open paved area, stopping suddenly (*a-b* on the plan) in correspondence to an east-west wall over which the north-south alignment ended. An explorative survey indicated the presence in the south of a west-east street in the direction of the western gate (*porta principalis dextra*), the southern tower of which was found in 1913.²¹

At the end of the excavations, Reisch envisaged that what he had discovered, in the centre of an area that he reckoned could cover a surface of 8.5 hectares, could be interpreted as the remains of two complexes that, showing a plan recalling the form of the *principia-praetoria* of the *castra stativa*, represented two phases of the military life of the legionary camp of *Burnum*.²² In the opinion of the Austrian researcher, the construction of the permanent *castrum* was ascribed to the soldiers of the *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*, and subsequently to the soldiers of the *Legio XI*.

Moreover, on the basis of the results of research carried out by Patsch, Reisch attributed the structures of the most monumental *praetorium* to a reorganisation of the camp to accommodate, in the 2nd century AD, the *Legio VIII Augusta* or the *Legio I Adiutrix*; he believed then that the realisation of the *municipium Burnistarum* should refer only to the *canabae*, which he located in the nearby village of Ivoševci.²³

3. THE REVIEW EXCAVATIONS OF 1973-1974

The second campaign took place between 1973 and 1974 (Fig. 4), after several years of preparation works carried out by the Antiquity Section of

imala tri iste, simetrične, prostorije.²⁰ Na dužoj zapadnoj strani otvorenog popločanog prostora bio je niz prostorija koji se naglo prekida (*a-b* na planu) u razini zida položenog u pravcu istok-zapad iznad kojeg je završavalo poravnanje u pravcu sjever-jug. Pregled južnog dijela terena ukazivao je na ostatke ulice orijentirane zapad-istok, u pravcu zapadnih vrata (*porta principalis dextra*) čija je južna kula otkrivena 1913.²¹

Na kraju istraživanja Reisch je mislio da se nalazi, smješteni u središtu područja koje je moglo obuhvaćati 8,5 hektara, mogu protumačiti kao ostaci dvaju sklopova koji tlocrtom podsjećaju na *principia-praetoria* stalnog logora (*castra stativa*), a koji su predstavljali dvije faze u razvoju legijskog logora u Burnumu.²² Po mišljenju austrijskog istraživača, izgradnja stalnog logora može se pripisati vojnicima XX. legije (*Legio XX Valeria Victrix*), a potom i onima iz XI. legije.

Na temelju rezultata istraživanja Carla Patscha, Reisch je povezao strukture monumentalnog pretorija s reorganizacijom logora u 2. st. po. Kr. kako bi mogao primiti VIII. legiju (*Legio VIII Augusta*) ili I. legiju (*Legio I Adiutrix*). Vjerovao je da se osnivanje *municipium Burnistarum* odnosi samo na kanabe koje je locirao u obližnjem naselju Ivoševci.²³

3. REVIZIJSKA ISTRAŽIVANJA 1973-1974. GODINE

Druga kampanja arheoloških istraživanja bila je organizirana 1973. i 1974. (Sl. 4) nakon nekoliko godina pripremnih radova Antičke sekcije balkanskog komiteta.²⁴ Cilj istraživanja bio je provjeriti rezultate prethodnih kampanja i dobiti nove informacije o većem i monumentalnijem od dva ranije spomenuta građevinska kompleksa. Budući da su ostaci koji su otkriveni početkom 20. st. zatrpani zemljom nakon istraživanja, i budući da je zemljište u međuvremenu postalo privatno

20 E. REISCH, 1913, 125-128.

21 E. REISCH, 1913, 132.

22 In terms of the interpretation of the structure of the more recent complex, Reisch left more than one possibility open. From the beginning in fact he thought it was unlikely that the series of large block arches could have been a part – from the point of view of building technique and decorative style – of a military construction and therefore of a reconstruction of the *castrum* in the 2nd century AD.

23 C. PATSCH, 1899, 1068 ff.

20 E. REISCH, 1913, 125-128.

21 E. REISCH, 1913, 132.

22 Što se tiče interpretacije strukture recentnijeg kompleksa, Reisch je ostavio više otvorenih mogućnosti. Otpočetak je mislio da nije vjerojatno da bi niz velikih lukova od blokova, sa stajališta građevne tehnike i dekorativnog stila, mogao biti dio vojne građevine i stoga rekonstrukcije logora u 2. st. po. Kr.

23 C. PATSCH, 1899, 1068 ss.

24 M. KANDLER, 1977, 39-45; S. ZABEHLICHY-SCHEFFENEGGER, M. KANDLER, 1979.

the Balkan Committee.²⁴ The aim of the survey was to review the results of the previous campaign, and in particular to acquire new information about the larger and more monumental of the two complexes. Since the structures brought to light at the beginning of the 20th century had then been covered with earth again after the excavations, and since the land had in the meantime become a private property used for agriculture, the excavations were reduced to a few trenches and explorative trials.²⁵

vlasništvo te se obrađivalo, iskopavanje se svelo na nekoliko probnih sondi.²⁵

Osim ovih ograničenja, pojavio se i problem mogućeg nepronalaska stratigrafije koja nije bila poremećena prethodnim iskopavanjima. Srećom, sonde su iskopane u sektorima u kojima je, osim u jednom slučaju, stratigrafski slijed ispod recentnijih struktura bio intaktan i pokazao se ključnim u određivanju kronologije najstarije antičke faze kastruma. Ispostavilo se da su ostaci tzv. "druge

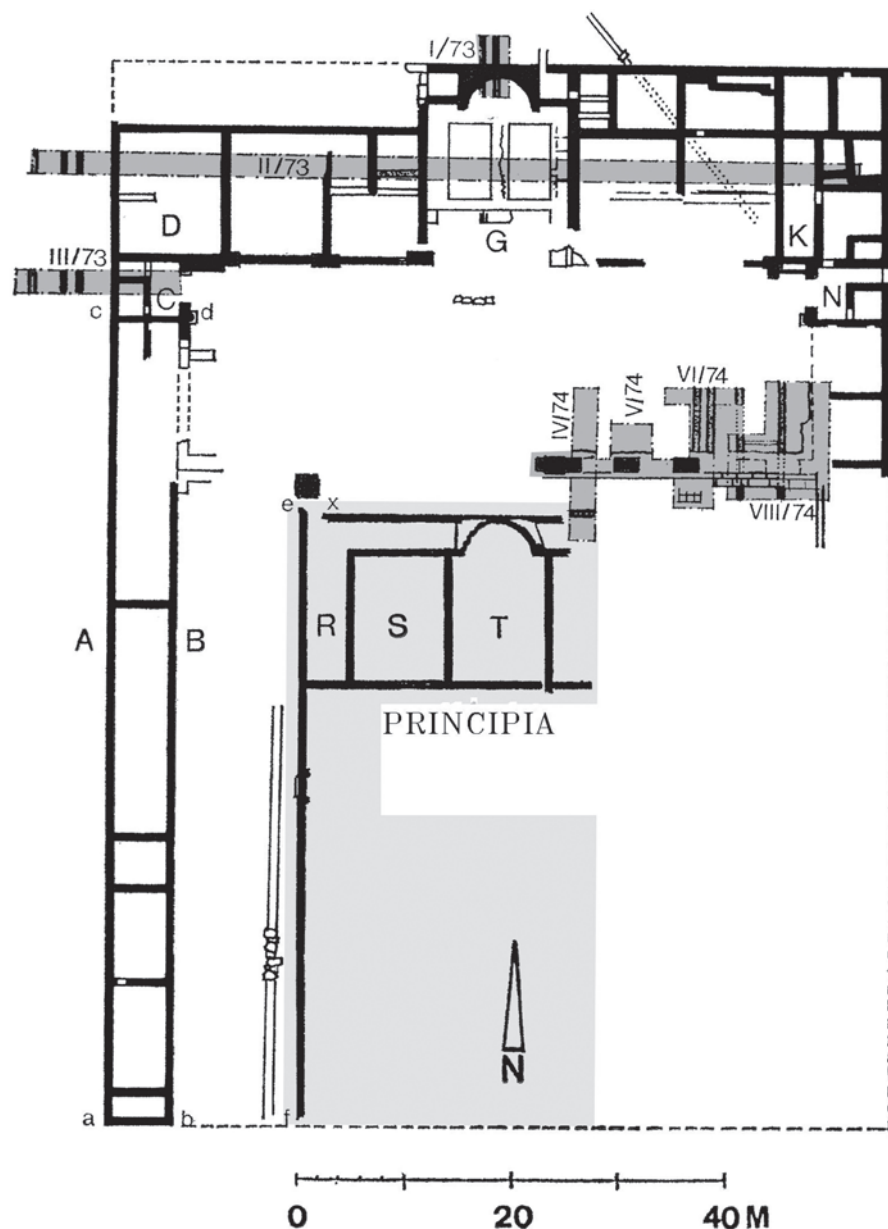


FIG. 4. / SL. 4.

Map of the principia of the castrum. Underlined in grey color are the trenches excavated by Kandler in 1973-1974 (after M. KANDLER, 1977).

Karta principija kastruma. Sivom bojom su označene Kandlerove sonde iz 1973-1974. (prema M. KANDLER, 1977).

24 M. KANDLER, 1977, 39-45; S. ZABEHLICHY-SCHEFFENEGGER, M. KANDLER, 1979.

25 During the first year of surveys, three trenches were opened: the first near the room with the apse (G); the second one, 75 m long, ran in an east-west direction and "cut into" all the northern rooms; the third one was opened parallel to the previous one, but in the western sector of the complex. All the trial excavations of the second year involved, to the contrary, the area of the arches still *in situ*: M. KANDLER, 1977, 41.

25 U prvoj godini istraživanja otvorene su tri sonde: prva u blizini prostorije s apsidom (G); druga, 75 m duga, orijentirana I-Z koja je presijecala sve sjeverne prostorije; treća je otvorena paralelno s prethodnom, ali u zapadnom sektoru kompleksa. Nasuprot tome, sva probna iskopavanja u drugoj godini su se odvijala na prostoru gdje su lukovi još *in situ*: M. KANDLER, 1977, 41.

Apart these limitations, there was also the problem of succeeding in discovering a stratigraphy that would not be compromised by the preceding excavations. Fortunately the trenches were made in sectors in which, apart from one only case, the interruption of the ancient layers ended in correspondence with the more recent structures: the underlying stratigraphic succession was intact, and turned out to be fundamental in determining the chronology of the earliest phase of the *castrum*. In fact, it turned out that the structures of the so-called second phase had cancelled the preceding wall foundations. These structures, probably related to the first phase, were founded on virgin soil and the material findings seemed not to be older than the first quarter of the 1st century AD: to the contrary of what Reisch stated, there were no traces that would refer to the *Legio XX Valeria Victrix*.

In some sectors, among the material found during the excavations, various fragments of tiles and bricks were discovered with the stamp of the *Legio XI*. Since 36 out of 47 of the documented marks had the formula *Claudia Pia Fidelis*, it was established that some building interventions had been made in the *castrum* after 42 AD.²⁶

This suggested to the archaeologists led by Kandler that the building of the *castrum* had been carried out in a place previously not frequented, that the construction had been carried out by the soldiers of the *Legio XI*, and that probably around the middle of the 1st century AD, some sectors of the camp were refurbished.

Together with these new data, the discovery of a coin of Nerva (AD 96-98), in the foundation trench of one of the northern walls of the second phase complex, seemed to determine a chronological shift at the beginning of the 2nd century. In consideration also of the various architectural fragments and inscriptions collected on the occasion of the elimination of the stones delimiting the cultivated fields, the hypothesis that the remains of the more monumental complex might refer to an "official" context was strengthened.²⁷

The continuity of the site was further confirmed by another period of construction interventions, which, by the way, could not be chronologically classified. This further phase also included the raising of the open paved area (*forum* square), and other changes involving the northern sections of the complex.²⁸

faze" nasjeli na ranije temelje ziđa. Ovi ostaci, koji se vjerojatno odnose na prvu fazu, pronađeni su na zdravici. Izgleda da materijalni ostaci nisu stariji od prve četvrtine 1. st. po. Kr. Usprkos Reischovim tvrdnjama, nije bilo tragova koji bi upućivali na XX. legiju (*Legio XX Valeria Victrix*).

U nekim sektorima, među materijalnim ostacima otkrivenim tijekom iskopavanja, nađeni su različiti fragmenti opeka i cigli s pečatom XI. legije. Budući da se na 36 od 47 zabilježenih znakova spominje formulacija *Claudia Pia Fidelis*, utvrđeno je da su određeni graditeljski zahvati poduzeti u logoru nakon 42. po. Kr.²⁶ Zbog toga su arheolozi pod vodstvom Kandlera pretpostavili da je kastrum izgrađen na mjestu koje ranije nije bilo naseljeno, da su ga izgradili vojnici XI. legije i da su vjerojatno sredinom 1. st. po. Kr. neki dijelovi logora obnovljeni.

Zajedno s tim novim podacima, otkriće Nervinog novčića (96.-98. po. Kr) u temeljima sjevernih zidova druge faze kompleksa označilo je kronološku smjenu na početku 2. st. Pregledom raznih arhitektonskih fragmenata i natpisa koji su prikupljeni prilikom uklanjanja kamenja koje je omeđivalo obrađena polja, osnažena je pretpostavka da bi se ostaci monumentalnijeg kompleksa mogli povezati sa "službenim" kontekstom.²⁷

Kontinuitet nalazišta je dodatno potvrđen još jednim periodom građevnih intervencija koje se nisu mogle kronološki klasificirati. Ovoj se fazi mogu pripisati podizanje otvorenog popločanog prostora (*forum*) i druge promjene u sjevernim dijelovima kompleksa.²⁸

26 M. KANDLER, 1977, 44.

27 Among the architectural fragments were pieces lintel blocks, moulded bases etc. The style of the decorations was dated to the 2nd century AD; M. KANDLER, 1977, 43-44.

28 M. KANDLER, 1977, 45.

26 M. KANDLER, 1977, 44.

27 Između arhitektonskih fragmenata bilo je komada blokova nadvratnika, profiliranih baza itd. Prema stilu ukrasa mogu se datirati u 2. st. po. Kr; M. KANDLER, 1977, 43-44.

28 M. KANDLER, 1977, 45.

4. THE ROMAN AQUEDUCT OF PLAVNO POLJE – BURNUM

At the same time as the Austrian data revision campaigns on the *praetorium-forum*, the investigations of the aqueduct of *Burnum* started, led in 1973-1974 by the Archaeological Museum of Zadar.²⁹ Since there was no detailed information about the construction of the aqueduct, apart from that reported by Neumann at the beginning of the 20th century, the researchers began a systematic survey of the entire area around the site.

It is anyway worth considering that among the archaeological information, generally referring to the *castrum*, of the campaign carried out in 1912-1913, a particular significance had the data collected and partially published on the collection and the use of water in *Burnum*. In the eastern part of the northern sector of the most monumental *principia*, in fact, a small fountain (*nymphaeum* or *lacus*) was discovered. According to the notes by Reisch, the remains were so well conserved they allowed a complete reconstruction. The fountain (4 x 1.50 m) was composed of a basin delimited by two lateral walls of large stone blocks, which carried a lintel decorated with images of Roman arms and armatures. Above the lintel, a gable presented a relief of the she-wolf, *Romulus*, and *Remus*.³⁰

Apart from this reconstruction, in the report of the first excavation campaign in *Burnum* no reference was made to the aqueduct, but the presence of a monumental fountain suggested, together with other remains, a possible and fertile field for investigation. In two months of systematic research, it was in fact possible to determine almost the entire aqueduct route and to document the construction characteristics (Fig. 5).

4. RIMSKI AKVEDUKT PLAVNO POLJE – BURNUM

U vrijeme revizije podataka austrijskih kampanja na području *praetorium-forum*, počela su istraživanja akvedukta u Burnumu koja je 1973-1974. vodio Arheološki muzej u Zadru.²⁹ Budući da nije bilo detaljnih informacija o akveduktu, osim onih koje je ponudio Neumann na početku 20. stoljeća, istraživači su počeli sustavan pregled cijelog područja oko nalazišta.

Važno je primijetiti da su posebnu važnost među arheološkim podacima iz istraživanja 1912-1913. koji se općenito odnose na logor, imali podaci u vezi s upotrebom vode u Burnumu. Mala fontana (*nymphaeum* ili *lacus*) otkrivena je u istočnom dijelu sjevernog sektora monumentalnog principija. Prema Reischovim navodima, ostaci su bili tako dobro sačuvani da su dopuštali cjelovitu rekonstrukciju. Fontana (4 m x 1,50 m) se sastojala od bazena omeđenog s dva bočna zida od velikih kamenih blokova koji su podupirali nadvratnik ukrašen prikazima rimskog oružja i oklopa. Iznad nadvratnika, u zabatu je bio prikaz vučice, Romula i Rema.³⁰

Osim ove rekonstrukcije, u izvještaju s prve istraživačke kampanje akvedukt se ne spominje, ali monumentalna fontana, zajedno s drugim ostacima, ukazivala je na plodno područje za buduća istraživanja, pa je u dva mjeseca sustavnih istraživanja bilo moguće odrediti gotovo cijelu trasu akvadukta i dokumentirati njegove graditeljske značajke (Sl. 5).

Potreba za čistom i zdravom vodom, po mogućnosti izvorskom, a ne iz same rijeke (u konkretnom slučaju uzimanje vode s Krke bilo je problematično jer je visinska razlika između logora i rijeke oko 100 m), natjerala je rimske postrojbe

29 The most ancient data on the presence of an aqueduct supplying the site of *Burnum* are to be found in a map dating to 1808, showing the ruins of the *castrum*: W. KUBITSCHKE, 1928, 38. Much later the "Nestor" of Croatian archaeology, Don Frane Bulić (*Cenni archeologico-epigrafici sui distretti di Zara, Bencovac, Knin, Selenico*, BD, 2, 1879, 83), noted the groundlessness of the thesis according to which the remains of the arches would represent the carrier elements of the aqueduct, since they were much higher than the *specus*, the route of which had been identified. In his report W. Neumann (*Bericht über die im Jahre 1899 ausgeführte Reise in Dalmatien*, Mitteilungen der k. k. Zeltralkomm., 26, Wien 1900, p. 201), indicated for the first time that the water supplied to the military camp of *Burnum* came from the spring of Radljevac located in Plavno polje.

30 E. REISCH, 1913, 116-118. The fragments of the lintel and the gable decorated with the relief are kept in the Archaeological Museum of Zadar.

29 Najstariji podaci o akveduktu koji je vodom opskrbljivao Burnum mogu se naći na karti koja se datira u 1808. a pokazuje ruševine logora: W. KUBITSCHKE, 1928, 38. Puno kasnije nestor hrvatske arheologije don Frane Bulić (*Cenni archeologico-epigrafici sui distretti di Zara, Bencovac, Knin, Selenico*, BD, 2, 1879, 83) je tvrdio da je ta teza neutemeljena budući da se u njoj predlaže da su ostaci lukova nosili elemente akvedukta, a oni su su puno viši nego *specus*, čija je ruta definirana. U svom izvješću W. Neumann (*Bericht über die im Jahre 1899 ausgeführte Reise in Dalmatien*, Mitteilungen der k. k. Zeltralkomm., 26, Wien 1900, 201) je po prvi put iznio mišljenje da je voda kojom je snabdijevan vojni logor Burnum dolazila s izvora Radljevac u Plavnom polju.

30 E. REISCH, 1913, 116-118. Fragmenti nadvratnika i zabata ukrašenog reljefom čuvaju se u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru.



The need for pure and healthy water, preferably spring water rather than running water (in this specific case, to take the water from the Krka was very problematic, since the height difference between the *castrum* and the river below is around 100 m), compelled the Roman garrisons settled in *Burnum* to search for water resources in the north-eastern sector of the region, in the area of Plavno polje (21 km straight-line distance), on the western slopes of the Velebit Mountains.

Once the right source was found in Radljevac, the route of the *aqueductus* to the *castrum* was determined.³¹ The need to have a constant slope caused the water duct to be very long and curved (only in this way could the water flow freely to the "artificial mouth" in the *castrum*), reaching a total length of 32 km. In its first part, from the spring on the hill-top to the plain, the water flowed within a channel excavated in the rock. Once in the plain, the *specus* or *canalis* (dimensions: 0.42 x 0.29 m), composed of two parallel small walls of stone blocks covered with more than one waterproof layer of gravel and clay, and with a cover of limestone slabs, continued in the direction of the camp, slightly under the land surface in Antiquity. Only in the case of depressions and

FIG. 5. / SL. 5.

The route of the Roman aqueduct of Plavno polje – Burnum (B. ILAKOVAC, 1984).

Trasa rimskog akvedukta Plavno polje – Burnum (B. ILAKOVAC, 1984).

smještene u Burnumu da potraže izvore vode na sjeveroistoku, prema Plavnom polju (21 km zračne linije), na zapadnim obroncima Velebita.

Nakon što je nađen odgovarajući izvor u Radljevcu, trasa akvedukta do logora bila je određena.³¹ Zbog potrebe za stalnim nagibom kanal za vodu morao je biti vrlo dug i zakrivljen (samo na taj je način voda mogla slobodno teći do "umjetnih usta" u kastrumu), s ukupnom dužinom od 32 km. U svom prvom dijelu, od izvora na vrhu brežuljka do zaravnine, voda je tekla kanalom iskopanim u stijeni. Kad bi stigla u ravnice, *specus* ili *canalis* (dimenzije 0,42 m x 0,29 m), koji se sastojao od dva mala paralelna zida od kamenih blokova i bio pokriven s nekoliko vodootpornih slojeva šljunka, gline i pločama od vapnenca, nastavljao se u smjeru logora, neznatno ispod površine zemlje u antici. Nasipi su korišteni

31 First a map with the geographical profile of the land was made, indicating hills and hollows, plains and watercourses, then the aqueduct was built.

31 Najprija je izrađena karta s geografskim profilom tla i naznačenim uzvišenjima i ulegnućima, ravnica i vodenim tokovima, a onda je na kartu unesen i akvedukt.

sink-holes in the terrain were some embankments made, over which the gravitational channel ran.³²

A huge structure found at Ribnjak (for centuries the local people have called this area "aquarium") on the eastern side of the route, around 650 m from its arrival in *Burnum*, may be seen as a large tank or pool for decanting (*castellum limarium* or *piscina limaria*). The rectangular structure (138 x 25 m) had a double perimeter wall (width 0.60 m) of squared stone blocks, set in horizontal rows and bound with mortar (without adding brick powder), representing a facing for an internal core of conglomerate. Externally, the walls had, particularly on the short sides and above all on the southwestern one, reinforcement pilasters at regular intervals of 2.20 m.³³ Two channels of stone blocks, found in the northern and in the southwestern area, connected the tank to the aqueduct route. The aqueduct arrived in the military camp on the northern side of it; the exact point has not yet been found.³⁴

Probably the passage of the gravitational channel was in the west of what should be one of the entrance gates to the *castrum*, in this specific case the *Porta Decumana*. The aqueduct probably ended with a tower-shaped *castellum divisorium*, in which there were one or more pools for decanting and the tank from which, through openings calibrated according to the relative height, the water was divided and put into the conduits. In fact, beyond the walls two well-defined underground routes have been found: the first ran in the direction of the arches and hence towards the central zone of the camp, where Reisch found the tank and the fountain (*nymphaeum* or *lacus*); the other ran towards the *Porta principalis dextra*.³⁵

As for the dating of the aqueduct Plavno Polje-*Burnum*, there is no written evidence from those times about how it was constructed; for this reason hypotheses have been made on the basis of the archaeological data.

During the surveys carried out on the gravitational channel and the large tank, some artifacts have been found (amphora fragments and common

samo za ulegnuća i rupe u terenu iznad kojih je bio gravitacijski kanal.³²

Velika konstrukcija pronađena u Ribnjaku (stoljećima je ovo područje u narodu poznato kao "akvarij") na istočnoj strani trase, oko 650 m od mjesta gdje dolazi do Burnuma, može se smatrati velikim spremnikom ili bazenom za prelijevanje (*castellum limarium* ili *piscina limaria*). Pravokutna je građevina (138 m x 25 m) imala dvostruki perimetralni zid (širina 0,60 m) od kockastih kamenih blokova, postavljenih u horizontalne redove i povezanih žbukom (bez dodavanja samljevene opeke), dok je unutrašnja jezgra bila od konglomerata. S vanjske strane, zidovi su bili ojačani stupovima na pravilnim udaljenostima od 2,20 m, poglavito na kraćim stranama, a ponajviše na jugoistoku.³³ Dva kanala od kamenih blokova, pronađena u sjevernom i jugozapadnom dijelu područja, povezivali su spremnik s trasom akvedukta. Akvedukt je stizao u vojni logor na njegovoj sjevernoj strani, a točno mjesto još uvijek nije pronađeno.³⁴

Vjerojatno je gravitacijski kanal prolazio na zapadnoj strani strukture jednih od ulaznih vrata u *castrum*, u ovom slučaju *Porta Decumana*. Akvedukt je vjerojatno završavao s *castellum divisorium* u obliku tornja, u kojem je bio jedan ili više bazena za prelijevanje i spremnik iz kojeg je tekla voda i ulazila u cijevi kroz nasuprotne otvore kalibrirane prema relativnoj visini. Zapravo, unutar zidova su pronađene dvije podzemne trase: jedna je išla u smjeru lukova i prema središnjoj zoni logora gdje je Reisch otkrio spremnik i fontanu (*nymphaeum* ili *lacus*), a druga prema *Porta principalis dextra*.³⁵

U vezi s datiranjem akvedukta Plavno Polje – *Burnum*, nema pisanih podataka iz vremena gradnje, a koji bi opisivali način na koji je sagrađen; stoga se hipoteze temelje samo na arheološkim podacima.

Prilikom pregleda gravitacijskog kanala i velikog spremnika pronađeni su određeni nalazi (fragmenti amfora i obična keramika) koji, iako ne pružaju sigurnu kronologiju nastanka akvedukta, ukazuju da je bio korišten već u prvoj polovini 1.

32 B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 45-53; B. ILAKOVAC, 1984, 21-22.

33 Inside the tank, parallel to the surrounding wall, but at a distance of about 0.20 m, there was another wall of the same width: B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 60-65; B. ILAKOVAC, 1984, 28-29.

34 The intersection of the wall and the aqueduct was one of the main problems for the planning of these constructions, since it could not neither limit its defensive capacity nor hinder the internal circulation.

35 B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 91-96.

32 B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 45-53; B. ILAKOVAC, 1984, 21-22.

33 Unutar spremnika, usporedno s perimetralnim zidom, ali na udaljenosti od otprilike 0,20 m, bio je još jedan zid iste širine: B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 60-65; B. ILAKOVAC, 1984, 28-29.

34 Spoj obrambenog zida i akvedukta je bio jedan od glavnih problema u planiranju ovih građevina budući da se nije smjelo ograničiti defanzivni kapacitet zida niti zaustaviti cirkulaciju vode.

35 B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 91-96.

pottery) which, even if not giving an exact chronology for the origin of the aqueduct, indicated that the aqueduct was already used in the first half of the 1st century AD.³⁶ Evaluating the technical and archaeological aspects and considering also the development of the political-military situation in this area, Ilakovac has envisaged that the aqueduct of *Burnum* was built around the twenties of the 1st century AD by the soldiers of the *Legio XI*.³⁷

5. THE AMPHITHEATRE OF BURNUM

It is possible today to add to the archaeological documentation presented here the preliminary data from the excavation campaigns of the amphitheatre, started in 2003 by archaeologists of the University of Zadar and of the Municipal Museum of Drniš (Fig. 6).

The hypothesis that the *castrum* of *Burnum* had an amphitheatre had already been proposed in the thirties of the 20th century. Researchers like Bulić and Marun thought in fact that the elliptical sunken area outlined by a large heap of stones, located in the southwestern area of the site, could hide its remains. Since no surveys or excavations had been carried out, there was no reliable evidence of its existence until 2003, when, after having removed the vegetation covering the structures, the remains of the southern entrance to the amphitheatre were found. The excavation and documentation, under the auspices of the management of the Krka National Park, are still being carried out and will probably continue for another several years. On a general level, however, it is possible to offer some reliable information.

The whole edifice recently brought to light, measures 130 x 117 m. The elliptical structure, divided by four entrances (two main entrances and two secondary entrances) with access stairs to the steps, surrounds an arena of 50 x 47 m.³⁸ The external circle of the ellipse was a containing wall for the steps, made of large squared stones, bound with metal braces; on the internal side the ring delimiting

st. po. Kr.³⁶ Pri procjeni tehničkih i arheoloških aspekata i uzimajući u obzir razvoj vojno-političke situacije u ovom području, Ilakovac je pretpostavio da su vojnici XI. legije izgradili akvedukt Burnum 20-ih godina 1. st. po. Kr.³⁷

5. AMFITEATAR U BURNUMU

Arheološkim podacima dosada iznesenima u ovome radu možemo dodati preliminarne podatke s istraživanja amfiteatra koja provode arheolozi sa Sveučilišta u Zadru i Gradskog muzeja u Drnišu od godine 2003 (Sl. 6).

Hipoteza da je *castrum* Burnum imao amfiteatar postavljena je još tridesetih godina prošlog stoljeća. Istraživači poput Bulića i Maruna smatrali su da bi eliptično ulegnuće omeđeno velikim hrpama kamenja, vidljivo na jugozapadnom dijelu nalazišta, moglo skrivati ostatke amfiteatra. Budući da na tom mjestu nisu vršena istraživanja, nije bilo pouzdanih dokaza o njegovom postojanju sve do 2003. kad su otkriveni ostaci južnog ulaza u amfiteatar nakon što je uklonjena vegetacija koja ih je prekrivala. Radovi na iskopavanju i dokumentiranju, koje financijski podržava uprava Nacionalnog parka Krka nisu dovršena i vjerojatno će trajati još neko vrijeme. Međutim, već je moguće navesti neke pouzdane podatke.

Cijela građevina, koja je nedavno ponovno ugledala svjetlo dana, ima dimenzije 130 m x 117 m. Eliptična građevina s četiri ulaza (dva glavna i dva sporedna) i pristupnim stepeništima prema gledalištu okružuje arenu dimenzija 50 m x 47 m.³⁸ Vanjski krug elipse je zapravo vanjski plašt gledališta, napravljen od velikog četvrtastog kamenja povezanog metalnim sponama; u unutarnjem dijelu prsten koji omeđuje arenu napravljen je od kamenih blokova različitih dimenzija, povezanih obilnom žbukom.

U izgradnji amfiteatra korištene su pogodnosti krške vrtače. Rimski arhitekti su ljevkaste prilaze unutarnjem prostoru oslonili izravno na kamenu

36 B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 101; B. ILAKOVAC, 1984, 44.

37 For a long time it has been thought that the *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* had built the *castrum* and the aqueduct at the end of the *Bellum Batonianum* (AD 9). But the legion could have been involved in these works for only one year: B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 104-105.

38 N. CAMBI *et al.*, 2006, 7-10. It has been reckoned that, for its size, the amphitheatre of *Burnum* had a capacity of 6 to 10 thousand spectators.

36 B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 101; B. ILAKOVAC, 1984, 44.

37 Dugo se vremena mislilo da je *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* na kraju Batonova ustanka (9. po. Kr) izgradila logor i akvedukt, ali legija se ovim poslovima mogla baviti samo jednu godinu: B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 104-105.

38 N. CAMBI *et al.*, 2006, 7-10. Vjeruje se da je amfiteatar u Burnumu mogao primiti šest do deset tisuća gledatelja.

FIG. 6. / SL. 6.

Aerial view of the Roman amphitheatre of Burnum.
 Pogled iz zraka na rimski amfiteatar u Burnumu.

the arena is made of stone blocks of various size, bound with abundant mortar.

The construction of the structural elements of the amphitheatre exploited the presence of a karst sinkhole. This situation allowed the Roman architects to create the access corridors, funnel-shaped towards the internal area, directly from the bedrock with an inclination in the direction of the arena. In reference to the four entrances, the surface of the bedrock was regulated to facilitate access. The passages were vaulted, created with a simple and efficient construction technique: a succession of semi-circular rows made of pyramidal tuff blocks, alternating with identical limestone block rows. The ceiling was then covered with a white coating. The walls of the corridors consisted of stone blocks decorated with a simple moulding.

The discovery, in connection with the southern door (probably the *Porta Pompae*), of a monumental stone inscription with the name of the Emperor Vespasian, lets us date the construction of the amphitheatre of *Burnum*, in its actual form, to AD 76-77.³⁹ It is still not possible to define exactly the starting date of its construction, but the dedication of Vespasian indicates a beneficial act of the emperor. From this inscription it can be understood that Vespasian donated the amphitheatre to the soldiers of the *Legio IV Flavia Felix*, personally bound to the emperor. It is possible that the building had a previous phase and had undergone successive restorations and modifications. The most important evidence for the presence of an earlier building is given by the fact that in reference to the southern door, the walls of the access corridor have as foundations structures of a pre-existing much larger but simpler opening. Moreover, many objects of everyday use have been



podlogu koja se spušta prema areni. Na razini ulaza, kamena podloga je poravnana. Prolazi su bili nadsvodeni u jednostavnoj i učinkovitoj tehnici izmjenjivanja polukružnih slojeva od piramidalnih sedrenih blokova i slojeva vapnenačkih blokova. Strop je zatim bio prekriven bijelim premazom. Zidovi prolaza su se sastojali od kamenih blokova jednostavne profilacije.

U blizini južnog ulaza (vjerojatno *Porta Pompae*) otkriven je monumentalni kameni natpis s imenom cara Vespazijana koji omogućuje dataciju izgradnje amfiteatra u Burnumu, u njegovom današnjem obliku, u 76.-77. godinu po. Kr.³⁹ Ipak, još uvijek nije moguće definirati točno vrijeme početka njegove izgradnje, ali Vespazijanova posveta ukazuje na carsku munificijenciju. Iz natpisa iščitavamo da je Vespazijan donirao amfiteatar vojnicima IV. legije (*Legio IV Flavia Felix*) koja je bila osobno vezana s carem. Moguće je također i da je građevina imala i prethodnu fazu te da je prošla obnavljanja i izmjene. Najvažniji dokaz prisutnosti ranije građevine se može pronaći u činjenici da se u temeljima zidova prilaza južnim vratima nalaze ostaci puno većeg, ali jednostavnijeg otvora. Štoviše, mnogi predmeti za

39 The block (dimensions: 294 x 100 x 32 cm), broken into two parts probably at the moment it fell, shows the inscription in a bas-relief, delimited by a *tabula biansata*. The limestone is of superior quality in comparison to the material used for the construction of the amphitheatre. The name of the Emperor Vespasian is followed by the imperial title. The eighth *tribunicia potestas* indicates the date AD 76-77. As second criteria of dating, we have the fact that in the second half of AD 76 Vespasian was proclaimed *Imperator* for the eighteenth time: N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2006, 12-13.

39 Blok (dimenzije 294 cm x 100 cm x 32 cm), slomljen na dva dijela, nosi natpis u plitkom reljefu. *Tabula biansata* služi kao okvir. Vapnenac je bolje kvalitete negoli onaj korišten u izgradnji amfiteatra. Carska titula je navedena nakon imena cara Vespazijana. Osmi *tribunicia potestas* ukazuje na godinu 76-77. po. Kr. Kao drugi kriterij za datiranje možemo navesti činjenicu da je Vespazijan u drugoj polovini 76. po. Kr. bio proglašen imperatorom osamnaesti put: N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2006, 12-13.

found in the lower layers, which date back to the beginnings of the Imperial Age: a probable sign of intense life before the Flavian period.⁴⁰

6. THE RESEARCHES CARRIED OUT BY THE UNIVERSITY LABORATORY OF BOLOGNA 2005-2007

Setting up a relationship with the Director of the Municipal Museum of Drniš, Joško Zaninović, was the first step in a scientific cooperation aimed at realising the *Burnum* Project. Therefore, cooperation was started between the Laboratory of Archaeological Survey of the Department of Archaeology of the University of Bologna (*Laboratorio di Rilievo delle Strutture Archeologiche del Dipartimento di Archeologia dell'Università di Bologna* – directed by Enrico Giorgi) and the Municipal Museum of Drniš.⁴¹

The documentation collected during the first campaign (25th-30th August 2005), by means of advanced non-invasive methods and surveying, had the aim of reviewing the old excavation data, to better define both the architectonic typology of the arches and the interpretation of the *forum* layout.⁴²

During the campaign in 2006, some specific trial excavation trenches have been examined, and the results were of fundamental importance to verify the results of the non-invasive analysis that involved the area of the *castrum* and the *municipium* of *Burnum*.⁴³ Notwithstanding the scarce dimensions of the trial excavations, they have supplied a great quantity of archaeological material, coming mainly from trial excavation 3, carried out in the area of the *forum*, and – in minor quantities – from trial excavation 1, carried out in the area of the amphitheatre. No material evidence was found in trial excavation 2.

The present report gives an overview of some of the most significant findings, to better understand

svakodnevnu upotrebu su pronađeni u nižim slojevima koji se mogu datirati na početak carskog perioda što bi mogao biti znak intenzivnog života i prije Flavijevaca.⁴⁰

6. ISTRAŽIVANJA LABORATORIJA SVEUČILIŠTA U BOLONJI 2005-2007.

Kontakt s Joškom Zaninovićem, ravnateljem Gradskog muzeja u Drnišu, bio je prvi korak u uspostavljanju znanstvene suradnje usmjerene na ostvarivanje Projekta Burnum u kojega su se uključili Laboratorij za arheološka istraživanja Odjela za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Bolonji (*Laboratorio di Rilievo delle Strutture Archeologiche del Dipartimento di Archeologia dell'Università di Bologna*; ravnatelj: Enrico Giorgi) i Gradski muzej u Drnišu.⁴¹

Dokumentacija prikupljena u prvoj kampanji (25.-30. kolovoza 2005.) korištenjem neinvazivnih metoda, imala je za cilj provjeravanje podataka sa starih istraživanja da bi se bolje definirala arhitektonska tipologija lukova i interpretacija tlocrta foruma.⁴²

U kampanji 2006. poduzeta su probna iskopavanja, rezultati kojih su bili od presudne važnosti u provjeravanju rezultata neinvazivnih analiza provedenih na području logora i municipija Burnum.⁴³ Usprkos skromnom obimu probnih iskopavanja, otkrivena je velika količina nalaza, uglavnom u sondi 3 na području foruma i nešto manje u sondi 1 na području amfiteatra. U sondi 2 nije bilo nalaza.

Na ovom će se mjestu predstaviti važnije spoznaje da bi se bolje razumjelo otkrivene materijalne ostatke i predstavilo posebno važne nalaze u ovom kontekstu. Broj nalaza s područja amfiteatra (sonde 1 i 2) je relativno mali u odnosu na nalaze iz sve tri sonde. Ta činjenica, u kombinaciji

40 N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2006, 26. If this information was to be confirmed, then we could not exclude that the first phase of the amphitheatre of *Burnum* should be dated to the reign of Claudius.

41 The agreed goals envisage: the realisation, with scientific and educational aim, of laboratories at the camp: archaeological topography, analysis of the wall structures, diagnostics for the restoration and analysis of archaeological and archaeozoological material, the review of old documentation and the production of new and modern documentation and of new scientific investigations. The goals and the results envisaged hence involve the fields of research, education, evaluation, and presentation.

42 For a summary of the results obtained during the campaign carried out in August 2005, see: M. ALTINI *et alii*, 2005, 20-33; N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2007, 37-49.

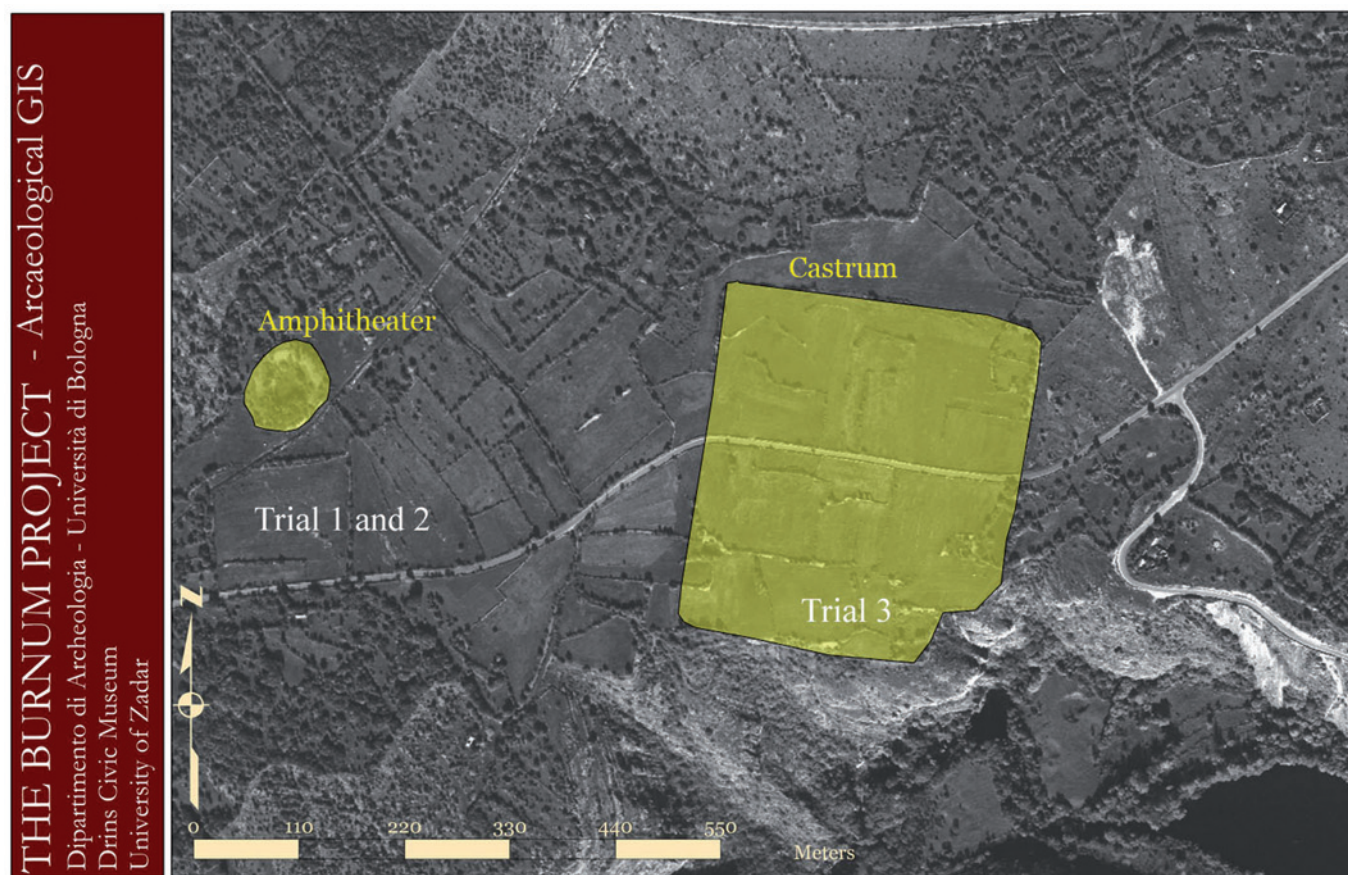
43 F. BOSCHI *et alii*, 2007, 31-38; N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2007, 51-64.

40 N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2006, 26. Ako bi se ove informacije potvrdile, ne bismo mogli isključiti pretpostavku da se prva faza amfiteatra u Burnumu može datirati u doba Klaudija.

41 Dogovoreni ciljevi uključuju: realizaciju laboratorija logora koji bi se koristio u znanstvene i obrazovne svrhe; izradu arheološke topografije, analizu zidnih struktura, dijagnostiku za restauraciju, analizu arheološkog i arheozoološkog materijala, pregled stare dokumentacije i stvaranje nove, moderne dokumentacije korištenjem novih znanstvenih metoda. Zamišljeni ciljevi i rezultati uključuju područja istraživanja, obrazovanja, valorizacije i prezentacije.

42 Za pregled rezultata kampanje iz kolovoza 2005, vidi: M. ALTINI *et alii*, 2005, 20-33; N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2007, 37-49.

43 F. BOSCHI *et alii*, 2007, 31-38; N. CAMBI *et alii*, 2007, 51-64.



the unburied evidence and to present remains of particular importance in this context. The amount of material discovered in the area of the amphitheatre (trial excavations 1 and 2) is relatively low in comparison to the evidence found in all 3 trial excavations. This fact, together with the total absence of diagnostic finds, makes it nearly impossible to give precise chronological information about the function of the discovered evidence. Items that should be mentioned include a stirrup fibula and a bronze decorative element, both of good workmanship. In contrast to this, the pottery from trial excavation 1 were of poor quality and consisted of everyday pottery, lacking any formal or aesthetic elegance. As far as quantity is concerned, the largest percentage consists of kitchen ware – to be used for cooking – and table ware (Fig. 7).

Only the analysis of the materials found in trial excavation 3 offers us useful data to understand the succession of the different layers. The objects found in the surface layers are African red slip ware and African cooking-pot ware, widespread in the Roman world from the 3rd to the 5th centuries AD. Significant objects coming from the intermediate layers include a beautiful oil lamp with volutes and figures, dating to the Imperial age, numerous segments of Eastern red slip ware, and a glass *ampulla*, dating to the same age.

FIG. 7. / Sl. 7.

Areas examined during the 2006 campaign.

Područja istražena godine 2006.

s posvemašnjim nedostatkom karakterističnih nalaza, gotovo u potpunosti onemogućava preciznu kronološku informaciju o funkciji nađenih predmeta. Vrijedi spomenuti pronalazak fibule u obliku stremena i brončanog dekorativnog elementa, oboje kvalitetne izrade. Nasuprot tome, keramika iz sonde 1 je bila loše kvalitete. Uglavnom se radilo o keramici za svakodnevnu upotrebu bez ikakve formalne ili estetske vrijednosti. Što se tiče kvantitete, najveći postotak čini keramika koja se koristila pri kuhanju i stolno posuđe (Sl. 7).

Analiza nalaza iz sonde 3 nam je pružila korisne podatke za razumijevanje slijeda slojeva. Predmeti nađeni u površinskim slojevima pripadaju afričkoj sigilati i afričkoj keramici za kuhanje, raširenoj u rimskom svijetu od 3. do 5. st. po. Kr. Važniji nalazi iz srednjih slojeva uključuju uljanicu s volutama koja se datira u carski period, brojne ulomke

The presence in the lower layers of many coarse pottery sherds with grooved striations is of great interest, as in terms of technical and formal features they are reminiscent of the pre-Roman age. It is in fact likely that this layer represents the situation before Romanization, exactly the surface where the Romans laid down the military foundations once they arrived in *Burnum*. In general, the trial excavation 3 is characterised by the variety of the classes of material found, notwithstanding the reduced dimensions of the trench, which lets us think of a rich and heterogeneous panorama in terms of material culture. In addition to the pottery and glass finds, the presence of metal objects, including a spear point and an iron blade, is remarkable.⁴⁴

During the first two weeks of June 2007, new geophysical surveys were carried out, to integrate the work done in the previous campaigns. Thanks to the use of different non-invasive survey methods and the cooperation of many specialists, it was possible to extend considerably the mapping of the site of *Burnum* begun in 2005.

The new researches were mainly aimed at:

- Completing the mapping of some areas by means of geophysical instruments only partly used during the previous years,
- Integrating the different geophysical survey systems (georadar, magnetometric, electrical resistivity),
- Training the participants in the summer school "Seeing Beneath the Soil" of the Center of Studies for Adriatic Archaeology.

The investigations carried out at *Burnum* represent a very good example of work strategy from a methodological point of view. Integration has been the starting point of every activity, both in the planning phase and during the work in the field. The main innovation of the last year was the use of the ARP system (Automatic Resistivity Profiling – introduced by Michel Dabas, of the French society Geocarta), a very modern system that allows the analysis of very large areas in a very short time. The instrument is made of metallic toothed wheels – injecting current into the soil – fastened to a frame and towed by a quad bike. It is also provided with a GPS. All the instruments have produced good results. The ARP

istočne sigilate i staklenu ampulu, koja se datira u isto vrijeme.

Također su zanimljivi mnogi ulomci grube keramike s izbrazdanom površinom iz nižih slojeva koji podsjećaju na predrimsko doba po tehničkim i formalnim značajkama. Vjerojatno ti slojevi zapravo predstavljaju stanje prije romanizacije, dakle, onu površinu na koju Rimljani polažu temelje vojnih objekata nakon što su stigli u *Burnum*. Sonda 3 je karakteristična po raznolikosti grupa nalaza, bez obzira na skromne dimenzije iskopavanja, što upućuje na bogatu i heterogenu materijalnu kulturu. Osim keramičkih i staklenih predmeta, zanimljivi su i metalni predmeti poput vrha koplja i željezne oštrice.⁴⁴

U prva dva tjedna lipnja 2007. primijenjene su nove geofizičke metode istraživanja da bi se objedinili rezultati prijašnjih kampanja. Zahvaljujući upotrebi različitih neinvazivnih metoda i suradnji s mnogim stručnjacima bilo je moguće proširiti kartiranje Burnuma koje je započelo 2005.

Nova istraživanja su uglavnom bila usmjerena na:

- dovršavanje kartiranja određenih područja pomoću geofizičkih instrumenata koji su samo djelomično korišteni posljednjih godina,
- integriranje različitih geofizičkih sustava pregleda (georadar, magnetometrija, električni otpor),
- obučavanje sudionika ljetne škole *In profondità senza scavare* Studijskog centra za jadransku arheologiju.

Istraživanja provedena u Burnumu predstavljaju dobar primjer radne strategije s metodološkog gledišta. Integracija je bila polazište svake aktivnosti u fazi planiranja i tijekom radova na terenu. Glavna inovacija zadnje godine rada bila je upotreba ARP sustava (*Automatic Resistivity Profiling* – pod vodstvom Michel Dabas, iz francuske udruge *Geocarta*), vrlo modernog sustava koji omogućava pregled velikih površina u kratkom roku. Ovaj se instrument sastoji od metalnih nazubljenih kotačića – koji provode struju u tlo – pričvršćenih na okvir koje vuče četverocikl (tzv. quad). Također, sustav raspolaže i GPS-om.

Svi su instrumenti dali dobre rezultate, a najbolje su polučili ARP i magnetometrijski sustav.

44 The contribution that geophysical methods can bring to the survey of the surface layers of the ground with presence of archaeological finds is well known and often used. About the advantages of these methods of archaeological survey, see the contribution by E. Vecchiatti in this same volume.

44 Doprinos koji geofizičke metode mogu dati u pregledu površinskih slojeva u smislu otkrivanja arheoloških nalaza je dobro poznat. O prednostima ovih metoda istraživanja usp. rad E. Vecchiatti u ovoj publikaciji.



FIG. 8. / SL. 8.

General map of the geophysical surveys in the area of Burnum.
Opća karta geofizičkih istraživanja na području Burnuma.

and the magnetometric system gave the best results. The georadar system also provided some important information. The OhmMapper system has produced some vertical tomographies about the characteristics of the buried stratification (Fig. 8).

In the D area, all the instruments have been used and all gave quite positive results. The upper part of the area appears to have been entirely occupied by buildings and structures of different dimensions. It is possible to recognize at least two large buildings overlooking a road that runs in a N-S direction. There is also much archaeological evidence in the lower part: perhaps of small square or rectangular buildings. The D area was probably an intensively and regularly built place. The structures seem to stretch out from the canyon of the Krka River and hence it is possible that the original terrace was larger as it is now. The magnetometric data indicate that the buried structures would be made of brick, while the georadar indicates that they would be at a depth of at least 60-70 cm.

During the last investigations, we have explored some new areas. In the G area, it is possible to recog-

I georadar je ponudio neke važne informacije. OhmMapper sustavom dobivene su vertikalne tomografije podzemnih slojeva (Sl. 8).

U području D svi su instrumenti bili primijenjeni i svi su dali pozitivne rezultate. Gornji dio područja bio je u potpunosti prekriven građevinama i strukturama različitih dimenzija. Mogu se prepoznati barem dvije velike uz cestu položenu u pravcu sjever-jug. Dosta je arheoloških nalaza i u drugom dijelu. Možda je riječ o malim kvadratičnim ili pravokutnim građevinama. Vjerojatno je područje D bilo stalno intenzivno naseljeno. Čini se da su se građevine pružale od kanjona Krke pa je moguće da je originalna terasa bila veća negoli je sada. Magnetometrijski podaci pokazuju da bi ukopane strukture trebale biti od cigle, dok georadar pokazuje da bi trebale biti na dubini od najmanje 60-70 cm.



FIG. 9. / Sl. 9.
ARP system (Geocarta, France).
ARP sustav (Geocarta, Francuska).

nize some parallel structures running N-S, and perhaps two square structures. In the A area, the ARP system has confirmed the presence of elements of a basilica and in the C area, the georadar system has detected the presence of walls and floors running in the same direction as the structures in the D areas. The results collected with the ARP system in the F area are very interesting. This area could be interpreted as another space with military functions (Fig. 9).

The new geophysical investigations carried out in *Burnum* have contributed to the increase, quantitatively and qualitatively, in information about the archaeological deposits and the relative internal subdivisions. It would now be interesting to verify, through archaeological excavations, the results of the geophysical surveys.

7. RECONSTRUCTION SYNTHESIS

To understand the historical, urban, and monumental development dynamics of the site, it is now necessary to present some general considerations with the aim of clarifying the particular history of this "border" area, in the Roman province of *Dalmatia*.

The boundary between *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia* is in general not well defined. There is no doubt about the correspondence of the boundary to the course and

Tijekom posljednjih istraživanja istražena su i druga područja. U području G moguće je prepoznati neke usporedne strukture u pravcu sjever-jug, a možda i dvije kvadratne građevine. U području A, ARP sustav je potvrdio postojanje dijelova bazilike, a u području C georadar je detektirao prisutnost zidova i podnica koji su orijentirani u istom smjeru kao i strukture u području D. Rezultati prikupljeni ARP sustavom u području F vrlo su zanimljivi. Ovaj prostor bi se mogao interpretirati kao još jedan prostor s vojnom namjenom (Sl. 9).

Nova geofizička istraživanja u Burnumu doprinijela su kvalitativnom i kvantitativnom proširivanju informacija o arheološkim strukturama i njihovoj unutarnjoj podjeli. Zanimljivo bi bilo rezultate geofizičkih istraživanja provjeriti i arheološkim iskopavanjima.

7. SINTEZA REKONSTRUKCIJE

U cilju razumijevanja dinamike povijesnog i urbanog razvoja nalazišta nužno je iznijeti neka opća razmatranja u svrhu razjašnjavanja posebnosti povijesnih

the mouth of the river Krka,⁴⁵ but for the southeastern sector and the higher part of the river valley many hypothesis are still open. The Dalmatian federation, by subduing and integrating the various communities of the central area of the eastern Adriatic coast in the first half of the 2nd century BC, managed to extend the area under its control up to the Liburnian territory. From this moment on, the whole eastern area of the Krka River became a large theatre of war. The situation became even worse starting from the 1st century BC, due to the interventions of the Romans, who wanted to defend the *conciliabula civium Romanorum* settled on the coast and the Liburnians, mainly loyal allies of the Romans.⁴⁶ Finally submitting to the Roman domination, in the period of the wars of Octavian (35-33 BC) against the Iapodes [sic *Giapidi*], Dalmatians, and *Scordisci*, the territory of the *Illyricum* was administered as a province only starting from AD 9, that is to say after the repression of the great rebellion of the Illyrian populations led by Bato, the head of the *Daesitiates*.⁴⁷

Since the upper part of the Krka valley – the territory of the Liburnian *Burnistae* – had been demonstrated to be highly important from a strategic point of view (in particular thanks to the presence of certain places at which it was easy to cross the river canyon, like the fords of Bobodol and Manojlovac), the Romans placed here one of the centres of the permanent occupation contingent of the province: the legionary castrum of *Burnum*. The territory was organized so it could be systematically controlled. Garrisons and military divisions composed of legionary *vexillationes* and of military units were settled in *castella*, *burgi*, *arces* and *turres*, close to the Dalmatian territory, for more efficient control of the terrain.⁴⁸

događanja ovoga "graničnoga" područja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji.

Granica između Liburnije i Dalmacije nije jasno definirana. Nema sumnje da se ta granica podudara s linijom u razini ušća Krke,⁴⁵ ali za jugoistočni dio riječnog toka, kao i za njegov gornji dio, mnoge su hipoteze još uvijek otvorene. Delmatska federacija, koja je pokorila i integrirala razne zajednice središnjeg prostora istočne jadranske obale u prvoj polovini 2. st. pr. Kr., uspjela je proširiti svoje područje sve do liburnskog teritorija. Od tog trenutka, cijelo istočno područje rijeke Krke pretvorilo se u ratnu pozornicu. Situacija se pogoršala od 1. st. pr. Kr. intervencijama Rimljana koji su pokušavali obraniti *conciliabula civium Romanorum* na obali kao i Liburne, uglavnom vjerne saveznike Rimljana.⁴⁶ Nakon Oktavijanovih ratova protiv Japoda, Delmata i Skordiska (35-33. pr. Kr.) Dalmacija je konačno pokorena. Teritorij Ilirika je organiziran kao provincija tek od 9. godine po. Kr., odnosno nakon gušenja velike pobune koju je vodio Bato, vođa Desitijata.⁴⁷

Pošto se gornji dio toka Krke – teritorij liburnskih Burnista – pokazao vrlo važnim u strateškom smislu (posebice zahvaljujući mjestima gdje je lako prijeći riječni kanjon kao što su prijelazi Bobodol i Manojlovac), Rimljani su upravo tu smjestili sjedište stalnog okupacijskog kontingenta provincije: legijski logor Burnum. Teritorij je organiziran na način da može biti sustavno kontroliran. Garnizoni i vojne postrojbe, koji su se sastojali od legijskih veksilacija (*vexillationes*) i drugih vojnih odjeljenja, bili su, radi učinkovitije kontrole, smješteni u *castella*, *burgi*, *arces* i *turres* blizu delmatskog teritorija.⁴⁸

45 And the already mentioned Pliny; Strabo, 7, 5, 4; Ptolemy, 2, 16, 2.

46 J. J. WILKES, 1969, 37-45; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1990, 187-188.

47 Before the Imperial age, we can not speak of a Roman province of *Dalmatia*. The name did exist, but it was a simple geographical indication for the territory between the rivers *Naro* (Neretva) and *Titius* (Krka), as likewise *Illyria* indicated the area south of the *Naro*, and *Liburnia* the area north of the *Titius*. Just after 33 BC, the province of *Illyricum* (the general term to indicate the territory between the eastern Adriatic coast and the Sava River) was formed; we know that from 27 BC it was a senatorial province, and afterwards, from 11 BC, an imperial province. Around 10 AD, *Illyricum* was divided in two provinces: *Illyricum Superior* to the south of the Sava River basin and *Illyricum Inferior* to the north. The official name of *Dalmatia* arises after this date and is found for the first time on an epigraphic military document probably dating to the first half of the 1st century AD: *Ti. Iulius Iulianus praef. Fabrum trib. Coh. VIII voluntariorum qua est in Dalmatia* (AE, 22 (1913), p. 450, n. 3).

48 The presence of so many military positions located in Strmica, Pađani/Mokropolje, Kapitul near Knin, and at Kadina glavica near Promina, is then explained by the need to guarantee the safety of the army, the control of the road traffic, and to maintain authority over the Dalmatians: S. ČAČE, 1989, 59-91.

45 Kao i prije spomenuti Plinije; Strabon, 7, 5, 4; Ptolomej, 2, 16, 2.

46 J. J. WILKES, 1969, 37-45; M. ZANINOVIĆ, 1990, 187-188.

47 Prije carskog perioda ne možemo govoriti o rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Ime je postojalo, ali samo u smislu jednostavne geografske oznake za prostor između rijeka *Naro* (Neretva) i *Titius* (Krka), kao što je *Illyria* označavala prostor južno od rijeke *Naro*, a *Liburnia* prostor zapadno od rijeke *Titius*. Nakon 33. pr. Kr. formirana je provincija Ilirik (opći pojam za označavanje teritorija između istočne jadranske obale i rijeke Save); o njoj znamo da je nakon 27. godine pr. Kr. postala senatorska provincija, a nakon toga carska provincija od 11. godine pr. Kr. Oko 10. godine po. Kr. Ilirik je podijeljen u dvije provincije: *Illyricum Superior* južno od porječja Save i *Illyricum Inferior* na sjeveru. Službeno ime *Dalmatia* se pojavljuje nakon ovog datuma i nalazi se prvi put na epigrafičkom vojnom dokumentu koji se datira u prvu polovicu 1. st. po. Kr.: *Ti. Iulius Iulianus praef. Fabrum trib. Coh. VIII voluntariorum qua est in Dalmatia* (AE, 22 (1913), str. 450, br. 3).

48 Postojanje tolikog broja vojnih položaja u Strmici, Pađanima/Mrkopolju, Kapitolu blizu Knina i na Kadinoj glavici blizu Promone objašnjava se potrebom osiguravanja vojske, kontrolom cestovnog prometa i potrebom zadržavanja kontrole nad stanovnicima Dalmacije: S. ČAČE, 1989, 59-91.

The situation described above allows us to understand the reasons for the Roman presence in the upper part of the Krka River and to explicate the specific military features of its archaeological and material findings. It is necessary further to try and define a context for the archaeological data among all the historical information, and to better define the chronological relationships among the varied discovered and documented archaeological evidence. What is presented in this paragraph should be seen as an attempt, admittedly hypothetical, of a historical-archaeological reconstruction and re-contextualization of *Burnum*. Given the general lack of archaeological data that would refer, for instance, to the *castellum* or *canabae*, and considering the scarcity of data about the *castrum*, none of this information should to be considered as certain. I nonetheless believe that, given the lack of a general framework, even a simple explanation, basically founded on motivated hypotheses, can help and might indeed – why not? – stimulate interest in new and important considerations.

It is clear that from the conquest activities (35-33 BC) by Octavian until the final pacification at the end of the *Bellum Batonianum* (AD 6-9), the Roman army had continuously been engaged in conquest and defence operations. It is difficult to consider that during this turbulent period (Suet., *Tib.* 16: "*gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica*"), the Roman troops present on Illyrian territory were also engaged in building a *castrum stativum* in *Burnum*. Between these two conflicts, the *castra hiberna* of the military divisions engaged in *Illyricum* were still located in Aquileia. But since the advance of the Roman army and of its allies into the Dalmatian territory had been organised exactly from this area of the Liburnian boundary, it is likely that the soldiers of the *Legio XX Valeria Vixtrix*,⁴⁹ took control of the area, establishing a temporary camp (whose traces have not yet been found), or temporarily occupying the fortified settlement of the *Burnistae* on the left bank of the Krka.⁵⁰

Opisana situacija daje uvid u razloge rimske prisutnosti u gornjem dijelu Krke i objašnjava vojnne osobine arheoloških i materijalnih nalaza. Stoga je potrebno pokušati smjestiti arheološke podatke u kontekst kojega pružaju povijesne činjenice, kako bi se bolje definirali kronološki odnosi među različitim arheološkim nalazima. Na ovom ćemo mjestu pokušati dati, doduše hipotetski, pokušaj povijesno-arheološke rekonstrukcije i rekontekstualizacije Burnuma. Razmatrajući opći nedostatak arheoloških informacija koji se, primjerice, odnose na *castellum* ili kanabe, te malobrojne podatke o kastrumu, slijedeća razmišljanja treba uzeti s rezervom. Ipak, vjerujem da, unatoč nedostatku općeg okvira, i ovakvo promišljanje, utemeljeno na realnim hipotezama, može pomoći i potaknuti zanimanje za nova razmatranja.

Jasno je da je nakon Oktavijanovih osvajачkih poduhvata (35–33. pr. Kr.) pa do konačne pacifikacije na kraju Batonovog ustanka (*Bellum Batonianum*, 6–9. pr. Kr.), rimska vojska konstantno sudjelovala u osvajачkim i obrambenim operacijama. Teško je vjerovati da su rimske postrojbe na iliričkom području sudjelovale u izgradnji *castrum stativum* u Burnumu u ovom turbulentnom periodu (Suet., *Tib.* 16: *gravissimum omnium externorum bellorum post Punica*). Između ova dva sukoba zimski logor (*castra hiberna*) vojnih jedinica koje su bile u Iliriku još je uvijek bio smješten u Akvileji. Budući da je napredovanje rimske vojske i saveznika na delmatskom teritoriju bilo organizirano upravo s ovog područja liburnske granice, vjerojatno je da su vojnici *Legio XX Valeria Vixtrix*,⁴⁹ preuzeli kontrolu nad područjem i smjestili se u privremenom logoru (čiji tragovi još nisu pronađeni na terenu) ili su privremeno zaposjeli utvrđeno naselje Burnista na lijevoj obali Krke.⁵⁰

Nakon Batonove pobune i odlaska XX. legije, u Dalmaciju je poslana XI. legija. Dolazak legije se podudara s periodom u kojem provincija – u to doba već pacificirana – prolazi intenzivan program

49 The *Legio XX Valeria Vixtrix* arrived in *Illyricum* around the year 20 BC, and was then transferred in AD 10 to the double camp of Cologne to rebuild the garrisons on the Rhine, which suffered serious damage in AD 9 during the defeat of Varus. On the eastern Adriatic coast, the epigraphic finds from soldiers of this legion consist of three funeral inscriptions (two veterans and one centurion) found in *Salona*, *Iader*, and *Burnum*. The presence of the legion in *Burnum* seems to be confirmed, even if indirectly, by the recovery of a sacred ara dedicated to Jupiter by a soldier from Campania, *unicum* in Dalmatia, which is thought to belong to the *Legio XX Valeria Vixtrix*.

50 This hypothesis would be confirmed by the many pottery finds, in particular amphorae and *pitthoi* that can be dated to the late Republican, proto-Imperial age, found at the "gradina" (hillfort) of Puljani: B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 103-104.

49 *Legio XX Valeria Vixtrix* je stigla u Ilirik oko 20. godine pr. Kr. Godine 10. po. Kr. prebačena je u dvojni logor na području današnjeg Kölna, u svrhu obnove garnizona na rijeci Rajni, koji su pretrpili ozbiljna oštećenja 9. godine po. Kr. prilikom Varovog poraza. Na istočnoj jadranskoj obali epigrafički nalazi vojnika ove legije su tri funerarna natpisa (dva veteranska i jedan centurionski) pronađeni u Saloni, Iaderu i Burnumu. Prisutnost legije u Burnumu potvrđena je, iako indirektno, jedinstvenim nalazom u Dalmaciji, arom posvećenom Jupiteru koju je dao izraditi vojnik iz Kampanije za kojeg se pretpostavlja da je bio pripadnik XX. legije (*Legio XX Valeria Vixtrix*).

50 Ovu hipotezu potvrđuju mnogi keramički nalazi, posebice amfore i pitosi koji se mogu datirati u kasno republikansko i predcarsko doba, a nađeni su na gradini u Puljanima: B. ILAKOVAC, 1982, 103-104.

After the Bato rebellion and the departure of the *Legio XX*, the *Legio XI* was sent to *Dalmatia*. The arrival of the legion coincides with a period in which the province – at that time definitely pacified – underwent an intense reorganisation programme (already started in 27 BC, but interrupted afterwards because of the war).

The war of 6-9 AD made it clear to the new emperor Tiberius, who triumphed over the rebellious Dalmatian and Pannonian populations, that only the construction of important military bases, together with an efficient communication system, could consolidate Roman power in the recently conquered region in this first phase. The official who carried out this efficient control system of the province was *P. Cornelius Dolabella (legatus Augusti pro praetore), vir simplicitatis generosissimae* (Vell., II, 125), who from AD 14 to 20 stood out as an excellent administrator. The beginning of the mandate of Dolabella should then coincide with the construction of the permanent *castrum* of *Burnum* and the construction of the road that ran from the capital *Salona* through the military camp (granting its safety), and arrived *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum* (CIL, III, 3201 = 10159 + 3198b = 10156b) and proceeded then *ad fines provinciae Illyrici* (CIL, III, 3198/a = 10156/a + 3200).⁵¹

The results of the surveys of 1973-74 indeed seem to confirm this chronology: in the surveys made within the area of the *castrum*, the most ancient documented finds date to the end of the age of Augustus. Since Ilakovic stated, after his systematic surveys of the aqueduct, that the end of its construction cannot be dated prior to AD 20, then it is not unjustified to believe that the whole project (*castrum* and aqueduct) had been realised by the soldiers of the *Legio XI*.⁵²

The *castrum*, whose general layout is still recognisable today from aerial photos, had a rectangular shape (330 x 295 m) with rounded corners, and it was sub-

reorganizacije (koji je počeo već 27. godine pr. Kr., ali je kasnije prekinut zbog rata). Nakon rata 6.-9. godine pr. Kr. novi car Tiberije, koji je trijumfirao nad delmatskim i panonskim populacijama, uvidio je da jedino izgradnja važnih vojnih baza, zajedno sa sistemom cesta koji će ih povezivati, može u prvoj fazi konsolidirati rimsku vlast u tek osvojenim područjima. *P. Cornelius Dolabella (legatus Augusti pro praetore), vir simplicitatis generosissimae* (Vell., II, 125), koji se od 14. do 20. po. Kr. istakao kao izvrstan upravitelj, realizirao je učinkovit kontrolni sustav provincije. Početak Dolabellinog mandata koincidira s izgradnjom stalnog kastruma u Burnumu i gradnjom ceste koja je iz glavnog grada Salone išla kroz vojni logor (koji je jamčio sigurnost ceste) *ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum* (CIL, III, 3201 = 10159 + 3198b = 10156b) i nastavljala *ad fines provinciae Illyrici* (CIL, III, 3198/a = 10156/a + 3200).⁵¹

U svakom slučaju, izgleda da i rezultati istraživanja 1973. i 1974. potvrđuju ovu kronologiju: u istraživanjima unutar logora najstariji nalazi datiraju iz doba Augusta. Budući da je B. Ilakovic ustvrdio, nakon sustavnog pregleda akvedukta, da se kraj njegove izgradnje ne može datirati prije 20. po. Kr, nije neutemeljeno pretpostaviti da su cijeli projekt (logor i akvedukt) izveli pripadnici XI. legije.⁵²

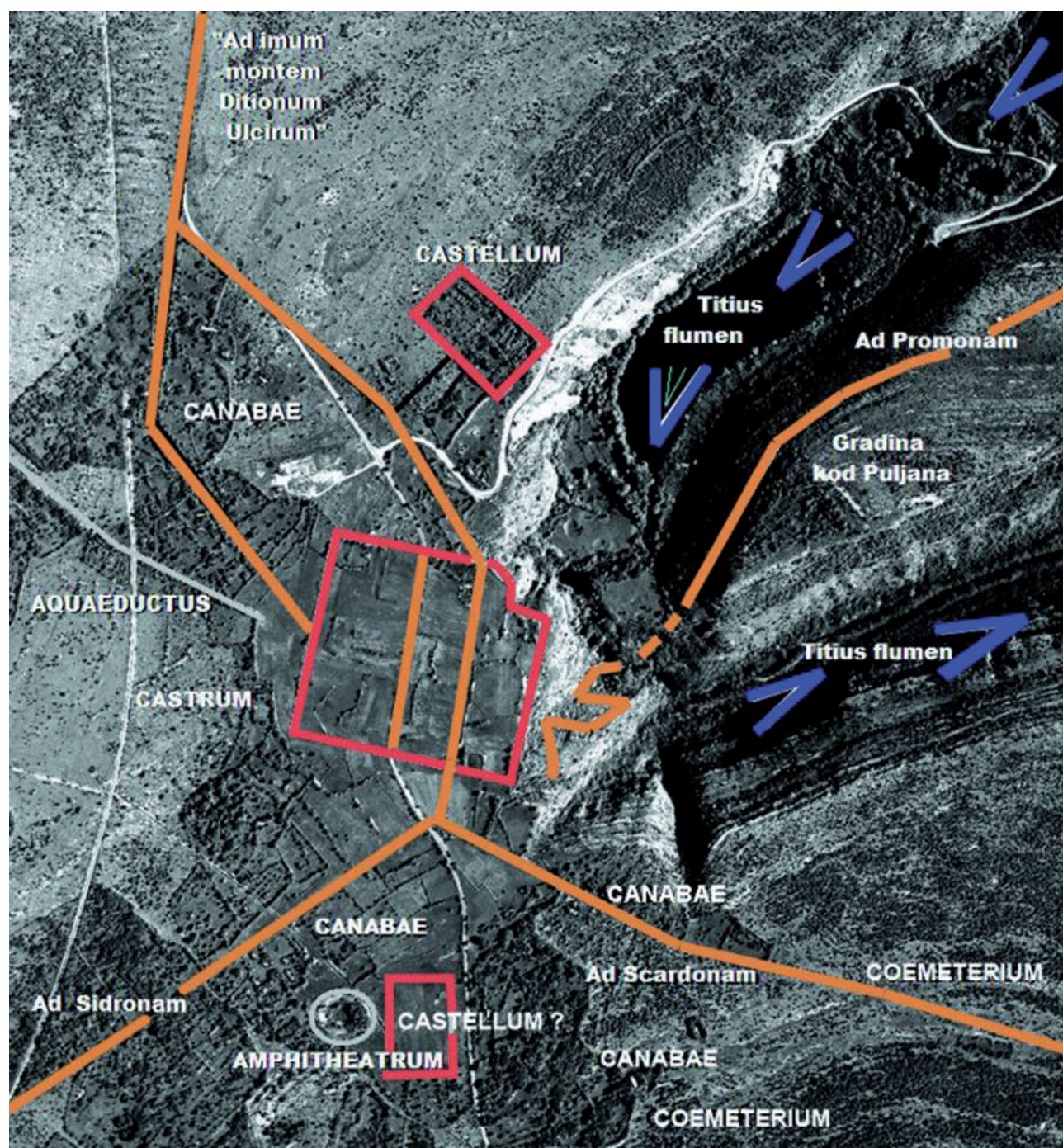
Kastrum, čiji se tlocrt još uvijek može prepoznati na zračnim snimkama, imao je pravokutan oblik (330 m x 295 m) sa zaobljenim uglovima. Dvije ceste paralelne s pročeljem (*via Principalis* koju je pronašao Reisch 1912-1913.) i *via Quintana* (odgovara današnjoj cesti Zadar-Knin) dijelile su kastrum u tri sektora gotovo jednakih dimenzija. U sjeverozapadnom sektoru (*raetentura*), su vjerojatno bila skladišta (*horrea*), štale

51 The intense activity of Dolabella in *Dalmatia* is attested by a large series of inscriptions. As far as the roads are concerned, the most important ones are the so-called "*Salonitan inscriptions*": I. BOJANOVSKI, 1974, 17.

52 Further information supporting the thesis of dating the beginning of the building works at the *castrum* of *Burnum* to the reign of Tiberius could be the information reported by Tacitus (*Ann.*, II, 44) on the presence of the Tiberius' son, Drusus, in *Illyricum* (around AD 17) with the aim of gaining the sympathy of the troops and further military ability. Further on, Tacitus also describes that, after the death of Germanicus (19 AD), Drusus came back to *Illyricum* (*Ann.*, III, 7). It is very likely that during his first trip Drusus stopped at the military camps of *Burnum* and *Tilurium*, then he reached *Issa*, where he had a *campus* for practice built, as is witnessed by an inscription: D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1952, 42. The construction of the camp could then be dated between 14 and 17 AD, that is between the beginning of the mandate of Dolabella and the first visit of Drusus.

51 Intenzivna aktivnost Dolabelle u Dalmaciji posvjedočena je velikim brojem natpisa. Što se tiče cesta, najvažniji su takozvani *Salonitanski natpisi*; usp. I. BOJANOVSKI, 1974, 17.

52 Ostali podaci koji podržavaju datiranje početka gradnje logora u Burnumu u Tiberijevo doba mogu se naći kod Tacita (*Ann.*, II, 44) u vezi s prisutnosti Tiberijeveg sina Druza u Iliriku (oko 17. po. Kr) s ciljem osvajanja simpatija vojske. Tacit također opisuje da se Druz, nakon Germanikove smrti (19. po. Kr) vratio u Ilirik (*Ann.*, III, 7). Vrlo je vjerojatno da je na prvom putovanju Druz svratio u logore Burnum i Tilurij, a onda da je otišao u Issu gdje je dao izgraditi *campus* za vježbanje, što je potvrđeno natpisom, usp: D. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, 1952, 42. Gradnja logora se stoga može datirati između 14. i 17. godine po. Kr., odnosno između početka Dolabellinog mandata i prvog posjeta Druza.



divided into three sectors of almost equal dimensions by two streets parallel to its front: the *via Principalis* (identified by Reisch in 1912-13) and the *via Quintana* (corresponding to the current Zadar-Knin road). The northwestern sector, corresponding to the *raetentura*, probably contained most of the warehouses (*horrea*), stables, and military barracks; while in the southeastern sector, towards the river canyon, the *praetentura*, generally the hospital (*valetudinarium*), and the barracks of the defensive divisions were located. In the central area, between *via Principalis* and *via Quintana*, the most important buildings were located, forming the complex of the *principia*: the central sa-

FIG. 10. / SL. 10.

The Burnum site's topography.
Topografija nalazišta Burnum.

cellum (*aedes*), the *praetorium* (dwelling of the captain), the *tribunal* or *suggestus* (from which the captain spoke to the soldiers), etc. (Fig. 10).

Lacking the original documentation related to the excavations of 1912-13, and since Reisch in the only published report only presented a general framework, it is not possible to say today whether the smaller of the two buildings discovered by him, and identified as a part of the *principia* of the *castrum*, belongs to the chronological context of the age of Tiberius or was part of a renovation or reorganisation of the military camp that took place during the reign of Claudius. A hypothesis has in fact been suggested, that after the rebellion attempt by the provincial governor *L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus* in 42 AD, the *castrum* of *Burnum* underwent new construction works.⁵³ This hypothesis is based on the archaeological material found by Kandler during the revisory trial excavations in 1973-74 (in particular the bricks with the stamp of the *Legio XI C.P.F.*) and the inscription (CIL, III, 14987/1), dating to AD 51 or to the beginning of 52, erected in honour of *Claudius* by *P. Anteius Rufus*, governor of *Dalmatia* between AD 50 and 54.⁵⁴ The high quality reconstruction of the *castrum* (or perhaps only a reconstruction of the area of the *principia*) and the building of the amphitheatre (as described in the previous section) after AD 42, most probably represented an award for the loyalty of the *Legio XI*.

After the departure of the *Legio XI C.P.F.*, the *Legio IIII Flavia Felix* arrived in *Burnum*. First stationed in AD 70, it remained in *Dalmatia* until AD 86, when it was transferred to *Singidunum* in *Moesia*.⁵⁵ The departure of the last legion stationed in *Burnum* seemed to mark the end of the military life of the *castrum*. The displacement of the legions settled in the *castra* of *Burnum* and *Tilurium* should therefore be seen as a consequence of the deterioration of the relationship of the Romans with the populations living beyond the

i vojničke nastambe. U jugoistočnom sektoru, u pravcu riječnog kanjona, bile su *praetentura*, bolnica (*valetudinarium*) i barake obrambenih jedinica. U središnjem prostoru, između *via Principalis* i *via Quintana*, bile su najvažnije građevine koje su sačinjavale kompleks principija: središnji *sacellum* (*aedes*), *praetorium* (obitavalište zapovjednika), *tribunal* ili *suggestus* (s kojeg se zapovjednik obraćao vojnicima), itd (Sl. 10).

Bez originalne dokumentacije s iskopavanja 1912–1913. i uzimajući u obzir da je Reisch objavio samo opći okvir istraživanja, nije moguće reći može li se manja od dvije građevine koju je on otkrio interpretirati kao dio principija logora koji pripada kontekstu Tiberijevog vremena ili je riječ o obnovi ili reorganizaciji vojnog logora koja se dogodila u Klaudijevo doba. Postoji i mišljenje da su u Burnumu poduzeti novi graditeljski zahvati nakon pokušaja pobune upravitelja provincije Skribonijana (*L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus*) 42. po. Kr.⁵³ Ova se hipoteza temelji na nalazima koje je otkrio Kandler u revizijskom istraživanju 1973–1974. (posebice na ciglama sa znakom *Legio XI C.P.F.*) i na natpisu (CIL, III, 14987/1) kojega je u čast Klaudija podigao *P. Anteius Rufus*, upravitelj Dalmacije između 50. i 54. po. Kr. a koji se datira u 51. ili početak 52. godine po. Kr.⁵⁴ Reorganizacija logora (ili možda samo rekonstrukcija prostora principija) i izgradnja amfiteatra (kako je opisano u prethodnom poglavlju) nakon 42. po. Kr. vjerojatno su bili nagrada XI. legiji za vjernost.

Nakon odlaska XI. legije u Burnum stiže *Legio IIII Flavia Felix* 70. po. Kr. U Dalmaciji ostaje do 86. po. Kr. kad je premještena u *Singidunum* u Meziji.⁵⁵ Odlazak ove legije iz Burnuma označio je kraj vojnog života logora. Premještanje legija iz logora u Burnumu i Tiluriju se stoga smatra posljedicom pogoršanja odnosa Rimljana i populacija koje

53 Scribonianus tried, with the help of the 7th and 11th legions, to ascend to the imperial throne, but Roman army detachments defeated the conspiracy. Their loyalty was rewarded by Claudius, who had in the meantime become emperor, with the honorific title of *Claudia Pia Fidelis*.

54 [TI(BERIVS)·CLAVDIVS·DRVSI]F(ILIVS)·CA[ES]AR·AVG(VSTVS)·G[ERMAN(ICVS)]PONT[IF]EX·MAXIMVS·[TR(IVNICIA)·P(OTESTATE)·XI]/IMP(ERATOR·XX[...])·CO(N)S(VL)·V·CENSO[R·P(ATER)·P(ATRIA)]/·P(VBLIO·ANTE[IO·R]VFO·LEG(ATO)·PR[O·PR(AETORE)]/[F(ACIENDVM)]·C(VRAVIT). M. ABRAMIĆ, 1924, 221; J. MEDINI, 1967, 63.

55 To these legionaries is owed the realisation of the second phase of the amphitheatre of *Burnum*, the most monumental one.

53 Skribonijan se pokušao domoći prijestolja s pomoću VII. i XI. legije, ali ove su postrojbe rimske vojske odbile sudjelovati u uroti. Klaudije, koji je u međuvremenu postao car, nagradio je njihovu vjernost počasnom titulom *Claudia Pia Fidelis*.

54 [TI(BERIVS)·CLAVDIVS·DRVSI]F(ILIVS)·CA[ES]AR·AVG(VSTVS)·G[ERMAN(ICVS)]PONT[IF]EX·MAXIMVS·[TR(IVNICIA)·P(OTESTATE)·XI]/IMP(ERATOR·XX[...])·CO(N)S(VL)·V·CENSO[R·P(ATER)·P(ATRIA)]/·P(VBLIO·ANTE[IO·R]VFO·LEG(ATO)·PR[O·PR(AETORE)]/[F(ACIENDVM)]·C(VRAVIT). Vidi: M. ABRAMIĆ, 1924, 221; J. MEDINI, 1967, 63.

55 Realizacija najmonumentalnije, druge faze amfiteatra u Burnumu bila je povjerena ovim legionarima.

Danube, and of the need for a better defence of the northeastern *limes* of the Empire. Without further investigations, it is impossible to determine exactly what happened to the *castrum* between AD 86 and the moment at which it obtained municipal status. It is quite likely that the camp had indeed been completely abandoned. Probably some of the auxiliary units, for which some epigraphic finds exist, occupied the structures.

It is, however, impossible to clearly understand the dynamics that led to the birth of the *municipium Burnistarum*. The presence of military units in *Burnum*, and the location of *Burnum* on the main roads that led through the Velebit Mountains and the Dinaric Alps to the hinterland of *Dalmatia*, and also those routes that passed through the quieter internal regions to the centres on the coast, had a positive influence on the economic growth of the region and favoured the settlement process. From the beginning of its construction, the *castrum* must have promoted the development – slow but constant – of civil dwellings (*canabae militaris*), i.e. of the *vici militares* composed of *cives Romani consistentes ad legionem* (i.e. *ad castra*), craftsmen, and merchants operating for the army.⁵⁶ These initially spontaneous and precarious settlements subsequently became increasingly stable agglomerates. One determining factor was that the military importance that the *castrum* had held for all of the 1st century AD was replaced by an increasing commercial importance: *Burnum*, thanks to its strategic position, became an obligatory stop in the trade of goods (crafts and mining products) between the Adriatic coast and the Danubian basin. The economic wealth and safety granted by the presence of the auxiliary units located in the various *castella* around *Burnum* must have determined, towards the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD, such a growth in importance and in population as to also increase the level of autonomy.

The exact date when the settlement obtained municipal status is not known. On the basis of the known inscriptions, the creation of the *municipium Burnistarum* should be attributed to Hadrian. It is generally mentioned in support of this hypothesis that in *Dalmatia* Hadrian gave municipal status to various centres like *Pelve*, *Salvium*, and probably also *Delminium*, given the number of *Aelii* present in the inscriptions of these settlements. Since these

su živjele sjeverno od Dunava te potrebom jače obrane sjeveroistočnog limesa carstva. Bez daljnjih istraživanja nemoguće je odrediti što se događalo s kastrumom između 86. po. Kr. i trenutka kad je naselje u Burnumu dobilo municipalni status. Vrlo je vjerojatno da je logor bio napušten. Možda su se u njemu jedino zadržale neke pomoćne jedinice o kojima postoje epigrafička svjedočanstva.

Međutim, nemoguće je jasno shvatiti dinamiku koja je dovela do stvaranja *municipium Burnistarum*. Prisutnost vojnih jedinica u Burnumu i pozicija Burnuma na trgovačkoj ruti koja je kroz Velebit i Dinaride vodila do unutrašnjosti Dalmacije, kao i postojanje prometnica koje su kroz mirnije regije unutrašnjosti stizale do centara na obali, imala je pozitivan učinak na ekonomski rast regije i utjecala je na proces naseljavanja. Od početka izgradnje kastrum je poticao spor ali stalan razvoj civilnih nastambi (*canabae militaris*), odnosno *vici militares* u kojima su naseljavani *cives Romani consistentes ad legionem* (tj. *ad castra*), obrtnici i trgovci koji su radili za vojsku.⁵⁶ Ova prvotno spontana i nestalna naselja postajala su sve stabilnije aglomeracije. Odlučujući faktor je bila činjenica da je vojna važnost koju je logor imao kroz cijelo 1. st. po. Kr. bila zamijenjena trgovačkim značajem: zahvaljujući svojoj strateškoj poziciji Burnum je postao obavezna stanica u prometu dobrima (obrtništvo i rudarski proizvodi) između jadranske obale i porječja Dunava. Ekonomsko bogatstvo i sigurnost osigurani prisutnošću pomoćnih jedinica smještenih u raznim utvrdama (*castella*) oko Burnuma morali su krajem 1. i početkom 2. st. po. Kr. utjecati na porast broja stanovnika i važnosti naselja što je dovelo i do podizanja razine autonomije.

Točan datum dobivanja municipaliteta nije poznat. Na osnovi natpisa, stvaranje *municipium Burnistarum* može se povezati s Hadrijanom. Kao prilog ovoj tezi obično se navodi da je u Dalmaciji Hadrijan dao municipalitet raznim mjestima kao što su *Pelve*, *Salvium* i vjerojatno *Delminium*, sudeći po broju *Aelii*-a na natpisima u ovim naseljima. Budući da su ova *municipia Aelia* smještena uz cestu koja kroz Burnum vodi do istočne bosanske zaravni i dolina rijeka Vrbasa i Save, mišljenja smo da je mu-

56 Most of the houses, taverns, *tabernae*, and workshops belonging to the *canabae* were probably located close to the *castrum*.

56 Većina kuća, taverni i radionica pripadala je kanabama koje su vjerojatno bile smještene blizu kastruma.

municipia Aelia are located along the road that led from *Burnum* to the Bosnian eastern plains and to the fluvial valleys of the Vrbas and the Sava, we tend to envisage that the granting of municipal status took place on the occasion of one of the various trips of the emperor from *Pannonia* to *Dalmatia*.⁵⁷

Another possibility exists: that the concession of the municipal status of *Burnum* should be attributed to the emperor Trajan. Historians have agreed for some time that for logistical and strategic reasons, on the occasion of the 2nd Dacian War (AD 105-106), Trajan, having departed from Ancona and arrived in *Iader*, led part of his troops towards the camps in the central Danubian valley through the road network of *Dalmatia*. Combining the data from the interpretation of panels LXXIX – LXXXVII on the Trajanic column, and the epigraphic finds discovered in Dalmatian territory, it is possible to recognise, in the route *Iader – Asseria – Burnum – Salona*, some of the principal places where Trajan stopped during his travels to Dacia.⁵⁸ By the way, a stop at the *castrum* of *Burnum* was obligated for strategic reasons. First of all, because *Burnum* was still one of the two main seats of the Romans presence in the province. Secondly, because part of the army that had come from Italy, travelling on the routes connecting the *castrum* with the inland, would have guaranteed the

nicipalitet dodijeljen prilikom jednog od putovanja cara iz Panonije u Dalmaciju.⁵⁷

Postoji i druga mogućnost po kojoj je Burnumu municipalni status dodijelio car Trajan. Povjesničari se već neko vrijeme slažu da je, zbog logističkih i strateških razloga prilikom Drugog dačkog rata (105–106. po. Kr), Trajan u rat krenuo iz Ankone, zatim da je stigao u Zadar te da je poveo dio svojih trupa prema logorima u središnjoj dolini Dunava koristeći cestovnu mrežu u Dalmaciji. Kombinacijom podataka s ploča LXXIX–LXXXVII Trajanova stupa i epigrafskih nalaza s dalmatinskog područja moguće je locirati neka od glavnih mjesta u kojima se Trajan zaustavio na putu prema Daciji na trasi *Iader–Asseria–Burnum–Salona*.⁵⁸ Stajanje u Burnumu je bilo obavezno zbog strateških razloga. Na prvom mjestu stoga što je Burnum još uvijek bio jedno od dva glavna sjedišta rimske prisutnosti u provinciji, a zatim i stoga što bi dio vojske koja je došla iz Italije mogla caru osigurati sigurnost na cestama u unutrašnjosti provincije koji je do Dunava stigao preko cestovne mreže koja je imala izvorište u Saloni. U daljnjem razvijanju ovog mišljenja nije nelogično pretpostaviti da se program monumentalizacije, koji je uključivao i Burnum, na početku 2. st. po. Kr. mora razmatrati u vezi s ratom u Daciji i prolazom vojnih kontingenata. Pošto je ishod kam-

57 It is very likely that he crossed this territory before becoming emperor, that is in the period of his duties as *tribunus militum* for more than one legion, and also in AD 107 when he was *legatus pro pretore Pannoniae inferior*. On the basis of the inscriptions of *Hadra* (CIL, III, 2844) and of *Burnum* (CIL, III, 2828 = 9890), some people think that Hadrian visited *Dalmatia* exactly in 118 AD, when, after having become emperor he left Syria and reached Italy through Pannonia: M. ZANINović, 1968, 127-128; J. J. WILKES, 1969, 218.

58 There is various evidence attesting to the transit of Trajan through *Dalmatia*. The most significant include: the inscription related to the construction of a new aqueduct – wanted by Trajan – in the town of *Iader* (CIL, III, 2909); the realisation (CIL, III, 15034) of the monumental door of *Asseria* in honour of the emperor who won in Dacia; the epigraphs (CIL, III, 2887; 2823) of the soldiers who died during the travel; a dedication to the *Veneri Parthicae* (CIL, III, 2770) found in the hinterland of Šibenik; in *Salona* the magnificence of a man who had a small temple dedicated to Silvanus built to thank the god for the health of the emperor. There is further evidence, maybe a little bit curious, of the transit of Trajan and his army through the hinterland of *Salona* (today's Bosnia). It is a folkloric element: a popular story called "The Emperor Trajan has goat-ears". The extraordinary phenomenon of the transit of a great army left such a memory: M. NIKOLANCI, 1989, 121-142; N. CAMBI, 2001, 148-160.

57 Vrlo je vjerojatno da je Hadrijan prošao ovim teritorijem prije nego je postao car, odnosno u periodu kad je bio *tribunus militum* u više legija, a zatim i 107. po. Kr. kad je postao *legatus pro pretore Pannoniae inferior*. Na osnovi natpisa iz Hadre (CIL, III, 2844) i Burnuma (CIL, III, 2828 = 9890), postoje mišljenja da je Hadrijan posjetio Dalmaciju 118. po. Kr. kad je, nakon što je postao car, otišao iz Sirije i stigao u Italiju preko Panonije: M. ZANINović, 1968, 127-128; J. J. WILKES, 1969, 218.

58 Postoje razni nalazi koji potvrđuju Trajanov prijelaz u Dalmaciju. Najvažniji uključuju: natpis povezan s izgradnjom novog akvedukta kojeg je zahtijevao Trajan, u gradu Iaderu (CIL, III, 2909); gradnja monumentalnih vrata u Asseriji u čast imperatora koji je pobijedio u Daciji (CIL, III, 15034); natpisi vojnika koji su umrli na putu (CIL, III, 2887; 2823), posveta *Veneri Parthicae* (CIL, III, 2770) pronađena u zaleđu Šibenika; u Saloni munificijencija čovjeka koji je dao izgraditi mali hram posvećen Silvanu, da se zahvali bogu za zdravlje cara. Postoje još neki elementi, ponešto drukčije naravi o prolazu cara Trajana i njegove pratnje kroz zaleđe Salone (koje je sad u Bosni). To je folkloristički element: priča u narodu nazvana "U cara Trajana kozje uši". Ovaj jedinstveni događaj prolaza velike vojske ostavio je trajnu uspomenu: M. NIKOLANCI, 1989, 121-142; N. CAMBI, 2001, 148-160.

safety of the internal routes for the emperor, who reached the Danube across the road network from *Salona*. Developing this hypothesis further, it is not illogical to presume that the monumentalization programme that involved *Burnum* at the beginning of the 2nd century AD, is to be considered in relation to the war in Dacia and to the passage of the military contingents. Since the result of the campaign was positive, the constructions were given civil and not military characteristics.⁵⁹

In any case, the construction of the largest of two architectural complexes in the *castrum* of *Burnum* is considered in direct relationship to the establishment of the *municipium Burnistarum* (during the reign of Trajan, or anyway not later than Hadrian). To allow the realisation of the new civil forum (composed of a square surrounded by arcades on the long sides, onto which a row of *tabernae* opened) all the buildings built in correspondence to the *principia* of the military camp were destroyed. It is to be noted that the wider arch still conserved at the end of the 18th century was in front of the room with an apse (G) and aligned in axis with the other rooms of this northern side, all symmetrical in respect to it. This row of arches represented the façade of the entire northern side of the *forum*.

On the basis of the presence of semi-columns placed in front of the small rooms (C and N), which determined the alignment of the northern columns of the building, which corresponded to the southern columns (built on the continuation of the northern wall of the small room following N), without doubt we can identify the *basilica* of the *forum* of *Burnum*. The subdivision of the eastern part of the building (where the *tribunal* may be recognised) hence corresponds to the subdivision of the inner space of the *basilica* into central and lateral bays.

The central position of the room with an apse (G) determined on the façade the enlargement and the raising of the axial intercolumniation; this was meant to underline its importance. It should moreover be noted that it was built on two underground

panje bio pozitivan, građevine su imale civilne, a ne vojne karakteristike.⁵⁹

U svakom slučaju, gradnja dvaju najvećih arhitektonskih sklopova u *Burnumu* može se direktno povezati s osnivanjem *municipium Burnistarum* (za vrijeme Trajanove vladavine, a najkasnije u doba Hadrijana). Da bi se omogućila izgradnja novog civilnog foruma (koji se sastojao od trga okruženog lukovima na dužim stranama, a prema kojemu su se otvarale *tabernae*) sve građevine izgrađene za principij vojnog logora su bile uništene. Treba spomenuti da je širi luk, koji je još bio sačuvan krajem 18. st, bio ispred prostorije s apsidom (G) i u osi s drugim prostorijama na ovoj sjevernoj strani, koje su sve simetrične u odnosu na nju. Ovaj niz lukova predstavljao je lice cijele sjeverne strane foruma.

Na osnovi pronađenih polustupova ispred malih prostorija (C i N) koji su odredili položaj sjevernih stupova građevine, a kojima odgovaraju stupovi na južnoj strani (izgrađeni u produžetku sjevernog zida male prostorije iza prostorije N), nedvojbeno možemo prepoznati baziliku na forumu u *Burnumu*. Podjela istočnog dijela zgrade (gdje bi se možda mogao raspoznati *tribunal*) odgovara podjeli unutarnjeg prostora bazilike na središnji i bočne brodove.

Središnja pozicija prostorije s apsidom (G) uzrokovala je povećanje razmaka među stupovima na pročelju, kako bi se naglasila njezina važnost. Štoviše, treba istaknuti da je bila izgrađena na dvije podzemne prostorije čiji su svodovi doveli do podizanja njezina poda za 2,37 m u odnosu na ostale prostorije. Transverzalna je os bazilike presječena, odnosno negirana posebnim arhitektonskim rasporedom koji naglašava longitudinalnu orijentaciju foruma. Prema tlocrtu, dimenzijama (13 m širine i 14 m dubine) i položaju, tu se može prepoznati kurija (*curia*). Podzemne prostorije mogu se identificirati kao *aerarium* municipaliteta.⁶⁰

Koristeći prednosti prirodne padine terena koji je u ovom slučaju obilježen terasama koje se spuštaju

59 The link between Trajan and the structures of the most monumental of the two complexes brought to light by Reisch seems to be attested by the inscription (CIL, III, 14988), even though extremely lacunal, carved on a monumental limestone epistylum (0.44 m high x 1.44 m long): [IMP(ERATOR)-CAESAR NERVA-TRAIANVS-GER] MANIC(VS)-DACIC(VS).

59 Veza između Trajana i monumentalnijeg od dvaju objekata kompleksa kojeg je istražio Reisch je čini se posvjedočena natpisom koji je (CIL, III, 14988), iako s dosta praznina, uklesan u monumentalni vapnenački arhitrav (0,44 m visok i 0,44 m dug): [IMP(ERATOR)-CAESAR NERVA-TRAIANVS-GER] MANIC(VS)-DACIC(VS).

60 Ne treba isključiti da je ova prostorija s apsidom koja se otvara okomito prema longitudinalnoj osi bazilike, možda kurija, imala također funkciju svetišta (*sacellum*) carskog kulta: J. C. BALTY, 1991, 356-357.

rooms, with vaults raising the floor 2.37 m in respect to the other rooms. The transverse axis of the *basilica* is cut and interrupted, that is negated by the particular architectonic dispositions promoting the longitudinal orientation of the *forum*. Due to its plan and dimensions (13 m width and 14 m depth), and to its position, it is possible to recognise the *curia*; the underground rooms can be identified with the *aerarium* of the municipality.⁶⁰

Taking advantage of the natural slope of the terrain, which at this point is characterized by terraces descending to the canyon of the Krka, the architect of the new municipality scenographically arranged the succession of square, *basilica*, and *curia-sacellum*, underlining through urban continuity the importance of the two buildings, essential for municipal life.⁶¹

From this moment on, the name of *Burnum*, originally bound to the impressive "gradina" (hillfort) of the Liburnians, then tied to the military *castrum*, is identified with the important urban centre and road junction on the right bank of the Krka River.

do kanjona Krke, arhitekt novog municipija scenografski je rasporedio slijed trga, bazilike i kurije (*curia-sacellum*), naglašavajući važnost zgrada ključnih za gradski život.⁶¹

Od tog trenutka ime Burnum, izvorno vezano uz impresivnu liburnsku gradinu, zatim vojni logor, vezuje se za važan urbani centar i cestovno raskršće koje je nastalo na desnoj obali Krke.

60 It should not be excluded that this room with an apse, which opened perpendicularly to the longitudinal axis of the *basilica*, and perhaps the *curia*, also had the function of a true *sacellum* of the imperial cult: J. C. BALTY, 1991, 356-357.

61 From an urban planning point of view, this is one of the most significant mutations concerning the organisation of the forum area, a transformation of the basic tripartite model, in which the *basilica* represents the transitional element between the commercial area of the square and the public-administrative sector and/or the religious edifice.

61 Sa stajališta urbanog planiranja ovo je jedna od najznačajnijih promjena u vezi s organizacijom forumskog prostora, transformacija osnovnog trodijelnog modela, u kojem je bazilika predstavljala prijelazni element između trgovačkog prostora trga i javno-administrativnog sektora i/ili vjerskih objekata.

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