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**CLASSIS PRAETORIA RAVENNATIUM WITH SPECIAL
REFLECTION ON SAILORS THAT ORIGIN FROM
DALMATIA AND PANNONIA**

Abstract: This paper deals with Dalmatians and Pannonians on service in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatium*. According to epigraphical and literary data, inhabitants of the Roman province of Dalmatia were in the absolute majority in relation to the other nationalities in the Italian praetorian fleets (especially in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatium*). On the other hand, the inhabitants of the province of Pannonia were somewhere in the middle. Service in the Italian fleets was one of the means of acquiring the Roman citizenship. Dalmatians and Pannonians are found among all officers ranks, but the greatest number of them was nevertheless serving as common naval soldiers.

Italiam utroque mari duae classes, Misenum apud et Ravennam praesidebant. This concise report by Tacitus (*Annales*, 4.5) was completed by Vegetius (*Epitome Rei Militaris*, 4.31=5.1): *Nam Misenatum classis Galliam, Hispanas, Mauretanium, Africam, Aegyptum, Sardiniam atque Siciliam habebat in proximo. Classis autem Ravennatium Epiros, Macedoniam, Achaïam, Propontidem, Pontum, Orientem, Cretam, Cyprum petere directa navigatione consueverat.*

Both fleets¹, *Classis Misenatum* and *Classis Ravennatium*, were organized by Octavianus Augustus for the purpose of controlling the shores and waters inside the Roman Empire and of transporting people (state officers, army) and goods (mainly grain that was imported in large amounts from Africa to Rome). While the *Classis Misenatum* was mostly engaged in civil actions, the *Classis Ravennatium* had more emphasized military function.

Emerging from the Civil War of 68–69 on the side of the winner Vespasianus, both fleets received the title *Praetoriae* from the emperor as a reward for their loyalty. This title also implied acquisition of certain privileges. Through this act of Vespasianus, the Ita-

¹ More details about the Italic fleets: A. Domić Kunić, „Classis praetoria Misenatum s posebnim obzirom na mornare podrijetlom iz Dalmacije i Panonije“, *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 28–29, 1995.–1996. (1996.), 39–72.

lian fleets, having so far been at the bottom of the military hierarchy, gained a position equal to that of praetorian troops in the army.

The main base of the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* was the harbour of Classis near Ravenna, located on the important strategic position on the western coast of the Adriatic. In the northern corner of the Adriatic, closed by the curve extending from Ravenna in the west to the islands in the Kvarner Bay in the east, posts were located at Forum Livii, Aquileia, Portus Ligurentiae, and Tergeste. In each of these harbours there are evidences of Dalmatians and Pannonians on service in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*². On the eastern coast of the Adriatic, the fleet had posts at least in the harbours of Apsorus and Salona³. The largest permanent *vexillatio* of the *Classis Praetoriae Ravennatum* was located at Rome, in Trastevere on the western bank of the Tiber, in the 14th city district. Beside that, presence of the sailors and officers on service in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* was also confirmed in other harbours of the Tyrrhenian sea: Luna, Centumcellae, and Neapolis⁴.

The main duty of sailors of the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* was to control Dalmatian coast and navigation on the Adriatic, and to protect northern borders of Italy from possible attacks from the sea. It also controlled supplies of the inland of the northern Adriatic and import of timber in Italy. Sailors on service in Rome took care of preparation and performance of naval spectacles (*naumachiae*)⁵. As early as the times of Octavianus Augustus, sailors were not involved in fighting directly, but only through regular transport and supplying of the army during war (conquest) campaigns⁶. The war skills of the navy were thus gradually lost, and more and more the navy was given routine tasks only⁷.

Daily duties of sailors consisted of training and patrolling, as well as serving as couriers and sentries in harbours. They also participated in various construction works as did the soldiers on service in the army. In winter, when the sailing season was over, sailors had

² Ravenna: nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 14a, 14b, 14c, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, and 27; Forum Livii: no. 12; Aquileia: nos. 2, and 38; Portus Ligurentiae: nos. 37, and 37a; Tergeste: no. 36.

³ Apsorus: no. 38; Salona: no. 1.

⁴ Roma: no. 24; Luna: no. 10; Centumcellae: no. 13; Neapolis: no. 8.

⁵ Such performances were extremely expensive and therefore rare. One of them was organized by the emperor Claudius, on the Fucine Lake (Suetonius, *Claudius*, 21).

⁶ Battle of Actium, in which Octavianus Augustus and Marcus Antonius fought, was the last naval battle of antiquity that is worth mentioning.

⁷ Cassius Dio for the *Classis Praetoria Misenatium*, for 193 AD, said: Καὶ οὐ ἐκ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Μισσηνῷ ναυλοξοῦντος μεταπμψθέντες οὐδ' ὅπως γυμνάσωνται ἢ δεσαν (74.16.3).

to provide for their families and themselves through taking on various jobs. Tacitus' opinion of the way in which sailors spend their spare time was not very flattering: *Quarta pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus aut in ipsis castris vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exsolveret, neque modum oneris quisquam neque genus quaestus pensi habebat: per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeriis militare otium redimebant* (*Historiae*, 1.46).

Owing to epigraphic data and reports of Greek and Roman writers, it was possible to make approximations on the strength of Italic fleets: it is considered that the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* numbered about 5,000 men, half of the number of men of the *Classis Praetoria Misennatum*⁸. The fact that the latter was twice stronger in number than the former is also confirmed by frequency of the names of their ships, preserved on the stone inscriptions – there are altogether 33 from the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*, compared to 76 known ship names belonging to the *Classis Praetoria Misennatum*⁹.

The main Roman source of information on the organization of the navy, from recruiting to the hierarchy of the classifying of naval military services, is certainly Vegetius' *Epitome Rei Militaris*¹⁰. The organization of the Roman navy was an excellent compromise between the Greek naval and Roman military experiences. From a military point of view, each ship was considered a separate *centuria*, with *centurio classicus* on the head. Officers staff, subordinated to the naval centurio, consisted of *optiones* and *suboptiones* (his assistants), *armorum custos* (armourer), *scriba* (scribe), *bucinator* (horn player), *vestiarius* (a person taking care of uniforms). The operational part of the naval *centuria* consisted of about fifty soldiers (from rowers to the steersman ranking as an officer). The navigational part of the crew was commanded by *trierarcha*, a man that had to be experienced in ship navigation. At the head of the whole fleet of such sailing *centuriae* was *praefectus classis*, a knight whose seat was in the *officium* in the main harbour¹¹.

⁸ C. G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy* (31 B.C. – A.D. 324), Westport, 1941, 16-17, and 167.

⁹ F. Miltner, Seewesen, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Supplementband V, Stuttgart, 1962, 906–962 (especially 952–956) and supplement in L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*, Princeton, 1973, 356 and note 57.

¹⁰ For recruiting in details see R. M. Davies, „Joining the Roman Army“, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 169, Bonn, 1969. For the organization of the navy see Starr and Casson.

¹¹ The following *praefecti Classis Praetoriae Ravennatum* were confirmed in literary and epigraphic sources: P. Palpellius Maccius Clodius Quirinalis (the reign of Claudius), Ti. ?Claudius Anicetus (Nero – also *praefectus Classis praetoriae Misennatum*), Ti. ?Claudius Moschus (in the year of four emperors – also *praefectus Cl. Pr. Misennatum*), L. Aemilius Sullectionus (in the year of four emperors), M. Aurelius

Every ship represented microcosm in itself – the crew consisted of men from all parts of the Empire. Being together every day, they took lots of habits from each other. The result was the internationalized crew with a final Roman touch, acquired through the service in the Roman army and common to all of them.

Quite a large number of Dalmatians and Pannonians, that is inhabitants of the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia, found themselves in the Italic praetorian fleets. They were officers of almost all ranks, but are more frequently found among common soldiers. They were recruited in large numbers in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*, as this was in general mostly filled with men from the western part of the Mediterranean, while recruiting sources for the *Classis Praetoria Misenatum* were in the East (Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor). On the grounds of the preserved epigraphic sources, C. G. Starr made statistic review of participation of various nations in the two Italic fleets¹². According to the results of his explorations, during 1st-3rd centuries Dalmatians and Pannonians made 43% of the total number of men in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* (in the *Classis Praetoria Misenatum* they made 28%). While Dalmatians made the absolute majority in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* (in the other Italic fleet they were somewhere at the middle of the list), Pannonians were right behind them. The explorations of other authors resulted in approximately the same conclusions. According to them, Dalmatians made 35% to 40% and Pannonians about 10% of the total crew of the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*¹³.

The inscriptions considered in this paper¹⁴ fit quite well in the knowledge we have so far on the number of Dalmatians and Panno-

Regulus (in the year of four emperors), Sex. Lucilius Bassus (Vespasianus – also *praefectus Cl. Pr. Misenatum*), Cornelius Fuscus (Vespasianus), P. Cornelius Caticula (?Trajan), L. Numerius Albanus (Hadrianus), M. Calpurnius Seneca Fabius Turpio Sentinatus (Hadrianus – also *praefectus Cl. Pr. Misenatum*), Tuticanus Capito (Antoninus Pius), P. Cominius Clemens (Marcus Aurelius – also *praefectus Cl. Pr. Misenatum*), L. Iulius Vchillus Gratus Iulianus (Commodus – also *praefectus Cl. Pr. Misenatum*). See Ch. Daremberg – E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1887, s. v. *Classis*, 1233; H. O. Fiebigler, *Classis, Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, III.2, Stuttgart 1958, 2640–2641; CIL III Suppl. 1, p. 2023.

¹² Starr, 75 (table). See also A. Mansuelli, *Le stele romane del territorio ravennate e del Basso Po*, Ravenna, 1967, 100 f. (non vidi).

¹³ E. Ferrero, *Nuove iscrizioni ed osservazioni intorno all'ordinamento delle armate nell'Impero romano*, Torino, 1899 (non vidi); A. Jüncmann, *De legione Romanorum I adiutricis*, *Leipziger Studien*, 16, Leipzig, 1894, 26 (non vidi); G. Novak, *Naše more*, Zagreb, 1932, 56; I. Bojanovski, „Kasnoantički kaštel u Gornjim Vrbljanima na Sani“, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, n. s., 34, Sarajevo, 1980, 109, note 22; Mansuelli.

¹⁴ Since I didn't gathered all preserved inscriptions mentioning mariners of the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* (all necessary literature was not available), the inscriptions in this paper represent only a limited sample.

nians in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*: of altogether 44 soldiers (on 40 inscriptions), 28 are from the province of Dalmatia (among them the following nationalities are confirmed: Liburnian, Scirto, Maezeius, and Ditio), 7 are from the province of Pannonia, and on 9 inscriptions this information is lacking¹⁵. Information from the epigraphic sources are explicitly confirmed by Tacitus: *Magna pars (sc. of the Classis Praetoria Ravennatum) Dalmatae Pannonique erant, quae provinciae Vespasiano tenebatur (Historiae, 3.13); Ad has copias e classicis Ravennatibus legionariam militiam poscentibus optimus quisque adsciti: classem Dalmatae supplevere (Historiae, 3.50)*.

The Roman army started recruiting inhabitants of Dalmatia and Pannonia as early as the times of Octavianus Augustus, and the fleet since Claudius. Three of our centurios were recruited in the times of Claudius: Liccaeus Verzonis f. of unknown origin (no. 3), Liccaeus Vei f., possible Liburnian (no. 38), and Plator Veneti f., Maezeius (no. 34); the fourth is [...]ensis f., possible Breucus (no. 40), whose service rank is unknown¹⁶.

It seems that Pannonians reached officers' ranks more often than Dalmatians – in the case of the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*, 3 out of 7 Pannonians were officers, and only 5 out of 28 Dalmatians reached this rank. Out of 9 soldiers of unknown nationality, one of whom may have been Liburnian (no. 38), 4 were officers. Data from the *Classis Praetoria Misenatum* also fit in such proportions¹⁷.

Among the officers of Pannonian nationality, one was *optio* (no. 1), and two were *centuriones* (nos. 2 and 34). Among the officers from Dalmatia two *scribae* have been confirmed (nos. 4 and 33), two *armorum custodes* (nos. 6 and 7), one *suboptio* (no. 32), one *optio* (no. 31), and one *trierarcha* (no. 5). Among the officers of the unknown nationality there is one *vestiarius* (no. 39), one *armorum custos* (no. 18b), one *optio* (no. 52), and two *centuriones* (nos. 3 and 38 – the latter possibly Liburnian). It is interesting that out of 12 officers in all, originating from Dalmatia and Pannonia, three centurios kept their original, native names: Liccaeus Verzonis f. (no. 3), Plator Veneti f. (no. 34), and Liccaeus Vei f. (no. 38). Two Liccaeii were killed in the course of their active service, while the third one, Plator of the Maezeian origin, kept his native name even after his *honesta missio* (that is, even after he received *civitas*, Roman citizenship, at the end of his service). Mutual to all three of them is

¹⁵ For the proportion of Pannonians and Dalmatians in the *Classis Praetoria Misenatum* see Domić Kunić, table 3.

¹⁶ Diploma of this veteran is very fragmented and many information are lost. It is not even positive that this man served in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*, the *Classis Flavia Pannonica* being the alternative. See Domić Kunić.

¹⁷ Domić Kunić, table 5.

dating – they were all on service in the 1st century AD and were most probably recruited in the times of the emperor Claudius. Claudius had forbidden peregrine citizens to use Roman onomastic formula (*tria nomina Romana*), the fact being also confirmed by these three peregrine officers. The instance of Plator Veneti f. possibly suggests something else: this *veteranus*, former centurio, never took Latin name although he had right to do so after he had acquired *Romana civitas*. Does it mean that among native population of Dalmatia (and Pannonia) in the 1st century AD, especially among those nations that had recently been fierce enemies of their Roman conquerors, the feeling of belonging to the native people was still stronger than the wish to emphasize the possession of the Roman citizenship through new (Latin) name?

The average recruiting age in the Roman army was between 18 and 23¹⁸. The information on the recruiting age obtained from the gravestone inscriptions of Dalmatians and Pannonians on service in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* fit in this general statistics. The average recruiting age of these young men is 22.2. The youngest recruit, according to the data from his gravestone (no. 5), was only 10 years (?) old, and the oldest one was 37 (no. 36); the most usual age at which Dalmatians and Pannonians were recruited in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* was 20 (nos. 1, 2, 14b, 18a, 19, 22, and 25).

The life in the Roman army was hard and full of dangers, especially in the naval service: in addition to fight possible enemies, sailors also had to cope with storms at the sea, and the shipwrecks were not rarity¹⁹. Consequently quite a small number of sailors reached proscribed 26 (or more) years of service and lived to receive their *honesta missio* – as a rule they were killed in the course of their service. The average duration of service among Dalmatians and Pannonians in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* was 16.9 years (common *militēs* or *manipulares* reaching 15.3 years, and officers 20 years)²⁰. The shortest service was that of M. Valerius Saturninus (no. 14a), who was killed while only 6 months in service; on the other hand, the longest active services were those of M. Valerius Colonus (no. 4) and A. Papius Vernaculus (no. 19) – 26 years, and it would probably have even been longer hadn't they been killed. Most often they lived to 25 years of service (nos. 5, 13, 17, 26, and 36), and

¹⁸ The average recruiting age of sailors in general: Starr, 78 and table in his note 44 on p. 100. The average age of Dalmatians and Pannonians in the *Classis Praetoria Misenatium*: Domić Kunić, table 6 (21.6 years).

¹⁹ Large part of ships of the *Classis Praetoria Misenatium* had sunk in the storm near Cumac in 64 AD: Tacitus, *Annales*, 15.46.

²⁰ The average time span of service for Dalmatians and Pannonians in the *Classis Praetoria Misenatium*: Domić Kunić, table 6 (18.6 years).

close behind are those with 22 years of service (nos. 2, 20, 22). As a rule, the officers had the longest service: 21 years (no. 1), 22 years (no. 2), 23 years (no. 6), 25 years (no. 5), and 26 years (no. 4); one was killed after he had reached half of the proscribed length of service, after 13 years (no. 36). Information on the length of officers' service corresponds completely to the fact that men with special experience and knowledge, like officers, usually stayed in service longer than it was obligatory according to the law.

Let us have a look at the statistical data on the life span. The average life of Dalmatians and Pannonians in active service was 38.5 years (common soldiers 37.5 years, and officers 41.8 years)²¹. Active soldiers usually died at fifty (nos. 4, 13, 17, 26, and 36). The youngest sailor that was killed was only 20 (no. 14a), and the oldest one was 53 (no. 6). As far as the life span is concerned, Dalmatians and Pannonians on service in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* stand somewhere in between their compatriots in the *Classis Praetoria Misenatum* and soldiers in the land units.

Out of 44 mariners in all of the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum* who are the subject of this work, ten of them were veterans (nos. 7, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 39, and 40), out of which seven were officers (nos. 7, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, and 39) and three were common soldiers. Three left their military diplomas behind them (nos. 7, 34, and 40), one (no. 39) left a votive inscription, two (nos. 32, 35) ordered an epigraph to be carved in stone for them and their families during their lifetime, and grave monuments remained after four of them (nos. 29, 30, 31, and 33).

Until the reign of Hadrianus, the veterans received land in their permanent ownership on their retirement from the military service (*missio agraria*). With the aim of developing and controlling sailing on the Sava river, Vespasianus insisted on colonization of the southern part of Pannonia. With this in mind, he set up two colonies on the Sava for veterans of the Praetorian fleets, one on the upper part of the river (Siscia), and the other on the lower part (Sirmium). An anonymous Pannonian sailor (no. 40), discharged in April of 71, is one of the veterans that Vespasianus retired in the early years of his rule and settled on the bank of the Sava river. This man's diploma was found in the village of Grabarje near Slavonski Brod, Roman Marsonia. The other veteran also retired in April of 71; centurio Plator Veneti f., a Maezeian (no. 34), retired from his active ser-

²¹ The average life span for Dalmatians and Pannonians in the *Classis Praetoria Misenatum* is 41.8: Domić Kunić, table 6. The average life span for soldiers of the army (legionaries and auxiliaries) is about 34 years: M. Suić, „Noviji natpisi iz Burnuma“, *Diadora*, 5, Zadar, 1970, 121, and A. Domić Kunić, „Augzilizari ilirskoga i panonskog porijekla u natpisima i diplomama“, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 11, Zagreb, 1988, 110.

vice and was awarded an estate near the Sava river. Since his diploma was found at Salona, the capital of the province of Dalmatia, we can only presume that he sold his newly acquired estate and chose to live in the metropolis of the province, where he may have started some business or trade. The third diploma (no. 7) was issued to the retired armourer C. Valerius Dasius Annaei f. from the people of Scirtones in the province of Dalmatia, during the reign of Antoninus Pius. After having been rewarded with *missio nummaria*, he bought an estate in the vicinity of the then flourishing colony of Sirmium (his diploma was found at the village of Ilače near Srijemska Mitrovica). After serving in the navy, former *optio* M. Minicius Saturninus (no. 35) returned to his homeland. This is deduced from the fact that his parents are also mentioned in his epitaph. After receiving their honourable dismissal, the remaining five veterans (nos. 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33) stayed in Italy, mostly in Ravenna, where they had spent their best years in the navy service. Former *vestiarius* Sextus Baebius Bai f. (no. 39) chose Aquileia, another harbour of the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*, as his home.

During the long years of service in the navy, mariners made friends with seamen from all parts of the Roman Empire and often married wives from cultural environments completely different from their own. At the same time, as Roman soldiers, they assimilated much of the Roman way of life.

Thorough Romanization of its members was a recognized goal of the Roman army. When enlisting in a military unit (in this case, the navy), a recruit could choose new (Latin) name. Many Dalmatians and Pannonians made use of this possibility, in an attempt to assimilate as soon as possible with the civilization to which they now belonged. There are 29 such instances among the inscriptions described here. Some of these Latin (in fact, only adapted to Latin) names hint at peregrines in the Roman army – as several of the *cognomina* were taken from the repertoire of military nicknames: words that reflect *bonum omen*, or real nicknames given according to some physical or psychological attributes. Among such names are two *Severi/Severe* (nos. 2, and 25) and *Veri/Truthful* (no. 11, and 30), one *Verecundus/Modest* (no. 23), *Iustus/Justful* (no. 31), *Gracilis/Slender* (no. 36), *Pudens/Shy* (no. 14b), *Valens/Strong* (no. 6), *Maximus/Big* (no. 5), *Celer/Speedy* (no. 10), *Largus/Large* (no. 20), and *Victor/Victor* (no. 26). Some of Dalmatians, urged possibly by nostalgic reasons, kept their epicchoric names as well, in the form of nomen gentile (*L. Dasimius Valens*, *C. Dasimius Titianus*, *C. Braecus Verus*, *M. Sestius Pudens*, *Q. Panes Quintianus*). Most of them, however, rejected their old names altogether, and replaced them with Latin names. Two soldiers – one Liburnian (no. 4) and one Delmata (no. 19) – received their civil rights during their service, although

this privilege was usually granted at the occasion of honourable discharge.

Ten mariners, however, kept their epichoric names (nos. 3, 15, 27, 28, 34, 37, 37a, 38, 39, and 40). This is explained by the fact that the custom of taking Latin names at the moment of enlisting dates after the reign of Claudius. The emperor issued an edict by which he forbade *peregrini* to use Roman onomastic formula²². Three officers (Liccaeus Verzonis f., Plator Veneti f., and Liccaeus Vei f.) on the service in the times of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, figure as examples of the carrying out of this restriction. Moreover, although Plator automatically gained the right to use the *tria nomina Romana* by receiving his citizenship following the *honesta missio*, he did not use this privilege, but kept his epichoric name. Recruited in the times of Claudius, probably against his own will²³, this Maezeian, raised in a conservative, domestic surrounding, spent his military service relatively untouched by the spirit of Roman civilization, in spite of achieving the rank of *centurio*.

There is a great likelihood that all other sailors with native names lived during the 1st century, and therefore were subjected to Claudius' restriction of using Roman names. The situation gradually changed, however, and in the imperial politics a tendency soon prevailed of a broad distribution of civil rights and other privileges that went with it. In this way provinces started to lose their identity much faster than before and were more successfully incorporated in the huge construction as the Roman Empire.

This is just a segment of our knowledge on the subject of the ratio of Dalmatians and Pannonians in the Roman navy, especially in the *Classis Praetoria Ravennatum*. This knowledge may and must further be pursued in order to get a clearer picture of the ethnic composition of the Roman army and of the scope and effects of the Romanization of Pannonia and Dalmatia.

APPENDIX

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM DELMATARUM PANNONIORUM-QUE CLASSIS PRAETORIAE RAVENNATIUM

CIL III 14691 (Klis)

1. *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Aelio Censorino / optioni Cl(assis) Pr(aetoriae) Ra(vennatum) / natione Panno(nius) / vix(it) an(nis) XLI / militav(it) an(nis) XXI / [...]*

²² *Peregrinae condicionis homines velut usurpare Romana nomina dumtaxat gentilia* (Suctonius, Claudius, 25).

²³ It is known that the earlier *principes* (especially Octavianus Augustus and Tiberius in the years after the great *Bellum Batonianum*) forcibly recruited young men from Dalmatia and Pannonia, with the aim of diminishing the further capability for revolt in these areas.

CIL XI 340 (Ravenna)

2. *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Aemilio Severo / (centurioni) n(a)tione Pan(nonio) vix(it) an(nis) XLII / mil(itavit) an(nis) XXII (trireme) Her(cule?) / Valeria Flavia / coni(unx) p(onendum) c(uravit) / et Pinnius Probus h(eres)*

G. Brusin, *Adriatica praehistorica et antiqua*, Zagreb, 1970., p. 569, no. 7 (Aquileia)

3. *Liccaeus / Verzonis f(ilius) (centurio) / testament(o) fieri iussit.*

CIL XI 104 (Ravenna)

4. *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Valerio / M(arci) f(ilio) Claud(ia) Colono Liburn(o) / Varvar(ino) / scrib(ae) Cl(assis) / Pr(aetoriae) Raven(natium) / vix(it) ann(is) L / mil(itavit) ann(is) XXVI / Valerii Colonus et / [... f(ili)]*

CIL XI 71 (Ravenna)

5. *D(is) M(anibus) / L(uci) Licini Maximi / tr(ierarchae) Class(is) Pr(aetoriae) / Ravenn(atium) / natione Dalmat(a) / vix(it) ann(is) XXXV milit(avit) ann(is) XXV / P(ublius) Aelius Quintus / fratri piissimo / faciendum cur(avit)*

CIL XI 54 (Ravenna)

6. *D(is) M(anibus) / L(uci) Dasimi / Valentis / armor(um) cust(odis) (pentere) / Vic(toria) nat(ione) Delmata / vix(it) ann(is) LIII / mil(itavit) ann(is) XXIII / Iul(ius) Severinus heres eius et / Severa uxor / b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(uraverunt)*

CIL XVI 100 = LXII (Ilače near Srijemska Mitrovica)

7. Intus I: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traia(ni) Parth(ici) n(epos) divi Nervae pron(epos) T(itus) Ael(lius) (sic) Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius / p(ontifex) m(aximus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) XV imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IV p(ater) p(atriciae) / is qui militaver(unt) ip(sic) Classe Praetoria / Raiennate (sic) quae est sub Tuticanii (sic) Ca(pitone) praef(ecto) XXVI stipend(iis) emerit(is) di(missis) hon(is) (sic) mission(e) quor(um) nomin(a) / subscript(a) sunt ipsis liber(is) posterisq(ue) / eor(um) civit(atem) Roman(am) dedit et conub(ium) cum / uxorib(us) quas tunc habuis(sent) cum est civit(as) is data aut siqui caelib(es) essen(t) cum is / quas postea duxiss(ent) dumtaxat sin(guli) singulas*

Intus II: *Non(as) Sept(embres) / Prisco et Romulo co(n)s(ulibus) / ex gregale / C(aio) Valerio Annaei f(ilio) Dasio / Scirt(oni) ex Dalm(atia)*

Extrinsecus I: *Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Hadriani f(ilius) divi Traiani / Parth(ici) nep(os) divi Nervae pronep(os) T(itus) Ael(ius) Hadrianus Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius / pont(ifex) max(imus) tr(ibunici-*

cia pot(estate) XV imp(erator) II co(n)s(ul) IV p(ater) p(atriae) / iis qui militaverunt in Classe Prae/toria Ravennate quae est sub Tuti/canio Capitone praef(ecto) sex et viginti / stipendis emeritis dimissis / honesta missione quorum no/mina subscripta sunt ipsis li/beris posterisque eorum civi/tatem Romanam dedit et conubi/um cum uxoribus quas tunc habu/issent cum est civitas is data aut / siqui caelibes essent cum iis quas / postea duxissent dumtaxat sin/guli singulas Non(as) Sept(embres) / C(aio) Novio Prisco L(ucio) Iulio Romulo co(n)s(ulibus) / ex armor(um) cust(odi) / C(aio) Valerio Annaei f(ilio) Dasio / Scirt(oni) ex Dalmat(ia) / descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabul(a) aer(ea) / quae fixa est Romae in muro post / templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam

Extrinsecus II: *M(arci) Servili Getae / L(uci) Pulli Chresimi / M(arci) Sentili Iasi / Ti(beri) Iuli Felicis / C(ai) Iuli Silvani / L(uci) Pulli Velocis / P(ubli) Ocili Prisci*

CIL X 3486=2805 (Napoli)

8. *D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uinto) Panenti Q(uiti) ani mil(itis) Cl(assis) Pr(aetoriae) Ra(vennatium) / (trireme) Aesc(ulapio) n(atione) Del(mata) s(tipendiorum) XXXII / C(aius) Postumi(us) Valens pror(eta) her(es) et M(arcus) Pla(rentius) Sytio* / subhe(res) et Proc**[...] merenti*

* Syrio (Dessau); ** *proc(urator)* (Dessau)

CIL VI 3149 (Roma, Via Pamphilia)

9. *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Antonio / mil(iti) Clas(sis) Pr(aetoriae) [Rav(ennatium)] / liburna Dea[na] / nat(ione) Delm(ata) milit[avit] / ann(is) VII vix(it) ann(is) / XXVIII M(arcus) Dasumius / Licinianus / h(eres) b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(uravit)*

CIL XI 6965 (Luna)

10. *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Epidio Cele(ri) mi(liti) Cl(assis) Pr(aetoriae) Ra(vennatium) / mil(itavit) an(nis) XIX vix(it) / an(nis) XLIV nation(e) / Dalm(ata) posu(it) Lici(nius) Super(us) b(ene) m(erenti)*

CIL XI 6736 (Ravenna)

11. *D(is) M(anibus) / C(ai) Braeci Veri / (trireme) Nep(tuno) nat(ione) Del(mata) / vix(it) an(nis) XL / mil(itavit) an(nis) XII / C(aius) Sextilius Sever(us) / et T(itus) Priscius Sabin(us) / heredes / b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(uraverunt)*

CIL XI 601 (Forlì=Forum Livi)

12. *[...]io / C[atul/emel]lino / nat(ione) Dal(mata) / vix(it) ann(is) XXII / mil(itavit) ann(is) III / M(arcus) Carisius*

CIL XI 3530 (Civitavecchia=Centumcellae)

13. *[...] / [Da]sumius [...]us* / [mil(es)] Clas(sis) Prae(to)riae) Raven(natium) (quadrireme) / [Pad]o n(atione) Dalmata*

*vix(it) / [a]nnis L militavit an(nis) XXV / f(ecit) heres Marius Man-
suetus b(ene) m(erenti)*

* *[P]a[p]us* (D. Rendić-Miočević)

CIL XI 343 (Ravenna)

14. *a,b,c D(is) M(anibus) / M(arci) Val(eri) Satur(nini) /
(trireme) Piet(ate) / vix(it) an(nis) XX / mil(itavit) men(sibus) VI /
M(arcus) Val(erius) Capit(o) / ex e(adem) her(es) fr(ater) / L(ucius)
Dom(itius) Mart(ialis) / dup(licarius) sub(heres) p(onendum) c(ura-
verunt) / ite(m) (pentere) Aug(usto) / M(arci) Sesti Pude(ntis) / n(a-
tione) Del(mata) vix(it) an(nis) / XXVIII mil(itavit) an(nis) / VIII
(trireme) Piet(ate) M(arcus) / Val(erius) Capito f/r(ater) h(eres) b(e-
ne) m(erenti) po(nendum) / curavit*

CIL XI 118 (Ravenna)

15. *[D(is)] M(anibus) / [...]cur/[...]vio / [...] nat(ione) Del-
(mata) / [vix(it) ann(is)] XXXI / [mil(itavit) an]n(is) XI / (trireme)
Diana / [?]Das]imius / [...]ius her(es) / [p(onendum) c(uravit)]*

CIL XI 100 (Ravenna)

16. *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Titius / Apulus / (trireme) Ar-
cin[...] / nat(ione) Del(mata) / vix(it) an(nis) X[...] / mil(itavit)
an(nis) XI[...] / M(arcus) Anniu[s] / Apulus h(eres) / b(ene) m(e-
renti) p(onendum) c(uravit)*

CIL XI 90 (Ravenna)

17. *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Pompeio / Senecae Del(mata) /
vix(it) an(nis) L mil(itavit) / an(nis) XXV (trireme) Aq(uila) / M(ar-
cus) Aurelius [...]mus ex ea(dem) / [...]*

CIL XI 89 (Ravenna)

18. *a,b [...] / n(atione) Del(mata) vix(it) / ann(is) XXV m(ili-
tavit) / an(nis) V (quadrireme) / Victoria / Q(uintus) Plaetorius /
Bassus arm(orum) cust(os) her(es) / p(onendum) c(uravit)*

CIL XI 85 (Ravenna)

19. *A(ulo) Papi[ri]o / Vernaculo / Ro(mana) civitate d(onato)
/ n(atione) Delm(ata) / vix(it) ann(is) XXXXVI / mil(itavit) ann(is)
XXVI / Didius Saturninus / f(rater) de (trireme) Diana / [h(eres)]
p(onendum) c(uravit)*

CIL XI 69 (Ravenna)

20. *D(is) M(anibus) / Lae[c]anius* / Larg[us] nati(ione) Dal-
mata vix(it) ann(is) XXXXV / mil(itavit) ann(is) XXII / C(aius) Anto-
nius / Super(us) / C(aius) Sertorius Valens h(eredes) p(onendum)
c(uraverunt)*

* *L(ucius) Ae[c]anius* (CIL)

CIL XI 53 (Ravenna)

21. [D(is)] M(anibus) / C(aius) Dasi/mius Titi/anus n(atione) Del/mata v(ixit) an(nis) XXX mil(itavit) an(nis) / VIII (trireme) Cas/tore man(ipularis) / [...]

CIL XI 44 (Ravenna)

22. D(is) M(anibus) / M(arci) Barbi / Fronton(is) (trireme) Cast(ore) / n(atione) Delm(ata) / v(ixit) a(nnis) XLII / m(ilitavit) a(nnis) XXII / M(arcus) Anthesi [f(ilius)] / Rufus / ex ead(em) her(es) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(uravit)

CIL XI 68 (Ravenna)

23. D(is) M(anibus) / T(itus) Iunius / Verecund(us) (trireme) Aescu/lapio nati(ōne) / Del(mata) vixit an(nis) XXXX mil(itavit) an(nis) / XXI Madena / [...]

CIL VI 3156+3157 (Roma, Via Pamphilia)

24. D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Iulio Proculo / mil(iti) Cl(assis) Pr(aetoriae) Raven(natium) / natione Pannoni/us vix(it) an(nis) XXXX mil(itavit) / an(nis) XVIII C(aius) Quintius / Aprilis h(eres) b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(uravit)

CIL XI 97 (Ravenna)

25. L(ucio) Superinio / Severo na(tione) / Pann(oni)us vix(it) an(nis) / XLV mil(itavit) an(nis) XXV / (trireme) Neptuno / Iulius Ursio / her(es) b(ene) mer(enti) / p(onendum) c(uravit)

CIL XI 72 (Ravenna)

26. D(is) M(anibus) / Licini / Victoris / (trireme) Min(erva) / nat(ione) Pan(nonius) / mil(itavit) a(nnis) XX / vix(it) an(nis) L / A(ulus) Dasumius Severus

CIL XI 111 (Ravenna)

27. Ulcia M(?arci) l(iberta) Glap(hy)r(a) / ob meritis eius / posuerunt T(itus) Alfius / Labeo et Murcius / Zanatis f(ilius) et Suavis / di (sic!) liburna Diana

5 Aquileia

28. Daza Pane/tis f(ilius) an(n)o(s) / vix(it) XXX mi/lit(avit) XVI (trireme) / Corcodi/lo f(ecit) Plusia / lib(erta) patro(no) / suo et sibi / in fron(te) p(edes) IV

CIL XI 33 (Ravenna)

29. D(is) M(anibus) / [Q(uito)] Aurelio / Festiano nat(ione) / Pan(nonio) vet(erano) / Aur(elia) Clauce / patron(o) et coniug(i) / dulciss(imo) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)

CIL XI 98 (Ravenna)

30. *D(is) M(anibus) / A(ulus) Taronius Ve(rus) veter(anus) nati(ōne) / Delmata vixit / annis L co(n)iugi / Petronia Liber(alis) ti(tulum) b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(uravit)*

CIL XI 76 (Ravenna)

31. *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Marcio Iusto / vet(erano) ex adoptione / nat(ione) Delm(ata) castr(i) Planae / v(ixit) a(nnis) LXX m(ilitavit) a(nnis) XXV / Marcia Agathe / lib(erta) b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) c(uravit) in f(ron)te p(edes) XI in ag(ro) p(edes) XII*

CIL XI 349 (Ravenna)

32. *M(arcus) Aurel(ius) / Macedo / vet(eranus) nat(ione) Delm(ata) / ex subopt(io) sibi et / Aurel(iae) Victori(ae) / libertae vi(rus) / posuit / si quis hanc arc(am) / po[s]t excess(um) s(upra) s(criptorum) / a(peruerit) d(abit) f(isco) C(aesaris) / [...]*

CIL XI 108 (Ravenna)

33. *D(is) M(anibus) / T(itus) Veturius Florus / veteranus scriba / n(atione) Delmata vix(it) an(nis) LV posuit T(itus) Veturius / Po[thi]nus / libertus patrono / b(ene) m(erenti) p(onendum) [c(uravit)] in fronte / ped(es) X in agro p(edes) VIII*

CIL XVI 14 = VIII (Salona)

34. *Intus I: Imp(erator) Caesar Vespasianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) II imp(erator) VI p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) III desig(natus) / IIII veteranis qui militaverunt in / Classe Ravennate sub Sex(to) Lucilio Basso / qui sena et vicena stipendia aut plura / meruerunt et sunt deducti in Pannoniam quorum nomina subscripta / sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum / civitatem dedit et conubium cum*

Intus II: uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum / est civitas is data aut siqui caelibes / essent cum iis quas postea duxissent (sic) / dum taxat singulis sinclus (sic) Non(as) April(es) / Caesare Aug(usti) f(ilio) Domitiano Cn(aeo) Pedio Casco co(n)s(ulibus) / Platori Veneti f(ilio) centurioni Maezeio / descriptum et recognitum ex tabula / aenea quae fixa est Romae in Capitolio ad / aram gentis Iuliae de foras podio sinistro / tab(ula) I pag(ina) II loc(o) XXXXIII

Extrinsecus I: Imp(erator) Caesar Vespasianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / max(imus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) II imp(erator) VI p(ater) p(atriciae) co(n)s(ul) III desig(natus) / IIII veterani (sic) qui militaverunt in / Classe Ravennate sub Sex(to) Lucilio / Basso qui sena et vicena stipendia / aut plura meruerunt et sunt deducti in Pannoniam quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem / dedit et conubium (sic) cum uxoribus / quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut siqui caelibes essent / cum

iis quas postea duxissent dum/taxat singulis singulas Non(as) April(es) / Platori Veneti f(ilio) centurioni / Maezeio / descriptum et recognitum ex tabula / aenea quae fixa est Romae in / Capitolio ad aram gentis Iuliae de / foras podio sinisteriore tab(ula) I / pag(ina) II loco XXXXIII

Extrinsecus II: *T(iti) Iuli Rufi Salonit(ani) eq(uitis) R(omani) / P(ubli) Vibii Maximi Epitaur(iensis) eq(uitis) R(omani) / T(iti) Fani Celeris Iadestin(i) dec(urionis) / C(ai) Marci Proculi Iadestin(i) dec(urionis) / P(ubli) Caetenni Clementis Salon(itani) / P(ubli) Luri Moderati Risinitan(i) / Q(uinti) Poblici (sic) Crescentis Iadest(ini)*

CIL III 3971 (Sisak=Siscia)

*35. V(ivens) f(ecit) / M(arcus) Minic[i]/us Saturni[nus] / [ve-
t(eranus)] ex op[er]ation(i) [Cl(assis)] / [Prae]toriae Rave[n]/[nat(is)]
annor(um) [L]XXX [sibi] / et Crispiae Ce[l]e[rinae] / coniugi ca-
ris[simae] / [et] Minicis Cele[ri] / Cert[o] Grat[o] f(ilio) / [et] Mi-
nicis Ca[luo] et] / [Pris]cae pare[ntibus] / [b(ene)] m(erentibus)
p(osuit)*

CIL V 541 (Trieste=Tergeste)

*36. D(is) M(anibus) / T(iti) Dom[i]/ti Gracilis / na(tione) Di-
t[er]tio / vix(it) an(nis) L / mil(itavit) an(nis) XIII / (quadrireme) Pado
heredes / L(ucius) Plaetorius / Bassus et / L(ucius) Murranius /
Super(us) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt)*

CIL V 1956 (Portus Lipientiae, near Caorla)

*37. a,b Bato La[e]dionis f(ilius) / de libur[n(a)] Clu[peo] /
t(estamento) [f(ieri)] i(ussit) / Paius Ve[r]zonis f(ilius) / de M[a]rte
Bic[r]ota / v(otum) f(ecit) s[ibi] et suis / lib(ertis) lib(ertabus)q(ue)*

N. Cambi, Otočki ljetopis Cres – Lošinj, 3, Mali Lošinj, 1980,
p. 151–154 (Osoy=Apsorus)

*38. Liccaeus Vei f(ilius) / (centurio) de liburna / Lucusta / tes-
tamento / fieri iussit arbit(ratu) / Dabali Triti / heredis / a(mico)
mer(ito)* an(norum) XXX / loc(us) publ(ice) dat(us)***

* *mer(enti)* J. Šašel, *ILJug* 1986, p. 417, no. 2956

** *loc(o) publ(ice) dat(o)* Šašel, *ibidem*

CIL V 774 (Aquileia)

*39. Domnab(us) / sacrum / Sex(tus) Baebius / Bai f(ilius) ve-
t(eranus) ex classe / vestiarius / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*

CIL XVI 17 (Grabarje near Slavonski Brod)

*40. Intus I: [...] qui sena et [vice]na sti[pendia] / [au]t plura
meruissent / [item is qui] ante emerita stipen/[dia] eo quo]d se in ex-
peditione belli / [fortiter i]ndustrieque gesserant / [exauctor]ati sunt
quorum nomi/[na] subsc]ripta sunt ipsis liberis / [posterisque]
eorum [...]*

Extrinsecus I: *[expeditio]ne belli fortiter in/[dustrie]que gesserant exauctora[ti sunt qu]orum nomina subscri/[pta sunt] ipsis liberis posterisque / [eorum civi]tatem dedit et conubium / [cum uxori]bus quas tunc habuissent / [cum est ci]vitas is data aut siqui cae/[libes esse]nt cum is quas postea du/[xissent du]m taxat singuli sing/[ulas] K(alendas) Maias / [Caesare Augusti filio] Domitiano Cn(aeo) Pedio Casco co(n)s(ulibus) / [...] Lensi f. Pannonio / [descriptum et] recogn(itum) ex tabula aen(ae) quae / [fixa est Ro]mae in Capitolio ad aram / [gentis Iu]liae*