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Nekoliko neobjavljenih natpisa iz lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu

Several unpublished inscriptions from the lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Split

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Članak obrađuje devet epigrafskih spomenika iz lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu koji su u Muzej dospjeli najvjerojatnije u razdoblju između 20-ih i 40-ih godina 20. stoljeća.¹ Za neke od ovdje donesenih spomenika postoje konkretni podatci o mjestu i vremenu pronalaska, no za većinu u inventarnoj knjizi nema preciznih lokacijskih i vremenskih podataka. Spomenici su uglavnom s područja Solina i Kaštela, a mahom se radi o nadgrobnim spomenicima. Natpisi su u restituiranom obliku i obliku fotografije dostupni već neko vrijeme na digitalnoj bazi *Ubi erat Lupa*, a posljedično i u epigrafskoj bazi *Clauss-Slaby*, no ondje su uvedeni kao natpisi pronađeni u Splitu. Ipak, kako dosad nisu objavljeni na cjelovit način, interpretirani su u ovome članku. Uglavnom se radi o cjelovitim natpisima na kojima se donosi nekoliko novih imena dosad nepoznatih unutar rimske onomastike u Dalmaciji. Svi se natpisi mogu datirati od 1. do 3. stoljeća. Posebno se mogu izdvojiti dva spomenika

This paper deals with nine epigraphic monuments from the lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Split which most likely came to the Museum in the period from the 1920s through the 1940s.¹ There are specific data on the location and time of discovery for some of the monuments covered herein, but for most there is no precise data on location and time in the inventory logs. The monuments are mainly from the area of Solin and Kaštela, and they are in large part gravestones. The inscriptions in their restored form and as photographs have already been accessible for some time in the digital database *Ubi erat Lupa* and, consequently, in the Epigraphic Database *Clauss-Slaby*, but they are incorporated here as inscriptions found in Split. Nonetheless, since they have not been comprehensively published thus far, they are interpreted in this paper. There are mostly complete inscriptions which contain several new names not previously known in the Roman

1 Istraživanje za ovaj članak napravljeno je u okviru projekta *Novi životi antičkih natpisa: epigrafski spoliji na području srednje Dalmacije (EpiSpolia)*, koji financira Hrvatska zaklada za znanost (IP-2019-04-3537).

1 The research for this article was done as part of the project "The New Lives of Ancient Inscriptions: Epigraphic Spolia from the Territory of Central Dalmatia" (EpiSpolia), underwritten by the Croatian Science Foundation (IP-2019-04-3537).

koji s tipološke strane imaju slabiju zastupljenost u Dalmaciji, a radi se o ugradbenim nadgrobnim titulima. Prema usporedbi s nekoliko sličnih spomenika čini se da se proizvodnja ovakvih titula može datirati od sredine 1. do početka 2. st. Za nekoliko se spomenika može pretpostaviti da su bili iskorišteni u sekundarnoj upotrebi, no kako za većinu nema podataka o kontekstu pronalaska, o tome nema sigurnih potvrda.

Ključne riječi: *epigrafija, Salona, Dalmacija, onomastika, nadgrobni spomenici, spolia.*

onomastics in Dalmatia. All of the inscriptions can be dated from the 1st to 3rd centuries. Two monuments in particular may be highlighted, as from the typological standpoint they have a lesser presence in Dalmatia, and these are large built-in funerary plaques. Based on comparisons to several similar monuments, it appears that the production of such plaques may be dated from the mid-1st to the beginning of the 2nd century. It may be assumed that several monuments were in secondary use, but since there are no data on the discovery context for most, nothing can be confirmed with any certainty.

Key words: *epigraphy, Salona, Dalmatia, onomastics, grave-stones, spolia.*

U Lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu izloženi su brojni natpisi, od kojih su pojedini najreprezentativniji epigrafski primjeri za područje Dalmacije. Naravno, velika većina potječe iz Salone, nekadašnje metropole Dalmacije, na čijem je području pronađeno više od 6000 epigrafskih spomenika. Arheološki je muzej u Splitu osnovan upravo radi silne arheološke građe koja je pronađena na tlu nekadašnje Salone, u prvome redu epigrafskih spomenika. U ovih dvjesto godina postojanja Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu ovdje je formirana najveća epigrafska zbirka u ovome dijelu Europe, što je s jedne strane rezultat svijesti o važnosti prikupljanja i čuvanja epigrafskih spomenika kao izravnih nositelja informacija iz antike, a s druge uistinu velika broja natpisa koji su nekoć bili postavljeni upravo u Saloni. Brojni su natpisi u Muzej dospjeli kao spoliji, bez obzira radi li se o natpisima ponovno iskorištenima u antici, srednjemu ili novome vijeku. Recikliranje spomenika s područja Salone iznimno je dobro posvjedočeno u svim razdobljima od antike naovamo, a najčešći oblik ponovne uporabe je u arhitekturi. Arheološki, a time i epigrafski potencijal Salone je golem, budući da je poznato kako je dosad tek manji dio ovog nalazišta istražen. Epigrafski se spomenici često nalaze na području današnjega Solina pa ne čudi što se u više-manje svim istraživanjima prostora nekadašnje Salone pronađe poneki natpis. Želeći Muzeju dugi vijek i mnogo novih natpisa o kojima će i dalje marno skrbiti, prilažem ovaj skromni znanstveni prilog.

U radu je obrađeno devet epigrafskih spomenika koji su pronađeni na području Salone, odnosno njezina agera.² Natpisi su već neko vrijeme dostupni u restituciji i slici na internetskoj bazi *Ubi erat Lupa*, a time i na bazi *Clauss Slaby*.³ Ovi su spomenici u Muzej dospjeli najvjerojatnije u razdoblju od 20-ih do 40-ih godina 20. stoljeća, odnosno od razdoblja u kojem je znanstveni rad don Frane Bulića bio na zalazu, do razdoblja početka 40-ih godina, u kojem njegovi nasljednici nisu istom ažurnošću objavljivali spomenike, na što je tih godina moglo

Numerous inscriptions are on exhibit in the lapidarium of the Archaeological Museum in Split, of which some are the most notable epigraphic exponents in Dalmatia's territory. Most, to be sure, originated in Salona, the former capital of Dalmatia; over 6.000 epigraphic monuments were found in its environs. The Archaeological Museum in Split was in fact established due to the immense quantity of archaeological materials found in Salona's former territory, epigraphic monuments first and foremost. Over the two hundred years that the Archaeological Museum in Split has existed, the largest epigraphic collection in this part of Europe was formed here, which on the one hand is the result of awareness of the importance of gathering and safeguarding epigraphic monuments as direct conveyors of information from Antiquity and, on the other, the truly high number of inscriptions that were once installed in Salona. Many of the inscriptions came to the Museum as spolia, regardless of whether they were inscriptions once more used in Antiquity or later, in the Middle Ages and Early Modern era. The recycling of monuments from the Salona area is an exceptionally well-documented phenomenon in all eras from Antiquity onward, and its most common form was re-use in architecture. The archaeological, and thereby also epigraphic, potential of Salona is enormous, since only a smaller portion of this zone has been examined thus far. Epigraphic monuments are often found in the area of the present-day town of Solin, so it comes as no surprise that in more or less every excavation conducted in the area of the former Salona turns up some inscription. In wishing the Museum a long life and many more inscriptions that it will continue to diligently safeguard, I herewith offer this modest scholarly contribution.

Nine inscriptions discovered in the territory of Salona and its ager are analysed in this paper.² The inscriptions in their restored form and as photographs have already been accessible for some time in the *Ubi erat Lupa* digital database and, consequently, in the Clauss-Slaby epigraphic database.³ These monuments most likely came to the Museum in the period from the 1920s, i.e., during the period in which the research work conducted by Fr. Frane Bulić was winding down, through the beginning of the 1940s, in which time his successors did

2 Za podatke o natpisima iz inventarnih knjiga Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu zahvaljujem kolegi Ninu Švonji, kustosu Epigrafske zbirke u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu.

3 Ovi se spomenici na objema bazama vode kao neobjavljeni, a kao mjesto pronalaska pogrešno je upisan Split. Među takvima ima i nekoliko njih koji su već objavljeni, Lupa 24803, Lupa 24812 i Lupa 24826. Radi se uglavnom o ponešto drugačijim čitanjima u odnosu na već objavljene pa je to razlog zbog kojeg su autori baze *Lupa* pomislili da su spomenici neobjavljeni. Za nekoliko ovdje obrađenih natpisa čitanje se razlikuje u odnosu na navedeno u internetskim bazama.

2 I would like to thank my colleague, Nino Švonja, the curator of the Epigraphic Collection in the Archaeological Museum in Split, for the data on inscriptions in the Museum's inventory logs.

3 These monuments are registered as unpublished in both databases, and the find-site is erroneously registered as Split. Among these there are several which have already been published, Lupa 24803, Lupa 24812 and Lupa 24826. These generally involve somewhat different readings in comparison to those already published, and this is the reason why the compilers of the *Lupa* database believed that the inscriptions were unpublished. The readings for several of the inscriptions published herein differ from those cited in internet databases.

utjecati mnogo faktora.⁴ Svi opisani spomenici su nadgrobni, a radi se o uistinu širokome spektru vrsta spomenika: tri stele, dvije urne, dva titula, jedan nadgrobni žrtvenik i jedan poklopac grobnice poznate kao *piscina*. Kako svi natpisi pripadaju istoj kategoriji spomenika, oni su u Katalogu poredani prema onomastičkome kriteriju.

KATALOG

1. Stela Lucija Antonija Kalokera (sl. 1)

Inv. br. AMS A-5161

Mjesto nalaza: Kaštel Sućurac

Dimenzije: vis. 116 cm, duž. 54 cm, šir. 21 cm

Prema podacima iz inventarne knjige stela je pronađena 1924. god. prilikom kopanja vodovoda u Kaštel Sućurcu. Stela je od vapnenca, a nedostaje joj donji dio, koji je djelomično rekonstruiran betonom. Oštećena je s gornje desne strane, koja nije rekonstruirana. Manja su oštećenja vidljiva po čitavoj površini spomenika, posebno na natpisnom polju. Stela je vrlo jednostavne izrade, ima natpisno polje i trokutasti, neukrašeni pseudozabat, koji su omeđeni dvostrukom, odnosno na vrhu zabata trostrukom profilacijom u obliku obrnutog kimatija (*cymatium inversum*). Moguće je da se radi o steli čija izrada nije posve dovršena, s obzirom da nema nijednoga ukrasa u gornjemu dijelu. Natpis je uklesan u šest redaka i glasi:

L(ucio) Anton(io)

L(uci) lib(erto)

Calocae=

ro

5 *Blastus*

lib(ertus)

Prijevod: *Luciju Antoniju Kalokeru, Lucijevu oslobođeniku (postavio je) oslobođenik Blast.*

Slova natpisa relativno su pravilna, ali oblikom i tehnikom izrade mogla bi se okarakterizirati kao rustična kapitala. Natpis je vrlo jednostavan, odnosno otkriva tek informaciju za koga je postavljen i tko ga postavlja. Obje osobe na natpisu bile su oslobođenici, odnosno nekadašnji robovi. Lucije Antonije Kaloker bio je oslobođenik stanovitog Lucija čiji je gentilicij morao biti također *Antonius*. Gentilicij

not publish with the same diligence, which in those years may have been a consequence of numerous factors.⁴ All of the pieces described herein are funerary, and the spectrum of monuments is truly broad: three stelae, two urns, two tituli, one grave altar and one tomb lid known as a *piscina*. Since all of the inscriptions belong to the same category of monument, they are ordered based on onomastic criteria in the Catalogue.

CATALOGUE

1. Stele of Lucius Antonius Calocaerus (Fig. 1)

Inv. no. AMS A-5161

Find-site: Kaštel Sućurac

Dimensions: ht. 116 cm, lng. 54 cm, wid. 21 cm; size of letters: 3.5-2.7 cm.

Based on data from the inventory log, the stele was discovered in 1924 during excavation works for the water pipeline in Kaštel Sućurac. The stele is made of limestone and is missing its lower portion, which was partially reconstructed with concrete. The upper right-hand side is damaged, and has not been reconstructed. Minor damage is visible over the entire surface of the monument, particularly in the inscription field. The stele was very simply crafted; it has an inscription field and a triangular, undecorated pseudo-pediment, which is bordered by double and – at the tip of the pediment – triple moulding in the shape of an inverse cymatium (*cymatium inversum*). It is possible that this was a stele that had not been entirely finished, given that there is not a single decoration in its upper portion. The inscription is carved into six lines and reads:

L(ucio) Anton(io)

L(uci) lib(erto)

Calocae=

ro

5 *Blastus*

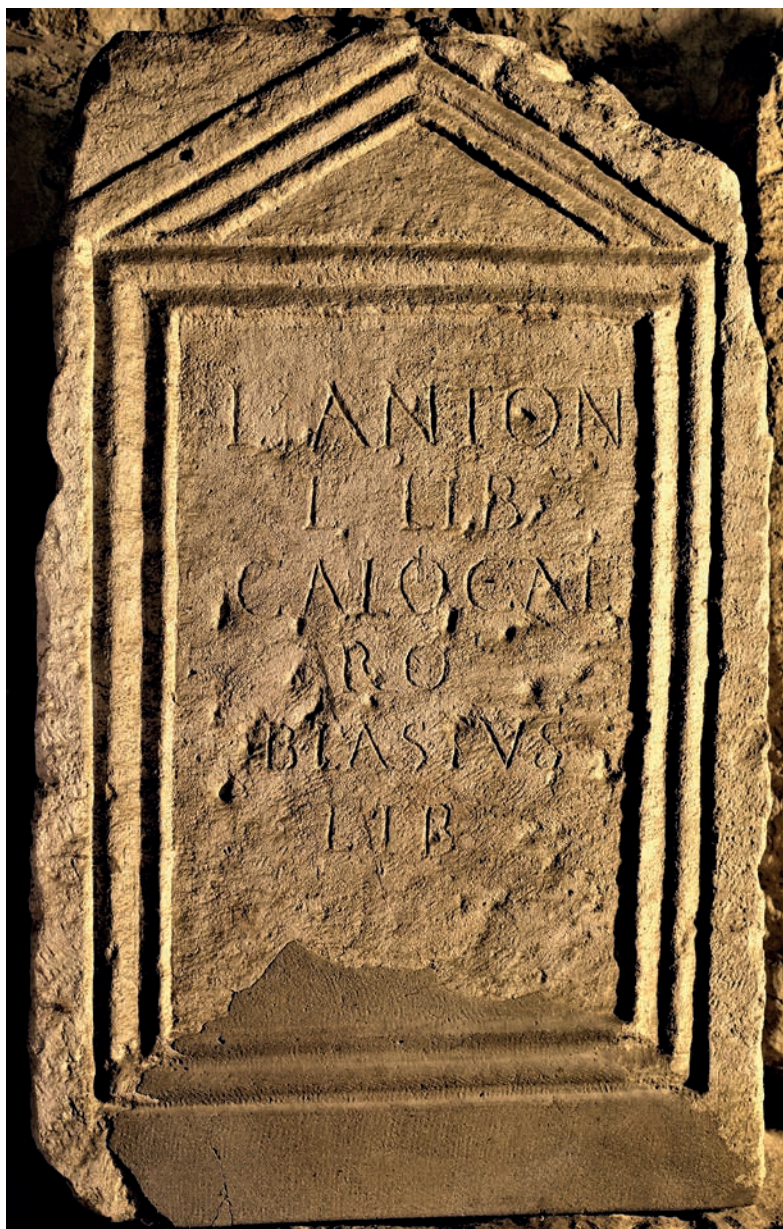
lib(ertus)

Translation: *To Lucius Antonius Calocaerus, to the freedman of Lucius (placed by) the freedman Blastus.*

The letters in the inscription are relatively regular, but in terms of form and rendering they may be characterized as rustic capitals. The inscription is quite simple, as it only reveals information on the individuals to whom it was placed

4 Neki od spomenika pribavljenih za Muzej upravo u spomenutome razdoblju objavljeni su u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća, kao npr. Gabričević 1962. Duje Rendić-Miočević (Rendić-Miočević 1952, nulta bilj.) je napisao da se u splitskome Muzeju nalazi priličan broj neobjavljenih epigrafskih spomenika.

4 Some of the monuments procured by the Museum in precisely this period were published in the latter half of the 20th century, such as, e.g., Gabričević 1962. Duje Rendić-Miočević (Rendić-Miočević 1952, unnumbered note) wrote that there is a considerable number of unpublished epigraphic monuments in the Split Museum.



Slika 1.

Figure 1.

Antonius posvuda je široko rasprostranjen, a u Dalmaciji ga ima i među Italicima i među Istočnjacima.⁵ Kognomen *Calocaerus*, koji je poznat i u obliku *Calocerus*, u Dalmaciji dosad nije bio potvrđen, a u Carstvu se na latinskim natpisima javlja četrdesetak puta. Gotovo se isključivo nalazi u Rimu i ostatku Italije, a po jedna je potvrda zabilježena u tek pet drugih provincija među kojima i u Dalmaciji. U Rimu je među robovima i oslobođenicima ovo ime potvrđeno osam puta.⁶ S druge strane, ovo se ime nalazi na grčkim natpisima, i to u obliku *Καλόκαιρος*, odnosno *Καλόκερος*, na koji-

and who placed it. Both persons in the inscription were freedmen, i.e., former slaves. Lucius Antonius Calocaerus was the freedman of a certain Lucius whose gentilicium had to have been Antonius. The gentilicium *Antonius* was universally widespread, and in Dalmatia it could be found among people of both Italic and Oriental origin.⁵ The cognomen *Calocaerus*, which also appeared in the form *Calocerus*, has not been confirmed thus far in Dalmatia, while it appears roughly forty times in Latin inscriptions in the wider Empire. It can be found almost exclusively in Rome and the remainder of Italy, and there are single confirmations recorded in only five other provinces, Dalmatia among them. This name

5 Alföldy 1969, str. 59, s. v. *Antonius*.

6 Solin 1996, str. 212, s.v. *Calocaerus*.

5 Alföldy 1969, p. 59, s. v. *Antonius*.

ma je potvrđeno četrdesetak puta.⁷ Vjerojatno najpoznatiji nositelj ovog imena bio je uzurpator Kaloker, koji je predvodio ustanak protiv cara Konstantina na Cipru i koji se proglasio carem 334. godine. Uskoro nakon toga poražen je te je pogubljen. Tu epizodu ukratko spominje Aurelije Viktor, koji ga spominje titulom *magister pecoris camelorum*.⁸ Ime *Blastus* (u ženskome obliku *Blaste*) latinizirani je oblik grčkoga imena *Βλάστος* (u ženskome obliku *Βλάστυς*), a na natpisima je potvrđeno nekoliko stotina puta. U Dalmaciji je, osim na ovome natpisu, potvrđeno samo u ženskome obliku *Blaste* na jednome natpisu iz Salone.⁹ Pretpostavljam da je postavljač Blast bio Kalokerov oslobođenik te mu je puno ime trebalo glasiti *Lucius Antonius Blastus*. Prema svemu navedenome čini se da se kod obje osobe može nazrijeti istočnjačko servilno podrijetlo.

Datacija: Natpis bi se prema izostanku formule *D(is) M(anibus)* i prema dimenziji spomenika mogao datirati u drugu pol. 1. ili početak 2. stoljeća.

2. Višestruka nadgrobna ploča (sl. 2a)

Inv. br. AMS A-5162
Mjesto nalaza: Kaštel Sućurac
Dimenzije: duž. 180 cm, vis. 59,5 cm, šir. 26 cm
Nadgrobna, vjerojatno ugradbena ploča grobnice ili grobne parcele na kojoj je bilo pokopano više osoba. Spomenik je bio razdijeljen u tri kvadratna polja u vodoravnom nizu, međusobno odijeljena obostrano profiliranom trakom. Ploča je s desne strane odlomljena te nedostaje dio natpisa. Ispupčena površina spomenika mjestimično je otkrhnuta, a natpisno je polje također ponegdje oštećeno. Prema mjestu pronalaska ovdje opisanoga spomenika kao izvornu lokaciju najvjerojatnije bi trebalo razmatrati Zapadnu salonitansku nekropolu. Natpis je uklesan na srednjem i desnom polju dok je lijevo ostalo neispisano. Srednja ploča ima natpis u tri retka, dok desna ima uklesanih pet redaka (sl. 2b).
Natpis na srednjoj ploči:

*Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Firmus
her(edi) s(umptu) s(uo)
v(ixit) a(nnorum) LV*

has been confirmed eight times among slaves and freedmen in Rome.⁶ On the other hand, this name can be found in Greek inscriptions, in the form *Καλόκαιρος* or *Καλόκερος*, where it appears roughly forty times.⁷ Possibly the best known bearer of this name was the usurper Calocaerus, who led the uprising against Emperor Constantine on Cyprus and proclaimed himself emperor in 334. He was executed shortly after his defeat. This incident was briefly mentioned by Aurelius Victor, who noted that he had used the title *magister pecoris camelorum*.⁸ The name *Blastus* (*Blaste* in the feminine form) is a Latinized form of the Greek name *Βλάστος* (feminine *Βλάστυς*), and it has been confirmed several hundred times in inscriptions. With the exception of this inscription, it has only been confirmed in the feminine form *Blaste* in one inscription from Salona.⁹ I assume that the dedicant Blastus was the freedman of Calocaerus, so his full name should have been *Lucius Antonius Blastus*. Based on this, it would appear that an Oriental servile origin may be discerned for both of these individuals.

Dating: Based on the lack of the formula *D(is) M(anibus)* and the monument's dimensions, it may be dated to the latter half of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century.

2. Grave plaque for several persons (Fig. 2a)

Inv. no. AMS A-5162
Find-site: Kaštel Sućurac
Dimensions: Ing. 180 cm, ht. 59.5 cm, wid. 26 cm: latter size: 1st field 5 cm, 2nd field 4.5-3.5 cm.
A grave plaque, probably a modular plate, from a tomb or grave plot in which several persons were interred. The monument was divided into three square fields in a horizontal sequence, separated from one another by a moulded band. The right side of the plate is broken off so part of the inscription is missing. The protruding surface is chipped at places, and the inscription field is similarly damaged. Based on the find site herein described, the Western Salonitan Necropolis should be considered its most likely original location. The inscription was cut into the central and right fields, while the left field was left blank. The central field has an inscription in three lines, while the right side has five incised lines (Fig. 2b).
Inscription in the central field:

*Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Firmus
her(edi) s(umptu) s(uo)
v(ixit) a(nnorum) LV*

7 Pretraga je rađena preko mrežne stranice *Lexicon of Greek personal names* na dan 10. 10. 2020.

8 Aur. Vict. *Caes* 41, 11,12.

9 CIL III 14825.

6 Solin 1996, p. 212, s.v. *Calocaerus*.

7 A search at the website *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* was conducted on 10 October 2020.

8 Aur. Vict. *Caes* 41, 11,12.

9 CIL III 14825.



Slika 2a.

Figure 2a.



Slika 2b.

Figure 2b.

Prijevod: Tiberije Klaudije Firm, (postavio je) nasljedniku o svom trošku, živio je 55 godina.

Translation: Tiberius Claudius Firmus, (placed to his) heir at his own expense, he lived 55 years.

Natpis na desnoj ploči:

Inscription in the right field:

Firmu[s]
C(aio) Cassio Na[----]
veterano pr[aetori(i)]
amico opt[imo pos(uit)?]
5 v(ixit) a(nnorum) [---]

Firmu[s]
C(aio) Cassio Na[----]
veterano pr[aetori(i)]
amico opt[imo pos(uit)?]
5 v(ixit) a(nnorum) [---]

Prijevod: Firm je postavio Gaju Kasiju Na[---], veteranu preto-rija, najboljemu prijatelju koji je živio [--] godina.

Translation: Firmus placed to Gaius Cassius Na[---], a veteran praetorian, his best friend who lived [--] years.

Slova natpisa pravilna su i ponešto izdužena, no svakako pripadaju razdoblju ranog principata i vjerojatno ih je kle-

The letters are regularly and somewhat elongated, but they certainly belong to the period of the Early Principate

sao isti klesar, barem većinu slova. Oba natpisa imaju interpunkcijske znakove u obliku trokuta, s time da prvi natpis ima jednom uklesan listić bršljana kao rastavni znak između R i S u drugome retku. Prvi natpis ima interpunkcije između svih riječi (osim na krajevima redaka), dok drugi natpis samo u zadnja dva retka.

Natpise je, kako se čini, postavila ista osoba, Tiberije Klaudije Firm. Na prvoj je ploči naveden punim imenom, *Tiberius Claudius Firmus*, dok je na drugoj naveden samo kognomenom *Firmus*. Očito je bio vlasnik grobne parcele, a spomenik je namijenio sebi i svome najboljem prijatelju Gaju Kasiju, čiji kognomen nije u cijelosti sačuvan. Treće (lijevo) polje nije nikada bilo isklesano slovima te nije poznato je li bilo namijenjeno još za koga. Prvi natpis ima kratice koje nisu najjasnije, odnosno *her()* *s()* *s()* moglo bi se protumačiti na razne načine, budući da ovakva kratica dosad nije zabilježena u latinskoj epigrafiji.¹⁰ Ovdje su navedena tri moguća rješenja, a u svakom se polazi od pretpostavke da kratica *her()* stoji za riječ *heres* (nasljednik), neovisno o padežu. Prvi prijedlog restitucije bio bi *her(edi)* ili *her(edibus) s(umptu) s(uo)*, što bi označavalo da je o svom trošku postavio nasljedniku ili nasljednicima. Ova se kratica nadalje može protumačiti i kao *her(edi) s(uo) s(ibique)* ili *her(edibus) s(uis) s(ibique)*, odnosno svome nasljedniku i sebi ili svojim nasljednicima i sebi. Manja je mogućnost tumačenja ove kratice kao *heredi s(upra) s(cripto)* ili *her(edibus) s(upra) s(criptis)*, odnosno gore spomenutim nasljednicima ili gore spomenutom nasljedniku. U tom bi se slučaju moralo pretpostaviti postojanje još jednog spomenika na kojem se nalazilo ime nasljednika ili više njih, budući da se prijedlog *supra* (iznad, gore) ne može odnositi na ona imena uklesana sa strane.

Za sva navedena rješenja imenica *heres* odnosi se na nekoga koga je Tiberije Klaudije Firm imenovao nasljednikom. Budući da je Firm naveden kao netko tko je platio izradu spomenika, Gaj Kasije trebao bi biti nasljednik ili jedan od njih, što bi predmnijevalo da je Gaj Kasije nadživio Firma. Na to upućuje i činjenica da je na lijevome natpisu uklesan broj godina koliko je živio Firm, a na drugome natpisu tog podatka nema. Iako nedostaje desni dio spomenika, prema širini lakune nakon kratice *a(nnorum)* i interpunkcijskoga znaka moguće je da broj godina za Gaja Kasija nije nikada bio uklesan. Dakle, pretpostavka je da je natpis bio uklesan prije smrti Tiberija Klaudija Firma i Gaja Kasija Na[---] te da je možda bilo planirano klesanje spomenika za još jednu osobu. Tiberije Klaudije Firm bio je sigurno ovdje pokopan,

and they were probably cut by the same stonemason, or at least most of the letters were. Both inscriptions have triangular punctuation marks, although the first inscription has a small ivy leaf incised in one place as a dividing mark between the R and S in the second line. The first inscription has punctuation between all words (except at the ends of lines), while the second only has them in the final two lines.

The inscriptions were, it would appear, placed by the same individual, Tiberius Claudius Firmus. In the first field he is designated by his full name, Tiberius Claudius Firmus, while on the second only the cognomen Firmus is mentioned. He was obviously the owner of the grave plot, and he intended the monument for himself and his best friend Gaius Cassius, whose cognomen has not been entirely preserved. The third (left) field never had letters cut into it and whether it had been intended for another person is not known. The first inscription contains abbreviations that are not entirely clear, i.e., *her()* *s()* *s()* may be interpreted in various way, since such an abbreviation has not been recorded thus far in Latin epigraphy.¹⁰ Here three possible solutions emerge, and each one sets forth from the assumption that the abbreviation *her()* stands for the word *heres* (heir), regardless of grammatical case. The first proposed restoration would be *her(edi)* or *her(edibus) s(umptu) s(uo)*, which would indicate that he placed it for its heir or heirs at his own expense. This abbreviation may be interpreted as *her(edi) s(uo) s(ibique)* or *her(edibus) s(uis) s(ibique)*, i.e., to his heir and himself or to his heirs. There is a lower probability that this abbreviation may be interpreted as *heredi s(upra) s(cripto)* or *her(edibus) s(upra) s(criptis)*, i.e., to the aforementioned heirs or aforementioned heir. In this case, one would have to assume the existence of another gravestone on which the name of an heir or several of them is specified, since the preposition *supra* (above, up) cannot refer to the names cut into the side.

In all of these solutions, the noun *heres* refers to someone who had been designated an heir by Tiberius Claudius Firmus. Since Firmus is mentioned as someone who paid to have the monument made, Gaius Cassius should have been an heir or one of them, which would imply that Gaius Cassius had outlived Firmus. This is further indicated by the fact that in the left-hand inscription the number of years lived by Firmus is noted, while this fact is absent in the other inscription. Even though the right portion of the

10 Na stranici EDCS (EDCS-74200214) i na bazi *Ubi erat lupa* (Lupa 24662) uz ovaj natpis stoji prijedlog restitucije ovog mjesta kao *her(es) s(umptibus?) s(uis?)*. U tom bi slučaju valjalo protumačiti ulogu Tiberija Klaudija Firma kao nasljednika Gaja Kasija, no takva mi se interpretacija ne čini prihvatljivom.

10 At the website EDCS (EDCS-74200214) and in the *Ubi erat lupa* database (Lupa 24662) this inscription is accompanied by a proposed restoration of this position as *her(es) s(umptibus?) s(uis?)*. In this case, the role of Tiberius Claudius Firmus should be interpreted as the heir to Gaius Cassius, but I do not find this interpretation acceptable.

za Gaja Kasija to se može s velikom sigurnošću pretpostaviti, dok treća osoba, ako je i bila pokopana, nije bila komemorirana natpisom.

O Tiberiju Klaudiju Firmu nemamo nikakvih dodatnih podataka, osim što možemo pretpostaviti da je imao dovoljno novca kojim je mogao financirati natpis i mjesto ukopa za druge. S druge strane, o Gaju Kasiju barem znamo da je bio veteran. Natpis je prelomljen baš na dijelu koji je možda govorio nešto više o njegovoj vojnoj karijeri. Nakon navođenja vojnog statusa veterana očekivao bi se spomen vrste postrojbe, no ni jedna ne počinje slovima *PR*. Ne vjerujem da se radi o riječi *praefectus*, budući da ne samo da uz navođenje ovog položaja stoji informacija o imenu vojne jedinice, već bi ovaj položaj bio naveden prije veteranskoga statusa. Prema broju slovnih mjesta koji ostaje do kraja natpisnoga polja ploče, bilo kakvo ime vojne jedinice ne bi stalo u taj prostor. U obzir bi dolazila restitucija ove sintagme kao *veterano pr[aetori(i)]*¹¹, koja je zabilježena na još jednom natpisu u Istriji.¹² Tada bi se ovaj podatak odnosio na osobu otpuštenu iz pretorija. Pretorij je inače dio svakog vojnog logora u kojem je smješteno zapovjedništvo, pa se riječ *praetorium* može odnositi na zapovjedništvo bilo koje kopnene ili pomorske vojne jedinice. Ovakvi dijelovi logora tek se ponekad na natpisima spominju, a najviše ih ima kod posveta genijima, odnosno zaštitnicima pretorija, što je vrlo specifična vrsta vojnih posveta. Također, kao pretorij može se shvatiti i zapovjedništvo dviju carskih mornarica smještenih u Mizenu i Raveni, a koje su imale nazive *classis praetoria*. Ipak, najvažniji pretorij koji se na natpisima najčešće nalazi u sintagmi *praefectus praetorio*, bio je u Rimu i označavao je logor u kojem su bili smješteni pretorijanci, odnosno carska garda. Stoga smatram da je najizglednije ovo mjesto na natpisu interpretirati na način da je Gaj Kasije Na[---] bio veteran koji je nekoć služio u Rimu kao pripadnik neke od pretorijanskih kohorata. Na natpisima je poznata sintagma *veteranus ex praetorio* bez specifikacije vojne jedinice¹³, koja se može protumačiti kao jedna od

plaque is missing, based on the width of the lacunae after the abbreviation *a(nnorum)* and the punctuation mark it is possible that the number of years was never written for Gaius Cassius. Thus, the hypothesis is that the inscription had been cut prior to the death of Tiberius Claudius Firmus and Gaius Cassius Na[---] and that there may have been plans to carve a monument for one more person. Tiberius Claudius Firmus was certainly buried here, and this may be assumed of Gaius Cassius with great certainty, while the third individual, if in fact buried, was not commemorated with an inscription.

There are no additional data on Tiberius Claudius Firmus, besides the assumption that he had sufficient money to finance the inscription and the burial plot for others. On the other hand, we know at a minimum that Gaius Cassius was a veteran. The inscription is broken off at precisely that part that may have indicated something more about his military career. After the indication of the military status of veteran, one could expect the further specification of the type of unit, but none of them began with the letters *PR*. I do not believe that the word *praefectus* was written here, since not only would the specification of this status be next to the designation of a military unit, but it would be cited prior to the status of veteran. Based on the number of spaces for letters remaining to the end of the inscription field, the name of any military unit would not fit. A possible restoration of this phrase as *veterano pr[aetori(i)]*¹¹, which appeared on another inscription in Istria,¹² may be considered. Then this data would have referred to a person discharged from the *praetorium*. The *praetorium* was a part of every military fort in which the command headquarters were accommodated, so the word *praetorium* could also pertain to the command of any land or naval military unit. Such parts of forts are only mentioned occasionally in inscriptions, and most often they appear in dedications to the *genii*, i.e., the patrons of *praetoria*, which is a very specific type of military dedication. Furthermore, the command of the two imperial fleets in Misenum and Ravenna, which bore the designations *classis praetoria*, may also be seen as a *praetorium*. Nonetheless, the most important *praetorium*, which can usually be seen in inscriptions

11 Smatram da eventualna restitucija *veterano pr[aetoriano]* ne bi bila dobro rješenje, budući da se riječ *praetorianus* javlja u značenju aktivnog vojnika, npr. *miles praetorianus*, *centurio praetorianus* i sl. Uz veterana se, pak, ova riječ javlja samo u sintagmi *veteranus ex praetoriano* (ili *veterano ex praetoriano*), pri čemu je i na taj način jasno da riječ *praetorianus* označava aktivnu službu.

12 CIL V 471 (Roč). Na natpisu ILS 8269 (Pozzuoli) spominje se (*centurioni*) *veterano pr(aetori) Cumis*, što bi se odnosilo na položaj pretora u Kumama koji je veteran obavljao nakon službe.

13 CIL VI 2784 (Rim); CIL VI 2788 (Rim); AE 1967, 33 (Rim); AE 1978, 306 (Saturnia); CIL X 6489 (Cisterna di Latina); CIL XI 1057 (Parma); IJug 36 (Dobri Dol); IJug 1246 (Stobi); CIL III 3220 (Petrovci); CIL III 3365 (Csakvar); CIL III 5412 (Voitsberg); CIL III 5595 (Sankt Georgen bei Salzburg); CIL III 6453 (Pecs); AE 1957, 163 (Au am Leithaberge); EDCS 01047 (Timgad). Uz izraz *veteranus*, ima i primjera s izrazima *missicius* i *evocatus*, koji se također mogu interpretirati na način da

11 I believe that the possible restoration *veterano pr[aetoriano]* would not be a sound solution, since the word *praetorianus* appears with the meaning of active soldier, e.g. *miles praetorianus*, *centurio praetorianus*, etc. Together with the word veteran, this word only appears in the phrase *veteranus ex praetoriano* (or *veterano ex praetoriano*), wherein even in this manner it is clear that the word *praetorianus* denotes active service.

12 CIL V 471 (Roč). In inscription ILS 8269 (Pozzuoli) mention is made of (*centurioni*) *veterano pr(aetori) Cumis*, which would pertain to the post of *praetorianus* in Cumae which the veteran held after his service.

pretorijanskih kohorata.¹⁴ To što nije zabilježena kohorta u kojoj je služio, nije neobično, budući da postoje primjeri na kojima je status aktivnih vojnika iskazan na sličan način, kao *miles praetorianus*, bez navođenja broja kohorte.¹⁵ Gaj Kasije Na[---] bio je Tiberiju Klaudiju Firmu *amicus optimus*, odnosno najbolji prijatelj. Imenice *amicus* ili *amica* na natpisima u Dalmaciji uza se uglavnom imaju neki pridjev, od kojih su evidentirani: *meritus*, *bonus*, *bene merens*, *fidus*, *incomparabilis*, *rarissimus*, *carissimus* te *optimus*. Ovaj po-tonji javlja se još samo na jednome nadgrobnome natpisu iz Salone na kojemu je navedeno više prijatelja opisanih izrazom *amici optimi*.¹⁶ Na natpisima u Carstvu superlativ *optimus* uz imenicu *amicus* upotrijebljen je deset puta više nego superlativ *optima* uz imenicu *amica*, što ne čudi, budući da se na latinskim natpisima više spominju muškarci nego žene.

Na obama je natpisima izraz za proživljene godine života pokraćen na isti način, *v(ixit) a(nnorum)*. Ova se kratica mogla restituirati i kao *v(ixit) a(nnos)* ili *a(nnis)*, no kako smatram da natpis pripada ranom principatu, kratica je restituirana genitivom množine koji u navedenom razdoblju prevladava kod ove imenice.

Gentilicij *Cassius/a* u Dalmaciji je dobro potvrđen, na više od 60 natpisa, od kojih je većina pronađena na salonitanskom području. Radi se o obitelji koja je u Saloni imala i pripadnike viteškoga staleža.¹⁷ Gentilicij je posvuda poznat, a tijekom ranog principata uglavnom ga nose Italici.¹⁸ Gentilicij *Claudius* carskog je podrijetla i često je potvrđen u kombinaciji s predimenom *Tiberius*, u Dalmaciji tridesetak puta. Takvo ime najčešće upućuje na dodjelu građanskoga prava (iz statusa peregrina) ili manumisije (iz statusa roba) u vrijeme careva Klaudija i Nerona, premda se ova imenska kombinacija javlja i dosta kasnije.¹⁹ Kognomen *Firmus/a* iznimno je dobro potvrđen u Carstvu, a i u Dalmaciji. Ovim kognomenom u kontekstu domaćih, nerimskih imena bavio se Duje Rendić-Miočević pretpostavljajući da se iza imena *Firmus*, *Maximus* i *Valens* potvrđenih kod peregrina i osoba s novostečenim građanskim pravom možda kriju

as part of the phrase *praefectus praetorio*, was in Rome and denoted the fort in which the praetorians, the imperial guard, were stationed. I therefore believe that it is most likely that this place in the inscription may be interpreted such that Gaius Cassius Na[---] was a veteran who had once served in Rome as a member of one of the praetorian cohorts. The phrase *veteranus ex praetorio* without specification of the military unit,¹³ is known in inscriptions, and it may be interpreted as one of the praetorian cohorts.¹⁴ The fact that the cohort in which he served was not recorded is not unusual, since there are examples in which the status of active soldiers was expressed similarly, as *miles praetorianus*, without citing the cohort's number.¹⁵

Gaius Cassius Na[---] was the *amicus optimus*, the best friend, of Tiberius Claudius Firmus. In inscriptions found in Dalmatia, the noun *amicus* or *amica* is generally accompanied by an adjective, among which the following have been recorded: *meritus*, *bonus*, *bene merens*, *fidus*, *incomparabilis*, *rarissimus*, *carissimus* and *optimus*. The latter also appears only in a gravestone inscription from Salona which cites several friends described by the expression *amici optimi*.¹⁶ In inscriptions throughout the Empire, the superlative *optimus* accompanying the noun *amicus* is used ten times more than the superlative *optima* accompanying the noun *amica*, which is not surprising, since men are mentioned more than women in Latin inscriptions.

In both inscriptions, the expression for years of life is abbreviated in the same manner, *v(ixit) a(nnorum)*. This abbreviation may also be restored as *v(ixit) a(nnos)* or *a(nnis)*, but since I believe that the inscription originated in the early Principate, the abbreviation has been restored with the genitive plural which predominated with this noun in that period.

The gentilicium *Cassius/a* has many confirmations in Dalmatia, on over 60 inscriptions, of which most have been

se radi o veteranima.

- 14 U teoriji, može se raditi i o mornaričkome veteranu, kako bi se mogao protumačiti i natpis CIL X 1759 iz Mizena na kojem se navodi *vet(erano) ex pr(aetorio) n(atione) Gallo*.
- 15 ILAlg 01, 01340 (Khemissa); CIL IX 3814 (Lecce); AE 1957, 218 (Magliano in Toscana); ILBulg 171 (Čomakovci); CIL III 7421 (Lom); CIL III 5606 (Koppach); RIU 590 (Komarom); CIL VI 32691 (Rim); CIL VI 37232 (Rim); CIL V 478 (Krssete); CIL XI 4506 (Amelia) i još nekoliko mogućih.
- 16 CIL III 2277=8617.
- 17 CIL III 8737. O karijeri Kvinta Kasija Konstanta (Q. *Cassius Constans*), v. Demicheli 2016.
- 18 Alföldy 1969, str. 73, s. v. *Cassius*.
- 19 Alföldy 1969, str. 37-38, s. v. *Claudius*.

- 13 CIL VI 2784 (Rome); CIL VI 2788 (Rome); AE 1967, 33 (Rome); AE 1978, 306 (Saturnia); CIL X 6489 (Cisterna di Latina); CIL XI 1057 (Parma); ILJug 36 (Dobri Dol); ILJug 1246 (Stobi); CIL III 3220 (Petrovci); CIL III 3365 (Csakvar); CIL III 5412 (Voitsberg); CIL III 5595 (Sankt Georgen bei Salzburg); CIL III 6453 (Pecs); AE 1957, 163 (Au am Leithaberge); EDCS 01047 (Timgad). Accompanying the term *veteranus*, there are also examples with the terms *missicius* and *evocatus*, which may also be interpreted in a manner that suggests veterans.
- 14 In theory, this may be a case of a naval veteran, which is also a possible interpretation for inscription CIL X 1759 from Misenum, which mentions *vet(erano) ex pr(aetorio) n(atione) Gallo*.
- 15 ILAlg 01, 01340 (Khemissa); CIL IX 3814 (Lecce); AE 1957, 218 (Magliano in Toscana); ILBulg 171 (Čomakovci); CIL III 7421 (Lom); CIL III 5606 (Koppach); RIU 590 (Komarom); CIL VI 32691 (Rome); CIL VI 37232 (Rome); CIL V 478 (Krssete); CIL XI 4506 (Amelia) and several more possibilities.
- 16 CIL III 2277=8617.

prevedene istoznačnice iz jezika na tlu Ilirika.²⁰ S obzirom da se ovaj natpis može datirati tijekom 1. stoljeća, nema sumnje da je Tiberije Klaudije Firm pripadao prvoj ili drugoj generaciji osoba koje su od cara Klaudija ili Nerona dobile rimsko građansko pravo. Ukupno je u Carstvu zabilježeno deset natpisa na kojima se spominje osoba *Tiberius Claudius Firmus*.²¹ Naravno, natpisi ne pripadaju istoj osobi niti su nastali u isto vrijeme. Zanimljivo je da su od ovih deset čak tri iz Dalmacije. Prvi je natpis iz Danila, odnosno Ridera, na kojem se spominje Tiberije Klaudije Firm, sin Tiberija Klaudija Trita.²² Natpis nesumnjivo spominje prvu generaciju peregrina koji su dobili rimsko građansko pravo od cara. Sigurno je da se ne radi o istoj osobi, budući da je natpisom iz Ridera komemoriran sedmogodišnji dječak istoga imena. Na drugom je spomenut još jedan Tiberije Klaudije Firm, a radi se o osobi koja je postavila žrtvenik božici Dijani u Saloni.²³ Moguće je da se radi o istoj osobi kao i na ovome natpisu, no za to nema čvrstih dokaza. Najbolji prijatelj Tiberija Klaudija Firma bio je vojnik, no je li sam Firm imao ikakve veze s vojskom, teško se može zaključiti. Pretpostavljam da bi takvu informaciju o sebi naveo na natpisu, kao što je to naveo Gaj Kasije Na[---].²⁴ Višestruki tituli u Dalmaciji nisu česti, a kako se čini, može ih se naći samo na području Salone. Radi se o vodoravno izduženoj ploči podijeljenoj najčešće u dva segmenta, odnosno natpisna polja. Prema epigrafskim značajkama, to jest formulama, onomastici i paleografiji, ovakva se vrsta nadgrobno spomenika može datirati tijekom 1. stoljeća, možda početkom 2. stoljeća. Najpoznatiji primjer spomenika s dvama poljima je titul kojim su na jednome polju komemorirani natpisom i nadgrobnom pjesmom Publije Papirije Prokul (*P. Papirius Proculus*) i Papirija Kladila (*Papiria Cladilla*), a na drugome natpisom Kvint Nasije Cert Drakon (*Q. Nassius Certus Draco*) i Tulija Intuma (*Tullia Intuma*).²⁵ Ovakva vrsta spomenika imala je i svoju formu, kod koje su dva natpisna polja postavljena također jedno do drugoga, no okomita im je strana duža od vodoravne. To je najbolje vidljivo kod nadgrobno spomenika konjanika Gaja Sabina Nikijata (*C. Sa-*

found in the Salonitan area. This was a family that had members of the knightly class in Salona.¹⁷ The gentilicium was universally known, and during the early Principate it was generally born by people of Italic origin.¹⁸ The gentilicium *Claudius* is imperial in origin and has often been confirmed in combination with the praenomen Tiberius – thirty times in Dalmatia. Such a name most often indicates the conferral of citizenship (from peregrine status) or manumission (from slave status) during the reigns of Claudius and Nero, although these name combinations appeared even later.¹⁹ The cognomen *Firmus/a* is widely confirmed in the Empire, and also in Dalmatia. Duje Rendić-Miočević dealt with these cognomina in the context of local, non-Roman names, assuming that the names *Firmus*, *Maximus* and *Valens*, confirmed among peregrines and persons with newly-acquired citizenship, may conceal translated synonyms from the languages in the territory of Illyricum.²⁰ Since this inscription may be dated to the course of the 1st century, there is no doubt that Tiberius Claudius Firmus belonged to the first or second generation of persons who were granted Roman citizenship by Emperor Claudius or Nero. A total of ten inscriptions on which a person named Tiberius Claudius Firmus is mentioned have been recorded in the Empire.²¹ To be sure, the inscriptions do not refer to the same person, nor did they appear at the same time. It is intriguing that out of the ten, three are from Dalmatia. The first is an inscription from Danilo, i.e., Rider, which mentions Tiberius Claudius Firmus, the son of Tiberius Claudius Tritus.²² The inscription undoubtedly mentions the first generation of peregrines who acquired Roman citizenship from the emperor. This is certainly not the same person, since the inscription from Rider commemorates a seven year-old boy with the same name. The second inscription mentions another Tiberius Claudius Firmus, and this was a person who placed an altar to the goddess Diana in Salona.²³ It is possible that it was the same person as in this inscription, but there is no solid evidence for this. The best friend of Tiberius Claudius Firmus was a soldier, but whether or not Firmus himself had any ties to the military is difficult to ascertain. I assume that he would have volunteered such information about himself in the

20 Rendić-Miočević 1964.

21 Uz ovaj natpis to su: ILJug 791 (Danilo); CIL VI 200=30712e=36747e; CIL VI 4227; CIL VI 15065; CIL VI 38187 (Rim); CIL VIII 2841 (*Lambaesis*); CIL IX 5358 (Fermo); CIL XI 3851 (Prima Porta), Salona (neobjavljen).

22 ILJug 791, *Ti(berius) Cla(u)dus Firmus Ti(beri) Cl(a)udi Triti f(ilius)*.

23 Žrtvenik je pronađen kao spolij u salonitanskim bedemima.

24 Tri homonimne osobe bile su pripadnici rimske vojske. Jedini koji bi dolazio u obzir za izjednačavanje sa salonitanskim Tiberijem Klaudijem Firmom bio bi pripadnik neke od postrojbi u Rimu čije se ime nalazi na posvetnom spomeniku s popisom vojnika datiranom u 70. godinu (CIL VI 200=30712e=36747e).

25 CIL III 2083 (Salona), a čuva se u Zagrebu. Više o spomeniku v. Demicheli 2014, 35-36.

17 CIL III 8737. On the career of Quintus Cassius Constans, see Demicheli 2016.

18 Alföldy 1969, p. 73, s. v. *Cassius*.

19 Alföldy 1969, pp. 37-38, s. v. *Claudius*.

20 Rendić-Miočević 1964.

21 Besides this inscription, they are: ILJug 791 (Danilo); CIL VI 200=30712e=36747e; CIL VI 4227; CIL VI 15065; CIL VI 38187 (Rim); CIL VIII 2841 (*Lambaesis*); CIL IX 5358 (Fermo); CIL XI 3851 (Prima Porta), Salona (unpublished).

22 ILJug 791, *Ti(berius) Cla(u)dus Firmus Ti(beri) Cl(a)udi Triti f(ilius)*.

23 The altar was found in secondary use in Salona's city walls.

binus Nicias), koji se može datirati u kasni principat, odnosno od 2. pol. 2. st. do kraja 3. st. Jedini spomenik koji bi se mogao usporediti s ovim po raščlambi na tri polja je spomenik na kojem se spominje još jedan veteran, a pronađen je kao spolij u funkciji praga ranokršćanske grobnice u Saloni.²⁶ Što se tiče mjesta na kojem su ovakvi spomenici bili postavljani, vrlo je izgledno da se radi o ugradbenim pločama koje su mogle stajati nad ulazom u grobnu parcelu ili su bile ugrađene u neku veću grobnu instalaciju.

Datacija: S obzirom na sve navedeno, smatram da je Tiberije Klaudije Firm bio peregrin ili sin peregrina koji je dobio carski gentilicij prilikom dobivanja rimskoga građanskog prava. Ovo je dodatno osnaženo činjenicom da bi spomenik valjalo datirati u 2. pol. 1. stoljeća, na što upućuju izostanak posvete Manima, tip spomenika i paleografija.

3. **Stela Cezija Trofima** (sl. 3)

Inv. br. AMS 74259

Mjesto nalaza: Salona (?)

Dimenzije: vis. 71,5 cm, duž. 38 cm, šir. 6 cm

Mjesto pronalaska stele nije zabilježeno u inventarnoj knjizi, no najvjerojatnije je s područja Salone, budući da su slične stele pronađene na tom području. Stela ima polukružni zabat s dvama akroterijima koji se izdižu u gornjim uglovima. Akroteriji, od kojih je desni malo izduženiji, ukrašeni su stiliziranim vegetabilnim motivima. Oblik stele ne pripada standardnim oblicima, osobito što se tiče dekorativnog programa gornjeg dijela stele. Pretpostavljam da je stela nastala u razdoblju u kojem su napušteni monumentalni arhitektonski oblici stela, a prije nego se započelo s osjetnim reduciranjem dimenzija i uvođenjem standarda manjih formi koji je i financijski bio dostupan većem dijelu salonitanske populacije. U ovom se “međurazdoblju” mogu naći raznovrsno ukrašavane stele, a jedna od takvih je i ova. U zabatu je poprilično vjerno prikazana patera, odnosno žrtvena posuda s ručkom, izrađena u dubljem reljefu. S obje strane paterne nalazi po jedan grozd. Obrub natpisnog polja nema uobičajenu profilaciju, već je natpisno polje jednostavno sniženo s obzirom na ostatak spomenika. S obje strane gornjeg dijela obruba nalazi se uklesan po jedan predmet: s lijeve je strane prikaz koji podsjeća na čavao ili klin, no moglo bi se raditi i o dljetu. S desne strane prikaz podsjeća na štap, ali možda bi se moglo raditi i o stiliziranom prikazu pile. Oba reljefa možda prikazuju alatke koje su se odnosile na djelatnost kojom se pokojnik bavio, no o njemu, osim imena, ne znamo ništa drugo. S lijeve je strane niz okvir urezana jedna dulja ravna i jedna valovita linija, no nije jasno radi li se o dijelu ukrasa ili oštećenju. Površina spomenika mjestimično ima manja oštećenja, a vidljivi su i

inscription, as Gaius Cassius Na[---] did.²⁴

Tituli for multiple persons are not common in Dalmatia, and it would appear that they can only be found in the territory of Salona. This is a horizontal plate most often divided into two segments, or inscription fields. Based on epigraphic features or formulas, onomastics and palaeography, this type of monument may be dated to the 1st century, and perhaps the beginning of the 2nd century. The best known example of a monument with two fields is the titulus which commemorates Publius Papirius Proculus and Papiria Cladilla with an inscription and poem in one field, and Quintus Nassius Certus Draco and Tullia Intuma with an inscription in the other.²⁵ This type of monument also had its form, in which the two inscription fields were placed next to each other, but the vertical side was longer than the horizontal. This is most visible in the gravestone of the equestrian Gaius Sabinus Nicias, which may be dated to the late Principate, i.e., the latter half of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century. The sole monument that may be compared to this one in terms of breakdown into three fields is one which mentions yet another veteran, and which was found in secondary use being used as a threshold for an Early Christian tomb in Salona.²⁶ As to the places at which such pieces were installed, it is very likely that these were modular plates that may have stood at the entrance to a grave plot or were built into some larger graveside installation.

Dating: Given all of the aforementioned, I believe that Tiberius Claudius Firmus was a peregrine or son of a peregrine who was granted the imperial gentilicium when he acquired Roman citizenship. This is further reinforced by the fact that the monument should be dated to the latter half of the 1st century, which is indicated by the absence of a dedication to the Manes gods, the type of monument and the palaeography.

3. **Stele of Caesius Trophimus** (Fig. 3)

Inv. no. AMS 74259

Find-site: Salona (?)

Dimensions: ht. 71.5 cm, lng. 38 cm, wid. 6 cm; size of letters: 5-3.1 cm.

The find site was not recorded in the inventory log, but

24 The three homonymous persons were members of the Roman army. The only one who may be considered as the same person as the Salonitan Tiberius Claudius Firmus was a member of one of the units in Rome whose name is on a dedicatory monument with a list of soldiers dated to 70 AD (CIL VI 200=30712e=36747e).

25 CIL III 2083 (Salona), but held in Zagreb. For more on the monument, see Demicheli 2014, 35-36.

26 The monument has not been published, and a paper on it is forthcoming.

26 Spomenik je neobjavljen, a rad o njemu je u pripremi.



Slika 3.

Figure 3.

tragovi obrade kamena nazubljenim dljetom. Na dnu spomenika uočava se preostali dio usadne noge stele. Natpis je uklesan u pet redaka i glasi:

D(is) M(anibus)
Caesio
Trophimo
Rufinus
5 *posuit*

Prijevod: *Bogovima Manima. Ceziju Trofimu postavio je Rufin.*

Slova natpisa klesana su kvadratnom kapitalom i poprilično su pravilna. Klesar, doduše, nije najbolje izračunao prostor koji mu je potreban za klesanje trećega retka u kojem su slova *P* i *H* uklesana u ligaturi, dok je slovo *O* uklesano izvan natpisnoga polja. Moguće da su slova *P* i *H* namjerno uklesana spojena, budući da se radi o grčkome slovu *phi* (Φ)

it is most likely from the Salona area, since similar stelae have been found there. The stele has a semi-circular pediment with two acroteria that ascend in the upper corners. The acroteria, of which the one the right is slightly more extended, are adorned with stylized plant motifs. The shape of the stele does not comport with the standard forms, particularly the decorative repertoire of its upper section. I assume that the stele was made in the period when monumental architectural stele forms were abandoned, but before the beginning of noticeably reduced dimensions and the introduction of the standard of smaller forms that were financially affordable to a higher portion of Salona's population. During this "interim period" rather diversely decorated stelae could be found, and this is one of them. The pediment contains a rather faithful depiction of a patera, a sacrificial vessel with a handle, rendered in deep relief. There is a grape bunch to each side of the patera. The bordure of the inscription field does not have the customary moulding, rather the inscription field is simply lower given the remainder of the monument. Each side of the upper portion of the bordure has a single item sculpted onto it: to the left there is a depiction that recalls a nail or peg, but may also be a chisel. To the right is a depiction that resembles a stick, but it may also be a stylized portrayal of a saw. Both relief portrayals show tools that pertained to the occupation of the deceased, but besides his name we know nothing else about him. A long straight line and a wavy line run all down the frame to the left, but it is unclear as to whether these are decorations or damage. The surface of the monument has minor damage at places, and traces of work on the stone with a denticulate chisel are visible. The remainder of the stele's mounting peg can be seen at its bottom. The inscription was carved in five lines and reads:

D(is) M(anibus)
Caesio
Trophimo
Rufinus
5 *posuit*

Translation: *To the Spirits of the Departed. Rufinus placed for Caesius Trophimus.*

The letters of the inscription are rendered in square capitals and are quite regular. The stonecutter, to be sure, did not make the best calculation of the space he required to cut the third line, in which the letters *P* and *H* are rendered in ligature, while the letter *O* is outside of the inscription field. It is possible that the letters *P* and *H* were intentionally connected, since this is the Greek letter *phi* (Φ) which was transliterated into Latin as two letters, i.e., *PH*. The cognomen *Trophimo* was rendered in somewhat larger

koje se u latinskome transliterira kao dva slova, odnosno *PH*. Kognomen *Trophimo* uklesan je nešto većim slovima u odnosu na gentilicij *Caesio*. Kako je rečeno, natpis osim podatka tko je za koga postavio ovu stelu ne sadržava ništa što bi upućivalo na to u kakvom su odnosu ove osobe bile, koliko je pokojnik živio ili čime se bavio. Pokojnik je naveden dvama imenima, dok je komemorator naveden samo kognomenom. Gentilicij *Caesius* dobro je poznat u Dalmaciji, posebice u Saloni, gdje je zabilježen i kod Italika i kod oslobođenika.²⁷ Neki od salonitanskih Cezija bili su vjerojatno pripadnici višega građanskog sloja, na što upućuje i natpis na kojem se spominje *C. Caesius Vindex*, salonitanski edil i kvatuorvir.²⁸ Kognomen *Trophimus* i *Trophima*²⁹ grčko je ime *Τρόφιμος* u latiniziranome obliku te upućuje na to da je ova osoba bila oslobođenik ili je bila hranjenik, odnosno *alumnus*. Naime, grčka riječ za ono što riječ *alumnus* označava u latinskome jeziku glasi *τρόφιμος*.³⁰ Alumni su bili udomljena djeca, ponekad robovi, ponekad slobodno rođeni, a koji su bili odgajani u drugim kućanstvima. Najvjerojatnije se radi o siročadi, napuštenoj ili nepriznatoj djeci koja su imala društveni status sličan usvojenoj djeci.³¹ Stoga postoji pretpostavka da su osobe s imenom *Trophimus* zapravo alumni, odnosno da su dobile takvo ime upravo zato što su bile udomljene u dječjoj dobi.³² S obzirom na to moguće je da je Cezije Trofim kao dijete bio udomljen te je bio primljen u obitelj *Caesia*, čiji je gentilicij kasnije nosio. S druge strane, ime osobe koja je postavila ovaj spomenik ne govori ništa o njezinome pravnom statusu, a moglo se raditi kako o sinu tako o bratu ili nekoj drugoj osobi u srodstvu ili o prijatelju. *Rufinus* je latinski kognomen koji je dosta rasprostranjen, kako u Carstvu, tako i u Dalmaciji. Datacija: Natpis bi se prema dvočlanoj onomastičkoj formuli i kratici *DM* mogao datirati u 2. i 3. stoljeće, no s obzirom na izgled, odnosno veličinu stele smatram da je spomenik nastao najvjerojatnije u 2. st.

letters in comparison to the gentilicium *Caesio*. As stated, besides the information on who placed this stele for whom, the inscription contains nothing that would shed light on the relationship between these two individuals, how long the deceased had lived and what his occupation was. The deceased is denoted by the *dua nomina* formula, while the commemorator is only referred to by his cognomen. The gentilicium *Caesius* has been frequently confirmed in Dalmatia, particularly in Salona, where it has been recorded among both Italic people and freedmen.²⁷ Some of the Salonitan *Caesii* were probably members of a higher social class, which is indicated by an inscription that mentions *C. Caesius Vindex*, a Salonitan aedile and *quatuorvir*.²⁸ The cognomina *Trophimus* and *Trophima*²⁹ are the Greek name *Τρόφιμος* in Latinized form and indicates that this person was a freedman or foster son, i.e., *alumnus*. This is because the Greek word for what is denoted in Latin with the word *alumnus* is *τρόφιμος*.³⁰ *Alumni* were fostered children, sometimes slaves, sometimes free born, who were raised in other households. These were most likely orphans, abandoned or unacknowledged children who had a social status similar to adopted children.³¹ There is thus a supposition that persons with the name *Trophimus* were actually *alumni*, i.e., that they were given this name precisely because they were fostered as children.³² In this regard, it is possible that *Caesius Trophimus* was fostered as a child and received into the *Caesia* family, whose gentilicium he later bore. On the other hand, the name of the person who placed this monument says nothing about his actual status, and he may have been his son, or brother or some other relative or simply a friend. *Rufinus* is a Latin cognomen that was quite widespread, both in Dalmatia and the Empire as a whole.

Dating: Based on the *dua nomina* formula and the abbreviation *DM*, the inscription may be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, but given its appearance, i.e., the size of the stele, I believe it was mostly likely made in the 2nd century.

27 Alföldy 1969, str. 69, s. v. *Caesius*.

28 CIL III 8786.

29 Na salonitanskome području zabilježeno i u varijantama *Trofimus* (CIL III 2480; AE 2006, 1016), *Trofima* (CIL III 2451) i *Trofime* (CIL III 9382; ILJug 2734).

30 Ovom je značenju srodan i glagolski pridjev *Θρεπτός* te se također uzima u obzir kao moguća indikacija statusa alumna, premda ima puno šire implikacije. Kako je riječ *τρόφιμος* postala ime *Trophimus* i *Trophima* na latinskim natpisima, tako postoje i epigrafski primjeri imena *Threptus* i *Threpte* (zabilježeno i varijantama *Treptus*, *Trepte* i *Threpta*). O ovome problemu više: Brancato 2015, str. 202-203, 240-241 (s navedenom literaturom).

31 Curchin 2001, str. 541.

32 Crespo Ortiz 1992.

27 Alföldy 1969, p. 69, s. v. *Caesius*.

28 CIL III 8786.

29 In the Salonitan area, it has also been recorded in the variants *Trofimus* (CIL III 2480; AE 2006, 1016), *Trofima* (CIL III 2451) and *Trofime* (CIL III 9382; ILJug 2734).

30 In this meaning it is similar to the verbal adjective *Θρεπτός*, which may also be taken into consideration as a possible indication of the status of *alumnus*, although it has far wider implications. Since the word *τρόφιμος* became the names *Trophimus* and *Trophima* in Latin inscriptions, there are thus also epigraphic examples of the names *Threptus* and *Threpte* (also recorded in the variants *Treptus*, *Trepte* and *Threpta*). For more on this problem, see: Brancato 2015, pp. 202-203, 240-241 (with the sources cited therein).

31 Curchin 2001, p. 541.

32 Crespo Ortiz 1992.

4. **Urna Flavije Ingenue** (sl. 4)

Inv. br. AMS 74245

Mjesto nalaza: Salona

Dimenzije: vis. 41 cm, duž. 32 cm, šir. 30 cm

Mjesto pronalaska urne nije navedeno u inventarnoj knjizi, no s obzirom na tipološku srodnost s nekoliko drugih koje su pronađene u Saloni, nema sumnje da je i ovaj spomenik s područja Salone. Četvrtasta urna kojoj nedostaje poklopac, na prednjoj strani nosi natpis koji je omeđen jednostavnom užlijebljenom profilacijom. Po površini kamena vidljiva su manja oštećenja, posebice na bridovima, a vidljivi su tragovi obrade kamena nazubljenim dljetom. Tekst je vidljiv u pet redaka i glasi:

*F(aviae) Ingenuae def(unctae)**an(nos) XXX Sapar=**dacius mar(itus) et**Varius Maxi=*5 *minus matri**dulcissim(a)e p(osuerunt)*

Prijevod: *Flaviji Ingenui, umrloj u dobi od 30 godina. Sapardacije muž i Varije Maksimin majci najslađoj postavili su.*

Kako je urna bez poklopca, može se pretpostaviti da je na poklopcu bila uklesana posveta bogovima Manima.³³ Slova natpisa relativno su pravilna. Slovo *F* na kraju prvoga retka uklesano je izvan natpisnoga polja. U ligaturi stoji više slova: *AE* (1. r.), *AN* (2. r.) *ET* (3. r.) te *ME* (6. r.). Rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta uklesani su između *L* i *I* te *E* i *D* (1. r.), prije i poslije broja *XXX* (2. r.), *S* i *M* te *R* i *E* (3. r.), *S* i *M* (4. i 5. r.) te prije i poslije *P* (6. r.). Gentilicij *Flavius* pripada carskim gentilicijima te je očekivano da mnogi stanovnici Carstva nose ovo gentilno ime, a kako je bio dosta poznat, obično se klesao u pokraćenom obliku. Kognomen *Ingenua* rasprostranjen je posvuda, osobito u keltskim provincijama.³⁴ Gentilicij *Varius* poznat je u čitavome Carstvu, posebno u Italiji i južnoj Galiji, u Dalmaciji ga imaju Italici i moguće stanovnici zapadnih provincija u kasnijem razdoblju.³⁵ Kognomen *Maximinus* također je posvuda rasprostranjen, a osobito je čest u keltskim provincijama.³⁶

Jedino ime koje je izuzetak je *Sapardacius*, koje se ovdje javlja prvi put u Dalmaciji, a dosad je poznato još samo s jednog natpisa iz Rima.³⁷ Nije poznato podrijetlo osoba spomenutih na natpisu. Moguće je da se radi o došljacima, no kako se kod majke i sina radi o dosta čestim imenima,

4. **Urn of Flavia Ingenua** (Fig. 4)

Inv. no. AMS 74245

Find-site: Salona

Dimensions: ht. 41 cm, lng. 32 cm, wid. 30 cm; size of letters: 3.3-2.5 cm.

The find-site is not recorded in the inventory log, but given its typological similarity to several others found in Salona, there can be no doubt that this urn is also from Salona's territory. The rectangular urn, missing its lid, bears an inscription on its front that is bordered by simple grooved moulding. Minor damage is visible on the surface of the stone, particularly at the edges, and traces of stonework with a denticulate chisel are also visible. The text is legible in five lines and reads:

*F(aviae) Ingenuae def(unctae)**an(nos) XXX Sapar=**dacius mar(itus) et**Varius Maxi=*5 *minus matri**dulcissim(a)e p(osuerunt)*

Translation: *To Flavia Ingenua, deceased at the age of 30 years. Placed by her husband Sapardacius and Varius Maximinus to his sweetest mother.*

Since the urn is lacking a lid, it may be assumed that the dedication to the *dii Manes* was engraved onto it.³³ The letters of the inscription are relatively uniform. The letter *F* at the end of the first line was cut outside of the inscription field. Several letters are rendered in ligature: *AE* (1st l.), *AN* (2nd l.) *ET* (3rd l.) and *ME* (6th l.). Triangular separation marks were incised between the *L* and *I* and *E* and *D* (1st l.), before and after the number *XXX* (2nd l.), the *S* and *M* and *R* and *E* (3rd l.), the *S* and *M* (4th and 5th l.) and before and after the *P* (6th l.). The gentilicium *Flavius* was among the imperial gentilicia and it may be expected that many residents of the Empire bore this gentilicium, and since it was rather well known, it was normally written in its abbreviated form. The cognomen *Ingenua* was universally widespread, particularly in the Celtic provinces.³⁴ The gentilicium *Varius* was known throughout the Empire, particularly in Italy and southern Gallia. In Dalmatia it was borne by Italic people and possibly by residents of the western provinces in a later era.³⁵ The cognomen *Maximinus* was also quite widespread, and particularly common in the Celtic provinces.³⁶

33 U Saloni su dobro dokumentirani poklopci četvrtastih urni na kojima je uklesana kratica *DM*.

34 Alföldy 1969, str. 222, s.v. *Ingenuus*.

35 Alföldy 1969, str. 133, s.v. *Varius*.

36 Alföldy 1969, str. 242, s.v. *Maximinus*.

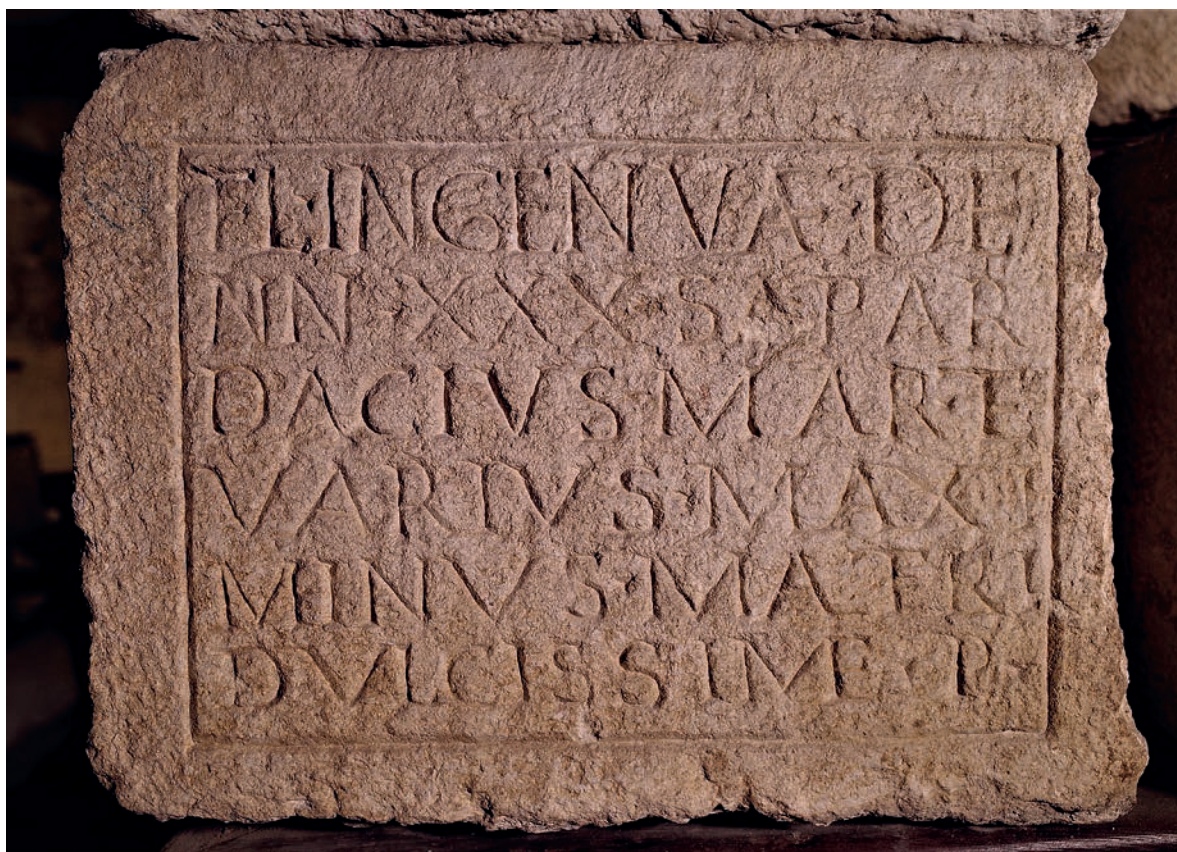
37 CIL VI 647.

33 Lids of rectangular urns with the abbreviation *DM* engraved on them are well documented in Salona.

34 Alföldy 1969, p. 222, s.v. *Ingenuus*.

35 Alföldy 1969, p. 133, s.v. *Varius*.

36 Alföldy 1969, p. 242, s.v. *Maximinus*.



Slika 4.

Figure 4.

oni su mogli biti i domaćega podrijetla. Jedino je Sapardacije vjerojatno stranac, no nije sigurno odakle potječe. Možda bi ga se moglo dovesti u vezu s imenom *Spartacus*, odnosno oblicima *Σπαρδάκος* i *Σπαραρδόκος*, kako je to na osnovi raznih glasovnih promjena, posebice sinkope, predložio Georges Seure.³⁸

Pokojniččin suprug naveden je samo jednim imenom dok njezin sin ima gentilicij i kognomen. Ako je Varije Maksimin sin Flavije Ingenue i Sapardacija, tada bi se očekivalo da je puno očevo ime bilo *Varius Sapardacius*, no to se ne može sa sigurnošću utvrditi. S obzirom na ograničenu površinu za klesanje teksta, moguće je da je bilo dovoljno uklesati samo jedan gentilicij, a da se drugi podrazumijevao iz prvoga. S druge strane, Varije Maksimin mogao je biti Flavijin sin iz prvoga braka, a Sapardacije joj je mogao biti drugi muž. Sapardacije je naveden imenicom *maritus*, što bi predmijevalo legalno sklopljen brak, a vjerujem da se spomenik može datirati u doba nakon 112. godine te da se ne radi o peregrinu. Spomenik bi se najvjerojatnije mogao datirati u 3. stoljeće, kada bi Sapardacijev pravni status trebao biti poprilično jasan nakon 112. godine, odnosno *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Urne ovakvoga tipa u Saloni rela-

The only name that is an exception is *Sapardacius*, which here appears for the first time in Dalmatia, and thus far is known only in a single inscription from Rome.³⁷ The origin of the persons mentioned in the inscription is not known. It is possible that they were newcomers, but since both the mother and son had rather common names, they may have also been local in origin. Only Sapardacius was probably from elsewhere, but his origin is uncertain. It may be possible to link him to the name Spartacus, i.e., the forms *Σπαρδάκος* and *Σπαραρδόκος*, as this was proposed on the basis of vocal changes, particularly syncope, by Georges Seure.³⁸

The spouse of the deceased is only mentioned once by name, while her son's gentilicium and cognomen are. If Varius Maximinus was the son of Flavia Ingenua and Sapardacius, then it would be reasonable to expect that the father's full name was Varius Sapardacius, but this cannot be asserted with certainty. Given the limited surface for the text, it is possible that it was sufficient to only incise the gentilicium, and that the other was implied from the first. On the other hand, Varius Maximinus could have been Flavia's son from a first marriage, and Sapardacius may

38 Seure 1922, str. 313.

37 CIL VI 647.

38 Seure 1922, p. 313.

tivno su česte, no nije ih lako datirati uže unutar kasnog principata. Ipak, treba primijetiti da se među salonitanskim četvrtastim urnama slične izrade posebno ističu one koje spominju gladijatore. Oni su svi na urnama spomenuti jednim imenom, premda se nije isključivo radilo o robovima, već ima i oslobođenika³⁹ te možda i peregrina. Jednome je komemoratorica i ženska osoba navedena imenicom *coniux*, no kako i ona ima jedno ime, vjerojatno se radi o robovima. Datacija: Ne bi bilo naodmet pretpostaviti i mogućnost da je Sapardacije bio gladijator, čemu bi pak u prilog išla i onomastička povezanost ovog imena s imenom *Spartacus*, no to je teško potvrditi. S druge strane, valja podsjetiti i kako se tijekom 3. stoljeća, pogotovo u njegovoj 2. polovini, javlja tendencija bilježenja samo jednoga imena, odnosno izbacivanje gentilicija. Kako su se stanovnici Rimskoga Carstva uglavnom raspoznavali po kognomeni, s obzirom na vrlo rijedak i različit kognomen *Sapardacius*, moguće je da ova osoba nije ni trebala navoditi gentilicij te bi to mogao biti razlog što je navedena samo jednim imenom.

5. Nadgrobna ploča Flavije Tertule (sl. 5)

Inv. br. AMS 74258

Mjesto nalaza: Salona

Dimenzije: vis. 88 cm, duž. 89 cm, šir. 16 cm

Mjesto pronalaska ploče nije zabilježeno u inventarnoj knjizi, no prema tipu spomenika nema sumnje da je s područja Salone. Po izgledu spomenika čini se da se radi o nadgrobnome spomeniku uklesanome u neobrađenu kamenu ploču kojom je bio pokriven pokojničin grob. Ispod natpisa s desne strane uklesana je ascija kao simbol zaštite grobnoga mjesta. Spomenik nalikuje poklopnicama grobnih komora koje su u Saloni poznate pod nazivom *piscina*. Ovaj termin u latinskome jeziku izvorno označava bazen, a potom i krsni zdenac, no javlja se i u pogrebnome kontekstu. U salonitanskoj je epigrafiji ovaj termin dobro potvrđen upravo u potonjem kontekstu, i to na dvojak način: označava vrstu zidane grobne komore s grublje izrađenom, debljom poklopnicom (kakva je ova) ili posebno izrađenu grobnu ploču s kružnim udubljenjem s izljevom u koje su se ulijevale tekućine prilikom pogrebnog obreda. Kao grobnica javlja se od 3. stoljeća, dok se kao vrsta nadgrobne ploče u Saloni javlja tijekom ranokršćanskoga razdoblja.⁴⁰ To je zaključeno na temelju arheoloških dokaza, od kojih je jedan od najznačajnijih bio nalaz *in situ* zidane grobnice u istraživanjima salonitanske Zapadne nekropole koja je bila prekrivena grublje obrađenom kamenom pločom i natpisom⁴¹ koji

have been her second husband. Sapardacius was specified with the noun *maritus*, which would imply a legally concluded marriage, and I believe that the monument may be dated to the period after 212 AD and that it does not refer to a peregrine. The monument may most accurately be dated to the 3rd century, when the legal status of Sapardacius should have been rather clear after 212, i.e., in the wake of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. Urns of this type in Salona are relatively frequent, but they cannot be easily dated within the late Principate. Nevertheless, it should be noted that among the Salonitan rectangular urns of similar make, those which mention gladiators stand out in particular. They were all mentioned on urns by a single name, although they were not exclusively slaves, rather there were also freedmen³⁹ and possibly even peregrines. Once a commemorator and female person was cited with the noun *coniux*, but since she also had a single name, it was probably a case of slaves.

Dating: It would not be inconceivable to entertain the possibility that Sapardacius was a gladiator, which would in fact be supported by the onomastic link between his name and the name Spartacus, but this is difficult to confirm. On the other hand, it is worth recalling that during the 3rd century, and particularly in its latter half, an emerging tendency was to highlight only a single name, i.e., the abandonment of the gentilicium. Since the residents of the Roman Empire were generally known by their cognomina, and given the very rare and unusual cognomen Sapardacius, it is possible that this person did not need to specify a gentilicium and this may be the reason why only a single name was cited.

5. Grave plaque of Flavia Tertulla (Fig. 5)

Inv. no. AMS 74258

Find-site: Salona

Dimensions: ht. 88 cm, lng. 89 cm, wid. 16 cm; size of letters: 7-4 cm.

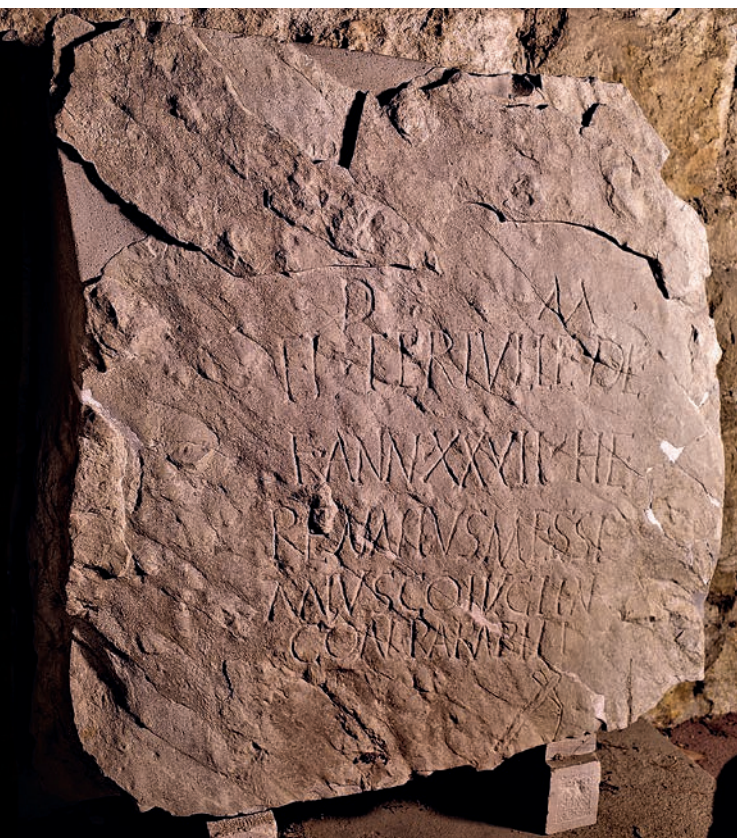
The find-site of the plaque is not recorded in the inventory log, but based on the monument type, there can be no doubt that it is from the territory of Salona. Based on the monument's appearance, it seems that this was a grave marker carved onto an undressed stone slab that covered the deceased woman's grave. An *ascia*, as the symbol of protection of a grave plot, was cut below the inscription to the right. The monument resembles the lids of grave chambers that were known in Salona under the name *piscina*. In Latin, this term originally denoted a basin or pool, and then a baptismal font, but it also appeared in the

39 CIL III 2127 (*collibertus*); (ILJug 2617 (*Thelonicus, pietate populi rude liberatus est*)).

40 Marin 1994, str. 50, s navedenom ranijom literaturom.

41 AE 1989, 603. *Aurelius Lupus sib/{b}i(!) et co(n)jugi suae / Iuliae*

39 CIL III 2127 (*collibertus*); (ILJug 2617 (*Thelonicus, pietate populi rude liberatus est*)).



Slika 5.

Figure 5.

je nedvojbeno dokazao da se ovakva grobna konstrukcija nazivala *piscina*.⁴²

Nadgrobni spomenik Flavije Tertule, kako je rečeno, prema načinu obrade podsjeća na nadgrobnu ploču Aurelija Lupa i Julije Maksime te, kako se čini, i danas izgublenu ploču Elije Licinije. Za nju je u CIL-u zabilježeno da se radi o natpisu koji je *rupi incisa*, odnosno “uklesan u stijenu”.⁴³ I ovaj natpis sadržava sintagmu *fecit piscinam*, kao i onaj pronađen prilikom istraživanja Zapadne nekropole.

Natpis Flavije Tertule uklesan je u šest redaka i glasi:

D(is) M(anibus)
Fl(aviae) Tertull(a)e de=
f(unctae) ann(os) XXVII He=
rennius Messi=
 5 *matus co(n)iugi in=*
co<n=M><r=P>arabili

Prijevod: *Bogovima Manima. Flaviji Tertuli koja je živjela 27 godina. Herenije Mesimat (postavio je) neusporedivoj supruzi.*

funerary context. This term has been widely confirmed in the latter context in Salonitan epigraphy, in a dual manner: it denoted the type of grave chamber with roughly crafted, thick lid. (as this one) or specially made grave slab with circular depression with a spout in which liquids were poured during burial rites. As a tomb it began to appear as of the 3rd century, while as a type of grave slab it appeared in Salona during the Early Christian period.⁴⁰ This was concluded on the basis of archaeological evidence, of which among the most important was an *in situ* find of a walled tomb during excavations of the Western Salonitan Necropolis. It was covered with a more coarsely worked stone slab and bore an inscription⁴¹ which unambiguously proved that such grave architecture was called a *piscina*.⁴²

In terms of its rendering, the grave plaque of Flavia Tertulla, as stated, recalls the grave plaque of Aurelius Lupus and Julia Maxima and, it would seem, the today lost plaque of Aelia Licinia. In the CIL, it is noted that this is an inscription that was *rupi incisa*, i.e., “cut into stone.”⁴³ This inscription also contains the phrase *fecit piscinam*, like the one found during excavations in the Western Necropolis. The inscription of Flavia Tertulla was cut into six lines and reads:

D(is) M(anibus)
Fl(aviae) Tertull(a)e de=
f(unctae) ann(os) XXVII He=
rennius Messi=
 5 *matus co(n)iugi in=*
co<n=M><r=P>arabili

Translation: *To the Spirits of the Departed. To Flavia Tertulla who lived for 27 years. Herennius Messimatus (placed it) to his incomparable spouse.*

The letters do not exhibit the best quality, as they are shallowly incised and their size is not uniform inside the lines. The form of the cognomen *Tertullae* is rendered as *Tertulle*, while the word *coniugi* is rendered as *coiugi*. Both of these words are Vulgar Latin forms. The word *incomparabili* was written due to the stonemason's error as *inconrarabili*, although it is unclear whether the fifth letter in this word is an M or N. Triangular separation marks were cut between the D and M in the first line, the L and T and E and D in the second line, the F and A, N and X and I and H in the third line. The text of the inscription provides basic

40 Marin 1994, p. 50, with the earlier sources cited therein.

41 AE 1989, 603. *Aurelius Lupus sib/ {b}i(!) et co(n)iugi suae / Iuliae Maxim(a)e / piscinam fecit.*

42 Kirigin et al. 1987, pp. 41-42.

43 CIL III 2279.

Maxim(a)e / piscinam fecit.

42 Kirigin et al. 1987, str. 41-42.

43 CIL III 2279.

Slova nisu najbolje kakvoće, plitko su klesana i veličinom neujednačena unutar redaka. Oblik kognomena *Tertullae* uklesan je kao *Tertulle*, a riječ *coniugi* uklesana je kao *coiugi*. Obje su riječi vulgarnolatinski oblici. Riječ *incomparabili* uklesana je klesarovom pogreškom kao *inconrarabili*, s time da nije najjasnije je li 5. slovo u ovoj riječi M ili N. Rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta uklesani su između D i M u 1. retku, L i T te E i D u 2. retku, F i A, N i X te I i H u 3. retku. Tekst natpisa donosi osnovne informacije: posvetu Manima, ime preminule osobe, godine života, ime postavljača natpisa i njegovu veza s pokojnikom. Gentilicij *Flavius* poznat je po čitavome Carstvu iznimno dobro, kao i kognomen *Tertulla*, koji je na dalmatinskim natpisima potvrđen više od 40 puta. Muževno ime s onomastičkog aspekta zanimljivije, budući da je kognomen *Messimatus hapax*, odnosno ovo je jedini natpis na kojem se ovo ime spominje. Njegov gentilicij *Herennius* dobro je potvrđen u Carstvu, a u Dalmaciji ga nose uglavnom italske obitelji.⁴⁴ Datacija: Nekoliko elemenata natpisa ovaj spomenik nedvojbeno datira u kasni principat, no vrsta spomenika dataciju bi mogla suziti na 3. stoljeće.

6. Nadgrobna ara Magije Sekundine (sl. 6)

Inv. br. AMS A-5354

Mjesto nalaza: Solin, ispod ceste za Klis.

Dimenzije: vis. 87 cm, šir. 59 cm, deb. 45 cm

Spomenik je pronađen ispod kliške ceste, no u inventarnim knjigama nema točne lokacije. Prema inventarnome broju to je moralo biti između 1925. i 1930. god. Nadgrobna je ara napravljena od vapnenca. Po čitavoj je površini hrapava, bez obzira radi li se o dijelu s natpisom ili s ukrasima. Ara je bogato dekorirana reljefnim ukasima te je primjetan *horror vacui* na okvirima natpisnoga polja i na bočnim stranicama are. Sa stražnje je strane neukrašena, dok na gornjoj stoji utor za instalaciju kruništa. S prednje je strane vidljiv natpis uokviren neprekinutim reljefom s prikazima bilja: u donjim kutovima nalaze se krateri iz kojih izlazi lišće i cvjetovi akanta, koji se u gornjem horizontalnom dijelu nastavljaju u vinovu lozu s grozdovima. U donjem horizontalnom dijelu, između kratera, reljef je poprilično oštećen, no također ima biljne motive. U donjem lijevom dijelu obrubne trake vidi se dvadesetak rupa napravljenih svrdlom. Bočne stranice are istovjetne su po tipu motiva: u sredini se nalazi reljef stabla s korijenjem i velikim listovima na kojima stoji ptica (grabljivica?) okrenuta prema stranici s natpisom (sl. 6a i 6b). Okvir koji je odvojen profilacijom i koji omeđuje stablo ima neprekinuti reljef biljnih motiva, od kojih prevladavaju vitice loze s lišćem i ponekim grozdom s gornje strane. Natpis je uklesan u pet redaka i glasi:

information: the dedication to the Manes-gods, the name of the deceased individual, her age, the name of the person who commissioned the inscription and his relationship to the deceased. The gentilicium *Flavius* was known quite well throughout the Empire, as was the cognomen *Tertulla*, which has been confirmed in Dalmatian inscriptions over forty times. The husband's name is more interesting from the onomastic standpoint, since the cognomen is *Messimatus hapax*, i.e., this is the sole inscription in which that name is mentioned. His gentilicium *Herennius* has been well confirmed in the Empire, and in Dalmatia it was largely borne by Italic families.⁴⁴

Dating: Several elements of the inscription unambiguously date this monument to the late Principate, but the type of monument may narrow the dating to the 3rd century.

6. Funerary altar of Magia Secundina (Fig. 6)

Inv. no. AMS A-5354

Find-site: Solin, below the road to Klis.

Dimensions: ht. 87 cm, wid. 59 cm, deb. 45 cm; size of letters: 5-4 cm.

The altar was found beneath the Klis road, but no precise location is specified in the inventory logs. Based on its inventory number, its discovery had to have occurred between 1925 and 1930. The grave altar is made of limestone. Its entire surface, both at the sections bearing the inscription and those with decorations, is rough. The altar is richly decorated with relief ornaments and there is a notable *horror vacui* on the frames of the inscription field and on the altar's lateral sides. The rear side is unadorned, while on the top there is a groove for the installation of the crowning element. There is a visible inscription on the front framed by an uninterrupted relief with depictions of plants: in the lower corners there are kraters with leaves and acanthus flowers emerging from them; these continue in the upper horizontal section, becoming a vine with grape bunches. In the lower horizontal section, between the kraters, there is a rather damaged relief, but it also contains plant motifs. On the lower left part of the relief frame there are about twenty small holes made with drill. The lateral sides are identical in terms of motif type: in the middle there is a tree in relief with large leaves on which a bird (of prey?) stands, turned toward the side bearing the inscription (Fig. 6a and 6b). The frame, which is separated by moulding and which borders the tree, has an unbroken relief of plant motifs, on which grape vines with leaves and the occasional grape bunch on the upper side predominate. The inscription is incised in five lines and reads:

44 Alföldy 1969, str. 89, s.v. *Herennius*.

44 Alföldy 1969, p. 89, s.v. *Herennius*.



Slika 6.

Figure 6.

C(aius) Campilius
Semproninus
Magiae
Secundinae
 5 *uxori*

Prijevod: *Gaj Kampilije Sempronin supruzi Magiji Sekundini.*

Natpis je vrlo jednostavan u informacijskome smislu, budući da iz njega saznajemo samo tko je kome podigao nadgrobni spomenik i u kakvom su međusobnom odnosu bili ovo dvoje ljudi. Slova natpisa pravilnog su oblika, a visina im varira ovisno o retku u kojem su uklesani. Najveća su slova u 1. i 5. retku, dok su najmanja u 4. retku. U ligaturi su slova *P i I* te *L i I* (1. r.), *M i P* te *N i I* (2. r.). Krajnja slova prvih dvaju redaka (oba *S*) uklesana su izvan natpisnog polja, odnosno na kimatiju profilacije.

Natpis donosi nove onomastičke spoznaje za gentilicij *Campilius* i kognomen *Semproninus* u Dalmaciji. Gentilicij *Campilius* dosad je poznat samo s jednog pečata na kera-

C(aius) Campilius
Semproninus
Magiae
Secundinae
 5 *uxori*

Translation: *Gaius Campilius Semproninus to his spouse Magia Secundina.*

The inscription is very simple in terms of information, since from it we only learn who raised the grave marker for whom and the relationship between these two people. The letters have a regular form, and their height varies depending on the line in which they were cut. The largest letters are in the first and fifth lines, while the smallest are in the fourth line. The letters *P* and *I* and *L* and *I* (1st l.), *M* and *P* and *N* and *I* (2nd l.) are rendered in ligature. The last letters of the first two lines (both *S*) were cut outside of the inscription field, i.e., in the moulding cymatium.

The inscription provides new onomastic insights into the gentilicium *Campilius* and the cognomen *Semproninus* in Dalmatia. The gentilicium *Campilius* had thus far been known only on a single stamp on ceramic in Dalmatia,⁴⁵ but since this was a commercial product that has been confirmed in several provinces, this stamp could not be taken as a confirmation of someone with that name in Dalmatia. So this epigraphic confirmation is the first evidence of the presence of this gentilicium in Dalmatia. On the other hand, the cognomen *Semproninus* is only the second testimony to this name in the Empire.⁴⁶ The gentilicium *Magius/a* is Italic in origin, and in Dalmatia it was borne by Italic people, particularly in Liburnia.⁴⁷ In Dalmatia this name is known from roughly a dozen inscriptions.

The decorations on the fields of the lateral sides have no identical counterparts in the funerary art of Dalmatia, although there are several altars with tree ornament depicted on the lateral sides.⁴⁸

Dating: The intensive production of grave altars in Dalmatia may generally be dated from the mid-1st to mid-2nd century,⁴⁹ but this altar, based on the rendering and the absence of the *D(is) M(anibus)* formula, may be dated to the first half of the 2nd century.

45 CIL III 14034² (Nin).

46 The same cognomen can be found on an inscription from Hispania, CIL II 5771 (Palencia).

47 Alföldy 1969, p. 96, s. v. *Magius*.

48 On funerary altars in Salona with tree ornament, see Maršić 2021.

49 Cambi 2013, p. 25.



Slika 6a.

Figure 6a.



Slika 6b.

Figure 6b.

mici u Dalmaciji⁴⁵, no budući da se radi o komercijalnome proizvodu koji je potvrđen u više provincija, taj se pečat ne može uzeti kao potvrda stvarnog nositelja ovoga imena u Dalmaciji. Stoga je ova epigrafska potvrda prvi konkretan dokaz o prisutnosti ovoga gentilicija u Dalmaciji. S druge strane, kognomen *Sempronius* tek je drugo svjedočanstvo za ovo ime u Carstvu.⁴⁶ Gentilicij *Magius/a* italiskog je podrijetla, a u Dalmaciji ga nose Italici, posebice u Liburniji.⁴⁷ U Dalmaciji ovo je ime poznato s nešto više od desetak natpisa.

Ukrasi u poljima bočnih strana ne nemaju identičnog pandana u nadgrobnoj umjetnosti Dalmacije, no što se tiče okvira ukrašenih motivima drveća, postoji nekoliko ara na kojima je s bočnih strana vidljiv takav ornament.⁴⁸

Datacija: Intenzivna izrada nadgrobnih ara u Dalmaciji op-

7. **Urn of Valeria Tyche** (Fig. 7)

Inv. no. AMS 74244

Find-site: Salona (?)

Dimensions: ht. 31 cm, pr. 34.5 cm; size of letters: 3.5-2.5 cm.

The urn's find-site was not recorded in the inventory log, but it is most likely from the area of Salona. The urn is cylindrical and missing its lid. The surface is not polished and it has sustained some damage, but the inscription can be clearly discerned. The text of the inscription was cut into a field bordered by a simple square. The restoration of the inscription reads:

Val(eriae) T{h}yc(h)e (!)

Aur(elius) Verna

coniugi in=

compara[b]ili

5 *b(ene) m(erenti)*

Translation: *To Valeria Tyche. Aurelius Verna to his incomparable (and) deserving spouse.*

The letters of the inscription are generally regular and of uniform size in each line. It is possible that the formula to

45 CIL III 14034² (Nin).

46 Isti se kognomen nalazi na jednome natpisu iz Hispanije, CIL II 5771 (Palencia).

47 Alföldy 1969, str. 96, s. v. *Magius*.

48 O salonitanskim arama s motivima drveća v. članak Dražena Maršića (Maršić 2021).

ćenito se datira od sredine 1. do sredine 2. stoljeća⁴⁹, a ova bi se ara na temelju izrade i izostanka formule *D(is) M(ani)-bus* mogla datirati u prvu polovinu 2. stoljeća.

7. Urna Valerije Tihe (sl. 7)

Inv. br. AMS 74244

Mjesto nalaza: Salona (?)

Dimenzije: vis. 31 cm, pr. 34,5 cm

Mjesto pronalaska urne nije zabilježeno u inventarnoj knjizi, no najvjerojatnije je s područja Salone. Urna je cilindrična i nedostaje joj poklopac. Površina spomenika nije uglučana i pretrpjela je poneka oštećenja, no natpis se jasno razaznaje. Tekst natpisa uklesan je unutar polja omeđenog jednostavnim kvadratom. Restitucija natpisa glasi:

Val(eriae) T{h}yc(h)e (!)

Aur(elius) Verna

coniugi in=

compara[b]ili

5 *b(ene) m(erenti)*

Prijevod: *Valeriji Tihi. Aurelije Verna, neusporedivoj (i) zaslužnoj supruzi.*

Slova natpisa uglavnom su pravilna i ujednačene veličine u svakom retku. Moguće je da je na poklopcu bila uklesana formula posvete bogovima Manima. Rastavni znakovi vidljivi su između slova *L* i *T* u 1. retku, *R* i *V* u 2. retku te *B* i *M* u 5. retku. Pokojničn je gentilicij uklesan u pokraćenome obliku, no to ne čudi, budući da je *Valerius* najčešće necarsko gentilno ime. S druge strane, njezin je kognomen pogrešno uklesan kao *Thyce* umjesto *Tychae*.⁵⁰ Kako se radi o imenu grčkoga podrijetla, moguće je da je Tiha bila nekadašnja ropkinja ili dijete oslobođenika. U Dalmaciji ovaj je kognomen potvrđen dvadesetak puta i uglavnom se vezuje uz servilnu i oslobođeničku populaciju. Njezin suprug nosi najrasprostranjeniji latinski gentilicij *Aurelius*, a kognomen *Verna* upućuje na njegovo nekadašnje ropsko podrijetlo.⁵¹ Naime, riječ *verna* označava roba rođenog unutar nekog kućanstva te je moguće da je dobio kognomen upravo po takvome podrijetlu. Kognomen *Verna* poznat je posvuda u Carstvu te se povezuje s ropskim i oslobođeničkim podrijetlom.⁵² U Dalmaciji nije osobito čest, a najbolje je potvrđen u Saloni.⁵³



Slika 7.

Figure 7.

the Manes-gods was cut onto the lid. Separation marks are visible between the letters *L* and *T* in the first line, *R* and *V* in the second line and *B* and *M* in the fifth line. The deceased woman's gentilicium was rendered in abbreviated form, which comes as no surprise, since *Valerius* was most often a non-imperial name. On the other hand, her cognomen was mistakenly rendered as *Thyce* instead of *Tychae*.⁵⁰ Since this is a name of Greek origin, it is possible that *Tyche* was formerly a slave or child of a freedman. In Dalmatia, this cognomen has been confirmed ten times and is generally linked to the servile and freed population. Her spouse bore the most widespread Latin gentilicium, *Aurelius*, while his cognomen *Verna* points to his status as a former slave.⁵¹ This is because the word *verna* denoted a slave born within a household, and it is possible that he acquired the cognomen precisely on the basis of such an origin. The cognomen *Verna* was known throughout the Empire and is associated with slaves and freedmen.⁵² In Dalmatia it was not particularly common, and most confirmations have been recorded in Salona.⁵³

Dating: Based on onomastics, appearance of the letters

49 Cambi 2013, str. 25.

50 Ista vrsta klesarske pogreške vidljiva je na spomeniku iz Žrnovnice (AE 2006, 1016), na kojem je ovo ime zabilježeno kao *Thycini*.

51 U Rimu je potvrđen *L. Aurelius Verna*, vjerojatno također nekadašnji rob (CIL VI 17029).

52 Alföldy 1969, str. 324, s. v. *Verna*.

53 CIL III 2246; CIL III 9307; CIL III 14821¹; ILJug 2193.

50 The same type of stonemason's error is visible on a monument from Žrnovnica (AE 2006, 1016), on which this name was rendered as *Thycini*.

51 *L. Aurelius Verna*, probably also a former slave, was confirmed in Rome (CIL VI 17029).

52 Alföldy 1969, p. 324, s. v. *Verna*.

53 CIL III 2246; CIL III 9307; CIL III 14821¹; ILJug 2193.

Datacija: Spomenik bi se prema onomastici, izgledu slova i izrazima trebao datirati u kasni principat, i to najvjerojatnije u 3. st.

8. Nadgrobni spomenik Teraja, vojnika III. kohorte Alpinaca (sl. 8)

Inv. br. AMS 74251

Mjesto nalaza: Salona (?)

Dimenzije: vis. 40cm, duž. 49,5 cm, šir. 10,5 cm

Mjesto pronalaska ploče nije zabilježeno u inventarnoj knjizi, no najvjerojatnije je s područja Salone. Čini se da je spomenik izvorno bio većih dimenzija, i da je otklesan sa svih strana. Moguće je da se radi o dijelu stele, no u obzir dolaze i drugačije interpretacije. Površina kamena je neravna i ne čini se klesarski finije obrađena, kako je to inače slučaj sa stelama ili arama. Na površini se vide ostatci četiriju redaka natpisa, koji glasi:

Teraio Gai(i) (filio) mil(iti) coh(ortis)
III Alp(inorum) Maximus
Victoris
h(eres) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

Prijevod: Teraju, Gajevu sinu, vojniku Treće kohorte Alpinaca, Maksim, Viktorov sin, nasljednik, postavio je zaslužnome.

Slova natpisa klesana su ujednačeno, premda nisu iznimne kakvoće. Slovo O u kratici COH uklesano je unutar slova C, što i nije neobično klesarsko rješenje. Površina natpisnoga polja oštećena je između posljednja dva vidljiva retka, no nije sigurno je li ovaj prostor sadržavao kakav tekst. Imenski obrazac kod obje spomenute osobe svodi se na jedno ime s patronimikom, što je uobičajeno za peregrine. Teraj je sigurno bio vojnik, dok se za Maksima to može pretpostaviti. Maksim je imenovan nasljednikom, a kod vojničkih spomenika nasljednici su često vojnici iz iste jedinice.⁵⁴ Teraj, Gajev sin, bio je vojnik kohorte III *Alpinorum*. Kako joj ime govori, izvorni sastav ove jedinice sačinjavali su peregrini s područja Alpa, odnosno triju alpskih provincija (*Alpes Marittimae*, *Poeninae* i *Cottiae*), a u Dalmaciji, odnosno Ilirik, najvjerojatnije je došla s brojnim ostalim jedinicama koje su sudjelovale u gušenju Velikog (tzv. Batonovog) ustanka od 6. do 9. godine. Ova je vojna jedinica, uz kohortu VIII *Voluntariorum (civium Romanorum)* i kohortu I *Belgarum* najdulje boravila u Dalmaciji, a prema epigrafskim se dokazima njezin boravak u Dalmaciji može datirati od prve polovine 1. stoljeća do početka 3. stoljeća. Moguće da je posljednji datirani natpis sa spomenom ove kohorte onaj pronađen na

and expressions, the urn should be dated to the late Principate, probably in the 3rd century.

8. Gravestone of Teraius, a soldier of Cohors III Alpinorum (Fig. 8)

Inv. no. AMS 74251

Find-site: Salona (?)

Dimensions: ht. 40cm, lng. 49.5 cm, wid. 10.5 cm.

The find-site of the slab was not recorded in the inventory log, but it is probably from the area of Salona. It would appear that the monument originally had larger dimensions, and that it had been chiselled down on all sides. It may have been part of a stele, but different interpretations may also be considered. The surface of the stone is uneven and it would appear the stonework is not of the finest quality, which is otherwise the case with stelae or altars. The remains of four lines of inscription are visible on the surface, reading:

Teraio Gai(i) (filio) mil(iti) coh(ortis)
III Alp(inorum) Maximus
Victoris
h(eres) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

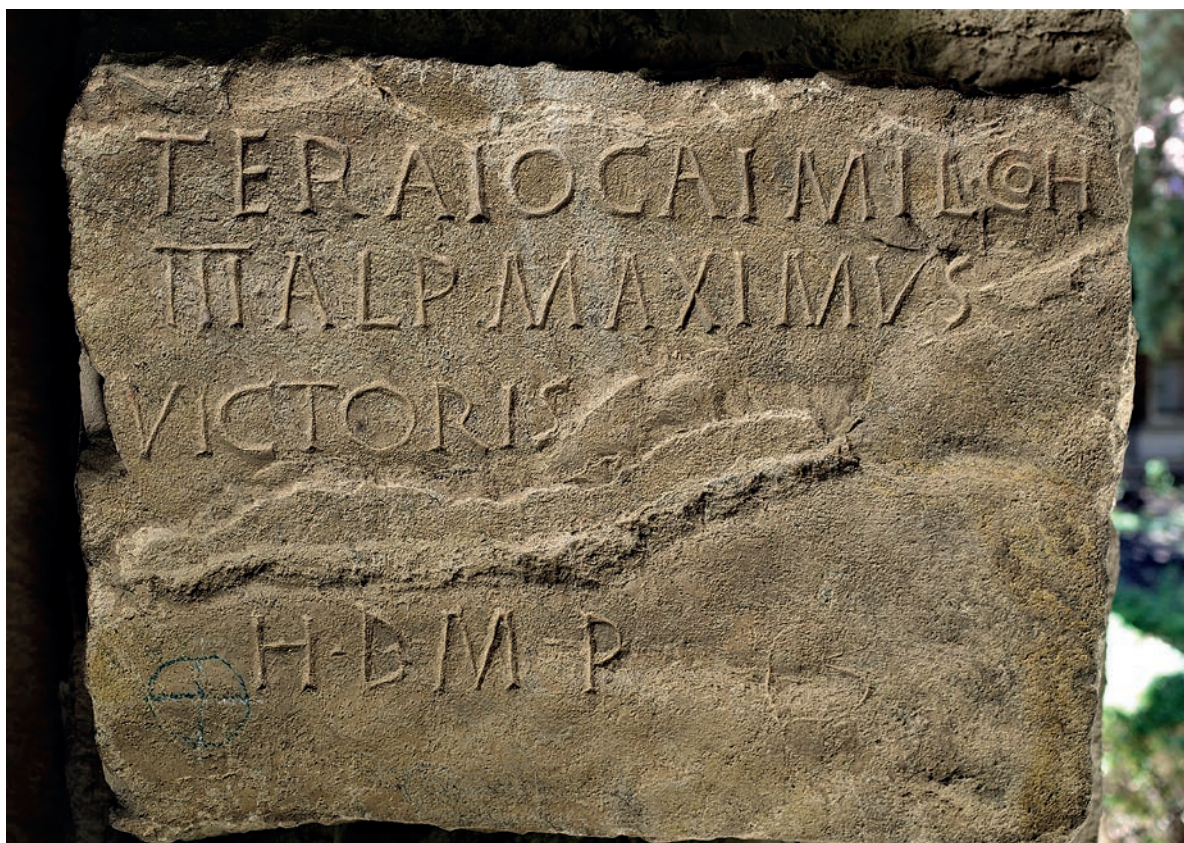
Translation: Placed for the well-deserving Teraius, son of Gaius, soldier of *Cohors III Alpinorum*, by Maximus, Victor's son, his heir.

The letters in the inscription were cut uniformly, although without exceptional quality. The letter O in the abbreviation COH was cut inside the letter C, which was not an unusual stonemason's solution. The surface of the inscription field is damaged between the final two visible lines, but it is uncertain as to whether this space contained any text. The name formula for both persons mentioned therein is limited to a single name with a patronymic, which was customary for peregrines. Teraius was certainly a soldier, while this may be assumed of Maximus. Maximus was named his heir, and on military monuments heirs were often soldiers from the same unit.⁵⁴

Teraius, son of Gaius, was a soldier in *cohort III Alpinorum*. As the name suggests, originally this unit consisted of peregrines from the territory of the Alps, i.e., the three Alpine provinces (*Alpes Marittimae*, *Poeninae* and *Cottiae*), and it most likely came to Dalmatia, or rather Illyricum, together with numerous other units that participated in quelling the Pannonian-Dalmatian Uprising (the so-called Batonian War) from 6 to 9 AD. This military unit, along with *cohort VIII Voluntariorum (civium Romanorum)* and *cohort I Belgar-*

54 O nasljednicima kod vojnika v. Varon 1997.

54 On heirs among soldiers, see Varon 1997.



Slika 8.

Figure 8.

otoku Braču, što se pretpostavlja na osnovi činjenice da na njemu ova jedinica nosi ime *cohors III Alpinorum Antoniniana*.⁵⁵ Ovaj je počasni naslov dobila u vrijeme cara Karakale (211. - 217.), isto kao i kohorta *VIII Voluntariorum*.⁵⁶ Čini se da ova kohorta nije imala trajni smještaj na jednome mjestu već da je boravila u nekoliko zasad poznatih i pretpostavljenih vojnih logora. Prema dosadašnjim pretpostavkama čini se da je u početku bila smještena u zaleđu Narone (možda na današnjem lokalitetu Humac), a potom u zaleđu Salone (vjerojatno Andetriji) te možda dalje na sjeverozapad, u jednome od mogućih logora pomoćnih postrojbi u blizini legijskog logora *Burnum*.⁵⁷

Poznato je tridesetak natpisa sa spomenom ove kohorte u Dalmaciji, a njezini su spomenici ujedno i najzastupljeniji u ovoj provinciji. Poznata je pod imenom *III Alpinorum* i *III Alpina*, a osim na kamenim spomenicima ova je vojna jedinica posvjedočena i na pečatima na opekama i na jednoj vojničkoj diplomi izdanoj 94. godine. Treća kohorta Alpinaca bila je mješovita, odnosno sastavljena od pješaka i konjanika.

um stayed in Dalmatia the longest, and based on epigraphic evidence its stay in Dalmatia may be dated from the first half of the 1st century to the beginning of the 3rd century. It is possible that the last dated inscription that mentions this cohort is the one found on the island of Brač, which is assumed on the basis of the fact that on it this unit bears the name *cohors III Alpinorum Antoniniana*.⁵⁵ It acquired this honorary title during the reign of Emperor Caracalla (211-217), just like *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*.⁵⁶ It would seem that this cohort was not permanently stationed at a single location, rather it stayed at several thus far known and assumed military forts. Based on previous hypotheses, it was apparently initially posted in the hinterland of Narona (perhaps at today's site of Humac), then in the hinterland of Salona (probably Andetrium) and perhaps farther to the north-west, in one of the possible forts for auxiliary units near the legionary fortress of *Burnum*.⁵⁷

There are thirty known inscriptions that mention this cohort in Dalmatia, and its monuments are also the most

55 AE 1979, 448 (Škrip).

56 CIL III 9732; 13187 (*Tilurium*).

57 O ovoj je kohorti u kontekstu pojedinačnih lokaliteta pisano u novije vrijeme, v. Marić 2017. i Cesarik, Drahotusky-Bruketa 2020.

55 AE 1979, 448 (Škrip).

56 CIL III 9732; 13187 (*Tilurium*).

57 Recent papers have been written about this cohort in the context of individual sites, see Marić 2017 and Cesarik, Drahotusky-Bruketa 2020.

Po broju osoba na spomenicima ove postrojbe prednjače obični vojnici i konjanici, no ima i viših časnika i prefekata. Prema onomastičkoj shemi jasno je da su u njoj služili ne samo peregrini nego i osobe koje su imale troimenski obrazac. Pritom se ne misli samo na to da su kao obični vojnici i niži časnici potvrđeni isključivo peregrini, dok su zapovjednička mjesta imali građani, što je inače standardna podjela pomoćne vojne jedinice. Naime, i među običnim vojnicima u ovoj kohorti nailazimo na osobe čija onomastička shema sugerira da se radi o rimskim građanima. Moguće je stoga da su, kao i kod još nekih pomoćnih jedinica u Dalmaciji, u III. kohorti Alpinaca peregrini činili većinu vojnog sastava na početku njezina oformljivanja, dok su s vremenom kao obični vojnici u njoj počeli služiti i rimski građani. Ovo je dvanaesti spomenik Treće kohorte Alpinaca pronađen na širem salonitanskom području, koje uključuje Klis i otok Brač. Uz ovdje spomenutog vojnika na ovim su natpisima zabilježeni aktivni vojnici i veterani, a među potonje ubrajaju se jedan centurion⁵⁸, jedan konjanički dekurion⁵⁹, tri konjanika (od kojih jedan u uredu namjesnika provincije)⁶⁰, četiri obična vojnika (dva u uredu namjesnika provincije od kojih je jedan tesararij).⁶¹ Jedan natpis spominje samo ime ove kohorte te se ne može ustanoviti tko je na njoj bio spomenut.⁶² Poznata su dva veterana, jedan na steli,⁶³ drugi na vojnoj diplomu.⁶⁴

Ime *Teraius* dosad nije poznato među latinskim natpisima te predstavlja onomastički hapaks. Ime njegova oca zabilježeno je kao *Gai*, te se ne mora nužno odnositi na ime koje se inače bilježi kao *Caius*. S obzirom da se radi o peregrinu, moguće je da je unutar peregrinske onomastike ime *Gaius* bilo uobičajeno te da nema izravne veze s rimskim imenom *Caius*.⁶⁵

common in the province. It was known under the name III *Alpinorum* and III *Alpina*, and besides stone monuments this military unit has also been recorded in stamps on bricks and in a military diploma issued in 94 AD. The third cohort of Alpini was equitata, i.e., it consisted of both infantry and cavalry. Based on the number of persons cited on this unit's monuments, common soldiers and cavalry predominated, but there were also high-ranking officers and commanders (*praefecti*). According to the onomastic schemes, it is clear that not only peregrines but also persons who had the *tria nomina* formula served in it. Here it is not implied that only peregrines were confirmed as common soldiers and lower-ranking officers, while the command posts were held by citizens, which was otherwise the standard division among auxiliary military units. Namely, even among the common troops in this cohort we come across person whose onomastic characteristics suggest that they were Roman citizens. It is therefore possible that – like certain other auxiliary units in Dalmatia – peregrines constituted the bulk of the military personnel in *cohors III Alpinorum* at the beginnings of its formation, while over time Roman citizens also served in its ranks as ordinary soldiers.

This is the twelfth monument of the Third Alpine Cohort found in the wider Salonitan territory, which includes Klis and the island of Brač. Besides the soldier mentioned herein, these inscriptions also record active soldiers and veterans, and the latter include a centurion,⁵⁸ a cavalry decurion,⁵⁹ three cavalrymen (of which one was posted to the provincial governor's staff),⁶⁰ four common soldiers (two in the provincial governor's staff, of which one was a *tessararius*).⁶¹ One inscription only mentions the name of this cohort but who is mentioned in it cannot be ascertained.⁶² Two veterans are known, one from a stele,⁶³ the other from a military diploma.⁶⁴

The name *Teraius* is thus far unknown among Latin inscriptions and it is an onomastic *hapax*. His father's name was recorded as *Gai*, and this need not refer to the name otherwise recorded as *Caius*. Since he was a peregrine, it is possible that within peregrine onomastics the name *Gaius* was customary and that it did not have a direct connection to the Roman name *Caius*.⁶⁵ Maximus, the heir

58 AE 1979, 448 (Škrip).

59 CIL III 8739.

60 CIL III 2012; 2058; 8725.

61 CIL III 12905; 14698; ILJug 681.

62 ILJug 2568,4688.

63 CIL III 2003 (Klis).

64 CIL XVI 38 (Salona).

65 Kao npr. *Volsingus Gai f(i)lius*, *Dardanus* (RMD 01, 55, *Iconium*); *Gaius Celti f(i)lius* (CILCaceres 03, 999, Navaconcejo); na vojnoj diplomu CIL XVI 38 izdanoj 94. god. ime *Gaius* je kao jedino ime nosilo dijete Veneta, Platorova sina iz zajednice Daversa i Madene, Plarentove kćeri iz zajednice Deramista (Deremista). Dijete je očigledno bilo rođeno prije izdavanja dokumenta kojim se potvrđuje dobivanje rimskoga građanskog prava za čitavu ovu obitelj. Da se radilo o rimskome imenu, nema sumnje da bi na ovakvoj vrsti dokumenta ovo ime bilo urezano kao *Caius*. Isto je ime zabilježeno i na vojnoj diplomu RMD 04, 235 (*incert.*). Iz brojnih se natpisa diljem Carstva vidi da je ime *Gaius* bilo kognomen, što je posebno uočljivo u kombinaciji s carskim gentilicijima. To ukazuje na činjenicu da je ovim osobama prije dodjele civiteta jedino peregrinsko ili ropsko ime bilo *Gaius*. Pretpostaviti je da se kod dijela ovih imena radi o imenu *Caius*, koje se zbog izgovora kao *Gaius* bilježilo na ovaj način. Inače, nije neobično da neka od latinskih predimena prijeđu u kognomen, kao npr. *Marcus*.

58 AE 1979, 448 (Škrip).

59 CIL III 8739 (Salona).

60 CIL III 2012; 2058; 8725.

61 CIL III 12905; 14698; ILJug 681.

62 ILJug 2568,4688.

63 CIL III 2003 (Klis).

64 CIL XVI 38 (Salona).

65 Like, e.g., *Volsingus Gai f(i)lius*, *Dardanus* (RMD 01, 55, *Iconium*); *Gaius Celti f(i)lius* (CILCaceres 03, 999, Navaconcejo); in military diploma CIL XVI 38 issued in 94 AD, the name *Gaius* was the single name borne by the child of Venetus, Plator's son from the Daversi per-

Terajev nasljednik (*heres*) Maksim ima tipično latinsko ime iskazano u peregrinskoj onomastičkoj formuli, pri čemu doznajemo da mu se otac zvao Viktor, što je također tipično latinsko ime. Moguće je da se radi o latinskim prevedenicama nerimskih imena.⁶⁶ O podrijetlu ove osobe ne može se ništa sa sigurnošću reći, a vojnici III. kohorte Alpinaca na čijim je spomenicima naveden domicil bili su podrijetlom iz alpskih provincija⁶⁷, sjeverne Italije⁶⁸, Galije⁶⁹, Norika⁷⁰, Pannonije⁷¹ i Dalmacije.⁷² Podrijetlo pripadnika ove kohorte zastupljeno je najviše na ranijim spomenicima, posebice onima koji su pronađeni na Humcu i u njegovoj okolici, odnosno na mjestu gdje se vrlo vjerojatno nalazio najraniji logor ove postrojbe u Dalmaciji.⁷³ To korespondira s epigrafskom praksom u Carstvu, budući da je tijekom 1. stoljeća podatak o podrijetlu vojnika gotovo neizostavan na natpisima. Dvojica vojnika spomenuta na steli u Saloni imaju imena tipična za autohtono pučanstvo Dalmacije (*Epicadus* (?) i *Plares*)⁷⁴ te je jasno da su se nakon nekog vremena pripadnici ove kohorte počeli i lokalno regrutirati. Kao sigurno potvrđenu imamo 69. godinu, kada je u III. kohortu Alpinaca bio regrutiran Venet, Ditov sin, pripadnik zajednice Daversa, odnosno Daorsa, za kojeg znamo iz već spomenute salonitanske diplome da je bio otpušten 94. godine.

Datacija: Kako je rečeno, čini se da je spomenik naknadno obrađivan te je vjerojatno bio iskorišten kao spolij. U tom bi se slučaju moglo pretpostaviti da je otklesan gornji dio spomenika mogao imati uklesanu posvetu Manima, no ne nužno. Na kasniju dataciju ponajviše upućuje kratica *b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*, koja je uglavnom prisutna na natpisima iz vremena kasnog principata. Sam se izraz *bene merenti posuit* u Dalmaciji javlja već od sredine 1. stoljeća,⁷⁵ no u pokraćenom je obliku daleko učestalije prisutan u kasnom principatu. S obzirom na sve navedeno, ovaj bi se spomenik prema korištenim formulama i onomastici mogao datirati najvjerojatnije u 2. stoljeće.

(*heres*) of Teraius, has a typical Latin name expressed in the peregrine onomastic formula, wherein we learn that his father's name was Victor, which was also a typical Latin name. It is possible that these were Latin translations of non-Roman names.⁶⁶ Nothing can be said of the origin of this person with any certainty, and the members of *cohors III Alpinorum* on whose monuments their domicile is specified were originally from the Alpine provinces,⁶⁷ northern Italy,⁶⁸ Gallia,⁶⁹ Noricum,⁷⁰ Pannonia⁷¹ and Dalmatia.⁷² The origins of the members of this cohort are mostly present on the earlier monuments, particularly those found at Humac and its vicinity, i.e., the place where this unit's earliest fort in Dalmatia was probably located.⁷³ This corresponds to epigraphic practices in the Empire, as during the 1st century data on the origin of soldiers was almost always inescapable in inscriptions. The two soldiers mentioned on the stele in Salona had names typical of the indigenous population of Dalmatia (*Epicadus* (?) and *Plares*)⁷⁴ and it is clear that after a certain time the members of this cohort began to be recruited locally. We have 69 AD registered as a certain year when Venetus, son of Ditus, was recruited to *cohors III Alpinorum*; he was a member of the Daversi (or Daorsi) peregrine community, and he was already known thanks to the aforementioned Salonitan diploma, which

egrine community and Madena, the daughter of Plare(n)s from the Deramistae (Deraemistae) peregrine community. The child was obviously born prior to the issuing of the document that confirms the acquisition of Roman citizenship for the entire family. If it had been a Roman name, there is no doubt that on this type of document the name would have been rendered as *Caius*. The same name was also recorded on the military diploma RMD 04, 235 (*incert.*). Based on numerous inscriptions throughout the Empire, it is apparent that the name *Gaius* was a cognomen, which is particularly notable in combination with imperial gentilicia. This underscores the fact that prior to acquiring citizenship, the single peregrine or slave name of these individuals was *Gaius*. It may be assumed that some of these names were in fact *Caius*, which due to its pronunciation as *Gaius* was recorded in this manner. Otherwise, it was not unusual for certain Latin praenomina to become cognomina, such as, e.g., *Marcus*.

66 See the discussion herein on the names under cat. no. 2 and the citation of Rendić-Miočević 1964.

66 V. ovdje raspravu o imenima kod Kat. br. 2. i uputu na Rendić-Miočević 1964.

67 CIL III 6366 (*Caturix*); 14632 (*Claudia Salinae*); ILJug 1922 (*domo Vellauna*); moguće i AE 1983, 650 na kojem se spominje pripadnik ove kohorte, a koji je komemoriran u provinciji Primorske Alpe (*Navelis, Alpes Marittimae*).

68 ILJug 115 (*Humac*). Pokojnikov domicil iskazan je kao *domo Eguius*, što se može locirati u dio sjeverne Italije, gdje su živjeli galski narodi.

69 CIL III 9907 (*Burnum*). Vojnik se identificira kao *Bodionticus*.

70 CIL III 2746 (*domo Celeiae*); 14935 (*domo Noricus*).

71 ILJug 116. Vojnik je bio pripadnik zajednice Varcijana, koji se smatraju Keltima.

72 CIL XVI 38 (*Salona*). Vojnik je bio Davers (Daors).

73 Više o podrijetlu pojedinaca dokumentiranih u logoru na Humcu v. Marić 2017.

74 ILJug 681.

75 ILJug 2221 (*Salona*); AE 2016, 1205 (Bijaći).

67 CIL III 6366 (*Caturix*); 14632 (*Claudia Salinae*); ILJug 1922 (*domo Vellauna*); possibly also AE 1983, 650 in which a member of this cohort is mentioned, and who is commemorated in Maritime Alps province (*Navelis, Alpes Marittimae*).

68 ILJug 115 (*Humac*). The domicile of the deceased was expressed as *domo Eguius*, which may be located in part of northern Italy, where Gaulish peoples lived.

69 CIL III 9907 (*Burnum*). The soldier is identified as *Bodionticus*.

70 CIL III 2746 (*domo Celeiae*); 14935 (*domo Noricus*).

71 ILJug 116. The soldier was a member of the Varciani tribe, who were considered Celts.

72 CIL XVI 38 (*Salona*). The soldier was a Daversus.

73 For more on the origin of the individuals documented in the fort at Humac, see Marić 2017.

74 ILJug 681.

9. Agatonova nadgrobna ploča (sl. 9)

Inv. br. AMS A-5222

Mjesto nalaza: Solin

Dimenzije: vis. 55,5 cm, duž. 65 cm, šir. 14 cm

Spomenik je za Muzej nabavljen 1925. godine, a pronađen je u Solinu na katastarskoj čestici 3813.⁷⁶ Sačuvana je desna strana pravokutne nadgrobne ploče, odnosno titula. Radi se o spomeniku koji je bio ugrađen u nadgrobnu arhitekturu. Natpisno je polje uokvireno širokom profilacijom, a njegova je površina dosta brižno uglačana za klesanje natpisa. Vidljivi su ostatci natpisa u pet redaka:

[----]s Agatho

[IIIIIIvir Aug(ustalis?) v(ivus)] f(ecit) sibi et [---]

[----]dicae uxori

[in fr(onte) p(edes) -- i]n ag(ro) p(edes) XXV

5 [lib(ertis) lib(ertabusque)] suis

Prijevod: [---] Agaton, za života je postavio sebi i supruzi [----]. U dužinu [---] stopa, u širinu 25 stopa. I svojim oslobođenicima i oslobođenicama.

Slova natpisa pravilna su i vrlo kvalitetno isklesana, s izuzetkom posljednjega retka. Ligatura je u kod slova *T* i *H* (1. r.), a svaka je riječ odvojena interpunkcijskim znakovima u obliku trokuta. U drugome retku dio teksta namjerno je otklesan, a smatram da se radi o prepravljaju natpisa te pretpostavljam da je klesar ono što je započeo u drugome retku prebacio u treći redak. Do ove je intervencije vjerojatno došlo jer je uvidio da će morati prekidati riječ i nastavljati je u idući redak. Ime muške osobe uklesano je razvidno većim slovima od ostatka natpisa. Njegovo je ime bilo navedeno u nominativu, na što upućuje slovo *S*, koje je preostalo od gentilicija. U posljednjem se retku vidi uklesana riječ *suis*, koja je zbijena i neravno uklesana između četvrtoga retka i profilacije. Očito je da se odnosila na pravo ukopa na istu grobnu parcelu koje je još netko ostvario. Ovaj je redak restituiran kao *lib(ertis) lib(ertabusque) suis*, odnosno „i svojim oslobođenicima i oslobođenicama“, a u obzir dolaze i potomci ovoga bračnoga para (*posterisque suis*). Naime, pretpostavljam da bi potomci trebali imati vlastite nadgrobne spomenike sa svojim novoosnovanim obiteljima, dok su oslobođenici vezani za nekadašnje gospodare u svojstvu proširene obitelji.

Vrlo vjerojatno nedostaje čitava lijeva polovica spomenika, na kojoj je barem u prvome retku trebalo biti mjesta za

testifies that he had been discharged in 94 AD.

Dating: As stated, it would appear that the monument was subsequently worked and was probably in secondary use. In this case, one may suppose that the removed upper section of the monument may have contained the dedication to the *dii Manes*, but not necessarily. A later dating is mostly indicated by the abbreviation *b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*, which was generally present in inscriptions from the late Principate. The actual expression *bene merenti posuit* had already appeared in Dalmatia as of the mid-1st century,⁷⁵ but in abbreviated form it was far more frequent in the late Principate. Given all of the aforementioned points, based on the formulas used therein and its onomastics, this monument may most likely be dated to the 2nd century.

9. Agatho's grave plaque (Fig. 9)

Inv. no. AMS A-5222

Find-site: Solin

Dimensions: ht. 55.5 cm, lng. 65 cm, wid. 14 cm; size of letters: 10-2.5 cm.

The artefact was procured for the Museum in 1925, and it was discovered in Solin on cadastral plot 3813.⁷⁶ The right side of the rectangular grave plaque, or titulus, is preserved. This is a piece that was built into the grave architecture. The inscription field is bordered by wide moulding, and its surface was rather meticulously polished to cut the inscription. The remains of the inscription are visible in five lines:

[----]s Agatho

[IIIIIIvir Aug(ustalis?) v(ivus)] f(ecit) sibi et [---]

[----]dicae uxori

[in fr(onte) p(edes) -- i]n ag(ro) p(edes) XXV

5 [lib(ertis) lib(ertabusque)] suis

Translation: [---] Agatho, during his life placed for himself and his spouse [----]. In a length of [---] feet, in a width of 25 feet. And to his freedmen and freedwomen.

The letters of the inscription are rendered in a very orderly and high-quality fashion, with the exception of the final line. The letters *T* and *H* (in the first line) are rendered in ligature, and every word is separated by triangular punctuation marks. In the second line, a part of the text was intentionally chiselled off. I believe that this was a case of

76 Radi se o starome katastru, napravljenom u doba Habsburške Monarhije. Ova bi se čestica nalazila jugoistočno od Velikih termi i sjeveroistočno od Pet mostova. Na pomoći pri ubikaciji ove parcele zahvaljujem kolegi Ninu Švonji.

75 IJug 2221 (Salona); AE 2016, 1205 (Bijaći).

76 This is the old cadastre, compiled during the era of the Habsburg Monarchy. This plot would be located south-east of Velike terme (Large Baths) and north-east of Pet mostova (Five Bridges). I would like to thank my colleague Nino Švonja for his assistance in pinpointing its location.



Slika 9.

Figure 9.

gentilicij koji je bio uklesan u punoj formuli i eventualno za predime. Od muževa imena poznajemo samo kognomen *Agatho*, koji je u Dalmaciji zabilježen na još četirima natpisima i svi su iz Salone.⁷⁷ Ime *Agatho* posvuda je rasprostranjeno, a na latinskim je natpisima osobito često u Italiji.⁷⁸ Ono je grčkoga podrijetla, a kako nije sačuvan početak drugoga retka, u teoriji se moglo raditi i o nekom drugom imenu koje počinje na *Agatho-*, kao npr. *Agathopus* ili *Agathocles*. No kako smatram da je zbog veličine slova prvi redak sadržavao čitavo ime i da je ime *Agatho* čitava riječ u nominativu, natpis je restituiran na ovakav način. Nadalje, slova *T* i *H* u ligaturi upućuju na još dvije stvari: klesar je na ovaj način dobio na prostoru i uspio je uklesati čitavu riječ *Agatho*, a možda je i na simboličan način transliterirao grčko slovo *theta*, koje se u grčkome jeziku piše jednim slovnim znakom (Θ). U drugome je retku vidljivo slovo *F*, koje je restituirano kao *f(ecit)*, a nema sumnje da je prije toga stajao pridjev *vivus*. No kako bi na lijevoj strani natpisa

correcting the inscription, and I assume that the stone-cutter moved what he was doing in the second line to the third line. This intervention was probably done because he saw that he would have to divide a word and continue it in the next line. The name of the man was cut with visibly larger letters than the rest of the inscription. His name is written in the nominative, which is indicated by the letter *S* remaining from the gentilicium. The word *suis* can be seen in the final line, squeezed and unevenly cut between the fourth line and the moulding. Obviously this referred to the right to interment in the same grave plot that someone else had exercised. This line has been restored as *lib(ertis) lib(ertabusque) suis*, or “and to his freedmen and freedwomen,” but the descendants of this married couple may also be considered (*posterisque suis*). My reasoning was that the descendants should have had their own gravestones with their newly-established families, while the freed slaves were tied to their former master as a sort of extended family.

The monument is very likely missing its entire left half, on which there should have been space in the first line at least for the gentilicium incised in its full formula and possibly with a praenomen. Of the husband's name we only

77 CIL III 2174; 2319; 2387; 14782 (Salona).

78 Alföldy 1969, str. 144, s. v. *Agatho*.

trebalo biti još mjesta, moguće je da je bila istaknuta neka funkcija ove osobe. Budući da se radi o osobi čiji kognomen upućuje na obitelj oslobođeničkoga podrijetla, ne bi bilo suviše pretpostaviti da se radilo o seviru ili seviru augustalu, svećeničkim dužnostima koje su rezervirane uglavnom za oslobođenike. Potencijalni Agatonov oslobođenički status sigurno nije bio uklesan na natpisu budući da se filijacija, pa tako i manumisija uvijek navode između gentilicija i kognomena. Postoji više epigrafskih primjera iz Salone na kojima su navedeni seviri i seviri augustali bez navođenja da su bili nečiji oslobođenici,⁷⁹ stoga ovo ne bi bio izolirani primjer. Ime Agatonove zakonite supruge (*uxor*) također nije sačuvano u cijelosti, zna se samo da joj je kognomen završavao na *-dica*, te u obzir dolazi više imena, kao npr. *Laudica*, *Dica*, *Eurydica*, *Vadica* i sl. Nakon navođenja imena osoba za koje je spomenik postavljen, na natpisu su navedene dimenzije grobne parcele od kojih je sačuvana ona u širinu, a iznosila je 25 stopa, što je otprilike 7,4 m.

Datacija: Nadgrobni tituli ovakve vrste vrlo su zanimljivi jer su se, kako se čini, proizvodili u Saloni kraće vrijeme, a imaju na sličan način sastavljen tekst. Natpis bi prema vrsti spomenika, formulama i izgledu slova trebalo najvjerojatnije datirati u 2. pol. 1. stoljeća.

Zaključak

Ovdje obrađenih 9 spomenika donosi devetnaest izravnih imena osoba i tri posredna imena (dva patronimika i jedno ime bivšega gospodara). Neka od njih su prvi put potvrđena u Dalmaciji: *Campilius*, kao gentilno ime, te imena *Calocaerius*, *Sempronius*, *Messimatus*, *Sapardacius* i *Teraius*, kao kognomen, premda ime *Teraius* pripada jednoimenskoj formuli te ga se može smatrati kognomenom u širem smislu. Među navedenima imena *Messimatus* i *Teraius* su hapaks, odnosno zasad se javljaju jedino na ovim natpisima, čime je obogaćena ne samo dalmatinska nego i općenita onomastika na latinskim natpisima. Ovih se devet natpisa može datirati u razdoblje od 1. do 3. stoljeća, a kriteriji datacije temeljeni su na onomastici, korištenju formula, tipu spomenika te na paleografiji. Prema društvenome položaju većina je ovdje spomenutih ljudi imala rimsko građansko pravo, a tek su dvojica spomenutih na natpisu vojnika III. kohorte Alpinaca bili peregrini. Nejasan pravni status imaju dvije osobe: *Rufinus* i *Sapardacius*. Dvije su osobe navele svoj oslobođenički status, no prema onomastici dalo bi se zaključiti da među ovima ima još oslobođenika (*Aurelius Verna*, *Valeria Tyche*, [--] *Agatho*), dok je za Tiberija Klaudija Firma izgledno da je građansko pravo dobio od cara Klaudija ili Nerona. Pravni status alumna mogao je imati *Caesius Trophi-*

know the cognomen *Agatho*, which has been registered in four other Latin inscriptions in Dalmatia and all are from Salona.⁷⁷ The name *Agatho* was widespread everywhere, and in Latin inscriptions it is particularly common in Italy.⁷⁸ It is Greek in origin, and since the beginning of the second line has not been preserved, it is theoretically possible that it was another name that began with *Agatho-*, such as *Agathopus* or *Agathocles*. However, since I believe that based on the size of the letters the first line contained the entire name and that the name *Agatho* is the whole word in the nominative case, the inscription was restored as such. Furthermore, the letters *T* and *H* in ligature indicate two additional things: the stonemason wanted to secure space in this manner and managed to incise the entire name *Agatho*, and perhaps he also symbolically transliterated the Greek letter *theta*, which in the Greek language is written with a single letter (Θ). The second line contains a visible letter *F*, which has been restored as *f(ecit)*, and there can be no doubt that it was preceded by the adjective *vivus*. However, as there should have been additional space on the left side of the inscription, it is possible that some function of this person was emphasized. Since this was a person whose cognomen indicates the family of freedman origin, it would not be out of place to speculate that he was a *sevir* or *sevir Augustalis*, priesthoods largely reserved for freedmen. *Agatho's* potential freed status was certainly not cut into the inscription, since filiation, as well as manumission, were always cited between the gentilicium and cognomen. There are many epigraphic examples from Salona in which *seviri* and *seviri Augustales* were mentioned without specifying that they were someone else's freedmen⁷⁹, so this would not be an isolated example. The name of *Agatho's* lawful spouse (*uxor*) has also not been entirely preserved, we can only see that the cognomen ended with *-dica*, so a number of names may be considered, such as, for example, *Laudica*, *Dica*, *Eurydica*, *Vadica* and so forth. After citing the names of the persons for whom the monument was placed, the inscription contains specification of the dimensions of the grave plot, of which the width has been preserved, and it was 25 feet, which is approximately 7.4 m.

Dating: Grave plaques of this type are quite interesting because, it would seem, they were produced in Salona for a brief time, and the text on them was composed in a similar fashion. Based on the type of monument, formulas and appearance of the letters, it should be most likely dated to the latter half of the 1st century.

77 CIL III 2174; 2319; 2387; 14782 (Salona).

78 Alföldy 1969, p. 144, s. v. *Agatho*.

79 On *seviri* and *seviri Augustales* in Salona, see Bekavac, Miletić 2018.

79 O *seviri* i *seviri* augustalima u Saloni v. Bekavac, Miletić 2018.

mus, no to je teško sa sigurnošću dokazati. Četrnaest osoba su muškarci (isključujući patronimike), dok je žena pet. Za četiri od pet žena podižu se spomenici, a sve su četiri bile supruge (kat. br. 4, 5, 6 i 7). Peta žena spomenuta je na natpisu koji je za života njoj i sebi postavio njezin suprug (kat. br. 9). Od ime-na muškaraca koja su potpuno sačuvana, četiri imaju formulu *tria nomina* (kat. vr. 1, 2, i 6), dok četiri imaju *duo nomina* (kat. br. 3, 4, 5, 7). S obzirom na dataciju spomenika kat. br. 9, nema sumnje da je i Agaton imao troimensku formulu. Oslobođenik naveden samo kognomenom *Blastus* također je najvjerojatnije imao troimensku formulu te pretpostavljam da mu je puno ime bilo *L. Antonius Blastus* (kat. br. 1). Dvojica muškaraca pokazuju tipičnu peregrinsku imensku formulu, jedno ime s patronimikom (kat. br. 8). Za komemoratora navedenog kognomenom *Sapardacius* (kat. br. 4) izneseno je nekoliko mogućih pretpostavki, no i dalje nije jasno radi li se o robu, oslobođeniku ili građaninu koji je mogao izostaviti gentilicij zbog nedostatka mjesta na natpisu. Osobi navedenoj kao *Rufinus* (kat. br. 3) u teoriji je mogao biti izostavljen gentilicij, no za to nema dokaza. Samo se za jednu osobu na natpisu može reći da je bila dijete, a to je Varije Maksim (kat. br. 4), spomenut u svojstvu komemoratora. Nekima je navedena životna dob, dok je za većinu iz konteksta jasno da se radi o odraslim osobama.

Sudeći prema izgledu i vrsti spomenika može se reći da su spomenici koji su najvjerojatnije izrađeni u 1. st. (kat. br. 2, 3, 9) te spomenik iz 2. st. (kat. br. 6) pripadali osobama koje su možda bile boljih financijskih prilika nego ostali. Umjetnički najzanimljiviji spomenik svakako je nadgrobna ara Magije Sekundine (kat. br. 6), koja po izradi i izboru motiva odaje dosta vještog majstora. Tipološki najzanimljiviji je titul podijeljen na tri polja koji je podigao Tiberije Klaudije Firm i koji zasad nema izravne analogije među objavljenim spomenicima u Saloni, no, kako je rečeno, nedavno je primijećen još jedan sličan spomenik ugrađen kao spolij. Među stelama valja izdvojiti onu Cezija Trofima (kat. br. 3), koja je donekle neuobičajena za salonitansku klesarsku produkciju.

Neobjavljenih spomenika s područja antičke Salone ima još dosta, a uglavnom su rezultat istraživanja koja su provedena u posljednjih četrdesetak godina. Naravno, najbrojnija i najbolje sačuvana skupina među njima su natpisi pronađeni u zaštitnim istraživanjima tzv. obilaznice, a vjerujem da će u skorije vrijeme većina njih biti objelodanjena. No do njihove objave ima i drugih o kojima se može pisati, bez obzira radi li se o objavljenim ili neobjavljenim spomenicima, budući da se o pojedinim kategorijama salonitanskih natpisa može, a i bilo bi potrebno, pisati iz raznih novih polazišnih točaka.

Conclusion

The nine monuments covered herein contain nineteen direct names of persons and three indirect names (two patronymics and one name of a former master). Some of them have been confirmed in Dalmatia for the first time: *Campilius* as a gentilicium, and the names *Calocaerus*, *Semproninus*, *Messimatus*, *Sapardacius* and *Teraius* as cognomina, although *Teraius* belongs to the single-name formula and it may be considered a cognomen in the broader sense. Among these names, *Messimatus* and *Teraius* are *hapax*, i.e., for now they appear solely in these inscriptions, thereby enriching not only Dalmatian but also the wider onomastics in Latin inscriptions. These nine inscriptions may be dated to the period running from the 1st to 3rd centuries, and the dating criteria are based on onomastics, use of formulas, monument type and palaeography. Based on social status, most of the persons mentioned herein had Roman citizenship, and only the two mentioned on the inscription of the soldier belonging to *cohors III Alpinorum* were peregrines. Two persons had ambiguous legal status: *Rufinus* and *Sapardacius*. Two persons specified their freed status, but based on onomastics it may be concluded that there were other freedmen/women among them (*Aurelius Verna*, *Valeria Tyche*, [--] *Agatho*), while it is likely that *Tiberius Claudius Firmus* was granted citizenship during the reign of *Claudius* or *Nero*. *Caesius Trophimus* may have had the legal status of *alumnus*, but this is difficult to prove with any certainty. Fourteen of these individuals were men (excluding the patronymics), while five were women. Monuments were placed to four of the five women, and all four of these were wives (cat. no. 4, 5, 6 and 7). The fifth woman is mentioned in an inscription that she had commissioned during her lifetime for her and her spouse (cat. no. 9). Among the names of men that have been entirely preserved, four have the *tria nomina* formula (cat. no. 1, 2, and 6), while four have the *duo nomina* formula (cat. no. 3, 4, 5, 7). Given the dating of the monument under cat. no. 9, there can be no doubt that *Agatho* also used the *tria nomina* formula. Two men exhibited the typical peregrine name formula, one name with a patronymic (cat. no. 8). Several possible hypotheses were put forth for the commemorator with the aforementioned cognomen *Sapardacius* (cat. no. 4), but it is still unclear as to whether he was a slave, freedman or citizen who may have had his gentilicium left out due to a lack of space in the inscription. The person cited as *Rufinus* (cat. no. 3) may in theory have had his gentilicium left out, but there is no evidence for this. Only one person in these inscriptions may be described as a child, and this is *Varius Maximus* (cat. no. 4), mentioned as a commemorator. For some their age is noted, while for most it is clear by context that they were adults.

Judging by the appearance and types of monuments, it may be said that the monuments that were most likely made in the 1st century (cat. no. 2, 3, 9) and the monument from the 2nd century (cat. no. 6) belonged to persons who were better

off financially than the rest. The artistically most interesting monument is certainly the grave altar of Magia Secundina (cat. no. 6), which in terms of rendering and choice of motifs indicates a rather skilful craftsman. The titulus divided into three fields, raised by Tiberius Claudius Firmus, is typologically the most interesting; thus far there are no direct analogies among the published monuments in Salona, but, as stated, another similar monument in secondary use has been noted. Among the stelae, that of Caesius Trophimus (cat. no. 3) is noteworthy, as it is somewhat unusual among Salonitan stonemasonry products.

There is still a considerable number of unpublished monuments from the territory of Roman-era Salona, and they were generally found during excavations conducted over roughly the past four decades. Naturally, the most numerous and best preserved group among them encompasses inscriptions found during rescue excavations at the so-called Solin bypass, and I believe that most of them will be published very soon. However, until their publication there are others that may also be covered, regardless of whether they are published or unpublished, since it is possible, and indeed necessary, to write about individual categories of Salonitan inscriptions from different, new premises.

Prijevod / Translation: Apostrof d.o.o.

Kratice / Abbreviations

- AE – *L'Année Épigraphique*, Paris
- CIL – *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin
- CILCaceres – *Corpus de inscripciones latinas de Cáceres*, Cáceres.
- EDCS – Epigraphische Datenbank Clauss-Slaby (pristupljeno 10. 1. 2021.)
- ILAlg – *Inscriptions latines d'Algérie*, Paris
- ILBulg – *Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae*, Sofia
- ILJug – *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana
- ILS – *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Berlin
- Lupa – Ubi erat Lupa, Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern (pristupljeno 14. 12. 2020)
- RIU – *Römische Inschriften aus Ungarn*, Budapest
- RMD – *Roman military diplomas*, London

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