

SEVERAL UNPUBLISHED ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LIBURNIAN FRONTIER

Nikola Cesarik

Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti
Zavod za povijesne i društvene znanosti u Rijeci
Ružičeva 5
HR – 51000 Rijeka
ncesarik@gmail.com

UDK / UDC: 930.271:069.5(497.5 Zadar)''652''

10.52064/vamz.55.1.3

Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

The paper presents several unpublished inscriptions, with a record of Roman soldiers and military units, that are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar. For almost all of them, there is no documentation that could provide evidence of their origin. However, considering several facts, such as records in the diaries of Lujo Marun, and historical circumstances that caused the transfer of Roman monuments from the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, in Knin, to the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, as

well as the placement of these stones inside the Museum's depot, the author concludes that all of the inscriptions originate from the Liburnian frontier, that is, from the wider area of the legionary fortress in Burnum.

Key words:

Burnum, Liburnia, Roman soldiers, funerary stele, centurial stones, legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis, legio IIII Flavia Felix, cohors II Cyrrhestarum, Lujo Marun

Introduction

The Archaeological Museum in Zadar holds several hundred Roman inscriptions, found mainly in the territory of south Liburnia.¹ Although most of them are registered with primary museological data, such as the circumstances and exact location of the find, there is still a relatively small group of inscriptions with unclear origins. Some of them were probably collected before World War II, during which much of the Museum's documentation vanished in the carpet bombing by the Allies.² However, many inscriptions came to the Museum immediately

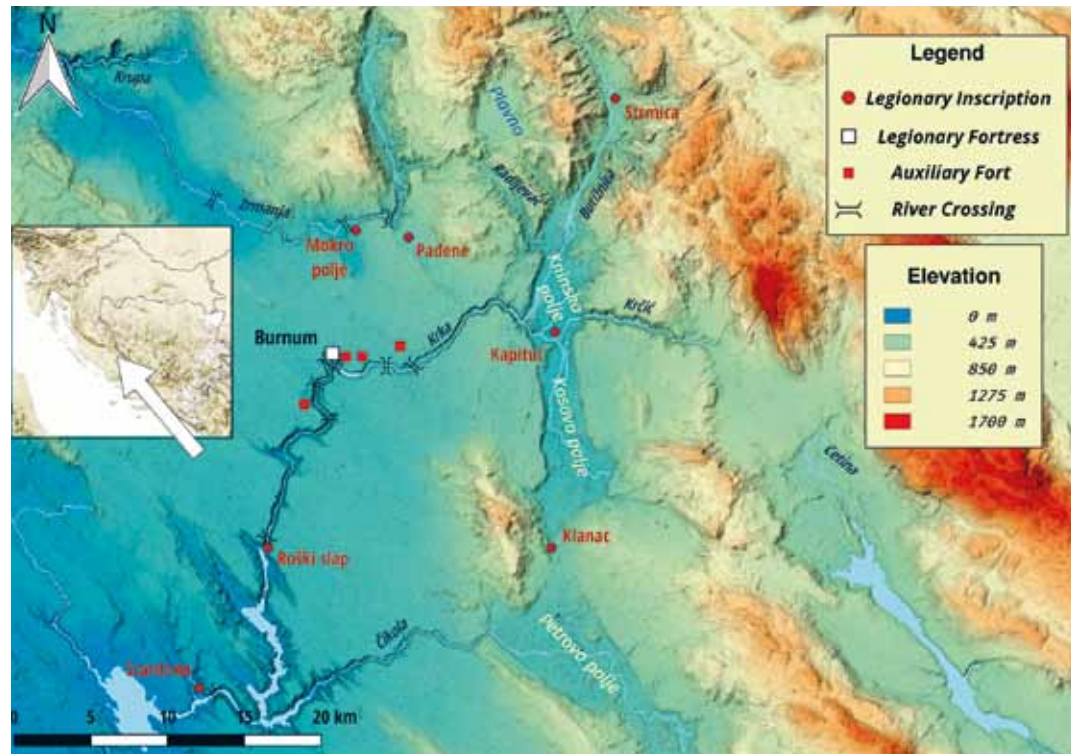
after the War, when all of the Roman material, originating from the area northwest of the River Krka and previously located in the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, in Knin, was transferred to the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.³ Most of that material was Roman inscriptions;⁴ and, in my opinion, all of the inscriptions that will be presented in this paper were part of the collection of Roman inscriptions from the wider territory of the legionary fortress of Burnum, which was previously located in the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, in Knin.

1 The easiest way to search the inscriptions is by consulting the online database *Ubi Erat Lupa* (<http://lupa.at/museums/409>). Almost all of the inscriptions presented in this paper are already included in the database, although they have not previously been published in any scholarly publication.

2 Cf. Batović 1988, 53. The last pre-World War II contribution on Roman inscriptions from the Museum was published in 1923 by Giuseppe (Josip) Bersa (1923), while the first post-World War II papers were published in the 1950s by Mate Suić (1950–1951; 1952), who stated that, in his time, there was still an abundance of unpublished inscriptions that had come to the Museum during the decades that preceded World War II.

3 Suić 1950–1951, 233. Despite all the problems, the monuments from the Museum of Croatian Antiquities in Knin survived the war, through the efforts of Stjepan Gunjača (1949, 292–294; 1952, 221–223), who first moved the Museum holdings to Sinj, and afterwards to Split. Until then, the Museum was permanently located in Split, changing its name to 'Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments'. Gunjača also saved many of the inscriptions that were placed in Bribir, by hiding and burying them beneath the cliff (cf. Fisković 1946, 19). After the war, these monuments were also handed to the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (cf. Suić 1950–1951, 233).

MAP 1. The Liburnian frontier (made by L. Drahotusky-Bruketa).



Several arguments point to that conclusion. First of all, they all mention Roman soldiers and Roman military units which were stationed on the Liburnian frontier, that is in the wider area of the legiary fortress of Burnum.⁵ Secondly, two of the inscriptions (nos 4 and 9) were previously recorded as Burnum finds by Lujo Marun, the Croatian Franciscan, who collected and purchased Roman inscriptions from northern Dalmatia and transferred them to the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, in Knin.⁶ The majority of that collection were inscriptions from Burnum and its surroundings.⁷ Additionally, according to the Museum's inventory log, one of the inscriptions in this list was positively found in Burnum (no. 6). It is a centurial stone that was located near other similar stones that had no label. However, considering the fact that all these stones are placed near the previously published Burnum finds,⁸ and all mention Roman soldiers and military units, it seems logical to conclude that they all origi-

nate from the same area, which was, by the way, the only Roman military stronghold in Liburnia during the early Principate. And finally, one of the centurial stones (no. 8) mentions a centurion already confirmed on a funerary stele from Burnum, which is another reason to conclude that the stone originates from the territory of Burnum.

But, before I present the unpublished inscriptions, it is necessary to point out that Burnum was not only a legiary fortress and its immediate surroundings. On the contrary, the legiary fortress was the nucleus of a complex military system formed on the Liburnian frontier, which controlled all of the natural passages that led to Liburnia. A few words on its topography will help to better understand the terrain logic that formed the system.

A note on the topography of Burnum

Situated on the right bank of the upper flow of the River Krka, Burnum stands on the far eastern edge of Liburnia, on the natural border with several ethnic communities of pre-Roman Illyricum. Its main strategic advantage was the control of natural passages which connected south-eastern Liburnia with the territory of the Ditiones, Iapodes and especially Delmatae.⁹ However, the major strategic element in the position of Burnum was the fact that it controlled the natural passages and crossings over the Rivers Krka and Zrmanja. For control of these elements, the army spread itself in the wider area around the legiary encampment, which is especially noticeable through the dispersion of the findspots of inscriptions of Roman soldiers (Map 1).

4 Cf. Suić 1950–1951, 233; Uroda, Šeparović 2009, 7–8.

5 For Burnum and the Liburnian frontier, see Cesarik 2020, 379–422.

6 The purchase of many inscriptions was noted in Marun's *Antiquarian Diaries* (cf. Marun 1998). He would usually make a simple but thankful sketch of the inscription, which proved to be very handy in discovering the findspots of monuments of previously unknown origin that are located in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (cf. Cesarik 2014; Cesarik, Štrmelj 2017; Cesarik, Drahotusky-Bruketa 2020). In addition to that, all of the inscriptions from Burnum and its surroundings, published by Carl Patsch (1895, 379–406 = 1897, 178–204; 1899, 481–496 = 1900, 71–84), were originally located in the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, in Knin, but some of them are now placed in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.

7 Burnum is the most frequently-mentioned location in Marun's diaries. (See the index of geographic names in Marun 1998, 298–308).

8 These inscriptions were already published in CIL III or in other epigraphic corpora (such as ILJug), which immensely assisted in revising the Museum's holdings. Some of the inscriptions were published by Suić 1970.

9 Cf. Cesarik 2018, 5–6.

Burnum: between the crossings on the Rivers Krka and Zrmanja

The main crossings on the upper Krka are located over the travertine barriers of Čavlinov buk, Bilušića buk, Brljan and Manojlovac, while there are also several minor crossings at Miljacka slap, Daljenski buk and a place called 'Mostina' located between the medieval fortresses of Trošenj and Nečven.¹⁰ For control of these crossings, the Romans built a line of fortifications consisting of one legionary fortress and four auxiliary forts.¹¹ However, in that way, they merely adopted the earlier pre-Roman system in which all of the crossings were guarded by promontory forts under the control of Radučka glavica – the most dominant hillfort in the nearby area.¹²

The main crossings over the upper Zrmanja are found at Kravja Draga, between Pađene and Prevjes, and at the hamlet of Vagići, in Mokro Polje. Both crossings open a natural pathway to the valley of the upper Zrmanja and further to Lika, thus forming a natural and most comfortable connection between Dalmatia and the interior of Croatia.¹³ The presence of Roman soldiers in Mokro Polje and Pađene is traced by several inscriptions of soldiers of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*,¹⁴ which indicates that smaller detachments were stationed at these places to control the natural passages that led into Liburnia, most probably from the territory of the Ditiones.

Smaller rivers, stream valleys and natural passages

Besides legionaries at Mokro Polje and Pađene, inscriptions of Roman soldiers were found at various other places around the wider area of the garrison of Burnum. So, to the east of the legionary encampment, lies a significant area of Kninsko polje, which opens a natural passage to several geographic entreties; and again, the key geographic elements are the valleys of smaller rivers which flow into the River Krka, such as the Krčić, Kosovčica and Butižnica. The valley of the Krčić connects Kninsko polje with the valley of the Cetina, while the Kosovčica combines Kninsko polje with Kosovo polje, which served as legionary meadows (*prata legionis*).¹⁵ The key entrances into *prata legionis* were guarded by the outposts at Klanac and Kapitul.¹⁶

The valley of the River Butižnica, on the other hand, has an even more important role, since it connects Kninsko polje with two stream valleys: the valley of the Radljevac and that of the Mračaj. The first leads to the area of Plavno, which was of particular importance to the legionary garrison of Burnum, since it provided fresh water, carried by an aqueduct 32.6 km long.¹⁷ The other valley leads to Bosansko Grahovo and further to the valley of the River Sava in Pannonia,¹⁸ and its confluence with the River Butižnica was under the watch of legionaries placed in Strmica.¹⁹

To the south of the legionary encampment, there is another vital river crossing: that at the travertine barrier of Roški slap, which was under the control of legionary veterans.²⁰ The last important crossing was at the Liburnian port in Scardona, situated on the estuary of the River Krka, which presumably served as one of the supply centres of the garrison of Burnum.²¹ As indicated by the inscriptions,²² it was also under the surveillance of Roman legionaries at some point.

The unpublished inscriptions

As stated above, Burnum was the only military fortress located in the territory of Liburnia; so, naturally, almost all of the inscriptions of Roman soldiers from Liburnia originate from the broader area of that military encampment. However, considering that the army was spread over a wider territory around the legionary fortress, it is impossible to conclude that all of the inscriptions originate from the immediate surroundings of the fortress. As seen previously, besides Burnum itself, inscriptions of legionary and auxiliary soldiers have been found in places such as Mokro Polje, Pađene, Strmica, Kapitul near Knin, Klanac near Tepljuh, Mratovo and Roški slap, so there is always a chance that some of the inscriptions presented here were originally found in one of these important strategic spots²³ – especially since Lujo Marun often visited all of these places and purchased archaeological finds from local inhabitants.²⁴ This is why, for the findspots of all uncertain inscriptions, I am stating that they originate from the wider area of Burnum. With that said, I am presenting here 12 unpublished inscriptions with a mention of Roman soldiers and Roman military units.

10 It is most probable that the legionary veteran from Mratovo (CIL III 6418 = 9896) was murdered at that crossing (cf. Cesarik 2020, 228–231).

11 Most of the inscriptions of Roman soldiers originate from the nearby area of the legionary encampment. For the list of inscriptions of Roman soldiers from Burnum, see Cesarik 2020, 379, n. 1388. (The inscriptions are presented in the catalogues on pages 241–279 and 349–366).

12 Cf. Cesarik 2018; Cesarik, Kramberger 2020.

13 See, especially, Voinovich 1906, 2–3. (For a Croatian translation of the same work, see Voinovich 1907, 4).

14 CIL III 6416; 9905; ILJug 2811.

15 AE 1988, 923; CIL III 13250. See Cesarik, Drahotusky-Bruketa 2020, 38–42.

16 Incriptions recorded at Klanac: CIL III 6419 = 9897 (legionary), CIL III 9829, 9834, 13229 (auxiliaries). Incriptions from Kapitul: CIL III 9903, 9904, 9906, 9908, 9909 (legionaries), CIL III 9907 = 14321⁵ (auxiliary).

17 Cf. Ilakovac 1982, 35–105; 1984.

18 Cf. Cesarik, Glavaš 2018.

19 CIL III 13251.

20 CIL III 2817, 2818, 9885.

21 Cf. Glavičić, Miletić 2011, 144–148.

22 CIL III 6413.

23 It may be handy to sum up all the finds from these spots: Mokro Polje (legionaries: CIL III 6416, 9905; ILJug 2811), Pađene (legionary: CIL III 13251), Strmica (legionary: CIL III 6417), Kapitul near Knin, (legionaries: CIL III 9903, 9904, 9906, 9908, 9909, auxiliary: CIL III 9907 = 14321⁵), Klanac near Tepljuh (legionary: CIL III 6419 = 9897, auxiliaries: CIL III 9829, 9834, 13229); Roški slap (legionary veterans: CIL III 2817, 2818, 9885), and Mratovo (legionary veteran: CIL III 6418 = 9896). For further information, see Cesarik 2020, 379–400.

24 For example, two inscriptions that originate from Strmica (CIL III 6417) and Mokro Polje (CIL III 6416) were purchased by Marun and are today located in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (AMZd inv. no. A30455 = lower part of CIL III 6417, cf. Marun 1998, 225; and AMZd inv. no. A30449 = fragment no. 6 of CIL III 6416, cf. Marun 1998, 231). Another good example is the inscription with a record of *cohors III Alpinorum* from the hilltop of Cecela, near Drniš, which was also sketched by Marun and was kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar as a monument of uncertain origin (cf. Cesarik, Drahotusky-Bruketa 2020).

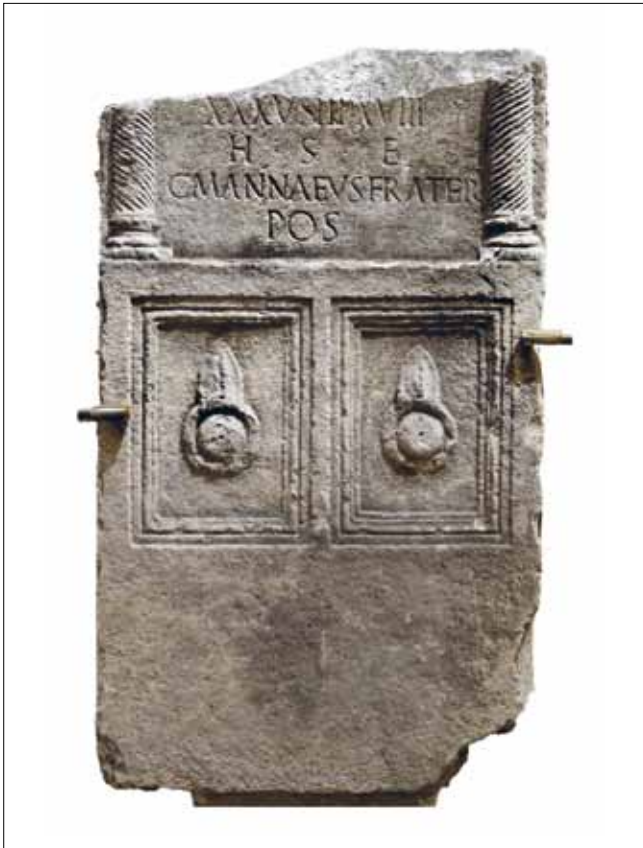


FIGURE 1. Lower half of a monumental stele with architectural frame (AMZd, inv. no. A22039; photo by O. Harl).

1. The lower half of a monumental stele with architectural frame (Fig. 1)

AMZd inv. no.: A22039

Dimensions: h 155, w 73, th 28 cm

Height of letters: 1st line: 5; 2nd: 4.5; 3rd: 4–4.5; 4th: 5 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

[---]

XXXV STIP XVIII

H S E

C MANNAEVS FRATER

POS

Stylized spirally fluted columns outline the inscription field. In the lower part of the stele, there is a motif of a door, which is well documented on the stelae of soldiers of *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* from Tilurium.²⁵ However, the typical form of door from Tilurium is a type with four panels, while this fragment contains only two, with door knockers inside.

25 Cf. Tončinić 2011, 150–152.

As far as I know, the only stelae with door motif and two panels from the broader area of Tilurium are the two stelae from Dugopolje, which commemorated the soldiers of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*.²⁶ But, inside the panels of these stelae – instead of door knockers – there is a depiction of archery equipment. On the other hand, the most common version of the stele from Burnum is the stele with moulded frame and depictions of a mixed variety of tools and equipment in the lower part.²⁷

So far, the only known stelae from Burnum with a door motif are the stele of Dacnas Apsei f., another soldier of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*,²⁸ and the stele of P. Carsidius P. f. Calvus, an aquilifer of *legio IIII Flavia Felix* (Fig. 2).²⁹ These two grounded the theory that the stonecutters from Tilurium moved their workshops to Burnum after *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* had left Dalmatia, consequently resulting in the appearance of a door motif on the stelae from Burnum.³⁰ The stele of Dacnas reflects a style typical of the stelae from Tilurium, with a door motif and four panels (including the depiction of archery equipment). In contrast, the stele of P. Carsidius Calvus is somewhat reduced in form, with two panels and door knockers in the lower part.

The style and tectonic of this unpublished stele are almost the same as the stele of P. Carsidius Calvus. Both have an architectural frame,³¹ with the motif of a door and two panels with door knockers in the lower part, and they are both outlined with spirally fluted columns. It could not be said for sure that this fragment commemorated a soldier of *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, but a resemblance to the stele of P. Carsidius is evident. Since Burnum was occupied by *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* until AD 69, after which it housed *legio IIII Flavia Felix*, and was garrisoned by several auxiliary troops, it is hard to determine the exact unit of the soldier commemorated on this monument. However, the name of the commemorator suggests that the stele belonged to a legionary soldier. Following the comparanda from Burnum and Tilurium, the stele was probably made during the second half of the first century AD.

The name of the commemorator is C. Mannaes,³² who addresses himself as *frater* of the deceased. That, again, opens two alternatives. Firstly, he could be a ‘real brother’ of the commemorated soldier, which would open the possibility of reconstructing the

26 Stele of C. Iulius Theodorus (AE 1994, 1357; Cambi 1993, 158–161, br. 3, 178, sl. 8); and the stele of C. Iulius Andromachus (AE 1994, 1358; Cambi 1993, 161–162, br. 3, 179, sl. 9). Reducing the number of panels can also be seen in the stele from Salona, nowadays lost, which commemorated L. Caesius Bassus, a veteran of *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* (CIL III 2014; Maršić 2010, 68, Fig. 3).

27 Cf. Maršić 2007, 206–214.

28 AE 1925, 132 = IJug 2820.

29 CIL III 14995. The main difference between these two stelae is that the stele of Dacnas is framed by cyma moulding, while that of P. Carsidius Calvus has an architectural frame.

30 Cambi 1992, 33–34.

31 For stelae with architectural frames in Burnum, see Maršić 2007, 214–217.

32 To date, the *nomen Mannaes* has only been recorded on one inscription (AE 1998, 1389). It is undoubtedly a variation of the *nomen Manneius* (cf. OPEL III, 51), which is recorded in Italy (CIL V 5026) and Gallia Narbonensis (CIL XII 4977). One inscription from Dacia (CIL III 838) records the *cognomen Manneus*.



FIGURE 2. Stele of Dacnas to the left (AMZd, inv. no. A10915; photo by O. Harl); stele of P. Carsidius Calvus to the right (AMZd, inv. no. A22045; photo by O. Harl).



FIGURE 3. Stele without moulded frame (AMZd, inv. no. A22047; photo by O. Harl).

deceased soldier's name. The second and more probable option is that C. Mannaeus was only the 'brother in arms' of the deceased.³³ The term *frater* is often stated on legionary inscriptions from Dalmatia.³⁴ However, in just a few cases, it is clear that the commemorator and the deceased were relatives.³⁵ The rest of them were probably 'brothers in arms'.³⁶ However, it is hard to say anything with certainty, so there is no need to prove the point.

The reading is:

[---] / [--- ann(or)um] / XXXV stip(endiorum) XVIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / C(aius) Mannaeus frater / pos(uit).

2. The lower part of a stele without moulded frame (Fig. 3)

AMZd inv. no.: A22047

Dimensions: h 144, w 59, th 17 cm

Height of letters: varies between 5.5 and 6 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

[---]
MIL LEG III[-]
STIP XXXI H F I(?)
T(?)

Compared with other stelae from Burnum, this one is straightforward in form, without moulding or decoration.³⁷ After the abbreviations 'MIL' and 'LEG' in the first preserved line, there are traces of three graphemes 'I', followed by the serif of another one (Fig. 4). Since *legio III Flavia Felix* occupied Burnum during the reigns of Flavian emperors,³⁸ it is apparent that the deceased soldier was a member of that legion. After the statement of *stipendia*, there are three more letters, followed by the letter 'I' centred in the last line. The first two letters are 'H' and 'F', while the third could be 'I', 'T' or even 'E'.³⁹ There is only one letter in the last line,

35 AE 1999, 1230 (*legio VII*); CIL III 8740, 13263, and ILJug 836 (*legio XI*).

36 There is also a group of legionary inscriptions on which the commemorators addressed themselves as *fratres* of the deceased, but without stating their names (*legio VII*: CIL III 9733, 9737; *legio XI*: CIL III 2835, 6416), so nothing can be said for sure about the nature of their relationship.

37 There is only one analogy for this kind of stele (i.e. 'a stele without moulded frame') from Burnum (CIL III 14993; cf. Maršić 2007, 205–206).

38 Inscriptions of soldiers: CIL III 14995; CIL III 394*8 = CIL V 542 (cf. Cesarik 2016, 231–232). For stamped roof tiles, see Miletić 2011, 268–269.

39 Note that the serifs on this inscription are very wide, so it is unclear whether the lower part of that letter is a serif of the letter 'I' or 'T', or a base-stroke of the letter 'E'.

33 Cf. Speidel 2014, 322–323. Detailed analysis of the term *frater* in military contents is handled by Keparťová 1986.

34 *Legio VII (Claudia Pia Fidelis)*: CIL III 2715, 9733, 9737; AE 1999, 1230. *Legio XI (Claudia Pia Fidelis)*: CIL III 2835, 6416, 8740, 13263, 14997; ILJug 836, 838. *Legio III Flavia Felix*: CIL III 2021.

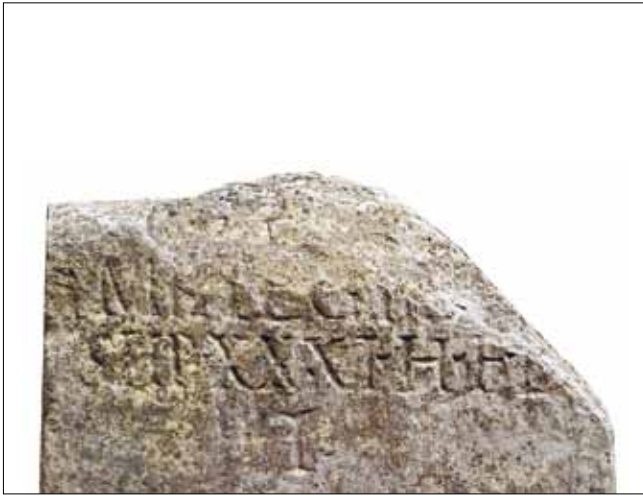


FIGURE 4. Stele without moulded frame: detail of the inscription (AMZd, inv. no. A22047; photo by O. Harl).



FIGURE 5. Fragment of a funerary monument (AMZd, inv. no. A7565; photo by O. Harl).

most probably the letter 'T'.⁴⁰ I did not find any analogies for a sepulchral formulation with this letter sequence. However, if the letters are correctly interpreted, they could be restored as an abbreviation of the formulation *h(eres) f(ieri) i(ussit) t(estamento)*. Whatever the case, I am restoring the last three letters with question marks.

The proposed reading of the inscription is:

[---] / mil(es) legionis III[I F(laviae) F(elicis)] / stip(endiorum) XXXI
h(eres) f(ieri?) i(ussit?) / t(estamento?).

It is curious to note the high number of annual payments (*stipendia*) to the commemorated soldier, revealing that he spent 31 years in the army. A large group of soldiers in Dalmatia served in the army for more than the proposed period of 20 or 25 years, but they were all referred to as legionary veterans.⁴¹ However, there are several inscriptions of ordinary soldiers (*militēs legionis*) who served in the legion for 30 years.⁴² Nevertheless, the years of his service are not that intriguing on their own. What is striking is the fact that – as all seem to point out – this monument apparently commemorated a soldier of *legio III Flavia Felix*. That legion was constituted around AD 70; and, immediately upon its creation, it garrisoned the fortress in Burnum. It stayed there until AD 86, when it left for Pannonia and, later, Moesia.⁴³ So, how could it be that this soldier received 31 annual payments serving in *III Flavia Felix*, a legion that had existed for only 16 years

when it left Burnum? In my opinion, the answer can be found in the fact that, around AD 70, the earlier *legio III Macedonica* was reorganized as the newly-founded *legio III Flavia Felix*.⁴⁴ If that is the case, it seems reasonable to conclude that the soldier commemorated on this inscription originally served in *legio III Macedonica*.⁴⁵ After its disbandment, he joined the reorganized legion – *III Flavia Felix* – where he served for the rest of his life while the legion still resided in Dalmatia.⁴⁶

3. Fragment of a funerary monument (Fig. 5)

AMZd inv. no.: A7565

Dimensions: h 39, w 37, th 7 cm

Height of letters: 1st line: 6–6.5; 2nd: 6; 3rd: 5.5; 4th: 5 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

[---]

[--] LEG XI C [--]

QENTONI PR[--]

VL I STIP XXIII

[--] F I

40 It is hard to say that the upper part of the letter is a head-stroke of the letter 'T', since it could also be a very wide serif (see the note above).

41 For that group of legionary veterans, see Cesarik 2020, 221–226. For the period of service in the legions, see Mann 2000.

42 CIL XIII 6984, 11851 (*Mogontiacum*); CIL XIII 8082 (*Bonna*); EDCS-25600005 (*Carnuntum*). See also CIL VII 156 (*Viroconium*), which, however, commemorates a legionary soldier who served as *beneficiarius legati praetorii*.

43 Cesarik 2020, 170–173.

44 Birley 1988, 311–315. For a separate discussion on this subject, see Cesarik 2022.

45 J. C. Mann (2000, 160, n. 38) made a similar proposal, discussing CIL III 15002. However, CIL III 15002 commemorated a soldier of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, not *III Flavia Felix*, as Mann thought (cf. Cesarik 2020, 276, cat. no. 186).

46 In this case, it is crucial to note the inscription mentioning a *centurio veteranorum legionis III Macedonicae* from Roški slap, on the River Krka (CIL III 2817). In my opinion, this is the direct link between *III Macedonica* and *III Flavia Felix*. The veterans of *III Macedonica* were settled not far from the legionary encampment in Burnum, still serving the state by controlling the main crossing on the middle flow of the River Krka. However, some men were still in their prime, so they joined the newly constituted legion. If that is so, it is logical to assume that *legio III Flavia Felix* was organized on Dalmatian soil (cf. Cesarik 2020, 172).

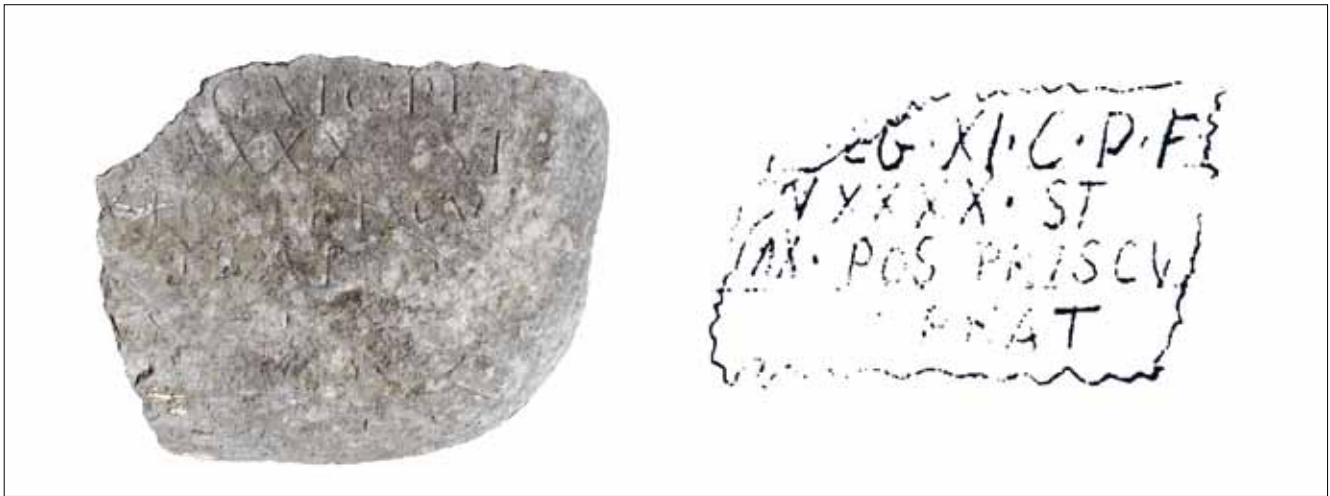


FIGURE 6. Fragment of a funerary monument (AMZd, inv. no. A27854; photo by O. Harl; made by Marun 1998, 137).

Fragment of a funerary monument with a partially preserved inscription containing four lines. The first line begins with the partially preserved letter 'L', slightly inclined to the left side. Next to it can be seen a trace of the right diagonal stroke of the letter 'M', which means that the letters 'M' and 'L' were carved in ligature. Since the rest of that line's content is straightforward and contains the name of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, it is evident that letters 'M' and 'L' are referring to the word *miles*, i.e. to the rank of the deceased person. It is most probable that all three letters of the usual abbreviation 'MIL' were carved in ligature. Thereby, I assume the letter 'I' was probably centred in the middle of the letter 'M'. The second line of the inscription starts with the right curve of a letter (most likely the curve of letter 'D') followed by the letters 'ENTONI PR'. In any case, that line refers to the centurion who commanded the *centuria* of the deceased soldier. The letters 'ENTONI' are part of his *nomen* stated in the genitive case, and the letters 'PR' are the first two letters of his *cognomen*.

The content of the third line could be misleading if we are about to assume that the first three letters are part of a number that refers to the years lived by the deceased, but it is not so. The first letter is undoubtedly the letter 'V', and the content 'VLI' would not suit the Roman numbering. Hence, these three letters complement the previous line, which refers to the name of a centurion. Considering that, his *cognomen* was most probably *Proculus*.⁴⁷ According to the right curve of the letter, after which comes the content 'ENTONI', it is most likely that the *nomen* of the centurion was *Dentonius*.⁴⁸ Hence, his full name was *Dentonius Proculus*. Naming the centurions on the tombstones

of ordinary soldiers of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* is a well-recorded practice on inscriptions from Burnum. What is noticeable is that they are all dated after AD 42, as is the case with this inscription.⁴⁹ The last line contains letters 'F' and 'I', which are part of the funerary formulation *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*.

The reading is:

[...] / [mi]l(es) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) [P(iae) F(idelis)] / [7(centuria)] Dentoni Pr[o/c]Juli stip(endiorum) XXIII / [t(estamento)] f(ieri) i(ussit).

4. Fragment of a funerary monument (Fig. 6)

AMZd inv. no.: A27854

Dimensions: h 49, w 61, th 20 cm

Height of letters: varies between 4.5 and 5 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: Burnum legionary fortress

Text in majuscule:

[...]
[...]EG XI C P F
[-]N XXXX ST
[-]X POS PRISCV[-]
FRAT

According to Lujo Marun, the inscription is found at 'Šupljaja', representing the area around the arches of the *principia* in Burnum, i.e. the central location of the legionary fortress of Burnum. He

47 For that *cognomen* in Dalmatia, see Alföldy 1969, 274–275; OPEL III, 166–167.

48 To date, the *nomen Dentonius* has only been recorded on the inscription CIL II 5634 from Brandomil in the municipality of Zas, province of A Coruña in Spain (cf. OPEL II, 97).

49 On all of them, the legion is stated as *Claudia Pia Fidelis* (cf. Cesarik, Glavičić 2018, 126–128), which is the title given to the legions VII and XI by Claudius for not participating in the revolt of Scribonianus (Cass. Dio 60.15.4).



FIGURE 7. Fragment of a monumental stele with architectural frame (AMZd, inv. no. A7463; photo by I. Čondić).

recorded the find on 3 April 1905.⁵⁰ Today, the monument stands in the Museum's *lapidarium*, and over the years it has suffered a different variety of weather conditions, which have caused the creation of lichen on the inscription. Fortunately, Marun's sketch allows us to complete the reading of the inscription:

[---] I]eg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / [an]n(orum) XXXX st(ipendiorum) / [X]X pos(uit) Priscu[s] / frat(er).

Again, the commemorator addresses himself as a *frater* of the deceased, but this time he is only named with a *cognomen*: *Priscus*.⁵¹ In this case, the option that he was the 'real brother' of the deceased soldier is more probable, since we can assume that there was no need to repeat the name on the inscription if both persons held the same *nomen*. Again, this is not entirely provable, since the commemorator could address himself as he desired.

5. Fragment of a monumental stele with architectural frame (Fig. 7)

AMZd inv. no.: A7463

Dimensions: h 51, w 58, th 34 cm

Height of letters: 1st line: 5.5–6; 2nd: 6; 3rd and 4th: 7 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

[---]
RVFVS NICQ[---]
MIL LEG [---]
ANN XLV[---]
XV[---]
H [-]

This fragment belongs to a group of inscriptions without information about the find spot, neither in the Museum's inventory log nor in Marun's diaries. However, since it records a legionary soldier and is placed amongst the monuments from Burnum, it is most probable that this inscription also originates from the area of Burnum. The monument belongs to the type of funerary stela with architectural frame, with stylized, spirally fluted columns. Only the right side of the inscription is preserved, but the content allows us to make certain assumptions concerning the fuller reading of the inscription.

As a starting point, I am noting that this is an inscription that follows a familiar pattern of inscriptions of Roman legionaries from Burnum. The content of such inscriptions was usually given in the sequence: *praenomen* + *nomen* + filiation + *tribus* + *cognomen* + origin + rank and the name of the legion + number of years lived + *stipendia*. Of course, there were alternatives in which the content would lack some elements or appear in a rather mixed version; however, it is evident that this inscription followed the full pattern.⁵²

In my opinion, it is best to start from the fourth preserved line of the inscription, since it can serve as a starting point in detecting the axis of the inscription field. With that in mind, it is clear that the content in that line was centred, and, according to the third line, it refers to the number of *stipendia* of the deceased soldier. The preserved graphemes of the ordinal number are X and part of a V, allowing four more graphemes (the highest possible number would be XVIII). Of course, these graphemes could only be the graphemes 'I', for which carving there was not much space needed. We can assume a blank space to the right margin after the last carved grapheme in that line. It was approximately the same width as the distance between the left margin and the grapheme X. Following that, we could conclude that the axis of the inscription field was placed somewhere around the break in the fourth line: that is, after the grapheme 'V'.

Next, we can continue to the lines above. In the first line, there is the *cognomen* of the deceased soldier (*Rufus*),⁵³ followed by the letters 'NICO'. If we use the sequencing pattern of the content of inscriptions of Roman legionaries from Burnum, then the letters 'NICO' could only refer to the origin of the deceased soldier. Accordingly, it could either refer to Nicomedia in Asia Minor; or Nicopolis in Epirus.⁵⁴ The second preserved line of the inscrip-

50 Marun 1998, 137.

51 For the *cognomen Priscus* in Dalmatia cf. Alföldy 1969, 273; OPEL III, 163.

52 For analysis of the content of inscriptions of Roman legionaries in Dalmatia, see Cesarik 2020, 181–220.

53 For the *cognomen Rufus* in Dalmatia, see Alföldy 1969, 283–284; OPEL IV, 34–35.

54 For the origins of Roman soldiers, see Forni 1953 (supplement in Forni 1992, 11–141). See also Mann 1983.

tion states the rank (*miles*) and the name of the legion to which the deceased soldier belonged. Considering the inscription's axis, mentioned above, as well as the fact that the content of that line was most probably centred (with considerable distance between the left margin and the first letter), it seems that the number – and possible titles of the legion – were not recorded with many letters. I consider that there is no possibility for honorary titles such as *C(laudia) P(ia) F(idelis)*, and that the content *IIII F(lavia) F(elix)* would also be off the axis. Therefore, I assume that the soldier was a member of *legio XI*, which was not yet named *Claudia Pia Fidelis*.

Since dozens of inscriptions from Burnum confirm the presence of *legio XI*,⁵⁵ this assumption seems reasonable. The soldiers of *legio XI* came from Asia Minor and from Macedonia (which borders Epirus),⁵⁶ so again, both Nicomedia and Nicopolis are equally possible. The third line of the inscription contains the number XLV (a trace of a serif of a grapheme 'V' is visible), representing the number of years lived.⁵⁷ The end of the line should be restored with the word *stipendia*, possibly abbreviated to the first two or – more probably – four letters. The last line contains only one letter: part of an 'H', which could be a part of the funerary formulation *h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)]* or *h(eres) [f(aciendum) c(uravit)]*. I consider that the first solution would be more suitable in this case.

The reading is as follows:

[...] / Rufus Nico[med(ia) vel pol(i)] / mil(es) leg(ionis) [XI] / ann(or)um XLV[... stip(endiorum)] / XV[...] / h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)].

6. Centurial stone (Fig. 8)

AMZd inv. no.: A7386

Dimensions: h 55, w 36, th 9 cm

Height of letters: 7 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: Burnum

Text in majuscule:

COH IIII

[-] TVCCIANI

According to the Museum's inventory log, this inscription positively originates from Burnum, and it also stands in the Museum's depot with other Burnum finds. It records a work carried out by the *centuria* commanded by a certain *Tuccianus*, which belonged to the fourth cohort of the unnamed legion.⁵⁸ The centurial sign is not preserved, due to a break on the left part of the stone. The letters 'A' and 'N' are carved in ligature. In the centre of the stone, there is a depiction of a leaf of *Hedera helix*.



FIGURE 8. Centurial stone (AMZd, inv. no. A7386; photo by I. Čondić).

According to the epigraphic and archaeological evidence, there were several building phases in Burnum. The two best documented are from the time of Claudius and the reign of Vespasian. Of course, we should expect a Tiberian phase, since it is evident that *legio XI* occupied Burnum after the Great War in Illyricum during AD 6–9.⁵⁹ We could even expect a late Augustan phase, which is vaguely traceable through the possible presence of *legio XX*.⁶⁰ However, neither the Tiberian nor the Augustan phases are still documented by clear archaeological evidence (through documented stone buildings inside the legionary encampment), nor are they confirmed by any building inscription. On the other hand, Claudian and Flavian phases are well documented in the archaeological material and building inscriptions,⁶¹ which testifies to monumental construction work under the patronage of the emperors. Knowing these facts, it seems reasonable to conclude that the unpublished building stone represents part of a monumental construction from the reign of Claudius or Vespasian. Thus, *centuria Tucciani* could belong to *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* or *legio IIII Flavia Felix*.

59 Cf. Cesarik 2020, 167–170.

60 *Legio XX* is recorded in Burnum with a single inscription witnessing *hastatus prior*, Sal. Frebranus Bacculus (CIL III 2836). It should be noted, though, that the inscription is known only through a 19th-century transcript, so we cannot be doubtless that the inscription did not record a member of *legio XI*, which is documented in Burnum by dozens of inscriptions (cf. Cesarik 2020, 262–277). Whatever the case, it seems that – at one period – the permanent encampment of *legio XX* in Illyricum was at or near Narona, where a building inscription witnessing its name was found. For *legio XX* in Illyricum, cf. Cesarik 2019. For the evidence of *legio XX* in Tilurium, see Cesarik 2020, 150–153.

61 Claudian: CIL III 14321¹⁶ = 14987¹ = ILJug 2809; ILJug 2810. Flavian: AE 2009, 1032. For stamped roof tiles of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* and *legio IIII Flavia Felix* from Burnum, see Miletić 2011.

55 Cesarik 2020, 262–265.

56 Cesarik 2020, 184. For the recruitment of soldiers from Asia Minor in *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, see also Pelcer-Vujačić 2018.

57 Due to the break of the inscription, there is the possibility of one or two more graphemes in the number.

58 Cognomen *Tuccianus* is most likely recorded on the inscription CIL II 3120 from Segobriga. It is derived from the *nomen Tuccius*, which is recorded in Pannonia, Noricum, Aquitania, and Moesia inferior (cf. OPEL IV, 132).



FIGURE 9. Centurial stone (AMZd, inv. no. A7660; photo by O. Harl).

The reading is:

Coh(ortis) IIII / [7(centuria)] Tucciani.

7. Centurial stone (Fig. 9)

AMZd inv. no.: A7660

Dimensions: h 19, w 27, th 34 cm

Height of letters: 1st line: varies between 4.5 and 6 cm (letters 'C' and 'L': 4.5; letters 'O' and 'D': 5; letter 'I': 6 cm); 2nd line: varies between 4 and 5 cm (letters 'O', 'P', and 'P': 4; letter 'X': 5 cm)

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

> CLODI

OP P X

This inscription stands in the Museum's depot without any label or further documentation. However, it is also set amongst other Burnum finds. Considering its content and the possible link with the inscription mentioned above (no. 6), it is highly evident that it originates from the broader area of the garrison of Burnum. It is a centurial stone recording construction work in the extent of 10 Roman feet, carried out by the *centuria* of a certain *Clodius*.⁶² The inscription field is flanked by *ansae*. Again, considering building phases in Burnum, it is most probable that the inscription represents a marker of monumental constructions from the reign of Claudius or Vespasian. *Clodius* was thus probably a centurion of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* or *legio IIII Flavia Felix*.⁶³

The reading is:

7(centuria) Clodi / op(eris) p(edes) X.

62 The best analogy for this inscription is found on a building stone from Ribchester (CIL VII 228 = RIB 593): *Coh(ortis) X / 7(centuria) Titiana / o(peris) p(edes) XXVII*.

63 For the *nomen Clodius* in Dalmatia, cf. Alföldy 1969, 76; OPEL II, 65.



FIGURE 10. Centurial stone (AMZd, inv. no. A7426; photo by I. Čondić).



FIGURE 11. Centurial stone: left side view (AMZd, inv. no. A7426; photo by I. Čondić).

8. Centurial stone (Figs 10–11)

AMZd inv. no.: A7426

Dimensions: h 46, w 24, th 16 cm

Height of letters: 1st line: 3.5; 2nd and 3rd: 3; 4th: 4 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

COH VII

> MLI PRISÇ

OP P P

CXXVII

This monument is another centurial stone, this time with the mention of a legionary cohort.⁶⁴ It contains four lines separated by shallowly incised guidelines. In the first line, there are the letters 'CO', somewhat damaged 'H' and 'V', then two graphemes 'I'.⁶⁵ All of that should be read as *coh(ortis) VII*. The second line is harder to restore, but it records the name of a *centuria*. It begins with a centurial sign (similar to the symbol 'v'), after which the letters 'I' and 'V' are traceable. After them, there is a letter 'L', followed by the letters 'IPRIS', and finally the trace of a left-curved stroke, evidently part of the letter 'C'.⁶⁶ In this line, there are no interpuncts, which can complicate the restoration of the name of a centurion. However, it is logical to conclude that the first four letters ('IVLI') represent a *nomen* in the genitive case. Simultaneously, it is easy to determine that the other letters ('PRISC') are part of the *cognomen Priscus*. Therefore, the name of the centurion was *Iulius Priscus*,⁶⁷ so the second line reads *7(centuria) Iuli Prisc(i)*.

It is significant to note that *Iulius Priscus* is already documented in Burnum – as a centurion on a tombstone of *L. Flavius Valens*, a soldier of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*.⁶⁸ There is no need to doubt that the *centuria Iuli Prisci* – recorded on the monument of *L. Flavius Valens* – is the same *centuria* that carried out construction work marked by the inscription from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar. Therefore, the *centuria Iuli Prisci* was a part of the Seventh cohort of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*.

The third line contains four letters, divided by two interpuncts into three separate words. The first two letters ('O' and 'P') should read *op(eris)*,⁶⁹ while the third and fourth letters ('L' and 'P') should read as *l(ongum) p(edes)* or *l(atum) p(edes)*.⁷⁰ The last line contains the ordinal number CXXVII.

Since the letter 'L' can refer to two different readings – that is, that it relates to the length or the width of the object constructed – it is hard to conclude anything for certainty. However, following numerous analogies with centurial stones from Britain, it is most probable that we are dealing with the length of construc-

tion.⁷¹ Consequently, it would be tempting to propose that *centuria Iuli Prisci* participated in the construction of some of the bridges around Burnum.⁷²

As mentioned above, the main strategic advantage of a Roman garrison in Burnum was precisely the control of natural crossings over the Rivers Krka and Zrmanja. Therefore, it could be possible that the *centuria Iuli Prisci* constructed or repaired one of the bridges over these rivers, which were a vital section of the road network around the area of Burnum. Of course, this is only one of the possibilities. It is also conceivable to assume that the *centuria Iuli Prisci* participated in other vital constructions around the legionary encampment, such as the aqueduct, 32.6 km long, which carried fresh water to Burnum from the area of Plavno.⁷³ However, since we do not know the original findspot of the inscription, we are left only with assumptions.

The reading is:

Coh(ortis) VII / 7(centuria) Iuli Prisc(i) / op(eris) l(ongum) p(edes) / CXXVII.

9. Fragment of a stele with moulded frame (Fig. 12)

AMZd inv. no.: A27855

Dimensions: h 85, w 64, th 20 cm

Height of letters: 1st line: 6; 2nd: 5.5; 3rd line: 5; 4th: 4.5; 5th and 6th: 4 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: Burnum

Text in majuscule:

L MARIO N[---]

F MILES CO[-]

II CYRRES[---]

DOMO BE[---]

ANN L STIP[---] /

H S E T F I

This is another inscription sketched by Lujo Marun. It has already been mentioned in the paper by I. Matijević,⁷⁴ who argued only through Marun's sketch, in the belief that the inscription was lost. However, it has been placed in the Museum's *lapidarium*. Like inscription no. 5, it is also exposed to moisture which has caused the creation of lichen, so it is difficult to read the inscription thoroughly. Marun's sketch is also blurred and not very helpful.

64 As for inscription no. 7, the best analogy is found on the building stone from Ribchester (CIL VII 228 = RIB 593).

65 After the last visible letter, there is a break, which could imply another grapheme 'I'. However, there are no visible traces of such a letter, especially at the top of the horizontal stroke, which is better preserved, so I conclude that the line ended with the ordinal number VII.

66 The last clearly visible letter in that line (a letter 'S') contains another curve on the left part of its lower half, which is probably a product of subsequent damage.

67 *Nomen Iulius*: Alföldy 1969, 31–36; OPEL II, 200–201. *Cognomen Priscus*: Alföldy 1969, 273; OPEL III, 163.

68 CIL III 14999: *L(ucius) Flavius / L(uci) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Vale(ns) Heracle(a) mil(es) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / 7(centuria) Iuli Prisci an(norum) / XLII stip(endiorum) XXII / 7(centuria) Iuli Prisci / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. This inscription is also notable because of the double mention of the *centuria Iuli Prisci* on it. It is hard to believe that the carver would mistakenly repeat the whole line that he had carved several lines above. Thus, it is most probable that *L. Flavius Valens* named the whole *centuria* as an heir.

69 Cf. CIL VII 228 = RIB 593.

70 See, for example, ILJug 215.

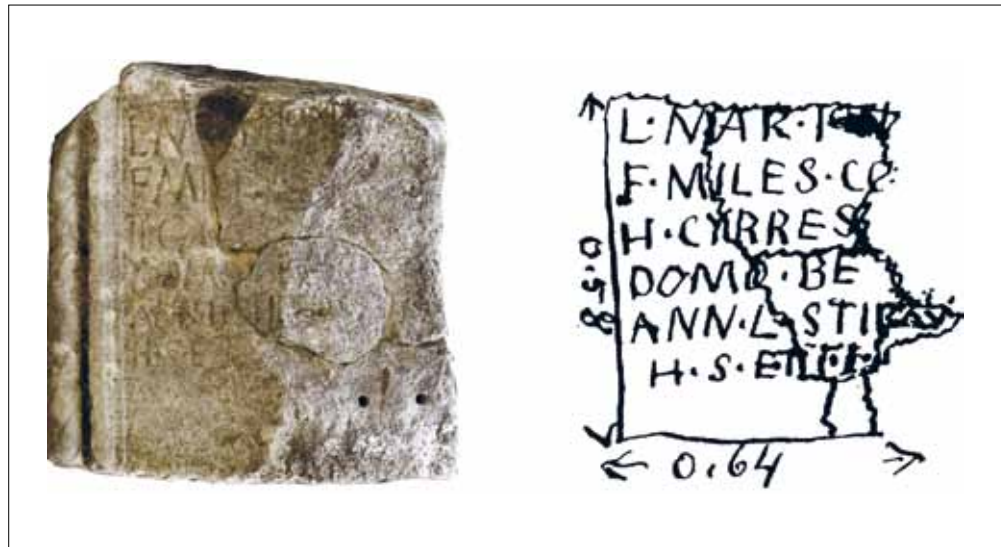
71 E.g. RIB 336, 415, 420, 422–427, 577–579, 580, 593, 1575, 1813, 1814, 1816, 1818, 1820, 1822, 1917, 3274, 3416, 3426.

72 The construction of a bridge with a length of 187 and a width of 10 Roman feet is recorded on an inscription from Aenona (ILJug 215): *C(aius) Iulius Ceuni f(ilius) / Ser(gia) Curticus Aetor / pontem de sua pecun(ia) / fecit / lon(gum) p(e)d(es) CXXCVII / lat(um) p(edes) X*.

73 Cf. Ilakovac 1982, 35–105; 1984.

74 Matijević 2009, 39–40.

FIGURE 12. Fragment of a stele with moulded frame (AMZd, inv. no. A27855; photo by O. Harl; made by Marun 1998, 223).



There are a few corrections to the previous reading. Firstly, the *cognomen* of the deceased starts not with the letter 'N' (which was presumed by Matijević), but with the letter 'M'. The interpunct between the letters 'L' and 'M' indicates a naming pattern with a *praenomen* and *cognomen*, which is something that is already documented in the case of M. Pytha Segni f., another soldier of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*.⁷⁵ Furthermore, the reduced letter 'O' implies that the *cognomen* of the deceased ended with that letter.⁷⁶ Accordingly, it seems that his name was L. Mario.⁷⁷ The *praenomen* in this case, as well as with M. Pytha, probably stands as another *cognomen*.⁷⁸ The letter 'N', at the end of the first line, most likely belongs to a patronymic. The third preserved line begins not with the letter 'H' (which Matijević thought to be the continuation of the word *cohortis* in the line above) but with the ordinal number II.

The reading is as follows:

L(ucius) Mario N[---] / f(ilius) miles co[h(ortis)] / II Cyrr(h)es[ta(r)um] / domo Be[r(o)ea] / ann(or)um L stip(endiorum) [---] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

75 CIL III 14934. For other examples, see Holder 1980, 62–63.

76 A reduced letter usually comes at the end of an inscribed word on inscriptions. For example, the reduced letter 'O' is inscribed at the end of the content *Pŕh̄artha(rum)* on an inscription from Klis which commemorated a decurio of *ala Parthorum* (CIL III 8746). For the photograph, see Cesarik 2020, 368, sl. 45. The same applies to the letter 'S' in the *cognomen Andromachus* in AE 1994, 1358 (see Figs 20–21 in this paper).

77 For the *cognomen Mario*, see OPEL III, 58. The *cognomen Marion* (which is not included in OPEL) can also come into consideration. It is found in Italy (CIL X 3890; CIL XI 37), Baetica (HEp 2001, 476 = AE 2001, 1188), and Palestina (CIIP I 570). A similar *cognomen, Mara*, is already recorded among the soldiers of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* in Dalmatia (AE 2009, 1015). For some other similar cognomina recorded in Dalmatia (*Maria* and *Maro*), see Alföldy 1969, 238–239.

78 For double *cognomina*, see Holder 1980, 53–54.

79 The first letter is 'A' (the lower part of its right diagonal stroke is tracea-

10. Fragment of a stele with moulded frame (Fig. 13)

AMZd inv. no.: A7631

Dimensions: h 34, w 37, th 23 cm

Height of letters: 4 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

[---]A[---]

[---]QH II CYR

[---]T DOMO

[---]A ANN LXI

[---] XXXVI

[--] E

There are six preserved lines in this inscription. The first one is completely unreadable, and there are traces of only two letters in it.⁷⁹ The second line begins with the letters 'QH', followed by the ordinal number II. After the number, there is the letter 'C', then half of a vertical letter ('I' or 'Y'), and finally a letter 'R'.

According to the epigraphic evidence, there were 18 confirmed auxiliary cohorts stationed in Dalmatia during the Principate.⁸⁰ Only one of them was numbered II with a name beginning with the letter 'C': the *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, a special unit of archers (*cohors sagittaria*) recruited from Syria.

ble). The second is probably the letter 'P' or 'F' (at the mid-point of the vertical stroke, part of a curved or a horizontal stroke is visible).

80 Alföldy 1987, 239–297.

81 The diagonal strokes of the letter 'Y' were carved from the top of the ver-



FIGURE 13. Fragment of a stele with moulded frame (AMZd, inv. no. A7631; photo by I. Condić).



FIGURE 14. Fragment of an inscription (AMZd, inv. no. A7348; photo by O. Harl).

Consequently, the vertical letter after 'C' is the letter 'Y'.⁸² The third preserved line begins with the partially preserved letter 'T' (the vertical stroke and the left half of the head-stroke are visible), implying that the ethnic *Cyrrhestarum* was recorded in slightly abbreviated form.⁸² After that comes the word 'DOMO'. Not including this inscription, there are eight previously known inscriptions of soldiers of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*. Six of them have expressed their origin: five originated from Beroea,⁸³ and one from Cyrrhus.⁸⁴ Considering the first letter in the fourth line of this inscription (which is an 'A'), representing the end of a word, it is most probable that the deceased soldier originated from Beroea.⁸⁵ The statement of the years lived and served in the army comes after the record of the origin. It is noteworthy to point out that the high numbers (61 years lived and 36 served in the military) suit the other cases of soldiers of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, since almost all of them lived long lives and served in the military for an unusually long period.⁸⁶ At the end of the inscription (in the sixth line), there is a trace of a letter 'E', which is part of the formulation [*h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*].

tical stroke. Analogies can be found on inscriptions from Tilverium (AE 1995, 1232 = Lupa 21465; CIL III 14934 = Lupa 24915) and Narona (CIL III 1832 = Lupa 24163).

82 Although the full ethnic name of the unit is *Cyrrhestarum* (cf. AE 1994, 1357), on inscriptions the name was usually abbreviated in several forms, such as CYRRHESSTARV (AE 1925, 132 = ILJug 2820), CYRRHESSTAR (AE 2009, 1015), CYRRESTAR (AE 1994, 1358; and probably AE 2009, 1034 = inscription no. 9 in this paper), CHYRRES (CIL III 14934), and CYRR (ILJug 842).

83 CIL III 14934; ILJug 889; ILJug 2820; AE 2009, 1015; AE 2009, 1034 (= inscription no. 9 in this paper).

84 ILJug 842. The whole unit is named after *Cyrrhus*, which is why it is logical to assume that the two soldiers recorded on the inscriptions from Dugopolje (AE 1994, 1357–1358) were also born in that city. Since they stated their affiliation to the cohort, there was no need to separately mention the *domus* (cf. Cambi 1993, 159).

85 Although the full name was *Beroea*, on all inscriptions from Dalmatia the city is stated as *Berea* (see note 83).

86 Cf. Cesarik 2020, 313–315, 328–336.

The reading is:

[...]A[...] / [...] mil(es) c]oh(ortis) II Cyr/[rhes]t(arum) domo / [Ber(o) e]a ann(or)um LXI / [stip(endiorum)] XXXVI / [h(ic) s(itus)] e(st).

11. A fragment of an inscription (Fig. 14)

AMZd inv. no.: A7348

Dimensions: h 19, w 28, th 11 cm

Height of letters: 7 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

[...]R[...]

[...]O LEG X[...]

[...]

A fragment of an inscription, probably part of a funerary stele. There are two preserved lines. There is a trace of the letter 'R' in the first line, while in the second there is a record of *leg(ionis?) X[-]* – most probably *legio XI*. Before the statement of the legion, there is a right curved stroke. Therefore, letters such as 'O', 'D' or reversed 'C' should be considered.⁸⁷ Since the letter is most probably part of a military rank, positions such as *optio* (if the letter is 'O'), *medicus* (if the letter is 'D'),⁸⁸ or *centurio* (if it is a reversed 'C') could come into consideration. However, that remains unresolved. (I am proposing the letter 'O' with a question mark.)

The reading is:

[...]R[...] / [...]o(?) leg(ionis?) X[[-]] / [...].

87 I consider that the letter 'Q' should be rejected as a possibility, since there is no trace of a lower curved stroke.

88 Cf. Cesarik 2014.

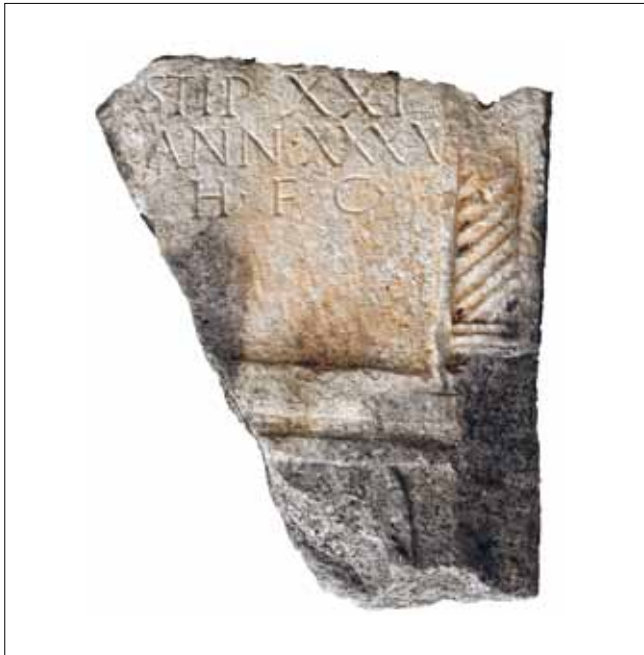


FIGURE 15. Fragment of a stele with architectural frame (AMZd, inv. no. A22018; photo by O. Harl).

12. A fragment of a stele with architectural frame (Fig. 15)

AMZd inv. no.: A22018

Dimensions: h 75, w 63, th 24 cm

Height of letters: 1st line: 6; 2nd and 3rd: 5.5 cm

Material: limestone

Findspot: wider area of Burnum

Text in majuscule:

[---]

STIP XXI

ANN XXXX

H F C

A fragment of a monumental stele with architectural frame and partially preserved inscription in three lines. The first line contains the statement of years served in the army; the second, years lived; and the third, the formulation *h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. A spirally fluted column flanks the inscription field on the right-hand side. The lower part of the stele is not moulded with any decoration or architectural element. Still, it contains a trace of a depiction of a tool (probably *dolabra*). Such depictions were most popular amongst ordinary soldiers of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* from Burnum.⁸⁹ Hence, the commemorated soldier was most probably a soldier of that unit.

The reading is:

[---] / *stip(endiorum) XXI* / *ann(orum) XXXX* / *h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

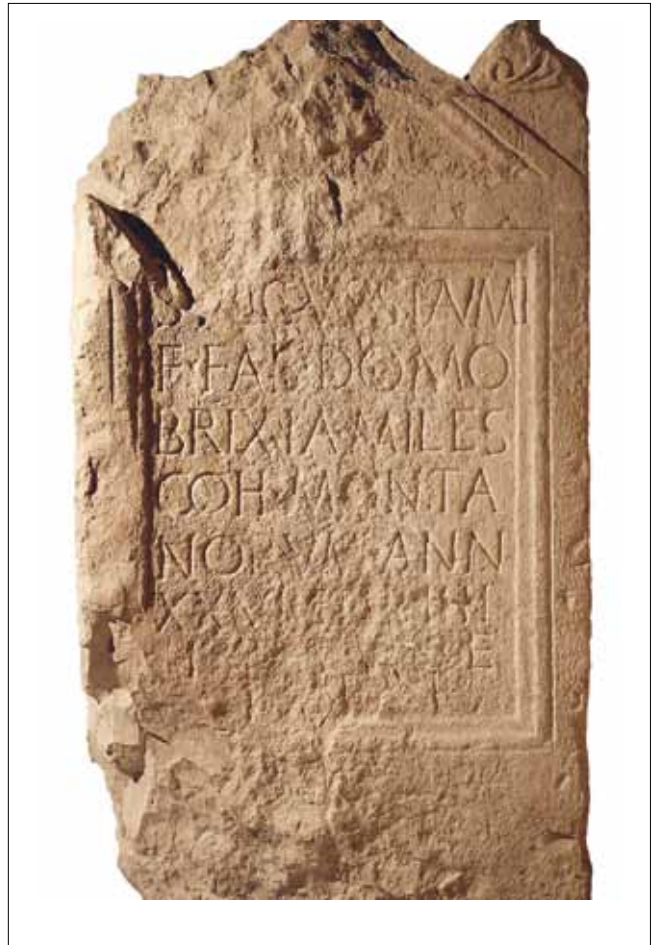


FIGURE 16. Stele of Sucicus Staumi f. (AMZd, inv. no. A27907; photo by I. Čondić).



FIGURE 17. Stele of Sucicus Staumi f.: detail (AMZd, inv. no. A27907; photo by I. Čondić).

Conclusion

The unpublished inscriptions of Roman soldiers at the Archaeological Museum in Zadar provide new data on the soldiers and units garrisoning the Liburnian frontier. According to several key factors, such as the documentation of Lujo Marun, the content of the inscriptions, and their place within the Museum's depot, it is most probable that all of them originate from the broader territory of the garrison of Burnum. The inscriptions record several units that occupied Burnum during the first century AD, from legions (*legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, *legio III Flavia Felix*) to auxiliary units (*cohors II Cyrrhestarum*). The group

of unpublished monuments at the Archaeological Museum in Zadar also provides a new insight into the distribution of several types of funerary stelae on the Liburnian frontier, which can implement a particular development in future studies of funeral monuments in Roman Dalmatia.

It is also worthy of mention that this paper has brought to light several centurial stones, which are some of the first recorded inscriptions of this type from the legionary encampments in Roman Dalmatia.⁹⁰ If I could single out one of them, it would probably be the stone with the record of *cohors VII, centuria Iulii Prisci*, which conducted a specific construction of a length or width of 127 Roman feet (*operum longum vel latum pedes CXXVII*). Not only because *Iulius Priscus* – a centurion of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* – is already recorded on an inscription from Burnum, but because the expression *operis longum pedes* opens up the possibility that it refers to the construction (or reconstruction) of some of the bridges around Burnum. It was precisely the control of crossings over the Rivers Krka and Zrmanja that provided the prosperity of the Liburnian community of *Burnistae*, whose main centre was located on the dominant hillfort of Radučka glavica. After the Great War of AD 6–9, the natural corridor between these crossings came under the control of Roman legionaries and auxiliaries who were – at some point – evidently engaged in the construction of bridges – a vital segment of a comprehensive road network built around the legionary encampment.

Appendix I

While observing inscriptions of Roman soldiers at the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, I noted that the reading of the inscription ILJug 841 should be corrected (Fig. 16).

Mate Suić, who first published the inscription, read the deceased soldier's name as *Buccus Staumi filius*.⁹¹ However, the first letter of his name is not 'B', but 'S', which indicates the conclusion that his name was *Succus*.⁹² But there is another letter in his name: between the letters 'CC', there is a reduced letter 'I' (Fig. 17),⁹³ which means that his name was *Sucicus Staumi filius*:

Sucicus Staumi / f(i)lius Fab(ia) domo / Brixia miles / coh(ortis) Monta(norum) ann(or)um / XXVI stip(endiorum) IIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

90 Previously, inscription AE 2009, 1033, with the graffito *7(centuria) Pompeii* scratched on the column, from the amphitheatre in Burnum (cf. Glavičić 2011, 308, sl. 50) was the only known centurial stone from Dalmatia. However, that being an informal graffito scratched on the column, it could be said that the stones presented in this paper are the first known regular centurial stones from Dalmatia.

91 Suić 1970, 106–108.

92 It is interesting to note that Holder (1980, 114, 152, 319, No. 1881), discussing this inscription, also mentions the name *Succus*, but without further argument and referring only to Suić.

93 At first, I was not sure whether it is a carved letter or subsequent damage to the stone. The fact that, so far, no recorded name begins with *Sucic-* (cf. OPEL IV, 97) aroused further doubts – especially since there are several confirmations of the name *Succus* (EDCS-53700331, EDCS-50100258, and most probably EDCS-53700519). But a direct insight into the inscription proved that it is indeed a carved letter, so that the name of the soldier was indeed *Sucicus Staumi f.* As mentioned, the name *Sucicus* has not yet been recorded on inscriptions, and the most similar comparanda are found in names such as *Succio*, *Succius*, *Succo* and the aforementioned *Succus* (cf. OPEL IV, 97).

Suić also noted that *Sucicus* was “obviously a Roman citizen”, since he was enrolled in the tribe of *Fabia*.⁹⁴ There is a similar case featuring another member of *cohors I Montanorum* from Carnuntum, named *Esdrius Stai f. domo Brixia Fabia*.⁹⁵ The case of *Sucicus* was also argued by D. B. Saddington, who concluded that he was a Roman citizen who decided to use his former peregrine name.⁹⁶

However, there is a possibility that the word *Fabia* should not be considered as *Sucicus*'s voting tribe. Rather, it could be regarded as a pseudo-honorary title of the city of *Brixia*, similar to the cases of the so-called pseudo-tribe.⁹⁷ There are several inscriptions with such a statement (*domo Fabia Brixia*).⁹⁸ However, *Sucicus*'s case would be the only one where the naming of the voting tribe and the city is separated by the word *domo*. Thus, it seems that *Sucicus* meant to say that he was *domo Fabia Brixia*, but that the stonemason misplaced the words. According to the analogy with *Esdrius Stai filius, domo Brixia Fabia*,⁹⁹ such a proposition seems quite reasonable. Therefore, in my opinion, *Sucicus* should not be considered a Roman citizen but a peregrine from the town of (*Fabia*) *Brixia*. His peregrine name and patronymic (*Sucicus Staumi f.*), as well as his enlistment in the auxiliary cohort (*cohors Montanorum*),¹⁰⁰ certainly provide elements for such a conclusion.

Appendix II

There is another inscription located in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar that needs a particular development in its reading. It is the altar of *Ianus Pater* from Nedinum, erected by T. Octavius Macer, a centurion of *cohors I Liburnorum* (Fig. 18).¹⁰¹ In all epigraphic databases, the first line of the inscription is always displayed as *T(itus) Octavius*.¹⁰² However, two more letters are visible in that line, which are the product of a stonemason's correction of an initial mistake. Specifically, after the first five letters of the *nomen* ('OCTAV'), the letter 'I' is visible, followed by the curve of the letter 'C', which is overstruck by the second letter 'I' (Fig. 19). These two letters (the first 'I' and 'C') are carved shallower than the second letter 'I'. The *nomen Octavius* is well attested in *Nedinum*,¹⁰³ so it is evident that these two letters represent a surplus which the stonemason tried to overcarve. However, that fact should be added in the reading of the inscription:

T(itus) Octav<ic>>ius / C(ai) f(i)lius Macer 7(centurio) / coh(ortis) I / Liburnorum / Iano Patri / v(otum) s(olvit) I(ibens) m(erito).

94 Suić 1970, 123.

95 AE 1979, 463: *Esdrius Stai / f(i)lius domo Bri/xia Fab(ia) tubicen / coho(rtis) I Mon(tanorum) / ann(or)um XXXV stip(endiorum) / XIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Verda-vi duo / cognati / posuerunt*.

96 Saddington 2000, 170–171.

97 Cf. Forni 1985.

98 CIL VI 37220; ILJug 2097 = AE 1914, 75.

99 In the case of *Esdrius Stai filius*, the possibility that he was not a Roman citizen has already been pointed out by Forni 1992, 204.

100 The other known soldier of *cohors Montanorum* in Burnum (*Remmo Saeconis f.*) was clearly a peregrine (CIL III 15003 = ILJug 2821).

101 ILJug 208 = AE 1950, 111.

102 See, for example, EDCS-10000299; EDH, HD021805; Lupa 24133.

103 CIL III 2864, 2865, 2869, 2870, 2872, 2874, 14000.



FIGURE 18. Altar to Janus Pater (AMZd, inv. no. A7291; photo by O. Harl).



FIGURE 19. Altar to Janus Pater: detail (AMZd, inv. no. A7291; photo by O. Harl).

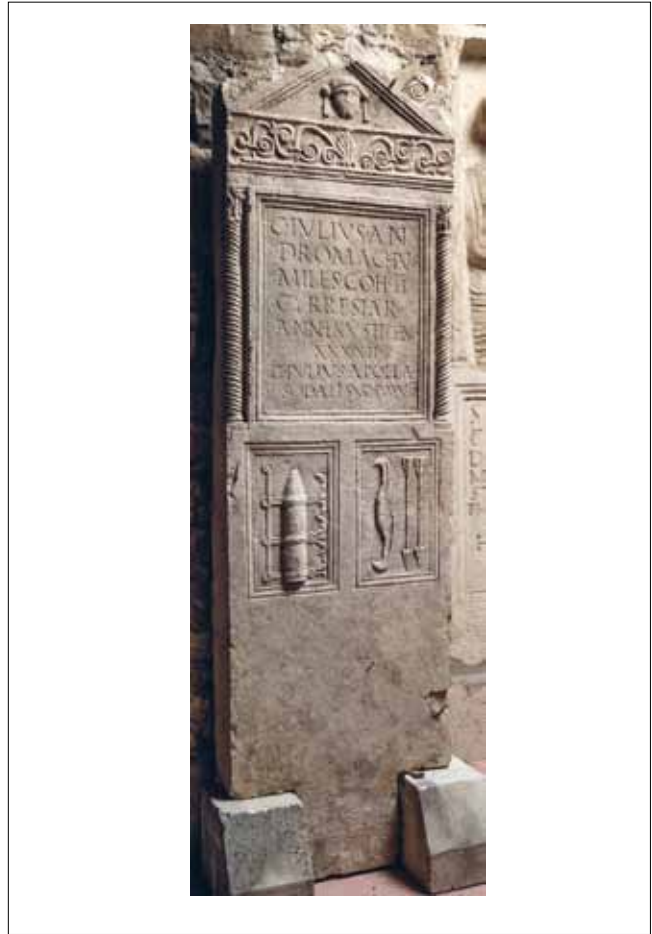


FIGURE 20. Stele of C. Iulius Andromachus (Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A-5963; photo by O. Harl).

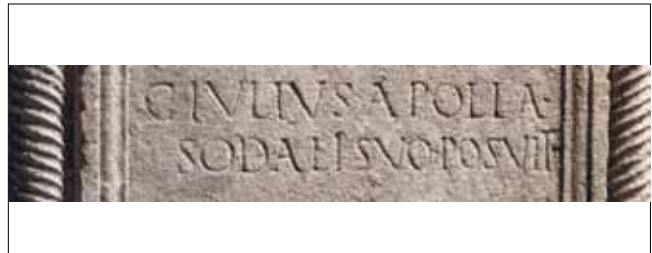


FIGURE 21. Stele of C. Iulius Andromachus: detail (Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A-5963; photo by O. Harl).

Appendix III

Since this contribution has presented a brace of inscriptions of soldiers of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* – including the matter of stela with a door motif – I must note that one inscription deserves an update in its reading. It is the inscription on the stele of C. Iulius Andromachus (Fig. 20), found at Dugopolje in the hinterlands of Salona.¹⁰⁴ The last line of the inscription was read *sodalis*

vo(tum) posuit. However, the word *sodalis* is stated in the dative case (*sodali*), and the letters 'S' and 'VO' represents the dative singular of the masculine possessive pronoun *suus* (Fig. 21).¹⁰⁵ Also, the deceased soldier served 42 years in the army, not 40 as previously thought.

104 Cambi 1993, 161–162, br. 4.

105 The formulation *sodali suo* is relatively well recorded on inscriptions (cf. CIL VI 12352, 21510, 22063, 26117; AE 1968, 611), and the most similar to that from Dugopolje is the formulation *sodali suo fecit* (CIL X 1810; CIL XI 4995 = CIL XIV 2958; AE 1988, 76).

The corrected reading is:

C(aius) Iulius An/dromachus / miles coh(ortis) II / Cyrr(h)estar(um) / ann(or)um LXV stipend(iorum) / XXXXII / C(aius) Iulius Apolla / sodali suo posuit.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my colleagues at the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, Kornelija A. Giunio and Jakov Vučić, for permission to publish the inscriptions presented in this paper, as well as Ortolf Harl and Ivan Čondić for photographing them. I am also grateful to David Štrmelj for all the work carried out during 2015 and 2016 while we were interns in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.

SAŽETAK

NEKOLIKO NEOBJAVLJENIH RIMSKIH NATPISA S LIBURNSKE GRANICE

Rad donosi nekoliko neobjavljenih natpisa sa spomenom rimskih vojnika i vojnih postrojbi koji se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Zadru. Za većinu natpisa nedostaje dokumentacija koja bi mogla dokazati njihovo podrijetlo. Međutim, s obzirom na nekoliko činjenica, poput zapisa iz dnevnika Luje Maruna, povijesnih okolnosti koje su uvjetovale prijenos rimskih spomenika iz Muzeja hrvatskih starina u Kninu u Arheološki muzej u Zadru, kao i smještaja tih spomenika unutar muzejskog depoa, autor zaključuje da svi natpisi potječu s liburnske granice, odnosno sa šireg područja legijske utvrde Burnum.

ABBREVIATIONS

CIIP – *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae: A multi-lingual corpus of the inscriptions from Alexander to Muhammad*, De Gruyter, 2011–

EDCS – *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby* (<http://www.manfredclaus.de>).

EDH – *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* ([edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de](http://www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de)).

HEp – *Hispania Epigraphica*, Madrid, 1989–

ILJug – Šašel, A., Šašel, J., *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 5, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 1963; *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 19, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 1978; *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 25, Narodni muzej Slovenije, 1986.

Lupa – *Ubi Erat Lupa* (<http://lupa.at/>).

RIB – *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* (<https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/>).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alföldy 1969 – G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Beiheft 4, Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1969.
- Alföldy 1987 – G. Alföldy, *Römische Heeresgeschichte: Beiträge 1962–1985*, *Mavors Roman Army Researches* 3, J. C. Gieben, 1987.
- Batović 1988 – Š. Batović, *150 godina Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru / 150 Jahre des Archäologischen Museums in Zadar*, Arheološki muzej Zadar, 1988.
- Bersa 1923 – G. de Bersa, *Dalmatia, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 20, 1923, 413–418.
- Birley 1988 – E. Birley, *The Roman Army: Papers 1929–1986*, *Mavors Roman Army Researches* 4, J. C. Gieben, 1988.
- Cambi 1992 – N. Cambi, Rimski nadgrobní spomenici iz Aserije, *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti* 31/18, 1992, 25–51.
- Cambi 1993 – N. Cambi, Stele iz kasnoantičke grobnice u Dugopolju, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 86, 1993, 147–181.
- Cesarik 2014 – N. Cesarik, The Inscription of Medicus of the XIth Legion from Burnum, *Collegium Antropologicum* 38/2, 739–744.
- Cesarik 2016 – N. Cesarik, Inscriptiones falsae vel alienae from Burnum, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 199, 2016, 231–233.
- Cesarik 2018 – N. Cesarik, Pre-Roman and Roman Burnum: Some Remarks, and New Evidence of the Auxiliary Fort at Čučevo, *Journal of ancient history and archaeology* 5/4, 2018, 5–21.
- Cesarik 2019 – N. Cesarik, The presence of legio XX in Illyricum: a reconsideration, *The Classical Quarterly* 69/1, 278–289.
- Cesarik 2020 – N. Cesarik, *Rimska vojska u provinciji Dalmaciji od Augustova do Hadrijanova principata*, unpublished PhD thesis, Sveučilište u Zadru, 2020.
- Cesarik 2022 – N. Cesarik, Priče iz lapidarija: legio IIII Flavia Felix u Dalmaciji, *Diadora* 36, 2022 (forthcoming).
- Cesarik, Drahotusky-Bruketa 2020 – N. Cesarik, L. Drahotusky-Bruketa, The Inscription of Cohors III Alpinorum from Cecela near Drniš (Dalmatia) and the Question of the Roman Military Presence in Petrovo polje During the Principate, *Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology* 7/2, 2020, 32–45.
- Cesarik, Glavaš 2018 – N. Cesarik, I. Glavaš, Novootkrivena trasa rimske komunikacije od Burna do Kapitula i problem ceste ad imum montem Ditionum Ulcirum, in Miličević Bradač, M., Demicheli, D. (eds.), *The century of the brave: Roman conquest and indigenous resistance in Illyricum during the time of Augustus and his heirs / Stoljeće hrabrih: Rimsko osvajanje i otpor starosjedilaca u Iliriku za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika*, FF Press, 2018, 353–360.
- Cesarik, Glavičić 2018 – N. Cesarik, M. Glavičić, Centurioni XI. legije u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, in Miličević Bradač, M., Demicheli, D. (eds.), *The century of the brave: Roman conquest and indigenous resistance in Illyricum during the time of Augustus and his heirs / Stoljeće hrabrih: Rimsko osvajanje i otpor starosjedilaca u Iliriku za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika*, FF Press, 2018, 125–135.
- Cesarik, Kramberger 2020 – N. Cesarik, V. Kramberger, At the Edge of Liburnia: Hellenistic and Roman Republican Coinage from Radučka glavica, *Journal of ancient history and archaeology* 7/3, 2020, 22–37.
- Cesarik, Štrmelj 2017 – N. Cesarik, D. Štrmelj, The fragment of a statue base of Emperor Lucius Verus from Scardona, *Diadora* 31, 2017, 51–58.
- Fisković 1946 – C. Fisković, *Dalmatinski spomenici i okupator*, Izdanje Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu 1, Slobodna Dalmacija, 1946.
- Forni 1953 – G. Forni, *Il Reclutamento Delle Legioni Da Augusto a Diocleziano*, Fratelli Bocca, 1953.
- Forni 1985 – G. Forni, *Le tribù romane. III. 1. Le pseudo-tribù*, Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, 1985.
- Forni 1992 – G. Forni, *Esercito e Marina di Roma Antica: Raccolta di Contributi*, *Mavors Roman Army Researches* 5, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992.
- Glavičić 2011 – M. Glavičić, Arheološka istraživanja amfiteatra u Burnumu, in Librenjak, A., Tončinić, D. (eds.), *Arheološka istraživanja u Cetinskoj krajini. Radovi kolokvija: Rimska vojska u procesu romaniziranja provincije Dalmacije*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 27, Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Muzej Cetinske krajine, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011, 289–313.
- Glavičić, Miletić 2011 – M. Glavičić, Ž. Miletić, Nekoliko novih antičkih spomenika iz Skradina, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 104, 2011, 113–150.
- Gunjača 1949 – S. Gunjača, Kratak osvrt na prilike i rad muzeja u Kninu, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 1, 1949, 279–294.
- Gunjača 1952 – S. Gunjača, Muzej hrvatskih starina od oslobođenja do danas, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 2, 1952, 221–232.
- Holder 1980 – P. A. Holder, *Studies in the Auxilia of the Roman Army from Augustus to Trajan*, BAR International Series 70, BAR Publishing, 1980.
- Ilakovac 1982 – B. Ilakovac, *Rimski akvedukti na području sjeverne Dalmacije*, Liber, Arheološki muzej Zadar, 1982.
- Ilakovac 1984 – B. Ilakovac, *Burnum II. Der römische Aquädukt Plavno polje - Burnum. Bericht über die Forschungen 1973 und 1974*, Schriften der Balkankommission, Antiquarische Abtheilung 15, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984.
- Kepartová 1986 – J. Kepartová, Frater in Militärschriften - Bruder oder Freund?, *Listy filologické / Folia philologica* 109/1, 1986, 11–14.
- Mann 1983 – J. C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement During the Principate*, Occasional publications 7, UCL Institute of Archaeology, Routledge, 1983.
- Mann 2000 – J. C. Mann, Honesta Missio from the Legions, in Alföldy, G., Dobson, B., Eck, W. (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit: Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 31, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000, 153–161.
- Maršić 2007 – D. Maršić, Nadgrobní spomenici Burnuma (pregled), in Marguš, D. (ed.), *Rijeka Krka i Nacionalni park "Krka". Prirodna i kulturna baština, zaštita i održivi razvitak: zbornik radova*, Javna ustanova Nacionalni park Krka, 2007, 203–228.
- Maršić 2010 – D. Maršić, Lost monuments of Salona (II) / Portrait stelae of two soldiers of Legio VII C.p.f., Gaius Lucretius and Lucius Caesius Bassus, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 103, 2010, 63–80.
- Marun 1998 – L. Marun, *Starinarski dnevnik*, prepisala i za tisak priredila M. Petrinc, Katalozi i monografije 4, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 1998.
- Matijević 2009 – I. Matijević, Dva neobjavljena natpisa Druge kohorte Kiresta iz Dalmacije, *Diadora* 23, 2009, 35–43.
- Miletić 2011 – Ž. Miletić, Production of tegulae in Burnum in the context of building activities, in Lipovac Vrkljan, G., Radić Rossi, I., Šiljeg, B. (eds.), *Rimske keramičarske i staklarske radionice. Proizvodnja i trgovina na jadranskom prostoru: zbornik I. međunarodnog arheološkog kolokvija*, Institut za arheologiju, Grad Crikvenica, Muzej grada Crikvenice, 2011, 263–277.
- Patsch 1895 – K. Patsch, Rimski kameniti spomenici kninskog muzeja, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 7/3, 1895, 379–422.
- Patsch 1897 – C. Patsch, Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien II, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina* 5, 1897, 177–241.
- Patsch 1899 – K. Patsch, Nove tekovine muzeja u Kninu, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini* 11/2, 1899, 481–535.
- Patsch 1900 – C. Patsch, Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien IV, *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina* 7, 1900, 33–166.
- Pelcer-Vujačić 2018 – O. Pelcer-Vujačić, From East to West. Recruitment of soldiers from Asia Minor in Legio VII Claudia and Legio XI Claudia, in Miličević Bradač, M., Demicheli, D. (eds.), *The century of the brave: Roman conquest*

and indigenous resistance in Illyricum during the time of Augustus and his heirs / *Stoljeće hrabrih: Rimsko osvajanje i otpor starosjedilaca u Iliriku za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika*, FF Press, 2018, 157–162.

Saddington 2000 – D. B. Saddington, The sorts of names used by auxiliaries in the Early Principate, in Alföldy, G., Dobson, B., Eck, W. (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit: Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 31, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2000, 163–178.

Speidel 2014 – M. A. Speidel, The Roman Army, in Bruun, C., Edmondson, J. C. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford University Press, 2014, 319–344.

Suić 1950–1951 – M. Suić, Novi natpisi iz sjeverne Dalmacije, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku* 53, 1950–1951, 233–248.

Suić 1952 – M. Suić, Neobjelodanjeni rimski natpisi iz sjeverne Dalmacije, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju Dalmatinsku* 54, 1952, 207–214.

Suić 1970 – M. Suić, Noviji natpisi iz Burnuma, *Diadora* 5, 1970, 93–130.

Tončinić 2011 – *Spomenici VII. legije na području rimske provincije Dalmacije / Monuments of Legio VII in the Roman Province of Dalmatia*, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, 2011.

Uroda, Šeparović 2009 – N. Uroda, T. Šeparović, *Antička zbirka Muzeja hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika (izbor) / Ancient Roman Collection of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments (A Selection)*, Katalozi i monografije 17, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2009.

Voinovich 1907 – M. pl. Voinovich, Bojevi u Lici, u ostaloj Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji godine 1809., Knjižara Mirka Breyera, 1907.

Woinovich 1906 – E. von Woinovich, *Kämpfe in der Lika, in Kroatien u. Dalmatien*, Das Kriegsjahr 1809 in Einzeldarstellungen 6, C. W. Stern, 1906.