

# Municipium Flavium Fulfinum Dijakronijska studija gradske strukture s posebnim osvrtom na forumski prostor

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# Municipium Flavium Fulfinum

## Dijakronijska studija gradske strukture s posebnim osvrtom na forumski prostor\*

### *Municipium Flavium Fulfinum*

### *Diachronic study of the city structure with a special attention to the forum\*\**

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*Ovim nam je člankom cilj prikazati dostupne arheološke podatke iz mnogobrojnih, kako sondažnih tako i sustavnih arheoloških istraživanja obavljenih u razdoblju od 1972. do 1983. godine. Njihovi su rezultati do sada bili vrlo rijetko ili nikako objavljeni te je većina ostala nepoznata široj javnosti. Ova prva potpuna objava do sada poznatih gradskih struktura Flaviuma Fulfinuma, drugoga rimskog grada na otoku Krku, uvelike je obogaćena rezultatima iz novih arheoloških istraživanja vođenih na prostoru foruma u razdoblju od 2006. do 2013. godine. Posebna pozornost posvećena je datiranju vremena nastanka grada, njegovu razvoju te naposljetku njegovoj sudbini kroz razdoblje kasne antike, sve do trenutka njegova konačnog napuštanja. Studija pronađenih struktura na forumu trebala bi ponuditi novi uvid u razvoj ovoga javnog gradskog prostora, ali isto tako i znatno obogatiti spoznaje o njegovu razvitku između antike i kasne antike, koje su do sada za ovaj tip prostora vrlo slabo dokumentirane na prostoru sjeverne Liburnije.*

*Gljučne riječi: Fulfinum, Omišalj, antika, kasna antika, urbanizam, forum, bazilika, hram*

*The present paper aims to gather all the available archaeological data produced during numerous campaigns of excavations conducted between 1972 and 1983, mostly through test trenching, but sometimes also by larger research excavations. The results of these archaeological works have rarely been published, and the majority of them have remained unknown to the larger public. This first complete publication on the known urban structure of Flavium Fulfinum, the second roman municipium on the island of Krk (Croatia), is enriched by the results of the new archaeological excavations conducted on the Forum since 2006. Special attention is given to questions relating to the datation of the city's creation, its development, and finally its fate through Late Antiquity up to the time of its final abandonment. The study of the structures in the Forum should offer new insights concerning this urban public space, but should also enrich our knowledge of its evolution between Antiquity and Late Antiquity, both of which are extremely poorly documented for the area of northern Liburnia (Dalmatia).*

*Key words: Fulfinum, Omišalj, Antiquity, Late Antiquity, Urbanism, Forum, Basilica, Temple*

#### UVODNA RAZMATRANJA

Otok Krk je kroz čitavo razdoblje klasične antike, odnosno u razdoblju Carstva, imao dva gradska – municipalna pola. Jedan je bio *Curicum*, grad Krk, kojem je gravitirao čitav južni dio otoka, dok je drugi bio *Fulfinum* (grčko ime *Fulfinion* (Φουλφίνιον), Ptolemejeva *Geografija*, 2, 16, 8), koji je kontrolirao njegovu sjevernu stranu. Spomenimo još i to da je njegov jugoistočni dio – a ovdje mislimo prije svega na čitav prostor Drage bašćanske – pripadao najvjerojatnije susjed-

#### INTRODUCTION

Throughout the whole period of classical antiquity, i.e. during the period of the Empire, the island of Krk had two cities - municipal poles. One was *Curicum*, the city of Krk, around which the whole southern part of the island gravitated, and the other one was *Fulfinum* (greek name *Fulfinion* (Φουλφίνιον), *Geography* by Ptolemy, 2, 16, 8), which controlled the northern extent of the island. As for the southeast part of the island is concerned – by which we

\* Prijevod Ivan Valent, lektura engleskog teksta Emmet Marron sa Sveučilišta u Galwayu, Irska. Ovim mu putem duboko zahvaljujemo na pomoći.

\*\* Translation by Ivan Valent. We would like to thank Emmet Marron of the National University of Galway for his helpful revision of the English text.

nom kontinentalnom municipiju današnjeg Senja, odnosno antičke *Senie*. Iako u današnjoj parcelaciji otoka Krka tragova antičkih agera i njegovih podjela gotovo i nema, jasno je da je u antici otok bio podijeljen barem na dva velika agera (ako ne i tri), a grad *Fulfinum* bio je centar jednog od njih. Teritorij antičkog grada, susjedan onom krčkom, zauzimao je čitav sjeverozapadni dio otoka, sve do zamišljene linije koja povezuje današnje rtove Glavotok i Sveti Marak. Više antičkih i kasnoantičkih lokaliteta ustanovljeno je u okviru fulfinskog teritorija, kao što su naprimjer Voz, otočić Sveti Marko, Mohorov, Njivice, Dubašnica, pa i Soline, gdje nedavno otkriće keramičarske radionice tješnje povezuje ovaj dio otoka uz kontinent i crikveničku radionicu (Lipovac-Vrkljan, Starac 2007: 97–98).

Antički grad *Fulfinum* smješta se na teritoriju koji je pripadao skupini *Fertinata* (*Fertinates*), jednoj od dvije poznate autohtone skupine koje su živjele od prapovijesti na otoku Krku, na što upućuje tekst Plinija Starijeg (*Naturalis Historia* III, 25 (21), 139). Povezivanje imena *Fertinata* s gradom *Fulfinum* predložen je još u uvodnom poglavlju *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, gdje autori objašnjavaju njihovu lingvističku povezanost preko izvedenica *Ferfinates*, te kasnije *Furfinates*.<sup>1</sup> Njihov se prvotni centar, protopovijesna gradina, nalazio na mjestu današnjega starog grada Omišlja, koja datira zasigurno iz željeznog doba, a moguće i iz kasnijega brončanog doba (Faber 1982: 66–68). Slučajni nalazi s područja starog grada upućuju na ovako visoku dataciju početka povijesti Omišlja, što potvrđuju i slučajni nalazi s protopovijesne nekropole tumula, smještene na predjelu današnjega novog naselja Pušća (sl. 1). Velika je vjerojatnost da su *Fertinati* i prije fizičke izgradnje grada u uvali Sepen uživali određene privilegije, kao što je poimence tzv. pravo italiskog tla (*Ius italicum*).<sup>2</sup> Novi grad *Flavium Fulfinum* podignut je u susjednoj uvali Sepen, južno od Omišlja, tijekom 1. stoljeća po. Kr. Iako je uvala bila plića i slabije zaštićena od omišaljskog zaljeva, vjerojatno je bila praktičnija, dok je ona omišaljska bila vjerojatno korištena kao zimovalište. Nekoliko fragmenata amfora otkrivenih u dnu zaljeva upućuju na tu moguću interpretaciju.

Teren koji je bio namijenjen izgradnji grada, danas nazivan Okladi,<sup>3</sup> mjerio je 400 × 800 m. Sam izbor mjesta pružio je mogućnost za izgradnju grada s jedne strane bliskog pomorskoj luci, ali i s druge plodnim poljima smještenima na sjeveroistoku i istoku. Povijest ovoga rimskog municipija započinje dakle i prije izgradnje grada u uvali Sepen, s lokalnom populacijom koja možda i većim dijelom sudjeluje

primarily consider the entire area of the Bašćanska draga – it is most likely that it belonged to the neighbouring municipium of *Senia*, modern day Senj. Although traces of antique agers and their divisions are hardly notable in the modern partition of the island of Krk, it is clear that during the Antiquity the island was divided into two (if not even three) large *agers*, of which *Fulfinum* was one of the centres. Its territory occupied the whole of the north-western part of the island, all the way up to an imaginary line that connects modern day points of Glavotok and Sveti Marak. Within this area, several antique and late antique sites have been discovered, such as Voz, the island of Sveti Marko, Mohorov, Njivice, Dubašnica, and Soline, where a ceramic workshop that connects this part of the island with the mainland and the ceramic workshop in Crikvenica was recently located (Lipovac-Vrkljan, Starac 2007: 97–98).

A reference in the text by Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* III, 25 (21), 139) points to the fact that the antique city of *Fulfinum* was situated in the territory occupied by a group called *Fertinata*, one of two known prehistoric communities that lived on the island. The association of the name *Fertinata* with the city of *Fulfinum* was first suggested in the opening chapter of the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, where the authors explained the linguistic connection between the two through the derivative *Ferfinates*, and later *Fertinata*.<sup>1</sup> The original centre of the community, i.e. the proto historic hillfort, which surely dates from the Iron Age, and perhaps even from the Late Bronze Age (Faber 1982: 66–68), was situated on the location of today's old town of Omišalj. Archaeological finds uncovered on this site, as well as a number of random finds that originate from the prehistoric *tumuli* cemetery, which was situated on the territory of today's part of Omišalj called Pušća, confirm these early dates (Fig. 1). It is highly likely that even before the construction of the antique town, the *Fertinati* were able to use some privileges of the Roman Empire, such as The Right of the Italic law (*Ius Italicum*).<sup>2</sup> The new city, *Flavium Fulfinum*, was erected south of Omišalj, in the neighbouring bay of Sepen, during the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD. Even though the bay of Sepen was less profound and much less protected than Omišalj bay, it must have been more practical, although the latter, due to its configuration, could have served during the winter as a resting place. A few fragments of amphora, discovered on its seabed, point to this possibility.

The area intended for the construction of the city, today known as Okladi,<sup>3</sup> was 400 x 800 m large. The choice of this

1 O identifikaciji *Fertinata* sa stanovnicima *Fulfinuma* vidi: Margetić 1978/79: 304; Čače 1993: 10.

2 U većini radova posvećenim Plinijevu podatku o imunitetu i italiskom pravu smatra se da su *Fertinati* bili uživatelji isključivo imuniteta, ali ne i italiskog prava. No, tekst koji prenosi Plinije (*Nat. Hist.* III, 25 (21), 139. ... *Ius Italicum habent ex eo conventu Alutae, Flanates a quibus sinus nominatur, Lopsi, Varvarini, immunesque Asseriatas, et ex insulis Fertinatae, Curictae.*) mogao bi se tumačiti i da su *Fertinati* mogli biti uživatelji imuniteta te zatim italiskog prava. Rasprave o italiskom pravu nekolicine liburnskih općina (*civitates*) su brojne. Cf. primjerice Lujo Margetić i Slobodan Čače.

3 Toponim *Okladi* odnosno *ograde* označava visoke gromače koje često pokrivaju stare zidove. Toponim je vrlo čest na arheološkim lokalitetima naših otoka.

1 For the identification of *Fertinata* with the population of *Fulfinum* see: Margetić 1978/79, 304; Čače 1993, 10.

2 In most of the works dedicated to the Pliny's information on immunity and the *Ius Italicum* it is claimed that the *Fertinatae* enjoyed only the privilege of immunity, and not that of the *Ius Italicum*. But the text that we find in Pliny's work (*Nat. Hist.* III, 25 (21), 139. ... *Ius Italicum habent ex eo conventu Alutae, Flanates a quibus sinus nominatur, Lopsi, Varvarini, immunesque Asseriatas, et ex insulis Fertinatae, Curictae.*) could be interpreted also in a way where the *Fertinatae* could have both rights. The discussions on the *Ius italicum* of several liburnian communities (*civitates*) are numerous. Cf. for example Lujo Margetić and Slobodan Čače.

3 The toponym *Okladi* or *ograde* suggests the presence of high dry stone walls, that very often cover ancient built walls. This toponym is very common for the archaeological sites of our islands.



Sl. 1 Topografija Omišalja i položaj protopovijesnih tumula (M. Čaušević-Bully, podloga: Hrvatski geodetski zavod Rijeka)

Fig. 1 Topography of Omišalj and the position of prehistoric tumuli (M. Čaušević Bully, surface: State Geodetic Directorate Office in Rijeka)



u njegovu stvaranju u blizini izvorne gradine.

Dok se točan smještaj grada *Curicuma* ne dovodi u pitanje, smještaj drugog otočnoga antičkoga grada nije bio poznat sve do 1974. godine kada su istraživači arheološke zone, s Radmilom Matejčić na čelu, otkrili veliki kameni blok uzidan u kulu ranokršćanske crkve (sl. 2), koji je nosio natpis s jasno evociranim punim imenom grada (Matejčić 1974; Rendić-Miočević 1974: 47–56):

IMP . CAESAR . DIVI . F . ( - - - - - )  
 ( - - - ) AVG ( - - - ) P . M . TRIBVNICIAE  
 POTESTATIS . ( - - ) IMP . ( - - ) CONSUL ( - - )  
 CENSOR . PERP . P . P .  
 AQUAM . FLAVIAM . AVGVSTAM . NOVIS .  
 FONTIBUS . COLLECTIS . FLAVIO . FVLFI  
 NO . INDVXIT . L . SESTIVS . DEXTER .  
 VETERANVS . COH . III . PRAETORIAE  
 DE . SVA . PECVNIA . FACIVNDVM . CV  
 RAVIT

**Čitanje:** *Imp(erator) Caesar divi fil(ius) [[Domitia/nus]] Aug[ustus], [[...]], p(ontifex) m(aximus), tribuniciae / potestatis [[XIII]], imp(erator) [[XVII]], consul [[XVI]], / censor perp(etuus), p(ater) p(atriciae), / aquam Flaviam Augustam novis fontibus collectis Flavio Fulfi/no induxit. L(ucius) Sestius Dexter, / veteranus coh(ortis) III praetoriae, / de sua pecunia faciundum cu/ravit.*

Kao što samo ime govori, novoizgrađeni administrativni centar *civitas, municipium Flavium Fulfinum*, mogao bi biti tvorevina iz vremena cara flavijevske dinastije, ili je pak mogao dobiti puno ime u tom trenutku, s dodatkom priloga *Flavium*. Arheološka istraživanja iz 70-ih i početka 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća, čija je povijest detaljno opisana u nastavku članka, upućuju na pomno pripremljen teren neposredno prije izgradnje gradskih građevina, te time na naselje izgrađeno *ex nihilo*.

position enabled the possibility for the construction of a city which would not only be close to the harbour on one side, but also to fertile fields, situated on the northeast and east, on the other. The history of this roman municipality can therefore be connected to the local population which, dwelling in the vicinity of their original hill-fort even before the construction of the city in Sepen bay, was quite possibly involved in its creation.

The exact location of this antique city on the island of Krk was unknown until 1974, when archaeologists, led by Radmila Matejčić, discovered a large stone block that was built into the tower of the early Christian church (Fig. 2). The block had an inscription from which one could easily read the name of the town (Matejčić 1974; Rendić-Miočević 1974, 47–56):

IMP . CAESAR . DIVI . F . ( - - - - - )  
 ( - - - ) AVG ( - - - ) P . M . TRIBVNICIAE  
 POTESTATIS . ( - - ) IMP . ( - - ) CONSUL ( - - )  
 CENSOR . PERP . P . P .  
 AQUAM . FLAVIAM . AVGVSTAM . NOVIS .  
 FONTIBUS . COLLECTIS . FLAVIO . FVLFI  
 NO . INDVXIT . L . SESTIVS . DEXTER .  
 VETERANVS . COH . III . PRAETORIAE  
 DE . SVA . PECVNIA . FACIVNDVM . CV  
 RAVIT

**Reading:** *Imp(erator) Caesar divi fil(ius) [[Domitia/nus]] Aug[ustus], [[...]], p(ontifex) m(aximus), tribuniciae / potestatis [[XIII]], imp(erator) [[XVII]], consul [[XVI]], / censor perp(etuus), p(ater) p(atriciae), / aquam Flaviam Augustam novis fontibus collectis Flavio Fulfi/no induxit. L(ucius) Sestius Dexter, / veteranus coh(ortis) III praetoriae, / de sua pecunia faciundum cu/ravit.*

As the name suggests, the newly built administrative centre of the *civitas, municipium Flavium Fulfinum* may have been founded during the reign of an emperor of the Flavian



Sl. 2 Natpis pretorijanca Dextera prilikom nalaza (arhiv Konzervatorskog odjela u Rijeci) i nakon čišćenja (D. Krizmanić)

Fig. 2 The inscription of the pretorian Dexter at the moment of discovery (Archives of the Conservation Office in Rijeka) and after cleaning (D. Krizmanić)

Lako je moguće da je ovaj novi grad dovršen u vrijeme prvog Flavijevca, Vespazijana. Gore navedeni natpis to neizravno dokazuje, s obzirom na to da je ime cara bilo izbrisano postupkom poznatim pod nazivom *damnatio memoriae*. Lujo Margetić datira natpis u 94. godinu po. Kr. (Margetić 1983: 203). Riječ je o caru Domicijanu, trećem po redu dinastije Flavijevaca, čije je ime izbrisano s natpisa odmah nakon

dynasty, or it may have only received its full name during that period, by the addition of the adjective *Flavium*. The results of archaeological research conducted during the 1970s and early 1980s, the history of which is described in detail further below, revealed that before the construction of the city's structures began, the entire terrain had been thoroughly prepared, and that the settlement was erected *ex nihilo*.

njegove vladavine. Natpis jasno upućuje na to da je grad već postojao krajem 1. stoljeća, odnosno u vrijeme vladavine Domicijana, te posebice da je već neko vrijeme postojao prije radova na već postojećem akveduktu (vodovodu). Preostaje nam zaključiti da je grad dobio municipalni, gradski status tek u vrijeme vladavine Vespazijana, ili što je manje vjerojatno, u vrijeme vladavine njegova sina Tita, koji je vladao vrlo kratko. No, s obzirom na povijest municipaliteta čitave kvarnerske regije te s obzirom na vrlo rano stjecanje italskih privilegija Fertinata, moguće je da je ime *Flavium* tek dodano u trenutku završetka izgradnje novoga administrativnog centra. Prema najnovijim istraživanjima vođenim u samom srcu grada, na forumu, znamo da je njegova izgradnja već započela tijekom prve polovine 1. stoljeća u podnožju gradine čiji su stanovnici već posjedovali municipalno i italsko pravo. Po dovršetku njegove izgradnje, ovaj novi grad, kojeg su nastanili djelomice veterani, rodom vrlo vjerojatno Fertinati, dobio je pridjev *Flavium*.

Natpis pronađen prilikom arheoloških istraživanja 2008. godine jasno dokazuje da je *Fulfinum* posjedovao municipalnu organizaciju, sa svojim duumvirima na čelu tadašnjih gradskih magistrata (sl. 3). Tekst natpisa je nažalost vrlo loše sačuvan: [-----] / *duovir P?*[-----] / *Vener[is]* [-----] / *Q[---]* *M lovis et* / [-----] *is idem*. No, riječ je o natpisu urezanom u glinenu ploču prije pečenja što upućuje na mogućnost postojanja keramičarske radionice u blizini grada, koja je mogla biti osnovana za potrebe njegove izgradnje. Ploča je bila slomljena u više dijelova i omogućuje samo iščitavanje spomena jednog od dvaju duumvira, te posvetu većem broju božanstava, zasigurno *Veneri* i *Jupiteru*, i barem još jednom, čije se ime nije sačuvalo.

Zašto je ovaj grad uopće nastao? U znanstvenoj i stručnoj literaturi *Fulfinum* je oduvijek bio interpretiran kao grad izgrađen isključivo za vojne potrebe, odnosno kao odgovor potrebama veterana rimske vojske (Faber 1977; Novak, Brožič 1995: 29). Na natpisu kojeg smo već citirali, *L. Sestius Dexter* je veteran, kao što je i još jedna osoba spomenuta na nadgrobnom spomeniku pronađenom u Omišlju i koji se danas nalazi u lapidariju krčke biskupije u Krku (Fiorentin 2001) (sl. 4):

L . TREBIVS .		<i>L(ucius) TREBIVS PAV</i>
PAV		<i>LVS VETERA</i>
LVS . VETERA		<i>NUS LEG(ionis) VIII</i>
NVS . LEG . VIII		<i>AVG(ustae) T(estamento)</i>
AVG . T . F . I		<i>F(ieri) I(ussit)</i>

No, spomen dvaju veterana ne smješta čitav grad u neku jasno izdvojenu kategoriju, pogotovo uzmemo li u obzir da su osnuci namijenjeni isključivo ovoj ulozi najčešće kolonije, ne municipiji.<sup>4</sup> Čini se vjerojatnijim da se, u općem pokretu početka vladavine Flavijevaca, markiranom razmještanjem veterana po provincijama i seljenjem autohtonih populacija sa zaštićenih pozicija na vrhovima prema ravninama i općenito prema otvorenijim i pristupačnijim pozicijama, dio po-

The city might have been founded by the first Flavian, Vespasian. The inscription itself is an indirect proof for such a claim. Indeed, the name of the emperor was erased by *damnatio memoriae*, which directs us to the only emperor that could have suffered this treatment – Domitian (Margetić 1983: 203). The inscription clearly points to the fact that at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD, i.e. during the reign of Domitian, the city already existed, as well as to the fact that it existed before the construction of the aqueduct. One can only conclude that the town received its municipal, civic status, in the period of Vespasian, or less likely during the period of his son, Titus, whose reign was quite brief. But, considering the history of the municipalities throughout the Kvarner region, as well as the early acquirement of italic privileges by the Fertinates, it is quite possible that the name *Flavium* was added at the time the construction of the new administrative centre was completed. Based on the most recent research, conducted in the heart of the town, the forum, it is now known that the construction of the city, situated at the base of the prehistoric hill-fort, whose population already enjoyed Municipal and Italic law, began as early as the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. Upon its completion, the new city, which was partially inhabited by roman veterans, probably Fertinates by origin, was given the adjective *Flavium*.

An inscription found during the archaeological campaign in 2008 clearly proves that *Fulfinum*, with its duumvirs which were ahead of the town's magistrates, possessed a municipal organisation (Fig. 3). The inscription itself is unfortunately very poorly preserved [-----] / *duovir P?*[-----] / *Vener[is]* [-----] / *Q[---]* *M lovis et* / [-----] *is idem*, but it was engraved on a clay brick before it was baked. This information points to the possibility of the existence of a ceramic workshop in the vicinity of the city, which was most likely set up due to high demand during the town's construction. The brick was broken into several pieces meaning that one can only read the mention of one of the duumviri and the dedication to several deities, most likely to *Venus* and *Jupiter*, in addition to one more whose name was not preserved.

Why was this city founded in the first place? In the scientific literature *Fulfinum* has always been interpreted as a city built exclusively for military purposes, i.e. as an answer to the necessities of the veterans of the Roman army (Faber 1977; Novak, Brožič 1995: 29). In the abovementioned inscription, *L. Sestius Dexter* is a veteran, as is the person mentioned on a tombstone found in Omišalj (Fiorentin 2001) (Fig. 4):

L . TREBIVS . PAV		<i>L(ucius) TREBIVS PAV</i>
LVS . VETERA		<i>LVS VETERA</i>
NVS . LEG . VIII		<i>NUS LEG(ionis) VIII</i>
AVG . T . F . I		<i>AVG(ustae) T(estamento)</i>
		<i>F(ieri) I(ussit)</i>

However, the mention of two veterans does not place the city in any distinctively isolated category, especially if we consider that the foundations which pertain exclusively to this category are most commonly colonial and not municipal.<sup>4</sup>

4 Najbolji primjer za to jest kolonija *Aequum* (današnji Čitluk), osnovana za potrebe veterana iz vojnog logora *Tilurium* (današnji Trilj) (Sanader 2000).

4 The best example would be the colony of *Aequum* (today's Čitluk), founded precisely for the needs of the veterans from the military camp of *Tilurium* (today's Trilj) (Sanader 2000).



Sl. 3 Natpis duumvira urezan na opeci (D. Krizmanić)  
Fig. 3 The inscription of a duumvir carved on a brick (D. Krizmanić)

pulacije Fertinata pridružio veteranima i tako sudjelovao u stvaranju nove populacije grada koji je bio mnogo bolje prilagođen ukusima vremena od starog centra na brdu.<sup>5</sup> Novo izabrano mjesto zaista odgovara ovom ukusu i izgledom i položajem, smješteno na ravnijem području, nedaleko od starog centra, uz more, s lukom i bez zidina (o gradovima bez zidina vidi kod Janvier 1969; Fauvinet-Ranson 2000). Grad *Fulfinum* predstavlja tako savršen primjer ranocarskih gradova koji su izgrađeni bez ikakvog straha od eventualnih napada, za koje je neprijatelj bio tek daleka i apstraktna prijetnja.<sup>6</sup>

Usporednim iščitavanjem pisanih izvora, natpisne građe i arheoloških ostataka te usporedbom s bliskim primjerima, zaključili smo da izgradnja grada započinje u prvoj polovini 1. stoljeća, odnosno točnije u drugoj četvrtini 1. stoljeća po. Kr., kao što dokazuje i nalaz novca iz 35.–36. godine poslije Krista,<sup>7</sup> nađenog u pripremnom sloju podnice vezane uz

5 Legija L. Trebija Paula, *VIII Augusta*, boravila je u *Burnumu* (Ivoševci kod Kistanja) 69. godine. Možda je moguće povezati njezinu prisutnost u *Burnumu* s izgradnjom *Fulfinuma*? Je li taj Lucius Trebius Paulus bio ovdje na samom početku izgradnje našeg grada? Ne smijemo izgubiti iz vida činjenicu da je obitelj *Trebi* jedna od vodećih autohtonih porodica na području Liburnije. Riječ je dakle o domaćem čovjeku, možda čak Fertinatu? (Wilkes 1969: 197).

6 Ne smijemo smetnuti s uma da od 70. godine nadalje nema stalno prisutne vojske u provinciji Dalmaciji.

7 Riječ je o novcu cara Tiberija (vladavina između 14. i 37. godine), nađenom prilikom istraživanja 2008. Natpis na aversu novca daje ime cara: TI CAESAR DIVI AUG F AV(GVSTI), s prikazom glave okrenute u lijevo,

It seems likely that during the general reorganisation of land at the beginning of the Flavian reign, which was marked by the distribution of veterans throughout the provinces and the relocation of the autochthonous populations from protected positions on high grounds towards the plains and generally more open and accessible positions, part of the Fertinates population joined with the veterans and in doing so partook in the creation of the civic population of the new city, which was much more suited to the time period than the old centre at the top of the hill.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, if one analyses the appearance and the position of the city, one realises that it is situated in the lowland, by the sea, near the old centre, and that it has a harbour and no surrounding walls (On the towns without the city walls see in Janvier 1969; Fauvinet-Ranson 2000). As such, *Fulfinum* represents a perfect example of the early Imperial cities which were built without any fear of possible attacks, and for whom the enemy was just a distant and abstract menace.<sup>6</sup>

By examining the written sources, inscriptions and

5 The legion of L. Trebius Paulus, *VIII Augusta*, stationed in the camp of *Burnum* (Ivoševci near Kistanje) in the year 69. Might it be possible to connect its presence with the construction of the town of *Fulfinum*? Was our Lucius Trebius Paulus there from the very beginning of the completion of the city? We shouldn't forget that the family of *Trebi* is considered by Wilkes as one of the leading autochthonous families in Liburnia. He might, therefore, have been a local, maybe even a Fertinat? (Wilkes 1969 : 197).

6 We should not forget the fact that from the year 70 onwards there are no legions in the province of Dalmatia, considering it had been completely pacified.



Sl. 4 Natpis Lucija Trebija (preuzeto iz: Fiorentin 2001: 80–81)  
Fig. 4 The inscription of Lucius Trebius (taken from: Fiorentin 2001: 80–81)

prvu fazu izgradnje foruma. S druge strane, nalaz natpisa koji spominje vodovod jasno pruža *terminus ante quem* izgradnje grada.

No, datum njegova napuštanja pitanje je na koje je vrlo teško naći adekvatan odgovor. Aleksandra Faber inzistirala je na 4. stoljeću kao krajnjem datumu korištenja grada kao takvog. Njezin se stav bazirao na nalazima novca kovanih u vrijeme vladavina Konstantina i Gracijana, pronađenih u predjelu tzv. *castruma* (vidi niže; Faber 1982: 68; Novak, Brožič 1995: 30–31). Postojanje barem jedne kasnoantičke kule smatrala je dokazom da je isključivo luka bila korištena u razdoblju nakon 4. stoljeća. Također, izgradnju građevine interpretirane kao *castrum*, koja se smjestila u samo središte gradskog prostora, smatrala je neumitnim dokazom o napuštanju grada te zaključuje da se lokalitet sveo na vojnu postaju, koji tu funkciju vrši i u bizantskom razdoblju, oslanjajući se na nalaz Justinijanovog novca pronađenog u južnoj, danas uništenoj kuli. No, činjenica jest da blizina i impozantnost crkve na Mirinama, izgrađene najkasnije sredinom 5. stoljeća, upućuje na postojanje dovoljno velike zajednice za izgradnju jedne crkvene građevine kakve su Mirine. Tomu u prilog idu i nalazi obiteljskih grobnica i manje kasnoantičke nekropole, datiranih u razdoblje između 5. i 7. stoljeća, koji izravno dokazuju prisutnost gradske populacije, makar ona bila prisutna u smanjenom broju (Čaušević-Bully 2014: 157–169).

dok se na reversu, uz prikaz kugle i kormila, može pročitati: PONTIF MAX TR POT XXXVII, SC.

archaeological remains and comparing them with similar examples, we were able to conclude that the construction of the city began in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent., more precisely quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. A coin, dated precisely between the years 35–36 AD, found in the preparation level of the floor of the earliest construction phase of the forum also confirms this.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, the inscription mentioning the aqueduct gives us the *terminus ante quem* of the construction of the city.

However, the date of its abandonment is a question for which it is more difficult to find a clear answer. Throughout her papers, Aleksandra Faber insisted on the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. as the latest period in which the city functioned. Her argument was based on the monetary finds from the area known as the *castrum* (see below; Faber 1982: 68; Novak, Brožič 1995: 30–31), which were coined during the periods of Constantine and Gratian. Furthermore, she considered the construction of the structure characterised as the *castrum*, situated in the city's centre, as indisputable evidence for the city's abandonment. She concluded that at that point the site was reduced only to a military station, serving the same purpose even during the Byzantine period, basing her claim on the discovery of a Justinian coin in the south tower, which no longer exists today. It must be said, however, that the vicinity and the magnitude of the church at Mirine, which was built in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> cent. at the latest, points to the existence of a community large enough to construct such an ecclesiastical structure. The discovery of family graves and a smaller Late Antique necropolis dated between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> cent., which although reduced in numbers, directly proves the presence of a civil population and favours this interpretation (Čaušević-Bully 2014: 157–169).

Although previous archaeological research has not focused sufficiently on the question of the date of the final abandonment of the city, it is possible to assume, based on the most recent results, that significant alterations in the use of the civic and suburban space of *Fulfinum* occurred after the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. It may have been precisely during this period that the population finally moved to a different location, most likely in the area of the previous proto-historic hill fort and modern day Omišalj. However, even during this period the ecclesiastical complex on Mirine was not completely abandoned – several burials from the atrium of the church point to a date of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> cent., while on the western side of the Early Christian church in the period between the 9<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> cent. a further church was built as part of the complex. During the period of the Early Middle Ages it is likely that the site significantly changes in its function and it is possible that the earliest monastic community, preceding the glagolitic Benedictine order mentioned in the historical sources along with the monastery of St. Nikola to which they belong in the 13<sup>th</sup> cent., may have settled on that location.

<sup>7</sup> The coin dates to the period of the emperor Tiberius (14–37 AD) and was found during research in 2008. The inscription on the obverse gives us the name of the emperor whose head is facing left: TI CAESAR DIVI AUG F AV(GVSTI); while on the reverse we can see a figure holding an orb and a rudder which is surrounded by the inscription PONTIF MAX TR POT XXXVII SC. This description matches the period between the years 35–36 AD.

Iako arheološka istraživanja nisu u prošlosti bila dovoljno usredotočena na pitanje datacije konačnog napuštanja grada, prema najnovijim rezultatima moguće je pretpostaviti da do znatne izmjene korištenja gradskog i prigradskog prostora *Fulfinuma* dolazi tek nakon 7. stoljeća. Moguće je da se upravo u tom razdoblju stanovništvo konačno seli na drugo mjesto, najvjerojatnije na bivšu protopovijesnu gradinu i današnji Omišalj. No, crkveni kompleks na Mirinama ni u tom trenutku nije u potpunosti napušten – nekoliko ukopa iz atriya crkve upućuju na datacije u 8. i 9. stoljeće, dok se zapadno od ranokršćanske crkve u razdoblju između 9. i 11. stoljeća gradi još jedna crkva sklopa. Lokalitet kroz rani srednji vijek zasigurno znatno mijenja funkciju te je moguće da se upravo na ovom mjestu mogla smjestiti prva redovnička zajednica koja bi prethodila benediktinskom redu glagoljaša, spomenutom u izvorima tek u 13. stoljeću, a samostan kojem pripadaju pod imenom Sv. Nikola.

### DUGA POVIJEST ISTRAŽIVANJA ARHEOLOŠKE ZONE MIRINE – FULFINUM

Arheološki potencijal širega geografskog prostora Omišlja, odnosno *Fulfinuma*, bio je uočen već prilikom prve objave trećeg sveska velike kolekcije latinskih natpisa *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (CIL III, 3127 / 10126). U njemu je prvi put opisan natpis koji spominje veterana osme legije, Lucija Trebija Paula, pronađenog na prostoru Omišlja (tada spomenut još i kao *Castel Muschio*), uzidanog navodno u zide neke privatne kuće (Wilkes 1969: 197; Fiorentin 2001: 80–81). U svom preglednom tekstu *Spomenici prošlosti otoka Krka*, objavljenom u časopisu *Hrvatski planinar*, Gjuro Szabo je dvadesetih godina prošlog stoljeća uputio na ostatke ranokršćanske crkve "na Mirinah" u uvali Sepen, blizu Oklada (Szabo 1930: 135). Ubrzo je potom crkva, tada i dalje iznimno dobro sačuvana, bila predmetom i izrade prve fotografske dokumentacije, danas pohranjene u fotoarhivu Konzervatorskog odjela u Rijeci (sl. 5), u čemu je sudjelovao i krčki erudit Branko Fučić. Istih je godina vođeno i nekoliko manjih, sondažnih istraživanja u unutrašnjosti Mirina kao i u njihovu neposrednom okolišu. Tom je prilikom bio otkriven dio svetišta crkve, gdje je pronađen oltarni grob u obliku križa, te dio podnice od bijelog mozaika, čiji točan položaj danas ne poznajemo. No, puno značenje arheološkog potencijala ne samo Mirina nego i čitave uvale Sepen primijećeno je zaista tek sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Tadašnji projekt izgradnje dviju industrijskih zona, današnjih postrojenja JANAF-a i DINA-e, naveo je nekoliko stručnih arheoloških timova pod vodstvom Aleksandre Faber iz Arheološkog instituta u Zagrebu i Radmile Matejčić iz Pomorskog i povijesnog muzeja Hrvatskog primorja u Rijeci da u više navrata obave iscrpne arheološke terenske preglede šireg područja uvale Sepen te da se izvrše i prva sondažna istraživanja.

Ubrzo je donesen zaključak da se u uvali Sepen nalazi značajan antički lokalitet sakriven pod visokim gromačama smještenim istočno od Mirina. Istraživanja vođena istodobno na prostoru crkve omogućila su otkriće iznimno vrijednog natpisa za povijest Omišlja, koji je bio uzidan u zapadni zid kule smještene u jugozapadnom kutu narteksa crkve

### A LONG HISTORY OF RESEARCH OF THE MIRINE – FULFINUM ARCHAEOLOGICAL ZONE

The archaeological potential of the wider geographical area of Omišalj, i.e. the site of Sepen bay, was recognised during the first publication of the third volume of the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum* (CIL III, 3127 / 10126). according to this publication, the inscription was allegedly imbedded in the wall of a private house on the territory of Omišalj (then known as *Castel Muschio*) (Wilkes 1969:197; Fiorentin 2001: 80–81), mentioning the eight legion veteran Lucius Trebibus Paulus was described for the first time. During the 1920s Gjuro Szabo in his text *Spomenici prošlosti otoka Krka*, which was published in the *Hrvatski planinar* magazine, wrote about the remains of an early Christian church "na Mirinah" in Sepen bay, near Oklade (Szabo 1930: 135). Soon afterwards, the first photographic documentation of the church, which was at that time in fairly good condition, was conducted. These pictures are stored today in the photographic archive of the Regional Conservation office in Rijeka. A local Krk scolar, Branko Fučić, was also involved in the project (Fig. 5). During



Sl. 5 Mirine 1947. godine (B. Fučić, arhiv Konzervatorskog odjela u Rijeci)

Fig. 5 Mirine in 1947 (B. Fučić, Archives of the Conservation Office in Rijeka)

these years, several small test excavations were conducted within and in the vicinity of Mirine. During this research, part of the church's sanctuary, which contained a cross-shaped altar grave, was discovered, along with a white mosaic floor, the location of which is, unfortunately, unknown today. The significance of the archaeological potential of Mirine and of Sepen bay as a whole was, however, fully recognised during the 1970s. Projects for the construction of the industrial zones of JANAF and DINA enabled two archaeological teams, headed by Aleksandra Faber from the Archaeological institute in Zagreb and Radmila Matejčić from the Maritime and Historical museum of Croatian coast in Rijeka, to carry out a vast field survey of the wider area of Sepen bay, and also to conduct the first programmed excavation on that area.

It was soon concluded that an important antique site, which up until that point had been hidden under huge piles of stone, was situated in Sepen bay, east of the Mirine complex. Parallel research conducted on the area of the church, i.e. on the western wall of the tower situated in the southwest corner of the narthex, allowed for the discovery

(v. sl. 2) (Rendić-Miočević 1974; Matejčić 1976; Jurkić 1976-1978). Njegov nalaz te posebice njegov tekst<sup>8</sup> predstavili su – suprotno mišljenju ranijih istraživača koji su ga smjestili ili u Punat ili čak na području Baške, na Korintiji (Fortis 1984: 283) – neumitan dokaz da se grad *Fulfinum* koji je do toga trenutka bio znan samo iz pisanih izvora kao jedan od dva antička grada na otoku Krku, nalazi upravo pored Omišlja. Usporedna arheološka istraživanja, koja su započela već 1972., nastavila su se sve do 1982. godine pod vodstvom Radmile Matejčić s jedne, te Aleksandre Faber, s druge strane. Njihov je cilj bio ustanoviti i jasno odrediti rasprostiranje grada te njegov arheološki potencijal. Prilikom navedenih istraživanja ustanovljen je i točan smještaj foruma, gdje su vršena i djelomična iskopavanja koja, nažalost, nikada nisu bila popraćena niti jednom opširnijom objavom. Međutim, Aleksandra Faber možemo zahvaliti na prvim spoznajama, ne samo o glavnom gradskom trgu nego i o antičkoj luci uništenoj vrlo brzo potom izgradnjom doka za potrebe DINA-e. Prilikom radova na području luke pronađeni su ostaci lukobrana i antičke rive, te ponajprije kula, koja je u kasnoj antici čuvala luku. Također u lučkom dijelu grada većom sondom prepoznat je još jedan stambeni objekt, tek sumarno objavljen (Pavišić 1983). Nešto dublje u unutrašnjosti, u istočnom dijelu rasprostiranja grada, prepoznata je i spomenuta građevina nešto drugačije gradnje, koju je Aleksandra Faber nazvala *castrum*.<sup>9</sup> Istih je godina tim pod vodstvom riječkih stručnjaka i Radmile Matejčić istraživao u jugoistočnom dijelu grada gdje su otkriveni ostaci antičke gradnje poznate pod nazivom *horeum* (Matejčić 1977). Usporedno s navedenim istraživanjima, terenski pregledi šireg područja uvale Sepen uputili su na postojanje dviju nekropola, na položajima Kurilovo i Siniške, te na moguću antičku cestu i most. Sve navedene nalaze kartografirala je Aleksandra Faber te ih objavila početkom 1980-ih godina (sl. 6).

Nakon navedenih višegodišnjih istraživanja interes za čitavu zonu naglo se gasi početkom osamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća, a otkrivene strukture nisu bile zaštićene te su ostavljene nezatrpane. Danas se one, zbog ljudske aktivnosti i vremenskih nepogoda, nalaze u vrlo lošem stanju. Uz navedeno, rezultati istraživanja bili su vrlo površno ili nika-ko objavljeni, a sitni pokretni nalazi nalaze se u privatnom posjedu.<sup>10</sup> Grad *Fulfinum*, sa svojim otkopanim i nezaštićenim strukturama, poput otvorenih rana u krajoliku, dulji niz godina ostao je zanemaren, u očekivanju trajne zaštite i valorizacije. No, zahvaljujući svim navedenim radovima, širok prostor antičkog grada, uz iznimku nekropola i južnog dijela gradske luke, sačuvan je od potpune devastacije koju bi industrijske zone izazvale. Neizmijerna vrijednost radova izvedenih tijekom sedamdesetih godina jest upravo ta što

8 Vidi gore za tekst natpisa i njegovu bitnost za povijest grada.

9 Iako se u šturim objavama Aleksandre Faber javljaju jedini objavljeni podaci o ovom zdanju, sondažna istraživanja u ovom dijelu grada obavio je tim pod vodstvom Radmile Matejčić koja, nažalost, nisu objavljena. Detaljan izvještaj o njihovim rezultatima čuva se u arhivi Konzervatorskog odjela u Rijeci pod kotom A4 478. Sva istraživanja Aleksandre Faber svedena su na nekoliko vrlo kratkih objava u obliku štire informacije, v. *Literatura*.

10 Riječ je, kako saznajemo od A. Faber, o nalazima novca koji datiraju izgradnju foruma, brojnih lampica iz sektora bazilike i fine keramike.

of an inscription which is of great importance for the history of Omišalj (see Fig. 2) (Rendić-Miočević 1974; Matejčić 1976; Jurkić 1976-1978).<sup>8</sup> Contrary to the opinion of earlier researchers, who placed it either in Punat, or in the territory of Baška, in Korintija (Fortis 1984: 283), the discovery of this inscription, and in particular its text, gave unquestionable evidence that the city of *Fulfinum*, which until that point, based on historical sources, was only known as one of two antique towns on the island of Krk, was actually situated close to Omišalj. The parallel archaeological research conducted by the previously mentioned teams lasted from 1972 until 1982. Their aim was to establish and clearly determine the extent of the city and its archaeological potential. For this purpose, a series of archaeological trenches were opened throughout the territory of the city, which, in some cases, developed into systematic archaeological excavations. It was during this research that the exact position of the city's forum was also discovered. Even though parts of the settlement were excavated, the majority of these results were never properly published. However, we must be grateful to Aleksandra Faber as she was the first to publish some information about the forum and also about the harbour, which was destroyed during the construction of the dock for the DINA industrial complex. During her work on the area of the harbour she discovered the remains of the pier and the waterfront, and also the remains of a tower, which defended the entrance into the city in late antiquity. Furthermore, an additional residential structure was recognised during the research in the harbour area, however the results of the publication on this structure are quite sparse (Pavišić 1983). Somewhat further into the interior, in the eastern part of the city to be specific, another structure, which differs from the former in the construction mode, was recognised by Matejčić, and named by Faber as *castrum*.<sup>9</sup> During the same period, a team of experts from Rijeka, led by Radmila Matejčić, was conducting archaeological research in the south-eastern part of the city where they discovered the remains of a granary (lat. *horreum*) (Matejčić 1977). Parallel to this research, the continuing systematic reconnaissance of the wider area of Sepen bay indicated the existence of two necropolises in Kurilovo and Siniške, and of a possible road and a bridge. In the early 1980s Faber placed all the mentioned structures on a map which she then published (Fig. 6).

In the early 1980s the interest for the archaeological zone suddenly stalls. All the excavated structures were, sadly, left unprotected, meaning that due to weather conditions and human activity, they are currently in very bad condition. Furthermore, the results of this research were either very poorly published or have not been published at all, and all of the small finds from the excavations are still in the private possession of Aleksandra Faber.<sup>10</sup> Until recently,

8 For its text, see above.

9 Although the only published information on this site appear in very brief notices published by Aleksandra Faber, the test trenches in this area were conducted by Radmila Matejčić and her team, and were unfortunately never published. A very detailed report on the results of the excavations can be found in the Archives of the department of conservation in Rijeka, under the number A4 478.

10 After A. Faber, the material consists mainly of numismatic finds, ceramic



Sl. 6 Kartografirani arheološki nalazi prema skici A. Faber (M. Čaušević-Bully prema Faber 1981)

Fig. 6 Charted archaeological finds based on a sketch made by A. Faber (M. Čaušević-Bully according to Faber 1981)

su nam pružili u naslijeđe jedan od značajnijih arheoloških sklopova Primorsko-goranske županije.

Iako interes za antički grad zamire, pod vodstvom arheologa Nine Novaka iz Konzervatorskog odjela u Rijeci početkom devedesetih godina započinju nova istraživanja na crkvi na Mirinama koja su trajala sve do 2004. godine i koja su bila potaknuta ranijim kvalitetno objavljenim nalazima (Šonje 1976; 1978; 1990). Prilikom tih radova, podržanih značajnim sredstvima Ministarstva kulture, prostor crkve većim je dijelom istražen (Novak, Brožič 1995; Novak 1999) te su njezini zidovi konzervirani, a mjestimice i rekonstruirani. U okviru spomenutih radova, u razdoblju između 1998. i 2000. godine, održan je i arheološki kamp u suradnji s UNESCO-ovim uredom iz Venecije, čiji su voditelji bili Nino Novak i Claudia Pizzinato. Tijekom ove suradnje snage su bile usredotočene na istraživanje okoliša crkve, prilikom čega je ustanovljeno postojanje manje kasnoantičke nekropole. Posljednjih godina istraživanja otkrivene su i točne konture atrijske, smještenog južno od crkve, gdje je istraženo i nekoliko grobnica.

Po dovršetku radova na Mirinama, tijekom dviju arheoloških kampanja iz 2004. i 2005. godine pod vodstvom Nine Novaka i Nikole Jakšića sa Sveučilišta u Zadru, nastavljeni su i radovi na području tzv. *troapsidalne crkve i termalnog sklopa*. Ovdje je otkriven manji dio antičkoga prigradskog većeg kompleksa unutar kojeg se, u ranom srednjem vijeku, smje-

the city of *Fulfinum*, with its uncovered and unprotected structures which look like opened wounds in the landscape, was of interest to only a few individuals who were unable to do anything to safeguard its permanent protection and exposition. However, it must be said that it is thanks to the excavators that the wider area of the antique city, with the exception of the two necropolises and the southern part of the harbour, was preserved from complete devastation, which would have occurred with the construction of the industrial zones. The lasting legacy of the research carried out in the 1970s is that it enabled us to inherit one of the most significant archaeological complexes in the Primorsko-goranska region.

Although interest in the antique city itself declined, at the beginning of the 1990s a new research project, inspired by the existing quality publications (Šonje, 1976; 1978; 1990), began on the church of Mirine under the supervision of Nino Novak from the Regional Conservation Department in Rijeka. The project, which lasted until 2004, received significant financial support from the Ministry of Culture. During that timeline of the project the majority of the church was excavated (Novak, Brožič 1995; Novak 1999) and all of its walls were conserved, and, in some places even reconstructed. Within the ambit of project, between 1998 and 2000, an archaeological field school was organised with the cooperation of UNESCO's office

lamps, and fine ware from the sector of the basilica.

šta manja troapsidalna crkva (Jakšić 2006). Iako ovi radovi izlaze iz tematskog okvira zadanog ovim člankom, podaci su za našu temu vrijedni, jer uvelike obogaćuju spoznaje o gradskoj topografiji i uređenju bliske, suburbane periferije *Fulfinuma*.

Nova su istraživanja započela na prostoru foruma 2006. godine, pod vodstvom Morane Čaušević-Bully, u suradnji s Ivanom Valentom, čime je prekinuta dvadesetpetogodišnja stanka u istraživanju gradskog prostora. Prvih su godina istraživanja bila isključivo revizijska, gdje je bilo nužno očistiti prostor na kojem se rasprostire antički gradski trg od znatnih naslaga kamena i zemlje iz prijašnjih istraživanja. Po dovršetku navedenih radova, mogli smo pristupiti reviziji starih rezultata, s obzirom na to da oni nisu nikada bili objavljeni, te usporedno započeti sa sustavnim programom istraživanja, izradom trajne konzervacije te radom na prezentaciji lokaliteta u okviru budućega arheološkog parka (Čaušević-Bully 2007; 2008; 2009).

## ARHEOLOŠKA TOPOGRAFIJA ANTIČKOG GRADA

### *Luka i moguće granice rasprostiranja grada*

Za jedan priobalni grad kao što je to bio *Fulfinum*, luka je, naravno, vrlo bitan element njegova razvoja, a u slučaju *Fulfinuma* i jedan od glavnih razloga za preseljenje administrativnog centra *civitas* s brijega u nizinu. U veljači, za vrlo plitkih oseka, u uvali Sepen mogu se još uvijek primijetiti lukobrani iz antičkog razdoblja. Zahvaljujući zračnim fotosnimkama Jugoslavenske armije izrađenim prije izgradnje industrijskih zona, u njihovo se postojanje uvjerila i Aleksandra Faber koja ih je unijela u svoju topografsku kartu (v. sl. 6). Antičko se pristanište protezalo od južnog dijela luke gdje je bilo i sidrište, pa sve do suprotne obale u širokom luku okrenuto vanjskim obodom prema otvorenom moru (Faber 1981: 304–305, 307). Lučki prostor, kojeg je na taj način tvorio glavni mol, zauzimao je gotovo 3 ha (150 × 200 m). U kasnijem su vremenu izgrađene dvije kule s obje strane uvale, pri njezinu samom dnu, te su imale ulogu osmatračnica ovog lučkoga, zatvorenog prostora. Prilikom izgradnje postrojenja Petrokemije, zbog koje je uvala Sepen djelomično i zatrpana s južne strane, južna je kula uništena, dok je sjeverna do danas ostala sačuvana, i nalazi se na istočnom rubu grada.

Uništena južna kula bila je bez sumnje kasnoantička, odnosno možda tek i iz vremena Justinijanove rekonkviste. Bila je četvrtastog tlocrta te je mjerila 7,10 × 7,30 m, sa zidovima debljine oko 70 cm. Vanjska su joj lica bila građena od ugrubo priklesanih blokova, dok se zapuna zidova sastojala od manjeg kamenja, povezanog vrlo kvalitetnom vapnenom žbukom pomiješanom s tucanom ciglom. Njezin je zapadni zid izravno počivao na ranije izgrađenom antičkom molu. Tragovi kasnijih preinaka prostora bili su dobro vidljivi, kako izvana tako i u interijeru. Dvije niše, jedna u istočnom zidu, i druga u južnome, bile su zazidane; niša u sjevernom zidu, onom okrenutom prema luci, bila je proširena u vrata, dok je zapadna niša pretvorena u prozorsko okno. Kula je posjedovala barem dva kata, s obzirom na to da su u zapadnom zidu bile primijećene rupe od greda (30 × 30 cm), označava-

in Venice, directed by Nino Novak and Claudia Pizzinato. The research focused on the areas surrounding the church, which revealed the existence of a small late antique cemetery. The final years of the project allowed for the identification of the exact shape of the atrium, situated south of the church, as well as several tombs situated inside it.

In 2004 and 2005, following the completion of work on Mirine church, two further archaeological campaigns were conducted in the area of *the three-apse church and the thermal complex*. Although these excavations, directed by Nino Novak and Nikola Jakšić of the University of Zadar, were small in scale, they did identify the existence of a larger antique suburban complex where, during the middle ages, a small three-apse church was inserted (Jakšić 2006). While the results of this particular research programme are not directly related to the theme of this paper, they are indeed quite valuable as they enrich our understanding of the topography of the suburban periphery of *Fulfinum*.

New excavations commenced on the area of forum in 2006, under the direction of Morana Čaušević-Bully. Although, during the first few years they were largely revision type excavations, they ended a 25 year-long research gap on the site of the city. During these early few years it was necessary to first clean the area of the forum itself, which was buried under large piles of stone and dirt from previous research. In addition to this, a revision of the old results was necessary, given the fact that most of them had never been published. Parallel to all of this, a new programme of systematic archaeological research and permanent conservation of the site began (Čaušević-Bully 2007; 2008; 2009).

## THE STUDY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE ANTIQUE CITY

### *The harbour and possible boundaries of the city*

In a maritime city such as *Fulfinum* the harbour represented a vital element of development. In *Fulfinum*'s case, it was one of the main reasons why the administrative centre of the *civitas* relocated from the hill down to the plain. In February, during low tide, one can still discern the remains of antique breakwaters in Sepen bay. Faber was aware of the existence of these features thanks to aerial photographs, taken by the Yugoslavian army prior to the construction of the industrial zones and as such, indicated them on her topographic map (see Fig. 6). The antique dock stretched from the south part of the harbour, where the anchorage was also set, to the opposite shore. With its exterior margin it was turned towards the open sea in a wide arc (Faber 1981: 304–305, 307). The harbour area, which was in that manner formed by the main pier, occupied a surface of almost 3 acres (150 × 200 m). At a later stage two towers were built at each end of the bay, with the role of overlooking this closed harbour area. The southern tower was destroyed during the construction of the Petrokemija plant facilities. The southern extent of Sepen bay was also partially backfilled during the construction works. The north tower has survived until today and it is located on the eastern edge of the city.



jući vertikalnu podjelu, dok je u zapadnom dijelu sjevernog zida jedna niša služila za malo ognjište prvog kata. U svojoj prvotnoj fazi kula nije posjedovala ulaz u prizemlju nego se u nju ulazilo izravno na prvi kat, vjerojatno drvenim vanjskim stubištem ili ljestvama. Datacija u bizantsko razdoblje koju predlaže Aleksandra Faber, počiva na samom izgledu kule, njezinu osebujnom tlocrtu i nišama te na kvaliteti žbuke koja bi, prema njoj, bila tipična za lokalitet u kasnoantičkom i bizantskom razdoblju.

Sjeverna kula, za sada nepoznate datacije, poznata pod imenom Furnaža ili Ciglana, smještena je na istočnom rubu grada (Faber 1986/87: 116) (sl. 7). Nju je već Gjuro Szabo uvrstio u popis značajnih ruševina, spomenuvši je u opisu Sepena: "Nedaleko Omišlja, s druge strane Erta, nalaze se velike ruševine crkve u oblika križa s narteksom i ostaci samostana. Narod zove te ruševine Mira, a lokalitet se zove Sepen... ostaci jedne moćne kule dižu se nedaleko od crkve..." (Szabo 1930: 135). Istraživanja pod vodstvom Radmile Matejčić iz 1977. koja su bila usredotočena na istočni rub grada (v. gore) proširila su se i na ovu kulu. Već površnim pregledom njezinih vanjskih zidova uočljiva je sličnost s opisom južne kule kakav daje Aleksandra Faber. Ona je također izgrađena od grubo obrađenih blokova srednje veličine, većih dimenzija u donjim dijelovima zidova. Sjeverni i zapadni zidovi bolje su sačuvani od ostatka građevine te su sačuvali visinu i od nekoliko metara. No, u donjem su dijelu lagano zakošeni prema van.

Na vanjskom licu zapadnog zida mogu se uočiti barem tri razvojne faze, što upućuje na njezino dugogodišnje korištenje. Prvoj fazi, naravno, pripada vrijeme izgradnje kule. U drugoj fazi zidu je nadodan produžetak prema jugu, a tada se vjerojatno ruši i južni zid prve faze radi proširenja prostora. Vrata koja su otvorena u ovom novom produžetku vode u prošireni prostor. Treća se faza može prepoznati po zazidavanju vrata iz druge faze. Ime *Furnaža* ili *Ciglana* upućuje na postojanje keramičarske radionice; tragovi jake vatre vidljivi su zaista na vanjskom licu zapadnog zida, kao i na ostatku zidanih struktura, ali uključujući i one iz najkasnijih faza. Upravo iz navedenog razloga čini nam se



Sl. 7 Sjeverna kula "Furnaža" (M. Čaušević-Bully)  
Fig. 7 The northern tower "Furnaža" (M. Čaušević-Bully)

The destroyed south tower was undoubtedly built in late antiquity, maybe even during Justinian's re-conquest. It was square in plan and measured 7.10 m x 7.30 m, with walls 70 cm thick. The exterior front of the walls was built from roughly carved blocks, while the interior was filled with smaller stones held together by high quality mortar mixed with crushed brick. The western wall of the tower was placed directly on top of the remains of the antique pier. The traces of later modifications of space were clearly visible on the outside face as well as on the inside. Two of the niches, one on the eastern wall, the other in the southern wall, were walled up. A niche in the northern wall, which faced the harbour, was expanded into a passage, while the western one was transformed into a window shaft. The tower had at least two stories: small holes for beams (30 x 30 cm), which point to a vertical division of the space, were identified in the western wall. Furthermore, one more niche, used as a fireplace for first floor, was located on the western part of its north wall. In its earliest phase the tower did not have an entrance at ground level, but was entered from the first floor, probably by ladders. Faber's datation of the structure to the Byzantine period is based on the tower's appearance, its plan and niches, and, as she states, the quality of the mortar which is typical for the Late Antique and Byzantine periods.

The northern tower, which is located on the eastern edge of the city and whose date is still unknown, is also known by the name Furnaža or Ciglana (Faber 1986/1987: 116) (Fig. 7). Mentioning it in his description of the Sepen bay, Gjuro Szabo included it in the list of significant ruins: "Large ruins of a cross shaped church with a narthex and the remains of a monastery are situated across the Ert, not far from Omišalj. People call these ruins Mira and the site is called Sepen... the remains of a mighty tower rise not far from the church..." (Szabo 1930: 135). The research conducted by Radmila Matejčić in 1977, which were focused on the eastern edge of the city, also examined this tower. In appearance it is similar to the description of the south tower just given and a brief analysis of the exterior walls points to some similarities with Faber's description. Like the former it is also built from roughly carved medium size blocks, which are larger in the lower parts of the walls. Its northern and western walls are much better preserved than the other two, reaching a few meters in height. However, the lower part of the walls on the northern side are inclined slightly outwards.

On the exterior face of the western wall one can note at least three different construction phases, which point to the tower's long-term use. The first phase can be placed in the period when the tower was constructed. In the second phase an extension towards the south was added to the western wall, at which point the southern wall of the first phase was probably destroyed in order to create more space. The doors opened up during this extension led to an expanded area. The third phase can be recognised by the walling up of the aforementioned doors. The names *Furnaža* and *Ciglana* point to the possible existence of a ceramic workshop; traces of heavy fire are still visible on the exterior face of the western wall, as well as on the other structures, including those from the latest period. This evidence would suggest that there was a ceramic workshop on this site, dated by A. Faber to the

malo vjerojatnim da se ovdje mogla nalaziti kasnoantička keramičarska radionica, kako je to pretpostavila Aleksandra Faber, pogotovo uzmemo li u obzir da ne poznajemo ni dataciju izgradnje prve faze. Jasno je da bi samo istraživanja u ovom sektoru mogla dati elemente za određivanje njezine točne funkcije te ponajviše točne datacije. U istraživanjima Radmile Matejčić, u sondi otvorenoj uz sjeverni zid kule, nije pronađen nikakav materijal koji bi mogao pobliže datirati njezinu gradnju, pa čak ni antički kojeg inače ima u izobilju na prostoru rasprostiranja grada. Kasnoantičke kule koje poznajemo obično ne posjeduju zakošene vanjske zidove, te stoga sumnjamo u prije iznesene interpretacije o dataciji u to razdoblje (Čaušević 2006). No, jedna takva kasnoantička kula, datirana u razdoblje Justinijana (sredina 6. stoljeća) ipak postoji u priobalju Velebita (Glavičić 2001: 209), a koja bi mogla poslužiti kao zanimljiva analogija našoj fulfinskoj. Bez detaljnijih istraživanja za sada se ne želimo očitovati u prilog niti jednoj od mogućih datacija – kasnoantičkoj, ili pak onoj koja bi ovu kulu smjestila u razdoblje venecijanske prevlasti na otočju.

Kulom *Furnažom* i opisom luke odredili smo rasprostiranje grada prema jugu i prema istoku. Preostaje nam odrediti njegove točne sjeverne i zapadne granice, što predstavlja nešto teži zadatak s obzirom na to da grad, kako se čini, nije posjedovao gradske zidine. Već je Aleksandra Faber primijetila, na zračnim snimkama izrađenim 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, gromače znatno veće i šire na pretpostavljenom području rasprostiranja grada od ostalih na Okladama (Faber 1975: 23). Prema njoj, rubne gromače koje su zaista vrlo impozantne, bile bi znaci postojanja zidina. No, do danas ništa ne potvrđuje ovu pretpostavku.

U istraživanjima vođenim devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća na prostoru ranokršćanske crkve na Mirinama, kao i u istraživanjima šireg prostora začelja crkve (Čaušević-Bully 2014), nisu pronađeni ostaci gradskih struktura, a već se i prema samoj pojavi kasnoantičke nekropole smještene između crkve na Mirinama i predjela Okladi, gdje veličina gromača odaje sakrivene zidane strukture, ovdje može pretpostaviti tek suburban prostor. Ovim negativnim nalazom možemo s relativnom lakoćom ustvrditi gdje se mogla nalaziti jugozapadna granica antičkog grada. No, najveći problem predstavlja njegova sjeveroistočna granica gdje do sada nisu vođena arheološka istraživanja i gdje veličina gromača varira na neujednačen način. Kao što ćemo pokušati pokazati, možda će jedino položaj foruma moći dati nekoliko podataka koji bi mogli omogućiti iznošenje i nekoliko radnih pretpostavki.

#### *Jugoistočna četvrt grada*

Prilikom istraživanja koja je vodila Radmila Matejčić na određivanju istočne granice grada, detaljnije je istraživana jedna od istočnih *insula*, poznata u literaturi pod nazivom *horreum*. Iako istraživanje nije nikada objavljeno, zahvaljujući izvješću koje se čuva u arhivu Konzervatorskog odjela u Rijeci, saznajemo vrlo vrijedne i obećavajuće podatke (Matejčić 1977). Ovdje je riječki tim otkrio ostatke rimske gradske insule koja je posjedovala više građevinskih faza. Prva faza određena je, zahvaljujući nalazima novca, u razdoblje

period of Late Antiquity. However, this datation seems very doubtful, particularly given the fact that we do not even have a concrete date for the earliest phase of the structure. The only thing that is certain is that it is only by systematic excavation that we will be able to determine the function and the date of this tower. In the research conducted by Radmila Matejčić, a test trench was opened beneath the northern wall of the tower. Unfortunately, however, no material was found which could provide a date for the construction of the tower, with a notable lack of antique material, found in such abundance in other parts of the city. As we know, Late Antique towers do not normally have inclined exterior walls, leading us to question earlier interpretations of the tower's dating (Čaušević 2006). Nevertheless, it must be said that a similar tower, dating to the Justinian period (6<sup>th</sup> cent.), does exist in the coastal part of Velebit and may provide an interesting parallel to the structure at *Fulfinum* (Glavičić 2001: 209). For the time being, we are not prepared to support either of the dates in the literature, neither the Late Antique one, nor that which would place construction of the tower in the period of Venetian predominance over the islands.

Thanks to the localisation of Furnaža tower and the description of the harbour we have been able to establish the southern and eastern spread of the city. It now remains to determine the city's borders on the north and on the west, which is a slightly more difficult task, given the fact that the city did not possess any defending walls. When studying the areal pictures taken in the 1970s, Faber noticed that the large piles of stone situated on the area presumed to encompass the city were significantly larger and wider than the ones situated on the rest of Oklade (Faber 1975: 23). She maintained that the imposing piles of stone situated on the edges of the urban centre could signify the existence of defensive walls. However, even today there is nothing to confirm this assumption.

In the course of research conducted during the 1990s on the site of the early Christian church on Mirine and on the wider area of the church's back wall (Čaušević-Bully 2014), no remains of the city's structures were found. Furthermore, considering the position of the late antique cemetery situated between the church of Mirine and the Okladi area, where the size of the stone piles indicates the existence of hidden walls, one can only assume that this area belonged to the suburban part of the city. By this negative finding it is relatively easy to determine the south-western border of the antique city. However, the city's north-eastern border represents the biggest problem. It is not just that the size of the stone piles varies in an uneven manner in this area, but there is also the fact that no archaeological research has been conducted there. As we will try to demonstrate below, the positioning of the forum might just provide us with some information which would allow us to produce a number of working hypotheses concerning this north-eastern border.

#### *The south-eastern section of the city*

During the course of the research to determine the eastern border of the city, conducted by Radmila Matejčić, one of the eastern *insula*-s, known in literature as *horreum*, was excavated. Although the results of this campaign were

flavijejske dinastije, odnosno u prijelaz iz 1. u 2. stoljeće. To potvrđuje tvrdnju da je koje desetljeće ranije u gradu prvo izgrađen forumski prostor. No, kao vrlo značajan nalaz ovdje se mogu spomenuti i kasnije izgrađeni zidovi koji dokazuju dulju upotrebu gradskog prostora. Naime, ispod jednog od pregradnih zidova druge faze pronađen je brončani novac cara Gordijana Pija (238.–244.) koji smješta njegovu izgradnju najranije u drugu polovinu 3. stoljeća. Ova datacija odgovarala bi dataciji treće faze prepoznate na prostoru foruma (vidi niže). Da je građevina bila korištena kroz dulje razdoblje dokazuju i nalazi kasnijeg novca, poimence Konstantina Velikog (306.–337.) i cara Delmacija (335.–337.).

Nešto južnije od gore opisane antičke insule pronađen je još jedan veći objekt koji Ivančica Pavišić određuje kao stambeni objekt – vilu (Pavišić 1983: 39). Od spomenutog objekta otkriven je njegov sjeverozapadni dio s unutarnjim dvorištem dimenzija 13 × 17,5 m. Uz dvorište, sa zapadne (odnosno sjeverozapadne) strane, ustanovljen je i jedan trijem širine 1,5 m, flankiran dalje prema sjeverozapadu nizom manjih prostorija. Iako su zidovi vrlo loše očuvani, saznajemo da su građeni istom tehnikom kakva prevladava na čitavoj površini grada, odnosno u tehnici *opus vittatum* (prema terminologiji Martin, Ginouvès, 1985: 96), koju vezujemo uz prvu fazu gradnje te koju smještamo, ugrubo, oko sredine 1. stoljeća po. Kr. (Adam 2005: 147–151). Unutarnje dvorište bilo je popločano vrlo kvalitetnom vapnenom žbukom s primjesom sitno tucane cigle, čiji se dio i danas može vidjeti u dnu uvale Sepen (sl. 8).

never published, the research report, held in the archives of the Regional Conservation department in Rijeka, provides us with valuable and promising information (Matejčić 1977). During their research, the team from Rijeka discovered the remains of a roman city *insula* that had several construction phases. The first phase, the dating of which was based on a coin find, was placed in the period of the Flavian dynasty, i.e. in the late 1<sup>st</sup> and early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. A further significant piece of data from this research is that the walls constructed in the later period prove the long term use of the city's space. A bronze coin of the emperor Gordian Pio (238–244) was found under one of the *insula's* second phase partition walls, placing its construction, at the earliest, in the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. This date would match the third construction phase of the forum (below). Furthermore, coins dating from the period of Constantine the Great (306–337) and Dalmatius (335–337) prove that the *insula* was used throughout an extended period of time.

Somewhat south of the *insula*, a further large structure was discovered which Ivančica Pavišić interpreted as a residential feature i.e. a villa (Pavišić 1983: 39). During excavations the south-western part of the structure along with its inner yard, measuring 13 x 17.5 m, was revealed. On the western (that is the north-western) side of the yard, a porch 1.5 m width was discovered, flanked on its north-western side by a series of small rooms. Although its walls are poorly preserved it is noticeable that they were built using the same technique that dominates across the rest of



Sl. 8 Podnica stambenog objekta (vile) smještenog uz more (D. Krizmanić)

Fig. 8 The floor of a residential object (villa) situated by the sea (D. Krizmanić)

*Takozvani Castrum – kasnoantička javna građevina u istočnoj četvrti grada*

U središtu zone na kojoj se prostirao antički grad, na parcelama smještenim sjeverno od foruma, Aleksandra Faber je prema nalazima novca careva Konstantina Velikog (306.–337.) i Gracijana (367.–383.) pronađenih prilikom sondiranja koja je obavila Radmila Matejčić, tvrdila da je pronađena manja utvrda koju se može datirati u 4. stoljeće. Sonda (sl. 9) koja je bila trakastog tipa te je obuhvaćala vrlo mali prostor, bila je otvorena uz manju kvadratnu eksedru i danas vidljivu na lokalitetu (sl. 10). Mala veličina sonde iziskuje oprez pri određivanju funkcije ove građevine koju Aleksandra Faber naziva čak kasnoantičkim *castrumom*, smatrajući pritom da grad nije više mogao postojati u trenutku izgradnje takve vrste građevine, s obzirom na to da unutar grada “nije mogla postojati vojna postaja”, te da sukladno tomu njezina izgradnja znači ujedno i napuštanje grada. No, mnogobrojni primjeri u drugim gradovima dokazuju upravo suprotno – kao što je, nama najbliži primjer, Rijeka sa svojim principijem (Bekić 2009), ili pak udaljeniji primjeri Mandeurea u Francuskoj (Cramatte 2012) ili Palmire (Reddé 1995: 107). Dakle, ako i prihvatimo teoriju prema kojoj je ovdje riječ o *castrumu*, odnosno utvrđenju unutar grada, njezin smještaj u srce naseljenog dijela grada ni u kojem slučaju ne znači i njegovo napuštanje. Nadalje, drugi ostaci arhitekture, kao što su kule, luka, posljednja faza istočne insule (gradske zgrade),

the city plan, *opus vittatum* (after the terminology in Martin, Ginouvès 1985: 96). This particular construction technique is associated with the first construction phase of the city and is roughly dated to around the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. (Adam 2005: 147–151). The inner yard of the villa was paved with high quality lime stone mortar, mixed with small pieces of crushed brick. Part of the pavement is still visible today in the seabed of Sepen bay (Fig. 8).

*So called Castrum – a late antique public building in the eastern part of the city*

In the centre of the zone over which the antique city spread, in the parcels situated north of the forum, Faber claimed to have located a small fortification, dating to the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. She based her claim on the discovery of coins from the period of Constantine the Great (306–337) and Gratian (367–383) that were found during a trench excavation conducted by Radmila Matejčić (Fig. 9). The rectangular trench, quite small in size, was situated next to a small square exedra still visible today (Fig. 10). Given the small size of the trench, it is necessary to treat Faber’s interpretation of the feature as a Late Antique *castrum* with caution. In her interpretation, she maintains that at the time during which it was constructed, the city was no longer functioning, claiming that “there could not have been a military station” within the city and therefore its construction signifies the abandonment of the



Sl. 9 Sonda iz 1977. na području tzv. castruma (Matejčić 1977)

Fig. 9 The trench from 1977 on the area of the so-called castrum (Matejčić 1977)



Sl. 10 Eksedra tzv. castruma danas (M. Čaušević-Bully)  
 Fig. 10 The exedra of the so-called castrum today (M. Čaušević-Bully)

kasnoantičko groblje te naposljetku i ranokršćanska crkva Mirine, dokazuju da grad nije mogao biti iznenadno i brzo napušten. No, u očekivanju novih istraživanja, zasad moramo prihvatiti postojeću radnu interpretaciju ove građevine, barem radi boljeg snalaženja u velikom broju lokacija ove bogate arheološke zone. Upravo zbog nje te zahvaljujući kulama iz Justinijanova razdoblja, lokalitet *Fulfinum* uvršten je u popis fortifikacija već od 4. stoljeća nadalje, sve do Justinijanova razdoblja (Brusić 1989).

#### Forum

Kao što smo imali već prilike konstatirati, granice rasprostiranja grada te posebice njegova sjeveroistočnog dijela teško je odrediti, pa samim time ne možemo sa sigurnošću razgovarati o točnom smještaju foruma unutar gradskog tkiva. Međutim, zahvaljujući stečenim spoznajama o rasprostiranju grada prema moru, te sjeverozapadno i jugoistočno, moguće je da je forum zauzimao centralni položaj gornje, odnosno sjeverozapadne trećine gradskog prostora. Ovakav položaj foruma daje istodobno i mogućnost projiciranja granice grada prema sjeveroistoku. No, uzmemo li tu minimalnu mogućnost rasprostiranja grada, to ga svodi na svega 5 do 6 ha (sl. 11) izgrađene površine.

Prvi podaci o forumu potječu iz istraživanja vođenih pod vodstvom Aleksandre Faber sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća koja su se prije svega usredotočila na njegov ju-

city. However, numerous examples from other cities, of which the closest is Rijeka with its *principia* (Bekić 2009), but also more distant examples such as Mandeur (Cramatte 2012) or even Palmira (Reddé 1995: 107), prove just the opposite. Therefore, even if we were to accept the theory of a *castrum*, i.e. that of fortification within the city, which we seriously question, its location in the heart of the populated part of the city does by any means signify that the city was abandoned. In support of this, additional architectural remains such as the towers, the harbour, the final phase of the eastern *insula* (town building), the late antiquity cemetery and, not least, the early Christian church of Mirine prove that the city could not possibly have been swiftly and suddenly abandoned. However, in anticipation of new research, we have to accept the existing work's interpretation of this structure. If not for any other reason than because of the greater ease of mobility between the large number of locations of this archaeological zone. Because of this, and the Justinian period towers, the archaeological site of *Fulfinum* has been included in the list of fortifications dated from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. until the Justinian period (Brusić 1989).

#### Forum

As mentioned above, the limits and the spread of the antique city, and especially its north-eastern part, are somewhat difficult to establish. Consequently it is not

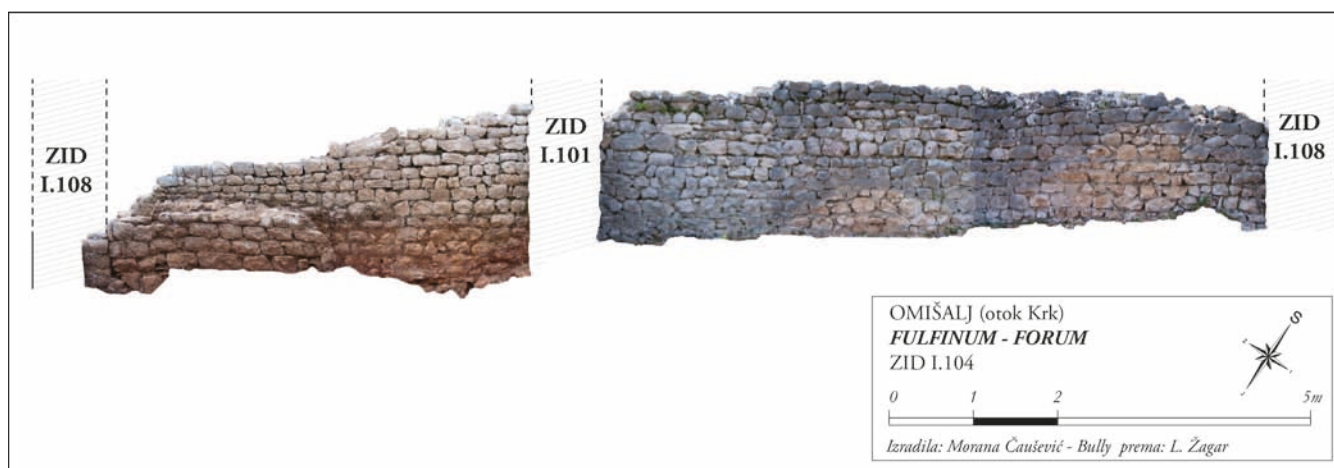


Sl. 11 Topografska snimka svih poznatih struktura grada Fulfinuma (M. Čaušević-Bully prema osnovnoj snimci Hrvatskoga geodetskog zavoda iz Rijeke)

Fig. 11 Topographic plan of all known structures of the city of Fulfinum (M. Čaušević-Bully according to the original plan of the Croatian Geodetic Institute in Rijeka)



Sl. 12 Pogled na forum prije novih istraživanja započetih 2006. godine (M. Čaušević-Bully)  
Fig. 12 View of the forum prior to new excavations that began in 2006 (M. Čaušević-Bully)



Sl. 13 Ortofoto snimka sjeverozapadnog zida hrama (M. Čaušević-Bully prema snimci L. Žagar)  
Fig. 13 Air photograph of the north-western wall of the temple (M. Čaušević-Bully according to the image by L. Žagar)

gozapadni dio. Ovdje je začelni zid hrama sačuvan u visini od nekoliko metara (sl. 12 i 13), dok je njegov sjeverni dio naprotiv vrlo slabo očuvan, s jedva vidljivim prvim redom temelja. Navedena istraživanja nisu sustavno objavljena te je njihova revizija bila nužna prije započinjanja novih koja su bila većeg opsega. Prema zasad sakupljenim podacima, mjerimo li prostor zrcala, bez lateralnih prostora kao što su *tabernae* i bazilika, forum je relativno skromnih dimenzija, 21 m širine × 40 m dužine, odnosno, uzmemo li u obzir i baziliku smještenu na sjeveroistočnom, dužem rubu, 34 m × 40 m. Prve se mjere približavaju omjeru širine i dužine 1 : 2, kao što je slučaj primjerice sa zadarskim ili pulskim forumom (Suić 2003: 247; Obad Vučina 1999: 40) (sl. 14).

Glavni ulaz na forumsko zrcalo nalazio se na jugoistočnoj, kraćoj strani foruma, vjerojatno smješten točno nasuprot jedinom forumskom hramu. Prolaz je bio omogućen putem portika koji je s ove strane definirao forumski prostor. Iako jedino ovaj dio još nije istražen, blokovi koji su pripadali nekadašnjem arhitravu i koji se danas nalaze povrh gromače koja ugrubo definira položaj portika, upućuju na njegovo postojanje. Na njima se još uvijek mogu nazreti krakovi urezanih slova (sl. 15), dok su profili arhitrava jednostavni i plitki. Vrlo je moguće da je ovaj portik bio relativno skromnih oblika, jednostavan i prizeman.

Za potrebe uređenja gradskog središta čitav je prostor prethodno bio dobro pripremljen i izniveliran, gdje je živa stijena mjestimice tucana i ravnana, dok su prirodna ulegnuća u stijeni bila ispunjena kamenjem i crljenicom. Prostor je nadalje protkan dobro osmišljenim kanalima za odvod vode (kišnice), izgrađenima neposredno prije prvih zidanih struktura.

#### *Bazilika (prostor I.2)*

Prema istraživanjima iz 2008. te zatim onih iz 2011. i 2013. godine, prostorija smještena sjeveroistočno od glavnoga forumskog hrama pripadala je prvoj građevnoj fazi foruma, a time i samoga grada. Manji dio dotične građevine bio je istražen prilikom arheoloških radova sedamdesetih godina, na osnovi kojih je Aleksandra Faber interpretirala nalaz kao prvi izgrađen forumski hram (prema čemu je građevina nazivana često i hram 2 u našoj dokumentaciji). Tadašnja interpretacija temeljila se ponajprije na nalazu zidane baze ispred pročelja oko koje je, prema riječima A. Faber, nađen znatan broj ulomaka keramičkih lampica,<sup>11</sup> što je i navelo autoricu na interpretaciju postojanja oltara na ovome mjestu (v. sl. 14 i sl. 16).

Građevina I.2, pretpostavljenih punih dimenzija 14 × 34 m, izgrađena je neposredno nakon dovršetka radova na nivelaciji terena te je istodobna izgradnji kanala za odvod. Sastoji se od manjega centralnog, gotovo kvadratnog prostora (7 × 7,5 m) podijeljenog na tri manje prostorije, koji se nalazi u samom sjeverozapadnom dnu građevine. Spomenuti dio istražen je u prijašnjim arheološkim radovima, te su stoga na tom mjestu izgubljeni eventualni slojevi *in situ*. Uz ove relativno male prostorije istodobno je izgrađen portik definiran dvama trijemovima, čiji su krakovi široki

possible to determine the exact position of the forum within the city's limits. However, based on our current understanding of the spread of the city towards the north-west, south-east and the sea, one can hypothesise that the forum occupied the central position of the upper, i.e. north-western, third of the city's area. The positioning of the forum in this location makes it possible to project the extension of the city's limit towards north-east. However, if we accept this possible outline of the city's limits, it becomes apparent that the total built up area of the city would have amounted to only 5 to 6 acres (Fig. 11).

The earliest information relating to the forum was obtained during the research conducted by A. Faber in the 1970s, when the excavations were primarily focused on the south-western part of the forum. Here the rear temple wall is preserved to several meters in height (Fig. 12 and 13), while its northern part is very poorly preserved, with the first row of stones barely visible. The results of this research were never systematically published and before new large-scale excavation could commence, it was necessary to carry out a revision of them. Based on the initial research, if we were to measure the space of the open square without the lateral spaces such as *tabernae* and the basilica, the dimensions of the forum are relatively modest, 21 m in width by 40 m in length, i.e. 34 x 40 m if we measure the space including the basilica, which is situated on the longer, north-eastern edge. These preliminary measurements approach the width-length ratio of 1 : 2, as it is the case with the forums in Zadar and Pula (Suić 2003: 247; Obad Vučina 1999: 40) (Fig. 14).

The main entrance to the forum's square was situated on the south-eastern (shorter) side of the forum, probably directly opposite the main temple. Passage was enabled via a portico, which defined the space of the forum on that side. Although this is the only part of the forum yet to be excavated, the blocks which belonged to the architrave and which are currently situated on the top of a pile of stones, which roughly defines the position of the portico, point to its existence. It is still possible to discern parts of letters on these architraves (Fig. 15) whose profiles are fairly simple and shallow. Also, it is quite possible that this portico was modest and relatively simple. Prior to the construction of the city's centre, significant preparation, i.e. levelling, took place. The bedrock was broken and straightened in places while the natural cavities in the bedrock were filled with stones and red clayish soil. The space was then intersected with well-designed drainage canals, which were built immediately prior to the first structures.

#### *The Basilica (space I.2)*

According to the research conducted in 2008 and again in 2011 and 2013 the building situated north-east of the main forum temple was constructed during the initial construction phase of the forum, and of the city itself. A smaller part of the structure was investigated during the campaigns in the 1970s, and on the basis of the results, the structure was interpreted by A. Faber as being the first temple of the forum (indeed it is for this reason that structure was often named as 'temple 2' in our documentation). The interpretation was mainly based on the discovery of a quadrangular masonry construction situated in front of the structure around which

<sup>11</sup> Usmeno priopćenje. Lampice pronađene prilikom istraživanja nisu bile dostupne našoj ekipi.





Sl. 14 Detaljan tlocrt foruma s naznačenim sektorima (M. Čaušević-Bully i D. Vuillermoz prema crtežu Th. Chenala)  
 Fig. 14 A detailed plan of the forum with marked sectors (M. Čaušević-Bully and D. Vuillermoz according to the drawing by Th. Chenal)

oko 3,5 m. Dna obaju trijemova završavala su u prvoj fazi gradnje u razini začelja centralne kvadratne prostorije s kojom su i dijelili jedinstven i istodobno izgrađen začelni zid. U pročelju centralnih prostorija nalazi se stubište kojim se ulazilo u prvu prostoriju. Sudeći prema dimenzijama sačuvanih ostataka, te uzmemo li u obzir moguću dubinu pojedine stuba od 25 cm, pred pročeljem se moglo nalaziti njih pet. Time dolazimo i do zaključka da je središnji dio građevine I.2 sastavljen od tri prostorije bio uzdignut u odnosu na središnji prostor koji se pred njima nalazi za prosječno 1

a number of pieces of ceramic lamps<sup>11</sup> were recovered. These finds led Faber to posit the existence of an altar in that area of the structure (see Fig. 14 and Fig. 16).

The structure I.2, with its assumed dimensions of 14 x 34 m, was built immediately after the completion of the levelling works and is contemporary with the construction of the drainage canal. It consists of a smaller central, almost square space (7 x 7.5 m), which is divided into three small

<sup>11</sup> Oral information. The lamps found during these excavations were not accessible to our team.



Sl. 15 Ostaci jugoistočnog portika (M. Čaušević-Bully)  
Fig. 15 Remains of the south-eastern portico (M. Čaušević-Bully)

metar. Pročelje čitavog sklopa nije istraženo ni prilikom novih istraživanja te čeka daljnju obradu.

Svako krilo portika zatvoreno je prema vanjskoj strani punim zidom, dok su prema unutrašnjem prostoru portici

spaces, situated in the north-western end of the structure. This sector was investigated during the previous campaigns, meaning that all the supposed *in situ* levels are lost. Along with these relatively small spaces a portico defined by two



Sl. 16 Pogled na forum po dovršetku istraživanja (S. Bully)  
Fig. 16 View of the forum after the completion of research (S. Bully)

bili otvoreni kolonadama i pločnikom. Dok sjeverni zid sjevernog trijema nije bio dovoljno dobro sačuvan da bi mogao dati podatke o eventualnim prolazima, u južnom smjelu zidu mogli ustanoviti postojanje barem dvaju ulaza u prostor trijemova sa zrcala foruma. Prva moguća vrata nalazila su se na 18 m od vanjskoga južnog ugla prve faze gradnje građevine te možemo pretpostaviti da su bila široka oko 1,8 m. Druga vrata udaljena su 6,8 m od prvih u smjeru jugoistoka te su bila iste širine. Zanimljivo je napomenuti da je širina vrata identična širini južnoga bočnog ulaza na forum (v. tlocrt). Pločnici su bili djelomično sačuvani, kao i pripremna podloga podnice obaju krakova trijema, s iznimkom središnjeg dijela koji je bio uništen prilikom otvaranja probnog transverzalnog rova u arheološkim istraživanjima iz sedamdesetih godina. Podnice su izgrađene u više slojeva. Prvi je sloj podloga sastavljena od grubog kamenja dimenzija između 5 i 10 cm, koja je potom pokrivena drugim pripremnim slojem koji se sastoji od manjih kamenčića. Na njoj se zatim nalazi prvi sloj vapnene žbuke koji naposljetku služi kao podloga finalnom sloju vapnene žbuke s primjesom fino tucane opeke koja joj daje ružičasti ton. Od kolonade koja je dijelila portike od unutarnjeg dvorišta ostale su samo zidane baze: kolonada započinje s obje strane zidanim pilastrom pravokutnog presjeka (55 × 35 cm) koji je sudeći prema ostacima pronađenim u južnom trijemu mogao biti građen od opeke. Preostali su stupovi bili kružnog presjeka (promjera 40 cm) te također zidani u opeci (sl. 17), što zaključujemo na osnovi nalaza triju zidanih baza u jugoistočnom



Sl. 17 Detalj kanala I.220 izgrađenog zajedno s portikom bazilike-kurije (E. Balić)

Fig. 17 A detail of canal I.220 built at the same time as the portico of the basilica-curia (E. Balić)

3.5 m wide porches was built. During the initial construction phase the rear facades of both porches aligned squarely with the central square space, with which they shared the same, contemporary, back wall. To the front of the small central spaces a staircase was erected which allowed entrance into the structure. If we take into account the dimensions of the preserved remains and presume the depth of each step to have been 25 cm, it is possible to conclude that the staircase had five steps. By this reckoning we can conclude that the central space of the structure I.2, which consists of three smaller spaces, was approximately 1 m higher than the open space situated in front of it.

In common with a number of basilicas, each wing of the portico was closed towards the exterior by a wall, while on interior it was opened by a colonnade and a sidewalk. Although the northern wall of the northern porch was not preserved well enough to provide information about the location of possible entrances, it was possible to identify at least two entrances in the southern wall of the southern portico which enabled access into the space between the porches from the main square of the forum. The first of two possible doors was situated on the 18<sup>th</sup> m from the south exterior corner of the first phase of the structure and it is assumed that they were 1.8 m wide. The second door was 6.8 m further south-east and was the same width. It is interesting to note that the width of these doors is identical to the width of the southern entrance of the forum. The sidewalks of the pavement were partially preserved, as well as the preparation levels of both porches, with the exception of the central parts of the porches, which were destroyed by a transversal trench opened during the excavations in the 1970s. The floors of the porches consisted of several levels. The first level is a surface composed of small uneven stones, 5–10 cm large, which is then covered with the second preparation level, which consists of even smaller stones. These two levels are then covered by the first level of limestone mortar, which served as the preparation for the final level of limestone mortar, which consisted of fine crushed brick, giving it a pink tone. Of the colonnades, which divided the porches from the inner courtyard, only the bases were preserved. Each of the colonnades was supported on a square pilaster (55 x 35 cm) which, based on the remains found in the southern porch, may have been built in brick (Fig. 17). The remaining columns were circular (40 cm in diameter) and built in brick, a fact that was confirmed by the discovery of three bases situated in the south-eastern part of the southern porch.

The open area of the inner courtyard possessed at least one, if not two, built quadrangular bases (80 x 80 cm), situated on both sides of the staircase that lead to the inner area of the central space. These bases were probably used for the placement of an inscription, a statue or as Faber also presumed an altar (or *ara*), today unfortunately lost. Not far from the southern base the above-mentioned inscription, carved on a flat square clay brick which mentions Venus, Jupiter and one of the two *duumvirs* (whose name is not preserved), was recovered (see Fig. 3). Based on the facts presented here it is possible to argue that this structure was most likely a smaller civic basilica, which may also



Sl. 18 Detalj baze stupa zidane u cigli (I. Valent)  
Fig. 18 A detail of the base of a column built in brick (I. Valent)

dijelu trijema.

Otvoren prostor unutarnjeg dvorišta posjedovao je sigurno jednu, a možda i dvije zidane baze (80 × 80 cm), smještene s obje strane pristupnoga vanjskog stubišta koje je vodilo u interijer centralne prostorije. Ove su baze služile zacijelo za postavljanje danas nestaloga počasnog natpisa, kipa ili are, kako je pretpostavila i Aleksandra Faber. Upravo nedaleko od južne baze pronađen je i spomenuti natpis urezan u ravnu pravokutnu glinenu ploču, na kojem se spominju Venera i Jupiter, te jedan od poglavara grada, *duumvir*, čije se ime, nažalost, nije sačuvalo (v. sl. 3). Na osnovi navedenog moguće je izraziti mišljenje da pred sobom imamo vrlo vjerojatno manju gradsku baziliku koja je mogla imati i funkciju kurije u kojoj se sakupljao gradski ordo. Dio korišten kao zgrada kurije mogle su biti upravo centralne prostorije kojima se prilazilo stubištem prislonjenim uz unutarnje pročelje.

Arheološki materijal pronađen u kanalu I.220, izgrađenom ispod južnog trijema bazilike s kojim je istodoban (sl. 18), prema analizi Ane Konestre isključivo je datiran u 1. stoljeće po. Kr., te predstavlja savršen *terminus* za određnje vremena izgradnje građevine (Konestra 2015). Ovoj dataciji u 1. stoljeće idu u prilog i nalazi iz zapune rova za gradnju južnog zida bazilike, kojima je *terminus post quem* 15. do 30. godina po. Kr. Pridodamo li tome i nalaz novca iz pripremnog sloja podnice sjevernog portika kojeg se može točno datirati u razdoblje 1. polovine 1. stoljeća po. Kr. (vrijeme vladavine cara Tiberija), možemo predložiti početak izgradnje ove građevine upravo u drugoj četvrtini 1. stoljeća po. Kr., u vrijeme julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Keramički materijal pronađen na području centralnog dvorišta dokazuje dugotrajno korištenje čitavog prostora od 1. stoljeća



Sl. 19 Detalj kasnoantičkih struktura ustanovljenih na prostoru južnog trijema bazilike (M. Čaušević-Bully)  
Fig. 19 A detail of structures dated to the Late Antiquity recognized on the area of the southern porch of the basilica (M. Čaušević-Bully)

have functioned as a curia in which the city's council (*ordo*) gathered. The central rooms, which were accessed by a staircase situated in front of the inner façade, may have been used as the building of the curia.

Based on the analysis carried out by Ana Konestra (Konestra 2015), the archaeological material found in the canal I.220 (Fig. 18), constructed beneath and contemporary with the south porch of the basilica, can be precisely dated in the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. and presents a perfect *terminus* of determination for the construction date of the building. Furthermore, the finds from the filling of the construction trench of the southern wall of the basilica whose *terminus post quem* is 15–30 AD tend to support the above dating. If we add the discovery of a coin from the preparation level of the floor of the northern porch, which can be precisely dated in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. (during the reign of the emperor Tiberius), it is possible to suggest that the construction of this building began during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, around the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. The ceramic material found in the area of the central yard indicates a long period of utilisation for the entire area from the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. to Late Antiquity (Konestra 2015). Later structures, which were discovered inside the floor of the south porch, contained material that can be precisely dated to between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> cent. The aforementioned modifications of the southern porch area refer to structures which were discovered in negative and point to a later wooden construction which was situated within the antique building (Fig. 19). A circular pit of 40 cm in diameter, which was used as a slot for a vertical wooden pillar, was found in the same level as the antique colonnade. A slot for a horizontal beam (maximum preservation 1.14 x 0.37 m), which belongs to a wooden partition wall situated perpendicular to the colonnade and the external wall of the antique porch, was rested on it. A large pile of stone, which obviously leaned on the wooden structure on its eastern side and directly covers the antique floor, may also have functioned with this phase.



Sl. 20 Nalaz groba iz 14. stoljeća (M. Čaušević-Bully)  
 Fig. 20 The 14th century grave (M. Čaušević-Bully)

sve do kasne antike (Konestra 2015). Isto tako, kasnije strukture uočene u podnici južnog trijema popraćene su materijalom datiranim isključivo u razdoblje između 5 i 7. stoljeća. Spomenute preinake prostora južnog trijema odnose se na strukture u negativu koje upućuju na kasniju drvenu gradnju smještenu unutar antičke građevine (sl. 19). Kružna jama promjera oko 40 cm, koja je služila kao utor za vertikalnu gredu (ili stup), nalazi se u ravni antičke kolonade. Uz nju se prislanja utor za horizontalnu gredu (maksimalne sačuvane mjere: 1,14 × 0,37) koja pripada drvenom pregradnom zidu smještenom okomito na kolonadu i perimetralni zid antičkog trijema. Ovoj fazi mogla je pripadati i gromača koja se prislanja na drvenu konstrukciju s istočne strane te koja izravno pokriva antičku podnicu. Sve navedene preinake datirane u razdoblje kasne antike pripadaju posljednjoj građevnoj fazi foruma kada je prostor javne građevine zasigurno privatiziran.

Dodajmo ovome i nalaz groba smještenog u interijer centralne građevine (kurije?) uz unutarnju stranu istočnog zida, u razini temelja stubišta (sl. 20). Za njega smo prilikom otkrića pretpostavili da je riječ o kasnoantičkom ukopu u ranorimsku građevinu. S obzirom na to da je grob djelomice uništen prilikom prijašnjih arheoloških istraživanja te mu nedostaju eventualni grobni prilozi, odlučili smo poslati

All the mentioned modifications were dated to the period of Late Antiquity and belong to the final construction phase of the forum when the area of the public structure must have been privatised.

Aside from the details outlined above, we would like to draw attention to the discovery of a grave, situated along the interior side of the eastern wall of the central building (*curia?*), in the level of the foundations of the staircase (Fig. 20). At the time of its discovery, it was presumed that it was a Late Antique burial situated within an Antique building. However, considering the fact that the grave was partially destroyed by old excavations and thereby lacks possible grave goods it was decided to send a bone sample for <sup>14</sup>C analysis in order to determine its date. The results of the analysis were surprising and dated this skeleton in the 14<sup>th</sup> cent.<sup>12</sup> Although this dating completely differs from everything which had been discovered to date in the forum, considering the fact that the grave was buried in relation to the surrounding architecture, it points to an interesting fact, i.e. that during the Middle Ages the entire area of the forum was still very well preserved and may have, in a sense, served the neighbouring ecclesiastical (monastic) complex.

12 The analysis was carried out by the Laboratory C14 of the Ruđer Bošković Institute. Sample number: Z-4294.



Sl. 21 3D rekonstrukcija hrama (D. Vuillermoz)  
 Fig. 21 3D reconstruction of the temple (D. Vuillermoz)

uzorak kostiju na <sup>14</sup>C analizu kako bi se ustanovila njegova starost. Rezultati analize bili su iznenađujući te su smjestili ovaj nalaz u 14. stoljeće.<sup>12</sup> Iako ova datacija potpuno odskače od svega dosad uočenog na prostoru foruma, ona ipak upućuje na bitnu činjenicu da je forumski prostor očito kroz čitav srednji vijek bio dovoljno dobro sačuvan, s obzirom na to da je grob ukopan u odnosu na arhitekturu te je možda na neki način i služio obližnjem crkvenom, odnosno samostanskom sklopu.

#### *Hram (prostor I.1)*

Dvije prve kampanje arheoloških iskopavanja (2006. i 2007. godine) bile su posvećene reviziji istraživanja iz sedamdesetih godina te usredotočene na prostor središnjega forumskog hrama i krajnjega sjeverozapadnog dijela južnog krila foruma. Ukratko, njima je dokazano da je građevina koja je bila interpretirana kao drugi hram izgrađen na forumu zaista hram, ali zacijelo glavni i centralni fulfinskog foruma.

Riječ je o građevini unutarnjih dimenzija 8 × 10 m, s unutarnjom fasadom izgrađenom na udaljenosti od 4,6 m od vanjske. S unutarnje strane vanjske fasade pronađeni su temelji stubišta, u čijem je prostoru 70-ih godina bio pro-

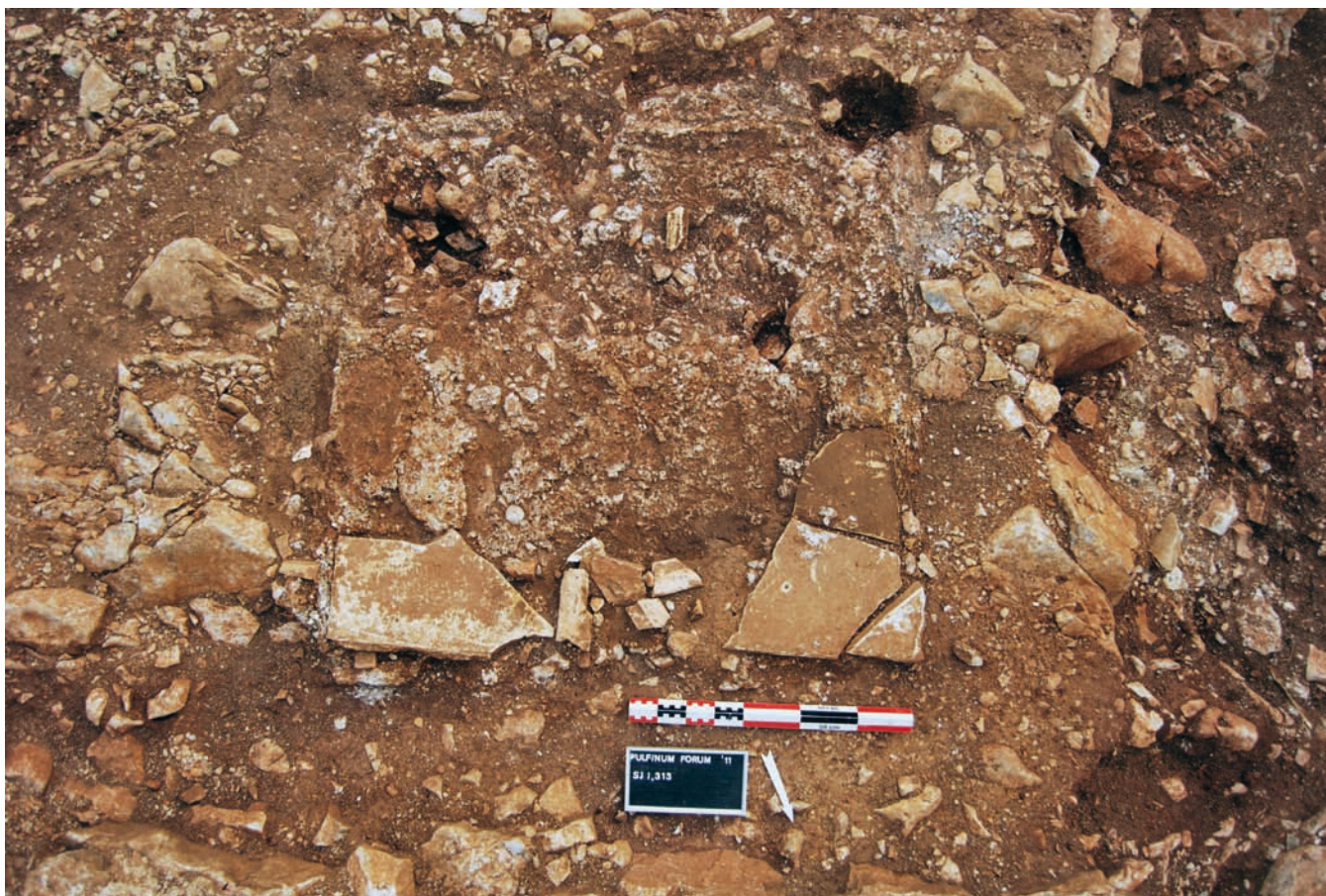
#### *The temple (space I.1)*

The first two archaeological campaigns (2006 and 2007) that were focused on the area of the central temple and the far north-western part of the southern wing of the forum were dedicated to the revision of the results from the 1970s. In short, the revision not only proved that the structure, which had by then been interpreted as the second temple of the forum, was indeed a temple, but it also proved that it was the main and central temple of the *Fulfinum's* forum.

The internal dimensions of the temple are 8 × 10 m and its inner facade was laid out 4.6 m inwards from the external. During the research in the 1970s, in the foundations of a staircase situated in the interior of the external facade, a burial containing a dog's head was discovered. The publication, as well as the dating of this find remained unknown to scholars, making it impossible to interpret today.<sup>13</sup> Based on the given standards, it is possible to reconstruct the temple, which probably had four columns in the front and a central access

<sup>13</sup> A similar find of a dog skull, but in a different context, was discovered on the site of Torčec – Cirkvišće in Podravina (Croatia). This find was dated to 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> cent., and it is considered to belong to the mongolian influence (Sekelj Ivančan 1999). Although the skeleton from the basilica can be dated to the late medieval period, and as such opens the possibility of a late date for the inhumation with the dog's skull, we are reserved on the possibility of the Tatar influence on the area of the north Adriatic islands.

<sup>12</sup> Analizu je izvršio laboratorij Instituta Ruđer Bošković, broj uzorka Z-4294.



Sl. 22 Detalj zidane baze iz treće graditeljske faze (I. Valent)  
 Fig. 22 A detail of a base from the third construction phase (I. Valent)

nađen i ukop s prilogom pseće glave. Ovaj nalaz ostao je nepoznat stručnoj javnosti, kao i njegova datacija, što danas čini interpretaciju, nažalost, nemogućom.<sup>13</sup> Prema navedenim karakteristikama, moguće je rekonstruirati hram s vjerojatno četiri stupa u pročelju i centralnim prilazom podiju, uvučenim u odnosu na vanjsku fasadu (sl. 21). Unutarnja cela mogla je, prema datim dimenzijama, biti podijeljena na tri jednake manje cele, što bi išlo u prilog interpretaciji hrama kao mogućeg kapitolija. Prema nalazima iz istraživanja prostora sjeveroistočno od hrama, znamo da je čitava građevina bila pokrivena kvalitetnom vanjskom zidnom žbukom bijelo-žučkaste boje.

Hram je istodoban s perimetralnim zidom foruma izgrađenim u neprekinutom slijedu zidnog platna koji tako tvori peribol čiji su bočni prostori široki oko 5,5 m s obje strane. Prema jugozapadu ovaj je prostor omeđen tabernama kojima se zasigurno pristupalo s južne, suprotne strane okrenute moru. Tomu u prilog ide i postojanje uskog prostora nalik kanalu (*ambitus*) širine od oko 30 cm između zidova foruma i samih taberni. Ulaz u prostor foruma u ovom dijelu nalazio se u zidu ograde foruma, neposredno uz perimetralni sjeverozapadni zid kompleksa taberni, ali s vanjske strane. U

<sup>13</sup>Sličan nalaz pseće lubanje, ali u drugačijem kontekstu, pronađen je na lokalitetu Torčec – Cirkvišće u Podravini. Datiran je u 12./13. stoljeće te se smatra utjecajem Mongola (Sekelj Ivančan 1999). Iako ukop u susjednoj bazilici datira iz razvijenoga srednjeg vijeka te otvara mogućnost kasnijoj dataciji ukopa s psećom glavom, ostajemo vrlo oprezni što se tiče interpretacije tatarskog utjecaja na prostor otočja.

to the podium, which was set back in relation to the external façade (Fig. 21). On the basis of the presented dimensions, the inner space (*cella*) could have been divided into three smaller spaces (*cellas*), which would confirm the interpretation of the temple as a possible *Capitolium*. Furthermore, given the finds recovered during the research of the space situated north-east of the temple, we now know that the entire building was covered by a high-quality white-yellowish external mortar.

The temple is contemporary with the perimeter wall of the forum, which was built in a progressive sequence, thus creating a *peribol* wall whose side spaces are 5.5 m wide. This space was embanked by *tabernae* on the north-western side, which were probably accessed from the opposite southern side, which faced towards the sea. The existence of a 30 cm narrow passage, resembling a canal (*ambitus*), situated between the wall of the forum and the *tabernae* also confirms this. Furthermore, just along the exterior part of the north-western parameter wall of the *tabernae* complex was an entrance to this part of the forum. Judging by photographs taken during the research on the exterior side of the forum in the 1970s, and kindly provided to us by Aleksandra Faber, a floor built in *opus spicatum* was discovered in front of the aforementioned entrance. This leads us to posit the existence of a covered space, which probably flanked the *tabernae* complex on their north-western side.

Due to the complete lack of archaeological levels *in situ*, which were removed during the initial research, it was

istraživanjima iz sedamdesetih godina, ako je suditi prema fotografijama koje mi je ljubazno pokazala A. Faber, ispred spomenutog ulaza, s vanjske strane forumskog prostora, ustanovljena je podnica izrađena u tehnici *opus spicatum*. To nas navodi na zaključak o postojanju natkrivenog prostora koji je moguće flankirao građevinu s tabernama sa sjeverozapadne strane.

Točno vrijeme izgradnje hrama nije bilo moguće odrediti zbog potpunog pomanjkanja arheoloških slojeva *in situ* koji su bili otklonjeni prilikom prvih istraživanja. No, s obzirom na to da je začelni zid hrama vezan i istodoban s ostatkom zidnog plašta koji definira peribol, a on se prislanja na jugozapadni ugao južnog trijema bazilike iz prve faze, možemo pretpostaviti da je hram građen nakon bazilike. Dodajmo ovome i činjenicu da rov za izgradnju hrama prekida jedan od odvodnih kanala izgrađenih prilikom izgradnje trijema bazilike, datiranih okvirno u prvu polovinu 1. stoljeća po. Kr. No, ovaj vremenski raspon između dvije građevine vjerojatno nije bio velik te se sukladno tomu hram može smjestiti u opću prvu fazu izgradnje foruma, odnosno oko polovine 1. stoljeća po. Kr. i početkom druge polovine istog.

Kao i na drugim istraživanim dijelovima foruma, i ovdje su uočene različite faze korištenja prostora kroz dulje razdoblje. Spomenuti ulaz smješten u jugozapadnom dijelu peribola bio je zazidan u drugoj graditeljskoj fazi foruma, vjerojatno u trenutku izgradnje stubišta smještenog u dno južnog krila definiranog zidom peribola s jedne, te perimetralnim zidom hrama s druge strane. Ni ovu fazu nije moguće točnije datirati zbog pomanjkanja arheološkog materijala. No, sudeći prema stratigrafskim odnosima stubišta i zidova peribola na koje se prislanja, pokrivenih vapnenom žbukom identičnom onoj na vanjskim plaštevima hrama, moramo pretpostaviti da je ova druga faza nastupila tek nakon određenog vremena. Sukladno nalazima iz istraživanja ostalih dijelova foruma (v. niže), ove znatnije preinake forumskog prostora pripadaju vjerojatno razdoblju 3. stoljeća. Ustanovljena je i treća faza korištenja ovog prostora: u temeljima stubišta, uz hram, pronađena je jama ispunjena kamenom, također lišena nalaza, što je i u potpunosti onemogućilo njezino datiranje, no koja jasno pripada fazi potpune dezintegracije forumskog prostora kao javnoga gradskog trga.

#### *Prostor između hrama i bazilike (prostor I.3)*

U dvije kampanje arheoloških istraživanja, provedenih 2010. i 2011. godine, istražen je prostor omeđen glavnim forumskim hramom (prostor I.1) s jugozapadne strane, te kompleksom koji zatvara forumsku cjelinu sa sjeveroistočne strane (prostor I.2); označen je brojem I.3 radi lakšeg snalaženja. Iako se u početku činilo da je ovaj prostor vanjski te da možda neće dati dovoljno podataka o razvoju foruma, dogodilo se suprotno: upravo smo na ovom mjestu mogli dokazati stratigrafske odnose dviju glavnih građevina foruma te tako odrediti i osnovne faze gradnje. Za razliku od susjednog hrama, ovdje smo imali priliku ustanoviti arheološke slojeve i njihovu stratigrafiju.

Kako je i ranije napomenuto, u najranijoj fazi izgradnje

impossible to determine the exact period in which the temple was built. However, considering that the back wall of the temple is contemporary with the rest of the wall structure that defines the *peribol*, which in turn leans on the south-western corner of the southern porch of the first phase basilica, we can presume that the temple was built after the basilica. To this we can add the fact that the construction trench of the temple cuts one of the drainage canals that were sunk during the construction of the basilica's porches, roughly dated in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. The time frame between the constructions of the two buildings was more than likely quite short, meaning that it is possible to place the construction of the temple in the first general phase of the construction of the forum, i.e. around the middle and the beginning of the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent.

As with the other parts of the forum which were investigated, different phases of utilisation throughout a longer period of time were identified in the area of the temple. The above mentioned entrance, situated in the south-western part of the *peribol*, was walled up during the second construction phase of the forum, probably at the same time as the staircase situated in the bottom of the southern wing, defined by the *peribol* wall on one side and the perimeter wall of the temple on the other, was erected. Due to the lack of archaeological material it is also not possible to date this phase with complete certainty. However, judging by the stratigraphic relationship between the staircase and the *peribol* walls, covered with lime stone mortar identical to that found on the exterior sides of the temple, towards which it leans, one must presume that the second construction phase occurred after a certain period of time. According to the finds recovered from the research of the other parts of the forum (below) these substantial modifications probably date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. A third phase of the utilisation of this space was also identified: in the foundations of the staircase, along the temple wall, a pit, which clearly belongs to the phase of complete disintegration of the space of the forum as a main public square, filled with stone and without any finds (making it impossible to date) was recovered.

#### *The space between the temple and the basilica (space I.3.)*

During two archaeological campaigns in 2010 and 2011 a space, marked as I.3, situated between the main temple (space I.1) on the south-western side and the complex which closes the space of the forum on its north-eastern side (space I.2), was investigated. Although it initially seemed that this space was external and that it may not provide sufficient data concerning the development of the forum, the opposite in fact was the case: it was precisely in this area that we were able to prove the stratigraphic relations between the two main buildings of the forum and thereby determine the main phases of construction. Unlike on the neighbouring temple, here it was possible to establish archaeological levels and their stratigraphy.

As previously mentioned, it is possible to determine several clearly defined antique structures within the earliest phase of construction, discovered beneath later floors and destruction layers, which will be described below. The first



moguće je ustanoviti nekoliko jasno definiranih antičkih struktura, pronađenih ispod kasnijih podnica i slojeva rušenja koje ćemo opisati nešto niže. U prvom redu je to dio antičkog kanala za odvodnju vode smjera sjeveroistok–jugozapad, s padom prema moru (JZ), sačuvan u dužini od 170 cm, širok u prosjeku između 35 i 40 cm, čiji se pokrov nalazi na koti od 3,35 m n. v., a dno na 2,79 m n. v. Kanal je ukopan u zdravicu – crvenu, masnu i nabijenu sterilnu zemlju – s uređenim rubovima od kamenih većih blokova priljubljenih uz rub svojim dužim stranama, odnosno položenih “na nož”. Kanal je zatim pokriven kamenim neravnim pločama, a zapuna datira isključivo u 1. stoljeće po. Kr. (SJ I.3019) (Konestra 2015). Čini se da je kanal presječen izgradnjom glavnog hrama te je tom prilikom bio preuređen tako da se smjer izlijevanja vode kanalizirao prema fasadi hrama. Ovo ujedno još jednom upućuje na postojanje više odvojenih graditeljskih faza foruma. Uz kanal, ali isključivo sa sjeverozapadne strane, nalazi se dobro izgrađena podnica (I.309) sastavljena od više slojeva – uglavnom pripremnih – čija se najviša kota nalazi na visini od 3,28 m n. v. Podnica je za nekoliko centimetara niža od vrha kamenih ploča krova kanala, stoga možemo pretpostaviti da joj nedostaje završni sloj, možda čak pločnik koji bi pokrivaio prostor ovog dijela foruma. Vjerojatno je upravo u ovom pripremnom sloju podnice Aleksandra Faber otkrila novčić cara Klaudija (41.–54.) (Faber 1982). Rov iz tadašnjih istraživanja bio je zapunjen slojem I.3003, u kojem je ustanovljen arheološki materijal datiran od 3. stoljeća do kasne antike (Konestra 2015).

Istraživanja u ovom sektoru omogućila su nam i detaljnije iščitavanje stratigrafskih odnosa dviju glavnih građevina foruma, kako smo to ranije i napomenuli. Ovdje je razvidno da je u izvornoj fazi začelni zid južnog trijema bazilike završavao u istoj razini kao i njegov sjeverni pandan. Na taj prvi ugao bazilike prislanja se sjeveroistočni zid peribola, tvoreći tako sjeverni dio posvećenog prostora širine 5,4 m. Tek se u sljedećoj fazi ovaj dio u potpunosti preinačuje: izvorni ugao bazilike se ruši te se gradi novi začelni zid južnog trijema bazilike pomaknut prema jugoistoku, tvoreći novo krilo kraće za 4,9 m. Ovaj novi zid prislonjen je na vanjski plašt centralnih prostorija bazilike, dok je s vanjskim južnim zidom trijema prezidan i strukturno spojen. Isto je tako u potpunosti uklonjen sjeveroistočni zid peribola te je izgrađen novi, 3 m dalje od prvog, prislonjen uz novi ugao bazilike. Uz navedene strukturne preinake treba dodati i novoizgrađen zid smješten uz gore spomenuti kanal, smješten 80 cm prema sjeverozapadu, prislonjen na sjeveroistočni zid hrama te u ravnini s novim začeljem južnog trijema bazilike. Ovaj zid, širine 50 cm i sačuvane dužine od svega 1 m, definira uz ostale navedene preinake novo stvoren prostor: njegovom izgradnjom te rušenjem jednog dijela jugozapadnog dijela trijema dobio se kvadratični prostor u čijem se centru gradi baza za počasni spomenik identičan onima izgrađenima u unutarnjem dvorištu portika bazilike (sl. 22). Prema nalazima i stratigrafskim odnosima izvorne podnice i sloja I.3017 s

structure is part of an antique drainage canal preserved 170 cm in length and in average between 35 and 40 cm in width, aligned north-east - south-west with the fall towards the sea. Its fill lies at 3.35 m above sea level, with the bottom at 2.79 m. It was dug into the red, clayish and compact sterile ground and its sides were shaped by larger stone blocks placed vertically along the edges on their longer sides. The canal was then covered by uneven stone slabs. The filling of the canal has been precisely dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. (US I.3019) (Konestra 2015). It appears that the canal was cut before the construction of the main temple. At the moment the temple was built, the channel was reorganised and the direction of the draining of the water was canalised towards the facade of the temple. This fact also points to the existence of several separate construction phases of the forum. Along the canal, but exclusively on its north-western side, a well built floor (I.309) constructed of several, mainly preparation levels, whose highest level is at 3.28 m, is situated. The walking surface is several centimetres lower than the stone slab covering of the canal, leading us to assume that the upper level, which may even have constituted a sidewalk, which would then cover this area of the forum, is missing. It is most likely within this preparation level of the ground surface that Aleksandra Faber discovered a coin from the period of Emperor Claudius (41–54) (Faber 1982). The trench from those excavations was backfilled with the I.3003 layer, with the material dating from 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. to Late Antiquity (Konestra 2015).

The research of this sector allowed for a more detailed understanding of the stratigraphic relations between the two main buildings of the forum. Here it is clear that in the original phase the back wall of the southern porch of the basilica ended in the same level as the northern. The north-eastern wall of the *peribol* leaned against the original angle creating a 5.4 m wide sacred space. It is not until the next phase that this space is completely modified: the original angle of the basilica was demolished and a new back wall of the southern porch, moved towards south-east, was built, creating a wing which was 4.9 m shorter than the original one. This new wall was built against the exterior facing of the wall of the central rooms of the basilica and it was rebuilt and structurally connected with the southern wall of the porch. In the same manner the north-eastern wall of the *peribol* was completely demolished and a new one was built three meters away towards north-east, and leaned against the new angle of the basilica created now by the external walls of its central rooms. To the previously mentioned structural changes it is necessary to add the newly built wall situated along the upper mentioned canal situated 80 cm towards north-west. This wall was supported by the north-eastern wall of the temple and it was on the same level as the new back wall of the southern porch of the basilica. This wall, 50 cm wide and preserved 1 m in length, along with the above mentioned modifications, defines the newly created space: its construction and demolition of one part of the south-western part of the porch created a square shaped space in the centre of which a base for a honorary monument, identical to the ones built within the inner yard of the basilica, was

materijalom isključivo iz 1. do 2. stoljeća koji je anulira, ovaj se novi trg gradi vjerojatno između 2. i 3. stoljeća.

Navedeni nalazi, te posebice naglašavamo bazu za spomenik, preslojeni su podnicom I.302 sastavljenom od poravnane šute u kojoj se nalazi miješan materijal datiran od 1. stoljeća do kasne antike (SJ I.3012). Na površini ovog sloja mogli su se nazrijeti tragovi drvenih dasaka ili greda (SJ I.3011) koji su očito služili za postavljanje drvene podnice na prostoru ranijega kvadratnog trga (sl. 24). U južnom dijelu sektora, istodobno spomenutoj podnici, prostor se dodatno uređuje i dodavanjem drvene gradnje, prepoznate zahvaljujući nalazu dviju jama za umetanje kolaca (I.303 i I.304), promjera u prosjeku između 30 i 40 cm. S obzirom na to da se nalazi iz pripremnog sloja gore navedene podnice mogu datirati do u razdoblje kasne antike, sa sigurnošću možemo predložiti upravo najkasniji materijal kao *terminus postquem* finalnim izmjenama ovog dijela foruma u razdoblje kasne antike. Materijal iz slojeva rušenja koji su izravno pokrivali podnicu I.302 također je širokog raspona datacije (materijal iz slojeva SJ I.3006 i I.3010 datiran je od 1. do 6. stoljeća, vidi studiju Ane Konestre), a sastojali su se gotovo isključivo od razbijenih tegula te kamenih blokova iz zida hrama (I.3008). U tom sloju pronađen je i novčić cara Trajana (98.–117.) te materijal koji se može datirati u razdoblje od 3. stoljeća do kasne antike.

## ZAKLJUČAK

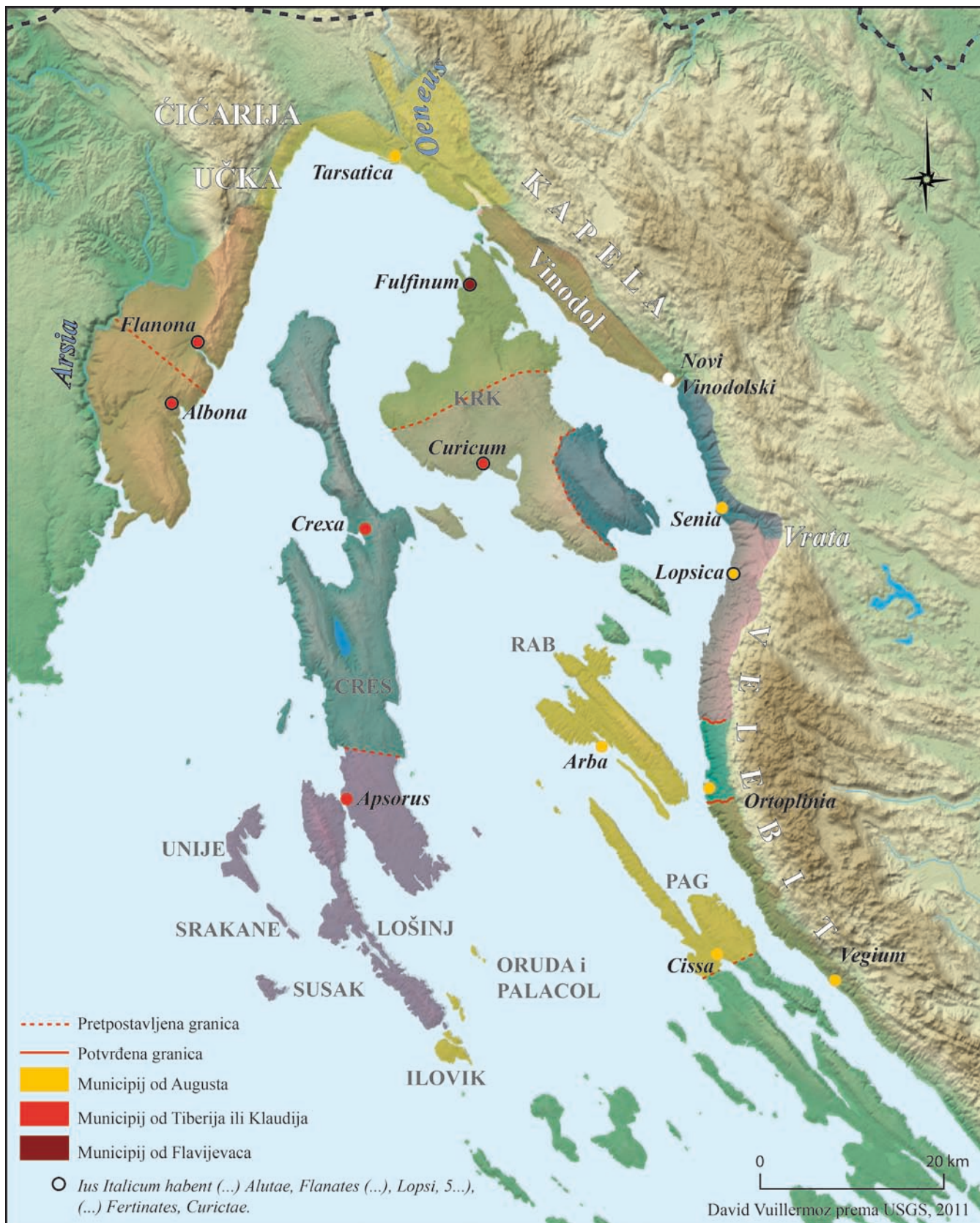
Nastanak grada i njegova izgradnja upisuju se u opći fenomen municipalizacije sjeverne Liburnije koja je, čini se, politički akt započet Augustom, nastavljen u vrijeme Tiberija i nešto manje Klaudija (sl. 23). Prema nalazima iz istraživanja početak gradnje foruma zaista se i može smjestiti u prvu polovinu 1. stoljeća. Činjenica da grad nosi epitet *Flavium* upućuje, prema nama, na vrijeme u kojem je tek dovršena izgradnja novonastalog grada, nasljednika gradinskog tipa naselja koje se nalazilo na mjestu današnjeg Omišlja, čiji stanovnici već i ranije dobivaju niz rimskih prava. Dosadašnja razmišljanja o nastanku grada namijenjenog isključivo potrebama veterana čini se da nemaju pravog uporišta. Naime, u njegovoj blizini ni u jednom trenutku nije postojao vojni logor čiji bi veterani mogli biti smješteni u ovom novonastalom gradu, za razliku od primjerice kolonije *Aequum*. Ovdje je očito riječ o municipiju koji se bazira na lokalnoj zajednici Fertinata čiji su pojedini članovi sudjelovali u rimskoj vojsci te u jednom trenutku i postali veterani. Čini se da bi ovo mogao biti slučaj upravo s Trebijem (v. gore; Wilkes 1969: 197). Teško da bismo u ovu istu kategoriju mogli svrstati i Dekstera, bivšeg visoko rangiranog vojnika, pretorijanca. Kao što je to bio uostalom i kasniji časnik spomenut na počasnom natpisu iz Krka, koji zasigurno nije kolonija veterana (Fiorentin 2001). Ovdje je bitno naglasiti mogućnost seljenja izgrađenog centra s protopovijesne gradine u nizinu, bliže poljima, vodama i naravno luci. Ovaj je novonastali lučki grad otvorenog tipa očito svojevrsan izričaj lokalne

built (Fig. 22). Based on the finds and stratigraphic relations between the original floor and the level I.3017 that replaced it, containing material that can be exclusively dated in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> cent., this new city square was more than likely built between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.

The previously mentioned finds, among which the monument base is the most notable, were covered by the floor I.302 which was assembled from rubble containing mixed material that can be dated between the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. and Late Antiquity (US I.3012). On the surface of this level traces of wooden planks were visible (US I.3011) which were apparently used for the placement of a wooden floor in the area of the earlier square-shaped square (Fig. 24). Contemporary with this floor, the space was additionally modified in the southern part of the sector by the addition of a wooden structure, which was recognised thanks to the discovery of two holes for stakes (I.303 and I.304), averaging 30 to 40 cm in diameter. Considering that the finds from the preparation level of the floor can be dated to Late Antiquity we can certainly suggest this latest material as a *terminus post quem* for the final changes of this part of the forum in the period of Late Antiquity. The material from the demolition levels which directly covered the floor I.302 also has a wide range of datation (material from levels US I.3006 and I.3010 was dated between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> cent. – see the study carried out by Ana Konestra) and it mainly consists of broken *tegulae* and stone blocks of the temple walls (I.3008). A coin from the period of Emperor Trajan (98–117) along with material dating from the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. to Late Antiquity was also found in this level.

## CONCLUSIONS

The founding and construction of the city reflect the general phenomena of municipalisation in northern Liburnia, which would appear to have been a largely political act, initialised by Augustus and continued during the reign of Tiberius and partially Claudius (Fig. 23). Based on the finds from the research outlined above, it is indeed possible to situate the construction of the forum in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. The fact that the city bears the adjective "*Flavium*" points to the period in which the construction of the new city, which succeeded a hill fort settlement situated on the territory of present day Omišalj and whose population had received a number of roman rights even earlier, had been completed. The previous theories of the city having being constructed solely for the exigencies of local veterans clearly have no real foundation, as there was at no point a military camp in the vicinity of the settlement whose veterans could have been housed in this newly founded city, as was the case in the colony of *Aequum* for instance. In the case of *Fulfinum*, rather, we are clearly dealing with a municipium, the construction of which was based on the local community of Fertinates, whose individual members were involved in the roman army and at one point became veterans. It would appear that this could be the case with Trebius (see above; Wilkes 1969: 197), however it is more difficult to precisely place Dexter, former high ranking military, a praetorian, in the same category, nor the later officer mentioned on a honorary inscription from Krk, which was certainly not a colony of the veterans (Fiorentin 2001). It



Sl. 23 Analitička karta datuma osnutka sjevernoliburnskih municipija (M. Čaušević-Bully prema podlozi D. Vuillermoz)  
 Fig. 23 An analytic map of dates of the foundation of the north liburnian municipii (M. Čaušević-Bully, geographical basis by D. Vuillermoz)

populacije i njezine volje za upisivanjem u suvremene te- kovine rimske civilizacije. Koncept uređenja grada upućuje upravo na ovu tvrđnju, iako još uvijek malo znamo o njego-

is important here to emphasize the act of relocation of the constructed centre from the protohistoric hill fort to the plain, closer to the fields, sources of fresh water and, of course, the harbour. This newly developed, open type of harbour city is

vu punom rasteru zbog relativno slabe istraženosti.

Prema općem uvidu u topografski raspored ustanovljenih struktura, čini se da su gradske insule uredno organizirane te da vrlo pomno prate orijentaciju sjeverozapad–jug-istok, predodređenu samim položajem linije morske obale. Grad nije posjedovao zidine te time pripada gradovima tzv. otvorenog tipa (Janvier 1969; Fauvinet-Ranson 2000). Gradska luka zatvarala je čitavo dno uvale Sepen te je, unatoč važnosti foruma, zauzimala centralnu poziciju u prostornoj organizaciji grada. Uzmemo li pak u obzir primjere smještaja foruma u drugim gradovima (Suić 2003), njegov se položaj uklapa u opću sliku smještaja foruma u ostalim priobalnim jadranskim gradovima. Prema postojećim podacima iz arheoloških terenskih pregleda, gradska struktura zauzima svega 5 do 6 ha (v. sl. 11) izgrađene površine, što ga smješta u rang manjih antičkih gradova.<sup>14</sup> Vrijeme izgradnje većine navedenih gradskih struktura, izuzevši nešto raniju izgradnju foruma, smješta se globalno u flavijevo razdoblje. Forum grada *Fulfinuma* prema svim do sada navedenim podacima te prema iščitavanju stratigrafski slojeva, posjeduje više faza izgradnje i korištenja prostora, koje ćemo ovdje precizirati.

U prvoj se graditeljskoj fazi, smještenoj u drugu četvrtinu 1. stoljeća po. Kr. sudeći prema nalazima novca i keramike, uređuje prostor na kojem se smještaju prve građevine foruma, dreniran sustavom kanala velikim dijelom usječnih u živoj stijeni. U isto se vrijeme gradi i prva građevina (prostor I.2) koju smo poistovjetili ili s manjom bazilikom ili s kurijom, odnosno s bazilikom-kurijom (sl. 24). Građevina tzv. bazilike-kurije izduženog je pravokutnog tlocrta kojoj najbliže analogije nalazimo u tlocrtima bazilika u Trstu ili u Akvileji (Mirabella Roberti 1995: 119). Glavnina prostora podijeljena je na tri broda, s dva krila portika otvorenih kolonadama prema unutarnjem nenatkrivenom dvorištu. U sjeverozapadnom začelnom dijelu, između dva produžena krila portika, smjestile su se tri manje međusobno povezane prostorije koje su mogle biti namijenjene ili funkciji kurije, kao što je primjerice u Dokleji (Suić 2003: 252–253) ili možda carskom kultu (Zaccaria 1999). Prema pregledu južnog perimetralnog zida zaključili smo da je prostor bazilike bio zatvoren prema zrcalu foruma te da se u interijer moglo pristupiti kroz barem dvoja vrata, kao što je slučaj kod bazilike tršćanskog foruma (Mirabella Roberti 1995: 119), ili pak one u Veroni (Cavalieri Manasse 1995). Prema unutrašnjem središnjem prostoru portici su bili otvoreni kolonadama i pločnikom, upravo kao što je slučaj kod velikog broja bazilika. No, posebnost uređenja ovog dijela bazilike leži u načinu izgradnje: stupovi trijemova izgrađeni su od opeke, za razliku od ostatka arhitekture izgrađene od lokalnog kamena vapnenca. Iako je ovakva kombinacija materijala relativno rijetka na našem prostoru, nije ni u potpunosti odsutna, pa je tako nalazimo primjerice u obližnjoj Tarsatici, gdje je pri

clearly an expression of the local community's willingness to adopt the modern trends of the roman civilization. Although the poor state of research to date means that we still know very little about the city's extent, the concepts evident in its layout would seem to point precisely to this claim.

According to the general insights gained from the topographic plan of the identified structures it would appear that the city's *insulae* are well organised and that they closely follow the north-west - south-east orientation, which is predestined by the very line of the coast. The city did not have surrounding walls and for this reason it belongs to opened type cities (Janvier 1969; Fauvinet-Ranson 2000) group. The harbour incorporated the entire span of Sepen Bay and, despite the significance of the forum, it occupied the central position within the city's organisation. If we consider the examples of the location of the forum within some other cities (Suić 2003), its position fits the general image of the location of the forum within other coastal Adriatic cities. According to the existing information from archaeological field surveys the city's structures occupy the territory of 5–6 ha of constructed surface (see Fig. 11), which places it in the rank of smaller Antique cities.<sup>14</sup> The time of construction of most of the mentioned city's structures, excluding the somewhat earlier construction of the forum, can be broadly placed within the Flavian period. According to all the abovementioned information and based on the interpretation of the stratigraphic levels we will now outline the several construction and utilisation phases of the forum of *Fulfinum*.

During the first construction phase, judging by the coin and ceramic finds dated to the second quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent., the area on which the earliest structures of the forum stand was prepared, through the digging of a system of rock cut canals. During the same time the first structure (space I.2), identified as a minor basilica or a curia, i.e. a basilica-curia, is constructed (Fig. 24). The structure of the so called basilica-curia has an elongated rectangular plan whose closest parallel can be found in the plans of the basilicas in Trieste or in Aquilea (Mirabella Roberti 1995: 119). The majority of the space is divided in three naves, with two wings of porticoes turned by colonnades towards the inner open yard. Three smaller, interconnected rooms, situated against the north-western back wall, between the two extended wings of the porticoes, might have been dedicated either for the functions of a curia, as is the case in Dokleja (Suić 2003: 252–253), or perhaps even to the imperial cult (Zaccaria 1999). Based on the inspection of the south perimeter wall it was possible to conclude that the space of the basilica was closed towards the opened square of the forum and that one could access the interior through at least two doors as it is the case with the basilica on the forum in Trieste (Mirabella Roberti 1995: 119) or that of Verona (Cavalieri Manasse 1995). The porticoes were opened towards the inner opened space by a colonnade and a sidewalk, as it is the case with a number of basilicas. However, the uniqueness of this part of the basilica lies in its

<sup>14</sup> Uzmemo li u obzir da je Zadar imao 14 ha izgrađene površine, ili pak kolonija Poreč svega 7 ha, u tom smislu površina *Fulfinuma* i nije nesrazmjerno mala.

<sup>14</sup> If we take into consideration the fact that the colonies of Zadar and Poreč were only 14 ha and 7 ha respectively in total constructed area, then the surface of the built area of *Fulfinum* is not that small in comparison.



Sl. 24 Shematski tlocrt foruma s naznačenim glavnim razvojnim fazama (M. Čaušević-Bully)  
Fig. 24 A schematic plan of the forum with marked main construction phases (M. Čaušević-Bully)

izgradnji bazilike principija korištena upravo opeka za izgradnju stupova, dok je ostatak bazilike građen u vapnencu (Bekić 2009). Napomenimo i to da je na susjednom prostoru Italije ovakva kombinacija kamena i opeke vrlo česta, i to u različitim razdobljima.<sup>15</sup>

U sljedećoj se, drugoj fazi, forumski prostor definira

<sup>15</sup> Kao što su kolonade u Herculaneumu, Pompejima, Ostiji itd. Ovdje naravno nije riječ o tehnici *opus mixtum*, koja na lokalitetu dosad nije uočena.

construction: the columns of the porches were built in brick, unlike the rest of the architecture, which was built from the local limestone. Although such a combination of materials is relatively rare in this territory it is not completely absent: it is found, for example, in nearby Tarsatica, where during the construction of the basilica of the *Principia* brick was used for the construction of the columns while the rest of the basilica was built in limestone and brick in *opus mixtum* (Bekić 2009). We should also mention that in the neighbouring territory of

izgradnjom hrama čiji se začelni zid nastavlja prema jugu i prema sjeveru zatvarajući dobro definiran peribol oko hrama. Tlocrtno je riječ o manjem hramu prostilu tetrastilu s pristupnim stubištem upisanim u pročelje pronaosa, smještenim između dva središnja stupa. Svojim tlocrtom odgovarao bi kapitoliju iz Lunija (Rossignani 1995), a podsjeća i na prostil tetrastil iz Pule (Suić 2003: 234) te na hram iz Duklje (Suić 2003: 241). Prema gore opisanim nalazima te stratigrafski jasnom odnosu s bazilikom na koju se zidovi peribola prisanjaju, njegovu smo gradnju smjestili najranije u sredinu 1. stoljeća po. Kr. ili najkasnije u razdoblje početka vladavine Flavijevaca. S obzirom na nedostatak jasnih dokaza, teško je predložiti kome je ovaj hram bio posvećen. Uzevši u obzir navedenu dataciju njegove izgradnje, postojanje kapitolija na planiranom forumu novoga grada u potpunosti je moguće (Sinobad 2008: 255).<sup>16</sup> Cela bi prostorno mogla biti trodijelna te bi mogla spadati u tip trodijelnih cela koje nisu i fizički odvojene u tri zasebna prostora.

U treću graditeljsku fazu možemo svrstati prilično velike strukturne preinake kojima se preuređuje prostor između hrama i trijemova bazilike u manji trg veličine 8 × 8 m unutarnjih mjera. Za potrebe uređenja ovoga manjeg poluotvorenog prostora, dio zidova iz prijašnjih gradnji bio je srušen do temelja – riječ je o sjevernom ogradnom zidu peribola, dok je začelni zid južnog trijema bazilike također srušen i nanovo izgrađen nešto istočnije. U središtu ovako novo stvorenog prostora izgrađena je baza, veličine 80 × 80 cm, za koju ne znamo služi li ari, počasnim natpisu ili kipu. U ovom se razdoblju moguće zazidava i ulaz koji se nalazi u južnom dijelu peribola te se gradi stubište u sjeverozapadnom kraju njegova južnog krila. Ovu je fazu vrlo teško datirati, no moguće je da su spomenute preinake nastale tijekom trećeg stoljeća, s obzirom na to da je u slojevima rušenja upravo ove faze gradnje moguće naći novac iz 2. i 3. stoljeća. Kako primjećuje Claudio Zaccaria (Zaccaria 1999: 81–82), forumi kroz 3. i 4. stoljeće često su preuređeni obogaćujući prostor posvetnim kipovima i počasnim spomenicima podignutim u čast careva. Time su moguće i preinake prostora za njihovo smještanje.

U posljednjoj fazi korištenja forumskog prostora dolazi do njegove ruralizacije, odnosno do korištenja ovog inače javnoga gradskog prostora u moguće privatne svrhe. Naime, prema nalazima ostataka lakih drvenih struktura možemo zaključiti da su određeni dijelovi foruma bili uređeni u manje drvene prostorije. Podsjetimo da je takav slučaj s uređenjem podnice sačinjene od drvenih dasaka na prostoru manjeg trga uređenog u prethodnoj fazi, koja je istodobna s rupama za kolce. Ona prekriva bazu iz prethodne faze te je zasigurno kasnija od njezine izgradnje. Ovoj istoj fazi možemo pripisati i drvene pregradnje prepoznate u istočnom dijelu južnog trijema. Ovakav isti fenomen prepoznat je i u drugim krajevima kasnoga Rimskog Carstva (Brogiolo 2011:

Italy such a combination of rock and brick is quite common and can be found in various periods.<sup>15</sup>

In the following, second phase the space of the forum is defined by the construction of the temple whose back wall continues towards the south and north, thus closing a well-defined *peribol* around the temple. In plan this is a smaller *prostyle tetrastyle* temple with an access staircase imbedded in the front of the *pronaos*, situated between two central columns. The plan would seem to match the *capitolium* from Luni (Rossignani 1995), and it also evokes the *prostyle tetrastyle* from Pula (Suić 2003: 234) and the temple from Duklja (Suić 2003: 241). Based on the previously described finds and clear stratigraphic relations with the basilica to which the walls of the peribol lean on, its construction was placed at earliest in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. or the latest in the period just before the Flavian reign. However, considering the lack of clear evidence, it is hard to suggest to whom this temple was dedicated. Taking into account the possible dating of its construction, the existence of a *capitolium* on a planned forum of a new city is quite possible (Sinobad 2008: 255).<sup>16</sup> The *cella* may have been divided into three areas, meaning that it would fit into the type of three-parted *cellas* which are not physically divided into three separate spaces.

Within the third construction phase we can place the rather substantial structural modifications by which the space between the temple and the porches of the basilica was rearranged into a smaller 8 × 8 m square. For the needs of the structural changes of this smaller semi-opened space, parts of the walls from previous phases were destroyed to the ground. The northern wall of the *peribol* was removed, while the back wall of the southern porch of the basilica was destroyed and then rebuilt further east. In the centre of this newly arranged space a base 80 × 80 cm was built, although it is not clear whether it was used for an *ara*, an inscription or rather a statue. It is possible that during this period an entrance situated in the southern part of the *peribol* was walled up and a staircase situated in the north-western part of its south wing was built. This phase is very difficult to date, however, it is possible that the mentioned modifications occurred during the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. considering that within the levels of its demolition coins dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. were found. Throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> cent., as Claudio Zaccaria notes (Zaccaria 1999: 81–82), forums were frequently redecorated by the placement of devotion statues and honorary monuments erected to the glory of the emperors. Within this process, modifications of space for their setting are possible.

During the final phase of the utilisation of the space of the forum its ruralisation occurs, meaning that this once public space may have been used for private purposes. Based on the finds of light wooden structures it was possible to conclude that certain parts of the forum were restructured into smaller wooden rooms. It must be repeated that such

15 Such as the colonnades from Herculaneum, Pompeii, Ostia etc. We are not dealing here with *opus mixtum* technique, that has not been spotted so far on the site.

16 Marko Sinobad proves that the Capitoline triad is rarely represented in the cities of Dalmatia until the arrival of the Flavian dynasty who reforms the cult.

16 Marko Sinobad dokazuje da je kapitolijaska trijada vrlo slabo zastupljena u gradovima Dalmacije do dolaska Flavijevaca koji obnavljaju kult.

44–51), gdje se forum, gubeći svoju osnovnu administrativnu i religijsku funkciju, počinje zapuštati te se na njegovu prostoru počinju javljati različite gradnje, često od lakih materijala. Dakle, ova faza fulfinskog foruma mogla bi biti upravo kasnoantička, odnosno okvirno smještena između 5. i 7. stoljeća što potvrđuju i keramički nalazi. U ovom se razdoblju gradi i crkva na Mirinama te razvija kasnoantička nekropola (Čaušević-Bully 2014). Naposljetku, na forumu su prepoznati i slojevi vezani uz njegovo konačno napuštanje i rušenje koji, nažalost, sadrže isključivo materijal iz vremena intenzivnog korištenja foruma (ponajprije 2. i 3. stoljeća), te nam je tako onemogućena točnija datacija njegova konačnog napuštanja. Pronađen grob smješten uz zid unutarnje fasade bazilike-kurije trebao je dati konkretan odgovor na ovo pitanje, no njegova vrlo visoka datacija u 14. stoljeće ne može biti uzeta u obzir. No, s obzirom na nalaze s kasnoantičke nekropole (Čaušević-Bully 2014) te prema reviziji antropološke studije ukopanih pokojnika u atrij crkve na Mirinama koju trenutačno izrađuje kolega Mario Novak s antropološkog Instituta i njezine usporedbe s <sup>14</sup>C analizama (Obelić et al. 2011: 401–402), možemo zaključiti da populacija antičkog *Fulfinuma* još uvijek koristi širi prostor grada sve do u 7. pa čak i 8. stoljeće.

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a phenomenon occurred on the area of a smaller square rearranged in the previous phase with the placement of a floor made of wooden planks which is contemporary to the pillar pits. The floor covers the base from the previous phase and is surely later than its construction. To this phase we can also add the wooden reconstructions identified in the eastern part of the southern porch. The same phenomena was recognised in other parts of the Late Roman Empire (Brogiolo 2011: 44–51), where forums, having lost their basic administrative and religious function, began to decline and various constructions, often in light materials, began to appear on their territory. This phase of the forum of *Fulfinum* could be dated to Late Antiquity, roughly between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> cent., as confirmed by the ceramic finds. Within this period the church at Mirine was constructed and Late Antiquity necropolis was developed (Čaušević-Bully 2014). Finally, some levels connected with the final abandonment and demolition of the forum was identified. Unfortunately, the material recovered within them belonged to the period of the extensive use of the forum (primarily 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> cent.) thereby enabling us to determine the exact date of the final abandonment of the forum. It was hoped that a grave identified along the wall of the inner façade of the basilica-curia would provide a concrete answer to this question, however the late, 14<sup>th</sup> cent., date means that it did not provide a useful *terminus post quem*. However, considering the finds from the Late Antique necropolis (Čaušević-Bully 2014) and based on the revision of the anthropological study of the remains buried in the atrium of the church at Mirine, which is currently being conducted by our colleague Mario Novak from University College Dublin and its comparison to the <sup>14</sup>C analysis (Obelić et al. 2011: 401–402), it is possible to conclude that the population of the antique *Fulfinum* continued to use the wider area of the city until the 7<sup>th</sup> and even 8<sup>th</sup> cent.

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