

Ivan Matijević

## Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

Ivan Matijević  
Odsjek za povijest  
Filozofski fakultet u Splitu  
Sinjska 2  
HR, 21000 Split  
Ivan.Matijevic@ffst.hr

UDK: 904 (497.5 Solin) "652"  
930.271 (497.5 Solin) "652"  
Izvorni znanstveni članak  
Primljeno: 2. 9. 2010.  
Prihvaćeno: 21. 9. 2010.

U radu se obrađuje osam spomenika na kojima se spominju pripadnici Prve kohorte Belgâ (*cohors I Belgarum*), koja je u Dalmaciji boravila tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća. Šest stela i jedna nadgrobna ara potječu iz Salone, a jedna posvetna ara je iz kamenoloma na Braču.

*Ključne riječi:* Salona, kohorta, nekropola, stela, ara, centurion, dekurion, veksilarij, vojnik, cursus honorum, strator consularis

Ivan Matijević  
History Department  
Faculty of Arts and Letters in Split  
Sinjska 2  
Croatia, 21000 Split  
Ivan.Matijevic@ffst.hr

UDC: 904 (497.5 Solin) "652"  
930.271 (497.5 Solin) "652"  
Original scientific paper  
Received: 2 September 2010  
Accepted: 21 September 2010

This paper contains an analysis of eight monuments on which the members of the First Belgian cohort (*cohors I Belgarum*) are mentioned; this cohort was stationed in Dalmatia during the second and third centuries. Six stelae and one grave altar are from Salona, while a dedicatory altar is from the quarry on the island of Brač.

*Key words:* Salona, cohort, necropolis, stela, altar, centurion, decurion, vexillary, soldier, cursus honorum, strator consularis

Gotovo dvije stotine natpisa iz Salone i njezine okolice spominju vojnike koji su služili u različitim legijama i augzilijama. Većina tih natpisa je sepulkralnoga karaktera. Od brojnih augzilija koje su boravile u Dalmaciji *cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *cohors III Alpinorum equitata* i *cohors I Belgarum equitata* ovdje su provele najviše vremena. U Provinciji i u Saloni njihovi su pripadnici ostavili brojne tragove različitih aktivnosti.

Prva kohorta Belgâ (*cohors I Belgarum*) bila je *equitata quingenaria*, odnosno pješачka kohorta s odjeljenjem konjanika. Iako su mnogi radovi posvećeni određivanju broja vojnika u ovim postrojbama, ni danas se ne može sa sigurnošću reći koliko je u njima točno bilo pješaka, a koliko konjanika.<sup>1</sup> R. W. Davies u svojem radu *Cohortes equitatae* piše da su postrojbe ovakvog ustroja imale 120 konjanika (*equites*) raspoređenih u 4 turme, od kojih je svaka bila pod zapovjedništvom dekuriona. Za pješake (*pedites*) nema jasnih dokaza, ali su najvjerojatnije bili podijeljeni u 6 centurija od kojih je svaka imala 80 vojnika, 480 ukupno. Prema tome, kohorta je imala 600 vojnika.<sup>2</sup> Prema drugim mišljenjima svaka je centurija imala 60 pješaka, a turma 32 konjanika, pa bi u tom slučaju broj od 488 vojnika više odgovarao imenu kohorte (*quingenaria*).<sup>3</sup> Pisani izvori, međutim, pokazuju da se stvarna snaga kohorte mogla bitno razlikovati od njezine teoretske snage. Izvrstan primjer je *cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria* koja je 106. godine imala 417 pješaka i 119 konjanika.<sup>4</sup>

*Cohors I Belgarum* unovačena je najvjerojatnije u središnjim predjelima južne Britanije.<sup>5</sup> Može biti da je veći dio 1. stoljeća provela u Gornjoj Germaniji,<sup>6</sup> gdje je u Mainzu pronađen jedan nadgrobni natpis aktivnoga vojnika datiran u vrijeme između 31. i 75. godine.<sup>7</sup> Među istraživačima postoji nesuglasje oko datuma njezina dolaska u Dalmaciju. Spaul drži da se to moglo dogoditi u vrijeme Flavijevaca ili čak ranije, za Neronove vladavine.<sup>8</sup> Svoje mišljenje da se to najvjerojatnije dogodilo na prijelazu iz 1. u 2. stoljeće Alföldy temelji na podatku sa salonitanske diplome iz 94. godine,<sup>9</sup> gdje stoji da su u provinciji stacionirane Treća kohorta Alpinaca i Osmo dobrovoljačka kohorta.<sup>10</sup> On drži da su najraniji natpisi pripadnika ove kohorte dvije stele iz Garduna koje datira u početak 2. stoljeća.<sup>11</sup> Knight drži da dolazak postrojbe u Dalmaciju

Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone  
Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

Almost two hundred inscriptions from Salona or its environs mention soldiers who served in various legions or auxiliary units. Most of these inscriptions have a sepulchral character. Among the numerous auxiliary units which were posted in Dalmatia, *cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *cohors III Alpinorum equitata* and *cohors I Belgarum equitata* spent the most time here. In both Salona and the province as a whole their members left numerous traces of various activities.

The first Belgian cohort (*cohors I Belgarum*) was an *equitata quingenaria*, or an infantry cohort with a cavalry section. Even though many studies have been dedicated to determination of number of troops in these units, even today nothing certain can be said about the exact number of infantrymen and mounted troops in them.<sup>1</sup> R. W. Davies, in his work *Cohortes equitatae*, wrote that units with this structure had 120 cavalrymen (*equites*) deployed into four turms, each of which was under the command of a decurion. There is no clear evidence for foot soldiers (*pedites*), but they were probably divided into six centuries, of which each had 80 soldiers, for a total of 480. A cohort therefore consisted of 600 soldiers.<sup>2</sup> According to another view, each century had 60 foot soldiers, and each turm had 32 mounted soldiers, so in this case a number of 488 soldiers would correspond to the term cohort (*quingenaria*).<sup>3</sup> Written sources, however, show that the actual strength of a cohort could differ greatly from its theoretical strength. An excellent example is *cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria*, which had 417 foot soldiers and 199 mounted troops in the year 106.<sup>4</sup>

*Cohors I Belgarum* was probably recruited in the central sections of southern Britannia.<sup>5</sup> It may be that it had spent most of the first century in Germania Superior,<sup>6</sup> as a grave inscription testifying to active soldier was found in Mainz and dated between the years 31 and 75.<sup>7</sup> Among scholars there is some disagreement over the date of its arrival in Dalmatia. Spaul maintained that this may have happened during the Flavian era or even earlier, during Nero's reign.<sup>8</sup> Alföldy asserted that this probably occurred at the turn of the first into the second century based on data from a Salona diploma dated to the year 94,<sup>9</sup> in which it states that the *cohors III Alpinoroum* and *cohors VIII Voluntariorum* were stationed in the province.<sup>10</sup> He maintained that the earliest inscriptions to the members of this cohort are contained on two stelae from

<sup>1</sup> Southern 2006, str. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Davies 1971, str. 751-752.

<sup>3</sup> Breeze, Dobson 2000, str. 159, 160.

<sup>4</sup> Breeze, Dobson 2000, str. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Spaul 2000, str. 191.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkes 1969, str. 472.

<sup>7</sup> *EDH* HD056259 (*CIL* 13, 7038).

<sup>8</sup> Spaul 2000, str. 191.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL* 16, 38: (...) *peditibus et equitibus qui militant in coho(r)/te III Alpinorum et in VIII Voluntariorum / civium Romanorum qui peregrinae condicio/nis probati erant et sunt in Delmatia sub Q(uinto) Pom/ponio Rufo* (...).

<sup>10</sup> Ovaj podatak ne isključuje mogućnost boravka drugih postrojba u Dalmaciji; Alföldy 1987, str. 248.

<sup>11</sup> Alföldy 1987, str. 248. Jedan od tih natpisa je *CIL* 3, 9739, o kojemu više kasnije.

<sup>1</sup> Southern 2006, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Davies 1971, pp. 751-752.

<sup>3</sup> Breeze, Dobson 2000, pp. 159, 160.

<sup>4</sup> Breeze, Dobson 2000, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> Spaul 2000, p. 191.

<sup>6</sup> Wilkes 1969, p. 472.

<sup>7</sup> *EDH* HD056259 (*CIL* 13, 7038).

<sup>8</sup> Spaul 2000, p. 191.

<sup>9</sup> *CIL* 16, 38: (...) *peditibus et equitibus qui militant in coho(r)/te III Alpinorum et in VIII Voluntariorum / civium Romanorum qui peregrinae condicio/nis probati erant et sunt in Delmatia sub Q(uinto) Pom/ponio Rufo* (...).

<sup>10</sup> This data does not exclude the possibility of the stay of other troops in Dalmatia; Alföldy 1987, p. 248.

treba staviti u vrijeme cara Trajana.<sup>12</sup> Određivanje njezinih kretanja i točnijega dolaska u provinciju otežava činjenica što se ona ne spominje ni na jednoj poznatoj vojničkoj diplomii.<sup>13</sup> U Dalmaciji je kohorta zaposjela logor na Gračinama kod Humca u dolini Trebižata (*castellum Bigeste*) koji je ostao prazan nakon odlaska Treće kohorte Alpinaca u Andetrij, a jedno odjeljenje smješteno je u logor u Gardunu, gdje je bila glavnina Osme dobrovoljačke kohorte.<sup>14</sup> Iz Tilurija, Vrgorca, Narone, Salone, Burna, Andetrija, Kadine Glavice i Doboja potječu, koliko mi je poznato, 24 natpisa na kojima se spominje Prva kohorta Belgâ.<sup>15</sup> Najvjerojatnije su na tim mjestima bila smještena odjeljenja postrojbe, a jednako su tako raštrkani i natpisi Treće i Osme kohorte, što također upućuje na prisutnost odjeljenja i ovih postrojbi. Ovakvo je usitnjavanje tijekom 2. stoljeća bilo potrebno jer je dalmatinska vojna posada bila ograničena samo na ova tri augzilija i veksilacije nekih drugih postrojbi.<sup>16</sup> Njihova je uloga ponajprije bila kontroliranje puteva, borba protiv razbojnika i izvršavanje ostalih zadaća koje je određivao namjesnik provincije, što se najlakše ispunjavalo postavljanjem guste mreže manjih vojnih odjeljenja.<sup>17</sup> Zahvaljujući podacima s natpisa na kojima se spominju pripadnici ove postrojbe, jasno je da su u nju početkom 2. stoljeća, a posebice od Hadrijanova vremena, primani isključivo dalmatinski peregrini.<sup>18</sup> Postrojba je najviše tragova ostavila u Humcu, gdje je pronađeno sedam nadgrobnih spomenika, jedan žrtvenik, jedna počasna ploča i deset pečata na crijepu.<sup>19</sup>

Nema dvojbe da je kohorta bila prisutna u Dalmaciji i u 3. stoljeću, a to podupiru i obilježja njezinih natpisa iz Burna, Kadine Glavice, Andetrija, Salone i Gračina.<sup>20</sup> Spaul je iznio pretpostavku prema kojoj je kohorta napustila provinciju najvjerojatnije prije godine 197., kada je priključena vojsci Septimija Severa na njegovu putu prema Lyonu (*Lugdunum*) gdje je porazio uzurpatora Klodija Albina. Nakon toga je dobila počasni naslov *Septimia* i prebačena je u Öhringen u Gornju Germaniju.<sup>21</sup> Međutim, davno je Alföldy tvrdio da *cohors I Belgarum* iz Dalmacije i *cohors I Septimia Belgarum* iz Germanije nisu ista

- ↑ Knight svoju tvrdnju temelji upravo na natpisu Gaja Valerija Prokula; Knight 1991, str. 196.
- ↑ Spaul 2000, str. 191.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, str. 249.
- ↑ Wilkes 1969, str. 472; Alföldy 1987, str. 283, 284.
- ↑ Alföldy je smatrao da je *cohors III Alpinorum* napustila Dalmaciju oko 185. godine; Alföldy 1987, str. 247. Zahvaljujući pronalascima vrlo značajnih natpisa iz Šipova i Škripa na Braču preinačio je ovu dataciju i pretpostavio da je kohorta boravila u provinciji u kasnom 2. i u ranom 3. stoljeću; Alföldy 1987, str. 294, 295.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, str. 273.
- ↑ To vrijedi i za Treću kohortu Alpinaca; Alföldy 1987, str. 261, 262.
- ↑ Dodig 2007, str. 144, 145, 148-152.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, str. 249. Rastezanje postrojbi na širem prostoru bilo je uobičajena pojava diljem Carstva. Dobar primjer je *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* čija su odjeljenja 222. godine bila raspršena na čak 9 različitih mjesta. Jedno od njih bilo je udaljeno 250 kilometara od matičnog logora. O tome vidi više kod Davies 1974, str. 321.
- ↑ Spaul 2000, str. 191, 192, 508.

Gardun, which he dated to the beginning of the second century.<sup>11</sup> Knight asserted that the arrival of the unit to Dalmatia should be dated to the reign of Emperor Trajan.<sup>12</sup> The determination of its movements and a more accurate date for its arrival in the province is rendered difficult by the fact that it is not mentioned in any military diplomas.<sup>13</sup> In Dalmatia the cohort occupied the camp at Gračani near Humac in the Trežibat Valley (*castellum Bigeste*), which remained empty after the departure of *cohors III Alpinorum* for Andetrium, while one detachment was accommodated in the camp in Gardun, where bulk of the *cohors VIII Voluntariorum* was posted.<sup>14</sup> To the best of my knowledge, there are 24 inscriptions from Tilurium, Vrgorac, Narona, Salona, Burnum, Andetrium, Kadina Glavica and Doboј, on which the *cohors I Belgarum* is mentioned.<sup>15</sup> It is most likely that detachments of the units were stationed at these sites, and the inscriptions of the Third and Eighth cohorts are equally scattered, which also indicates the presence of detachments of these units as well. Such parcelization during the second century was necessary, because the Dalmatian military force was limited to only these three auxiliary units and vexillations of certain other units.<sup>16</sup> Their task was primarily to secure roads, fight against robbers and carry out other assignments specified by the provincial consul, and the simplest manner to accomplish these tasks was to have a thick network of smaller detachments.<sup>17</sup> Thanks to the data from the inscriptions on which the members of this unit are mentioned, it is clear that at the beginning of the second century, and particularly during Hadrian’s reign, Dalmatian peregrines were admitted to it exclusively.<sup>18</sup> The unit left the most traces in Humac, where seven gravestones, one altar, one honorary plaque and two stamps on tile were found.<sup>19</sup>

There can be no doubt that the cohort was present in Dalmatia in the third century as well, and this is also indicated by the features of its inscriptions from Burnum, Kadina Glavica, Andetrium, Salona and Gračine.<sup>20</sup> Spaul put forth a hypothesis according to which the cohort left the province most likely prior

- ↑ Alföldy 1987, p. 248. One of these inscriptions is *CIL* 3, 9739, of which more shall be said later.
- ↑ Knight based his assertion on the inscription of Gaius Valerius Proculus; Knight 1991, p. 196.
- ↑ Spaul 2000, p. 191.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, p. 249.
- ↑ Wilkes 1969, p. 472; Alföldy 1987, pp. 283, 284.
- ↑ Alföldy believed that *cohors III Alpinorum* left Dalmatia at around 185; Alföldy 1987, p. 247. Thanks to the discovery of very important inscriptions from Šipovo and Škrip on the island of Brač he reformulated this dating and hypothesized that it had stayed in the province in the late second and early third centuries; Alföldy 1987, pp. 294, 295.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, p. 273.
- ↑ This also applies to cohors III Alpinorum; Alföldy 1987, pp. 261, 262.
- ↑ Dodig 2007, pp. 144, 145, 148-152.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, p. 249. The stretching of units over a wider territory was customary throughout the Empire. A good example is *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, parts of which were scattered in nine different locations in the year 222. One of them was as far as 250 kilometres from its base camp. On this see Davies 1974, p. 321.

Ivan Matijević

postrojba.<sup>22</sup> *Cohors I Septimia* zabilježena je samo na dva natpisa iz Öhringena, datirana u 231. i 241. godinu,<sup>23</sup> i na jednome iz Mainza iz otprilike istoga doba.<sup>24</sup> Postojanje ove postrojbe treba gledati u svjetlu vojnih reformi Septimija Severa, prvoga cara nakon Augustova doba, koji je osnovao više novih legija. Potreba za novim postrojbama bila je velika zbog osiguravanja istočnih provincija, što je moralo dovesti i do osnivanja određenog broja novih augzilija. U priču se sasvim skladno uklapa *cohors I Septimia Belgarum*, koja u imenu ima gentilicij cara osnivača. Svi njezini natpisi, kako je prije spomenuto, datiraju u doba nakon vladavine Septimija Severa. Analogan primjer pruža *ala II Septimia Syrorum milliaria*,<sup>25</sup> posvjedočena natpisom iz Karnunta datiranim u 219. godinu.<sup>26</sup> Dakle, opravdano je govoriti da su *cohors I Belgarum* i *cohors I Septimia Belgarum* dvije različite postrojbe.<sup>27</sup>

U Saloni je do sada otkriveno sedam spomenika na kojima je sačuvano ime Prve kohorte Belgâ.<sup>28</sup> Njima sam pridružio i poznati votivni natpis centuriona Kvinta Silvija Sperata iz Škripa na Braču zbog posebnosti njegove službe kojom je očito bio vezan uz namjesnika provincije i osoblje njegova oficija. Postoji jedan nadgrobni natpis<sup>29</sup> kojemu se ne zna mjesto pronalaska, ali se pretpostavlja da bi to mogla biti Salona.<sup>30</sup> Po svojim značajkama on se datira u 3. stoljeće. Na njemu se spominje Marko Septimije Dazo koji je vodio financije (*quaestuarus*) u ovoj kohorti.<sup>31</sup> Najvjerojatnije se radi o jedinom do sada poznatom augzilijaru koji je obnašao tu dužnost.<sup>32</sup>

Iz ovoga korpusa spomenika najstarija je stela Gaja Valerija Prokula (sl. 1.), pronađena davne 1888. godine, a njezinu važnost odmah su uočili istaknuti znanstvenici tog doba.<sup>33</sup> Slučajno je iskopana na nekom od zemljišta koja pripadaju kućama Grubišić (Žuro) u

- ↑ Alföldy 1987, str. 248, bilj. 68. Postoji mogućnost da je *Gallia Belgica* pružala novake za kohorte *I. Belgarum equitata*, *I. Belgica* i *I. Septimia Belgarum*. O tome vidi više kod Cheesman 1914, str. 171-173.
- ↑ *EDH* HD028164 (*CIL* 3, 11758); *EDH* HD054620 (*CIL* 3, 11759).
- ↑ *CIL* 3, 6687.
- ↑ Birley 1969, str. 67, 68.
- ↑ *EDH* HD000887.
- ↑ O ovome pitanju razmijenio sam mišljenje s prof. dr. M. A. Speidelom. Od srca mu zahvaljujem na danim prijedlozima i uputama. On kaže da su najbolje rješenje 1960-ih ponudili G. Alföldy i E. Birley. Neodrživim smatra Spaulovo pisanje prema kojemu je kohorta dobila počasni naslov *Septimia* zbog zasluga u bitki jer je Septimije Sever taj naslov davao samo novoosnovanim postrojbama kao što pokazuje primjer ale *II Septimia Syrorum milliaria*. Postojećim postrojbama češće su davani pridjevi *Antoniniana*, *Severiana* ili oboje.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, str. 283. Važno je spomenuti da Spaulov popis ne sadrži salonitanske natpise Aurelija Hilarijana (*ILJug* 2610) i Statilija Pulhera (*CIL* 3, 2067); usporedi Spaul 2000, str. 190, 191.
- ↑ *CIL* 3, 3162b: *Caesia C(ai) lib(erta) / Panthera / viva fecit / sibi et M(arco) Sep/ tim(io) Dasi / coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / quaestuario / [pri]ncipali(?) cons/[3] EIDIMIO / [---]*.
- ↑ Wilkes 1969, str. 472; Alföldy 1987, str. 285.
- ↑ Wilkes 2000, str. 334.
- ↑ Spaul 2000, str. 543. Donekle sličnu službu (*quaestor veteranorum*) obavljao je jedan legionar iz Osme legije; Alföldy 1974, str. 65.
- ↑ *ILS* 2594.

Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone

Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

to the year 197, when it joined the army of Septimius Severus on his way to Lyon (Lugdunum), where he defeated the usurper Clodius Albinus. Thereafter it was accorded the honorary title *Septimia* and transferred to Öhringen in Germania Superior.<sup>21</sup> However, Alföldy had long before insisted that *cohors I Belgarum* from Dalmatia and *cohors I Septimia Belgarum* from Germania were not the same unit.<sup>22</sup> *Cohors I Septimia* was recorded only in two inscriptions from Öhringen, dated to 231 and 241,<sup>23</sup> and in one from Mainz dated to roughly the same period.<sup>24</sup> The existence of this unit should be viewed in light of the military reforms instituted by Septimius Severus, the first emperor who established a number of new legions after the Augustan era. The need for new units was great because the eastern provinces had to be secured, and this necessarily led to the establishment of a certain number of new auxiliary units. The *cohors I Septimia Belgarum* fits into these considerations quite nicely, as its name bears the emperor’s gentilicium. All of its inscriptions, as already mentioned, date to the period after the reign of Septimius Severus. An analogous example is provided by *ala II Septimia Syrorum milliaria*,<sup>25</sup> recorded in an inscription from Carnuntum dated to 219.<sup>26</sup> It is therefore justified to speak of *cohors I Belgarum* and *cohors I Septimia Belgarum* as two different units.<sup>27</sup>

Thus far, seven monuments have been discovered in Salona which preserve the name of *cohors I Belgarum*.<sup>28</sup> These were joined by the well-known votive inscription of the centurion Quintus Silvius Speratus from Škrip on the island of Brač, due to the specific aspects of his service, which was obviously tied to the provincial consul and the staff of his office. There is one gravestone inscription<sup>29</sup> with unknown find-site, but which is believed to come from Salona.<sup>30</sup> In terms of its characteristics, it has been dated to the third century. Marcus Septimius Daso, who maintained the

- ↑ Spaul 2000, pp. 191, 192, 508.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, p. 248, note 68. There is a possibility that *Gallia Belgica* provided recruits for cohors *I. Belgarum equitata*, *I. Belgica* and *I. Septimia Belgarum*. For more see Cheesman 1914, pp. 171-173.
- ↑ *EDH* HD028164 (*CIL* 3, 11758); *EDH* HD054620 (*CIL* 3, 11759).
- ↑ *CIL* 3, 6687.
- ↑ Birley 1969, pp. 67, 68.
- ↑ *EDH* HD000887.
- ↑ I exchanged views with Prof. A. Speidel on this matter. I would like to thank him sincerely for his advice and suggestions. He says that the best solution was proposed in the 1960s by G. Alföldy and E. Birley. He deems untenable Spaul’s contention that the cohort earned the honorary title *Septimia* in battle, for Septimius Severus accorded this name solely to newly established units, which is shown by the example of *ala II Septimia Syrorum milliaria*. Existing units were more often given titles such as *Antoninea* or *Severiana*, or both.
- ↑ Alföldy 1987, p. 283. It is important to mention that Spaul’s list does not contain the Salona inscriptions of Aurelius Hilarianus (*ILJug* 2610) and Statilius Pulher (*CIL* 3, 2067); cf Spaul 2000, pp. 190, 191.
- ↑ *CIL* 3, 3162b: *Caesia C(ai) lib(erta) / Panthera / viva fecit / sibi et M(arco) Sep/ tim(io) Dasi / coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / quaestuario / [pri]ncipali(?) cons/[3] EIDIMIO / [---]*.
- ↑ Wilkes 1969, p. 472; Alföldy 1987, p. 285.





Slika 1.  
Stela Gaja Valerija Prokula (foto:  
T. Seser)

Figure 1.  
Stela of Gaius Valerius Proculus  
(photo by T. Seser)

Strani, oko jedan kilometar sjeveroistočno od zidina Salone.<sup>34</sup> Riječ je o parcelama prilične veličine, na kojima su često pronađeni nadgrobni natpisi pa je teško s preciznošću utvrditi odakle potječe pojedini spomenik.<sup>35</sup> Prokulova je stela razlomljena na tri dijela, zbog čega je i natpis pretrpio manja oštećenja. U gornjem dijelu ima trokutasti pseudozabat u čijem je središnjem dijelu četverolisna rozeta. Lijevo i desno od rozete postavljena je po jedna cvjetna čaška. Pseudoakroteriji su ukrašeni akantovim listovima iz kojih se izvijaju bršljanovi listovi. Stela je neobično velikih dimenzija: visina je 155 cm, a širina 78 cm.<sup>36</sup> Natpis glasi: *C(aius) Val(erius) [---] f(ilius) Azinas / Proc(u)[l]us] eques / coh(ortis) I(II?) [A]lp(inorum) ve[x(illarius)] / equit[um coh(ortis)] / I Belg(arum) dec(urio) equit(um) / coh(ortis) eiusdem / hunc sepulcrum / vivos (!) paravi mihi / et Apulei(a)e Sabin(a)e / uxori meae lib(ertis) / libertabusque / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).*<sup>37</sup> Proculus had the services he performed in two different cohorts specified in the inscription. His core unit was one of the Alpine cohorts, and since the inscription is damaged precisely where its name is written, it is difficult to say which unit it is with any certainty. All scholars who dealt with this inscription asserted that it was the First Alpine cohort (*cohors I Alpinorum*).<sup>38</sup> It is worthwhile noting that in the *CIL* the cohort's name was read as *I [U]lp(iae)*,<sup>39</sup> which Alföldy contested.<sup>40</sup> In the text below I shall endeavour to back my view that the name of the Third Alpine cohort (*cohors III Alpinorum*) is engraved here. Regardless of which unit it actually was, Proculus

34 Bulić 1888, str. 8, n. 1. Za točan položaj pronalaska Prokulove stele vidi Miletić 1990, str. 187, sl. 6.

35 Detaljnije o natpisima pronađenim na spomenutim parcelama vidi Miletić 1990, str. 187, 189. bilj. 127.

36 Stela se čuva u jugoistočnom krilu lapidarija Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Inventirana je pod oznakom A-1372.

cohort's finances (*quaestuaris*) is mentioned in it.<sup>31</sup> This is probably the sole auxiliary known thus far who performed this duty.<sup>32</sup>

In this body of monuments, the oldest is the stela of Gaius Valerius Proculus (Fig. 1), found in 1888, and its importance was immediately noted by the distinguished scholars of that time.<sup>33</sup> It was dug out by chance on one of the properties belonging to the Grubišić (Žuro) houses in Strana, approximately one kilometre east of Salona's walls.<sup>34</sup> These are rather sizeable plots on which grave inscriptions were often found, so it is difficult to state the precise origin point of a given monument with any certainty.<sup>35</sup> The stela of Proculus was broken into three parts, so that the inscription sustained some minor damage. In the upper section it has a triangular pseudo-pediment with a four-leaf rosette in its centre. A flower calyx is placed both to the left and right of the rosette. The pseudo-acroteria are decorated with acanthus leaves from which ivy leaves twist. The stela is unusually large: the height is 155 cm, while the width is 78 cm.<sup>36</sup> The inscription reads: *C(aius) Val(erius) [---] f(ilius) Azinas / Proc(u)[l]us] eques / coh(ortis) I(II?) [A]lp(inorum) ve[x(illarius)] / equit[um coh(ortis)] / I Belg(arum) dec(urio) equit(um) / coh(ortis) eiusdem / hunc sepulcrum / vivos (!) paravi mihi / et Apulei(a)e Sabin(a)e / uxori meae lib(ertis) / libertabusque / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).*<sup>37</sup> Proculus had the services he performed in two different cohorts specified in the inscription. His core unit was one of the Alpine cohorts, and since the inscription is damaged precisely where its name is written, it is difficult to say which unit it is with any certainty. All scholars who dealt with this inscription asserted that it was the First Alpine cohort (*cohors I Alpinorum*).<sup>38</sup> It is worthwhile noting that in the *CIL* the cohort's name was read as *I [U]lp(iae)*,<sup>39</sup> which Alföldy contested.<sup>40</sup> In the text below I shall endeavour to back my view that the name of the Third Alpine cohort (*cohors III Alpinorum*) is engraved here. Regardless of which unit it actually was, Proculus

31 Wilkes 2000, p. 334.

32 Spaul 2000, p. 543. A somewhat similar post (*quaestor veteranorum*) was held by a legionary from the Eighth Legion; Alföldy 1974, p. 65.

33 *ILS* 2594.

34 Bulić 1888, p. 8, n. 1. For the precise location of the discovery of the Proculus stela, see Miletić 1990, p. 187, Fig. 6.

35 For more details on the inscriptions found at these plots, see Miletić 1990, p. 187, 189, note 127.

36 The stela is held in the south-east wing of the stone monument collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split. It is recorded in the inventory under designation A-1372.

37 It is worthwhile mentioning that in its seventh and eighth lines the inscription bears some features of Vulgar Latin. For more on this, see Skok 1915, pp. 32, 59.

38 Patsch 1912, p. 134; Wilkes 1969, p. 471; Alföldy 1987, pp. 240, 241, 283.

39 *CIL* 3, 8762.

40 Alföldy 1965, pp. 97, 98, no. 8. Several cohorts in the Empire bore the number *I* and the adjective *Ulpia*, while they are cited in their full name form in the inscriptions mentioning them, such as, for example, *I Ulpia Afrorum*, *I Ulpia Dacorum*, *I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum*, *I Ulpia Galatarum*, *I Ulpia Petraeorum*. On these cohorts and their nomenclature, see Spaul 2000, pp. 239, 348, 395, 449, 460.

*hunc sepulcrum / vivos (!) paravi mihi / et Apulei(a)e Sabin(a)e / uxori meae lib(ertis) / libertabusque / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).*<sup>37</sup> Prokul je na natpisu dao navesti vojne službe koje je obnašao u dvije različite kohorte. Njegova matična postrojba bila je neka od kohorti Alpinaca, a kako je upravo na mjestu njezina imena natpis oštećen, teško je sa sigurnošću reći o kojoj se postrojbi radi. Svi znanstvenici koji su se bavili ovim natpisom tvrde da je riječ o Prvoj kohorti Alpinaca (*cohors I Alpinorum*).<sup>38</sup> Vrijedno je spomenuti da je u *CIL*-u ime kohorte pročitano kao *I [U]lp(iae)*,<sup>39</sup> što je Alföldy osporio.<sup>40</sup> U nastavku ću pokušati argumentirati svoje mišljenje po kojemu je ovdje bilo uklesano ime Treće kohorte Alpinaca (*cohors III Alpinorum*). Bez obzira na to o kojoj je postrojbi riječ, Prokul je u njoj najprije bio konjanik, nakon čega je napredovao do čina veksilarija i dekuriona u Prvoj kohorti Belgâ. Sadržaj ovoga natpisa otvara nekoliko pitanja.

Prvo pitanje odnosi se na njegovu moguću službu u Prvoj kohorti Alpinaca i njezin eventualni boravak u provinciji Dalmaciji. Diploma iz Vindobone datirana u 60. godinu<sup>41</sup> potvrđuje da se ova postrojba, zajedno s nekoliko ostalih pomoćnih postrojbi, tada nalazila u Iliriku.<sup>42</sup> Rimljani su u 1. stoljeću pod Ilirikom podrazumijevali golemo područje između Makedonije i Srednjega Dunava,<sup>43</sup> što uključuje i provinciju Dalmaciju i Panoniju. Pretpostavku o njezinu boravku u Dalmaciji tijekom kasnoga 1. i ranoga 2. stoljeća Wilkes temelji na Prokulovu natpisu i na jednom ulomku iz Salone<sup>44</sup> što ga je datirao u 3. stoljeće.<sup>45</sup> Za njega Alföldy kaže da se jedva može dopuniti imenom ove kohorte, pa čak ni imenom Treće kohorte Alpinaca.<sup>46</sup> Speidel ga datira u isto vrijeme i uopće se ne upušta u odgonetavanje imena kohorte.<sup>47</sup> Spaul drži da Prokulov natpis ne može biti dokaz o boravku Prve kohorte Alpinaca u Dalmaciji te dodaje kako su dokazi o njezinim aktivnostima vrlo slabi, a pretpostavke o njezinu kretanju krajnje zamršene.<sup>48</sup> Diploma iz Klosterneuburga u Noriku, izdana 80.

37 Vrijedno je spomenuti da natpis u 7. i 8. retku sadrži značajke vulgarnoga latineta. O tome više kod Skok 1915, str. 32, 59.

38 Patsch 1912, str. 134; Wilkes 1969, str. 471; Alföldy 1987, str. 240, 241, 283.

39 *CIL* 3, 8762.

40 Alföldy 1965, str. 97, 98, br. 8. Nekoliko kohorti u Carstvu nosilo je redni broj *I* i pridjev *Ulpia*, a na natpisima koji ih spominju redovito su navedene u potpunom imenskom obliku, kao primjerice *I Ulpia Afrorum*, *I Ulpia Dacorum*, *I Ulpia Traiana Cugernorum*, *I Ulpia Galatarum*, *I Ulpia Petraeorum*. O ovim kohortama i njihovu nazivlju vidi Spaul 2000, str. 239, 348, 395, 449, 460.

41 *CIL* 16, 4.

42 Spaul 2000, str. 259, 260.

43 Wilkes 1969, str. 161.

44 *CIL* 3, 14693: ...]cato [...] / [...] coh(ortis) I A[l]pinorum(?) / [...] sing(ularis) c[o(n)s(ularis)...] / [...] Aur(elius) M[...]

45 Wilkes 1969, str. 471.

46 Alföldy 1987, str. 241.

47 Speidel 1978, str. 87, n. 29.

48 Spaul 2000, str. 259, 260. O njezinim pokretima do vladavine cara Hadrijana vidi Knight 1991, str. 191, 200-203. Knight na temelju nadgrobna natpisa (*CIL* 13, 922) jednoga aktivnoga vojnika iz Agina drži da je u predflavijevsko doba kohorta bila u Akvitaniji. Spaul uopće ne spominje Akvitaniju kao jedno od mjesta njezina boravka nego se u rekonstrukciji pokreta kohorte oslanja isključivo na podatke iz vojničkih diploma; Spaul 2000, str. 259.

was initially a cavalryman in it, after which he was promoted to rank of vexillary and decurion in the First Belgian cohort. The content of this inscription raises several questions.

The first question pertains to his possible service in the First Alpine cohort and its possible stay in the province of Dalmatia. The diploma from Vindobona dated to the year 60<sup>41</sup> confirms that this unit, together with several other auxiliary units, was in Illyricum at the time.<sup>42</sup> In the first century, the Romans considered Illyricum the enormous territory between Macedonia and the Central Danube,<sup>43</sup> which includes the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia. Wilkes based the hypothesis on its stay in Dalmatia during the late first and early second centuries on the inscription of Proculus and a fragment from Salona<sup>44</sup> which he dated to the third century.<sup>45</sup> Alföldy said of the latter that the cohort's name can barely be filled in here, even under the name of the Third Alpine cohort.<sup>46</sup> Speidel dated it to the same time and did not even engage in attempts to decipher the cohort's name.<sup>47</sup> Spaul insisted that the inscription of Proculus cannot serve as evidence of the First Alpine cohort's stay in Dalmatia and added that evidence of its activities are very scant, while speculation as to its movements are extremely complicated.<sup>48</sup> The diploma from Klosterneuburg in Noricum, issued in the year 80,<sup>49</sup> shows that the cohort was in Pannonia at the time,<sup>50</sup> while other scholars believe that it was here not later than the mid-first century.<sup>51</sup> Thanks to data from other diplomas, it can be seen that in 103 the cohort was transferred to Britannia, where it remained relatively briefly, for already in 110 it was confirmed in Pannonia Inferior.<sup>52</sup> Judging by the data provided by the military diplomas known thus far, I believe there is no justification for speaking of the stay of *cohors I Alpinorum* in Dalmatia during the latter half of the first century. Moreover, diplomas do not provide any direct evidence for its stay in Dalmatia during the Principate. This is further indicated by the lack of inscriptions which could be ascribed to its members. I am convinced that Spaul was correct in thinking that the stela of Proculus cannot serve as evidence of the First Cohort's stay in

41 *CIL* 16, 4.

42 Spaul 2000, pp. 259, 260.

43 Wilkes 1969, p. 161.

44 *CIL* 3, 14693: ...]cato [...] / [...] coh(ortis) I A[l]pinorum(?) / [...] sing(ularis) c[o(n)s(ularis)...] / [...] Aur(elius) M[...]

45 Wilkes 1969, p. 471.

46 Alföldy 1987, p. 241.

47 Speidel 1978, p. 87, n. 29.

48 Spaul 2000, pp. 259, 260. On its movements until Hadrian's reign, see Knight 1991, pp. 191, 200-203. Based on the grave inscription (*CIL* 13, 922) of an active soldier from Aginnum, Knight maintained that in the pre-Flavian era, the cohort was in Aquitania. Spaul did not even mention Aquitania as one of the sites where it was posted, so he relied exclusively on data from military diplomas in his reconstruction of the cohort's movements; Spaul 2000, p. 259.

49 *CIL* 16, 26.

50 Spaul 2000, pp. 259, 260.

51 Alföldy 1987, pp. 240, 241.

52 Spaul 2000, pp. 259, 260.

godine,<sup>49</sup> svjedoči da je kohorta tada bila u Panoniji,<sup>50</sup> a drugi istraživači misle da se ona tu nalazila najkasnije od sredine 1. stoljeća.<sup>51</sup> Zahvaljujući podacima s ostalih diploma vidi se da je 103. godine kohorta prebačena u Britaniju, gdje se zadržala relativno kratko, jer je već 110. godine potvrđena u Donjoj Panoniji.<sup>52</sup> Sudeći po podacima koje daju do sada poznate vojničke diplome, mislim da nije opravdano govoriti o boravku Prve kohorte Alpinaca u Dalmaciji tijekom druge polovice 1. stoljeća. Štoviše, diplome ne daju izravan dokaz o njezinu boravku u Dalmaciji tijekom Principata. U prilog ovome ide i nedostatak natpisa koji bi se mogli pripisati njezinim pripadnicima. Uvjeren sam da je ispravno Spaulovo mišljenje kako Prokulova stela ne može biti dokaz boravka Prve kohorte u ovim krajevima. To ne može potvrditi ni ulomak natpisa čija je restitucija vrlo dvojbena. Ne smije se izričito nijekati mogućnost boravka ove postrojbe u Dalmaciji, pa čak ni jednoga njezinog odjeljenja, ali sve dok ne postoje čvrsti dokazi, posebice natpisi aktivnih vojnika i eventualno građevinski crjepovi s pečatom kohortina naziva, o tome je zaista nezahvalno govoriti.

Drugo pitanje odnosi se na utvrđivanje značenja riječi *Azinas*, koja je u Prokulovoj imenskoj formuli smještena između filijacije i kognomena. Prijašnji istraživači pitali su se što znači ta riječ u njegovu imenu, a rješavanja tog problema davno se prihvatio Kubitschek. On je istaknuo da je odgonetavanje smisla te riječi ispravno postavio Hirschfeld pretpostavljajući da se radi o Prokulovu etniku, odnosno “naciji” (*natio*).<sup>53</sup> Kubitschek je otišao korak dalje i napisao da se radi o oznaci domicila, a naziv istoga mjesta prepoznao je i u natpisu jednoga pretorijanca iz Rima (*CIL* 6, 2388).<sup>54</sup> Ključni dokaz našao je u salonitanskome natpisu viteza Publija Elija Rastorijana iz druge polovine 2. stoljeća.<sup>55</sup> Jedna od visokih počasnih dužnosti koje je on obnašao, bila je i kvestura u tri dalmatinska municipija. Kubitschek piše da se jedan od njih ne naziva *Pazinum*, nego *Azinum*, što je zaključio nakon pažljive inspekcije otiska natpisa koji mu je poslao Bulić. U svojoj argumentaciji za ovakvu lekciju poziva se upravo na ovaj Prokulov natpis i podržava Hirschfelda koji u riječi *Azinas* prepoznaje Prokulov etnik. Dodao je da se takvo navođenje domicila ne razlikuje od sličnih primjera na mnogim legionarskim natpisima

\_\_\_\_\_

- 49 *CIL* 16, 26.
- 50 Spaul 2000, str. 259, 260.
- 51 Alföldy 1987, str. 240, 241.
- 52 Spaul 2000, str. 259, 260.
- 53 Mommsen je smatrao da su *Azinas* i *Proclus* kognomeni, što je, drži Kubitschek, nedokazivo i dodaje da ako je *Azinas* kognomen, tada se njegov postanak ne može objasniti nikako drukčije nego kao derivacija imena nekog mjesta. O tome više kod Kubitschek 1893, str. 110, 111, bilj. 5; Wilkes 1969, str. 317, bilj. 3.
- 54 Kubitschek 1893, str. 111.
- 55 *CIL* 3, 8783: D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Ael(io) Rastoriano / eq(uo) p(ublico) decur(ioni) llviro / et q(uin)q(uennali) munic(ipii) [Bu]/tatum(?) dis[p(unctori) ci]/vitat(is) Naron[ens(ium)] / q(uaestor) municip(iorum) Azina[tium] / Splonistarum Ar[upin(atium)] / et Ael[ia]e Proclii[anae(?)] / defunct(ae) ann(orum) [---] / Albia Crisp[ina(?)] coniugi] / incompara[bili et f]i/liae infelicissim[ae] / et sibi; Kubitschek 1893, str. 109-111.

this region. This cannot even be confirmed by the fragment of an inscription whose restoration is quite doubtful. The possibility of this unit’s stay in Dalmatia should not be expressly denied, but as long as there is no firm evidence, particularly the inscriptions of active soldiers and possible construction tiles bearing stamps with the cohort’s name, discussion of this is a thankless task.

The second question pertains to establishment of the meaning of the word *Azinas* which is placed between the filiation and cognomen in the name formula of Proculus. Previous scholars asked themselves what this word in his name meant, while a solution to this problem was accepted long ago by Kubitschek. He stressed that the solution to the sense of this word was correctly established by Hirschfeld, who assumed that it referred to the ethnicity of Proculus, or his “nation” (*natio*).<sup>53</sup> Kubitschek went a step further and wrote that this was a designation of domicile, and he recognized the name of this place in the inscription of a praetorian from Rome (*CIL* 6, 2388).<sup>54</sup> He found the key evidence for this in the Salona inscription of the knight Publius Aelius Rastorianus from the latter half of the second century.<sup>55</sup> One of the high honorary posts which he held was quaestor in three Dalmatian municipia. Kubitschek wrote that one of them was not called *Pazinum* but rather *Azinum*, which he concluded after carefully inspecting the imprint of the inscription sent to him by Bulić. In his argument for this reading, he cited the inscription of Proculus and upheld Hirschfeld, who recognized the ethnicity of Proculus in the word *Azinas*. He added that such a reference to a domicile does not differ from examples on many legionary inscriptions from the early imperial period. Bulić attempted to pinpoint the location of *municipium Pasinum* in Stari Pađeni next to Knin, which Kubitschek disputed, conjecturing its existence somewhere in the territory of Herzegovina, southern Dalmatia or Montenegro, where most of the other cities cited in the inscription of Rastorianus should be sought.<sup>56</sup>

Is it possible to incorporate Proculus and his possible service in *cohors I Alpinorum* into all of this? It is known that recruitment for a legion or auxiliary unit could be conducted in territories where these units were not posted, but it was nonetheless done

\_\_\_\_\_

- 53 Mommsen believed that *Azinas* and *Proclus* were cognomina, which, Kubitschek asserted, could not be proven, adding that were *Azinas* a cognomen, then its emergence could not be explained other than as a derivative of some place name. For more on this, see Kubitschek 1893, pp. 110, 111, note 5; Wilkes 1969, p. 317, note 3.
- 54 Kubitschek 1893, p. 111.
- 55 *CIL* 3, 8783: D(is) M(anibus) / P(ublio) Ael(io) Rastoriano / eq(uo) p(ublico) decur(ioni) llviro / et q(uin)q(uennali) munic(ipii) [Bu]/tatum(?) dis[p(unctori) ci]/vitat(is) Naron[ens(ium)] / q(uaestor) municip(iorum) Azina[tium] / Splonistarum Ar[upin(atium)] / et Ael[ia]e Proclii[anae(?)] / defunct(ae) ann(orum) [---] / Albia Crisp[ina(?)] coniugi] / incompara[bili et f]i/liae infelicissim[ae] / et sibi; Kubitschek 1893, pp. 109-111.
- 56 Kubitschek 1893, pp. 110-112. Not much progress has been made in locating this municipium since the time Kubitschek wrote his work. Today this municipium is identified with Pliny’s civitas Pasini; Wilkes 1969, p. 317, note 3; for literature which deals with this matter, see also Bojanovski 1988, p. 263, note 8.

Ivan Matijević

iz ranocarskog doba. Bulić je pokušao ubicirati *municipium Pasinum* u Stare Pađene pokraj Knina, što je Kubitschek osporio i pretpostavio njegovo postojanje negdje na prostoru Hercegovine, južne Dalmacije ili Crne Gore, gdje treba tražiti i većinu ostalih gradova s Rastorijanova natpisa.<sup>56</sup>

Je li moguće u sve to uklopiti Prokula i njegovu moguću službu u Prvoj kohorti Alpinaca? Poznato je da su novačenja za neku legiju ili pomoćnu postrojbu mogla biti provedena na području na kojem ta postrojba nije boravila, ali su se zbog praktičnih razloga ipak provodila u relativnoj blizini.<sup>57</sup> U mirnodopskim uvjetima u kohorte su novačeni dobrovoljci<sup>58</sup> koji su nakon primanja dobili *viaticum* te se u pratnji redovnih vojnika zaputili u logor svoje nove postrojbe.<sup>59</sup> *Azinum* bi bio municipij u Dalmaciji<sup>60</sup> i u blizini Panonije gdje je bila smještena Prva kohorta Alpinaca. Stoga nije nevjerojatno pretpostaviti da je Prokul unovačen i poslan u Panoniju. Međutim, ta pretpostavka gubi na snazi pokuši li se rekonstruirati Prokulov put od novačenja do umirovljenja. Ako je njegova matična postrojba zaista bila Prva kohorta Alpinaca, tada je u nju mogao biti primljen tijekom njezina boravka u Panoniji u drugoj polovini 1. stoljeća, točnije, između 60. i 80. godine, a svakako prije odlaska u Britaniju, gdje je potvrđena 103. godine. Jasno, postrojba je u Britaniju mogla biti poslana bilo kada između 80. i 103. godine. Prokulov natpis bi se mogao datirati u vrijeme između 120. i 140. godine.<sup>61</sup> Ima li se na umu da je prosječna dužina vojne službe kod vojnika u pomoćnim postrojbama bila 25 godina,<sup>62</sup> tada Prokul nije mogao biti unovačen prije, otprilike, 90. godine. Moglo bi se s velikim oprezom reći da se odlazak Prve kohorte Alpinaca iz Panonije poklapa s dolaskom Prve kohorte Belgâ u Dalmaciju. Wilkes pretpostavlja da je Prokul u novu postrojbu bio prebačen još dok je njegova matična kohorta bila u Panoniji,<sup>63</sup> dakle na prijelazu 1. stoljeća u 2. stoljeće. Moram naglasiti da ovakav način njegova transfera iz jedne kohorte u drugu zvuči neuvjerljivo. Nesigurnost takvih nagađanja povećava nedostatak sigurnijih vremenskih oslonaca o pokretima ovih kohorti i izostanak godina službe na Prokulovu natpisu.

\_\_\_\_\_

- 56 Kubitschek 1893. str. 110-112. U rješavanju problema ubikacije ovoga municipija nije se daleko odmaklo od vremena kada je Kubitschek pisao svoj rad. Danas se ovaj municipij poistovječuje s Plinijevom civitas Pasini; Wilkes 1969, str. 317, bilj. 3; za literaturu koja se bavi ovim pitanjem vidi još i Bojanovski 1988, str. 263, bilj. 8.
- 57 Tijekom 1. stoljeća legije iz Ilirika su redovito primale novake iz istočnih provincija; Wilkes 1969, str. 106, 107.
- 58 Evo dobrog primjera primanja dobrovoljaca u jednu kohortu. Između siječnja i svibnja 156. godine cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata, stacionirana u Egiptu, primila je devet dobrovoljaca koji su raspoređeni u različita odjeljenja unutar postrojbe; usporedi Southern 2006, str. 133.
- 59 Goldsworthy 2003, str. 80.
- 60 *Azinum* je možda bio *vicus* koji je do kraja 2. stoljeća postao municipij; Wilkes 1969, str. 317, bilj. 3.
- 61 Usporedi ovdje bilj. 75.
- 62 Goldsworthy 2003, str. 115.
- 63 Wilkes 1969, str. 471.

Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone
Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

in the relative vicinity due to practical reasons.<sup>57</sup> Under peacetime conditions, volunteers were recruited into cohorts,<sup>58</sup> and after admittance they received *viaticum* and were deployed to the encampment of their unit accompanied by regular troops.<sup>59</sup> Azinum would have been a municipium in Dalmatia,<sup>60</sup> but near Pannonia, where *cohors I Alpinorum* was stationed. Therefore it is not unthinkable to assume that Proculus was recruited and deployed to Pannonia. However, this assumption loses validity if one attempts to retrace the path taken by Proculus from recruitment to retirement. If his core unit was truly *cohors I Alpinorum*, then he could have been admitted to it during its stay in Pannonia in the latter half of the first century, more precisely, between the years 60 and 80, and certainly prior to its departure for Britannia, where it was confirmed in 103 AD. Clearly the unit could have been deployed to Britannia between the years 80 and 103. The inscription of Proculus could be dated to the time between 120 and 140.<sup>61</sup> Keeping in mind that the average duration of military service for soldiers in auxiliary units was 25 years,<sup>62</sup> then Proculus could not have been recruited prior to roughly the year 90. It can be said with considerable reserve that the departure of *cohors I Alpinorum* from Pannonia coincided with the arrival of *cohors I Belgarum* in Dalmatia. Wilkes assumed that Proculus was transferred to a new unit while his core cohort was in Pannonia,<sup>63</sup> thus at the turn of the first into the second century. I must stress that this manner of his transfer from one cohort to another seems rather unconvincing. The uncertainty of such conjecture is enhanced by a lack of more certain chronological determinants on the movements of these cohorts and the absence of years of service in the inscription of Proculus.

The stela is, as I have already stated, broken into three pieces, which is why the inscription has sustained damage which prevents a full understanding of the text. In one instance, the damage effected the middle of the third line containing the name of the cohort in which Proculus began his military career. I have already cited the views of various scholars who see the name of the First Alpine cohort at the damaged portion. And indeed, only a single vertical bar is visible out of the numerical part of the cohort’s name, which may indicate that it was in fact this unit. However, upon examining the inscription more closely, I noticed that during its engraving, due care was dedicated to ensure the symmetry of the text and to ensure that the words are not divided at the end of a

\_\_\_\_\_

- 57 During the first century, legions from Illyricum regularly enrolled recruits from the eastern provinces, Wilkes 1969, pp. 106, 107.
- 58 Here is a good example of recruitment of volunteers into a cohort. Between January and May of the year 156, *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata*, stationed in Egypt, admitted nine volunteers who were assigned to different detachments within the unit; cf. Southern 2006, p. 133.
- 59 Goldsworthy 2003, p. 80.
- 60 *Azinum* was perhaps a *vicus* which became a municipium by the end of the second century; Wilkes 1969, p. 317, note 3.
- 61 Cf. note 75 here.
- 62 Goldsworthy 2003, p. 115.
- 63 Wilkes 1969, p. 471.



Stela je, kako rekoh, razlomljena u tri dijela, zbog čega je natpis pretrpio oštećenja koja onemogućuju njegovo potpuno razumijevanje. Jedno od oštećenja zahvatilo je sredinu trećega retka, gdje je uklesano ime kohorte u kojoj je Prokul započeo svoju vojnu karijeru. Već sam naveo mišljenja raznih znanstvenika koji na mjestu oštećenja prepoznaju ime Prve kohorte Alpinaca. Zaista je točno da se od brojčanoga dijela kohortina naziva vidi samo jedna okomita hasta, što može ukazivati na to da je riječ upravo o ovoj postrojbi. Međutim, pomnijim promatranjem natpisa uočio sam da se prilikom njegova uklesavanja vodilo računa o simetriji teksta i pazilo da se riječi ne prekidaju na kraju retka i nastavljaju u sljedećem. Također se uočava i to da su između riječi uklesavani znakovi interpunkcije i da je između svake riječi ostavljan gotovo jednak razmak. Ako se oštećeni dio trećega retka restituira kao *coh I Alp*, tada između brojčane oznake i naziva kohorte ostaje dosta praznoga prostora, što je neobično, jer ni u jednom retku natpisa nema toliko slobodnoga mjesta između riječi. Nema govora o tome da je toliki razmak stvoren prilikom konzerviranja stele i njezina lijepljenja cementom jer se pazilo na to da rubne profilacije ulomaka natpisnoga polja budu u ravni. Zar je moguće da je baš na ovome oštećenom dijelu ostavljen neproporcionalan razmak između dviju oznaka? U to je zaista teško povjerovati. Zbog toga sam sklon pretpostavci da je ovdje bio uklesan naziv Treće kohorte Alpinaca jer za njezinu brojčanu oznaku ima sasvim dovoljno mjesta. Mislim da je čak nakon broja I (jedan), odmah uz crtu loma, moguće prepoznati ostatak donjeg dijela još jedne okomite haste. Ta se mogućnost čini to izglednijom jer je Treća kohorta Alpinaca bila dugo stacionirana u Dalmaciji. Cijelo 1. stoljeće provela je u logoru u Gračinama kod Humca, gdje je možda bila smještena već od ranoga Principata, što se zaključuje na osnovi nekoliko nadgrobnih spomenika njezinih pripadnika.<sup>64</sup> Na poznatoj salonitanskoj diplomi jasno piše da je bila u Dalmaciji 94. godine.<sup>65</sup> Prokulov pretpostavljeni rodni *Azinum* bio je, ako su točna Kubitschekova nagađanja o njegovoj ubicaciji, negdje na prostoru Hercegovine, južne Dalmacije ili Crne Gore i stoga relativno blizu logoru u kojemu je bila Treća kohorta. Pomalo je neočekivano što se Prokul, čiji natpis jasno pokazuje da je nositelj rimskoga građanskog prava, prijavio kao konjanik u postrojbu koju čine peregrini. Razlozi njegova pristupanja postrojbi ovakve vrste mogu biti različiti. Možda je u tome vidio samo mogućnost lakšega napredovanja u vojnoj karijeri jer su život i disciplina u pomoćnim vojnim postrojbama bili mnogo podnošljiviji negoli u legijama.<sup>66</sup> S druge strane, moguće je da se Prokul prijavio u ovu postrojbu upravo u vrijeme kada je Dalmacija bila *provincia inermis*, dakle u doba kada na ovim prostorima nije bilo legije u koju bi mogao biti unovačen. Četvrta *Flavia Felix* bila je posljednja legija koja je trajno boravila u Dalmaciji, ali je i ona oko 86. godine prebačena na dunavski limes.<sup>67</sup> Stoga bi se

line and continued in the next. Also notable is that punctuation marks were engraved between the words and that an interval was left between almost every word. If the damaged part of the third line is restored as *coh I Alp*, then a considerable amount of empty space is left between the numerical designation and the cohort’s name, which would be unusual, since there is not this much unused space between words in any of the other lines. There is no way that such an interval was created during preservation of the stela and its fastening with cement, because care was taken to ensure that the peripheral profiles of the inscription field fragments are level. Is it possible that a disproportionately large space between two characters was left precisely at this damaged portion? This is rather difficult to believe. This is why I favour the hypothesis according to which the name of the Third Alpine cohort was engraved here, for there is entirely enough space for its numerical designation. I believe that even after the number I (one), immediately along the fracture line, it is possible to recognize the remainder of the lower portion of one more vertical bar. This possibility appears more likely, for the Third Alpine cohort was stationed in Dalmatia for a considerable period. It spent the entire first century in the camp in Gračine, near Humac, where it may have been posted already since the early Principate, which may be concluded on the basis of several gravestones belonging to its members.<sup>64</sup> On the well-known Salona diploma, it clearly states that the unit was in Dalmatia in the year 94.<sup>65</sup> If Kubitschek’s speculation on its location is correct, Azinum, the assumed place of Proculus’ birth, was somewhere in the territory of Herzegovina, southern Dalmatia or Montenegro, and thus relatively close to the camp in which the Third Cohort was stationed. It is somewhat unexpected that Proculus, whose inscription clearly shows that he had Roman citizenship, was enlisted as a cavalryman in a unit consisting of peregrines. The reasons for his enlistment in the unit may vary. Perhaps he saw this as a possibility for easier advancement in his military career, for life and discipline in auxiliary military units was much more bearable than in the legions.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that Proculus joined this unit precisely at the time Dalmatia was a *provincia inermis*, meaning in a period when there were no legions in the region into which he could be recruited. The fourth, *Flavia Felix*, was the last legion to stay in Dalmatia permanently, but at around the year 86 it was transferred to the Danube limes.<sup>67</sup> Thus, the time of his recruitment to the Third Cohort may be placed in roughly the last decade of rule by the Flavians. At the transition to the second century, cohorts I Belgarum came to Dalmatia and took up residence in the camp at Gračine. It, like the Third Cohort, was *equitata*, thus identical in structure to its core unit and accommodated in the same camp where the majority of its previous cohorts had been posted.

The next problem which arises with this inscription is the

Ivan Matijević

možda vrijeme njegova pristupanja Trećoj kohorti moglo staviti u otprilike posljednje desetljeće vladavine Flavijevaca. Na prijelazu u 2. stoljeće u Dalmaciju dolazi i u logor na Gračinama se smješta Prva kohorta Belgâ. Ona je, kao i Treća kohorta, bila *equitata*, dakle identična ustroju njegove matične postrojbe i smještena u isti logor gdje je prije bila i glavnina njegove prijašnje kohorte.

Sljedeći problem koji postavlja ovaj natpis jest pitanje Prokulova civiteta. Iz njegove je troimenske formule s filijacijom jasno da se radi o vojniku koji ima rimsko građansko pravo. Spomenik je oštećen na mjestu gdje je bila uklesana sigla očeva prenomena i nemoguće je uočiti i najmanji trag nekog slova. Unatoč tome Kubitschek je taj dio restituirao kao *C(aius)*, što bi moglo značiti da je i Prokulov otac imao civitet.<sup>68</sup> Ne treba isključiti ni mogućnost fiktivne filijacije.<sup>69</sup> Međutim, Alföldy i Wilkes bili su puno oprezniji i nisu predlagali takvu restituciju ostavljajući to mjesto praznim. Saznanja o Valeriju Prokulu svakako može upotpuniti jedna stela iz Garduna. Već je ranijim istraživačima bilo očito da su ovi spomenici vrlo bliski po vremenu nastanka,<sup>70</sup> a Gabričević ih je doveo i u izravnu vezu.<sup>71</sup> Natpis stele iz Garduna glasi: …*Jemans / […] Platoris / [Da]esitias vexill(arius) / [e]quit(um) coh(ortis) I Belgar(um) / turma Valeri / Proculi ann(orum) XLV / stipendior(um) XXIV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / fieri curavit Iulia Ves(…) / coniunx*.<sup>72</sup> Stela je pripadala Platorovu sinu, čije je ime završavalo na *-emans*, a koji je služio kao veksilarij u turmi Valerija Prokula. Alföldy je ovaj spomenik datirao u početak 2. stoljeća.<sup>73</sup> Gotovo sam siguran da su ovaj Valerije Prokul i Valerije Prokul sa salonitanske stele ista osoba. U natpisu jasno stoji da je taj veksilarij u postrojbi proveo 24 godine. Prva kohorta Belgâ, kako je već napisano, sigurno nije bila u Dalmaciji prije godine 94., jer bi u protivnom to pisalo na salonitanskoj diplomi koja je tada izdana. Ako je došla u Dalmaciju odmah nakon ove godine, tada vrijeme nastanka gardunskog natpisa treba staviti između 120. i 130. godine.<sup>74</sup> Otprilike u to vrijeme Platorov sin je služio kao veksilarij u Prokulovoj turmi, pa se nastanak Prokulove stele može smjestiti u isto vrijeme, što, na kraju krajeva, podupiru i obilježja njegova natpisa. Prokulova imenska formula sastoji se od prenomena, nomena, filijacije, kognomena i navođenja *nationis*. Natpis je završen formulom *h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*. Riječ je o odlikama koje su tipične za natpise nastale do sredine 2. stoljeća.<sup>75</sup> Lako je, dakle, moguće da su ova dva natpisa istodobna. Gardunski natpis također je važan jer potvrđuje Tilurij kao mjesto u kojemu je Prokul obavljao svoju službu.


<sup>[1]</sup> Kubitschek 1893, str. 110.

<sup>[2]</sup> O problemu fiktivne filijacije na primjeru centuriona T. Julija Celerusa iz Aserije vidi više kod Kurilić 2006, str. 20-24.

<sup>[3]</sup> Patsch 1912, str. 134. Unatoč tome Wilkes (1969, str. 477) gardunski natpis stavlja u flavijevsko-trajansko doba, a salonitanski u antoninsko doba.

<sup>[4]</sup> Gabričević 1952, str. 160, 161.

<sup>[5]</sup> CIL 3, 9739 = ILS 2579.

<sup>[6]</sup> Alföldy 1987, str. 283.

<sup>[7]</sup> Natpis ne bi trebao biti kasniji od ovoga vremena jer sadrži formulu h(ic) s(itus) e(st), koja je tipična za 1. stoljeće; Alföldy 1969, str. 28.

<sup>[8]</sup> Alföldy 1969, str. 27, 30.

Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone

Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

question of Proculus’ citizenship. Based on his tria nomina formula with filiation, it is clear that this was a soldier who had Roman citizenship. The monument was damaged at the place where his father’s praenomen was engraved, and it is impossible to discern even the slightest race of any its letters. Despite this, Kubitschek restored this part as *C(aius)*, which would mean that the father of Proculus also had citizenship.<sup>68</sup> The possibility of a fictitious filiation should not be excluded either.<sup>69</sup> However, Alföldy and Wilkes were much more cautious and did not propose such a restoration, leaving this place empty. Knowledge about Valerius Proculus may certainly be supplemented by a stela from Gardun. It had already been apparent to earlier researchers that these monuments were made at very close to the same time,<sup>70</sup> and Gabričević posited a direct link between them.<sup>71</sup> The inscription on the stela from Gardun reads: …*Jemans / […] Platoris / [Da]esitias vexill(arius) / [e]quit(um) coh(ortis) I Belgar(um) / turma Valeri / Proculi ann(orum) XLV / stipendior(um) XXIV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / fieri curavit Iulia Ves(…) / coniunx*.<sup>72</sup> The stela belonged to the son of Platoris, whose name ended in *-emans*, and who served as a vexillary in the turm of Valerius Proculus. Alföldy dated this monument to the beginning of the second century.<sup>73</sup> I am almost certain this Valerius Proculus and the Valerius Proculus on the Salona stela were the same person. In the inscription it clearly states that this vexillary spent 24 years in the unit. The First Belgian cohort, as already noted, was certainly not in Dalmatia prior to the year 94, for otherwise this would have been written on the Salona diploma that was issued then. If it came to Dalmatia immediately after this year, then the appearance of the Gardun inscription should be placed between the years 120 and 130.<sup>74</sup> At roughly this time, the son of Platoris served as vexillary in Proculus’ turm, so the emergence of the stela of Proculus may be placed at the same time, which is ultimately supported by the features of his inscription. The name formula of Proculus consists of the praenomen, nomen, filiation, cognomen and specification of the *nationis*. The inscription ends with the formula *h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*. These are features typical of inscriptions which emerged up to the mid-second century.<sup>75</sup> It is therefore quite possible that these two inscriptions were contemporary. The Gardun inscription is also important because it confirms Tilurium as the place where Proculus performed his service.

It is highly unfortunate that Proculus did not specify his life


<sup>[1]</sup> Kubitschek 1893, p. 110.

<sup>[2]</sup> For more on the problem of fictitious filiation based on the example of the centurion T. Julius Celerus from Asseria, see Kurilić 2006, pp. 20-24.

<sup>[3]</sup> Patsch 1912, p. 134. Despite this, Wilkes (1969, p. 477) placed the Gardun inscription in the Flavian-Trajanic period, and the Salona inscription in the Antonine era.

<sup>[4]</sup> Gabričević 1952, p. 160, 161.

<sup>[5]</sup> CIL 3, 9739 = ILS 2579.

<sup>[6]</sup> Alföldy 1987, p. 283.

<sup>[7]</sup> The inscription should not date to later than this time, for it contains the formula h(ic) s(itus) e(st) which is typical of the first century; Alföldy 1969, p. 28.

<sup>[8]</sup> Alföldy 1969, pp. 27, 30.



Velika je šteta što Prokul na svojoj steli nije naveo godine života i službe jer bi zahvaljujući tim podacima bilo puno lakše i utemeljenije govoriti o vremenu njegova novačenja i možda preciznije o dinamici njegova napredovanja.<sup>76</sup> Natpis jasno pokazuje da je Prokul u novoj postrojbi ostvario značajna napredovanja u vojnoj karijeri. Najprije je promoviran na položaj veksilarija,<sup>77</sup> nakon čega je postavljen na položaj dekuriona, odnosno zapovjednika turme.<sup>78</sup> Prokulovo napredovanje je zanimljivo jer postoje tek rijetki primjeri koji pokazuju da se nakon čina veksilarija moglo doći do položaja dekuriona bez zadržavanja na nižim činovima.<sup>79</sup> Slični natpisi koji dokumentiraju karijeru nekoga augzilijara zapravo su prilično rijetki i većinom pripadaju upravo dekurionima.<sup>80</sup> Korisna svjedočanstva u tom smislu pružaju natpisi Lucija Sulpicija Prokula i Publija Benija Egregija, koji su služili i u uredu dalmatinskoga namjesnika.<sup>81</sup> U ovom trenutku vrijedno je skrenuti pozornost na karijeru Tita Kalidija Severa (*CIL* 3, 11213) koji je služio u Prvoj kohorti Alpinaca. On je svojim napredovanjem preko činova *eques - optio - decurio* uspio otići korak dalje i ostvariti centurionat u legiji.<sup>82</sup> To može značiti da je sličan put napredovanja u vojnoj karijeri mogao biti i ispred Prokula, ali ga je u tome nešto spriječilo, možda prerana smrt.

U Saloni je Prokul još za života dao podignuti nadgrobni spomenik sebi, svojoj supruzi i nasljednicima. Možda je to učinio i tijekom aktivne vojne službe jer na natpisu ne piše da je veteran. Najvjerojatnije je posjedovao grobnu parcelu na nekropoli sjeveroistočno od gradskih zidina uz staru cestu koja je vodila prema Klisu.<sup>83</sup> Njegova supruga Apuleja Sabina nosi gentilicij poznate familije i očito je italškoga podrijetla.<sup>84</sup> Ona je oslovljena imenicom *uxor*, što ne mora značiti da je bila Prokulova legitimna supruga.<sup>85</sup> Iako je zabrana sklapanja braka aktivnim vojnicima ukinuta tek za vladavine Septimija Severa, ona se u prva dva stoljeća Carstva nije odnosila na visoke časnike, a možda čak i na dekurione.<sup>86</sup> Prokul je zahvaljujući svojem činu primao godišnju

and service on his stela, for then these data would have facilitated, and provided stronger grounds for, determination of the time of his recruitment and perhaps also the progress of his advancement more precisely.<sup>76</sup> The inscription clearly shows that Proculus advanced considerably in his military career in a new unit. First he was promoted to the post of vexillary,<sup>77</sup> after which he was appointed to the rank of decurion, the turm commander.<sup>78</sup> Proculus' advancement is interesting because there are only rare examples which show that after the rank of vexillary one could reach the post of decurion without serving in lower ranks.<sup>79</sup> Similar inscriptions which document the career of an auxiliary are actually quite rare and mostly belong to decurions.<sup>80</sup> Useful evidence in this sense is provided by the inscriptions of Lucius Sulpicius Proculus and Publius Benius Egregius, who served in the office of the Dalmatian consul.<sup>81</sup> At this point it would be worthwhile to turn attention to the career of Titus Calidius Severus (*CIL* 3, 11213), who served in *cohors I Alpinorum*. Through his advancement through the ranks of *eques - optio - decurio* he managed to go a step farther and become a centurion in the legion.<sup>82</sup> This may mean that a similar course of advancement through the military may have awaited Proculus, but he was prevented by something, perhaps an untimely demise.

In Salona, Proculus commissioned the construction of a gravestone for himself, his spouse and his descendants while he was still alive. Perhaps he did so during his active service, for the inscription does not indicate that he was a veteran. He probably owned a grave plot at the necropolis east of the city walls next to the old road which led to Klis.<sup>83</sup> His spouse Appuleia Sabina bears the gentilicium of a well-known family and is obviously of Italic origin.<sup>84</sup> She is referred to by the noun *uxor*, which need not mean that she was the legitimate wife of Proculus.<sup>85</sup> Although the ban on marriage by active military personnel was abolished only during the reign of Septimius Severus, in the first two centuries of the Empire it did not pertain to high-ranking officers, and perhaps not even to decurions.<sup>86</sup> Thanks to his rank, Proculus received an annual salary



Slika 2.  
Ara Kvinta Servilija Statijana (foto:  
T. Seser)

Figure 2.  
Altar of Quintus Servilius  
Statianus (photo by T. Seser)



Slika 2a.  
Ara Kvinta Servilija Statijana (foto:  
T. Seser)

Figure 2a.  
Altar of Quintus Servilius  
Statianus (photo by T. Seser)

plaću od 6000 sestercija.<sup>87</sup> Wilkes pretpostavlja da je Prokul služio u namjesnikovu uredu (*officium consularis*) u Saloni,<sup>88</sup> što je moguće ali nije sigurno jer na natpisu nema traga koji bi upućivao na takvu pretpostavku. Postizanje službe u namjesnikovu uredu bio je velik uspjeh za jednoga vojnika.<sup>89</sup> Prokul je na natpisu naveo sve službe koje je obnašao u dvjema kohortama. Najvjerojatnije nije pripadao osoblju namjesnikovoga ureda jer je to atraktivna

of 6,000 sesterces.<sup>87</sup> Wilkes hypothesized that Proculus served in the consul's office (*officium consularis*) in Salona,<sup>88</sup> which is possible but not certain, for there are no traces on the inscription that would indicate such a supposition. Being assigned a post in the consul's office was a major success for a soldier.<sup>89</sup> In the inscription, Proculus specified all of the posts he held in the two cohorts. He most likely did not belong to the staff of the consul's office, for this was an

76 Vojnici su u augzilijima postajali dekurioni između 8. i 25. godine službe; Goldsworthy 2003, str. 73.

77 Veksilarij je jedan od najvažnijih položaja ispod centuriona, (Breeze 1971, str. 135). U kohortama ovakvoga tipa svaka je turma imala svoga veksilarija koji je pripadao rangu *principales*; Cheesman 1914, str. 40, 42.

78 Cheesman 1914, str. 29, 30.

79 Cheesman 1914, str. 43, 45.

80 O takvim primjerima u augzilijarnim jedinicama vidi više kod Breeze 1974, str. 446.

81 Matijević 2009, str. 49-54.

82 Cheesman 1914, str. 38, 43. Čini se da je mogućnost napredovanja do centurionata kroz niže činove u augzilijima bila fleksibilnija nego u legijama; Breeze 1974, str. 446.

83 Vidi ovdje bilj. 34.

84 Alföldy 1969, str. 60, 285. Apuleji su bili istaknuta familija u Saloni, a posebno u Jaderu, vidi Wilkes 1969, str. 122, 309, 310.

85 Na epitafima vojnici svoje žene oslovljavaju riječima *uxor* ili *coniux*, a sebe kao *coniux* ili *maritus*. O ovome i o pravnom statusu zajednice između vojnika i žene vidi više kod Phang 2001, str. 99, 100, 197 i dalje.

86 Goldsworthy 2003, str. 102, 103.

76 Soldiers became decurions in the auxiliaries after serving between 8 and 25 years; Goldsworthy 2003, p. 73.

77 A vexillary was one of the most important posts below a centurion (Breeze 1971, p. 135). In cohorts of this type, each turm had its vexillary who held the rank of *principales*; Cheesman 1914, p. 40, 42.

78 Cheesman 1914, p. 29, 30.

79 Cheesman 1914, pp. 43, 45.

80 For more on such examples in auxiliary units, see Breeze 1974, p. 446.

81 Matijević 2009, pp. 49-54.

82 Cheesman 1914, pp. 38, 43. It would appear that the potential for advancement to the rank of centurion through the lower ranks was more flexible in the auxiliary units than in the legions; Breeze 1974, p. 446.

83 See note 34 herein.

84 Alföldy 1969, pp. 60, 285. The Appuleii were a distinguished family in Salona, and particularly in Iader, see Wilkes 1969, p. 122, 309, 310.

85 Women on the epitaphs of soldiers were referred to as *uxor* or *coniux*, while the soldiers themselves as *coniux* or *maritus*. For more on this and the legal status of the union between a soldier and woman, see Phang 2001, pp. 99, 100, 197 ff.

86 Goldsworthy 2003, pp. 102, 103.



služba kojom bi se sigurno pohvalio na natpisu svojega nadgrobnog spomenika.

Iz ovoga malog korpusa salonitanskih natpisa Prokulovoj steli vremenski je najbliža ara s natpisom vrlo jednostavnoga sadržaja (sl. 2.-2.a): *D(is) M(anibus) / Calpurni/ae Nymphae / Q(uintus) Servilius / Stianus / |(centurio) coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / coniugi / b(ene) m(erenti)*.<sup>90</sup> Ovaj je spomenik svojoj supruzi Kalpurniji Nimfi podigao centurion Prve kohorte Belgâ Kvint Servilije Statijan. Ara je raskošno ukrašena. Na prednjoj plohi je natpisno polje s lijepo uklesanim epitaфом, a na bočnim stranama su prikazi erota s podignutom i izvrnutom bakljom. Pojasevi uz bridove are ukrašeni su akantovim viticama i stabljikama vinove loze s grožđem. Zahvaljujući karakteristikama ornamenta i erota spomenik se datira u sredinu 2. stoljeća.<sup>91</sup> Pokojničin kognomen sugerira njezino oslobođeničko podrijetlo,<sup>92</sup> a oslovljena je imenicom *coniux*.<sup>93</sup> Servilije bi, sudeći po njegovu gentiliciju, mogao biti italskoga podrijetla.<sup>94</sup> Zaista je nezahvalno pretpostavljati bilo što o naravi njegove centurionske službe. Wilkes pretpostavlja, kao i u Prokulovu slučaju, da je ovaj vojnik služio u oficiju u Saloni.<sup>95</sup> U natpisu nema ničega što bi upućivalo na takvu pretpostavku. Nemoguće je bilo što reći o načinu na koji je Statijan napredovao do čina centuriona.<sup>96</sup> Službu u kohorti mogao je obnašati u nekome od mjesta u kojima su bila odjeljenja njegove postrojbe.

Puno više o zadaćama jednoga centuriona otkriva jedini votivni natpis iz ovoga korpusa. Prije nego je prebačen u Italiju u drugoj polovini 18. stoljeća, stajao je *in situ* kraj sela Škripa na Braču.<sup>97</sup> Natpis glasi (sl. 3.): *Nymphis s(acrum) / Q(uintus) Silvius Spe(ratus) / cent(urio) coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / curagens theat(ri) / d(onum) d(edit)*.<sup>98</sup> Posvetu Nimfama učinio je centurion Kvint Silvije Sperat. Njegov gentilicij i kognomen upućivali bi na podrijetlo iz keltskih provincija; on pripada krugu onih časnika u dalmatinskim augzilizjama 2. stoljeća koji su bili iz romaniziranih zapadnih provincija i Norika.<sup>99</sup> Sperat je jedini nositelj ovoga gentilnog imena na širem području Salone koje je i u provinciji iznimno rijetko.<sup>100</sup> On je bio *curagens theatri*, dakle nadzornik pri gradnji teatra. Gabričević je utvrdio da se ovo može odnositi

<sup>[1]</sup> Glavinić 1881a, str. 19, n. 5; Glavinić 1881b, str. 25, n. 10; CIL 3, 8756. Ara je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu inventirana pod oznakom A-105, a nalazi se u lapidariju nasuprot Prokulovoj steli.

<sup>[2]</sup> Cambi 2005, str. 101, 102. Alföldy je spomenik datirao u 3. stoljeće, pri čemu je očito zanemario značajke njegovih ukrasa; Alföldy 1987, str. 283.

<sup>[3]</sup> Alföldy 1969, str. 254.

<sup>[4]</sup> Vidi ovdje bilj. 85.

<sup>[5]</sup> Alföldy 1969, str. 120. Gentilicij Servilius je izvan Italije i južne Galije vrlo raširen samo u Saloni; Alföldy 1987, str. 283, bilj. 30. O Servilizjima u Saloni vidi Wilkes 1969, str. 325-326.

<sup>[6]</sup> Wilkes 1969, str. 472.

<sup>[7]</sup> Vojnici su čin centuriona mogli postići nakon sukcesivnih imenovanja kroz niže činove u postrojbama što je moglo trajati, kako pokazuju neki natpisi, i 15 godina. O tome više vidi kod Southern 2006, str. 130.

<sup>[8]</sup> Gabričević 1952, str. 158.

<sup>[9]</sup> CIL 3, 3096.

<sup>[10]</sup> Alföldy 1969, str. 121, 300; Alföldy 1987, str. 249, 266, 284, bilj. 33.

<sup>[11]</sup> Drugi poznati nositelj ovoga gentilicija potječe iz Dokleje; Alföldy 1969, str. 121.

attractive post which he certainly would have underscored in the inscription on his gravestone.

From this small body of Salona inscriptions, the stela of Proculus is chronologically closest to the altar with a very simple inscription (Fig. 2.-2.a): *D(is) M(anibus) / Calpurni/ae Nymphae / Q(uintus) Servilius / Stianus / |(centurio) coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / coniugi / b(ene) m(erenti)*.<sup>90</sup> The centurion of *cohors I Belgarum*, Quintus Servilius Stianus, raised this monument to his wife, Calpurnia Nympha. The altar is luxuriantly ornamented. The frontal surface features an inscription field with a nicely engraved epitaph, while to the sides there are images of Eroles holding a raised and upturned torch. The bands along the edges are decorated with acanthus tendrils and vine stalks with grape bunches. Thanks to the features of the ornaments and Eroles, the monument has been dated to the mid-second century.<sup>91</sup> The deceased’s cognomen suggests her freed status,<sup>92</sup> and she is referred to by the noun *coniux*.<sup>93</sup> Judging by the gentilicium, Servilius may have been Italic in origin.<sup>94</sup> It is a truly thankless to make any assumptions about the nature of his centurion service. Wilkes assumed, as in the case of Proculus, that this soldier served in an office in Salona.<sup>95</sup> There is nothing in the inscription that would back this assumption. It is impossible to say anything about the manner in which Stianus advanced to the rank of centurion.<sup>96</sup> He may have performed his service in the cohort in one of the locations at which a detachment of his unit was posted.

Much more on the tasks of a centurion are revealed by the sole votive inscription from this set. Prior to its removal to Italy in the latter half of the eighteenth century, it stood *in situ* next to the village of Škrip on the island of Brač.<sup>97</sup> The inscription reads (Fig. 3.): *Nymphis s(acrum) / Q(uintus) Silvius Spe(ratus) / cent(urio) coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / curagens theat(ri) / d(onum) d(edit)*.<sup>98</sup> The dedication to the Nymphs was made by the centurion Quintus Silvius Speratus. His gentilicium and cognomen would indicate roots in the Celtic provinces; he belonged to that circle of officers in the Dalmatian auxiliaries of the second century who were from the Romanized western provinces and Noricum.<sup>99</sup> Speratus is the sole bearer of this gentilitian name

<sup>[12]</sup> Glavinić 1881a, p. 19, n. 5; Glavinić 1881b, p. 25, n. 10; CIL 3, 8756. The altar in the Archaeological Museum in Split is recorded in the inventory under designation A-105, and it is held in the stone monument collection opposite to the stela of Proculus.

<sup>[13]</sup> Cambi 2005, pp. 101, 102. Alföldy dated the monument to the third century, whereby he obviously overlooked the features of its ornaments; Alföldy 1987, p. 283.

<sup>[14]</sup> Alföldy 1969, p. 254.

<sup>[15]</sup> See note 85 herein.

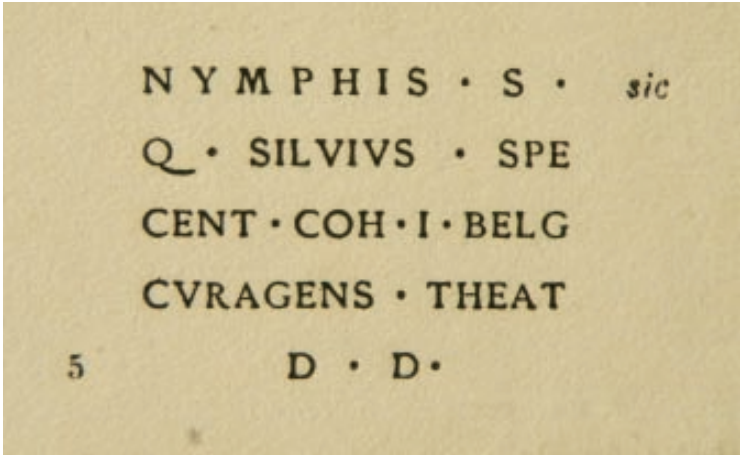
<sup>[16]</sup> Alföldy 1969, p. 120. The gentilicium Servilius was quite widespread outside of Italy and southern Gallia in Salona; Alföldy 1987, p. 283, note 30. On the Servilii in Salona, see Wilkes 1969, pp. 325, 326.

<sup>[17]</sup> Wilkes 1969, p. 472.

<sup>[18]</sup> Soldiers could attain the rank of centurion after successive appointments through low ranks in units, which could take, as some inscriptions show, up to 15 years. For more on this see Southern 2006, p. 130.

<sup>[19]</sup> Gabričević 1952, p. 158.

<sup>[20]</sup> CIL 3, 3096.

<sup>[21]</sup> Alföldy 1969, p. 121, 300; Alföldy 1987, p. 249, 266, 284, note 33.


Slika 3. Natpis Kvinta Silvija Sperata (CIL 3, 3096)

samo na salonitanski teatar zbog blizine kamenoloma i relativno jednostavnoga prijevoza materijala morskim putem.<sup>101</sup> Razlog treba tražiti i u činjenici što je Brač pripadao salonitanskom teritoriju.<sup>102</sup> Gabričević izraz *curam agens* tumači kao centurionovu privremenu funkciju vezanu uz jedan određeni građevinski zahvat na teatru.<sup>103</sup> Natpis potječe iz 2. stoljeća i upućuje na zaključak da se Speratova zadaća odnosi na jednu od nekoliko građevinskih faza na teatru. Ostaje pitanje o kakvim je zapravo radovima riječ.<sup>104</sup> Namjesnik je bio jedina osoba u provinciji koja je imala pravo izdvojiti Sperata iz njegove matične postrojbe i povjeriti mu zadatak izravno vezan uz javnu građevinu u Saloni.

Međutim, Sperat nije bio jedini centurion koji je obavljao nadzor u škripskim kamenolomima. Jedan natpis iz doba cara Karakale spominje Tita Flavija Pompeja iz Treće kohorte Alpinaca. On je bio *curam agens fabricae amphitheatri*, odnosno nadstojnik radionice za gradnju i održavanje salonitanskog amfiteatra, dakle institucije koja je dugoročno brinula o ovoj građevini. Isti je natpis sačuvao i ime Vibija Vibijana koji je bio *protector consularis*.<sup>105</sup> Prisutnost namjesnikova protektora govori da su radovi u ovome kamenolomu tada bili pod kontrolom ljudi iz namjesnikove administracije. Je li tako bilo stalno ili samo u ovoj prigodi kada su se oni odnosili samo na salonitanski amfiteatar, teško je reći. Treći posvetni natpis dokaz je o još jednome vojniku kojega se izravno veže uz nadziranje radova u ovim kamenolomima. To je bio vojnik Valerije Valerijan koji je početkom 4. stoljeća vodio brigu o izradi

<sup>[1]</sup> Gabričević 1952, str. 159.

<sup>[2]</sup> Wilkes 1969, str. 226-229.

<sup>[3]</sup> Gabričević 1952, str. 161.

<sup>[4]</sup> Rendić Miočević 1991, str. 262, 263.

<sup>[5]</sup> EDH HD008209: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T(itus) Fl(avius) Pompeius / |(centurio) coh(ortis) III / Alpinorum / Antoninianae / curam agens / FAB(---) AMP(---) MEN(---) et / Vibius Vibianus / protector / co(n)s(ularis). Kratice u 7. retku Kirigin razrješuje kao fab(ricae) amp(hitheatri) men(sor, -es?) i smatra da natpis nije mogao nastati prije 217. godine, o čemu više vidi kod Kirigin 1979, str. 129-134. Alföldy vrijeme nastanka natpisa pomiče do godine 222; Alföldy 1987, str. 294, 295.

Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone
Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

in the wider territory of Salona, which was also exceptionally rare throughout the province.<sup>100</sup> He was a *curagens theatri*, meaning a supervisor during theatre construction. Gabričević asserted that this could only refer to the Salona theatre due to the vicinity of a quarry and the relatively simple transportation of materials by sea.<sup>101</sup> The reason should also be sought in the fact that Brač belonged to the territory of Salona.<sup>102</sup> Gabričević interpreted the term *curam agens* as the centurion’s temporary function tied to a specific construction project at the theatre.<sup>103</sup> The inscription dates to the second century, and it leads to the conclusion that the task of Speratus pertains to one of several construction phases at the theatre. The question remains as to which works these were.<sup>104</sup> The consul was the only individual in the province who had the right to reassign Speratus from his core unit and entrust him with a task directly tied to public works in Salona.

However, Speratus was not the only centurion who engaged in supervision at the Škrip quarry. An inscription dated to the reign of Emperor Caracalla mentioned Titus Flavius Pompeius from the Third Alpine cohort. He was *curam agens fabricae amphitheatri*, or the foreman of the workshop building and maintaining the Salona amphitheatre, meaning the institution that cared for this structure over the long term. The same inscription preserved the name Vibius Vibianus who was the *protector consularis*.<sup>105</sup> The presence of the consul’s bodyguard indicates that the works in this quarry were under the control of people from the consul’s administration. Whether this was always the case or only on this occasion when works pertained to the Salona amphitheatre is difficult to say. The third dedicatory inscription also serves as evidence of another soldier who was directly associated with supervision of works at this quarry. This was the soldier Valerius Valerianus, who at the onset of the fourth century saw to the crafting of the capitals for the baths of Licinius in Syrmia.<sup>106</sup> Kirigin brilliantly noted that Valerianus stressed that he supervised the works on the baths in Syrmia, while Speratus and Pompeius did not specify the theatre and amphitheatre with which they were charged. It would appear that they do not mention this because Brač was within the sphere of Salona’s administrative purview and it implied that the works involved structures in Salona.<sup>107</sup> It is worthwhile mentioning that a

<sup>[1]</sup> The other well-known bearer of this gentilicium came from Doclea; Alföldy 1969, p. 121.

<sup>[2]</sup> Gabričević 1952, p. 159.

<sup>[3]</sup> Wilkes 1969, 226-229.

<sup>[4]</sup> Gabričević 1952, p. 161.

<sup>[5]</sup> Rendić Miočević 1991, pp. 262, 263.

<sup>[6]</sup> EDH HD008209: I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / T(itus) Fl(avius) Pompeius / |(centurio) coh(ortis) III / Alpinorum / Antonineae / curam agens / FAB(---) AMP(---) MEN(---) et / Vibius Vibianus / protector / co(n)s(ularis). The abbreviation in the seventh line was resolved by Kirigin as fab(ricae) amp(hitheatri) men(sor, -es?) and he believed that the inscription could not have appeared prior to the year 217, on which more can be found in Kirigin 1979, pp. 129-134. Alföldy moved the time of appearance of the inscription to 222; Alföldy 1987, pp. 294, 295.

<sup>[7]</sup> CIL 3, 10107.

<sup>[8]</sup> Kirigin 1979, pp. 133, 134. For more on the quarries on Brač and brief consideration of the inscriptions found next to them, see Cambi 2010, pp. 12-14.



kapitela za Licinijeve terme u Sirmiju.<sup>106</sup> Kirigin je izvrsno zapazio kako Valerijan naglašava da nadzire radove za terme u Sirmiju, dok Sperat i Pompej ne spominju za koji su teatar i amfiteatar zaduženi. Čini se da oni to ne spominju jer je Brač bio u okviru salonitanske administrativne uprave te se podrazumijevalo da se radi o radovima na salonitanskim građevinama.<sup>107</sup> Vrijedno je spomenuti da je na dužnosti u segetskom kamenolomu bio centurion Sedme legije što se zaključuje po žrtveniku kojega je tamo posvetio Heraklu. Brojni natpisi iz mnogih provincija pokazuju da su centurionima povjeravani poslovi nadzora nad radovima u kamenolomima.<sup>108</sup>

Odavno su raniji istraživači došli do zaključka da je ljudstvo Prve kohorte Belgâ bilo popunjavano domaćim peregrinima iz Dalmacije, uz iznimku časnika Valerija Prokula.<sup>109</sup> Jedan od dokaza za ovu tvrdnju je natpis koji je objavio i ovim riječima opisao D. Rendić Miočević: "Gornji dio nadgrobna titulusa od vapnenca u obliku vertikalno komponirane pačetvorine s dubokim, približno izrađenom profilacijom (u dva nivoa). Tekst natpisa, od kojega se sačuvalo pet redaka, upućuje na nevještu ruku klesara, pa se može pretpostaviti da je ovaj posao obavio sam neki od pokojnikovih drugova, vojnika. Dimenzije sačuvanog dijela spomenika su: vis. 18,5 cm, šir. 23 cm, deblj. 10 cm. (Kat. A 5515): *D(is) M(anibus) / Murcuio / Jadiae / militi coh(ortis) I Bel(garum) an/[norum...*"<sup>110</sup> (sl. 4). Domaća imena s ovoga natpisa već su potvrđena u okolici Salone pa se može pretpostaviti da i ovaj vojnik potječe s istoga prostora.<sup>111</sup> On je svojemu imenu dodao ime oca u genitivu ali bez filijacije, što je osobitost delmatske onomastičke formule koju je D. Rendić Miočević označio kao fazu *IBa*. Ona je epigrafski obilato potvrđena u dolini Gornje Cetine, a zapažena je i u nekim dijelovima delmatskoga primorja.<sup>112</sup> Natpis se datira u antoninsko doba, dakle najkasnije do početka druge polovine 2. stoljeća.<sup>113</sup> Imenica *miles* jasno govori da je riječ o vojniku koji je bio u aktivnoj službi, a to podupire i oblik njegova imenskog obrasca.

Jedan od prvih istraživača koji je kopao na zapadnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli bio je F. Carrara. U njegovim iskapanjima tijekom 1848. na površinu je izronilo obilje vrlo vrijednih nadgrobnihi spomenika. Carrara je većinu tih natpisa, iako neke i netočno, sam pročitao i objavio u svojoj knjizi *Topografia e scavi di Salona*.<sup>114</sup> Jedan od takvih netočno pročitanihi natpisa je i onaj Statilija Pulhera (sl. 5).<sup>115</sup> Ovu stelu vidio je Mommsen prilikom posjeta Splitu i Salonu pa je ispravio njezino čitanje: *...]/ Zosime*

106 *CIL* 3, 10107.

107 Kirigin 1979, str. 133, 134. O kamenolomima na Braču i kratko o natpisima pronađenim pokraj njih vidi više kod Cambi 2010, str. 12-14.

108 O tome vidi više kod Jeličić 1981, str. 98-102.

109 Alföldy 1987, str. 261, 262; usporedi ovdje bilj. 16.

110 Rendić Miočević 1953, str. 260; *ILJug* 680.

111 Rendić Miočević 1953, str. 260.

112 Rendić Miočević 1989, str. 698, 701, 702.

113 Alföldy 1987, str. 260.

114 Carrara 1991, str. 180, 181.

115 Carrarino čitanje izgleda ovako: *OSIMESTA / FIL.PVLCHER 7 MIL.COHI.DEL O / EXSTRAT.COS / VXORI.B.M. / DVPL*; Carrara 1991, str. 188.

centurion from *legio VII* was on duty at the Seget quarry, which has been concluded on the basis of an altar which he dedicated there to Heracles. Numerous inscriptions from many provinces show that supervisory tasks over works at quarries were entrusted to centurions.<sup>108</sup>

Scholars had long before come to the conclusion that the personnel of *cohors I Belgarum* was filled with local peregrines from Dalmatia, with the exception of the officer Valerius Proculus.<sup>109</sup> One of the proofs for this assertion is the inscription published by D. Rendić Miočević, who described it thus: "The upper section of the gravestone titulus made of limestone shaped like a vertically composed rectangle with deep, approximately rendered articulation (at two levels). The text of the inscription, of which five lines have been preserved, indicates an unskilled sculptor's hand, so one may assume that this job was done by one of the deceased's comrades, a soldier. The dimensions of the preserved part of the monument are: ht. 18.5cm, wid.23 cm, thk. 10 cm. (Cat. A 5515): *D(is) M(anibus) / Murcuio / Jadiae / militi coh(ortis) I Bel(garum) an/[norum...*"<sup>110</sup> The domestic names on this monument have already been confirmed in the Salona vicinity, so it may be assumed that this soldier was also from this area.<sup>111</sup> He added to his name that of his father in the genitive case, but without filiation, which is a specific trait of the Delmati onomastic formula which D. Rendić Miočević designated as phase *IBa*. It has been abundantly confirmed in the epigraphy of the Upper Cetina, and also observed in some part of the Delmati littoral.<sup>112</sup> The inscription has been dated to the Antonine period, thus not later than the latter half of the second century.<sup>113</sup> The noun *miles* clearly indicates that this is a soldier who was in active service, and this is confirmed by the form of his name formula.

One of the first researchers who conducted digs in the western necropolis of Salona was F. Carrara. An abundance of very valuable gravestones emerged on the surface of his excavations during 1848. Carrara read - albeit inaccurately in some cases - and published most of these inscriptions in his book *Topografia e scavi di Salona*.<sup>114</sup> One such inaccurately read inscription was that of Statilius Pulcher (Fig. 4).<sup>115</sup> This stela was observed by Mommsen during his visit to Split and Salona, so he corrected its reading: *...]/ Zosime Sta/til(ius) Pulcher / mil(es) coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / ex strat(ore) co(n)s(ularis) / uxor(i) b(ene) m(erenti) / dupl(iciarius)*.<sup>116</sup> Thanks to his transcription, it can be stated with greater confidence that there is a fracture line above the first line and that a minimum of one line of the inscription - in which the remainder of the deceased's name was obviously written -

108 For more on this see Jeličić 1981, pp. 98-102.

109 Alföldy 1987, pp. 261, 262; cf. note 16 herein.

110 Rendić Miočević 1953, p. 260; *ILJug* 680.

111 Rendić Miočević 1953, p. 260.

112 Rendić Miočević 1989, pp. 698, 701, 702.

113 Alföldy 1987, p. 260.

114 Carrara 1991, pp. 180, 181.

115 Carrara's reading is as follows: *OSIMESTA / FIL.PVLCHER 7 MIL.COHI.DEL O / EXSTRAT.COS / VXORI.B.M. / DVPL*; Carrara 1991, p. 188.

116 *CIL* 3, 2067.



Slika 4.  
Stela Murkuja, sina Jadjijna (foto: I. Matijević)

Figure 4.  
Stela of Murcuus, son of Jadia (photo by: I. Matijević)

*Sta/til(ius) Pulcher / mil(es) coh(ortis) I Belg(arum) / ex strat(ore) co(n)s(ularis) / uxor(i) b(ene) m(erenti) / dupl(iciarius)*.<sup>116</sup> Zahvaljujući njegovoj transkripciji može se s pouzdanjem reći da je iznad prvoga retka crta loma i da nedostaje još najmanje jedan redak natpisa u kojemu je očito bio ostatak pokojničina imena. Također se jasno vidi da su slova *HER* u komemoratorovu kognomenu izvedena u ligaturi. Statilije Pulher bio je aktivan vojnik s rimskim građanskim pravom. Civitet je imala i njegova pokojna supruga čiji kognomen sugerira oslobođeničko podrijetlo.<sup>117</sup> Ona je, kao i Apuleja Sabina s Prokulove stele, oslovljena imenicom *uxor*.<sup>118</sup> Natpis navodi Pulherov *cursus honorum*. Na spomeniku nije propustio pohvaliti se svojom bivšom službom konjušara u namjesnikovu uredu (*strator consularis*).<sup>119</sup> U trenutku podizanja spomenika Pulher je imao čin duplikarija, što znači da je primao dvaput veću plaću nego običan vojnik<sup>120</sup> i da je bio prilično visoko u zapovjednom lancu svoje postrojbe.<sup>121</sup> Moguće je da se u natpisima augzilijara iza izraza *duplicarius* kriju činovi *tesserarius* ili *optio* pa je Pulher mogao biti samo jedan ili dva zapovjedna položaja ispod centuriona.<sup>122</sup> Vjerojatno je nakon službe u oficiju u Salonu vraćen u matičnu postrojbu gdje je promoviran u viši čin. Nekoliko dalmatinskihi natpisa svjedoči upravo o vojnicima kojima je služba u namjesnikovu uredu poslužila kao odskočna daska

116 *CIL* 3, 2067.

117 Alföldy 1969, str. 332.

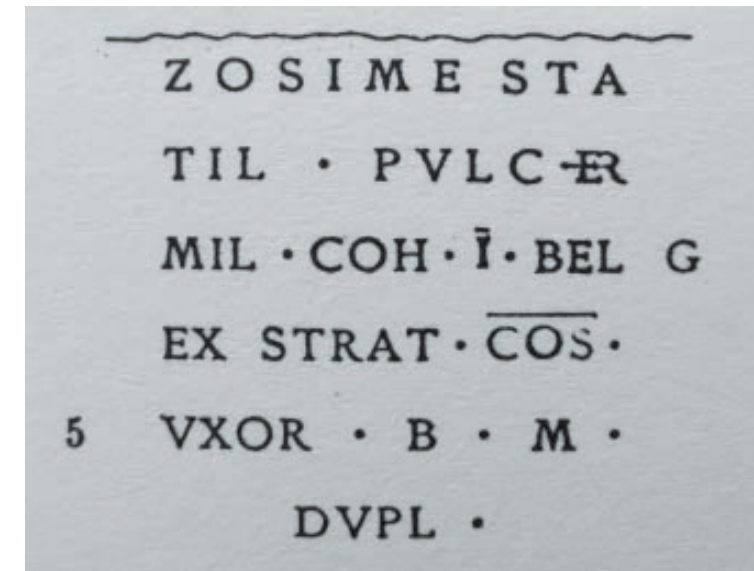
118 Vidi ovdje bilj. 85.

119 Lassère 2005, str. 765.

120 Duplikarij je između 84. i 197. godine primao 2000 sestercija, a nakon Septimija Severa 4000 sestercija. O vojničkim plaćama i njihovima povećanjima vidi Speidel 1992, str. 93-101 i ovdje bilj. 87. Općenito o plaćama u rimskoj vojsci vidi Le Bohec 1994, str. 209-218.

121 Cheesman 1914, str. 41. O činovima i platnim razredima u vojsci od vremena Hadrijana do Septimija Severa, vidi Breeze 1974, str. 450.

122 Breeze 1971, str. 133.



Slika 5.  
Natpis Statilija Pulhera (CIL 3, 2067)

Figure 5.  
Inscription of Statilius Pulcher (CIL 3, 2067)

is also missing. Also clearly visible is that the letters *HER* in the commenter's cognomen are rendered in ligature. Statilius Pulcher was an active soldier with the Roman civic administration. His deceased wife, whose cognomen suggests freed origin, also had citizenship.<sup>117</sup> She, like the Appulea Sabina cited on Proculus' stela, is referred to by the noun *uxor*.<sup>118</sup> The inscription specifies Pulcher's *cursus honorum*. On his monument, he did not neglect to boast of his former service as an equestrian supply officer in the consul's office (*strator consularis*).<sup>119</sup> At the time the monument was raised, Pulcher held the rank of *duplicarius*, which means he was received double the pay of an ordinary soldier<sup>120</sup> and that he was rather high in the chain of command in his unit.<sup>121</sup> It is possible that the ranks of *tesserarius* or *optio* were concealed behind the expression *duplicarius* in the inscriptions of auxiliaries, so Pulcher may have only been one or two command positions below a centurion.<sup>122</sup> After his service in the *officium* in Salona, he was probably returned to his core unit, where he was promoted to a higher rank. Several Dalmatian inscriptions testify precisely to soldiers whose service in the consul's office served as a launch pad for ongoing career advancement in the military. A nice example is the aforementioned Lucius Sulpicius Proculus. As a soldier of *cohors VIII*, he remained an adjutant to the *cornicularius consularis*, after which he was moved to the post of clerk (*actarius*) in the command of his unit

117 Alföldy 1969, p. 332.

118 See note 85 herein.

119 Lassère 2005, p. 765.

120 Between the years 84 and 197, a *duplicarius* received 2,000 sesterces, while after Septimius Severus it was raised to 4,000 sesterces. On military salaries and their increases, see Speidel 1992, pp. 93-101 and note 87 herein. On salaries in the Roman military in general, see Le Bohec 1994, pp. 209-218.

121 Cheesman 1914, p. 41. On ranks and pay grades in the army from the reigns of Hadrian to Septimius Severus, see Breeze 1974, p. 450.

122 Breeze 1971, p. 133.



za nastavak napredovanja u vojnoj karijeri. Lijep primjer pruža ranije spomenuti Lucije Sulpicije Prokul. On je kao vojnik Osme kohorte postao pomoćnik konzularnoga kornikularija nakon čega je prebačen na položaj činovnika (*actarius*) u zapovjedništvu svoje postrojbe u Tiluriju.<sup>123</sup> Glavni oslonac za datiranje Pulherova natpisa upravo je njegova imenska formula koja ne sadrži prenamen. Od 2. stoljeća prenamen gotovo u potpunosti nestaje iz imenskoga obrasca.<sup>124</sup> Poznato je, međutim, da su *officiales* na svojim natpisima od antoninskoga doba običavali namjesnikovo ime zamijeniti izrazom *consularis*.<sup>125</sup> Zbog toga sam nastanak Pulherova natpisa sklon smjestiti iza sredine 2. stoljeća.

*Strator* u namjesnikovu stožeru bio je i vojnik Aurelije Hilarijan. Njegova je stela pronađena tijekom istraživanja cemetrijalne bazilike na Kapljuču, točnije u prostoriji koja se naslanja na njezin sjeverni bočni brod. Sastoji se od dva ulomka koji sačinjavaju gornji lijevi dio stele (sl. 6). Visina spomenika je 32 cm, a širina 18 cm. U lijevom pseudoakroteriju sačuvana je palmeta, a u ostatku trokutastoga pseudozabata je sigla *D* iznad koje je nekakav pravokutnik ukrašen kosim paralelnim crtama. Možda je riječ o asciji.<sup>126</sup> Natpis glasi: *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Aur(elio) Hil[ari]/ano mil(iti) [co]/hortis I [Belg(arum)] / ex st(ratore) BAT[---] / BVS st(i)p(endiorum) X[---] / [C]andidus [---] / [---]P(?)EP(?)[---] / [...]*<sup>127</sup> Unatoč priličnoj oštećenosti natpisa može se utvrditi da je Hilarijan u postrojbi proveo najmanje deset godina i da mu je spomenik podigao neki Kandido. Nakon njegova imena sačuvani su tek ostaci triju slova i nemoguće je reći u kakvom su odnosu bili njih dvojica. Prilikom objave natpisa Brøndsted je pretpostavio da u 5. retku treba prepoznati ime Prve kohorte Batavaca.<sup>128</sup> Nedugo nakon objave njegov lapsus ispravio je Egger<sup>129</sup> i ključni dio dopunio imenom Prve kohorte Belgâ što je prihvaćeno i u kasnijim epigrafskim korpusima.<sup>130</sup> Aurelije Hilarijan ima građansko pravo, a jasno je da ga je smrt zatekla tijekom službe. Od Komodova vremena velika većina dalmatinskih augzilijarnih vojnika već ima građansko pravo, a znatan ih je dio tu povlasticu dobio antoninskom konstitucijom 212. godine kada su u svoja imena uvrstili ime *Aurelius*.<sup>131</sup> Valja imati na umu da je *Aurelius* bio carski gentilicij koji je bio u upotrebi razmjerno dugo prije 212. godine.<sup>132</sup> Hilarijanov imenski obrazac ne sadrži prenamen koji od 2. stoljeća gotovo nestaje iz imenovanja.<sup>133</sup> Natpis Aurelija Hilarijana mogao bi se dovesti u

in Tilurium.<sup>123</sup> The main element for dating Pulcher's inscription is precisely his name formula, which does not contain a praenomen. Since the second century, the praenomen disappeared almost entirely from the name formula.<sup>124</sup> It is known, however, that in their inscriptions since the Antonine era, *officiales* normally replaced the consul's name with the term *consularis*.<sup>125</sup> This is why I prefer to place the appearance of Pulcher's inscription after the mid-second century.

Aurelius Hilarianus was also *strator* in the consul's headquarters. His stela was discovered during research at the cemetery basilica at Kapljuč, more precisely in the area immediately adjacent to its northern lateral nave. It consists of two pieces which form the stela's upper left-hand side (Fig. 5). The height of the monument is 32 cm, while its width is 18 cm. A palmette is preserved in the left pseudo-acroterion, while in the remainder of the triangular pseudo-pediment there is a *D* sigil above which there is some sort of rectangle decorated with diagonal parallel lines. It may be an *ascia*.<sup>126</sup> The inscription reads: *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Aur(elio) Hil[ari]/ano mil(iti) [co]/hortis I [Belg(arum)] / ex st(ratore) BAT[---] / BVS st(i)p(endiorum) X[---] / [C]andidus [---] / [---]P(?)EP(?)[---] / [...]*<sup>127</sup> Despite the considerable damage to the inscription, it can be discerned that Hilarianus spent a minimum of ten years in the unit and that his monument was raised by someone named Candidus. After his name, only the remains of three letters have been preserved, and it is impossible to ascertain the relationship between the two of them. During publication of the inscription, Brøndsted assumed that the name of *cohors I Batavorum* should be recognized in the fifth line.<sup>128</sup> Not long after publication, his error was corrected by Egger,<sup>129</sup> and he supplemented the key portion with the name of *cohors I Belgarum*, which was accepted in later epigraphic collections.<sup>130</sup> Aurelius Hilarianus had citizenship, and it is clear that he died while still in active service. Since the reign of Commodus, the vast majority of Dalmatian auxiliary troops already had citizenship, and a considerable portion of them received it through the Antonine Constitution of 21, when they incorporated *Aurelius* into their own names.<sup>131</sup> It is worthwhile noting that *Aurelius* was the imperial gentilicium which was in use for a considerable time prior to 212.<sup>132</sup> Hilarianus' name formula does not contain the praenomen, which almost disappeared from naming after the second century.<sup>133</sup> The inscription of Aurelius Hilarianus may be linked to the features of the

123 Matijević 2009, str. 49, 50.

124 Salomies 1987, str. 300 i dalje, 390 i dalje.

125 Rankov 1999, str. 20, 21.

126 Brøndsted 1928, str. 160, n. 14.

127 Spomenik je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu inventiran pod oznakom A-4905, a trenutno nije dostupan.

128 Brøndsted 1928, str. 160, n. 14.

129 Egger 1932, str. 14, n. 14.

130 *ILJug* 2610.

131 Alföldy 1987, str. 262.

132 Salway 1994, str. 136.

133 Vidi ovdje bilj. 124.



Slika 6.  
Stela Aurelija Hilarijana  
(Brøndsted 1928, str. 160,  
n. 14.)

Figure 6.  
Stela of Aurelius Hilarianus  
(Brøndsted 1928, p. 160, n.  
14.)

vezu s obilježjima portretne stele Aurelija Pontijana<sup>134</sup> i natpisa Aurelija Mukatre<sup>135</sup> koji su bili pripadnici Prve italske legije.<sup>136</sup> Pontijanova stela se zahvaljujući portretnim karakteristikama pokojnika datira u doba između 220. i 230. godine,<sup>137</sup> a Mukatrina stela je najvjerojatnije iz ranoseverskoga doba, dakle malo ranija.<sup>138</sup> Pretpostavku da i Hilarijanova stela potječe iz severskoga razdoblja podupiru zajedničke osobine imenskih formula ali i neke paleografske sličnosti od kojih valja istaknuti istovjetno klesanje slova *M*, *T*, *G*. Hilarijanov i Pontijanov natpis iskazuju još jedno zajedničko obilježje svojstveno kasnijem razdoblju, a to je prekidanje riječi na kraju retka i nastavljanje u sljedećem.<sup>139</sup> Dakle, dataciju Hilarijanove stele radije bih stavio u kraj 2. ili početak 3. stoljeća.

134 *CIL* 3, 2010.

135 *CIL* 3, 2009.

136 Iz Salone je poznato najmanje dvanaest aktivnih vojnika s gentilicijem *Aurelius* iz ove legije koja je ovdje bila početkom 3. stoljeća; Wilkes 1969, str. 119.

137 Cambi 1988, str. 107, 108.

138 Maršić 1997, str. 118.

139 Calabi Limentani 1991, str. 131.



Slika 7.  
Stela Licinija Kapitona (Brøndsted  
1928, str. 158, 159, n. 7.)

Figure 7.  
Stela of Licinius Capito (Brøndsted  
1928, pp. 158, 159, n. 7.)

portrait stela of Aurelius Pontianus<sup>134</sup> and the inscription of Aurelius Mucatra<sup>135</sup> who were members of *legio I Italia*.<sup>136</sup> Pontianus' stela, has been dated between the years 220 and 230 thanks to its portrait features,<sup>137</sup> while Mucatra's stela probably dates to the early Severan era, thus slightly earlier.<sup>138</sup> The assumption that Hilarianus' stela originated in the Severan era is supported by the common features of the name formula as well as some palaeographic similarities, of which the identical carving of the letters *M*, *T*, *G* bears emphasis. The inscriptions of Hilarianus and Pontianus exhibit yet another common feature characteristic of the later period, and this is the division of words at the end of one line and their continuation in the next.<sup>139</sup> Thus, I would rather place the dating of Hilarianus' stela to the end of the second or beginning of the third century.

134 *CIL* 3, 2010.

135 *CIL* 3, 2009.

136 There were a minimum of twelve known active soldiers who bore the gentilicium *Aurelius* from this legion which was posted in Salona in the early third century; Wilkes 1969, p. 119.

137 Cambi 1988, pp. 107, 108.

138 Maršić 1997, p. 118.

139 Calabi Limentani 1991, p. 131.



Tijekom zemljanih radova na Kapljuču, na posjedu Luke Milišića, jugoistočno od apsida bazilike pronađen je ulomak stele načinjene od bijelog mramora. Sačuvani su njezin gornji i lijevi dio s ostatkom natpisa u pet redaka. (sl. 7.) U pseudozabatu je ostatak ukrasa, možda se radi o rozeti. Visina spomenika je 54 cm, a širina 60 cm.<sup>140</sup> Mislim da je Alföldyjevo čitanje najprihvatljivije: *Licinius Ca[pito] / miles co[h(ortis) ] / Bel(garum) [(centuria) Vi[...]/ Severi s[ibi et Fort] / unato [...]*.<sup>141</sup> Stela je pripadala Liciniju, pripadniku Prve kohorte Belgâ, koji je po svoj prilici bio pokopan na sjevernoj salonitanskoj nekropoli.<sup>142</sup> Podigao ju je i nekom Fortunatu, a zbog oštećenosti natpisa moguće je tek nagađati u kakvom su odnosu bili njih dvojica. Od Licinijeva kognomena ostala su samo dva početna slova što su prethodni istraživači rekonstruirali kao *Ca[pito]*.<sup>143</sup> Naveo je ime centuriona Severa pod čijim je bio zapovjedništvom, što govori da je služio kao pješak. I on je, poput Pulhera i Hilarijana, imao građansko pravo što osnažuje pretpostavku o dataciji njegova spomenika u vrijeme iza treće četvrtine 2. stoljeća. Hilarijan i Kapiton imali su, čini se, pravo pokopa na sjevernoj salonitanskoj nekropoli gdje su njihove stele i pronađene.<sup>144</sup> Obilježja njihovih natpisa i izgled njihovih stela vrlo su slični.

Pišući o razvoju sjeverne salonitanske nekropole, Ž. Miletić je naveo više od 15 vojničkih natpisa na potezu od amfiteatra do Kapljuča. Oni potječu iz 1. stoljeća i većina ih pripada vojnicima Sedme i Jedanaeste legije.<sup>145</sup> Veliki broj vojničkih natpisa na užem prostoru unutar nekropole sigurno nije slučajnost. Međutim, sjeverna nekropola nije izoliran primjer. N. Cambi je na temelju stela vojnika Sedme legije pretpostavio postojanje vojničkoga groblja i u okviru istočne salonitanske nekropole u blizini *Porta Andetria*.<sup>146</sup> Također je pretpostavio da su se nakon odlaska legije iz provincije nakon sredine 1. stoljeća tu mogli pokapati i vojnici drugih manjih jedinica.<sup>147</sup> Ovo je potvrdio nedavni pronalazak nadgrobne are Tita Flavija Lucilija koja je bila uzidana u prvu kulu s južne strane ovih gradskih vrata.<sup>148</sup> Hilarijanova i Licinijeva stela ukazuju na kontinuitet vojničkih pokapanja na sjevernoj salonitanskoj nekropoli najmanje do početka 3. stoljeća.

Posljednji natpis iz ovog korpusa pronađen je nedavno i sasvim slučajno u istočnom dijelu Salone, nedaleko od bazilike *Orientalis*. Od svih ostalih natpisa on nudi najmanje mogućnosti za izvlačenje korisnih podataka. Dosta je oštećen pa se uz priličan

During earth works at Kapljuč, on the property of Luka Milišić, a stela fragment made of white marble was found south-east of the basilica's apse. Its upper and left-hand sections have been preserved with the remains of an inscription in five lines (Fig. 6). The remainder of an ornament, perhaps a rosette, is in the pseudo-pediment. The height of the monument is 54 cm, while the width is 60 cm.<sup>140</sup> I believe that Alföldy's reading is the most acceptable: *Licinius Ca[pito] / miles co[h(ortis) ] / Bel(garum) [(centuria) Vi[...]/ Severi s[ibi et Fort] / unato [...]*.<sup>141</sup> The stela belonged to Licinius, a member of *cohors I Belgarum*, who was probably buried in Salona's northern necropolis.<sup>142</sup> It was raised to a certain Fortunatus, but the damage to the inscription only allows for speculation as to the nature of their relationship. Only the first two letters remain of Licinius' cognomen, which previous scholars have reconstructed as *Ca[pito]*.<sup>143</sup> He cited the name of the centurion, Severus, under whose command he served, which means that he was in the infantry. And he, like Pulcher and Hilarianus, had citizenship, which reinforces the assumption on the dating of his monument to the period after the third quarter of the second century. Hilarianus and Capito had, it would appear, the right to burial in Salona's northern necropolis where their stelae were in fact discovered.<sup>144</sup> The features of their inscriptions and the appearance of their stelae are quite similar.

When writing about the northern necropolis in Salona, Ž. Miletić cited over fifteen military inscriptions on the section from the amphitheatre to Kapljuč. They date to the first century, and most belonged to the soldiers of the seventh and eleventh legions.<sup>145</sup> The high number of military inscriptions in a narrower section of the necropolis is certainly not chance. However, the northern necropolis is not an isolated example. Based on the stelae of soldiers from *legio VII, N. Cambi* hypothesized the existence of a military cemetery within the framework of Salona's eastern necropolis near *Porta Andetria*.<sup>146</sup> He also assumed that after the legion's departure from the province after the mid-first century, the members of other, smaller units could be buried here.<sup>147</sup> He confirmed the recent discovery of the grave altar of Titus Flavius Lucillius which was built into the wall of the first tower on the south side of this city gate.<sup>148</sup> The stelae of Hilarianus and Licinius demonstrate the continuity of military burials at Salona's northern necropolis until the early third century at the very least.

140 Brøndsted 1928, str. 158, 159, n. 7. Spomenik je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu inventiran pod oznakom A-4867. Trenutno nije dostupan, zbog čega ne mogu reći radi li se o sekundarno upotrijebljenom komadu mramora.

141 Alföldy 1987, str. 283.

142 Miletić 1990, str. 171.

143 Egger 1932, str. 13, 14, n. 7; *ILJug* 2603.

144 Miletić 1990, str. 171.

145 Miletić 1990, str. 173-180.

146 Na salonitanskim nekropolama poznata je pojava strukovnih pokapanja. Nekoliko urni s gladijatorskim natpisima pronađeno je sjeverno od amfiteatra. O tome vidi više kod Miletić 1990, str. 165, 166, sl.1.

147 Cambi 1986, str. 80-84; Miletić 1991, str. 32-34.

148 Jeličić-Radonić 2006, str. 125, 128-130.



Slika 8.  
Natpis s imenom kohorte  
(Matijević 2008, str. 191, n. 1)

Figure 8.  
Inscription bearing the name  
of the cohort (Matijević 2008, p.  
191, n. 1)

oprez smije reći da se radi o nadgrobnome natpisu. Visina ulomka je 21 cm, širina 18 cm i debljina 17 cm. Sadržaj natpisa je sljedeći (sl. 8.): *[---]sti DO / [---] E(?)qui<t=l?> / [--- coh(or-) I B]elgaru / [m ---] l(?)oru[m] / [---]l(?)NO[-] / [---]Q(?)V[-] / [...]*.<sup>149</sup> U prvome je retku najvjerojatnije ostatak pokojnikova imena, dok u posljednjem retku, prema čitanju u *EDH*, možda treba vidjeti oznaku njegove konjaničke službe u kohorti (*eques*).<sup>150</sup> Zatim slijedi ime kohorte, a potom najvjerojatnije godine službe i godine života. Slova su dosta nemarno isklesana. Mislim da neću puno pogriješiti napišem li da je nastao približno u isto vrijeme kada su nastala i prethodna tri natpisa, a možda čak i malo kasnije. S ovim natpisom završava slijed salonitanskih spomenika koje je moguće pripisati pripadnicima Prve kohorte Belgâ.

Kako objasniti prisutnost aktivnih vojnika u glavnome gradu provincije? U ovome dijelu Carstva Salone je bila vodeći grad s nekoliko desetaka tisuća stanovnika. Velika luka i izvrsna cestovna povezanost sa zaleđem omogućavali su veliku cirkulaciju ljudi koji su pristizali iz raznih dijelova rimske države. Mnogi su se ovdje naseljavali, a nekima je Salona bila tek usputno boravište. Grad je bio trgovačko, prometno i upravno središte i nema sumnje

149 Matijević 2008, str. 191. Spomenik se danas čuva u Arheološkoj zbirci Marka Matijevića u Solinu.

150 *EDH* HD056626.

The last inscription from this set was found recently, and entirely coincidentally, in the eastern section of Salona, not far from the *Orientalis* basilica. Out of all of these inscriptions, this one offers the least possibility of deriving useful data. It has sustained considerable damage, so that it can only be deemed a grave inscription with considerable reserve. The height of the fragment is 21 cm, the width is 18 cm and the thickness 17 cm. The content of the inscription is (Fig. 7.): *[---]sti DO / [---] E(?)qui<t=l?> / [--- coh(or-) I B]elgaru / [m ---]l(?)oru[m] / [---]l(?) NO[-] / [---]Q(?)V[-] / [...]*.<sup>149</sup> The first line probably contains the remainder of the deceased's name, while the final line, based on the reading in *EDH*, should perhaps be seen as indication of his service in the cavalry arm of his cohort (*eques*).<sup>150</sup> This is followed by the cohort's name, and then probably the years of service and age. The letters were rather carelessly engraved. I believe that I will not be in grave error if I write that it emerged roughly at the same time as the preceding three inscriptions, and perhaps even slightly earlier. This inscription also closes the sequence of Salona monuments which may be ascribed to the members of *cohors I Belgarum*.

How does one explain the presence of active soldiers in the provincial capital? In this section of the Empire, Salona was the leading city with a population of several dozen thousand. The large harbour and outstanding overland links with the hinterland facilitated the high circulation of people who arrived from various parts of the Roman state. Many settled here, while for some Salona was simply a stop-over. The city was a mercantile, transit and administrative hub and there is no doubt that security was a prerequisite for its normal functioning. There can also be no doubt that soldiers were among the primary mainstays for maintaining peace and order on the city's streets and in its official institutions and administrative bodies. However, it is difficult, nearly impossible in fact, to ascertain the precise tasks carried out by active soldiers in the capital, so an examination of examples from other cities in the Empire is needed. Military units were not stationed inside cities, except when there was the threat of outbreaks of unrest and strife in Alexandria, Jerusalem, Caesarea and Byzantium. The papyrus with the list of duties of troops in *legio III Cyrenaica* for the beginning of October 87 is well known. It demonstrates the diversity of tasks which legionnaires performed in Nicopolis, next to Alexandria. They patrolled the city streets, monitored key points in the city, and performed sentry duty at the mint and grain warehouses.<sup>151</sup> The consul was simultaneously the commander of all units in his province. His administrative staff included a high number of soldiers who were reassigned from their core units and placed at his disposal.<sup>152</sup> According

149 Matijević 2008, p. 191. The monument is today held in the Marko Matijević Archaeological Collection in Solin.

150 *EDH* HD056626.

151 Davies 1974, pp. 322, 323.

152 Southern 2006, p. 199.

da je za njegovo normalno funkcioniranje osnovni preduvjet bila sigurnost. Također nema sumnje da su vojnici bili jedan od glavnih oslonaca u ostvarenju reda i stabilnosti na gradskim ulicama i u njegovim službenim institucijama i upravnim tijelima. Teško je, međutim, i gotovo nemoguće, imenovati koje su točno zadaće izvršavali aktivni vojnici u glavnome gradu pa je potrebno pogledati na primjere ostalih gradova u Carstvu. Vojne postrojbe nisu bile smještene u gradovima, osim kada je postojala opasnost od izbijanja nemira i nereda kao u Aleksandriji, Jeruzalemu, Cezareji, Bizantiju. Poznat je papirus s popisom dužnosti vojnika u *legio III Cyrenaica* za početak listopada 87. godine. On pokazuje raznolikost zadaća koje su legionari izvršavali u Nikopolju pored Aleksandrije. Ophodili su gradskim ulicama, nadzirali ključne točke u gradu, stražarili pored kovnice i skladišta žita.<sup>151</sup> Namjesnik je ujedno bio i zapovjednik svih postrojbi u svojoj provinciji. Njegovo administrativno osoblje uključivalo je velik broj vojnika koji su privremeno bili izdvojeni iz svojih matičnih postrojbi i stavljeni njemu na raspolaganje.<sup>152</sup> Prema nekim pretpostavkama bilo ih je oko stotinu.<sup>153</sup> Do početka 3. stoljeća povećala se raznolikost poslova koje je obavljao namjesnikov oficij. Svi su zaposlenici oficija, od najnižih pa do najviših položaja, izravno sudjelovali u poslovima vojnoga zapovjedništva i administracije, unutrašnje sigurnosti, u pitanjima kriminalnoga prava, obavljali su dnevne policijske dužnosti i poslove civilne administracije. Namjesnikov je ured također bio odgovoran za vođenje dokumentacije o novacima koji su bili regrutirani u postrojbe u provinciji, kao i za otpuštanje isluženih vojnika. Oficij je primao, obrađivao i pohranjivao izvješća koja su pristizala iz zapovjedništva postrojbi u provinciji i od beneficijarija koji su bili na službi u postajama diljem provincije.<sup>154</sup> Nema nikakve sumnje da su sve ove zadaće, a i mnoge druge, iziskivale velik broj vojnika zaposlenih u namjesnikovu uredu.

U Dalmaciji se umnožavanje službi u namjesnikovu oficiju poklopilo s nestabilnostima uzrokovanima prijetnjom provale Kvada i Markomana. Tada su nakon sredine 2. stoljeća u namjesnikovu administraciju primljena najmanje četiri pripadnika Osme dobrovoljačke kohorte. Postrojba je u Dalmaciji boravila već gotovo dva stoljeća, a u njezinim su redovima bili ljudi s civitetom i iz sredine u kojoj su služili zbog čega su bili vrlo dobro upoznati s prilikama u njoj.<sup>155</sup> Postojala je prijeka potreba za angažmanom novih ljudi u oficiju i namjesnik je pri dodjeljivanju zaduženja radio razliku između augzilijara ovisno o postrojbama iz kojih su potjecali. U namjesnikovu tjelesnu stražu (*singulares consularis*)<sup>156</sup> postavljani su pripadnici Treće kohorte Alpinaca, a na položaje

- 151 Davies 1974, str. 322, 323.
- 152 Southern 2006, str. 199.
- 153 Davies 1974, str. 313; Rankov 1999, str. 25.
- 154 Rankov 1999, str. 26, 31.
- 155 Matijević 2009, str. 48-54.
- 156 Primjeri iz drugih provincija pokazuju da su u namjesnikovu tjelesnu stražu primani augzilijarni *pedites* i *equites*. O tome vidi više kod Davies 1974, str. 313.

to some speculation, there were about one hundred of these.<sup>153</sup> Up to the beginning of the third century, the diversity of duties performed by the consul's *officium* increased. All employees of the *officium*, from the lowest to highest posts, directly participated in the work of the military command and administration, internal security, matters of criminal law, daily policing and civic administration. The consul's office was also responsible for maintaining documentation on the new troops who were recruited in units in the province, and for the decommissioning of eligible soldiers. The *officium* received, processed and filed reports which arrived from unit command staffs in the province and from *beneficarii* who were serving in stations throughout the province.<sup>154</sup> There can be no doubt all of these tasks, and many other, required a high number of soldiers employed in the consul's office.

In Dalmatia the multiplication of posts in the consul's officium corresponded to the instability caused by the threat of Quadi and Marcomanni incursions. At the time, after the mid-second century, a minimum of four members of *cohors VIII Voluntariorum* were admitted to the consul's administration. The unit had already been stationed in Dalmatia for almost two centuries, and its ranks included people with citizenship who were from the area in which they served, so they were quite familiar with local circumstances.<sup>155</sup> There was an overriding need for the engagement of new people in the *officium* and prior to assigning posts, the consul distinguished between auxiliaries depending on the units from which they came. Members of *cohors III Alpinorum* were assigned to the consul's bodyguard detail (*singulares consularis*),<sup>156</sup> while personnel from *cohors I Belgarum* were appointed *strator* posts.<sup>157</sup> The only thus far known soldiers who held the post of *strator* in the consul's office in Dalmatia and whose original units were known are Statilius Pulcher and Aurelius Hilarianus, whose inscriptions have been dated to the mid-second century.<sup>158</sup> It could be said that the soldiers from the eighth cohort opened the way for access by the remaining Dalmatian auxiliaries to various posts in the consul's office.<sup>159</sup> To the best of my knowledge, there are no inscriptions from

- 153 Davies 1974, p. 313; Rankov 1999, p. 25.
- 154 Rankov 1999, pp. 26, 31.
- 155 Matijević 2009, pp. 48-54.
- 156 Examples from other provinces show that auxiliary *pedites* and *equites* were received into the consul's bodyguard detail. For more on this, see Davies 1974, p. 313.
- 157 Wilkes 1969, p. 122. The staff of the consul's office was classified into three different groups: *principales*, *immunes* and *milites*. The equestrian troops probably belonged to the *immunes*. For more on this see Rankov 1999, p. 23 ff.
- 158 Julius Crispinus, who performed the same service, should be added to them, although the inscription on his sarcophagus does not specify the unit to which he belonged; *ILJug* 2379: *D(is) M(anibus) / Septiena Mar(cia?) / con(iugi) car(issimo) pi/entissimo / lul(io) Crispi/no qui et Pas/sar miles / strator v(iri) c(onsularis) / b(ene) m(erenti)*.
- 159 Matijević 2009, pp. 48-54.

konjušara ljudi iz Prve kohorte Belgâ.<sup>157</sup> Jedini do sada poznati vojnici koji su obavljali službu konjušara u oficiju namjesnika Dalmacije i za koje se zna iz koje su postrojbe potjecali, su Statilije Pulher i Aurelije Hilarijan, čiji se natpisi datiraju iza sredine 2. stoljeća.<sup>158</sup> Moglo bi se kazati da su vojnici iz Osme kohorte otvorili pristup ostalim dalmatinskim augzilijarima za različite službe u namjesnikovu uredu.<sup>159</sup> Koliko mi je poznato, ne postoje natpisi iz Dalmacije po kojima bi se dalo zaključiti da su na slične položaje prije sredine 2. stoljeća postavljani neki drugi augzilijari.

Prema podacima iz drugih provincija moglo bi se zaključiti da su Statilije Pulher i Aurelije Hilarijan obavljali raznolike zadaće, poput pregledavanja konja za vojsku, provođenja uhićenja, vođenja fortificiranja gradova i službi u postajama.<sup>160</sup> Ovdje je korisno skrenuti pozornost na primjere iz Norika, odakle su također poznata samo dvojica vojnika na toj službi. Oni su pripadali Drugoj italskoj legiji, a njihovi spomenici datiraju se u seversko razdoblje.<sup>161</sup> Za razumijevanje naravi te službe još je značajnija skupina od šest natpisa iz Niša (*Naissus*) u Gornjoj Meziji. Riječ je o posvetnim natpisima pronađenima uz jednu cestovnu postaju kojom su upravljali upravo *stratores consularis*. Četiri legionara na toj službi bili su iz Sedme legije, a dvojica iz Četvrte. Svi se natpisi mogu precizno datirati između 220. i 235. godine.<sup>162</sup> Na primjerima iz Norika i Gornje Mezije vidi se da su namjesnici na te položaje postavljali vojnike iz istih postrojba kada se za to ukazala potreba. Jesu li oni bili primljeni istodobno ili tijekom rečenog razdoblja, teško je reći. Na primjeru Norika vidi se da su dovedeni iz Druge Italske legije, a u Meziji četvorica iz Sedme i dvojica iz Četvrte legije. Činjenica je da su Pulher i Hilarijan upravo iz iste kohorte - Prve kohorte Belgâ. To govori da je namjesnik prilikom odabira vojnika za službu u svoj oficij slijedio praksu kakvu su provodili i ostali namjesnici - uzimao je vojnike iz postrojbe koja je za to bila najprikladnija ili, bolje rečeno, najdostupnija.

Koliko su raznovrsne bile zadaće povjerene pojedinim pomoćnim postrojbama, vrlo dobro pokazuje sljedeći primjer. *Cohors I Hispanorum Veterana quingenaria* jedna je od rijetkih pomoćnih jedinica o čijim se aktivnostima može detaljnije govoriti

157 Wilkes 1969, str. 122. Osoblje namjesnikova ureda bilo je svrstano u tri različite skupine: *principales*, *immunes* i *milites*. Konjušari su najvjerojatnije pripadali skupini *immunes*. O tome vidi više kod Rankov 1999, str. 23 i dalje.

158 Njima treba pridružiti i Julija Krispina, koji je obnašao istu službu, ali na natpisu njegova sarkofaga nije navedeno kojoj je postrojbi pripadao;

*ILJug* 2379: *D(is) M(anibus) / Septiena Mar(cia?) / con(iugi) car(issimo) pi/entissimo / lul(io) Crispi/no qui et Pas/sar miles / strator v(iri) c(onsularis) / b(ene) m(erenti)*.

159 Matijević 2009, str. 48-54.

160 Rankov 1999, str. 22, 23, bilj. 27.

161 Natpis *EDH* HD057421 je datiran između 200. i 240., a *EDH* HD038604 između 222. i 235. O tim spomenicima vidi više kod Alföldy 1974, str. 162, 333.

162 Mócsy 1974, str. 215.

Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone

Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

Dalmatia which would indicate that some other auxiliaries were assigned similar posts prior to the mid-second century.

According to data from other provinces, one may conclude that Statilius Pulcher and Aurelius Hilarianus performed various tasks, such as inspecting horses for the army, executing arrests, supervising the fortification of cities and service in outposts.<sup>160</sup> Here it would be worthwhile to focus attention on the examples from Noricum, whence only two soldiers in this service are known. They belonged to *legio II Italica*, and their monuments date to the Severan era.<sup>161</sup> A group of six inscriptions from Niš (*Naissus*) in Moesia Superior is even more important to an understanding the nature of this service. These are dedicatory inscriptions discovered next to a roadside station administered precisely by *stratores consularis*. Four legionnaires in this service were from *legio VII*, and two from *legio IV*. All of the inscriptions can be precisely dated to the years between 220 and 235.<sup>162</sup> The examples from Noricum and Moesia Superior show that the consuls assigned soldiers from the same units to these posts when the need arose. Whether they were admitted at the same time or over the course of the aforementioned period is difficult to say. Based on the example of Noricum, it is apparent that they were brought from *legio II Italica*, while in Moesia four were from *legio VII* and two from *legio IV*. The fact is that Pulcher and Hilarianus were from the same cohort: *cohors I Belgarum*. This indicates that in the selection of soldiers to serve in his office, the consul adhered to the practice implemented by other consuls: he took soldiers from units who were the most suitable for this or, better stated, the most accessible.

The diversity of the tasks entrusted to individual units is demonstrated rather well by the following example. *Cohors I Hispanorum Veterana quingenaria* was one of the rare auxiliary units of which much can be said about its activities thanks to a preserved Egyptian papyrus.<sup>163</sup> This document probably originated in the year 105, when the cohort was in Moesia and participated in the early phase of the Second Dacian War. It first lists the losses suffered by the unit. Then it deals with the soldiers who were separated from the unit and sent to Gallia for attire, or for grain, or to serve in the Dardanian mines. The third section of the document mentions the soldiers on various assignments in the province. Several of them were in the service of the legate and procurator, and in detachments in Piroboridava (Poiana) and Buroidava (Stolniceni), as well as on expeditions across the Danube. They also participated in securing supply routes, brought cattle and horses down from highland zones, and

- 160 Rankov 1999, pp. 22, 23, note 27.
- 161 Inscription *EDH* HD057421 has been dated between the years 200 and 240, while *EDH* HD038604 to between 222 and 235. For more on these monuments see Alföldy 1974, p. 162, 333.
- 162 Mócsy 1974, p. 215.
- 163 This exceptional document is known as *Hunt's pridianum*. This was most likely the annual report on the unit's numerical strength; Southern 2006, pp. 7, 8.



zahvaljujući jednom sačuvanom egipatskom papirusu.<sup>163</sup> Taj dokument najvjerojatnije potječe iz godine 105., kada je kohorta bila u Meziji i sudjelovala u ranoj fazi Drugoga rata protiv Dačana. U njemu se najprije navode gubitci koje je postrojba pretrpjela. Sljedeći dio odnosi se na vojnike koji su bili izdvojeni iz postrojbe i poslani u Galiju po odjeću, neki po žito, a neki na službu u dardanske rudnike. Treći dio dokumenta spominje vojnike na različitim zadaćama u provinciji. Nekoliko ih je bilo u službi legata i prokuratora te u odjeljenjima u Piroboridavi (Poiana) i Buroidavi (Stolniceni), kao i na ekspedicijama preko Dunava. Također su sudjelovali u osiguranju opskrbnih pravaca, dovodili stoku i konje iz brdskih područja, a neki su pod centurionovim zapovjedništvom bili na izvidničkim zadaćama. Nije sačuvan broj vojnika koji je izvršavao povjerene zadaće,<sup>164</sup> ali je sigurno da su većinu njih obavljali i u mirnodopskim uvjetima.<sup>165</sup> Drugi pronađeni papirusi snažno sugeriraju da je ovakva šarolikost i zahtjevnost zadaća bila uobičajena za sve jedinice tijekom Principata.<sup>166</sup> Zahvaljujući spomenutim dokumentima, može se reći da je i Prva kohorta Belgâ tijekom boravka u Dalmaciji izvršavala raznovrsne zadaće. Sigurno je da su one bile uvjetovane okolnostima koje su vladale u provinciji tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća. Svakako najupečatljiviji događaj koji je u to doba utjecao na život Dalmacije i njezine metropole, bila je prijetnja Kvada i Markomana. Ona je uzrokovala osnivanje novih i premještanje postojećih postrojba, što se, međutim, nije odrazilo na Prvu kohortu Belgâ koja je, poput Osme dobrovoljačke kohorte i Treće kohorte Alpinaca, ostala u provinciji i tijekom 3. stoljeća. Njezini natpisi iz Salone sačuvali su imena sedmorice njezinih pripadnika. Najstariji natpis pripada Gaju Valeriju Prokulu. Njegova zaduženja u postrojbi izravno se vežu za zapovjedništvo nad turmom koja je bila smještena u tilurijskom logoru. U Saloni je još za života dao pripremiti mjesto ukopa za svoju suprugu i oslobođenike. Učinio je to poput mnogih isluženih vojnika iz provincije kojima Salona nije rodni grad. Prokulov epitaf koncipiran je poput niza legionarskih nadgrobnih natpisa tog doba i odlikuju ga neke posebnosti. Iako je imao civitet prijavio se u peregrinsku postrojbu, na natpisu je naveo podrijetlo i vrlo značajan *cursus honorum* koji opisuje njegovo napredovanje kroz dvije kohorte. Od sredine 2. stoljeća jasno se zamjećuje prisutnost aktivnih vojnika u Saloni, što pokazuje vrlo skroman natpis Murkuja, sina Jadjijina. On je možda čak bio Delmat podrijetlom iz okolice Salone. Otprilike u isto vrijeme datira i natpis koji spominje centuriona Kvinta Servilija Statijana. Votivnu aru centuriona Kvinta Silvija Sperata iz Škripa moguće je tek okvirno datirati u 2. stoljeće. Njezin natpis pokazuje da su časnici ove postrojbe bili osobe od povjerenja kad je trebalo nadzirati radove u kamenolomu vezane

\_\_\_\_\_

<sup>[163]</sup> Ovaj izvanredan dokument poznat je kao Hunt's pridianum. Najvjerojatnije je riječ o godišnjem izvješću brojčanog stanja postrojbe; Southern 2006, str. 7, 8.

<sup>[164]</sup> Saddington 1975, str. 194, 195.

<sup>[165]</sup> Davies 1974, str. 303, bilj. 3.

<sup>[166]</sup> Posebno su vrijedni dokumenti koji svjedoče o aktivnostima pripadnika cohorts XX Palmyrenorum, vidi Goldsworthy 2003, str. 145.

some of them under the centurion's command went on scouting missions. The number of soldiers performing these assigned tasks has not been preserved,<sup>164</sup> but it is certain that most of them also performed them under peacetime conditions.<sup>165</sup> Another papyrus that was discovered strongly suggests that this diversity and difficulty of tasks was customary for all units during the Principate.<sup>166</sup> Thanks to these documents, it can be said that *cohors I Belgarum* performed diverse tasks during its stay in Dalmatia. It is certain that they were dictated by the prevailing circumstances in the province during the second and third centuries. Certainly the most remarkable events impacting life in Dalmatia and its capital at the time were the threats posed by the Quadi and Marcomanni. This led to the establishment of new, and the transfer of existing units which, however, was not reflected in *cohors I Belgarum* which, like *cohors VIII Voluntariorum* and *cohors III Alpinorum*, remained in the province during the third century. Its inscriptions from Salona have preserved the names of seven of its members. The oldest inscription belongs to Gaius Valerius Proculus. His duties in the unit were directly tied to command of the turm which was accommodated in the Tilurium camp. During his lifetime he arranged for preparation of a burial site in Salona for his spouse and freedmen. He did so like many retired soldiers from the province who were not natives of Salona. The epitaph of Proculus was conceived like a series of other legionary grave inscriptions of that era and it is marked by certain specific aspects. Although he had citizenship, he enlisted in a peregrine unit, and on his inscription he stated his place of origin and the very significant *cursus honorum* which described his advancement through two cohorts. As of the mid-second century, the presence of active soldiers in Salona was clearly discernable, which is demonstrated by the very modest inscription of Murcuius, son of Iadianus. He may have even been of Delmati origin from the Salona area. The inscription which mentions the centurion Quintus Servilius Statianus dates to roughly the same time. The votive altar of the centurion Quintus Silvius Speratus from Škrip can only be generally dated to the second century. Its inscription shows that the officers of this unit were trusted individuals when there was a need for supervision of works in the quarry tied to the construction or restoration of a public building in Salona - in this case the theatre. It can be said that as of the end of the second century the presence of members of this cohort was even more notable, as shown by three inscriptions. The inscription mentioning the soldier Statilius Pulcher is the most important. Prior to becoming a *duplicarius* in his cohort, he was *strator* in the consul's office, but the possibility that the sequence of his service was the reverse should not be discounted. This same service was also performed by Aurelius Hilarianus, whose stela was discovered during research into the

\_\_\_\_\_

<sup>[164]</sup> Saddington 1975, pp. 194, 195.

<sup>[165]</sup> Davies 1974, p. 303, note 3.

<sup>[166]</sup> Particularly valuable are documents which testify to the activities of the members of cohorts XX Palmyrenorum, see Goldsworthy 2003, p. 145.

za izgradnju ili obnovu jedne javne građevine u Saloni - u ovom slučaju teatra. Moglo bi se reći da je od kraja 2. stoljeća prisutnost pripadnika kohorte još izraženija, što pokazuju tri natpisa. Najznačajniji je natpis koji spominje vojnika Statilija Pulhera. Prije nego je postao duplikarij u kohorti, bio je *strator* u namjesnikovu uredu, ali ne treba isključiti mogućnost da je slijed njegovih službi bio obrnut. Istu službu izvršavao je i Aurelije Hilarijan, čija je stela pronađena u istraživanjima bazilike na Kapljuču. Na istom dijelu sjeverne salonitanske nekropole pronađen je ulomak stele vojnika Licinija Kapitona. Mjesta pronalaska njihovih spomenika pokazuju da je tradicija vojničkih ukopa na ovoj nekropoli započeta u 1. stoljeću nastavljena i kasnije. Posljednji natpis iz tog korpusa također je fragmentiran i pruža najmanje koristi u smislu poznavanja nekoga novog pripadnika postrojbe i njegove službe.

Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone
Inscriptions of the *cohors I Belgarum* from Salona

basilica at Kapljuč. A fragment of the stela of soldier Licinius Capito was discovered in the same section of Salona's northern necropolis. The find site of his graves indicates that the tradition of military burials in this necropolis commenced in the first century and continued later. The last inscription from this set is also fragmentary and least useful in the sense of providing knowledge of a given member of the unit and his service.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

WMBH - Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen der ANRW - Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt

ANUBIH - Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine

BASD - Bulletino di archaeologia e storia dalmata

CBI - Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja

CIL - Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

EDH - Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg - <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index/html.de> (25. 6. 2010.)

ILJug - Anna et Jaro Šašel, Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt (Situla 5, Ljubljana 1963); Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt (Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978); Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt (Situla 25, Ljubljana 1986)

ILS - Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, H. Dessau (ed), Berlin 1892-1916

JRS - Journal of Roman studies

OA - Opuscula archaeologica

RFFZd - Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

VAPD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

**Literatura / Bibliography**

Alföldy 1965  
G. Alföldy, *Epigraphica*, Situla 8, Arheološke studije II, Ljubljana 1965, 93-112.

Alföldy 1969  
G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der romischen provinz Dalmatien*, Heidelberg 1969.

Alföldy 1974  
G. Alföldy, *Noricum*, London 1974.

Alföldy 1987  
G. Alföldy, *Die auxiliartruppen der Provinz Dalmatien, Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985*. MAVROS Roman Army Researches III, Amsterdam 1987, 239-297.

Birley 1969  
E. Birley, *Septimius Severus and the Roman army*, Epigraphische studien 8, Bonn 1969, 63-82.

Le Bohec 1994  
Y. Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*, London 1994.

Bojanovski 1988  
I. Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina u antičko doba*, Djela ANUBIH, knjiga LXVI, CBI knjiga 6, Sarajevo 1988.

Breeze 1971  
D. J. Breeze, *Pay grades and ranks below the centurionate*, JRS LXI, London 1971, 130-135.

Breeze 1974  
D. J. Breeze, *The career structure below the centurionate during the principate*, ANRW II.1, Berlin-New York 1974, 435-451.

Breeze, Dobson 2000  
D. J. Breeze, B. Dobson, *Hadrian's wall*, London 2000.

Brøndsted 1928  
J. Brøndsted, *Recherches à Salone 1*, Copenhagen 1928.

Bulić 1888  
F. Bulić, *Iscrizioni inedite*, BASD 11, Split 1888, 8-9.

Calabi Limentani 1991  
I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*, Milano 1991.

Cambi 1986  
N. Cambi, *Salona i njene nekropole*, RFFZd 25 (12), Zadar 1986, 61-109.

Cambi 1988  
N. Cambi, *Nadgrobna stela sa čitavom ljudskom figurom na istočnom Jadranu*, RFFZd 27 (14), Zadar 1988, 93-114.

Cambi 2005  
N. Cambi, *Kiparstvo rimske Dalmacije*, Split 2005.

Cambi 2010  
N. Cambi, *Sarkofazi lokalne produkcije u rimskoj Dalmaciji*, Split 2010.

Carrara 1991  
F. Carrara, *Topografija i iskapanja Salone*, in: *Antička Salona*, N. Cambi (ed.), Split 1991, 99-203.

Cheesman 1914  
G. L. Cheesman, *The auxilia of the Roman imperial army*, Oxford 1914.

Davies 1971  
R. W. Davies, *Cohortes equitatae*, Historia 20, Stuttgart 1971, 751-763.

Davies 1974  
R. W. Davies, *The daily life of the roman soldier under the Principate*, ANRW II.1, Berlin-New York 1974, 299-338.

Dodig 2007  
R. Dodig, *Rimski vojni pečati na crijepu iz Ljubuškog*, OA 31, Zagreb 2007, 143-163.

Egger 1932  
R. Egger, *Die neuen inschriften aus dem coemeterium am Kapljuč*, VAHD 50 (1928-1929), Split 1932, 13-21.

Gabričević 1952  
B. Gabričević, *Dva priloga poznavanju urbanističkog razvoja antične Salone*, VAHD 53, Split 1952, 155-162.

Glavinić 1881a  
M. Glavinić, *Iscrizioni inedite*, BASD 4, Split 1881, 17-19.

Glavinić 1881b  
M. Glavinić, *Aus Salona*, Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission 7, Wien 1881, 23-26.

Goldsworthy 2003  
A. Goldsworthy, *The complete roman army*, London 2003.

Jeličić 1981  
J. Jeličić, *Heraklov žrtvenik i ostali nalazi u Segetu donjem kod Trogira*, VAHD 75, Split 1981, 97-103.

Jeličić-Radonić 2006  
J. Jeličić-Radonić, *Ara Tita Flavija Lucilija iz Salone*, VAPD 99, Split 2006, 123-132.

Kirigin 1979  
B. Kirigin, *Nalaz rimskih natpisa i reljefa kod Škripa na otoku Braču*, VAHD 72-73, Split 1979, 129-141.

Knight 1991  
D. J. Knight, *The movements of the auxilia from Augustus to Hadrian*, ZPE 85, Bonn 1991, 189-208.

Kubitschek 1893  
W. Kubitschek, *Azinum*, Archaeologisch-epigraphische mittheilungen 16, Prag-Wien-Leipzig 1893, 109-112.

Kurilić 2006  
A. Kurilić, *Vladajući sloj Aserije: magistrati i dobročinitelji, te njihove familije i obitelji*, Asseria 4, Zadar 2006, 7-72.

Lassère 2005  
J. M. Lassère, *Manuel d'épigraphie romaine*, Paris 2005.

Maršić 1997  
D. Maršić, *Novi nadgrobni natpisi s jugoistočne salonitanske nekropole*, RFFZd 35(22), Zadar 1997, 101-132.

Matijević 2008  
I. Matijević, *Neobjavljeni natpisi iz Salone*, VAPD 101, Split 2008, 187-219.

Matijević 2009  
I. Matijević, *Cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum i neki njezini pripadnici u službi namjesnika provincije Dalmacije*, Tusculum 2, Solin 2009, 45-58.

Miletić 1990  
Ž. Miletić, *Sjeverna salonitanska nekropola*, RFFZd 29 (16), Zadar 1990, 163-195.

Miletić 1991  
Ž. Miletić, *Istočna i jugoistočna nekropola Salone*, RFFZd 30 (17), Zadar 1991, 21-50.

Mócsy 1974  
A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London 1974.

Patsch 1912  
C. Patsch, *Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, WMBH 12, Wien 1912, 68-168.

Phang 2001  
S. E. Phang, *The marriage of Roman soldiers (13 B.C.-A.D. 235): law and family in the imperial army*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001.

Rankov 1999  
B. Rankov, *The governor's men: the officium consularis in provincial administration*, in: *The Roman army as community, (Including papers of a conference held at Birkbeck College, University of London on 11-12 January, 1997)*, Journal of Roman archaeology, Supplementary series number 34, London 1999, 15-35.

Rendić Miočević 1953  
D. Rendić Miočević, *Neobjelodanjeni antički natpisi u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu*, VAHD 55, Split 1953, 259-263.

Rendić Miočević 1989  
D. Rendić Miočević, *Onomastička pitanja s teritorija ilirskih Delmata*, in: *Iliri i antički svijet*, I. Mimica (ed.), Split 1989, 691-709.

Rendić Miočević 1991  
D. Rendić Miočević, *Teatar u Saloni s osobitim obzirom na neke njegove kompozicijske i tehničke karakteristike*, in: *Antička Salona*, N. Cambi (ed.), Split 1991, 255-267.

Saddington 1975  
D. B. Saddington, *The Development of the Roman Auxiliary forces from Augustus to Trajan*, ANRW II. 3, Berlin-New York 1975, 176-201.

Salomies 1987  
O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, Helsinki 1987.

Salway 1994  
B. Salway, *What's in a name? A survey of roman onomastic practice from c. 700 b. c. to a. d. 700*, JRS 84, London 1994, 124-145.

Skok 1915  
P. Skok, *Pojave vulgarno-latinskoga jezika na natpisima rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Zagreb 1915.

Southern 2006  
P. Southern, *The roman army*, Santa Barbara 2006.

Spaul 2000  
J. Spaul, *Cohors<sup>2</sup>. The evidence for and a short history of the auxiliary infantry units of the Imperial Roman Army*, BAR International series 841, Oxford 2000.

Speidel 1992  
M. A. Speidel, *Roman army pay scales*, JRS 82, London 1978, 87-106.

Speidel 1978  
M. P. Speidel, *Guards of the roman armies*, Bonn 1978.

Wilkes 1969  
J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London 1969.

Wilkes 2000  
J. J. Wilkes, *Army and Society in Roman Dalmatia, Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der römischen Kaiserzeit: Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*, Stuttgart 2000, 327-343.