

NADGROBNI TITULI PETRONIJE URSE I EMILIJA ATACINA IZ ANTIČKOGA GROBA U ZADRU*

TITULI OF PETRONIA URSA AND AEMILIUS ATTACINUS FROM A ROMAN-ERA GRAVE IN ZADAR*

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Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja na lokaciji nekadašnjega vrta 'Relja', odnosno budućega poslovno-stambenog centra 'Duca' u Zadru, trajala su šesnaest mjeseci. Otkriveno je 406 grobova u kronološkome rasponu od 1300 godina. Utvrđeni su ukopi iz predantičkoga, antičkoga i kasnoantičkoga (?) razdoblja. S obzirom na to da su istraživanja tek nedavno završena te da se radi na cjelokupnoj obradi dokumentacije i pronađene građe, u ovome trenutku nije moguće napraviti kompletnu tipološko-kronološku analizu ukopa, nalaza i priloga. Stoga će u ovome članku biti obrađena dva nadgrobna natpisa iz inhumiranoga groba br. 21. Oba epigrafska spomenika pronađena su u sekundarnoj uporabi pa je, radi spoznaje o vremenu uništavanja ranijega horizonta i sekundarne uporabe titula, sagledan cijeli kontekst nalaza – grobna konstrukcija i prilozima u grobu. Na jednome titulu, koji podiže Sallustius Paramythius, pokojnica je Petronia Ursa. Ime komemorirane osobe na drugome je titulu Aemilius Attacinus. Preminuo je u 87. godini života pa je izvjesno da je, u vremenu u ko-

Rescue archaeological excavations at the site of the former Relja Garden, i.e. the future commercial/residential centre called Duca in Zadar, were conducted for a duration of six months. 406 graves covering a chronological range of 1,300 years were discovered. Burials preceding Classical Antiquity, as well as those dating to Antiquity and Late Antiquity (?) were ascertained. Given that this research has only recently been concluded and work on processing the overall documentation and materials found is ongoing, at this point it is still not possible to conduct a comprehensive typological and chronological analysis of the burials, finds and grave items. Therefore, this article contains an analysis of two inscriptions from inhumation grave no. 21. Both epigraphic monuments were found in secondary use, so in order to learn about the date of destruction of the earlier horizon and the secondary use of the tituli, the entire context of the find was observed: grave construction and the items found therein. One titulus was commissioned by Sallustius Paramythius to the deceased woman Petronia

* Prvotni tekst predan je za tisak u glasilu Arheološkoga muzeja u Zadru, odnosno za *Diadora* 22. Taj je tekst napisan prije završetka istraživanja i ne sadrži kompletne podatke o količini i karakteru otkrivenih grobova, kao ni potrebne ilustracije koje su u međuvremenu načinjene.

* The initial text was submitted for publication in the bulletin of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, *Diadora* 22. This text was written prior to the completion of research and does not contain complete data on the quantity and character of the discovered graves, nor the necessary illustrations which were subsequently made.

jem je živio, bio jedan od najstarijih stanovnika antičkoga Jadera. Spomenik mu podiže oslobođenik Paulus. Nije isključeno da su imenovane osobe na oba spomenika orijentalnoga podrijetla. Inhumirani grob 21 može se datirati na kraj 2., odnosno u prvu polovinu 3. stoljeća, a oba su titula u svojoj prvoj namjeni nastala na početku ili u prvoj polovini 2. stoljeća po Kristu.

Ključne riječi: Zadar (Iader), antika, kasna antika, nekropola, inhumacija, nadgrobni tituli, epigrafika, Petronia Ursa, Aemilius Attacinus

Zaštitna arheološka istraživanja obavljena su na lokaciji nekadašnjega 'Vrta Relja', odnosno budućega poslovno-stambenog centra 'Duca' u Zadru (sl. 1).¹ U istraženoj prostoru buduće građevinske zone pronađeni su veoma raznovrsni ukopi iz predantičkoga, antičkoga i kasnoantičkoga, odnosno kasnoantičkoga/ranosrednjovjekovnoga razdoblja. Unutar osnovne tipološke podjele ukopa na inhumirane i incinerirane pokojnike mogu se, neovisno o njihovoj kronološkoj pripadnosti, izdvojiti grobovi u zemljanoj raci bez grobne arhitekture, grobovi pod tegulama u zemljanoj ili ožbukanoj raci, grobovi pod tegulama na dvije vode, ukopi u amfori, ukopi u drvenome lijesu, grobovi u keramičkoj ili kamenoj urni koja ponekad sadrži i staklenu urnu, ukopi u zidanim grobnicama itd. Od ukupno 406 otkrivenih grobova većina ih je skeletnih (359), dok je znatno manji broj onih paljevinskih (47). Ukopi imaju kronološki raspon od 1300 godina. Naime na spomenutom dijelu nekropole pronađeni su liburnski grobovi (njih 13) s nalazima iz 7. stoljeća prije Krista, a posljednji horizont ukopa, nakon antičkih i kasnoantičkih, najvjerojatnije pripada razdoblju kasnoga 6. stoljeća po Kristu (201 grob). Željeznodobni liburnski zgrčenci položeni na bok i kasnoantički skeletni ukopi na redove u goloj zemljanoj raci dosad nisu zabilježeni na širem gradskom prostoru. Liburnski grobovi pronađeni su samo pojedinačno na posve različitim pozicijama,² a nekropola na redove, koja se zbog niza elemenata može datirati u horizont 6, odnosno na sam kraj 6. stoljeća, dosad nije bila ustanovljena u Zadru.³ Do novih se spoznaja došlo i u pogledu iznimne tipološke različitosti

Ursa. The name of the person commemorated on the other titulus is Aemilius Attacinus. He died at the age of 87, so it is certain that during his life he was one of the oldest inhabitants of Roman-era Iader. The monument was raised by the freedman Paulus. The possibility that the persons named on both monuments are of Oriental origin has not been excluded. Inhumation grave 21 may be dated to the end of the second or beginning of the third century AD, and both tituli emerged for their original purpose at the beginning or first half of the second century AD.

Key words: Zadar (Iader), Classical Antiquity, Late Antiquity, necropolis, inhumation, grave tituli, epigraphy, Petronia Ursa, Aemilius Attacinus

Archaeological rescue excavations were conducted at the 'Relja Garden' site – the future site of the Duca commercial/residential centre in the city of Zadar (Fig. 1).¹ Burials from pre-Antiquity, Classical and Late Antiquity, that is Late Antique/early medieval period, were discovered in the researched area of this future construction zone. Within the rudimentary typological division into inhumation and incineration graves of the deceased, one can, regardless of their chronological placement, distinguish graves in earthen pits without tomb architecture, graves under tegulae in earthen or plaster-lined pits, graves under gabled tegulae, burials in amphorae, burials in wooden coffins, graves with ceramic or stone urns which sometimes also contain glass urns, burials in walled graves, etc. Out of the total 406 discovered graves, most are skeletal (359), while a considerably smaller number are incineration graves (47). These burials have a chronological range of 1,300 years. Liburnian graves (13) with items dated to the seventh century BC were found in this part of the necropolis, while the last burial horizon, after those of Antiquity and Late Antiquity, probably belongs to the late sixth century AD (201 graves). Iron Age Liburnian burials with contracted skeletons lying on their side and Late Antique skeletal burials in rows in a bare earthen pit have so far not been noted in the wider city environs. Liburnian graves have only been found individually at various sites,² while rowed necropolises, which, due to a series of elements, can be dated to horizon 6, i.e. the very end of the sixth century, have so far not been recorded in Zadar.³ New knowledge was

¹ Prva probna sondažna istraživanja započeta su 27. siječnja 2005. Nakon probnih sondi, koje su potvrdile pretpostavke o tome da se ovdje nalazi dio antičke nekropole Jadera, na ovoj su poziciji nastavljena zaštitna arheološka istraživanja koja su trajala do 30. svibnja 2006. Istraženo je oko 3000 m².

² Jedan ukop zabilježen je kod antičkoga foruma Jadera, a drugi nedaleko od antičkoga bedema (u dvorištu Dječjega dispanzera). Oba su ukopa iz mlađe faze željeznoga doba.

³ Nalazi u ovim grobovima uglavnom su pojasne alke i jedna željezna pojasna kopča, a prilozi su mali novčići koji će se definirati nakon čišćenja i konzervacije.

¹ The first test dig research commenced on January 27, 2005. After excavation of the test pits, which confirmed the hypothesis that a part of the ancient necropolis of Iader is located here, archaeological rescue excavations were continued at this site, which lasted until May 30, 2006. Approximately 3,000 m² were examined.

² One burial was recorded in the Roman-era forum of Iader, and the other not far from the ancient defensive walls (in the yard of today's Children's Clinic). Both burials are from a more recent phase of the Iron Age.

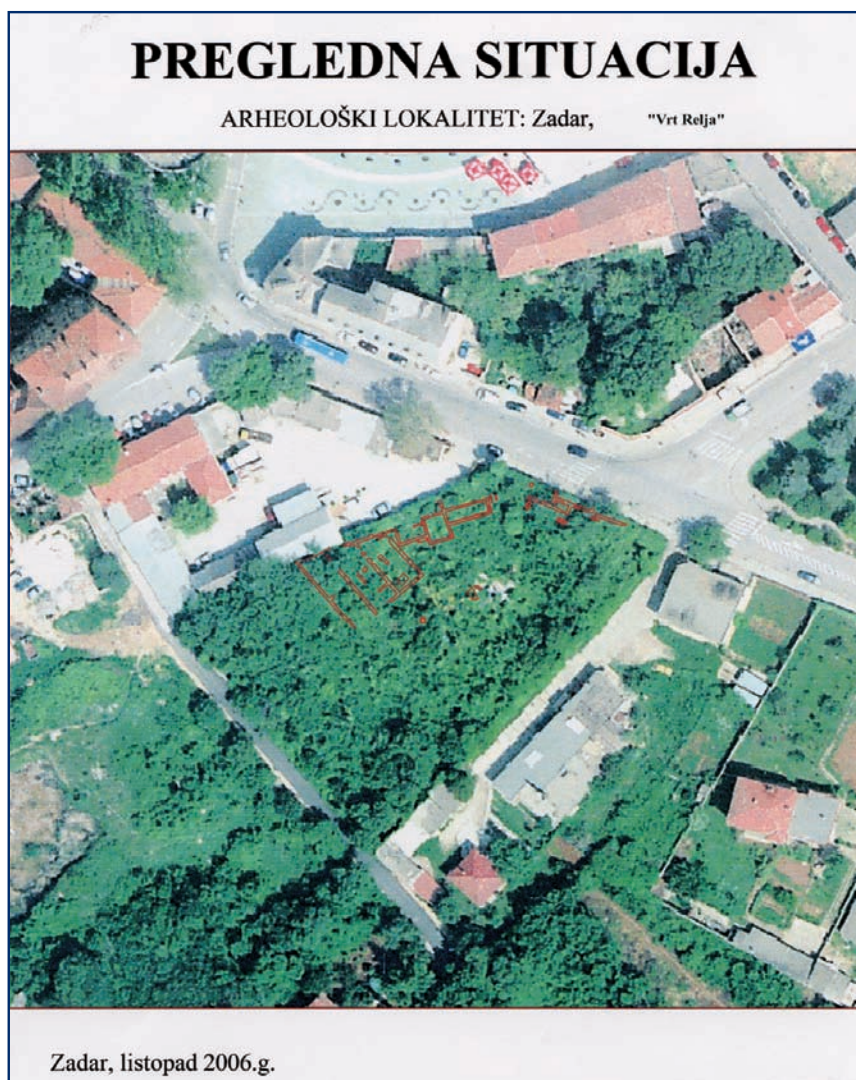
³ The items in these graves are generally belt rings and one iron belt buckle, and the accessories consist of small coins that will be defined after cleaning and conservation.

ukopa incineriranih i inhumiranih pokojnika antičkoga i kasnoantičkoga razdoblja. Incinerirani ukopi mogu se podijeliti s obzirom na to kamo je položen pepeo spaljenoga pokojnika: može biti položen u zemlju (takvih je 7), u keramičku urnu (26), u kamenu urnu kružne ili četvrtaste osnove, ponekad u staklenu urnu (7), a u jednom je slučaju tarionik poslužio kao urna. Posmrtni ostaci spaljenoga pokojnika polagali su se i pod tegule (3) te u amforu (1) i drveni sanduk (1). Osim 13 liburnskih zgrčenaca koji se po nalazima, uz manji broj vremenski nedefiniranih grobova,⁴ mogu datirati u 7. st. prije Krista, najveći je broj kasnoantičkih/ranosrednjovjekovnih inhumiranih grobova u zemljanoj raci bez ikakve grobne konstrukcije (201). Ostali skeletni ukopi pripadaju antičkomu periodu do 5. st. po Kristu, a oni su u zemljanoj raci, pod tegulama, u amforama, u zidanim grobnicama i u drvenim sanducima (103).

Uz bogate nalaze i priloge iznimno su vrijedni i pronađeni zidovi grobnih parcela. Ustanovljen je pravac i perimetar njihova širenja, čime je utvrđen kraj prostiranja nekropole antičkoga Zadra (*Jadera*) prema jugozapadu (sl. 1, 2, 3).

S obzirom na to da su istraživanja tek završena, u ovome se trenutku ne mogu napraviti temeljite tipološko-kronološke analize ukopa ili kompletno obraditi cjelokupna pronađena arheološka građa. Zato ćemo u ovome članku obraditi dva nadgrobna natpisa iz inhumiranoga groba br. 21. Oba su natpisa u tome grobu pronađena kao spolije (sl. 8). Iznimno su važni i vrijedni jer, bez obzira na sekundarnu upotrebu na istoj nekropoli, donose nova saznanja o razvoju nekropole te o stanovništvu i antroponimiji antičkoga Jadera. Sagledat ćemo cijeli kontekst nalaza, i grobnu konstrukciju i nalaze u grobu, kako bismo odredili vrijeme uništavanja ranijega horizonta i sekundarne uporabe titula na ovome dijelu nekropole.

also generated with reference to the exceptional typological differences between the incineration and inhumation graves of Antiquity and Late Antiquity. The incineration burials can be distinguished in terms of where the ashes of the cremated deceased person were laid: it may be placed in the soil (there are 7 like this), in a ceramic urn (26), in a circular or rectangular stone, and sometimes glass, urn (7), and in one case a mortar was used as an urn. The remains of cremated bodies were also placed under tegulae (3) and in an amphora (1) and a wooden box (1). Besides the 13 contracted Liburnian skeletons which, based on the accessories, and notwithstanding a smaller number of undefined graves,⁴ can be

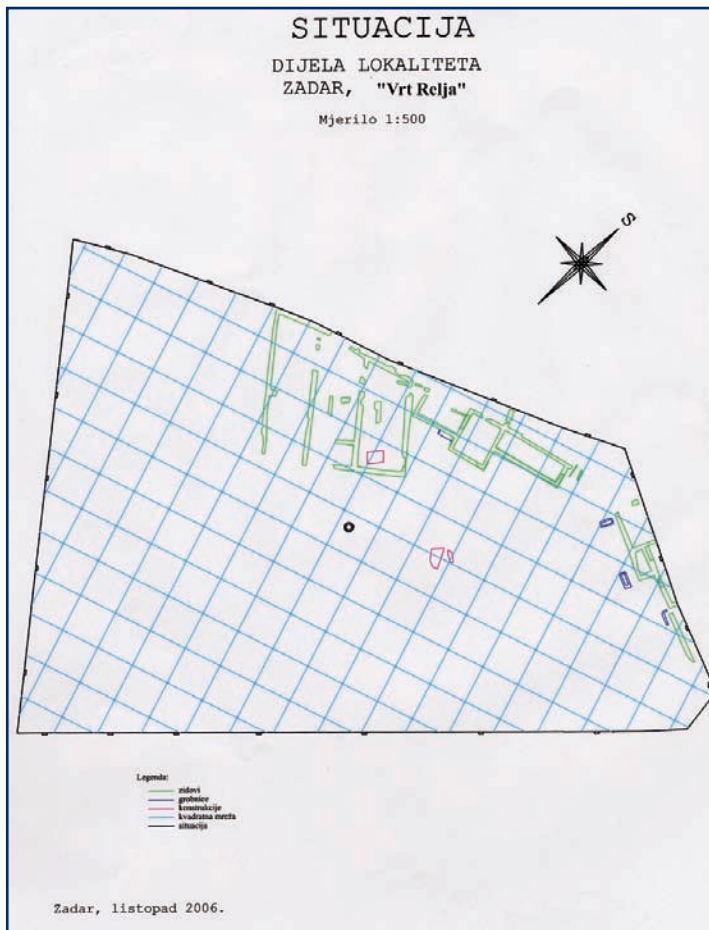


Slika 1. Fotogrametrijski snimak – arheološki lokalitet 'Vrt Relja' u Zadru (snimio: Z. Juras, 2005).

Figure 1. Photogrammetric depiction – 'Relja Garden' archaeological site in Zadar (photograph: Z. Juras, 2005).

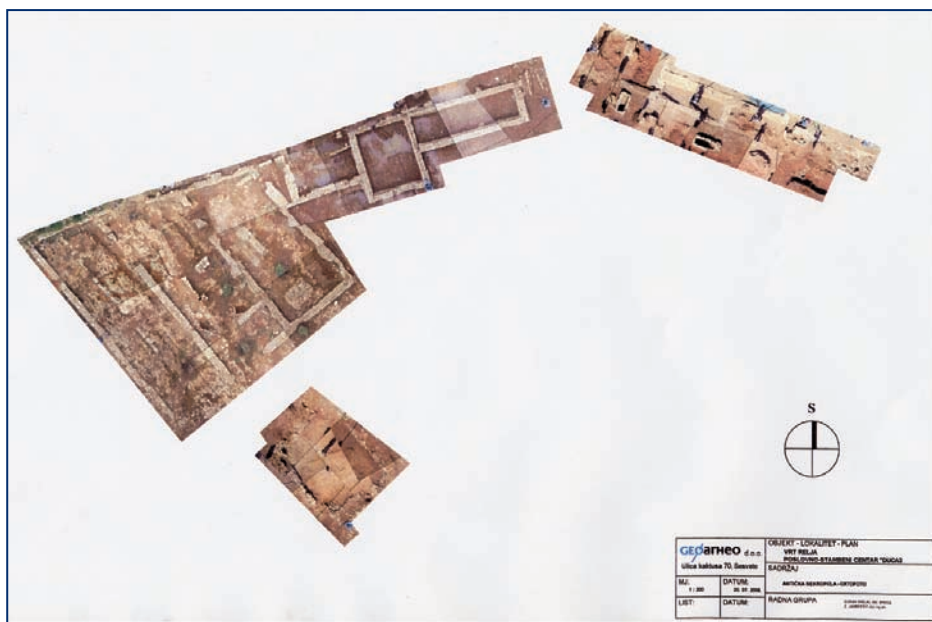
⁴ Četrdeset dva skeletna groba ne mogu se vremenski definirati jer su potpuno devastirani. Devastacija ukopa, danas s iznimno visokim horizontom, nastala je zbog dugotrajnoga korištenja zemljišta na poljoprivredne svrhe.

⁴ Forty-two skeletal graves cannot be chronologically determined because they have been completely devastated. The devastation of these graves, with an exceptionally high horizon today, is due to the long-term use of the land for agriculture.



Slika 2. Geodetski snimak ostataka grobnih parcela – arheološki lokalitet 'Vrt Relja' u Zadru (autor: Z. Juras, 2005).

Figure 2. Geodesic survey shot of remains of grave plots – 'Relja Garden' archaeological site in Zadar (author: Z. Juras, 2005).



Slika 3. Fotografija grobnih parcela – arheološki lokalitet 'Vrt Relja' u Zadru (snimili: G. Skelac & Ž. Jambresić, 2006).

Figure 3. Photograph of grave plots – 'Relja Garden' archaeological site in Zadar (photograph: G. Skelac & Ž. Jambresić, 2006).

dated to the seventh century BC, the majority of the Late Antique/early medieval inhumation graves were in an earthen pit lacking any manner of grave architecture (201). The remaining skeletal burials date to Antiquity, up to the fifth century AD, and they were in earthen pits, under tegulae, in amphorae, in walled graves and in wooden boxes (103).

Besides the rich finds and accessories, the walls of grave plots that were found are also exceptionally valuable. The direction and perimeter of their expansion has been determined, whereby the end of expansion of the necropolis of Roman-era Zadar (Iader) in the south-westerly direction has been established (Figs. 1, 2, 3).

Since the research has only just been completed, at this point it is still not possible to conduct a comprehensive typological and chronological analysis of the burials nor a comprehensive analysis of the overall materials found. Therefore, this paper contains an analysis of two inscriptions from inhumation grave no. 21. Both inscriptions in this grave were found as spolia (Fig. 8). They are exceptionally important and valuable because, regardless of their secondary use in the same necropolis, they contribute to new knowledge on the development of the necropolis and on the population and anthroponymy of Roman-era Iader. The entire context of

the discovery, and the grave construction and items found therein, will be examined in order to determine the time of destruction of the earlier horizon and the secondary use of the tituli in this part of the necropolis.

GRAVE CONTEXT AND GRAVE GOODS

The cover to skeletal grave no. 21 consists of four perpendicularly placed tegulae, the connections of which are covered by imbrex and broken tegulae (Figs. 4,

GROBNI KONTEKST I PRILOZI

Poklopicu skeletnoga groba br. 21 sačinjavaju četiri poprečno postavljene tegule čiji su spojevi prekriveni imbreksom i slomljenim tegulama (sl. 4, 5, 6). Za razliku od uobičajenih kasnoantičkih kosturnih ukopa pod tegulama na dvije vode grob 21 u 'Vrtu Relja' pokriven je horizontalno polegnutim tegulama (sl. 4; T. 1). Grobna raka izrađena je na sasvim neobičan način. Jama iskopana u crvenici direktno je ožbukana bijelom vapnenom žbukom. Žbuka čini obložnice i blago zaobljenu uzglavnicu i donožnicu (sl. 5, 6; T. 1). Dno groba načinjeno je od dviju uz-



Slika 4. Grob 21 (10 a/10 b) – poklopnice od tegula i imbreksa (snimio: I. Fadić, 2005).

Figure 4. Grave 21 (10 a/10 b) – cover made of tegulae and imbrexes (photograph: I. Fadić, 2005).



Slika 5. Inhumirani pokojnik u grobu 21 s vapnenom žbukom obložnica (10 a/10 b) (snimio: I. Fadić, 2005).

Figure 5. Inhumed body in grave 21 with limestone plaster as lining (10 a/10 b) (photograph: I. Fadić, 2005).

dužno postavljenih tegula pod donjim dijelom tijela i dvaju kamenih titula pod gornjim dijelom tijela (sl. 5; T. 1). Skelet je položen na leđa s rukama položena na karlicu. Prilozi u grobu postavljeni su uz

5, 6). As opposed to the customary Late Antique skeletal burials under gabled tegulae, grave 21 in the 'Relja Garden' is covered by horizontally laid tegulae (Fig. 4; Pl. 1). The grave pit was made in an entirely unusual manner. The pit, excavated in red soil, was directly plastered with white lime stucco. The plaster forms linings and a slightly rounded grave head and foot (Figs. 5, 6; Pl. 1). The bottom of the grave is made of two tegulae placed lengthwise beneath the lower part of the body and two stone tituli under the upper part of the body (Fig. 5; Pl. 1). The skeleton lay on its back with the hands placed on the pelvis. The accessories were placed next to the legs. These are: a large glass bottle and a small ball-shaped bottle, a ceramic firma oil-lamp bearing the seal VIBIANI, and two ceramic vessels shaped like small urns⁵ (Figs. 6, 7; Pl. 2).

Small green-yellow glass bottle with gently emphasised transition from body to neck (Pl. 2: 1). Bottom slightly indented. Part of body and considerable part of neck missing. Possible that the bent rim was not particularly distinguished, rather the neck was horizontally cut at the rim. Preserved height of bottle: 9.9 cm, width 9.2 cm (body diameter).

Small green-yellow glass bottle with gently emphasised transition from body to cylindrical neck (Fig. 7; Pl. 2: 2). Bottom slightly indented. Possible that the bent rim was not particularly distinguished, rather the neck was horizontally cut at the rim. Height of bottle: 7.3 cm; width: 5.55 cm (body diameter).

Ceramic cup with ribbed surface, reddish-brown (Fig. 7; Pl. 2: 3). Body is ball-shaped (formed like



Slika 6. Inhumirani pokojnik u grobu 21 (10 a/10 b) – nakon čišćenja (snimio: I. Fadić, 2005).

Figure 6. Inhumed body in grave 21 (10 a/10 b) – after cleaning (photograph: I. Fadić, 2005).

⁵ I would like to thank archaeologist Jadranka Belevski and archaeology student Morana Vuković for the drawings they sketched for this article.

noge. To su: velika staklena boca i bočica loptastoga tijela, keramička firma uljanica sa žigom VIBIANI te dvije keramičke posude u obliku malih žara⁵ (sl. 6, 7; T. 2).

Staklena boca zelenkastožučkaste boje s blago naglašenim prijelazom iz tijela u vrat (T. 2: 1). Dno je neznatno udubljeno. Nedostaje dio tijela i znatni dio vrata. Moguće je da izvijeni obod nije bio posebno istaknut, nego je vrat na mjestu oboda bio horizontalno rezan. Sačuvana visina boce je 9,9 cm, a širina 9,2 cm (promjer tijela).

Staklena bočica zelenkastožučkaste boje s blago naglašenim prijelazom iz tijela u cilindrični vrat (sl. 7; T. 2: 2). Dno je blago udubljeno. Moguće je da izvijeni obod nije bio posebno istaknut, nego je vrat na mjestu oboda bio horizontalno rezan. Visina bočice je 7,3 cm, a širina je 5,55 cm (promjer tijela).

Keramička čaša rebraste površine, crvenkastosmeđe boje (sl. 7; T. 2: 3). Tijelo je loptasto (u obliku male keramičke urne), dno zaobljeno i neznatno udubljeno, a obod kratak i prema van razvraćen. Po sredini tijela ukras je od pet horizontalnih reljefnih kanelira. Visina je čaše 9,1 cm, promjer oboda 8,8 cm, a promjer trbuha 9,6 cm.



Slika 7. Prilozi kod nogu inhumiranoga pokojnika u grobu 21 (†10 a/10 b) (snimio: I. Fadić, 2005).

Figure 7. Accessories next to leg of inhumed body in grave 21 (†10 a/10 b) (photographs: I. Fadić, 2005).

Keramička čaša rebraste površine, crvenkastosmeđe boje (sl. 7; T. 2: 4). Tijelo je loptasto (u obliku male keramičke urne), dno ravno, a obod kratak i prema van razvraćen. Po sredini tijela ukras je od šest horizontalnih reljefnih kanelira. Visina je čaše 9,2 cm, promjer oboda 8,9 cm, a promjer trbuha 9,6 cm.

Keramička uljanica crvenkastosmeđe boje – firma lucerna, tip X a (sl. 7; T. 2: 5) (Buchi 1975: XXVI).

⁵ Zahvaljujem dipl. arh. Jadranki Belevski i studentici arheologije Morani Vuković na crtežima koje su izradile za ovaj članak.

a small ceramic urn), bottom rounded and slightly indented, rim short and bent outward. Decoration consisting of five horizontal relief flutes in the middle of the body. Height of glass: 9.1 cm; diameter of rim: 8.8 cm; body diameter: 9.6 cm.

Ceramic cup with ribbed surface, reddish-brown (Fig. 7; Pl. 2: 4). Body is ball-shaped (formed like a small ceramic urn), flat bottom, rim short and bent outward. Decoration consisting of six horizontal relief flutes in the middle of the body. Height of cup: 9.2 cm; diameter of rim: 8.9 cm; body diameter: 9.6 cm.

Reddish-brown ceramic oil-lamp – firma lucerna, type X a (Fig. 7; Pl. 2: 5) (Buchi 1975: XXVI). The nose has a somewhat larger hole for the flame and traces of use (charred edges), small open channel and air-hole on neck, and opening in the middle of the disk to pour in oil. Three relief handles for hanging of the lamp are placed on its shoulder. Inside two engraved concentric circles on the bottom there is a relief seal of the manufacturer: the firm VIBIANI. The seal is negligibly worn.

The glass bottle and the small bottle with ball-shaped body and cut (?) cylindrical neck without a distin-



Slika 8. Titulusi u sekundarnoj uporabi pod gornjim dijelom tijela inhumiranoga pokojnika u grobu 21 (†10 a/10 b) (snimio: I. Fadić, 2005).

Figure 8. Titulusi in secondary use under upper portion of inhumed body in grave 21 (†10 a/10 b) (photograph: I. Fadić, 2005).

guished rim belong among the glass wares of the second and third century AD, even the beginning of the fourth century AD (cf. e.g. Barkóczy 1996: 43–44, Plate IX; Bucovala 1968: 61–62; Goethert-Polaschek 1977: form 80). The ceramic products from the latter half of the second century also encompass two ceramic ball-shaped cups with horizontally fluted bodies (Plesničar-Gec 1977: 48, T. 6: 9), while the ceramic oil-lamp bearing the VIBIANI seal, which belongs to type Xa, may be more broadly dated to the period running from the early first to the beginning of the third centuries (Buchi 1975: 162–163;

Na nosu je nešto veća rupa za žižak i tragovi uporabe (izgorjeli rubovi), na vratu otvoren kanalić i rupica za zrak, a po sredini diska otvor za ulijevanje ulja. Na ramenu uljanice tri su reljefne ručice za vješanje lampe. Na dnu je, unutar dvaju ugraviranih koncentričnih krugova, reljefni žig proizvođača – firma VIBIANI. Žig je neznatno izlizan.

Staklena boca i bočica loptastoga tijela s rezanim (?) cilindričnim vratom bez posebno istaknuta oboda pripadaju staklenim izrađevinama iz 2. i 3. odnosno čak s početka 4. stoljeća po Kristu (usp. npr. Barkóczy 1996: 43–44, tab. IX; Bucovala 1968: 61–62; Goethert-Polaschek 1977: forma 80). Keramičkim proizvodima iz druge polovine 2. stoljeća pripadaju i dvije keramičke loptaste čaše s horizontalno kaneliranim tijelom (Plesničar-Gec 1977: 48, T. 6: 9), a keramička uljanica sa žigom VIBIANI, koja pripada tipu Xa, mogla bi se šire datirati od ranog 1. do početka 3. stoljeća (Buchi 1975: 162–163; Busuladžić 2007: 61–62, 68). Ovakve svjetiljke *Vibiani* u najširoj su uporabi u 2. i 3. stoljeću (Vikić-Belančić 1975: 121, T. 36: 6; Košćević 2000: 182, kat. 330). Stoga bi ukop po priložima u grobu 21 trebalo datirati na kraj 2. ili na početak 3. stoljeća, odnosno, s obzirom na okolnosti nalaza, najvjerojatnije u prvu polovinu 3. stoljeća po Kristu. Zašto? Sami prilozi u grobu ukazuju na to da grob nije nastao u ranome principatu. Nadalje, na ovome dijelu zadarske nekropole pokazalo se da skeletni ukopi s grobnom arhitekturom načinjenom od tegula i imbreksa ne pripadaju ranocarskom horizontu 1. i početka 2. stoljeća. Datacija ukopa na kraj 2., odnosno na početak 3. stoljeća opravdana je i zato što su u grobu pronađene i dvije kamene ploče – dva nadgrobna titula s cjelovitim natpisima, ali u sekundarnoj uporabi. Oni su sačinjavali dio dna grobne rake zajedno s dvjema tegulama. S obzirom na početnu posvetnu formulu *D(is) M(anibus)* tituli nisu mogli biti u funkciji prije kraja 1. stoljeća po Kristu (Alföldy 1969: 28). Budući da su oni u grobu 21 sekundarno uporabljani te da je između vremena njihove primarne namjene (najranije na početku 2. st.) i trenutka oskvrnuća groba kojemu su prvotno pripadali morala postojati neka vremenska distanca zbog poštivanja mjesta ukopa, nema dvojbe da se to moglo dogoditi tek u prvoj polovini 3. stoljeća. Oba titula sačuvana su u cijelosti, osim što jednomu od njih, pronađenom u tri fragmenta, nedostaje manji dio donjega lijevog kuta.

NADGROBNI TITULI

1. TITUL PETRONIJE URSE (SL. 9)

Prvi nadgrobni natpis načinjen je od izdužene pravokutne mramorne ploče debljine 5 cm. Visina je

Busuladžić 2007: 61–62, 68). Such *Vibiani* lamps were most widely used in the second and third centuries (Vikić-Belančić 1975: 121, pl. 36: 6; Košćević 2000: 182, cat. 330). Therefore, based on these accessories, the burial in grave 21 should be dated to the end of the second or early third century, but given the circumstances of its discovery, probably to the first half of the third century AD. Why? The actual accessories in the grave indicate that the burial did not occur in the early Principate. Furthermore, it has been ascertained that in this part of the Zadar necropolis, skeletal burials with grave architecture consisting of tegulae and imbrices do not belong to the Early Imperial horizon of the first and early second centuries. Dating to the end of the second or beginning of the third century is also justified because two stone slabs were found in the grave: two grave tituli with complete inscriptions, but in secondary use. They formed a part of the bottom of the grave cut together with two tegulae. Given the initial dedicatory formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, the tituli could not have been in function prior to the end of the first century AD (Alföldy 1969: 28). Since they were in secondary use in grave 21, and since – due to respect for the burial site – some time had to have passed between their primary use (early second century at the earliest) and the moment of desecration of the grave to which they originally belonged, there can be no doubt that this could only have happened in the first half of the third century. Both tituli are entirely preserved, except that the lower left corner is missing on one of them, otherwise found in three fragments.

GRAVE TITULI

1. TITULUS OF PETRONIA URSA (FIG. 9)

The first grave inscription was made on an elongated rectangular, 5 cm thick marble slab. The height of the titulus is 41 cm, while the width is 23.5 cm. The back side of the monument is irregularly sketched and laterally moulded on the left side. The text has nine lines. The letters are relatively standard, but somewhat extended (particularly in the first three lines). The height of the letters is 4 cm in the first to third lines, 3.5 cm in the fourth to sixth lines, and 3 cm in the seventh to ninth lines. The text is written without distinction. The ligatures are AE in the second and sixth lines, and NE and ME in the eighth line. A reduced V can be found in the third line and an I in the ninth line. The text reads:

titula 41 cm, a širina 23,5 cm. Stražnja strana spomenika nepravilno je abocirana i uzdužno profilirana na lijevome dijelu. Tekst ima devet redaka. Slova su prilično pravilna, ali ponešto izdužena (posebno u prva tri retka). Visina slova od prvoga do trećega retka je 4 cm, od četvrtoga do šestoga retka 3,5 cm, a od sedmoga do devetoga retka 3 cm. Tekst je pisan bez distinkcija. Ligature su AE u drugome i šestome retku te NE i ME u osmome retku teksta. Smanjeno V nalazi se u trećemu i I u devetome retku. Tekst glasi:

D M
 PETRONIAE
 VRSA SALLV SIC!
 STIVSPARA
 5 MYTHIVSPA
 TERFILIAENT SIC!
 ATVRAII SIC!
 BENEMERENTI
 FECLT SIC!

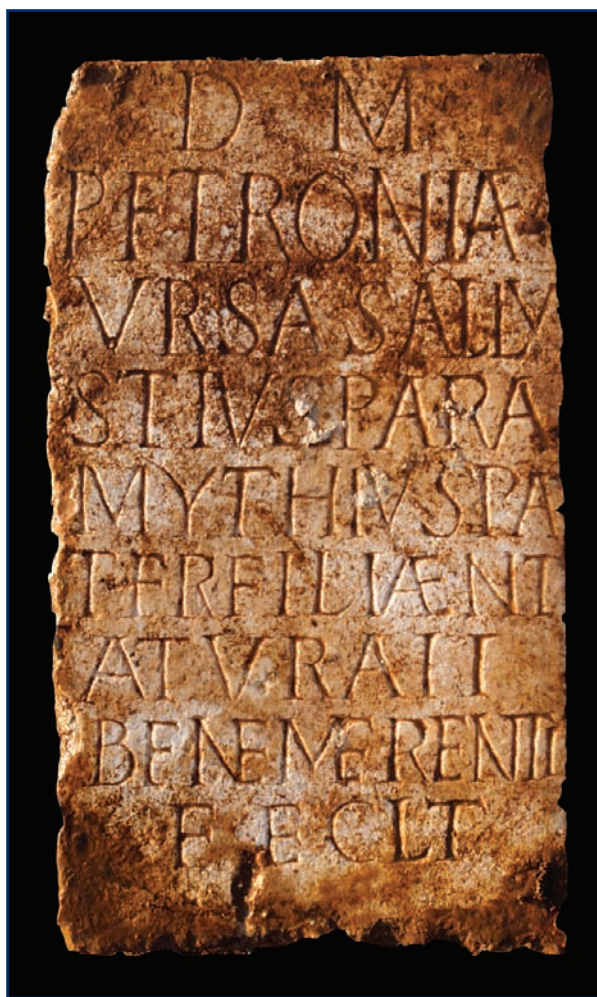
D(is) M(anibus) / Petroniae / Ursa(e) Sallu/stius Para/mythius pa/ter filiae n{t} / atura<l>i / benemerenti / fec<i>t.

Nadgrobni titul započinje posvetnom formulom *D(is) M(anibus)*, što se javlja na natpisima s kraja 1. i 2. stoljeća po Kristu. Tekst je pravilno raspoređen na zadanoj površini, iako su česte ligature (AE, AE, NE, ME, NT). Završetak riječi u tri se slučaja prenosi u sljedeći redak. Pravopisna greška javlja se u dativu (odnosno genitivu) imena VRSA (*Ursa* umjesto *Ursae*), a greška klesara vidljiva je u završnoj riječi *fecit* (*fecit* umjesto *fecit*). Najvjerojatnije je do greške došlo i u pisanju riječi *naturalis*. Naime T je na kraju šestoga retka suvišno. Možda je klesar u tome retku namjeravao napraviti ligaturu NA za *nat....*, no u sljedećemu retku ponovno piše *at* – od *naturali*, odnosno *naturaii*, jer u toj riječi upisuje I umjesto L, kao što u zadnjemu retku teksta upisuje L umjesto I u riječi *fecit*. Dakle u cijelome natpisu nedostaje dativ imena VRSA, odnosno nedostaje E kao dio dativnoga nastavka u trećemu retku teksta. Na kraju šestoga retka teksta suvišno je slovo T, dok je u sedmome retku upisano I umjesto L. Nasuprot tome umjesto zamjene I za L (*naturaii*) u devetome retku upisano je slovo L umjesto I. Laudacijska formula na ovome je titulu *benemerenti fecit*.

Zbog svega navedenoga tekst je iznimno zanimljiv. Kao prvo, pokojnica Petronija Ursa ne nosi gentilicij

D M
 PETRONIAE
 VRSA SALLV SIC!
 STIVSPARA
 5 MYTHIVSPA
 TERFILIAENT SIC!
 ATVRAII SIC!
 BENEMERENTI
 FECLT SIC!

D(is) M(anibus) / Petroniae / Ursa(e) Sallu/stius Para/mythius pa/ter filiae n{t} / atura<l>i / benemerenti / fec<i>t.



Slika 9. Titul Petronije Urse – nakon vađenja iz groba (snimio: I. Fadić, 2005).

Figure 9. Titulus of Petronia Ursa – after removal from grave (photograph: I. Fadić, 2005).

The grave titulus begins with the dedicatory formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, which appears in inscriptions from the late first and second centuries AD. The text is evenly arranged on the surface, even though liga-

oca. Otac Salustije Paramitij ima dvočlanu imensku formulu bez filijacije i tribusa. Različiti nomen kod kćerke i oca može se protumačiti rođenjem djeteta izvan bračne zajednice, što je i posebno naznačeno pridjevom *naturalis* – porodom postao otac. Takvo nelegitimno srodstvo rijetko se izražavalo na epigrafskim spomenicima sepulkralne namjene. Naime sve do 3. stoljeća po Kristu dijete s robinjom, kao i ono vojnih lica u službi, bilo je nelegitimno (Lassière 2005: 97). U takvim slučajevima ono nije moglo nositi gentilicij svoga oca nego majčin nomen. Ponekad dobiva samo očev prenamen, odnosno najčešće prenamen djeda po majci. Naravno, u ovakvim slučajevima nema filijacije ili se ona izmišlja. Najčešće je takva filijacija naznačena kao *SPF – Sp(urii) f(i)lius*, gdje pridjev *spurius* znači ‘nezakonito dijete’ (‘kopile’) (Lassière 2005: 98–99). *SPF* se može protumačiti i kao *s(ine) p(atre) f(i)lius* – ‘sin bez oca’. *Spurius* u doba republike može biti i prenamen, ali ponekad označava i gentilno ime (*ibid.*).

U zadarskome slučaju nelegitimno je srodstvo vidljivo po različitim gentilnim imenima kćerke i oca, odnosno oca po rođenju, što je posebno istaknuto pridjevom – *naturalis*. Kćerka Petronia Ursa gentilicij nosi po svojoj majci. Njezin nezakoniti otac Salustije Paramitije očito je oslobođenik, i to istočnoga podrijetla.

Nomen *Petronius* u provinciji je Dalmaciji podjednako zastupljen u ranome i kasnome principatu (Alföldy 1969: 108–109). Međutim u kasnome se principatu ne javlja u Liburniji. U ranome ga se principatu u Liburniji sreće od Alvone do Skardone i Burna. Najprisutniji je upravo u Jadru gdje se nalazi na četirima spomenicima (Alföldy 1969: 108–109), odnosno s novopronađenim titulom s nekropole ‘Vrt Relja’ na čak pet spomenika. Inače, ovaj je nomen vrlo čest, posebno u Italiji i zapadnim provincijama Carstva (OPEL III, 135). Kognomen *Ursus*, odnosno *Ursa* iznimno je rijedak u ranome principatu u provinciji Dalmaciji (Alföldy 1969: 318). U Liburniji je dosad poznato nekoliko osoba s tim kognomenom. Jedan je spomenik iz Burnuma i pripada kasnomu principatu (*ibid.*), dok su druga dva iz Novalje na otoku Pagu, odnosno iz Caske (Kurilić 2004: 18, kat. 12; Fadić 2005: 101). Taj se gentilicij javlja i na jednome liburnskom nadgrobnom spomeniku iz Zadra, na kojemu je ime *Quintus Medullus Ursio* (Fadić 1991: 201, kat. 17). Ovomu popisu treba pridodati i novi zadarski natpis. U Rimskome Carstvu nije osobito čest, pa je u Italiji ustanovljen u trinaest slučajeva (OPEL IV, 187). Po svemu sudeći, kako je već napomenuto, treba ga datirati u drugu polovinu 2. stoljeća poslije Krista. Gentilno ime *Sallustius* dosad je zabilježeno na samo jednome spomeniku u Salo-

tures are frequent (AE, AE, NE, ME, NT). The ends of words are carried over to the next line in three cases. A grammatical error appears in the dative (or rather, genitive) of the name VRSA (*Ursa* instead of *Ursae*), while the sculptor’s error is visible in the final word *fecit* (*feclt* instead of *fecit*). This error probably also occurred in the writing of the word *naturalis*. Namely, the ‘T’ at the end of the sixth line is not necessary. Perhaps the sculptor intended to make the ligature NA for *nat....* in that line, but in the next line it once more reads *at* – from *naturali*, or *naturaii*, for I is written instead of L, just as in the last line of the text L is written instead of I in the word *fecit*. Thus, in the entire inscription, the dative of the name VRSA is lacking, i.e. the E as a part of the dative suffix is missing in the third line of the text. At the end of the sixth line, the letter T is unnecessary, while in the seventh line an I is written instead of an L. By contrast, instead of replacing an I with an L (*naturaii*), in the ninth line L is written instead of I. The laudatory formula in this titulus is *benemerenti fecit*.

The aforementioned points make this text quite interesting. First, the deceased Petronia Ursa does not bear her father’s gentilician. Her father, Sallustius Paramythius, has a two-part nominal formula without filiation and tribus. The differing nomens between daughter and father may be interpreted by the birth of the child outside of wedlock, which is particularly indicated by the adjective *naturalis* – meaning he became a father by birth. Such illegitimate kinship was rarely expressed in epigraphic monuments of sepulchral use. Until the third century AD, a child born of a slave, like that of serving military personnel, was deemed illegitimate (Lassière 2005: 97). In such cases, the child could not bear the gentilician of the father, rather only the mother’s nomen. Sometimes the child was given only the father’s praenomen, or, most often, the praenomen of the maternal grandfather. Naturally, in such cases there was no filiation, or it was simply made up. Usually such a filiation was designated as *SPF – Sp(urii) f(i)lius*, where the adjective *spurius* meant ‘illegitimate child’ (‘bastard’) (Lassière 2005: 98–99). *SPF* may also be interpreted as *s(ine) p(atre) f(i)lius* – ‘son without father’. *Spurius* could also be a praenomen in the Republic era, but sometimes it also indicated the gentilician name (*ibid.*).

In the Zadar case, illegitimate kinship is apparent in the various gentilician names of the daughter and father, i.e. the birth father, which is particularly highlighted by the adjective *naturalis*. The daughter, Petronia Ursa, bears the gentilician of her mother. Her illegitimate father Sallustius Paramythius was obviously a freedman, and one of eastern origin.

ni iz ranocaraskoga perioda (Alföldy 1969: 117). No taj nomen nije čest ni u drugim provincijama, a na Apeninskome poluotoku također se javlja u trinaest slučajeva (OPEL IV, 44). Na zadarskome spomeniku to je oslobođenica *Sallustia*. Kognomen Ursina oca, *Paramythius*, nepoznat je u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, pa je zadarski Salustije Paramitije ovdje prva osoba s tim 'nadimkom'. U Rimskome Carstvu također je iznimno rijedak kognomen *Paramythius*. Postoji po jedan slučaj u Hispaniji, Akvitaniji i Galiji Lugdunensis (OPEL III, 124).

Sudeći po gentilnome imenu komemoratora, najvjerojatnije se radi o oslobođeniku, a s obzirom na kognomen *Paramythius* vjerojatno je riječ o oslobođeniku Orijeentalcu.

2. TITUL EMILIJA ATACINA (SL. 10)

Drugi nadgrobni titul načinjen je na gotovo pravilnoj pravokutnoj, neznatno izduženoj, mramornoj ploči debljine 2 cm. Visina je titula 45 cm, a širina mu iznosi 34–35 cm. Stražnja strana spomenika pravilno je zaglađena. Na gornjoj prednjoj strani istaknuta je horizontalna profilacija s vegetabilnim motivom kime. Natpis je unutar urezanoga okvira širine 3,5 cm. Tekst ima sedam redaka. Slova su prilično pravilna. Visina slova u svim je recima 3 cm. Trokutasta se distinkcija nalazi samo u prvome retku između slova D i M. U drugome su retku ligature TA i CI (smanjeno I), a u četvrtome retku ligature ME i AE. Izvan natpisnoga polja na rubnoj je traci CI u drugome retku, E u trećemu, I (od broja LXXXVII) u petome i O u šestome retku. Na donjoj desnoj strani, ispod zadnjega slova T, uklesana je ascija. Tekst glasi:

D M
AEMILLOATTACI SIC!
NOCVBONE SIC!
MEMORIAEAN
5 NORVM LXXXVII
PAVLVSLIBPO
SVIT

D(is) M(anibus) / Aemil(i)o Attaci/no c(ui) v(ixit) bonae / memoriae an/norum LXXXVII / Paulus lib(ertus) po/suit.

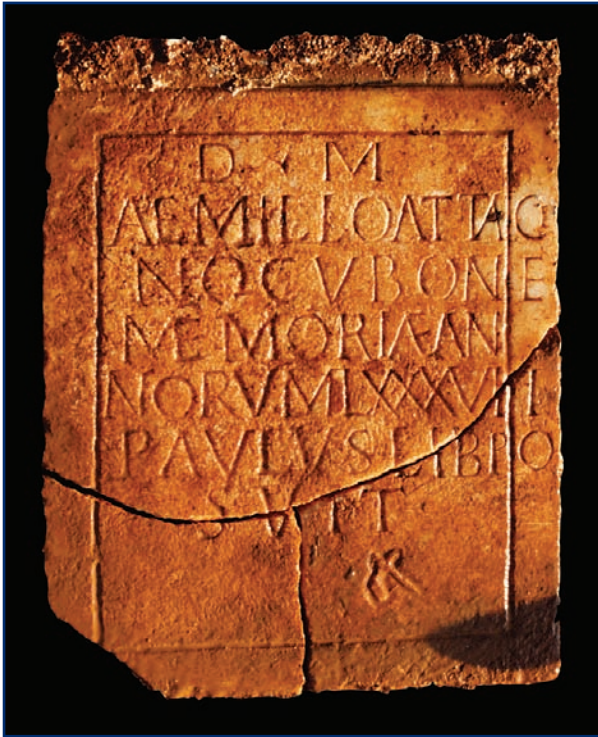
Na drugome nadgrobnom titulu, tekst kojega također započinje posvetnom formulom *D(is)M(anibus)*, pokojnik je Emilije Atacin. Spomenik mu podiže

The nomen *Petronius* was equally present in Dalmatia during both the early and late Principate (Alföldy 1969: 108–109). However, it did not appear in Liburnia during the late Principate. In the early Principate, it appeared from Alvona to Scardona and Burnum. It was most present in Iader, where it was found on four monuments (Alföldy 1969: 108–109), or rather five monuments if one counts the newly-discovered titulus from the 'Relja Garden' necropolis. This nomen is otherwise quite frequent, particularly in Italy and the western provinces of the Empire (OPEL III, 135). The cognomen *Ursus*, or *Ursa*, was exceptionally rare in the early Principate in the province of Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969: 318). Only a few persons with the cognomen were known to exist in Liburnia. One monument is from Burnum and it belongs to the late Principate (*ibid.*), while the other two are from Novalja on the island of Pag and Caska (Kurilić 2004: 18, cat. 12; Fadić 2005: 101). This gentilician also appears on a Liburnia monument in Zadar, bearing the name *Quintus Medullus Ursio* (Fadić 1991: 201, cat. 17). The new Zadar inscription should be added to this list. It is not particularly frequent; thirteen cases were ascertained in Italy (OPEL IV, 187). By all accounts, as already noted, it should be dated to the latter half of the second century AD. The gentilician name *Sallustius* has so far been recorded on only one monument in Salona from the early Empire period (Alföldy 1969: 117). But this nomen is not common in other provinces, either, and it also appears on the Apennine Peninsula in only thirteen cases (OPEL IV, 44). On the Zadar monument it refers to the freedwoman *Sallustia*. The cognomen of Ursa's father, *Paramythius*, was unknown in the Roman province of Dalmatia, so the *Sallustius Paramythius* of Zadar is here the first person with this 'sobriquet'. The cognomen *Paramythius* is also quite rare in the Roman Empire. There is one case each in Hispania, Aquitania and Gallia Lugdunensis (OPEL III, 124).

Judging by the gentilician name of the commemorator, he was most likely a freedman, and given the cognomen *Paramythius*, he was probably a freed Oriental.

2. TITULUS OF AEMILIUS ATTACINUS (FIG. 10)

The other grave titulus was made on an almost perfectly rectangular, slightly elongated, 2 cm thick marble slab. The height of the titulus is 45 cm, while its width is 34–35 cm. The back side of the monument is polished straight. A horizontal mould is distinguished on the upper front with the vegetation



Slika 10. Titul Emilija Atacina – nakon vađenja iz groba (snimio: I. Fadić, 2005).

Figure 10. Titulus of Aemilius Attacinus – after removal from grave (photograph: I. Fadić, 2005).

oslobođenik *Paulus*. Kratica CV u trećemu retku možda znači *q(ui) v(ixit)*, jer je slovo Q najvjerojatnije napisano onako kako se izgovara (*kve*), a K se najčešće piše kao C. Laudacijska formula na ovome je natpisu *bonae memoriae*.

Gentilno ime *Aemilius* u provinciji je Dalmaciji znatno češće u kasnome principatu (Alföldy 1969: 55). U Liburniji se u ranome principatu javlja na samo dvama natpisima koji potječu iz Nadina i Burnuma (*Nedinum*, CIL 3, 2876; *Burnum*, CIL 3, 9892). Iz kasnoga je principata s prostora Liburnije dosad poznat samo na natpisu iz Nina (*Aenona*, CIL 3, 10020). Inače je ovo ime iznimno često u ostalim provincijama, posebno zapadnima (OPEL I, 39–42). Na nekropoli 'Vrt Relja' u Zadru komemorirana je osoba Emilije Atacin, što bi bilo četvrto spominjanje toga nomena. Kognomen *Attacinus*, koliko mi je poznato, nije zabilježen u Dalmaciji, što znači da je novi nalaz titula iz Zadra prvi epigrafski spomenik na kojemu se spominje to ime. U Rimskome je Carstvu poznata samo jedna osoba s tim kognomenom. To je žena – Atacina (CIL II, 4627; OPEL I, 191). Ime komemorirane osobe iskazano je dvočlanom imenskom formulom bez filijacije, što je uobičajeno za natpise koji ne pripadaju 1. stoljeću. Komemorator je oslobođenik Paulo. Njegovo je ime zabilježeno jednočlanom imenskom formulom, samo s kognomenom. Taj kognomen znatno je češći u ranocar-skome periodu, posebno u Liburniji (Alföldy 1969:

motif of cyma. The inscription lies within the engraved 3.5 cm wide frame. The text has seven lines. The letters are relatively regular. The height of the letters in all lines is 3 cm. A triangular distinction can be found only in the first line between the letters D and M. In the second line the ligatures are TA and CI (reduced I), while in the fourth line the ligatures are ME and AE. The CI in the second, the E in the third, the I (from the number LXXXVII) in the fifth and the O in the sixth line are outside of the inscription field on the peripheral ribbon. On the lower right side, below the last letter T, an ascia is engraved. The text reads:

D M
 AEMILLOATTACI SIC!
 NOCVBONE SIC!
 MEMORIAEAN
 5 NORVM LXXXVII
 PAVLVSLIBPO
 SVIT

D(is) M(anibus) / Aemil(i)o Attaci/no c(ui) v(ixit) bonae / memoriae an/norum LXXXVII / Paulus lib(ertus) po/suit.

The second grave titulus, on which the text also begins with the dedicatory formula *D(is) M(anibus)*, is dedicated to Aemilius Attacinus. The monument was raised by the freedman *Paulus*. The abbreviation CV in the third line may mean *q(ui) v(ixit)*, because the letter Q was most likely written as pronounced (*kve*), while K is most often written as C. The laudatory formula on this inscription is *bonae memoriae*.

The gentilial name *Aemilius* was much more frequent in Dalmatia in the late Principate (Alföldy 1969: 55). In Liburnia during the early Principate it only appeared on two inscriptions from Nedinum and Burnum (*Nedinum*, CIL 3, 2876; *Burnum*, CIL 3, 9892). As for Liburnia during the late Principate, it is so far known only on an inscription from Nin (*Aenona*, CIL 3, 10020). Otherwise this name was exceptionally common in the other provinces, particularly in the western ones (OPEL I, 39–42). A person named Aemilius Attacinus is commemorated in the 'Relja Garden' necropolis, which was the fourth time this nomen is mentioned. The cognomen *Attacinus* has not, to this author's knowledge, been recorded in Dalmatia, which means that the new discovery of this titulus in Zadar is the first epigraphic monument on which this name is men-

261). Broju od oko deset natpisa može se pridodati i natpis oslobođenika iz Jadera.⁶ U ostalim je dijelovima Carstva kognomen *Paullus* prilično zastupljen (OPEL III, 129–130).

Dakle, pred sobom imamo dva iznimno zanimljiva nadgrobna titula. Na jednome je pokojnica Petronija Ursa za koju nije izričito navedeno u kojoj je životnoj dobi preminula (možda je bila djevojčica) (sl. 9; titul 1). Njezino ime nema filijacije. Komemorator je njezin (nezakoniti?) otac Salustije Paramitije čije se ime također sastoji od dvočlane imenske formule bez filijacije. I ime komemorirane osobe na drugome titulu – *Aemilius Attacinus* – iskazano je dvočlanom imenskom formulom (sl. 10; titul 2). Za vrijeme u kojemu je živio, on je doživio iznimno duboku starost, preminuvši u 87. godini, pa je najvjerojatnije rođen u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća po Kristu. Nema dvojbe da je u 2. stoljeću po Kristu bio najstariji stanovnik antičkoga Jadera. Ime osobe koja mu podiže natpis izraženo je jednočlanom imenskom formulom. To je oslobođenik Paulo. Iako je samo za Paula izričito navedeno da je oslobođenik, možda je i Salustije Paramitije bio oslobođenik Orijentalac.

Zajedničko je obama natpisima da imaju istu početnu posvetnu formulu: *D(is) M(anibus)*. Natpis ‘zadarskoga starca’, za razliku od onoga koji je podignut Petroniji Ursi, na dnu ima i uklesanu asciju.

Oba natpisa moguće je datirati na početak 2. odnosno u prvu polovinu 2. stoljeća. Zašto ne prije? *Terminus ante quem non* pružaju posvete D M koje u provinciji Dalmaciji nisu zapažene prije kraja 1. stoljeća po Kristu. Uz to i laudacijske formule *benemerenti fecit* i *bonae memoriae* ukazuju na mlađi datum nastanka spomenika. Zašto se ne mogu datirati u razdoblje nakon početka 2. st. ili nakon prve polovine 2. stoljeća? Tituli su sekundarno, kao spolijske, postavljeni u podnicu rake skeletnoga groba (pod gornji dio tijela) koji se sigurno po tehnici gradnje grobne arhitekture i priložima u njemu može datirati na kraj 2. st., odnosno u prvu polovinu 3. stoljeća po Kristu. Zbog postavljanja titula u sekundarnu funkciju trebalo je devastirati prethodne grobove i rušiti grobna obilježja. Da bi se to poduzelo, trebalo je proći određeno vrijeme od trenutka ukopa poznatih nam pokojnika i njihovih tada živućih komemoratora. Stoga je inhumirani ukop s tegulama i sekundarnom uporabom titula vjerojatno izvršen u prvoj polovini 3. st., odnosno najvjerojatnije sredinom 3. stoljeća po Kristu.

⁶ Zahvaljujem kolegici Anamariji Kurilić na iscrpnim razgovorima koje smo vodili oko ovdje obrađenih spomenika.

In the Roman Empire, only one person with this cognomen was recorded. This was a woman: Attacina (CIL II, 4627; OPEL I, 191). The name of the commemorated person is shown in a two-part nominal formula without filiation, which is customary for inscriptions not from the first century. The commemorator was the freedman Paulus. His name was recorded in a one-part nominal formula, with only the cognomen. This cognomen was considerably more frequent in the early Empire period, particularly in Liburnia (Alföldy 1969: 261). The inscription of the freedman from Iader can be added to the previous number of ten.⁶ In the other parts of the Empire, the cognomen *Paulus* was relatively common (OPEL III, 129–130).

We therefore have before us two exceptionally interesting grave tituli. One commemorates the deceased woman Petronia Ursa, whose age at death is not explicitly specified (perhaps she was a little girl) (Fig. 9; titulus 1). Her name has no filiation. The commemorator is her (illegitimate?) father, Sallustius Paramythius, whose name also consists of a two-part nominal formula without filiation. The name of the commemorated person on the other titulus – *Aemilius Attacinus*, is presented in a two-part nominal formula (Fig. 10; titulus 2). He lived to an exceptionally old age for his time, dying at the age of 87, so he was probably born in the second half of the first century AD. There can be no doubt that in the second century AD he was the oldest resident of Roman-era Iader. The name of the person who commissioned the inscription is expressed in a single-part nominal formula. This is the freedman Paulus. Although only Paulus is explicitly denoted as a freedman, perhaps Sallustius Paramythius was a freed Oriental.

Both inscriptions have in common the same initial dedicatory formula: *D(is) M(anibus)*. The inscription of the ‘Zadar old-timer’, as opposed to the one dedicated to Petronia Ursa, also has an ascia engraved on the bottom.

Both inscriptions can be dated to the beginning or first half of the second century. Why not before? The *terminus ante quem non* are provided by the dedications D M, which were not observed in the province of Dalmatia prior to the end of the first century AD. Additionally, the laudatory formulas *benemerenti fecit* and *bonae memoriae* indicate a later date for emergence of the monuments. Why can they not be dated to a period after the second century or after the first half of the second century? The tituli

⁶ I would like to thank my colleague Anamarija Kurilić for the exhaustive discussions on the monuments covered herein.

were in secondary use as spolia, placed on the bottom of a skeletal grave cut (under the upper portion of the body), which in terms of grave architecture construction techniques and the accessories found therein allow dating to the end of the second century, or the first half of the third century AD. Due to the placement of the tituli in secondary function, the previous graves had to be devastated and their grave markers taken down. For this to happen, a certain time had to pass from the moment of burial of the two deceased known to us and the passing of their living commemorators. Thus, the inhumation burial with tegulae and secondary use of tituli was probably done in the first half of the third century, probably in the mid-third century AD.

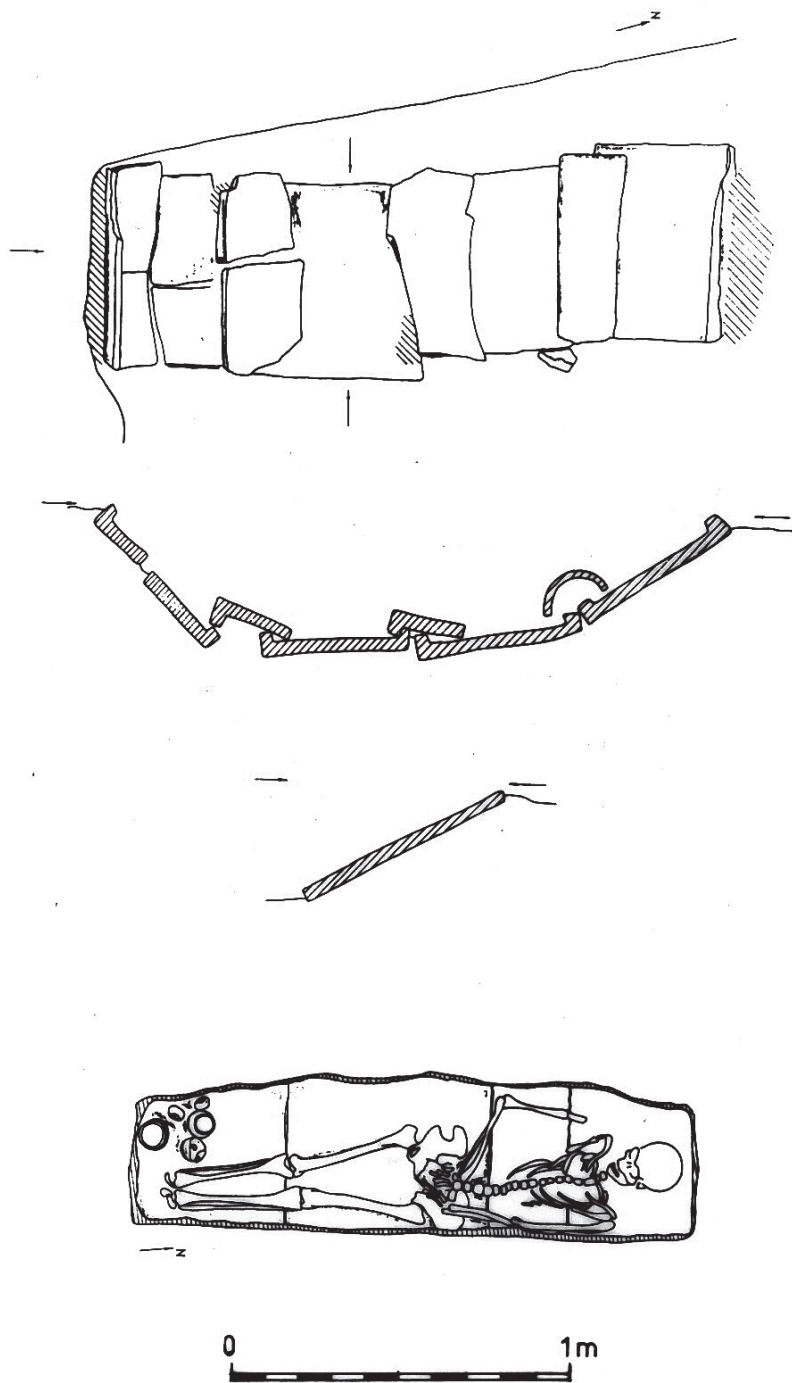


Tabla 1: Grob 21 (10 a/10 b) – nekropola antičkoga Jadera, 'Vrt Relja' (crtež: Morana Vuković & Jadranka Belevski).

Plate 1: Grave 21 (10 a/10 b) – necropolis in Roman-era Iadera, 'Relja Garden' (drawings by: Morana Vuković & Jadranka Belevski).

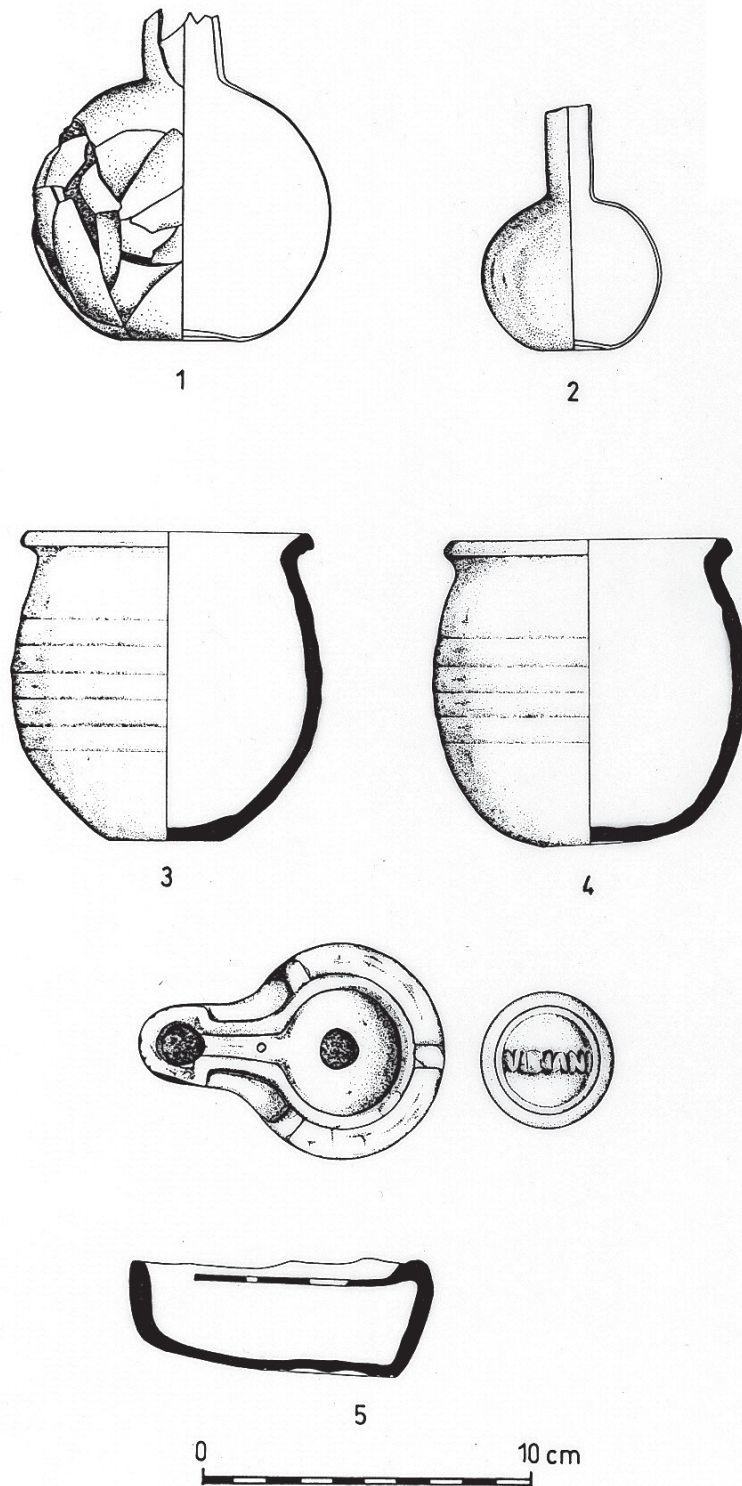


Tabla 2: Prilozi u grobu 21 (10 a/10 b) na nekropoli antičkog Jadera 'Vrt Relja' (crtež: Jadranka Belevski).

Plate 2: Accessories in grave 21 (10 a/10 b) at necropolis in Roman-era Iadera, 'Relja Garden' (drawings by: Jadranka Belevski).

INDEX EPIGRAPHICUS

Nomina virorum et mulierum

Aemilius Attacinus (2)

Paulus (2)

Petronia Ursa (1)

Sallustius Paramythius (1)

Cognomina virorum et mulierum

Attacinus (2)

Paramythius (1)

Ursa (1)

Parentelae et formulae laudationis

benemerenti fecit (1)

bonae memoriae (2)

lib(ertus) posuit (2)

pater filiaenaturali (1)

Litterae singulares

CV – q(ui) v(ixit) (2)

DM – D(is) M(anibus) (1, 2)

LIB – lib(ertus) (2)

Grammatica

cv pro qv (2)

feclt pro fecit (1)

ntaturaii pro naturali (1)

Ursa pro Ursae (1)

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> , Berlin.
OPEL	<i>Onomasticon provinciarum europae latinarum</i> , Wien.

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