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ROMAN MILITARY TROPAEA FROM DALMATIA

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Tropaea were a form of public monuments representing military successes erected on various stages of wars or on other places chosen by the triumphant side. The custom of marking the victory in the war is very old, but it developed through centuries. Such monuments had two main purposes: to commemorate a victory (especially the most important ones) as well as to be the serious warning (*memento*) to the defeated side and to show the military supremacy of the winner.¹ Obviously, a *tropaeum* could be permanent or temporary. They consist of a tree with cut off the branches dressed in an armour with attached weapons which were seized from the enemy or were used in the battle by the winner. These became the common imagery of the *tropaea*. Weapons and standards seized from the defeated side were usually gathered on heaps and reprwsnted the war booty. The trophies with standards and weapons were carried on *fercula* in the triumphal ceremony in Rome.² The captives were very often shown bound to the *tropaeum* tree representing the defeated side, but it was not obligatory. The *tropea* iconographically differ, since they developed through centuries and especially when land or marine victories were in question.³ A *tropaeum* could be a portable one as a kind of *insignium*. In this case it was small since only one figure bears it on the shoulder (for example Mars⁴ or Victoria⁵). *Tropaea* which are dealt this paper are either a proper

building or a sculpture in the whole round. The goddess Nike (Roman *Victoria*) was the symbol of victory and her image often appeared as evident iconographic personification thus linking her with *tropaea*.⁶

Greeks started with the erecting such military trophies.⁷ The only archaeological evidence of such a *tropaeum* in Dalmatia was found at Stari Grad (Pharos), a colony of Parians (from the island in the Aegean) on the island of Hvar. Unfortunately it is badly damaged on the top and bottom. Approximately a rectangular block with the inscription: ΦΑΡΙΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΙΑΔΑΣΙΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΑΧΩΝ ΤΑ ΟΠΛΑΑ is only preserved (Fig. 1).⁸ The translation: Pharians /dedicated/ the weapons of the victory over Iadasinians and their allies. The last two lines are erased which is suggested by slight remains of some illegible letters. Very probably the change of the text occurred after the inscription was inserted into the monument, since it does not seem the error of the stonemason. Unfortunately, it is unknown why they were cut off, but obviously because of some very serious reasons. Very likely the weapons (swords, daggers, spears, shields, armours etc) were placed and dedicated to a god or goddess in the native town (probably in a temple). Several naval battles were waged in the eastern Adriatic during last centuries BC. But only one was very important for the city of Pharos, which occurred shortly after the foundation of the

¹ HÖLSCHER 2006, 27-49.

² BEARD 2007, 107-142.

³ Cf. for example Nike of Samothrace. Cfr BOL 2007, 137-141, fig. 45, 46, pl. 155 a-c.

⁴ SIMON 1990, 242, fig. 313.

⁵ SIMON 1990, 243, fig. 14.

⁶ About Victoria cf. HÖLSCHER 1967; KOORTBOJIAN 2006, 184-217.

⁷ PICARD 1957, 13-100.

⁸ CIG II, no. 1837 (ed. Boeckh); BRUNŠMID 1898, 28, no. 3. GAFFNEY - KIRIGIN - PETRIĆ - VUJNOVIĆ 1997, 236-237, no. 2.

⁹ Diodorus XV, 13-14.



Fig. 1. Trophy of the Victory of Pharians over Jadasinoi, Pharos, Archaeological Museum Zagreb. After J. Brunšmid, *Inschriften und Münzen griechischen Städten Dalmatiens*, Wien 1898, photo on the p. 28.

city. Historical records mentioned that Parian colonists were forced to defend their recently established settlement from the nearby Illyrians.⁹ The native people were Iadasinians (Liburnians from Iader/Iadassa or an Illyrian tribe from the vicinity of Salona).¹⁰ These indigenous people was defeated according to Diodorus in 385/4 BC, since Dionysos from Syracuse sent the fleet (or from Lissos or Issa) to help Parians. Thousands of Illyrians were killed or captured. This victory was extremely important for the Greek colonists so it is quite normal that they decided to commemorate such a victory. Slightly different opinion was expressed by S. Čače who dated the attack of the Liburnians on Pharos after the break of Syracusaeon domination in the Adriatic several decades later. Since only this inscription remained, it is not known how the entire monument looked like. However, it probably consisted of a stone monument that contained the arms seized from the enemy were its most important part as the inscription verbatim states.

Romans started to erect *tropaea* in the period of social and political development in the 4th century BC and the rise of Roman official elite involved in the state services.¹¹ The province of Dalmatia was the stage of rather numerous very outstanding war events in the period of Roman pacification of south-eastern Europe (*Illyricum*). Undoubtedly the Roman military *tropaea* were built in Dalmatia on several sites when Roman commanders had successful military campaigns in this area. The triumphs were allowed only to some suc-

¹⁰ NOVAK 1940, 123; RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950, 9-34; SUIĆ 1976, 5-28; ČAČE 1994, 33-54; ZANINOVIĆ 1996, 102.

¹¹ HÖLSCHER 1980, 351.



Fig. 2. Coin of Octavian with a Trophy on the Reverse. After M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1985, fig. 497/3.

Fig. 3. Coin of Triumvir Marc Antony with a Trophy on the Obverse. After M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1985, 373.

cessful commanders. The first one was over Illyrian king Gentius crushed in 168 BC.¹² Very probably the monument was not erected on the site, because after the defeat of Gentius the new ruler, Ballaios by name, was installed as a kind of Roman vassal (ruled until 135 BC).¹³ This new ruler edited the coins with his portraits, among them some very fine struck.¹⁴ Scipio Nasica also waged successful wars against *Delmatae* when he seized their centre *Delminium*. The triumph was allowed to him in 155 BC.¹⁵ Such a success could not have been crowned by a trophy in very *Delminium*, the capital of *Delmatae*, since the *Delematae* were far from being utterly defeated. The triumph was also allowed to L. Caecilius Metellus who waged wars against *Delmatae* in Dalmatian hinterland in 119 BC.¹⁶ Since the Roman art was at the very beginning in Illyricum then, it is very likely that there were not skilled craftsmen in Dalmatia who could construct a building in the Roman manner. In any case the provisory *tropaea* could have been erected because they exercised a certain propaganda effect on the defeated peoples in Daalmatia. It is quite natural that provisory *tropaea* could not survive longer. The correspondence between Vatinius and

¹² The first one was the triumph of Lucius Anicius Gallus over king Gentius and Illyrians. Cf. *Fasti triumphales*.....: /L. Anicius L.f.M.n. Gallus pro pr/aetore/ de rege a. DXXCVI /Gen/fio et Illurie/is/ Quirinibus. Cf. KÜNZL 1988, 59, fig. 34.

¹³ Ballaios was not mentioned by any ancient writer, but big quantity of silver and bronze coins with the legend βασιλεύς evidenced his rule. Cf. BRUNŠMID 1898, 88-98; WILKES 1992, 177.

¹⁴ BRUNŠMID 1898, 88-98, pl. V-VII; CAMBI 2000, 25-27, figs 12-15.

¹⁵ WILKES 1969, 31; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 298-302.

¹⁶ WILKES 1969, 220, 441; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 306-311. Metellus got the title Delmaticus.



Fig. 4. Trophy from Tilurium (Gardunski tropej), Archaeological Museum Split. Photo: Tonči Sesar.

Cicero informs us that the former, the commander of Roman army garrisoned in Narona, longed for the triumph but it was not allowed by Caesar.¹⁷ Vatinius described his deeds in the mentioned letters, but he got the triumph only after the Caesar's death.¹⁸ Possibly this success was marked by a *tropaeum* in Narona or in one of the many battle stages (Dalmatian hillforts), but there is not archaeological evidence until now. Even the coins issued by *triumvir monetalis* Numonius Vaala (later the governor of the Roman province of Dalmatia), show the capture of one of numerous Dalmatian hill-forts.¹⁹

Different situation was in Illyricum after the Octavian's successful campaigns in 35/32. BC.²⁰ There is an opinion that *Delmatae* were depicted on the fragmentarily preserved Augustan Arch on the forum in Rome.²¹ Au-

¹⁷ CAMBI - PASINI 1980, 279-283.

¹⁸ Exactly on 31. July 42 BC. Cf. WILKES 1992, 194-195.

¹⁹ CRAWFORD 1985, 514, 2.

²⁰ OLUJIĆ 2007, 85-102.

²¹ COARELLI 1992, 263, fig. 60 and 265, fig. 62, while the Partian

gust mentioned in his *Res Gestae* that he succeeded in returning the standards captured by the Illyrians, previously lost by another commander (Gabinus). Augustus deposited these insignia in the temple of Mars Ultor on his forum in Rome.²² The wars in Dalmatia were a good possibility for Octavian to show his military skills. According to G.Ch. Picard a reverse of an issue of Roman coins show the *tropaeum* and one legionary eagle (*aquila*) flanked by two legionary standards (*vexilla*) of Octavian in Illyricum. Picard thought that the coin was minted before December of 32 BC, when Octavian still had bore the title of *triumvir* which he rejected afterwards (Fig. 2).²³ But this *denarius* was struck by a military mint during Octavian's sojourn in Greece in 42 BC.²⁴ The imagery of Octavian's reverse had been intro-

Arch was towards the north of the temple of Divus Julius and inserted in the front of Basilica Julia. About the Augustus' Arch of Partians cf. DE MARIA 1988, 269-272, no. 59, figs 46-49.

²² *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 29.

²³ PICARD 1957, 251, no 2 referring to COHEN 1880, 97, no. 248. Picard's opinion is not quite clear.

²⁴ CRAWFORD 1985, 497/3; SYDENHAM 1995, 1320.



Fig. 5. Fragment of the front side of the Gardunski tropej. Tilurium. Museum of Centinska krajina. Photo: N. Cambi.

duced by Mark Antony's legionary coins with the same form and arrangement of three *insignia* but without a central trophy (Fig. 3).²⁵ So the Octavian's trophy on the reverse could not chronologically refer to his success over the Illyrians. But, anyway, this Illyrian event was very significant for the future emperor since it belonged among his outstanding deeds *ob signa recepta* which he mentioned in the *Res Gestae*.²⁶ Undoubtedly, this event in Illyricum must have been commemorated with the monument on the very war stage. It is not known whether it was a provisional image or a structure. Octavian was that commander who removed the stain from the Roman army for the loss of its *insignia*. Unfortunately, it is not known where this Illyrian trophy (possibly *Siscia*) was originally placed. The Roman art began in Illyricum in several last decades of the 1st century BC. Skilled workers (masons, stone masons and monumental masons, sculptors etc) came in the main settlements and cities in Dalmatia.²⁷ Accordingly, such monuments and many others constructions could be easily erected by local craftsmen in the second half of the 1st century BC.

²⁵ Cf. CRAWFORD 1985, 373, 386, 387; cf. ŠEPAROVIĆ 2008, 269-274, fig. 1 (about such coins in northern Dalmatia).

²⁶ Octavian forced Illyrians to get back the *signa* seized from Gabinus in 48 BC (Apian, *Illyrica*, 25), cf. ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 347-353.

²⁷ CAMBI 2005, 7-10.



Fig. 6. Trophy from Tilurium (Gardunski tropej). Right Side. Archaeological Museum Split. Photo: N. Cambi.

At the end of the 19th century fragments of a *tropaeum* were found within the territory of the Roman military camp (7th Roman legion *Claudia Pia Fidelis*) *Tilurium* on the river Cetina, in the small village of Gardun some 30 kilometres northern from Split (Dalmatia). The fragments of the *tropaeum* were discovered during agricultural works. There are an entire slab with the inscription panel which is kept in the Archaeological Museum in Split (Fig. 4). Another smaller fragment is kept in the Museum in Cetinska Krajina Sinj (Fig. 5). Obviously both of them belonged to the revetment of the concrete nucleus of the monument. Unfortunately, the site was not excavated, although the very site of discovery is known.²⁸ The entire slab belonged to the right corner of the front. The inscription panel shows only the last letter (O) of the first line, very likely: IMP(eratori) CAESARI DIVI FILIO AVGVST(O). On the right of the inscription there is a trophy (a tree with Roman cuirass showing dolphins on the breast and *pterigae* arranged in three rows. A helmet (unfortunately damaged) is on the top of the tree. A cloth (very probably *paludamentum*) is hanging on both shoulders, while two shields, four spears and

²⁸ KLEMENT 1890, 6; ABRAMIĆ 1937, 7-19; GABRIČEVIĆ 1955, 9; PICARD 1957, 217, 252, pl. XII, 2; CAMBI 1984, 77-92; CAMBI 2005, 24 (more complete literature in the n. 52). About the site of discovery cf. CAMBI 1980, no 11.

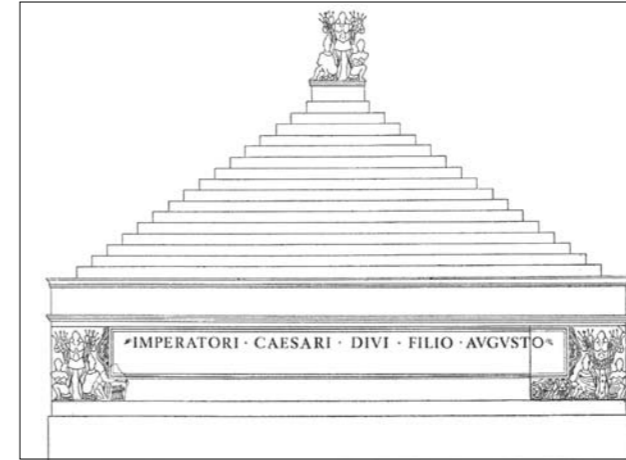


Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the Gardunski tropej. Front side. Authors: N. Cambi-B. Pender.

a trumpet were symmetrically arranged on both sides of the armour. Such type of trophy reveals that the victory monument was conceived antropomorphically. A small model of the trophy in the Berlin Charlottenburg Museum demonstrates how the parts were attached to the tree.²⁹ The arms on the Gardun *tropaeum* are Roman (not barbarian) symbolizing victory of Romans. At the bottom of the *tropaeum* two barbarians, seating on the stone heaps, are chained to the tree. Their costumes are different. The left is wrapped only in the cloak. He wears a local type of fur cap (*šubara*, known even today among local people in the Dalmatian hinterland). The cloak is clasped with fibula of the late La Tene type.³⁰ The barbarian on the right side of the trophy wears breeches. The upper part of the body is naked. He is seated on the cloak with the same type of fibula as his companion. Both barbarians wear local type of sandals.

The second (smaller one) belongs to the left side of the inscription. Obviously the same motif was represented (the knees of the barbarian is still visible) on this badly damaged fragment. As usually the barbarians were depicted in the antithetical symmetry on both sides of the *tropaeum* inscription. On the lateral sides a *bucranion* and ribbons of a garland are depicted (Fig. 6). So the *bucrania* and garlands were represented on the right and left side of the monument.³¹ The preserved details clearly show that huge garlands were hung on horns of *bucrania* which was a very common motif of altars indicating to the performed sacrifices. Owing to the

²⁹ SIMON 1986, 223, fig. 280.

³⁰ About this type of *fibulae* cfr. VINSKI 1956, 19-30, figs 1a, 6-8.

³¹ Such a decoration very probably is the influence of *Ara pacis*. Cfr. SIMON 1986, 30-46, figs 26, 29, 33. SETTIS 1988, 400-426, fig. 180-183, 226-227.

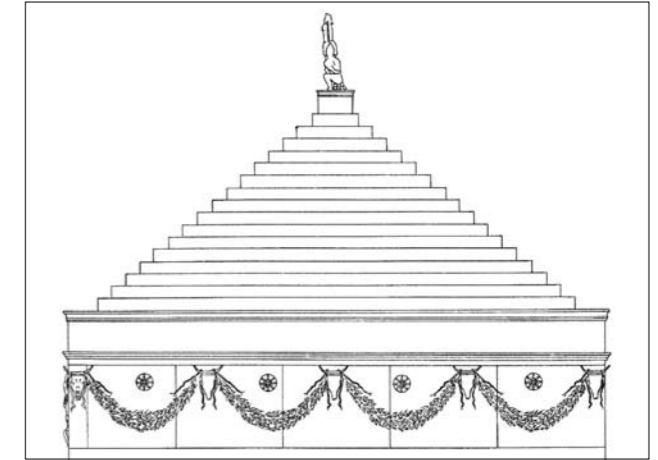


Fig. 8. Reconstruction of the Gardunski tropej. Right Side. Authors: N. Cambi-B. Pender.

parallels of trophies preserved in the other parts of the Roman world these two fragments allow a reliable reconstruction of the lower part of the *tropaeum*, but the upper could be only approximately supposed (figs 7, 8). *Tilurium tropaeum* was constructed, as usually, of the concrete core covered with above mentioned limestone slabs. G. Picard suggested that the *tropaeum* from Gardun belongs to the period of the second triumvirate or several years later.³² This suggestion is based on the analysis of the armour appearing on the entire plaque, especially of the cuirass with *pteryges*, but without leather straps. The cuirass has also long metal straps on shoulders reaching almost to the belt. According Picard the cuirass is of Hellenistic type, differing from the Roman imperial ones, which have much shorter shoulder straps, which are similar to epolettes. That is the reason why Picard attributed the relief to the Octavian's victory in 35/33 BC. However, it is much more likely that the *tropaeum* is later, since the accantus scrolls of the *ansae* of the *tabula* are very close to those of *Ara Pacis*.³³ There is a console from the Jader forum with similar scrolls of local workmanship from the Augustan period (Fig. 9). The dolphins on the breast of the cuirass are also a hint to the marine Actium victory. So the Gardun plaque must belong to the later Augustan period³⁴ and consequently the *tropaeum* must have been built in honour of the victory over the so called „Two Batos“ rebellion from 6th to 9th AD (*Bellum Batonianum*).³⁵ Tiberius and

³² PICARD 1957, 217.

³³ Cf no 25. Also SIMON 1986, 30-46, figs 26, 29, 30, 37; HANNES-TAD 1985, 62-75, figs 42, 43, 44. Lit. In the note 89, Augustus und verlorene Republik 1988, 371-373, no 204.

³⁴ CAMBI 2005, 56-56, fig. 75.

³⁵ WILKES 1969, 68-77; ZANINOVIĆ 2007, 23-26; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 168-176.



Fig. 10. Stele of Lucius Fabius. Tilurium. Archaeological Museum Split. Photo A. Verzotti.



Fig. 9. Console. Jader (Zadar). Forum. Photo: N. Cambi.

Germanicus celebrated the triumph over the Illyrians and Panonnians on 23 October of 12 AD in Rome.³⁶ If so the defeated barbarians probably represent two main rebellious peoples (*Delmatae* and *Pannoni*). In my opinion the barbarian to the left, should be a Pannonian while that to the right a Delmatian. Under the inscription panel there is a frieze of armours connecting both sides of the front part. What the back side of the *tropaeum* looked like, is not known, since there is not even a slight remain. But very likely the same motif and the same inscription (the back was also the façade) were reproduced. The style of the decoration of the inscription *ansae* (acanthus scrolls) reveal the strong impact of Ara Pacis.³⁷

Unfortunately, it is possible only to reconstruct the approximate measures (about 8 m or little bit more on the front, while about 7, 50 on both sides).³⁸ The form of the upper part of the *tropaeum* causes much greater problem, since there are not elements for reconstruction.³⁹ Probably the Gardun *tropaeum* was constructed by craftsmen engaged by the 7th Roman legion. The frieze of weapons has been a very characteristic for architraves of soldiers' stelai from Gardun and its vi-

³⁶ Inscriptiones Italiae XIII, 2, 134. The Varro's horrible defeat in Germany was the reason why the celebration was postponed.

³⁷ Cf. no 25. SIMON 1986, 30-46, figs 26, 29, 30, 37; HANNSTAD 1985, 62-75, figs 42, 43, 44. Lit. note. 89. SETTIS 1988, 371-373, no 204.

³⁸ CAMBI 1984, 80.

³⁹ CAMBI 1984; 81, sl. 4, 5; FLORESCU 1959, 268 i d., pl. IX.



Fig. 12. Frieze Showing Military Equipment. Unknown Site in Dalmatia. Archaeological Museum Split. Photo N. Cambi.

city. Obviously the frieze of arms is an echo of the *tropaeum* iconography (figs 10, 11).⁴⁰ The stelai and *tropaeum* very likely must have been the product of the same workshop.

There is another limestone relief plaque in the Split Archaeological Museum showing the frieze with Roman arms. The plaque was a part of a big monument, very probably a *tropaeum* (Fig. 12).⁴¹ Only Roman arms and war equipment were represented. But, unfortunately, the site of its discovery is unknown and it is not possible to establish the precise chronology of the relief because the latter is not of the same quality. This relief also lacks the polish of the surface. But, anyway, it could be a part of the Gardun *tropaeum* (frieze of the upper part of a monument). It is also possible that this relief belongs to another monument of such a type.⁴²

The Illyrian triumphs probably appear on some other reliefs coming from other parts of Roman empire, especially from Rome. Judging from the type of barbarians the frieze of the temple of Apollo Sosianus represents one of such Illyrian triumphs (Fig. 13).⁴³ The famous Gemma Augustea also depicts the erecting of trophy over Illyrians, showing barbarians under the symbol of the victory (below left) too (Fig. 14).⁴⁴

⁴⁰ CAMBI 2005, 54-55, figs 69, 70, 71, 72.

⁴¹ CAMBI 1984, 86-88, fig. 6.

⁴² CAMBI 1984, 87, no. 66.

⁴³ Cf. ZANKER 1989, 74-75, fig. 55.

⁴⁴ SIMON 1986, 156-161, figs 206-208, tab. 10; SETTIS 1988, 371, no 204.



Fig. 11. Stele of Quintus Mettius, Salona, Archaeological Museum Split. Photo A. Verzotti.



Fig. 13. Frieze showing Thrimphal Procession, Apollo Temple near Marcellus' Theatre in Rome. After B. Andreae, *L' art de l' ancienne Rome*, Paris 1973, fig. 237.

Two cuirasses of Roman emperors, found in Dalmatia, show in the centre of the breast the Roman *tropaeum*. The first is kept in the Archaeological museum of Zagreb (Fig. 15). It was found in Issa (today Vis). This is the same type of *tropaeum* as on the Gardun monument. Under the tree covered by armour and helmet two barbarians are seating on heaps of arms (obviously not Roman ones) in contrast to Gardun monument where barbarians sit on stones which are better suited for Dalmatian landscape. Both men, very probably dressed in the same type of robe, are bound to the tree. Another difference is also the depiction of flying Victorias with wreaths on both sides of the trophy with helmet.⁴⁵ The barbarians are of the so called Northern type but they are mostly used for Illyrians. K. Stemmer dated Zagreb cuirassed torso in the Claudian period after the types of *pterygae*.⁴⁶ The other cuirassed torso of the emperor was kept in a private collection in Graz (Fig. 16).⁴⁷ Recently the torso was sold at Southby's, but unfortunately the new owner is unknown. This torso is of the remarkable quality of workmanship. This cuirass shows the same type of trophy topped by the helmet and two shields under the *Solquadria*. Trophy is flanked by two winged Victorias (not flying). There are no barbarians under the tree. According to Stemmer this torso is from the Tiberian period. W. Schmid, who



Fig. 14. Gemma Augustea. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. After H. Kähler, *Rimsko carstvo*, Novi Sad 1970, fig. on p. 73.

⁴⁵ STEMMER 1978, 78, VII 5, pl. 51, 3-4.

⁴⁶ STEMMER 1978, 78.

⁴⁷ STEMMER 1978, 56-57, pl. 34, 1.



Fig. 16. Torso of an Emperor, Salona. Unknown buyer. After Sotheby Auction Catalogue.

was the first to publish the torso, proposed the same chronology. In my opinion both torsos are Tiberian and show the *tropaeum* erected somewhere (Gardun-Tilurium ?) in Dalmatian hinterland after the defeat of Illyrians and Pannonians (6-9 AD).⁴⁸ Since both statues belonged to the two different of imperial shrines (Issa⁴⁹ and Salona⁵⁰), it is possible that they belonged to the same emperor celebrating his same Dalmatian success. Claudius on the other side was not engaged in war operations in Dalmatia.⁵¹ He had only problems with his own legions (the rebellion of province governor and their commander Scribonianus) in Dalmatia.⁵²

⁴⁸ SCHMID 1924, 45-53; pl. 5; STEMMER 1978, 56; POCHMARSKI 2009, 112, fig. 1-10, pl. 5.

⁴⁹ IVČEVIĆ 1998, 75-83.

⁵⁰ CAMBI 1998, 459-52.

⁵¹ Claudius had military successes in Britannia. Cfr. KIENAST 1996, 91-95; CLAUSS 1997, 67-76.

⁵² CAMBI 2009, 63-79.



Fig. 15. Torso of an Emperor, Vis. Archaeological Museum Zagreb, Photo N. Cambi.

So, it is not to expect the cuirassed imperial statues with the same type of *tropaeum* and same type of barbarians from Claudius and later in these regions.

Recently a fragment of a trophy, unfortunately badly damaged, was found in the vicinity of the forum in Narona, a Roman colony in the central Dalmatia (figs. 17, 18, 19).⁵³ It depicts the prow (*prora*) of a war galley with a heavy iron spike (or spikes) on the pole (*rostrum*). A part of the prow is broken. On both sides

⁵³ DAVIDSON - GAFFNEY - MARIN 2006, 75-76, figs 2, 3.



Fig. 17. Actian Trophy, Narona, Archaeological Museum Narona. Photo: Archaeological Museum Narona.



Fig. 18. Actian Trophy, Narona, Archaeological Museum Narona. Photo: Archaeological Museum Narona.



Fig. 19. Actian Trophy, Narona, Archaeological Museum Narona. Photo: Archaeological Museum Narona.



Fig. 20. Coin with the Head of Octavian on the Obverse. Burnum. Gradski muzej Drniš. Photo: M. Glavičić.



Fig. 21. Coin with the Actian Trophy on the Reverse. Burnum. Drniš City Museum. Photo: M. Glavičić.



Fig. 22. Coin of the Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus with the Trophy of a Naval Victory. After M. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage, Cambridge 1985, 519/2.



Fig. 23. Funerary Monument in the shape of a Roman cargo Ship. Rome. Museo Nazionale delle Terme Roma. Photo: N. Cambi.

there are the same depiction: a woman's head and an eagle carrying a wreath in its claws. The woman who wears tunica with loose right shoulder is either goddess (Victoria ?⁵⁴) or an Amazon.⁵⁵ On the upper part of the galley there is the circular surface with connecting hole, very probably for attaching a vertical element. The best parallel for such a monument is the Octavian's trophy over Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium (Nikopolis) clearly represented on Octavian's coins and several other representations.⁵⁶ It consists of the war ship prow and the curved keel above with anchor, and the trophy fixed to the vessel. The Actium trophy shows a common form: the tree covered by a cuirass and topped by crested helm. To the left there are spears and a shield to the right. Below there are not chained enemies. A silver coin of Octavian found in the military building near the amphitheatre in Burnum (castrum of the Roman 11th legion) shows young Octavian (portrait of so called Actium type⁵⁷) in the profile (to the right) on the obverse, while the Actium *tropaeum* on the reverse (Fig. 20, 21). This coin was struck in Italy 29 to 27 BC.⁵⁸ The separate element on the Naronitan fragment might have been armed tree of the *tropaeum* of similar shape as Actium type. Similar type of the Actium trophy was developed about ten years earlier (Fig. 22: cf. the reverse of the coins of Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus⁵⁹).

⁵⁴ Victoria has very often loose side of the garment. Cf. SIMON 1990, 244, fig. 220.

⁵⁵ For better moving with arms in combata the Amazones had open right side of the beast.

⁵⁶ PICARD 1957, 253-274, pl. VIII, 2, XI, XII, 1.

⁵⁷ Cfr. ZANKER 1978, 13-33, pl. I-XXIX.; BOSCHUNG 1993, 11-18, pl. I-XII. The latter author the first type called La Alcludia or A type.

⁵⁸ The coin was found on 8. October 2008. For data about the coins I am indebted to my colleague Miroslav Glavičić I am very thankful to him. About this type cf. RIC I, 265.

⁵⁹ CRAWFORD 1985, 519/2; SYDENHAM 1995, 1177.

Is it possible that a copy of the Actium trophy in a much smaller scale was erected in Narona? It is, in my opinion, very likely. This monument is of high quality and made of Proconnesian marble. Most probably it was erected in Naronitan forum in order to commemorate the Octavian's victory and might be associated with the foundation of the colony in early Augustan period,⁶⁰ as well as the founding of the imperial cult in this city of municipal character.⁶¹ A hint to his naval victory at Actium, appears in the centre of the cuirassed statue of August in the Naronitan shrine (Nereids riding the sea horses and dolphins⁶²). Octavian's monument at Actium (Nikopolis) by which the winner of the battle marked the central place between East and West where Octavian saved the unity of the Roman empire.⁶³ It is interesting that several decades earlier the brothers Gaius Papius Celsus and Marcus Papius Kanus dedicated an inscription in honour of Octavian's victory over Sextus Pompeus (*ob Sicilia recepta*) in the vicinity of Narona (Tasovčići also on the river Neretva, in Herzegovina).⁶⁴ So it is possible that Naronitan colony commemorated the Octavian's victory over Mark Antony and Kleopatra, but in more luxury way than the mentioned brothers.

The Actium *tropaeum* type had rather strong impact on Roman art. Since it, for example, appears on an antefix, now in the Museum in Bonn⁶⁵ and a marble tombstone from Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme⁶⁶ shows the onerary ship with the base for column is under the strong iconographic influence of the Actium trophy (Fig. 23), although in a little bit modified way. These images are the evidence of the longevity and popularity of this iconographic pattern. These early *tropaea* there are not more evidence of later monuments in Dalmatia. It is very likely due to the fact that in later centuries Dalmatia was a pacified province. The Roman imagery of the war and trophies deeply influenced later representations of victories.

⁶⁰ WILKES 1969, 245-251.

⁶¹ The imperial cult developed from the Augustan period. Cfr. MARIN - VICKERS 2004, 154-157.

⁶² MARIN - VICKERS 2004, 148-150, figs 154-157

⁶³ HÖLSCHER 2006, 33.

⁶⁴ CIL III 14265; CAMBI 1989, 37-45. Only inscription, which is only a part of the much complex monument, is preserved.

⁶⁵ PICARD 1957, pl. XI; ZANKER 1989, 88-91, fig. 64.

⁶⁶ As far as I know the monument was found in Rome.

ABBREVIATIONS:

CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum

RIC = Roman Imperial Coins in the British Museum

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