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A NEW LOOK AT THE TROPAEUM FROM TILURIUM (GARDUN)

The story of the Tilurium tropaeum goes back as far as the final years of the nineteenth century. In 1886, a limestone slab was discovered in Ante Bilić's field as it was farmed, measuring $1.36 \times 1.04 \times 0.24$ meters, followed soon after by another, smaller piece, this one $0.48 \times 0.53 \times 0.28$ meters in size, which apparently came from the same monument (photograph 1)¹. The two fragments have been described and discussed several times by the Split-based researcher Nenad Cambi. In N. Cambi's opinion, the stone slabs bearing a relief sculpture showing a trophy, captives, and an inscription, were part of a tropaeum set up in the camp at Tilurium by the Seventh Legion after the suppression of the rebellion in Pannonia in AD 6-9, or, to be more specific, after Tiberius *ex Ilurico* triumph in AD 12².

However, in this paper I would like to suggest another possible interpretation of the monument. Consequently, I am going to re-analyze all available sources on the conflict and ways of celebrating victory during the *Bellum Batonianum*.

The location and the Roman legions

Tilurium comes up in ancient and early medieval sources a few times, in Pliny the Elder first. Pliny tersely notes that like Burnum and Andetrium, the place was known as a battle-famed stronghold (*castella*)³, but does not specify whether he means the fighting of the second century BC, that of 35-33 BC, or the *Bellum Batonianum*⁴. Still, while in the case of the latter two researchers have been able to estimate what

¹ M. Abramić, *O predstavama Ilira na antiknim spomenicima*, "Časopis Za zgodovino in narodopisje" 1937, 32, pp. 7-19. The larger slab was found under a tumulus ("pod gomilom"), it is now in the Split Museum, while the smaller fragment is kept in Sinj.

² N. Cambi, *Gardunski tropej*, [in:] *Cetinska Krajina od prethistorije do dolaska Turaka: znanstveni skup*, Sinj, 3-6 VI 1980, ed. Ž. Rapanić, Split 1984, pp. 77-92; *idem*, *Rimski vojni tropeji u Dalmaciji*, "Adrias: zbornik radova Zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Splitu" 2011, 17, pp. 125-150; *idem*, *Salona and Tilurium, Two Interconnected Stone Carving Centres*, "Arheološki radovi i rasprave" 2020, 19, pp. 11-14. In the *Fasti Praenestini*, it is dated to exactly October 23 AD 12; see A. Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae: Fasti et Elogia. Fasti anni Numani et Iuliani*, vol. 13 (2), Roma 1963, p. 135. Velleius Paterculus has *ex Pannoniis Delmatisqueegit triumphum*, see Vell. Pat. 2.121.

³ Plin. *HN*. 3.142.

⁴ M. Zaninović, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, Šibenik 2007, pp. 146-148.

fighting could be meant, Tilurium's case is unclear, because the information of some battle fought there is only found in Pliny⁵.

Even so, from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, *Itinerarium Antonina* and *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*⁶, we know that Tilurium and its immediate surroundings, including a crossing on the Cetina, made an important transportation node on the route inland, which led from Salona, the capital of Dalmatia province, towards Argentaria and Narona⁷. Today, the location of the ancient Tilurium is identified without question with the Roman remains found in the village of Gardun, three kilometers west of Trilj, where in ancient times there was a river crossing (*Pons Tiluri*)⁸. That convenient location, overlooking the steep bank, allowed the control of a considerable area of central Dalmatia, so it is no wonder the Romans decided to set up a camp there.

The Seventh Legion likely arrived in the Balkan Peninsula in AD 7, commanded by Marcus Plautius Silvanus, having been in Galatia before⁹, but it only reached Tilurium after the conflict was over¹⁰. According to some researchers, even before that there was another legion stationed on the Cetina, Legio IX *Hispana*, and the origins of a camp there may go back as far as would-be Augustus' Illyrian campaign of 35-33 BC, but that is mere guesswork¹¹. Still, owing to the many years of archeological research conducted in Gardun since 1997, we are now able to tell that the stone buildings in the camp were only erected in the reign of Claudius¹², during whose principate the

⁵ Vell. Pat. 2.112; Cass. Dio, 56. 12-16; J.J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969, pp. 70-71; D. Džino, *Illyricum in Roman Politics, 229 BC-AD 68*, Cambridge 2010, p. 150. These days, researchers agree that the battle mentioned by Velleius Paterculus fought and between Bato and Legio XX under Marcus Messalinus' command, took place in the vicinity of Burnum. For that particular legion having been stationed at that camp, see M. Zaninović, *Rimskavojska u Iliriku*, [in:] *Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj = Finds of the Roman military equipment in Croatia*, ed. I. Radman-Livaja, Zagreb 2010, p. 21; an account from the siege of Andetrium can be found in Cassius Dio's work.

⁶ *Tab. Peut.* segm. 5; *It. Ant.* 337.4; *Rav. Cosm.* 4.16 = 210.13.

⁷ N. Cesarik, *Roman Auxiliary Forts in Dalmatia: The Case of Tilurium*, "Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology" 2019, 6, p. 28.

⁸ G. Alföldy, *Tilurium, einrömische Legionslager in Dalmatien*, "Banner Jahrbücher" 1965, 165, pp. 105-7.

⁹ Cass. Dio, 55.32.3; J.J. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 72; M. Zaninović, *Rimska...*, p. 20, D. Džino, *op. cit.*, p. 123, 151; I. Radman-Livaja, *The Roman Army in Dalmatia*, "MEFRA" 2022, 134, pp. 31-66.

¹⁰ ILS 2280.

¹¹ M. Šašel Kos, *The Roman conquest of Dalmatia and Pannonia under Augustus – some of the latest research results*, [in:] *Fines imperii – imperium sine fine?*, ed. G. Moosbauer, R. Wiegels, Rahden 2011, pp. 114-115; I. Radman-Livaja, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-60. Reasons to think the Ninth Legion was stationed there are quite weak as well and only based on the incomplete inscription CIL 13977.

¹² N. Cesarik, *op. cit.*, p. 27. The research was directed by Mirjana Sanader from the University of Zagreb; see M. Sanader, D. Toncinić, *Gardun – antički Tilurium*, [in:] *Nalazirimskevojneopreme u Hrvatskoj = Finds of the Roman military equipment in Croatia*, ed. I. Radman-Livaja, Zagreb 2010, pp. 33-54.

Seventh Legion received the title of *Claudia pia fidelis*, to be subsequently transferred to Viminacium in Moesia at some point between AD 45 and 61¹³.

Unfortunately, we have little information pertaining directly to the tasks carried out by Legio VII soon after it was created, but the force was definitely attacked, as were other Roman units and Thracian allies, as they marched from Sirmium to Siscia, near the so-called Volcaean Marshes, where it was in a large part destroyed by the barbarians, as mentioned by Velleius Paterculus¹⁴:

At ea pars, quae obviam se effuderat exercitui, quem A. Caecina et Silvanus Plautius consulares ex transmarinis adducebant provinciis, circumfusa quinque legionibus nostris auxiliariisque et equitatu regio (quippe magnam Thracum manum iunctus praedictis ducibus Rhoemetalces, Thraciae rex, in adiutorium eius belli secum trahebat) paene exitiabilem omnibus cladem intulit: fusa regionum equestris acies, fugatae alae, conversae cohortes sunt, apud signa quoque legionum trepidatum. Sed Romani virtus militis plus eo tempore vindicavit gloriae quam ducibus reliquit, qui multum a more imperatoris sui discrepantes ante in hostem inciderunt, quam per exploratores, ubi hostis esset, cognoscerent. Iam igitur in dubiis rebus semet ipsae legiones adhortatae, iugulatis ab hoste quibusdam tribunis militum, interempto praefecto castrorum praefectisque cohortium, non incruentis centurionibus, e quibus etiam primi ordinis cecidere, invasere hostes nec sustinuisse contenti perrupta eorum acie ex insperato victoriam vindicaverunt¹⁵.

I believe that event was crucial to the analysis of the Tilurium tropaeum.

¹³ M. Zaninović, *Rimska...*, p. 22; I. Radman-Livaja, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-60. The legion took the emperor's side during the rebellion of Lucius Scribonianus in AD 42; see J.J. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 82. The same honor was awarded the Eleventh Legion.

¹⁴ Vell. Pat. 2.112; Cass. Dio 55.32; J.J. Wilkes, *op. cit.*, p. 72; D. Džino, *op. cit.*, p. 151. Near the present-time city of Vinkovci. In the following year, the legion was probably part of the army which pacified the Daesitiae.

¹⁵ Vell. Pat. 2.112. 4-6 „But the division of their forces which had swarmed out to meet the army which the consulars Aulus Caecina and Silvanus Plautius were bringing up from the provinces across the sea, surrounded five of our legions, together with the troops of our allies and the cavalry of the king (for Rhoemetalces, king of Thrace, in conjunction with the aforesaid generals was bringing with him a large body of Thracians as reinforcements for the war), and inflicted a disaster that came near being fatal to all. The horsemen of the king were routed, the cavalry of the allies put to flight, the cohorts turned their backs to the enemy, and the panic extended even to the standards of the legion. But in this crisis the valour of the Roman soldier claimed for itself a greater share of glory than it left to the generals, who departing far from the policy of their commander, had allowed themselves to come into contact with the enemy before they had learned through their scouts where the enemy was. At this critical moment, when some tribunes of the soldiers had been slain by the enemy, the prefect of the camp and several prefects of cohorts had been cut off, a number of centurions had been wounded, and even some of the centurions of the first rank had fallen, the legions, shouting encouragement to each other, fell upon the enemy, and not content with sustaining their onslaught, broke through their line and wrested a victory from a desperate plight” (Translated F.W. Shipley).

The remains of the tropaeum

At present, the remains of the monument referred to by N. Cambi as a tropaeum comprise the pieces of two slabs of local limestone. On the larger fragment, there are the carvings of a tropaeum, two captives, some weaponry and a *tabula ansata* with the letter -O- preserved inside it. The armor placed on a tree trunk is typically late Hellenistic in character, being a *loricamusculata*, and has two dolphins, *pteruges*, and a *paludamentum* draped over its shoulders. Two shields flank it on each side, with four spears and musical instruments (*carnyces*) emerging from each. Below the trophy, two captives sit on stones, their hands bound¹⁶. They differ in appearance: the one on the left is wearing a cloak pinned with a late Le Tène fibula, and a fur hat, while the captive on the right is dressed in trousers, although his chest is bare. N. Cambi identifies them as one defeated inhabitant of Dalmatia, and one of Pannonia¹⁷. Although the armor itself is Roman, the shields—hexagonal and oval—may be seen as a conventional take on barbarian arms, as emphasized by two torcs and a *carnyx* to the right. The *carnyx* features often in late-Republic and early Imperial iconography, where it stands for defeated barbarians—Gauls at first, and later, loosely, other peoples¹⁸.

Below the *tabula ansata* can be seen a pile of weapons, the shields and the armor, and the side of the slab is decorated with garlands and a bucranium. Scholars have noted that there frieze is a mixture of weapons, some used in the first century BC by La Tène and Germanic populations, and others being late Hellenistic¹⁹.

On the smaller fragment, only the armor and the *tabula ansata* remain visible; the shape suggests that the elements discovered were the left edge and the right edge of the monument. N. Cambi even offered a reconstruction of the inscription and of the whole monument:

[IMP(eratori) CAESARI DIVI FILIO AVGVST]O²⁰

¹⁶ A conventional way of representing war captives. The first such image of captives comes from coins minted in 101 BC; see RRC, 326.2; L. Kinnee, *The Trophy Tableau Monument in Rome: from Marius to Caecilia Metella*, "Journal of Ancient History" 2016, 4, p. 208.

¹⁷ N. Cambi, *Salona...*, p. 14; Y. Schmuhl, *Römische Siegesmonumente republikanischer Zeit. Untersuchungen zu Ursprüngen, Erscheinungsformen und Denkmalpolitik*, Hamburg 2008, pp. 185-187.

¹⁸ For example in the relief sculpture on the tomb of Caecilia Metella or on the panels of the arch of Orange. For the *carnyx* on coins and its conventional use, see RRC, 326.2; RRC 332.1b; RRC, 468.2; I. Östenberg, *Staging the World Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession*, Oxford 2009, p. 278.

¹⁹ E.S. Coopey, D. Džino, *Roman milites and defeated "barbari": soldierly bodies, dress, and identities in first century Tilurium, Dalmatia*, [in:] *The body of the combatant in the ancient Mediterranean*, ed. H.M. Chidwick, London 2024, pp. 112-113.

²⁰ N. Cambi, *Rimski...*, p. 131.

The size of the slab fragments and of the letter (15 centimeters) suggests it measured 8.2-8.4 meters $\times$ 7.3-7.6 meters²¹. N. Cambi thinks the trophy had an approximately square base, its front flanked with decorative panels bearing relief sculptures, the inscription in the center. The sides and back sported garlands and bucrania, and the whole was crowned with a stepped roof. The tropaeum stood on the roof top, towering above the two captives²². Unlike Charles Picard, who thought the relief sculpture may have been made at the time of the Second Triumvirate²³, N. Cambi dates it somewhat later, that is, to Augustus' reign, based on a comparative analysis of it side by side with other monuments built in Dalmatia.

The new interpretation

However, at this point a few questions ought to be asked and some reservations made, first of all as regards the nature of the sources on the conflict. We owe the most extensive reports on the *Bellum Batonianum* to Velleius Paterculus, who actively took part in suppressing the rebellion in Pannonia and Dalmatia and Cassius Dio, who wrote almost 200 years later. Even so, while the former author looks kindly on Tiberius' actions, and even participated in his triumph, not once does he mention the construction of a tropaeum in his account. Dio says nothing of a tropaeum either, noting the future emperor was only to have an arch set up in his honor in Pannonia, which the senate decreed in AD 9²⁴. This lack of any information on a tropaeum constructed by the army led by Augustus' stepson is striking in that our sources do contain passages referring to other tropaea built in the same period by so-called special imperial envoys: Drusus the Elder and Germanicus. As for Drusus, we know his legionaries erected a monument to the victory on the Elbe²⁵; Germanicus' army, meanwhile, set

²¹ *Idem*, *Gardunski...*, pp. 79-80. Analyses of the monument were also offered by Abramić and Picard; see M. Abramić, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-19; G.Ch. Picard, *Les Trophees romains*, Paris 1957, p. 217. Hollows can be seen in the slab left by mounting pins. In N. Cambi's opinion there may have been six sculpted panels; thence the approximate size.

²² N. Cambi, *Salona...*, p. 13.

²³ G.Ch. Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

²⁴ Vell. Pat. 2.121; Suet. *Tib.* 20; Cass. Dio 56.17.1. Dio is the only one to mention arches, of which two were to be constructed in Pannonia, in honor of Augustus and Tiberius, whereas Suetonius only writes of the loot from the campaign, which was to fund the reconstruction of a temple; but according to Dio, the loot was meager. As P. Sawiński was right to note, considering the triumph itself was postponed to AD 12, it may be assumed the construction of the arch was delayed too; see P. Sawiński, *Łuki triumfalne i honoryfikacyjne jako forma uczczenia członków rodziny cesarskiej w okresie pryncypatu*, "Meander" 2014, 69, p. 121. High cost of the campaign and relatively scant loot can be explained by the army operating for the most part in the countryside; see P. Swan, *The Augustan Succession: An Historical Commentary on Cassius Dio's Roman History Books 55-56 (9 B.C.-A.D. 14)*, Oxford 2004, p. 248.

²⁵ Flor. 2.30; Cass. Dio. 55.1.

up a trophy with an inscription in AD 16 following the Battle of Idistaviso²⁶. So, why would such a grand monument to Tiberius be passed over?

There is also doubt concerning the place the tropaeum was supposedly constructed. N. Cambi thought it was set up inside a Roman camp²⁷, and while the Romans did build trophies in the provinces, they were always so-called landscape trophies—located out in the open, on battlefields or next to important transportation routes²⁸. In that way, the semantic message of those victory monuments could affect both the Romans, who thus stressed their hegemony, and the defeated, who were made to acknowledge their submission, as analyzed in an interesting case study by Alvaro Ibarra²⁹. Consequently, erecting a trophy inside a camp would have limited its impact on the conquered population of Dalmatia who had to be constantly kept in check by the Seventh Legion until it left the province in mid-first century. In addition it should be noted that the last point of rebel resistance was Andetrium, the rebellion was suppressed after it fell, and so it would have made a much better location³⁰.

It also needs to be pointed out that not every monument bearing a relief sculpture showing a tropaeum must be seen as one. The tomb of Caecilia Metella next to Via Appia in Rome can serve as a counterexample; there, a relief sculpture with a tropaeum features on one of the walls, commemorating the campaigns of the dead woman's husband or father³¹. Just like the Tilurium slabs, the tomb is decorated with garlands, a bucranium and an inscription³², with a captive below the tropaeum. A similar example could be a fragment of relief from the Roman theater in Fiesole (Italy)³³, so it must be firmly emphasized that by that period the tropaeum was seen in Rome not just as an actual monument set up on a battlefield, but more as symbol of victory

²⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 2.18.2.

²⁷ N. Cambi, *Rimski...*, p. 133.

²⁸ T. Hölscher, *The Transformation of Victory into Power: From Event to Structure*, [in:] *Representation of war in ancient Rome*, ed. S. Dillon, K. Welch, Cambridge 2006, pp. 27-48.

²⁹ A. Ibarra, *Legions and locals: Roman provincial communities and their trophy monuments* (PhD dissertation, unpublished, University of Texas at Austin). E.S. Coopey, D. Džino, *op. cit.*, pp. 113. Coopey and Džino suggest that the monument had a significant influence on the local population; however, its location in the heart of the camp likely made it difficult observed, except for the possible prisoners of war.

³⁰ Cass. Dio 56.12-14. If we are to believe Dio, the rebels, chased by legionaries, abandoned their armor to carry less weight as they fled. Armors and shields were an important element of each tropaeum, so it seems at Andetrium the Romans did obtain arms which could be used to build a field tropaeum. Still, no mention of anything of that sort comes up in the sources. Andetrium (modern Gornji Muć, twenty kilometers from Tilurium).

³¹ L. Kinnee, *The Greek and Roman Trophy: from Battlefield Marker to Icon of Power*, London-New York 2018, pp. 74-78. Her study is a thorough analysis of the monument.

³² CIL VI, 1274.

³³ N.S. Randle, *Triumphab antaeternae domus: motifs of arms in Roman domestic decoration* (PhD Thesis, Cardiff University), Cardiff 2015, p. 112.

instead, so readily placed on many everyday objects—clay lamps, tombstones (also the soldiers of the Seventh Legion)³⁴ and naturally coins and architectural elements, such as the column capital from the temple of Apollo next to the Circus Flaminius³⁵.

Last but not least, no tropaeum statue has ever been found at Gardun, and one was supposed to stand on top of the structure according to N. Cambi's reconstruction; all we have are the slabs with a sculpture showing a trophy, so the most important element of the monument is missing, and it could help identify the whole thing as a tropaeum, as at Adamclisi or Orchomenos, where that significant element survives³⁶. Of course, the trophies which crowned the monuments commemorating the victories of Augustus at La Turbie and Pompey at Coll de Panissars have not survived either, but those structures are mentioned in narrative sources³⁷.

Some reflection seems in order here as to what type of structure this could have been should we reject N. Cambi's interpretation of it as a tropaeum. Considering he suggested sacrifices may have been made nearby³⁸, I am inclined to identify the monument as an altar. I find that interpretation interesting for several reasons. Assuming the Seventh did suffer losses as it fought against barbarians, attacked on the march, we may suppose the bodies of those killed were not buried³⁹. If so, it seems quite proper for an altar to have symbolically paid respects to the fallen in the camp at Tilurium, that is, the place the legion was to be stationed after the rebellion was suppressed. That would have highlighted, on the one hand, the glory won by the comrades-in-arms who had been lost, and on the other, the esprit de corps of the unit, which had fought in many conflicts since it was created in Caesar's time. The sculpture even references the dictator indirectly, since a pair of dolphins can be seen on the armor, and those marine mammals were the companions of Venus, the foremother of gens Iulia. Thus

³⁴ E.S. Coopey, *Inscribed funerary monuments of Legio VII and the emergence of military communities in 1st century AD Dalmatia/Epigrafski nadgrobni spomenici VII. legije i pojava vojničkih zajednica u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji u I. stoljeću po Kr.*, „Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu” 2023, 40, p. 110. Scholarship has noted that at least nine (but likely 11) Legio VII monuments have friezes depicting armour, arms, and equipment, referred to here as military friezes. In two instances a cuirass is displayed hung-up in a tropaeum- or trophy like fashion.

³⁵ A.J. Janssen, *Het Antieke Tropaion*, Ledenberg-Gent 1957, which see for a very thorough collection of ways of representing tropaea on coins and in art.

³⁶ E. Kountouri, N. Petrochilos, S. Zoumbaki, *The Tropaion of Sulla over Mithridates VI Eupator: A First Approach*, [in:] *What's New in Roman Greece?*, ed. V. Di Napoli et al., Athens 2018, pp. 359-368.

³⁷ G. Castellvi, *Les trophées-tours romains: permanence et évolutions des trophées de bataille, du IIe s. av. J.-C. au IIe s. apr. J.-C.*, [in:] *Colonne Trajane et trophées romains*, ed. C.C. Petolescu, M. Galinier, F. Matei-Popescu, Bucharest 2015, pp. 207-258.

³⁸ N. Cambi, *Rimski...*, p. 133.

³⁹ Tac. *Ann.* 1.60-62. One example is the Teutoburg Forest, where the bodies of the fallen were only buried by Germanicus.

it is possible the soldiers of the Seventh Legion wished to imply their long-lasting relationship to the Julio-Claudian family in that way⁴⁰.

Secondly, N. Cambi suggests that the inscription could be similar to that from the monument in La Turbie (was prepared in *scriptura monumentalis*), however, this does not necessarily indicate that it is a tropaeum⁴¹. This type of letters was indeed used on many buildings and monuments, including arches (such as the Arch of Titus in Rome) or more splendid tombs.

Thirdly, had the trophy been as massive and imposing as N. Cambi thought, it would be odd for no trace of it to survive in any sources, whether narrative or numismatic⁴². The researcher from Split also suggested the monument could have been constructed by the same craftsmen who did the work on the tombstones of legionaries discovered on the site, dated to the first half of the first century, but that only strengthens the interpretation that it was an altar erected in the memory of soldiers who fell during the *Bellum Batonianum*. The same is implied by the bucrania on the sides, which in Roman art often accompanied sacrificial sites.

Based on this, I suggest an analogy with the monument could then be provided by the altar set up at Adamclisi during the Dacian Wars to commemorate some of those killed in the fighting against the Dacians⁴³. Perhaps the cautious approach of Mihovil Abramić, who wrote the fragments may have come from an unspecified plinth, is more justified than identifying them as parts of a tropaeum⁴⁴. Needless to say, my discussion here is purely hypothetical, aiming at a slightly different analysis of the Gardun remains, bearing in mind that our source material hardly ever refers to mass memorials in honor of legionaries fallen in combat⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ For the origins of the Seventh Legion see H.M.D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*, New York 1957, p. 51.

⁴¹ N. Cambi, *Gardunski...*, p. 78.

⁴² Neither Augustus nor Tiberius referred to the campaign in Pannonia and Dalmatia directly on coinage. The only likely reference to Tiberius' victory in the Balkans, an indirect one at that, is a series of coins minted at Lugdunum in AD 13-14, with a quadriga on it; see RIC I, *Augustus*, 221; RIC I, *Augustus*, 223. Some researchers have seen an image of that triumph in the Gemma Augustea, but, as Sawiński has observed, Roman art was not in its essence documentary, so the image on the cameo ought to be understood more in symbolic terms than as an allusion to specific events from Augustus' time. In his opinion, the visuals on the cameo primarily highlighted the exceptional role of the *domus Augusta* as guaranteeing permanent Roman military success, which in turn promised stability and a powerful empire; see P. Sawiński, *Holders of Extraordinary imperium under Augustus and Tiberius. A Study into the Beginnings of the Principate*, London, New York 2021, pp. 100-102. The tropaeum motif only appeared on Tiberius' coins in AD 35-36 as an ornament on a triumphal chariot; see RIC I, *Tiberius*, 60.

⁴³ B. Turner, *War Losses and Worldview: re-viewing the Roman funerary altar at Adamclisi*, "The American Journal of Philology" 2013, 134, pp. 227-304. Turner dates it to emperor Domitian's reign.

⁴⁴ M. Abramić, *op. cit.*, p. 13: "Sve je služilo kao baza spomenika". M. Abramić initially suggested the fragments may have formed the base of a monument, but later he claimed part of a tropaeum was possible.

⁴⁵ Cic. *Phil.* 14.31-33; Tac. *Ann.* 1.62; Cass. Dio 57.18. Cicero proposed the construction of a monument in honor of those killed in the Battle of Mutina in 43 BC, but it was likely never built,

In conclusion, the lack of source information about the tropaeum from Tilurium, the specific construction site of this monument, and the succinctness of the inscription, cast N. Cambi's interpretation into question. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that the researcher from Split is correct, however, the available evidence is only circumstantial, which may, in the future, shed some more light on this artifact.

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and in AD 15, Germanicus buried the dead in the Teutoburg Forest under a tumulus, but that was a somewhat different structure.

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A NEW LOOK AT THE TROPAEUM FROM TILURIUM (GARDUN)

S u m m a r y

The story of the Tilurium tropaeum goes back as far as the final years of the nineteenth century. In 1886, a limestone slab was discovered in Ante Bilić's field as it was farmed, measuring $1.36 \times 1.04 \times 0.24$ meters, followed soon after by another, smaller piece, this one $0.48 \times 0.53 \times 0.28$ meters in size, which apparently came from the same monument. The two fragments have been described and discussed several times by the Split-based researcher Nenad Cambi. In N. Cambi's opinion, the stone slabs bearing a relief sculpture showing a trophy, captives, and an inscription, were part of a tropaeum set up in the camp at Tilurium by the Seventh Legion after the suppression of the rebellion in Pannonia in AD 6-9, or, to be more specific, after Tiberius ex Ilirico triumph in AD 12. However, in this paper I would like to suggest another possible interpretation of the monument. Consequently, I am going to re-analyze all available sources on the conflict and ways of celebrating victory during the Bellum Batonianum.

Keywords: Tropaeum, Gardun, Roman army

NOWE SPOJRZENIE NA TROPAEUM Z TILURIUM (GARDUN)

Streszczenie

Historia trofeum z Tilurium sięga schyłku XIX wieku, gdy w roku 1886 na polu Ante Bilića, podczas prac rolniczych odkryto wapienną płytę o wymiarach $1,36 \times 1,04 \times 0,24$ m, a niedługo później mniejszy element $0,48 \times 0,53 \times 0,28$ m, który miał pochodzić z tego samego monumentu. Oba fragmenty kilkakrotnie prezentował w swoich tekstach Nenad Cambi. Według badacza ze Splitu kamienne płyty

z reliefem trofeum, jeńców i inskrypcją, miały być częścią tropajonu wystawionego w obozie w Tilurium przez Legion VII, po stłumieniu buntu w Panonii z lat 6-9, a precyzyjniej po triumfie Tyberiusza ex Ilurico (12 r.). W niniejszym artykule pragnę zasugerować jednak inną możliwość interpretacji tego monumentu, w związku z czym raz jeszcze przeanalizowane zostaną wszystkie dostępne źródła na temat konfliktu i sposobów celebrowania zwycięstwa w Bellum Batonianum.

Słowa kluczowe: Tropajon, Gardun, Rzymska armia