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## ROMAN NAVAL BASES AT THE EASTERN ADRIATIC

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**O**n the basis of available data, the author shall search for sites of Roman naval bases at the Eastern Adriatic, particularly along the Croatian coastline and on its islands.

In both prehistory and antiquity this part of the Adriatic has always been the preferred one for the maritime traffic, due to its countless islands and islets, and to one of the most indented coasts in the world, which secured numerous shelters and anchorages to ships and their crews. These features alone justify assumption that there must have been some other Roman naval stations, and not just in the main port of the *classis praetoria Ravennatium* in Ravenna at the western coast of the Adriatic Sea. Epigraphic evidence suggests that naval stations must have existed at least in Salona, and somewhere near Apsorus, on Colentum and perhaps in Iader; unfortunately, literary sources and archaeological data are almost completely lacking.

**Key words:** Roman Dalmatia, Roman imperial fleets, Adriatic Sea, Salona, Aporus, Colentum, Iader

Many things changed in Roman world after the Battle of Actium in 31 BC: not only that Octavian's victory marked important shift in political and social orders, but other spheres underwent important reforms as well.<sup>1</sup> One of such things that were reformed shortly after the Battle of Actium was the Roman navy. At the end of 31 BC, Octavian collected his ships (some 700, including cca 400 which he brought from Italy and some 300 of Marc Anthony's ships, taken at Actium or during the Actium campaign). Most of the captured ships that were in the Gulf of Actium were either dedi-

cated to Actian Apollo or burned or scrapped, while the remainder were formed into a squadron. When Octavian left with his main fleet to finish the conquest of the East, this squadron sailed to Forum Iulii, presumably in the fall of 31. This is the event that marked birth of the Roman standing navy.<sup>2</sup>

It was Forum Iulii (present-day Fréjus near Marseilles) that was the first naval base of the newly created permanent naval force that was the Roman imperial fleet. It was considered equal to Misenum and Ravenna, the two principal bases of the imperial navy. Archaeo-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eck 2007, 43 ff.

<sup>2</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 11. Cf. BRENTCHALOFF, GOUDINEAU 2009, 35 ff.; TAC., Ann. IV, 5: *Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam, proximumque Galliae litus rostratae naves praesidebant, quas Actiaca victoria captas Augustus in oppidum Foro-Juliese miserat valido cum remige.*

Fig. 1. Finding places of the inscriptions of sailors from the Roman imperial fleets at the Eastern Adriatic (red dots) (map by A. Kurilić 2012; cartographic base: <http://d-maps.com/m/adriatique/adriatique15.gif> downloaded on November 11th 2011)



logical excavations have unearthed remains of military camp just south of the colony of Forum Iulii; the camp existed several decades: it was built at the latest at the very turn of the eras (cca 10 BC - AD 15) and was definitely abandoned around the AD 70. A large bay has been presumed existing to its SW, which must have been capable accepting very large ships as were those captured from Marc Anthony.<sup>3</sup> While in existence, the naval base in Forum Iulii was in charge of guarding the coastal regions of Gaul, but it could have also served for transferring the land forces further inland.<sup>4</sup>

On the other hand, imperial bases in Misenum and Ravenna kept their positions as chief naval ports for several centuries. Exact year of their creation still remains a topic of discussion, but it has been a common opinion that it happened early in the Augustus's reign (i.e. shortly or immediately after the Battle of Actium).<sup>5</sup> Both harbours were designed with only one purpose: to

be military naval centres.<sup>6</sup> According to some calculations, the Misenate fleet was stronger than the Ravenate one, and is considered as the most important in the Empire.<sup>7</sup> Ships and sailors of the Misenate fleet were in charge of many tasks and vast territory: dealing with sporadic piracy in Sardinia or Corsica, guarding the Italian littoral and maintaining the peace in the Tyrrhenian Sea, general supervision of navigation and commerce, providing the courier service and some special services (for ex. transport of emperors, their familiars and other dignitaries), tending the awnings which warded off the sun at Colosseum, etc. Because of that some squadrons were detached in other ports and places: city of Rome (with the largest detachment of the Misenate fleet) and the near-by Ostia (or, rather, Portus), Puteoli, Centumcellae, and some others, even at the Eastern Mediterranean (as, for instance, in Piraeus).<sup>8</sup> These fleet detachments (or *vexillationes*) did not necessarily have ships permanently attached.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. BRENTCHALOFF, GOUDINEAU 2009, 41-60 (cf. Fig. 1 at p. 6 and in particular Fig. 85 at p. 50). Cf. STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 11 f.

<sup>4</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 12 f.

<sup>5</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 13 f., 16 f., 21 f.; PANCIERA 2006<sup>2</sup>a, 1283 f.

<sup>6</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 21.

<sup>7</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 13 f., 16 f.

<sup>8</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 17 ff., 24 ff. and Map at p. vi. For sailors of the Misenate fleet on service in Ostia see also PAVOLINI 2010<sup>3</sup>, 19.

<sup>9</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 17.

The Ravennate fleet had smaller area and fewer tasks in its jurisdiction: its ships and crews protected eastern Italian regions from threats that might come either from sea or land, or assisted the Misenate fleet in other seas and/or in preparations for representations of naval battles in Rome.<sup>10</sup> Its detachments were fewer than those of the Misenate fleet; apart from a small contingent in Rome,<sup>11</sup> such *stationes* were in Lorium,<sup>12</sup> and might have been in Aquileia (during the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD),<sup>13</sup> Dyrrhachium (in the early years of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD) and perhaps in Salona.<sup>14</sup> Two inscriptions found at lake *Fucinum* indicate a presence of a land detachment there.<sup>15</sup>

One of the tasks of the Ravennate fleet, at least in the early years, was to watch over the eastern Adriatic coast. In addition, the base in Ravenna provided an excellent supply base for wars in Illyricum (especially in the eastern Adriatic hinterland) and its establishment might have well been a step in Augustus's plans for expansion to the Danube.<sup>16</sup>

Prior to proceeding with the subject-matter of the paper, a brief introduction is in order regarding first appearances of the Roman navy in the Eastern Adriatic. Keeping in mind geography of Adriatic coasts, the eastern one has been the preferred maritime route since the earliest times due to its countless islands and islets and to one of the most indented coasts in the world, which secured numerous shelters and anchorages to ships and their crews.<sup>17</sup> Apart from ships of native populaces, foreign - mostly mercantile ships - sailed these waters, as well, which is well attested by literary sources and archaeological evidence.<sup>18</sup> Native peoples were notorious for their piracy (LIV. *a. U. c.*, X.2), which provoked first military interventions of Romans in these parts of the world (POLYB. II.2.1 and II.8). The best way to fight pirates was, of course, with war-ships. Then, as well as later, in other conflicts at the Eastern Adriatic (and its hinterland!), Roman war-ships engaged in naval battles or served as transport-ships, carrying infantry and cavalry for land battles.

The earliest records of the Roman navy in the Eastern Adriatic that we know of are connected with the Illyrian piracy in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC (First Illyrian war, 229-228 BC). In 229 Roman embassy came to the Illyrian Queen Teuta while she besieged Issa (POLYB. II.8.5-6).<sup>19</sup> Teuta's response was not at all as expected, and, on top of it, she gave orders for one of the envoys to be murdered; Roman answer was swift and hard: Rome sent a great army lead by both consuls of 229 (Cn. Fulvius Centumalus with 200 ships and L. Postu-

mius Albinus with 20,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry) who defeated Illyrian forces and the war ended already in 228 BC. Many operations required participation of war-ships, starting with envoys who must have both arrived and left on ships and ending with Roman force pursuing the Queen Teuta to her stronghold in Rhizan (present-day Risan in Montenegro).<sup>20</sup> Shortly after, in 221 BC, the Histri (living at the north-eastern Adriatic) attacked Roman grain-supply ships, which was the cause for the First Histrian War (221-220 BC). The war was waged from the sea, and the Roman fleet presumably attacked only coastal Histrian communities (leaving the hinterland untouched) and defeated them.<sup>21</sup> Almost at the same time the Romans fought in the opposite part of the Adriatic Sea, in the Second Illyrian War, against Demetrios of Pharos (220-219 BC). In 219 Rome sent again both consuls (L. Aemilius Paulus and M. Livius Salinator) to deal with the Illyrian threat. Actually, the events of the war were brief and unspectacular; the most prominent battles were the Battle of Dimale/Dimallum and the Battle of Pharos. The former city fell after a seven-day siege. Demetrius fled to Pharos and the Roman fleet followed him there (POLYB. III.18.7). The Battle of Pharos was partly naval, and partly on land (POLYB. III.18.8-12 and III.19.1-8).<sup>22</sup> Roman naval forces were certainly employed in war campaigns that followed in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. BC: (the Second) Histrian War (178-177 BC), the Third Illyrian War (169-168 BC), as well as in the campaign against Ardiaei and Pleraei (136-135 BC). Campaigns against Delmatae were dealt on land both in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> centuries BC, but they required ships to transport Roman soldiers to the other side of the Adriatic. Similarly, C. Sempronius Tuditanus must have employed ships to reach the River Titius in 129 BC.<sup>23</sup>

The Adriatic Sea was one of battlefields in the civil war fought between Caesar and Pompey in mid first century BC. Although it was not one of the major battlefields, control over it was important for both adversaries, since it secured eastern Italian coast and approaches to Rome itself as well as the shortest way from Macedonia to Italy.<sup>24</sup> In addition to several land battles (for which Roman forces were at least partly brought by sea, aboard war-ships and sometimes aboard other types of vessels), such as the Battle of Salona in 49 BC or a terrible defeat A. Gabinius suffered by Delmatae at Synodium in 48/47 BC, some of the crucial battles were fought at sea. Both opposing generals sent admirals at the Adriatic so in these years there sailed two fleets which surely engaged each other in battles or

<sup>10</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 23 ff.

<sup>11</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 23 f.

<sup>12</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 18, 24.

<sup>13</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 23; PANCIERA 2006<sup>2b</sup>, 1350-1352.

<sup>14</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 23 and Map at p. vi; see further in the text.

<sup>15</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 24.

<sup>16</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 22.

<sup>17</sup> D'ERCOLE 2006, 91 ff.; FARIČIĆ, KOZLIČIĆ 2010, 124 f.; KOZLIČIĆ, BRATANIĆ 2006, 107 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Cf., for instance, HEROD., 1.163 ("The Phocaeans were the first of the Greeks who performed long voyages and it was they who made the Greeks acquainted with the Adriatic...."; translation in WILKES 1969, 1) or Ps. Scylax (detailed analyses of parts dealing with the Eastern Adriatic see in SUIĆ 1955 and more recently in COUNILLON 2006); more on Greek and Roman descriptions of Eastern Adriatic, see WILKES 1969, 1-9 and 481-486 (App. XI). For archaeological evidence, cf. for instance MIHAJLOVIĆ 2009, 9.

<sup>19</sup> ERRINGTON 2006, 87-88; cf. CHAMPION 2004, 112.

<sup>20</sup> Detailed description see in MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 88-92; ERRINGTON 2006, 86-90; WILKES 1969, 16-19.

<sup>21</sup> MATIJAŠIĆ 2000, 9; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 92-94.

<sup>22</sup> Detailed description see in ERRINGTON 2006, 91-94; ČAČE 1997, 217-242 (cf. KIRIGIN 2004, 195-196 = KIRIGIN 2006, 145-147); WILKES 1969, 19-21. Cf. MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 94 ff.

<sup>23</sup> For those campaigns see in more detail in: MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 99-122; DERROW 2006, 307 f., 315 ff., 325 ff.; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 291-323, Figs. 68-69 (pp. 297, 300), Figs. 77-78 (pp. 327, 330); WILKES 1969, 30-36. Cf. also BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2011.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2000, 299 ff. (in particular 303).

Fig. 2. Sepulchral inscription of C. Aelius Censorinus, *optio* in *classis Ravennatis* from Salona (photo courtesy of I. Matijević)

Fig. 3. Sepulchral inscription of Caerelleus Museus, *miles* in *classis praetoria Antoniniana Misenatium IIII Venere* from Salona (photo courtesy of I. Matijević)



skirmishes that, unfortunately, we know nothing about. However, the literary sources described in some detail the Battle of Curicum in 49 BC and the Battle off the island of Tauris (not far from the island of Hvar) in 47 BC. Caesarean fleet was heavily defeated in the former, while in the latter it celebrated victory over Pompeian forces and regained control over the Adriatic.<sup>25</sup>

In 35 BC Octavian attacked by the fleet south-Adriatic islands Melite (present-day Mljet) and Corcyra Nigra (Korčula) and destroyed their communities because their people practiced piracy; the same reason was the cause for him to seize ships from Liburni in northern Adriatic. In the course of the same year he started his inland campaigns in Illyricum, conquering the Iapodes, Pannonian city of Segestica and, in 34-33 BC defeated the Delmatae. War and transport ships were inevitable during these campaigns, as well; his advance against the Iapodes most probably started in the Adriatic city of Senia (present-day Senj beneath the Velebit Mountain) where he must have arrived by ships. In addition, ships were mentioned in his war plans during his siege of Segestica, which were either to be provided by some *socii* or built by Octavian.<sup>26</sup> Finally, ships most probably transported at least part of Roman forces during the Great Pannonian-Dalmatian Rebellion of AD 6-9.<sup>27</sup>

As shown above, Roman war-ships were more or less constantly present at the Eastern Adriatic at least since the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC. They still acted against native communities and peoples (as, for instance, in the above mentioned Octavian's actions against pirates in 35 BC) or transported soldiers to fight against peoples in its hinterland and in the continental Illyricum until the AD 9, i.e., more or less at the same time when Au-

gustus established the imperial fleet base in Ravenna, at the western Adriatic coast. In such circumstances military bases were most probably needed at the eastern Adriatic coast, as well. The earliest permanent military camps were built only few decades later but in the hinterland: legionary fortresses in Burnum and Tilverium (present-day Ivoševci near Kistanje at the River Krka and Gardun near Trilj at the River Cetina respectively) were built around the turn of the eras (although temporary camps might have existed already for a decade or two), while the auxiliary camps (such as Bigeste, Andetrium etc.) were all most probably created after AD 9.<sup>28</sup> In most important Roman cities of the eastern and northern Adriatic, Salona and Aquileia respectively, there must have also been military stations of army and/or navy.<sup>29</sup> For a moment, I shall leave Aquileia aside, since it was equally distant from possible centres of disturbances in Dalmatia as Ravenna was, and concentrate on places at the eastern Adriatic coast.

The inscriptions from the Eastern Adriatic mention active soldiers in several places at the coast or islands; the majority of epigraphic monuments come - as one might expect - from Salona, the provincial capital,<sup>30</sup> where they performed various duties, but probably mostly assisting the governor,<sup>31</sup> and from military camps (Burnum in particular).<sup>32</sup>

Some of these active soldiers were sailors in the Roman navy and I shall deal with them in some detail further on. On the other hand, I shall not deal here with inscriptions of Roman knights who brought titles of their posts in fleet in contexts of their *cursus honorum*, because these posts had nothing to do with places where the inscriptions were erected, but with their ca-

<sup>25</sup> The most detailed analysis of these events see in BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2000. Cf. also BILIĆ-DUJMUŠIĆ 2006; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 129-137; ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 340 ff.; WILKES 1969, 40-45.

<sup>26</sup> For Octavian's actions in Illyricum see ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 393 ff., 435 ff.; MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 147-158; HOTI 1992, 135-138; WILKES 1969, 46-57 (especially 50 ff.).

<sup>27</sup> For that war - "the most serious of all foreign wars since those with Carthage" (according to SUET. Tib. 16.1; translation: ROLFE 1979<sup>10</sup>, 319) - see MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 168-176; HOTI 1992, 140 ff.; WILKES 1969, 69-77. Cf. recently ŠAŠEL KOS 2005, 110-112. For other Roman military campaigns in Illyricum from 33 BC to AD 6, see in MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 158-161; HOTI 1992, 138 ff.; WILKES 1969, 58-69.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. WILKES 1969, 92, 95 ff., 471 ff. Further inland, in Pannonian regions, there were other fortresses which were of great importance, such as Siscia (established in 35 BC), Sirmium, Emona etc.; HOTI 1992, 138; MÓCSY 1974, 34 ff., 42 ff.; cf. ŠAŠEL KOS 2011, 112 f.

<sup>29</sup> STARR 1993<sup>3</sup>, 23 and Map at p. vi; WILKES 2006, 570 f.; WILKES 1969, 93; PANCIERA 2006<sup>2b</sup>, passim (esp. 1350 ff.); KEPPIE 1998, 58; KEPPIE 2000<sup>3</sup>, 113 ff.; CIL 3, 14691.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. MATIJEVIĆ 2011, 182: almost 200 inscriptions of legionaries and auxiliaries from Salona and its surroundings.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. MATIJEVIĆ 2011, 201 ff.; WILKES 1969: 116 ff.

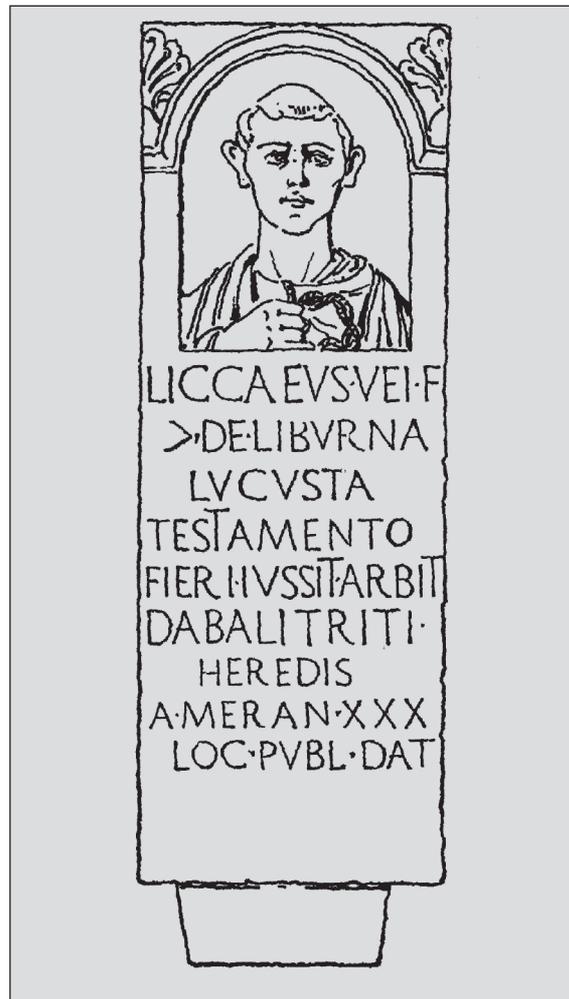
<sup>32</sup> According to my research through all the major epigraphic corpora, there are little more than 70 inscriptions of legionaries of various ranks from Burnum.

reers and glory.<sup>33</sup> Very interesting Late Roman inscription from Supetar at the island of Brač (not far from Salona) has not been analysed here, as well, because the soldier who set up the votive monument (CIL 3, 10107) was sent there with particular mission to supervise obtaining capitals and columns for new imperial baths (*thermae Liciniana*) in Pannonian Sirmium, thus having nothing to do with *stationes* of the fleet.<sup>34</sup>

So, there are altogether eight inscriptions of sailors in the Roman imperial navy, five from Salona and three from other cities (Fig. 1), and all of them are sepulchral.

Three of five Salonitan monuments belonged to soldiers of the Misenate fleet (CIL 3, 2036; *ILLug* 679, 2107), one to the Ravennate (CIL 3, 14691), and one did not state the name of the fleet (CIL 3, 2034). Although it is not possible to date them in a narrow time span, they may be dated within a half-a-century or longer, according to their onomastic, epigraphic and stylistic features. The earliest among them has been dated approximately to the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD.<sup>35</sup> Inscription of an *optio* in the Misenate fleet has been dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. AD,<sup>36</sup> similarly as the stele of another *optio* (but from the Ravennate fleet) which was dated approximately to 130-200 AD (Fig. 2).<sup>37</sup> The inscription set up by a soldier (*miles*) of the *classis Misenatium* to his wife and daughter belongs to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. or the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD.<sup>38</sup> Attribute *Antoniniana* in the fleet's name date the monument of *Caerelleus Museus* to the first half of the third century (Fig. 3),<sup>39</sup> which makes it the latest of the fleet inscriptions in Salona. Such a chronological distribution of inscriptions, along with the fact that they all belong to active soldiers,<sup>40</sup> brings us to conclusion that there was a *statio*<sup>41</sup> of imperial fleet in the Dalmatian capital<sup>42</sup> which was manned by sailors from both fleets, Misenate and Ravennate, and which might have been established at the latest in the last quarter of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD and lasted at least into the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Of course, it might have happened much earlier and/or lasted much longer, but the evidence at our disposal does not permit reaching such conclusions. We do know, however, that Salona played important role as a naval base (again?) in the Late Antiquity: it was the base of powerful fleet of *comes Marcellinus* since AD 454, and of Ostrogoths at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>43</sup>

In addition to these five inscriptions from Salona, there are three others, two from islands that are very important points at the long-Adriatic maritime route, while the finding place of the third is unknown (most



probably ancient *Iader*). At Punta Križa site at the island of Cres (ancient *Crexa*), not very far from Osor (ancient *Apsorus*) situated at isthmus between islands Cres and Lošinj, a stele with portrait of *Liccaeus Vei f., centurio de liburna Lucusta* was found (Fig. 4). This monument is the only inscription of a soldier (either active or dismissed) from the island of Cres. It is dated in mid first century AD,<sup>44</sup> which makes it the earliest (or one of the earliest) inscription among the all discussed in this paper. Liccaeus was rather high in command at his war-ship and died while still in active service (judging by his age, he may have served in the navy for more or less ten years). This alone calls for conclusion that there must have been a navy base (of the Ravennate fleet?).<sup>45</sup> In favour of such conclusion speak the strategic importance of the area, because Osor strait is at the very important place along the sailing route and shortens it significantly (Fig. 5),<sup>46</sup> on one hand and several Roman lead slingshot missiles found within Apsorus city-walls,<sup>47</sup> on the other.

The land for Liccaeus's burial was given by the local community (*loco publice dato*), which may indicate either that he somehow indebted the people of Apsorus

Fig. 4. Stele of Liccaeus Vei f., *centurio de liburna Lucusta* from Punta Križa near Osor (ancient *Apsorus*) (STICOTTI 1914, 89)

<sup>33</sup> One such inscription is from Podstrana (ancient Pituntium) near Salona and was set up for the Roman knight who was, among his many other military posts, praepositus classis Misenatium (CIL 3, 12813; cf. KURILIĆ forthcoming), and the other is from Salona and it was set up for the Roman knight who was, among other posts, praefectus classis [---] (CIL 3, 8716). The inscription CIL 5, 328 from Parentium (in Italian X region) at the western coast of Istrian peninsula falls in the same category, because T. Abudius Verus's post of subpraefectus classis Ravenatis must be understood as a step in his career, and not as a service he performed in that city.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. WILKES 1969, 408 f.

<sup>35</sup> EDH HD054811 (= CIL 3, 2034): *Diop(h)antus A[l]e/xandri f(ilius) / d(e) liburna Mur/ena vixit an(n)o/s XXXVIII militavi/t an(n)os XVI / h(ic) s(itus).*

<sup>36</sup> EDH HD034091 (= *ILLug* 679): [D.] M. / [- Fl]avio Defen/[so]ri optioni / [cl]ass(is) praet(oriae) Mi/5[sen]atium nati/[one Bri]tto st(i)p(endiorum) X / [vixit] ann(os) X[XX?] / [---].

<sup>37</sup> EDH HD056729 (= CIL 3, 14691): D. M. / C. Aelio Censorin(o) / optioni cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) Ra(vennatis) / natione Panno(nico) / 5 vix(it) an(nos) XLI / militav(it) an(nos) XXI / [---].  
<sup>38</sup> EDH HD054814 (= CIL 3, 2036): D. M. s. / Iul(iae) Cre[s]centin(a)e / coniugi ann(or)um) / XXX et Iuliae Ma/rciae filiae / 5 pientissim(a)e ann(or)um) VIII a Iulio Marciano / milite class(is) praet(oriae) Misenatium d(atum?) d(e) d(icatum?).

<sup>39</sup> EDH HD033462 (= *ILLug* 2107): [D.] M. / [-? Ca]erelleo(!) / Museo mil(iti) / c[on]s[ul]as(sis) praeto[ri]ae Antonini / [anae] Misenati/[um] IIII Vene/[re Vi]ctori/[a] ---]caere / [---].

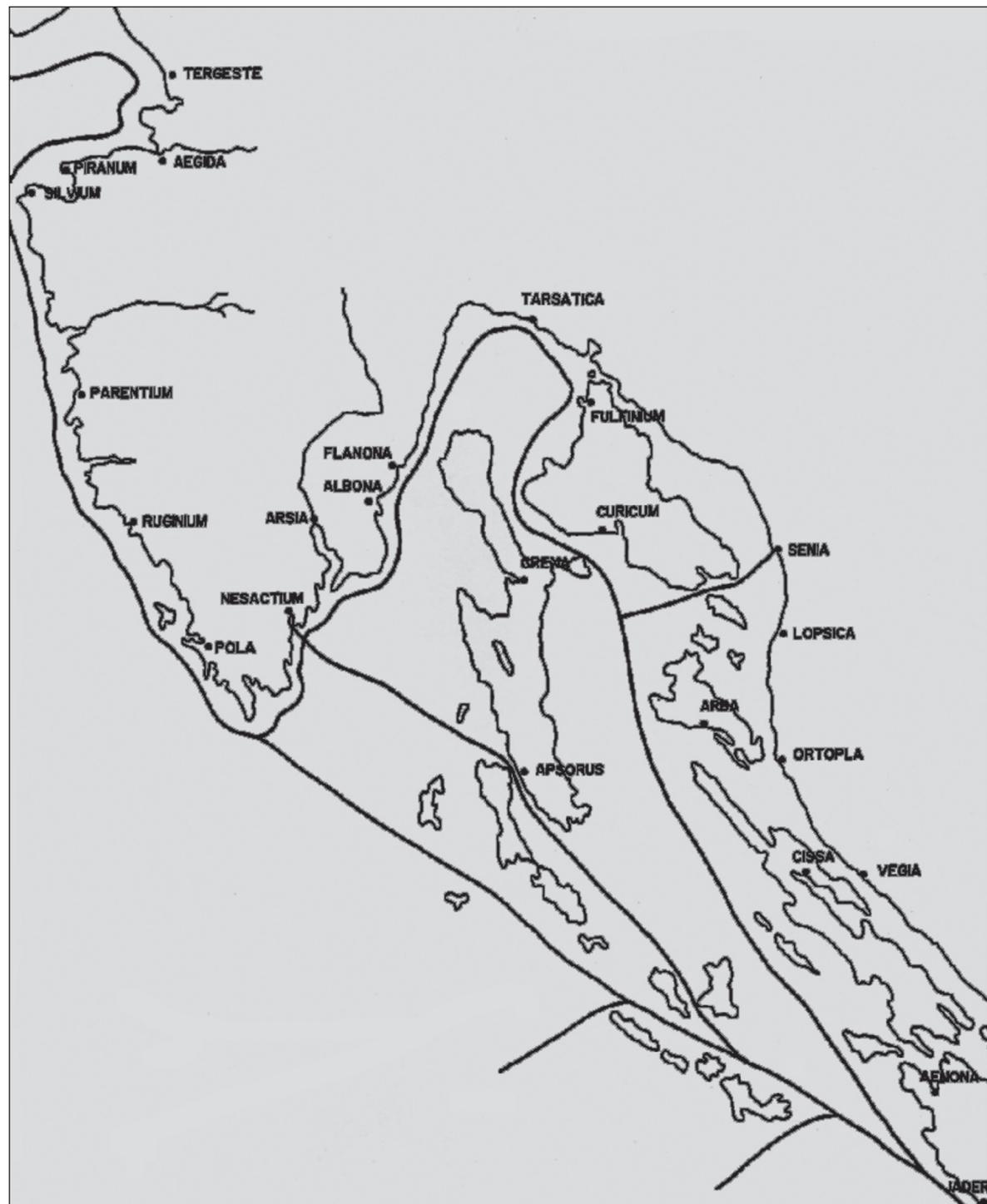
<sup>40</sup> There are some inscriptions of veterans (as, for instance, CIL 3, 2020 and 14695; cf. also WILKES 1969, n. 3 at p. 233), but they, not being indicative for ongoing military service, have not been taken into consideration here.

<sup>41</sup> According to PANCIERA (2006<sup>b</sup>, 1350), the term "statio", when used in this context, may be applied solely to indicate a detachment consisting of several ships on a permanent base in some city other than Ravenna or Misenum.

<sup>42</sup> Already the editors of CIL (CIL 3, 14691) had reached that conclusion and it was accepted by STARR (1993<sup>3</sup>, 23 and Map at p. vi) and later authors (WILKES 2006, 571).

<sup>43</sup> WILKES 1969, 420 ff., 426 ff.

Fig. 5. Sailing routes in Kvarner Bay  
(ZANINOVIĆ 2005, 6, Karta 1)



<sup>44</sup> ILIug 2956 (EDH HD004919): *Liccaeus Vei f(i)lius / (centurio) de liburna / Lucusta / testamento /<sup>s</sup> fieri iussit arbit(ratu) / Dabali Triti / heredis / a(mico) mer(enti) an(norum) XXX / loc(o) publ(ice) dat(o).*  
<sup>45</sup> Cf. ZANINOVIĆ 2005, 19; for this *liburna* being part of the Ravenate fleet see ILIug 2956.

<sup>46</sup> BRUŠIĆ 1993, 227 (in particular n. 17); cf. ZANINOVIĆ 2005, 16 ff.

<sup>47</sup> CIL 3, 10192; cf. Bilić-Dujmušić 2000, 50, 58 f. where he links these finds with events of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

<sup>48</sup> ILIug 2956.

<sup>49</sup> According to <http://www.arkod.hr/> ([http://preglednik.arkod.hr/ARKOD-Web/#highlight&layers=TK25,DKP,LPIS\\_FILTERED,LPIS\\_200,LPIS\\_210,LPIS\\_310,LPIS\\_320,LPIS\\_410,LPIS\\_421,LPIS\\_422,LPIS\\_423,LPIS\\_424,LPIS\\_490,LPIS\\_900&map\\_x=340856&map\\_y=4942418&map\\_sc=7142](http://preglednik.arkod.hr/ARKOD-Web/#highlight&layers=TK25,DKP,LPIS_FILTERED,LPIS_200,LPIS_210,LPIS_310,LPIS_320,LPIS_410,LPIS_421,LPIS_422,LPIS_423,LPIS_424,LPIS_490,LPIS_900&map_x=340856&map_y=4942418&map_sc=7142)) August 16th 2012.

or perhaps that there might have existed a separate military cemetery placed at the public grounds given by the municipal *ordo*. Since the monument was found re-used in a construction of a later Roman grave<sup>48</sup> and not in its original position, it is not possible to identify that presumed cemetery with the finding place of the stele; however, it seems plausible that it should not have been far both from the finding place itself and from Liccaeus's *statio* which was most probably somewhere at the south-western coast of Cres, east of Osor. The most plausible points for the *statio* should probably be

looked for either at prominent promontories near Osor (at the south-western coast of the island of Cres or at north-eastern coast of the island of Lošinj) or in well protected bays or in Osor itself. A very closed bay (almost a lake), measuring some 100 by 75 m,<sup>49</sup> half a kilometre north of Rt Suha (the southernmost promontory of Cres) looks like a perfect place for a harbour. Now we can only rely to archaeological investigations to inspect whether there can be some truth in it.

Another Liburnian island, the island of Murter, was also very important with regard to the maritime routes.

A very narrow channel separating this island from the mainland was very convenient passage for many vessels.<sup>50</sup> At Gradina at the north-eastern end of the island still stand remains of ancient Liburno-Roman town *Colentum*.<sup>51</sup> Not far from its southern city-walls, in 1907 a badly preserved (and now lost) first century Latin inscription was found mentioning a *miles* of a unit the name of which was not preserved.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, he might have been a legionary, auxiliary or navy. His onomastic formula clearly shows that he was the Roman citizen (*C. Volu[m]nius C. f.[- - -]*), but this cannot be of much help, since we find citizens in all three military corps.<sup>53</sup> Although infantry or cavalry soldiers cannot be completely left out of consideration, the finding place itself of the monument makes it more plausible that *C. Volumnius* was *miles* of a war-ship.<sup>54</sup> The fact that he died while still in active service in a place of such strategic importance may be taken as strong indicator that in *Colentum* existed a military station, most probably a naval one.<sup>55</sup> Here too, as in *Apsorus* (and the rest of the island of *Cres*), there are no other military inscriptions.

In an epitaph from the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century there is a Roman citizen for whom there are no doubts that he had served aboard military vessels, which is more than obvious from the verb *militavit* used in the inscription.<sup>56</sup> In addition, he was a *gubernator* aboard *III Fortuna*, and *gubernator* was one of the few who were in charge of commanding the war-ships, the one who was particularly in charge of navigation.<sup>57</sup> The time he spent in the navy (19 years) shows that in the time of his death he was still in the active service.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know the exact finding place of that monument, but it seems most probable that it can be put among the inscriptions from ancient *Iader* (present-day *Zadar*),<sup>59</sup> an important Roman colony that was once centre of Liburnian *Iadasi-noi/Iadertini*, who were, among other things, renowned for their maritime skills.<sup>60</sup> *Iader* is also placed at important point in navigation routes along the "inner route" (i.e. the one closer to the coast) through *Pašanski Channel* and *Zadarski Channel*,<sup>61</sup> so it would not be a surprise that it also garrisoned a detachment of the imperial fleet.

Almost all of the sailors mentioned in these inscriptions were foreigners: some stated that themselves (the Briton: *natione Britto* /cf. n. 36/, the Pannonian: *natione Pannonico* /cf. n. 37/ and the Aegyptian from *Paraetion*: *natione Paraetionio* /cf. n. 56/), but for others we rely on onomastic analysis. *Centurio* from *Apsorus* (cf. n.

44), judging by names *Liccaeus* and *Ve(i)us*, might have been of Pannonian ethnic backgrounds.<sup>62</sup> *Diophantus Alexandri* f. (cf. n. 35) was from the Greek-speaking regions of the Empire.<sup>63</sup> *C. Volumnius* (or, perhaps, *Volusius*) from *Colentum* (cf. n. 52) may have been either of North Italian or even native, Liburnian origin.<sup>64</sup> If he were the latter it would be the first case of recruitment for the fleet among the Liburni that I am aware of.<sup>65</sup> Of Italian origin might have been *Caerelleus Museus* (cf. n. 39),<sup>66</sup> while the origin of *Iulius Marcianus* (cf. n. 38), who is named with common Latin names, cannot be determined with certainty. That also shows us that they must have been here on assignment, which again goes in favour of existence of stations of imperial fleet at the eastern Adriatic.

Although this group of inscriptions of sailors serving in imperial fleets is not very numerous, it is, however, very informative and significant, especially since we still do not have archaeological evidence for military harbours, camps or other installations. All (or almost all) men were active soldiers who died at duty in foreign country and many were above the ranks of simple soldiers (*optio, centurio, gubernator*). It is hard to imagine that they died and were buried here by chance, especially when considering strategic and traffic importance of all finding places of these inscriptions. Therefore, the most evident answer of their being here should be the most plausible one: they had lived and died at their places of military service.

This is, indeed, the conclusion that has been generally accepted among scholars for *Salona*. Five inscriptions of sailors serving in *classis*, two of which were *optiones*, tell us that this *statio* garrisoned men from both *Misenate* and *Ravennate* fleets, and that it was active for two centuries or even more - from the latter half of the first century to the mid third century AD.

*Stationes* most probably also existed, but for shorter periods of time - and, as it seems, prior to the establishment of the base in *Salona* - in two islands, *Cres* and *Murter*, that were both of great strategic importance on the Adriatic maritime route leading towards *Aquileia* (where also existed *statio* of the imperial fleet in the early 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD).<sup>67</sup> One such base might have also existed in *Iader*, and perhaps in some other places of similar importance along the eastern Adriatic maritime routes (as, perhaps, in *Narona*,<sup>68</sup> *Issa*,<sup>69</sup> *Novalja* at the *Island of Pag*,<sup>70</sup> *Pola*<sup>71</sup>). Hopefully, new epigraphic and archaeological discoveries shall bring more light in this still very under-researched topic.

<sup>50</sup> FARIČIĆ, KOZLIČIĆ 2010, 123 f.; KURILIĆ 2010, 37, 44, 46.

<sup>51</sup> KURILIĆ 2010, 35 ff.

<sup>52</sup> *ILug* 930 (= EDH HD034595); KURILIĆ 2005, 110: *C. Volu[m]nius / C. f. [- - -] / mil(es) [- - -] / ann(norum) [- - -] / stip(endiorum) [- - -] / h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)]*. For circumstances of its finding see KURILIĆ 2005, 111 f.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. MATIJEVIĆ 2011, 190 f., 197 f., 200; MATIJEVIĆ 2009, 45; PANCIERA 2006<sup>a</sup>, 1283.

<sup>54</sup> Since the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. BC term "miles" was used to denote sailors of the military naval forces; see REDDÉ 2000, 180.

<sup>55</sup> KURILIĆ 2010, 46.

<sup>56</sup> EDH HD060164 (= CIL 3, 3165): *D. M. / T. Titinio / Iuliano gyb(ernatori) (!) / III Fort(una) nat(ione) / Paraetionio / v(icit) a(nnos) XLII mil(itavit) / a(nnos) XIX Val(eria) Zo(sime) coniu(gi) b. m. p. c.*

<sup>57</sup> PANCIERA 2006<sup>b</sup>, 1345.

<sup>58</sup> During the first two imperial centuries service in the navy usually took 26 years, which was changed in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. AD to 28 years (REDDÉ 2000, 183).

<sup>59</sup> MAINARDIS 2004, 76, nr. 28.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. KURILIĆ 2008, 14 ff., 21 ff.; ČAČE 2006, 70 ff.

<sup>61</sup> KOZLIČIĆ, BRATANIĆ 2006, 109 f.; BRUŠIĆ 1991, 228 ff.

<sup>62</sup> KATIČIĆ 1976, 181; cf. KURILIĆ 2002, 125 f. Cf. also TACITUS (*Hist.* 3.12): "... classis Ravennatis (...) quod magna pars Dalmatae Pannoniique erant..." and REDDÉ's observation that Pannonians made the majority in the *Ravennate* fleet (REDDÉ 2000, 187).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. LGPN online ([http://clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/igpn\\_search.cgi](http://clas-igpn2.classics.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/igpn_search.cgi)) with 245 results for Διοφάντος and 1445 for Αλέξανδρος.

<sup>64</sup> KURILIĆ 2010, 46.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. regions of recruitment for the *Misenate* fleet in REDDÉ 2000, 187.

<sup>66</sup> ALFÖLDY 1969, 68, s.v. *Caerelleus*.

<sup>67</sup> PANCIERA 2006<sup>b</sup>, 1350 ff.

<sup>68</sup> Important military bases of the Roman Army existed in the Late Republic in or near *Narona* and served for the Roman continental advancements, while in the early imperial times an auxiliary camp (*Bigeste*) existed in its vicinity; cf. WILKES 1969, 31, 43 f., 90 f. However, its position is not very convenient for the naval base, since it is placed rather deep in the Adriatic hinterland.

<sup>69</sup> For importance of its harbour see ČARGO 2004, 22 ff.

<sup>70</sup> For importance of its harbour see KURILIĆ 2011/74 ff., 83, 87.

<sup>71</sup> For importance of its harbour see MATIJAŠIĆ 2009, 94, 105 f.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAH 8	<i>The Cambridge ancient history, second edition, VIII: Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 B.C., Cambridge University Press, seventh printing, 2006.</i>
CAH 10	<i>The Cambridge ancient history, second edition, X: The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C - A.D. 69, Cambridge University Press, fifth printing, 2006.</i>
EDH	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (<a href="http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html">http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html</a>), August 12, 2012.</i>
Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti...	<i>S. Panciera, Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti (1956-2005) con note complementari e indici, Roma: Quasar, 2006.</i>
Les Routes...	<i>Les routes de l' Adriatique antique : geographie et economie : actes de la Table ronde du 18 au 22 septembre 2001 (Zadar) = Putovi antičkog Jadrana: geografija i gospodarstvo. Radovi s Okruglog stola održanog u Zadru od 18. do 22. rujna 2001., eds. S. Čače - A. Kurilić - F. Tassaux, Bordeaux - Zadar : Institut Ausonius (Bordeaux, France) - Sveučilište u Zadru (Hrvatska), 2006.</i>
LGPN	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal names, <a href="http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/index.html">http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/online/index.html</a>, August 12, 2012.</i>
ILJug	<i>A. Šašel - J. Šašel, Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt, (Situla 5) Ljubljana, 1963; Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt, (Situla 19) Ljubljana, 1978; Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt, (Situla 25) Ljubljana, 1986.</i>

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## SAŽETAK

### RIMSKÉ VOJNE POMORSKE BAZE NA ISTOČNOM JADRANU

Anamarija KURILIĆ

Na osnovu dostupnih podataka, autorica nastoji locirati položaje rimskih vojnih pomorskih baza na istočnom Jadranu, a osobito uzduž hrvatske obale i na njenim otocima.

Taj je dio Jadrana kroz cijelu prapovijest i antičko doba uvijek bio povoljniji za plovidbu od zapadnoga zbog svojih bezbrojnih otoka i otočića te jedne od najrazvedenijih obala na svijetu, što je sve osiguravalo brojna utočišta i sidrišta brodovima i njihovim posadama. Već ta obilježja sama po sebi opravdavaju pretpostavku da su se tu morale nalaziti rimske vojne pomorske postaje, a ne samo u glavnoj luci *classis praetoria Ravenmatium* u Raveni na zapadnoj obali Jadrana. Epigrafska svjedočanstva sugeriraju da su se vojne pomorske postaje morale nalaziti barem u Saloni, negdje nedaleko od Osora (*Apsorus*), na Murteru (*Colentum*), a možda i u Zadru (*Iader*), dok gotovo posve nedostaju književni izvori i arheološka svjedočanstva.