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Le ville marittime nell'adriatico settentrionale (Croazia)

• Vlasta Begovič and Ivančica Schrunk

This paper is a treatise on maritime villas, an architectural phenomenon specific to Roman coastal settlement – in this case villas ranging from the gulf of Trieste in the southernmost ones on the island of Pag. Our studies on the topography, architecture and development of these villas in Istria suggest the existence of different stages of construction. In Istria the seaside villas were built by the elites which commanded political and economical power. Some of these villas retained their important economic and strategic function until the late antiquity.

Key words: Eastern Adriatic coast, villae maritimae, 2nd century BC to 6th century AD

I nostri studi sulla topografia e l'architettura delle ville marittime nell'Adriatico settentrionale portano ad un'analisi comparativa con il territorio italiano ed in particolare con il modello di Lafon per lo sviluppo in Italia.¹ La lista delle ville romane tratta dal compendio di località sulla costa orientale dell'Adriatico (Ville romane I) mostra un'area densamente popolata e un paesaggio completamente esplotato. Sono molto numerose pure le ville romane investigate e ubicate, eppure in Istria sono soltanto 11 le ville marittime investigate archeologicamente. Le ville marittime rappresentano il tipo più lussuoso di ville romane, costruite su grandi poderi vicino al mare ed estese lungo baie riparate oppure su promontori rocciosi. Sulla costa tirrenica italiana le ville costiere monumentali sono sorte nel I secolo a.C.,² mentre la configurazione della costa adriatica orientale e la sua posizione geograficamente vantaggiosa, oltre alle circostanze economiche e socio-politiche vigenti durante il boom edilizio dei secoli I e II, hanno favorito anche qui l'edificazione di tali indubie imprese architetto-

niche dal taglio particolare ed esclusivo. Gli studiosi hanno finora identificato 12 ville marittime nell'Istria romana, cinque ville nei pressi di Pola, due vicino a Parenzo e due nell'ager di Aegida. Il nome *villa maritima* è stato usato dallo scrittore romano Cornelio Nepote (*Vita Attici* 14, 3), mentre Plinio il Giovane e Marziale riportano il »mormorio del mare« e la »vista sul mare« nelle loro descrizioni di queste strutture. La villa marittima è una villa dentro le cui stanze è uditibile il suono delle onde: Cicerone vi fece mille passi esercitandosi nei suoi discorsi al suono delle onde.³ Queste ville erano ampi complessi architettonici, edificati sulla costa, che approfittavano di tutte le caratteristiche favorevoli del paesaggio e vi si incastravano armoniosamente. Solitamente sono costruite in posizioni di spicco, ad esempio su una penisola o in un'insenatura idonea. Spesso si estendono lungo l'intera costa arrivando talvolta fino al mare, in posizione prospiciente alla proprietà, come riporta una protesta di Orazio, che in un impeto di furia scrive così: »Si sono presi persino il mare, estromettendo il vicino povero dal suo focolare« (Ode XVIII). Le

1 Xavier Lafon, *Villa Maritima* (Paris: Boccard, 2001).

2 Lafon, *Villa Maritima*, 4.

3 Lafon, *Villa Maritima*, 3.

facciate che danno sul mare sono monumentali, con »portici a svolazzo«, ben noti dagli affreschi in quarto stile pompeiano. Il tratto caratteristico della villa marittima è proprio questo contatto diretto con il mare, oltre alle facciate di sfarzosa rappresentanza, con forme immaginifiche che seguono la configurazione del terreno e consentono piacevoli viste sul mare e sui dintorni. Le innovazioni nei progetti architettonici e le migliorate proprietà tecnologiche del calcestruzzo romano (*opus caementitium*) nella prima età imperiale permisero di costruire strutture »sospese« sul mare, resistenti all'urto delle onde. La *villa marittima* è una categoria particolare di villa romana, la più esclusiva. Alcune presentano un'architettura dall'impostazione scenografica, dando l'impressione di un palazzo che emerge dal mare. Erano progettate in tal modo allo scopo di impressionare il visitatore, specialmente quando questi entrava nel porticciolo della villa arrivando dal mare.

Gli architetti si impegnavano perciò ad ottenere particolari effetti di spazio. Potendo contare su innovazioni di tale portata, i ceti abbienti cercavano di impressionare i loro contemporanei: queste ville erano uno dei modi in cui i romani benestanti si prodigavano di dimostrare il loro status sociale.⁴ La migliore descrizione della varietà di spazi, servizi e viste che offriva una villa marittima ce la fornisce Plinio il Giovane (Caio Plinio Cecilio Secondo, 61/62 – 113) nella descrizione letteraria della sua proprietà costiera, Laurentino, a sud di Ostia (*Epist.*, II, 17). Lo spazio interno di questo tipo di villa era rappresentato dal mare: un'insenatura riparata ed arginata in modo da impedire l'accesso alle onde più alte, così che i portici potessero occupare la costa fin quasi al limite estremo della linea di terra, col mare che ogni tanto lambiva le mura dei portici e la presenza di stanze adibite a bagni di sole.

La struttura architettonica di una villa marittima apre quindi verso il bagnasciuga e la vegetazione del giardino di proprietà, avvantaggiandosi appieno del paesaggio e della massima esposizione al sole, incorporando numerosi spa-

zi aperti (parchi e giardini) e colonnati, in un'architettura ariosa tipica del periodo della »pax romana« (27 a.C.–167 d.C.). Gli elementi tipici di queste strutture comprendono degli isolati residenziali di elevato standard abitativo con peristili e giardini interni (*xysti*) paesaggisticamente organizzati che si estendono all'esterno verso parchi con padiglioni destinati a convivi, terme e divertimenti, e strutture monumentali quali *palaestrae*, *diaetae*, are e ninfei.⁵ L'esempio finora più significativo ad essere stato esaminato è Villa Pausilypon nella baia di Napoli, i cui giardini comprendono strutture quali un teatro e un odeon.⁶

Villae marittimae nell'Adriatico settentrionale

Lo sviluppo delle ville marittime sulla costa adriatica orientale è collegato alla fondazione di colonie romane e alla relativa urbanizzazione, all'agricoltura intensiva ivi praticata e alla loro ubicazione sulle rotte di navigazione più trafficate dell'Adriatico. La colonizzazione romana introdusse una cultura nuova, dando luogo a cambiamenti profondi nell'assetto della popolazione autoctona e nella struttura insediativa. Le colonie incisero direttamente sullo sviluppo di proprietà rurali e la conseguente costruzione di ville; i mutamenti più rilevanti si ebbero proprio nella stretta fascia costiera.

Allo stato dell'arte delle ricerche condotte sulle ville romane della costa adriatica orientale, gli archeologi hanno rilevato i resti di 15 ville marittime sul territorio di Italia, Slovenia e Croazia. Di queste a tutt'oggi poche sono state esaminate; tra queste ultime, alcune presentano tratti monumentali. Dato che la maggioranza di queste ville attende di esser sottoposta a esame appropriato, il nostro sapere sulla loro tipologia è scarso. Il commercio di vino ed olio d'oliva istriani, prodotti presso vaste proprietà, rappresentava il collegamento economico più precoce

4 David Soren and William Aylward, »Dazzling Spaces.« *Archaeology* 47, no. 4 (1994): 24.

5 Maddalena Cimma and Eugenio La Rocca, *La tranquille dimore degli Dei: La residenza imperiale degli Horti Lamiani* (Venice: Marsilio, 1986), 19.

6 Lafon, *Villa Marittima*, 406–10.

con la regione d'Aquileia. Tale produzione infuse una spinta all'attività edilizia nei centri urbani di nuova fondazione e nelle aree rurali circostanti. La costruzione delle prime ville costiere in Istria si svolse sotto l'egida della colonizzazione cesarea, la quale ebbe un effetto propulsivo per lo sviluppo economico: la cosiddetta »villa catoniana«, comprendente settori in funzione rispettivamente agricola e residenziale, fu la risposta più idonea alle nuove circostanze economiche e sociali. Lo sviluppo economico in epoca augustea ebbe come risultato una sovrapproduzione che si tradusse in maggior ricchezza, gettando le basi per la costruzione di ville marittime dalla planimetria ispirata a quelle della costa tirrenica. Tra gli anni 18 e 12 a.C., Augusto annesse l'Istria nella Decima Regio chiamandola *Venetia et Histria* ed i terreni istriani, ora in territorio italiano, furono dichiarati esentasse. Il proliferare di ritrovamenti di anfore istriane di tipo Dressel 6B indica chiaramente l'intensificarsi dell'olivicoltura e della produzione olearia in tarda età augustea. Il mutato status amministrativo della regione e la sua ripresa economica in questo periodo non sono dovuti a coincidenza; fu piuttosto lo stesso Augusto a nutrire interesse personale per l'economia istriana, tesi avvalorata dalle argomentazioni di A. Starac sull'ubicazione dei poderi imperiali in terra istriana, tanto che è probabile che fosse l'imperatore stesso a concedere terreni e prestiti a ricompensa della lealtà e dei servizi resi dai beneficiari.⁷ Gli investimenti senatoriali in colture da reddito istriane e l'accesso ai nuovi mercati, civili e militari, di Norico e Pannonia dipendevano dalle politiche imperiali, le quali, secondo F. Tassaux,⁸ favorivano il Nord Italia e, appunto, l'Istria. E' altresì probabile che ci sia stato un programma economico di più larga scala, dato che J. D'Arms attribuisce ad Augusto l'applicazione di politiche simili in Campania.⁹ Le politiche imperiali e gli inte-

ressi economici della classe dirigente concorsero di pari passo allo sviluppo delle ville marittime in Istria, dove pochi membri della ristretta cerchia imperiale arrivarono a creare delle economie di scala.

Queste le ville marittime che troviamo oggi in Italia e Slovenia: Barcola presso Trieste (Italia), Baia di San Simone (Slovenia), Fornace presso Pirano (Slovenia).

Queste le ville marittime che troviamo oggi in Croatia –

1. La prima villa marittima da noi presa in esame è quella nel territorio della colonia romana di Tergeste (l'odierna Trieste), datata al I secolo d.C. Il sito, scavato solo parzialmente, si trova tuttavia su un promontorio basso, chiamato oggi Catoro (da Ca' d'oro = *domus aurea*), che si estende penetrando dentro due insenature da ambo i lati. Si tratta di una posizione alquanto panoramica, con viste mare da tutti i lati. In cima al promontorio sono stati ritrovati i resti architettonici di alcuni vani sfarzosi – un peristilio, una fila di stanze, delle ampie terrazze e mura in tecnica *opus isodomum*. Le terme si trovavano a nord, nella baia di S. Margherita (sito Tiola), mentre un'ampia *piscina* semicircolare a compartimenti dava sulla baia sud.¹⁰ Ritrovamenti di decorazione architettonica quali argini in marmo e mosaici ed affreschi policromi indicano opulenza costruttiva e suggeriscono che la villa fu costruita con funzione di *otium*. Le aree esaminate non presentano prove di attività agricola. Scavi recenti hanno portato alla luce una necropoli tardoromana adiacente al complesso termale. Una delle tombe, a due inumazioni e d'architettura monumentale, conteneva recipienti in ceramica e vetro d'importazione, un bracciale in argento, un amo da pesca e una moneta in bronzo con l'effigie di Diocleziano.¹¹ Risulta chiaro che le terme smisero di avere questa funzione nella tarda antichità e furono conseguentemente o abbandonate, o trasformate in cappella cristia-

7 Alka Starac, »Carski posjedi u Histriji«, *Opuscula Archeologica* 18 (1995): 139–40.

8 Francis Tassaux, »Laecanii, recherches sur une famille senatoriale d'Istrie«, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité* 94 (1982): 265.

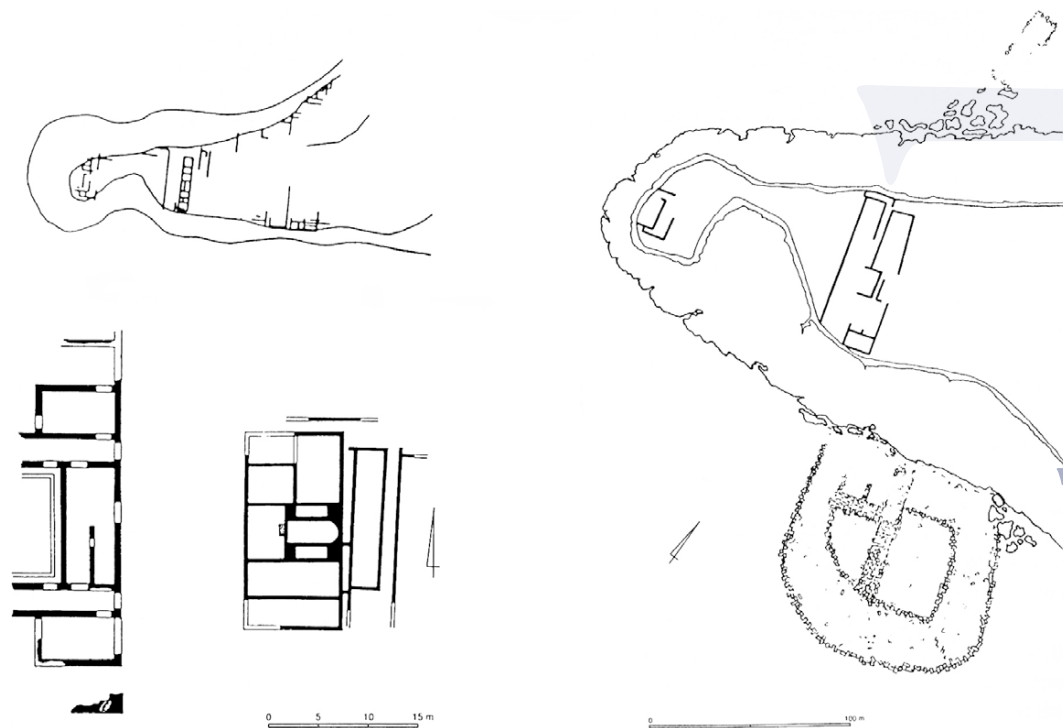
9 John D'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), 82.

10 Smiljan Glušević and Narcisa Bolšec Ferri, »Izvrješće o pod-morskim arheološkim radovima u Katoru kod Umaga«, *Obavijesti Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 1 (2003), 116.

11 Narcisa Bolšec Ferri, *Zaštitno revizijsko arheološko istraživanje Sepomaja 2003* (Umag: Muzej grada Umaga, 2003).

na con annesso cimitero: sviluppi simili non erano affatto strani nelle ville di lusso in Istria e altrove nel Tardo Impero. La tomba era lastricata di tegole bollate datate al I secolo, altro segno di mutamenti sostanziali nella villa e di furto di materiale edile. Tre tegole recano il bollo di P. Clodio Quirinale, prefetto della flotta di Ravenna ai tempi di Nerone e proprietario terriero senatoriale in territorio triestino, nonché con ogni

probabilità della villa marittima a Barcola presso Trieste, dove sono state ritrovate numerose tegole bollate riportanti il suo nome.¹² E' altresì possibile che sia di sua proprietà e costruzione anche la villa a Catoro. Le foto aeree della villa marittima a Catoro presso Umago rendono visibili le strutture oggi sommerse che potrebbero rappresentare i vari impianti della villa, a tutt'oggi inesplorati.



1. La villa marittima a Catoro – il foto e la pianta (Matijašić 1998)

2. Secondo, a nord di Parenzo, nella località di Loron, si trova una vasta proprietà che si estende tra due baie, Santa Marina e Porto Cervera, lungo il promontorio che le separa. Questa era la sede del secondo opificio di anfore per grandezza in Istria, attivo dal I al IV secolo, posizionato sul lato nord della baia di Porto Cervera. Agli inizi del I secolo, l'officina produceva anche *terra sigillata* e tegole. Recenti scavi franco-italo-croati hanno riportato alla luce le strutture produttive,

incluse fornaci da vasellame.¹³ Fornaci ed edifici con torchi per l'olio erano stati ritrovati negli anni '70 del secolo scorso sul lato sud della baia.¹⁴ I bolli ritrovati su *sigillata*, anfore e tegole indicano come proprietari i senatori Cornelio Sisen-na, Statilio Tauro e Calvia Crispinilla. Durante Domiziano, questo opificio e quello di proprietà dei Laecanii a Fasana divennero proprietà impe-

12 Federica Fontana, *La villa romana di Barcola: A proposito delle villae maritimae della regio X* (Roma: Quasar, 1993).

13 Francis Tassaux, Robert Matijašić, and Vladimir Kovacic. *Loron (Croatie)* (Bordeaux: Ausonius, 2001), 89, 312.

14 Vesna Jurkić Girardi, «Scavi in una parte della villa rustica romana a Cervera porto presso Parenzo.» *Atti Centro ricerche Storiche di Rovigno* (1979).

riali, mentre non ci è dato sapere del destino degli altri poderi di queste famiglie. E' possibile che le loro ville marittime fossero state parimenti dichiarate proprietà imperiale.

Nei pressi di questo sito produttivo una villa marittima è stata localizzata, anche se non esaminata. Lungo la costa curvilinea nei pressi della baia di Santa Marina e sulle pendici del relativo promontorio vi sono tracce di edifici sparsi eretti sia a livello del mare che su terrazze, secondo quanto confermato da un'indagine geofisica. L'équipe franco-italo-croata ha qui avuto occa-

sione di studiare un'ampia *piscina vivaria*, situata nella baia menzionata, di cui due frammenti di mosaico bianco e nero, palesemente appartenenti a una superficie più vasta e rinvenuti a Loron, sono ora esposti al Museo di Parenzo. Il bordo che incornicia il mosaico penetrandone il campo, una bianca foglia d'edera su sfondo scuro situato a margine della composizione, nonché una *guilloche* bifascia bianca su sfondo scuro sono motivi tipici dei mosaici dell'epoca flavia, alla fine del I secolo.¹⁵



2. La villa marittima a Loron – la pianta da un parte di villa (Kovačić, Marchiori, Marion, Rosada, Rouse, Tassaux 2010)

3. A sud della città Parenzo, sullo stretto promontorio di Sorna oggi inglobato dal villaggio turistico Laguna Verde, negli anni '60 del secolo scorso è stata rinvenuta un'ampia villa (150 x 130 m). La villa è posta sopra il promontorio

e i suoi lunghi portici danno, con ampie vedute, su tutti tre i lati. La simmetria assiale delle due strutture a peristilio indica un progetto edilizio univoco e non bifase.¹⁶ Un ampio *triclinium* era posto al centro, nel punto più alto del promontorio

15 Jagoda Meder, *Podni mozaici u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, 2003), 29.

16 Robert Matijašić, *Gospodarstvo antičke Istre* (Pula: »Žakan Juri«, 1998), 126.

rio; la luce penetrava dai peristili laterali. Le stanze erano ornate con mosaici policromi e pitture murali, datati al I e II secolo. L'edificio termale si trovava nella baia est, vicino al mare; secondo l'artefice degli scavi, la struttura nell'angolo basso sinistro fu aggiunta nel IV secolo. Le aree interessate dagli scavi non presentavano tracce di attività agricole *in situ* o nei pressi: è probabile che ci troviamo di fronte a una villa imperiale adibita ad *otium*. Nella seconda fase, al centro dell'edificio fu eretta una piccola struttura rettangolare con delle aggiunte laterali: probabilmente si trattava di una chiesa.

4. Proseguendo lungo la costa, a Barbariga, a nord della *figulina* di Fasana, gli archeologi hanno localizzato il più grande oleificio istriano del primo impero. Dei quattro siti di produzione ubicati entro un'area di 2 km² l'uno dall'altro, uno constava di 5 torchi e un altro di addirittura 20. Quest'ultimo sito, ubicato nella baia di Porto delle Colonne presso Barbariga, conteneva i resti di una *fullonica* mentre a Punta Cissana (o Punta Barbariga) furono rinvenute conchiglie murex sminuzzate tardoantiche. L'edificio residenziale era un'ampia villa marittima che si estendeva sul promontorio.¹⁷ La planimetria della villa mostra tre edifici collegati terminanti in un molo e relativo porticciolo. La parte più antica della villa è l'ala nord. Il primo edificio è probabilmente l'originaria villa planimetrica con portico frontale, paragonabile al Tipo B lafoniano, a cui vennero aggiunti edifici di rappresentanza adornati da mosaici. La maggior parte dei mosaici era bianca con due bordi neri a cornice, mentre gli altri erano neri con uno o due bordi bianchi. Il peristilio si apriva a una vista panoramica del bagnasciuga ed entrambe le facciate erano adornate da gradinate monumentali. La progressione di stanze situate sui tre lati del peristilio conteneva mosaici bianchi e neri con motivi geometrici e altri mosaici policromi. Tra i resti v'erano due frammenti di affreschi di terzo stile pompeiano.¹⁸ Anche le terme appartengono alla fase posteriore. Gli scavi nel sito si sono svolti all'inizio del XX se-

colo e sussiste pertanto la necessità di una nuova campagna al fine di chiarire le varie fasi costruttive. La densità e la quantità di ville marittime nell'Istria meridionale, specie nei pressi dell'antico capoluogo regionale di Pola, sono indicativi dell'importanza economica e politica del ceto dirigente.

A nord di Pola vi sono due grandi siti, uno sull'isola di Brioni Maggiore e l'altro dirimpetto sulla costa, a Valbandon. Al vertice di questo triangolo, a Fasana, si trovava il più grande opificio di anfore istriano, di proprietà della famiglia senatoriale dei Laecanii.

5. La villa marittima nella baia di Val Catena sull'isola di Brioni Maggiore è la più complessa ritrovata finora sulla costa adriatica orientale. La villa, come pure tutta l'isola, era probabilmente di proprietà della famiglia dei Laecanii.¹⁹ E' questo l'unico sito in cui le fasi edilizie, da tardo repubblicana a primo imperiale, sono palesi. La pittoresca baia di Val Catena vide così riattare un'originaria villa catoniana, con tanto di *pars rustica* e *pars urbana*, in una *maritima* terrazzata, con una *domus* nuova e porticati monumentali a lambire il mare. La villa originaria era una combinazione tra Tipo A con cortile centrale e Tipo B lafoniani,²⁰ una villa planimetrica con portico frontale. Gradualmente, nel corso del I secolo, l'intera baia fu edificata a contenere servizi monumentali per un'estensione di oltre 6 ettari.²¹ La villa comprendeva un ampio raggio di lunghi colonnati che davano sul mare e un cortile a peristilio che fungeva da punto focale raggruppante i vari edifici, di funzione varia – residenziale e religiosa (templi di Nettuno e Venere, un ninfeo), oltre a una biblioteca, una *palaestra* e le terme – tutti collegati da colonnati e pergolati. Il complesso termale presentava un colonna-

19 Tassaux, Laecanii, 246; Tamas Bececzky, *The Laecanii amphora stamps and the villas of Brijuni* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998); Ivančica Schruck and Vlasta Begović, »Roman estates on the island of Brioni, Istria.« *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 13 (2000).

20 Lafon, Villa Marittima, 30.

21 Anton Gnirs, »Überreste römischen Ansiedlungen in der Gegend zwischen Pola und Rovigno.« *Mitteilungen der K. u. K. Zentralkommission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale* 27 (1901); Anton Gnirs, »Forschungen über antiken Villenbau in Südstrien.« *Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 18 (1915).

17 Hans Schwalb, *Römische villa bei Pola* (Wien: Hölder, 1902).

18 Meder, Podni mozaici u Hrvatskoj, 44.

to semicircolare che percorreva la linea costiera e una banchina in pietra. Non lontano c'era una *piscina vivaria* rettangolare.²² The villa comprendeva tre tipi di paesaggio: la baia naturalmente riparata, le pendici di tre colli e gli ameni prati circostanti. L'originaria *pars rustica* era rimasta in funzione, mentre i vari servizi furono costruiti lungo la baia. Contrariamente alle osservazioni di Lafon sulla maggioranza delle ville marittime primo imperiali di Lazio e Campania, non abbiamo rilevato trasferimenti della produzione in seguito alle aggiunte monumentali: agricoltura decorativa e piscicoltura rimasero parte integrante di questo *buen retiro* ad alto rendimento.

6. La villa nella baia profonda di Valbandon era stata parzialmente oggetto di scavi all'inizio del Novecento; ne urgono di nuovi al fine di chiarirne la cronologia e il rapporto tra le due parti sul lato opposto della baia.²³ Forme architettoniche immaginifiche e il rinvenimento di decorazioni pregiate quali una pavimentazione in *opus scutulatum* indicano che si trattasse di una residenza di lusso. Quasi tutte le aree residenziali nel complesso sud presentano decorazioni a mosaico. Due esedre nella parte settentrionale della baia erano decorate di mosaico nero con *crustae*; dietro ad esse vi è l'ala nord del settore residenziale, che presenta tracce di mosaici e pavimenti in *opus sectile*. Si conferma la produzione di olio d'oliva nell'area grazie a rinvenimenti di alcuni frammenti di torchio, ma non il collegamento di questa produzione con la villa stessa. C'erano prove che l'area interna della baia era chiusa a formare una *piscina*, approvvigionata da un torrente che vi terminava. Il complesso è datato al I secolo, con restauri dei mosaici a più riprese in tarda antichità.²⁴ I resti della *fullonica* appartenente al potere si estendono fino a Punta Cristo. Un'ulteriore valutazione della funzione, produttiva o di diporto, di questa villa sarà possibile solo in seguito a nuovi scavi.

7. L'area a sud di Pola è caratterizzata da vasti promontori e insenature profonde. Le risorse naturali comprendono qui strati di pietra laticizia di alta qualità, campi fertili e baie riparate; tra Bagnole and Promontore troviamo inoltre zone con pietra calcarea di alta qualità. Cinque siti presentano prove di produzione d'olio d'oliva, tra cui la villa marittima parzialmente esplorata e situata nell'interno della baia di Bagnole, dalle fasi di costruzione tuttora sconosciute. La planimetria rileva una villa con corridoio centrale a separare due file di stanze.²⁵ Il porticato che percorreva tutta la facciata frontale con tanto di vista panoramica sul mare caratterizza la villa come marittima e simile a quelle rappresentate nei murali in quarto stile pompeiano.

8. Ad est di Bagnole, nei pressi dell'odierna Medolino, la più grande villa marittima nell'area, e probabilmente in Istria, occupava il grosso del promontorio di Visola. Il promontorio si situa dentro una baia profonda che offre approdo sicuro e riparo da tutti i venti. L'attraversamento al largo tra la punta meridionale dell'Istria e l'isola di Unie in condizioni di bora è molto pericoloso: le imbarcazioni che percorrevano l'Adriatico in entrambe le direzioni dovevano attendere che il vento cessasse per proseguire e le flotte riparavano spesso in baie come questa, persino durante l'inverno. La villa poteva contare su una posizione panoramica e di conseguenza di un'ottima sorveglianza degli stretti sfocianti nella baia.²⁶ Dal 1995 vengono monitorati i resti della villa sul promontorio e sulle strutture sommerse. Scavi eseguiti a più riprese hanno riesumato varie piccole aree e le mura percorrono la costa per qualche chilometro; alcune mura sono ora sommerse e vari edifici sono disposti ad angolazioni diverse. L'intera villa, costruita su tre terrazze, copriva circa 10 ettari.²⁷ Per dimensioni e disposizione a strutture sparse è paragonabile alla villa imperiale di Pausilypon vicino a Na-

22 Vlasta Begović Dvoržak, »Antička vila u uvali Verige na Brijunima,« *Vijesnik arheološkog muzeja* 23 (1990): 98.

23 Matijašić, *Gospodarstvo antičke Istre*, 122.

24 Monika Verzar Bass, »Le trasformazioni agrarie tra Adriatico nordorientale e Norico,« in *Società Romana e impero tardoantico*, ed. Andrea Giardina (Roma: Editori Laterza, 1986), 656.

25 Matijašić, *Gospodarstvo antičke Istre*, 135.

26 Vesna Jurkić Girardi, »Archaeological researches of the maritime roman/late roman villa on the Vižula peninsula (Isola del vescovo) near Medulin in 2006 and 2007,« *Histria Antiqua* 15 (2007): 475.

27 Kristina Džin, »Spomenički nalazi i projekt ekoparka Vižula kod Medulina,« *Histria Antiqua* 1 (1995).

poli, la quale si estende per oltre 9 ettari.²⁸ Sono state rinvenute parti di porticato lungo e logge con pavimentazione a mosaico come in figura, nel punto di collegamento tra terrazze e gradinata monumentale. I rinvenimenti di mosaici, statue e marmi sono indice di notevole lusso. I reperti minuti datano la struttura dal I al VI secolo.²⁹ Alcuni degli edifici esaminati presentano tracce di muri divisorii in tarda antichità, forse per accogliere un numero accresciuto di persone, probabilmente soldati.

Le altre villae marittime, ma quelle dove scavi archeologici non sono finiti e risultati non sono ben documentati e proprio pubblicati sono: **9.** Havišće presso Jadranovo (scavi archeologici guida Ranko Starac); **10.** Selce presso Crikvenica. Una villa marittima dove è oggi costruito albergo »Slaven«, può essere associato con il proprietaria da figliola romana a Crikvenica (Ad Turres) Sextus Metilius Maximus;³⁰ **11.** Njivice a isola di Krk (una villa marittima che si trova vicino da città romana Fulfinum, c'era trovato un edificio circolare di 15 metri di diametro;³¹ **12.** Šimuni a isola di Pag. Può essere associato con la famiglia di Calpurnius Piso che è noto per aver avuto le loro proprietà sull'isola di Pag. È stato trovato un'iscrizione »Calpurnia L. Pisonis Auguris Filia«.³²

Conclusioni

Quando nel 2003 è stata pubblicata una tipologia di ville romane in territorio croato redatta secondo la tipologia di Torrenato (2001), si è potuto desumere che la penisola istriana ospiti alcuni dei tipi più antichi di villa romana, specie nel primo strato di ville più tardi ampliate (alcune di queste, appunto, in funzione di ville marittime).

La villa marittima nella baia di Val Catena nell'arcipelago di Brioni constava di una prima fase costruttiva, finora sconosciuta, sotto il colle Moribon. Secondo la tipologia di Torrenato, la serie di vani disposti in corrispondenza del mare e raggruppati intorno al corridoio centrale I, oggi sommersi, potrebbero appunto rappresentare questa prima fase edilizia, a cui era seguita una villa rustica con corte centrale di tipo *atrium dipluvium*, edificata nella seconda metà del I sec. a.C. Tracce della prima villa si rilevano negli strati inferiori della seconda, come pure nel caso della villa rustica nella baia di Val Madonna.

È interessante notare che anche la prima edificazione della villa marittima a Barbariga presenta la stessa tipologia più antica di villa romana con corridoio centrale e vani che si affacciavano su entrambi i lati; lo stesso dicasi della villa marittima a Bagnole, a sud di Pola.

Il nostro studio delle ville marittime nella regione adriatica settentrionale era condizionato dallo stato irregolare degli scavi archeologici e relative pubblicazioni per tutto il territorio. L'assetto spaziale delle ville in Istria risulta perlopiù ben documentato, come pure le prove disponibili sulla proprietà di questi complessi. Nell'Istria romana l'élite coloniale, la quale possedeva al contempo vasti appezzamenti terrieri, costruì le ville marittime in seguito allo sviluppo di economie di scala. Le ville avevano funzione molteplice e mista, tuttavia quelle prevalenti erano di produzione di colture da reddito (per i fabbisogni della villa e per il mercato) e di controllo delle vie di mare strategiche. Ciononostante, la funzione fondamentale di ogni villa marittima era il soggiorno stagionale del proprietario e il godimento dell'*otium* in un'amena casa al mare. Per questo motivo molte ville disponevano di *piscinae vivariae* prospicienti alla costa (Catoro, Lorron, Valbandon, Brioni-Val Catena e baia Ribnjak, Medolino-Visola). *Piscinae vivariae* di dimensioni ridotte e di disposizione particolare fungevano piuttosto da *aquaria* per particolari varietà di pesci e altre attrattive e non venivano utilizzate per l'itticoltura produttiva a scopo

28 Lafon, *Villa Maritima*, 406–07, fig. 136.

29 Vesna Jurkić Girardi, »Le antique hearths in the roman residential villa on the Vižula peninsula near Medulin.« *Histria Antiqua* 16 (2008): 162.

30 Goranka Lipovac Vrkljan, »Keramičarska radionica u Crikvenici / Ceramics Workshop in Crikvenica.« in *International Archaeological Symposium: Summaries of Reports* (Pula, 2006).

31 Mihovil Bolonić and Ivan Žic, *Otok Krk kroz vijekove* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1977).

32 Marin Zaninović, »Villae rusticae u pejsažu otoka i obale antičke Dalmacije.« *Histria Antiqua* 1 (1995).

alimentare, scopo al quale venivano invece adibite vaste pozze e, in certi casi, recintate intere baie (Valbandon, Brioni-Ribnjak). I più piccoli *vivaria*, progettati per l'occasione, servivano perlopiù da attrazioni; disponevano di camere separate per poter ospitare differenti varietà di pesci (Catoro, Loron, Brioni). La *piscina vivaria* della villa a Catoro era costituita da un semicerchio con parete divisoria nel mezzo; quella della villa a Loron constava di tre camere; quella nella baia di Val Catena sull'isola di Brioni aveva varie camere rettangolari di dimensioni diverse e collegate da canali, probabilmente con partizioni che consentivano l'apertura e la chiusura dei canali, di modo da poter controllare il movimento dei pesci.

Molte ville presentavano finiture di lusso, al punto che in alcune di esse troviamo pavimentazione eseguita con la tecnica dell'*opus scutulatum* – una combinazione di lastre in marmo tagliate in varie forme geometriche e mosaico (Valbandon, Visola presso Medolino). Per la loro ubicazione differenziamo tra ville marittime costruite su penisole e quelle dentro porti. Per tipo di unità architettoniche, differenziamo tra ville di tipo a portico, ville del tipo a peristilio, e ville che sono una combinazione dei due tipi. Le facciate monumentali dominano la costa, mentre negli spazi interni si rileva una giocosa esigenza di lusso personalizzato, che riflette una filosofia di vita epicurea ed un approccio all'arredo spaziale raffinato e, spesso, alquanto anticonvenzionale, tanto che si può dire che ogni villa rappresenta una creazione a sé. Talvolta queste ville dispongono di servizi di lusso quali biblioteche, *palaestrae*, templi e terme, come nel caso della villa sulle isole Brioni. Le volte, le colonne, i capitelli, gli sfarzosi pavimenti in marmo e mosaico, sono tutti dei »must« di una villa marittima.

Una villa marittima era di gran valore e per costruirla si incorreva in spese straordinarie: Orazio narra le difficoltà dei loro proprietari, la loro irascibilità ed irritabilità, il sonno leggero appesantito dalle preoccupazioni, raccontando inoltre di ville così grandi da coprire il mare stesso. »Tu erigi il tuo monumento di marmo

ed estendi i tuoi palazzi sulle rive delle *Baiae*« (Lib. II, Car. XVIII). »I proprietari di vasti poderi hanno mille pensieri; i costruttori di grandi ville al mare spesso cercano di sfuggire invano ai loro problemi«. Conclude infine: »Nemmen l'indomo mar recar può pace a colui che troppo agogna« (Ode XVIII).

Gli autori del volume sulla villa marittima a Loron hanno cercato di determinare la vastità dell'area di proprietà occupata dalla villa, concludendo che è probabile che i poderi marittimi si estendessero per diversi chilometri lungo la costa.³³ Le numerose ville situate in prossimità di centri urbani (più o meno a un giorno di viaggio), ad es. quelle intorno ad Aegida, Parenzo e Pola, confermano l'ipotesi che i potentati rurali del tempo appartenessero anche all'élite urbana.³⁴

Vario il destino delle ville marittime nella tarda antichità. La loro architettura monumentale consentì l'assunzione di nuove funzioni, il livello di sfarzo rimanendo invariato. Strutture produttive quali le *fullonicae* furono annesse ad alcune ville (es. Barbariga, Val Catena su Brioni, Valbandon, Fornace presso Pirano), mentre altre si videro riattate in insediamenti tardoantichi o in basi militari marittime sulle rotte adriatiche più importanti (Catoro, Castrum-Val Catena, Visola presso Medolino). I resti di vasellame e quegli architettonici suffragano la tesi secondo cui diverse ville marittime – probabilmente quelle divenute in seguito proprietà imperiali – fecero da basi militari e navali e da sedi di comandanti militari della tarda antichità (come documentato su Brioni). Molto rimane ancora da fare per esplorare i siti finora individuati e spiegare esaurientemente il destino di queste straordinarie opere architettoniche.

Summary

The article outlines a picture of the seafront villas on the coastline extending from the northernmost Gulf of Salvore to the island of Pag in the south. The sea vil-

33 Tassaux, Matijašić, Kovačić, Loron, 355.

34 C. R. Whittaker, »The consumer city revisited: The vicus and the city,« *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 3 (1990): 111.

las in the northern Adriatic are by far the best explored among the Roman villas of east Adriatic coast; many feature a partially defined planimetry.

Maritime villas represent a specifically Roman architectural phenomenon of coastal settlement. Some of them were large and magnificent architectural structures built by the Roman elites to demonstrate their economic and political power. Our studies on the topography, architecture and development of these villas in Roman Istria suggest the existence of different stages of construction. In Istria, the seaside villas were built by senatorial and colonial elites, which had developed economies of scale in the agricultural and natural resources sectors, gaining important offices in Rome. Their names are documented on amphorae and square tiles. In the late antiquity, the economic and strategic function of villas, particularly those on the most important navigation routes, was crucial for the Adriatic region.

Povzetek

Članek se posveča podobi obmorskih vil, posejanih vzdolž jadranske obali od zaliva Salvore na severu do otoka Pag na jugu. Obmorske vile (la. villa maritima) na severnem Jadranu so daleč najbolj raziskane med rimskimi vilami na vzhodni jadranski obali; mnoge imajo delno definirano planimetrijo.

Pomorske vile predstavljajo prav poseben rimski arhitekturni fenomen obalne poselitve. Nekatere od njih so bile velike in veličastne arhitekturne strukture, ki so jih zgradile rimske elite, da bi izkazale svojo gospodarsko in politično moč. Naše študije o topografiji, arhitekturi in razvoju teh vil v rimski Istri kažejo na obstoj različnih stopenj gradnje. V Istri so obmorske vile zgradile senatorske in kolonialne elite, ki so razvile obsežno gospodarsko dejavnost v kmetijskem sektorju in izkoriščanju naravnih virov, se potegovala za pomembne položaje v Rimu itn. Njihova imena so dokumentirana na amforah in na opeki. V pozni antiki je bila ekonomska in strateška funkcija vil, zlasti tistih na najpomembnejših navigacijskih poteh, bistvenega pomena za jadransko regijo.

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Ricerche del 2008–2010 nella *villa maritima* di San Simone/Simonov zaliv presso Isola/Izola (Slovenia)

Stefan Groh and Helga Sedlmayer

In the *villa maritima* of Simonov zaliv near Izola (Slovenia) new archaeological research were carried out in the years 2008–2010. Apart from new mappings of visible building remains, the installation of a GIS-project and geophysical measurements, excavations were conducted in two areas of the villa. In 2008 the archaeological research was focused on the building complex in the north, in 2009–2010 a part of the *porticus* near the port was excavated. The results of the stratigraphical excavations and analyses of finds give important new information about the chronology and building concept of the villa during the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD.

Key words: *villa maritima*, San Simone/Simonov zaliv, excavations, analysis of finds, chronology

Nella *villa maritima* di San Simone/Simonov zaliv, presso Isola/Izola sulla costa adriatica della Slovenia, sono iniziate delle ricerche sistematiche, grazie ad una cooperazione di ricerca tra l'Inštitut za dediščino Sredozemlja der Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče Koper Univerze na Primorskem (UP ZRS) e l'Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Wien (ÖAI). Scopo di questo accordo di cooperazione è di acquisire nuove conoscenze circa la topografia, le strutture edilizie e la cronologia relative alla villa. Di seguito si presentano i risultati delle prime campagne di ricerca 2008–2010, ottenuti con l'installazione di un sistema geoinformativo e di misurazioni geodetiche dei resti scavati e restaurati nel XX secolo, con misurazioni geofisiche e con scavi stratigrafici mirati.

Indagini archeologiche sistematiche nella villa ebbero luogo negli anni Venti del XX secolo, sotto la direzione di Attilio Degrassi e di Bruno Tamaro¹ e negli anni Cinquanta sotto quella di Vinko Šribar. Nella seconda metà del XX secolo furono effettuati mappature dei moli subacquei nel bacino portuale, le prime misurazioni geofisiche e scavi archeologici da Giordano Labud sotto la direzione di Marko Stokin.² Nel

1 Attilio Degrassi, «Tracce di Roma sulla spiaggia di San Simone», *Archeografo Triestino* 10, no. 3 (1923).

2 Michael Donderer, *Die Chronologie der römischen Mosaiken in Venedig und Istrien bis zur Zeit der Antonine* (Berlin: Mann, 1986); Elica Boltin-Tome, »Arheološke najdbe na kopnem in na morskem dnu v Viližan in Simonovem zalivu v Izoli,« *Annales* 1 (1991); Federica Fontana, *La villa romana di Barcola: A proposito delle Villae Maritimae della Regio X* (Roma: Quasar, 1993); Giordano Labud, »Studio tipologico di reperti anforici rinvenuti nel sito archeologico romano di San Simone (Simonov zaliv), nell'Istria settentrionale,« *Opuscula romana* 20 (1996); Iva Mikl Curk, »Simonov zaliv – Terra Sigillata from the First Field Campaigns,« *Opuscula romana* 20 (1996);

2006 Branko Mušič effettuò misurazioni geofisiche (particelle 1419–1429).³

La *villa maritima* di San Simone/Simonov zaliv si trova su una penisola oggi larga circa 120 × 150 m e possiede nella parte sudoccidentale un porto provvisto di due moli della grandezza di circa 7400 m².⁴ La parte nordorientale della penisola è delimitata da un ruscello, a sud della penisola, ed a est dei moli, si trovava una depressione del terreno, minacciata dalle inondazioni. Tra gli scavi del 1922 e quelli della metà del XX secolo la riva fu asportata dal mare in questo punto per una lunghezza di 15–20 m;⁵ in seguito a tale evento, nel 1968 fu disposto un argine fino al molo romano meridionale. Questi terrapieni e l'originario andamento della costa si riconoscono grazie alle foto più vecchie⁶ e in base alle prospezioni geofisiche, condotte dall'ÖAI 2008.

Scopo degli scavi del 2008–2010 è stato quello di acquisire nuove e sicure informazioni sulla cronologia della villa e di verificare i dati delle prospezioni geofisiche, condotte da B. Mušič e dall'ÖAI. Secondo le prospezioni geofisiche a un corpo in parte già scavato a nord segue una costruzione simile a un corridoio largo circa 6 m intorno a un cortile ampio almeno 27 m. Questo poi porta a una *porticus*, parzialmente indagata, nella parte meridionale della villa.⁷

Ricerche tra il complesso edilizio a nord e a sud della villa

Gli scavi del 2008 si sono estesi su una superficie di oltre 3 × 8 m, ovvero 24 m², congiungendosi sia agli scavi anteriori nel complesso edilizio a

nord della villa che a un contesto della costruzione meridionale.

I risultati dell'indagine archeologica 2008⁸ permettono di articolare la storia edilizia dell'area di scavo in quattro periodi, che descrivono attività con forte impatto sull'ambiente e sulle strutture edilizie.

Nel periodo 1 ha luogo la preparazione del cantiere e la predisposizione di spianamenti allo scopo di ottenere un livello il più possibile unitario. Dal livello di partenza e di lavoro (periodo 1.1–2) comincia la costruzione delle fosse e dei muri di fondazione (periodo 1.3).

Nel periodo 2 segue alla costruzione dei muri la sistemazione dei vani (A–C). Il vano A a nord è largo 4,1 m (da nord a sud) e largo per lo meno 3 m. I rinvenimenti del periodo d'uso sono documentabili solo in pochi casi a causa delle numerose fosse, cronologicamente più recenti, e di quelle relative all'orizzonte di abbandono (periodo 3). Del pavimento a mosaico bianco del vano A rimane appena una superficie di 0,06 m². Dal punto di vista della tecnica di costruzione il vano A appartiene al complesso edilizio settentrionale della villa messo parzialmente in luce da Attilio Degrossi, cui corrisponde anche per l'arredo di qualità con pavimenti musivi.

Gli ambiti B e C risultano dall'aggiunta del muro di fondazione O19 a O17. Esso non si inserisce ad angolo retto, ma ha, come tutte le strutture scavate nel corpo meridionale della villa, un orientamento divergente di circa 5° verso ovest. Nell'area B si costruisce un pozzo nero (O20), parzialmente rimesso in luce nell'angolo sudoccidentale dello scavo.

Nel periodo 3 sono abbandonati i vani scavati. Questo abbandono procede di pari passo con il reimpiego del materiale da costruzione (blocchi dell'opera muraria, pavimenti mosaicati). La spoliatura della villa che portò al suo abbandono sembra esser stata sistematica.

Snježana Karinja, »Dve rimski pristanišči v Izoli,« in *Arheološka istraživanja u Istri*, ed. Božidar Čečuk, (Zagreb: Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, 1997); Marina De Franceschini, *Le ville romane della Regio X (Venetia et Histria)* (Roma: »L'Erma« di Bretschneider, 1998); Marko Stokin, »Simonov zaliv: Antična vila,« *Annales, Series historia et sociologia* 11, no. 1 (2001).

3 Branko Mušič, *Poročilo o geofizikalni raziskavi: Izola – Simonov zaliv* (Ljubljana: Inedito rapporto di prospezione, 2006).

4 Attilio Degrossi, »I porti romani dell'Istria,« in *Scritti di Archeologia e di Antichità Classiche in onore di Carlo Anti* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1955).

5 Vinko Šribar, »Constatations archéologico-topographiques dans la baie de Simon près d'Izola,« *Arheološki Vestnik* 9–10 (1958–1959).

6 Karinja, *Dve rimski pristanišči v Izoli*.

7 Stokin, *Simonov zaliv: Poročilo o geofizikalni raziskavi*.

8 Stephan Groh and Helga Sedlmayer, »Die Grabungen in der römischen Villa maritima von San Simone/Simonov zaliv bei Isola/Izola, Slowenien,« *Annales, Series historia et sociologia* 18 no. 2 (2008); Stephan Groh and Helga Sedlmayer, »Nuove ricerche nella villa maritima romana di San Simone/Simonov zaliv presso Isola/Izola (Slovenia),« *Aquileia Nostra* 80 (2010).

Il periodo 4 corrisponde al degrado postantico ovvero all'uso agricolo del terreno.

Circa 400 reperti sono considerati significativi dalla sezione di scavo dell'anno 2008. La metà di essi proviene dagli strati che stanno in rapporto immediato con le preparazioni, con l'utilizzo e con l'abbandono del complesso. L'altro 50 per cento viene dai livelli che furono alterati oppure distrutti in epoca postantica; in questo caso compaiono numerosi residui antichi accanto a un numero ridotto di rinvenimenti della prima età moderna e di epoca contemporanea.

Ricerche nel complesso edilizio a sud della villa

Per chiarire le fasi costruttive nella zona della *porticus* nel 2009–2010 si attuò un saggio di scavo ad oriente dell'area di scavo già indagata da M. Stokin. I livelli antichi erano stati disturbati dalle molteplici attività di scavo del recente passato e tagliati all'inizio dell'età moderna da un sentiero, che congiungeva San Simone con il porto. Nonostante ciò, i resti antichi della *porticus* furono rinvenuti in buon stato di conservazione. Ciò è dovuto al fatto che l'obliterazione delle costruzioni del I sec. d.C. fu realizzata attraverso sistematici lavori di riporto e livellamento.

Prima della costruzione della *porticus* l'area vicino al porto fu usata per lo scarico di rifiuti. Diversi strati di riporto, contenenti per lo più resti di anfore, sono stati messi in luce sotto il livello di impianto della *porticus*. Queste azioni permisero di livellare l'iniziale forte dislivello del terreno.

La *porticus* ha due fasi. Nella prima fase questa era pavimentata a mosaico, nella seconda furono eretti sul lato meridionale del muro nord dei pilastri di pietra, legata da malta. Essi furono impiantati direttamente sul pavimento in mosaico. L'analisi delle strutture del portico, messe in luce negli scavi del 2009–2010, e dei materiali rinvenuti indicano che il complesso non è stato costruito prima dell'età tiberiana. Gli interventi edilizi nell'area del portico sono dunque più

recenti di quelli effettuati nell'adiacente zona nord, che è stata edificata tra il 25 ed il 10 a.C.

Da un lato l'abbandono sistematico delle costruzioni e lo smontaggio dei materiali edilizi è dimostrato dal prelievo perfino delle tessere di mosaico. Dall'altro i strati di livellamento con mattoni e pietre sopra i resti delle antiche costruzioni indicano il cambiamento di funzione dell'area nell'antichità.

Interpretazione e discussione dei rinvenimenti degli scavi

2008–2010

Il tipo architettonico della villa marittima, che comprende concettualmente portici molto sporgenti, nasce in Italia nel secondo quarto del I secolo a.C.⁹ La penisola, su cui si trova la *villa marittima* di San Simone, fu coperta da costruzioni fino al ruscello, che scorre a nordest. Muri isolati sono stati trovati anche a sud e a sudest dei moli del porto.¹⁰ Da ciò si potrebbe concludere che uno o più edifici principali erano situati nella penisola, ed erano fiancheggiati da un portico fino al porto. La costruzione del complesso edilizio settentrionale, cioè di un edificio principale della villa, può essere fissata con sicurezza sulla base dello scavo 2008 al periodo intorno al 25–10 a.C. La costruzione fa seguito a consistenti interventi di livellamento.

Le strutture note mediante scavi e misurazioni geofisiche indicano nella parte settentrionale e meridionale della penisola due complessi edilizi a est del porto.¹¹ A nord è riconoscibile una fitta edificazione e, per il settore oggetto di scavo, è possibile individuare vani di alto valore qualitativo (pavimenti musivi, pitture murali); così il vano A, indagato nel 2008, rivela il resto di un pavimento musivo bianco. Il complesso edilizio settentrionale di circa 40 × 50 m possiede una corte interna, di circa 15 × 22 m, circondata da un portico. La costruzione si estende

9 Xavier Lafon, *Villa Marittima* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 2001); Vlasta Begović Dvoržak and Ivančica Dvoržak Schrunck, «Roman Villas in Istria and Dalmatia, Part III: Maritime Villas», Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu 21 (2004).

10 Vinko Šribar, «Izola», *Varstvo Spomenikov* 12 (1969).

11 Mušič, *Poročilo o geofizikalni raziskavi*.

fino al molo marittimo. Il complesso, già scavato sotto la direzione di Attilio Degrassi, oggi visibile per una superficie di $13,8 \times 18,3$ m, si trova nell'angolo meridionale di questo fabbricato settentrionale.

Nella parte meridionale della penisola è localizzato un altro complesso edilizio. Esso si compone di una grande corte interna di almeno 17×36 m e di un portico. Singoli vani fiancheggiano a nord, ovest e sud la corte interna. La *porticus* è costituita da un passaggio verso il porto con vista sul mare. Il complesso edilizio misura almeno 44×53 m, ma la terminazione verso est non è nota. Nell'ambito di questo complesso meridionale si trova la corte (area B) con il pozzo nero, indagato nel 2008, che è da interpretare come area produttiva. L'appendice obliqua e la tecnica costruttiva del muro O19 e dei vani intorno al portico meridionale, divergente del complesso settentrionale, indicano due differenti corpi di fabbrica. Il corpo meridionale diverge nel suo orientamento di circa 5° verso ovest da quello settentrionale. Entrambi sono stati costruiti in una successione cronologica relativamente vicina e potrebbero aver avuto forse anche diversa funzione fra loro. I rinvenimenti degli scavi 2008 confermano ampiamente i dati relativi alle aree riconosciute come edificate nelle misurazioni geofisiche da B. Mušič e dall'ÖAI.

Negli ultimi 2000 anni il livello del mare si è innalzato di circa 1,6 m, ciò significa che i resti dei moli marittimi che oggi giacciono al di sotto della superficie del mare e i muri di fondazione sulla terraferma, originariamente si trovavano sicuramente ad altezza maggiore rispetto al livello del mare.¹² I pavimenti dell'edificio a nord della villa si trovano oggi circa 1,4 m sopra il livello del mare, il che corrisponde ad una altezza di circa 3 m sul livello del mare in epoca romana. La *porticus* e i vani nella parte meridionale della villa si trovano attualmente a 1,1 m al di sopra del livello

del mare, quindi a un'altezza di circa 2,7 m sopra di esso in epoca romana. La differenza di quota tra l'edificio principale a nord e la *porticus* a sud arriva dunque a circa 0,3 m.

La dismissione per lo meno di parte della villa si data sulla base dei dati degli scavi 2008–2010 verso la metà ovvero il terzo quarto del I secolo d.C. (50–70 d.C.). È verosimile che gran parte del corpo settentrionale oppure forse anche dell'intero edificio principale sia stato abbandonato in quest'epoca. Questo potrebbe essere avvenuto in conseguenza di cause endogene (terremoto, maremoto o burrasche). L'abbandono procede di pari passo con il reimpiego di materiale da costruzione, che in termini di cronologia assoluta ebbe luogo immediatamente dopo l'abbandono dell'edificio. L'opera sistematica di spoglio nel complesso edilizio a nord e nella *porticus* porta a concludere l'esistenza di interventi edilizi nelle immediate vicinanze. Lo attesta il materiale finora pubblicato rinvenuto negli scavi più vecchi nell'ambito del portico e del porto, che indica un uso di queste aree ancora nel III secolo d.C.¹³

Summary

Due to the topographical situation and the geophysical and archaeological findings the villa maritima of Izola/Isola – Simonov zaliv/San Simone, situated on a peninsula, can be divided into one or more principal buildings and a portico next to the harbour.

The construction of the northern building with superbly furnished rooms, a main building of the villa, can be dated, following the results of the excavation in 2008, in the time around 25–10 BC. The construction is carried out after extensive levelling measures.

In the south of the peninsula there is another building with a courtyard and portico, built on the passage to the harbour with sea views.

The southern structure differs in its orientation by 5° to the west from that of the northern building. The two structures have been built in a relative chronological sequence of each other. The construction of the portico in the south near the harbour is about one generation later than the construction of buildings in the north.

12 Fabrizio Antonioli, Marco Anzidei, Kurt Lambeck, Rita Auriemma, Dario Gaddi, Stefano Furlani, Paola Orrù, Emanuela Solinas, Andrej Gaspari, Snježana Karinja, Vladimir Kovačić, and Luciano Surace, »Sea-level Change during the Holocene in Sardinia and in the Northeastern Adriatic (Central Mediterranean Sea) from Archaeological and Geomorphological Data,« *Quaternary Science Reviews* 26 (2007).

13 Miki Curk, *Simonov zaliv*.

The abandonment of at least parts of the villa dates, according to the results of the excavation in 2008 and 2010 around the middle or in the third quarter of the 1st century AD (50–70 AD). The abandonment could be caused by endogenous influences, i.e. earthquakes or thunderstorms.

After leaving these structures of the villa, building materials (mosaic floors, walls, roof-tiles) were torn out systematically. This re-use of building material can be dated in the time immediately after the abandonment. The systematic stone robbery indicates hypothetically that the reconstruction work took place in the vicinity to the harbour, which was still in use.

Povzetek

Zaradi topografske situacije ter geofizikalnih in arheoloških najdb je mogoče obmorsko vilo v Simonovem zalivu, ki se nahaja na polotoku, razdeliti na eno ali več glavnih stavb ter stebrišče ob pristanišču.

Na podlagi rezultatov izkopavanj leta 2008 je mogoče gradnjo severne stavbe s čudovito opremljenimi prostori, tj. glavno stavbo vile, datirati v čas ok. 25-10 pr. Kr. Gradnja se je začela šele po obsežnih izravnava terena. Na jugu polotoka je še ena stavba z dvoriščem in stebriščem, zgrajena na prehodu v pristanišče s pogledom na morje.

Legaj južne strukture glede na severno odstopa za 5° bolj zahodno. Obe strukturi sta bili zgrajeni v relativnem kronološkem zaporedju, konstrukcija stebrišča na jugu v bližini pristanišča pa je bila zgrajena približno eno generacijo pozneje kot je bila zgrajena stavba na severu.

Glede na rezultate izkopavanj v letih 2008 in 2010 je bila vila zapuščena ok. sredine ali v tretji četrtini 1. stoletja (50–70 po Kr.). Zapuščanje bi lahko povzročili endogeni vplivi, tj. potresi ali nevihte.

Po opustitvi struktur so bili sistematično odstranjeni gradbeni materiali (mozaična tla, stene, strešne ploščice); ponovno uporabo gradbenega materiala je mogoče časovno umestiti takoj po opustitvi. Sistematični ropanje kamna hipotetično kaže na to, da so se obnove dogajale v bližini pristanišča, ki je bilo še vedno v uporabi.

Abbreviations

Cassani = Cassani, 1991

Conspectus = Ettlinger et al., 1990

Lamboglia = Lamboglia, 1952

O = (Befund)objekt

ÖAI = Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut

Olcese = Olcese, 2003

ZRS = Znanstveno-raziskovalno središče

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Cultural Route of Stonemasons and Stones in the Adriatic: A Conceptual Proposal for the Interpretation and Promotion of Cultural Heritage in Limestone along the Adriatic coast

Neža Čebroň Lipovec and Katarina Šmid

Contemporary heritage interpretation trends, aims of alternative and creative tourism as well as recommendations by the European Council regarding the promotion of European values and the diverse European identity form the framework of the present paper which introduces the conceptual proposal for a new European Cultural Heritage Route of “Stonemasons and Stones in the Adriatic region”. Departing as a follow-up activity of passed EU IPA Adriatic projects, the proposal indicates a comprehensive strategy for capitalising the existing knowledge on stonemasons in the Adriatic and its specific role as transregional and transnational connector.

Key words: European Cultural Routes, stonemasons, stone, heritage interpretation, tourism

The following *Conceptual Proposal for the Interpretation and Promotion of Cultural Heritage and Limestone along the Adriatic* was based and elaborated not only as the continuation and the progress of the knowledge and results that were gained through the implemented activities within the Work Package 4 - *Platy Limestone as Cultural Heritage* of the RoofOfRock project (IPA Adriatic CBC Programme 2007-2013), but also on the experiences and good practices regarding the cultural heritage and especially its interpretation gained through the other international projects, which were carried through the University of Primorska (see Chapter VII).

The Proposal is in line with the principles and objectives of the European Agenda for Cul-

ture (issued by European Commission in 2007)¹ and with the modern heritage interpretation trends in Europe, as promoted by the European Association for Heritage Interpretation (Interpret Europe).²

The modern heritage interpretation encourages an approach to the non-formal education that passes the ideas, knowledge and stories about the historic site, buildings, museum exponents or other cultural heritage monument (of tangible and intangible heritage) to the general public and random visitors. The basic idea is that sightseers should perceive interpretation that would enhance their own interpretations of heritage, but they should not feel like being instructed like „in school“. The deeper meanings and in-

1 Official Journal of the European Union, 29. 11. 2007.

2 <http://www.interpret-europe.net/>.

sights should be revealed by first-hand, hands-on experience and by illustrative media rather than by old-fashioned factual information that will soon be forgotten. On the one hand, one of the main objectives of heritage interpretation is to motivate the audience, to raise and fulfil its expectations, on the other hand, in a long-term setting, contemporary trends in interpretation seek to promote awareness raising through a diversified and plural understanding of heritage and the continual evolution of its significances and values.

The need for new educational trends and modern approaches to heritage interpretation has developed hand in hand with new technology and reasonably priced travelling. Without the sufficient heritage presentation too many trippers just leave the site without a deeper experience. In this sense, heritage interpretation can have a major impact in contributing to the promotion of alternative tourist itineraries, offering at the same time a rich variety of hands-on activities as promoted by „creative tourism“.

To fulfil the gap in the professional training courses of the staff - managers and educators - in the cultural heritage, the project InHerit was started. Its fundamental goal is to educate the employees or volunteers to develop the good practices and full potentials in heritage interpretation that would result in enhanced learning through Europe's rich and diverse heritage and would make the heritage more accessible to tourists.³

To sum up, in the last decades has become clear that only with the proper presentation of the heritage the visitors would broaden their horizons and promote the tangible and intangible heritage through first-hand experience among their relatives, friends or acquaintances.

European Cultural routes

Following the “European cultural convention” (1954), in 1987 the Council of Europe launched the “Cultural Routes programme”⁴ with the

objective “to demonstrate, by means of a journey through space and time, how the heritage of the different countries and cultures of Europe contributes to a shared cultural heritage” (COE). The programme pursues, through an integrated common methodology, the putting into practice the fundamental principles of the Council of Europe, namely human rights, cultural democracy, cultural diversity and identity, dialogue, mutual exchange and enrichment across boundaries and centuries. Since 1988 the programme has been managed by an executive agency of the Council of Europe, assisted by the European Institute for Cultural Routes.

In order to acquire the certification of a Cultural Route, the submitted proposals for routes should meet a set of requirements, among which salient are:

- 1) The theme should be representative of European values and common to different European countries;
- 2) It should follow a historical route or a newly created route (in case of cultural tourism);
- 3) It should be the starting point of several future long-term and multilateral cooperation projects on different priority axes (scientific research; heritage conservation and enhancement; cultural and educational exchanges among young Europeans; contemporary cultural and artistic practices; cultural tourism and sustainable development);
- 4) It should be managed by an association or federation of associations, thus a network of independent organisations.

The first route to be awarded the title was the French pilgrimage road to Santiago de Compostela in Spain, or Way of St. James. The following other major routes also referred to the Medieval history of Europe: the French way between Rome and Canterbury, the routes of sites related to the Benedictine monastery of Cluny, the routes of St. Martin of Tours, the network between the Hanseatic cities on the Baltic sea, Transromanica – the Romanesque Routes of European Heritage, the Viking route. Progres-

³ <http://www.interpretingheritage.eu/en>.

⁴ <http://www.culture-routes.net>

sively, routes from other chronological contexts were proposed too (ie. Mozart route), finally also routes, not-limited to a specific timeframe, were submitted, such as Routes of the Olive tree, Pottery routes ... It is in this later context that the idea of a “Cultural route of stonemasons and stone” found its background and support.

In December 2010, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe adopted the Resolution CM/Res(2010)53 that established an Enlarged Partial Agreement (EPA) which aimed at facilitating a tighter co-operation between states that could develop jointly the Cultural Routes. This agreement pursues similar objectives as the several European international calls for projects that address cultural heritage (various Interreg programmes, IPA Adriatic, Adrion, MED etc.), such as strengthening the potential of cultural heritage of the Cultural Routes for sustainable development, transnational co-operation and social cohesion. On a general level, the Cultural Routes programme places particular attention to topics concerning the symbolic meaning of European identity, unity, history, culture and shared values. On economic level, the programme has a major impact, or at least a potential for impact, on tourism. In this regard, it is foremost intended to develop lesser known destinations, also by pursuing the concept of alternative tourism and diversified and innovative tourist itineraries. Furthermore, the Cultural Routes can contribute to enhancement of “the democratic dimension of cultural exchange and tourism” by involving not only the local communities, grassroots networks and associations, but also the authorities on different levels (from local, regional to national). Finally, with its primary objective to contribute to the safeguarding and preservation of diverse heritage, it promotes the collaboration of academia and research institutions as well as heritage authorities with local authorities and communities in an interdisciplinary set-up.

Moreover, in 2010, the European Commission (EC) and the Council of Europe (CoE) jointly launched a study on European Cultur-

al Routes and their impact on SMEs, in terms of innovation, competitiveness and clustering, especially their potential for a more sustainable tourism that promotes alternative and diversified tourist products, especially by promoting less known destinations. At the same time, the study sought to identify the potential that SMEs, involved in ECR, can have in fostering intercultural dialogue as well as the richness of European values and identity.

In order to be granted the status of a European Cultural Routes a phased procedure (Capp needs to be followed, fulfilling a set of criteria and requirements. Here we only list them, while the analysis for the specific case follows in the next chapter. In first place, eligibility criteria need to be met for the theme of the route itself. Secondly, the CoE stressed the priority fields of actions to be planned within the route’s programme, namely : a) co-operation in research and development; b) enhancement of memory, history and European heritage; c) Cultural and educational exchanges of young Europeans; d) Contemporary cultural and artistic practice; e) Cultural tourism and sustainable cultural development. Finally, the networks that propose and take over the charge for the management of the Cultural Route’s activities need to meet a set of criteria, among which they must involve several member countries and the conceptual framework needs to be based on prior research and supported by the different network partners.

European Cultural Route of stonemasons and stones in the Adriatic

Considering the above framework, a “European Cultural Route of stonemasons and stones”, starting in the eastern Adriatic – but not necessarily limited to it – becomes a realistic challenge. Taking into account the already existing comprehensive databases from former projects (ie. RoofOfRock, Revitas, Living landscape, AS - Archaeology for all, MACC, Dragodid...), the key research material is already gathered and only needs to be eventually deepened

so to provide a thorough mapping of historical stone trading paths and masons. It would be a recognizable route that links geology and cultural heritage in its concrete historic links (historic paths and routes of stonemasons, trade, ...) as well as through contextual links (architectural influences etc.). In the first phase, it would involve countries and partner institutions that participated in the above-mentioned projects, these are: Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Italy, and potentially also Albania and Greece. In a second phase, other countries where the stone (primarily limestone) from the Adriatic basin was exported, would join.



Fig.1: Former Roman quarry on the Dalmatian island of Brač. Photo: Andrej Preložnik 2015.

The theme of the route relates to the historic exploitation and use of limestone which triggered a centuries-old craftsmanship that developed also through the exchange along the Eastern Adriatic coast as well as across the Adriatic sea to the Apennine Peninsula. Exploita-

tion of local stone leads back to prehistory and the similarities of its first built structures that form the basis of the subsequent development. A strong network of the stonemasons' craft in the Adriatic is known ever since the Roman times (from Istria down to Dalmatia) (FIGURE 1), in the Early Medieval period (with Istrian stone being used in Ravenna), but especially with the expansion of the Venetian Republic of Serenissima. It was since the early 14th century that the Serenissima sent its stonemasons in Istria and Dalmatia to exploit its natural stone resources, so the stonemasons' production developed strongly in the 15th century. To give a prominent example, we may look at the *oeuvre* of the renaissance stonemason *capomastro* Juraj Dalmatinac (or Giorgio Dalmata, Giorgio da Sebenico), one of the most prominent artists of the 15th century Venetian Republic, famous as the author of the marvellous cathedral of St. James in Šibenik (in central Dalmatia, Croatia), but also for a number of works in Venice itself. Juraj Dalmatinac was also in charge for the exploitation in the quarry on the island of St. Hieronymus (part of archipelago of Brijuni) and its transport to Ancona. Similarly, the 16th century master Jacopo Sansovino, among other author of the magnificent Libreria Marciana (in front of St. Mark's cathedral) in Venice also used the stone from Brijuni (FIGURE 2) and sites around Rovinj in Istria.



Fig.2: Former quarry at Brijuni, transformed into a park. Photo: Neža Čebrov Lipovec 2016

The outstanding transregional meaning of the stonemasons' productions on smaller scale of Slovenian and Italian Kras/Carso was well-

-appointed through the lifelong extensive work of Božidar Premrl, who published several professional books and booklets, articles and professionally made elaborates. Premrl has followed the tracks of the stonemasons' families and their workshops in Kras/Carso and has therefore clearly shown that the paths have developed disregarding the then territorial borders, but according to the natural assets and the well-off commissioners.

The route is thus constituted of show-case buildings, representing the architectural richness as well as the geological diversity along the Adriatic coast, but also of the links among the different sites. These can be related by their artistic and architectural heritage values, the practical use of stone, as well as geological specificities pointed out on selected show-case objects. Existing project's research results clearly highlight the common points (geological as well as architectonic stone elements) throughout the region and thus evidence its border-crossing role – so to argue why can we call it cultural route. The route has a comprehensive interdisciplinary character as it equally considers the cultural heritage in its tangible (buildings) and intangible (stone crafts) manifestations as well as the connected natural settings (all natural landscape, but especially quarries). The activity is distinctively of transregional and transnational characteristics, as the stone, of which were built several monuments of architectural, artistic and cultural values, is a common material that disregards the borders and could be exported following the commissions.

As the path would follow trading paths, paths of masons etc., it presents a ramified setup or hierarchy of connections (local, regional, trans-regional). A back-bone route leads in the direction north-south from the Alps towards the Ionian sea, along the Eastern Adriatic coast, while transversal "vertebra" is attached to it. This is the trans-regional level. On regional and local level, the route is structured around key-centres, or "knots", of application of stone crafts: the centres are in fact urban centres (major cities

or smaller-scale towns) with intense presence of representative show-case buildings, rich and diversified in the use of stone (building stone, cladding, ornaments). From here, visitors are directed in different directions: one continuation leads to nearby quarries or points of extraction, another continuation orients visitors towards other show-case sites or other local sites, meaningfully related to the quarry or its stonemasons. Among them, the "knots" are connected based on historic connections: following the routes that itinerant stonemasons and craftsmen took or the routes along which the stones were transported, also further away.

While the back-bone route can be the thread-line for a tourist package, the "secondary routes" represent a varied offer of daily itineraries. This way it meets the pursued and requested concept of alternative and diversified tourism. The main road and its ramification, as well as the show cases that lie by the road or other highlights of the architectural heritage, will be presented in the map that will be distributed to the tourist offices in the regions. (see Interpretation and presentation)

The definition of the main route in the Adriatic area and especially its broad ramification will highlight the common, well-beaten paths that were in the past chosen by the skilled stonemasons in order to commit the valuable commissions in the rich city centres or just to follow the stone trade in order to find some work.

To sum up, we may here just point out the key points where our conceptual proposal meets the official CoE's eligibility criteria for themes (Capp, 2006):

- The „Stonemasons' and stones' Cultural Route“ is representative of European values, primarily of peaceful cultural exchange, coexistence and respect of diversity, and is thus common to several countries in Europe, namely Southern and SE Europe.
- The theme has already been researched and developed by groups of multidisciplinary experts from different regions of Europe

- as show the different European project of which it was the topic.
- „Stonemasons and Stones“ do represent an illustrative case of European memory, history and heritage since the memory of the pathways of itinerant craftsmans as well as the several surviving architectural show-cases are the result of historical micro-scale migrations, but due to the tight links between craftsmen and rich commissioners are also evidence of broad currents of civilisation and cultural development.
 - The proposed programme along the route does lend itself to cultural and educational exchanges of young people, namely through the several possibilities offered by the hands-on workshops.
 - The proposal in itself already represents an initiative for an innovative project in the field of cultural tourism and sustainable cultural development.
 - The route's programme is conceived as a long-term multilateral co-operation project, involved in different field of action (equally in the co-operation in research and development as well as promoting cultural and creative tourism). Finally, it is to be set up by a multidisciplinary network located in different CoE states.

Management of the route

In first place, an adequate form for the management and cross-border collaboration should be defined. The best way for calibrated and fine-tuned activities, a network of delegated organisations should be set-up. In this concrete case, the already set-up network of the RoofOfRock show-case towns could be a starting structure, to which other organisations would join. In each region involved, one responsible organisation should be chosen, either from public organisations (universities, museums, heritage institutes etc.), associations or NGOs. The network organisations would then define its advisory board, the decision-making procedure, fields of

action, responsibilities, funding resources and finally a 5 or 10 year management plan, including a jointly defined agenda of actions and activities, funding, PR and graphic design, strategic links with related stakeholders (tourist operators, tourism offices, public and private transport providers, ...).

In order to achieve its key objective – contribution to the conservation and dissemination of heritage values, the major common task of the network, however, resides in the interpretation of the ECR topic – this is the historical use of stone and its related routes.

Interpretation and presentation

In order to efficiently achieve a long-term implementation of the route and as well as to adhere to the official requests for ECR methodology, a well-considered interpretation should be devised, along with its infrastructure. For these purposes, we follow the international standards, pre-set by the “Ename Charter” on Interpretation and presentation of cultural heritage sites, promoted by ICOMOS in 2008.

Being every act of heritage conservation, also a communicative act, an Interpretation plan for the whole Route should be prepared. The task of interpretation is to “enhance personal experience, increase public respect and understanding, and communicate the importance of the cultural heritage sites” (Ename charter 2008, Principle 1.1 in Grobovšek 2014, 48), in our case the historic stonemasonry of the Adriatic is a physical proof for the transnational values of respect of multi-culturality as well as intercultural exchange and learning.

Visual identity

In order to communicate the connecting values of the route – the presence and historic use of stone – an easily identifiable logo and a visual identity, which would greet the traveller all throughout the route, should be designed. Clearly, it will have to be a concise and modern, highly recognizable image – to be used in all related promotional material. Most likely the ima-

ge would refer to either stone as such, the stone-masons tools or built heritage in stone.

Interpretive programme

The interpretation programme is the top priority of the route thus it should be very carefully prepared with the participation of all the organisations involved, who, in turn, are responsible to collect updated data and material, based both on local and international scholarly research as well as through oral sources. The information provided in each marked point of the route should be clearly linked to those of other routes. The interpretive techniques would include both, traditional material technique – possibly used with the presence and use of stone – and advanced ICT technologies, the latter especially in places where interpretive infrastructure could obstruct the significance of the place.

In each selected location of the route, a key local itinerary, as a “branch” of the major route would be described, including the presentation of all related points of interest, buildings, open spaces, natural sites and quarries. All of them would be gathered in a map, which in turn again would be a part of the wholesome map of the route.

Interpretive and didactic tools

A map will help to tour operators to draw attention to the interesting objects in the vicinity, as well as to encourage the tourists (groups, individual visitors and hikers) to prolong their journey or to return to visit the more distant, but in some way related, heritage monuments, listed on the map.

As a complement to the map a booklet that will provide the short description of the objects and the links to the other stone products, made by the same stonemason or stonemasons’ workshop, will be produced. The booklet is conceived as one of the main interpretive tools and it works as a combination of a tourist guide of the whole route and of a diary. It would be composed also of a set of pre-defined empty pages where visitors would stick stickers or stamps from the different



Fig. 3: Stamp-diary and kit of the Slovenian mountain-route “Slovenska planinska pot - transverzala”. Photo: Neža Čebren Ljubec 2016.

sites of the route. The idea of collecting stamps or stickers derives from the traditional Slovenian mountain diary or »transverzala« (FIGURE 3) where hikers collect the stamps at the peaks achieved, adding by hand the date. The booklet could be further elaborated also as a discount

card where visitors showing this “ID” would get discounts either on merchandise or in cafes and restaurants. By having all the sites joint in one booklet, the transition among them would be enhanced, the visits increased and the connection between the heritage sites and their values highlighted.

Additionally, a specific cartoon-like book in national languages for kids (with drawings to be added etc.) would be designed as awareness-raising and educational material, again similar to the Slovenian mountain route, »transverzala« for kids.

To stimulate the participation of the local communities and storytelling, some points in the booklets could be formed as questions or enquiries for information that local inhabitants would provide. This way, different sources on heritage would be used, triggering “reflections on alternative historical hypothesis, local traditions and stories” (Ename Charter 2008, principle 2.2 in Grobovšek 2014, 49).

Promotional material

Linked to the cultural route, a whole set of promotional material or gadgets could be designed, reflecting the usual travelling aid (e. g. neckerchiefs, pins, bags, sleeping bags, ...) as well as the typical stonemasons’ equipment (boots, gloves, hats, bottle,...). All promotional gadgets should follow the principle of sustainability, meaning that they should be made locally with as much as possible ecological material yet following the general visual identity of the route. Recycled stone could be used for the production of promotional material of useful small-size (not too heavy) souvenirs (necklaces, etc...).

Interpretive infrastructure

Should also follow the jointly predefined visual identity of the route but also respect the local specificities. The bottom-line idea of interpretive infrastructure should follow the general aims: a) respect multi-faceted significance of the sites, b) respect for the natural environment and

geographical setting, c) sustainability and zero-waste economy.

The (im-)movable objects for the interpretation infrastructure of the cultural routes and selected show-case sites and quarries will be based on the “zero waste” concept.⁵ It aims at using those parts of stone as the building material that usually go wasted in the production process. Such material would be reused through innovative design solutions for new design products – in this case interpretation infrastructure, namely interpretive panel-like or similar supports. With the help of creative industries, a new, useful dimension would be given to the waste stone, moreover, this principle will also call the attention to the issues of stone extraction and design. Likewise, recycled stone could be used for the production of promotional material or for useful souvenirs (see above).

Workshops on sustainable use of natural stone

As a part of educational and awareness raising activities, a set of workshops could be organised in the different sites of project area with local partners and local craftsmen, so to produce the interpretation infrastructure. At these events professionals, namely craftsmen from other related sites of the route would be invited. Workshops would address both professional skilled-staff but also the general public and thus be a part of the wider tourist-offer of the along the route. As a hands-on experience for visitors and tourists, the proposal complies with the topical trends of developing “creative tourism”⁶.

Re-use of sites

A particular activity in this ECR proposal encompasses the promotion of abandoned quarry sites. Selected active quarries would be an integral part of the local itineraries, show-casing the contemporary stone extraction in quarries. Some of them have already included a presen-

⁵ This section of the pre-study was prepared on the idea of Tjaša Kranjec from the vocational school center of Sežana (Visokošolsko središče Sežana) who was supposed to be also a partner in the RoofOfRock follow-up project »House of Rock«.

⁶ See www.creativetourismnetwork.org

tation structure, showing quarrying and related techniques as technical heritage. There are, however, several closed and abandoned quarries which are still clearly visible in the landscape and have a great potential for re-use. Their potential consists of their natural setting, the good road-connection and the (most probable) existence of basic infrastructure (electricity & water-supply, minor built structure). Considering these characteristics, some could be occasionally re-used as performance areas for concerts, theatre performance, festivals etc. A good example is the site of the former Repnič-Rupinpiccolo quarry, in the area of the village Briščiki (Borgo Grotta), in the area of Trieste, where the quarry effects as an amazing natural amphitheatre (FIGURE 4). Activities in these re-used sites would be a part of the Interpretation plan and Management plan of the route. Here as well, each re-used site would promote the other similar sites on the route.



Fig.4: Quarry of Repnič-Rupinpiccolo (Briščiki/Borgo Grotta near Trieste), before a performance.
Photo: Neža Čebrov Lipovec, 2013

Reference best practices

In any case, this pre-study could only hardly be outlined without the experiences, gained through previously well-accomplished projects on the interdisciplinary field of cultural heritage, implemented by University of Primorska. Several (national, bilateral, but mainly international)

projects have set as one of the objectives the improved heritage interpretation, revitalisation of cultural heritage, promotion of heritage, ... etc. in order to increase the access to the heritage, to raise the awareness of the meaning of the cultural heritage as our common wealth, as our inheritance from previous generations and our legacy for those to come. Therefore the enrichment of tourism offer and consequently the increased number of visitors has been one of the regular indicators.

In this chapter we will point out two projects led by University of Primorska that have had as one of the results the setting up of the cultural heritage-oriented itineraries, which have been adjusted to various groups of visitors and are therefore understood as the examples of the good practice in the field. The long-term plan is (in accordance with priority areas of EU - promotion of culture as a vital element of the Union's international dimension) to maximise the potential of cultural heritage and to highlight its international and timeless meaning as the common wealth.

AS - Archaeology for all. Revival of the Archaeological park Simonov zaliv

During the project *AS - Archaeology for all. Revival of the Archaeological park Simonov zaliv* (EEA Grants, EGP Grants 2009-2014) three different archeo tours, meant for solo visitors, as well as for guided groups, were developed - two land routes (for hikers and cyclists) and one maritime. The land routes are based on the already developed tourist hiking and cycling maps of the surroundings of Izola, issued by Touristic Informative Centre of Izola that were modified and adjusted to the needs of the archeo tour. Both tours are available in long and short versions with the possible shortcuts.

Each monument, site or highlighted points of interest (esp. on maritime route) on the route has its own unit in the free version of the mobile application for the smart phones. The mobile application raises awareness when the sightseer is in the direct vicinity of the attraction and one

can peruse a general overview on the screen or can, if it has raised an interest, make profit of the more detailed description and more information with only one click. Some objects are also linked with other tourism offers nearby – like village's inns with traditional cuisine or breathtaking viewpoints.

Despite the title none of the routes is strictly only archaeological, as there is also some stress on the cultural, as well as natural heritage sights (like the pilgrimage church of St. Mary in Strunjan, traditional village Cetore or Natural Park Strunjan with the adjoining salt pans).

Living Landscape

The extremely rich intangible heritage of karstic area in Slovenia and Italy was (as in general overview counts for the intangible heritage as a whole) neglected until the last decades, as even UNESCO only in 2003 passed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.⁷

Within the bilateral, Italian-Slovenian, project *Living Landscape* (SLO IT PP3 2013–2015) under the leadership of University of Primorska and in collaboration not only with the project partners and experts on the field, but what is of the special importance for the integration in the local environment, also with the students and local community, the mythological-folklore park Rodik has been designed. Although the park has (due to the lack of money) not been set yet, all the necessary steps towards the final implementation have already been made. The comprehensive elaborate includes the locations and the interpretation of the single sites with the short description. Additionally, the official permission for the creation of the park (taking into account the guidelines set in the elaborate) from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of Slovenia has been already gained. Each mapped location would be equipped with the explanation that would be (under the consideration of the natural heritage sites protection) ecological-

ly and non-invasively put into the marking posts made of stone. The design for the posts was created in collaboration with the vocational school in Sežana, the only educational entity with the course of the stone processing in Slovenia.

Camino de Santiago or The Way of St. James

Needless to say, the most highly developed and numerously visited European routes ever since the Early Medieval Ages have been without a single doubt pilgrimage routes. The most famous route, Camino de Santiago or The Way of St. James, is each year undertaken by more than 100.000 people from the whole Europe, who have taken it not only to see *in vivo* the shrine of apostle St. James the Great in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in Galicia in Spain, but also to spiritually clean themselves or to visit and stop by numerous churches and other sacral buildings built through centuries on the road.



Fig.5: A typical signpost, with Jacobs' scallop as symbol, along the pilgrims way. Photo: Janja Rižnar 2015.

Through constant and ceaseless pilgrimage from all over Europe a very ramified system of the paths that lead to the same target has

⁷ Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO 2003, www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention.

been established - the most besieged has been The French Way with many medieval churches, cathedrals and abbeys that have served also as the rallying points for the pilgrims. The paths are marked by St. James' symbol, the scallop shell, that at every step welcomes visitors, and by several marking posts. As a tourist offer also „pilgrim's passports“ are provided, in which the modern pilgrim can collect the stamps, obtained in *refugio* (dormitories) or churches in the towns on the road. The owner of the passport can also profit from inexpensive – or even free – accommodation, provided only for the pilgrims. (FIGURE 5)

In any case, the well-visited pilgrimage routes are a the best and the most famous show case that clearly demonstrates not only the transregional, but also the underlined transnational characteristics of the beaten ramified paths that have been in use for more than millennium without a major caesura.

Conclusion

The proposed cultural route of stonemasons and stones in the Adriatic is set as a desirable complement to the already existing cultural routes recognized by the Council of Europe, as it fulfils all the major requirements for the cultural route (as proposed by the Council of Europe) – it is multidisciplinary based, contributes to the interpretation and promotion of the common European heritage, one of its objective is to educate the younger generation to respect the values of our common heritage, its functioning and maintenance are linked to the tourism and to the enhancement of the tourism offer.

Moreover, through previously completed projects on the field of cultural heritage and especially through already established system of the European cultural routes has to a great degree stood out not only the transregional, but also the transnational character of the cultural heritage, as the comparable heritage monuments are dispersed disregarding the borders, but with the look on the natural assets, commissions, historical background, etc.

The proposed Stonemasons' route will set out whether the stonemasons' paths strictly follow the stone trade path or whether there are some - smaller or larger - deviations, which have in all probability occurred because of the noble and well-off commissioners – not only the clergy but also the wealthy trading cities or nobility. Together with all the accompanying activities as well as the promotional material, gadgets and professional booklets, as also with the educational material for children and the recognisable logo, the route will encourage the random sightseers as well as the organised groups to deepen their knowledge on something as usual and as taken for granted as is stone as the building material. They will be encouraged to dig deeper and to follow the ramified curved paths of the stonemasons, as well as to the common types of the architectural heritage or the architectural decoration.

Summary

A pre-study that is generally based on the results of the well-accomplished international multidisciplinary project RoofOfRock, proposes a follow up of the project activities the concept of the cultural route that would draw attention to the ramified paths of the itinerant stonemasons and their workshops in the Adriatic. The elaborate is made in line with the concept of the already existing cultural routes, as was established by the Council of Europe.

The proposed cultural route would highlight the ramified system not only of the paths that were taken by the stonemasons in order to get the commission, as well as the stone trade. Along the route show-cases, buildings made of stone that stand out due to their artistic, architectural and cultural value are chosen and put on the map that is complemented by the booklet. However, the elaborate considers also intangible heritage (stone crafts) and also the natural assets that enabled the stone extraction and the stone trade. The concept proposes some ideas for the revitalisation - re-use of the sites like abandoned quarries.

The route and its branches would be accompanied by the recognisable logo, map, booklet, interpretive programme, didactic tools and by other promotional mate-

rial for different age groups (adults, children) in order to encourage the visitors to broaden their horizons about the stone, stone trade, stonemasons, etc. Its final objective is to promote the cultural, as well as natural heritage as our common European wealth that has to be maintained and respected as the route strictly points out the transnational and transregional character.

Povzetek

Študija v osnovi temelji na rezultatih zaključenega mednarodnega interdisciplinarnega projekta RoofOfRock in kot nadaljevanje projektne aktivnosti predlaga zasnovano kulturne poti, ki bi opozorila na razvejane poti potujočih kamnosekov in njihovih delavnic v jadranskem prostoru. Elaborat je pripravljen skladno s konceptom že zasnovanih kulturnih poti, kakršne so nastale pod okriljem Sveta Evrope.

Predlagana kulturna pot bo osvetlila razvejan sistem poti, in to ne samo tistih, ki so jih ubrali kamnoseki, da bi dobili naročilo, temveč tudi poti trgovine s kamnom. Na poti bodo predstavljeni izbrani „vzorčni primeri“ (show-cases), stavbe, narejene iz kamna, ki izstopajo po svoj umetniški, arhitekturni in kulturni vrednosti. Ti primeri bodo označen na zemljevidu, ki bo dopolnjen z brošuro. Elaborat obravnava tudi nesnovno dediščino (obrtni, povezane s kamnom) in naravne danosti, ki so omogočile izkoriščanje kamna in trgovino s kamnom. Koncept predlaga tudi nekaj idej za revitalizacijo - ponovno uporabo mest, kakor so na primer zapuščeni kamnolomi.

Pot in vse njene veje bodo opremljene s prepoznavnim logotipom, zemljevidom, brošuro, interpretativnim programom, didaktičnimi orodji in ostalim promocijskim materialom, namenjenih za različne starostne skupine (odrasli, otroci), vzpostavljenimi z namenom, da bi si obiskovalci razširili svoja obzorja o kamnu, trgovini s kamnom, kamnosekih, etc. Končni cilj je promocija tako kulturne kot tudi naravne dediščine kot našega skupnega evropskega bogastva, ki ga je potrebno vzdrževati in spoštovati, saj pot izrazito poudari mednarodni in medregionalni značaj.

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Rimski vojaki na območju Slovenije od ustanovitve Akvileje do vdora Markomanov in Kvadov

Jan Cotič

The presented paper is based on already published inscriptions mentioning roman soldiers, their functions and units in which they served. This type of research problem was chosen during the review of current state of research and literature about the Roman army in today's Slovenia. In addition to other (non-military) inscriptions, the majority of them are stored in lapidaries of the National museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana and in regional museums of Celje and Ptuj-Ormož. The remaining part of the inscriptions is distributed among the Dolenjska museum in Novo mesto, Bela krajina museum in Metlika and in the lapidary of the Carinthian regional museum in Slovenj Gradec. Some inscriptions are also inbuilt in churches, castles, mills and houses.

Inscriptions with its content supplement the archeological findings of the discussed period and contribute to a better and more comprehensive picture of roman military presence and functioning in the region of today's Slovenia. Roman military inscriptions are collected in a catalog and accurately analyzed according to military functions and units mentioned on inscriptions. Its aim is to explain the presence and the structure of the roman army in present-day Slovenia between the foundation of Aquileia and the invasion of the Marcomanni and the Quadi. All Inscriptions after this period are therefore listed in tabular form only.

Key words: Roman period, epigraphic, roman provinces, roman army, military units, military functions

Spregledom stanja raziskav in literarure je moč ugotoviti, da pomemben vir za sestavo celostne slike o rimski vojaški aktivnosti na slovenskem prostoru predstavljajo viri antičnih avtorjev,¹ ki so s konkretnimi materialnimi dokazi podprti zgolj na posameznih lokacijah (npr. Grad pri Šmihelu, Dolge njive pri Vrhniki, Grad pri Reki, reka Ljubljanica, Ločica pri Polzeli itd.). Slovenski prostor je v času rim-

skih osvajalnih pohodov veljal za prostor z izrazito prehodno lego in stičišče med Italijo in jugovzhodno Evropo. Zato je bila nastanitev legij ali manjših vojaških oddelkov v veliki meri povezana z gradnjo cestnega omrežja, obrambo pred morebitnimi vdori obmejnih sovražnih ljudstev in bila kasneje pogojena z nadzorom rimskih trgovskih in transportnih poti, ki so vodile v martično Italijo.

Analiza obravnavanih vojaških napisov bo pokazala ali je bila prisotnost vojaških oddelkov na slovenskem prostoru pogojena z osvajanjem jugovzhodnoalpskega in zahodnobalkanskega prostora ter kako ohranjeni napisi odražajo razmerje v številu vojakov in vojaških oficirjev.

¹ *Titus Livius - Ab urbe Condita liber XLII* (Marjeta Šašel Kos, *Situla, Volume 43: Appian and Illyricum* (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2005), 321–322), *Appianos - Romaiki* (Šašel Kos, *Rimsko osvajanje zahodnega Balkana* (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2010), 176), *Hostius - Bellum Histricum* (Šašel Kos, *Appian and Illyricum*, 323), *Tacitus - Annales, Ab excessu divi Augusti, Cassius Dio - Rhomaike historiae*.

Rimski vojaški napisi najdeni v Sloveniji so bili kot tema raziskave že podrobneje obravnavani predvsem za območje Emone in Celeje. Kot del raziskave povezane z nastankom Emone so nekatere vojaške napise obravnavali Balduin Saria,² Jaroslav Šašel³ in Marjeta Šašel Kos,⁴ Julijana Visočnik pa je poglobljeno raziskavo vojaških napisov opravila za območje Celeje in njenega agra,⁵ zato so njene ugotovitve samo povzete. Vojaški napisi iz Emone, Petovione, Neviouduna in Pretorija Latobikov so bili kot celota zabeleženi in opisani v strokovnih in znanstvenih objavah, npr. vodnikih po lapidarijih⁶ pristojnih muzejev, katalogih razstav ter v znanstvenih objavah.⁷

Rezultati raziskovanja so predstavljeni kvantitativno v obliki tabel ter kvalitativno. Slovenski prostor je bil v smislu vojaškega delovanja v veliki meri prehodnega značaja, zato je moč sklepati, da bodo opazna minimalna odstopanja v razmerju med napisi vojakov in vojaških oficirjev. Preučeni rezultati so dali drugačen pogled na obravnavano temo, saj je raziskava pokazala, da je razmerje predstavnikov vojske in oficirjev odvisno od kraja (in njegovega statusa ter časa nastanka), kjer so bili nastanjeni.

Katalog vojaških napisov

Iz Emone in njene okolice je poznanih dvanajst vojaških napisov: deset nagrobnih napisov (št. 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 in 12/13) in dva votivna oltarja (št. 3 in 4). Na štirih spomenikih so izpričani štirje veterani, pri tem sta v treh primerih eno-

ti navedeni (št. 9, 11 in 12/13) in v enem ne (št. 10). Starost je navedena na nagrobniku veterana Tita Varia (št. 9), ki je ob svoji smrti štel 60 let.

Tabela 1: Število obravnavanih rimskih vojaških napisov najdenih v Sloveniji

Emona	13
Petovio	20
Neviodunum	16
Practorium Latobicorum	18
Celeia	52
predstavniki vojske na posamičnih lokacijah po Sloveniji	1
SKUPAJ	120

Z oznako, ki se nanaša na navadnega vojaka (*miles*), so izpričani trije vojaki (št. 5, 6 in 7). Izraz *miles* se pojavi tudi na nagrobnikih pretorijanca Pudensa (št. 2) in Lucija Elija Nigrina (št. 8), ki je kot vojak marinec (*militi classis*) služil v Panonskem ladjevju. Kot edini omenjeni pretorijanec je Pudens vojaško službo opravljal v Druhi pretorijanski kohorti (*Cohors II Praetoriae*), a je očitno ni dokončal, saj je na nagrobniku navedeno, da je odslužil 7 let in umrl pri 25. letih.

Na devetih napisih je navedena pripadnost vojakov posameznim legijam. Petnajsta Apolovina legija je navedena na napisih št. 4, 5, 9 in 12, trinajsta Dvojna legija pa na napisih št. 3, 6, 7, in 11. Na nagrobnem napisu veterana Lukija Oklacija (št. 12) je omenjen tudi veteran Tit Kalvencij, ki je vojaško službo opravljal v osmi Avgustovi legiji (št. 13). Slednja je bolje dokumentirana na območju današnjega Ptuja. Imena legij so na napisih št. 4, 9, 12, 13 navedena samo s številko, kar dokazuje, da so nekatere legije bile prisotne na tem območju že pred uvedbo Avgustovih vojaških reform.⁸

Med vojaškimi napisi iz Emone je po opravljanju vojaške službe najbolj izpoveden nagrobnik Tita Junija Montana (št. 1), ki navaja, da je svojo bogato vojaško kariero šestkrat opravljal kot vojaški tribun, šestkrat je bil prefekt konjenice,

- 2 Balduin Saria, "Vojaški nagrobni napis iz Emone," *Kronika slovenskih mest* 3, no. 1 (1937): 46–48.
- 3 Jaroslav Šašel, *Situla, Volume 30 - Opera Selecta: Pro Legato* (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej, 1992), 305–315.
- 4 Marjeta Šašel Kos, "Je bila Emona nekdanji tabor 15. legije in veteranska kolonija?" *Zgodovinski časopis* 52, no. 3 (112) (1998): 317–329; Marjeta Šašel Kos, "The 15th Legion at Emona – Some thoughts," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 109 (1995): 227–244.
- 5 Julijana Visočnik, "Vojaški napisi iz Celeje in njene okolice," *Arheološki vestnik* 59 (2008): 325–357.
- 6 Blagoj Jevremov, *Vodnik po lapidarju I. del* (Ptuj: Pokrajinski muzej, 1988); Marjeta Šašel Kos, *Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije – Rimski spomeniki – Vodnik* (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej Slovenije, 2004).
- 7 Lovenjak, *Situla, Volume 37: Nevioudunum - Inscriptiones Latinae Slovenica* (ILSI) 1, Šašel Kos, "Je bila Emona nekdanji tabor 15. legije in veteranska kolonija?"; 317–329.

- 8 Kate Gilliver, "The Augustan Reform and Structure of the Imperial Army," in *A Companion to the Roman Army*, ur. Paul Erdkamp (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 185, 188.

Tabela 2: Predstavniki vojaških oficirjev v Emoni

Št.	Ime oficirja	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
1.	Titus Iunius Montanus	tribunus militum, praefectus equitum, praefectus fabrum, pro legato	/	avgustejsko obdobje	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 85, št. 36

Tabela 3: Predstavniki vojske v Emoni

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
Praetoriani							
2.	Pudens	miles cohortis II praetoriae	25	verjetno 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 85, št. 37
Signiferi							
3.	... Valerius Aemilianus	signifer legionis XIII Geminae	/	verjetno 3. st.	votivni napis (posvetilo Jupiteru Odvrčalcu zla ali Dolihenskemu)	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 82, št. 17
Fruentarii							
4.	Vibius	frumentarius legionis XV	/	prva polovica 1. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Cereri)	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 80, št. 8
Milites							
5.	Caius Clodius Secundus	miles legionis XV Apollinaris	/	prva polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 86, št. 38
6.	Marcus Aurelius Crispinianus	miles legionis XIII Geminae	/	253-268	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 87, št. 41
7.	/	miles legionis XIII Geminae	/	3. st.	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 87, št. 42
8.	Lucius Aelius Nigrinus	militi classis Pannonicae	/	konec 2. ali 3. st.	nagrobni napis (odlomek nagrobnika)	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 87, št. 44
Veterani							
9.	Titus Varius	veteranus legionis XV	60	prva polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 86, št. 39
10.	Caius Vettennius	veteranus	/	verjetno prva polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 87, št. 40.

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
11.	Aurelius Iovinus	veteranus legionis XIII Geminae	/	3. st.	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 2004, 87, št. 43
12.	Lucius Oclatius	veteranus legionis XV	/	prva polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Ljubljana	Šašel Kos, 1998, 332, št. 3
13.	Titus Calventinus	veteranus legionis VIII	/				

Tabela 4: Predstavniki vojske v Petovionii

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
Beneficiarii							
14.	Caius Cornelius Proculus	beneficiarius tribunus, miles legionis XIII Geminae	/	sredina 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Spodnja Hajdina	Jevremov, 1988, 46, št. 14
Centuriones							
15.	Marcus Petronius Classicus	centurio legionis VIII Augusta	/	prva polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Ptuj (videmska cerkev)	Jevremov, 1988, 39, št. 6
16.	Marcus Claudius Avitus	centurio legionis X Geminae pia fidelis	/	2. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupiteru)	Vičava	Jevremov, 1988, 99, št. 105
17.	Martial	centurio legionis XIII Geminae	/	3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Diani)	Ptuj (Titov trg)	Jevremov, 1988, 109, št. 120
Praefecti							
18.	Aelius Marinus	praefectus cohortis II Hispanorum	/	druga polovica 2. in začetek 3. st.	nagrobni napis	Vičava	Jevremov, 1988, 115, št. 132
19.	Publius Aelius Marcianus	praefectus cohortis I Germanorum	/				
Optii							
20.	Lucius Fanius Quadratus	optio legionis I Adiutricis pia fidelis	/	2. st.	nagrobni napis	Ptuj (minorit-ska cerkev)	Jevremov, 1988, 37, št. 3
Primi hastati							
21.	Saturninus	primus hastatus legionis VIII Augusta	70	prva polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Ptuj (videmska cerkev)	Jevremov, 1988, 40, št. 7
Decuriones							

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
22.	Marcus Secundinus Vitalis	decurio alae I Thracum	/	konec 1. st. - sredina 2. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru Odvrtaču zla)	Ptuj	Jevremov, 1988, 95, št. 97
		Milites					
23.	Lucius Anneus Surus	miles legionis XIII Geminae	30	konec 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Zgornja Hajdina	Jevremov, 1988, 42, št. 9
24.	Caius Memius Primus	miles legionis XIII Geminae	/	druga polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Zgornja Hajdina	Jevremov, 1988, 43, št. 11
25.	/	militi legionis XIII Geminae	/	/	nagrobni napis	reka Drava	Jevremov, 1988, 66, št. 41
26.	Ulpus Secundus	miles legionis XIV Geminae	/	verjetno 3. st.	nagrobni napis	Majski vrh v Halozah	Jevremov, 1988, 83, št. 70
27.	Fannius Florentinus	miles legionis XIV Geminae	/	2. st.	nagrobni napis	grad Velika Nedelja	Jevremov, 1988, 86, št. 75
28.	/	miles legionis XIV Geminae	65	2. st.	nagrobni napis (del pepelnice)	Ptuj (cerkev sv. Ožbolt)	Jevremov, 1988, 125, št. 152
		Veterani					
29.	Aulus Postumius Seneca	veteranus legionis XI Claudia pia fidelis	85	prva polovica 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Spodnja Hajdina	Jevremov, 1988, 35, št. 1
30.	/	missicio legionis VIII Augusta	/	sredina 1. st.	nagrobni napis (odlomek nagrobnika)	Zgornja Hajdina	Jevremov, 1988, 45, št. 13
31.	Lucius Iulius Valens	veteranus legionis XIII Geminae	/	/	nagrobni napis	Zgornja Hajdina	Jevremov, 1988, 67, št. 43
32.	Marcus Aurelius ...	veteranus cohortis ...	29 ali več	konec 1. st. – začetek 2. st.	nagrobni napis (odlomek nagrobnika)	Zgornja Hajdina	Jevremov, 1988, 71, št. 50.
33.	Caius Cassius Silvester	veteranus legionis IV Flavia Felix	/	2. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Viktoriji)	Ptuj (Panorama)	Jevremov, 1988, 112, št. 127

dvakrat načelnik inženirjev in dvakrat oficir viteškega stanu.⁹ Funkcija *pro legato* je nekoč bila interpretirana kot namestnik legijskega poveljnika, tako piše tudi Balduin Saria, ki je domneval, da je Montan poveljeval petnajsti Apolonovi legiji.¹⁰ Njegovo tezo je prvi ovrgel Jaroslav

Šašel, ki je natančno analiziral to funkcijo in zaključil, da ta naziv ni pomenil legijskega poveljnika, temveč oficirja viteškega stanu.¹¹ Ta naj bi opravljal različne vojaške, tehnične, predvsem pa administrativne funkcije z nalogo, da bi utrdil rimsko oblast na območjih, ki so bila šele ne-

9 Šašel Kos, *Lapidarij Narodnega muzeja Slovenije – Rimski spomeniki – Vodnik*, 85, no. 36.

10 Saria, "Vojaški nagrobni napis iz Emone," 46.

11 Jaroslav Šašel, *Situla, Volume 30 - Opera Selecta: Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpinia zur Zeit Caesars* (Ljubljana: Narodni muzej), 469–477.

davno osvojena in priključena cesarstvu.¹² Kasnejše študije in raziskave so dodatno potrdile, da zaključki Sarie niso pravilni, saj jim nasprotuje epigrafsko, numizmatično in arheološko gradivo.¹³ Med vojaškimi napisi iz Emone sta po funkciji omenjena tudi intendant petnajste Apolonove legije (št. 4) in zastavonoša ali nosilec znaka (*signifer*) trinajste Dvojne legije (št. 3).

Iz Petovione in njene okolice je znanih devetnajst vojaških napisov: trinajst nagrobnih napisov (št. 14, 15, 18/19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 31 in 32), štirje oltarji (št. 16, 17, 22 in 33) in dva spomenika za katera ni mogoče natančno določiti vrste (št. 26 in 29).

Na petih spomenikih so izpričani veterani, pri tem so v štirih primerih (št. 29, 30, 31 in 33) enote navedene in v enem ne (št. 32). Veterani so na štirih napisih izpričani z oznako *veteranus* (št. 29, 31, 32 in 33), medtem ko oznaka *missicio* nepoznanega vojaka (št. 30) izpričuje status odsluženega vojaškega roka. Starost vojakov je možno razbrati na petih napisih (št. 29, 21, 23, 14 in 28). Zaokrožena je na 5 ali 10 let: 85 (št. 29), 70 (št. 26), 30 (št. 14) in 65 (št. 28) let, medtem ko nagrobnik Marka Avrelija (ime je nepopolno) navaja 11 let službovanja v neznani kohorti, iz česar lahko sklepamo, da je vojak imel vsaj 29 let, ko je preminil.¹⁴ Na nagrobniku je navedeno, da je bil veteran. Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da je bil vojak starejši in je bil 11 let pred smrtjo najverjetneje premeščen v drugo enoto. Z oznako *miles* je izpričanih pet vojakov (št. 23, 24, 25, 26 in 27), prav tako se pojavi še na nagrobniku tribunskega beneficiarja Kaja Kornelija Prokula (št. 14).

Pripadnost vojakov posameznim enotam je navedena na osemnajstih napisih. Osmo Avgustova legija je izpričana na treh napisih (št. 15, 21 in 30), trinajsta Dvojna legija pa na šestih napisih (št. 23, 24, 14, 25, 31 in 17), štirinajsta Gemina na treh (št. 26, 27 in 28), deseta Gemina (št. 16),

četrtta Flavija Srečna (št. 33), enajsta Klavdijeva (št. 29) in prva Pomožna (št. 20) pa po enkrat. Med vojaškimi enotami je omenjen še desetnik konjeniškega oddelka prve Traške ale (*decurio alae I Thracum*) (št. 22). Na sarkofagu postavljenem v spomin preminulima staršema iz Vičave (št. 18), je navedeno, da sta naročnika sinova, ki sta vojaško službo opravljala kot načelnika oziroma polkovnika pomožnih enot: prva Germanška (*Cohors I Germanorum*) in druga Hispanska kohorta (*Cohors II Hispanorum*).

Iz Drnovega pri Krškem, kjer se je nekoč razprostiral rimski municipij *Nevidunum*, je vse rimske napise nevidunškega agra zbral in ovrednotil M. Lovenjak,¹⁵ vojaški napisi pa še niso bili strnjeno dokumentirani ali obravnavani. Dvanajst tovrstnih napisov je bilo najdenih v neposredni bližini antičnega mesta. Največ jih je iz Velikih Malenc (5 napisov) in Krške vasi (3 napisi) ter po en primer iz Leskovca pri Krškem, Valične vasi, Čateža in Dobove.

Po številu največ beneficiarskih napisov, ki jih sestavlja devet votivnih oltarjev (št. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42 in 43) in nagrobni napis (št. 44) konzularjevega beneficiarja iz obdobja druge polovice 2. in prve polovice 3. st.

Napisi št. 35, 40, 41 in 42 so bili najdeni na hribu Gradišče pri Velikih Malencah, kjer se je od 2. st. dalje nahajal poznorimski utrjeni kastel, ki je branil in nadzoroval rimsko cesto še v 6. st.¹⁶ Na treh napisih sta poleg funkcije konzularjevega beneficiarja omenjeni tudi legiji v katerih so beneficiarji službovali. Na napisih št. 35 in 40 je navedena deseta Dvojna legija, na napisu št. 41 pa štirinajsta Dvojna legija z vzdevkom *Martia victrix* (Marsova zmagovita) (št. 41). Med predstavniki vojske sta iz napisov omenjena Publij Maksimij Matern, ki je kot merilec desete Dvojne legije verjetno sodeloval pri postavljanju vojaških taborov svoje legije, in Maksimij Mansuet, ki je svojo službo opravljal kot centurion dvanajste Bliskovite legije. Mansuet je na-

12 Marjeta Šašel Kos, "Colonia Iulia Emona – the genesis of the Roman city," *Arheološki vestnik* 63 (2012), 100.

13 Mitja Gaspari, »*Apud horridas gentis ...*« začetki rimskega mesta *Colonia Iulia Emona = beginnings of the Roman town of Colonia Iulia Emona* (Ljubljana: muzej in galerije mesta Ljubljane, 2010), 113; Šašel Kos, "Colonia Iulia Emona – the genesis of the Roman city," 100.

14 Jevremov, *Vodnik po lapidariju I. del*, 71, no. 50.

15 Lovenjak, *Stitula, Volume 37: Nevidunum - Inscriptiones Latinae Slovenia (ILSI) 1*, 141–142.

16 Iva Mikl Curk, Slavko Ciglenečki and Davorin Vuga, *Po poteh rimskih vojakov v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Zavod Republike Slovenije za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine Slovenije, 1993), 193.

Tabela 5: Predstavniki vojske v Neviodunu

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
Praetoriani							
34.	Caius Mulinus Secundianus	equus praetoriae	25	3. st.	nagrobni napis	Tržišče (cerkev)	Lovenjak, 1998, 144-146, št. 65
Beneficarii							
35.	Marcus Aurelius Alexander	beneficiarius consularis legionis X Geminae	/	l. 232	votivni napis (oltar posvečen vrhovni boginji ali vzvišeni Celestidi)	Gradišče pri Vel. Malencah	Lovenjak, 1998, 31-32, št. 1; Šašel Kos, 2004, 101, št. 121
36.	Marcus Antonius Iulianus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. – začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Krška vas (stopnišče mlina)	Lovenjak, 1998, 39, št. 5; Šašel Kos, 2004, 102, št. 122
37.	Lucius Carantus Gratus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. – začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Krška vas (vogal hišnega objekta)	Lovenjak, 1998, 41, št. 6
38.	Gaius Valerius Avitus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. – začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Krška vas (hišni objekt)	Lovenjak, 1998, 42, št. 7
39.	Aurelius Marcus	beneficiarius consularis	/	Druga polovica 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru in zavezniku kraja)	Leskovec pri Krškem	Lovenjak, 1998, 43-44, št. 8
40.	Lucius Septimus Avitus	beneficiarius consularis legionis XIV	/	Prva polovica 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru in zavezniku kraja)	Gradišče pri Vel. Malencah	Lovenjak, 1998, 44-45, št. 9; Šašel Kos, 2004, 102, št. 123
41.	Marcus Aurelius Zenas	beneficiarius consularis legionis XIV Martia Victricis	/	l. 235	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru in zavezniku kraja)	Gradišče pri Vel. Malencah	Lovenjak, 1998, 46-47, št. 10; Šašel Kos, 2004, 102, št. 124
42.	Lucius Pompeius Ingenuus	beneficiarius consularis	/	druga polovica 2. ali začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru in zavezniku kraja)	Velike Malence	Lovenjak, 1998, 48-49, št. 11
43.	/	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (del oltarja)	Čatež (pomožni župnijski objekt)	Lovenjak, 1998, 50-51, št. 12
44.	Marcus Iulius Vitalis	beneficiarius consularis	/	2. st.	nagrobni napis	Krška vas (vogal mlina)	Lovenjak, 1998, 79-80, št. 27
Centuriones							

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
45.	Maximius Mansuetus	Centurio legionis XII Fulminatae	/	verjetno 1. st.	nagrobni napis	Dobova (cerkev)	Lovenjak, 1998, 141-142, št. 64
Mensores							
46.	Publius Maximus Maternus	Mensor legionis X Geminae	/	l. 240	votivni napis (oltar posvečen rojakom)	Valična vas (cerkev sv. Martina)	Lovenjak, 1998, 132-133, št. 60
Milites							
47.	Vibius Emeritus	miles legionis X Geminae	/	verjetno 3. st.	nagrobni napis	Šmihel pri Žužemberku (cerkev)	Lovenjak, 1998, 146-148, št. 66
Veterani							
48.	Lucius Marcus Blandus	veteranus ex decurio ... Noricorum	/	prva polovica 2. st.	nagrobni napis	Veliki Korinj (cerkev)	Lovenjak, 1998, 140-141, št. 63; Šašel Kos, 2004, 105, št. 139
49.	Caius Mullo-nius Verus	veteranus legionis X Geminae	/	3. st.	nagrobni napis	Tržišče (cerkev)	Lovenjak, 1998, 144-146, št. 65

grobnik dal postaviti v čast svoji tašči in materi Juliji Pompeji.¹⁷ Na napisu je navedeno, da je Mansuet službo centuriona opravljal v dvanajsti Bliskoviti legiji. Datacijo nagrobnika je Lovenjak postavil v čas okoli 1. st.¹⁸ Vendar pa Kasij Dion v svoji Rimski zgodovini legijo navaja v povezavi z nevihto, ki je vojake rešila pred neizbežnim porazom. Kasij Dionova navedba časovno in prostorsko dvanajsto Bliskovito legijo postavlja v leto 172 n. št, ko se je ta iz Melitene v Kapa-dokiji (*Cappadocia*; današnja provinca Nevşehir, Turčija) odpravila na vojaški pohod z Markom Avrelijem proti Kvadom na območje današnje Slovaške.¹⁹ Vojaški pohod je verjetno potekal tudi preko ozemlja današnje Slovenije in se nadaljeval proti severu, zato je možno, da je Man-

suet poveljeval eni od centurij namenjeni v boj proti Kvadom in dal v tem obdobju postaviti nagrobni napis. Po Kasiju Dionu je mogoče povzeti, da je Lovenjak datacijo nagrobnika postavil v prezgodnji čas. Nagrobnik je zaradi tega verjetno potrebno umestiti v drugo polovico 2. st., vendar je pri tem potrebno upoštevati, da podrobnosti o vojaškem pohodu in obeh bitkah še niso znani in da je dvanajsta Bliskovita legija nosila to ime že eno stoletje pred omenjenim dogodkom.²⁰

V Pretoriju Latobikov (*Praetorium Latobiorum*; današnje Trebnje) se je od 2. st. n. št. dalje nahajala pomembna prometna postojanka in vojaška točka.²¹ Postaja je upravno pripadala mu-

17 Lovenjak, Situla, *Volume 37: Neviodunum - Inscriptiones Latinae Slovenia (ILSL)* 1, 141-142.

18 Lovenjak, Situla, *Volume 37: Neviodunum - Inscriptiones Latinae Slovenia (ILSL)* 1, 142.

19 Cassius Dio, *Rhomaiké historiae*, 72=71.8-10.

20 Marjeta Šašel Kos, *Zgodovinska podoba prostora med Akvilejo, Jadrnom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu* (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1986), 247, 249.

21 Marjeta Šašel Kos, *Zgodovinska podoba prostora med Akvilejo, Jadrnom in Sirmijem pri Kasiju Dionu in Herodijanu*, 377; Iva Mikl Curk, Slavko Ciglencečki and Davorin Vuga, *Po poteh rimskih vojakov v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Zavod Republike Slovenije za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine Slovenije, 1993), 47.

Tabela 6: Predstavniki vojakov v Pretoriju Latobikov

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
Beneficiarii							
50.	Caius Antistius Threptus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 107, št. 152
51.	Caius Antistius Maturus	beneficiarius consularis	/	verjetno konec 2. st.	votivni napis (oltar Jupitru)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 107, št. 153
52.	Tiberius Claudius Peregrinus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 107, št. 154
53.	Lucius Clodius Priscus	beneficiarius legati consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 108, št. 155
54.	Titus Iulius Firminus	beneficiarius consularis	/	druga pol. 2. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 108, št. 156
55.	Caius Novetius Restitutus	ex beneficiarius consularis veteranus legionis I Adiutricis	/	konec 2 ali začetek 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 108, št. 157
56.	Marcus Victorius Victorinus	beneficiarius consularis	/	l. 195	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 108, št. 158
57.	Marcus Aurelius Valentinus	beneficiarius consularis legionis XIV Geminae	/	1. november 247/248	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru Dolihenskemu)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 108, št. 159
58.	Gaius Baebius Marcellinus	beneficiarius consularis legionis X Geminae	/	8. april 225	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupitru in vsem drugim bogovom in zavetniku kraja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 109, št. 160
59.	Iulius Terentius	beneficiarius consularis legionis X Geminae Severianae	/	6. oktober 224	votivni napis (oltar posvečen vsem bogovom in zavetniku kraja)	Sv. Štefan pri Trebnjem	Šašel Kos, 2004, 109, št. 161

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojška enota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
60.	Aurelius Secundianus / Itrius	beneficiarius consularis legionis X Geminae	/	18. maj, 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupiteru in zavezniku kraja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 109, št. 162
61.	Marcus Aurelius Valentinus	beneficiarius consularis legionis XIV Geminae	/	1. november, verjetno l. 247	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupiteru in zavezniku kraja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 109, št. 163
62.	Candidius Ursus	beneficiarius consularis legionis XIV Geminae	/	15. oktober, 3. st.	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupiteru in zavezniku kraja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 110, št. 164
63.	Gaius Iulius Dignus	beneficiarius consularis legionis X Geminae	/	1. oktober 250	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupiteru in zavezniku kraja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 110, št. 165
64.	Caius Iulius Impetratus	beneficiarius consularis legionis X Geminae	/	15. oktober 257	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupiteru in zavezniku kraja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 110, št. 166
65.	Lucius Valerius Faventinus	beneficiarius consularis legionis X Geminae Antoniane	/	l. 217	votivni napis (oltar posvečen Jupiteru, zavezniku kraja in božanstvu cesarja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 110, št. 167
66.	Lucius Varius Suiranus	beneficiarius consularis	/	29. september 240	votivni napis (oltar oltar posvečen Jupiteru in zavezniku kraja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 111, št. 168
67.	/	beneficiarius consularis	/	l. 232	votivni napis (spodnji del oltarja)	Trebnje	Šašel Kos, 2004, 111, št. 169

nicipiju Nevioduna, vendar se je ta nahajala v neposredni bližini meje med provinco Panonijo in

Deseto italško regijo, ki je potekala na območju današnje Stične.²²

22 Marjeta Šašel Kos, "Cestni postaji Atrains in Pretorij Latobikov," in *Zakladi tisočletij*, ur. Bronislava Aubelj (Ljubljana: Modrijan, 1999), 239.

Tabela 7: Predstavniki beneficiarjev v Celeji

Št.	Ime beneficiarja	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Prokurator
	Beneficarii procuratoris				
68.	Surus	beneficiarius procurator	/	I. 110	Memmius Apolaris
69.	Antonius Maximus	beneficiarius procurator	/	2. ali 3. desetletje 2. st.	Q. Caecilius Redditus
70.	L. Messius Frontinus	beneficiarius procurator	/	120 do neposredno po 135	C. Censorius Niger
71.	M. Ulpus Crescens	beneficiarius procurator	/	120-130	C. Censorius Niger
72.	Nonius? Primus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 140	Plautius Caesianus
73.	Masclinius Successus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	C. Antistius Auspex
74.	Augustanus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	C. Rasinius Silo
75.	Gemellius Adiutor	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Drusius Proculus
76.	Q. Crescentius Marcellus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Q. Lisinius Sabinus
77.	T. Flavius Dubitatus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Q. Lisinius Sabinus
78.	C. Mustius Tettianus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Lisinius Sabinus
79.	Lucilius Finitus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 152-153	Flavius Titianus
80.	C. An(t)onius Valens	beneficiarius procurator	/	152-153	Flavius Titianus
81.	C. Fuscinius Catullus	beneficiarius procurator	/	154-158	Ulpus Victor
82.	Adnamius Flavinus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 158	Ulpus Victor
83.	Adnamius Flavinus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 158	Usenius Secundus
84.	Q. Kaninius Lucanus	beneficiarius procurator	/	158	Usenius Secundus

Št.	Ime beneficiarja	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Prokurator
85.	Licinius Hilarus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 160	M. Bassacus Rufus
86.	/	beneficiarius procurator	/	Čas Antonina Pija?	Cacilius Iuventianus
Beneficarii consularis					
87.	Rufus Senilis	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	
88.	Flavius Decoratianus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	
89.	M. Ulpus Acilianus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum	/	konec 2. ali 3. st.	
90.	Q. Sextius Pullaenius	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum	/	I. 192	
91.	C. Licinius Bellicianus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum pia fidelis	/	13. december 211	
92.	P. Aelius Verinus	beneficiarius	/	213	/
93.	Vibius Cassius Victorinus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum pia fidelis Antoninianae	/	215	
94.	M. Aurelius Iustus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum pia fidelis	/	217	
95.	Aurelius Paterclus	beneficiarius	/	3. st.	
96.	??? Quintianus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	
97.	/	beneficiarius consularis	/	?	

Vojaške napise iz Pretorija Latobikov in njegove okolice v celoti (osemnajst napisov) sestavljajo beneficiarski napisi. Med prevladujočimi napisi konzularjevih beneficiarijev sta po enkrat izpričana tudi konzularjev legat (št. 53) in nekdanji konzularjev beneficiarij, ki je na napis poleg oznake *ex beneficiario consularis* dodal tudi status veterana prve Pomožne legije (št. 55). Poleg omenjene legije sta na desetih primerih navede-

ni še dve vojaški enoti. Štirinajsta Dvojna legija je izpričana na treh napisih (št. 57, 61 in 62), vendar glede na ime in datacijo lahko sklepamo, da je napisa št. 57 in 61 dala postaviti ista oseba. Deseta Dvojna legija je izpričana na napisih št. 58, 59, 60, 63, 64, 65 in 66. Na napisu št. 58 je ime legije dopolnjeno z vzdevkom *Severiana*, po cesarski dinastiji Severov, na napisu št. 66 pa z *Antoniniana*, po cesarski dinastiji Antoninov. Oznaka

Tabela 8: Predstavniki beneficiarijev v Celeji¹

Št.	Ime beneficiarja	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Prokurator
	Beneficiarii procuratoris				
68.	Surus	beneficiarius procurator	/	I. 110	Memmius Apolaris
69.	Antonius Maximus	beneficiarius procurator	/	2. ali 3. desetletje 2. st.	Q. Caccilius Redditus
70.	L. Messius Frontinus	beneficiarius procurator	/	120 do neposredno po 135	C. Censorius Niger
71.	M. Ulpus Crescens	beneficiarius procurator	/	120-130	C. Censorius Niger
72.	Nonius? Primus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 140	Plautius Caesianus
73.	Masclinius Successus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	C. Antistius Auspex
74.	Augustanus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	C. Rasinius Silo
75.	Gemellius Adiutor	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Drusius Proculus
76.	Q. Crescentius Marcellus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Q. Lisinius Sabinus
77.	T. Flavius Dubitatus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Q. Lisinius Sabinus
78.	C. Mustius Tettianus	beneficiarius procurator	/	prva polovica 2. st.	Lisinius Sabinus
79.	Lucilius Finitus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 152-153	Flavius Titianus
80.	C. An(t)onius Valens	beneficiarius procurator	/	152-153	Flavius Titianus
81.	C. Fuscinius Catullus	beneficiarius procurator	/	154-158	Ulpus Victor
82.	Adnamius Flavinus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 158	Ulpus Victor
83.	Adnamius Flavinus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 158	Usenius Secundus

¹ Visočnik, "Vojaški napisi iz Celeje in njene okolice", 337.

Št.	Ime beneficiarja	Funkcija, vojaška enota	Starost	Datacija	Prokurator
84.	Q. Kaninius Lucanus	beneficiarius procurator	/	158	Usenius Secundus
85.	Licinius Hilarus	beneficiarius procurator	/	okoli 160	M. Bassacus Rufus
86.	/	beneficiarius procurator	/	Čas Antonina Pija?	Cacilius Iuventianus
Beneficarii consularis					
87.	Rufus Senilis	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	
88.	Flavius Decoratianus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	
89.	M. Ulpus Acilianus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum	/	konec 2. ali 3. st.	
90.	Q. Sextius Pullaenius	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum	/	l. 192	
91.	C. Licinius Bellicianus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum pia fidelis	/	13. december 211	
92.	P. Aelius Verinus	beneficiarius	/	213	/
93.	Vibius Cassius Victorinus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum pia fidelis Antoniniana	/	215	
94.	M. Aurelius Iustus	beneficiarius consularis II Italicum pia fidelis	/	217	
95.	Aurelius Paterclus	beneficiarius	/	3. st.	
96.	??? Quintianus	beneficiarius consularis	/	konec 2. ali začetek 3. st.	
97.	/	beneficiarius consularis	/	?	

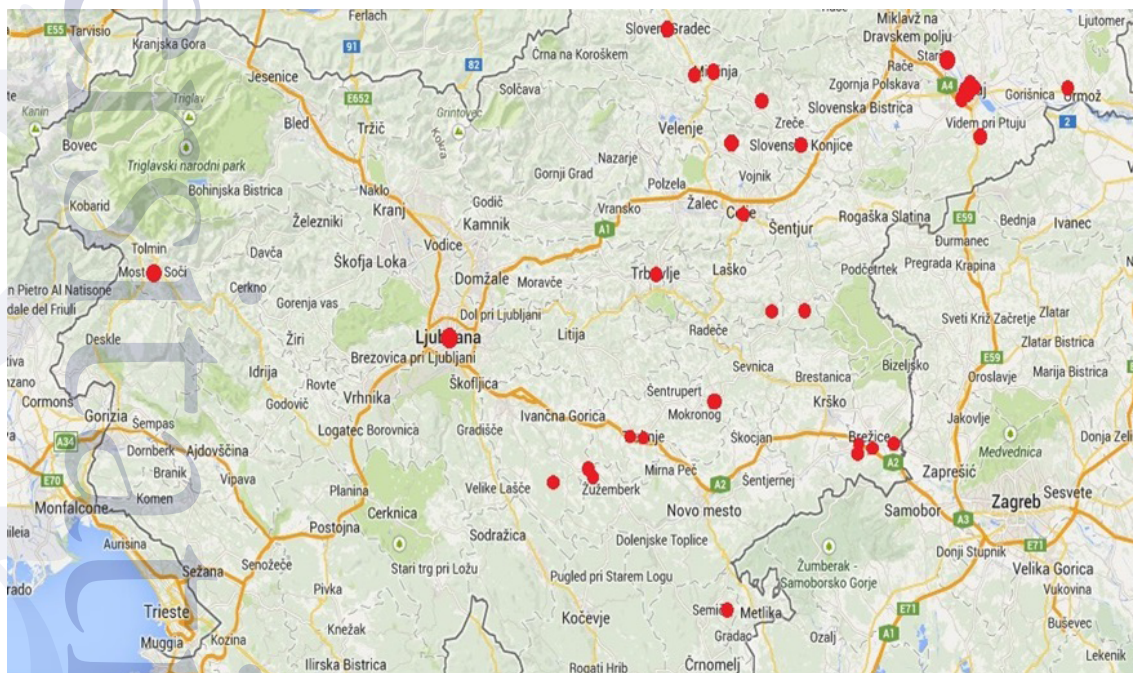
miles se pojavi tudi na oltarju konzularjevega beneficiarja Gaja Bebija Marcelina (št. 58).

Z območja Celeje se beneficiarski napisi delijo na dve skupini: na prokuratorjeve (do markomanskih vojn) in konzularjeve, ko provinco ni več upravljal prokurator, ampak legat.²³

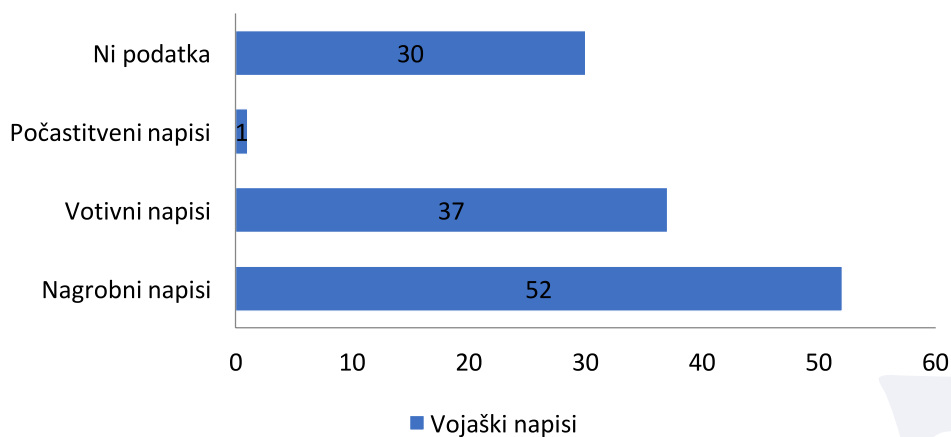
23 Visočnik, "Vojaški napisi iz Celeje in njene okolice", 335.

Tabela 9: Predstavniki vojske na posamičnih lokacijah po Sloveniji

Št.	Ime vojaka	Funkcija, vojaška čnota	Starost	Datacija	Vrsta napisa	Najdišče	Objava
Practoriani							
120.	/	miles legionis XV	/	sredina 1. st. pr. n. št.	nagrobni napis (odlomek nagrobnika)	Most na Soči	Svoljšak, Žbona-Trkman, 1986, 390, št. 6

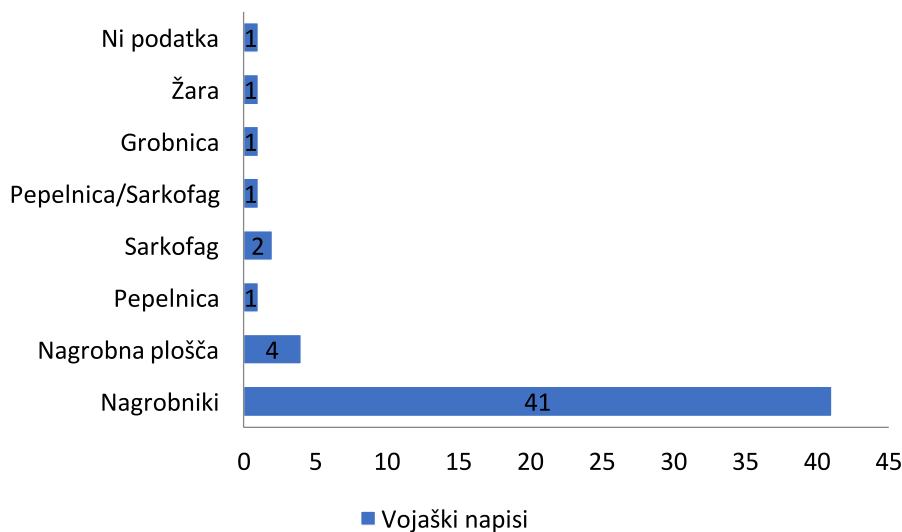


Slika 1: Zemljevid, ki prikazuje število vojaških napisov na prostoru tromeje med Italijo, Norikom in Panonijo (zemljevid prirejen po <https://maps.google.com/>).



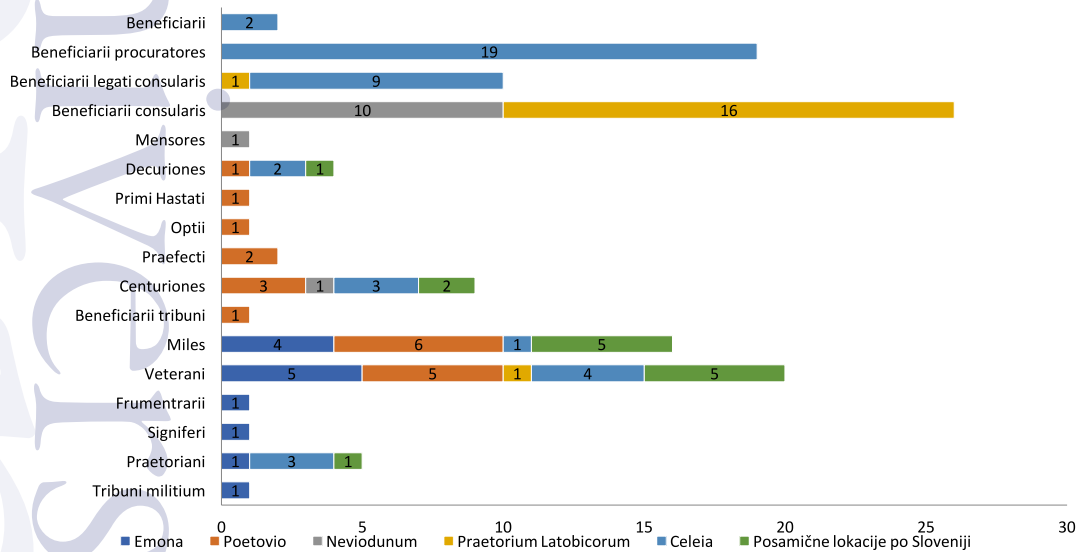
Graf 1: Grafični prikaz števila vojaških napisov.

Opomba: V skupino »ni podatka« so vključeni vojaški napisi iz odlomljenih ali poškodovanih spomenikov, na katerih je napisno polje nečitljivo ali popolnoma odstranjeno.

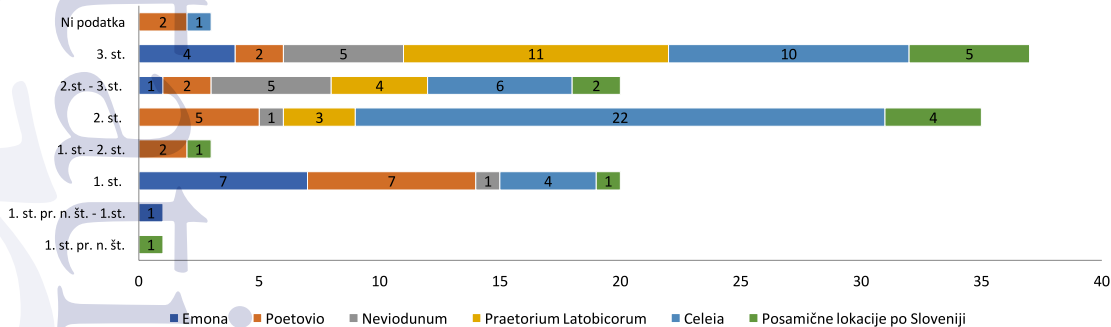


Graf 2: Grafični prikaz števila vojaških napisov glede na vrsto nagrobnega spomenika.

Opomba: V skupino »ni podatka« so vključeni nagrobni napisi iz odlomljenih ali poškodovanih spomenikov, na katerih je pisno polje nečitljivo ali popolnoma odstranjeno.

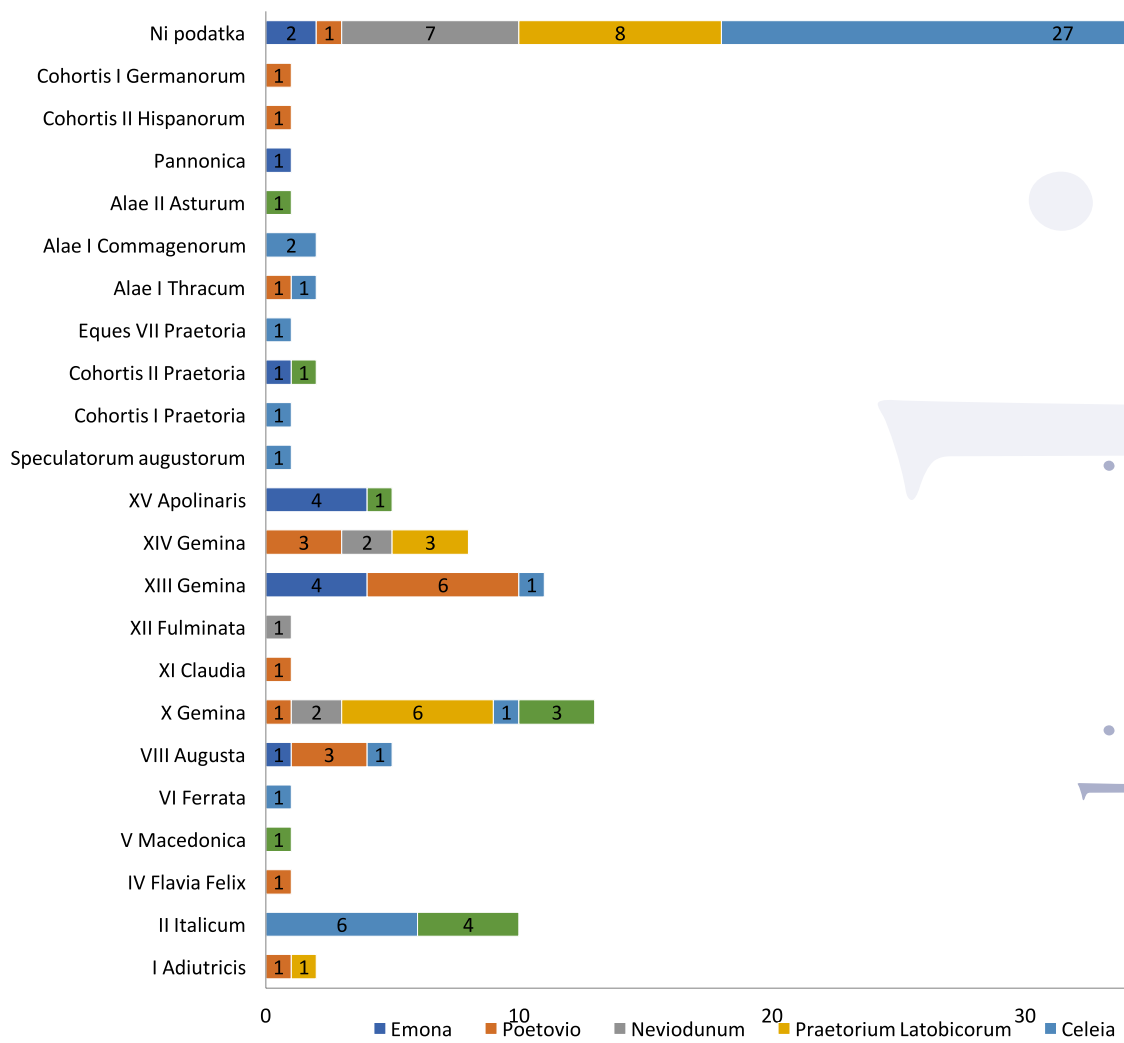


Graf 3: Grafični prikaz števila rimskih vojakov na slovenskem prostoru glede na funkcijo.



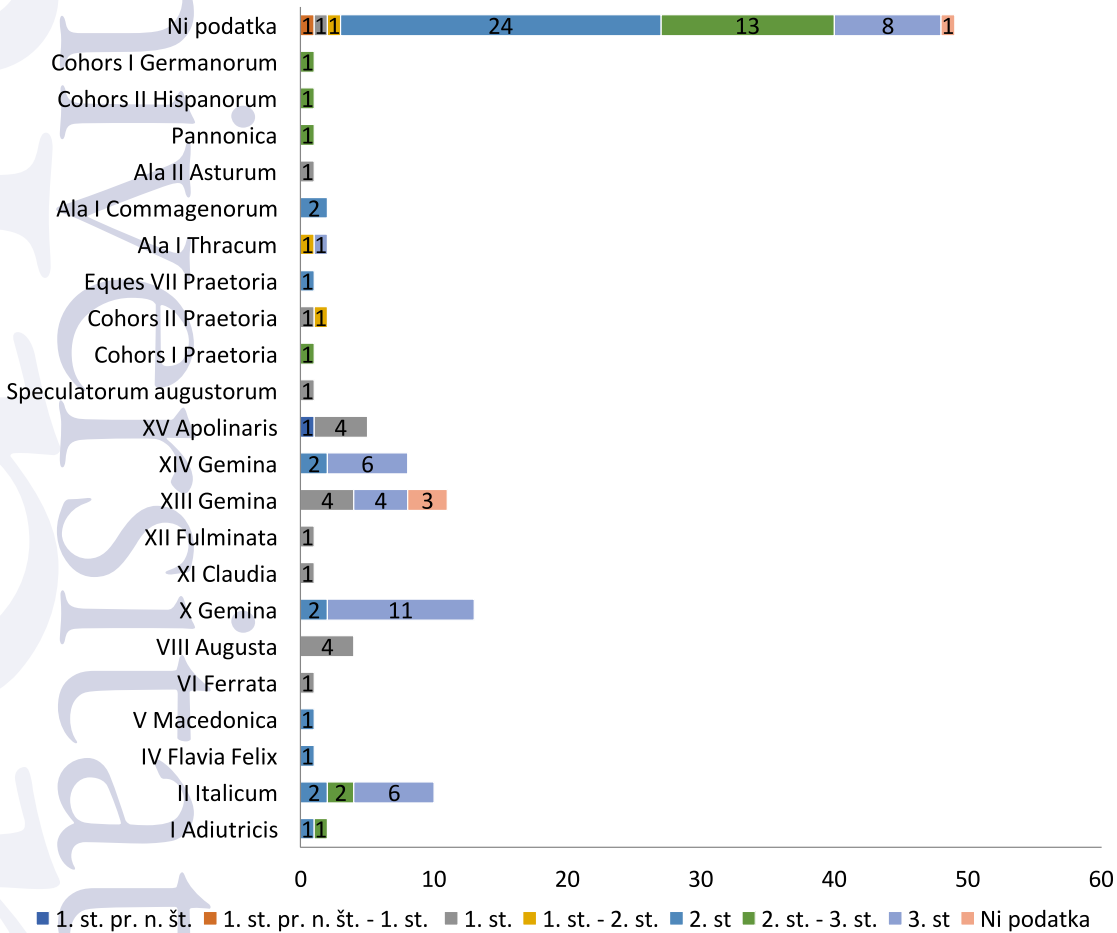
Graf 4: Grafični prikaz števila rimskih vojakov na slovenskem prostoru glede na obdobje.

Opomba: V skupino »ni podatka« so vključeni rimski vojaki iz odlomljenih ali poškodovanih spomenikov, na katerih je datacija nečitljiva ali popolnoma odstranjena.



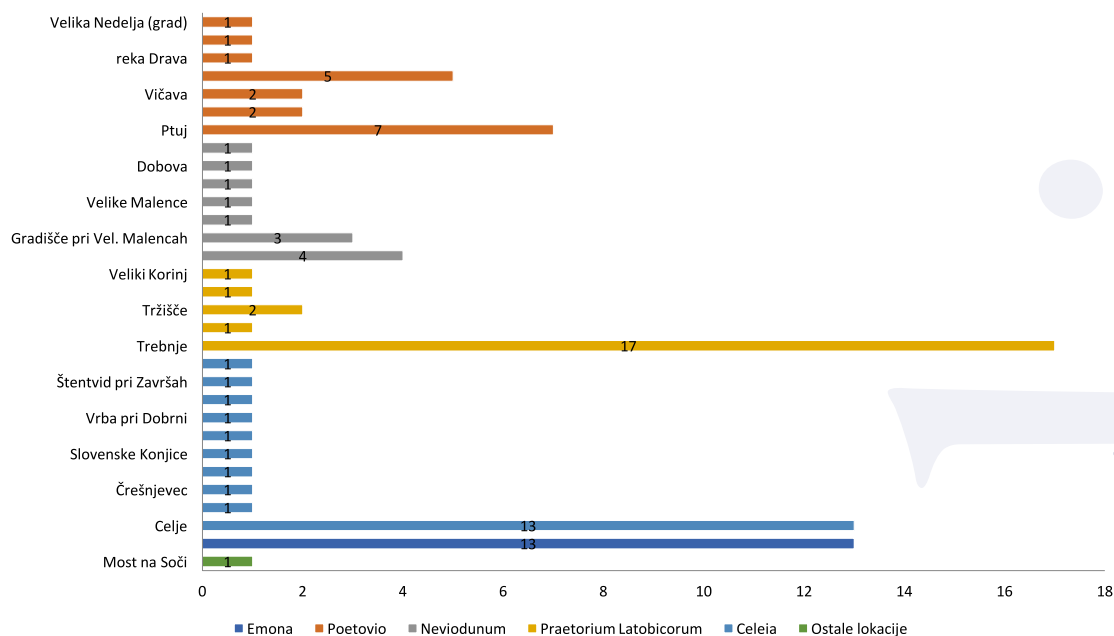
Graf 5: Grafični prikaz rimskih vojaških oddelkov omenjenih na obravnavanih napisih.

Opomba: V skupino »ni podatka« so vključeni rimski vojaki iz odlomljenih ali poškodovanih spomenikov, na katerih so podatki o pripadnosti k vojaškemu oddelku nečitljivi ali popolnoma odstranjeni.



Graf 6: Grafični prikaz rimskih vojaških oddelkov na slovenskem prostoru razvrščenih po obdobjih.

Opomba: V skupino »ni podatka« so vključeni rimski vojaki iz odlomljenih ali poškodovanih spomenikov, na katerih so podatki o pripadnosti k vojaškemu oddelku nečitljivi ali popolnoma odstranjeni.



Graf 7: Grafični prikaz najdišč rimskih vojaških napisov v obravnavanem obdobju.

Opomba: V graf niso vključeni beneficiarji iz celejanskega prostora.

Summary

The large part of military inscriptions is represented by tombstones (gravestones, stelae, sarcophagi, tombs, cremation and cinerary urns) (look chart 1 and 2), while the lesser part is known from altars and dedications. The latter are votive inscriptions, often dedicated to deities, family members and friends. The overriding message on military inscriptions is primarily of memorial usage, but on some examples soldiers are also mentioned as dedicators or contributors (no. 5, 11, 18/19, 106 and 113). Examples no. 21, 27, 44, 45, 49, 98/104, 101 and 119 testify that some soldiers used to order such tombstones during their lifetime for themselves and were later testamentary erected after they passed away.

From everything stated, it is clear that despite the modest number of existing and documented military inscriptions found all over Slovenia, they confirm the presence of Roman soldiers in this area. The increased number of military inscriptions from the 1st and 2nd century (see chart 4) can be attributed to the intensive expansion of the Roman Empire in the Southeast Europe-

an region towards the Balkans and the subsequent war developments within the Empire.

Military inscriptions from Emona, Petovio, Neviudunum, Praetorium Latobicorum, Celeia and other individual locations all over Slovenia mostly belonged to the beneficiarii, common legionaries, praetorians, centurions and veterans; in three cases (no. 48, 55 and 115) it is also clear the function and the department unit in which these veterans served.

On military inscriptions found all over Slovenia are mentioned Apollo's Fifteenth Legion, Augustus' Eighth Legion, Thirteen Twin Legion, Italian Second Legion and individual units of the Hispanic Ninth legion and the Fourteenth Twin legion, the Rescuer First Legion, Lucky Flavian Fourth Legion, Macedonian Fifth Legion, Sixth Ironclad legion, Tenth Twin Legion, the Thunderbolt Twelfth Legion and Thirteenth Twin Legion.

Among praetorian troops the second cohort is mentioned twice, while the first praetorian cohort and the seventh praetorian cavalry cohort only once. Beside praetorian troops, the inscription no. 98 mentions a commander of a reconnaissance unit of praetorians.

Among inscriptions of auxiliary troops there are also two mentions of the first and second horse unit – alae of Thracians and Commageni, while units of the first Hispanic cohort, first Germanic cohort and the horse unit of Asturi are all mentioned once.

Examples of military inscriptions from Emona of the 1st century AD (see chart 5 and 6) prove only that the Apollo's Fifteenth Legion and the Augustus' Eighth Legion participated in the conquest of the Cisalpine Gaul and the Western Balkan territories against indigenous people. Furthermore evidence can be found on military inscriptions from Petovio, specifically those attributed to the Augustus' Eighth Legion (see chart 5 and 6) of which soldiers built a military camp in the vicinity of today's Ptuj.

After the second half of the 1st century AD the number of representatives of the Thirteenth Twin Legion is increased among inscriptions (see chart 6). These inscriptions give further evidence to the already known ancient sources about the presence and accommodation of the Thirteenth Twin Legion in Petovio's region. In ancient sources the Thirteen Twin Legion was mentioned by Tacitus in relation to the year of four emperors.

In Neviodunum and Praetorium Latobiorum inscriptions can be connected with the beneficiarii (see chart 3), which in most cases are altars and dedications intended for gods and other deities. Most of the inscriptions are dedicated to Jupiter and several local patrons. On inscriptions no. 3 and 58, Jupiter is known as Jupiter Dolichenus. In the Roman Empire during the 2nd and 3rd century the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was widespread especially among soldiers. In Pannonia it flourished during the Severan dynasty. Some examples of these inscriptions were dedicated to individual goddesses (no. 4, 17, 33 and 35) or all gods (no. 58 and 59) and in one case also to compatriots (no. 46). Most of these votive inscriptions belonged to the beneficiarii and are accurately dated to the 2nd and 3rd century (no. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 and 66), i.e. during this period in provincial towns the Empire established important offices and institutions, which were managed by the beneficiarii.

None of the dedicators or contributors was an ordinary soldier: Valerius Aemilianus (no. 3) was a sign-bearer, Vibius (no. 4) was a superintendent, Martial (no. 17) and Lucius Septimius Tertinius (no. 105) were centuri-

ons, Gaius Cassius Silvester (no. 33) was a veteran, Publius Maximus Maternus (no. 46) was a measurer and others (no. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66 and 67) were all beneficiarii.

Many roman military inscriptions found all over Slovenia were scattered on different locations in Dolenjska, Bela Krajina (Tržišče, Šmihel near Žužemberk, Veliko Korinje near Žužemberk) and Styria (Črešnjevec, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenske Konjice, Hudinja near Vitanje and Vrba near Dobrna), from which can be concluded, that these places were included in the wider hinterland of provincial towns of Celeia, Petovio and Neviodunum. In the far west of Slovenia, in Grad near Reka was found a cemetery with 149 graves. Among finds there was a tombstone belonging to a military soldier of the Fifteenth Legion (no. 120), dated between 53 and 31 BC.

Expected differences can be spotted between cities, which are already visible by the number of military inscriptions.

Povzetek

Velik del vojaških napisov se nahaja na nagrobnikih (nagrobne plošče, stele, sarkofagi, pepelnice, grobnice in žare) (glej graf 1 in 2), v manjšem številu pa na votivnih napisih (v obliki oltarjev in posvetil). Vojaki na napisih nastopajo kot pokojniki, pa tudi kot postavljalci napisov družinskim članom (št. 5, 11, 18/19, 106 in 113). Kot postavljalci spomenikov so vojaki izpričani tudi na napisih št. 21, 27, 44, 45, 49, 98/104, 101 in 119, katere so naročili še v času svojega življenja in jih oporočno dali postaviti v spomin sebi in svojim bližnjim. Iz vsega, kar smo navedli, je razvidno, da kljub skromnemu številu obstoječih in dokumentiranih vojaških napisov najdenih širom Slovenije, ti podpirajo predpostavko o prisotnosti rimskih vojakov na obravnavanem območju. Povečano število napisov vojakov iz 1. in 2. st. (glej sl. 5) lahko povežemo z intenzivno širitvijo rimske države na jugovzhodni evropski prostor in naprej na Balkan in kasnejšim vojnim dogajanjem znotraj cesarstva.

Na obravnavanih vojaških napisih Emone, Petovione, Nevioduna, Prateorija Latobikov, Celeje in drugih posamičnih lokacijah po Sloveniji so izpričani predvsem beneficiarji, legionarji, pretorijanci, centurioni in veterani; v treh primerih (št. 48, 55 in 115) je pri veteranih ome-

njena tudi funkcija in oddelek vojaških enot v katerih so službovali.

Poleg petnajste Apolonove, osme Avgustove, trinajste Dvojne, druge Italske legije ter posamičnih enot devete Hispanske in štirinajste Dvojne legije, so na vojaških napisih izpričane še prva Pomožna, četrta Flavia srečna, peta Makedonska, šesta Železna, deseta Dvojna, dvanajsta Bliskovita in trinajsta Dvojna legija.

Med pretorijanskimi četami se Druga pretorijanska kohorta pojavi dvakrat, Prva pretorijanska kohorta in Sedma pretorijanska konjenica pa enkrat. Poleg pretorijanskih čet se v enem primeru (št. 98) pojavi tudi poveljnik izvidniške enote pretorijancev. Med pomožnimi četami se prva ala Komagenov in druga ala Tračanov pojavita dvakrat, po enkrat pa prva germanska in prva hispanška kohorta ter druga ala Asturov.

Primeri vojaških napisov iz Emone v 1. st. n. št. (glej sl. 6 in 7) dokazujejo zgolj to, da sta petnajsta Apolonova in osma Avgustova legija sodelovali pri osvajanju jugovzhodno alpskega in zahodno balkanskega prostora v boju proti avtohtonemu prebivalstvu. Podobno ugotovitev lahko razberemo tudi iz vojaških napisov iz Petovione, med katerimi po številu prevladujejo napisi osme Avgustove legije (glej sl. 6 in 7), ki je v okolici današnjega Ptuja postavila vojaški tabor. Iz druge polovice 1. st. n. št. so na napisih največkrat izpričani predstavniki trinajste Dvojne legije (glej sl. 7). Njihova omemba predstavlja dodaten dokaz o prisotnosti in nastanitvi trinajste Dvojne legije na lokaciji, ki jo v antičnih virih omenja Tacit v povezavi z letom štirih cesarjev.

Iz stališča preučevanja rimskih vojaških napisov, sta pomembna tudi Neviodunum in Pretorij Latobikov, kjer številčno prevladujejo beneficiarski napisi (glej sl. 4), ki so v večini primerov oltarji ali posvetila namenjena božanstvom. Največkrat so napisi posvečeni Jupitru in lokalnim zavetnikom kraja. Na napisih št. 3 in 58 je Jupiter poimenovan kot Jupiter Dolihenski. Dolihenov kult je bil po imperiju razširjen posebej med vojaštvom v 2. in 3. st. V Panoniji je doživel razcvet v času dinastije Severov. Na nekaterih primerih so napisi posvečeni posameznim boginjam (št. 4, 17, 33 in 35) ali vsem bogovom (št. 58 in 59) in v enem primeru tudi rojakom (št. 46). Večina votivnih napisov je natančno datiranih (št. 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 in 66). Največ beneficiarskih napisov je datiranih v čas 2. in 3. st., kar dokazuje, da so bili v tem obdobju v provincialnih mestih ustanovljeni pomembni uradi in

druge institucije, ki so jih morda upravljali beneficiarji. Med te iz našega območja nedvomno prištevamo beneficiarsko postajo Pretorija Latobikov. Nobeden od posvetiteljev votivnih napisov ni bil navaden vojak: Valerij Emiljan (št. 3) je bil nosilec znaka, Vibij (št. 4) je bil intendant, Marcijal (št. 17) in Lukij Septimij Tertin (št. 105) sta bila centuriona, Gaj Kasij Silvester (št. 33) je bil veterar, Publij Maskimij Matern (št. 46) je bil merilec, ostali (št. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66 in 67) pa so bili beneficiarji.

Najdišča vojaških napisov z območja slovenskega prostora so znana tudi na posamičnih lokacijah po Dolenjski in Beli Krajini (npr. v Tržišču, Šmihelu pri Žužemberku in Velikemu Korinju pri Žužemberku) ter štajerskega prostora (npr. Črešnjevce, Slovenj Gradec, Slovenske Konjice, Hudinja pri Vitanju in Vrba pri Dobrni), iz česar lahko sklepamo, da so bili ti kraji vključeni v širše zaledje provincialnih mest Celeje, Petovione in Nevioduna. Na skrajnem zahodu Slovenije, na robu naselbine Grad pri Reki, je bilo odkrito in raziskano grobišče s 149 grobovi. Med temi se je nahajal tudi vojaški nagrobnik vojaka petnajste legije (št. 120), datiran med l. 53 in 31 pr. n. št. Opaziti je mogoče tudi pričakovane razlike med mesti, ki so vidne že v številu vojaških napisov.

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How to address Hyperobjects in exhibitions using emerging technologies

Nils Wiberg

This paper will show some ways in which the interaction can harmonize with the interpretation and the topic at hand. But it will also tackle the new forms of understanding and interpretation that have emerged in recent years and how they can be translated in to interaction. It outlines the addition of another O in the discourse: the operative one. Using examples of implementations it shows that together can make palpable these new findings and perspectives to visitors of exhibitions in general and their interpretation of Land in particular.

Keywords: Speculative Realism, Object Oriented Ontology, Philosophy, Exhibition Design, Interpretive Planning, Land Use Interpretation, Emerging Technologies, New Interfaces

When designing the interaction for cultural heritage, or any other museal experience it is optimal that before one spatializes the interpretation and divides topics to find an underlying interactive metaphor that holds for the entire experience. That is to say in the same way as the visual aesthetic must go hand in hand with the topic at hand, so must the integration aesthetic.

Explanandum

For example when we were designing an installation for the sea monster museum in Bíldudalur in the north of Iceland, it was important to tailor the interaction to the complete narrative of the museum. The concept of it was to tell the story of the cryptozoological past of the past of the Icelandic west fjords in a Harry-potter-esque kind of

time capsules research center for the study of sea monsters. It ought to appear to have been frozen in time at the turn of the 20th century and now rediscovered and exhibited as such. The narrative then took place on a sort of meta-level of anthropology.¹

To place a futuristic or even modern interface in such a context would appear highly anachronistic so what we instead did was to adapt the interaction aesthetic to the mechanistic ideals of the time and just augment those interactions with the power of pixels.² When the physical nature of the wheels that moves the map creates a natural form of momentum scrolling that, par-

1 Nils Wiberg, *Use Qualities: An Organic Luxury We Can Afford. A Primer and Implementation of how Organic Interfaces can Improve the Use Quality Affordance* (Umeå: Umeå University, 2009).

2 The results can be seen at http://gagarin.is/work/sea_monster_table. (2016-02-01).

ticularly map, interfaces otherwise try to mimic in a kind skeuomorphism of interaction, the pretention of physicality. Physical pucks were chosen as the interactive elements for the table top rather than a touch screen interface, with to retain the physical, tangible aesthetic and to so to speak, to outsource complexity to the physical world. Two pucks can for example not be at the same place at the same time thus the social interaction of people solves any potential problem of two people competing for the same content. A similar solution as we have seen in our different interactions of a Wheel of Time.³



Similarly when we were asked to explain the concepts surrounding electricity in an exhibit form we chose the starting point of the power within people. With a first installation consisting of a semi transparent concrete wall visitors were asked to exert pressure on the wall which had a large screen embedded in it. The visual result communicated, or primed, this as the informing metaphor⁴ of the exhibition. Now it was easy to further explain the other forms of energy through the exertion of power in the visitor translated in the different kinds and translations of power, work, energy and electricity. Then the visitor is free to move, lift and pump the information out of the exhibits.⁵

In creating a metaphor for the recent exhibition for the town in the Westman islands



of Iceland that suffered a volcano eruption we choose to use again physical metaphors but here ones where the users act as first responders and excavators, using the camera to search in houses too dangerous to enter, pushing together the ruined houses to see them in their original condition and fittingly an interactive sandbox where visitors dig in actual sand from volcano ash to reveal digital content about the things hidden under the lava in this Pompeii Of the North.⁶



When creating these metaphors the aesthetic integrity of the interaction is completely integral to the outcome. Retaining the visitor's belief in the interaction is what keeps estrangement at bay and focuses on the story you want to tell. This is why quality is important. The appearance of latency etc. has to be without failure. It's a magic trick and magic tricks don't work if you make MOST of the bunny rabbit disappear, all your left with then are crying children.

³ <https://vimeo.com/153748339> (2016-02-01).

⁴ Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

⁵ Gagarin, "Powering the Future", http://gagarin.is/work/powering_the_future (2016-02-01).

⁶ Gagarin, „Eldhemar“, <http://gagarin.is/work/eldheimar> (2015-02-01).

This for example was very important when creating the interaction for our National Park Explorer⁷ in a national park in Breheimen Norway. Here the feedback of the physical interaction was not on the object itself but rather on the map all user interact with, therefore we were unable to make latency a playability feature, which we had previously done in the aforementioned sea monster table, where the latency was incorporated as a use quality contributing to the lurking feeling of vulnerability we wanted the visitors to experience. Since the control function and the feedback were separated in the National Park Explorer however the latency had to be kept at a minimum to keep the mental pairing of the input and the feedback intact.



Based on these example we see that it is completely possible to incorporate the interaction as a part of the interpretation and interaction. However in a few of our upcoming projects there is a new class of issues more and more prevalent in museums that require a new class of interactive approaches.

Theoretical background

In recent times some headway in the philosophical approach of the most pressing issues of our time have been made. Due to a philosophical standstill over the last 100 years, few scientists, artists or designers have looked to philosophy to find answers or even questions. The ones who did oftentimes found themselves in a Heideggerian maze of circular arguments. The problem

philosophy faced was that of not finding enough terra firma to stand on in order to basically say anything about reality itself. There has been, since Kant, and some unfortunate misinterpretations of Nietzsche, a tending towards an ontological detente where philosophy narrowed its foci of attention. The latter rendered a total value relative argumentation and the former a epistemological recursion. To paraphrase, it could go something like: How can I know that there are (or are not) real things? What gives me (or denies me) access to those real things? What are the possibilities of this access? What is the possibility of possibility? The Kantian rift had become a chasm deep enough to fill almost all of continental philosophy. This *correlationism*⁸ is not providing answers, or questions, that move or benefit other sciences, art forms or practices. Some philosophers understandably had enough of this and thought about the current issues facing humanity, e.g. technological singularity; machine-human mergers or global warming.⁹

Background

The shortcomings of the academic paper mill might be to blame here. These thoughts have predictably not evolved through the academic circuit as intended, but instead been circulating on forums on the internets where people within academia who have been frustrated with the existing forms of academic output and its incapability to accommodate new, unfinished, thoughts or work in progress.

The discourse has sort of ventured all the way into a place where one has been forced to ask oneself: Why save a species if one does not believe in a species. Particularly this needs to have an operational level as well. That something can be done even though we do not agree on holistic definitions or hierarchies or what privileges whom.

Of all the things humans have created, releasing the hyper object of climate change will

7 Vimeo, <https://vimeo.com/72203926> (20016-02-01).

8 Levi Bryant, Nick Srnicek and Graham Harman, ed. *The speculative turn* (Melbourne, [Victoria] Australia: re.press, 2011).

9 Timothy Morton, *Hyperobjects: Philosophy and Ecology after the End of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013).

probably be our last legacy. A battle for humanity's remaining legacy will exist between the pyramids of Giza and the traces of the 1986 Chernobyl disaster from which newly born lichen of the Norwegian highlands in the autumn of its life span will still contain traces of cesium.

Culture as such could maybe be counted from the cave paintings and onwards. When looking at the oldest paintings from about 30 000 years ago and extrapolated equally far into the future, maybe the only trace of humanity would be its vain attempts of terraforming and contribution to climate change. If we were to stop releasing carbon now, 25% of it will still be in affect 30 000 years out.

There is however within the fields of speculative realism and object oriented ontology a movement towards dealing with this problem. A realization has been reached by continental philosophers; beyond internal debates of monism/dualism etc; that intellectual headway need making. And a strategy for how said headway can be made has been laid out.

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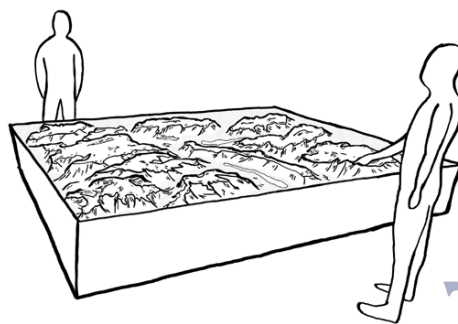
In classic style of continental philosophy however there seems to be lacking a niveau of implementation to this theoretical strategy. Lets call it a tactical or operative level. This is where this paper is suggesting a number of very specific examples of how such implementation can be done. In terms of how the implementation is intended it is a kind of operationalization of speculative realist thought and object oriented ontological classes. So what then would be the outcome? It could be actual things that occupy the world in a more non-deceptive way. Cellphones that contain visual or aesthetic traces from the nickel mines that make them possible. It could be sneakers whose transparency reflect not its technical material qualities but instead the burdens of the underlying working conditions that are its prerequisites. A moral transparency rather than a material one so to speak.

However one would also have to go further in order to fully allow for these ideas to be able

to be instituted in objects. They should not only be result on ontological levels of say consumer products but also on an epistemological level. This thus brings us to the didactic tools which are used to create knowledge. These have evolved tremendously in recent years and become much more participatory, interactive and containing certain feedback loops and distribution of power (Wikipedia comes to mind). But they, the tools of learning, are in practice quite opaque in this sense. They require a lot from an informed user and do not, as of yet, in any aesthetic or visual way communicate their bias. Lets take for example a geographical information system. It has a lot of embedded value based or political choices; however these are not immediately visual to the user.

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As an object of examination a few implementations on an operative level will show the attempts to try and enable a polysemy of sorts in term of how the design and interpretation of geography/geology and land can be designed.



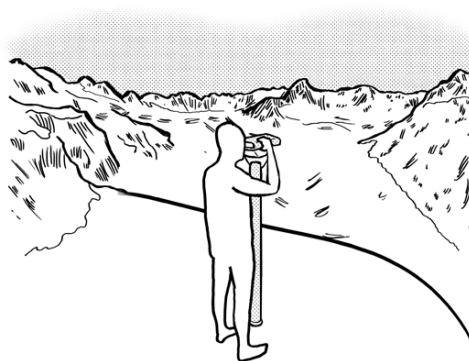
The design objects we firstly use as examples is a 3d map interface that contains two viewing perspectives, each from different floor levels and with different interactions but both using the same object (map) as feedback. This dual view would afford on the one hand a utilitarian perspective on what this land can be used for, in a tourist way rather than a land use interpretation

way; on the other hand it shows how this land (and its utilities) are being threatened from the second floor.

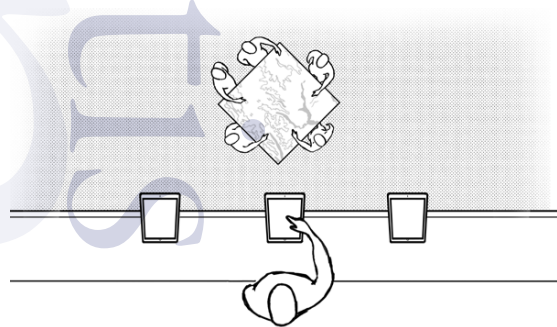
The effect sought here would be that since the focus of attention remains the same, a map, but the perspectives are different, utility/climate(threat posed to utility), a more broad and differentiated didactic can be achieved. One can

persuade that the latter perspective is somehow "truer" and the first one more real but these are both needed to complete, an albeit incomplete picture. One doesn't know what is being threatened without the utility and one doesn't know what is the threat without the zoomed out climatological view.

In a third installation the Land Interpreta-



on the one hand inform on what kind of activities that are available and at the same time, from the second level see how those same activities are

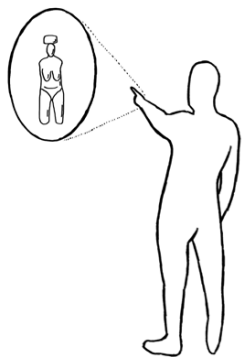


being threatened from a changing climate. For example one can in the first level get to examine where there are summer houses for rent and then on the second level see how those summer house are under threat from rising sea levels. These two levels then work in tandem, they only have meaning in tandem and are dramaturgical contingent on each other. One might be of the per-

tion becomes very vivid and palpable: with the use of augmented reality binoculars one can create layers of information put on top of existing landscape in real time. As a result the geological time perspective can be viewed in a sped up manner. For example the creation of a fjord as a result of the interaction of a glacier and a mountain can be visualized in 3D and shown as an animation on top of existing vistas. But also the extrapolation in climatology can be brought to this visual medium to show glaciers receding, tree line climbing and water levels rising. All in the very real and tangible way all of the science say is necessary to get people to not only think on the geological scale but also feel on the geological scale.

These implementations can more accurately represent, in a compelling interaction and participatory way these new hyper objects. The dual (or plural) layers of objects can be revealed through user interactions from different points of view. Imagine for example a deictic interaction that takes in to account the point of view from which the spectator is pointing to reveal the content

information interactively from specifically that point of view. These kinds of interactive and participatory way of content dissemination has totally new possibilities to cater to the more complex issues of our time.



Povzetek

Pri oblikovanju in pripravi interpretativnega načrta za interaktivne razstave je pomembno razmišljati o tem, katere interaktivne metafore uporabiti. Če namreč interaktivnost ni pravilno uporabljena, lahko ovira razumevanje interpretacije namesto da ga podpira. Članek je pokazal nekaj načinov, s katerimi se lahko interakcijo uskladi z interpretacijo teme, poleg tega pa se je dotaknil tudi novih oblik razumevanja in razlage, ki so se pojavile v zadnjih letih in kako jih je mogoče prevesti v interakcijo. V zadnjih letih sta špekulativni realizem in objektno usmerjena ontologija ustvarila take paradigme v filozofiji, da so skušale opusti idealistični razkol ter omogočiti, da se ukvarjajo s perečimi vprašanji v današnjem času. Ta dokument opisuje dodajanje drugega O-ja v diskurz, in sicer tistega operativnega. Z uporabo primerov implementacije se dokazuje te nove ugotovitve in možnosti za obiskovalce razstav na splošno in njihovo interpretacijo dežele še posebej. Rezultat cilja predvsem k temu, da se omogoči premike žarišč, hkrati pa ohranja predmet pozornosti za muzejske obiskovalce.

Summary

When designing and doing interpretive planning for interactive exhibitions it is important to think of what interactive metaphors to employ. If not used correctly the interactivity can impede understanding of the interpretation instead of supporting it. This paper has shown some ways in which the interaction can harmonize with

the interpretation and the topic at hand. But it has also tackled the new forms of understanding and interpretation that have emerged in recent years and how they can be translated in to interaction. In recent years speculative realism and object oriented ontology have created a paradigm shift of sorts in philosophy in order to leave behind the idealist rift and enable it to deal with the pressing issues of our modern times. This paper outlines the addition of another O in the discourse: the operative one. Using examples of implementations that together can make palpable these new findings and perspectives to visitors of exhibitions in general and their interpretation of Land in particular. The resulting designs aim to enable shifts of foci whilst retaining the object of attention for the museum visitor.

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Onomastical analysis of inscriptions from Koper and its vicinity

Vladimir Kusik

The article gives an onomastical analysis of twenty-four inscriptions found in or in the vicinity of Koper, all of which are already published in the relevant corpora of Latin texts. Origin of the people mentioned in the inscriptions include indigenous population romanized to certain extent, orientals, westerners and immigrants from other parts of Italy. All inscriptions are dated to the period of the Principate.

Keywords: Aegida, Koper, onomastics, romanization, epigraphy

The idea for this article originated as a seminary work which was a part of the curriculum during the authors stay at the University of Primorska within the student exchange programme. As the scope of the work grew, Dr. Gregor Pobežin suggested and provided professional guidance to further analyze the names of the inhabitants of Aegida (today's Koper) mentioned on the inscriptions found in Koper and its vicinity.¹

All the monuments are already published² and although it has been written about the po-

pulation of Aegida in antiquity,³ an onomastical analysis of each monument can further contribute to the knowledge of this subject. Through it, not only the origin and the frequency of the name in the Empire is given, but also the social, legal and in some rare cases geographical information about the inhabitants of Aegida. Each monument analyzed in the article is presented with the nature of its finding, the information of its whereabouts and the place of keeping. The inscriptions are translated, each part of the name of the person mentioned is analyzed and all available information that can be discerned is presented. The monuments are dated on the basis

1 An article about the names found in Volčji Grad served as a starting point for this work, see Gregor Pobežin, "Nagrobnik s cerkve sv. Janeza Krstnika na Volčjem Gradu (CIL V 712)", in Volčji grad, ed. Mitja Guštin (Komen: Občina Komen, 2012), 59-67.

2 Attilio Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Vol. X., Regio X, Fasc. III-*Histria septentrionalis* (Roma: La libreria dello Stato, 1936).

3 Attilio Degrassi, *Abitati Preistorici E Romani Nell'agro Di Capodistria E Il Sito Dell'antica Egida*, (Parenzo: G. Coana & Figli, 1933); Alka Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida", *Histria Archaeologica* 24-25 (1993-1994): 5-57.

of epigraphical features if possible and cross-referencing with the entries in the relevant databases.

Short history of Aegida and its epigraphical monuments

The city of Koper in the Slovenian part of Istria is situated on the coast and a small island south of the Rižane river. Today, the island is the place where the historical center of Koper stands. In antiquity, it was location where the Roman town of Aegida was built.⁴

First mention of Aegida in the historical sources is found in Elder Plinys *Naturalis Historia*.⁵ The name Aegida is a Greek word for a goat, as is *Capris*, a later Latin name of the settlement which was used from the 7th century AD. It is possible that both the Greek and Latin names of the town are the direct translation of a native word for goat. Other names included in the sources, maps and itineraries are: *Iustinopolis*, *Caprae*, *Capris*, *Insula Caprea* or *Capritana insula*, so it is not surprising that the modern Slovenian name for Koper can be derived from its Latin root.⁶

The settlement on the Koper island was built probably in the beginning of 1st century BC and during the next hundred years, Aegida acquired characteristics of an urbanized Roman town. According to Pliny, at the latest from the time of Augustus Aegida was *oppidum civium Romanorum*, which can be considered that it held the rank of *municipium*.⁷ With the constitution of a *municipium*, Aegida was enrolled in the voting district of the tribe *Pupinia*, same as nearby *Tergeste*. In 18 – 12 BC the area from *Rižane* (*Formio*) up to *Raša* (*Arsia*) river was incorporated into Italy. After the initial growth and

development into an urban settlement, it seems that from the time of Pliny to late antiquity, Aegida lost its importance. It is not mentioned in the itineraries, maps or historical sources. It is possible that this absence from is related to its reduced traffic importance and not with its loss of self-governing status. The fact that Aegida was not granted the rank of colony is further proof that the town experienced a period of slowed growth in every sense.⁸

Roman inscriptions found in Koper are quite numerous, considering the size and importance of the town. However, the nature of their finding poses a significant problem in interpreting them and using the information for reconstructing the history of Aegida. They were not found in the archaeologically relevant context and due to renaissance and humanistic tendencies of collecting Roman monuments in private collections, the information about their true origin is practically unknown. Authors have pointed out that there is no proof that any of the monuments from Koper or its vicinity were found on the island itself, where ancient Aegida stood.⁹

The history of the monuments, comprised mostly by Mommsen and Kandler who tracked and transcribed them, later to be published by Degrassi in *Inscriptiones Italiae* for *Regio X*, reveals that majority of them were found built in public buildings of Koper, e. g. Episcopal palace, city walls, cathedral, other churches, curia or laying in the main city square (*Loggia*). Some were found in the gardens of monasteries or transferred from nearby villages to the estates of the noblemen, while others were lost in the process, so only drawings exist. After Mommsen and Kandler wrote down the inscriptions, most of them were taken to the atrium of gymnasium and after 1911 in the Museum of Koper, where they today stand inserted in the wall.

4 Radovan Cunja, "Koper, Kapucinski vrt", *Arheološki pregled* (1986) 1987:118-120; Matej Župančič, "Sermin ob Rižani, pretres virov in arheoloških podatkov", *Arheološki vestnik* 36 (1985): 315-325; Matej Župančič, "Inter utrumque tuta" in *Koper zwischen Rom und Venedig*, ed. Matej Župančič (Koper: Regionalmuseum Koper, 1991) 6-11.

5 HN 3, 129

6 Rav. Ann. 4, 31, 5,14; Jaroslav Šašel, "Koper", *Arheološki vestnik* 25, (1976): 446-460.

7 Mate Suić, *Anticki Grad Na Istocnom Jadranu* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1976), 34.

8 Alka Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida", *Histria Archaeologica* 24-25 (1993-1994), 24-29.

9 Degrassi, *Abitati Preistorici E Romani*, 798; Šašel, "Koper", 446.

Onomastical analysis of the inscriptions

Votive inscription dedicated to Isis

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 1; CIL V 484*) is a votive ara, made in Aurisina limestone (height: 0,96 m, width: 0,33 m, thickness: 0,34 m). The inscription is found within a rectangular inscription field, which is framed by a triple moulded belt on the front and the right side. The part of the upper frame was cut off. The ara was found in the episcopal palace and is now kept in the Museo Lapidario Maffei in Verona. The inscription reads:

*Isidi
sacrum
ex monit(u)
eius d(ono) d(edit)
L(ucius) Valerius
Memor
VI vir Augustalis
l(ocus) d(atu)s p(ublice)*

“Dedicated to Isis upon her admonition, as a gift by Lucius Valerius Memor, member of a board of six priests of Augustus, place given by the community”

This is a monument dedicated to the Egyptian goddess Isis by Lucius Valerius Memor, who also served as a priest of Augustus.

Tria nomina formula in which the name of the deceased is written is a sign that he had Roman citizenship.

Praenomen Lucius is one of the most common Roman names.¹⁰

Nomen gentile Valerius is also very common and found all over the Empire.¹¹ The name comes

¹⁰ According to C. Titus Probus in his *De praenominibus* 3.1., Varo thought that there were about thirty praenomina, but already during the Late Republican and Early Imperial times, only seventeen were used. These were: A(ulus); Ap(pius); C(aius); Cn(aeus); D(ecimus); L(ucius); M(arcus); Man(ius); N(umerius); P(ublius); Q(uintus); Ser(vius); Sex(tius); Sp(urius); Tib(erius); T(itus); V(ibius). Matijašić also adds K(aeso) to this list (Robert Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju* (Pula: Filozofski fakultet u Puli, 2002), 59).

¹¹ Andras Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae: cum indice inverso* (Budapest: Népművelési Propaganda Iroda, 1983), 300; Barnabas Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinci-*

arum Europae Latinarum, vol. IV: QVADRATIA-ZVRES (Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie, 2002); 143-146.

from Latin and was very popular in northern Italy and the East, especially during the late antiquity. It rose to popularity during the Tetrarchy and it is considered to be an imperial gentilium, related to emperor Diocletian.¹²

Cognomen Memor is less frequent and considered to be of Latin origin.¹³ It is found on total of twenty two inscriptions across the western provinces and Italy. The highest number of inscriptions which mention this name are from Italy, with the provinces *Gallia Belgica* and *Pannonia* also having some recordings of this cognomen. The rest of the inscriptions are spread across the other western provinces: *Hispania*, *Gallia Narbonensis*, *Dalmatia*, *Gallia Lugdunensis*, *Britannia* and *Moesia Inferior*.¹⁴

Lucius Valerius Memor also recorded that he was a member of an imperial cult and held an office as one of the *seviri Augustales*. These priests were often freedmen who sought to improve their social status through religious functions. Their duty was to take care of the imperial cult of Augustus, but also of later emperors. They also had an obligation to fund public works, pay *summa honoraria* or organize games.¹⁵ This individual was likely a significant benefactor who was honoured after his death by being given a special funerary spot.

Due to his service as a priest of imperial cult and his Roman name, the deceased was almost certainly a freedman whose origin was probably somewhere in the West, where the Romanization has already taken place.

arum Europae Latinarum, vol. IV: QVADRATIA-ZVRES (Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie, 2002); 143-146.

¹² Bennet Salway, “What’s in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 B.C. to A.D. 700.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994), 124-145.

¹³ Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 340.

¹⁴ Iiro Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, XXXVI 2 (Helsinki, 1965), 255; Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 185; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 75-76.

¹⁵ Lawrence J. F. Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 57-58; Lily Ross Taylor, “Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: A Chronological Study.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (1914), 232.

Date of this monument is difficult to assert on the basis of epigraphical features. It can be conjectured that the monument was erected in the 2nd century AD as the term *seviri Augustalis* became the most frequently used.¹⁶

Votive inscription dedicated to Silvanus

This monument is a votive inscription dedicated to Silvanus (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 2; CIL V 485*). It is engraved in a small stone slab, which supposedly stood inserted in the city walls. Mommsen, on the other hand, saw it on a public square (*Loggia*). Now it cannot be found anymore. The inscription reads:

Silvano
Aug(usto) sacr(um)
Q(uintus) Appuleius
Epagathus
v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

“Dedicated to Silvanus the revered one, Quintus Appuleius Epagathus, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow”

This monument is a votive inscription dedicated to Silvanus, a popular deity of the woods.

The abbreviation at the end of the inscription (*VSLM*) indicates that it is a monument erected after a successful completion of some kind of business venture, trip or a vow taken earlier.¹⁷ Altars of this kind are very common across the whole Empire.

The name of the dedicator, Quintus Appuleius Epagathus, is written as *tria nomina*, which means that the individual had Roman citizenship.

Praenomen Quintus is one of the most common Roman names.

His *nomen gentile*, Appuleius, originates from *gens Appulea*, an old Roman plebeian family.¹⁸ It was very popular in Italy.¹⁹

His *cognomen*, Epagathus, is rather rare and of Greek origin.²⁰

It appears on eighteen inscriptions, mostly from Italy and the western provinces like *Hispania*,²¹ *Dalmatia*,²² *Gallia Narbonensis* and *Moesia Inferior*.²³

Quintus Appuleius Epagathus was most likely a slave, whose name is of oriental, Greek origin. After some time he acquired freedom and citizenship, likely by way of manumission. In this way his praenomen and nomen gentile were inherited from his former master, while he retained his single slave name, Epagathus, as a cognomen. While his origin might have been from the East, a Greek name is not sufficient to make this claim, since slaves were often given Greek names regardless of their origin, especially after the Late Republic and Early Empire periods.²⁴ However, since the master bears a true Roman name of Italic origin, it can be presumed certain Quintus Appuleius was a natural-born citizen, who was maybe a colonist from Italy and owned land in Aegida.

The monument is dated to 1st and 2nd century AD.

Funerary monument which mentions an individual of the Pupinia tribe

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 6; CIL V 487*) has a cuboid shape and is made in Aurisina limestone (height: 0,29 m, width: 0,86 m, thickness: 0,12 m). Letters are finely inscribed and deep-cut. It first stood in the wall of Episcopal palace. Mommsen and Kandler saw it built into the floor on the entrance of the local school or nursery while others saw it in the atrium of the gymnasium. Now it is kept in the Museum of Koper. The first line of inscription is lost, but Tomasini and Gravisi transcribed it. The inscription reads:

20 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 360.

21 Epacathus (!) - CIL II 5527

22 {A}epacathus (!) - CIL III 3175b

23 Mócsy, Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae, 114; Lőrincz, Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, vol. II, 118.

24 Matijašić, Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju, 62.

16 Ross Taylor, “Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: A Chronological Study”, 240.

17 Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 93.

18 William Smith, William Wayte, ed., *A Dictionary Of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (London: John Murray, 1890), 248.

19 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 60.

---]Pup(inia) Forens[is]
[annor]um XXIII
[lec]tus ordine iura[torum sentetia]

“Pupinia of the Forensis, years 23, chosen by the decision of the order of jurors”

This inscription mentions only one person whose name is not fully preserved. *Praenomen* and *nomen gentile* are completely missing, but the tribal affiliation, *cognomen* and age are preserved.

It is certain that *Pup(inia)* refers to the tribe in which the person was enrolled, as it is one of thirty-five known Roman tribes.²⁵ As mentioned in the introduction, citizens of *Tergeste* were enrolled in the same tribe. Likely, when *Aegida* was constituted as a municipium, its inhabitants were also assigned to the tribe *Pupinia*.²⁶

Cognomen Forensis is very rare and there is only one other inscription mentioning this surname in the western provinces²⁷. Its origin is Latin and the word itself derives from the word for forum so it can be considered a true Roman *cognomen*.²⁸

The last row of the inscription mentions a political function or an appointment. The formula *lectus ordine iuratorum sentetia* means that this person was elected for some magistracy. Two other inscriptions from Koper (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 7.*) and Aquileia (*CIL V 949*) also uses the same formula. There are different views on what this appointment might be related to. One is that this magistracy was a form of a legal advisor in the communities. There is also an argument that the formula itself signifies a different magistracy, that of an advisor to censor who would be elected by the decurions. Lastly, one theory suggests that it might signify a person elected into municipal *ordo* decurionum during the census.²⁹ In any case, it is likely that be-

cause this individual was appointed to some magistracy, he was a Roman citizen.

Be that as it may, this formula appears only in two other inscriptions in northern Italy and Istria and it is possible that it was used only in a rather short time of period and small geographical area.³⁰ The inscription is considered to have been made in the early 1st century AD.

Funerary monument of Lucius Publicius Syntropus

This big stone monument was used as a support for the door frame of the doors on the southern entrance of the Koper cathedral (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 6; CIL V 488*). The monument, together with the doors is situated in the street close to the public square. The monument went missing after 1788. The inscription reads:

L(ucius) Publicius
Syntropus
archigallus
v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et
[...]
h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equ-
itur)

“Lucius Publicius Syntropus, archigallus, made it for himself while still alive. This monument does not follow the heir”

This is a monument of funerary character, erected by Lucius Publicius Syntropus for himself and one other person whose name is not preserved because the fifth row of the inscription is missing.

Tria nomina formula, in which the name is written, is a sign of Roman citizenship.

Praenomen Lucius is one of the most common Roman names.

Nomen gentile, Publicius, is attested very often in the northern Italy, especially in the area around *Tergeste*, northern Istria and Cisalpine Gaul.

25 Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 140; Matijasić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju*, 66.

26 Starac, “Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida”, 28-29.

27 Foresis-CIL III 1968; Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 129; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. II, 148.

28 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 208; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 340.

29 Degrassi, *Abitati Preistorici*, 802-803; Alka Starac, “Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida”, 26.

30 Maria S. Rossignano, “I Praefecti iure dicundo nell’Italia settentrionale” in Epigrafi. Actes du colloque international d’épigraphie latine en mémoire de Attilio Degrassi pour le centenaire de sa naissance. Actes de colloque de Rome (27-28 mai 1988) (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1991), 520.

It was associated with municipal freedmen of oriental or African origin after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* was enacted.³¹ The name originally comes from Latin.³²

Cognomen Syntropus is considered to be of oriental origin and popular among freedmen.³³

Lucius Publicius Syntropus also held a function of an archigallus, a high official of the cult of Magna Mater. Galli were priests of the said goddess who originated in Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period. There are conflicting views among authors as to when the institution of archigalli first appeared. Some claim it was during the reign of Claudius, while other put it in the 2nd century AD, after the reforms of Antoninus Pius.³⁴ In the eastern provinces they held some civil magistracies, while in the West their function was reserved for religion and rituals in which they often participated with other priests. Archigalli were mostly present in the cities with the status of colonies, but also in some smaller settlements.³⁵ They are mentioned by Pliny (HN. 35. 7.), but most of the information comes from epigraphic sources which number twenty-five inscriptions. They reveal that archigalli were often freedmen of oriental origin.³⁶

From the analysis of the inscription, the name and the function mentioned, it can be concluded that Lucius Publicius Syntropus was a freedman. He was likely of oriental or African origin and held a function of *archigallus*, the priest of the cult of Magna Mater. It is unknown where he performed his function, but *Tergeste*, where three in-

scriptions mentioning Magna Mater were found,³⁷ and Aquileia, the great trade port and *Regio X* capital, are viable candidates.

The monument was dated in the time frame from second half of 1st century to first half of 2nd century AD. The date is based on the use of *v(i-vus) f(ecit) sibi* formula which is often found in wider Trieste area during the second half of 1st century AD. The lack of *D(is) M(anibus)* abbreviation, which appeared in the middle of the 1st century AD, and became common from 2nd century AD onwards, indicates a bit earlier date, towards the middle of the 1st century AD.³⁸

Public inscription of Sextius Brinnarius Certus

The monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 6; CIL V 489*) is engraved in the Aurisina limestone slab, without a frame (height: 0,51 m, width: 1,02 m, thickness: 0,14 m). It is deformed by four holes drilled in recent time. The letters are finely inscribed and deep-cut. The inscription protruded from a window shaft in the Episcopal palace. Kandler and Mommsen collected it and first put it on the public square. Afterwards, it came to the atrium of the gymnasium; since 1911 the slab has been kept in the Museum of Koper. The inscription reads:

*Sex(tius) Brinnarius
Certus
voto compos pecun[ia]
sua portic(um) fecit lon(gam) p(edes) C*

“Sextius Brinnarius Certus, having his wish fulfilled made this portico 100 feet long at his own expense”

This monument is of public character with an inscription that mentions a benefactor, Sextius Brinnarius Certus, who was wealthy enough to erect a portico with his own funds.

Tria nomina formula in which the name is written, suggests that he had Roman citizenship.

His *praenomen*, Sextius, is one of the 18 most common Roman names.

31 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 112; Palma Karković Takalić, “Period of Introduction and Role of Archigalli in Context of the Inscription of L. Publicius Syntropus from Koper” *Archaeologia Adriatica* 6 (2012): 89 and 94.

32 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 337.

33 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 304.

34 For the earlier datation see Jacopo Carcopino, *Aspect mystiques de la Rome païenne* (Paris: L’Artisan du Livre, 1942); for the later datation see J. Beaujeu, *La religion romaine à l’époque de l’empire. La politique religieuse des Antonins (96-192)* (Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1955); P. Lambrechts, R. Bogaert, *Asclépios, archigalle pessinontien de Cybèle. Hommages à Marcel Renard, II., Coll. Latomus 102*, (1969).

35 Karković Takalić, “Period of Introduction and Role of Archigalli”, 96-98.

36 Karković Takalić, “Period of Introduction and Role of Archigalli”, 94.

37 CIL V 518, CIL V 519, CIL V 520

38 Karković Takalić, “Period of Introduction and Role of Archigalli”, 100.

Nomen gentile, Brinnarius, is of unknown origin and this inscription is the only instance where it is mentioned. It is possible that this is a pseudogentilium, which originated from a father's name as a product of acceptance of Roman nomenclature. The suffix *-ius* can also be a proof of this assumption. This custom was very popular in the Celtic areas.³⁹

Cognomen Certus is considered a common Latin cognomen.⁴⁰ It is found on thirty-six inscriptions in total across the western provinces and Italy. Provinces which contain the majority of these inscriptions are *Dalmatia*⁴¹ and *Gallia Narbonensis*. Others are mostly found in northern Italy and a less significant number in other provinces.⁴² This *cognomen* was very popular in Italy and the West.⁴³ It is an example of giving nicknames based on the quality a person can possess. This practice was very common in Roman nomenclature and in this case it is an adjective which can be translated as "reliable".⁴⁴

His *cognomen*, which is relatively often found in western provinces and is of simple Latin origin, might indicate that Sextius Brinnarius Certus originated from somewhere in the West.

The monument is dated in the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD.

Funerary monument to Publius Aelius Victor

A small altar (*arula*) (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 7; CIL V 492*) made in limestone from a local quarry near Koper (height: 0,62 m, width: 0,45 m, thickness: 0,30 m). Letters are not carefully engraved and the back side is rough. It stood near the church of St. Nicholas in Koper. Later it was in possession of Petronio family; Kandler and Mommsen saw and processed

it in their palace. It was then transferred to atrium of the gymnasium and since 1911 it has been kept in the Museum of Koper. The inscription reads:

*D(is) M(anibus)
P(ublio) (A)elio Victo-
ri an(n)orum
VIII m(ensium) III
parentes p-
entissimi*

"To the spirits of the dead, to Publius Aelius Victor, 8 years, 3 months, the most pious parents"

This is a funerary monument erected by the parents for their son who died young.

Tria nomina formula in which his name is written, suggests that the deceased had Roman citizenship, which he certainly obtained by birth.

His *praenomen*, Publius, is one of the 18 most common Roman names.

Nomen gentile, Aelius, is undoubtedly of Latin origin.⁴⁵ It is very useful for dating, since it can be associated with emperor Hadrian, who was a member of *gens Aelia*. During the second century AD it became widespread across the Empire as Hadrian gave citizenship and established colonies in different provinces. This practice continued with Antoninus Pius who was adopted as a successor and retained the family name.⁴⁶

Cognomen Victor is a very popular Roman surname of Latin origin.⁴⁷ It was also very popular surname in all provinces, especially those in the West and on the frontier. *Gallia Belgica*, *Pannonia* and Italy are the regions where over one hundred fifty inscriptions with this surname come from.⁴⁸ It is likely that the name was given as a "wish name"⁴⁹ by parents in hope for a child to develop cer-

39 Fulvia Mainardis, *E ora sono tutti Romani. L'evoluzione delle formule onomastiche nelle iscrizioni della Transpadanaromana (Roma, La Sapienza, 1997)*, 94.

40 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 340.

41 Form Cirtus(!) - CIL III 13292

42 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 75; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. II, 51; Ljubica Perinić, "O zavjetnom natpisu Minervi" *Opuscula Archaeologica* 23-24 (2000), 5.

43 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 170.

44 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 34.

45 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 335.

46 Smith, *A Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Antiquities*, 27-28; Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 28.

47 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 326 and 341.

48 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 311; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 167-168.

49 From Latin *victor*, *ōris*, m. conqueror, victor.

tain qualities during life, which was a very common Roman practice.⁵⁰

The name of Publius Aelius Victor suggests that he was a Roman citizen. He obtained Roman citizenship by birth. Nomen gentile Aelius was granted to his parents during or sometime after the rule of emperor Hadrian. Together with it and the use of the abbreviation DM, the inscription can be dated to the 2nd century AD or later.

Funerary monument to Publius Aelius Victor

The exact origin of this monument is unknown, but it is thought to come from Koper (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 8; CIL V 493*). The inscription reads:

*D(is) M(anibus)
P(ublio) (A)elio Victori
annor(um) VI m(ensium) VIII d(ierum) IIII
P(ublius) (A)elius Quart(us) et
Sal L(uci) filia) Nicostrat(a)
parentes pientissi(mi)*

“To the spirits of the dead, to Publius Aelius Victor, 6 years, 8 months, 4 days, Publius Aelius Quartus, and Sal Nicostrata, daughter of Lucius, the most pious parents”

This funerary monument mentions three people in total: the deceased boy Publius Aelius Victor and his parents, Publius Aelius Quartus and Sal Nicostrata.

Publius Aelius Victor, the person for whom the monument is erected, was a Roman citizen, likely by birth, because the *tria nomina* formula is used. He could have been a relative of the Publius Aelius Victor mentioned in the previous inscription.

His *praenomen*, Publius, is one of the 18 most common Roman names.

Nomen gentile Aelius, like in previous example, is related to Roman family name of which emperor Hadrian was the most famous member, *gens Aelia*. It indicates that his parents or further ancestors received citizenship during or after the rule of Hadrian.

Victor is a very frequent *cognomen* found often across the Empire.⁵¹

The inscription also mentions the father of the deceased boy, whose name is Publius Aelius Quartus.

Considering his *nomen gentile*, Publius Aelius Quartus lived or received his citizenship during or after the rule of emperor Hadrian. It is also possible that his ancestors received the citizenship and he obtained it by birth.

Cognomen Quartus is often found among Romans and it certainly comes from Latin.⁵² Its origin is probably from a common Roman practice of giving nicknames to children in big families, e.g. Primus, Secundus, Tertius or Tertia etc. for females.⁵³ However, this *cognomen* is found in significant numbers across the western Roman provinces, especially in the places where the Celtic population lived. The regions with highest number of inscriptions which mention this name are *Noricum*, northern Italy and *Gallia Narbonensis*.⁵⁴ This might indicate a former peregrine status and maybe a Celtic origin of Publius Aelius Quartus, but this is hard to prove.

The only things certain are that before the rule of Hadrian, he or his ancestors were not citizens, therefore they must've been peregrines or slaves. The most likely possibility is that Publius Aelius Quartus was a descendant of or a person himself who received the citizenship. Due to popularity of his cognomen in the Celtic areas, it is possible that he was named Quartus and kept this name after the conferral of citizenship or as a descendant he received the name which was already familiar among both Romans and Celts. The most likely possibility is then that he or the ancestors of Publius Aelius Quartus received citizenship as peregrines and then immigrated to Aegida during the 2nd century AD.

51 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 326 and 341.

52 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 341.

53 Matijašić, Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju, 61-62.

54 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 278; Mócsy, Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae, 238; Lőrincz, Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, vol. IV, 167-168.

50 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 57 and 72.

Last person mentioned in this inscription is the mother of the deceased and the wife of Publius Aelius Quartus. She is Sal Nicostrata, daughter of Lucius. Although her *nomen gentile* (perhaps it was Salvia, as suggested in the database entry)⁵⁵ can only be guessed, her *cognomen* is clearly of oriental, Greek origin.⁵⁶

Since *nomen gentile*, *cognomen* and filiation are part of her name, she was certainly a Roman citizen. However, her *cognomen* reveals that she was probably a freed slave or a daughter of a freed slave as marriage could not have been legal if she was not a citizen.

Like in the previous inscription, *nomen gentile* Aelius, which was granted to the parents of the deceased or their ancestors during or sometime after the rule of emperor Hadrian, helps to date this monument. Combined with the use of the abbreviation DM, the datation can be from 2nd century AD onwards.

Funerary monument of Titus Pistor, Flaminia and Maesia

This monument is a cippus (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 13*), made in Aurisina limestone (height: 0,50 m, width 0,24 m, thickness: 0,20 m). The upper, lower and right side is diminished. Lines of the letters are small and worn out. The place of finding is not known. The monument stood in the atrium of praetorial palace, then in the atrium of curia and gymnasium. Finally, in 1911, it was stored in the Museum of Koper. The inscription reads:

T. (vel P.) Ag[---]
Pisto[r] v(ivus) f(ecit) [s(ibi)
et] Flamin[i]ae --- uxori?)
e]t Maes[i]ae --- et--]
ni[---]
hoc mon(umentum) [heredem non sequetur]

55 EDR007638; EDCS-04200580 reconstructs the second parents name as Sal(vius) Nicostrat(us) which would make both parents males and this is almost certainly a wrong assumption.

56 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 361.

“Titus Pistor, made it for himself while still alive, and to (wife) Flaminia, and to Maesia, this monument does not follow the heir”

This severely damaged funerary monument mentions three persons in total. The relationship between them cannot be known with certainty.

The male person is mentioned first, Titus Pistor. While his *nomen gentile* is not fully preserved, its presence indicates that he was a Roman citizen.

Praenomen Titus is a very frequent Roman name.

In contrast, *cognomen* Pistor is mentioned only on this monument in the western provinces and Italy. It comes from Latin and likely derives from a word for an artisan.⁵⁷ Giving nicknames based on occupation or profession was very common in Roman nomenclature and can be a sign of a former slave status.⁵⁸

The second person mentioned in the inscription a female whose name is Flaminia. It is probably a *nomen gentile* originating from *gens Flaminia*, a Roman plebeian family.⁵⁹

Cognomen, which would tell more about Italic or perhaps slave origin of Flaminia is not preserved, so nothing more can be told except that in the reconstruction of the inscription it is presumed that she is the wife of Titus Pistor.

Last person mentioned in the inscription is a female named Maesia. This name was very common in Italy. Its origin is Latin and it was very popular.⁶⁰

Due to the lack of use of DM abbreviation the monument can be dated in first half of the 1st century AD.

57 From Latin *pistor*, -oris, m. miller, bread-maker, baker

58 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 322.

59 Smith, *A Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Antiquities*, 161.

60 This is true for the form *Maesius*, since feminine form is rare, with only 7 inscriptions mentioning it; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 337; Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*, 173; Barnabas Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III: LABAREVS-PYTHEA (Wien: Forschungsgesellschaft Wiener Stadtarchäologie, 2000), 45.

Funerary monument of Baburia Plotia

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 14*) was a stone box which was inscribed on the lateral side. An image was decorated on both sides where single handles stood. It supposedly stood on the gates which were called *Piazzale di Porta Ognissanti* (The Square of All Saints). The inscription reads:

D(is) M(anibus)
Baburiae Plotiae
Taronii Plotianus et Iuliane
matri pientissimae

“To the spirits of the dead, to Baburia Plotia, Taronians Plotianus and Iuliane to the most pious mother”

This funerary monument mentions three people from the same family.

The deceased, Baburia Plotia has a usual naming formula for women, which consists of a *nomen gentile* and a cognomen. This indicates that Baburia Plotia was a Roman citizen.

Her *nomen gentile*, Baburia is known only from Italy, so it can be considered to be of Latin origin.⁶¹ Same can be concluded for cognomen Plotia, which derives from the masculine form Plotius, which is also considered to be of Latin origin and very popular among Romans.⁶²

Second person mentioned in the inscription is the apparent son of Baburia Plotia, Plotianus.

His name also seems to be of Latin origin, the more common form being Plotius, which was very popular in Italy, *Hispania* and *Dalmatia*,⁶³ while Plotianus is mentioned only three times in the western provinces and Italy.⁶⁴

Third person mentioned is Iuliane, who is supposed to be the daughter of the deceased. Her name is also Roman and can be considered to be of

Latin origin, deriving from *gens Iulia*. It is possible that the name Iuliane was misspelled by the engraver, since it doesn't fit in any Latin case.

The most interesting part of the inscription is the *nomen gentile* Taronius in the plural nominative case, which relates to Plotianus and Iuliane. The name itself seems to be quite rare⁶⁵ and is limited to Italy. It is interesting to point out that five inscriptions, i.e. majority of them come from Amitemnum or its vicinity,⁶⁶ so there is a possibility that the name might be of ancient Sabine origin.

From the analysis of the names mentioned in the inscriptions, it is likely that it refers to the family of Roman citizens, who all bear Roman names. It is possible therefore that they were of Italic origin and immigrated to Aegida, maybe from central Italy.

The monument is dated to period from the beginning of the 2nd century onwards.

Funerary monument to Gaius Calpurnius Alexsa

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 14; CIL V 495*) is a plate without a frame, made in Grisignian (today Grožnjan in Croatia) limestone, broken in two pieces (height: 0,44 m, width: 0,57 m). Letters are finely inscribed and deep-cut. Kandler and Mommsen wrote the inscription down while it stood on the public square (*Loggia*), from where it was placed in the atrium of the gymnasium. Since 1911, it has been inserted into the wall of the Koper museum. The inscription reads:

C(aius) Calpurnius
C(ai) Frugi l(ibertus)
Alexsa
Sabinnaeus
filius patri
de suo
peculio fecit

61 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 42; Barnabas Lőrincz, Ferenc Redó, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum*, vol. I: *Aba-Bysanus* (Budapest: Archaeolingua Alapítvány, 1994), 268.

62 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 337.

63 Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 226.

64 Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 147.

65 Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 226.

66 *CIL I 3292, CIL IX 4302, AE 1992, 0484, AE 1992, 0486, AE 1992, 0487.*

“Gaius Calpurnius Alexsa, freedman of Gaius Frugi, son Sabinnaeus erected (this monument) to his father at his own expense”

This is a funerary monument which mentions a liberated slave Gaius Calpurnius Alexsa, his former master Gaius Calpurnius Frugi and his son Sabinnaeus.

After manumission of Gaius Calpurnius Alexsa, *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* of his former master became a part of his new Roman name, as it was common Roman practice.⁶⁷

Nomen gentile Calpurnius was a very common Roman name, especially among the senatorial class. This *nomen gentile* was very popular in Liburnia and western Istria,⁶⁸ but also in Italy and *Hispania*, where over one hundred and thirty inscriptions with this name were found. Its origin is from *gens Calpurnia*, which rose to prominence after the Punic Wars. Many members of this *gens* became consuls.⁶⁹

His single slave name, Alexsa, became *cognomen*, which was a common practice for that social class.⁷⁰ Alexsa is likely of oriental, Greek origin and is attested in only one other inscription in the western provinces.⁷¹ Entry in the database offers a possibility that form Alexsa is shortened from Alexsander.⁷² However, since there was enough room on the plate to inscribe the suggested full name but it was not done, probably the name Alexsa is the correct reconstruction.

Inscription in this monument also mentions the former master of the deceased. His name is Gaius Calpurnius Frugi.

His *praenomen*, Gaius is one of the 18 most common Roman names.

Nomen gentile Calpurnius, as above, was a name of very prominent family that several consuls.

Cognomen Frugi is quite rare, with only one other inscription mentioning this surname in Italy.⁷³ The origin of the name comes from the practice of giving nicknames which denote certain quality, in this case honesty of virtuousness.⁷⁴ The lack of mention of this surname in the inscriptions is contrasted by several important individuals recorded in the history that bore this surname. The most famous one is likely M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, consul in 27 AD. This particular individual, the former owner of the deceased, was related to C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licianus, who lived during the rule of Nerva.⁷⁵

The last person mentioned in the inscription is the son of the deceased, Sabinnaeus. This monument is the only instance where this name is written in this form.⁷⁶ Form Sabinus is much more common in all parts of the Empire, especially southern Italy and its origin is Latin.⁷⁷ It is related to the ethnic name of the Sabines, but in this case it is probably not a sign of person's ethnicity, rather a manifestation of a practice of giving nicknames originating from the names of nations.⁷⁸

His father being a liberated slave, *tria nomina* is expected to be used for Sabinnaeus. Reason for the lack of it is maybe the fact that there was no room on this plate or funds to buy a larger stone plate to inscribe everything intended.

The monument can be dated to the 1st century AD.

67 Salway, “What’s in a Name?”, 127; Matijašić, Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju, 62.

68 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 70.

69 Smith, *A Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Antiquities*, 582.

70 Matijašić, Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju, 67.

71 Lőrincz, Redó, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. I, 74.

72 EDCS-04200582. Epigraphik – Datenbank Claus – Slaby. <http://www.manfredclaus.de> (16.7.2015).

73 Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 154; a prominent individual with this surname was M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, consul in 27 AD.

74 From the Latin frūgī adj. indecl. proper, worthy, honest, virtuous, frugal; Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 253.

75 Degraffi, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, Vol. X., Regio X, Fasc. III, 10.

76 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 248; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 167-168.

77 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 117 and 341; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 40.

78 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 185.

Funerary monument of Quintus Cervius Fidelis

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 16; CIL V 496*) is a stone plate without a frame, made in Aurisina limestone (height: 0,44 m, width: 0,45 m, thickness: 0,20 m). It stood the house of Aurelli de Belli, near his garden. Kandler and Mommsen saw it in the public square (*Loggia*), from where it came to the atrium of the gymnasium. From 1911 it has been kept in the Museum of Koper. The inscription reads:

*Q(uintus) Cervius Q(uinti) l(ibertus)
Fidelis v(ivus) f(ecit) sib(i)*

“Quintus Cervius Fidelis, freedman of Quintus, made it for himself while still alive”

This monument mentions two persons: a liberated slave and his former owner.

Quintus Cervius Fidelis is mentioned to be a freedman, which means that he obtained Roman citizenship by manumission.

Praenomen and *nomen gentile* of his master, who is mentioned only as Quintus, became a part of his new Roman. His masters name might have been Quintus Cervius, while his *cognomen* is unknown.

His *praenomen*, Caius is one of 18 most common Roman names.

Nomen gentile Cervius likely comes from Latin.⁷⁹ It is found on fifteen inscriptions across the West, of which eight are from Italy.⁸⁰

In the provinces, it signifies the population of Italic origin, as it is suggested by Alföldy in the case of Dalmatia.⁸¹ On the other hand, at least the root of this name is related to indigenous population, especially in Istria.⁸²

Cognomen Fidelis is likely of Italic and certainly of Latin origin.⁸³ This *cognomen* derives from the practice of naming people with nicknames which present moral and social qualities⁸⁴ and was very popular among freedman.⁸⁵ It is found in a relatively significant number of inscriptions, most of which are from Italy.⁸⁶

From the observations and data mentioned above, it can be summarized that Quintus Cervius Fidelis was a manumitted slave. Since he was named after his owner and the cognomen is of Latin origin, nothing more can be known about Quintus Cervius Fidelis.

On the other hand, the owner and later patron of Quintus Cervius Fidelis, who bears a true Roman name and the root of the *nomen gentile* which is considered by authors to be of indigenous origin, is probably a descendant of indigenous Istrian population which was apparently already Romanized to some extent in the 1st century AD.

The date when this monument was made can be asserted on the basis of one epigraphic feature. It is lack of the DM abbreviation, which was in common use by the middle of the 2nd century AD in this geographical area. The date can then be set to the first half of the 1st century AD.

Funerary monument of Caelotis Naevola

This monument exists only as a drawing (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 18; CIL V 498*). It was supposedly found in Koper, but an anonymous traveller reports having seen it in the vicinity of the village St. John of Dajla, in the wall of count Grisoni's house. Count Grisoni, a nobleman from Koper, saw it fit to take it from that village and transfer it elsewhere. It was not found afterwards. The inscription reads:

79 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 336.

80 Mócsy, Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae, 76; Lőrincz, Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, vol. II, 51.

81 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 75.

82 Hans Krahe, Lexikon Altillyrischer Personennamen (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1929), 28; Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egidā", 29.

83 Alföldy, Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia, 340.

84 From Latin fidelis, e, adj. trusty, trustworthy, faithful, sincere, true.

85 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 203 and 254.

86 Mócsy, Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae, 126; Lőrincz, Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, vol. II, 140-141.

D(is) M(anibus)
Celotis
Naevola
Mater

“To the spirits of the dead, Celotis Naevola,
mother”

This funerary monument mentions only one female person, the deceased Celotis Naevola. Her name is written in common onomastic formula for women, which indicates that she was a Roman citizen. Both her *nomen gentile* and *cognomen* are very rare.

Nomen gentile Celotis is attested only in this inscription.⁸⁷

The form Celotis is attested in the surviving drawing of the inscription, which is also quite rare but a broad outline of the name can be discerned. It is found only in Italy and three inscriptions mention it, all in genitive case and concerning mostly former slaves.⁸⁸ However, the name is also mentioned on numerous brick stamps found in Rome. They are related to Tiberius Servilius Gelos who worked for *figlina Caepioniana* in the beginning of the 2nd century AD.⁸⁹

Although it is hard to find a connection between all these inscriptions and their forms with the one from Koper, in the widest sense it can be concluded that this name and forms of this name are found among former slaves.

Cognomen Naevola is also found in only one other inscription.⁹⁰ It is likely that her *cognomen* comes from the Latin word for mole or wart⁹¹ as giving nicknames for physical attributes was very common in Roman times.⁹²

With both *nomen gentile* and *cognomen* being very rare, it is possible that this individual was

of peregrine or slave status who later acquired citizenship.

The datation of this monument can be asserted on the basis of the use of DM abbreviation, which can date it in the 1st AD.

Funerary monument to Lucius Herennius and Lucius Priscus

This monument is also only preserved in form of a drawing which depicts a stella with many cracks and its right side cut-off (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 19; CIL V 499*). It was supposedly found in the wall of the Episcopal garden. It is now considered lost. The inscription reads:

L(ucius) Here[nnius--]
Pup(inia) i[---]
v(ivus) f(ecit) s(ibi)
et L(ucio) Pu[---]
Prisc[co---]

“Lucius Herennius, of the Pupinia tribe,
made it for himself while still alive and for
Lucius Pu[---] Priscus”

This monument mentions two male persons but the damage and subsequent loss of the stone plate makes the reconstruction of the names difficult.

First person mentioned is Lucius Herennius.

His *praenomen*, Lucius, is one of 18 most common Roman names.

Nomen gentile Herennius is very frequent in the western provinces and Italy.⁹³ The family name comes from *gens Herennia*. It was a plebeian family of Samnite origin, whose members became very influential and held important political and military offices. They even entered imperial families as the wife of emperor Decius was Herennia Etruscilla.⁹⁴ The name is considered to be of Latin origin.⁹⁵

87 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 58; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. II, 18.

88 CIL V 6808, AE 2001,576 and CIL XI 6712.

89 John P. Bodet, *Roman Brick Stamps in the Kelsey Museum* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1983), 25.

90 In the masculine form Naevolus - CIL V 6447.

91 Lat. naevus, -i, m. mole, wart.

92 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 245; Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiku*, 61.

93 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 143; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. II, 178-179.

94 Smith, *A Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Antiquities*, 406-407.

95 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 335.

The damage of the monument makes the rest of his name difficult to reconstruct. The part where the abbreviation *Pup(inia)* ends, a hasta which resembles letter "I" is recorded on the drawing. It was omitted in the first publication of the monument and also on the proposed transliteration. Even if this hasta is not ignored as a mistake made during the drawing of the monument, the *Pup(inia)* part left in the inscription can be reconstructed as an affiliation to *tribus Pupinia*, which was one of thirty-five Roman tribes.⁹⁶

In any case, it doesn't change the fact that Lucius Herennius was likely a Roman citizen, perhaps of Italic origin.

Second person mentioned on this inscription is Lucius Priscus, also the deceased for whom the same monument was erected.

His *praenomen* Lucius, like in the previous case, is one of the most common ones used by Romans.

Due to damage of the monument, his *nomen gentile* is not entirely preserved, only the *Pu* part is visible.

His *cognomen*, Priscus, is certainly of Italic and Latin origin.⁹⁷ In the most ancient times the name was considered Etruscan, but in the later periods became a common Roman surname. The popularity of the name is due to connection to the legendary figure of the Roman king, Tarquinius Priscus.⁹⁸ It is found in large numbers across various western provinces. Most of the inscriptions with this surname come from Italy, where one hundred fifty of them are recorded.⁹⁹

The datation of this monument can be set on the basis of two epigraphic features. Lack of DM abbreviation, which was in common use by the 2nd century AD and the use VF abbreviation, which was used from middle and the end of 1st

century AD until the second half of 2nd century AD the datation of the monument can be then set from the first half up to the middle of the 1st century AD.

Funerary monument of Gaius Lorentius Tesifon

This monument is stone box made in Aurisina limestone (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 20; CIL V 500*). It is divided into three parts with numerous cracks and damages. The letters are rough and the inscription is written continuously (height: 0,65 m, width: 2,03 m, thickness: 0,14 m). The monument stood near the Square of All Saints (*Piazzale di Porta Ognissanti*), from which it was later pulled down and lay near the well. Kandler and Mommsen saw it in the public square (*Loggia*), from where it came to atrium of the gymnasium. From 1911 it has been kept in the Museum of Koper. The inscription reads:

*G Lorentius
Tesifon vibus
posuit sibi*

"Gaius Lorentius Tesifon, placed it for himself while still alive"

The monument is of funerary character and mentions only one person, Gaius Lorentius Tesifon.

Tria nomina formula suggests that he was a Roman citizen.

His *praenomen*, Lucius, is one of 18 most common Roman names.

Lorentius is a rare *nomen gentile* and there is only one other instance where it is recorded in this form.¹⁰⁰ Much more frequent is Laurentius, which is certainly of Latin and Italic origin.

Cognomen Tesifon is also unique in the western provinces. It is undoubtedly of oriental origin. It is possible that this name can be related to the capital of Parthian and Sasanian Empire, Ctesiphon, which would indicate the origin more precisely. *Cognomen* which has a root in a geograp-

96 Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 140; Matijasić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju*, 66.

97 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 273 and 341.

98 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 71.

99 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 232; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 162-163.

100 Feminine form Lorentia in *CIL V 1276*.

hical term was often used in Roman nomenclature, especially among former slaves.¹⁰¹

From these observations it can be concluded that Gaius Lorentius Tesifon was a Roman citizen who obtained citizenship probably by way of manumission. His *cognomen* was likely his single slave name, which is of oriental origin.

Here it is possible to make an assumption on the manner in which this individual may have ended up in the area around Aegida during the 3rd century AD. His arrival perhaps can be related to the conquest of Parthia and the sack of its capital, Ctesiphon, by emperor Septimius Severus in 197 AD. It is reported that the large number (around ten thousand, according to Cassius Dio) of slaves were captured and distributed across the Empire after this expedition¹⁰². Although this correlation cannot be proved with utmost certainty, it is not impossible that a slave was manumitted after years of service and as a cognomen took the name of his hometown, which was destroyed and from which he was taken as a prisoner.

The datation of this monument can be asserted only on the basis of one epigraphic feature, which is the use of the formula *vibus posuit*. This formula was common in the Late Principate.¹⁰³ The date can be therefore set to 3rd century AD.

Funerary monument of Lucida Dignitas

This monument is a stella made of limestone (Istrian, but it is not determined which exactly), with an inscription written in finely engraved letters and *in continua* (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 21*). The inscription field is framed by a triple moulded belt. The pediment of the stella is decorated with a rose and leaves. The stella was found in the gardens of Capuchin monks, while excavating the well. It stood in the curia, after it came to the atrium of the gymnasium. From 1911, it is inserted in the wall of the Museum of Koper. The inscription reads:

*D(is) M(anibus)
Lucid
ae Dig
nitas
sorori
b(ene) m(erenti)*

“To the spirits of the dead, to Lucida Dignitas, well deserved sister”

This is a funerary monument erected for Lucida Dignitas. Judging by the two names which were a common onomastic practice for women, she was a Roman citizen.

Both her *nomen gentile* and *cognomen* are very rare. Lucida is only attested as a *cognomen* in twenty inscriptions in the western provinces and Italy. Even in other publications, Lucida from this inscription is recorded as *cognomen*.¹⁰⁴

The real *cognomen*, Dignitas is also quite rare. There is only one other instance where the name is recorded in this form.¹⁰⁵ Its origin is from the practice of giving names related to moral qualities of the person, in this instance the meaning being “worthy”.¹⁰⁶

While being very rare, both names are almost certainly of Latin origin. It is likely that Lucida Dignitas was a Roman citizen, maybe of Italic origin.

The use of DM abbreviation can date this monument in the 1st century AD onwards.

Funerary monument to Tullia Septimina

A side of a stone box, made in Aurisina limestone (height: 0,55 m, length: 0,55 m, width: 0,36 m). The inscription (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 23; CIL V 504*) is in the front and the box is decorated on both sides with two handles. It was used to store oil in the Koper drugstore. Later it changed places from curia to the atrium of the gymnasium, and in 1911 it was placed in the Koper Museum. The inscription reads:

101 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 45.

102 D.C. LXXXVI. 9. 4.

103 Miroslav Glavičić, “Tri rimskodobna natpisa iz Senja”, *Senjski zbornik* 23 (1996), 26.

104 Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 35.

105 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 103; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. II, 100.

106 From Latin dignitas, -atis, f. worth, merit, desert, character; Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 95.

*Tulliae Septiminae
animae innocentissimae
quae vixit annis VI mens(ibus) VIII
diebus VII Tullia Privata
mater in(f)elicissima*

“To Tullia Septimina, of the most innocent soul, who lived to 6 years, 9 months, 7 days, Tullia Privata, the most unfortunate mother”

This funerary monument mentions two female persons, the deceased daughter and her mother who erected the monument.

The daughter, who died quite young, judging by the two names, was a Roman citizen by birth.

Nomen gentile Tullia belongs to one of the most ancient Roman *gens*, whose patrician branch was already extinct in the early Republic. The name (except for a few notable individuals, of whom Marcus Tullius Cicero is the most famous one) was common among freedmen.¹⁰⁷

Cognomen Septimina has an origin from a common Roman practice of giving nicknames related to number of children in big families, which later became an usual *cognomen*.¹⁰⁸

Cognomen Privata is a frequent Roman surname of Latin origin.¹⁰⁹ The highest number of inscriptions with this name come from Italy.¹¹⁰ The word itself derives from the practice of giving names originating from a certain social class.¹¹¹

Considering all this, both persons were Roman citizens and their Latin names might indicate that they were of Italic origin. While the mother might have been a freedman, the deceased daughter probably received citizenship by birth.

This monument can be dated on the basis of several epigraphical and onomastical features. First is the use of the form *annis*, which along

the form *annos*, is common from 2nd century AD. Secondly, the precise lifetime of the deceased being recorded on the monument, including years, months and days, became common in the 3rd century A.D.¹¹² Datation of this monument can then be set in the 3rd century AD.

Bronze plate with inscribed names of liberated slaves

This inscription (*Inscr. It.* X. 3. 30; *CIL* V 501) is on a fragment of a bronze plate (height: 0,15 m, width: 0,12 m, thickness: 0,006 – 0,009 m). It was found near Koper, in the place called Arjol, between St. Michael and the Lazaretto, on the estate of Ingaldes, a noble family of Koper. It is unknown how at one point the plate turned up in Vienna, but now it is kept in the Archaeological Museum of Istria, in Pula. The inscription reads:

---] *Magaplina Mati (vel Matt) [---an(nor-
um)---, M]agaplina Tertiae lib(erta) [an(o-
rum)---]*
Magaplina Tertiae [lib]erta an(norum) [---]
[Ma]
gaplina Raeci f(ilia) an(norum) LX [---
Maxi]ma
f(ilia) an(norum) X[--- Magaplin]us Maxi-
mae filiae
f(ilius) an(norum) [---] Magaplinus [Ma]
rcellae
lib(ertus) an(norum) [---] Magaplinus [M]
arcel
lae lib(ertus) [an(norum) ---], Magaplina
[Mar]cellae
lib(erta) [an(norum)---]

“Magaplina Mati, years
Magaplina, freedwoman of Tertia, years
Magaplina, freedwoman of Tertia, years
Magaplina, daughter of Raecus, years 60,
daughter Maxima
years 10, Magaplinus, son of daughter of
Maxima, years, Magaplinus, freedman of
Marcella, years, Magaplinus, freedman of

107 Smith, *A Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Antiquities*, 1183.

108 Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju*, 61-62.

109 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 341.

110 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 232; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 165.

111 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 315.

112 Keppie, *Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 107

Marcella, years, Magaplina, freedwoman of Marcella, years”

This bronze plate records the names of liberated slaves, their age and names of former masters. The inscription records the family of Magaplina and their former owners. This plate is likely a legal document related to granting the Roman citizenship to people mentioned in the inscription.¹¹³

The first and most often inscribed name on this plate is Magaplinus in feminine and masculine gender. Since the plate records the names of liberated slaves, it is obvious that Magaplinus and Magaplina served as a single name before their manumission. Magaplinus is attested only in Italy as a nomen.¹¹⁴ The origin of the name is neither Roman nor the word comes from Latin. It's related to the name Aplis, which with its few derivatives¹¹⁵ was preserved in the form of Magaplinus. Different authors point out distinctly Illyrian origin due to linguistic features or Venetic due to geographical prevalence which is mainly Istria. However, all agree that it is a name of indigenous origin.¹¹⁶ This is further confirmed by the onomastic formula, which consists of *nomen gentile* (moved in the place which is usually reserved for cognomen in Roman nomenclature and filiation. This onomastic order is very characteristic for Histrian and Liburnian names.¹¹⁷

Considering all this, people who bore the name Magaplinus or Magaplina mentioned on this plate, were likely the members of indigenous population living somewhere in Istria.¹¹⁸

Second name that can be related to indigenous population mentioned on the inscription is Raecus. Since in this inscription it appears as the

names of the parents of freedman, it is also of indigenous origin and indicates a slave past. The name is considered to be of Illyrian, but can be also considered Venetian, especially in the northern Italy.¹¹⁹

The names of the masters who liberated these slaves are also mentioned. They are Maxima, Marcella and Tertia. These are Roman names of Latin origin and it is not surprising that owners of these slaves are Romans, likely of Italic origin.

For the datation of this monument, only one epigraphical feature can be used. In the offered transliteration, abbreviation *an* is restituted as *an(norum)*. If this reconstruction is accepted, then the plate can be dated to the 1st century AD.

Funerary monument of Caius Titius

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 31; CIL V 486*) is a stone plate made in limestone, with a frame made of triple moulded belt (height: 0,98 m, width: 0,65 m). It was found in 1843, in a valley near the village of Pomjan (Italian: *Paugnano*), near Koper. Soon after the finding, it arrived in the Museum of Trieste, where it has been kept inserted in the wall. The inscription reads:

*C(aius) Titius C(ai) f(ilius)
Volt(ilia) Vienna
veteranus
leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris)*

“Gaius Titius, son of Gaius, Voltilia, from Vienne, veteran of 15th legion of Apollonians”

This is a monument of legionary veteran, who also inscribed the name of his hometown and legion in which he served.

His *praenomen*, Gaius is one of 18 most common Roman names.

His *nomen gentile*, Titius, is related to old but not very prominent plebeian family, *gens Titia*¹²⁰ and is certainly of Latin origin.¹²¹

113 Starac, “Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida”, 31.

114 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*, 173; Lórinč, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 45.

115 Other forms include: Aplo, Apludus, Aplurus, Aplus, Aplius.

116 Krahe, *Lexikon Altilyrischer Personennamen*, 157; Starac, “Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida”, 30; Mate Križman, *Rimska imena u Istri: osobna imena na istarskim natpisima iz rimskog doba* (Zagreb: *Latina Et Graeca*, 1991), 200-201.

117 Starac, “Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida”, 31.

118 John J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishing, 1992), 71-75.

119 Krahe, *Lexikon Altilyrischer Personennamen*, 97; Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 349; Križman, *Rimska imena u Istri*, 104.

120 *Smith, A Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Antiquities*, 1159.

121 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 338.

This monument might seem peculiar at first because it lacks the *cognomen*. It was actually a common practice in the area around Aquileia and Emona for veterans to omit *cognomen* but to regularly include the tribe in which they were enrolled.¹²²

Gaius Titius also inscribed his filiation, which reveals that his fathers name was also Gaius. His voting tribe is recorded to be *Voltilia*, the tribe of his hometown, *Colonia Iulia Vienna Allobrogum*, today's Vienne in southeastern France, south of Lyon.

From this it is easy to assert that this individual was native of Gaul, who served as a legionnaire in the 15th legion of Apollonians.

This legion was raised by Octavian sometime around 40 or 41 BC. After Actium, where the legion fought, it received the title in the honor of Apollo¹²³ and was stationed in Illyricum, the precise location being a point of debate. It is possible that it had a camp in Carnuntum near today's Vienna in Austria. The date for its occupation of Carnuntum range from 15 AD to 50 AD.¹²⁴ It was previously thought that this legion had a camp in Ljubljana (*Emona*)¹²⁵ before transferring to Carnuntum, but this hypothesis is now mostly rejected.¹²⁶ In 55 AD, during the rule of Nero, the legion was transferred to the East to fight Parthians and participated in the First Jewish Revolt, but returned to Pannonia (*Carnuntum*) in

71 AD.¹²⁷ Save a small contribution in the conquest of Dacia (only as a vexillation), the legion stayed in Carnuntum until it was dispatched to the East sometime during the rule of Trajan never to return to Pannonia.¹²⁸

The fact that Gaius Titius served in a legion, and not in an auxiliary unit, indicates that he was a Roman citizen and not a peregrine who joined the army from Gaul and received citizenship upon retirement. As a veteran, Gaius Titius settled somewhere in northern Italy and Istria, similar to other veterans of this legion, who often retired in the hinterland of Aquileia.¹²⁹

The datation of this monument can be conjectured on the basis of the movement of the legion. During the 1st century BC and AD, the legion spent the majority of its time in Illyricum and later Pannonia Superior (55 – 71 AD was spent in the East), mostly in Carnuntum. Therefore, the monument can be dated to early 1st century AD.

Funerary monument of Publius Acisinius Venius and his wife Galla

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 32; CIL V 491*) is a stone plate with a frame made of triple moulded belt. It was found in an unknown place near the village of Pomjan (Italian: *Paugnano*). With it, jars, perfume bottle and a lamp with the *FOR-TIS* stamp were found. Unfortunately, Kandler himself lost the plate in 1844. The inscription reads:

*P(ublius) Acisinius C(ai) f(ilius)
Venius
Galla uxor*

“Publius Acisinius Venius, son of Gaius, wife Galla”

122 Marjeta Šašel-Kos “The 15th Legion at Emona-some Thoughts”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 109 (1995), 238.

123 E. Ritterling, “Legio” in *RE XII* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1924-1925), 1747; *Keppie, Understanding Roman Inscriptions*, 182.

124 Everett L. Wheeler, “Legio XV Apollinaris: From Carnuntum to Satala and beyond” in *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, ed. Y. Le Bohec (Lyon/Paris: De Boccard, 2000), 272-273; Jerome H. Farnum, *The Positioning of the Roman Imperial Legions* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), 23.

125 This view became widely accepted in literature despite serious doubts being cast on it very early. Works which supported this idea include: B. Saria, “Emona als Ständlager der Legio XV. Apollinaris” in *Laureae Aquincenses I Diss. Pann. 2. 1.* (1938) 245-255; G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, 1974, 57; A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, 74-76; J. Fitz, *The Archaeology of Roman Pannonia*, 1980, 143.

126 Šašel and Weiler, “Zur augusteisch-tiberischen Inschrift von Emona”, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch* 8 (1963-1964), 40-42; Šašel-Kos “*The 15th Legion at Emona*”, 243.

127 Andras Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia: A History of the Middle Danube Provinces of the Roman Empire* (London/Boston: Routledge and K. Paul, 1974), 48; Wheeler, “Legio XV Apollinaris: From Carnuntum to Satala and beyond”, 260.

128 Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, 99; Wheeler, “Legio XV Apollinaris”, 260; Farnum, *The Positioning of the Roman Imperial Legions*, 23.

129 Jaroslav Šašel “Zur Frühgeschichte der XV. Legion und zur Nordostgrenze der Cisalpina zur Zeit Caesars” *Archäologisch-epigraphische Studien* 1 (1985), 547.

This is a funerary monument which mentions two persons, husband and wife.

Tria nomina formula suggests that Publius Acisinius Venius was a Roman citizen. His filiation reveals that he was son of Gaius.

Praenomen Publius is one of the most used Roman names.

Nomen gentile Acisinus is quite rare, this inscription being the only one containing it in Italy and the western provinces.¹³⁰ Authors have suggested that it might be of Etruscan or more likely, of Illyrian origin.¹³¹

Cognomen Venius is practically unknown and is recorded only as a *nomen* on two inscriptions.¹³²

It is very hard to discern the origin of this person or its name, especially because he has a very unusual combination of non-Latin *nomen gentile* and cognomen, together with the filiation in genitive case, but with a common Roman name. If his *nomen gentile* is not of Italic origin, then it is possible that Publius was a former peregrine who obtained the citizenship later in life, despite his father having a proper Roman *praenomen*.

The inscription also mentions the name of the wife. There are conflicting views if the name inscribed is *Galla* or *Calla*. It is probably a *cognomen* and because of that, it is possible that the wife was a freedwoman or a peregrine whose name was not fully recorded.

This monument has only one epigraphical feature which can date it and that is the lack of DM abbreviation, which can then set the date to 1st century AD.

Funerary monument of Publius Sardius Prudens

This is a stela (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 33; CIL V 503*) made of local limestone (height: 1,37 m, width: 0,44

m, thickness: 0,13 m). The pediment is decorated with a rose inside, with single dolphins represented on the sides. It was found in the village of Monte, in the wall of the church of St. Mary. It still stands there. The inscription reads:

*P(ublius) Sardius
P(ubli) l(ibertus) Prudens
v(ivus) f(ecit)*

“Publius Sardius Prudens, freedman of Publius, made it while still alive”

The monument records the name of citizen Publius Sardius Prudens, who obtained the citizenship by manumission and his former master, Publius.

Praenomen Publius is one of the most often used Roman names.

Nomen gentile Sardius is quite rare, with only two inscriptions from Italy, including this one, mentioning it.¹³³ It is likely that upon his manumission, the former slave inherited it from his new patron. His master was probably a member of indigenous population living in Istria and northern Italy, as the root of the name is considered to be of such origin.¹³⁴

Cognomen Prudens in this form is attested on eighteen inscriptions in the western provinces and Italy.¹³⁵ However, different forms of this name, e. g. Prudentia and Prudentius, are relatively common. Its origin is Latin and can be considered a true Roman *cognomen* which was given to denote a special quality a person possessed, in this case a mental quality¹³⁶, a common practice in Roman nomenclature.¹³⁷ It is likely that this individual served his

130 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*, 3; Lőrincz, Redó, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. I: Aba-Bysanus, 15.

131 Krahe, *Lexikon Altilyrischer Personennamen*, 16; Križman, *Rimska imena u Istri*, 103.

132 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*, 305; Lőrincz, Redó, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. I: Aba-Bysanus, 154.

133 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*, 253; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 49.

134 Wilhelm Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin-Zürich-Dublin: Weidmann, 1966), 113; Starac, “Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egidia”, 29.

135 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*, 235; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 169.

136 From the Latin *prudens*, -entis, adj. knowing, skilled, experienced, versed.

137 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 250; Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 341.

master well and this was in a way reflected in the cognomen which was given to him.

The monument is dated in the early 1st century AD.

Monument of Sextius Pedanius Seneca

This monument (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 34*) is a plinth made in sandstone (height: 0,13 m, width: 0,25 m, thickness: 0,12 m). The right side is damaged, and the inscription is engraved with rough letters. Stones of the same shape were found in few tombs in Istria. The monument was found in wall in the field near the village of Zupanci. It was kept in the curia of Paugnano, until it came to the Museum of Koper as a gift in 1924. The inscription reads:

[S]ex(tius) Pedani[us-]
f(ilius) Seneca

“Sex(tius) Pedanius, son, Seneca”

Due to the damage of the right side of the plate filiation is not full preserved.

Pranenomen Sextius one of the most often used Roman names.

Nomen gentile Pedanius is relatively frequent, with province of Hispania being the place where it is most often used, second to it being Italy.¹³⁸ It might be of Latin origin, since there are few people with the name Pedanius recorded in history, some as early as Second Punic War.¹³⁹

Cognomen Seneca is of Latin origin. It is a *cognomen* which originated as a nickname denoting persons great age which was a common practice in Roman onomastics.¹⁴⁰ Some authors hold that it might be of Celtic origin.¹⁴¹ This view is sometimes questioned or it is thought that the origin cannot be discerned unless the name appears in a predominately Celtic (e. g. Gaul) or Roman (e.

g. Africa) area.¹⁴² It is also important to note that the names was the most popular in Hispania and then Italy.¹⁴³ Together with the *nomen gentile*, it is possible that this individual was from a western province, likely Hispania, where the Romanization has already taken place and the names familiar among both Romans and indigenous population were used.

There is a slight possibility that this is not a funerary monument.

The monument can be dated to late 1st century BC.

A votive monument dedicated to Nemesis

A small ara (lat. *arula*) made of limestone (*Inscr. It. X. 3. 35*). Right side is damaged (height: 0,54 m, width: 0,25 m, thickness: 0,25 m). It was found in the village of S. Pietro dell'Amata, in the valley of Dragonja river. It was somehow brought to the Museum of Trieste by Marco Marcuzo Villanovensi in 1898. It is neither known where the monument was found nor who was the man who sold it to the Museum. It is kept in the lapidarium of the Trieste Museum. The inscription reads:

Nem[e]-
si
Aug(stae)
sac(rum)
Qui[---]
servus L(uci)
[---]nicius
Protocteti
[v(otum)] s(olvit) l(ibens)

“Dedicated to Nemesis the revered one, Qui[ntus] slave of Lucius [---]nicius Protoctetus, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow”

This is a votive monument dedicated to the goddess Nemesis, by a slave Quintus to his former master.

138 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 217; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. III, 131.

139 Smith, *A Dictionary Of Greek And Roman Antiquities*, 163.

140 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 307.

141 Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der Römischen Provinz Dalmatia*, 293.

142 Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, 17; Radoslav Katičić, “Zur Frage der keltischen und pannonischen Namengebiete im römischen Dalmatien”, *Godišnjak Centra za Balkanološka ispitivanja III/1 (1965)*, 59.

143 Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 65.

Name of the dedicator is recorded only as *Quintus*, which was likely his single slave name. It is one of the 18 most often used Roman names.

The full name of the master for whom the monument was erected is not fully preserved with

only his *praenomen* and *cognomen* being recorded fully.

Praenomen Lucius is one of the most common Roman names.

His *nomen gentile* is only partially preserved and can only be guessed.

Cognomen Protocetus is very rare and there are only three inscriptions where it is attested, two others being from *Gallia Narbonensis*.¹⁴⁴ Entries in the databases reveal that this name is somewhat familiar in Italy and related to freedman.¹⁴⁵ Its origin is uncertain, but might be Latin. However, it is suffice that he is recorded as a master of the the slave *Quintus* and because of that, likely a Roman citizen

The monument is dated to the 1st half of the 1st century AD.

Funerary monuments to Lucius Sellius and Plautia Tertulla

This monument (*CIL* V 502, *Inscr. It.* X. 3.22) survives only as drawing. It was seen by Orsato and Carli, but now it happens to be lost. The inscription reads:

*L(ucio) Pa[...] Sellio
Plautiae Tertullae
[...] seni f(ilio)
merenti posuit*

“To Lucius Pa Sellius, to Plautia Tertulla, son, deserved made it”

This funerary monument mentions three people in total, but only two have a preserved name in the inscription.

First is Lucius Sellius. His *praenomen* very common, but his *nomen gentile* is not fully preserved and can only be guessed. Despite that, the fact that his name was written in tria nomina formula means that he was a Roman citizen.

Cognomen Sellius is relatively often attested in Italy and might be of Latin origin. It is popular among former slaves, but more often as *nomen gentile* a than as cognomen.¹⁴⁶

Plautia Tertulla, bearing a common name formula for woman was also a Roman citizen.

Name Plautia is a common Roman name and of Latin origin. Same can be said for Tertulla, which is a nickname derived from Tertia, which in turn derives from the practice of giving names in bigger families.¹⁴⁷

Both Lucius Sellius and Plautia Tertulla being citizens with Roman names, it can be concluded that they might have immigrated to Aegida sometime during the first half of 1st century AD.

Stone slab with inscribed names

This monument (*Inscr. Inscr. It.* X. 3. 17) is stone slab without a frame made in Aurisina limestone (height: 0,30 m; Width: 0,31 m; thickness: 0,13 m). The slab is damaged and the letters are inscribed loosely and are worn. It was found in the atrium of the Museum of Koper where it is now kept. The inscription reads:

*[---Co]rnelius
[---]us
[---]s
[---]u[---]*

“[Co]rnelius”

The only word that can be discerned is the name Cornelius. It is a true Roman name of Latin origin. This name was very popular and belongs to one of the oldest Roman names. Due to its popularity, it probably belonged to a Romanized member of Aegida, who was likely a citi-

144 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 243; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 168.

145 *CIL* III 157; *CIL* VI 1057; *CIL* VI 8578; *CIL* VI 9915; *CIL* VI 18181; *CIL* VI 20473; *CIL* VI 27443; *CIL* IX 3246; *CIL* XIV; *AE* 1920, 00105.

146 Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpiniae*, 259; Lőrincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vol. IV, 63.

147 Matijašič, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju*, 61-62.

zen, maybe even an immigrant from other parts of Italy.

The monument is dated to 1st half of 1st century AD.

Classification of inscriptions and monuments

The inscriptions in this work can be classified into four categories based on its type: funerary, dedicatory, building inscription and document. Although the inscriptions are analyzed minutely in the text, short overview of types is presented.

Concerning the monuments, the majority of them were made in local Aurisina or some other Istrian limestone, like Grožnjan or local Koper stone. Only one monument, the bronze plate, was made from metal.

Funerary inscriptions

Funerary monuments make up the majority of inscriptions found in the Koper area and presented in this work. This fact is not surprising, since the vast majority of all Roman inscriptions are of funerary character, especially outside of Rome and even more so in the provinces. The inscriptions found in Koper and its vicinity, don't stand out in any way and usually contain the information about the deceased, his family and sometimes the person who erected the monument.

One inscription (No. 21) is a damaged monument which only mentions two people. Due to damage the inscription is only partially preserved and it is not known certainly whether it is of the funerary or maybe of some other character.

The funerary monuments themselves were made in few simple shapes: stele (inscribed plate), ara (rectangular altar, often for votive purposes), cippus (rectangular or any other geometricaly shaped tombstone) and parts of the sacrophagus (coffin for the corpse of the deceased).

Dedicatory inscriptions

The nature of dedicatory inscriptions are often related to the happy fulfillment of the vow taken before some journey, business or other venture, which

ended favorably for the person who then erected the monument to thank the gods and fulfill his part of the vow. This is further confirmed by the use of *VSLM* abbreviation. This type of monument is found all over the Empire and due to its popularity, it is not surprising for them to be found in the urban center like Aegida, although they are still significantly less represented than the funerary inscriptions.

Three inscriptions presented in this work are of votive character, all of which mention deities.

Monument dedicated to Silvanus Augustus (No. 2) was erected by Quintus Appuleius Epagathus, a freedman.

Another monument was erected by Quintus, slave of Lucius Protocetus, who fulfilled the vow to goddess Nemesis (No. 22).

Only one monument (No. 2) found in Koper is dedicated to an oriental deity, in this case an Egyptian goddess Isis. It was erected by Lucius Valerius Memor, who also served as *sevir Augustalis*, a priest of the imperial cult and by the information in the inscription, a distinguished member of the society in the 2nd century AD.

Building inscriptions

This type of inscription often mentions an emperor or a magistrate who funded the construction work of some public building. This was a very common way of commemorating a donation for a public cause, so that the benefactor was known and not forgotten by the community to which he served.

One building inscription (No. 5) mentions a certain Sextius Brinniarius Certus. It also reveals that a portico was built at the expense of the above mentioned citizen.

Documents

Documents (Latin *acta*) were a type of inscriptions which had legal importance and included treaties, laws but also calendars and military diplomas.

Bronze plate found in Arjol near Koper (No. 17) is a rare and important type of inscription for this area. It is probably a legal document which is

Table 1. Origin of names on the inscriptions from Koper

Roman	Celtic	Greek and oriental	Indigenous	Uncertain
Lucius Valerius Memor	S. Brinnarius Certus	Sal(via?) Nicostrata	Q. Cervius Fidelis	Calla or Galla
Quintus	S. Pedanius Seneca?	C. Calpurnius Alexsa	Magaplinus	
Pup(inia) Forens[is]		C. Lorentius Tesifon	Raecus	
C. Titius		Q. Appuleius Epagathus	P. Acisinus Venius	
P. Aelio Victori		L. Publicius Syntropus	P. Sardijs Prudens	
P. Aelius Quartus				
Pistor				
Flaminia				
Maesia				
C. Calpurnius Frugi				
Sabinnacus				
Celotis Naevola?				
L. Herennius				
L. Priscus				
C. Lorentius				
Lucida Dignitas				
Tullia Privata				
Tullia Septimina				
Marcella				
Maxima				
Tertia				
S. Pedanius Seneca?				
L. Protoctetus?				
Cornelius				
Baburia Plotia				
Tertulla				
Lucius Sellius				

related to the granting of the citizenship to the indigenous family of Magaplines.¹⁴⁸

Classification of names mentioned in the inscriptions

The names on the inscriptions found in Aegida were already a topic of research with published re-

sults which indicate that the vast majority of names were Roman,¹⁴⁹ so the following table gives only a broad overview of names which were analyzed in the article. It is important to point out that this table gives only a simple classification of names, while assumptions about social, legal and

¹⁴⁸ Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida", 31.

¹⁴⁹ Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida", 28-29.

Table 2. Natural born citizens from Aegida

Name	Monument	Datation
Pup(inia) Forens[is]	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 6; CIL V 487</i>	1st century AD
Sextius Brinnarius Certus	<i>Inscr. It. X. 9, 6; CIL V 489</i>	1st century BC- early 1st century AD
Publius Aelius Victor	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 7; CIL V 492</i>	2nd century AD
Publius Aelius Victor	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 8; CIL V 493</i>	2nd century AD
Lucius Herennius	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 19; CIL V 499</i>	1st century AD
Lucius Priscus	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 19; CIL V 499</i>	1st century AD
Lucida Dignitas	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 23; CIL V 504</i>	3rd century AD
Tullia Privata	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 23; CIL V 504</i>	3rd century AD
Tullia Septimina	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 23; CIL V 504</i>	3rd century AD
Caius Titius	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 31; CIL V 486</i>	early 1st century AD
Sextius Pedanius Seneca	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 34</i>	late 1st century BC
Cornelius	<i>Inscr. Inscr. It. X. 3, 17</i>	1st half of 1st century AD
Plautia Tertulla	<i>Inscr. It. X. 3, 22; CIL V 502</i>	first half of 1st century AD

geographical origin of the population is discussed further in the text.

Socio-legal status of population on the basis of inscriptions

Abundance of information about social and legal status of the population of Aegida is available from the inscriptions analyzed in this work.

The population is divided into four socio-legal classes: natural born citizens, freedman and their descendants, former peregrines and slaves. It is important to point out that the majority of people mentioned in the inscriptions are citizens. This is confirmed mostly by the use of *tria nomina* naming system or by the information from the inscription itself, which reveals if the person was a former slave and gained the citizenship by the way of manumission. The high number of citizens reflects the legal status of the community and the level of Romanization the area achieved in the Principate, in some cases even in its early phases.¹⁵⁰

Natural born citizens

This category includes people who were born with citizenship but were not descendants of freedman. They are made up mostly of Romanized indigenous population who adopted Roman nomenclature, immigrants from other parts of Italy, people who were granted citizenship by municipal right or owners of the freed slaves only mentioned in the formula used to denote freedman. This socio-legal category of population is the most numerous on the inscriptions found in Koper and its vicinity.

People born with citizenship are recorded with their full name, *tria nomina* formula (which is not always preserved in the inscription due to damage) or other indications, such as tribal affiliation with a Roman cognomen.

The other category of inscriptions includes people who are just mentioned as owners of former slaves or whose name can be guessed on the basis of the freedmans praenomen and gentilicium: Quintus Appuleius (No. 2), Lucius Publicus (No. 4), Gaius Calpurnius Frugi (No. 10), Quintus Cervius (No. 11), Gaius Lorentius (No. 14), Maxima, Marcella and Tertia (No. 17), Publius Sardius (No. 20) and Lucius Protocetus

¹⁵⁰ Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida", 29.

Table 3. Names of freedman

Name	Monument	Datation
Lucius Valerius Memor	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 1; <i>CIL V</i> 484	2nd century AD
Quintus Appuleius Epagathus	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 2; <i>CIL V</i> 485	1st - 2nd century AD
Lucius Publicius Syntropus	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 6; <i>CIL V</i> 488	mid 1st century AD
Sal(via?) Nicostrata	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 8; <i>CIL V</i> 493	2nd century AD
Titus Pistor, Flaminia, Maesia	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 13	first half of the 1st century AD
Caius Calpurnius Alexsa	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 14; <i>CIL V</i> 495	1st century AD
Sabinnacus	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 14; <i>CIL V</i> 495	1st century AD
Quintus Cervius Fidelis	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 16; <i>CIL V</i> 496	1st century AD
Caius Lorentius Tesifon	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 20; <i>CIL V</i> 500	3rd century AD
Magaplines	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 30; <i>CIL V</i> 501	1st century AD
Galla?	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 32; <i>CIL V</i> 491	1st century AD
Publius Sardius Prudens	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 33; <i>CIL V</i> 503	early 1st century AD
Celotus Naevola?	<i>Inscr. It. X.</i> 3, 18; <i>CIL V</i> 498	1st AD

(No. 22). Although their names are not always recorded fully in *tria nomina* form, they must've been Roman citizens, otherwise they couldn't have owned slaves. It can be assumed that they owned land or ran businesses which were worked by slaves in the Aegida area.

Freedman and their descendants

This social group is the second most numerous class of citizens mentioned on the inscriptions. Freedman were the most mobile social class and their presence tell both about need for slave labor and the increasing number of citizens, which can be related to the rising of all aspects of urban structure of Aegida. Since they form a special social class, they are categorized separately from the natural born citizens, although their legal status and that of their descendants, is almost the same.

Almost half of inscriptions found in Koper and its vicinity mention a freedman.

Former peregrines

Only one inscription (No. 19) found in Koper can be ascribed to the former peregrine with some certainty. His name is Publius Acisinius

Venius, which is likely of Illyrian and therefore of indigenous origin. Along with the filiation of the father in the genitive case, which is very typical for peregrines,¹⁵¹ it can be conjectured that this individual was maybe a former peregrine.

Also, Publius Aelius Quartus (No. 7) might have been a descendant and therefore a freeborn citizen or a peregrine who was conferred citizenship by Hadrian.

Slaves

In the category of non-citizen population, only one inscription (No. 22) mentions a slave named Quintus, whose master is Lucius Protocetus. It is interesting that the only inscription mentioning a slave is a votive dedication to Nemesis and that the mentioned slave has a true Roman name, unlike other slaves, whose names are mostly of oriental or Greek origin. It is possible that this particular individual was a Roman who lost his freedom due to debt or some other circumstance. Because of the lack of information, this assumption cannot be confirmed.

151 Julijana Visočnik, "Names on Celeian inscriptions in numbers and tables - a comparison between town and ager", *Opuscula Archaeologica* 34 (2010), 232-233.

Other possible slave mentioned on the inscription from Aegida, might have been Galla, wife of Publius Acisinus Venius (No. 19), since she bears a single-part name. However, since her husband was a citizen, marriage could not have been legal if they both were not citizens, so it is also possible that Galla was a freedwoman, as already classified that way above.

Geographical origin of population based on the origin of the name

It is very hard to connect person to the geographical origin only on the basis of its name, especially if the that origin is not mentioned in the inscription with the usual formula which accompanies the foreigners (*natione, domo* or *tribu* which is certainly assigned to some other community), their profession (e. g. soldiers) or a votive dedication which is certainly of foreign origin.¹⁵² In conjecture with the works of other authors, very broad outline of the geographic origin of population of Aegida can be discerned.

Indigenous population

Inscriptions which mention indigenous population are the most numerous in this classification and are already published as such by other authors.¹⁵³ On the basis of their names (Cervius, Acisinus, Sardius, Magaplines, Raecus) which they received as freedman by their former masters, it can be conjectured that the former owners also bore indigenous names, typical for Istria and in some cases Liburnia.

Because the onomastical studies in the Illyrian and Liburnian nomenclature were the topic of interest to a number of archeologists and linguists, it is relatively easy to pinpoint the origin of the population on the basis of their names in those areas. Outside of it, the area of possibility and uncertainty is entered, so only the broadest outline can be given.

Italics

Inscriptions which mention population of possibly Italic origin are hard to determine and are likely connected to the owners of former slaves. If the gentilicium is not of indigenous of Imperial origin, it is likely Italic and related to colonists who owned land or were immigrants, in this case from other parts of Italy¹⁵⁴ who bore true Roman names: member of the Pupinia tribe and cognome Forensis (No. 3), Gaius Calpurnius Frugi (No. 10) Maxima, Marcella and Tertia (No. 17) and maybe Lucida Dignitas (No. 15), Baburia Plotia and the Taronians (No. 8). The owners whose name was given to the freedman is not included in Table 4. •

Orientalis

Although most slaves have a name of oriental or Greek origin, studies have found that this alone cannot be a sign of their geographical provenance.¹⁵⁵ Slaves from the western parts of the Empire also were given Greek names and it seems that this practice was common for the whole social class. On the inscriptions from Koper (No. 4 and 14), it can be assumed that two people were maybe from the East or Africa.

Lucius Publicius Syntropus (No. 4) was likely of oriental origin, although he bears a *gentilicium* very often found in the Istria and the Cisalpine Gaul. This assumption is made on the basis of the cognomen he bore, which is of Greek origin, his status as a freedman and the function of *archigallus*, which is a priestly service of Magna Mater. Due to its oriental provenance and popularity in the East, it is possible that Lucius Publicius Syntropus came from the East as a slave, was manumitted and then served as a priest in the oriental cult.

Second inscription mentions Caius Lorentius Tesifon (No. 14), who might have been brought as a prisoner during the campaign of Septimius Severus against the Parthians in 197 AD. Although this seems as a far-fetched assumption, the name and the datation of the monument open this possibility.

152 Visočnik, "Names on Celeian inscriptions in numbers and tables", 277.

153 Krahe, *Lexikon Altilyrischer Personennamen*, 28; Jürgen Untermann, *Die Venetischen Personennamen*, 17; Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egidia", 29.

154 Visočnik, "Names on Celeian inscriptions in numbers and tables", 232.

155 Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiju*, 62.

Table 4. Names divided on the basis of their possible geographical origin

Indigenous	Italic	Oriental	Western
Quintus Cervius	Pup(inia) Forens[is]	Lucius Publicius Syntropus	Sextius Brinnarius Certus
Magaplines	Gaius Calpurnius Frugi	Caius Lorentius Tesifon	Sextius Pedanius Seneca?
Publius Sardijs Prudens	Lucida Dignitas?		Caius Titius
Raecus	Cornelius		Lucius Valerius Memor
Maxima, Marcella Tertia	Baburia Plotia Plotianus Iuliane		

Westerners

Similar as with the orientals, it is very hard to determine the geographical origin of the people who bear names mentioned only in the west. They might or might not have been from the far western areas of the Empire, since Celtic names which they usually have, were very popular in surrounding areas like Northern Italy and Noricum.

Lucius Valerius Memor (No. 1), Sextius Brinnarius Certus (No.5) and maybe Sextius Pedanius Seneca (No. 21) offer a possibility that the persons mentioned were maybe of Celtic or western origin.

Only one inscription (No. 18) found in Koper is undoubtedly of western and Celtic provenance. It is the funerary monument of Caius Titius, a legionnaire from Vienna in Gaul, who explicitly states this fact in the inscription. He served in 15 legion of Appolonians and probably after his service, retired in vicinity of Koper like his other comrades.

Conclusion

Onomastical analysis of inscriptions found in Koper and its vicinity reveal that ancient Aegida was a romanized urban community, situated on the island where today historical center of Koper stands. While relatively numerous compared to size and apparent importance during the antiquity, due to renaissance and humanistic habit of collecting and transferring Roman monuments, the information gained from the analysis can

prove problematic and unreliable. It has been pointed out that there is no solid proof that any of the monuments were found in the archaeological context or on the island itself. However, a very broad outline can be discerned if the fact that Aegida was a town with the municipal status at least from the time of Augustus and that the monuments are related to its population, and not to that of nearby Tergeste.

The types of inscriptions fall into four basic categories, sorted by their numbers: funerary, dedicatory, building inscriptions and documents.

The most important fact that stems from the onomastical analysis of inscriptions is the number of Roman names and the number of citizens, both natural-born and freedman. These two categories of onomastical and social aspects reveal that the population was already quite romanized already in the Early Principate. While not new,¹⁵⁶ this conclusion cannot be overlooked in any work concerning ancient Aegida.

Roman names are the most numerous and make up the majority of all names inscribed in the inscriptions. Other categories of names include those of Greek or oriental origin, Celtic, indigenous and of unknown origin. It is important to point out that indigenous names were often borne by freedman, which is important because they inherited them from their masters. Landowners of businessman who were citizens, but were still named in their native fashi-

¹⁵⁶ Starac, "Pitanje istočne granice Cisalpinske Galije i odnos općina Tergeste i Egida", 28.

on, further contributes to the fact that the Romanization was quick and effective.

Concerning the socio-legal picture of the population of Aegida, citizens which are made of natural born and freedman are the most numerous social group, with peregrines and slaves being almost nonexistent on the inscriptions. However, this can be a misleading and cannot mean they were not represented in the population, especially if the number of freedman is taken into consideration.

The mobility of the social hierarchy is also witnessed by the magistracies mentioned in the inscriptions, which are considered to belong to the political subjects of Aegida, and not Tergeste.

While being very hard to pinpoint exactly, a short overview of the geographical provenance of people mentioned in the inscriptions can be discerned. These include indigenous population and Italics who were probably landowners and immigrants. While being relatively numerous, freedman with oriental and Greek names, cannot immediately be held to come from the East. Only two individuals were likely of oriental origin. The last group includes the population which probably came or were native to the areas in the West (Hispania and Gaul). Only one individual is certainly from Gaul, as it is stated in his monument. His inscription is also the only one mentioning a profession, in this case a legionnaire of 15 legion of Apollonians.

Although Aegida seems to have lost its importance as it did not appear in the maps, itineraries and historical sources, inscriptions from the period of Principate reveal that it was an urban community with vibrant social structure who quickly adopted the Roman way of life, which is reflected in their names on the monuments they erected, both of which are important signs of Romanization.

Povzetek

Članek ponuja onomastično analizo štiriindvajsetih napisov, ki so bili izkopani v Kopru ali v njegovi bližini. Vsi napisi so že objavljeni v ustreznih korpusih latinskih besedil. Z onomastično analizo epigrafskih

spomenikov in napisov članek zbira razpoložljive podatke o socialno-pravnem statusu in možnem geografskem poreklu prebivalstva v stari Egidi (današnjem Koprju). Ti spomeniki dokazujejo, da so območje v okolici Egide naseljevali rimski državljani, osvobodenci, sužnji in priseljenci. Izvor ljudi, navedenih v napisih, kaže na pripadnike avtohtonega prebivalstva, ki so bili do neke mere romanizirani, a tudi na prebivalce z vzhoda, zahoda in priseljence iz drugih delov Italije. Med temi so tudi razni posamezniki, ki so opravljali razne državne funkcije. Predstavljene so tudi kratka zgodovina Egide in okoliščine odkritja spomenikov. Vsi napisi iz obdobja principata.

Summary

The article gives an onomastical analysis of twenty-four inscriptions found in or in the vicinity of Koper, all of which are already published in the relevant corpora of Latin texts. Through the onomastical analysis of epigraphical monuments and inscriptions, article discerns available information about socio-legal status and the possible geographical origin of the population in ancient Aegida (today's Koper). These monuments reveal that freeborn citizens, freedman, slaves and peregrines inhabited the region around Aegida in antiquity. Origin of the people mentioned in the inscriptions include indigenous population romanized to certain extent, orientals, westerners and immigrants from other parts of Italy. There are also several individuals who are recorded to have performed certain magistracies. Short history of Aegida and the nature of finding of monuments is also presented. All inscriptions are dated to the period of the Principate.

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