SEVERAL UNPUBLISHED ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LIBURNIAN FRONTIER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

The paper presents several unpublished inscriptions, with a record of Roman soldiers and military units, that are kept in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar.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; 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 1968, 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 Suč (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 Suč 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. Suč 1950–1951, 233).
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 legionary fortress of Burnum. 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. The majority of that collection were inscriptions from Burnum and its surroundings. 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, and all mention Roman soldiers and military units, it seems logical to conclude that they all originate 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 legionary fortress and its immediate surroundings. On the contrary, the legionary 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 major strategic advantage was the control of natural passages which connected south-eastern Liburnia with the territory of the Ditiones, Iapodes and especially Delmatae. 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 legionary encampment, which is especially noticeable through the dispersion of the findspots of inscriptions of Roman soldiers (Map 1).
Burnum: between the crossings on the Rivers Krka and Zrmanja

The main crossings on the upper Krka are located over the traversine barriers of Čavlinov buk, Bilišća buk, Brlijan and Manojoševac, while there are also several minor crossings at Miljaka slap, Dajleni buk and a place called ‘Mostina’ located between the medieval forteresses of Trošćen and Nećven. For control of these crossings, the Romans built a line of fortifications consisting of one legionary fortress and four auxiliary forts. 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.

The main crossings over the upper Zrmanja are found at Krovaja Draga, between Padene and Prjeve, 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. The presence of Roman soldiers in Mokro Polje and Padene is traced by several inscriptions of soldiers of legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis, 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 Padene, 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 Kninski polje, which opens a natural passage to several geographic entireties; and again, the key geographic elements are the valleys of smaller rivers which flow into the River Krka, such as the Krčić, Kosovčica and Butičnica. The valley of the Krčić connects Kninski polje with the valley of the Cetina, while the Kosovčica combines Kninski polje with Kosovo polje, which served as legionary meadows (prata legionis). The key entries into prata legionis were guarded by the outposts at Klanac and Kapitul.

The valley of the River Butičnica, on the other hand, has an even more important role, since it connects Kninski polje with two stream valleys: the valley of the Radijevac and that of the Mrčač. 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. The other valley leads to Bosansko Grahovo and further to the valley of the River Sava in Pannonia, and its confluence with the River Butičnica was under the watch of legionaries placed in Strmica.

To the south of the legionary encampment, there is another vital river crossing: that at the traversine barrier of Roški slap, which was under the control of legionary veterans. 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. As indicated by the inscriptions, 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, Padene, Strmica, Kapitul near Knin, Klanac near Tepluh, 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 spots – especially since Lujo Marun often visited all of these places and purchased archaeological finds from local inhabitants. 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 212–219 and 349–366).
13 See, especially, Woinovich 1906, 2–3. (For a Croatian translation of the same work, see Voinovich 1907, 4).
14 CIL III 6416, 9905; Il Jug 2811.
15 AE 1898, 923; CIL III 13250; See Cesarik, Drahotsky-Bruketa 2020, 38–42.
16 Incriptions recorded at Klanac: CIL III 6419 = 9897 (legionary), CIL III 9829, 9834, 12220 (auxiliaries); Incriptions from Kapitul: CIL III 9903, 9904, 9906, 9908, 9909 (legionaries), CIL III 9907 = 142321 (auxiliary).
19 CIL III 13251.
20 CIL III 2817, 2818, 9885.
22 CIL III 6413.
23 It may be handy to sum up all the finds from these spots: Mokro Polje (legionaries: CIL III 6426, 9905; Il Jug 2812), Padene (legionary: CIL III 13251), Strmica (legionary: CIL III 6273), Kapitul near Knin, (legionaries: CIL III 9903, 9904, 9906, 9908, 9909, auxiliary: CIL III 9907 = 142321), Klanac near Tepluh (legionary: CIL III 6419 = 9897, auxiliaries: CIL III 9829, 9834, 12220), 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 located today in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (AMZD inv. no. A30455 – lower part of CIL III 6417; cf. Marun 1998, 225; and AMZD inv. no. A30469 – fragment no. 6 of CIL III 6426; cf. Marun 1998, 231). Another good example is the inscription with a record of cohorts III Alpino rum 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, Drahotsky-Bruketa 2020).
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 cohares II Cyrrhestarum. 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.

So far, the only known stelae from Burnum with a door motif are the stele of Dacnas Apsei f., another soldier of cohares II Cyrrhestarum, and the stele of P. Carsidius P. f. Calvus, an aquilifer of legio III Flavia Felix (Fig. 2). 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. 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, 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 III 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 III 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. Mannaeus, 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

---

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 XVII
H S E
C MANNAEVSTFRATER
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. However, the typical form of door from Tilurium is a type with four panels, while this fragment contains only two, with door knockers inside.

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

The reading is:

```
[---] / [--- ann(orum)] / 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

Compared with other stelae from Burnum, this one is straightforward in form, without moulding or decoration. 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 IIII Flavia Felix occupied Burnum during the reigns of Flavian emperors, 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’. There is only one letter in the last line.


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

36 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 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’.
most probably the letter ‘T’. 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) leg(ionis) III[I] Flaviae F(elicis) / stip(endorum) XXXI h(eres) f(ieri?) i(uussit?) / 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. However, there are several inscriptions of ordinary soldiers (milites legiones) who served in the legion for 30 years. 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 IIII 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. So, how could it be that this soldier received 31 annual payments serving in IIII 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 IIII Macedonica was reorganized as the newly-founded legio IIII Flavia Felix. If that is the case, it seems reasonable to conclude that the soldier commemorated on this inscription originally served in legio IIII Macedonica. After its disbandment, he joined the reorganized legion – IIII Flavia Felix – where he served for the rest of his life while the legion still resided in Dalmatia.

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:

[--] / [---] / [---] / [---] / [---] / [---]

Text: [---] / [---] / [---] / [---] / [---]

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 Cesark (2020, 221–226). For the period of service in the legions, see Mann 2000.
42 CIL XIII 6984, 12851 (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 praelor.
44 Birley 1988, 311–315. For a separate discussion on this subject, see Cesari 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 IIII 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 legiones IIII Macedonicae from Roški slap, on the River Krka (CIL III 2817). In my opinion, this is the direct link between IIII Macedonica and IIII Flavia Felix. The veterans of IIII 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 IIII Flavia Felix was organized on Dalmatian soil (cf. Cesarik 2020, 272).
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. 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. 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. The last line contains letters ‘F’ and ‘I’, which are part of the funerary formulation (testamento) f(ieri) i(ussit).

The reading is:
--- / [mi]l(es) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) [P(iae) F(idelis)] / [7(cen-
---turia)] Dentoni Pr[o/c]l[i] st[ip(endiorum)] XXIII / [t(estamento)]
--- 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, 366–367.
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. Cesarič, Gla-
včić 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).
recorded the find on 3 April 1905. 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:

\[
\text{[--- leg(ionis) XI Claudiae P(iae) F(idelis) / an(orum) XXXX stipendorum) / X] pos(it) Priscu[us] / frat(er).}
\]

Again, the commemorator addresses himself as a frater of the deceased, but this time he is only named with a cognomen: Priscus. 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

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 stele 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.

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), 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. 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 1993, 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 Claudia Pia Fidelis, and that the content Illi Flavia Felix 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 hic [situs est] or h(eres) [faciendum curavit].
58 I consider that the first solution would be more suitable in this case.

The reading is as follows:

[-] / Rufus Nico[media] vel pol[i] / mil(es) leg(ionis) [XI] / ann[orum] XLV[--- stip(endiorum)] / XV[---] / h(ic) [s(itus) e(st)].

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.

59 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.

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.
46 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,
53 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 III Flavia Felix.

56 Cesari 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).
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. Cesari 2020, 262–277). Whatever the case, it seems that – at one period – the permanent inscription 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. Cesari 2019. For the evidence of legio XX in Tullinum, see Cesari 2020, 150–153.
The reading is:
*Coh(ortis) III / [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 *ansa*. 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.

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 PRISC
OP L P
CXVII

---

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) Tritania / op(eris) p(edes) XXVII*.
63 For the nomen *Clodius* in Dalmatia, cf. Alföldy 1969, 76; OPEL II, 65.
This monument is another centuriol stone, this time with the mention of a legionary cohort.\(^64\) It contains four lines separated by shallownly 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 centuriol sign (similar to the symbol ‘\(\psi\)’), 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 centuriol. 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 centuriol 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 centuriol 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 (longum) p(edes) or (latum) 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 construction.\(^71\) 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:

\[
\text{Coh(ortis) VII / 7(centuria) Iuli Prisci(i) / op(eris) (longum) p(edes) / CXXVII.}
\]

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:

\[
\text{L MARIO N[---]}
\]

\[
\text{F MILES CO[---]}
\]

\[
\text{II CYRRES[---]}
\]

\[
\text{DOMO BE[---]}
\]

\[
\text{ANN L STIP[---] /}
\]

\[
\text{H S E T F I}
\]

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 curved stroke on the left part of its lower half, which is probably a product of subsequent damage.


\[^{68}\] CIL III 24999. (Lucius) Flavius / (Luci) filius Fabia Valens / (Luci) filius Heraclea / Miles legionis XI Claudiae / (Flaiae) Fidelis / 7(centuria) Iuli Prisci an(norum) / XLI stip(ulendorum) XXII / 7(centuria) Iuli Prisci / heres (faciendum) curavit.

\[^{69}\] 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.

\[^{70}\] Cf CIL VII 228 = RIB 593.

\[^{71}\] 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 Aerona (ILJug 215). Claudius Iulius Ceunii filius / Ser(lia) Curticus Aetor / pontem de sua pecun(ia) / fecit / (longum) p(edes) (ES) CXXCVII / (latum) p(edes) X.

\[^{73}\] Cf Ilakovac 1982, 35–105; 1984

\[^{74}\] Matijević 2009, 39–40.
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[tar(um)]/ domo Be[roea]/ ann(orum) L stip(endiorum) [---]/h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(uissit).

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 ‘OH’, 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.
Consequently, the vertical letter after ‘C’ is the letter ‘Y’. The third preserved line begins with the partially preserved letter ‘I’ (the vertical stroke and the left half of the head-stroke are visible), implying that the ethnic Cyrrhestarum was recorded in slightly abbreviated form. 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, and one from Cyrrhus. 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. 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. At the end of the inscription (in the sixth line), there is a trace of a letter ‘E’, which is part of the formulation [hic s(itus)] est.

The reading is:

[---A---] / [-- mil(es) c]oh(ortis) II Cyr/[rhes]tarum domo / [Ber(o) e]a ann(orum) LXI / [stip(endiorum)] XXXVI / [hic s(itus)] est.

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(ionis?) X[I ---] / [---]

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?) XI – 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. 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’), 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[I ---] / [---].

11. A fragment of an inscription (AMZd, inv. no. A7348, 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. Hence, the commemorated soldier was most probably a soldier of that unit.

The reading is:
[---]/ stip(endorum) XXII / ann(orum) XXXX / h(eres) f(acientum) c(uravit).

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 IIII Flavia Felix) to auxiliary units (cohors II Cyrrhestarum). The group

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

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).
of unpublished monuments at the Archaeological Museum in Zadar also provides a new insight into the distribution of several types of funerary stela 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 Burnistiae, 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 Suic, 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 Succus Staumi filius:

\begin{verbatim}
Succus Staumi / filius / Fab(a) / domo / Brixia miles / coh/or(tis)
\end{verbatim}

Suić also noted that Succus 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 Succius 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 Succius’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, Succius’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 Succus 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, Succus should not be considered a Roman citizen but a peregrine from the town of (Fabia) Brixia. His peregrine name and patronymic (Succus Staumi filius), 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) Octavius f. / C(ai) f(ilius) Macer / centurio / coh/or(tis) / Liburnorum / ianu / patris / v(otum) / s(olvi) / (libens) m(erito).

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, xi 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.


92 It is interesting to note that Holder (1980, 314, 315, 319, No. 1881), discussing this inscription, also mentions the name Succus, but without further argument and referring only to Suic.

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 Succ If (cf. OPEL IV, 97) aroused further doubts – especially since there are several confirmations of the name Succus (EDCS-5370031, EDCS-50100258, and most probably EDCS-5370039). But a direct insight into the inscription proved that it is indeed a carved letter, so that the name of the soldier was indeed Succus Staumi f. As mentioned, the name Succus has not yet been recorded on inscriptions, and the most similar comparanda are found in names such as Succio, Succus, Succo and the aforementioned Succus (cf. OPEL IV, 97).

94 Suic 1970, 123.

95 AE 1979, 463: Esdrius Stai f/illus domo / Brixia Fabia / tubicen / coh/or(tis) I / Montanorum / ann/orum / XXXV stip(endiorum) / XIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)/ t( testamento) f(ierii) i(ussit).


97 Cf Forni 1985.

98 CIL III 37220, ILJug 2007 = 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 Sae conis f) was clearly a peregrine (CIL III 15000 = ILJug 2821).

101 ILJug 208 = AE 1950, 111.

102 See, for example, EDCS-10000819, EDH, MDX22805, Lupa 24133.

103 CIL III 2864, 2865, 2869, 2870, 2872, 2874, 2876, 14000.
Appendix III

Since this contribution has presented a brace of inscriptions of soldiers of cohors II Cyrrhestarum – including the matter of stelae 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.\(^\text{104}\) The last line of the inscription was read sodalis vo(tum) posuit. However, the word sodalis is stated in the dative case (sodalī), and the letters ‘S’ and ‘VO’ represents the dative singular of the masculine possessive pronoun suus (Fig. 21).\(^\text{105}\) 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, 612), 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)
Nikola Cesarić: Nekoliko neobjavljenih rimskih natpisa s Liburnske granice

SAŽETAK

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 do-kazati 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.

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.

ABBREVIATIONS

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


HEP – Hispania Epigraphica, Madrid, 1989–


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

RIB – The Roman Inscriptions of Britain (https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/)
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alfofdy 1969 – G. Alfofdy, Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dal-
matia, Beiträge zur Namenforschung, Beih. 4, Carl Winter Universitätsver-
lag, 1969.


Batović 1988 – S. Batović, 50 godina Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru / 50 Jahre des 

Bersa 1923 – G. de Bersa, Dalmatia, Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità 20, 1923, 
423–438.


Cambi 1992 – N. Cambi, Rimski nadgrobeni spomenici iz Aserije, Radovi Filo-
zoškog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdvo povijesnih znanosti 31/18, 1992, 25–51.

Cambi 1993 – N. Cambi, Stele iz kasnoantičke grobnice u Dugopolju, Vjesnik 

Cesarik 2014 – N. Cesarik, The Inscription of Medicus of the XIIth Legion from 
Burnum, Cesareik Aluminiacum 38/2, 739–744.

Cesarik 2016 – N. Cesarik, Inscriptiones falsae vel alienae from Burnum, 

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 Ilyricum: a reconsidera-
tion, The Classical Quarterly 69/1, 278–289.

Cesarik 2020 – N. Cesarik, Rimsko vojska u provinciji Dalmaciji od Augustova 

Cesarik 2022 – N. Cesarik, Priče iz lapidarija: legio III Flavia Felix u Dalmaciji, 
Diadora 36, 2022 (forthcoming).

Cesarik, Drahotsky-Bruketa 2020 – N. Cesarik, L. Drahotsky-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 rimsko 
komunikacije od Burna do Kapitula i problem ceste ad imum montem Ditio-
num. Glasnik Zemaljske komisije, Antiquarische Abteilung 15, Österreichische Akademie 
der Wissenschaften, 1897.

Kepartová 1986 – J. Kepartová, Frater in Militärinschriften - Bruder oder Frei-

Mann 1983 – J. C. Mann, Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement Dur-
ing the Principate, Occasional publications 7, UCL Institute of Archaeology, 
Routledge, 1983.

Mann 2000 – J. C. Mann, Honesta Missio from the Legions, in Alföldy, G., Dob-
son, B., Eck, W. (eds.), Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiser-
zeit: Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley, Heidelberger althistorische Beiträge und 

Maršić 2007 – D. Maršić, Starohercegovički spomenici Burnuma (pregled), in Marguš, 

Maršić 2010 – D. Maršić, Lost monuments of Salona (II) / Portrait stelae of two 
soldiers from Asia Minor in Legio VII Claudia and Legio XI Claudia, in Milićević 
and New Evidence of the Auxiliary Fort at Čučevo, Journal of 
Principate, 69/1, 278–289.

Patsch 1900 – C. Patsch, Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur 
Baltische Armee in der Zeit des Augustus und his heirs / Stoljeće hrabrih: Rimsko osvajanje i otpor 
starosjedilaca u Iliriku za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika / Stoljeće hrabrih: Rimsko osvajanje i otpor 
starosjedilaca u Iliriku za vrijeme Augusta i njegovih nasljednika, Franz Steiner Verlag, 1911.

Patsch 1897 – C. Patsch, Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur 
Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien II, Wissenschaftliche Mit-
tellungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina 5, 1897, 177–241.

Patsch 1895 – K. Patsch, Rimski kameniti spomenici kninskog muzeja, Glas-

Patsch 1897 – C. Patsch, Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur 
Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien II, Wissenschaftliche Mit-
tellungen 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 Mit-
tellungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegowina 7, 1900, 33–166.

Pelcer-Vujacic 2018 – O. Pelcer-Vujacic, From East to West. Recruitment of 
soldiers from Asia Minor in Legio VII Claudia and Legio XI Claudia, in Milčević 
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.


