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## SEKUNDARNO UPOTRIJEBLJENI EPIGRAFSKI SPOMENICI S LOKALITETA “VRT RELJA” U ZADRU

## EPIGRAPHS WITH SECONDARY USE FROM THE “RELJA GARDEN” SITE IN ZADAR

U radu se obrađuje deset epigrafskih spomenika pronađenih tijekom zaštitnih arheoloških istraživanja na lokalitetu “Vrt Relja” u razdoblju od 28.01.2005. do 30.05.2006. Spomenici su pronađeni u sekundarnoj upotrebi u sedam grobova kao dijelovi grobne arhitekture. Na svim spomenicima se nalaze nadgrobni natpisi koji donose zanimljive podatke o stanovnicima antičkog Zadra.

**Ključne riječi:** Zadar, epigrafski spomenik, nadgrobni natpis

This article discusses ten epigraphs found during the rescue excavations at the “Relja Garden” site in the period from 28/1/2005 to 30/5/2006. The monuments were found in secondary use in seven graves as part of the cemetery architecture. All of the monuments have epitaph inscriptions that provide interesting informations about the inhabitants of the ancient city of Zadar.

**Keywords:** Zadar, epigraphic monument, epitaph inscription

Na lokalitetu "Vrt Relja", tj. budućem poslovno–stambenom centru "Duca", u razdoblju od 28.01.2005. do 30.05.2006. obavljena su zaštitna arheološka istraživanja koja je provodio Arheološki muzej Zadar.<sup>1</sup> Lokalitet je smješten u Zadru, unutar gradskog područja zvanog Relja koje je već pružilo mnogo značajnih nalazišta. Od početka 20. st. pa sve do današnjih dana provode se zaštitna arheološka istraživanja koja su potvrdila postojanje jedne velike ili nekoliko manjih nekropola antičkog Jadera. U tim istraživanjima otkriveno je preko 3000 grobova<sup>2</sup> koji nam pružaju mnoge spoznaje o antičkim stanovnicima ovog prostora.

Samo na prostoru nekropole "Vrt Relja" (oko 3200 m<sup>2</sup>) otkriveno je 406 grobova s kronološkim rasponom od 1300 godina. Pronađeni su grobovi liburnskog, antičkog i ranosrednjovjekovnog razdoblja.

Na lokalitetu su otkriveni raznoliki ukopi unutar ritusa incineracije i inhumacije. U grobove su se uz pokojnika prilagali raznovrsni predmeti, dok su kameni spomenici, pa tako i epigrafski, često puta bili iskorišteni za grobnu arhitekturu.

Svi epigrafski spomenici pronađeni na lokalitetu "Vrt Relja" bili su u sekundarnoj upotrebi, a jedan čak u terciarnoj. Ni jedan spomenik u trenutku pronalaska nije bio u primarnom kontekstu kao nadgrobni spomenik. Upravo iz tog razloga je dosta spomenika oštećeno i mnogi dijelovi natpisa nedostaju.

U sedam grobova, pronađeno je deset nadgrobnih natpisa.

U grobu br. 112 pronađen je nadgrobni spomenik koji je zajedno s tegulama činio gornji dio grobne arhitekture, dok je u grobu br. 120 pronađen spomenik koji je uz tegule bio upotrijebljen kao stranica groba.

U grobu br. 21 i grobu br. 182 pronađeni su spomenici koji su zajedno s tegulama činili dno groba.<sup>3</sup>

U grobovima br. 42, br. 201 i br. 227 spomenici su bili smješteni izravno na tijelo pokojnika.<sup>4</sup>

Ovakav način ponovne upotrebe epigrafskih spomenika na nekropolama nije usamljen slučaj. Tako je npr. u Dugopolju pronađeno čak sedam stela ugrađenih u jednu kasnoantičku grobnicu,<sup>5</sup> a u Podgrađu kod Benkovca (rimska *Asseria*) su pronađena tri nadgrobna spomenika koji

In the period from 28/1/2005 to 30/5/2006, the Archaeological Museum Zadar conducted archaeological rescue excavations at the "Relja Garden" site, i.e. the future of the "Duca" commercial-residential centre.<sup>1</sup> The site is located in Zadar, within the town area known as Relja, which has already provided numerous important sites. Since the beginning of the 20th century and until present day, the conducted archaeological rescue excavations have confirmed the existence of one large or several small necropolises of the Roman lader. These excavations have led to the discovery of more than 3,000 graves,<sup>2</sup> providing many insights into the ancient inhabitants of the area.

Some 406 graves chronologically spanning 1,300 years have been discovered just in the necropolis area of the "Relja Garden" (covering some 3,200 m<sup>2</sup>). The discovered graves are from the Liburnian, Roman and early Medieval Period.

Various burials were discovered at the site in terms of incineration and inhumation rites. Various objects in the graves accompanied the deceased while stone monuments, including those of epigraphic nature, were often used as cemetery architecture.

All epigraphic monuments found at the "Relja Garden" site were in secondary use, with one even having a tertiary use. Not for a moment upon discovery was the object primarily used as a tombstone. For this reason, many monuments have been damaged and many parts of the inscriptions are missing.

Ten epitaphs were found in seven graves.

An epitaph together with tegulae that comprised the upper part of cemetery architecture was found in grave no. 112, whereas in grave no. 120 a monument was found which along with the tegulae was used as a grave side.

Monuments were found in grave no. 21 and grave no. 182, which together with tegulae comprised the grave bottom.<sup>3</sup> Graves no. 42, no. 201 and no. 227 revealed monuments that were placed directly on the body of the deceased.<sup>4</sup>

This reuse of epigraphic monuments in necropolises is not an isolated phenomenon. For instance, seven stela built into a late Roman tomb were found in Dugopolje,<sup>5</sup> while in Podgrađe at Benkovac (a Roman *Asseria*) three gravestones

1 Istraživanje su vodili dr. sc. Ivo Fadić, tadašnji muzejski savjetnik AMZd-a, a danas ravnatelj Muzeja antičkog stakla i Timka Alihodžić, kustos u AMZd-u (Antički odjel). Ovim putem autorica je od srca zahvalna što su joj spomenute osobe pružile priliku da sudjeluje u tako opsežnim istraživanjima kao i na znanju koje je stekla u njima.

2 S. Gluščević, 2005, 3.

3 Spomenici iz groba br. 21 su već objavljeni, ali je bitno da ih se ovdje ponovo donese zbog cjeline koju čine zajedno s ostalim natpisima. Vidi: I. Fadić, 2007, 165-181.

4 Svi podaci o kontekstu nalaza doneseni su iz Terenskog dnevnika, s radnih fotografija i tehničkih crteža. Na ovom mjestu autorica se želi zahvaliti bivšem ravnatelju AMZd-a dr. sc. Smiljanu Gluščeviću i sadašnjem ravnatelju AMZd-a dr. sc. Jakovu Vučiću na ustupanju građe za objavu.

5 N. Cambi, 1993, 147-181.

1 The excavations was led by Ivo Fadić PhD, a former consultant to the Archaeological Museum Zadar, now director of the Museum of Ancient Glass and Timka Alihodžić, curator at the Archaeological Museum Zadar (Roman Section). Author would like to take this opportunity to extend gratitude to them for allowing her to participate in such extensive excavations and on the knowledge she acquired about them.

2 S. Gluščević, 2005, 3.

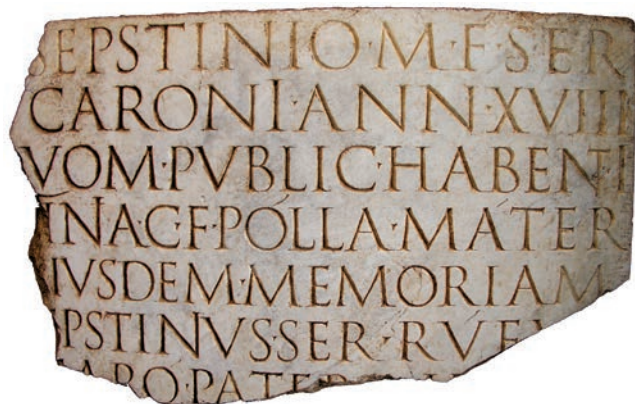
3 The monuments from grave no. 21 have already been presented, but author thought it would be important to present them here again due to the overall context they provide together with the other inscriptions. See: I. Fadić, 2007, 165-181.

4 All informations on the context of the finds have been retrieved from the Field Diary, with working photographs and technical drawings. Author would like to take this opportunity to extend her gratitude to the previous director of the Archaeological Museum Zadar, Smiljan Gluščević PhD, and the current director of the Archaeological Museum Zadar, Jakov Vučić PhD, for providing the presented material.

5 N. Cambi, 1993, 147-181.

su se također koristili kao pokrovi kasnoantičkih grobova.<sup>6</sup> Antički kameni materijal, pa tako i epigrafski spomenici, često su se koristili u raznim građevinskim pothvatima tijekom svih razdoblja nakon pada Carstva što je i danas vidljivo na mnogim mjestima. Ono što je zanimljivo kod ovih spomenika je spoznaja da je u nekom trenutku došlo do devastiranja ranijeg horizonta nekropole da bi se mogli vršiti novi ukopi, a ujedno je stariji materijal iskorišten za nove grobove.

### 1. Sepstinijev nadgrobnji spomenik (Inv. A9889), (Sl. 1)



Slika 1. Sepstinijev nadgrobnji spomenik

Figure 1. The epitaph of Sepstinus

foto / photo: I. Juras

U grobu br. 112 pronađen je nadgrobnji spomenik koji je zajedno s tegulama činio gornji dio grobne arhitekture. Spomenik je bio okrenut naopako tako da natpisno polje nije bilo vidljivo. Bio je smješten u predjelu glave. Nadgrobnji spomenik izrađen je od bijelog vapnenca. Obrađen je vrlo kvalitetno tako da natpisno polje čini fina glatka površina koja se blago savija prema oštrim rubovima. Nedostaje manji dio lijevog ruba te donji dio natpisa. Maksimalna sačuvana visina spomenika je 48,5 cm, širina 81,5 cm, debljina varira zbog konveksnosti od 4,1 cm do 8,3 cm. Na gornjoj strani spomenika nalaze se tri kružna utora promjera 2,5 cm, a koji su vjerojatno služili da bi se spomenik ugradio u nešto. Sačuvano je sedam redaka natpisa. Slova su pisana vrlo lijepom kapitalom. Riječi su odvojene trokutastom distinkcijom. Na ovom natpisu ligature su izvedene slovom N. U trećem retku slova NT stoje u ligaturi na način da je desnoj hasti slova N dodana vodoravna crtica. U četvrtom i šestom retku desna hasta slova N je produžena uvis što zapravo čini NI. Na spomenik je pet puta urezan oštri akcent (*apex*) i to iznad završnog slova O u gentiliciju *Sepstinio* (1. red), iznad slova O u imenu *Polla* (4. red), iznad slova A u riječi *mater* (4. red),

used as covers for late Roman graves were found.<sup>6</sup> Roman stone materials, including epigraphs, were often used in various building projects throughout all periods after the fall of the Empire, which today is evident in many places. What is interesting about these monuments is the knowledge that at some point the earlier horizon of the necropolis was devastated to make way for new burials, with the older material used for new graves.

### 1. The epitaph of Sepstinus (Inv. A9889), (Fig. 1)

An epitaph was found at grave no. 112, which together with the tegulae comprises the upper part of the grave architecture. The monument was turned upside with the inscription section not visibly showing. It was located at the head section. The epitaph is made of white limestone. It was treated to a very fine level so that the inscription field provided a fine smooth surface that gently bends towards the sharp edges. A small part of the left edge is missing, and the lower part of the inscription. The maximum preserved height of the monument is 48.5 cm with a width of 81.5 cm, and the thickness varies because the convexity varies from 4.1 cm to 8.3 cm. Three are circumferential grooves on the upper side of the monument with a diameter of 2.5 cm, and were likely used for placing the monument into something. Seven rows of inscription have been preserved. The letters are written in a very nice capitals. The words are separated by a triangular distinction. The ligatures on this inscription were performed with the letter N. In the third row, the letters NT are noted in a ligature so that a horizontal line was added to the right bar of the letter N. In the 4th and 6th rows, the right bar of the letter N extends upwards actually forming NI. The sharp accent (*apex*) has been etched five times on the monument and above the final letter O in the nomen gentilicium *Sepstinio* (1st row), above the letter O in the name *Polla* (4th row), above the letter A in the word *mater* (4th row), above the first V in the cognomen *Rufus* (6th row), and above the letter O in the cognomen *Caro* (7th row).<sup>7</sup> The height of the letters gradually decrease and range from 5.7 cm in the 1st row to 4.9 cm in the last preserved row.

[---] SEPSTINIO · M · F · SER

[---] CARONI · ANN · XVIII

[..]VOM · PVBLIC · HABENTI

[---]INIA · C · F · POLLA · MATER

5 [..]IVSDEM · MEMORIAM

[.] [..]PSTINIVS · SER · RUF [..]

[.]ARO · PAT [..]

6 M. Glavičić, 2003, 71-95.

7 The sharp accent (*apex*) above the long vowels is used on inscriptions from the Sulla Period to the middle of the 3 century, but its use is sporadic. See: R. Bloch, 1971, 52.

iznad prvog V u kognomenu *Rufus* (6. red) te iznad slova O u kognomenu *Caro* (7. red).<sup>7</sup> Visina slova se postupno smanjuje, tako da se kreće od 5,7 cm u prvom retku do 4,9 cm u zadnjem sačuvanom retku.

[---] SEPSTINIO · M · F · SER  
 [---] CARONI · ANN · XVIII  
 [..]VOM · PVBLIC · HABENTI  
 [---]INIA · C · F · POLLA · MATER  
 5 [..]IVSDEM · MEMORIAM  
 [.] [..]PSTINIVS · SER · RUF[..  
 [..]ARO · PAT[..]

[---] *Sepstinio M(arci) f(ilio) Ser(gia tribu) / [---] Caroni ann(orum) XVIII / [eq]u{o=u}m public(um) habenti / [Lic?] inia C(ai) f(ilia) Polla mater / [e]iusdem memoriam / [M(arcus)] [Se]pstinus Ser(gia tribu) Ruf[us] / [C]aro pat[er] [---]*

(...) Sepstiniju Karonu, sinu Marka, upisanom u tribus Sergija, starom 18 godina, koji je imao pravo na državno konja, (...). Licinija Pola, kći Gaja, majka, u spomen istomu (i Marko) Sepstinije Ruf Karo, upisan u tribus Sergija, otac (...)

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Iz teksta je jasno da spomenik podižu majka Pola i otac Marko Sepstinije Ruf Karon svome sinu koji je umro u dobi od 18 godina. Ni jedan prenamen ne možemo pročitati zbog oštećenosti natpisa, ali se može pretpostaviti da je očevo prenamen napisan u obliku kratice *M(arcus)* s obzirom na to da kod imena sina imamo filijaciju *M(arci) f(ilio)*. Sin preuzima gentilicij *Sepstinus* od oca. U sedmom retku nije u potpunosti vidljiv drugi očevo kognomen *Caro*, ali ga možemo restituirati na temelju sinovljevog i onoga što se može vidjeti na natpisu [C]ARO. Za očekivati je da će postojati još neki spomenik na kojem se nalaze imena ovo dvoje komemoratora, ali takav spomenik ili još nije pronađen ili su komemoratori s vremenom odselili puno dalje od antičkog Jadera pa bi njihova imena trebalo potražiti na širem prostoru. Tako na jednom cipusu iz Rima nalazimo imenovanje poput onoga koje nosi Sepstinijeva majka, pod uvjetom da „oštećeno“ gentilno ime glasi *Licinia* i tada bi puno ime glasilo *Licinia C(ai) f(ilia) Polla*.<sup>8</sup> Na tom spomeniku se navodi ime oslobođenika Gaja Licinija Hilarija, čija je vlasnica bila žena i to očito Licinija Pola. Kognomen *Polla* ime je italjskog podrijetla i najrašireniji je upravo na Apeninskom poluotoku, gdje se u ovakvom obliku nalazi na čak trideset i dva spomenika, dok je u Dalmaciji potvrđen na samo njih četiri.<sup>9</sup> Obiteljsko ime *Licinus* je

[---] *Sepstinio M(arci) f(ilio) Ser(gia tribu) / [---] Caroni ann(orum) XVIII / [eq]u{o=u}m public(um) habenti / [Lic?] inia C(ai) f(ilia) Polla mater / [e]iusdem memoriam / [M(arcus)] [Se]pstinus Ser(gia tribu) Ruf[us] / [C]aro pat[er] [---]*

(...) To Sepstinus Caro, son of Marcus, entered in the tribe of Sergia, 18 years old, who had a right to own a horse (...). Licinia Polla, daughter of Caius, the mother, in memory of the aforementioned (and Marcus) Sepstinus Rufus Caro, entered in the tribe of Sergia, the father (...)

From the text it becomes clear that the monument was raised by the mother Polla and father Marcus Sepstinus Rufus Caro to their son, who died at 18 years of age. No praenomen is legible due to the damage on the inscription, but the assumption is that the father's praenomen was written as an abbreviation *M(arcus)* when taking into consideration that the filiation *M(arci) f(ilio)* refers to the son's name. The son assumes the nomen gentilicium *Sepstinus* from his father. The 7th row does not fully show the father's second cognomen *Caro*, but we are able to reconstitute it based on the filial traits and what is found in the inscription [C]ARO. The expectation is that there is another monument that contains the names of the two commemorators, however such a monument has not been found as yet or the commemorators eventually migrated far beyond the Roman lader, hence their names should be sought in a wider area. So it happens that on one cippus from Rome we come across a naming such as that held by Sepstinus's mother, providing that the 'damaged' nomen gentilicium is *Licinia*, then the full name would be *Licinia C(ai) f(ilia) Polla*.<sup>8</sup> The monument states the name of the freedman Caius Licinius Hilarus, whose owner was a woman and apparently Licinia Polla. The cognomen *Polla* is a name of Italic origin and is most common on the Apennine Peninsula, where it is found in this form on a total of thirty-two monuments, while only on four of them in Dalmatia.<sup>9</sup> The family name of *Licinus* is very widespread throughout the empire, even in the East.<sup>10</sup> The name Licinia Polla is, without filiation, found on an urn, also from Rome.<sup>11</sup> Here, the inscription lists the names of the two freedmen (a man Caius Licinius Lucundus and a woman Licinia Itamenis) whose former owner was actually Licinia Polla. The man's freed praenomen is *C(aius)*, which would further indicate that it is perhaps the same Polla. What is obvious is that these monuments from Rome just like those from Zadar have no consecrations to the gods. The father's name form indicates a person of the upper class who surely had

7 Oštri akcent (*apex*) iznad dugih vokala se koristi na natpisima od Sulinog doba do sredine 3. stoljeća, ali mu je upotreba sporadična. Vidi: R. Bloch, 1971, 52.

8 *CIL* VI, 33428.

9 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Polla*, usp. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 148; G. Alföldy, 1969, 268.

8 *CIL* VI, 33428.

9 For the incidence of the cognomen *Polla*, cf. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 148; G. Alföldy, 1969, 268.

10 For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Licinus*, cf. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 26; G. Alföldy, 1969, 93.

11 *CIL* VI, 21270.

iznimno rašireno posvuda u carstvu, pa čak i na Istoku.<sup>10</sup> Ime Licinije Pole, ali bez filijacije, nalazimo i na urni također iz Rima.<sup>11</sup> Na tom natpisu navode se imena dvojice oslobođenika (muškarca Gaja Licinija Jukunda i žene Licinije Itamene) čija je bivša vlasnica upravo Licinija Pola. Muški oslobođenik ima prenamen *C(aius)* što bi dodatno govorilo u prilog da se možda ipak radi o našoj Poli. Ono što je očito je da se ni na ovim spomenicima iz Rima baš kao ni na ovome iz Zadra ne nalazi posveta bogovima. Imenski obrazac oca govori da se ovdje radi o osobi višeg staleža koja je sigurno obavljala i neku važnu funkciju, ali se taj podatak najvjerojatnije nalazi na onom dijelu natpisa koji nedostaje. Imenovanje započinje prenamenom *Marcus* koje zatim prati gentilicij *Sepstinus* koje se u takvom obliku ne nalazi ni na jednom da sada zabilježenom natpisu, ali ga u ženskoj izvedenici nalazimo na dva natpisa iz Italije.<sup>12</sup> Prvi očevo kognomen *Rufus* raširen je posvuda, osobito na prostoru Italije i Hispanije, u Dalmaciji je vrlo čest čak i kod domaćeg stanovništva.<sup>13</sup> Na jednom natpisu iz Zadra nalazi se kognomen *Rufus* uz oznaku *Serg(i)a* i filijaciju *T(iti) f(iilius)*.<sup>14</sup> Međutim unatoč činjenici da je klesan jako lijepom kapitalom, spomenuti natpis je toliko fragmentarno sačuvan da je teško sa sigurnošću reći da se radi o istoj osobi. Drugi očevo kognomen *Caro*, u ovakvom obliku je vrlo rijedak.<sup>15</sup> Natpis nema većih nepravilnosti osim načina na koji je napisana riječ *equom* u trećem redu. Iz historijske gramatike poznato je da se vokal *-u* pisao kao kratki vokal *-o* kada bi se nalazio ispred *-um* ili *-us* da bi se izbjeglo urokljivo *-VV*, ali se izgovaralo normalno kao *-um* ili *-us*.<sup>16</sup> U tom slučaju ovdje se ne bi radilo o klesarskoj pogrešci već je tako napisano namjerno. Između ostalog, značajka ovog natpisa je i pripadnost pokojnika viteškom staležu – *equum publicum habenti*. Zna se da su viteški staleži činili Rimljani čiji je cenzi (imovinsko stanje) iznosio najmanje 400 000 sestercija. Oni su se nazivali *equites Romani equo publico*. Pravo na ovaj položaj dobivao se ili rođenjem ili naklonošću imperatora.<sup>17</sup> Iz svega navedenog jasno je da su sve tri osobe koje se spominju na ovom natpisu bile pripadnici višeg staleža koji su ovamo doselili iz Italije.

performed an important function, but that information is probably on the part of the inscription that is missing. The appointment begins with the praenomen *Marcus*, which then follows the nomen gentilicium *Sepstinus*, which in this form does not appear on any of the previously noted inscriptions, but the female derivative is found in two inscriptions from Italy.<sup>12</sup> The father's first cognomen *Rufus* is relatively widespread, especially in the region of Italy and Hispania, while in Dalmatia it is very common even among the local population.<sup>13</sup> One inscription from Zadar contains the cognomen *Rufus* along with the designation *Serg(i)a* and the filiation *T(iti) f(iilius)*.<sup>14</sup> However, despite the fact that it has been carved using very beautiful capitals, the inscription is so fragmentarily preserved that it is difficult to say with certainty whether it is the same person. The father's second cognomen *Caro*, in this form is very rare.<sup>15</sup> The inscription does not exhibit major irregularities other than the way the word *equom* has been written in the 3rd row. It is a known fact from historical grammar that the vowel *-u* is written as a short vowel *-o* when found in front of *-um* or *-us* in order to avoid the evil *-VV*, but was pronounced normally as *-um* or *-us*.<sup>16</sup> In this case, this would not have been a stonemason's error but would have been written so intentionally. Among other features of this inscription is also the association of the deceased to the knighthood – *equum publicum habent*. It is well known that the knighthood comprised Romans whose census (financial situation) amounted to at least 400,000 sesterces. They were called *equites Romani equo publico*. The right to this position was received either by birth or as a favour from the emperor.<sup>17</sup> That being said, it is clear that all three persons mentioned in this inscription were members of the upper class who had moved here from Italy.

## 2. The epitaph of Cassia (Inv. A9892) (Fig. 2)

An epitaph was found in grave no. 120 that was being used as grave side, which together with the tegulae formed part of the cemetery architecture. The epitaph is made of white marble, but since it was lying in the soil, a reddish patina appeared on the surface. The back of the epitaph has a sketch. The lower left corner of the epitaph is missing, but the whole textual part is intact. It is a rectangular shape. The epitaph is 45.4 cm high, 34.7 cm wide and 3.2 cm thick. The text was carved across 5 rows. The words are separated by ivy decorations. There are visible traces of drafting lines used for writing. The letters are written in a very nice capital. The letter

10 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Licinius*, usp. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 26; G. Alföldy, 1969, 93.

11 *CIL* VI, 21270.

12 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Sepstinus*, usp. *EDCS* (05.10.2014.) na natpisu: AE 1964, 00219b; *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 68.

13 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Rufus*, usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 283; *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 36.

14 *CIL* III, 9996a.

15 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Caro*, usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 171; *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 36.

16 W. M. Lindsay, 1915, 36.

17 R. Bloch, 1971, 45.

12 For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Sepstinus*, cf. *EDCS* (5/10/2014) on the inscription: AE 1964, 00219b; *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 68.

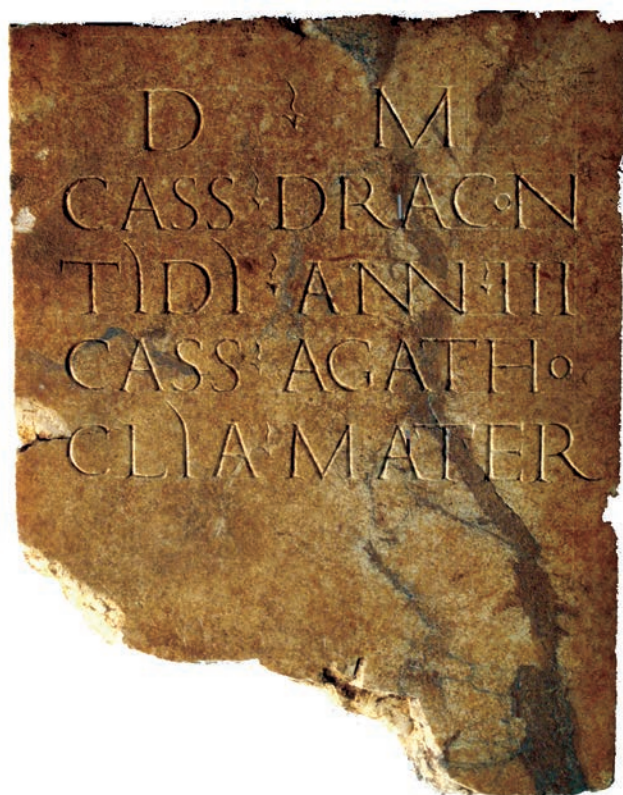
13 For the incidence of the cognomen *Rufus*, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 283; *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 36.

14 *CIL* III, 9996a.

15 For the incidence of the cognomen *Caro*, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 171; *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 36.

16 W. M. Lindsay, 1915, 36.

17 R. Bloch, 1971, 45.



Slika 2. Kasijin nadgrobnji spomenik

Figure 2. The epitaph of Cassia

foto / photo: I. Juras

## 2. Kasijin nadgrobnji spomenik (Inv. A9892), (Sl. 2)

U grobu br. 120 pronađen je nadgrobnji spomenik koji je bio upotrijebljen kao stranica groba, a koji je zajedno s tegulama činio dio grobne arhitekture. Nadgrobnji spomenik izrađen je od bijelog mramora, ali se zbog ležanja u zemlji stvorila crvenkasta patina na površini. Sa stražnje strane spomenik je abociran. Nedostaje donji lijevi kut spomenika, ali je cijeli tekstualni dio sačuvan. Pravokutnog je oblika. Dimenzije spomenika su: visina 45,4 cm, širina 34,7 cm, debljina 3,2 cm. Tekst je isklesan u pet redaka. Riječi su odvojene hederama. Vidljivi su tragovi pomoćnih crta za pisanje. Slova su pisana vrlo lijepom kapitalom. Slovo I je više od ostalih slova i izgleda kao obrnuto J jer mu gornji dio zavija u lijevu stranu. Slovo O je manje od ostalih slova. Visina slova se postupno smanjuje od 3,4 cm u prvom retku do 3,1 cm u zadnjem retku.

D M  
CASS · DRACON  
TIDI · ANN · III  
CASS · AGATHO  
5 CLIA · MATER

*D(is) M(anibus) / Cass(iae) Dracon/tidi ann(or)um III / Cass(ia) Agatho/clia mater.*

Bogovima Manima. Kasiji Drakontidi, staroj 3 godine.  
Kasija Agatoklija majka.

I is bigger than the other letters and looks like an inverted J because the upper part curves to the left. The letter O is smaller than the other letters. The height of letters gradually decreases from 3.4 cm in the 1st row to 3.1 cm in the last row.

D M  
CASS · DRACON  
TIDI · ANN · III  
CASS · AGATHO  
5 CLIA · MATER

*D(is) M(anibus) / Cass(iae) Dracon/tidi ann(or)um III / Cass(ia) Agatho/clia mater.*

To the Manes gods. To Cassia Dracontis 3 years old.  
Cassia Agathoclia mother.

The inscription begins with a consecration to the Manes gods, followed by the name of the girl to whom the epitaph was erected, and written in the “two names” convention. The first part consists of nomen gentilicium *Cassius*, and the other of the cognomen *Dracontis*,<sup>18</sup> which is a name of Greek origin that is declined according to the Latin third declension. Since this refers to female names, the nomen gentilicium of *Cassius* which is written abbreviated CASS in restitution becomes *Cass(ia)*. Furthermore, the inscription reveals that the girl died when she was three years old and her mother Cassia Agathoclia erected a monument. Subsequently, both mother and child carry the same nomen gentilicium *Cassius*, which are appended to their names. Therefore, we can assume that the mother and daughter were freed from an owner whose nomen gentilicium was *Cassius*. The family name *Cassius* is found in many places and also on inscriptions in the province of Dalmatia, where about sixty inscriptions have been discovered.<sup>19</sup> Initially, this nomen gentilicium was carried by the Italics, and later their descendants and various provincials, most likely also from the East.<sup>20</sup> The cognomen *Dracontis* is very rarely mentioned on monuments, whereas the cognomen *Agathoclia*<sup>21</sup> appears somewhat more often than *Dracontis*, but it has not been found in Dalmatia. This female name is probably derived from the male name *Agathocles*, which is of Greek origin, and as such appears on one monument from Dalmatia.<sup>22</sup> Obviously, this refers to persons of Greek or Oriental origin.

18 For the incidence of the cognomen *Dracontis*, cf. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 109.

19 For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Cassius*, cf. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 41.

20 G. Alföldy, 1969, 73.

21 For the incidence of the cognomen *Agathoclia*, cf. *EDCS*, (06.10.2014.) in inscriptions: CIL VI, 04685; AE 1964, 00073; CIL VI, 23161; CIL VIII, 5269; CIL VIII, 26578.

22 G. Alföldy, 1969, 359; *OPEL*, 1, 2005, 34.

Natpis počinje posvetom bogovima Manima, zatim slijedi ime djevojčice kojoj se podiže spomenik, napisano u dvoimenskoj formuli. Prvi dio se sastoji od gentilicija *Cassius*, a drugi od kognomena *Dracontis*,<sup>18</sup> a to je ime grčkog podrijetla koje se sklanja po latinskoj 3. deklinaciji. Budući da se radi o ženskim osobama, gentilicij *Cassius* koji je napisan kraticom CASS u restituciji glasi *Cass(ia)*. Nadalje iz natpisa saznajemo da je djevojčica umrla s tri godine i da joj spomenik postavlja majka Kasija Agatoklija. Dakle i majka i dijete nose isti gentilicij *Cassius*, kojem su pridodana njihova imena pa je za pretpostaviti da su majka i kći oslobođenice vlasnika čije je gentilno ime bilo *Cassius*. Obiteljsko ime *Cassius* pronalazi se posvuda pa tako i na natpisima u provinciji Dalmaciji gdje je zabilježeno na čak šezdeset natpisa.<sup>19</sup> U početku taj gentilicij nose Italici, a kasnije i njihovi potomci te razni provincijalci, najvjerojatnije i s Istoka.<sup>20</sup> Kognomen *Dracontis* je iznimno rijedak na spomenicima, dok se kognomen *Agathoclia*<sup>21</sup> pojavljuje nešto češće od njega, ali ga nema prisutnog u Dalmaciji. To žensko ime je najvjerojatnije izvedeno iz muškog *Agathocles*, a to je ime grčkog podrijetla i kao takvo se javlja na jednom spomeniku iz Dalmacije.<sup>22</sup> Očito je da se ovdje radi o osobama grčkog ili svakako istočnjačkog podrijetla.

### 3. Juventinov nadgrobnni spomenik (Inv. A9902), (Sl. 3)<sup>23</sup>

U grobu br. 182 pronađen je nadgrobnni spomenik u više ulomaka. Zajedno s tegulama činio je podnicu groba u kojem su se nalazila dva pokojnika (odrasla osoba i dijete). Bio je smješten ispod glave odrasle osobe. Izrađen je od bijelog mramora, ali se zbog ležanja u zemlji stvorila crvenkasta patina na površini. Spomenik je sačuvan u osam ulomka, a nedostaje gornji lijevi kut. Pravokutnog je oblika. Po donjem prednjem rubu nalaze se ostaci žbuke. Visina spomenika je 52,9 cm, širina 37,1 cm, debljina 1,4 cm. Tekst je napisan u sedam redova i gotovo je u cijelosti sačuvan. Vidljivi su tragovi pomoćnih crta za pisanje. Slova su pisana lijepom kapitalom. Visina slova od 1. do 6. retka varira od 4 cm do 4,3 cm, dok je u zadnjem (sedmom) redu visina slova 5 cm. Između slova [D] M u prvom redu stoji veća trokutasta distinkcija. U zadnjem redu riječ *annos* i broj *X* odvojeni su manjom trokutastom distinkcijom. Iza broja *X* nalazi se hedera. U donjem srednjem dijelu natpisa urezana je ascija.

18 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Dracontis*, usp. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 109.

19 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Cassius*, usp. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 41.

20 G. Alföldy, 1969, 73.

21 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Agathoclia*, usp. *EDCS*, (06.10.2014.) na natpisima: CIL VI, 04685; AE 1964, 00073; CIL VI, 23161; CIL VIII, 5269; CIL VIII, 26578.

22 G. Alföldy, 1969, 359; *OPEL*, 1, 2005, 34.

23 Na ovom mjestu autorica se želi zahvaliti voditeljici Antičkog odjela AMZd-a dr. sc. Korneliji A. Giunio na ustupljenom materijalu, kao i na savjetima koje je od nje dobila. Dr. sc. Kornelija A. Giunio je datirala gagatnu narukvicu, polukružnog presjeka, pronađenu u ovom grobu (gr. 182) u 3. – 4. st. Taj podatak nam je jako važan jer datira sekundarnu upotrebu ovog nadgrobnnog spomenika, odnosno sam grob. Vidi: K. A. Giunio, 2010, 193-204.



Slika 3. Juventinov nadgrobnni spomenik

Figure 3. The epitaph of Iuventus

foto / photo: I. Juras

### 3. The epitaph of Iuventus (Inv. A9902) (Fig. 3)<sup>23</sup>

An epitaph in multiple fragments was found in grave no. 182. Together with tegulae, it comprised the grave floor in which the two deceased were placed (adult and child). It was placed under the head of the adult and was made of white marble, but since it was lying in the soil, a reddish patina appeared on the surface. The monument is preserved in eight fragments, with the upper left corner missing. It is rectangular in shape. Plaster remains are found along the lower front edge. The monument is 52.9 cm high, 37.1 cm wide and 1.4 cm thick. The text is written across seven rows and almost entirely preserved. There are visible traces of drafting lines used for writing. The letters are written in a beautiful capital. The height of the characters from rows 1 to 6 vary from 4 cm to 4.3 cm, while the height of the last (7th) row of letters is 5 cm.

23 At this point, author would like to thank the director of the Antique Department at the Archaeological Museum Zadar Kornelija A. Giunio PhD, on the provided material, as well as the advice that she received from her. Kornelija A. Giunio PhD, dated a jet bracelet, having a semi-circular cross-section, found in the grave (gr. 182) from the 3rd - 4th century. This information is very important to us because it dates back to the secondary use of the epitaph, i.e. to the actual grave. See: K. A. Giunio, 2010, 193-204.

[.] M  
 VE [.]ONSER  
 VO SVO IVVE  
 NTINO BENE  
 5 MERENTI QVI  
 VIXIT MECV  
 M ANNOS · X

[D(is)] M(anibus) / Ve[ra?] [c]onser/vo suo luve/ntino  
 bene / merenti qui / vixit mecu/m annos X.

Bogovima Manima. Vera (podize/postavlja spomenik)  
 svom surobu Juventinu, zaslužnom, koji je živio sa mnom  
 10 godina.

Natpis počinje posvetom bogovima Manima, ali se zbog oštećenja ne vidi kratica D. U drugom redu na samom početku nalaze se slova VE, koja vjerojatno predstavlja ime žene koja podize spomenik. Ostatak imena nije vidljiv jer taj dio spomenika nedostaje. S obzirom na prostor koji se nalazi između vidljivih slova, može se zaključiti da tu nedostaju dva ili tri slova pa bi prema tome njen kognomen mogao biti Vera. Kognomen Vera potvrđen je u Dalmaciji na još osam natpisa.<sup>24</sup> Ona podize spomenik svom surobu Juventinu s kojim je živjela deset godina. Kognomen *luventinus* u takvom obliku ne nalazi se na spomenicima iz provincije Dalmacije, a izvan njega nalazimo na samo četiri natpisa.<sup>25</sup> Zanimljivost ovog natpisa je u izrazu *conservo* koji nam govori o robovskom statusu dvije osobe koje se ovdje navode, ali ono što je još važnije govori nam o vezi između dvoje ljudi.<sup>26</sup> Njihova veza nije bila legalna jer je poznato da robovi između sebe nisu imali pravo sklapanja zakonitog braka,<sup>27</sup> ali su je barem posthumno, na nadgrobnom spomeniku, mogli istaknuti.

#### 4. Elpidijin nadgrobni spomenik (Inv. A9901), (Sl. 4)

U grobu br. 42 nadgrobni spomenik je bio smješten preko gornjeg dijela tijela, u području glave i prsa. Spomenik je bio okrenut naopako. Izrađen je od sivog mramora. Spomenik je pronađen u mnogo ulomaka. Većina je sastavljena, ali nedostaje dio desnog ruba, početak četvrtog, petog i šestog reda teksta, te donji lijevi kut. Pravokutnog je oblika. Sa stražnje strane nalazi se dvostruko profilirano polje koje je vjerojatno trebalo poslužiti za neki novi natpis ili je pak ovaj natpis iskoristio već upotrebljavani kamen. Visina spomenika je 38,2 cm, širina 25,8 cm, debljina 1,6 cm. Tekst je gotovo u cijelosti sačuvan. Isklesan je u deset redova, u kontinuitetu bez razmaka među riječima, što jako otežava restituciju. Jedino su slova D M u prvom redu razdvojena urezanim ascijom. U sedmom redu je ligatura VE, a u osmom TF ili FT. Naime,

Between the letters [D] M in the 1st row there is a greater triangular distinction. In the last row the word *annos* and the number X are separated by a small triangular distinction. After the X there is an ivy feature. A stonemason's tool (*ascia*) is carved into the lower middle section of the inscription.

[.] M  
 VE [.]ONSER  
 VO SVO IVVE  
 NTINO BENE  
 5 MERENTI QVI  
 VIXIT MECV  
 M ANNOS · X

[D(is)] M(anibus) / Ve[ra?] [c]onser/vo suo luve/ntino  
 bene / merenti qui / vixit mecu/m annos X.

To the Manes gods. Vera (lifts/erects a monument) to her co-slave luventinus, deserving, who lived with me for 10 years.

The inscription begins with a dedication to the Manes gods, but the abbreviation D is not visible due to damage. At the very beginning of the 2nd row are the letters VE, which probably represent the name of the woman who erected the monument. The rest of the names are not visible because that particular section of the monument is missing. When taking into account the space between the visible letters, the conclusion is that that two or three letters are missing. Accordingly, her cognomen could be Vera. The cognomen Vera has been confirmed in Dalmatia and found on eight inscriptions.<sup>24</sup> She had raised a monument to her co-slave luventinus with whom she had lived for ten years. The cognomen *luventinus* in this form is not on monuments from the province of Dalmatia, whereas beyond the province only four such inscriptions have been found.<sup>25</sup> The interesting aspect of this inscription is in the phrase *conserve*, which speaks of the slave status of two people who are mentioned here, but what is more important, it tells us about the relationship between the two people.<sup>26</sup> Their relationship was not legitimate because it is a known fact that slaves had no right to enter into legitimate marriage among themselves,<sup>27</sup> but they could point it out on the epitaph at least posthumously.

#### 4. The epitaph of Elpidia (Inv. A9901) (Fig. 4)

Grave no. 42 has an epitaph that was placed over the upper part of a body, in the head and chest area. The monument had been turned upside down. It is made of grey marble.

24 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena Vera, usp. OPEL, 4, 2002, 160.

25 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena luventinus, usp. OPEL, 2, 1999, 211.

26 R. Matijašić, 2002, 71.

27 R. Matijašić, 2002, 71.

24 For the incidence of the cognomen Vera, cf. OPEL, 4, 2002, 160.

25 For the incidence of the cognomen luventinus, cf. OPEL, 2, 1999, 211.

26 R. Matijašić, 2002, 71.

27 R. Matijašić, 2002, 71.





Slika 4. Elpidijin nadgrobnji spomenik

Figure 4. The epitaph of Elpidia

foto / photo: I. Juras

slovo T je napisano tako da mu je s desne strane po sredini dodana vodoravna hasta. Visina slova na natpisu: 1. red – 2,9 cm; 2. red – 3,4 cm; 3. red – 2,6 cm; 4. red – 2,3 cm, 5. red – 2 cm, 6. red – 2,3 cm, 7. red – 2,6 cm, 8. red – 2,5 cm, 9. red – 2,5 cm, 10. red – 2,9 cm.

D M  
 ELPIDIAE PIENTI  
 SSIME QVE ANNO            sic! (bis)  
 [.] MECVM VIXIT VI C  
 5 [...]TI EII RES CVIVS    sic!  
 [..]VDEM NVO[---]        sic!  
 INVENI DESOLA  
 TVS LAVTF/FTENTI        sic!  
 VS PLVRIA                sic!  
 10 MERENTI FECIT

*D(is) M(anibus) / Elpidiae pienti/ ssim(a)e qu(a)e anno/ [s] mecum vixit VI c/[omi]ti ei(i) res cuius / [la]udem NVO[---] / inveni desola/tus Lau{tf / ft=r}enti/us plur(i)a / merenti fecit.*

Bogovima Manima. Elpidiji, najpobožnijoj, koja je živjela sa mnom 6 godina, onoj prijateljici, izvršio sam (...) zahvalnost, (ja) ostavljeni Laurencije. Više zaslužnoj, podiže (spomenik).

The monument was found in many fragments. The majority of it was put together again, but a piece of the right edge is missing, the start of the 4th, 5th and 6th rows of text, and the lower left corner. It is rectangular in shape. The rear side has a double profiled field which was probably used for a new inscription, or this inscription already utilised reused stone. The monument is 38.2 cm high, 25.8 cm wide and 1.6 cm thick. The text is almost entirely preserved. It has been written in ten rows, continuously without spaces between the words, making restitution very difficult. Only the letters D M in the 1st row are separated with an engraved stonemason's tool (*ascia*). The ligature VE is located in the 7th row, and in the 8th TF or FT. Specifically, the letter T is written so that it has an added horizontal bar on right side in the middle. The height of the letters in the inscription are as follows: 1st row - 2.9 cm; 2nd row - 3.4 cm; 3rd row - 2.6 cm; 4th row - 2.3 cm, 5th row - 2 cm, 6th row - 2.3 cm, 7th row - 2.6 cm, 8th row - 2.5 cm, 9th row - 2.5 cm, 10th row - 2.9 cm.

D M  
 ELPIDIAE PIENTI  
 SSIME QVE ANNO            sic! (bis)  
 [.] MECVM VIXIT VI C  
 5 [...]TI EII RES CVIVS    sic!  
 [..]VDEM NVO[---]        sic!  
 INVENI DESOLA  
 TVS LAVTF/FTENTI        sic!  
 VS PLVRIA                sic!  
 10 MERENTI FECIT

*D(is) M(anibus) / Elpidiae pienti/ ssim(a)e qu(a)e anno/ [s] mecum vixit VI c/[omi]ti ei(i) res cuius / [la]udem NVO[---] / inveni desola/tus Lau{tf / ft=r}enti/us plur(i)a / merenti fecit.*

To the Manes gods. To Elpidia, the most pious, who lived with me for 6 years, to that friend of mine, I've completed (...) appreciation, (I) left behind Laurencius. To the more deserved, raising (the monument).

The inscription begins with a dedication to the Manes gods. The name of the deceased Elpidia is engraved into the 2nd row. The cognomen *Elpidia* is mentioned on eleven monuments and most originate from Rome.<sup>28</sup> No monument with a name in this form has been previously found in Dalmatia, but the name *Helpidys* is inscribed in inscriptions from Salona seven times, with the majority belonging to women.<sup>29</sup> According to Alföldy the cognomen (*H*)elpidus is of Greek origin,<sup>30</sup> and this is just another derivative of this name. The 3rd row contains two spelling errors, where the stonemason did not inscribe the vowel *-a* in the dative and *-ae*

28 For the incidence of cognomen *Elpidia*, cf. OPEL, 2, 1999, 116.

29 For the incidence of cognomen *Helpidys*, cf. OPEL, 2, 1999, 176.

30 G. Alföldy, 1969, 360.

Natpis počinje posvetom bogovima Manima. U drugom retku uklesano je ime pokojnice Elpidije. Kognomen *Elpidia* spominje se na jedanaest spomenika i većina ih potječe iz Rima.<sup>28</sup> U provinciji Dalmaciji ne postoji ni jedan zabilježeni spomenik s imenom u ovom obliku, ali zato postoji ime *Helpidys* koje je na natpisima iz Salone zabilježeno sedam puta i većinom pripada ženama.<sup>29</sup> Prema Alföldyju kognomen (*H*)*elpidus* je grčkog podrijetla,<sup>30</sup> a to je još samo jedna izvedenica ovog imena. U trećem retku postoje dvije pravopisne pogreške gdje klesar nije napisao vokal *-a* dativnog i nominativnog nastavka *-ae*. Ovo nije rijetkost na spomenicima iz provincije Dalmacije i spada među dobro poznate vulgarnolatinske pojave.<sup>31</sup> Na početku petog i šestog retka nedostaju slova, ali za pretpostaviti je da završno slovo C iz četvrtog retka i slova TI koja se nastavljaju nakon oštećenja, u petom retku, čine dio riječi *comiti*. Također, mislim da u šestom retku na početku stoji riječ *laudem*. Iz sedmog u osmi red uklesan je pridjev *desolatus* koji se veže za ime Laurencije koje je ovdje napisano s ligaturom TF ili FT koju restituiram kao slovo R. S obzirom na ime u nominativu, Laurencije je osoba koja podiže spomenik i obilježava se kao "napušten ili ostavljen". Kognomen *Laurentius*<sup>32</sup> spominje se na osam spomenika iz različitih provincija, ali ni jedanput u Dalmaciji. Uz ime *Laurentius* veže se i glagol *invenio*, 4. *inveni*, *inventum* koji ovdje stoji u 1. licu singulara indikativa perfekta aktivnog (*inveni*). Iako je na natpisima uobičajen izraz *bene merenti*, pretražujući epigrafske baze podataka na internetu pronašli smo potvrdu za izraz *plura merenti*<sup>33</sup> pa će se i ovdje u skladu s tim izvršiti restitucija ovog natpisa. Dakle i ovdje imamo jedan natpis koji nam otkriva vezu između dvoje ljudi koji su živjeli zajedno šest godina. S obzirom na jednostavnu imensku formu, za pretpostaviti je da se radi o dvoje oslobođenika, a možda i robova čiji status ostaje skriven na samom natpisu.

### 5. Kalpurnijin nadgrobni spomenik (Inv. A9903), (Sl. 5)

U grobu br. 201 pronađena su dva nadgrobna spomenika (br. 5 i br. 6). Preko spomenika bilo je poslagano amorfnu kamenje. Ovaj spomenik je bio smješten preko gornjeg dijela tijela, u području glave i prsa i bio je okrenut naopako. Izrađen je od mramora i sastoji se od dva ulomka koji su naknadno slijepljeni. Pravokutnog je oblika. Sa stražnje strane nalazi se više profiliranih uzdužnih linija kao da je kamen na kojem je pisan natpis primarno bio dio neke arhitekture, što bi značilo da je u ovom grobu bio čak u tercijarnoj upotrebi. Visina spomenika je 64 cm, širina 28,5 cm, debljina 2,5 cm. Tekst je isklesan u sedam redova bez

in nominative suffix. This is not uncommon on monuments found in the province of Dalmatia and is well-known in Vulgar Latin.<sup>31</sup> There are missing letters at the beginning of the 5th and 6th rows, but the assumption is that the final letter C from 4th row and the letters TI that continue after the damaged section, in the 5th row, form part of the word *comiti*. Furthermore, author thinks that at the start of the 6th row the word reads *laudem*. The adjective *desolates* has been engraved to run from the 7th to the 8th row and is attributed to the name Laurencius which was written with the ligature TF or FT which author has restituted as the letter R. Given that the name is in the nominative, Laurencius is a person who has erected the monument and is marked as "abandoned" or "left". The cognomen *Laurentius*<sup>32</sup> is mentioned on eight monuments from different provinces, but not even once in Dalmatia. Accompanying the name *Laurentius* is the verb *invenio*, 4. *inveni*, *inventum* which occurs here in 1st person singular in the perfect active indicative form (*inveni*). Although the expression *bene merenti* ordinarily occurs, when searching epigraphic database on the Internet author found evidence of the term *plura merenti*<sup>33</sup> so author will also accordingly carry out restitution of this inscription. So here too we have an inscription that reveals a relationship between two people who had lived together for six years. Given the simple naming convention, the assumption is that these were two freed persons, possibly slaves whose status remained hidden in the actual inscription.

### 5. The epitaph of Calpurnia (Inv. A9903) (Fig. 5)

Grave no. 201 was found with two epitaphs (no. 5 and no. 6). Amorphous stones were arranged across the epitaphs. The epitaph was placed over the upper part of the body, on the head and chest area and laid upside down. It is made of marble, and consists of two fragments which had been subsequently glued together. It is rectangular in shape. On the rear side there is a number of profiled longitudinal lines as though the stone on which the inscription was written was primarily part of some sort of architecture. This would mean that it was even in tertiary use in the grave. The epitaph is 64 cm high, 28.5 cm wide and 2.5 cm thick. The text was engraved across seven rows without spaces between the words. In the 1st row the letter D is written upside down (mirrored). A pseudo-pediment is found between the letters DM onto which a stonemason's tool (*ascia*) is engraved. In the 4th row, the letter I is smaller and engraved above the bottom bar of the letter L. In the 5th row, the upper bar in the letter

28 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Elpidia*, usp. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 116.

29 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Helpidys*, usp. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 176.

30 G. Alföldy, 1969, 360.

31 P. Skok, 1915, 16 i dalje.

32 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Laurentius*, usp. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 21.

33 Izraz *plura merenti* potvrdila sam na internetu, u epigrafskoj bazi podataka EDCS (29.04.2014.) na natpisu: *AE* 1985, 00249.

31 P. Skok, 1915, 16 and onwards.

32 For the incidence of cognomen *Laurentius*, cf. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 21.

33 The expression *plura merenti* has been verified on the Internet in the epigraphic database EDCS (29.04.2014.) on the inscription: *AE* 1985, 00249.

razmaka među riječima. U prvom retku slovo D napisano je naopako (zrcalno). Između slova D M nalazi se pseudo-zabat na kojem je urezana ascija. U četvrtom retku slovo I je smanjeno i uklesano iznad donje haste slova L. U petom retku slovu E u riječi QVE nedostaje gornja hasta, a slovu A u riječi ANNOS nedostaje poprečna hasta. Slova su pisana dosta nepravilno tako da unutar jednog retka imamo slova različite visine.

D	M	
CALPVRNIA		sic!
CLARA FILIE		sic! (bis)
INFELICISSIME		sic!
5 QVE VIXIT AN		sic!
NOS XX BENE		
MERENTI		

*D(is) M(anibus) / Calpurnia(e) / Clara(e) fili(a)e / infelicissim(a)e / qu(a)e vixit an/nos XX bene / merenti.*

Bogovima Manima. Kalpurniji Klari, najnesretnijoj kćeri, koja je živjela 20 godina, zaslužnoj.

Natpis počinje posvetom bogovima Manima. Iz natpisa saznajemo da je Kalpurnija Klara umrla u dobi od 20 godina. Rimsko obiteljsko ime *Calpurnius*<sup>34</sup> je svugdje često, a na našim prostorima je također dobro zastupljeno kako u zapadnoj Istri, tako i u Liburniji gdje ga nalazimo kod domicilnog stanovništva. Ime je vezano uz senatorsku familiju *Calpurnii Pisones* koji je tu imala svoja imanja.<sup>35</sup> U provinciji Dalmaciji zabilježeno je na dvadeset i jednom spomeniku.<sup>36</sup> Kognomen *Clarus* iz kojeg je izvedena ženska inačica *Clara* ime je latinskog podrijetla i relativno je rijetko na našim prostorima. Samo četiri natpisa u Dalmaciji spominju ovaj kognomen, od čega se tri odnose na muškarce, a samo jedno, iz Salone, na ženu.<sup>37</sup> U tekstu je došlo do pravopisne pogreške kod svih riječi kod kojih bi trebao stajati završni diftong *-ae* bilo da je došlo do ispuštanja vokala *-a* ili *-e*, odnosno njihove monoftongizacije.<sup>38</sup> Uočljivo je da ovdje nedostaje ime osobe koja podiže spomenike. Natpisi bez komemoratora nisu neuobičajeni, na području Zadra registrirano ih je 19%. Smatra se da su takvi natpisi možda bili odraz društvenog običaja unutar određenih zajednica.<sup>39</sup>



Slika 5. Kalpurnijin nadgrobnji spomenik

Figure 5. The epitaph of Calpurnia

foto / photo: I. Juras

E in the word QVE is missing, and a transversal bar in the letter A is missing in the ANNOS. The letters were written quite irregularly so that on a single row the letters have varying heights.

D	M	
CALPVRNIA		sic!
CLARA FILIE		sic! (bis)
INFELICISSIME		sic!
5 QVE VIXIT AN		sic!
NOS XX BENE		
MERENTI		

34 G. Alföldy, 1969, 70 i dalje.

35 A. Kurilić, 2010, 197.

36 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Calpurnius*, usp. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 25.

37 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Clara*, usp. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 59; G. Alföldy, 1969, 340.

38 Vidi bilj. 31.

39 A. Kurilić, 1995, 75.



Slika 6. Karpov nadgrobni spomenik

Figure 6. The epitaph of Carpus

foto / photo: I. Juras

### 6. Karpov nadgrobni spomenik (Inv. A9896), (Sl. 6)

Ovaj spomenik pronađen je u grobu br. 201 u dva ulomka smještena na području stopala zajedno s amorfnim kamenjem. Radi se o desnom gornjem dijelu nadgrobnog natpisa izrađenog od kamena vapnenca. Teško je procijeniti koliki dio teksta nedostaje. Stražnja strana je glatka, kao i prednja. Sačuvana visina spomenika je 35,5 cm, maksimalna širina 25,5 cm, debljina 2,8 cm. Djelomično je sačuvano devet redova teksta. Riječi su odvojene trokutastom distinkcijom. Vidljivi su tragovi pomoćnih crta za pisanje. U petom retku predzadnje slovo O je izrazito smanjeno. Slova su dosta nepravilna. Visina slova se postupno smanjuje, tako da se kreću od 3,4 cm u prvom retku do 2,7 cm u zadnjem retku.

[.] M	
[---] LVCIVS	
[---] · KRPO	sic!
[---]CSETVS	sic!
5 [---] · VICST · ANOS	sic! (bis)
[---]XII · MESIS · VII	sic!
[.]IES · VII · ARTES	
[---] RESPCINS	sic!
[---] PEDITVS	sic!

*D(is) M(anibus) / Calpurnia(e) / Clara(e) fili(a)e / infelicissim(a)e / qu(a)e vixit an/nos XX bene / merenti.*

To the Manes gods. To Calpurnia Clara, the most unlucky daughter, who lived 20 years, deserving.

The inscription begins with a dedication to the Manes gods. Based on the inscription, we discover that Calpurnia Clara died at the age of 20 years. The Roman family name *Calpurniu*<sup>34</sup> is very widespread, and in our region is also well represented in both the western Histria and in Liburnia where it is found in the domicile-population. The name refers to the senatorial family of *Calpurnia Pisones* who had property here.<sup>35</sup> In the province of Dalmatia, the name has been recorded on twenty-one monuments.<sup>36</sup> The cognomen *Clarus* from which it is derived is a female version of the name *Clara* and is of Latin origin, relatively rare in our region. Only four inscriptions in Dalmatia mention this cognomen, of which three refer to men, and only one from Salona, refers to a woman.<sup>37</sup> The text contains spelling mistakes in all the words where a final diphthong *-ae* was supposed to be, whether this has been an omission of the vowels *-a* or *-e*, or their monophthongisation.<sup>38</sup> Evidently, the name of the person who erected the monuments is missing. Inscriptions without commentators are not uncommon, with the Zadar area registering 19% of such cases. The impression is that these inscriptions may have been a reflection of social customs within certain communities.<sup>39</sup>

### 6. The epitaph of Carpus (Inv. A9896) (Fig. 6)

This monument was found in grave no. 201 in two fragments positioned at the foot area together with amorphous stones. Focus is given to the right upper part of the epitaph made of limestone. It is difficult to estimate how much of the text is missing. The back side is smooth, as is the front. The preserved height of the monument is 35.5 cm, with a maximum width of 25.5 cm and a thickness of 2.8 cm. Nine rows of text are partly preserved. Words are separated by a triangular distinction. There are visible traces of drafting lines used for writing. In the 5th row, the penultimate letter O was significantly reduced. The letters are quite irregular. The height of the letters gradually reduces, so that they range from 3.4 cm in the 1st row and 2.7 inches in the last row.

34 G. Alföldy, 1969, 70 and onwards.

35 A. Kurilić, 2010, 197.

36 For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Calpurnius*, cf. OPEL, 2, 1999, 25.

37 For the incidence of the cognomen *Clara*, cf. OPEL, 2, 1999, 59; G. Alföldy, 1969, 340.

38 See Note 31.

39 A. Kurilić, 1995, 75.

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---] Lucius / [---]{K=C}(a)rpo / [---]  
{cs=x}jetus / [---] vi{cs=x}(i)t a(n)nos / [---]XII me(n)s{i=e}s VII  
/ [d]ies VII artes / [---] resp(i)ci(e)ns / [---] peditus / [---]

Bogovima Manima. (...) Lucije (...) Karpu (koji) je živio  
12 (ili više) godina, 7 mjeseci i 7 dana, (...) gledajući na  
vještine (...), pješak (...)

Zbog oštećenosti ovaj natpis je teško restituirati. Oči-  
to je da počinje posvetom bogovima Manima i na temelju  
ostatka sigle M možemo pretpostaviti koliki dio natpisa  
nedostaje s lijeve strane što nam donekle može pomoći  
kod restitucije na tom dijelu natpisa. U drugom retku sa-  
čuvan je komemoratorov kognomen *Lucius*, ispred te ri-  
ječi najvjerojatnije se nalazilo još jedno njegovo ime. Ko-  
gnomen *Lucius* raširen je posvuda, a osobito na keltskom  
području, dok je u provinciji Dalmaciji čest kod autohto-  
nog stanovništva.<sup>40</sup> U trećem retku nakon dijela koji ne-  
dostaje stoji najvjerojatnije kognomen *Carpus*.<sup>41</sup> Naime,  
kognomen *Carpus* je ime grčkog podrijetla i u ovom obli-  
ku je dokumentiran na dvadesetak spomenika u raznim  
provincijama, a najviše na Apeninskom poluotoku, dok  
ga u provinciji Dalmaciji nalazimo na četiri spomenika. U  
obliku *Karpus*<sup>42</sup> pronalazimo ga na dva spomenika iz gra-  
da Rima, a u obliku *Karpophorus*<sup>43</sup> na dva spomenika iz  
Salone. Nije vjerojatno da se ovdje radi o potonjem jer u  
sljedećem retku ne bi bilo dovoljno mjesta za tako dugač-  
ko ime. Je li ovdje došlo do namjernog ispuštanja vokala  
A ili je konsonant R ujedno ligatura AR teško je reći, iako  
ćemo ga kao takvog restituirati, ali je sigurno da ispred  
imena stoji distinkcija i da je ovo možda još jedna vul-  
garnolatinska pojava u kojoj se ime počinje pisati onako  
kako se izgovara. Ono što je dalje bilo moguće restituirati  
je glagol *vixit* koji je ovdje nepravilno napisan tako da je  
slovo X zamijenjeno slovima CS, dakle, onako kako se iz-  
govara.<sup>44</sup> Analogno riječi *vixit* za pretpostaviti je da se i ri-  
ječ [---]CSETVS može restituirati kao [---]xetus, ali je teško  
odgonetnuti početna slova pa tako i značenje. U riječima  
*a(n)nos* i *me(n)sis* nedostaje konsonant N, što je poznata  
vulgarnolatinska pojava.<sup>45</sup> Riječ MESIS je možda tako na-  
pisana jer je u arhaičnom jeziku poznat nastavak –is za  
Ak. pl., ali je kasnije analogijom iz konsonantskih osnova  
preuzet nastavak –es. Riječ RESPCINS bi se mogla restitu-  
irati kao RESP(i)CI(e)ENS, dakle N. sg. part. prez. akt. od  
glagola *respcio*, 3. –spexi, –spectum. Uz njega bi se mogla  
vezati riječ *ars* u Ak. pl. Iz svega navedenog jasno je da je  
ovaj natpis napisan s mnoštvom pogrešaka što bi moglo

[.] M  
[---] LVCIVS  
[---] · KRPO sic!  
[---]CSETVS sic!  
5 [---] · VICST · ANOS sic! (bis)  
[---]XII · MESIS · VII sic!  
[.]IES · VII · ARTES  
[---] RESPCINS sic!  
[---] PEDITVS sic!

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---] Lucius / [---]{K=C}(a)rpo / [---]  
{cs=x}jetus / [---] vi{cs=x}(i)t a(n)nos / [---]XII me(n)s{i=e}s VII  
/ [d]ies VII artes / [---] resp(i)ci(e)ns / [---] peditus / [---]

To the Manes gods. (...) Lucius (...) to Carpus (who) lived  
12 (or more) years, 7 months and 7 days, (...), looking at the  
skills (...), pedestrian (...)

Due to damage to this inscription, restituting it was  
difficult. It obviously begins with a consecration to the  
Manes gods and based on the remains of the initial M,  
we can assume how much of the inscription is missing  
from the left side which can assist us in restituting that  
part of the inscription. The 2nd row is the preserved com-  
mentator's cognomen *Lucius*, and in front of that word  
there was probably another of his names. The cognomen  
*Lucius* is widespread, especially in the Celtic region, while  
in the province of Dalmatia it is common among indige-  
nous peoples.<sup>40</sup> The 3rd row after the part that is missing  
contains most likely the cognomen *Carpus*.<sup>41</sup> The cogno-  
men *Carpus* is a name of Greek origin and in this form has  
been recorded on twenty or so monuments in various  
provinces, mostly on the Apennine Peninsula, while it is  
found on four monuments in the province of Dalmatia. It  
is found in the form *Karpus*<sup>42</sup> on the two monuments from  
the city of Rome, and in the form *Karpophorus*<sup>43</sup> on two  
monuments from Salona. Author thinks that it is not from  
the latter, because there would not be sufficient space for  
such a long name in the next row. Whether the vowel A  
was deliberately omitted or whether the consonant R is  
also actually the ligature AR is hard to say, although we  
will restate it in its current form, but certainly there is  
a distinction before the name and this is perhaps one  
more incidence of a Vulgar Latin phenomenon in which  
the name is written as it is pronounced. What can next be  
restituted is the verb *vixit* which is here wrongly written  
with the letter X replaced by the letters CS, meaning, in a  
way that it is pronounced.<sup>44</sup> Analogously, the words *vixit*

40 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Lucius*, usp. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 36; G. Alföldy, 1969, 233.

41 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Carpus*, usp. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 38; G. Alföldy, 1969, 233, 359.

42 *AE* 1993, 00177; *CIL* VI, 21583.

43 *ILJug* 03, 02568aj; 02571a

44 P. Skok, 1915, 37.

45 P. Skok, 1915, 47 i dalje.

40 For the incidence of the cognomen *Lucius*, cf. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 36; G. Alföldy, 1969, 233.

41 For the incidence of the cognomen *Carpus*, cf. *OPEL*, 2, 1999, 38; G. Alföldy, 1969, 233, 359.

42 *AE* 1993, 00177; *CIL* VI, 21583.

43 *ILJug* 03, 02568aj; 02571a

44 P. Skok, 1915, 37.

govoriti o neukosti klesara, ali i o propadanju klasičnog latinskog jezika. Upravo iz svega navedenog ostaje otvorena mogućnost da se ovo može i potpuno drugačije restituirati jer jedino što je sigurno je da je netko živio najmanje 12 godina, 7 mjeseci i 7 dana.

### 7. Nadgrobni spomenik Publija Julija Soterika (Inv. A9895), (Sl. 7)

U grobu br. 227 pronađena su dva nadgrobna spomenika (br. 7 i br. 8). Bili su smješteni jedan do drugoga na gornjoj polovici tijela pokojnika. Ovaj spomenik je prekrivao glavu i dio prsa i slovima je bio okrenut prema gore. Izrađen je od bijelog mramora i sačuvan je u četiri ulomka koja se spajaju tako da čine cjelinu. Nepravilnog je pačetvorinastog oblika. Po rubovima stražnje strane nalaze se ostaci žbuke što može značiti da je nekad bio uzidan u ili na nešto. Visina spomenika je 40,1 cm, maksimalna širina 22,4 cm, debljina 1,8 cm. Tekst je isklesan u šest redova. Riječi su odvojene kružnom distinkcijom. Vidljivi su tragovi pomoćnih crta za pisanje. Visina slova varira. U prva četiri retka slova su visoka od 4,2 cm do 2,8 cm, a u zadnja dva se smanjuju pa im je raspon visina od 3,4 do 1,6 cm.



Slika 7. Nadgrobni spomenik Publija Julija Soterika  
Figure 7. The epitaph of Publius Iulius Sotericus

foto / photo: I. Juras

and presumably the word [---] CSETVS can be restituted as [---] *xetus*, but it is difficult to figure out the initial letters and thus the meaning. The words *a(n)nos* and *me(n)sis* are missing the consonant N, which is a known Vulgar Latin phenomenon.<sup>45</sup> The word MESIS was perhaps written that way because in the archaic language the suffix *-is* is known for the accusative plural but later analogously the suffix *-es* was taken from the consonant basis. The word RESPCINS could be restituted as REP(i)CI(e)ENS, therefore nom. sig. part. pres. accus. of the verb *respicio*, 3. *-spexi, -spectum*. It could be associated with the word *ars* in accus. pl.. That being said, it becomes clear that this inscription was written with many mistakes which might indicate the stonemason's ignorance, but also the decay of classical Latin. Based on all that has been said, the possibility remains that this can be restituted completely differently because what is certain is that someone had lived for at least 12 years, 7 months and 7 days.

### 7. The epitaph of Publius Iulius Sotericus (Inv. A9895) (Fig. 7)

In grave no. 227 two epitaphs (no. 7 and no. 8) were found. They were placed next to each other at the upper half of the deceased's body. This epitaph covered the head and part of the chest and had the letters section facing upwards. It is made of white marble and is preserved in a total of four fragments connected together to form the whole. It has an irregular quadrangular shape. Around the edges of the rear side are the remains of plaster which might indicate that it was once mounted into a wall or onto something. The monument is 40.1 cm high, has a maximum width of 22.4 cm, and is 1.8 cm thick. The text was engraved into six rows. The words are separated by a circular pattern. Traces of the drafting lines used for writing are visible. The height of characters varies. The first four row of letters vary in height from 4.2 cm to 2.8 cm, with last two rows reduced and varying from 3.4 to 1.6 cm.

D · M  
IVLIA · PR  
OCILA · PO            sic!  
S SVVIT                sic!  
5 P · IVLIOS · SOT    sic!  
ERICO SOCRO

*D(is) M(anibus) / Iulia Pr/oc[i]la po/s{su}uit / P(ublio) Iulio{s} Sot/erico socro.*

To the Manes gods. Iulia Procla, erected (the monument) to the father-in-law Publius Iulius Sotericus.

45 P. Skok, 1915, 47 and onwards.

D · M  
IVLIA · PR  
OCILA · PO sic!  
S SVVIT sic!  
5 P · IVLIOS · SOT sic!  
ERICO SOCRO

*D(is) M(anibus) / Iulia Pr/oc{il}a po/s{su}uit / P(ublio) Iulio{s} Sot/erico socro.*

Bogovima Manima. Julija Procla, postavila je (spomenik) svekru Publiju Juliju Soteriku.

Natpis počinje posvetom bogovima Manima. Zatim slijedi ime komemoratorice čiji kognomen najvjerojatnije ima klesarsku pogrešku koju možemo razriješiti na dva načina.<sup>46</sup> U prvom slučaju došlo je do ispuštanja slova L, jer treba uzeti u obzir da je pisanje kognomena *Procilla* puno raširenije od onoga gdje je kognomen naveden s jednim slovom L i glasi *Procila*.<sup>47</sup> Kognomen *Procilla* pronalazi se posvuda, a u Dalmaciji je registriran na jedanaest spomenika.<sup>48</sup> U drugom slučaju je došlo do pogreške kod vokala I koje je ovdje višak pa bi trebalo pisati *Proc{il}a*. U antičkoj Dalmaciji Juliju Procilu nalazimo na dva spomenika iz Salone<sup>49</sup> i teško bi se moglo tvrditi da se radi o istoj osobi koja se navodi i na ovom natpisu. Međutim u neposrednoj blizini Zadra, u naselju Petrčane, pronađen je cipus na kojem se navodi ime komemoratorice u obliku - *Iulia C. f. Procla*.<sup>50</sup> Možda se radi o istoj osobi, ali su podaci prešturi da bi se sa sigurnošću to moglo tvrditi. Gentilicij *Iulius* spada među najbrojnija obiteljska imena i raširen je svugdje pa tako i u Dalmaciji<sup>51</sup> pa stoga ne čudi što ovo dvoje ljudi iako nisu u krvnom srodstvu (snaha – svekar) nose isti gentilicij. Kognomen *Soterichus* / *Soterichus* raširen je posvuda i ime je grčkog podrijetla.<sup>52</sup> U Dalmaciji kognomen *Soterichus* nalazimo na samo dva natpisa i to oba iz Salone i ne može ih se dovesti u vezu s ovim pokojnikom.<sup>53</sup>

## 8. Nadgrobnni spomenik (Inv. 9897), (Sl. 8)

Ovo je drugi spomenik iz groba br. 227. Bio je smješten uz spomenik br. 7, slovima okrenutim prema dolje. Nalazio se na prsima i trbuhu pokojnika. Izrađen je od bijelog mramora, ali se zbog ležanja u zemlji stvorila crvenkasta patina na površini i dosta je kalcificiran. Sačuvan je desni gornji dio

The inscription begins with a dedication to the Manes gods. Then follows the name of the female commentator whose cognomen probably has a stonemason's mistake which we can resolve in two ways.<sup>46</sup> In the first case, the letter L was omitted, because one should take into account that the written cognomen *Procilla* is much more widespread than where the cognomen is noted with one L letter and reads *Procila*.<sup>47</sup> The cognomen *Procilla* is quite widespread, and in Dalmatia is indicated on eleven monuments.<sup>48</sup> In another case, there was a mistake with the vowel I which here is an unnecessary addition, and should therefore read *Proc{il}a*. In ancient Dalmatia, *Iulia Procilla* is found on two monuments from Salona<sup>49</sup> and it would be difficult to argue that this inscription refers to the same person. However, close to Zadar, at the Petrčane settlement, a cippus was found on which the name of female commentator was cited in the form of - *Iulia C. f. Procla*.<sup>50</sup> It might be the same person, but there is not enough data to ascertain this with certainty. The nomen gentilicium *Iulius* was among the most frequent family names, was very widespread as was the case in Dalmatia,<sup>51</sup> so not surprisingly these two men, although not related by blood (daughter-in-law/father-in-law) carry the same nomen gentilicium. The cognomen *Soterichus* / *Soterichus* is very widespread and is of Greek origin.<sup>52</sup> In Dalmatia, we come across the cognomen *Soterichus* only on two inscriptions, both of them from Salona and cannot be brought into connection with these deceased persons.<sup>53</sup>

## 8. The epitaph (Inv. 9897) (Fig. 8)

This is the second monument from grave no. 227. It was located next to monument no. 7, with the letters facing down. It positioned at the chest and abdomen of the deceased. It is made of white marble, but due to its lying position in the ground a reddish patina formed on the surface and is quite calcified. The right upper part of the inscription is preserved. On the rear there are the remains of plaster, and the upper side has two holes (one on the presumed middle of the monument, and the other along the edge) which means that the monument was placed in or on something. The preserved height of the monument is 36.5 cm, the maximum preserved width is 35 cm, and the thickness 2.3 cm. It has been partly preserved in seven

46 Moguće je da je ime i namjerno ovako napisano jer postoji cijeli niz natpisa s ispuštenim konsonatom -l gdje se on trebao pisati dvostruko, što upućuje na pojavu vulgarnog latinizata, ups. P. Skok, 1915, 54.

47 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Procila*, usp. OPEL, 3, 2000, 165.

48 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Procilla*, usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 274; OPEL, 3, 2000, 165.

49 CIL III, 2398; 2495.

50 A. Kurilić, 2010, 209 i dalje.

51 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Iulius/Iulia*, usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 31 i dalje; OPEL, 2, 1999, 201.

52 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Soterichus/Soterichus*, usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 299 i dalje; OPEL, 4, 2002, 89.

53 CIL III, 2131; 2532.

46 It is possible that the name was purposely written that way because there is a whole series of inscriptions with consonant -l omitted where it should have been written as a double, indicating the occurrence of the Vulgar Latin, cf. P. Skok, 1915, 54.

47 For the incidence of the cognomen *Procila*, cf. OPEL, 3, 2000, 165.

48 For the incidence of the cognomen *Procilla*, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 274; OPEL, 3, 2000, 165.

49 CIL III, 2398; 2495.

50 A. Kurilić, 2010, 209 and onwards.

51 For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Iulius/Iulia*, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 31 and onwards; OPEL, 2, 1999, 201.

52 For the incidence of the cognomen *Soterichus/Soterichus*, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 299 and onwards; OPEL, 4, 2002, 89.

53 CIL III, 2131; 2532.



Slika 8. Nadgrobnji spomenik

Figure 8. The epitaph

foto / photo: I. Juras

natpisa. Na stražnjoj strani nalaze se ostaci žbuke, a s gornje strane se nalaze dvije rupice (jedna na pretpostavljenoj sredini spomenika, a druga uz rub) što znači da je spomenik bio u ili na nešto nataknut. Sačuvana visina spomenika je 36,5 cm, maksimalna sačuvana širina je 35 cm, debljina 2,3 cm. Djelomično je sačuvano sedam redova teksta. Riječi su odvojene trokutastom distinkcijom. Vidljivi su tragovi pomoćnih crta za pisanje. Slova su pisana lijepom kapitalom no malo su izdužena. U prvom retku između slova D (koje se nije sačuvalo) i M urezana je ascija. U trećem retku je ligatura NE i VM, u četvrtom retku je ligatura NN te VM, a u sedmom retku je ligatura NE. Dakle, ligature se ponavljaju. Visina slova se postupno smanjuje, tako da se kreće od 4,7 cm u prvom retku do 3,2 cm u zadnjem sačuvanom retku.

[.] M

[---]ORO · MISERV

[---]NERA · CERRVM

[---]RIT · ANNORVM

5 [---] [.]XX · RELICTIS · S

[---] [.]NE · PARENTIBVS

[---][.] · POPVLVS · ET

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---]ORO miseru / [m] [---]NERA CERRVM / [---]RIT annorum / [---] [X]XX relictis S / [---] [si]ne parentibus / [---] [(posui)t] populus et / [---]

Bogovima Manima. (...) nesretnog (...) starom godina (...), 30 (dana), ostavljenima (...) bez roditelja (...) (spomenik) je postavio narod i (...)

rows of text. The words are separated with a triangular distinction. Traces of the drafting lines used for writing are visible. The letters are written in a beautiful capital but slightly elongated. In the 1st row between the letters D (which has not been preserved) and M a stonemason's tool (*ascia*) is engraved. The 3rd row contains the ligature NE and VM, the 4th row contains the ligatures NN and VM, whereas the 7th row contains the ligature NE. Therefore, the ligatures are repetitive. The height of the letters becomes gradually smaller, so that they range from 4.7 cm in the 1st row to 3.2 inches in the last preserved row.

[.] M

[---]ORO · MISERV

[---]NERA · CERRVM

[---]RIT · ANNORVM

5 [---] [.]XX · RELICTIS · S

[---] [.]NE · PARENTIBVS

[---][.] · POPVLVS · ET

[D(is)] M(anibus) / [---]ORO miseru / [m] [---]NERA CERRVM / [---]RIT annorum / [---] [X]XX relictis S / [---] [si]ne parentibus / [---] [(posui)t] populus et / [---]

To the Manes gods. (...) the unhappy (...) (...) years old, 30 (days), left (...) without parents (...) (monument) erected by the people, and (...)

The inscription begins with a consecration to the Manes gods. The second part of the word [---]ORO is visible in the 2nd row which could indicate a name in the dative, and this would then be about a person to whom the epitaph was erected or it refers to the verb *oro*,<sup>1</sup>, which could refer to the word *miseru*[m]. The noun *annorum* refers to the years of a person's life to whom the epitaph was erected. Due to the fact that more than half of the monument is missing in this part, the assumption is that further on, a sequence of numbers follow that are related to the word *annorum*, and after that the designation for the number of lived months, and therefore the number 30 (XXX), located below, and actually representing the number of days. The second part of the word which ends in RIT is in front of *annorum*. Perhaps it entails the word *marit(o)*, actually very inconvenient when speculating. The noun *parentibus* may be in dative or ablative plural form. Next to it are the letters NE which could be the second part of the preposition *sine* which always goes with the ablative, hence in this case the word *parentibus* would be in the ablative form. The word *populus* is found in the last preserved row and along with it the conjunction *et*. The presumption is that it might refer to people who erected this monument. In front of the word *populus* is the letter T, hence the presumption that it is the last letter of the verb *posuit* which might refer to that or those who erected the monument. Given that the entire left half of the upper part of the monument is missing and a certain section of the lower part, a quality and accurate restitution is difficult to perform.



Natpis počinje posvetom bogovima Manima. U drugom retku vidljiv je drugi dio riječi [---]ORO koji bi mogao označavati neko ime u dativu, pa bi nam to govorilo o osobi kojoj se podiže spomenik ili se pak radi o glagolu oro, 1. koji bi se mogao vezati za riječ miseru[m]. Imenica *annorum* govori o godinama života osobe kojoj se podiže spomenik. S obzirom na to da na tom dijelu nedostaje više od pola spomenika, za pretpostaviti je da u nastavku slijede brojevi koji se vežu za riječ *annorum*, te bi nakon toga stajala oznaka za broj doživljenih mjeseci, pa sukladno tome broj 30 (XXX) koji se nalazi u nastavku, zapravo predstavlja broj dana. Ispred *annorum* nalazi se drugi dio neke riječi koja završava na RIT. Možda se radi o riječi *marit(o)*, ali je zapravo vrlo nezgodno za nagađati. Imenica *parentibus* može biti u D. ili Abl. pl. Uz nju se nalaze slova NE što bi moglo biti drugi dio prijedloga *sine* koji uvijek ide uz ablativ pa bi u tom slučaju i riječ *parentibus* bila u ablativu. U zadnjem sačuvanom retku nalazi se riječ *populus* i uz nju veznik *et*. Pretpostavljamo da bi to moglo označavati osobe koje podižu ovaj spomenik. Ispred riječi *populus* nazire se slovo T pa se može pretpostaviti da je to krajnje slovo glagola *posuit* što bi moglo govoriti u prilog onoga tj. onih koji podižu spomenik. S obzirom na to da nedostaje cijela lijeva polovica gornjeg dijela spomenika i određeni dio donjeg dijela, teško je izvršiti kvalitetnu i točnu restituciju.

### 9. Nadgrobnni spomenik Emilija Atacina (Inv. A9893), (Sl. 9)<sup>54</sup>

U grobu br. 21 pronađena su dva nadgrobnna spomenika (br. 8 i br. 9) koji su zajedno s tegulama činili dno groba. Bili su smješteni jedan do drugoga, ispod glave i prsiju pokojnika, natpisnog polja okrenutog prema gore. Ovaj spomenik je izrađen od bijelog mramora, gotovo je cjelovit, nedostaje mu samo manji dio lijevog donjeg kuta. Pravokutnog je oblika. S gornje strane nalazi se rupica koja je vjerojatno služila da bi se spomenik uglavio u nešto. Visina čitavog spomenika je 45 cm, širina je 34,5 cm, debljina 2,5 cm. Natpisno polje odvojeno je profilacijom u obliku jednostavne udubljene linije. Dimenzije natpisnog polja su: visina 33,5 cm, širina 26,9 cm. Gornji dio spomenika presijeca profilirano vodoravno udubljenje iznad kojeg se nalazi uklesana kima. Stražnja strana spomenika je ravno zaglađena i na njoj ima tragova žbuke. Tekst je isklesan u sedam redova. Napisan je bez razdvajanja među riječima, osim u prvom retku gdje su razdvojena slova D M, među kojima je trokutasta distinkcija. Nakon slova T, u posljednjem retku se također nalazi trokutasta distinkcija, a ispod njega je ugravirana ascija. Izvan natpisnog polja, s desne strane, u drugom



Slika 9. Nadgrobnni spomenik Emilija Atacina

Figure 9. The epitaph of Aemilius Attacinus

foto / photo: I. Juras

### 9. The epitaph of Aemilius Atacinus (Inv. A9893) (Fig. 9)<sup>54</sup>

Two epitaphs (no. 8 and no. 9) were found in grave no. 21, which together with the tegulae made up the bottom of the grave. They were placed side by side, under the head and chest of the deceased, with the inscription field facing upwards. This monument is made of white marble, and is nearly completely preserved, lacking only a small portion of the lower left corner. It is rectangular in shape. On the upper side there is a small hole that was probably used to insert the epitaph into something. The monument is 45 cm high, 34.5 cm wide and 2.5 cm thick. The inscription field is separated by a profile in the form of a simple concave lines. The inscription field has the following dimensions: height 33.5 cm, width 26.9 cm. The upper part of the monument cuts the horizontally profiled recess above which the inscribed chyma is located. The rear side of the epitaph is smoothly evened and there are traces of plaster. The text was carved into seven rows. It was written without spaces between the words, except in the 1st row where the letters D M are separated, and between which there is a triangular distinction. After the letter T, in the last row there is also a triangular distinction, and below is an engraved stonemason's tool (*ascia*). Outside of the inscription

54 Vidi bilj. 3.

54 See note 3.

retku nalaze se slova CI, u trećem slovo E, u petom broj I, te u šestom slovo O. U drugom retku klesar je smanjio krajnje slovo I i "ugurao" ga u slovo C, te je u ligaturi napisao TA. U četvrtom retku su dvije ligature – ME i AE. Slova su prilično pravilna. Visina slova varira tako da po redovima iznosi: 1. red – 2,5 cm; od 2. do 5. retka – 3,1 cm; 6. red – 3,4 cm; 7. red – 3 cm.

D · M

AEMILLO ATTACI    sic!  
 NO CV BONE        sic!  
 MEMORIAE AN  
 5 NORVM LXXXVII  
 PAVLVS LIB PO  
 SVIT ·

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aemil{l=i}o At{t}aci/no {c=q}(ui) v(ixit) bon(a)e / memoriae an/norum LXXXII / Paulus lib(ertus) po/suit.*

Bogovima Manima. Emiliju Atacinu koji je živio 87 godina, u dobrom sjećanju, podiže oslobođenik Paulus.

134 Natpis počinje posvetom bogovima Manima, nakon čega slijedi ime osobe kojoj se podiže spomenik – Emilije Atacin. U pisanju imena *Aemilio* došlo je do klesarske pogreške jer je vokal I zamijenjen konsonantom L. Naime gentilno ime *Aemilius* pronalazimo posvuda u velikom broju, pa je tako i u provinciji Dalmaciji registriran na čak četrdeset i četiri natpisa.<sup>55</sup> Kognomen *Attacinus* poznat je s natpisa samo kao *Atacinus/Atacina*,<sup>56</sup> dakle s jednostrukim konsonantom T, i zabilježen je na samo dva natpisa od kojih ni jedan nije iz naših krajeva što ga stavlja među vrlo rijetko ime. Spomenik podiže oslobođenik Paulus, čiji je kognomen donesen u jednočlanoj imenskoj formuli uz oznaku njegovog statusa *lib(ertus)* koji se ponekad na natpisima nalazi i samo kao sigla L - *l(ibertus)*. Kognomen *Paulus/Paullus*<sup>57</sup> rasprostranjen je posvuda i dokumentiran je na velikom broju spomenika, od čega je dvadeset i šest iz provincije Dalmacije. Na natpisu se nalazi i kratica C V. Jedan od načina za restituciju ovih sigli je *{c=q}(ui) v(ixit)*, što bi značilo da je ili klesar učinio pravopisnu pogrešku i napisao Q kao C ili je to tako dobio u predlošku, što je još jedna od vulgarnolatinskih pojava.<sup>58</sup>

55 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Aemilius*, usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 55; *OPEL*, 1, 2005, 29.

56 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Atacinus*, usp. *OPEL*, 1, 2005, 82; *EDCS* na natpisu: *CIL X*, 00071.

57 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Paulus/Paullus*, usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 261; *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 129, 130.

58 Q ispred -u ili -o se već od 2. stoljeća izgovaralo kao K, pa se stoga počelo zamjenjivati sa C, vidi P. Skok, 1915, 36.

field, on the right, in the 2nd row are the letters CI, the letter E in the 3rd row, the number I in the 5th row, and the letter O in the 6th row. In the 2nd row the stonemason reduced the last letter I and 'squeezed' it in the letter C, and wrote TA in the ligature. The 4th row contains two ligatures - ME and AE. The letters are quite regularly shaped. The height of characters varies across the rows as follows: 1st row - 2.5 cm; from the 2nd to the 5th row - 3.1 cm; 6th row - 3.4 cm; 7th row - 3 cm.

D · M

AEMILLO ATTACI    sic!  
 NO CV BONE        sic!  
 MEMORIAE AN  
 5 NORVM LXXXVII  
 PAVLVS LIB PO  
 SVIT ·

*D(is) M(anibus) / Aemil{l=i}o At{t}aci/no {c=q}(ui) v(ixit) bon(a)e / memoriae an/norum LXXXII / Paulus lib(ertus) po/suit.*

To the Manes gods. To Aemilius Atacinus who lived 87 years, in fond memory, erected by the freedman Paulus.

The inscription begins with a consecration to the Manes gods, followed by the name of the person to whom the epitaph is being erected - Aemilius Atacinus. When writing the name *Aemilio*, the stonemason made a mistake because the vowel I was replaced with the consonant L. Specifically, the nomen gentilicium *Aemilius* is very widespread, so that in the province of Dalmatia forty-four inscriptions have this name.<sup>55</sup> The cognomen *Attacinus* is familiar from the inscription just as *Atacinus/Atacina*,<sup>56</sup> therefore with a single consonant T, and it has been found on only two inscriptions, of which none are from our area which puts it amongst the very rare names. The monument is erected by the freed Paulus, whose cognomen is presented in a "one name" formula with the designation of his status *lib(ertus)* which sometimes is found only as the glyph L - *l(ibertus)* on the inscriptions. The cognomen *Paulus/Paullus*<sup>57</sup> is very widespread and has been recorded on a large number of epitaphs, of which twenty-six are from the province of Dalmatia. The inscription contains the abbreviation C V. One way to restitute these glyphs is *{c=q}(ui) v(ixit)*, which would mean that either the stonemason made a typographical mistake and wrote C instead of Q or that he received it in the actual template, which is another Vulgar Latina phenomenon.<sup>58</sup>

55 For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Aemilius*, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 55; *OPEL*, 1, 2005, 29.

56 For the incidence of the cognomen *Atacinus*, cf. *OPEL*, 1, 2005, 82; *EDCS* on the inscription: *CIL X*, 00071.

57 For the incidence of the cognomen *Paulus/Paullus*, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 261; *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 129, 130.

58 Q before -u or -o was already back in the 2nd century pronounced as K, hence it began to be replaced with C, see P. Skok, 1915, 36.

10. Nadgrobni spomenik Petronije Urse (Inv. A9894), (Sl. 10)<sup>59</sup>



Slika 10. Nadgrobni spomenik Petronije Urse  
Figure 10. The epitaph of Petronia Ursa

foto / photo: I. Juras

Ovo je drugi spomenik iz groba br. 21. Izrađen je od bijelog mramora, natpis je cjelovit i pravokutnog je oblika. Visina spomenika je 41 cm, širina je 23,5 cm, debljina 5 cm. Stražnja strana spomenika je grubo abocirana i na njoj se nalaze tragovi žbuke, a s lijeve strane uzdužni profilirani rub. Vidljivi su tragovi pomoćnih crta za pisanje. Tekst je isklesan u devet redova. Napisan je bez razdvajanja među riječima, osim u prvom retku gdje su razdvojena slova D M. U drugom i šestom retku je ligatura AE, a u osmom su čak tri: NE, ME i NT. U trećem retku klesar je smanjio slovo V da bi ga "ugurao" iznad L, a u osmom je smanjio slovo I

10. The epitaph of Petronia Ursa (Inv. A9894) (Fig. 10)<sup>59</sup>

This is the second monument from grave no. 21. It is made of white marble, the inscription has been entirely preserved and is rectangular in shape. The monument is 41 cm high, 23.5 cm wide and 5 cm thick. The rear side of the monument has a rough sketch and there are traces of plaster on the left side of the longitudinally profiled edge. The draft lines used for writing are visible. The text is engraved in nine rows. The words were written without spaces in between, except for the 1st row where the letters D M are separated. The 2nd and the 6th rows contain the ligature AE, whereas in the 8th there are even three: NE, ME and NT. The stonemason reduced the letter V in the 3rd row in order to 'squeeze' it in over L, and in the 8th row the letter I was reduced to 'squeeze' it in under the right side of the letter T. The letters are quite regularly shaped, but slightly elongated. The height of the 1st row is 3.7 cm, and then gradually decreases from 4.2 cm in the 2nd row to 2.7 cm in the last row.

D M	
PFTRONIAF	sic! (bis)
VRSA SALLV	sic!
STIVS PARA	
5 MYTHIVS PA	
TFR FILIAE NT	sic! (bis)
ATVRAII	sic!
BFNE MERENTI	sic!
FECLT	sic!

*D(is) M(anibus) / Petroniae / Ursa(e) Sallu/stius Para/mythius pa/ter filiae n{t}/atura{i=l}i / bene merenti / fec{l=i}t.*

To the Manes gods. To Petronia Ursa, daughter of Sallustius Paramythius the father, raises (the monument).

A series of stonemason mistakes were made on the inscription although some can be attributed to an erroneous template. For example, the cognomen *Ursa* was written without the final vowel *-e*, which is obviously a common occurrence in many inscriptions.<sup>60</sup> Also the vowel E is written as an F, i.e. without bottommost bar almost throughout the entire inscription. When writing the adjective *naturalis* the consonant T was unnecessarily engraved, and the penultimate constant L was erroneously written as the vowel I, while the verb *fecit* went through a reversed substitution (instead I an L was written).

The text begins with a dedication to the Manes gods, after which it states the name of the deceased *Petronia Ursa*. The nomen gentilicium *Petronius*<sup>61</sup> is a name of

<sup>59</sup> See note 3.

<sup>60</sup> See note 31.

<sup>61</sup> For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Petronius* cf. G. Alföldy; 1969, 108, 109, 337; *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 135.

i "ugurao" ga ispod desne strane slova T. Slova su prilično pravilna, ali malo izdužena. Visina slova u prvom retku je 3,7 cm, zatim se postupno smanjuju od 4,2 cm u drugom retku do 2,7 cm u zadnjem retku.

	D	M	
	PFTRONIAF		sic! (bis)
	VRSA SALLV		sic!
	STIVS PARA		
5	MYTHIVS PA		
	TFR FILIAE NT		sic! (bis)
	ATVRAII		sic!
	BFNE MERENTI		sic!
	FECLT		sic!

*D(is) M(anibus) / Petroniae / Ursa(e) Sallu(stius) Para/mythius pa/ter filiae n{t}/atura{i=l}i / bene merenti / fec{l=i}t.*

Bogovima Manima. Petroniji Ursi, kćeri, Salustije Paramitije otac, podiže (spomenik).

Na natpisu je učinjen niz klesarskih pogrešaka iako se neke mogu pripisati i krivom predlošku. Tako je npr. kognomen *Ursa* napisan bez završnog vokala *-e*, što je očito uobičajena pojava na mnogim natpisima.<sup>60</sup> Također vokal *E* se gotovo na cijelom natpisu piše kao *F*, odnosno bez najdonje haste. Kod pisanja pridjeva *naturalis* suvišno je isklesan konsonant *T*, te je krivo napisan predzadnji vokal *I* umjesto konsonanta *L*, dok je kod glagola *fecit* došlo do obrnute zamjene (umjesto *I* napisano je *L*).

Tekst počinje posvetom bogovima Manima, nakon čega se navodi ime pokojnice Petronije Urse. Gentilicij *Petronius*<sup>61</sup> je ime latinskog podrijetla, raširen je posvuda pa tako i na Istoku. U provinciji Dalmaciji nalazimo ga na čak trideset i osam spomenika, od čega su četiri iz antičkog Jadera. Kognomen *Ursus*<sup>62</sup> također je ime latinskog podrijetla rašireno posvuda, a osobito na keltskom području. U provinciji Dalmaciji nalazi se na čak pedeset i četiri spomenika, od čega su na njih devetnaest žene nosioci tog imena. Iz Jadera su do sada poznata dva natpisa koja spominju ovo ime, ali se ne daju povezati s ovom osobom.<sup>63</sup> Drugo ime s ovog spomenika, također pisano u dvočlanoj imenskoj formuli, glasi *Sallustius Paramythius*. Gentilicij *Sallustius*<sup>64</sup> dosta je rijedak, najviše je pronađen na Apeninskom poluotoku, dok je u provinciji Dalmaciji pronađen na samo jednom spomeniku iz Salone u ženskoj verziji – *Salustia*.<sup>65</sup> Kognomen *Paramythius*<sup>66</sup> evidentiran je do sada na

Latin origin, very widespread and also widespread in the East. In the province of Dalmatia it has been found on as many as thirty-eight monuments, of which four are from the Roman lader. The cognomen *Ursus*<sup>62</sup> is also a name of Latin origin and is very widespread, and especially in the Celtic region. There are fifty-four monuments that have been found in Dalmatia, of which nineteen of them are women who carry this name. From lader there have been two inscriptions mentioning that name, but they cannot be linked to this person.<sup>63</sup> The other name on this monument, also written in the "two name" naming convention reads *Sallustius Paramythius*. The nomen gentilicium *Sallustius*<sup>64</sup> is quite rare, and is mostly found on the Apennine Peninsula, while in the province of Dalmatia it has been found only on one monument from Salona in the female version – *Salustia*.<sup>65</sup> The cognomen *Paramythius*<sup>66</sup> has been recorded so far on only three monuments, whereas it has not been found in the province of Dalmatia, but it certainly does suggest that the name is of Eastern origin. *Salustius Paramythius* refers to himself as the father, which is quite surprising considering that the mentioned daughter does not wear his nomen gentilicium. Is she his illegitimate child, which means that here we have evidence of people who have held a secret / illegitimate relationship or is it someone else's child, but *Paramythius* took / 'adopted' her as his own? Based on the adjective *naturalis*, one could say that it was nonetheless the first case.

The interpretation of the inscription reveals something about the residents who were buried in the cemetery sites at "Relja Garden", and the resulting data can be helpful in dating their primary or secondary use.

The names appearing on all labels are one of their most important features. According to the names on these inscriptions, the conclusion is that the population of the Roman lader was really diverse both in origin and civil status.

The inscriptions at the "Relja Garden" site including the following naming conventions:

1. Full noun form, consisting of five parts: the *tria nomina*<sup>67</sup> + filiation + tribe,
2. *tria nomina* + tribe, without filiation,
3. *tria nomina* + filiation,
4. *tria nomina*,
5. nomen + cognomen,

60 Vidi bilj. 31.

61 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Petronius* usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 108, 109, 337; *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 135.

62 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Ursa/Ursus* usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 318, 341; *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 187, 188.

63 *AE* 1992, 01384; 01388.

64 Za rasprostranjenost gentilicija *Sallustius* usp. *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 44.

65 G. Alföldy, 1969, 117.

66 Za rasprostranjenost kognomena *Paramythius* usp. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 124.

62 For the incidence of the cognomen *Ursa/Ursus* cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 318, 341; *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 187, 188.

63 *AE* 1992, 01384; 01388.

64 For the incidence of the nomen gentilicium *Sallustius* cf. *OPEL*, 4, 2002, 44.

65 G. Alföldy, 1969, 117.

66 For the incidence of the cognomen *Paramythius* cf. *OPEL*, 3, 2000, 124.

67 *Trium nomina* – the "three names" naming convention which consisted of the personal name (*praenomen*), the family name (*nomen gentile*) and the nickname (*cognomen*).

samo tri spomenika, u provinciji Dalmaciji nije poznat, ali se svakako da naslutiti da je ime istočnjačkog podrijetla. Salustije Paramitije sam sebe navodi kao otac, što je doista neobično s obzirom na to da navedena kćer ne nosi njegov gentilicij. Je li ona njegovo nezakonito dijete, iz čega proizlazi da i ovdje imamo još dokaza o osobama koje su održavale tajnu / nezakonitu vezu ili je ona nečije tuđe dijete ali ju Paramitije uzima / "usvaja" kao svoju? Prema navedenom pridjevu *naturalis* reklo bi se da je ipak ono prvo.

Interpretacija natpisa otkriva ponešto o stanovnicima koji su se pokapali na nekropoli lokaliteta "Vrt Relja", a dobiveni podaci nam mogu pomoći u okvirnom datiranju njihove primarne, odnosno sekundarne upotrebe.

Imena koja se spominju na svim natpisima su jedna od njihovih najvažnijih značajki. Prema imenima koja donose ovi natpisi da se zaključiti da je stanovništvo antičkog Jadera bilo doista šaroliko kako po podrijetlu tako i po građanskom statusu.

Na natpisima s lokaliteta "Vrt Relja" nalazimo sljedeće imenske obrasce:

1. potpuni imenski obrazac koji se sastoji od pet dijelova: *tria nomina*<sup>67</sup> + filijacija + tribus,
  1. *tria nomina* + tribus, bez filijacije,
  2. *tria nomina* + filijacija,
  3. *tria nomina*,
  4. nomen + kognomen,
  5. samo kognomen,
  6. kognomen + *libertus* ili kognomen + *conservus*.

Jedino se na natpisu br. 1 nalazi imenski obrazac pre-nomen + nomen + filijacija + tribus + kognomen. Prema učestalosti potvrda tijekom ranog principata u Liburniji, čini se da je on bio u upotrebi kod osoba višeg staleža, malo češće kod onih italskog nego kod onih liburnskog porijekla. Potvrde s datiranih natpisa smještaju upotrebu ovog imenskog obrasca u razdoblje od prije 10. god. pr. Kr. pa do oko 130-ih godina.<sup>68</sup>

Ovdje je na taj način napisano samo ime pokojnika kojem majka i otac podižu spomenik. Ime majke je napisano obrascem pre-nomen + nomen + filijacija + kognomen koji je u Liburniji gotovo isključivo prisutan u razdoblju ranog principata. Nose ga ponajčešće slobodnorodeni rimski građani.<sup>69</sup> Ime oca ima obrazac pre-nomen + nomen + tribus + kognomen bez filijacije što je karakteristika slobodnorodnih osoba s rimskim građanskim pravom.

Na pet natpisa javlja se dvodijelni imenski obrazac sastavljen po obrascu nomen + kognomen. Takav oblik je uvjerljivo najčešći u razdoblju kasnog principata iako postoji općeprihvaćeno mišljenje da se ovakvim imenskim

6. only cognomen,
7. cognomen + *libertus* or cognomen + *conservus*.

The naming convention praenomen + nomen + filiation + tribe + cognomen is present only on inscription no. 1. According to the frequency of confirmations during the early Principate in Liburnia, it seems that it was in use by people of the upper class, a little more frequently with the Italics than those of Liburnian origin. The evidence from the dated inscriptions dates the use of these naming conventions in the period 10 B.C. to about 130 A.D.<sup>68</sup>

Here, only the name of the deceased to whom the mother and father erect the monument is written in this way. The mother's name is written using the form praenomen + nomen + filiation + cognomen, which in Liburnia is almost exclusively present in the early Principate. It is carried generally by the free-born Roman citizens.<sup>69</sup> The father's name follows the naming convention praenomen + nomen + tribe + cognomen without filiation, which is characteristic of free-born people possessing Roman civil rights.

The two-part inscription comprising the naming convention nomen + cognomen appears on five inscriptions. This form is most frequent during the late Principate, although the commonly accepted opinion is that such naming conventions usually tried to hide the status of freedmen in that it excluded filiation from the naming, however, a number of examples have shown it was used to name a fair number of free-born people.<sup>70</sup>

The names of the deceased and the commentators are noted only using the cognomen on inscription no. 4, which is characteristic of a later period. A naming convention using only one name is found on inscription no. 3 where the name stands alongside the characteristic of having a slave status - *conservus*, and inscription no. 9 contains the name next to the characteristic of being a freed man - *lib(ertus)*. This kind of naming convention is found in the early and late Principate.<sup>71</sup>

The biggest link between the inscriptions is the consecration to the Manes gods which always appears at the beginning of the inscription. Even nine out of ten inscriptions bear that formula in an abbreviated form *D(is) M(anibus)*, which would mean that they did not appear prior to the beginning (or the second quarter) of the 2nd century.<sup>72</sup> The formula *qui vixit annos / annis (mecum)*<sup>73</sup> appears in five inscriptions, with three bearing the characteristics of the deceased's moral qualities, such as *bene*

67 *tria nomina* – troimenski obrazac koji se sastoji od osobnog imena (*praenomen*), obiteljskog imena (*nomen gentile*) i nadimka (*cognomen*).

68 A. Kurilić, 1999, 245.

69 A. Kurilić, 1999, 245.

68 A. Kurilić, 1999, 245.

69 A. Kurilić, 1999, 245.

70 A. Kurilić, 1999, 246.

71 A. Kurilić, 1999, 244.

72 The consecration formula *Dis Manibus* appears at the transition from the 1st to the 2nd century, cf. G. Alföldy, 1969, 28. However, it becomes customary only from the time of Trajan's or Hadrian's rule. See: D. Maršić, 2009, 38.

73 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

obrascem obično nastoji sakriti oslobođenički status time što se iz imenovanja isključuje filijacija, međutim, niz primjera je pokazao da je njime bio imenovan i nemali broj slobodnorodenih osoba.<sup>70</sup>

Na natpisu br. 4 imena pokojnice i komemoratora navedena su samo kognomenom, što je obilježje kasnijeg razdoblja. Imenovanje jednim imenom nalazi se i na natpisu br. 3 gdje uz ime stoji i obilježje robovskog statusa – *conservus*, te na natpisu br. 9 gdje uz ime stoji obilježje oslobođenika – *lib(ertus)*. Takav imenski obrazac nalazimo i u ranom i u kasnom principatu.<sup>71</sup>

Najveću poveznicu među natpisima čini posveta bogovima Manima koja se uvijek javlja na početku natpisa. Čak devet od ukupno deset natpisa nosi tu formulu u skraćenom obliku *D(is) M(anibus)*, a to bi značilo da nisu nastali prije početka (ili druge četvrtine) 2. stoljeća.<sup>72</sup> Na pet natpisa javlja se formula *qui vixit annos / annis (mecum)*,<sup>73</sup> tri nose oznake moralne kvalitete pokojnika kao što su *bene merens* i *pietissimus*,<sup>74</sup> na dva natpisa javlja se glagol *posuit* bez skraćivanja. Sve ove formule tipične su za kasniji principat.<sup>75</sup>

Na natpisu br. 2 javlja se kratica *ann(orom)* i riječ *mater*, što je tipično za razdoblje ranog principata,<sup>76</sup> pa bi ovaj natpis trebalo nešto ranije datirati, ali ipak ne prije početka 2. st. s obzirom na posvetu *D(is) M(anibus)*.

Natpis br. 10 ima obilježje ranijeg principata koje se očituje riječju *pater*,<sup>77</sup> ali zbog posvete *D(is) M(anibus)* znamo da nije nastao prije početka 2. st. K tome još treba uzeti u obzir i oznaku *bene merens* koja je tipična za kasnije razdoblje pa bi ovaj natpis ipak trebalo datirati barem na početak kasnog principata.

Za razliku od svih gore navedenih, natpis br. 1 bio bi znatno raniji. Naime, na njemu se nalaze obilježja karakteristična za rani principat. Cjelovito imenovanje s filijacijom, oznakom glasačkog okruga, kratica *ann(orom)*, te riječi *pater* i *mater* upućuju na rani principat.<sup>78</sup> Također ako se uzme u obzir da je riječ *equom* namjerno tako napisana, to samo dodatno smješta ovaj spomenik u razdoblje prije dolaska Trajana na vlast jer je poznato da je običaj izbjegavanja u pisanju dvostrukog – VV zadržan do tada.<sup>79</sup> Nedostatak posvetne formule *D(is) M(anibus)* upućuje na razdoblje prije početka 2. st. Sve navedeno datira ovaj natpis u rani principat.

Na pet spomenika urezana je ascija, na tri spomenika između posvete *D(is) M(anibus)*, a na dva iza zadnjeg retka

*merens* and *pietissimus*<sup>74</sup>, with the verb *posuit* without truncation appearing in two inscriptions. All of these formulas are typical of late Principate.<sup>75</sup>

Inscription no. 2 contains an abbreviation *ann(orom)* and the word *mater*, which is typical for the period of the early Principate,<sup>76</sup> hence this inscription should be dated a little earlier, but not before the beginning of the 2nd century, taking into account the consecration *D(is) M(anibus)*.

Inscription no. 10 has characteristics typical of the early Principate, which is manifested by the word *pater*,<sup>77</sup> but because of the consecration *D(is) M(anibus)* we know that it did not appear before the beginning of the 2nd century. Furthermore, the designation *bene merens* should be taken into account which is typical of a later period, hence this inscription should nonetheless be dated at least to the beginning of the late Principate.

Unlike all of the above mentioned inscriptions, inscription no. 1 comes from a significantly earlier period. It contains features that are characteristic of the early Principate.<sup>78</sup> A complete naming convention with filiation, a designation of the voting district, the abbreviation *ann(orom)*, and the words *pater* and *mater* indicating the early Principate. Also, if taking into account that the word *equom* was deliberately written, it only further dates this monument later in the period before the arrival of Trajan to power because the custom of avoiding writing double – VV was retained until then, as is well known.<sup>79</sup> The absence of a consecration formula *D(is) M(anibus)* refers to the period before the start of the second century. All of the above said dates this inscription to the early Principate period.

Five of the tombstones contain the engraved stonemason's tool (*ascia*), on three of the monuments between the consecration *D(is) M(anibus)*, and two behind the last row of text. The occurrence of this symbol is not uncommon, since many tombstones have an engraved stonemason's tool (*ascia*) or the actual text mentions the formula *sub ascia dedicare*.<sup>80</sup>

70 A. Kurilić, 1999, 246.

71 A. Kurilić, 1999, 244.

72 Posvetna formula *Dis Manibus* javlja se s prijelaza 1. st. na 2. st., usp. Alföldy G., 1969, 28. Međutim ona postaje uobičajena tek od Trajanove ili Hadrijanove vladavine. Vidi: Maršić, D., 2009, 38.

73 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

74 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

75 G. Alföldy, 1969, 28-29.

76 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

77 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

78 G. Alföldy, 1969, 27-29.

79 W. M. Lindsay, 1915, 24.

74 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

75 G. Alföldy, 1969, 28-29.

76 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

77 G. Alföldy, 1969, 29.

78 G. Alföldy, 1969, 27-29.

79 W. M. Lindsay, 1915, 24.

80 Prof. Gabričević believes that *ascia* on epitaphs represent the actual stonemasons' tool, symbolising the ownership right of the person who had commission the construction of the grave or had in some legally permissible manner come into possession of an already prepared grave. The stonemason's tool (*ascia*) in a materialistic sense symbolised the ultimate act of making an epitaph and its association with ownership rights over the grave, but since its function on epitaphs is focused on writing of names, it is also a symbol linked to faith leading to life after death. The stonemason's tool (*ascia*) was supposed to protect the deceased from the resale of the grave, of any kind or desecration of the deletion (scraping) of inscriptions which was actually thought to be the erasing of the deceased's name or identity. See: Gabričević B., 1959.

teksta. Pojava ovog simbola nije neuobičajena, mnogi nadgrobni spomenici imaju uklesanu asciju ili se u samom tekstu spominje formula *sub ascia dedicare*.<sup>80</sup>

Zanimljivo je da se ascija nalazi samo na natpisima koji su datirani u kasni principat.

Od imena navedenih na natpisima, najčešće nalazimo ona pisana dvodijelnim imenskim obrascem sastavljenim od prenomena i kognomena. Takav obrazac karakterističan je za kasni principat.

Sa spomenika na kojima je bilo moguće izvršiti restituciju očito je da ih podižu bliski srodnici, bilo da se radi o krvnom srodstvu (otac, majka), o rodbinskoj vezi (snaha), ili o nekim bliskim vezama koje nisu konkretno izrečene, ali su očite iz konteksta natpisa.

Godine koje je doživjela osoba kojoj se podiže spomenik navedene su na šest spomenika. Ponekad je to izrečeno kraticom *ann(orum)*, a ponekad riječima *qui vixit annos*. Najstarija osoba je doživjela dob od 87 godina, dok je najmlađa umrla s 3 godine.

Na dva natpisa umjesto godina života iznosi se broj godina koje su osobe proživjele skupa – *qui vixit mecum*.

Samo je na jednom spomeniku izričito vidljiv oslobođenički status – *lib(ertus)*, a na jednom robovski – *conservus*.

Na ostalim spomenicima nedostaju obilježja poput *libertus* ili *servus* pa se može zaključiti da je dosta osoba koje su navedene na ovim spomenicima uživalo status slobodnih građana.

Na temelju svega iznesenog može se zaključiti da od deset potpuno ili djelomično sačuvanih spomenika dva nastaju u razdoblju ranog principata, od čega je natpis br. 1 nastao prije kraju 1. st., a natpis br. 2 početkom 2. st. Osam spomenika (br. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10) je iz razdoblja kasnog principata, ali oni najvjerojatnije nastaju na samom početku tog razdoblja, jer ne treba zaboraviti da su svi spomenici pronađeni u sekundarnoj upotrebi pa ih se ne može jako kasno datirati s obzirom da je moralo postojati neko vremensko razdoblje od njihovog postavljanja na grobove pokojnika kojima su posvećeni do uništavanja i prenamjene.<sup>81</sup>

Lokalitet "Vrt Relja" samo je jedan u nizu zadarskih lokaliteta na kojima su se vršila opsežna istraživanja u zadnja dva desetljeća. Na većini tih nekropola pronađeni su epigrafski

It is interesting that the stonemason's tool (*ascia*) appears only on the inscriptions that are dated to the late Principate.

Of the names mentioned in inscriptions, we can usually find them written in a "two names" naming convention composed of the praenomen and cognomen. This pattern is typical for the late Principate.

Based on the monuments on which it was possible to undertake restitution, it becomes evident that they are erected by close relatives, whether it be an immediate family member (father, mother), a relative (sister-in-law), or a close relationship that has not been specifically declared, but is obvious from the context of the inscription.

The years that have passed for the person to whom the monument was erected are recorded on six monuments. Sometimes it is declared as an abbreviation *ann(orum)*, and sometimes with the words *qui vixit annos*. The oldest person lived to 87 years of age, while the youngest died at 3 years of age.

Two inscriptions contain instead of the years lived by the person, the number of years the persons lived together – *qui vixit mecum*.

Only one monument explicitly states the free status – *lib(ertus)*, and one the slave status – *conservus*.

The designations such as *libertus* or *servus* are missing on the other monuments, hence the conclusion can be made that a lot of people who are listed on this monument enjoyed the status of free citizens.

Based on all of the above said, the conclusion is that of the ten fully or partially preserved monuments, two originate from the early Principate, where inscription no. 1 dates back to before the first century, and inscription no. 2 to the beginning of the second century. Eight monuments (nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10), date back to the late Principate, but they most likely originate to the actual beginning of that period, since we should not forget that all monuments were found in secondary use, so they cannot be dated very late considering that there must be some period when they were erected on the graves of the deceased who are consecrated prior to the destruction and redefined use of such graves.<sup>81</sup>

The "Relja Garden" site is just one in a series of Zadar sites where very extensive excavations have taken place in the last two decades. Epitaphs were found on most of these necropolises. As is the case here, monuments in secondary use were found also on other sites.<sup>82</sup> Given the fact that the monuments on the necropolis "Relja Garden"

80 Prof. Gabričević smatra da ascija na nadgrobnim spomenicima predstavlja stvaran klesarski alat, koji simbolizirala vlasničko pravo osobe koja je grob dala izraditi ili na neki pravno dopušten način došla u posjed već izrađenog groba. Ascija u materijalističkom smislu simbolizirala konačan čin izrade nadgrobnog spomenika povezan s vlasničkim pravom nad grobom, ali budući da se njezina funkcija na nadgrobnim spomenicima veže uz isticanje pisanja imena, ona predstavlja i simbol vezan za vjeru u prekogrobni život. Ona je trebala zaštititi pokojnika od preprodaje groba, od bilo koje vrste oskrvuća ili od samog brisanja (struganja) natpisa čime se zapravo brisalo ime odnosno identitet pokojnika. Vidi B. Gabričević, 1959.

81 Podaci do kojih je I. Fadić došao na temelju obrade materijala iz gr. 21 stavljaju taj ukop u kraj 2. st, odnosno u prvu polovinu 3. st., vidi bilj. 3., a već spomenuta gagatna narukvica iz gr. 182 datira taj ukop u 3. – 4.st., vidi bilj. 24. To govori u prilog da je do preslojavanja grobova na nekropoli "Vrt Relja" došlo oko 3. st.

81 Information obtained by I. Fadić were based on processed material from gr. 21 place that burial place in the 2nd century, i.e. in the first half of the 3rd century, see note 3, and the already mentioned jet bracelet from gr. 182 dates that burial place to the 3rd-4th century, see note 24. This supports the hypothesis that re-layering of the necropolis "Relja Garden" occurred around the 3rd century.

82 S. Gluščević, 2005, 361.

spomenici. Kao i ovdje, i na ostalim lokalitetima spomenici su pronađeni u sekundarnoj upotrebi.<sup>82</sup> S obzirom na to da su spomenici s nekropole "Vrt Relja" datirani od ranog do kasnog principata, može se pretpostaviti da je nekropola u tom razdoblju "mirno egzistirala", da bi u jednom trenutku došlo do devastacije i nastanka novog horizonta grobova koji su iskoristili dio starijeg materijala za izgradnju novih grobnica.

dates from early to late Principate period, the assumption is that the necropolis during that period had 'peacefully existed', whereupon one day devastation occurred and the emergence of a new horizon of graves that used part of the older material for the construction of new graves.

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