

CRTICE O STANOVNITVU ANTIČKE LOPSIKE

SKETCHES OF THE POPULATION OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY LOPSICA

Lopsica je naziv središta (*oppidum*) peregrinske zajednice (*civitas*) Lopsa, koje se ubicira na Gradinu u današnjem podvelebitskom mjestu Sv. Juraj kod Senja. Budući da je njezino pomorsko i trgovačko značenje nadilazilo uske lokalne okvire, *Lopsica* je kao referentna točka na liburnskoj obali zabilježena u antičkim literarnim vrelima. Pri tom je osobito važan navod Plinija Starijega, koji u III. knjizi djela *Naturalis historia* navodi Lopsiku kao liburnski *oppidum* (poglavlje 140), kojega stanovnici *Lopsi* posjeduju *ius Italicum* (poglavlje 139).

Tijekom ranocarskog razdoblja, vjerojatno u doba vladanja cara Tiberija, *Lopsica* postiže municipalni status, koji je posvjedočen natpisom na kojem je komemoriran *Ti. Iulius Sura, aedilis, duovir (bis) et duovir quinquennalis*. Kao komemoratorica na natpisu je navedena magistratova kći *Iulia Ti. f. Procilla*. Znakovito je da magistrat i njegova kći pripadaju porodici *Iulius*, koje su članovi također potvrđeni i na drugom poznatom natpisu antičke Lopsike. Na natpisu *CIL III 3015* spomenuta je *Iulia C. f. Tertia Toruca* u imenovanju koje je kao drugi kognomen navedeno domaće ime *Toruca*. Osim potvrde da su članovi porodice *Iulius* u Lopsiki domaćeg podrijetla, natpis je važan jer omogućava djelomičan uvid u genealogiju navedene porodice, budući da se iz imenovanja komemoratorice (*Iulia C. f. Tertia Toruca*), njezine kćeri (*Iulia Sex. f. Paulla*) i unuke (*Appuleia C. f. Marcella*) mogu razabrati njezina tri naraštaja i dvije porodične grane. Na temelju analize sadržaja obaju natpisa, imajući na umu činjenicu da je *Lopsica* peregrinska zajednica koja otprilike sredinom I. st. nakon Krista posjeduje municipalnu autonomiju, može se pretpostaviti da su *Iulii* bili vodeća romanizirana porodica, članovi koje imaju veliki društveni ugled i vode municipalnu upravu.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *Lopsica, oppidum, municipium, stanovništvo*

Lopsica is the name of the centre (*oppidum*) of the peregrine community (*civitas*) of Lopsi, situated on the hill of Gradina in the present-day village of Sveti Juraj near Senj, beneath Mount Velebit. Since its maritime and commercial importance surpassed its narrow local significance, *Lopsica* was noted in Classical Antiquity literary sources as a reference point on the Liburnian coast. At the same time, a claim made by Pliny the Elder is of particular importance. In Book III of his *Naturalis Historia*, he mentions Lopsica as a Liburnian *oppidum* (chapter 140), whose population, the *Lopsi*, had been granted the *ius Italicum* (chapter 139).

In the course of the Early Imperial Period, probably during the rule of the Emperor Tiberius, *Lopsica* gained municipal status, confirmed by a commemorative inscription dedicated to *Ti. Iulius Sura, aedilis, duovir (bis) et duovir quinquennalis*. The inscription mentions the magistrate's daughter *Iulia Ti. f. Procilla* as the commemorator. It is significant that both the magistrate and his daughter were from the *Iulius* family, the names of whose members have also been confirmed in another notable inscription from classical antique Lopsica. The inscription mentions *CIL III 3015 Iulia C. f. Tertia Toruca*, in whose name the local name *Toruca* appears as the second cognomen. Apart from the confirmation that the members of the *Iulius* family in Lopsica were of local origin, the inscription is also significant because it provides a partial insight into the genealogy of the abovementioned family, since from the names of the commemorator (*Iulia C. f. Tertia Toruca*), her daughter (*Iulia Sex. f. Paulla*) and granddaughter (*Appuleia C. f. Marcella*), three generations and two family branches can be derived. An analysis of the content of both inscriptions, along with the fact that *Lopsica* was a peregrine community which in approximately the middle of the 1st century AD was granted municipal autonomy, suggests that the *Iulii* were a leading Romanised family, whose members enjoyed great social standing and led the municipal administration.

KEY WORDS: *Lopsica, oppidum, municipium, population*

Lopsica je naziv središta (*oppidum*) peregrinske zajednice (*civitas*) Lopsa, koje se spominje u pisanim povijesnim vrelima,¹ pri čemu je osobito važan spomen u III. knjizi *Naturalis historia* Plinija Starijeg. Ondje su, naime, u poglavljju 139, gdje se navode liburnske *civitates* koje unutar skardonskog juridičkog konventa imaju povlašteni položaj,² spomenuti *Lopsi*.³ U poglavljju 140, gdje u preciznom zemljopisnom slijedu *C. Plinius Secundus* niže sva važnija naselja (*oppida*) duž liburnske obale, *Lopsica* je navedena između Senije i Ortople.⁴ Budući da je i arheološkim istraživanjima i epigrafskim svjedočanstvima dokazano da je *Senia* naziv grada koji se tijekom antike razvija na prostoru današnjeg grada Senja, a *Ortoplina/Ortopla* naziv središta peregrinske zajednice koje se konvencionalno locira u Stinici kod Jablanca, istraživači se slažu da se naziv *Lopsica* odnosi na *oppidum* koji se ubicira na Gradinu u današnjem podvelebitskom mjestu Sv. Juraj kod Senja.

S južne strane Sv. Jurja nalazi se brijeg koji mještani nazivaju Gradina (Sl. 1).⁵ Sa sjeveroistočne strane Gradine uzdižu se strme litice, koje čine prirodnu fortifikaciju.⁶ Naselje se

Lopsica is the name of the centre (*oppidum*) of the peregrine community (*civitas*) of Lopsi, mentioned in written historical sources.¹ It is of particular importance that it is mentioned in Book III of *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny the Elder. Chapter 139 of this work lists the Liburnian *civitates* that were granted a privileged position within the Juridical Convent of Scardona,² and mentions the *Lopsi*.³ In Chapter 140, where in a precise geographical sequence *C. Plinius Secundus* lists all the more significant settlements (*oppida*) along the Liburnian coast, *Lopsica* is listed between Senia and Ortopla.⁴ Since both archaeological excavations and epigraphic testimonies have confirmed *Senia* as the name of a town which in the course of Classical Antiquity emerged on the location of the present-day town of Senj, and *Ortoplina/Ortopla* is the name of the centre of the peregrine community conventionally situated in Stinica near Jablanac, scholars agree that the name *Lopsica* relates to an *oppidum* which was located on a hill called *Gradina* [the Croatian term for hill-fort] in the present-day town of *Sveti Juraj* [St. George] near Senj, beneath Mount Velebit.

On the southern side of *Sveti Juraj*, there is a hill called *Gradina* by the local population (Fig. 1).⁵ The steep cliffs on the north-eastern side of *Gradina*

¹ Prvi mogući spomen nalazimo u pseudo-Skilakovu *Periplu (Moreploru)*, gdje je u 21. poglavljtu, pri opisu Liburnije, navedeno više naselja uz more. Smatra se da bi se naziv Αλουψοί (Aloupsoi) mogao odnositi na obalno naselje, koje se u predrimsko doba formira na Gradini u Sv. Jurju, a koje je u kasnije rimske doba poznato pod nazivom *Lopsica*.

² Ne ulazeći ovdje u elaboraciju mišljenja o mogućim povlasticama i pravnom statusu navedenih liburnskih *civitates*, smatramo važnim napomenuti činjenicu da su *Lopsi* narodnosno određeni kao Liburni.

³ N. h. III 139: *ius Italicum habent ex eo conventu Alutae, Flanates, a quibus sinus nominatur, Lopsi, Varvarini inmunesque Asseriates, et ex insulis Fertinates, Curiactae.*

⁴ N. h. III 140: *cetero per oram oppida a Nesactio Alvona, Flanona, Tarsatica, Senia, Lopsica, Ortoplina, Vegium, Argyruntum, Corinium, Aenona, civitas Pasini, flumen Telavium, quo finitur lapudia.*

⁵ Opis gradinskog naselja donose A. Glavičić, 1966, 393-394; M. Glavičić, 1997, 47-49.

⁶ Oko 500 m južno od Sv. Jurja, uz obalu mora između uvala Jablanova i Rača, nalazi se dvojna gradina, koja je uz još nekoliko istaknutih glavica vjerojatno činila dio jedinstvenog fortifikacijskog sustava, čija je glavna strateška točka bila na Gradini. Ponad Sv. Jurja, uz staru vlaku, a današnju cestu koja vodi prema Hrmotinama,

¹ The earliest possible mention is found in Pseudo-Scylax Periplus (*A Seafarers' Manual*), where in a description of Liburnia, Chapter 21 mentions several settlements along the coast. It is believed that the name Αλουψοί (Aloupsoi) might be associated with a coastal settlement formed in the pre-Roman period on *Gradina* in *Sveti Juraj*, which later in the Roman period was known as *Lopsica*.

² Without going into an opinion on the possible privileges and legal status of the aforementioned Liburnian *civitates*, let us point out the fact that the *Lopsi* have been identified ethnically as Liburnians.

³ N.H., III, 139. *ius Italicum habent ex eo conventu Alutae, Flanates, a quibus sinus nominatur, Lopsi, Varvarini inmunesque Asseriates, et ex insulis Fertinates, Curiactae.*

⁴ N.H., III, 140: *cetero per oram oppida a Nesactio Alvona, Flanona, Tarsatica, Senia, Lopsica, Ortoplina, Vegium, Argyruntum, Corinium, Aenona, civitas Pasini, flumen Telavium, quo finitur lapudia.*

⁵ A description of the hill-fort settlement is given by A. Glavičić, 1966, 393-394; M. Glavičić, 1997, 47-49.



SL. 1. Pogled s gradine Samograd na otočić Lisac (desno) i Gradinu (lijevo) u Sv. Jurju

pak formira na sunčanom i od bure zaštićenom jugozapadnom obronku, koji seže sve do mora, i dijelom na sjeverozapadnom obronku, koji se spušta prema porušenoj gotičkoj crkvi sv. Filipa i Jakova i današnjoj luci. Obilje pitke vode, koja i danas na više mjesta u Sv. Jurju i bližoj okolici (Žrnovnica) izvire i utječe u more, bilo je iznimno važno za odabir Gradine kao mjesta stalnog naselja. Tijekom vremena naselje na Gradini preuzima ulogu glavnog središta prostranog planinskog zaledja, koje je tu imalo svoj prirodan izlaz na more. Naime, smatramo

na cca 320 m nadmorske visine nalazi se Samograd (Ilijashevac kod A. Faber), veće gradinsko naselje koje kontrolira kopneni prilaz Gradini i veliki dio akvatorija Podvelebitskog kanala između otoka Krka i Raba. O navedenim gradinskim naseljima usp. M. Glavičić, 1997, 49, 55-56; A. Faber, 2003, 632 (sl. 2), 635-636.

FIG. 1. View from the Samograd hill-fort of the islet of Lisac (right) and Gradina (left) in Sveti Juraj.

form a natural fortification.⁶ The settlement itself was formed on the sunny south-western slope, safe from the *bura* wind and reaching all the way to the sea, and partly on the north-western slope, running down to the destroyed Gothic Church of St. Philip and St. Jacob and the present-day harbour. The

⁶ Approximately 500 m to the south of Sveti Juraj, along the coast between the bays of Jablanovo and Rača, there is a dual hill-fort, which along with several other elevations probably constituted a part of a single fortification system whose main strategic point was at Gradina. Above Sveti Juraj, along an ancient logging path – the present-day road to Hrmotine – at approximately 320 m above sea level, lies Samograd (Ilijashevac in A. Faber), a rather large hill-fort settlement guarding the approach to the Gradina hill from the mainland, as well as a large part of the waters in the sub-Velebit channel between the islands of Krk and Rab. On these hill-fort settlements, compare M. Glavičić, 1997, 49, 55-56; A. Faber, 2003, 632 (fig. 2), 635-636.

da su smještaj podno prijevoja Oltari, preko kojega prolazi prirodna komunikacija, koja povezuje priobalje s prostranim planinskim zaleđem i prekovelebitskom (japodskom) unutrašnjošću, te dobra i od vjetrova zaštićena luka⁷ bili odlučujući čimbenici zbog kojih je Gradina u današnjem Sv. Jurju postala glavno središte (*oppidum*) teritorijalne zajednice (*civitas*) Lopsa.⁸

Oppidum Lopsica posjeduje osnovne karakteristike protourbanog naselja, koje je, prije svega, branjeno bedemom, međutim ne živi se samo na uzvisini, nego i u njezinom podnožju, gdje se nalazi luka i vjerojatno odvija glavnina društvenog života tijekom dana. Luka nije samo sidrište za brodice, nego i mjesto žive trgovine,⁹ koja je i glavni pokretač gospodarskog razvoja. A u njezinoj blizini odvijaju se i druge aktivnosti stanovnika zajednice, poglavito različiti obrti. Budući da na mjestu glavnih gospodarskih aktivnosti poseban interes nalaze članovi lokalne elite, *oppidum* postaje središte upravnog i društvenog, naravno i religijskog života zajednice. *Lopsica* tijekom ranocarskog razdoblja, prema nekim mišljenjima tijekom vladavine cara Tiberija, postaje municipij koji je i epigrafski potvrđen.¹⁰

⁷ Čini se da je otočić Lisac bio spojen s kopnom. Naime, i danas se u moru na dubini od otprilike 2 m uočavaju kameni blokovi uske prevlake koja je nekoć spajala otočić s kopnom. Pretpostavlja se da je ta prevlaka bila izgrađena tijekom antike kao lukobran koji je luku štitio od udara juga.

⁸ O teritoriju Lopsike v. M. Glavičić, 1997, 65-67.

⁹ Uz stočarstvo, koje je vjerojatno predstavljalo najrašireniju gospodarsku djelatnost, smatramo da je iskorištanje bogatih šumskih resursa sjevernog Velebita, odnosno trgovina drvom i posebno kvalitetnim proizvodima od drveta, koji su se koristili u brodogradnji i građevinarstvu, donosila najveću materijalnu korist i stoga je bila najvažnija gospodarska djelatnost stanovnika zajednice Lopsa.

¹⁰ O urbanizmu municipija malo se zna. Središte rimskodobnog naselja nalazilo se sa sjeverozapadne strane Gradine, otprilike na potezu od starog groblja i danas porušene crkve sv. Filipa i Jakova do nove župne crkve sv. Jurja, gdje je i središte suvremenog naselja. Prema navodima iz literature, na tom se prostoru nailazilo na antičke zidove i druge nalaze materijalne kulture (A. Glavičić, 1966, 395), što je potvrđeno nedavnim arheološkim istraživanjima crkve sv. Filipa i Jakova, gdje su dokumentirani arhitektonski ostaci većeg antičkog objekta s podnim mozaicima (M. Blečić, 2006, 14-21; V. Glavaš, 2009, 69-79).

abundance of potable water, which springs out from several spots in Sveti Juraj and its surroundings (Žrnovnica) even today and then flows into the sea, was extraordinarily important for the selection of Gradina as a location for permanent settlement. Over time, the settlement at Gradina took on the role of the main centre in the spacious mountain hinterland, which here had a natural exit to the sea. We believe that the location beneath the Oltari Pass, which provided a natural passage connecting the littoral with the spacious mountain hinterland and the Trans-Velebit (lapodian) continent, combined with a sheltered harbour protected from the winds,⁷ were crucial for the development of Gradina in present-day Sveti Juraj into the main centre (*oppidum*) of the Lopsi territorial community (*civitas*).⁸

The *oppidum Lopsica* has the basic characteristics of a proto-urban settlement defended primarily by fortification walls. However, life went on not only on the elevation, but also at its foot, where there was a harbour and where probably during the daytime the major part of social life took place. The harbour was not only an anchorage for vessels, but also a place of vital trading activity,⁹ which at the same time was the main driving force of economic development. In its vicinity, the population also took part in other activities, particularly various crafts. Since the places where the main economic activities take place are usually of particular interest to the members of the local elites, the *oppidum* became the centre of the administrative, social, and of course religious life of the community. According to certain opinions,

⁷ It seems that the islet of Lisac was once connected with the mainland, as in the sea, at a depth of approximately 2 m, even today stone blocks forming a narrow isthmus can still be seen. These used to connect the islet with the mainland. Presumably, the isthmus was built in the course of Classical Antiquity as a breakwater protecting the harbour from the squalls of the jugo wind.

⁸ On the territory of *Lopsica*, see M. Glavičić, 1997, 65-67.

⁹ Apart from livestock breeding, which probably was the most widespread economic activity, we believe that the exploitation of the rich forest resources of northern Velebit, i.e. timber and high-quality timber products used in shipbuilding and construction, brought the largest material benefits and were therefore the most important economic activity of the population of the Lopsi community.

Lopsica je imala vjerojatno brz razvoj krajem I. st. prije Krista i tijekom I. st. nakon Krista.¹¹ Međutim, sjevernije od nje snažno se razvija Senija koja, zahvaljujući boljem prometnom položaju i zbog nazočnosti Italika, postaje najvažnije rimske središte ne samo bliže okolice i tog dijela jadranske obale nego i duboke unutrašnjosti. I dok je možda još tijekom I. st. Lopsika, pretpostavljamo, mogla konkurirati Seniji kao luka i trgovište, tijekom II. i u III. st. ona stagnira u sjeni spomenutoga cvatućeg grada, odnosno kao municipalno središte zadržava samo lokalno značenje.

Na dva od ukupno tri¹² natpisa antičke Lopsike zabilježena su imena njezinih stanovnika.¹³ Godine 1975., pri uređivanju dvorišta Župnog ureda u Sv. Jurju, otkriven je četvrtašti nadgrobni spomenik (*cippus*) na kojem je komemoriran *Ti. Iulius Sura*, magistrat koji je u Lopsici obnašao niz upravnih municipalnih dužnosti.¹⁴ Spomenik je danas pohranjen u lapidariju Gradskog muzeja Senj (Sl. 2). Izrađen je od vapnenca mramoraste strukture, a njegove sačuvane dimenzije su visina 80 cm, širina 60 cm, debljina 48 cm. Spomenik je gotovo u potpunosti odlomljen u gornjem dijelu, zbog čega nedostaje početni dio natpisa. Znatna su oštećenja primjetna na desnoj i nešto manje na lijevoj strani spomenika, zbog čega nedostaju počeci odnosno završeci redaka natpisa. Isto tako, oštećen je i odlomljen donji dio spomenika, ali tu nije bilo natpisa. Natpis je bio isписан na prednjoj strani spomenika unutar natpisnog polja uokvirenog dvostrukom profilacijom. Slova su duboko urezana

in the Early Imperial Period, during the reign of the Emperor Tiberius, *Lopsica* became a municipium, which has also been confirmed epigraphically.¹⁰

Lopsica probably experienced rapid development near the end of the 1st century BC and during the course of the 1st century AD.¹¹ However, to the north, Senia developed strongly and, due to it being on a better transportation route and the presence of an Italic population, became the most important Roman centre not only of the closer surroundings and this part of the Adriatic coast, but also of the wider hinterland. Therefore, while back in the 1st century *Lopsica* was presumably able to compete with Senia as a port and market town, in the course of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, in the shade of its flourishing rival, it stagnated or maintained only its local importance as a municipal centre.

In two of the three¹² inscriptions from classical antique *Lopsica*, the names of its citizens have been recorded.¹³ In 1975, during the clearing of the parish office courtyard in Sveti Juraj, a rectangular sepulchral monument (*cippus*) was uncovered, commemorating *Ti. Iulius Sura*, a magistrate who in *Lopsica* had held a series of administrative

¹¹ M. Zaninović, 1980, 191-192; M. Zaninović, 1984, 37.

¹² U sjeverozapadnom uglu crkve sv. Filipa i Jakova uzidan je kao spolja ulomak arhitrava od bijelog vapnenca s fragmentiranim natpisom [...] NER AV[G]. Iako je natpis bio već odavno poznat (J. Brunšmid, 1901, 99), ponovno na njega pozornost skreće V. Glavaš, 2009, 79-80, nudeći zanimljivu restituciju: [VE]NER[I] AV[G(usti) SAC(rum)]. U literaturi se može pronaći podatak da epigrافskoj baštini Lopsike pripada i natpis *CIL* III 10052, međutim to se ne može dokazati.

¹³ Etnik Lopsi zabilježen je u III. knjizi (poglavlje 139) djela *Naturalis Historia* Plinija Starijega.

¹⁴ M. Zaninović, 1975, 159-166, sl. 41; 1984, 37.

¹⁰ Little is known of the urban character of the municipium. The centre of the settlement in the Roman period was on the north-western side of Gradina, somewhere between the old cemetery and the now destroyed Church of St. Philip and St. Jacob, and the new parish Church of St. George, where the centre of the modern-day settlement is situated. According to the literature, in this area there were finds of classical antique walls and other material culture (A. Glavičić, 1966, 395), which has been confirmed by recent archaeological excavations at the Church of St. Philip and St. Jacob, where the architectural remains of a larger classical antique structure with floor mosaics have been documented (M. Blečić, 2006, 14-21; V. Glavaš, 2009, 69-79).

¹¹ M. Zaninović, 1980, 191-192; 1984, 37.

¹² In the north-west corner of the Church of St. Philip and St. Jacob, an architrave fragment of white limestone, with a fragmented inscription [...] NER AV[G] was built in as spolium. Although the inscription was already known long ago (J. Brunšmid, 1901, 99), it was brought to attention again by V. Glavaš, 2009, 79-80, who offered an interesting restitution: [VE]NER[I] AV[G(usti) SAC(rum)]. In the literature, it is possible to find the information that the inscription *CIL* III 10052 is also part of Lopsica's epigraphic heritage. However, this cannot be proven.

¹³ The Lopsi ethnic group was recorded in Book III (Chapter 139) of *Naturalis Historia* by Pliny the Elder.



SL. 2. Nadgrobni spomenik iz Sv. Jurja (Gradski muzej Senj)
FIG. 2. A sepulchral monument from Sveti Juraj (Senj Town Museum).

lijepom i pravilnom kapitalom.¹⁵ Zbog oštećenja spomenika sačuvano je sedam redaka natpisa,¹⁶ koji u restituciji glasi:

[*Ti(berio) Iulio / Ti(beri)? f(ilio)*] *Se[r(gia tribu) / S]urae q[ed(ili) / II]vir(o) bis Ilvi[r(o)] / quinq(uennali). Iulia / T̄(beri) f(ilia) Procilla / patri suo / t(estamento) p(on) i(ussit).*

Iako početak natpisa gotovo u potpunosti nedostaje, njegov se sadržaj može restituirati s velikom pouzdanošću. Na natpisu je navedena *Iulia Ti. f. Procilla*, koja po oporuci postavlja spomen svojem ocu, jedinom za sada poznatom magistratu Lopsike. Prema imenu komemoratorice, koje sadrži i filijaciju, može se rekonstruirati početak

¹⁵ Visina slova sačuvanog dijela natpisa varira između 4,5 i 3,8 cm, osim u posljednjem retku gdje iznosi 6 cm.

¹⁶ U cijelosti su sačuvana posljednja četiri retka natpisa, a prethodna tri sačuvana su fragmentarno.

municipal functions.¹⁴ The monument is at present stored in the Collection of Stone Monuments of Senj Town Museum (Fig. 2). It is made of limestone of a marble-like structure, and its preserved dimensions are: height 80 cm, width 60 cm, thickness 48 cm. The upper part of the monument has been almost entirely broken off, and consequently the initial part of the inscription is missing. Significant damage is visible on the monument's right side, and to a somewhat smaller extent on its left side, which is why the beginnings and the ends of the inscription lines are missing. Similarly, the lower part of the monument has been damaged and broken off, though there were no inscriptions on this part. The inscription was written on the front side of the monument, inside an inscription field framed with a double profile. The letters are deeply carved in a beautiful and regular capital script.¹⁵ Despite the damage to the monuments, seven inscription lines have been preserved,¹⁶ the restitution of which reads:

[*Ti(berio) Iulio / Ti(beri)? f(ilio)*] *Se[r(gia tribu) / S]urae q[ed(ili) / II]vir(o) bis Ilvi[r(o)] / quinq(uennali). Iulia / T̄(beri) f(ilia) Procilla / patri suo / t(estamento) p(on) i(ussit).*

Although the beginning of the inscription is almost entirely missing, its content can be restituted with great certainty. The inscription mentions *Iulia Ti. f. Procilla*, who put up a monument as a testament to her father, so far the only known magistrate of *Lopsica*. After the commemorator's name, containing also a filiation, the beginning of her father's name can be reconstructed. His name was *Tiberius Iulius*.¹⁷ In the usual formula of Roman citizens' names, the

¹⁴ M. Zaninović, 1975, 159-166, fig. 41; 1984, 37.

¹⁵ The height of the letters in the preserved part of the inscription varies between 4.5 and 3.8 cm, except for the last line, where it amounts to 6 cm.

¹⁶ The last four inscription lines are completely preserved, while the preceding three have been fragmentarily preserved.

¹⁷ Since *Ti. Iulius* is the individual to whom the monument was erected, his name, as well as the list of offices he held in his lifetime, need to be restituted in the dative case.

imenovanja njezina oca, koji se zvao *Tiberius Iulius*.¹⁷ Prema uobičajenom imenskom obrascu rimskog građanina, nakon prenomena i gentilicija navode se filijacija i pripadnost tribi, čije slovne tragove kratice nalazimo u prvom sačuvanom retku natpisa nakon trokutaste distinkcije: *SE[R(gia tribu)]*.¹⁸ Ovdje je veoma važno ustvrditi da je magistrat bio upisan u tribu *Sergia*, što je jasna potvrda da je dotični posjedovao puno rimske građanske pravne. Budući da su rimski građani često nasljeđivali imena svojih predaka, njegovu filijaciju hipotetski možemo razriješiti kao *Ti(beri) f(ilio)*. Tijekom vremena uobičajilo se da rimski građanin posjeduje tri imena (*tria nomina*), tj. uz prenomen i gentilicij navodi se i kognomen, koji kao svojevrsni nadimak sa službenom vrijednošću dolazi na kraju imenovanja. Stoga je posve logično zaključiti da u drugom sačuvanom retku natpisa slova *VRAE* pripadaju dativnom obliku kognomena Tiberija Julija.¹⁹ Za restituciju kognomena bitno je odrediti koliko je slova, s obzirom na raspoloživu natpisnu površinu na početku retka, moglo biti ispisano prije sačuvanog dijela *-urae*. M. Zaninović odlučuje se za dva slova i restituira kognomen u dativnom obliku *[La]urae*.²⁰ A. Kurilić točno opaža da je pred sačuvanim završetkom – *urae* mjesto samo za jedno slovo i restituira kognomen u dativnom obliku *[S]urae*.²¹ Prema dosadašnjim spoznajama čini se da je to vrlo prihvatljiva restitucija,²² međutim šteta je da kognomen nije sačuvan u svom punom obliku, budući da se ovako, barem na razini hipoteze, može spekulirati i s još ponekim

¹⁷ Budući da je *Ti. Iulius* osoba kojoj se postavlja spomen, njegovo imenovanje, kao i popis časti koje je obnašao tijekom života, treba restituirati u dativu.

¹⁸ Od slova *R* bio je vidljiv samo dio okomite haste (danас taj komadić natpisne površine nedostaje). Ispred distinkcije nazire se trag sigle *F(ilio)*.

¹⁹ Nakon dvoglasnika *ae* jasno se vidi trokutasta distinkcija, što znači da se kognomen sklanja po 1. deklinaciji.

²⁰ M. Zaninović, 1975, 161.

²¹ A. Kurilić, 1999, spomenik AK 2918.

²² A. Kurilić primjećuje da je muški kognomen *Sura* višestruko potvrđen u Italiji, dok bi u Dalmaciji ovo bila njegova jedina potvrda, za razliku od "standardnije" inačice *Surus* (usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 303).

praenomen and *nomen gentilicum* are followed by the filiation and the *tribus* they belonged to, whose lettered traces in the form of abbreviations are found in the first preserved inscription line after the triangular distinction: *SE[R(gia tribu)]*.¹⁸ At this point, it is very important to point out that the magistrate was enrolled in the *Sergia* *tribus*, which is clear confirmation that he possessed full Roman *civitas*. Since Roman citizens frequently inherited their ancestors' names, his filiation can hypothetically be supposed to be *Ti(beri) f(ilio)*. Over time, it became usual for a Roman citizen to have three names (*tria nomina*), i.e. along with the *praenomen* and *gentilicum* the *cognomen* was also used, which – as a sort of official sobriquet – comes at the end of the name. Therefore, it is only logical to conclude that the letters *VRAE* in the second preserved inscription line are part of the dative case form of Tiberius Iulius's *cognomen*.¹⁹ For the *cognomen*'s restitution, it is important to determine how many letters could have been written before the preserved part, *-urae*, given the available inscription area at the beginning of the line. M. Zaninović opted for two letters and restituted the *cognomen* in the dative case *[La]urae*.²⁰ A. Kurilić correctly noted that in front of the preserved ending *-urae* there is room for only one letter and restituted the *cognomen* in the dative case *[S]urae*.²¹ The facts that have come to light so far suggest that this is an acceptable restitution.²² However, it is a pity that the *cognomen* has not been completely preserved, although in this way it is at least hypothetically possible to speculate with some other initial letters of the *cognomen* as well, possibly also derived from a local name

¹⁸ Only a part of the vertical hasta of the letter *R* was visible (this piece of the inscription area is now missing). In front of the distinction, the siglum *F(ilio)* is discernible.

¹⁹ After the diphthong *ae*, the triangular distinction is clearly visible, implying that the *cognomen* follows the first declension.

²⁰ M. Zaninović, 1975, 161.

²¹ A. Kurilić, 1999, monument AK 2918.

²² A. Kurilić noticed that the male *cognomen* *Sura* has been repeatedly confirmed in Italy, while in Dalmatia this would be its only confirmation, unlike the "more standard" variant *Surus* (compare G. Alföldy, 1969, 303).

početnim slovom kognomena izvedenog možda i iz nekog autohtonog imena, koje se u latiniziranom obliku sklanja po I. deklinaciji.²³

Na natpisu su nakon imenovanja navedene municipalne službe koje je *Ti. Iulius Sura* obnašao tijekom svoje magistratske karijere u Lopsiki, gdje je bio *aedilis*, *duovir (bis)* i *duovir quinquennalis*. Stoga u nastavku sačuvani drugi, treći i dio četvrtog retka natpisa valja restituirati kao *a[ed(i)ili] / II]vir(o) bis IIvir(o) / quinq(uennali)*.²⁴ Na natpisu su magistrature navedene redom njihova obnašanja (*cursus honorum*), počevši od niže prema višoj. *Ti. Iulius Sura* počeo je svoju municipalnu karijeru edilskom službom, koja je kao niža magistratura prethodila višoj duovirskoj, koju je obnašao u dva godišnja manda, što je na natpisu označeno navodom priložnog broja *bis* ("dvaput").²⁵ Dužnosti i ovlasti duovira, dvojice vrhovnih magistrata, koji su, provodeći odluke gradskog vijeća, imali vrhovnu izvršnu vlast, bile su točno određene municipalnim zakonom. Postati duovirom bila je osobita čast (*honos*), koja je predmijevala da kandidat ispunjava propisane uvjete za izbor. Budući da nije bilo moguće postaviti jedinstven zakon primjenjiv u svim gradovima, uvjeti za izbor magistrata i dekuriona u različitim gradovima i različitim periodima mogli su se razlikovati. Ipak,

which in its Latinised form follows the first declension.²³

After the name, the municipal functions which *Ti. Iulius Sura* held in the course of his career as a magistrate in *Lopsica* are listed on the inscription. He was *aedilis*, *duovir (bis)* and *duovir quinquennalis*. Therefore, the subsequently preserved second, third and part of the fourth inscription lines should be restituted as *a[ed(i)ili] / II]vir(o) bis IIvir(o) / quinq(uennali)*.²⁴ The inscription lists the magistracies in the order in which they were held (*cursus honorum*), moving from the lowest to the highest. *Ti. Iulius Sura's* municipal career began with the office of aedile, which as a lower magistracy preceded the higher duumvir, which he held for two year-long mandates, as denoted in the inscription by the adverbial number *bis* (twice).²⁵ The duties and powers of the duoviri, the two highest magistrates who, by implementing the decisions of the town council, had supreme executive power, were precisely defined by municipal law. Being appointed duumvir represented a particular honour (*honos*), which meant that the candidate had to fulfil the conditions necessary for his nomination. Since it was not possible to pass a uniform law that would be applicable in all towns, the preconditions for

²³ U Liburniji su nositelji carskog gentilicija *Iulius* često romanizirani autohtonci, koji se lako prepoznaaju po svojim domaćim imenima uklopjenima u rimski imenski obrazac na mjesto kognomena i filijaciju (G. Alföldy, 1969, 31). *Iulii* su redovito i pripadnici lokalne aristokracije iz čijih se redova biraju magistrati i drugi municipalni uglednici, tako da sličnu situaciju možemo prepostaviti i za Lopsiku (usp. i natpis CIL III 3015).

²⁴ U drugom sačuvanom retku vidljiva su samo donja dva kraka i lijevi poprečni kraj crte slova A. U trećem sačuvanom retku u navodima duovirske službe ostalo je na početku vidljivo *VIR* (slovu *V* nedostaje lijeva kosa crta, lijevo iznad linije teksta je trag vodoravne crte) i na kraju *IIVI* (broj *II* iznad linije teksta ima vodoravnu crtu, slovu I sačuvan je samo donji dio). U petom retku u kratici *QVINQ* početno je Q gotovo u cijelosti otučeno, ispod linije teksta ostao je vidljiv poduzi descender.

²⁵ U Liburniji je opetovanje magistratura dokumentirano i na natpisima CIL III 2927 (C. Octavius Montanus, *Ilvir iterum*), 2846 (Q. Cestius Proculus, *Ilvir bis*), 2870 (Q. Octavius, *Ilvir III*), 13292 (10122) (P. Octavius Placidus, *Ilvir iterum?*).

²³ In Liburnia, the bearers of the imperial nomen gentilicum *Iulius* were frequently Romanised locals, easily recognised by their local names, adapted to Roman naming conventions by their cognomen and filiation (G. Alföldy, 1969, 31). The *Iulii* were as a rule also members of the local aristocracy from among whom magistrates and other municipal dignitaries were elected. Therefore, a similar situation can be assumed in *Lopsica* (compare also the inscription CIL III 3015).

²⁴ In the second preserved line, only the lower two arms and the left diagonal end of the line of the letter A are visible. At the beginning of the third preserved line, which mentions the duumvirates, the *VIR* remains visible (the letter *V* lacks the left slash, and there is a trace of a horizontal line left above the text lines), and at the end *IIVI* (the number *II* above the text lines has a horizontal line, while only the lower part of the letter *I* has been preserved). In the fifth line, in the abbreviation *QVINQ*, the initial *Q* has been almost completely chiselled off, and below the text lines a rather long descender remains visible.

²⁵ In Liburnia, repeated magistracies are also documented in the inscriptions CIL III 2927 (C. Octavius Montanus, *Ilvir iterum*), 2846 (Q. Cestius Proculus, *Ilvir bis*), 2870 (Q. Octavius, *Ilvir III*), 13292 (10122) (P. Octavius Placidus, *Ilvir iterum?*).

generalno se od kandidata tražilo apsolutno poštenje, dok su ostali uvjeti bili određeni prema podrijetlu (*genera*), imovini (*census*) i životnoj dobi (*aetas*). U principu, kandidat je morao biti slobodno rođeni rimske građanin sa stalnim vrlo visokim prihodima i određenom životnom dobi, koja je npr. u Augustovo doba za obnašanje nižih magistratura spuštena na 25 godina života. Stoga govoriti o duovirima znači govoriti o najuglednijim i najbogatijim građanima neke zajednice, odnosno o osobama koje su u određeno vrijeme bile najprikladnije da vode upravu svojega grada i da pri tom svojom osobnom imovinom jamče za pravovaljano upravljanje cjelokupnom gradskom imovinom. *Ti. Iulius Sura* bio je, dakle, dva puta najprikladnija osoba da kao "redoviti" duovir sa svojim kolegama vodi upravu municipija Lopsike, međutim on je vrhovnu magistraturu obnašao i treći put i to kao "petogodišnji" duovir, što je na natpisu naznačeno titulom *IIvir quinq(ennalis)*. Naime, u godini popisa cenza, koji se na državnom nivou provodio svake pete godine, vrhovni su magistrati redovitim funkcijama dodavali one cenzorske, koje se odnose na kontrolu pravnog statusa građana, njihove nasljedne imovine i poreznih obveza, popunjavanja izbornih lista i popunjavanja gradskog vijeća s pravom mogućih otpuštanja ili imenovanja novih vijećnika. Budući da se radilo o obavljanju iznimno zahtjevna i odgovorna posla, služba kvinkvenalnog duovira smatrala se najprestižnijom municipalnom magistraturom, koja se u principu dodjeljivala onim magistratima koji su već imali potrebito iskustvo, tj. onima koji su prethodno obnašali "redoviti" duovirat. Na temelju navedenoga možemo zaključiti da je *Ti. Iulius Sura* bio visoko pozicionirani lokalni uglednik, koji je zbog svojih osobnih zasluga, ali nedvojbeno i zbog ugleda svoje porodice, bio najprikladniji kandidat da u tri navrata obnaša duovirsku službu, pri čemu je posljednja bila u godini popisa cenza. Pri tom valja naglasiti da je u malim liburnskim municipijima, kakav je bila Lopsica, uočeno da članovi lokalne romanizirane aristokracije i u novoosnovanim municipijima tijekom I. st. zadržavaju stečene pozicije vlasti, odnosno da se upravo iz njihovih redova, kao po pravilu, u više naraštaja regrutiraju dekurioni

the nomination of a magistrate or decurion in various towns and periods could vary. However, generally candidates were required to display absolute honesty, while the other requirements were defined according to their origins (*genera*), property (*census*) and age (*aetas*). Generally speaking, the candidate had to be a freeborn Roman citizen with a stable high income and of a certain age, which for example in Augustus's era, for holding lower magistracies, was reduced to 25 years of age. Therefore, talking about the duoviri implies talking about the most dignified and richest citizens of a community, in other words individuals who in a given period were most eligible to manage their town administrations, at the same time guaranteeing with their personal belongings the property of the town administration. *Ti. Iulius Sura* was thus twice selected as the most eligible for the office of "regular" duumvir, and together with his colleagues was entrusted with the management of the *Lopsica* municipium administration. He was even entrusted with a supreme magistracy a third time, this time as a duumvir for a five-year period, which in the inscription is indicated by the title *IIvir quinq(ennalis)*. In the year of the census, which was carried out at the national level every five years, along with their regular offices, supreme magistrates were additionally entrusted with the office of censor. They were in charge of checking the legal status of citizens, their hereditary property and their tax obligations, the updating of electoral rolls, and the appointing of town councillors with the right to dismiss them or nominate new ones. Since these were extraordinarily demanding and responsible duties, the office of a duumvir quinquennalis was deemed the most prestigious municipal magistracy, generally entrusted to magistrates who already had the necessary experience, i.e. these who had previously held the office of "regular" duumvir. This suggests that *Ti. Iulius Sura* was a highly positioned local dignitary, who by his own personal merit, but undoubtedly also thanks to his family's position, was the most eligible candidate to be entrusted with the duumvir office on three occasions, of which the last was in the year of the census. At the same time, it should be pointed out that in small Liburnian municipiums, such as *Lopsica*, members of the local Romanised aristocracy kept

i magistrati koji municipalne službe obnašaju i po više puta.²⁶ Magistratura se obično vršila u jednom (godišnjem) mandatu, međutim, ako je nedostajalo prikladnih kandidata, mogla je biti ponovljena u razmaku od pet (u slučaju prisile) ili jedne godine (dobrovoljno). Između magistratura različitog ranga bio je propisan razmak od tri godine. Za koju se god mogućnost odlučili, ostaje činjenica da je u Lopsiki tijekom desetak ili više godina svoje karijere *Ti. Iulius Sura* obnašao najodgovornije municipalne službe, potvrđujući svoj osobni ugled i dignitet porodice kojoj je pripadao. Navod municipalnih službi izravno je svjedočanstvo da *Lopsica* posjeduje municipalnu autonomiju, koju, kako se smatra, postiže u doba vladanja cara Tiberija.

Iulia Ti. f. Procilla, koje je ime ispisano u drugom dijelu četvrtog i u petom retku, po oporuci je postavila spomenik svome ocu, što je zapisano u posljednja dva retka natpisa. U odnosu na prvu objavu, gdje je navedeno da je *Iulia Procilla* bila kći Tita (*T. f.*),²⁷ ovdje donosimo ispravku čitanja filijacije komemoratorice koja glasi *Ti(beri) f(ilia)*. Naime, na početku petog retka lako se uočava početno slovo prenomena (*T*), međutim zbog rupičaste strukture natpisne površine drugo slovo (*I*) kratice lošije se vidi, zbog čega je došlo do malog previda. *Procilla* je ženski kognomen koji je "svugdje poznat, a osobito u Italiji",²⁸ a budući da je i gentilicij *Iulius* posvuda raširen, ne čudi da je na više različitim mjestima poznato više imenjakinja kćeri magistrata Lopsike (*Iulia Procilla*).²⁹ Osim na ovom natpisu, u Liburniji

their positions of power in the newly founded municipiums in the course of the 1st century. In other words, it was precisely from them that several generations of decurions and magistrates were recruited, some of whom held municipal offices as many as several times.²⁶ The magistracy usually lasted one (year-long) mandate. However, given a lack of eligible candidates, it could be repeated at an interval of five years (if mandatory) or one year (if voluntary). Between magistracies of different ranks a three-year interval was prescribed. No matter which possibility we opt for, the fact remains that in *Lopsica* over the course of the ten or more years of his career *Ti. Iulius Sura* held the most responsible municipal offices, thus confirming his personal position and the dignity of his family. The mentioning of municipal offices is direct confirmation that *Lopsica* possessed municipal autonomy, which it is believed it gained in the period of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius.

Iulia Ti. f. Procilla, whose name is written in the second part of the fourth and in the fifth line, put up a monument to her father as a testament, as written in the inscription's last two lines. In the first publication, it was stated that *Iulia Procilla* was the daughter of Titus (*T. f.*).²⁷ Here, we make a correction of the interpretation of the commemorator's filiation, which reads *Ti(beri) f(ilia)*. Namely, at the beginning of the fifth line, the initial letter of the praenomen (*T*) is easily identified. However, due to a perforated structure of the inscription surface, the second letter (*I*) of the abbreviation is poorly visible, and consequently a small oversight happened. *Procilla* was a "generally and particularly in Italy popular" female cognomen,²⁸ and since the

²⁶ Primjer koji najbolje ilustrira takvu praksu dokumentiran je u Nediniju, gdje su na natpisu *CIL III* 2870 navedeni magistrati iz dvije grane vodeće romanizirane porodice Octavius: *Q. Octavius, Ilvir III, aedilis; C. Octavius Q. f. Rufus, Ilvir, aedilis, pontifex, T. Octavius Sex. f. Gracilis, Ilvir, aedilis, pontifex*. Na tom je natpisu posvjedočeno i to da zbog zadržavanja stečenih pozicija dolazi do ženidbe unutar iste porodice i društvene klase (statusna endogamija).

²⁷ M. Zaninović, 1975, 161. Restituciju *T(iti) f(ilia)* kasnije redom preuzimaju svi autori.

²⁸ G. Alföldy, 1969, 274.

²⁹ Zbog raširenosti imena *Iulius* i kognomena *Procilla* pojavu istih imena dokumentiranih na različitim mjestima i u različitim periodima možemo tumačiti koincidencijom, iako u nekim

²⁶ An example best illustrating such practice is documented in Nedinium, where the inscription *CIL III* 2870 mentions magistrates from two branches of the leading Romanised Octavius family: *Q. Octavius, Ilvir III, aedilis; C. Octavius Q. f. Rufus, Ilvir, aedilis, pontifex, T. Octavius Sex. f. Gracilis, Ilvir, aedilis, pontifex*. This inscription also confirms that for the purpose of keeping positions, marriages occurred within the same family and social class (status endogamy).

²⁷ M. Zaninović, 1975, 161. The restitution *T(iti) f(ilia)* was later accepted by all authors.

²⁸ G. Alföldy, 1969, 274.

je kognomen *Procilla* dokumentiran samo u Apsoru, gdje se *Valeria Procilla* komemoratorica koja postavlja spomen svojem ocu Valeriju Oklatinu.³⁰ On je pak bio magistrat biran iz redova lokalne romanizirane aristokracije, što zorno posvjedočuje njegovo osobno autohtono ime na mjestu rimskog kognomena (*Oclatinus*).³¹ Iako to nipošto nije dokaz, potvrda da je latinski kognomen *Procilla* korišten u imenovanju žena iz vodećih liburnskih porodica indicija je na temelju koje se može pretpostaviti da je *Iulia Procilla* pripadnica romanizirane magistratske porodice iz Lopsike.

Na temelju rečenoga, imajući stalno na umu da je *Lopsica* peregrinska zajednica koja otprilike sredinom I. st. nakon Krista posjeduje municipalnu autonomiju, možemo pretpostaviti da je *Ti. Iulius Sura*, koji je tijekom svog života bio među najistaknutijim odličnicima svoje zajednice, gdje je obnašao edilsku, a potom u dva navrata redovitu duovirsku i jednom kvinkvenalsku duovirsku službu, bio magistrat iz vodeće romanizirane porodice *Iulius*.³² Na temelju paleografskih i epigrafskih osobitosti natpis možemo datirati u razdoblje oko sredine I. st. nakon Krista.

U dvorišnom lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu danas je izložen oveći nadgrobni spomenik (*cippus*), koji se do godine 1896. nalazio ispred župne crkve u Sv. Jurju (Sl. 3).³³ Spomenik je izrađen od bijelog vapnenca, a njegove dimenzije

slučajevima treba računati i na moguće rodbinske veze. Najpoznatija *Iulia Procilla* bila je žena senatora Julija Grecina (*Iulius Graecinus*) za koju Tacit (*Agricola* 1, 4) kaže da je bila "iznimno čestita" (*rarae castiatis*) žena, koja je tu svoju vrlinu prenijela na sina, poznatog vojskovođu Gneja Julija Agrikolu (*Cn. Iulius Agricola*). U rimskodobnoj Dalmaciji imenjakinja Julije Procille dokumentirane su na dva natpisa u Saloni (*CIL III* 2398 = 8629; 2495).

³⁰ *CIL III* 3138 (*Valerius Oclatinus, aedilis, Ilvir qq*).

³¹ Za kognomen *Oclatinus* usp. i *CIL III* 3148 (10131) (*C. Aemilius Volsonis f. Oclatinus, Ilvir*).

³² Domaće podrijetlo Julija u Lopsiki potvrđuje natpis *CIL III* 3015.

³³ *CIL III* 3015; J. Brunšmid, 1898, 171-172, sl. 75; 1907, 201-202, br. 337; M. Zaninović, 1984, 37.

nomen gentilicum *Iulius* is also widespread, it is no wonder that in various places several namesakes of the daughter of Lopsica's magistrate (*Iulia Procilla*) are known.²⁹ Apart from this inscription, in Liburnia the cognomen *Procilla* has only been documented in Apsorus, where *Valeria Procilla* appears as the commemorator, erecting a monument to her father *Valerius Oclatinus*.³⁰ He, again, was a magistrate elected from among the local Romanised aristocracy, which is clearly testified to by his autochthonous personal name in the place of the Roman cognomen (*Oclatinus*).³¹ Although this is no proof whatsoever, the confirmation of the usage of the Latin cognomen *Procilla* in the name of a woman from a leading Liburnian family is an indicator suggesting that *Iulia Procilla* was a member of a Romanised magistrate's family from *Lopsica*.

On the basis of what has been said, bearing constantly in mind that *Lopsica* was a peregrine community which in approximately the middle of the 1st century AD possessed municipal autonomy, we can assume that *Ti. Iulius Sura*, who throughout his lifetime was among the most prominent dignitaries of his community, holding the office of aedile, and who after that was twice a regular duumvir and once a duumvir quinquennalis, was a magistrate appointed from the leading Romanised family of *Iulius*.³² On the basis of palaeographic and epigraphic characteristics, the inscription can be dated to the period around the middle of the 1st century AD.

²⁹ Due to the widespread distribution of the nomen *Iulius* and the cognomen *Procilla*, the occurrence of the same names documented at various places and in various periods can be interpreted as a coincidence, although in some cases it is necessary to also consider possible family relationships. The most famous *Iulia Procilla* was the wife of a senator (*Iulius Graecinus*). Tacitus (*Agricola*, 1.4) says that she was an "extraordinarily chaste" (*rarae castiatis*) woman, who transferred her virtue to her son, the famous military commander Gnaeus Julius Agricola (*Cn. Iulius Agricola*). In Dalmatia in the Roman period, Julia Procilla's namesakes were documented in two inscriptions in Salona (*CIL III* 2398=8629; 2495).

³⁰ *CIL III* 3138 (*Valerius Oclatinus, aedilis, Ilvir qq*).

³¹ For the cognomen *Oclatinus*, compare also *CIL III* 3148 (10131) (*C. Aemilius Volsonis f. Oclatinus, Ilvir*).

³² The local origin of the *Iulii* in *Lopsica* is confirmed by the inscription *CIL III* 3015.

su visina 130 cm, širina 84 cm, debљina 61 cm.³⁴ Na sredini gornje strane spomenika isklesana je pravokutna rupa (dužina 10,5 cm, širina 4 cm, dubina 1 cm), vjerojatno za nastavak spomenika, te još jedna okrugla (promjer 4 cm, dubina 2 cm), koja je mogla nastati tijekom sekundarne uporabe spomenika.³⁵ Na bočnim stranama spomenika, unutar profiliranih polja, u reljefu su prikazani Eroti koji jašu na dupinima.³⁶ Na prednjoj strani pravilnom je kapitalom unutar natpisnog polja u sedam redaka isписан natpis,³⁷ koji u restituciji glasi:

lúliae Sex(ti) f(iliae) / Paulle f(iliae) / Appuleiae / C(ai) fil(iae) /⁵ Marcellae nep(ti) / lúlia C(ai) f(ilia) Tertia / Tō[r]uca [v(iva)] f(ecit).

Objašnjenje teksta natpisa je jednostavno: *lulia C. f. Tertia Toruca* za života je podigla spomen svojoj kćeri Juliji Paulli i unuci Appuleji Marcelli. Već pri davnoj objavi spomenika i interpretaciji natpisa J. Brunšmid primjetio je da su u imenu komemoratorice navedeni "jedan rimski i jedan

³⁴ Zanimljiv opis spomenika, koji je teško oštećen prije nego što je zalaganjem Isidora Kršnjavog prebačen u tadašnji Narodni muzej u Zagrebu, čiji je jedan od izravnih sljednika današnji Arheološki muzej, donosi J. Brunšmid, 1898, 171: "Ali prije nego što je kamen parobrodom odaslan, dogodila mu se velika nesreća: u gluho ga je naime noćno doba neznani delija razbio, nadajući se, da će u kamenu naći silno blago. Ali se je jadan u računu prevario, jer naravski nije mogao ondje ništa naći, gdje nitko ništa nije spravio. Radi kojekakovog besmislenog naklapanja i praznovjernog zanovetanja još je dakle na rastanku znatno oštećen spomenik, koji je kakovih 150 godina mirno u Sv. Jurju ležao, pa je stojalo i dosta truda i novca, dok se je opet tako skrpao, da u muzeju barem nekako opet uspravljeni stojati može."

³⁵ Prije nego što je bio postavljen ispred župne crkve, spomenik je bio uzidan u mletačku utvrdu izgrađenu u XVII. st. na Gradini u Sv. Jurju.

³⁶ J. Brunšmid, 1898, 172: "Mališi uzdama i hvatajući delfine za trbušne peraje krote neposlušnu živinu, koja se živo baca i kao da ima namjeru, da zarone u more, kojemu su valovi dosta primitivnim načinom označeni."

³⁷ Vjerojatno zbog sekundarne uporabe, profilacije natpisnog polja otklesane su do razine natpisne površine, koja, na sreću, nije oštećena. Visina slova u prvom retku iznosi 8 cm, a postupno se smanjuje do 5,3 cm u sedmom retku. U prvoj riječi prvog retka i u prvoj riječi šestog retka (u oba slučaja gentilicij *lúlia*) iznad slova *V* je apex. U posljednjem retku sigla *V* bila je radirana "još u staro doba", "jer je Julia Tertia Toruca, valjda još prije nego što je od nje naručeni spomenik namješten bio, umrla." (J. Brunšmid, 1907, 202).

In the Courtyard Collection of Stone Monuments of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, a rather large sepulchral monument (*cippus*) is currently exhibited, which until the year 1896 was situated in front of the parish church in Sveti Juraj (Fig. 3).³³ The monument was made of white limestone. Its dimensions are: height 130 cm, width 84 cm, thickness 61 cm.³⁴ In the centre of the upper parts of the monument, a rectangular hole was chiselled out (length 10.5 cm, width 4 cm, depth 1 cm), probably for an extension to the monument, and also another round hole (diameter 4 cm, depth 2 cm), which may have been produced in the course of the monument's secondary usage.³⁵ On the sides of the monument, within the profiled fields, there is a relief depicting the Erotes riding on dolphins.³⁶ On the front side, within the inscription field, the inscription is written over seven lines in regular capital script,³⁷ whose restitution reads:

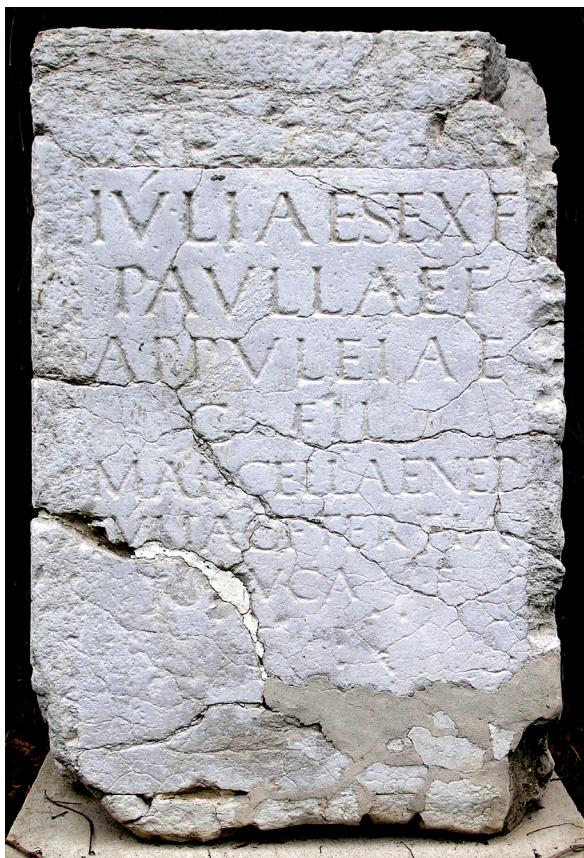
³³ CIL III 3015; J. Brunšmid, 1898, 171-172, fig. 75; 1907, 201-202, No. 337; M. Zaninović, 1984, 37.

³⁴ An interesting description of the monument, which had been seriously damaged and subsequently, thanks to the commitment of Isidor Kršnjavi, moved to what was then the National Museum in Zagreb, one of whose direct successors is today's Archaeological Museum, is given by J. Brunšmid, 1898, 171: "But before the stone was sent by steamship, it encountered a mishap: namely, late at night, as a result of the senseless and superstitious prattle he had heard, an unknown hooligan broke it, hoping to find in it tremendous treasure. But the poor fellow was mistaken, because of course he could not find anything in the stone, as nobody had ever hidden anything there. Thus, prior to its departure, the monument, which for some 150 years had rested in Sveti Juraj, was severely damaged. It cost rather a lot of effort and money until it was pieced together again so that it could somehow stand erect in the Museum."

³⁵ Before it was erected in front of the parish church, the monument was built into the Venetian fortifications erected in the 17th century at Gradina in Sveti Juraj.

³⁶ J. Brunšmid, 1898, 172: "The little fellows hold the reins and grab the dolphins by their flippers, taming the disobedient animals, who struggle vividly, as if they are all trying to dive into the sea, whose waves are somewhat crudely stylised."

³⁷ Probably due to secondary usage, the inscription field profiles have been chiselled off up to the level of the inscription area, which, fortunately, has not been damaged. The height of the letters in the first line is 8 cm, and gradually decreases to 5.3 cm in the seventh line. In the first word of the first line and the first word of the sixth line (in both cases the nomen gentilicum of *lúlia*), above the letter *V* there is an apex. In the last line, the siglum *V* was erased "in the past", "probably because before the monument she had ordered was put up, Julia Tertia Toruca had died." (J. Brunšmid, 1907, 202).



SL. 3. Nadgrobni spomenik iz Sv.Jurja (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu)
FIG. 3. A sepulchral monument from Sveti Juraj (Zagreb Archaeological Museum).

epihorski cognomen".³⁸ Kognomen *Tertia* (*Tertius*) pripada skupini osobnih imena koja su, kako se konvencionalno smatra, davana prema redoslijedu rođenja, odnosno *Tertia* označava treće po redu rođeno (žensko) dijete u obitelji Gaja Julija, njezina oca. Stoga je posvuda raširen, a u Liburniji je potvrđen i kod autohtonog stanovništva.³⁹ *Toruca* je ime dokumentirano samo na ovom natpisu, što znači da je preuzeto iz domaćeg onomastika i u latiniziranoj formi navedeno kao drugi kognomen, koji ukazuje na liburnsko podrijetlo njegove nositeljice.⁴⁰ Osim potvrde da su članovi porodice *Iulius* u Lopsiki domaćeg podrijetla, natpis je važan

Iúliae Sex(ti) f(iliae) / Paulle f(iliae) / Appuleiae / C(ai) fil(iae) /⁵ Marcellae nep(ti) / Iulia C(ai) fil(ia) Tertia / To[r]uca [v(iva)] f(ecit).

The explanation of the inscription text is simple: *Iulia C. f. Tertia Toruca* in her lifetime put up a monument to her daughter *Julia Paulla* and granddaughter *Appuleia Marcella*. As far back as the initial publication of the monument and interpretation of the inscription, J. Brunšmid noticed that the commemorator's name contained "a Roman and a regional cognomina".³⁸ The cognomen *Tertia* (*Tertius*) belongs to a group of personal names which are conventionally believed to have been given according to the sequence of birth; in other words, *Tertia* denotes the third-born (female) child in the family of *Caius Iulius*, her father. Therefore it is widely distributed, and in Liburnia also confirmed among the indigenous population.³⁹ *Toruca* is a name documented only in this inscription, which implies that it was assumed from the local onomasticon, and in a Latinised form mentioned as a second cognomen, suggesting the Liburnian origin of its bearer.⁴⁰ Apart from the confirmation that the members of the *Iulius* family in *Lopsica* were of local origin, the inscription is important because it gives a partial insight into the genealogy of the abovementioned family, since from the naming of the three women, three generations and two family branches can be identified. *Iulia Paulla* is the commemorator's daughter, and from her filiation we find out that her father was *Sextus Iulius*, the husband of *Toruca*. Therefore, it is easy to explain that both mother and daughter have the same nomen gentilicium, in other words, both the father's and mother's family name was *Iulius*, but the different filiations suggest two family branches. This is also an important fact, suggesting that the *Iulii* were among *Lopsica*'s leading families. *Appuleia C. f. Marcella* is the grand-daughter

³⁸ J. Brunšmid, 1907, 202.

³⁹ G. Alföldy, 1969, 307.

⁴⁰ G. Alföldy, 1969, 313; A. Kurilić, 2002, 133.

³⁸ J. Brunšmid, 1907, 202.

³⁹ G. Alföldy, 1969, 307.

⁴⁰ G. Alföldy, 1969, 313. A. Kurilić, 2002, 133.

jer omogućava djelomičan uvid u genealogiju navedene porodice, budući da se iz imenovanja triju spomenutih žena mogu razabrati njezina tri naraštaja i dvije porodične grane. *Iulia Paulla* je kći komemoratorice, a iz njezine filijacije doznajemo da joj je otac bio *Sextus Iulius*, koji je muž Toruke. Stoga je lako objasniti da i majka i kći imaju isti gentilicij, odnosno i očevo i majčino porodično ime je *Iulius*, ali različite filijacije sugeriraju dvije porodične grane. To je, također, važna činjenica u promišljanju da su *Iulii* među vodećim porodicama u Lopsiki. *Appuleia C. f. Marcella* je unuka Julije Tercije Toruke i kći Julije Paulle. Kognomeni *Marcella* i *Paulla* (muške inačice *Marcellus* i *Paullinus*/*Paulinus*) su latinski i posvuda rašireni.⁴¹ Ovdje je važno primjetiti da su imenovanja triju navedenih žena na natpisu (*Iulia C. f. Tertia Toruca, Iulia Sex. f. Paulla* i *Appuleia C. f. Marcella*) u potpunosti rimska. Sve tri žene imaju latinska osobna imena, uz važnu napomenu da je u imenovanju komemoratorice, osim prvog latinskog (*Tertia*), naveden i drugi domaći kognomen (*Toruca*)⁴² na temelju kojega možemo zaključiti da se radi o romaniziranim pripadnicima autohtone porodice.

Iz imenovanja Torukine unuke Appuleje Marcelli doznajemo da se njezin otac zvao *Caius Appuleius*,⁴³ odnosno da je on muž Julije Paulle. Potvrđena bračna veza s članicom porodice *Iulius* pokazuje da su *Appuleii* također bili među uglednim stanovnicima Lopsike, jer, kao što je to bilo uobičajeno posvuda, bračne su se veze redovito sklapale unutar iste društvene klase.

S obzirom na paleografske, epigrafske i onomastičke osobitosti, natpis *CIL III 3015* možemo datirati u prvu polovicu I. st.

⁴¹ G. Alföldy, 1969, 261.

⁴² Tvorba pomoću sufiksa *-ucus/-uca* upućuje na mogući domaći nomen (G. Alföldy, 1969, 346-347).

⁴³ Gentilicij *Appuleius* potvrđen je u rimskodobnoj Dalmaciji kod doseljenih Italika, ali i romaniziranog stanovništva u Liburniji. Prema poznatoj natpisnoj građi, *Appuleii* su porodica viteškog ranga, čije je središte u Jaderu, gdje je dokumentiran *C. Appuleius C. f. Serg. Balbinus, pontifex, equum publicum habens* (*CIL III 9997*). U Enoni je poznat [...] *Appuleius P. f. Fronto, aedilis, Ilvir qq., pontifex* (*CIL III 2977*). Usp. G. Alföldy, 1969, 60.

of *Iulia Tertia Toruca* and the daughter of *Iulia Paulla*. The cognomina *Marcella* and *Paulla* (male variants *Marcellus* and *Paulla/Paulinus*) are Latin and widely distributed.⁴¹ At this point, it is important to stress that the names of the three women in the inscription (*Iulia C. f. Tertia Toruca, Iulia Sex. f. Paulla* and *Appuleia C. f. Marcella*) are entirely Roman. All three women have Latin personal names, though it is important to remark that in the name of the commemorator, apart from the Latin first cognomen (*Tertia*), a second, local cognomen also appears (*Toruca*),⁴² which suggests that they were Romanised members of an autochthonous family.

From the naming of Toruca's granddaughter *Appuleia Marcella*, we find out that her father's name was *Caius Appuleius*.⁴³ In other words, he was *Iulia Paulla*'s husband. A legally recognised conjugal union with a member of the *Iulius* family demonstrates that the *Appuleii* were also among Lopsica's respected inhabitants, since it was a general rule for marriages to be concluded among members of the same social class.

Considering its palaeographic, epigraphic and onomastic characteristics, the inscription *CIL III 3015* can be dated to the first half of the 1st century AD.

Two inscriptions mentioning inhabitants of classical antique *Lopsica* represent a small sample. Therefore, no certain conclusions can be derived. However, we can mention several important facts that have been written or can be read between the inscriptions' lines. It is of

⁴¹ G. Alföldy, 1969, 261.

⁴² The formation with the suffix *-ucus/-uca* suggests a possible local nomen (G. Alföldy, 1969, 346-347).

⁴³ The *Appuleius* nomen gentilicum has been confirmed in the Roman period in Dalmatia among Italic settlers, but also among the Romanised population of Liburnia. According to known inscription finds, the *Appuleii* were a family of knightly rank, whose centre was in Lader, where *C. Appuleius C. f. Serg. Balbinus, pontifex, equum publicum habens* (*CIL III 9997*) was documented. In Aenona, [...] *Appuleius P. f. Fronto, aedilis, Ilvir qq., pontifex* (*CIL III 2977*) is known. Compare G. Alföldy, 1969, 60.

Dva natpisa sa spomenom stanovnika antičke Lopsike mali su uzorak i stoga ne možemo izvoditi sigurne zaključke, međutim možemo navesti nekoliko važnih činjenica koje su napisane ili se dadu iščitati između redaka natpisa. Osobito je važno da su na oba natpisa dokumentirane tri žene i jedan muškarac iz vodeće porodice *Iulius*, među kojima, sudeći prema navedenim filijacijama, možemo razlikovati tri porodične grane (obitelji). To su:

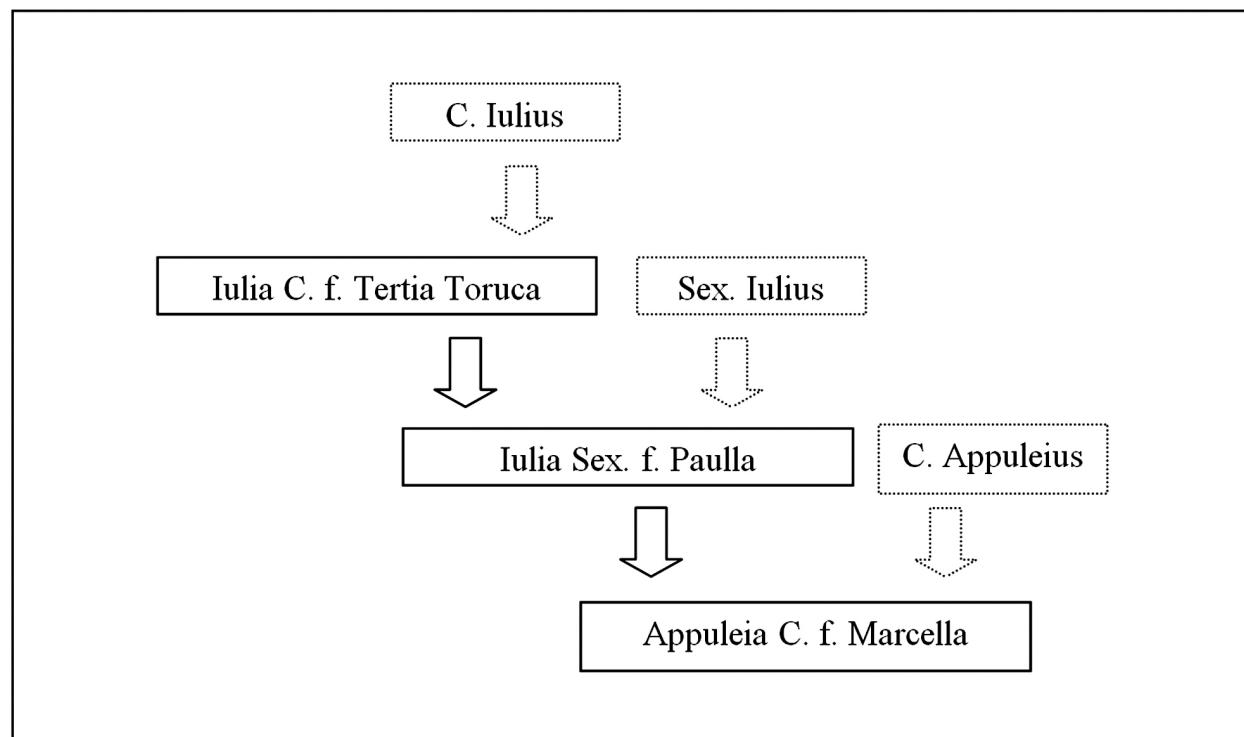
1. *Iulia C(ai) f(ilia) Tertia Toruca*
2. *Iulia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Paulla*
3. *Iulia Ti(beri) f(ilia) Procilla i Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri?) f(ilius) Ser(gia tribu) Sura, aedilis, Ilvir bis, Ilvir quinq.*

Na temelju onomastičke analize natpisa *CIL III 3015* moguće je uočiti genealogiju obitelji *Iulius* u tri (četiri) naraštaja.

particular significance that in both inscriptions three women and one man from the leading *Iulius* family were documented, among whom, given the mentioned filiations, we can differentiate between three family branches (families). These are:

1. *Iulia C(ai) f(ilia) Tertia Toruca*
2. *Iulia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Paulla*
3. *Iulia Ti(beri) f(ilia) Procilla and Ti(berius) Iulius Ti(beri?) f(ilius) Ser(gia tribu) Sura, aedilis, Ilvir bis, Ilvir quinq.*

On the basis of an onomastic analysis of inscription *CIL III 3015*, it is possible to identify three (four) generations of the *Iulius* family genealogy.



SL. 4. Genealogija obitelji *Iulius* prema natpisu *CIL III 3015*

FIG. 4. Genealogy of the *Iulius* family based on inscription *CIL III 3015*.

Budući da je na natpisu *CIL III 3015 Iulia Tertia Toruca* navedena kao komemoratorica koja je za života postavila spomen sebi, kćeri i unuci, moramo zaključiti da je ona imala veoma važnu ulogu u svojoj obitelji. Važna uloga žene u obitelji primjetna je i na nizu drugih ranorimskih natpisa s prostora Liburnije na kojima je moguće prepoznati autohtono stanovništvo, što se može tumačiti kao odraz društvenih tradicija. Rezultate dosadašnjih spoznaja i mišljenja o ustroju liburnske obitelji izvrsno sažima A. Kurilić,⁴⁴ koja smatra da je u Liburniji, suprotno mišljenju o postojanju "velike obitelji", dominirao jezgredni tip obitelji.⁴⁵ Iz predočenog rodoslovlja vidi se da u konkretnom slučaju jezgrovnu obitelj čine majka (*Iulia Tertia Toruca*), otac (*Sex. Iulius*) i kći (*Iulia Paulla*), kojoj se kasnije ženidbom pridružuje kćerin muž i zet (*C. Appuleius*)⁴⁶ i unuka (*Appuleia Marcella*), koji, nastavljući živjeti u istom domaćinstvu, čine proširenu obitelj.⁴⁷ Budući da se na natpisu komemoriraju samo ženski članovi obitelji te da je kći i nakon udaje zajedno sa svojim mužem i kćeri ostala živjeti u majčinoj obitelji, mogu se prepoznati elementi matrilinearnosti i matrilokalnosti.⁴⁸ Ipak, moramo to jasno naglasiti, ovdje su analizirane samo rodbinske i bračne veze na natpisu navedenih ženskih i muških članova obitelji, čija se imena dijelom mogu rekonstruirati iz imenovanja njihovih kćeri, što znači da ne možemo znati je li to doista

Since inscription *CIL III 3015* mentions *Iulia Tertia Toruca* as a commemorator who in her lifetime put up a monument to herself, her daughter and granddaughter, we have to conclude that she played a very important role in her family. The important role of women in the family is also noticeable in a series of other early Roman inscriptions from the area of Liburnia in which it is possible to identify the autochthonous population, which can be interpreted as a reflection of social traditions. The results of the current knowledge and understanding of the structure of the Liburnian family has been successfully summarised by A. Kurilić,⁴⁴ in whose view, opposed to the theory of the existence of large families, the nuclear family type predominated in Liburnia.⁴⁵ The presented genealogy suggests that in this concrete instance the nuclear family consisted of the mother (*Iulia Tertia Toruca*), father (*Sex. Iulius*) and daughter (*Iulia Paulla*), subsequently, through marriage, joined by the daughter's husband, i.e. the son-in-law (*C. Appuleius*),⁴⁶ and the granddaughter (*Appuleia Marcella*), who by continuing to live in the same household constituted an extended family.⁴⁷ Since the inscription commemorates only female family members, and the daughter even after marrying, together with her husband and daughter, remained in her mother's family, elements of matrilinearity and matrilocality can be identified.⁴⁸ However, it needs to be clearly pointed out that in this paper only family and matrimonial unions

⁴⁴ A. Kurilić, 1995, 58-59.

⁴⁵ A. Kurilić, 1995, 61.

⁴⁶ Na isti se način može tumačiti i da je i *Sex. Iulius* postao prijenjeni član obitelji, odnosno to se može pretpostaviti i za Gaja Julija, oca Julije Tercije Toruke.

⁴⁷ Proširena obitelj uključuje najmanje tri naraštaja, koja u konkretnom slučaju čine majka (*Iulia Tertia Toruca*), kći (*Iulia Paulla*) i unuka (*Appuleia Marcella*).

⁴⁸ Matrilinearnost predstavlja krvnosrodnici sustav u kojem svi srodnici po ženskoj liniji čine srodnici zajednicu, a podrijetlo i nasljedivanje imovine i statusa računa se po ženskoj lozi. Matrilokalnost predstavlja da kćeri i unuke nakon udaje sa svojim mužem i djecom ostaju živjeti u istoj obitelji, a sinovi i unuci nakon ženidbe napuštaju obitelj u kojoj su odrasli i odlaze živjeti kod nevjeste.

⁴⁴ A. Kurilić, 1995, 58-59.

⁴⁵ A. Kurilić, 1995, 61.

⁴⁶ In the same way, it is also possible to interpret that *Sex. Iulius* became a family member by matrilocal marriage, which can also be assumed of *Caius Iulius*, the father of *Iulia Tertia Toruca*.

⁴⁷ The extended family includes at least three generations: in our case, the mother (*Iulia Tertia Toruca*), daughter (*Iulia Paulla*) and grand-daughter (*Appuleia Marcella*).

⁴⁸ Matrilinearity implies a consanguinity system in which all relatives through maternal ancestors comprise a family community; descent, as well as inherited property and status, are traced through maternal ancestors. Matrilocality implies that daughters and granddaughters after their marriage remain living in the same family with their husband and children, while sons and grandsons after their marriage leave the family in which they grew up to reside with the wife's kin group.

bilo stvarno stanje.⁴⁹ Isto tako treba napomenuti da je na ovom natpisu, kao uostalom i na ostalim natpisima s prostora Liburnije, obiteljsko podrijetlo označeno navodom imena oca, što je jasan pokazatelj da uloga oca u obitelji nije bila marginalizirana i da se srodstvo računalo po muškoj liniji.⁵⁰

Ti. Iulius Sura za sada je jedini epigrafski posvјedočen muškarac antičke Lopsike, čije je ime na natpisu bilo zapisano u punom obliku.⁵¹ U smislu određivanja velikog lokalnog značenja porodice *Iulius*, valja naglasiti da je on bio rimski građanin upisan u tribu *Sergia*, koji je, zadovoljivši propisane uvjete izbora, uobičajenim redom obnašao sve municipalne magistrature. Navod da je *Ti. Iulius Sura* tijekom dužeg vremenskog razdoblja višekratno vodio municipalnu upravu, automatizmom uvrštava njega i članove njegove obitelji među najviše uglednike svoje zajednice, a porodicu *Iulius* određuje kao vodeću (za sada i jedinu) magistratsku porodicu Lopsike. Istodobno, navod da je *Ti. Iulius Sura* obnašao magistrature potvrđuje municipalnu autonomiju (*municipium Lopsica*), koju je ranija peregrinska zajednica (*civitas Lopsica*), kako se smatra, stekla tijekom vladanja careva julijsko-klaudijske dinastije, ili, preciznije, za vladavine cara Tiberija.

⁴⁹ Na primjer, ne možemo znati je li *Iulia Teretia Toruca* imala još neku kćer/unuku, koje bi nakon udaje sa svojim mužem i djecom ostale živjeti u istoj obitelji, ili sina/unuka, koji bi nakon ženidbe otišli živjeti kod nevjeste.

⁵⁰ To pak predstavlja patrilinearno srodstvo. Međutim, činjenica da je na nekim natpisima iz Liburnije uočena dominacija majčine linije, razvila se i teza o bilinearnoj obitelji, koja uključuje i majčine i očeve srodnike, i bilokalnosti, gdje sin ili kći, ovisno o posebnim okolnostima, poglavito zbog nasljeđivanja imovine i zadržavanja stečenoga društvenog statusa, ostaju kod kuće nakon ženidbe/udaje i uključuju svoju jezgrovnu obitelj u proširenu obitelj. U tom se smislu može tumačiti i primjer Julije Procille, koja po oporuci postavlja spomen svome ocu, jedinom za sada poznatom magistratu Lopsike.

⁵¹ Zbog oštećenja spomenika, njegovo ime, koje je nedvojbeno bilo zapisano u prvim redcima natpisa, nije u cijelosti sačuvano, ali se na temelju imenovanja njegove kćeri može pouzdano rekonstruirati. Na natpisu *CIL III 3015* moguće je rekonstruirati imena (*praenomen i nomen*) još dvojice muških članova iz porodice *Iulius* (*C. Iulius i Sex. Iulius*) i jednog iz porodice *Appuleius* (*C. Appuleius*).

in the inscription of the aforementioned female and male family members have been analysed, whose names can partly be reconstructed from their daughters' names, which implies that we cannot know if this was the real state of affairs.⁴⁹ Correspondingly, it needs to be underlined that in this inscription, just as in other inscriptions from the area of Liburnia, family descent is denoted by the father's name, which is a clear indicator that the father's role in the family was not marginalised, and that the line of descent was traced through the paternal line.⁵⁰

Ti. Iulius Sura is so far the only epigraphically confirmed man of classical antique *Lopsica* whose name in an inscription was written in its full form.⁵¹ In terms of determining the local significance of the *Iulius* family, it should be pointed out that he was a Roman citizen enrolled in the *Sergia* tribus. Having fulfilled the prescribed selection conditions, he regularly held all municipal magistracies. The claim that *Ti. Iulius Sura* over a rather long period of time on several occasions managed the municipal administration, automatically classifies him and the members of his family among the highest dignitaries of his community, and identifies the *Iulius* family as *Lopsica*'s leading (and so far only) magistrate family. At the same time, the claim that

49 For example, we cannot know if *Iulia Tertia Toruca* had another daughter/granddaughter, who after their marriage remained living in the same family with their husband and children, or a son/grandson who after their marriage went to reside with their wife's kin.

50 This, again, implies patrilineal kinship. However, the fact that in some inscriptions from Liburnia the dominance of the mother's line has been identified has also resulted in the thesis of a bilinear family, which includes both the mother's and father's kinship, and bilocality, where the son or daughter, depending on particular circumstances, particularly associated with property inheritance and maintaining social status, remained at home after their marriage and included their nuclear family in the extended family. The example of *Iulia Procilla*, who put up a monument to her father, to date the only known magistrate of *Lopsica*, in accordance with the wishes of his testament, can be interpreted in this sense.

51 Due to the damage to the monument, his name, which was undoubtedly written in the first inscription lines, has not been completely preserved, but can be reconstructed with certainty on the basis of his daughter's name. In the inscription *CIL III 3015*, it is possible to reconstruct the names (*praenomen and nomen*) of two more male members of the *Iulius* family (*C. Iulius and Sex. Iulius*) and one from the *Appuleius* family (*C. Appuleius*).

Lopsica je tijekom kasnorepublikanskog i početkom ranocarskog razdoblja bila važna luka i trgovište, koje je pomorsko i trgovačko značenje nadilazilo uske lokalne okvire. *Lopsica* je stoga bila referentna točka na liburnskoj obali, tako da je njezino ime ostalo trajno zabilježeno u antičkim literarnim vrelima.

Ovaj članak s osobitim poštovanjem posvećujem prof. dr. sc. Šimi Batoviću, utemeljitelju moderne prapovijesne arheologije na prostoru istočne obale Jadrana i svojem profesoru od kojega sam naučio prve korake u arheologiji.

Ti. Iulius Sura held magistracies confirms *Lopsica*'s municipal autonomy (*municipium Lopsica*), which it is believed the earlier peregrine community (*civitas Lopsica*) gained during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, or to be more precise, in the course of the Emperor Tiberius's reign.

In the course of the Late Republican and beginning of the Early Imperial periods, *Lopsica* was an important harbour and market town, whose maritime and trading significance surpassed its narrow local context. Therefore, *Lopsica* was a reference point on the Liburnian coast, with the result that its name was recorded in Classical Antiquity literary sources.

With great respect, I dedicate this paper to Professor Šime Batović, Ph.D., the founder of modern prehistoric archaeology on the territory of the eastern Adriatic coast, and my professor from whom I learned my first steps in archaeology.

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