

ANDREJ GASPARI

*Donova 9
SI – 1215 Medvode
andrej.gaspari@gmail.com*

RENÉ MASARYK

*Skupina Stik – Zavod za preučevanje
povezovalnih področij preteklosti in
sedanjosti
Ulica bratov Babnik 95
SI – 1000 Ljubljana
rene.masaryk@gmail.com*

MATJAŽ NOVŠAK

*Arhej d. o. o.
Drožanjska 23
SI – 8290 Sevnica
arhejdoo@siol.net*

ŠČITNA GRBA IZ EMONE
(LJUBLJANA): KELTSKO OROŽJE
V ZGODNJRIMSKEM
KONTEKSTU

UDK: 904:623.4(497.4 Ljubljana)''652''
Izvorni znanstveni rad

Prispevek obravnava najdbo namerno poškodovane železne ščitne grbe, ki je bila odkrita med zaščitnimi raziskavami na območju insule XLIII v Emoni (Ljubljana, Slovenija). Okrogla grba sodi v skupino poznolatenskih ščitnih grb vzhodnokeltskega oz. balkanskega tipa, ki so jih bojevniki plemen jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora posamično uporabljali še v okviru zavezniških oz. pomožnih enot zgodnjecesarskega časa. Simetrična zvitost krajca in vdrti kaloti morda kažeta na obredno dejanje veterana, ki je daroval orožje ob vrnitvi v civilno življenje in naselitvi v novozgrajeno mesto.

Ključne besede: arheologija, orožje, mlajša železna doba, Mokronogška skupina, rimsko obdobje, rimska vojska, auxilia, Emona

THE SHIELD BOSS FROM
EMONA (LJUBLJANA): CELTIC
WEAPONRY IN AN EARLY
ROMAN CONTEXT

UDC: 904:623.4(497.4 Ljubljana)''652''
Original scientific paper

The article discusses an intentionally deformed iron umbo that was discovered during rescue excavations in the area of insula XLIII in Emona (Ljubljana, Slovenia). The round umbo belongs to the group of Late La Tène Eastern Celtic or Balkan type shield bosses, which were individually used by the warriors of the local tribes of the southeastern Alpine region in the auxiliary infantry and cavalry of the Early Imperial Period. The symmetrical deformation of the flange and the concave dome are perhaps indicative of a ritual act by a veteran, who made an offering of his weapons upon returning to civilian life and settlement in the newly constructed city.

Key words: archaeology, weapons, Late Iron Age, Mokronog group, Roman Period, Roman army, auxilia, Emona

Uvod

Po prijavi nenadzorovanega uničevanja ostalin antične Emone v objektu na Vegovi ulici 8 v Ljubljani je bilo investitorju gradbenega posega, Zbornici za arhitekturo in prostor Slovenije, naloženo financiranje zaščitnih arheoloških raziskav, ki jih je marca leta 2008 izvedla ekipa podjetja Arhej pod nadzorom Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, območne enote Ljubljana. V razmeroma majhnem izkopu v kletnem prostoru stavbe na navedenem naslovu so bile dokumentirane zidane strukture in pripadajoči depoziti osrednjega dela insule XLIII, ki se nahaja v severovzhodnem delu obzidanega areala rimskega mesta (sl. 1: 1). V najglobljem delu izkopa je bila nepričakovano odkrita namerno deformirana ščitna grba, ki odpira zanimiva vprašanja o pojavu orožja v civilnih kontekstih.

Najdiščne okoliščine

Vegova ulica, del današnje mestne četrti Gradišče, katere ime odseva prisotnost ruševin rimske Emone,¹ poteka vzporedno z okoli 100 metrov oddaljenim robom terase, kjer se ravnica vršaja, ki ga je v ožino t. i. Ljubljanskih vrat med Grajskim hribom in Rožnikom oziroma Šišenskim hribom nasula reka Sava v poznem pleistocenu, prevesi v blago pobočje nad levim bregom reke Ljubljanice. Hiša, v kateri je potekala obravnavana raziskava, leži v zahodnem nizu stavb ob Vegovi, na prostoru insule XLIII in okoli 50 m od vzhodne stranice rimskega obzidja.

Ščitna grba je bila odkrita v polnilu ovalne jame s strmimi stenami in ravnim dnom,² ki je bila ugotovljena na površini

¹ Plesničar Gec 1999.

² Dokumentirana dolžina 1,1 m; širina 0,95 m; globina 0,3 m; stratigrafska enota – SE 2032/2031; posebna najdba – PN 2008.

Introduction

After reports of unsupervised destruction of remains from Roman Emona at the building at 8 Vegova Street in Ljubljana, the developer of the building plot, the Chamber of Architecture and Environmental Planning of Slovenia (ZAPS), was forced to finance archaeological rescue excavations, carried out in March 2008 by a team from the Arhej company, under the supervision of the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Slovenia, Ljubljana Regional Office. In the relatively small area of excavation in the basement of the building at the above address, masonry structures were documented along with the corresponding deposits of the central part of insula XLIII, which is located in the northeastern section of the walled area of the Roman town (Fig. 1: 1). The deepest part of the excavations unexpectedly uncovered a deliberately deformed shield boss, which raises interesting questions about the appearance of weapons in civilian contexts.

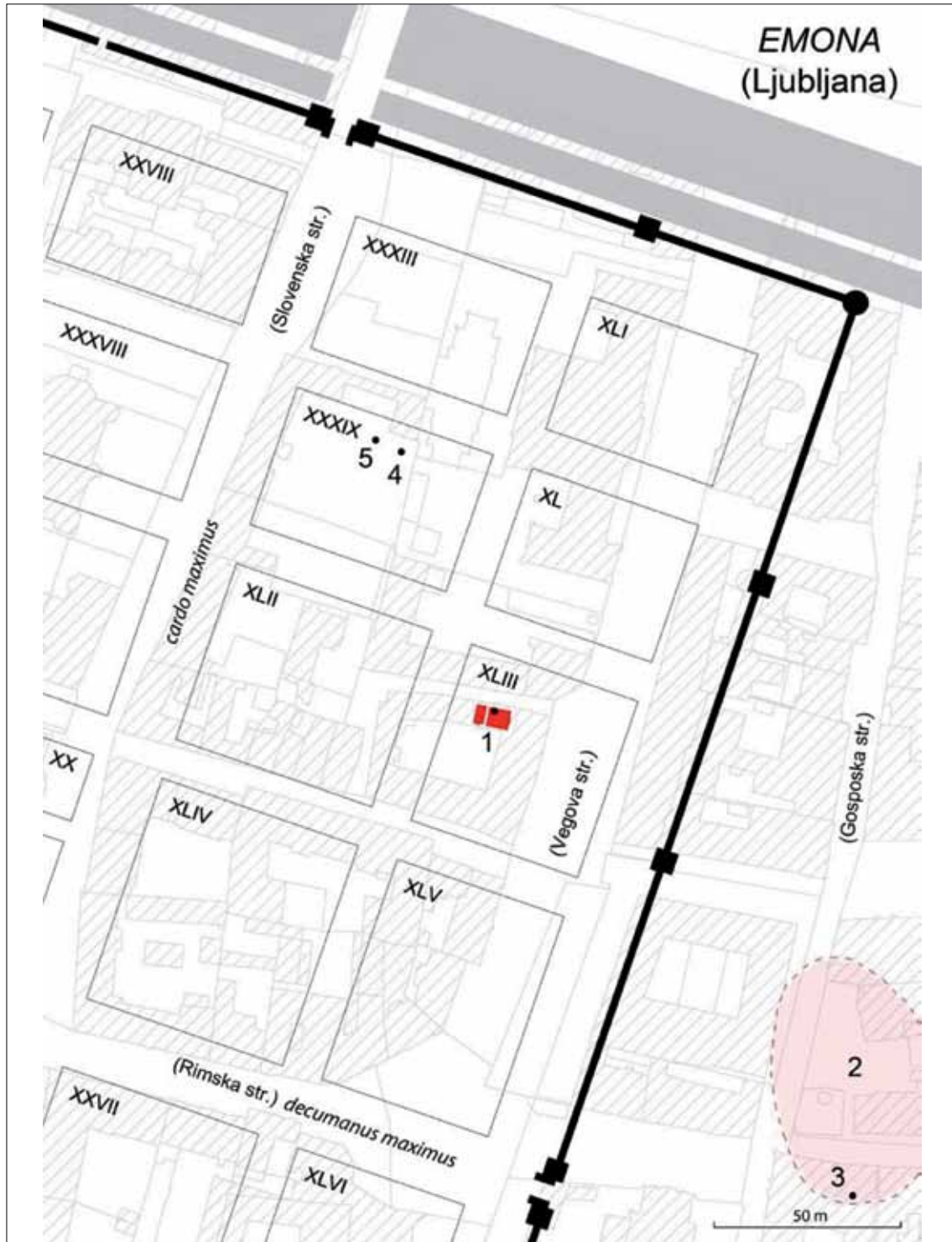
Circumstances of discovery

Vegova Street, part of the present-day quarter called Gradišče, whose name reflects the presence of the ruins of Roman Emona,¹ runs parallel to the circa 100 meters distant edge of the terrace where the plain ends, deposited by the Sava River in the Late Pleistocene in the narrows called the Ljubljana Straits between Castle Hill and Rožnik and Šiška Hills, turning it into a gentle slope above the left bank of the Ljubljanica River. The house in which the excavations took place lies in the western row of buildings along Vegova Street, in the area of insula XLIII and some 50 m from the eastern side of the Roman walls.

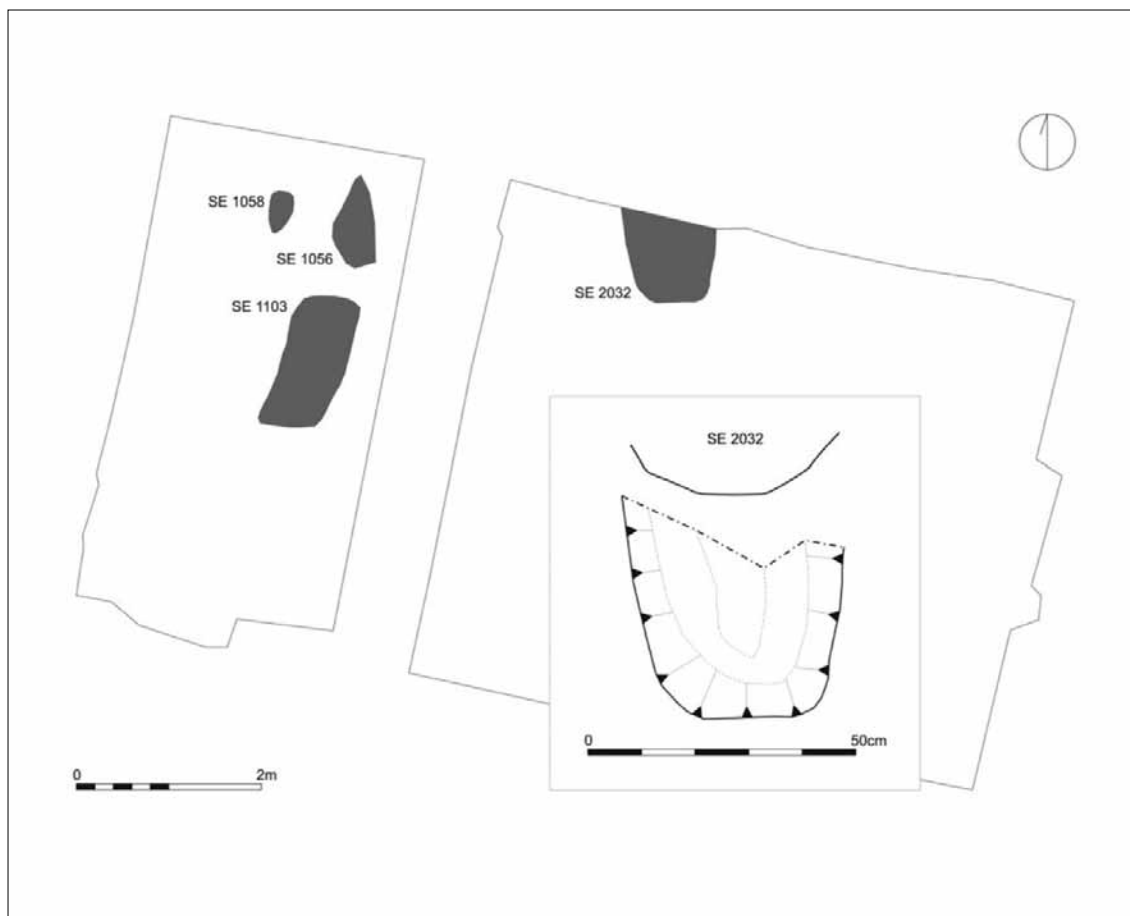
The umbo was discovered in the fill of an oval pit with steep sides and a flat base,² which was located on the surface of an ar-

¹ Plesničar Gec 1999.

² The documented length 1.1 m; width 0.95 m; depth 0.3 m; stratigraphic unit – SE 2032/2031; find no. – PN 2008.



Sl. / Fig. 1: Načrt severovzhodnega dela Emone z v besedilu omenjenimi najdišči. 1 – izkopno polje v objektu Vegova 7; 2 – osrednji del raziskanega območja prazgodovinske nekropole na dvorišču SAZU; 3 – ostanki srednjelatenskih bojevnških grobov; 4 – najdišče kompleta medicinskega orodja; 5 – najdišče gema z dionizično upodobitvijo / Plan of the northeastern part of Emona with the sites mentioned in the text. 1 – The excavated trench in the building at 7 Vegova Street; 2 – The central section of the excavated area of the prehistoric cemetery in the courtyard of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts; 3 – The remains of middle La Tène warrior graves; 4 – The site of discovery of the set of medical implements; 5 – The site of discovery of the of the gem with a Dionysian representation (izdelal A. Gaspari / executed by A. Gaspari)



Sl. / Fig. 2: Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Tloris in profil vkopa s ščitno grbo / Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Plan and profile of the pit with the shield boss (risba / drawing by René Masaryk)

umetno znižanih paleotal (295,3 m n. m.) in je segala izven sonde (sl. 2). V polnilu jame, ki ga je sestavljal temno rjav glinast pesek z majhnimi prodniki, razen ostankov grbe in maloštevilnih drobcev oglja ni bilo drugih najdb. Jama je bila po oceni izkopavalcev izkopana z enega od nivojev nasipanja obsežne izravnave, ki se pojavlja na celotnem območju *intra muros*. V skladu s to razlago njen izkop in zapolnitev najverjetneje sodita v čas gradnje rimskega mesta na levem bregu Ljubljanice, okvirno datirane v čas med panonsko-delmatskim uporom (6–9 n. št.) in prva leta Tiberijeve vladavine,³ povsem pa ni izključen niti starejši nastanek celote.

³ Plesničar Gec *et al.* 2006, 65-67, 74-75, 93; Gaspari 2010.

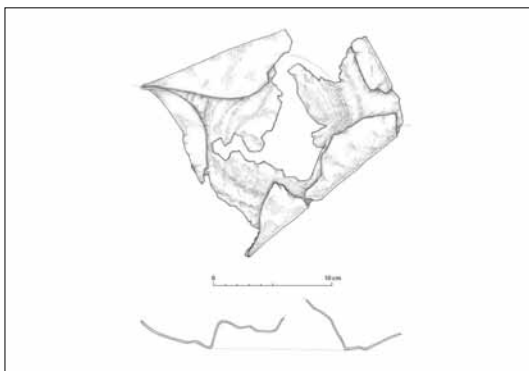
tificially lowered paleosol (295.3 m asl) and extended beyond the trench (Fig. 2). The fill of the pit, composed of a dark brown clayey sand with tiny pieces of gravel, contained no finds other than the remains of the shield boss and a few fragments of charcoal. The pit, according to the excavators, had been dug into one of the deposition levels of the extensive levelling that took place throughout the entire *intra muros* area. In accordance with this explanation, its digging and filling most probably occurred during the period of construction of the Roman city on the left bank of the Ljubljanica River, dated approximately to the period between the Pannonian-Dalmatian rebellion (6–9 AD) and the first years of the reign of Tiberius,³ although an even earlier origin cannot be entirely excluded.

³ Plesničar Gec *et al.* 2006, 65-67, 74-75, 93; Gaspari 2010.

Opis predmeta

Okroglo grbo, kovano iz 1–2 milimetra debele železne pločevine, označuje zaobljena kalota, ki z nizkim rebrom oz. klekom trikotnega preseka prehaja v vodraven okrajek. Kalota je imela zelo verjetno nizek polkrožen obris, zaradi poškodovanosti pa ni izključena niti njena konično zaobljena oz. kopasta oblika. Na okrajku je ohranjena ena luknjica za zakovico s stebлом premera 4 mm, s katero je bila grba od zunaj pritrjena na ščitno ploščo. Premer kalote znaša 11,5 cm, rekonstruirana višina kalote 4,5–5 cm, širina okrajka 5,5 cm, premer celotne grbe pa 24,1 cm (sl. 3–4, 5: 10).

Železna grba, najdena v treh večjih in osmih manjših fragmentih, je bila močno deformirana že pred položitvijo v jamo. Namerne poškodbe se kažejo v vrtem osrednjem delu kalote in nasilno zvutih okrajkih, ki so simetrično zavihani na štirih mestih. Sledovi ognja oz. morebitnega sežiganja niso vidni. Grba je bila verjetno v jamo položena še cela oz. v enem kosu, nadaljnjo fragmentacijo pa pripisujemo poodložitvenim procesom. Predmet je bil konserviran v Narodnem muzeju Slovenije.



Sl. / Fig. 3: Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Ostanki ščitne grbe / Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Remains of the shield boss (risba / drawing by Ida Murgelj)

Description of the object

The circular boss, forged from 1–2 millimetre thick sheet iron, is characterized by a rounded dome, which passes into a low rib or knee of triangular section leading to the horizontal flange. The dome very probably had a low hemispherical outline, but because of damage it is not excluded that it had been conically rounded or sugarloaf shaped. One hole was preserved on the flange for a rivet with a shank diameter of 4 mm, with which the umbo was attached from the inside to the surface of the shield. The diameter of the dome measured 11.5 cm, the reconstructed height of the dome 4.5–5 cm, the width of the flange 5.5 cm, while the diameter of the entire boss was 24.1 cm (Fig. 3–4, 5: 10).

The iron umbo, found in three large and eight small fragments, was badly deformed even before it had been placed in the pit. The deliberate damage is shown in the hollow central section of the dome and the forcibly bent flange, which has been symmetrically folded in four places. Traces of fire or eventual burning are not visible. The umbo was probably placed in the pit still whole, i.e. in one piece, while the further fragmentation can be attributed to the process of decay. The umbo was conserved in the National Museum of Slovenia.



Sl. / Fig. 4: Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Ostanki ščitne grbe / Ljubljana/Emona – insula XLIII. Remains of the shield boss (foto / photo by Maja Lavrič)

Tipološko-kronološka opredelitev

Oblika in velikost grbe ter razmerje med premerom kalote in širino okrajka uvrščajo obravnavano najdbo v širšo skupino poznolatskih ščitnih grb t. i. vzhodnokeltskega oz. balkanskega tipa. Te so bile v stopnji Lt D1 oz. med sredino 2. stoletja in prvo tretjino 1. stoletja pr. n. št. značilni del bojvniških grobnih inventarjev Mokronoške skupine ob spodnjem toku Krke, pri Skordiskih v hrvaškem in srbskem Podonavju, na območju skupine Padea – Pangjurski Kolonii v severni Bolgariji, Olteniji in Transilvaniji ter v Zakarpatju. Njihov pojav v tračansko-getske grobovih z izrazito konjeniško komponento podpira domnevo, da so tovrstne grbe v spodnjem Podonavju uporabljali predvsem bojvnik na konjih.

Obravnavni grbi ne poznamo neposrednih analogij. Še najbolj ji je podoben primer iz domnevnega inventarja groba konjenika, ki naj bi izviral iz okraja Montana v severozahodni Bolgariji⁴ in ga hrani Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (odslej RGZM). Grbo s premerom 22,6 cm, višino 5,5 cm in okrajkom s širino 5,6 cm, na katerega spodnjem in zgornjem robu se nahajata ovalna izreza, ob straneh pa po trije žebli za pritrditev s ploščatimi glavnicami (sl. 5: 8), sta avtorja objave P. Łuczkiwicz in M. Schönfelder vzporejala s primerki, pripisanimi tipu Minusio, in to zlasti na podlagi oblikovanosti nizke kalote konično zaobljenega obrisa. Po njunem mnenju tej opredelitvi ne nasprotujejo niti nizka rebra, ki posamično ali v paru označujejo citirane primerke omenjenega tipa iz groba 1661/4 iz Mihovega (pr. 22,5 cm),⁵ groba II iz Roj pri Moravčah (pr. 20,4 cm),⁶ groba 144 (pr. 20 cm) in 286 (pr. 20,6 cm) s Kapi-

⁴ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, 183-185, sl. 1: 3; 18.

⁵ Windl 1975, T. 66: 16.

⁶ Knez 1977, T. 3: 1.

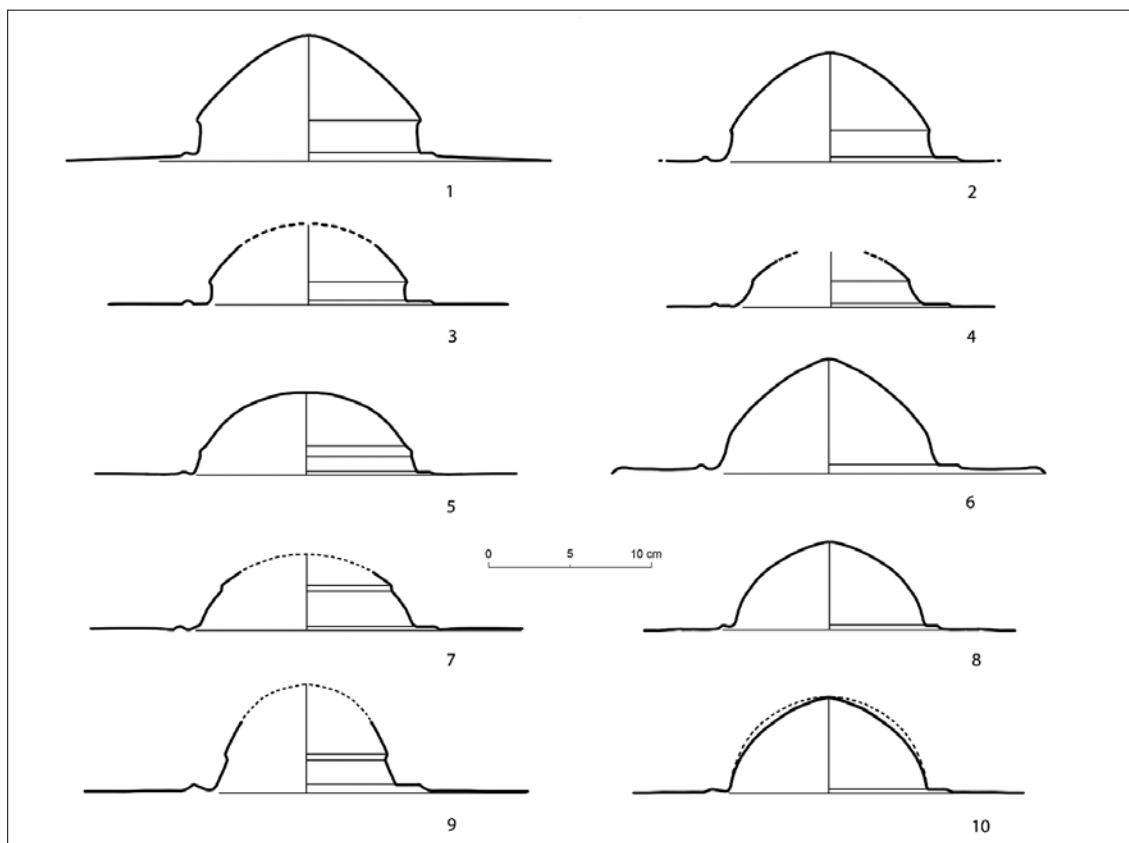
The typological-chronological definition

The form and size of the umbo and the proportion between the diameter of the dome and the width of the flange place the find under discussion in the broader group of Late La Tène shield bosses, of the so-called eastern Celtic or Balkan type. These represented in the LT D1 phase, or between the middle of the 2nd century and the first third of the 1st century, a characteristic element of the warrior grave inventories of the Mokronog group along the lower course of the Krka River, among the Scordisci in the Croatian and Serbian Danube basin, in the region of the Padea – Pangjurski Kolonii group in northern Bulgaria, Oltenia and Transylvania and in the Trans-Carpathian region. Their appearance in Thracian (Getan) graves with a distinct equestrian component supports the hypothesis that such shield bosses in the lower Danube basin were utilized primarily by mounted warriors.

The shield boss has no direct analogies. It is most similar to an example from the supposed inventory of the grave of a horseman, which was said to come from the Montana district in northwestern Bulgaria⁴ and is kept in the Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (further RGZM). The umbo with a diameter of 22.6 cm, height of 5.5 cm, and flange with a width of 5.6 cm, with oval cuts on the upper and lower flange, and on the sides three nails with flat heads for attachment (Fig. 5: 8), was compared by the authors of the publication, P. Łuczkiwicz and M. Schönfelder, to examples attributed to the Minusio type, particularly on the basis of the formation of the low dome with a conically rounded contour. In their opinion, this attribution is not precluded by the low ribs that individually or in pairs characterize the cited examples of the above type from grave 1661/4 from Mihovo (dia. 22.5 cm),⁵ grave

⁴ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, 183-185, Fig. 1: 3; 18.

⁵ Windl 1975, Pl. 66: 16.



Sl. / Fig. 5: Ščitne grbe tipa Novo mesto 169 in njegove različice: 1 Novo mesto – Beletov vrt, gr. 169; 2 Dobrosloveni; 3 Chellenitsa I; 4 Braunsberg; 5 Magdalenska gora, gr. V/42; 6 Beograd – Karaburma, gr. 92; 7 Sotin, gr. 3; 8 »Distrikt Montana« (RGZM); 9 Sotin, gr. 2; 10 Ljubljana/Emona, insula XLIII. Scale 1:4 / Shield bosses of the Novo Mesto 169 type and its variants: 1 Novo mesto – Beletov vrt, gr. 169; 2 Dobrosloveni; 3 Chellenitsa I; 4 Braunsberg; 5 Magdalenska gora, gr. V/42; 6 Beograd – Karaburma, gr. 92; 7 Sotin, gr. 3; 8 «Montana District» (RGZM); 9 Sotin, gr. 2; 10 Ljubljana/Emona, insula XLIII. Scale 1:4 (1 po Knez 1992; 2 po Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004; 3 po Kotygoroshko 2010; 4 po Urban 1995; 5 po Hencken 1978; 6, 7 in 9 po Božič 1981; 8 po Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010 / 1 from Knez 1992; 2 from Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004; 3 from Kotygoroshko 2010; 4 from Urban 1995; 5 from Hencken 1978; 6, 7, and 9 from Božič 1981; 8 from Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010)

teljske njive v Novem mestu⁷ ter grbo (pr. okoli 19 cm) iz skeletnega groba III/5 s Strmca nad Belo Cerkvijo,⁸ vendar pa se ne nahajajo na prehodu kalote v okrajek, kot navajata avtorja, temveč praviloma bliže njegovi sredini oz. zunanjemu robu. Pri grbi iz RGZM je rebro od kalote ločeno z ozkim žlebom, pri najdbi iz Emone pa je zaradi deformiranosti težko določiti ali gre za rebro ali pa le klekasto oz. trikotno profiliran prehod. Prav tako

II from Roje near Moravče (dia. 20.4 cm),⁶ grave 144 (dia. 20 cm) and 286 (dia. 20.6 cm) from Kapiteljska njiva in Novo Mesto,⁷ and the umbo (dia. ca. 19 cm) from inhumation grave III/5 at Strmec above Bela Cerkev,⁸ although they are not located at the transition from the dome to the flange, as noted by the authors, but are rather as a rule closer to the middle or the outside edge of the flange. On the shield boss from the RGZM, the rib is separated from the dome by a narrow groove,

⁷ Križ 2005, T. 27: 3; 68: 5.

⁸ Dular 1991, 88, T. 51: 34.

⁶ Knez 1977, Pl. 3: 1.

⁷ Križ 2005, Pl. 27: 3; 68: 5.

⁸ Dular 1991, 88, Pl. 51: 34.

se obe grbi od primerkov tipa Minusio, eni vodilnih oblik ščitnih grb iz prehoda srednjega v pozni laten in starejše faze poznega latena,⁹ razlikujeta po bistveno širšem okrajku, ki pri tipu Minusio obsega le med 29 in 38 % premera celotne grbe, pri obravnavanih najdbah iz RGZM in Emone pa 49 oz. 45 %.

Obe grbi sta po obliki in omenjenem razmerju med posameznimi elementi bliže primerkom, ki sta jih R. Bockius in P. Łuczkiwicz pripisala tipu Novo mesto 169. V slednjem sta združila oblikovno precej raznoliko skupino grb z območja med vzhodnimi Alpami in spodnjim Podonavjem (sl. 7), pri čemer izvirata skoraj dve tretjini od njunih skupno 33 zbranih primerkov iz prostora med Posočjem in Gorjanci.¹⁰ Za klasične primerke tega tipa sta značilna konično zaobljena kalota s spodrezanim robom in razmeroma širok raven okrajek, ki obsega okvirno 48-61 % celotnega premera. Ta znaša pri večini grb stopnje Lt D1 med 25 in 31 cm. Okrajek in kaloto praviloma ločijo ozka rebra ali nizke stopnice oz. trikotno profilirani kleki.

Grba iz celote v okraju Montana ima neposredno primerjavo v zelo podobnem konjeniškem inventarju stopnje Lt D1a iz nekropole Dobrusha v sosednjem okraju Vratsa.¹¹ Sorodna profilacija prehoda kalote v okrajek, kot jo ima grba iz RGZM, se pojavlja tudi pri primerku (pr. 31,2 cm) iz eponimnega groba stopnje Lt D1 z Beletovega vrta v Novem mestu,¹² ki ga

⁹ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 92-94, sl. 13: 1-2; seznam 13/B3.

¹⁰ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 94-97, sl. 15: 1-2; karta 32; seznam 13/B11. Ta slika se je delno spremenila s številnimi novodkritimi grobnimi najdbami iz Bolgarije, od koder je po zadnjih podatkih znanih skupno 19 ščitnih grb skupine Novo mesto 196 (za podatek se zahvaljujem Jordanu Anastassovu).

¹¹ Torbov, Anastassov 2008, sl. 4: 8.

¹² Knez 1992, T. 61:2.

while the deformity of the find from Emona means that it is difficult to distinguish whether there was a rib or merely a knee-shaped or triangular moulded transition. Similarly, the shield bosses of the Minusio type, one of the leading forms of shield bosses from the transition from the middle to the Late La Tène and the earlier phases of the Late La Tène,⁹ are distinguished by a significantly narrower flange, which encompasses only 29-38% of the diameter of the entire umbo, while for the above finds in the RGZM and from Emona this was 49% and 45%, respectively.

Both shield bosses are in form and the noted proportion between individual elements closer to the example attributed by R. Bockius and P. Łuczkiwicz to the Novo Mesto 169 type. The latter contains a group of shield bosses of fairly varied form from the area between the eastern Alps and the lower Danube basin (Fig. 7), with almost two thirds of the total of 33 examples, documented by the authors, coming from the region between the Soča River valley and the Gorjanci region (Cro. Žumberak).¹⁰ The classic examples of this type are characterized by a conical rounded dome with an undercut edge and a relatively wide flat flange, which encompasses approximately 48-61% of the entire diameter. It measures for the majority of shield bosses of the Lt D1 phase between 25 and 31 cm. The flange and the dome are as a rule separated by a narrow rib or a low step or triangular joint.

The umbo from the grave unit in the Montana District has a direct comparison in the highly similar equestrian inventory of phase LT D1a from the cemetery of Dobrusha in the

⁹ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 92-94, Fig. 13: 1-2; List 13/B3.

¹⁰ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 94-97, Fig. 15: 1-2; Map 32; List 13/B11. This picture significantly changed with the numerous newly discovered grave finds from Bulgaria, from where 19 shield-bosses of Novo mesto 196 group are known according to the latest information (by Jordan Anastassov).

označuje konično zaobljena, spodrezana kalota z navpičnim robom (sl. 5: 1). Zaobljeno rebro tik ob kaloti je znano tudi pri pogostejši različici z usločenim in občasno dodatno profiliranim robom. Tej pripadajo npr. grbe iz konjeniških grobov stopnje Lt D1 iz najdišč Kamburovo (okraj Turgovishte, severovzhodna Bolgarija) in Koinare (okraj Pleven, severozahodna Bolgarija),¹³ z grobišča Chellenitsa I pri gradišču Mala Kopanya na zahodu Ukrajine (sl. 5: 3)¹⁴ ter okvirno sočasna primerka z nizko kaloto in rekonstruiranim premerom okoli 20 cm iz groba v kraju Dobrosloveni v Olteniji¹⁵ (sl. 5: 2) in z naselbine na Braunsbergu¹⁶ (sl. 5: 4). Primerljive najdbe iz jugovzhodno-predalpskega prostora vključujejo grbi premera okoli 25 cm oz. 28,7 cm iz poznolatskih grobov 1656/31 in 1656/64 iz Mihovega.¹⁷

Morda najboljši primerjavi za grbi iz RGZM in iz emonske insule XLIII izvirata iz iste celote, in sicer groba 92 na beograjski Karaburmi, ki predstavlja enega najbogatejših inventarjev stopnje Lt D1. Bronasta grba premera 27,5 cm¹⁸ je po nizkem profilu kalote, izvedbi rebra, simetričnih izrezih, številu pritrditev ter splošnem razmerju med okrajkom in kaloto (sl. 5: 6) zelo blizu grbi iz RGZM. Večji primerek iz groba 92¹⁹ spominja po zaobljenem profilu kalote s premerom 12,8 cm na grbo iz Emone, vendar ima bistveno širši okrajek (9,1 cm), ki obsega kar 58 % celotnega premera grbe.

Podobna rebra se pojavljajo tudi pri grbah z nizko polkrožno kaloto večjega premera, ki je na sredini oz. v spodnjem delu

neighbouring district of Vratsa.¹¹ A similar modelling of the transition from the dome to the flange as on the umbo from the RGZM also appears on the example (dia. 31.2 cm) from the eponymous grave of phase LT D1 at Beletov vrt in Novo Mesto,¹² which is characterized by a conically rounded undercut dome with a vertical edge (Fig. 5: 1). The rounded rib just by the dome is also known on frequent variants with curved and occasionally additionally moulded edges. They are found, for instance, on shield bosses from equestrian graves of phase LT D1 from the site of Kamburovo (Turgovishte District, northeastern Bulgaria) and Koinare (Pleven District, northwestern Bulgaria),¹³ from the cemetery of Chellenitsa I at the hillfort of Mala Kopanya in western Ukraine (Fig. 5: 3),¹⁴ and an approximately contemporary example with a low dome and a reconstructed diameter of around 20 cm from a grave in the Dobrosloveni region in Oltenia¹⁵ (Fig. 5: 2), as well as from the settlement at Braunsberg¹⁶ (Fig. 5: 4). Analogous finds from the southeastern pre-Alpine region include shield bosses with diameters of ca. 25 cm and 28.7 cm, respectively from the Late La Tène graves 1656/31 and 1656/64 at Mihovo.¹⁷

Perhaps the best comparisons for the shield bosses from the RGZM and the Emona insula XLIII come from the same unit, grave 92, at Karaburma in Beograd, which represents one of the richest inventories of the LT D1 phase. The bronze shield boss with a diameter of 27.5 cm¹⁸ is very similar to the umbo from the RGZM in the low profile of the dome, the workmanship of the ribs, the symmetrical cuts, number of attachment elements, and the general ratio between the flange and the

¹³ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, sl. 8 in 29.

¹⁴ Kotygoroshko 2010, T. 7: 1-2.

¹⁵ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 84, sl. 13: 81.

¹⁶ Urban 1995, 77, sl. 50: AF 269.

¹⁷ Windl 1975, T. 16: 11; 22: 7.

¹⁸ Todorović 1972, 30; Božič 1981, sl. 2: 3.

¹⁹ Tasić 1992, T. 24: 71.

¹¹ Torbov, Anastassov 2008, Fig. 4: 8.

¹² Knez 1992, Pl. 61:2.

¹³ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, Fig. 8 and 29.

¹⁴ Kotygoroshko 2010, Pl. 7: 1-2.

¹⁵ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 84, Fig. 13: 81.

¹⁶ Urban 1995, 77, Fig. 50: AF 269.

¹⁷ Windl 1975, Pl. 16: 11; 22: 7.

¹⁸ Todorović 1972, 30; Božič 1981, Fig. 2: 3.

prekinjena s klekom. Tej pripadata npr. bronasta grba (pr. okoli 26,5 cm) s simetričnima izrezoma iz groba 2 v Sotinu v vzhodni Slavoniji²⁰ (sl. 5: 7) in železna grba z zelo podobnim profilom (pr. okoli 26 cm) iz groba 42, vkopanega v gomilo V na Magdalenski gori²¹ (sl. 5: 5), ki sodita med značilne celote stopnje Lt D1. Oba primerka sta grbama iz RGZM in Emone sorodna tudi po razmerju med širino okrajka in celotno grbo, ki znaša pri grbi z Magdalenske gore 43 %, pri najdbi iz Sotina pa 46 % celotnega premera.

Neposredno primerjavo za trikotno profiliran prehod pri najdbi iz emonske insule XLIII ponuja železna grba premera okoli 27,5 cm iz poznolatskega groba 3 v Sotinu (sl. 5: 9).²² Njena deformirana, razmeroma visoka kalota z domnevno zaobljenim obrisom in s klekasto spodrezanim robom, ki se z enakim nagibom spusti do okrajka, je blizu najpogostejšim različicam obravnane skupine grb, združenih v tipu Novo mesto 169, za katere je značilna visoka, konično zaobljena oz. kopasta kalota s prekinjenim ali usločeno spodrezanim robom in praviloma stopničastim prehodom v raven ali nagnjen okrajek. Klekasto spodrezan rob se pojavlja tudi pri grbi z visoko strmo kaloto in ozkim poševnim okrajkom iz enega od grobov na nekropoli Vajuga-Pesak²³ (sl. 6: 13) in podobni grbi rekonstruiranega premera okoli 21 cm iz domnevnega inventarja konjeniškega groba stopnje Lt D1, najdenega na romunskem bregu Donave v Železnih vratih (*Portilor de Fier*),²⁴ ki sta sorodni primerkom tipa Dubova.²⁵

V okviru klasičnih grb tipa Novo mesto 169 je enaka klekasta prekinitvev kalote

dome (Fig. 5: 6). The larger example from grave 92¹⁹ is reminiscent of the umbo from Emona in terms of the rounded profile of the dome with a diameter of 12.8 cm, although it has a considerably wider flange (9.1 cm) that encompasses some 58% of the total diameter of the umbo.

Similar ribs also appear on shield bosses with a low hemispherical dome of larger diameter, which displays a knee-shape breakpoint in the middle or lower section. These include, for example, the bronze umbo (dia. ca. 26.5 cm) with symmetrical cuts from grave 2 at Sotin in eastern Slavonia²⁰ (Fig. 5: 7) and the iron umbo with a very similar profile (dia. ca. 26 cm) from grave 42, dug into tumulus V at Magdalenska gora²¹ (Fig. 5: 5), which are considered as characteristic grave units of the LT D1 Phase. Both examples are also similar to the shield bosses from the RGZM and Emona in terms of the ratio between the width of the flange and the entire umbo, which measures 43% for the umbo from Magdalenska gora, and 46% for the find from Sotin.

Direct comparisons for the triangular transition on the find from the Emona insula XLIII are offered by the iron umbo with a diameter of circa 27.5 cm from the Late La Tène grave 3 in Sotin (Fig. 5: 9).²² Its deformed, relatively high dome with supposedly rounded contours and a knee-shaped undercut edge, which slopes at the same angle down to the flange, is close to the most frequent variants of the discussed group of shield bosses united into the Novo Mesto 169 type, characterized by a high, conically rounded or sugarloaf shaped dome with an intermittent or curved undercut edge and, as a rule, a step-like transition to the straight or slanted flange. A knee-shaped undercut edge also appeared on an umbo with a tall steep dome and narrow slanted flange from one of the graves at the

²⁰ Božič 1981, T. 8: 1.

²¹ Hencken 1978, 40, sl. 163-164.

²² Božič 1981, T. 9: 4.

²³ Popović 1991, 171.

²⁴ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, sl. 23.

²⁵ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 98, sl. 16: 5, seznam 13/B16.

¹⁹ Tasić 1992, Pl. 24: 71.

²⁰ Božič 1981, Pl. 8: 1.

²¹ Hencken 1978, 40, Fig. 163-164.

²² Božič 1981, Pl. 9: 4.

znana pri primerkih s stopničastim prehodom v širok okrajek iz avgustejskega groba 3 v Reki pri Cerknem (pr. 27,3 cm; sl. 6: 14)²⁶ in okvirno sočasnega groba 1657/60 iz Mihovega (pr. 27,7 cm).²⁷ Na omenjeni grbi in druge primerke s stopničastim prehodom kopaste kalote v razmeroma širok okrajek iz zgodnjerskih grobov iz Mihovega (npr. grobovi 1657/57, 1657B/83)²⁸ se navezuje skupina grb s skupnim premerom okoli 23–24 cm in praviloma petimi pritrdišči (sl. 6: 16), ki ji pripadajo primerki z usločnim robom iz bogatega groba s štirikolesnim vozom iz gomile II v Cugirju (Transilvanija), datiranega v stopnjo Lt D1,²⁹ in tri grbe iz poznolatenskih grobov iz Mihovega (grobovi 1656/56, 1656/57 in 1656/62).³⁰

V mlajšem delu stopnje Lt D2 se pojavi še sorodna različica,³¹ za katero so značilni premeri okoli 19–20 cm, stopnica ali rebro na prehodu poševnega okrajka v kaloto in enako število pritrdišč kot pri prej omenjeni skupini. Poleg primerkov z visoko kopasto kaloto in ravnim okrajkom iz zgodnjavgustejskega groba 37 (sl. 6: 15) in tiberijsko-klavdijske celote 131 iz Verduna³² velja opozoriti še na sorodno grbo z nizko zaobljeno kaloto s spodrezanim robom in poševnim okrajkom rekonstruiranega premera okoli 20 cm iz domnevnega kulturnega mesta na Starem gradu nad Uncem³³ (sl. 6: 12). Slednje je mogoče po obliki primerjati z nekoliko večjo grbo (pr. okoli 24 cm) iz obrtni delavnici pripisanih plasti v dačanski utrdbi

cemetery of Vajuga-Pesak²³ (Fig. 6: 13) and a similar umbo with a reconstructed diameter of around 21 cm from the presumed inventory of an equestrian grave of the LT D1 phase found on the Romanian bank of the Danube in the Iron Gates (*Portilor de Fier*),²⁴ which are examples related to the Dubova type.²⁵

In the context of the classic umbo of the Novo Mesto 169 type, an identical knee-shaped breakpoint of the dome is known for examples with a step-like transition to a wide flange from the Augustan period grave 3 at Reka pri Cerknem (dia. 27.3 cm; Fig. 6: 14)²⁶ and the approximately contemporary grave 1657/60 from Mihovo (dia. 27.7 cm).²⁷ To the above shield bosses and other examples with a stepped transition of the sugarloaf shaped dome to a relatively wide flange from Early Roman graves at Mihovo (e.g. graves 1657/57, 1657B/83),²⁸ are linked a group of shield bosses with a total diameter of circa 23–24 cm and usually five attachment elements (Fig. 6: 16), which includes an example with a curved edge from a rich grave with a four-wheeled wagon from tumulus II at Cugir (Transylvania), dated to the LT D1 phase,²⁹ and three shield bosses from Late La Tène graves at Mihovo (graves 1656/56, 1656/57, and 1656/62).³⁰

In the later part of the LT D2 phase other related variants appear,³¹ characterized by diameters of around 19–20 cm, a step or a rib at the transition from the slanted flange to the dome and an equal number of attachment elements as in the previously discussed group. In addition to examples with a high

²⁶ Guštin 1991, T. 30: 4.

²⁷ Windl 1975, T. 43: 9.

²⁸ Windl 1975, T. 42: 1; 55: 17.

²⁹ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, sl. 11: 3.

³⁰ Windl 1975, T. 20: 4, 8; 21: 16.

³¹ Božič 1999, 199; Božič 2008, 52–54, sl. 25.

³² Križ *et al.* 2009, kat. št. 9.2.1, 9.3.20; Breščak 2013.

³³ Gaspari 2009, 322–323, sl. 6: 7.

²³ Popović 1991, 171.

²⁴ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, Fig. 23.

²⁵ Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004, 98, Fig. 16: 5, List 13/B16.

²⁶ Guštin 1991, Pl. 30: 4.

²⁷ Windl 1975, Pl. 43: 9.

²⁸ Windl 1975, Pl. 42: 1; 55: 17.

²⁹ Łuczkiwicz, Schönfelder 2010, Fig. 11: 3.

³⁰ Windl 1975, Pl. 20: 4, 8; 21: 16.

³¹ Božič 1999, 199; Božič 2008, 52–54, Fig. 25.

Tilišca v Transilvaniji³⁴ (sl. 6: 11), ki ima ohranjen del razmeroma visoke zaobljene kalote, pa tudi z bronasto prevleko železne grbe z ohranjenim premerom 18,9 cm iz Rena pri Xantnu, ki se grbi s Starega gradu približuje tudi po nizki profilaciji in gumbastem vrhu kalote.³⁵ Oblika in dimenzije dveh grb s Štalenskega vrha (Magdalensberg)³⁶ (sl. 6: 17), ki se od prej omenjene različice ločita po visoki kaloti z navpičnim robom (21,1 cm oz. 18,3 cm), že nakazujejo povezavo s klasičnimi grbami s konično kaloto, navpičnim robom in ozkim vodoravnim okrajkom s petimi do sedmimi pritrđišči in skupnim premerom 16,5–18,5 cm iz srednje- do poznoavgustejskih in poznejših celot v jugovzhodnih Alpah³⁷ in Porenju³⁸ ter Barbariku.³⁹

Zmanjševanje (okroglih grb) ščitov v teku druge polovice 1. stoletja pr. n. št. časovno sovpađa z obdobjem intenzivnega vključevanja Keltov in Germanov v pomožne oz. zavezniške enote rimske vojske v spopade proti še nepokorjenim plemenom⁴⁰ in je najverjetneje neposredno povezano s spremembami v načinu bojevanja, ki sta jih prinesla prenos težišča bojevanja v zahtevne hribovite in gozdne predele ter zmanjšana možnost uporabe projektilov. Pojav tipološko dokaj enotnih grb enostavnega profila v zadnjih dveh desetletjih pr. n. št. obenem odraža vzpon serijske in rokodelsko manj zahtevne izdelave za potrebe opremljanja pomožnih enot. Zasedovanje tega motiva dokazujejo tudi posamične zgodnje- in srednjecesarke železne grbe s polkrožno

sugarloaf-shaped dome and a flat flange from the Early Augustan grave 37 (Fig. 6: 15) and the Tiberian-Claudian grave unit 131 from Verdun,³² attention should also be drawn to a related umbo with a low rounded dome with an undercut edge and slanted flange with a reconstructed diameter of around 20 cm from the hypothesized cult site at Stari grad nad Uncem³³ (Fig. 6: 12). The latter can be compared in terms of form to a somewhat larger umbo (dia. circa 24 cm) from a layer attributed to craft workshops at the Dacian fortress of Tilišca in Transylvania³⁴ (Fig. 6: 11), which has a preserved section of a relatively high rounded dome, as well as the bronze coating to an iron umbo with a preserved diameter of 18.9 cm from the Rhine at Xanten, which is close to the umbo from Stari grad also in terms of the low profile and button-like top to the dome.³⁵ The shape and dimensions of the two shield bosses from Magdalensberg³⁶ (Fig. 6: 17), which differ from the previously mentioned variant in the height of the dome with a vertical edge (21.1 cm and 18.3 cm), indicate a connection with the classical shield bosses with a conical dome, vertical edge, and narrow horizontal flange with five to seven attachment elements and a total diameter of 16.5–18.5 cm from Middle to Late Augustan and later units in the southeastern Alps,³⁷ the Rhine basin,³⁸ and Barbaricum.³⁹

The reduction of the shield size (and circular boss) during the second half of the 1st century BC chronologically coincides with the period of more intensive inclusion of Celts and Germans in auxiliary units of the Roman army in fighting against still unconquered

³⁴ Lupu 1989, 49, 74-75, T. 25: 4.

³⁵ Nabbefeld 2008, 190-191, T. 33: 351.

³⁶ Dolenz 1998, T. 17: M217; 18: M218.

³⁷ Npr. Polhov Gradec; Ložar 1938, sl. 22d; glej Mráv 2005.

³⁸ Npr. Oberesch pri Kalkrieseju; Harnecker, Franzius 2008, T. 4.

³⁹ Npr. Zemplín; Pieta 2005, 52-53, T. 11: 3.

⁴⁰ Glej Bochnak 2006, 180-186.

³² Križ *et al.* 2009, cat. no. 9.2.1, 9.3.20; Breščak 2013.

³³ Gaspari 2009, 322-323, Fig. 6: 7.

³⁴ Lupu 1989, 49, 74-75, Pl. 25: 4.

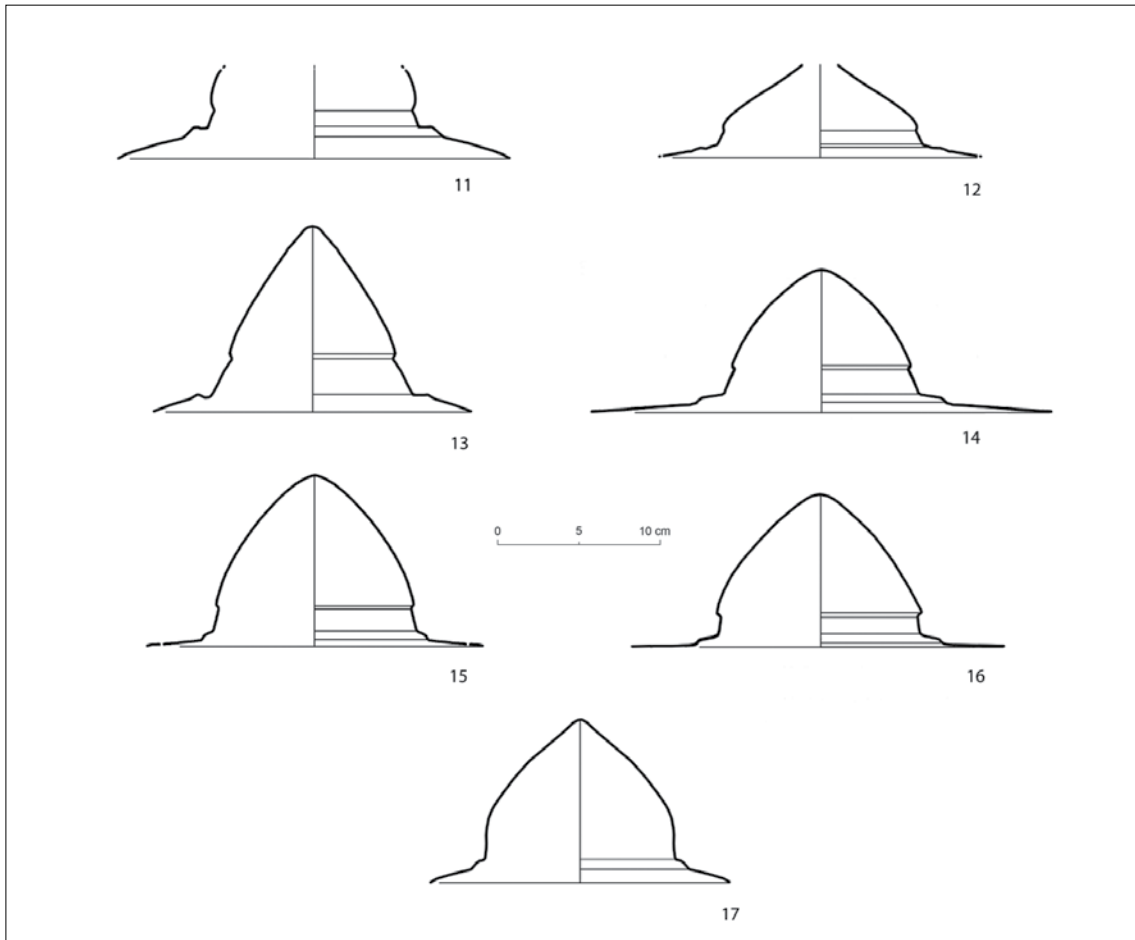
³⁵ Nabbefeld 2008, 190-191, Pl. 33: 351.

³⁶ Dolenz 1998, Pl. 17: M217; 18: M218.

³⁷ E.g. Polhov Gradec; Ložar 1938, Fig. 22d; see Mráv 2005.

³⁸ E.g. Oberesch near Kalkriese; Harnecker, Franzius 2008, Pl. 4.

³⁹ E.g. Zemplín; Pieta 2005, 52-53, Pl. 11: 3.



Sl. / Fig. 6: Ščitne grbe tipa Novo mesto 169 in njegove različice: 11 Tilišca; 12 Stari grad nad Uncem; 13 Vajuga – Pesak ; 14 Reka pri Cerknem, gr. 3; 15 Verdun, gr. 37; 16 Mihovo, gr. 1656/56; 17 Magdalensberg, SH/5. Scale 1:4 (11 po Lupu 1989; 12 po Gaspari 2009; 13 po Popović 1991; 14 po Guštin 1991; 15 po Breščak 2013; 16 po Windl 1975; 17 po Dolenz 1998 / 11 from Lupu 1989; 12 from Gaspari 2009; 13 from Popović 1991; 14 from Guštin 1991; 15 from Breščak 2013; 16 from Windl 1975; 17 from Dolenz 1998)

oz. konično zaobljeno kaloto in širokimi vodoravnimi krajci ter praviloma štirimi pritrdišči,⁴¹ ki so bile sodeč po profilaciji ter razmerju med premerom kalote in širino okrajka nedvomno izdelane po vzoru poznolatskih germanskih in keltskih ščitnih grb.⁴² Uspešnost te oblike potrjuje tudi izjemna pogostost bronastih izvedb premerov 18,5–21,5 cm iz obdobja med koncem 1. stoletja in sredino 3. stoletja,

⁴¹ Nabberfeld 2008, T. 10: 54; 17: 148-150.

⁴² Npr. tipov Bohnsack 3/4, varianta Kehlheim ali Novo mesto 187 po Bockiusu in Łuczkiwiczu.

tribes,⁴⁰ and was most probably directly connected with changes in the manner of warfare, brought about by a change in the focus of fighting to difficult hilly and forested regions, with a lessened possibility of using projectiles. The appearance of typologically quite uniform shield bosses of simple profile in the last two decades of the 1st century BC also reflects the rise of mass production and less demanding manufacture for the outfitting of auxiliary units. The pursuit of this motive is also proven by individual Early and Mid-

⁴⁰ See Bochnak 2006, 180-186.

znanih praktično iz vseh delov imperija.⁴³

Ikonografski viri, ki prikazujejo keltske ščite, kažejo, da so bili le-ti praviloma ploščati in podolgovato ovalnega ali šestkotnega obrisa. Antični avtorji posebej izpostavljajo njihovo živobarvno poslikavo in pogosto izstopajočo velikost.⁴⁴ Kot značilni del opreme so ščiti postavljeni tudi v ospredje upodobitev keltskih in galsko-rimskih vojakov ter zaplenjenega orožja na poznorepublikanskih in zgodnjecesarskih trofejih (*tropaeum*), slavolokih in mavzolejih. Med najbolj znane prikaze poznolatskih ščitov z okroglimi grbami sodijo tisti na kotlu iz Gundestrupa na Danskem, ki upodablja vrsto bojevnikov s sulicami in z velikimi ščiti podolgovate pravokotne oz. šestkotne oblike. Realistična nagrobna plastika iz provansalskega kraja Vacherès, datirana med 50 in 30 pr. n. št., upodablja galsko-rimskega vojaka z gladijem v verižni srajci, ki sloni na ovalnem oz. šestkotnem ščitu z okroglo grbo in ocenjeno velikostjo 110 x 45 cm.⁴⁵ Primerljivih dimenzij so tudi podolgovati ovalni in šestkotni ščiti z okroglimi grbami na prizorih keltskih bojevnikov s slavoloka v Orangeju, ki naj bi sodil v tiberijsko obdobje.⁴⁶ Ne glede na visoko stopnjo stilizacije prikazov na reverjih nekaterih tipov bojskih heksadrahm je iz njih razvidno, da so bili z velikimi ovalnimi ščiti pri Keltih opremljeni tudi konjeniki.⁴⁷

Ikonografski viri, ki se nanašajo na obožitev rimske vojske zgodnjecesarskega časa, kažejo, da je legijska pehota uporabljala »italski« tip pravokotnega zaobljenega ščita (*scutum*) z navpičnim rebrom ali grbo s kvadratno ploščo in polkrogla-

dle Imperial period iron shield bosses with hemispherical or conically rounded domes and wide horizontal flanges, and usually four attachment elements,⁴¹ which were undoubtedly, judging by the profile and the ratio between the diameter of the dome and the width of the flange, manufactured according to the model of the Late La Tène Germanic and Celtic shield bosses.⁴² The success of this form is also confirmed by the exceptional frequency of bronze versions with diameters of 18.5–21.5 cm from the period between the end of the 1st century and the middle of the 3rd century, known from virtually all parts of the Empire.⁴³

Iconographic sources that depict Celtic shields indicate that they were usually flat and had an elongated oval or hexagonal shape. Ancient authors particularly emphasized their colourful painting and frequently outstanding size.⁴⁴ As a significant part of their equipment, shields are also placed in the foreground of depictions of Celtic and Gallo-Roman soldiers, and as confiscated weapons on Late Republican and Early Imperial war trophies (*tropaeum*), triumphant arches, and mausoleums. Among the best known images of Late La Tène shields with circular shield bosses are those on the cauldron from Gundestrup in Denmark, which depicts a row of soldiers with spears and large shields with an elongated rectangular or hexagonal shape. The realistic funerary sculpture from the Provençal commune of Vacherès, dated to between 50 and 30 BC, depicts a Gallo-Roman soldier with a gladius and a chain mail tunic leaning on an oval or hexagonal shield with a circular umbo and an estimated size of 110 x 45 cm.⁴⁵ The elongated oval and hexago-

⁴³ Npr. Nabberfeld 2008, T. 15: 137; 103: 687.

⁴⁴ Strabon, *Geogr.* IV, 4, 3; Diodor V, 30, 2-4.

⁴⁵ Pernet 2010, 221, T. 83.

⁴⁶ Brunaux, Rapin 1988, 17.

⁴⁷ Pieta 2005, 53, T. 9: 1, 3.

⁴¹ Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 10: 54; 17: 148-150.

⁴² E.g. type Bohnsack 3/4, variant Kehlheim or Novo mesto 187 according to Bockius and Łuczkiwicz.

⁴³ E.g. Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 15: 137; 103: 687.

⁴⁴ Strabo, *Geogr.* IV, 4, 3; Diodorus V, 30, 2-4.

⁴⁵ Pernet 2010, 221, Pl. 83.

sto kaloto, pomožna pehota ter legijska in pomožna konjenica pa keltsko-germanske oblike ščitov s šestkotnim, šestkotno-konveksnim, ovalnim ali okroglim obrisom, na katerih so bile praviloma nameščene okrogle grbe.⁴⁸ Uporabo šestkotnih ščitov v legijski konjenici dokazuje tudi upodobitev na steli Publija Sulpicija (*P. Sulpicius*), konjenika (*equus legionis*) XV. legije *Apollinaris*, doma iz Cremona, ki jo je dal med leti 39/40 in 61 n. št. postaviti njegov tovariš na nekropoli južno od avksiliarnega tabora v Carnuntumu-Petronellu pri Dunaju.⁴⁹

O obliki in dimenzijah ščitov pomožnih enot je mogoče poleg upodobitev na nagrobnikih in drugih kamnitih spomenikih sklepati tudi na podlagi ohranjenih kožnih prevlek, miniaturnih votivov⁵⁰ ter redkih v celoti ohranjenih grobnih najdb robnih okovov in pogostejših prečk držajev. Značilni primerki pravokotnega ali D-preseka s štirimi krožnimi pritrdišči iz grobišč, taborov in drugih vojaških celot v jugovzhodnih Alpah in v Porenju, ki praviloma nastopajo skupaj z grbami premerov med 16,5 in 18,5 cm, merijo v dolžino okoli 38–42 cm.⁵¹ Najverjetneje gre za ovalne ščite z višino 85–95 cm in širino 45–55 cm, kakršnega upodablja relief avksiliarnega pešaka s tremi kopji na enem od podstavkov iz legijske principije v Mainzu.⁵² Ocenjene dimenzije ščita in oblika grbe s štirimi zakovicami s tega spomenika se približujejo grobni najdbi iz Mannheim-Freudenheima, datirani v sredino 1. stoletja n. št. Robni okovi iz tega groba nakazujejo ovalen ščit s približnimi dimenzijami 2 x 1,5 čevelj, na

nal shields with round bosses in the images of Celtic warriors at the triumphal arch in Orange, most likely dated to the Tiberian period, have comparable dimensions.⁴⁶ Despite the high degree of stylization of the depictions on the reverse of several types of hexadrachms of the Boii, it is evident that horsemen among the Celts were also outfitted with large oval shields.⁴⁷

Iconographic sources referring to the weapons of the Roman army in the Early Imperial Period indicate that the legionary infantry utilized an "Italic" type of rectangular rounded shield (*scutum*) with a vertical rib or a boss with a square field and hemispherical dome, while auxiliary infantry, and legionary and auxiliary cavalry used Celtic-Germanic types of shields with hexagonal, hexagonal-convex, oval, or circular forms, with a circular umbo usually attached.⁴⁸ The use of hexagonal shields in legionary cavalry is also proven by the image on the stele of *Publius Sulpicius*, a legionary horseman (*equus legionis*) of the XV legion *Apollinaris*, originally from Cremona, which was erected between 39/40 and 61 AD by his comrade at the cemetery south of the auxiliary camp at Carnuntum-Petronell on the Danube.⁴⁹

The shape and dimensions of the shields of auxiliary units can also be inferred, in addition to depictions on tombstones and other stone monuments, from preserved leather coating, miniature votive figures,⁵⁰ and rare entirely preserved grave finds of edge elements and the more frequent bars of the handle. Typical examples of the latter with a rectangular or D-shaped section with four circular attachments from cemeteries, camps, and other military units in the southeastern Alps and the Rhine basin, which usually occur

⁴⁸ Glej Nabberfeld 2008, 23-24; Caumont 2011, 188-193, 442.

⁴⁹ Mosser 2003, št. 107.

⁵⁰ Glej Caumont 2011, sl. 44-45.

⁵¹ Npr. Dular 1991, T. 75: 20, 23; Križ *et al.* 2009, kat. št. 9.3.8; Nabberfeld 2008, T. 13: 84; 14: 103; 30: 320; 38: 230; Pernet 2010, T. 189: 2.

⁵² Goldsworthy 2003, 55.

⁴⁶ Brunaux, Rapin 1988, 17.

⁴⁷ Pieta 2005, 53, Pl. 9: 1, 3.

⁴⁸ See Nabberfeld 2008, 23-24; Caumont 2011, 188-193, 442.

⁴⁹ Mosser 2003, no. 107.

⁵⁰ See Caumont 2011, Fig. 44-45.

katerem sta bila nameščena železna grba premera 19 cm s konično zaobljeno kaloto, širokimi vodoravnimi krajci in štirimi pritrdišči ter prečka držaja z razcepljenima zaključkoma.⁵³

Iz zgodnjecesarskega časa so znane tudi okoli 50–60 cm dolge prečke,⁵⁴ ki najverjetneje pripadajo okroglim ščitom s premerom dveh čevljev. Večja od citiranih grb s Štalenskega vrha (pr. 21,1 cm), ki je bila skupaj s fragmentirano prečko držaja dolžine 55,9 odkrita v poznotiberijski-zgodnjeklavdijski žganinski plasti v stavbi SH/5,⁵⁵ je bila najverjetneje nameščena prav na tak ščit. Glede na dele voza, žvale in okras konjske opreme iz iste plasti⁵⁶ bi lahko pripadala enemu od avksiliarnih vojakov *cohors (equitata) Montanorum I*, ki je epigrafsko izpričana na šestih nagrobnikih s širšega območja Štalenskega vrha oz. osrednjenoriškega prostora.⁵⁷ Uporabo okroglih grb v avksiliarni konjenici dokazuje tudi friz s konjeniki, opremljenimi z okroglimi ščiti in kopji, na čaši tipa ACO iz srednjeavguštejskega tabora Dangstetten⁵⁸ in upodobitev podobnega ščita na steli Burija Treboka (*Burrius Trebocus*), vojaka *cohors Aquitanorum*, iz vasi Hrvace pri Sinju (*CIL III 9760*).⁵⁹ Navedeni ščiti po obliki in dimenzijah spominjajo na tri v celoti ohranjene ščite iz kulnega mesta v barju pri Thorsbergu v Schleswigu, datiranega v 2./3. stoletje. Okrogle bronaste grbe vseh treh ščitov so primerljivih dimenzij (15,9 cm, 16,6 oz. 16,7 cm), pri čemer znaša premer lesene plošče v enem primeru 65,0 cm, v drugih dveh pa en meter.⁶⁰

together with shield bosses with diameters between 16.5 and 18.5 cm, measure around 38–42 cm in length.⁵¹ These were most probably from oval shields with a height of 85–95 cm and width of 45–55 cm, such as is depicted on the relief of an auxiliary infantry soldier with three spears on one of the pedestals from the legionary headquarters in Mainz.⁵² The estimated dimensions of the shield and shape of the umbo with four rivets from this monument are close to the grave finds from Mannheim-Freudenheim, dated to the middle of the 1st Century AD. The edge elements from this grave indicate an oval shield with approximate dimensions of 2 x 1.5 feet, onto which was fitted an iron umbo with a diameter of 19 cm with a conical rounded dome, a broad horizontal flange, and for attachment elements, and a handle bar with forked ends.⁵³

From the Early Imperial Period are also known circa 50–60 cm long bars,⁵⁴ which most probably belong to circular shields with a diameter of two feet. The larger of the mentioned shield bosses from Magdalensberg (dia. 21.1 cm), which was together with a fragmentary handle bar 55.9 cm long discovered in a Late Tiberian – Early Claudian burnt layer in building SH/5,⁵⁵ had most probably been mounted on such a shield. Given the sections of a wagon, bits, and decorative horse equipment from the same layer,⁵⁶ it could have belonged to one of the auxiliary soldiers of the *cohors (equitata) Montanorum I*, which is epigraphically documented with six funerary monuments from the broader area of Magdalensberg, i.e. the central Norican region.⁵⁷ The use of circular shield bosses among the auxiliary cavalry is also proven by a frieze

⁵³ Nabberfeld 2008, 144–145, T. 9: 54.

⁵⁴ Nabberfeld 2008, T. 26: 273.

⁵⁵ Dolenz 1998, 85.

⁵⁶ Dolenz 1998, 86–87, 118–119.

⁵⁷ Dolenz 1998, 113.

⁵⁸ Fingerlin 1986, 113, št. 318, 38.

⁵⁹ Radman-Livaja 2010, 111.

⁶⁰ Nabberfeld 2008, 201–202, T. 42: 410; 43: 411; 44: 412.

⁵¹ E.g. Dular 1991, Pl. 75: 20, 23; Križ *et al.* 2009, cat. no. 9.3.8; Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 13: 84; 14: 103; 30: 320; 38: 230; Pernet 2010, Pl. 189: 2.

⁵² Goldsworthy 2003, 55.

⁵³ Nabberfeld 2008, 144–145, Pl. 9: 54.

⁵⁴ Nabberfeld 2008, Pl. 26: 273.

⁵⁵ Dolenz 1998, 85.

⁵⁶ Dolenz 1998, 86–87, 118–119.

⁵⁷ Dolenz 1998, 113.

Vojaški grobovi iz konca latena in zgodnjericimskega časa med Sočo in Gorjanci sicer ne vsebujejo značilnih kosov konjeniške opreme, vendar bi bila zanesljivo prezgodnja tako sklep, da gre izključno za z različnimi kompleti orožja opremljene pešake, kot domneva, da so med pripadnike elitnih enot konjenice v vzhodnoalpskem prostoru novačili izključno iz tradicionalno zavezniškega osrednjericimskega območja. Ob srednjem toku Rena in Mozeli so bile sicer izjemno redke ostroge namreč najdene tako v grobovih s popolno oborožitvijo (meč, ščit in ena ali več sulic) kot tistih s kombinacijo meča in dveh sulic, sulice in ščita ali samo z enim orožjem, mečem ali sulico.⁶¹ Sodeč po grobnih inventarjih je bila na območju osrednje in jugovzhodne Slovenije v izteku latenskega obdobja pogosta kombinacija ščitne grbe z eno ali več suličnimi ostmi, posebej pa izstopa visok delež zgodnjericimskih grobov, v katerih se omenjeni orožji pojavljata skupaj z mečem.⁶²

Komentar k najdiščnim okoliščinam

Za razpravo o dataciji vkopa z obravnavano grbo in ozadju njene odložitve v insuli XLIII je pomembno, da s poznejšega območja *intra muros* ni znanih nobenih grobnih ali naselbinskih celot niti izrazitejših koncentracij latenskih najdb. Maloštevilne najdbe keltskih tipov fibul in drugih kovinskih predmetov ter nekoliko bolj številne keramike izvirajo iz zgodnjericimskih depozitov, kjer se praviloma pojavljajo skupaj z italiskim gradivom.⁶³ V prid dataciji vkopa v zgodnjericimsko obdobje in proti morebitnemu poznolatenškemu grobu govori tudi odsotnost žganine in drugih predmetov, čeprav je kulturni značaj konteksta praktično nesopen. Posebej v primerih »regularno«

with riders equipped with circular shields and spears on an Aco beaker from the middle Augustan period camp of Dangstetten⁵⁸ and the depiction of a similar shield on the stele of Burrius Trebocus, a soldier of the *cohors Aquitanorum*, from the village of Hrvace near Sinj (*CIL* III 9760).⁵⁹ The above shields in form and dimensions are reminiscent of three completely preserved shields from the cult site in the Thorsberg Moor in Schleswig, dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries. The circular bronze shield bosses of all three shields have comparable dimensions (15.9 cm, 16.6, and 16.7 cm), while the diameter of the wooden boards of the shields in one case measured 65 cm, and for the two others 1 meter.⁶⁰

Military graves from the end of the La Tène and the Early Roman Period between the Soča River and the Gorjanci region do not contain characteristic pieces of equestrian equipment, although it would definitely be premature to conclude that these represented exclusively foot soldiers equipped with various sets of weaponry, as well that members of the elite cavalry units in the eastern Alpine region were recruited exclusively from the traditionally allied central Norican area. Along the middle courses of the Rhine and Moselle Rivers spurs, although extremely rare, were namely found both in graves with full weaponry sets (sword, shield, and one or more spears), as well in those with a combination of sword and two spears, spears and shield, or just with one weapon, a sword or spear.⁶¹ Judging from the grave inventories, in the region of central and southeastern Slovenia at the end of the La Tène Period a frequent combination occurred of shield bosses with one or more spear points, while the high proportion of Early Roman graves stands out in which both above mentioned weapons appear together with a sword.⁶²

⁵⁸ Fingerlin 1986, 113, no. 318, 38.

⁵⁹ Radman-Livaja 2010, 111.

⁶⁰ Nabberfeld 2008, 201-202, Pl. 42: 410; 43: 411; 44: 412.

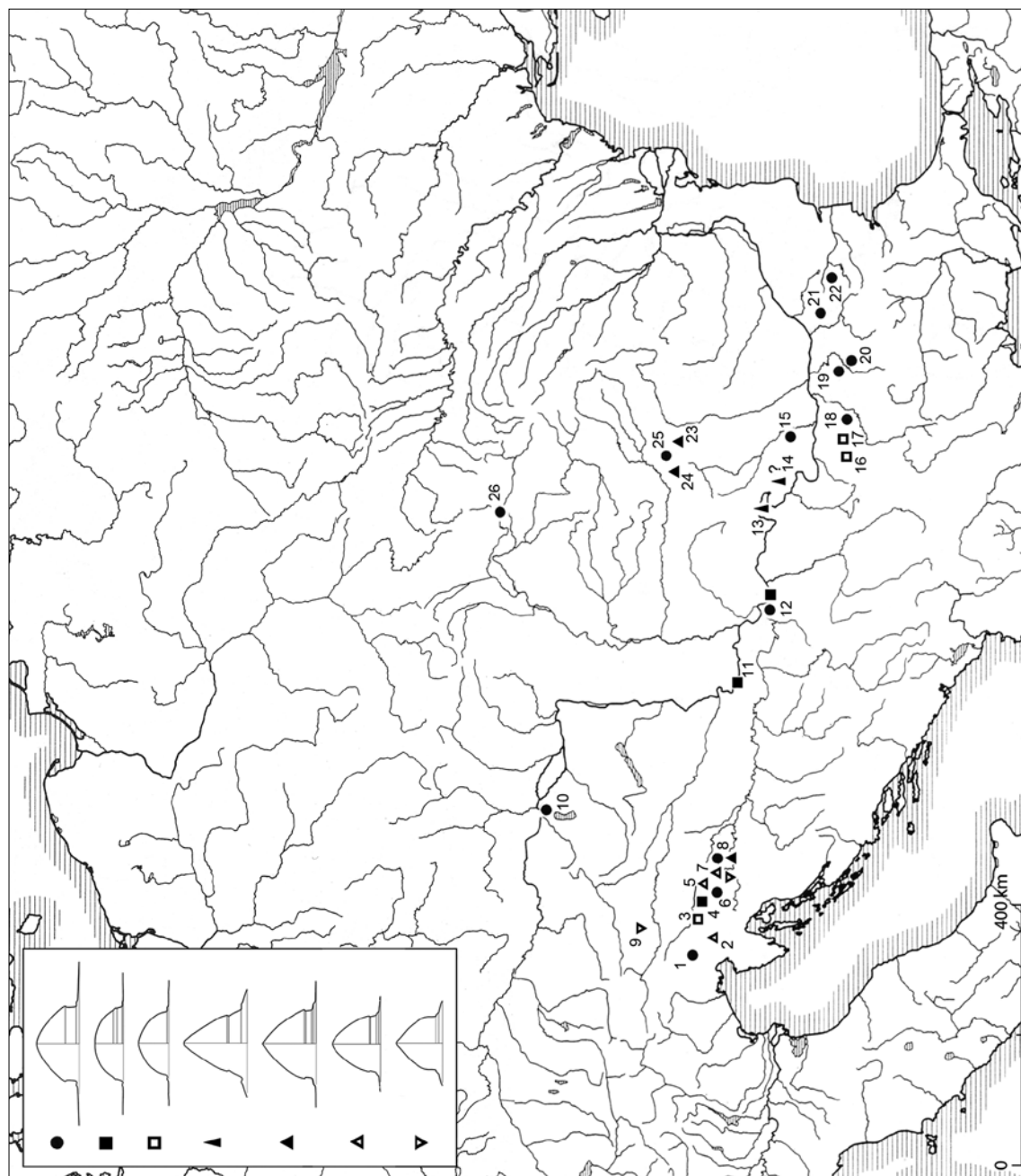
⁶¹ Schumacher 1999, 82-83, 92-93, Fig. 32.

⁶² See Pernet 2010, 223-225, 230-231, Fig. 138, 146.

⁶¹ Schumacher 1999, 82-83, 92-93, sl. 32.

⁶² Glej Pernet 2010, 223-225, 230-231, sl. 138, 146.

⁶³ Gaspari 2010, 82-83.



Sl. / Fig. 7: Najdišča ščitnih grb tipa Novo mesto 169 in njegovih različic: 1 Reka pri Cerknem; 2 Stari grad nad Uncem; 3 Ljubljana; 4 Magdalenska gora; 5 Strmec nad Belo Cerkvijo; 6 Novo mesto; 7 Verdun; 8 Mihovo; 9 Magdalensberg; 10 Braunsberg; 11 Sotin; 12 Beograd – Karaburma; 13 Vajuga – Pesak; 14 Portilor de Fier; 15 Dobrosloveni; 16 »Distrikt Montana«; 17 Dobrusha; 18 Koinare; 19 Smočan; 20 Dojranci; 21 Vinograd; 22 Kamburovo; 23 Tilišca; 24 Cugir; 25 Čaplna; 26 Chellenitsa – Mala Kopanya; / Distribution map of shield bosses of the Novo Mesto 169 type and its variants: 1 Reka near Cerkno; 2 Stari grad above Unec; 3 Ljubljana; 4 Magdalenska gora; 5 Strmec above Bela Cerkev; 6 Novo mesto; 7 Verdun; 8 Mihovo; 9 Magdalensberg; 10 Braunsberg; 11 Sotin; 12 Beograd – Karaburma; 13 Vajuga – Pesak; 14 Portilor de Fier; 15 Dobrosloveni; 16 “Montana District”; 17 Dobrusha; 18 Koinare; 19 Smočan; 20 Dojranci; 21 Vinograd; 22 Kamburovo; 23 Tilišca; 24 Cugir; 25 Čaplna; 26 Chellenitsa – Mala Kopanya (dopolnjeno po Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004 / supplemented from Bockius, Łuczkiwicz 2004)

uničenih kosov orožja profana odložitve skoraj ne pride v poštev, medtem ko bi lahko posamezne naselbinske najdbe močno poškodovanih grb, kot je npr. tista iz poznolatenske plasti na Devínu pri Bratislavi, interpretirali tudi kot surovino, namenjeno poznejši predelavi.⁶⁴

Opisane poškodbe na obravnavani grbi spominjajo na sistematično deformirane in pogosto sežgane grbe iz latenskih kulturnih mest v jugovzhodnih Alpah in predalpskem prostoru, ki so bile podobno kot v primeru svetišč belgijskega tipa po manipulaciji bodisi izpostavljene na drevju ali lesenih podlagah v smislu *tropaeuma* bodisi temeljito fragmentirane in depnirane na mestih sežiganja, ki so pogosto locirana na prostoru starejših grobišč (Misincinis pri Paularu v Karniji, Repelc na Mostu na Soči in morda tudi Stari grad nad Uncem na Notranjskem).⁶⁵ Orožje (meči, sulične osti, čelade, ščiti), praviloma razsekano na drobne kose, označuje vse faze odlaganja (Lt C2 – avgustejsko obdobje) v obodnem jarku svetišča na Frauenbergu pri Lipnici (Leibnitz) na avstrijskem Štajerskem,⁶⁶ medtem ko je bilo mogoče iz polnil obodnega jarka znanega svetišča Gournay-sur-Aronde v Picardiji (Lt B2–Lt C2/Lt D1) razbrati težnjo k vedno temeljitejši fragmentaciji.⁶⁷ Prehod iz razobešanja razmeroma velikih kosov orožja iz časa med Lt B2 in avgustejskim obdobjem (ščitne grbe, naličnice, nožnice, meči, sulična kopita in osti) k depniranju manjših fragmentov (nožnica gladija in keltski ščiti) v jame iz najmlajše faze odlaganja je bil dokumentiran tudi v primeru kulturnega kompleksa na hribu Sorantri pri Raveu v Karniji.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Pieta 2005, 52, T. 13: 6.

⁶⁵ Gaspari 2008, 33; Gaspari 2009, 326.

⁶⁶ Tiefengraber, Grill 2007, 160.

⁶⁷ Brunaux, Meniel, Poplin 1985, 118-124; Brunaux, Rapin 1988.

⁶⁸ Donat, Righi, Vitri 2007, 109-112, sl. 22-23.

Commentary on the circumstances of discovery

For a discussion of the dating of the pit with the umbo under discussion and the background to its deposition in insula XLIII, it is important to note that no grave or settlement units nor pronounced concentration of La Tène finds are known from the area of the later *intra muros*. The few finds of Celtic type fibulae and other metal objects and the somewhat more numerous pottery finds come from Early Roman deposits, and as a rule appear together with Italic material.⁶³ The dating of the deposition to the Early Roman Period and not to a possible La Tène grave is also supported by the absence of burnt remains and other objects, although the cult meaning of the context is practically unquestionable. Particularly in cases of “regularly” destroyed pieces of weapons, a profane deposition almost never comes into consideration, while individual settlement finds of badly damaged shield bosses, such as the one from Late La Tène layers at Devín near Bratislava, could also be interpreted as raw material intended for further processing.⁶⁴

The described damage to the umbo under discussion is reminiscent of the systematically deformed and often burnt shield bosses from La Tène cult sites in the southeastern Alps and the pre-Alpine region, which similarly as in the case of sanctuaries of the Belgic type in terms of manipulation were either placed in trees or on a wooden platform in the sense of a *tropaeum* or were thoroughly fragmented and deposited at the place where they were burnt, often located in the area of earlier cemeteries (Misincinis near Paularo in Carnia, Repelc at Most na Soči, and perhaps also Stari grad above Unec in Inner Carniola).⁶⁵ Weapons (swords, spearheads, helmets, shields), usually chopped into tiny pieces, characterize all

⁶³ Gaspari 2010, 82-83.

⁶⁴ Pieta 2005, 52, Pl. 13: 6.

⁶⁵ Gaspari 2008, 33; Gaspari 2009, 326.

Podoben tip poškodb srečamo tudi pri grbah v bojevnih grobovih, v katere so po keltskem običaju položili sežgano in zvito orožje, pri čemer opozarjamo na podoben vdrtost kalote in simetrično deformiranje okrajka, ki mu je bila podvržena okrogla grba tipa Minusio iz Roj pri Moravčah.⁶⁹ Obredno so bili onesposobljeni tudi pridatki uničenih srednjelatskih bojevnih grobov z vrha ježe nad levim bregom Ljubljanice na območju severnega trakta Turjaške palače. V sprimku, ki je bil prvotno nedvomno del polnila jaškaste grobne jame in mu verjetno pripadajo tudi ostanki para prostoročno izdelanih posod lokalne tradicije, je viden štirikrat prepognjen meč v nožnici, zvita trakasta ščitna grba in uhata sekira ter delci sežganih človeških kosti. V istem zgodnjem nasutju je bila najdena še prepognjena nožnica, katere ustje je okrašeno s kombiniranim motivom para zmajčkov, kačje glave in rastlinskega okrasa.⁷⁰ Pojav grobov na območju poznobronastodobne in starejše železnodobne nekropole s središčem na dvorišču Slovenske akademije znanosti in umetnosti (sl. 1: 2) ne preseneča, saj sta bila sorodna primera vkopov latenskih grobov v halštatske gomile dokumentirana že na bližnjem Molniku⁷¹ in 12 km oddaljeni Magdalenski gori pri Šmarju-Sapu,⁷² ponovno uporabo starega pokopališčnega prostora pa dokazujejo tudi avgustejski grobovi avksiliarnih vojakov z območja halštatskih gomil na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani.⁷³ Poleg tega so bile v premešanih plasteh na območju med dvoriščem SAZU, Salendrovo in Turjaško palačo odkrite tudi nekatere poznolatske ko-

the phases of deposition (LT C2 – Augustan Period) in the surrounding ditch of the cult site at Frauenberg near Leibnitz in Austrian Styria,⁶⁶ while it was possible from the fill of the ditch surrounding the well-known sanctuary of Gournay-sur-Aronde in Picardy (LT B2–LT C2/LT D1) to distinguish a tendency towards even more thorough fragmentation.⁶⁷ The transition from suspending relatively large pieces of weapons from the period between LT B2 and the Augustan Period (shield bosses, cheek-pieces, daggers, swords, spearheads and spear-butts) to the placement of smaller fragments (gladius sheaths and Celtic shields) in pits in the latest phase of ritual deposition was also documented in the case of the cult complex at Monte Sorantri near Raveo in Carnia.⁶⁸

A similar type of damage can also be found on shield bosses from warrior graves where burnt and bent weapons were placed in accordance with Celtic customs. Similar breakage of the dome and symmetrical deformation of the flange had been applied to the circular umbo of the Minusio type from Roje near Moravče.⁶⁹ The grave goods had also been ritually disabled in the destroyed middle La Tène warrior graves at the top of the slope above the left bank of the Ljubljanica River in the area of the north wing of the Auersperg Palace. The conglomerate, which was undoubtedly part of the original fill of the shaft-like grave pit and probably also contained the remains of a pair of hand-thrown vessels of the local pottery tradition, contained a four-times folded sword in a scabbard, a twisted band-shaped shield boss, a shaft-hole axe, and fragments of burnt human bones. The same Early Roman fill also contained a folded scabbard, whose mouth was ornamented with a combined motif of a pair

⁶⁹ Knez 1977, T. 7: 5.

⁷⁰ Štrajhar, Gaspari 2013.

⁷¹ Bregant *et al.* 1996, 61.

⁷² Hencken 1978, 40; Tecco Hvala 2012, 40-41, 135.

⁷³ Gaspari *et al.* 2014.

⁶⁶ Tiefengraber, Grill 2007, 160.

⁶⁷ Brunaux, Meniel, Poplin 1985, 118-124; Brunaux, Rapin 1988.

⁶⁸ Donat, Righi, Vitri 2007, 109-112, Fig. 22-23.

⁶⁹ Knez 1977, Pl. 7: 5.

vinske in keramične najdbe,⁷⁴ ki dopuščajo možnost obstoja daritvenega mesta na mestu stare nekropole.

Komu je torej pripadala obravnavana ščitna grba in v kakšnih okoliščinah je bila odložena? Najdbe iz okvirno sočasnih kontekstov z območja *intra muros* dokazujejo, da so bili pri gradnji mesta udeleženi oddelki legij ilirske (panonske) vojske in pomožnih enot ter italjski naseljenci in lokalno prebivalstvo, zelo verjetno tudi znatno število vojnih ujetnikov iz južno-panonskega prostora. Lastnika oz. posestnika ščitne grbe moramo skoraj zagotovo iskati med aktivnimi vojaki (ali veterani) in ne civilnimi naseljenci. Posest gladijev in bodal ter sulic, kopij, puščic in svinčenih izstrelkov v nasprotju s tem ni bila v izključni domeni vojske, saj se je ofenzivno orožje uporabljalo tudi za lov, samoobrambo in gladiaturo.⁷⁵ Glede na veliko število sorodnih najdb iz staroselskih grobov v jugovzhodnopredalpskem prostoru je še najverjetnejša domneva, da gre pri obravnavani grbi za lastnino aktivnega vojaka ali veterana pomožnih enot rimske vojske, novačenih med lokalnimi plemeni.

Med orožjem in vojaško opremo iz zgodnjih emonskih plasti nakazujejo prisotnost avksiliarnih enot poleg obravnavane grbe še svinčeni izstrelki za pračo in deli čelad tipa Weisenau, pri čemer slednje pogosto upodabljajo tudi prikazi, pripisani legionarjem. Za slednje so v tem času tipične bronaste čelade tipa Buggenum in Hagenau, ki na avksiliarnih grobiščih manjkajo⁷⁶ in so na ožjem območju Ljubljane zastopane z naličnico⁷⁷ in vrhnjimi gumbi,⁷⁸ ter segmentni oklepi, ki jim

of dragons, a snake head, and floral decoration.⁷⁰ The appearance of graves in the area of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age cemetery with its centre in the courtyard of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Fig. 1: 2) is not surprising, as similar examples of the burial of La Tène graves in Hallstatt tumuli have already been documented at the nearby Molnik⁷¹ and the 12 km distant Magdalenska gora near Šmarje-Sap,⁷² while the reuse of earlier burial space is also proven by the Augustan Period graves of auxiliary soldiers in the area of Hallstatt tumuli at Congress Square in Ljubljana.⁷³ Additionally, several Late La Tène metal and pottery finds were discovered in mixed strata in the area between the SASA courtyard, Salendrova Street, and the Auersperg Palace,⁷⁴ allowing for the possibility of the existence of a ritual site at the location of the old necropolis.

Who, then, owned the discussed shield boss and under what circumstances was it deposited? Finds from approximately contemporary contexts in the area *intra muros* prove that units of the Illyrian (Pannonian) legions and auxiliary units attached to them were involved in the construction of the city, along with Italic settlers and local inhabitants, and very probably also considerable numbers of prisoners of war from the southern Pannonian region. The owner or possessor of the umbo must almost certainly be sought among the active soldiers (or veterans) and not civilian settlers. However, possessing a gladius and dagger, a spear, javelin, arrows, and lead projectiles, in contrast to this, was not the exclusive domain of the army, as offensive weaponry was also used for hunting, self-defence, and gladiator fighting.⁷⁵ Given the large number of similar finds from indigenous graves in

⁷⁴ Npr. Stare 1954, T. 43: 3; 64: 9, 12; Puš 1982, T. 46, 1-4; Horvat 2002, 59.

⁷⁵ Junkelmann 2002, 19-21; Nicolay 2007, 207-216.

⁷⁶ Gaspari 2008, 42.

⁷⁷ Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4.

⁷⁸ Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4; Gaspari 2010, 90, T. 28: Š 1181, Š 899, Š 1307.

⁷⁰ Štrajhar, Gaspari 2013.

⁷¹ Bregant *et al.* 1996, 61.

⁷² Hencken 1978, 40; Tecco Hvala 2012, 40-41, 135.

⁷³ Gaspari *et al.* 2014.

⁷⁴ E.g. Stare 1954, Pl. 43: 3; 64: 9, 12; Puš 1982, Pl. 46, 1-4; Horvat 2002, 59.

⁷⁵ Junkelmann 2002, 19-21; Nicolay 2007, 207-216.

pripadajo številne sponi. Večino delov gladijev oz. odlomkov njihovih nožnic ter žebličke za čevlje in dele pasov bi lahko pripisali tako opremi legionarjev kot pomožnih vojakov, enako velja tudi za pugio v nožnici tipa Mainz z odlomljeno konico z območja ceste C.⁷⁹ Precejšnje število kovinskih okrasov konjske opreme prej govori za auxilio, saj je bila legijska konjenica maloštevilna.⁸⁰

Na razlago o votivnem ozadju odložitve ščitne grbe iz insule XLIII napeljujejo tudi druge najdbe iz zgodnjih emonskih depozitov. V podobnem kontekstu kot grba, torej v polnilu vkopa, ki ni vsebovalo drugih predmetov, je bila na bližnji lokaciji Šumi najdena poznorepublikanska gema iz karneola z vgravirano dionizično upodobitvijo (sl. 1: 5).⁸¹ Odsotnost značilnega odpada s kostmi, keramiko, lepom, ogljem in ostanki talilnih lončkov je pomembna tudi za interpretacijo več bronastih novcev in kompleta medicinskega orodja, odkritih v polnilu naravne vodne kotanje (sl. 1: 4) v neposredni bližini najdišča omenjene geme. Oba konteksta iz Šumija pripisujemo fazi gradnje prvih zidov ali času neposredno pred njo.⁸²

V obravnavi možnih ozadij za ne povsem običajen pojav popolnega oz. skoraj nepoškodovanega orožja v vojaških taborih in civilnih naselbinskih kontekstih je potrebno upoštevati tako profani kot ritualni vidiki.⁸³ Prvi se zarisuje na ravni reverzibilnega deponiranja z namenom zavarovanja pred krajo ali celo skrivanja ukradenih stvari, pri čemer je za interpretacijo ključna vsakokratna lega oziroma dostopnost deponiranih predmetov. Ta je seveda drugačna npr. pri čeladi različice tipa Weisenau iz poznoavgustejskega

the southeastern pre-Alpine region, it is still most likely that the umbo in question was the property of an active soldier or veteran of an auxiliary unit of the Roman army, recruited from among the local tribes.

Among the weapons and military equipment from the early layers of Emona that display the presence of auxiliary units, in addition to the shield boss, are lead projectiles for slingshots and parts of Weisenau type helmets, with the latter also often being depicted in images attributed to legionaries. For the latter at that time, the bronze helmets of the Buggenum and Hagenau types were typical, which are lacking at auxiliary cemeteries,⁷⁶ and are represented in the Ljubljana region with cheekpieces⁷⁷ and knobs,⁷⁸ and segments of plate armour to which numerous clasps belonged. Most of the gladius fragments or pieces of their scabbards, along with nails for shoes and belt parts could be attributed either to the equipment of legionary soldiers or auxiliary soldiers, while the same is also true for the pugio in a Mainz type sheath with a broken off point from the area of Road C.⁷⁹ The fairly numerous metal decorations for horse equipment would indicate the presence of auxiliary units, as few cavalrymen were attached to the legions.⁸⁰

An interpretation of a votive background to the deposition of the shield boss from insula XLIII is further suggested by other finds from early deposits in Emona. In a similar context as the umbo, i.e. in the fill of a pit that did not contain other objects, a Late Republican carnelian gem with an engraved Dionysian image was found at the nearby site of Šumi (Fig. 1: 5).⁸¹ The absence of characteristic refuse with bones, pottery, daub, charcoal, and

⁷⁹ Plesničar Gec 1999, 164, sl. 241, 248b; Gaspari 2010, 93, sl. 54.

⁸⁰ Goldsworthy 2003, 58.

⁸¹ Gaspari 2009a.

⁸² Gaspari 2010, 124.

⁸³ Thiel, Zanier 1994, 59-81.

⁷⁶ Gaspari 2008, 42.

⁷⁷ Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4.

⁷⁸ Hvalec *et al.* 2009, 4; Gaspari 2010, 90, Pl. 28: Š 1181, Š 899, Š 1307.

⁷⁹ Plesničar Gec 1999, 164, Fig. 241, 248b; Gaspari 2010, 93, Fig. 54.

⁸⁰ Goldsworthy 2003, 58.

⁸¹ Gaspari 2009a.

vkopa v kastelu Tenedo-Zurzach,⁸⁴ bodalu v nožnici in pripadajočemu pasu iz jame v taboru Dangstetten⁸⁵ ali pri gladiju z reliefno okrašeno nožnico in pasom iz manjše jame v severnem delu legijskega tabora Vindonissa, ki se je po mnenju E. Deschler-Erba v času odložitve nahajala v eni od barak za moštvo⁸⁶ kot pa v primeru izoliranih najdb iz vodnih zbiralnikov in vodnjakov. Možnost, da gre za zavrženo ali zapuščeno lastnino, zanikajo običajno skrbna odložitve in odsotnost spremljajočih najdb, najdišče v bivalnem prostoru pa govori tudi proti shranjevanju reciklaži namenjenega materiala in kulturni odložitvi. Slednja je verjetnejša pri v celoti ohranjeni nožnici iz kasarne v kastelu Valkenburg na Nizozemskem, ki je interpretirana kot gradbena daritev,⁸⁷ nadalje štirih bodalih v nožnicah, od katerih je bil eden najden skupaj s cingulumom, iz vodnih zbiralnikov zgodnjecesarske naselbine na Auerbergu v Algäu na Bavarskem⁸⁸ ali najdbi avgustejskega gladija v nožnici, na katero je bilo prijavljeno bodalo v nožnici, iz struge Ljubljanice pri Blatni Brezovici na Ljubljanskem barju.⁸⁹ Ritualni kontekst odložitve domnevata A. Thiel in W. Zanier⁹⁰ za že omenjeno bodalo iz Dangstettna, par bodal v nožnicah iz drenažnega jarka pred obzidjem tabora v Mainzu in bodalo v nožnici iz polnila vadbenega jarka v bližini legijskega tabora v Karnuntumu.⁹¹ Nasprotno bi lahko veljalo za v kožni vreči shranjeno železno čelado, ki je bila najdena v vsebini latrine v Vindonissi in je interpretirana kot založni depo ukradenega blaga.⁹² Tudi najdba

remains of smelting pots is also important for the interpretation of several bronze coins and a set of medical implements discovered in the fill of a natural water hollow (Fig. 1: 4) in the immediate vicinity of where the gem was found. Both contexts at Šumi are attributed to the phase of construction of the first walls or the period immediately before that.⁸²

In dealing with the possible background to the not entirely common appearance of completely or rather almost undamaged weapons in a military camp or civilian settlement context, it is necessary to consider both secular and ritual aspects.⁸³ The former can be outlined on the level of a reversible deposit with the intention of protection from theft or even hiding stolen items, with the key element for the interpretation always being the location or accessibility to the deposited objects. This is certainly different, for example, in the case of the Weisenau type helmet from a Late Augustan pit at Tenedo-Zurzach,⁸⁴ the dagger in a sheath with an accompanying belt from a pit at the camp of Dangstetten,⁸⁵ or the gladius with a relief decorated scabbard and a belt from a small pit in the northern part of the legionary camp of Vindonissa, which according to E. Deschler-Erb at the time of deposition would have been located in one of the barracks for the soldiers,⁸⁶ than for examples of isolated finds from water reservoirs and wells. The possibility that these had been discarded or abandoned property is countered by the usually careful deposition and the absence of accompanying finds, while sites in dwelling areas also speak against the storage of material intended for recycling and ritual cult deposition. The latter is more likely for the completely preserved scabbard from the barracks in the castellum of Valkenburg in the Netherlands, which was interpreted as a con-

⁸⁴ Hänggi, Doswald, Roth-Rubi 1994, 148, 554, sl. 105, T. 35: 119.5.

⁸⁵ Fingerlin 1986, kat. št. 207, 3.

⁸⁶ Deschler-Erb 1997, 29.

⁸⁷ Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, op. 78.

⁸⁸ Ulbert, Zanier 1996, 73.

⁸⁹ Istenič 2012, 159, sl. 1-2.

⁹⁰ Thiel, Zanier 1994, op. 41.

⁹¹ Kandler, Veters 1986, 219-220.

⁹² Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, op. 79.

⁸² Gaspari 2010, 124.

⁸³ Thiel, Zanier 1994, 59-81.

⁸⁴ Hänggi, Doswald, Roth-Rubi 1994, 148, 554, Fig. 105, Pl. 35: 119.5.

⁸⁵ Fingerlin 1986, cat. no. 207, 3.

⁸⁶ Deschler-Erb 1997, 29.

železne čelade tipa Weisenau z ostanki odtrgane srebrne obrobe in manjkajočima naličnicama, odkrite skupaj s keramiko in drugimi kovinskimi predmeti v cisterni na zahodnem delu Akvileje,⁹³ po mnenju M. Buore nima kulturnega ozadja. Avtor povzema mnenje L. Bertacchi, da gre verjetno za izgubljeno posest iz leta treh cesarjev.⁹⁴

Med sklopi bolj ali manj nepoškodovanih kosov orožja, pri katerih ni nobenih pokazateljev za religiozno ozadje odložitve, sodijo na obravnavanem območju npr. omenjene najdbe iz tiberijsko-klavdijskega nasutja za hodno površino v stavbi SH/5 na Štalenskem vrhu ali danes izgubljena skupna najdba štirih kratkih mečev, 60 cm dolgega meča, piluma, ščitne grbe, večje količine železnega orodja, ključavnic in tečajev vrat, strigilisa, bronastega vedra in nekaj keramičnih vrčev iz ruševinske plasti v prostoru 6 v emonski insuli II, ki jo je W. Schmid datiral v 2. stoletje.⁹⁵

V okviru obravnave rimskega orožja in konjske opreme iz naselbin, grobov in kulturnih mest severne Galije je J. Nicolay med drugim opozoril na verjetno ritualno naravo skupine jam z neobičajno vsebino na naselbini Oosterhout - Van Boetzelaerstraat na Nizozemskem. Na ravnem dnu ene od jam so bili odkriti gladij tipa Pompeji, sulično kopito, nekaj železnih žeblicev in fragmenti živalskih kosti.⁹⁶ Podobne okoliščine izkazujejo depo čelade tipa Weisenau, železne ščitne grbe in strigilisa iz lesene kašte, odkrite v neposredni bližini avgustejskega legijskega tabora na Hunerbergu v Nijmegnu, in več skupnih najdb iz bližnjega kastela na Kops Plateau. V konjeniški utrdbi iz predflavijskega časa, v kateri je bila morda stacionirana

struction offering,⁸⁷ further four daggers in sheaths, one found together with a cingulum, from the water reservoir of the Early Imperial settlement at Auerberg in Allgäu in Bavaria,⁸⁸ or the find of an Augustan gladius in a scabbard onto which a dagger in a sheath had rusted from the bed of the Ljubljana River near Blatna Brezovica in the Ljubljana Moors.⁸⁹ A ritual context of deposition was suggested by A. Thiel and W. Zanier⁹⁰ for the previously mentioned dagger from Dangstetten, a pair of daggers in sheaths from the drainage ditch in front of the camp walls in Mainz, and a dagger in its sheath from the fill of a ditch in the vicinity of the legionary camp at Carnuntum.⁹¹ The opposite could apply to an iron helmet preserved in a leather bag, which was found in the contents of a latrine at Vindonissa and was interpreted as a hoard of stolen goods.⁹² The find of an iron Weisenau type helmet with the remains of torn silver edging and missing cheekpieces, discovered together with pottery and other metal objects in a cistern in the western part of Aquileia,⁹³ would not have any cult significance according to M. Buora. The author cites the opinion of L. Bertacchi that this was probably a lost possession from the Year of the Three Emperors.⁹⁴

Sets of more or less undamaged weapons without any indications of a religious background for the deposition consist in the region under consideration, for example, of the mentioned find from the Tiberian-Claudian fill for the walking surface in building SH/5 at Magdalensberg, or the lost hoard of four short swords, a 60 cm long sword, a pilum, a shield boss, a large quantity of iron tools, locks, door hinges, a strigilis, a bronze pail,

⁸⁷ Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, n. 78.

⁸⁸ Ulbert, Zanier 1996, 73.

⁸⁹ Istenič 2012, 159, Fig. 1-2.

⁹⁰ Thiel, Zanier 1994, n. 41.

⁹¹ Kandler, Vetter 1986, 219-220.

⁹² Deschler-Erb 1997, 29, n. 79.

⁹³ Bertacchi 1982, 86-89.

⁹⁴ Buora 2002, 44; Künzl 1998, 443, n. 250.

⁹³ Bertacchi 1982, 86-89.

⁹⁴ Buora 2002, 44; Künzl 1998, 443, op. 250.

⁹⁵ Schmid 1913, 100-101; Schmid 1941, 47.

⁹⁶ Nicolay 2007, 195, sl. 5.15.

ala Batavorum, je bilo najdenih več jam z ritualno deponiranim orožjem. V posameznih vkopih, ki jih ni mogoče povezati z bivalnimi objekti ali odpadnimi jamami, so našli po eno čelado skupaj z odlomki namerno razbitih keramičnih posod, ki jih v nekaterih primerih spremljajo kosti perutnine. V eni od jam sta bili najdeni dve čeladi, druga je vsebovala varianto čelad tipa Weisenau in zvito ščitno grbo, tretja pa zvito ščitno grbo in ostanke črepij loncev. Bolj zapletene celote so znane iz kastela Newstead, v katerem je ena od jam z domnevnim kulturnim značajem vsebovala dve železni in eno medeninasto čelado, lobanjo konja in psa, jelenje rogovje, brzde, kovinske dele sedla in druge konjske opreme ter odlomke keramike.⁹⁷

Večina avtorjev objav v prejšnjem odstavku naštetih najdb je mnenja, da gre za daritve z ostanki ritualnih pojedin, ki so jih analogno orožju iz rečnih strug ali kulturnih mest odložili vojaki ob ključnem trenutku kariere, zelo verjetno ob častnem odpustu (*missio honesta*).⁹⁸ Morda so, preden so za vedno zapustili garnizijo oz. zadnje mesto službovanja, darovali del opreme v zahvalo božanstvu, ki jih je varovalo in jim zagotavljalo uspeh v boju.⁹⁹ Med možnimi dedikanti orožja iz kulturnih mest in rečnih strug vidi Nicolay vojake, predvsem veterane in višje rangirane posameznike, pri čemer se da na podlagi lastniških napisov na orožju iz vodotokov med njimi prepoznati tako legionarje kot pomožne vojake.¹⁰⁰ Roymans domneva, da so zgodnjerimsko vojaško opremo v reke severne Galije in spodnjega Porenja darovali predvsem domači avksiliarni vojaki, in sicer predvsem zaradi tega, ker gre za neitalski oz. nerimski običaj s koreninami v prazgodovinski tradiciji ce-

and several pottery jugs from the layer of ruins in room 6 in insula II at Emona, dated by W. Schmid to the 2nd century.⁹⁵

In the framework of discussing Roman weapons and equestrian equipment from the settlements, graves, and cult sites of northern Gaul, J. Nicolay drew attention, among other things, to the probably ritual nature of the group of pits with unusual contents at the settlement of Oosterhout - Van Boetzelaerstraat in the Netherlands. A gladius of the Pompeii type, a spear butt, several iron nails, and fragments of animal bones were discovered on the flat base of one of the pits.⁹⁶ Similar circumstances are shown by a hoard of a Weisenau type helmet, an iron shield boss, and a strigilis in a wooden box discovered in the immediate vicinity of the Augustan legionary camp at the Hunerberg in Nijmegen, and several hoards from the nearby castellum at Kops Plateau. In the cavalry fort from the pre-Flavian Period, where the *ala Batavorum* was perhaps stationed, several pits were found with ritually deposited weapons. In individual pits, which could not be connected to dwelling structures or refuse pits, they found one helmet each, together with fragments of deliberately broken pottery vessels in some cases accompanied by poultry bones. One pit contained two helmets, another a variant of the Weisenau type helmet and a bent umbo, a third a bent umbo and remains of pot shards. More complex units are known from the fort of Newstead, where one of the pits with an alleged cult character contained one brass and two iron helmets, skulls of a horse and a dog, deer antlers, bits, metal saddle parts and other equestrian equipment, and pottery fragments.⁹⁷

Most of the authors of the publications cited in the previous paragraph consider that the above finds were sacrifices with the remains

⁹⁷ Enckevort, Willems 1994, 132.

⁹⁸ Enckevort, Willems 1994, 134.

⁹⁹ Roymans 1996, 34; Nicolay 2007, 181.

¹⁰⁰ Nicolay 2007, 189.

⁹⁵ Schmid 1913, 100-101; Schmid 1941, 47.

⁹⁶ Nicolay 2007, 195, Fig. 5.15.

⁹⁷ Enckevort, Willems 1994, 132.

linske Evrope.¹⁰¹ Dejstvo, da se v rokavih in pritokih Rena pojavlja tudi legionarsko orožje, po van Enckevertu in Willemsu pomeni, da je *auxilia* uporabljala enako orožje ali da so darovalci rimski državljani, rekrutirani med keltskimi plemeni iz severne Italije.¹⁰² Od 335 dokumentiranih legionarjev iz časa Avgusta, Tiberija in Kaligule je bilo 207 vojakov italskega porekla, od tega 135 iz severne Italije, med slednjimi pa zavzemajo največji delež (64) legionarji iz X. regije (*Venetia et Histria*).¹⁰³ Tradicija odlaganja orožja v vodotoke Padske nižine, Benečije in Furlanije, ki sega v bronasto dobo, je bila sodeč po izrazitem upadu najdb v zadnjih stoletjih pr. n. št. postopno opuščena, kar lahko morda pripišemo napredujoči romanizaciji lokalnih keltskih plemen po rimski osvojitvi Transpadane, povsem drugačno sliko pa kažejo obsežni sklopi latenskih in zgodnjericimskih najdb iz Ljubljane.¹⁰⁴ Razpoložljivi viri ne dopuščajo bolj določnega odgovora na vprašanje, do kakšne mere je pojav rimskega orožja in druge opreme v strugi na Ljubljanskem barju povezan z izpopolnjevanjem pozno-republikanskih in zgodnjecesarških enot z možmi iz širšega območja Ljubljanske kotline, ki je verjetno že s priključitvijo Galije Cisalpine leta 42/41 pr. n. št. postala del rimske Italije. Vojaki, ki so bili rekrutirani na območju delovanja enote, so se navadno naseljevali v okolici nekdanjih domov,¹⁰⁵ kar bi v kontekstu emonske najdbe lahko pomenilo zapuščino veterana, ki je ob vrnitvi v civilno življenje daroval orožje kot del rituala ob prehodu (*rite de passage*),¹⁰⁶ podobno pa bi lahko prišlo v poštev za določen del zgodnjericimskega orožja na območjih starejših

of ritual feasts, where analogously to rivers or cult sites, soldiers deposited weapons at some crucial moment in their career, most probably upon being honourably discharged (*missio honesta*).⁹⁸ Perhaps before they permanently left the garrison and their last posting, they sacrificed part of their equipment as thanks to a deity that had protected them and ensured success in battle.⁹⁹ Among the possible dedicators of weapons at cult sites and river beds, Nicolay suggested soldiers, particularly veterans and high-ranking individuals, while on the basis of inscriptions by the owners on weapons from watercourses both legionary and auxiliary soldiers can be recognized.¹⁰⁰ Roymans considered that the Early Roman military equipment in the rivers of northern Gaul and the lower Rhine valley was sacrificed primarily by indigenous auxiliary soldiers, primarily because this is a non-Italic or non-Roman custom with roots in the prehistoric tradition of continental Europe.¹⁰¹ The fact that legionary equipment also appeared in the backwaters and tributaries of the Rhine meant, according to van Enckevert and Willems, either that the auxiliaries used identical weapons or that the donors were Roman citizens, recruited from among the Celtic tribes in northern Italy.¹⁰² Of 335 documented legionaries from the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, 207 soldiers were of Italic origin, of these 135 were from northern Italy, while among the latter the largest share (64) were legionaries from regio X (*Venetia et Histria*).¹⁰³ The tradition of depositing weapons in the watercourses of the Po valley, Veneto, and Friuli, which extends into the Bronze Age, was gradually abandoned judging from the sharp decline in finds in the last centuries BC, which can perhaps be attributed to the advancing Romanization of

¹⁰¹ Roymans 1996, 34.

¹⁰² Enckevert, Willems 1994, 134.

¹⁰³ Junkelmann 1986, 104-105.

¹⁰⁴ Glej Turk *et al.* 2009.

¹⁰⁵ Nicolay 2007, 196-197.

¹⁰⁶ Roymans 1996, op. 45.

⁹⁸ Enckevert, Willems 1994, 134.

⁹⁹ Roymans 1996, 34; Nicolay 2007, 181.

¹⁰⁰ Nicolay 2007, 189.

¹⁰¹ Roymans 1996, 34.

¹⁰² Enckevert, Willems 1994, 134.

¹⁰³ Junkelmann 1986, 104-105.

kultnih mest v strugi Ljubljanice.¹⁰⁷ Običaj prilaganja orožja v grobove je bil kot ključni del širšega sistema izražanja bojevniških vrednot pri plemenih jugovzhodnoalpskega prostora v glavnem opuščen že pred sredino 1. stoletja n. št.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Gaspari 2007, 150-153; Gaspari 2009b, 76.

¹⁰⁸ Gaspari 2008.

the local Celtic tribes after the Roman conquest of Transpadane Gaul, while an entirely different picture is shown by the extensive sets of La Tène and Early Roman finds from the Ljubljanica River.¹⁰⁴ Available sources do not permit a more definitive answer to the question to what extent the appearance of Roman weapons and other equipment in the river bed at the Ljubljana Moors was related to the complementation of the Late Republican and Early Imperial units with men from the broader area of the Ljubljana basin, which had already probably become a part of Roman Italy with the incorporation of Cisalpine Gaul in 42-41 BC. Soldiers who were recruited in the area of operation of the unit usually settled in the vicinity of their former homes,¹⁰⁵ which in the context of the Emona finds might indicate a legacy from veterans, who upon returning to civilian life sacrificed weapons as part of a ritual of transition (*rite de passage*),¹⁰⁶ and similarly, this could be relevant for a certain part of the Early Roman weapons deposited at earlier cult sites in the bed of the Ljubljanica River.¹⁰⁷ The custom of placing weapons in graves as a key element of a broader system of warrior values in the tribes of the southeastern Alpine region had mostly been abandoned even before the middle of the 1st century AD.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ See Turk *et al.* 2009.

¹⁰⁵ Nicolay 2007, 196-197.

¹⁰⁶ Roymans 1996, n. 45.

¹⁰⁷ Gaspari 2007, 150-153; Gaspari 2009b, 76.

¹⁰⁸ Gaspari 2008.

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