

**Anamarija KURILIĆ**

Odjel za povijest  
Sveučilište u Zadru  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV., 2  
HR - 23000 Zadar  
[anamarija.kurilic@zd.t-com.hr](mailto:anamarija.kurilic@zd.t-com.hr)

**UDK: 930.22:003.071**

**904(947.5)"652":726.8**

**726.82.032.7(497.5)**

Izvorni znanstveni članak

*Original scientific paper*

Primljeno:

17. prosinca 2007.

*Received:*

## DVIJE RIMSKE NADGROBNE ARE IZ ASERIJE

### *TWO ROMAN SEPULCHRAL ALTARS FROM ASSERIA*

*Apstrakt*

*U radu se obrađuju dva gotovo identična nadgrobna žrtvenika (arae) koji su nedavno otkriveni kao spolia unutar kasnoantičkog obrambenog nasipa usporednog sa sjevernim dijelom ranorimskih bedema Aserije. Oba ova nadgrobna spomenika pripadaju profiliranim trodijelnim monolitnim arama. Jednu je od njih svom mužu Adjutoru (Adjutor) postavila njegova žena Sextilia Ingenua, a druga je anepigrafska. Obje se okvirno mogu datirati u razdoblje kasnog principata, najvjerojatnije u drugu polovicu 2. st. ili u početak 3. st. po Kr. Ukupan broj nadgrobnih ara s područja Aserije narastao je ovim nedavnim nalazima na osam.*

*Ključne riječi:* Aseria, latinska epigrafija, nadgrobne are

*Abstract*

*The paper analyses two almost identical sepulchral altars (arae) recently discovered as spolia in the structure of the Late Roman bulwark running parallel to the northern part of the early Roman city-walls of Asseria. Both altars are tripartite and monolithic of the type with frames. One was set up for Adiutor by his wife Sextilia Ingenua, and the other was anepigraphic. They can be roughly dated to the Late Principate, most probably to the second half of the second century AD or at the beginning of the third. With these recent findings, there are now eight sepulchral altars known from Asseria and its territory.*

*Key words:* Asseria, latin epigraphy, sepulchral altars

Tijekom devete kampanje arheoloških istraživanja u Aseriji 2006. godine pronađena su i dva nadgrobna žrtvenika (*arae*).<sup>1</sup> Are su pronađene u kasnoantičkom obrambenom nasipu usporednom sa sjevernim odsječkom ranorimskih bedema Aserije /Sl. 1-4/. Struktura ovog nasipa vrlo je loše kvalitete; vezivni materijal (npr. žbuka ili slično) gotovo sasvim nedostaje ili je vrlo rijetko korišten, pa se stječe dojam da je nasip građen u vrlo velikoj žurbi. Are su jednostavno bile ubaćene u strukturu nasipa, zajedno s drugim ranorimskim spomenicima poput, npr. s ulomcima tzv. liburnskih cipusa, i sličnim /Sl. 3-4/.<sup>2</sup> Jedna od tih ara nosi nadgrobni natpis, i upravo je ona u žarištu ovoga rada.

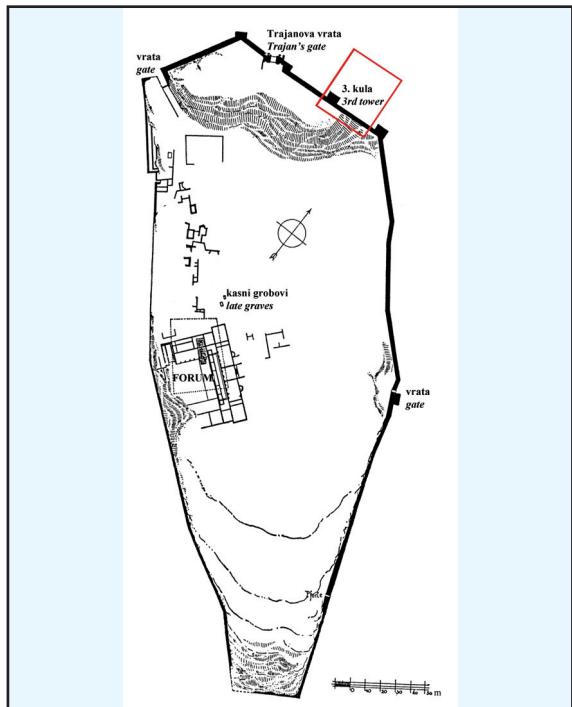
Two sepulchral altars (*arae*) were found in 2006 during the ninth campaign of archaeological excavations in Asseria.<sup>1</sup> The altars were found in the Late Roman bulwark parallel to the northern section of the early Roman city-walls of Asseria /Figs. 1-4/. This Late Roman structure is very loose, with little or no binding material (such as mortar or similar), and gives an impression that was built in a great hurry. Namely, the altars were simply put into the structure, together with other early imperial Roman monuments, such as, for instance, fragments of so-called Liburnian cippi, and similar /Figs. 3-4/.<sup>2</sup> One of the altars bears sepulchral inscription, and this paper shall primarily deal with it.

<sup>1</sup> Kompleksna arheološka istraživanja Aserije zajednički provode Arheološki muzej u Zadru (dr. sc. Ivo Fadić, odnedavna ravnatelj Muzeja antičkog stakla u Zadru) i Odjel za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Zadru (dr. sc. Nenad Cambi). Kolegi I. Fadiću dugujem zahvalnost što mi je omogućio da na ovome mjestu objavim ta dva nedavna nalaza. Za izvješće o ovoj kampanji, v. I. FADIĆ, 2007, 88-97.

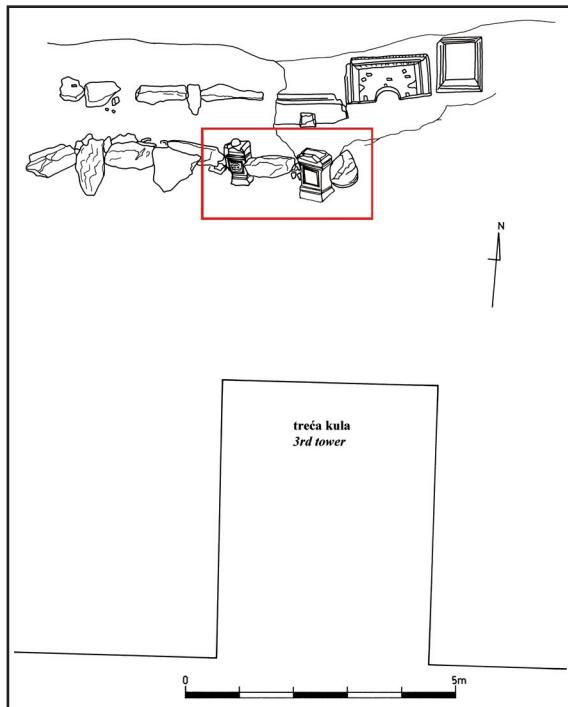
<sup>2</sup> Za ovaj kasnoantički obrambeni nasip, v. I. FADIĆ, 2003, 13, 16 i d.; I. FADIĆ, 2007, 89-91.

<sup>1</sup> The complex archaeological investigations of Asseria are conducted jointly by the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Dr. Ivo Fadić, presently Head of the Museum of Ancient Glass in Zadar) and the Department of Archaeology of the University of Zadar (Dr. Nenad Cambi). I would like to extend my gratitude to dear friend and colleague I. Fadić for presenting me with the opportunity to publish here these two recent discoveries. Report on this campaign gives I. FADIĆ, 2007, 88-97.

<sup>2</sup> For this Late Roman bulwark, see I. FADIĆ, 2003, 33, 35ff; I. FADIĆ, 2007, 89-91.



Sl. 1. Mjesto nalaza nadgrobnih ara  
Fig. 1. Finding-place of both sepulchral altars



Sl. 2. Nalaz dviju nadgrobnih ara  
Fig. 2. Finding places of sepulchral altars

### 1. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara

SPOMENIK je napravljen od vapnenca lošije kvalitete, na kojemu su zamjetne vidljive vene i druge nepravilnosti. Na kamenu se na nekim mjestima zapaža tanak sloj prirodne kalcifikacije koji je vjerojatno nastao nakon što je bio sekundarno upotrijebljen. Na nekim drugim mjestima, kao npr. na desnom rubu prednje strane nadgrobne are /Sl. 5-5a/, uočavaju se tragovi prirodne erozije kamena.

Nadgrobna arva visoka je 105-107 cm, široka 55 cm i debela 39 cm (za ostale dimenzije, v. ovdje, **Dodatak**). Spomenik je sačuvan gotovo u cijelosti, s iznimkom odlomljenoga gornjeg lijevog kuta kruništa

### 1. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor

THE MONUMENT is made of limestone of rather inferior quality, with visible veins and other structural irregularities. In some points the stone has a thin layer of natural calcification that most probably occurred after it became a spolium. In some other places, as for example at the right edge of the altar's front side /Figs. 5-5a/, the stone shows traces of its natural erosion.

The altar is high 105-107 cm, wide 55 cm and thick 39 cm (for other measures, see here, **Appendix**). It is almost entirely preserved; however, the front left corner of cornice is broken off and missing, as well as almost entire left lateral side, especially its

i gotovo cijele lijeve bočne strane (osobito na njezinu donjem dijelu; v. Sl. 5-5a). Na bočnim stranama vidljivi su tragovi finije zubače, no, zabat i gornja površina ostavljeni su prilično grubo obrađeni. Prednja strana bila je prilično fino zaravnana, ali je sada prilično oštećena, i to ne samo poradi djelovanja atmosferilija već i zbog nedostataka samoga kamena. Stražnja strana nikad nije bila obrađena već je ostavljena samo grubo odrezana /Sl. 6/.

Ara je izrađena iz

monolitnoga vapnenačkog bloka i svojim oblikom sasvim podsjeća na standardne votivne are. Sastoji se od tri jasno definirana dijela: baze, tijela i kruništa (vijenca). Može se uvrstiti u tzv. **grupu profiliranih nadgrobnih ara** ("profilgerahmte Altäre").<sup>3</sup>

Adjutorova nadgrobna ara na dnu ima profiliranu bazu postavljenu na plitku plintu. Profilacija se proteže i na obje bočne strane /Sl. 5, 7-8/, a sastoji se od S-profil-a (*cyma reversa*), manje polukružne letvice, i, iznad nje, obrnutog S-profil-a (*cyma recta*). Iznad baze je uži kvadar tijela are na kojemu je uklesan nadgrobni natpis unutar



Sl. 3. Pronalazak dviju nadgrobnih ara u kasnoantičkoj obrambenoj strukturi  
Fig. 3. Discovery of two sepulchral altars within the Late Roman bulwark

bottom part /Figs. 5-5a/. Traces of narrow stonemason's claw are visible at the altar's lateral sides, but both gable and top surfaces are left quite uneven. Front side was finely dressed, almost polished, but now it is quite damaged partly because of the unfavourable weather conditions and partly because of stone's very flaws. Rear side has never been properly dressed; instead, it was just left roughly cut off /Fig. 6/.

Altar is made of a single block of limestone resembling in almost every aspect to the standard classical votive altars, consisting of three distinct parts: base, body and cornice. It can be placed within the group of sepulchral altars of the so-called

**type with frames** ("profilgerahmte Altäre").<sup>3</sup>

At the bottom, above the plain low plinth, the sepulchral altar of Adjutor has a moulded base, the moulding of which extends to both lateral sides /Figs. 5, 7-8/, and consists of *cyma reversa*, low annular fillet and *cyma recta* atop of it. Above the base stands narrower central cube (i. e. the body, or, the shaft), carrying the epitaph carved in simply moulded square inscription field.

<sup>3</sup> Za tipologiju takvih nadgrobnih ara, v. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 7 i d.; usp. još i D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 36 i d., gdje se mogu naći citirana i druga relevantna djela.

<sup>3</sup> For the typology of such sepulchral altars, see D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 7ff; cf. also D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 36ff, where he quotes some other relevant works.



Sl. 4. Nadgrobne are u kasnoantičkoj obrambenoj strukturi  
Fig. 4. Sepulchral altars in the Late Roman bulwark

jednostavno profiliranoga četvrtastog natpisnog polja.

Iznad tijela je profilirano krunište (vijenac) koje završava niskim zabatom i vrlo stiliziranim akroterijima /Sl. 5-8/.<sup>4</sup> Profilacija vijenca slična je onoj baze i također se proteže na obje bočne strane, te točno ponavlja poredak njegovih elemenata: na dnu je *cyma reversa*, iznad nje je tanja polukružna letvica, a na vrhu je *cyma recta* /Sl. 5, 7-8/; iznad nje se, kao što je često običaj,<sup>5</sup> nalazi ravna greda.

Above the body stands a moulded cornice that ends with a low gable flanked with much stylised acroteria /Figs. 5-8/.<sup>4</sup> The cornice moulding, similar to the one of the base, extends to both lateral sides, and repeats its exact order: at the bottom stands *cyma reversa*, followed by an annular fillet, and finishes with *cyma recta* /Figs. 5, 7-8/. As is often the case with cornice tops,<sup>5</sup> above *cyma recta* stands a listel.

At the central part of the very top of the altar, atop the gable apex, stands rather

<sup>4</sup> Slično oblikovane akroterije ima, npr., nadgrobna ara L. Usija Filipa iz Trsta; v. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 82, Kat. br. 24 (sl. na str. 192).

<sup>5</sup> Usp. J. STEVENS CURL, 2006, 280, s.v. fillet, i 447, s.v. list, listel, listella.

<sup>4</sup> Similarly shaped acroteria has, for instance, sepulchral altar of L. Usius Philippus from Trieste (Italy); see D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 82, Kat. nr. 24 (fig. at p. 192).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. STEVENS CURL, 2006, 280, s.v. fillet, and 447, s.v. list, listel, listella.



Sl. 5-5a. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara - prednja strana  
Figs. 5-5a. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor - front side

Relativno visok, neukrašen i vrlo stiliziran češer nalazi se iznad vrha zabata, usred gornje površine ove nadgrobne are (usp. Sl. 5-5a).

U donjim polovicama obiju bočnih strana nalazila se nepravilna izbočina /Sl. 8/<sup>6</sup> iz koje je trebao nastati kakav figuralni ili ornamentalni reljef,<sup>7</sup> koji, međutim, nikad nije bio izrađen.<sup>8</sup> Budući da na svim

<sup>6</sup> Lijeva je strana odlomljena pa je izbočina sada sačuvana samo na desnoj bočnoj strani, no nema nikakve sumnje da su je nekoć imale obje strane. To se jasno očituje na bočnim stranama anepigrafske are koja je bila nađena zajedno s ovom (v. Sl. 12).

<sup>7</sup> Poznate su brojne slične nadgrobne are iz sjeverne Italije koje na svojim bočnim stranama imaju razne reljefne prikaze (amore, delfine, razne posude, vegetabilne motive, girlande, itd.); usp. npr. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 16 i d., te Kat. br. 59, 79, 81, 88, 100, itd.

<sup>8</sup> Čini se da nije bilo neuobičajeno da radionice svojim kupcima dostave nedovršene proizvode; za takve primjere usp. npr. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 100, Kat. br. 59.

high and much stylised plain pine cone /cf. Figs. 5-5a/.

At both lateral sides, in their lower halves, there was an irregular roughly shaped bulge /Fig. 8/<sup>6</sup> that was to become a figural or ornamental decoration,<sup>7</sup> but had never been sculptured.<sup>8</sup> Since all the surfaces

<sup>6</sup> The left side is broken off and the bulge is now preserved solely at the right lateral side, but there is no doubt that once both sides had it, since the anepigraphic altar found together with it also has similarly shaped bulges at both of its lateral sides (see Fig. 12).

<sup>7</sup> Many similar sepulchral altars from Northern Italy have representations at their lateral sides (Cupids, dolphins, vases, leaves, garlands, etc.); cf. for instance, D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 16ff, and Kat. nos. 59, 79, 81, 88, 100, etc.

<sup>8</sup> It seems that it was not uncommon for workshops to deliver unfinished products to their customers; for such instances cf. for ex. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 100, Kat. nr. 59.

površinama are (uključujući i natpisno polje) nedostaje završni klesarov potез, moglo bi se zaključiti da ona nikad nije bila posve dovršena. Naravno, hrapavost koju sada iskazuju njezine površine, sigurno su prouzročili - barem u nekoj mjeri - dugotrajni nepovoljni vremenski uvjeti kojima je bila izložena osobito otkako je postala običan građevni materijal.

#### Donja površina

nadgrobne are obrađena je grubom zubačom, ali samo na prednjem dijelu, koji je oko 1-1,3 cm niži od neobrađenoga stražnjeg dijela /Sl. 9/. Te karakteristike, kao i činjenica da je i stražnja strana ostavljena neobrađenom, mogli bi ukazivati na to da je ara bila umetnuta - ali ne i uzidana, jer za to nema dokaza - u nekakvu nisku strukturu (možda u postolje ili ogradu grobne parcele).

Slične are poznate su u svim dijelovima Rimskog Carstva, uključujući i provinciju Dalmaciju.<sup>9</sup> Iz Aserije je do sada bilo poznato pet, odnosno, točnije,



Sl. 6. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara - stražnja strana  
Fig. 6. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor - rear side

lack the finishing stone-mason's touch, including the inscription field, it may be concluded that the altar had never been completed. Naturally, the present rough appearance of its surfaces is surely also due - at least in some degree - to long-lasting unfavourable conditions in which it was put after being used as building material.

The bottom surface of the altar was dressed with wi-

de stone-mason's claw just at its frontal section that is approximately 1-1.3 cm lower than the unworked back section /Fig. 9/. These features, together with leaving the rear side unworked, might indicate that the altar was inserted - but not built, since there are no proves of it - in some sort of a low structure (a pedestal or balustrade of the burial plot, perhaps).

Similar types of sepulchral altars are present in all parts of the Roman Empire, province of Dalmatia included.<sup>9</sup> Five - or, rather, six - such altars have been

<sup>9</sup> Usp. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 38 i d.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 38ff.



Sl. 7. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara - lijeva bočna strana  
Fig. 7. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor - left lateral side



Sl. 8. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara - desna bočna strana  
Fig. 8. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor - right lateral side

šest, takvih nadgrobnih ara,<sup>10</sup> pa bi ovo bila sedma.

Pet od tih šest ara su kompozitne, tj. tri osnovna dijela napravljena su im od tri odvojena vapnenačka bloka (to su tzv. kompozitne tripartitne nadgrobne are),<sup>11</sup> a jedna je monolitna.<sup>12</sup> Osim toga, svih pet kompozitnih ara mnogo su veće od monolitnih.

known up to now from Asseria,<sup>10</sup> and this would be the seventh.

Among these six, five were composite, having the three basic parts made of separate limestone blocks (so-called composite tripartite sepulchral altars),<sup>11</sup> and one was monolithic.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the five composite altars are of much larger di-

<sup>10</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 25 i d. ih je obradio pet. Međutim, njima se svakako mora pribrojati i još jedna, šesta, podignuta za T. Publicija Saturnina, a koja se u literaturi opisivala kao "nadgrobni cipus" (*CIL* 3, 9941 = A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Kat. br. 998). Taj se cipus ima smatrati tijelom još jedne kompozitne nadgrobne are sličnih dimenzija poput drugih dviju iz Aserije; usp. A. KURILIĆ, 2006, br. 9 (str. 34 i bilj. 114).

<sup>11</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, br. 1-4 (str. 26 i d.); A. KURILIĆ, 2006, br. 9 (str. 34 i bilj. 114).

<sup>12</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, br. 5 (str. 36).

<sup>10</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 25ff analysed five of them. However, a sixth example must be recognised in the so-called "sepulchral cippus" of T. Publicius Saturninus (*CIL* 3, 9941 = A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Cat. nr. 998), cippus being but the shaft of another composite tripartite sepulchral altar of similar dimensions as two other examples from Asseria; cf. A. KURILIĆ, 2006, nr. 9 (p. 34 and n. 114).

<sup>11</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, nos. 1-4 (p. 26ff); A. KURILIĆ, 2006, nr. 9 (p. 34 and n. 114).

<sup>12</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, nr. 5 (p. 36).

Mjere jedne od njih, one koja je bila postavljena municipalnom magistratu Aserije G. Titiju Priscinu, bile su najmanje 182x102x89 cm;<sup>13</sup> još su dvije bile podjednako velike,<sup>14</sup> jedna neznatno manja od njih,<sup>15</sup> a jedna zacijelo mnogo veća.<sup>16</sup> Skoro sve te are - osim zadnjespomenute koja pripada tipu s orna-

mentalno dekoriranim profilacijama (“Rankengerahmte Altäre”),<sup>17</sup> pripadaju istom tipu kao i Adjutorova - takozvanom tipu s profilacijama (“profilgerahmte Altäre”).<sup>18</sup> Te četiri are datirane su u vremenski raspon od zadnje četvrтине 1. st.

<sup>13</sup> Za spomenik i njegove dimenzije, v. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 32-33 (br. 3); za spomenik i njegov natpis, v. AE 2001, 1624, i A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 42 i d. (br. 12), gdje su citirana i ostala relevantna djela.

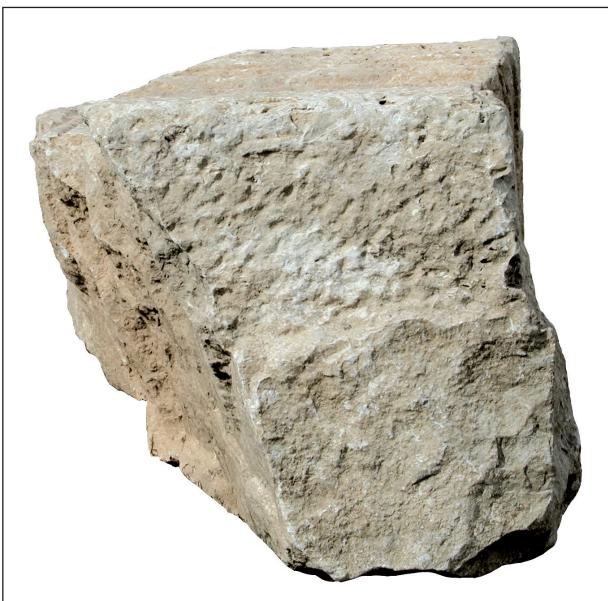
<sup>14</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, br. 4; A. KURILIĆ, 2006, br. 9.

<sup>15</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, br. 2 (str. 32).

<sup>16</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, br. 1 (str. 31, gdje pretpostavlja da je ova ara mogla biti najmonumentalniji spomenik ikad napravljen u aserijatskim radionicama).

<sup>17</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 24 i d.; usp. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 12 i d.

<sup>18</sup> Za tip v. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 10 i d.; usp. i D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 38.



Sl. 9. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara - dno  
Fig. 9. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor - bottom surface

mensions than the monolithic ones. One of former, set up for C. Titius Priscinus, the municipal magistrate of Asseria, must have measured 182 x 102 x 89 cm,<sup>13</sup> two others were as big,<sup>14</sup> one slightly smaller than them,<sup>15</sup> and one perhaps much bigger.<sup>16</sup> With the exception of the latter that belonged to the so-called type

with ornamental frames (“Rankengerahmte Altäre”),<sup>17</sup> all of the composite altars belonged to the same type as the Adiutor’s one - to the type with frames (“profilgerahmte Altäre”).<sup>18</sup> These four altars were dated in a span ranging from the last quarter of the

<sup>13</sup> For the monument and its dimensions see D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 32-33 (nr. 3); for the monument and its inscription, see AE 2001, 1624, and A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 42ff (nr. 12) where one can find quoted the earlier relevant titles.

<sup>14</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, nr. 4; A. KURILIĆ, 2006, nr. 9.

<sup>15</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, nr. 2 (p. 32).

<sup>16</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, nr. 1 (p. 31, where he is hypothesising that this particular altar might have been the most massive monument ever made in workshops of Asseria).

<sup>17</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 24f; cf. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 12f.

<sup>18</sup> For the type see D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 10f; cf. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 38.

(flavijevska dinastija) do sredine 2. stoljeća.<sup>19</sup>

Samo je jedna aserijatska nadgrobna ara do sada bila monolitna, a ne kompozitne strukture. To je mala ara Rubrike Restute koja je pronađena u obližnjoj ruralnoj sredini u Lepurima.<sup>20</sup> I ona je pripadala tipu s profilacijama, no, za razliku od velikih kompozitnih ara čiji je vrh završavao - sudeći prema jednom sačuvanom gornjem dijelu - profiliranim kruništem i pulvinima, upravo kao i kod standardnih zavjetnih ara,<sup>21</sup> gornji dio are Rubrike Restute završavao je trokutastim zabatom i akroterijima koji nisu stajali slobodno oblikovani u prostoru, već su bili uklesani u monolitni vapnenački blok are.<sup>22</sup> Ta se ara datira kasnije od kompozitnih, i to najvjerojatnije u kasno drugo ili u treće stoljeće po Kristu.<sup>23</sup>

Usprkos brojnim sličnostima, ipak, niti jedna od prethodno opisanih ara ne može poslužiti kao izravna analogija onoj koja se obrađuje u ovom radu. To je osobito zanimljivo kod izgleda gornjeg dijela, koji je kod Adjutorove are oblikovan kao slobodnostojeći trokutasti zabat s akroterijima, ali i kod izgleda bočnih strana, koje su kod Adjutorove are trebale biti ukrašene. Slično su oblikovane neke monolitne nadgrobne

1st century (Flavian dynasty) to the mid 2nd century AD.<sup>19</sup>

Up to now, only one sepulchral altar in Asseria was not composite in structure, but monolithic. It is a small ara of Rubria Restuta, found in near-by rural agglomeration of Lepuri.<sup>20</sup> It also belonged to the type with frames, but unlike the big composite altars that finished at the top with moulded cornice and pulvins (judging by a preserved upper slab) as in votive altars proper,<sup>21</sup> ara of Rubria Restuta had a top ending shaped as a triangular gable with acroteria, which did not stand free in space but was embossed within the monolithic corpus of the limestone block.<sup>22</sup> This altar has been dated later than the composite ones, most probably to the late 2nd or to the 3rd century AD.<sup>23</sup>

None of the above described altars show direct analogies to the one analysed in this paper, despite the numerous similarities that they do share. This is especially true when considering top-ending of the Adjutor's ara shaped as freestanding triangular gable with acroteria and the altar's decorated lateral sides. More similarly structured sepulchral altars are, for example, some monolithic altars from Northern Italy, one found between Aquileia and Terzo, having

<sup>19</sup> Usp. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 39-40, gdje pretpostavlja da proizvodnja velikih kompozitnih ara vjerojatnije nastavljena i u trećem stoljeću; A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 36 i 42 (osobito bilj. 151).

<sup>20</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, br. 5, str. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Usp. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, Sl. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Usp. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, Sl. 9.

<sup>23</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 39.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 39-40, where he supposes that the production of big composite altars probably did not continue into the third century; A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 36 and 42 (esp. n. 151).

<sup>20</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, nr. 5, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, Fig. 7.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, Fig. 9.

<sup>23</sup> D. MARŠIĆ, 2005, 39.

are iz sjeverne Italije, kao npr. jedna nađena između Akvileje i Terza, koja ima slobodno-stojeći trokutasti zabat s akroterijima i pri-kaze delfina na bočnim stranama (datirana u kraj 1. st. po Kr. ili kasnije),<sup>24</sup> ili jedna što se čuva u Museo Civico di Oderzo (datirana u kraj 1. ili početak 2. st.),<sup>25</sup> itd.

Općenito govoreći, nadgrobne su are bile skupi spomenici.<sup>26</sup> Naravno, cijena im je morala znatno varirati, ovisno o kvaliteti kamena i obrade, dostavnim troškovima, kao i o dimenzijama, te o drugim čimbenicima o kojima danas znamo vrlo malo ili ne znamo ništa (npr. o ugledu radionice). Neki od tih čimbenika - oni koje danas možemo izmjeriti - uzeti su u obzir pri pokušaju stvaranja skale vrijednosti za sačuvane kamene spomenike.<sup>27</sup> Prema tim izračunima, kompozitne are iz Aserije pripadaju razredu spomenika koji se procjenjuje na najvišu vrijednost (Razred 9: iznimno visoka vrijednost);<sup>28</sup> to je sigurno točno za aru G. Titija Priscina (v. ovdje, bilj. 13), jer su joj poznate sve dimenzije.<sup>29</sup> Istom su razredu zacijelo pripadale i dvije are čija su tijela gotovo identičnih dimenzija kao kod Priscinove are (ovdje, bilj. 14), jednako kao i

freestanding triangular gable with acroteria and dolphin representations at its lateral sides (dated at the end of the 1st century AD or later),<sup>24</sup> or the one kept in Museo Civico di Oderzo (dated at the end of the 1st century or beginning of the 2nd),<sup>25</sup> etc.

Sepulchral altars, speaking in general, were quite costly monuments.<sup>26</sup> Naturally, the cost must have varied substantially, depending on quality of both stone and workmanship, delivery costs, as well as on dimension, and on other factors that we know nothing or very little about (reputation of the workshop, for instance). Some of these factors - the ones that we can now measure - were taken into consideration while attempting to create a scale of values for preserved stone monuments.<sup>27</sup> According to these calculations, the composite altars from Asseria enter the class of monuments estimated to the highest value (Class 9: extremely high value);<sup>28</sup> this is certain for the altar of C. Titius Priscinus (here, n. 13), since all of his dimensions are known.<sup>29</sup> Two other altars (here, n. 14) that had shafts of almost exactly the same dimensions as the Priscinus's altar must

24 D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, Kat. 59, str. 100 i 217.

25 D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, Kat. 140, str. 130 i 252.

26 Usp. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 58, gdje navodi i druge relevantne radove.

27 A. KURILIĆ, 2003, 77 i d.; usp. A. KURILIĆ, 2006, App. 1-2 (str. 64-65)

28 A. KURILIĆ, 2003, 82.

29 Za njezinu procijenjenu vrijednost usp. A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 43 (osobito bilj. 157).

24 D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, Kat. 59, p. 100 and 217.

25 D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, Kat. 140, p. 130 and 252.

26 Cf. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 58, where she also quotes some other relevant works.

27 A. KURILIĆ, 2003, 77ff; cf. A. KURILIĆ, 2006, App. 1-2 (pp. 64-65)

28 A. KURILIĆ, 2003, 82.

29 For its estimated value cf. A. KURILIĆ, 2006, 43 (esp. n. 157).

najveća aserijatska nadgrobna ara (ovdje, bilj. 16). Vrjetnosni razred najmanje aserijatske kompozitne are (ovdje, bilj. 15) ne može se izračunati, ali, vrlo je vjerojatno da je ova ara pripadala ili istom razredu kao Priscinova ili onom za stupanj nižem (Razred 8: vrlo visoka vrijednost), jer je njezino tijelo 20 cm kraće od tijela Priscinove are. Procijenjena vrijednost Rubrijine are (ovdje, bilj. 20) mnogo je manja, kako zbog njezinih manjih dimenzija tako i zbog slabije kvalitete izrade, tako da ona pripada Razredu 3: srednja (niža) vrijednost,<sup>30</sup> dok je procijenjena vrijednost Adjutorove are negdje između tih dviju grupa, jer ona pripada Razredu 5: srednja (viša) vrijednost.<sup>31</sup> Na osnovi tih procijenjenih vrijednosti proizlazi da su nadgrobne are bile dostupne kupcima različita imovna stanja, a ne samo onima najbogatijima, kako se obično misli.<sup>32</sup> Međutim, mora se imati na

<sup>30</sup> Do rezultata se došlo tako da su pomnožene mjere dimenzija (visina je procijenjena na oko 90 cm) s odgovarajućim koeficijentima za materijal i ukras:  $90 \times 34 \times 36 \times 1,5 \times 1,5 = 247.860$ . Rezultat, podijeljen s tisuću, daje procijenjenu vrijednost od 247,86, na osnovi čega ova ara pripada Razredu 3 (usp. A. KURILIĆ, 2003, 82 i App. 3; usp. i A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Prikaz 14a-b).

<sup>31</sup> Do rezultata se došlo tako da su pomnožene mjere dimenzija s odgovarajućim koeficijentima za materijal i ukras:  $107 \times 55 \times 39 \times 1,1 \times 1,25 = 315.583,125$ . Rezultat, podijeljen s tisuću daje procijenjenu vrijednost od 315,58, na osnovi čega ova ara pripada Razredu 5.

<sup>32</sup> Usp. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 58, koja smatra da su svi komemoratori pripadali sličnom društvenom sloju koji je bio dobro osiguran u ekonomskom smislu. Postavljajući ovakvih nadgrobnih aru, ali i njihovi primatelji, bili su kako slobodnorodeni rimski građani i oslobođenici, tako i robovi (usp. onđe i str. 59-61).

have also belonged to the same value class, as well as the biggest of them all (here, n. 16). The value class of the smallest composite altar from Asseria (here, n. 15) can not be calculated, but it is probable that - since its shaft was 20 cm shorter than the Priscinus's - it belonged either to the same class or to the one immediately inferior to it (Class 8: very high value). The estimated value of Rubria's altar (here, n. 20) is much smaller, due to both its smaller dimensions and workmanship of inferior quality, and it belongs to the Class 3: medium-inferior value,<sup>30</sup> while the estimated value of Adjutor's altar is somewhere between those two groups, since it belongs to the Class 5: medium-superior value.<sup>31</sup> According to these estimated values, it would seem that sepulchral altars have been available to customers of various means, and not solely to the wealthiest ones, as has been commonly thought.<sup>32</sup> However, one must

<sup>30</sup> The result is achieved by multiplying dimensions (height has been approximated to some 90 cm), with appropriate factors for material and decoration:  $90 \times 34 \times 36 \times 1.5 \times 1.5 = 247860$ . The result, divided by 1000, gives the estimated value of 247.86, which places this particular monument to the Class 3 (cf. A. KURILIĆ, 2003, 82 and App. 3; cf. A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Prikaz 14a-b).

<sup>31</sup> The result is achieved by multiplying dimensions, with appropriate factors for material and decoration:  $107 \times 55 \times 39 \times 1.1 \times 1.25 = 315583.125$ . The result, divided by 1000, gives the estimated value of 315.58, which places this particular monument to the Class 5.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 58, maintains that all of the commemorators belonged to a similar social group that was economically well provided. Altars were set up by and/or for free-born Roman citizens and freedmen, but also by and to slaves (cf. there and pp. 59-61).

umu da su razlike koje određuju vrjednosne razrede spomenika, također mogле nastati jednostavno poradi promjene ukusa epohe.

NATPIS (Sl. 5a, 10-11) pripada nekom Adjutoru koji je 38 godina i 3 mjeseca živio zajedno sa svojom ženom Sekstilijom Ingenuom, koja je postavila ovu aru svom vrlo zaslužnom mužu:

N a t p i s  
isklesan u natpisnom polju prilično je loših svojstava i kompozicije. Slova su nepravilna i uska, i na osnovi oblikovanja mogla bi se odrediti kao *scriptura capitalis rustica lapidaria*.<sup>33</sup> Svim slovima A nedostaje vodoravna crta, a sva slova G imaju malu okomitu crtu koja ih razlikuje od slova C. Slova M su nerazmjerno široka: M u 1. r. široko je 4,5 cm, a ono u 6. r. čak 5,5 cm! Natpis zauzima cijelu površinu natpisnog polja,

keep in mind that these differences that caused variations of their respective estimated values might have also been caused by changing fashions of the time.

THE INSCRIPTION /Figs. 5a, 10-11/ commemorates an Adiutor who had lived for 38 years and 3 months together with his wife *Sextilia Ingenua*, who had set up this altar to her very deserving husband:

[D] M  
ADIVTORICONI  
VGIBENEMERE  
NTICONQVOVIXI  
5 ANNOSXXXVIII  
MIISEXILIAI  
NFGENVAF  
EC IT

*[D(is) ] M(anibus) / Adiutori, co-  
ni/ugi bene mere/nti con quo vixi / 5  
annos XXXVIII / m(enses) III. Sextilia  
I/<n =NF>genua f/ecit.*

The inscription carved in the inscription field is of rather poor lettering and composition. The letters are quite irregular and narrow. The style of lettering can be determined as *scriptura capitalis rustica lapidaria*.<sup>33</sup> All the letters A are lacking the horizontal line, and all the letters G have small vertical line distinguishing them thus from the letter C. Letters M are unproportionally wide: the one in the 1st line is 4.5 cm wide, and the one in the 6th line 5.5 cm! The inscription occupies entire surface of the inscription field, spreading *in continuo* from one margin to

<sup>33</sup> Usp. E. M. THOMPSON, 1940, 134.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. E. M. THOMPSON, 1940, 134.

protežući se bez prekida od jedne margeine do druge, bez ikakvih razmaka među riječima i bez interpunkcijskih znakova, čime se stječe dojam da uopće nije postojala grafička priprema teksta (*ordinatio*), ili, ako je čak i bila postojala, da je bila vrlo loše provedena. Međutim, uređenje zadnje riječi u natpisu, *fecit*, iako bi na prvi pogled moglo izgledati kao sa- vršeni dokaz ta- kvom mišljenju, u

biti dokazuje sasvim suprotno. U sredini osmog retka - točno ispod slova ENV iz 7. retka - nalazi se poveće oštećenje na kamenu koje je moralo postojati i prije klesanja natpisa, pa je ordinator smislio način kako prevladati tu prepreku time što je slova smjestio lijevo i desno od oštećenja. Ordinator i/ili klesar ostavio je početno slovo - F - na kraju prethodnog retka, možda u nastojanju da očuva simetriju ili jednostavno zbog inercije. K tomu, ordinator je zanimljivo izabrao ne koristiti se ligaturama i minimalizirati uporabu sigli i skraćenica.



Sl. 10. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara - natpis  
Fig. 10. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor - inscription

another, having no breaks between the words and no punctuation marks, thus giving an impression as if there were no *ordinatio* of the text, or, if there were one, that it was executed rather poorly. However, the arrangement of the inscription's last word, *fecit*, although it might seem perfect proof for such an opinion, actually indicates to the opposite. At the centre of the 8th line - just below the letters ENV of the

7th line - there is a rather large cavity damaging the stone surface that must have had existed already prior to carving the inscription, so the ordinator thought of a solution for overcoming this impediment by placing the letters to the left and to the right respectively of the cavity. The ordinator and/or the stone-cutter left the initial letter - F - at the end of the previous line perhaps for trying to preserve symmetry or simply by inertia. In addition, the ordinator made an interesting choice not to use ligatures and to minimise the use of both siglae and abbreviations.

Unatoč nedostatcima u oblikovanju pisma i gruboj površini natpisnog polja, te jačem oštećenju nekih slova, tekst je prilično lak za čitanje i tumačenje, osim prvog i 6. /7. retka. Natpis započinje posvetom bogovima Manima (*Dis Manibus*) koja je isklesana na gornjoj vodoravnoj gredi; jedna sigla (D) je odlomljena, a druga (M) je jako izlizana /Sl. 5a, 11/. Drugo problematično mjesto je čitanje nekoliko slova koja slijede komemoratoričin *nomen* na kraju 6. i na početku 7. retka; u 6. r. klesar je odmah nakon *Sextilia* isklesao slovo I, a na početku 7. r. slova NF kojima slijede jasno prepoznatljiva slova GENVA. Nakon Sekstilijina nomena trebala bi se nalaziti ili njezina filijacija ili kognomen, no ona se slova ne mogu interpretirati ni kao jedno ni kao drugo. Čini se da je ovdje klesar pogreškom uklesao skraćenicu INF (za *infelicitissima*), neispravno tumačeći početak njezina kognomena *Ingenua* kao početak već čestog izraza s nadgrobnih natpisa.

Posveta *Dis Manibus* omogućuje barem okvirno datiranje natpisa, budući da se skraćenica D M na natpisima u rimskoj Dalmaciji počela javljati na prijelazu



Sl. 11. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara - skraćenica [D] M na gornjoj letvici

Fig. 11. Sepulchral altar of Adiutor - abbreviation [D] M at the listel

Despite the flaws in both the lettering and rough surface of the inscription field, as well as to some severely damaged letters, the inscription is quite easy to read and interpret, apart from the 1st and the 6th/7th lines. The inscription started with an invocation to the Manes gods (*Dis Manibus*) carved at the listel; one *sigla* (D) is broken off and the other (M) is worn out /Figs. 5a, 11/. The other problematic issue is the one of reading the few letters following the commemorator's *nomen* at the end of the 6th line and at the beginning of the 7th line; in the 6th line the stone-cutter had carved a letter I immediately after *Sextilia*, and at the beginning of the 7th, letters NF preceding the quite intelligible letters GENVA. Usually, one should expect to find there either *Sextilia*'s filiation or her *cognomen*, but these letters can not be interpreted as neither. It seems that here the stone-cutter erroneously carved abbreviation INF (for *infelicitissima*), misinterpreting the beginning of her *cognomen* *Ingenua* as a beginning of an already commonly used sepulchral expression.

The invocation to *Dis Manibus* helps establishing a rough chronological framework, since the abbreviation D M

1. na 2. st. po Kr. i da je bila korištena kroz cijeli kasni principat.<sup>34</sup> Uporaba nekih drugih izraza ukazuje na kasni principat kao na vrijeme izrade ovoga spomenika: to su, npr., uporaba akuzativa (*annos, menses*) pri izričanju trajanja njihova zajedničkog života, fraza *con quo vixi* i izrazi koji označavaju moralne kvalitete osobe (*bene merenti*, kao i pogreškom uklesano *infelicitissima*).<sup>35</sup> Prema tomu, natpis bi se mogao datirati, na osnovi epigrafske analize, u drugo ili treće stoljeće po Kristu.

Onomastička analiza upućuje na isti zaključak, no ne toliko samim odabirom imena već s obzirom na uporabu imenskih obrazaca kakvi prevladavaju tijekom kasnog principata.

Imenski obrasci obje osoba nemaju filijaciju i karakteristični su za kasni principat: pokojnik je imenovan samo kognomenom, a žena samo nomenom i kognomenom. Ta su dva obrasca najčešći imenski obrasci u Liburniji u kasnom principatu: prvi obuhvaća 21% svih imenovanja toga doba, a onaj drugi 25%.<sup>36</sup> Imenski obrazac koji se sastoji samo od vlastitog imena u tom su razdoblju najčešće nosili pripadnici servilne populacije,<sup>37</sup> a dvoimeni obrazac koji

started appearing in Dalmatian inscriptions at the turn of the 1st to the 2nd century AD and lasted throughout Late Principate.<sup>34</sup> Use of some other phrases indicates to the Late Principate as the monument's production date: these are, for instance, accusative case when indicating duration of their convivence (*annos, menses*), phrase *con quo vixi* and expressions denoting moral qualities (*bene merenti*, as well as the erroneously carved *infelicitissima*).<sup>35</sup> Thus, according to the epigraphic analysis, the monument may be roughly dated in the second or the third century AD.

Onomastic analysis points out towards the same conclusion, not as much as regarding the choice of names but more with regard to the nomenclature patterns that are dominant in the Late Principate period.

Nomenclature patterns of both persons are lacking filiations and are typical for the Late Principate: the deceased is named by his *cognomen* alone and the woman by her *nomen* and *cognomen*. These two nomenclature patterns are the commonest ones in Liburnia during the Late Principate, the former making some 21% of the nomenclatures of the period and the latter 25%.<sup>36</sup> In that period, the naming pattern consisting of a single personal name was used mostly by people belonging to the

<sup>34</sup> Usp. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 28.

<sup>35</sup> Usp. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 29.

<sup>36</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 27, 29-33, 61-72; u ranom je principatu prvi obrazac činio samo 1%, a onaj drugi tek 7% svih imenovanja tog razdoblja (A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 28 i d.).

<sup>37</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 31 i d.; iako su u ranom principatu tim imenskim obrascem povremeno bili imenovani rimski građani, ta praksa nije sa sigurnošću potvrđena među slobodnorodjenim rimskim građanima tijekom kasnog principata (str. 33).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 28.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 29.

<sup>36</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 27, 29-33, 61-72; in the Early Principate the former made only 1%, and the latter just 7% of total nomenclatures of the period (A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 28f).

se sastoji od nomena i cognomena kako slobodnorodeni rimski građani tako i oslobođenici.<sup>38</sup> Adjutorov natpis ne pruža nikakvih pokazatelja za sigurnu identifikaciju društvenog statusa na njemu spomenutih osoba, te stoga njihova eventualna pripadnost servilnoj populaciji mora ostati na razini pretpostavke.

Osobno ime *Adjutor* do sada nije bilo potvrđeno u Liburniji,<sup>39</sup> ali, nije niti osobito često u ostatku Dalmacije, gdje je uglavnom koncentrirano oko Salone. Ipak, ime je često u drugim dijelovima zapadnih rimske provincija, osobito u sjevernoj Italiji, Galiji i Noriku.<sup>40</sup> Većina dalmatinskih natpisa s tim imenom potječe iz kasnog principata, iako postoji i nekoliko rijetkih potvrda iz ranog principata te iz dominate.<sup>41</sup> Ime je potvrđeno u svim društvenim slojevima - tim su imenom bili imenovani kako pripadnici servilne populacije tako i slobodnorodeni rimski građani od kojih su neki pripadali i najvišim društvenim krugovima (od municipalnih dužnosnika do rimskega pretora).<sup>42</sup> Prema tomu, ovaj Adjutor iz

servile population,<sup>37</sup> and the two-name pattern consisting of *nomen* and *cognomen* was used by either free-born or freed Roman citizens.<sup>38</sup> The Adjutor's inscription offers no arguments for recognising social status of either person, so their possible attachment to the servile population must remain hypothetical.

Personal name *Adjutor* up to now has never been attested in Liburnia,<sup>39</sup> and is not very frequent in the rest of Dalmatia, either, where it is concentrated mostly around Salona. However, the name is frequent in other parts of western Roman provinces, mostly in Northern Italy, Gallia and Noricum.<sup>40</sup> Majority of the inscriptions with this name in Dalmatia dates from the Late Principate, although there are rare occurrences from both Early Principate and Dominate.<sup>41</sup> The name was used in all social classes: both servile population and free-born Roman citizens among whom some were of the highest social ranking (from municipal magistrates up to Roman praetors) were

<sup>38</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 61 i d., 70.

<sup>39</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 378; usp. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 141, s.v. *Adjutor*.

<sup>40</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 141, s.v. *Adjutor*; *OPEL*, 1, 23 i karta na str. 24.

<sup>41</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 141, s.v. *Adjutor*.

<sup>42</sup> Ovdje navodim tek nekoliko primjera: oslobođenici: *CIL* 5, 970; *CIL* 11, 6846; slobodnorodeni rimski građani: *CIL* 5, 5955; vojnici i veterani: *CIL* 3, 3571; *CIL* 9, 1628; *CIL* 11, 5273; municipalni dužnosnici: *CIL* 8, 26601; *AE* 2003, 1514; najviši državni dužnosnici: *AE* 1926, 143 (praetor, tribunus plebis, quaestor).

<sup>37</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 31ff; although Roman citizens were occasionally named in this manner during the Early Principate, this practice was not attested with certainty among the free-born Roman citizens during the Late Principate (p. 33).

<sup>38</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 61ff, 70.

<sup>39</sup> A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 378; cf. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 141, s.v. *Adjutor*.

<sup>40</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 141, s.v. *Adjutor*; *OPEL*, 1, 23 and map at p. 24.

<sup>41</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 141, s.v. *Adjutor*.

Aserije mogao je biti rob, oslobođenik ili slobodnorodeni rimski građanin; ali, s obzirom na rečeno o njegovom imenskom obrascu, čini se vjerojatnijim da je pripadao jednoj od dviju prvospmenutih skupina. Kako je već ranije istaknuto (v. bilj. 32), nadgrobne are postavljale su se i robovima i oslobođenicima, tako da bi Adjutorov prepostavljeni servilni status bio nešto što je već (često) dokazano kod ove vrste nadgrobnih spomenika.

Komemoratoričin *nomen gentile* (*Sextilia*) rasprostranjen je u Italiji i na Zapadu, no, nije osobito čest u Dalmaciji, gdje su ga, izgleda, najčešće nosili Italici.<sup>43</sup> Iz Liburnije su do sada bile poznate samo dvije osobe imenovane tim nomenom: muškarac iz Flanone koji je u Rimu služio kao vojnik I. pretorijanske cohorte (*CIL* 6, 209) i jedna žena iz Korinija (*CIL* 3, 9976). Oba su natpisa datirana u rani principat,<sup>44</sup> jednako kao i većina ostalih potvrda tog imena u Dalmaciji<sup>45</sup> Dakle, to bi bila treća potvrda tog imena u Liburniji.<sup>46</sup>

named by this name.<sup>42</sup> Accordingly, this particular Adjutor from Asseria might have been a slave, freedman or free-born Roman citizen; but, when considered together with his naming pattern, it seems more probable that he belonged to one of the two former groups. As has been already observed (see n. 32), the sepulchral altars were also set up to slaves and freedmen, so Adjutor's supposed servile status would be something already (frequently) attested in this type of sepulchral monument.

The commemorator's *nomen gentile* (*Sextilia*) is common in Italy and in West, but in Dalmatia it was not particularly frequent and it seems that mostly Italics were named by it.<sup>43</sup> Up to now, there were just two persons with that nomen in Liburnia: a man from Flanona serving in Rome as soldier of cohors I praetoria (*CIL* 6, 209) and a woman from Corinium (*CIL* 3, 9976). Both inscriptions have been dated to the Early Principate,<sup>44</sup> same as the majority of this name's occurrences in Dalmatia.<sup>45</sup> So, this would be the third occurrence of the name in Liburnia.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Here are just few examples: freedmen: *CIL* 5, 970; *CIL* 11, 6846; free-born Roman citizens: *CIL* 5, 5955; soldiers and veterans: *CIL* 3, 3571; *CIL* 9, 1628; *CIL* 11, 5273; municipal magistrates: *CIL* 8, 26601; *AE* 2003, 1514; and, highest state officials: *AE* 1926, 143 (praetor, tribunus plebis, quaestor).

<sup>43</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 121, s.v. *Sextilius*. For the name's distribution, see also *OPEL* 4, 78-79.

<sup>44</sup> The inscription *CIL* 6, 209 is dated in AD 133; cf. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 121, s.v. *Sextilius*; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Cat. nos. 1081 and 2864.

<sup>45</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 121, s.v. *Sextilius*.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 363.

<sup>43</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 121, s.v. *Sextilius*. Za rasprostranjenost imena, v. i *OPEL* 4, 78-79.

<sup>44</sup> Natpis *CIL* 6, 209 je datiran u 133. g. po Kr.; usp. G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 121, s.v. *Sextilius*; A. KURILIĆ, 1999, Kat. br. 1081 i 2864.

<sup>45</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 121, s.v. *Sextilius*.

<sup>46</sup> Usp. A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 363.

Njen *cognomen Ingenua* svagdje je vrlo čest, a osobito u keltskim provincijama; čest je i u Dalmaciji, ali rijetko kod domorodačkog stanovništva. Ipak, do sada još niti jednom nije bio potvrđen u Liburniji, već je koncentriran u Saloni i oko nje, u Naroni i oko nje, te u njezinu zaleđu.<sup>47</sup> Većina natpisa s tim imenom datirana je u kasni principat.<sup>48</sup>

**DATACIJA.** Druge nadgrobne are ovog tipa iz Aserije, kako je već rečeno, većinom datiraju iz 2. stoljeća po Kristu (v. ovdje, bilj. 19 i 23). Epigrafska i onomastička analiza Adjutorova nadgrobnnog natpisa datirala je spomenik okvirno u kasni principat, tj., u 2. ili 3. st. po Kristu. Međutim, tek je nekoliko nadgrobnih ara iz sjeverne Italije datirano nakon 2. stoljeća: samo je jedna datirana u početak 3. st.,<sup>49</sup> a nekoliko ih je datirano u "drugo stoljeće ili kasnije" (sic!).<sup>50</sup> Čini se, na osnovi takvih datacija, da je proizvodnja nadgrobnih ara prestala kratko nakon početka 3. stoljeća.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 222, s.v. *Ingenuus*, bez i jednog primjera iz Liburnije, što se nije promijenilo ni u sljedeća tri desetljeća (A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 392). Za rasprostranjenost imena, v. i *OPEL* 2, 193-194.

<sup>48</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 222, s.v. *Ingenuus*

<sup>49</sup> D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 102, Kat. br. 63.

<sup>50</sup> D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 72, Kat. br. 2; 74, Kat. br. 7; 83, Kat. br. 25; 152, Kat. br. 207; 155, Kat. br. 215; 157, Kat. br. 220; 158, Kat. br. 223; 159, Kat. br. 224; 160, Kat. br. 227; 162, Kat. br. 233 and 163, Kat. br. 235.

<sup>51</sup> C. REUSSER, 1985, 117 i bilj. 7 na str. 137 i d., smatra da je proizvodnja skromnijih i jednostavnijih nadgrobnih ara (koja je započela tek kratko nakon sredine 2. st. po Kr.) posve prestala prije početka 3. st. i da u Akvileji nema niti jedne nadgrobne are koja bi bila proizvedena u 3. stoljeću.

Her *cognomen Ingenua* is very frequent everywhere, especially in Celtic provinces; it is frequent in Dalmatia, too, but seldom among its indigenous population. However, up to now it has never been attested in Liburnia, but was concentrated mostly in and around Salona, in and around Narona, and its hinterland.<sup>47</sup> Majority of inscriptions with this name is dated to the Late Principate.<sup>48</sup>

**DATATION.** Other sepulchral altars of the same type from Asseria, as has previously shown, date mostly from the second century AD (see here, nn. 19 and 23). Epigraphic and onomastic analysis of the Adjutor's sepulchral inscription has dated the monument roughly to the Late Principate, that is, to the second or the third century AD. However, only few sepulchral altars from Northern Italy were dated after the second century: just one was dated in the beginning of the third<sup>49</sup> and several were dated "in the second century or later" (sic!).<sup>50</sup> According to such datations, it seems that the production of sepulchral altars ceased shortly after the beginning of the third century.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 222, s.v. *Ingenuus*, with no examples from Liburnia, which has not changed in next three decades (A. KURILIĆ, 1999, 392). For the name's distribution, see also *OPEL* 2, 193-194.

<sup>48</sup> G. ALFÖLDY, 1969, 222, s.v. *Ingenuus*

<sup>49</sup> D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 102, Kat. nr. 63.

<sup>50</sup> D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 72, Kat. nr. 2; 74, Kat. nr. 7; 83, Kat. nr. 25; 152, Kat. nr. 207; 155, Kat. nr. 215; 157, Kat. nr. 220; 158, Kat. nr. 223; 159, Kat. nr. 224; 160, Kat. nr. 227; 162, Kat. nr. 233 and 163, Kat. nr. 235.

<sup>51</sup> C. REUSSER, 1985, 117 and n. 7 at pp 137f considers that the production of more modest and simpler sepulchral altars (that just had started shortly after mid 2nd cent. AD) ceased completely before the beginning of the third century and that there is not a single sepulchral altar in Aquileia that was produced in the third century.

Iako sama po sebi vrsta spomenika ne pruža čvrstih databilnih pokazatelja, neki detalji, poput širokih profilacija i omjera između profilacija i dimenzija spomenika, ukazuju na to da je Adjutorova ara bila napravljena u 2. stoljeću ili malo kasnije. Naime, čini se da u sjevernoj Italiji nadgrobne are manjih dimenzije i širokih profilacija koje reduciraju natpisno polje i površine bočnih strana datiraju iz 2. stoljeća, dok veće are s užim profilacijama i većim reljefnim površinama potječu iz 1. stoljeća.<sup>52</sup> Budući da Adjutorova ara nedvojbeno pripada onoj prvoj skupini, mogla bi se datirati u isto vrijeme ili malo kasnije, zbog manjeg stilskog kašnjenja u odnosu na glavne proizvodne centre.<sup>53</sup>

S obzirom na sve prethodno navedene argumente, smije se prepostaviti da je Adjutorova ara nastala tijekom kasnog principata, i to najvjerojatnije u drugoj polovici 2. st. ili na početku 3. stoljeća po Kristu.

Although type of the monument by itself does not provide any firm datable elements, certain details, such as wide mouldings and the ratio between mouldings and the monument dimensions, indicate that the Adiutor's altar was made in the second century AD or little later. Namely, it seems that in the Northern Italy altars of smaller measures and wide mouldings reducing inscription field and surfaces of lateral sides date from the 2nd century AD, while the bigger altars with narrower mouldings and larger relief surfaces date from the 1st century.<sup>52</sup> Since the Adiutor's altar definitely belongs to the former group, it may be dated to the same period or little later, due to a slight stylistic retardation with respect to the major production centres.<sup>53</sup>

According to all of the aforesaid arguments, it may be plausibly assumed that the Adiutor's altar was made during the Late Principate, and most probably in the second half of the second century or at the beginning of the third century AD.

---

<sup>52</sup> D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 12.

<sup>53</sup> N. CAMBI, 1989, 34 i d., osobito 48, pokazao je da su nadgrobni spomenici u Dalmaciji pratili stilske i umjetničke trendove s tek manjim kašnjenjem.

---

<sup>52</sup> D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 12.

<sup>53</sup> N. CAMBI, 1989, 34ff, esp. 48, has shown that sepulchral monuments in Dalmatia followed stylistic and artistic trends with just a little delay.

## 2. Anepigrafska nadgrobna ara

Kako je već ranije spomenuto, dvije nadgrobne are nađene su zajedno u kasnoantičkoj obrambenoj strukturi Aserije (Sl. 1-4, i bilj. 2). Anepigrafska nadgrobna ara gotovo je identična kopija Adjutorove: zajednički su im materijal, dimenzije, oblik i izrada. Razlikuju se samo u dvije glavne točke: ova ara nema natpisa ni češera na vrhu.

Ara je visoka 94 cm, široka 53 i debela 44 cm (za više o mjerama, v. ovdje, **Dodatak**). To je monolitna tripartitna ara koja pripada tipu s profilacijama (Sl. 12; usp. bilj. 3). Ponešto neobične baza i krunište profilirani su donekle drugačije nego na Adjutorovoj ari: iznad plitke plinte nalaze se dva obrnuta S-profila (*cymae rectae*) jedan iznad drugog, a tek iznad njih tanka

## 2. Anepigraphic sepulchral altar

As has been already described, two sepulchral altars were found in the Late Roman bulwark of Asseria /Figs. 1-4, and n. 2/. The anepigraphic sepulchral altar is almost an exact copy of the Adjutor's: they share similar material, dimensions, form and workmanship. They diverge in just two major points: this altar is lacking both the inscription and the pine cone at the top.

The altar is 94 cm high, 53 cm wide and 44 cm thick (for more detailed dimensions, see here, **Appendix**). It is a monolithic tripartite altar belonging to the type with frames /Fig. 12; cf. n. 3/. The base and cornice are to some extent differently moulded than the ones of the Adjutor's ara and are somewhat unusual: after the low plinth the moulding has two *cymae rectae* one above the



Sl. 12. Anepigrafska nadgrobna ara - lijeva bočna, prednja i desna bočna strana  
Fig. 12. Anepigraphic sepulchral altar - left lateral, front and right lateral sides

letvica, dok je profilacija kruništa zrcalna slika profilacije baze: iznad tanke letvice su dva S-profila (*cymae reversae*) jedan iznad drugog, a iznad njih je ravna greda. Sve su kime prilično visoke; od onih na bazi, jedna je visoka 8 cm (donja), a druga 6 cm (gorњa), dok su one na kruništu visoke 5 i 5,5 cm.

Natpisno polje je nešto veće od onoga na Adjutorov ari, i nikad nije imalo natpisa, bilo izvedenoga klesanjem bilo bojom.<sup>54</sup>

Sve su površine, s iznimkom stražnje strane, koja je zadržala svoj prirodnji izgled /Sl. 13/, ravnomjerno obrađene. Ponekad, kao na primjer na lijevoj bočnoj strani, mogu se još vidjeti tragovi široke zubače.

Nekoliko elemenata upućuje na zaključak da je i ova nadgrobna ara stigla do svog kupca kao nedovršen proizvod. Klesar je tek grubo isklesao izbočine na obje strane (usp. ovdje, bilj. 6-8), ali je također ostavio



Sl. 13. Anepigraphic sepulchral altar - rear side

Fig. 13. Anepigraphic sepulchral altar - rear

other, and only then a thin fillet, while the cornice moulding is its mirror image: above thin fillet, it has two cymae reversae one above the other and atop of them a plain lilstel. All cymae are quite high, the ones of the base measuring 8 (the lower one) and 6 cm (the upper one), and the ones of the cornice 5 and 5.5 cm respectively.

The inscription field is slightly bigger than the one of the Adjutor's altar and it never bore an inscription neither carved nor painted.<sup>54</sup>

All surfaces, apart from the one at the rear side that keeps it natural appearance /Fig. 13/, are evenly dressed. Occasionally, as for instance at the left lateral side, traces of wide stone-mason's claw are still visible.

Several elements point out to the conclusion that even this sepulchral altar reached its customer as an unfinished product. Apart from roughly chiselled bulges at both lateral sides (cf. here, nn. 6-8), the

<sup>54</sup> Iako se ne smije u potpunosti odbaciti mogućnost da je ova ara nekad imala bojom nanesen natpis, nedostatak ikakvih tragova boje govori u prilog ranije iznesenog zaključka. Za uporabu boje na ovoj vrsti spomenika, usp. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 11.

<sup>54</sup> Although one should not absolutely dismiss the possibility that the inscription was once painted, lack of any traces of paint speaks in favour of the above-stated conclusion. For use of paint on such monuments, cf. D. DEXHEIMER, 1998, 11.

nedovršenom i gornju površinu are. Ondje je bio započeo izrađivati slobodno-stojeći trokutasti zabat s akroterijima, koji su bili slični onima na Adjutorovoј ari, ali ih nikad nije dovršio: akroteriji su ostali tek naznačeni u površini kamena /Sl. 14/.

Dojmljiva sličnost ovih dviju ara snažan je argument u prilog toga da ih se smatra dijelovima istoga grobnog kompleksa; stoga se može zaključiti da je ta ara nastala u istoj radionici i u isto vrijeme kao Adjutorova.

Na osnovi dobro poznate organizacije grobnih parcela u nekim drugim rimskim gradovima, kao npr. u Rimu, Akvileji, Ostiji i drugima,<sup>55</sup> može se zaključiti da je Adjutorova nadgrobna ara zauzimala središnje mjesto u njegovoj grobnoj parceli. Kao što je to bilo uobičajeno, ara je mogla stajati na nekom postolju.<sup>56</sup> Pokraj središnje are



Sl. 14. Anepigrafska nadgrobna ara - gornja strana  
Fig. 14. Anepigraphic sepulchral altar - top side

stone-cutter left unfinished the altar's top side, as well. There he started making a free-standing triangular gable with acroteria, similar to the ones at the Adjutor's ara, but he had never finished them: acroteria are just left marked in the stone /Fig. 14/.

Remarkable likeness of the two altars is a strong argument for considering them as parts of one and the same burial ensemble. Accordingly, this altar must have been produced in the same workshop and at the same time as the Adjutor's.

On the basis of well-known organisation of burial plots of some other Roman cities, as Rome, Aquileia, Ostia, and some others,<sup>55</sup> it may be concluded that the Adjutor's sepulchral altar occupied the central part of his burial plot. The altar might have stood on a pedestal, as was usually the case.<sup>56</sup> Besides the central altar there were

<sup>55</sup> Za organizaciju grobnih parcela, v. C. REUSSER, 1985, 118 i d., a osobito Sl. 2.

<sup>56</sup> Kako je već ranije pretpostavljeno, možda je ara - na postolju, ili umjesto toga - bila umetnuta u nekakvu nisku strukturu, budući da je stražnja strana ostavljena neobrađena.

<sup>55</sup> On organisation of burial plots see C. REUSSER, 1985, 118ff, and esp. Fig. 2.

<sup>56</sup> As has already been hypothesised, maybe the altar - instead of, or together with, standing on the pedestal - was inserted in some low structure, since the rear side was left unworked.

obično su postojale još dvije, mnogo skromnije, koje su se nalazile na kutovima grobne parcele ili su na neki drugi način flankirale onu središnju. Anepigrafska ara koja se ovde obrađuje sigurno je bila jedna od tih flankirajućih spomenika i morala je imati svoj par, koji je sada izgubljen, no koji bi se mogao pronaći tijekom budućih istraživanja Aserije, možda upravo u kasnoantičkoj obrambenoj strukturi poput are koje su obrađene u ovom radu.

\* \* \*

Nedavna arheološka istraživanja kasnoantičkog obrambenog nasipa usporednog sa sjevernim odsječkom ranorimskih monumentalnih bedema Aserije iznijela su na svjetlo dana dvije gotovo identične nadgrobne are koje su pripadale istoj grobnoj parceli. Na osnovi stilske, epigrafske i onomastičke analize, are su nastale tijekom kasnog principata, i to najvjerojatnije u drugoj polovici 2. ili na početku 3. st. po Kristu.

Obje are pripadaju tzv. tipu s profilacijama ("profilgerahmte Altäre") koji se sastoji od profilirane baze, središnjeg kvadra (tijela) i profiliranoga kruništa. Obje are na vrhu imaju slobodnostojeći trokutasti zabat s akroterijima, ali jedna - ona epigrafska - ima još i jednostavan češer iznad zabata. Na bočnim stranama imaju nepravilna grubo isklesana izbočenja koja su izvorno bila namijenjena nekoj figuralnoj ili ornamentalnoj dekoraciji, koja, međutim, nikad nije bila dovršena. Stražnje strane obiju are ostavljene su grubo isklesane.

usually two other, more modest sepulchral altars standing in corners of plot or in some other manner flanking the central one. Here analysed anepigraphic sepulchral altar was surely one of those flanking monuments, and must have had its pair that is now lost, but hopefully it might appear during the future investigations of Asseria, possibly in the same Late Roman bulwark as the ones analysed in this contribution.

\* \* \*

Recent archaeological investigation of the Late Roman bulwark running parallel to the northern part of the early Roman monumental city-walls of Asseria has brought to light two almost identical sepulchral altars that belonged to the same burial plot. According to the stylistic, epigraphic and onomastic analysis, the altars were made during the Late Principate, most probably in the second half of the second century AD or at the beginning of the third.

Both altars belong to the so-called type with frames ("profilgerahmte Altäre") consisting of moulded base, central cube (body) and moulded cornice. Both have free-standing triangular gables with acroteria at their tops, but one - the epigraphic one - has a plain pine cone atop of it. At their lateral sides they have irregular roughly cut bulges that were originally intended for some figural or ornamental decoration that had never been completed. Rear sides of both altars are left roughly cut.

Obje are imaju četvrtasto profilirano natpisno polje, ali je samo na jednoj isklesan natpis. On je postavljen u spomen na nekog Adjutora koji je 38 godina i 3 mjeseca živio zajedno sa svojom ženom Sekstilijom Ingenuom, koja je i postavila tu aru svom vrlo zaslužnom mužu.

Both altars have a square moulded inscription field, but only one had inscription carved in it commemorating an Adjutor who had lived for 38 years and 3 months together with his wife *Sextilia Ingenua*, who had set up this altar to her very deserving husband.

### Dodatak: Mjere

#### 1. Adjutorova nadgrobna ara<sup>57</sup>

Ara je, mjerena u svojoj veličini, 107 cm visoka (uključujući češer),<sup>58</sup> 55 cm široka i 39 cm debela. Mjere baze su: v. = 21 cm, š. = 35 cm (na dnu), i deb. = 39 cm (na dnu).<sup>59</sup> Mjere tijela su: v. = 50 cm, š. = 48 cm i deb. = 32 cm. Visina natpisnog polja (bez profilacija) je 35 cm, a širina iznosi 31 cm.<sup>60</sup> Mjere kruništa su: v. = 14,5 cm, š. = 55 cm (greda), i deb. = 35 cm (greda).<sup>61</sup> Zabat je na najvišem mjestu visok 8 cm, a na najnižem 2,5 cm. Sačuvani (tj., desni) akroterij je 9 cm visok, 8-9,5 cm širok, i 33 cm debelo (ili, radije, dug). Izbočenje na desnoj bočnoj strani je 40 cm visoko, 20-29 cm široko i oko 6-8 cm debelo.

Visina slova: 2,9 cm (1. r.), 3 cm (2. r.), 3,5-3,6 cm (3. -4., 6. -8. r.), i 3,2-3,6 cm (5. r.)

#### 2. Anepigrafska nadgrobna ara<sup>62</sup>

Ara je, mjerena u svojoj veličini, 94 cm visoka, 53 cm široka i 44 cm debela. Tijelo je 40 cm visoko, 45 cm široko i 38 cm debelo. Natpisno polje (bez profilacija) veliko je 31x31 cm, a s profilacijom 36x37 cm. Zabat je visok na najvišem mjestu 8,5 cm, jednako kao i sačuvani (tj., desni) akroterij, koji je širok 7 cm i debelo (ili, radije, dug) 38 cm. Izbočenja na bočnim stranama su visoka 37 cm, široka do 29 cm i debela 4-8 cm.

<sup>57</sup> Sve dimenzije pripadaju najvećim izmjerjenim vrijednostima.

<sup>58</sup> Češer je 12 cm visok i ima 20 cm u promjeru.

<sup>59</sup> Visina S-profila (*cyma reversa*) je 4 cm, letvice 2 cm, a obrnutog S-profila (*cyma recta*) 4 cm. Plinta je visoka 10 cm.

<sup>60</sup> Jednostavna profilacija koja uokviruje natpisno polje, široka je 4-4,5 cm.

<sup>61</sup> Visina S-profila (*cyma reversa*) je 4,5 cm, letvice 1,5 cm, a obrnutog S-profila (*cyma recta*) 3,5 cm. Greda je visoka 5 cm.

<sup>62</sup> Sve dimenzije pripadaju najvećim izmjerjenim vrijednostima.

### Appendix: Measurements

#### 1. The Adiutor's sepulchral altar<sup>57</sup>

In its entirety, the altar is 107 high (pine cone included),<sup>58</sup> 55 cm wide and 39 cm thick. Measurements of its base are: h. = 21 cm, w. = 35 cm (at the bottom), and t. = 39 cm (at the bottom).<sup>59</sup> The cube measurements are: h. = 50 cm, w. = 48 cm and t. = 32 cm. Height of the inscription field (without its moulding) is 35 cm, and its width measures 31 cm.<sup>60</sup> Cornice measurements are: h. = 14.5 cm, w. = 55 cm (listel), and t. = 35 cm (listel).<sup>61</sup> Gable is 8 cm high at its highest point, and 2.5 cm at the lowest point. The preserved (i. e. right) acroterium is 9 cm high, 8-9.5 cm wide, and 33 cm thick (or, rather, long). The bulge at the right lateral side is 40 cm high, 20-29 cm wide and some 6-8 cm thick.

Heights of letters: 2.9 cm (1st line), 3 cm (2nd line), 3.5-3.6 cm (3rd-4th, 6th-8th lines), and 3.2-3.6 cm (5th line)

#### 2. Anepigraphic sepulchral altar<sup>62</sup>

In its entirety, the altar is 94 high, 53 cm wide and 44 cm thick. The body is 40 high, 45 cm wide and 38 cm thick. The inscription field (without its moulding) measures 31 by 31 cm, and with the moulding 36 by 37 cm. Gable is 8.5 cm high at its highest point, same as the preserved (i. e. right) acroterium, which is 7 cm wide and 38 cm thick (or, rather, long). The bulges at lateral sides are 37 cm high, up to 29 cm wide and 4-8 cm thick.

<sup>57</sup> All dimensions are referring to the maximal values.

<sup>58</sup> The pine cone is 12 cm high and has 20 cm in diameter.

<sup>59</sup> The height of *cyma reversa* is 4 cm, of fillet 2 cm, and of *cyma recta* 4 cm. The plinth is 10 cm high.

<sup>60</sup> Plain moulding surrounding the inscription field is 4-4.5 cm wide.

<sup>61</sup> The height of *cyma reversa* is 4.5 cm, of fillet 1.5 cm, and of *cyma recta* 3.5 cm. The listel is 5 cm high.

<sup>62</sup> All dimensions are referring to the maximal values.

### Literatura / Literature

- AE - *Année épigraphique*. Paris, Presses univeritaires.
- ALFÖLDY, G., 1969. – G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Heidelberg.
- CAMBI, N., 1989. – N. Cambi, Suvremeno i zakašnjelo prihvatanje stilskih, modnih i strukturalnih karakteristika na nadgrobnim stelama u Dalmaciji, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, 28 (15), Zadar, 1988. /1989. (1989.), 33-48.
- DEXHEIMER, D., 1998. – D. Dexheimer, Oberitalische Grabaltäre. Ein Beitrag zur Sepulkralkunst der römischen Kaiserzeit, *BAR International Series 741*, Oxford.
- FADIĆ, I., 2003. – I. Fadić, *Asseria. 5 godina istraživanja (1998. -2002.)*, Zadar.
- FADIĆ, I., 2007. – I. Fadić, Asseria - istraživanja godine 2006., *Obavijesti HAD-a*, 29/1, Zagreb, 88-97.
- KURILIĆ, A., 1999. – A. Kurilić, *Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. stoljeća po Kristu: antroponomija, društveni slojevi, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge*, doktorska disertacija (rukopis) / dissertation (manuscript), Filozofski fakultet u Zadru Sveučilišta u Splitu, Zadar.
- KURILIĆ, A., 2003. – A. Kurilić, Un contributo per la valorizzazione economica dei monumenti epigrafici della Liburnia romana, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, 40 (27), Zadar, 77-92.
- KURILIĆ, A., 2006. – A. Kurilić, Vladajući sloj Aserije: magistrati i dobročinitelji, te njihove familije i obitelji, *Asseria*, 4, Zadar, 7-72.
- MARŠIĆ, D., 2005. – D. Maršić, Aserijske nadgrobne are, *Asseria*, 3, Zadar, 25-52.
- OPEL - *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. I-IV, ed. B. Lőrinz - F. Rendő, Budapest - Wien, 1994. -2002.
- REUSSER, C., 1985. – C. Reusser, Zur Aufstellung römischer Grabaltäre in Aquileia, *Aquileia nostra*, 56, Aquileia, 117-144.
- STEVENS CURL, J., 2006. – J. Stevens Curl, A Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, *Oxford University Press*.
- THOMPSON, E. M., 1940. (E. M. Thompson, *Paleografia greca e latina*, Milano, (ristampa anastatica autorizzata dall'editore Ulrico Hoepli, Milano, 1986.).