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# O salonitanskim natpisima konzularnih beneficijarija iz legije Desete gemine (*legio X Gemina*)

## On the Salona inscriptions of *beneficiarii consularis* from *legio X Gemina*

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U radu se obrađuje šest salonitanskih spomenika na kojima se spominju pripadnici legije Desete gemine (*legio X Gemina*). Iz svojega logora u Vindoboni slala je vojnike za službe konzularnih beneficijarija u Dalmaciji.

*Ključne riječi:* Salona, stela, ara, legio X Gemina, officium consularis, beneficiarius consularis, veteranus

This work contains an analysis of six Salona inscriptions which mention members of the legio X Gemina. It assigned its soldiers from its encampment in Vindobona to serve as *beneficiarii consularis* in Dalmatia.

*Key words:* Salona, stela, altar, legio X Gemina, officium consularis, beneficiarius consularis, veteranus



U Saloni je do sada pronađeno više od 220 natpisa koji se izravno povezuju s nekom rimskom vojnom jedinicom ili vojnom osobom iz doba principata. Na njima su sačuvana imena čak 14 legija od kojih su neke davale svoje vojnike za službu u uredi namjesnika provincije Dalmacije (*officium consularis*) u Saloni. Najbrojniji službenici namjesnikova ureda i natpisima najbolje potvrđeni jesu konzularni beneficijariji.<sup>1</sup> U oficiju su bili visoko pozicionirani, pripadali su razredu *principales* i najvjerojatnije primali dvostruku plaću.<sup>2</sup> Iz Dalmacije su poznata 44 konzularna beneficijarija, a više od polovice ih je bilo iz legija *I Adiutrix* (Donja Panonija), *XIV Gemina* (Gornja Panonija) i *XI Claudia pia fidelis* (Donja Mezija).<sup>3</sup> Gotovo cijeli *numerus beneficiariorum* iz Dalmacije dolazio je iz drugih provincija, što ne treba čuditi jer su tijekom kasnog principata beneficijariji puno češće bili raspoređeni na službu u provinciju gdje nije bila njihova matična postrojba.<sup>4</sup> Jedina iznimka bio je, čini se, Publike Benije Egregije iz Osme dobrovoljačke kohorte na službi u Dokleji.<sup>5</sup> U Dalmaciji su natpsi konzularnih beneficijarija koncentrirani u četiri velike skupine smještene uz velike cestovne pravce koji se pružaju iz Salone,<sup>6</sup> a potvrđeno je 17 njihovih postaja.<sup>7</sup>

Bili su izravno podređeni namjesniku provincije.<sup>8</sup> Uživali su njegovo povjerenje i obnašali najraznovrsnije zadaće, a u mjestima svoga službovanja često su bili jedini vidljivi predstavnici središnje vlasti.<sup>9</sup> Djelovali su kao posrednici između domaćeg stanovništva i namjesnika provincije u pogledu finansijskih, zakonskih i ostalih pitanja nadgledanjem prikupljanja poreza i naplaćivanjem carine.<sup>10</sup> Namjesnicima su bili nezamjenjivi kada je trebalo osigurati pravodoban dotok ključnih informacija, što je bilo od neprocjenjive važnosti za novopostavljene namjesnike koji nisu bili dovoljno dobro upoznati sa situacijom u provinciji.<sup>11</sup> U graničnim provincijama od vremena cara Trajana započinje organizacija mreže njihovih postaja (*stationes*) koja se razgranala u

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Thus far, over 220 inscriptions have been found in Salona which have been directly linked to a Roman unit or military individual from the period of the Principate. On them, the names of as many as fourteen legions have been preserved, some of which assigned their soldiers to serve in the office of the provincial governor of Dalmatia (*officium consularis*) in Salona. The most numerous officials in the governor's office and the most confirmed by the inscriptions were *beneficiarii consularis*.<sup>1</sup> They were highly placed in the *officium*, belonging to the class of *principales* and probably receiving double pay.<sup>2</sup> There were 44 known *beneficiarii consularis* from Dalmatia, and over half of them were from *legio I Adiutrix* (Pannonia Inferior), *XIV Gemina* (Pannonia Superior) and *XI Claudia pia fidelis* (Moesia Inferior).<sup>3</sup> Almost the entire *numerus beneficiariorum* from Dalmatia came from other provinces, which should not be surprising, since during the late Principate *beneficiarii* were more often assigned to serve in provinces in which their core units were not posted.<sup>4</sup> The only exception was, it would appear, Publius Bennius Egregius from *cohors VIII Voluntariorum* serving in Doclea.<sup>5</sup> In Dalmatia, the inscriptions of *beneficiarii consularis* were concentrated in four large groups located along the major roads which extended from Salona,<sup>6</sup> and seventeen of their stations have been confirmed.<sup>7</sup>

They were directly subordinate to the provincial consul.<sup>8</sup> They enjoyed his trust and performed the most diverse tasks, and often they were the only visible representatives of the central authorities in their places of service.<sup>9</sup> They acted as intermediaries between the local populations and the provincial governor where this concerned financial, legal and other matters tied to the collection of taxes and payment of customs levies.<sup>10</sup> They were indispensable to the consuls when there was a need for the timely flow of crucial information, which was of inestimable value to newly-appointed consuls who were not sufficiently apprised of the situation in

1 O konzularnim beneficijarijima i njihovim ulogama postoji vrlo opsežna literatura, v. Dise 1996, str. 288, bilj. 10; Dise 1997, str. 273, bilj 2, str. 277; Rankov 1999, str. 27, bilj. 82, 96.

2 Rankov 1999, str. 20.

3 Dise 1996, str. 290, bilj. 20.

4 Dise 1996, str. 289.

5 Rankov 1999, str. 27. bilj. 82, 96. Detaljnije o ovome natpisu v. Matijević 2009, str. 50, 52. bilj. 113.

6 Wilkes 1969, str. 122-127.

7 Bojanovski 1988, str. 360. Broj od 17 postaja vrlo je visok s obzirom da ih je u sjevernim provincijama Carstva potvrđeno još 112, a na Istoku i u Africi tek 29, Dise 1997, str. 293, bilj. 34.

8 Šašel Kos 1995, str. 161.

9 Rankov 1999, str. 27, 29.

10 Šašel-Kos 1995, str. 161-162. O njihovim ulogama u prikupljanju poreza svjedoče i rijetki nadgrobni spomenici s prikazima voštanih pločica za pisanje i stilusa. Takav je prikaz sačuvan na ari Kvinta Emilia Rufa iz Salone, v. Abramić 1922, str. 7-8, T. 2. sl. 7, 8; Wilkes 1969, str. 123-124; Cambi 1988, str. 103; Ivčević 2006, str. 134, 142 i ovdje bilj. 87.

11 Rankov 1999, str. 28-29. O vrlo bliskoj povezanosti između namjesnika i njegovih beneficijarija na primjeru *Praetorium Latobicorum* u Gornjoj Panoniji v. Šašel Kos 1995a, str. 277-278.

1 The literature on *beneficiarii consularis* and their roles is extensive, see Dise 1996, p. 288, note. 10; Dise 1997, p. 273, note 2, p. 277; Rankov 1999, p. 27, note 82, 96.

2 Rankov 1999, p. 20.

3 Dise 1996, p. 290, note 20.

4 Dise 1996, p. 289.

5 Rankov 1999, p. 27. note 82, 96. More details on this inscription in Matijević 2009, p. 50, 52 , note 113.

6 Wilkes 1969, pp. 122-127.

7 Bojanovski 1988, p. 360. Seventeen stations is high given that in the Empire's northern provinces another 112 have been confirmed, and only 29 in the Orient and Africa, Dise 1997, p. 293, note. 34.

8 Šašel Kos 1995, p. 161.

9 Rankov 1999, pp. 27, 29.

10 Šašel-Kos 1995, pp. 161-162. Their role in tax collection is also indicated by gravestones featuring pictures of wax writing tablets and styluses. Such an image was preserved on the altar of Quintus Aemilius Rufus from Salona, see Abramić 1922, pp. 7-8, P. 2. Fig. 7, 8; Wilkes 1969, pp. 123-124; Cambi 1988, p. 103; Ivčević 2006, pp. 134, 142 and note 87 here.

doba Antonina Pija, a posebno u doba Marka Aurelija.<sup>12</sup> Dokazano je da su u istim postajama Gornje Germanije istovremeno služila najviše dvojica beneficijarija i da im je služba trajala oko pola godine.<sup>13</sup> Većina postaja zabilježena je u blizini vojne granice s barbarikom, uz augziliarne utvrde i na važnim prometnim pravcima, dok su u Dalmaciji, Noriku, Gornjoj i Donjoj Meziji bile smještene u blizini rudnika.<sup>14</sup> Osim postaja beneficijariji su podizali posvetne natpise kojih je diljem Carstva pronađeno oko 1100, a primjerice samo u Sirmiju i više od 80.<sup>15</sup> Sve veća prisutnost beneficijarija u nemirno doba kasnoga principata govori o povećanom upletanju središnje vlasti u autonomne poslove municipija.<sup>16</sup>

Iz Salone potječe čak 14 natpisa na kojima je spomenuta služba konzularnog beneficijarija,<sup>17</sup> što je najveći broj u odnosu na ostale lokalitete u provinciji Dalmaciji. Najviše ih je bilo iz Desete legije i njima je posvećena glavnina ovoga rada. Važno je nešto kazati i o beneficijarijima iz ostalih legija čiji natpisi zaslužuju poseban osvrt. Iz Prve italske legije (*I Italica*) poznata su dvojica. Ulpije Justin preminuo je u 30. godini i bio je aktivni beneficijarij,<sup>18</sup> jednakako kao i Elij Marcijan, koji se spominje kao komemorator na jednom nadgrobnom natpisu iz Vranjica.<sup>19</sup> Iz Jedanaeste legije (*XI Claudia pia fidelis*) poznata su također dvojica. Luciju Vetiju Probu stelu su podigli sin i kći na lokalitetu Kopilice južno od Rižinica,<sup>20</sup> a sebi i supruzi grob je na Manastirinama podigao Aurelije Aleksander.<sup>21</sup> Jedini poznati konzularni beneficijarij u Saloni iz legije Četrnaeste gemine (*XIV Gemina*) bio je Lucije Graniye Proklin. Njegova bogato ukrašena ara i cijelovito sačuvan natpis omogućuju prilično preciznu dataciju te pružaju podatke o njegovim ostalim političkim i vjerskim službama. Proklin je posjedovao grobnu parcelu u salonitanskom ageru i bio je, po svemu sudeći, vrlo imućan. Ara je posebno značajna zbog sačuvanog znaka njegove beneficijarijske službe.<sup>22</sup> Sličan znak sačuvan je i na bočnoj strani are Kvinta Emilija Rufa, čiji natpis ne navodi kojoj je legiji pripadao,<sup>23</sup> iako Abramić prepostavlja da je to bila *X Gemina*.<sup>24</sup> Pripadnost legiji također nije navedena na natpisu Flavija Valenta, konzularnog beneficijarija Gornje

a given province.<sup>11</sup> In the frontier provinces since the time of Trajan, the organization of networks of stations (*stationes*) which branched out during the rule of Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius in particular.<sup>12</sup> It has been shown that a maximum of two *beneficiarii* served in the same stations in Germania Superior at the same time and that their service lasted roughly a half year.<sup>13</sup> Most stations were registered in the vicinity of the military frontier with the barbarian territories, next to auxiliary fortifications and on major roads, while in Dalmatia, Noricum, Moesia Superior and Inferior were situated near mines.<sup>14</sup> *Beneficiarii* placed dedicatory inscriptions next to stations, of which approximately 1,100 have been found throughout the Empire, and over 80 in Sirmium alone.<sup>15</sup> The increasing presence of *beneficiarii* in the turbulent times of the late Principate speaks of the increased intervention of the central authorities in the autonomous affairs of the *municipia*.<sup>16</sup>

There are as many as fourteen inscriptions from Salona that mention the service of *beneficiarius consularis*,<sup>17</sup> which is the highest number in comparison to other sites in the province of Dalmatia. Most of them were from the Tenth Legion, and most of this work is dedicated to them. It is important to say something about the *beneficiarii* from other legions, whose inscriptions merit separate consideration. Two were known from the First Italian Legion (*I Italica*). Ulpius Justinus died at the age of 30 and was an active *beneficiarius*,<sup>18</sup> just like Aelius Marcianus, who is mentioned as the commemorator on a grave inscription from Vranjic.<sup>19</sup> Two are also known from the Eleventh Legion (*XI Claudia pia fidelis*). Lucius Vetius Probus had a stela raised for him by his son and daughter at the Kopilice site south of Rižinice,<sup>20</sup> while Aurelius Alexander had a tomb built for himself and his spouse in Manastirine.<sup>21</sup> The only known *beneficiarius consularis* in Salona from the *legio XIV Gemina* was Lucius Granius Proclinus. His richly decorated altar and the entirely preserved inscription allow for rather precise dating and provide information on his remaining political and religious posts. Proclinus owned a grave plot in the Salona ager and was, by all indications, very wealthy. The altar is particularly notable because of the preserved insignia of his *beneficiarius* service.<sup>22</sup> Similar insignia have also been preserved on the side of the altar

12 Duse 1997, str. 275-281.

13 Nelis-Clément 2006, str. 288.

14 Rankov 1999, str. 28-29.

15 Od ostalih postaja po brojnosti natpisa najznačajnije su *Osterburken* (30), *Celeia* (27), *Stockstadt* (20) i *Praetorium Latobicorum* (18), Duse 1996, str. 287.

16 Bojanovski 1988, str. 361.

17 Zaninović 2007, str. 182.

18 ILJug 2087.

19 CIL 3, 2023 (8578); CBFIR 498.

20 CIL 3, 14703; CBFIR 453.

21 CIL 3, 8727; ILJug 2353; CBFIR 483.

22 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 97-104; CBFIR 484.

23 CIL 3, 12895; CBFIR 476.

24 Abramić 1922, str. 7, 8.

11 Rankov 1999, pp. 28-29. On the very close ties between a consul and his *beneficiarii* based on the example of Praetorium Latobicorum in Pannonia Superior, see Šašel Kos 1995a, pp. 277-278.

12 Duse 1997, pp. 275-281.

13 Nelis-Clément 2006, p. 288.

14 Rankov 1999, pp. 28-29.

15 Among the remaining stations, the most significant in terms of numbers of inscriptions *Osterburken* (30), *Celeia* (27), *Stockstadt* (20) and *Praetorium Latobicorum* (18), Duse 1996, p. 287.

16 Bojanovski 1988, p. 361.

17 Zaninović 2007, p. 182.

18 ILJug 2087.

19 CIL 3, 2023 (8578); CBFIR 498.

20 CIL 3, 14703; CBFIR 453.

21 CIL 3, 8727; ILJug 2353; CBFIR 483.

22 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, pp. 97-104; CBFIR 484.

Panonije<sup>25</sup> te na natpisu Publija Elija Lupa.<sup>26</sup> Postoje još dva natpisa koji zbog velikih oštećenja ne dopuštaju odgonetavanje imena vojnika kao ni naziva legije, ali nema sumnje da su na njima spomenuti konzularni beneficijariji.<sup>27</sup>

Svoje pripadnike za ovu službu namjesniku Dalmacije davala je i *legio X Gemina* koja je boravila u Vindoboni od godine 114. do 5. stoljeća.<sup>28</sup> U Dalmaciji do sada nije pronađeno natpisa njezinih aktivnih vojnika pa slijedi da legija nije imala svojih odjeljenja u provinciji.<sup>29</sup> Pet natpisa iz unutrašnjosti provincije svjedoči o njezinim konzularnim beneficijarijima i veteranima. Iz prve polovice 2. stoljeća potječe ulomak nadgrobnog natpisa beneficijari ili veterana koji je bio pokopan najvjerojatnije negdje oko današnjega Sinja.<sup>30</sup> Marko Nasidije Sekundo se nakon završetka svoje službe nakon sredine 2. stoljeća naselio u Lipi na Livanjskom polju,<sup>31</sup> a bio je i dekurion obližnjega naselja (možda *Salviae*).<sup>32</sup> Pored Prijedora je pronađen nadgrobni spomenik veterana i bivšeg beneficijarija Marka Aurelija Sura,<sup>33</sup> koji je možda bio povezan s upravom rudnika na ovom području.<sup>34</sup> I njegov natpis potječe iz istog doba, ali bi mogao biti još kasniji.<sup>35</sup> Aktivni beneficijarij bio je Marko Ulpije Vital, koji je za svojeg službovanja u Skelanima na Drini (*municipium Malvesatium*) jedan natpis posvetio Jupiteru i Marsu.<sup>36</sup> Svi beneficijarijski natpisi s ovog lokaliteta, pa tako i Vitalov,

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of Quintus Aemilius Rufus, on which the inscription does not state the legion to which he belonged,<sup>23</sup> even though Abramić assumed that it was *X Gemina*.<sup>24</sup> Attachment to a legion was also not specified in the inscription of Flavius Valens, a *beneficiarius consularis* in Pannonia Superior<sup>25</sup> and in the inscription of Publius Aelius Lupus.<sup>26</sup> There are two more inscriptions on which, due to extensive damage, the name of the soldier or legion cannot be deciphered, but there is no doubt that they mention *beneficiarii consularis*.<sup>27</sup>

The *legio X Gemina*, stationed in Vindobona from 114 AD to the fifth century, also sent its soldiers to perform this service for the Dalmatian governor.<sup>28</sup> Thus far, no inscriptions of its active soldiers have been found in Dalmatia, so it follows that this legion did not have its detachments in the province.<sup>29</sup> Five inscriptions from the provincial interior testifies to their *beneficiarii consularis* and veterans. A fragment of a grave inscription of a beneficiarius or veteran who was most likely interred somewhere around present-day Sinj dates to the first half of the second century.<sup>30</sup> Marcus Nasidius Secundus settled in Lipa, on the Livno Field (Livanjsko polje) after the completion of his service in the mid-second century,<sup>31</sup> and he was decurion in a nearby settlement (possibly *Salviae*).<sup>32</sup> A gravestone of the veteran and former beneficiarius Marcus Aurelius Surus<sup>33</sup> was found next to Prijedor, and he may

25 CIL 3, 8754; CBFIR 480.

26 CIL 3, 2001; CBFIR 478.

27 CIL 3, 8743 (CBFIR 482) i CIL 3, 8749 (CBFIR 481).

28 Mocsy 1974, str. 99. O natpisima ove legije u Dalmaciji v. Betz 1938, str. 53, 73. *Legio X Gemina* postoji od republikanskog doba. Početkom principata smještena je u Hispaniji, odakle je u Neronovo doba prebačena u Karnunt. Za Galbine vladavine vraćena je u Hispaniju a početkom Vespazijanove vladavine odlazi u Donju Germaniju. Godine 103. premještena je u Akvink, te potom u Vindobonu. Detaljnije o legiji v. Ritterling 1924-1925, 1678-1690.

29 Abramić 1922, str. 6; Betz 1938, str. 53.

30 Točno mjesto nalaza nije poznato. Natpis glasi: [--] / [b(ene)f(iciario)co(n)s(ularis)?] / leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae)? f(idelis)? -- / [--] ex testam[ento--] / [--] Celer [frater?] / [--]fratr[i] posuit]. O natpisu v. Demicheli 2011, str. 73-74.

31 CIL 3, 9847 = ILJug 1783 = CBFIR 454: *M(arlus) Nasi[d]ji[u]s/Se[c]undus dec(urio) / mun(icipii) vet(eranus) [b(ene)f(iciarius) / c(o)n(s)ularis] leg(ionis) X G(eminae) v(ivus) f(ecit) / [s]ibi et Nasidi[o] / Rufi[n]o fil(io) an(norum) XX/ e[t--] / [--]*.

32 Škegro 2003, str. 144. O natpisu v. i Bojanovski 1988, str. 362.

33 ILJug 163 = CBFIR 459: *D(is) M(anibus) / et perpetuae se/curitati // Tatoniae Procu/lae ann(orum) XXXIII con(iugi) / pi[t]ent(issimae) M(arlus) Aur(elius) Surus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) ex b(ene)f(iciario) et / MM(arci) Aur<e=l>i(l)i Optatus / et Firminianus ma/tr(i) infelicitissim(ae) / et libert(i) Aur(elii) Baosus / et Sumpa et Zipandus / et Quintus et Caro/ni libert(o) |(obito) / hh(eredes) f(acientum) c(uraverunt). O natpisu v. Sergejevski 1957, str. 116-117; Bojanovski 1982, str. 114; Škegro 1997, str. 100, n. 106.*

34 Wilkes 1969, str. 268.

35 EDH HD019714.

36 CIL 3, 14219 = CBFIR 458: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / e[t]t(?) Marti / M(arlus) Ulp(ius) Vitalis / b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) / X G(eminae) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). O natpisu v. Škegro 1997, str. 105, n. 141.*

23 CIL 3, 12895; CBFIR 476.

24 Abramić 1922, pp. 7, 8.

25 CIL 3, 8754; CBFIR 480.

26 CIL 3, 2001; CBFIR 478.

27 CIL 3, 8743 (CBFIR 482) and CIL 3, 8749 (CBFIR 481).

28 Mocsy 1974, p. 99. On this legion's inscriptions in Dalmatia, see Betz 1938, pp. 53, 73. *Legio X Gemina* existed in the Republic era. At the beginning of the Principate it was posted in Hispania, whence it was transferred to Carnuntum during the Neronian era. During Galba's rule, it was returned to Hispania, while at the beginning of Vespasian's it was moved to Germania Superior. In 103 AD it was transferred to Aquincum, and then to Vindobona. For more details on the legion, see Ritterling 1924-1925, 1678-1690.

29 Abramić 1922, p. 6; Betz 1938, p. 53.

30 The precise location of the find is not known. The inscription reads: [--] / [b(ene)f(iciario)co(n)s(ularis)?] / leg(ionis) X G(eminae) p(iae)? f(idelis)? -- / [--] ex testam[ento--] / [--] Celer [frater?] / [--]fratr[i] posuit]. On the inscription, see Demicheli 2011, str. 73-74.

31 CIL 3, 9847 = ILJug 1783 = CBFIR 454: *M(arlus) Nasi[d]ji[u]s/Se[c]undus dec(urio) / mun(icipii) vet(eranus) [b(ene)f(iciarius) / c(o)n(s)ularis] leg(ionis) X G(eminae) v(ivus) f(ecit) / [s]ibi Nasidi[o] / Rufi[n]o fil(io) an(norum) XX/ e[t--] / [--]*.

32 Škegro 2003, p. 144. On the inscription, see also Bojanovski 1988, p. 362.

33 ILJug 163 = CBFIR 459: *D(is) M(anibus) / et perpetuae se/curitati // Tatoniae Procu/lae ann(orum) XXXIII con(iugi) / pi[t]ent(issimae) M(arlus) Aur(elius) Surus / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) X G(eminae) ex b(ene)f(iciario) et / MM(arci) Aur<e=l>i(l)i Optatus / et Firminianus ma/tr(i) infelicitissim(ae) / et libert(i) Aur(elii) Baosus / et Sumpa et Zipandus / et Quintus et Caro/ni libert(o) |(obito) / hh(eredes) f(acientum) c(uraverunt). O natpisu v. Sergejevski 1957, pp. 116-117; Bojanovski 1982, p. 114; Škegro 1997, p. 100, n. 106.*



Slika 1a.

Ara Gaja Julija Dolenta  
(foto: T. Seser)

Figure 1a.

Altar of Gaius Julius Dolens  
(photo: T. Seser)



Slika 1b.

Figure 1b.

Altar of Gaius Julius Dolens  
(foto: T. Seser)

su iz vremena kasnog principata.<sup>37</sup> Jedan fragmentirani natpis iz Runovića (*Novae*)<sup>38</sup> potvrđuje da su i u tamošnju beneficijarijsku postaju bili raspoređivani legionari iz ove jedinice.<sup>39</sup>

Šest natpisa iz Salone sačuvalo je ime ove postrojbe i imena njezinih pripadnika. Svakako je značajan onaj viteza Tita Flavija Agrikole, koji je obavljao mnoge municipalne službe u dalmatinskim gradovima, a bio je i jedan od petorice tribuna (*tribuni angusticlavii*) u ovoj legiji.<sup>40</sup> Nije riječ o običnom vojniku koji bi svojom službom bio izravno vezan uz namjesnikov oficij, zbog čega je isključen iz ove rasprave.

Od ostalih pet natpisa jedan je pripadao konzularnom beneficijariju, a četiri veteranima, od kojih su dvojica istaknula i bivšu službu beneficijarija. Najpouzdanoje oslonce za preciznu

be linked to the mining management in this area.<sup>34</sup> His inscription dates to the same period, but it may also be from a later period.<sup>35</sup> Marcus Ulpianus Vitalis was an active *beneficiarius*, who during his service in Skelani on the Drina River (*municipium Malvesiatum*) dedicated an inscription to Jupiter and Mars.<sup>36</sup> All *beneficiarius* inscriptions from this site, including that of Vitalis, date to late Principate.<sup>37</sup> One fragmentary inscription from Runovići (*Novae*)<sup>38</sup> confirms that legionaries from this unit were posted to the local *beneficiarius* station.<sup>39</sup>

34 Wilkes 1969, p. 268.

35 EDH HD019714.

36 CIL 3, 14219 = CBFIR 458: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / e[t](?) Marti / M(arcus) Ulp(ius) Vitalis / b(ene)f(iciarius) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) / X G(eminae) v(otum) s(olvit) I(ibens) m(erito).* On this inscription, see Škegro 1997, p. 105, n. 141.

37 Bojanovski 1988, p. 363.

38 CIL 3, 14637 = CBFIR 441: *--]/[--]us b(ene)f(iciarius) c(o)n)s(ularis)] / [le] g(ionis) X Ge[m(inae)] / [--].*

39 Wilkes 1969, p. 126.

37 Bojanovski 1988, str. 363.

38 CIL 3, 14637 = CBFIR 441: *--]/[--]us b(ene)f(iciarius) c(o)n)s(ularis)] / [le] g(ionis) X Ge[m(inae)] / [--].*

39 Wilkes 1969, str. 126.

40 CIL 3, 2026 (2087) = ILS 7162, o natpisu v. Wilkes 1969, str. 316, 335.

dataciju nudi ara Gaja Julija Dolenta (sl. 1a-1b). Na prednjoj plohi ima natpisno polje uokvireno S-profilacijom unutar kojega je pomno uklesan natpis: *C(aius) Iulius / Dolens / veter(anus) leg(ionis) / X Gem(inae) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) / et Caelia / Bonosa / vivi sibi / posuerunt.*<sup>41</sup> Jedini dio spomenika koji ima ukras od akantovih vitica je pojas između natpisnog polja i prednjih bridova are. Obrub od "S" profilacije sadrže i bočne plohe od kojih svaka ima prikaz krilatog erota s vijencem u desnoj ruci i izvrnutom bakljom. Ova ara pokazuje izravnu ikonografsku sličnost s arom centuriona Kvinta Servilijsa Statijana iz Prve kohorte Belgâ,<sup>42</sup> koja se datira u sredinu 2. stoljeća.<sup>43</sup> Prikazi njihovih erota gotovo su istovjetni pa bi u isto vrijeme trebalo datirati i Dolentovu aru. Štoviše, are su pronađene kao građevinski materijal u četvrtastoj kuli u zapadnim gradskim zidinama između nove ceste koja je vodila prema Trogiru i mora.<sup>44</sup> Aru su za života podigli Gaj Julije Dolent i njegova supruga Celija Bonosa. Upotreba prijedloga *ex* sugerira da je Dolent prije stjecanja statusa veteran-a bio na položaju konzularnog beneficijarija.<sup>45</sup> Prema tome, njegovu beneficijarijsku službu moglo bi se smjestiti u vrijeme od najmanje nekoliko godina prije sredine 2. stoljeća.

O još jednome veteranu ove legije svjedoči nadgrobni natpis pronađen uz crkvu sv. Marte u Bijaćima u zapadnom dijelu salonitanskog agera. Njegov je sadržaj ovakav (sl. 2): *D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Titulenio / L(uci) f(ilio) Respecto / vet(erano) b(ene)f(iciario) leg(ionis) X / Gem(inae) / Titia Myrsine / m[ari]to [c]ar(issimo).*<sup>46</sup> Titija Mirsina podigla je natpis svome suprugu Luciju Tituleniju Respektu, veteranu i beneficijariju. Isto muško ime sačuvano je na ulomku jednog posvetnog natpisa iz Burna: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Titulenius / Respectus / [--]TIM / [--].*<sup>47</sup> Mislim da ne bi smjelo biti dvoumljenja oko toga je li ovdje riječ o istim osobama. U Burnu je postojala beneficijarijska postaja,<sup>48</sup> a upravo je *luppiter Optimus Maximus* bio božanstvo kojemu su beneficijariji tijekom službe najčešće posvećivali natpise.<sup>49</sup> Respekto je očito jedan dio svoje beneficijarijske službe proveo u Burnu, a nakon stjecanja statusa veteran-a povukao se u Salonu, gdje je živio sa suprugom i gdje je bio pokopan. Natpis sigurno nije nastao prije trajansko-hadrijanskog doba jer tek tada formula *Dis Manibus* ulazi u široku upotrebu,<sup>50</sup> ali ni poslije završetka 2. stoljeća, od kada prenomen i filijacija gotovo u potpunosti iščezavaju iz imenskog obrasca.<sup>51</sup>

O salonitanskim natpisima konzularnih beneficijarija iz legije Desete...  
On the Salona inscriptions of *beneficiarii consularis* from *legio X...*

Six inscriptions from Salona have preserved in them the name of this unit and the names of its members. Certainly significant is that of Titus Flavius Agricola, who held many municipal posts in Dalmatian cities, and he was one of the five tribunes (*tribuni angusticlavii*) in this legion.<sup>40</sup> This was not an ordinary soldier who was directly tied to the governor's officium due to his service, which is why he was excluded from this discussion.

Out of the remaining five inscriptions one belonged to a *beneficiarius consularis*, while four belonged to veterans of whom two noted their former service as *beneficiarii*. The most dependable reference point for precise dating is the altar of Gaius Julius Dolens (Fig. 1a-1b). On the frontal surface it has an inscription field framed by an "S" profile containing the carefully engraved inscription: *C(aius) Iulius / Dolens / veter(anus) leg(ionis) / X Gem(inae) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) / et Caelia / Bonosa / vivi sibi / posuerunt.*<sup>41</sup> The only part of the monument that has an ornament consisting of an acanthus vine is the band between the inscription field and the front edge of the altar. The border of the "S" profile also contains lateral surfaces which also have an image of a winged Erotes holding a wreath in its right hand and an upturned torch. This altar exhibits a direct iconographic similarity to the altar of the centurion Quintus Servilius Statianus from *cohors I Belgarum*<sup>42</sup> which dates to the mid-second century.<sup>43</sup> The depictions of their Erotes are almost identical, so the altar of Dolens should be dated to the same period. Moreover, the altars were found as construction material in a rectangular tower in the western city walls between the new road that led from Trogir and the sea.<sup>44</sup> The altar was raised by Gaius Julius Dolens and his wife Caelia Bonosa during their lifetimes. The use of the preposition *ex* suggests that Dolens was *beneficiarius consularis* prior to attaining the status of veteran.<sup>45</sup> According to this, his service as *beneficiarius* may be placed at the time at least a few years prior to the mid-second century.

The grave inscription found next to the Church of St. Martha in Bijaći in the western section of the Salona ager testifies to one more veteran of this legion. It reads (Fig. 2.): *D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Titulenio / L(uci) f(ilio) Respecto / vet(erano) b(ene)f(iciario) leg(ionis) X / Gem(inae) / Titia Myrsine / m[ari]to [c]ar(issimo).*<sup>46</sup> Titia Myrsine put up the inscription to her spouse Lucius Titulenius Respectus, a veteran and *beneficiarius*. The same male name was

41 CIL 3, 8745 (Glavinić 1881, str. 19, n. 6; Glavinić 1881a, str. 25, fig. 8); CBFIR 477. Ara je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu inventirana pod oznakom A-130, a nalazi se u lapidariju.

42 CIL 3, 8756.

43 Cambi 2005, str. 101, 102; Matijević 2011, str. 193-194.

44 Ova kula i još jedna četvrtasta kula s obiljem uzidanih natpisa i arhitektonskih ulomaka uklonjene su krajem 19. stoljeća, prilikom izgradnje željezničke pruge. Detaljnije o tome v. Piplović 2005, str. 2, bilj. 2.

45 Speidel 1993, str. 191-192.

46 CIL 3, 2677; CBFIR 492.

47 CIL 3, 14982.

48 Zaninović 2007, str. 182.

49 Dize 1997, str. 275.

50 Alföldy 1969, str. 28.

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

40 CIL 3, 2026 (2087) = ILS 7162, on the inscription see Wilkes 1969, pp. 316, 335.

41 CIL 3, 8745 (Glavinić 1881, p. 19, n. 6; Glavinić 1881a, p. 25, fig. 8); CBFIR 477. In the Archaeological Museum in Split, the altar has been inventoried under designation A-130, and it is held in the stone monument collection.

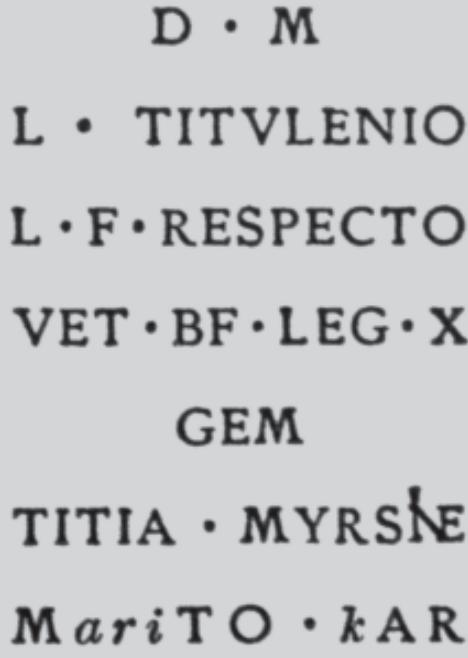
42 CIL 3, 8756.

43 Cambi 2005, p. 101, 102; Matijević 2011, pp. 193-194.

44 This and another rectangular tower with an abundance of built-in inscriptions and architectural pieces were removed at the end of the nineteenth century during construction of rail tracks. For more details, see Piplović 2005, p. 2, note 2.

45 Speidel 1993, pp. 191-192.

46 CIL 3, 2677; CBFIR 492.



Slika 2.

Natpis Lucija Titulenija Respekta  
(CIL 3, 2677)

Figure 2.

Inscription of Lucius Titulenius  
Respectus (CIL 3, 2677)

Dakako, *Burnum* nije morao biti jedino mjesto gdje je Respekt služio. Beneficijariji su premještani iz jedne postaje u drugu,<sup>52</sup> što potvrđuje primjer Gaja Emilia Ingenua iz Jedanaeste legije. Njegov posvetni natpis pronađen je pokraj Magna,<sup>53</sup> a drugi i kasniji u postaji pored Skelana.<sup>54</sup> Nažalost, samo se dva dalmatinska posvetna beneficijarska natpisa mogu kalendarski datirati, a tek nekoliko njih po imenima konzula.<sup>55</sup> Stoga je vrlo teško govoriti o nekim zakonitostima o trajanju službe, ali ih je moguće pretpostaviti zahvaljujući primjerima iz drugih provincija, primjerice Norika. Publike Elije Verin u postaji kod Unterhorla posvetio je natpis datiran u 200. godinu, a drugi natpis iz 213. godine potvrđuje njegovu prisutnost u postaji kraj Celeje.<sup>56</sup>

Trećeg veterana iz ove legije potvrđuje fragmentirana stela pronađena na lokalitetu Jankovača, između teatra i jugoistočnih gradskih zidina. Njezin natpis glasi (sl. 3): *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Valer(io) V[alen?] / ti veter[ano leg(ionis)] / X Gem(inae) [p(iae) f(idelis) Mar?] / cia Vi[ctori?] / na c[on(iugi)] bene mer/enti [-- et Vale?] / ria T[--].*<sup>57</sup> Veteranov gentilicij je *Valerius*, ali je teško odrediti

preserved on a fragment of a dedicatory inscription from Burnum: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Titulenius / Respectus / [--]TIM / [---]*.<sup>47</sup> I believe there should not be any doubt that these refer to the same individual. There was a *beneficiarius* station in Burnum,<sup>48</sup> and it is precisely *luppiter Optimus Maximus* who was the deity to whom the *beneficiarii* most often dedicated their inscriptions during their service.<sup>49</sup> It is apparent that Respectus spent a part of his *beneficiarius* service in Burnum, and after acquiring veteran status he withdrew to Salona, where he lived with his wife and where he was buried. The inscription certainly did not appear prior to the Trajanic-Hadrianic period, because it was only then that the formula *Dis Manibus* came into wide use,<sup>50</sup> and after the end of the second century, when the praenomen and filiation almost entirely disappeared from the name formula.<sup>51</sup>

To be sure, Burnum did not have to be the sole place where Respectus served. *Beneficiarii* were transferred from one station to another,<sup>52</sup> which is confirmed by the example of Gaius Aemilius Ingenuus from the Eleventh Legion. His dedicatory inscription was found next to Magnum,<sup>53</sup> while another was, later one was found in the station next to Skelani.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, only two Dalmatian dedicatory *beneficiarius* inscriptions can be calendar dated, and only a few may be dated by the consul's name.<sup>55</sup> It is therefore quite difficult to speak of any certainties concerning the duration of service, but they may be assumed thanks to examples from other provinces, such as Noricum. Publius Aelius Verinus dedicated an inscription in the station at Unterhorl in the year 200, while another inscription from 213 confirms his presence in the station next to Celeia.<sup>56</sup>

The third veteran from this legion has been confirmed by the fragmented stela found at the Jankovača site between the theatre and south-east city walls. Its inscription reads (Fig. 3.): *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Valer(io) V[alen?] / ti veter[ano leg(ionis)] / X Gem(inae) [p(iae) f(idelis) Mar?] / cia Vi[ctori?] / na c[on(iugi)] bene mer/enti [-- et Vale?] / ria T[--].*<sup>57</sup> The veteran's gentilicium is *Valerius*, but his cognomen is difficult to determine. Bulić's proposal (*Vehemens*)<sup>58</sup> hardly seems probable, and it was contested by Alföldy and replaced

47 CIL 3, 14982.

48 Zaninović 2007, p. 182.

49 Dise 1997, p. 275.

50 Alföldy 1969, p. 28.

51 Salomies 1987, p. 300 ff., 390 ff.

52 Dise 1997a, p. 293.

53 CIL 3, 9790.

54 ILJug 1524.

55 *Beneficiarii* from the northern frontier provinces, particularly from Germania Superior, regularly indicated the date of dedication on their inscriptions, while in Dalmatia the situation was entirely different, Dise 1997a, pp. 286, 298.

56 Alföldy 1974, p. 163.

57 ILJug 2207 (Bulić 1906, str. 12; Abramić 1922, p. 7). The stela is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split under inventory designation A-3311.

58 Bulić 1906, p. 12. Additionally, this cognomen has been, to be sure, recorded in the form *Vemens*, quite rare in Dalmatia, Alföldy 1969, p. 323.

52 Dise 1997a, str. 293.

53 CIL 3, 9790.

54 ILJug 1524.

55 Beneficijariji iz sjevernih pograničnih provincija, posebno iz Gornje Germanije, redovito su stavljali datume posvete na svoje natpise, dok je u Dalmaciji situacija potpuno drugačija, Dise 1997a, str. 286, 298.

56 Alföldy 1974, str. 163.

57 ILJug 2207 (Bulić 1906, str. 12; Abramić 1922, str. 7). Stela je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu inventirana pod oznakom A-3311.



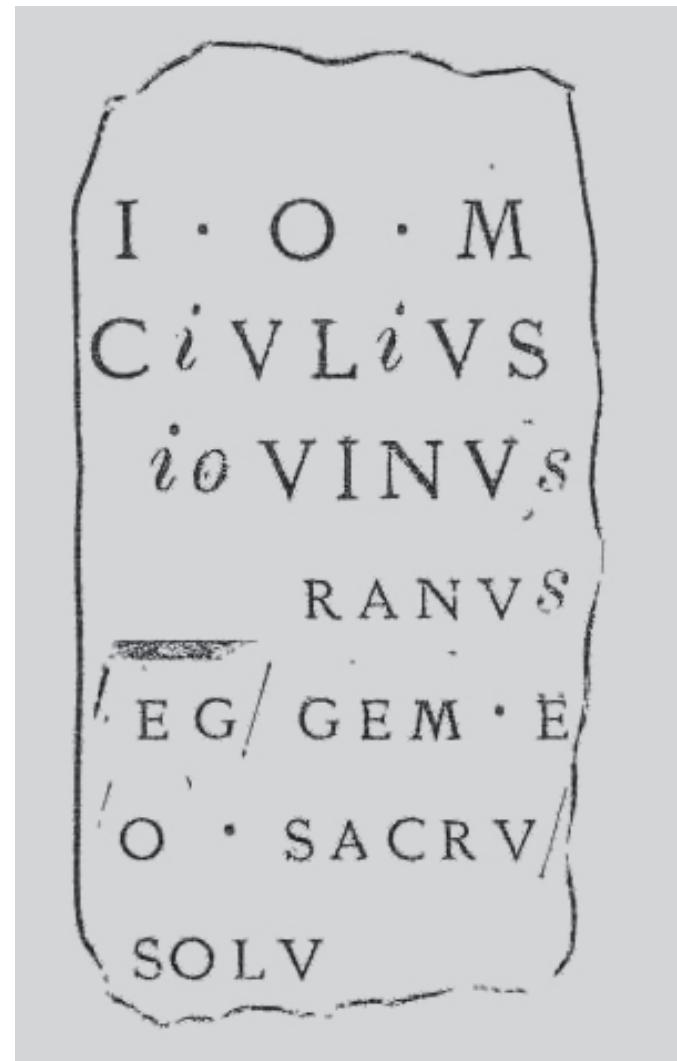
Slika 3.

Stela Valerija Valenta (?)  
(foto: T. Seser)

Figure 3.

Stela of Valerius Valens (?)  
(photo: T. Seser)

njegov kognomen. Bulićev prijedlog (*Vehemens*)<sup>58</sup> čini se malo vjerojatnim, a osporio ga je Alföldy i zamijenio kognomenom *Valens*.<sup>59</sup> Je li gentilicij njegove supruge bio *Marcius*, ni Alföldy nije potpuno siguran,<sup>60</sup> ali ne bi trebalo biti dvojničko oko njezinog kognomena (*Victorina*).<sup>61</sup> Treća osoba koja je spomenuta po svojoj je prilici njihova kći. Oštećenost natpisa stvorila je probleme s imenima, ali i sumnju da spomenuti veteran nije bio samo veteran. Držim, naime, da je poslije oznake naziva legije na mjestu oštećenja mogla biti oznaka njegove prethodne beneficijarske službe (*ex bf cos*). Tu mogućnost dopuštaju dimenzije ulomka (visina 32 cm; širina 22 cm) i veličina isklesanih slova (u prvom retku 2,5 cm; u ostalima 2 cm), a ovakvom rekonstrukcijom natpisa stela ne bi premašila uobičajene dimenzije. Natpis je



Slika 4.

Ara Gaja Julija Kalvina  
(Bulić 1907, str. 39)

Figure 4.

Altar of Gaius Julius Calvinus  
(Bulić 1907, p. 39)

with the cognomen *Valens*.<sup>59</sup> Not even Alföldy was entirely certain as to whether his spouse's gentilicium was *Marcius*,<sup>60</sup> but there should be no doubt about her cognomen (*Victorina*).<sup>61</sup> The third person mentioned may have possibly been their daughter. Damage to the inscription created problems in deciphering the names, as well as suspicion that this veteran was not just a veteran. I believe that the designation of the legion's name, at the damaged position, may have been followed by a designation of his prior service as *beneficiarius* (*ex bf cos*). This possibility is allowed by the dimensions of the fragment (height 32 cm; width 22 cm) and size of the carved letters (2.5 cm in the first line; 2 cm in the rest), and such a reconstruction of the inscription would not exceed the customary dimensions of a stela. The inscription had a minimum of one ligature which may have also rendered this abbreviation, with the reduced *O* sign, as resolved on the inscription of the *beneficiarius*

58 Bulić 1906, str. 12. Osim toga, ovaj je kognomen, doduše, zabilježen u obliku *Vemens*, u Dalmaciji vrlo rijedak, Alföldy 1969, str. 323.

59 Alföldy 1969, str. 319.

60 Alföldy 1969, str. 97.

61 Alföldy 1969, str. 328.

59 Alföldy 1969, p. 319.

60 Alföldy 1969, p. 97.

61 Alföldy 1969, p. 328.

imao najmanje jednu ligaturu kojom je mogla biti izvedena i ova kratica, i to sa smanjenom siglom *O*, onako kako je riješena i na natpisu beneficijarija Dolenta.<sup>62</sup> Čini se da ovaj natpis ne bi trebalo datirati prije završetka 2. ili početka 3. stoljeća, jer na to ukazuju dvije njegove značajke. Pokojnikova imenska formula nema prenomen,<sup>63</sup> a riječi se u 2., 5., 6. i 7. retku prekidaju i nastavljaju u sljedećem, što je značajka kasnijih natpisa.<sup>64</sup>

U velikoj gomili istočno od *Porta Caesarea* pronađen je jedini posvetni natpis iz ovoga korpusa. Bulić ga je prilikom objave ovako pročitao (sl. 4): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) [/]ul[i]us / [lo]vinu[s] [vete]/ranu[s] / [/]eg(ionis) [X] Gem(inae) e[x forse: actar]/io, [duplar]io, [signifer]o, sacru[m ex voto] / solv[it].<sup>65</sup> Unatoč znatnim teškoćama u čitanju, nema dvojbe da je žrtvenik *Jupiter* *Najećem i Najboljem* posvetio veteran Gaj Julije. Iako je 5. redak oštećen upravo na mjestu brojčane oznake legije, svi se istraživači slažu, počevši od Bulića, da je tu bio uklesan broj *X* kao dio imena Desete legije. Problem je i s dedikantovim kognomenom. Alföldy drži da *lovinus* treba isključiti kao mogućnost jer je to kršćansko ime karakteristično za vrijeme dominata<sup>66</sup> i ovdje pretpostavlja kognomen *Calvinus*,<sup>67</sup> ali bi, sukladno slobodnom prostoru, u obzir trebalo uzeti i neko drugo ime. Od najveće važnosti za ovaj rad je rekonstrukcija natpisa na prijelazu 5. u 6. redak, gdje je mogla biti oznaka neke od veteranovih prijašnjih vojnih službi. To je opazio i Bulić te kao moguća rješenja ponudio neke službe čije je uklesivanje moralo biti izvedeno u punom obliku i bez kratica, a za to na natpisom polju jednostavno nema dovoljno mjesta. Ispravnijom se čini Betzova pretpostavka prema kojoj je ovdje stajala kratica beneficijarske službe (*e[x b(ene) f(iciario)] / [c]o(n)s(ularis)*)<sup>68</sup> što su poslije kao mogućnost prihvatili i redaktori *ILJug-a*.<sup>69</sup> Natpis bi prema dedikantovoj troimenskoj formuli trebalo datirati u vrijeme nakon sredine 2. stoljeća.<sup>70</sup>*

Postoje još neki pokazatelji prema kojima se postojanje ovih kratica na Valentovom i Kalvinovom natpisu čini izglednim. Dolentove službe na njegovom spomeniku navedene su ovim redom: *veter(anus) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis)*. Valentov natpis sačuvao je prvi dio (...*veter[ano leg(ionis)] X Gem(inae) [...]*), a Kalvinov malo više od ovoga (...*vete[r]anu[s] [/]eg(ionis) [X] Gem(inae) e[x...]*), uključujući najvjerojatnije i prvo slovo prijedloga *ex*. Dakle, početak formuliranja slijeda službi istovjetan je kod sva tri primjera. Otpušteni vojnici često su na natpisima isticali i svoje prijašnje službe, pogotovo ako su bile prestižne, kao što je to beneficijarska služba. Stoga je

Dolens.<sup>62</sup> It would appear that this inscription should not be dated prior to the end of the second or beginning of the third century, for this is indicated by two of its characteristics. The name formula of the deceased does not have a praenomen,<sup>63</sup> while the words in the second, fifth, sixth and seventh lines are separated and continue in the next lines, which is a feature of later inscriptions.<sup>64</sup>

The only dedicatory inscription in this set was found in a large mound east of the *Porta Caesarea*. Upon its publication, Bulić read it as follows (Fig. 4.): *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / C(aius) [/]ul[i]us / [lo]vinu[s] [vete]/ranu[s] / [/]eg(ionis) [X] Gem(inae) e[x forse: actar]/io, [duplar]io, [signifer]o, sacru[m ex voto] / solv[it].<sup>65</sup> Despite the considerable difficulties in reading, there can be no doubt that the altar to Jupiter Optimus Maximus was dedicated by a veteran named Gaius Julius. Even though the fifth line is damaged precisely at the numerical designation of the legion, all researchers have agreed, beginning with Bulić, that the number *X* was carved as part of the Tenth Legion's name. There is also a problem with the dedicant's cognomen. Alföldy maintained that *lovinus* should be excluded as a possibility, because this Christian name was typical of the Dominate,<sup>66</sup> and he here assumed the cognomen *Calvinus*,<sup>67</sup> but in line with the available space, some other name also had to be taken into account. Of utmost importance to this work is the reconstruction of the inscription at the transition from the fifth to sixth lines, where there may be a designation of some of the veteran's previous military duties. This was also observed by Bulić, and as a possible solution he proposed several services whose carving had to be rendered in full form and without abbreviations, but there simply is not sufficient space for this in the inscription field. A more accurate hypothesis is that of Betz, according to whom there was an abbreviation of the *beneficiarius post* (*e[x b(ene) f(iciario)] / [c]o(n)s(ularis)*),<sup>68</sup> which was later also accepted as a possibility by the editors of *ILJug*.<sup>69</sup> Based on the dedicant's *tria nomina* formula, the inscription should be dated after the mid-second century.<sup>70</sup>*

There are still several indicators whereby the existence of these abbreviations on the inscriptions of Valens and Calvinus appears likely. Dolens' posts are cited in the following order on his monument: *veter(anus) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) ex b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis)*. Valens' inscription preserves the first part (...*veter[ano leg(ionis)] X Gem(inae) [...]*), while that of Calvinus has slightly more, (...*vete[r]anu[s] [/]eg(ionis) [X] Gem(inae) e[x...]*), most likely including the first letter of the preposition *ex*. Thus, the beginning of the formulation of the sequence of duties is identical in all three

62 Abramić (1922, str. 7) također dopušta mogućnost postojanja oznake nekog čina na mjestu oštećenja natpisa.

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

64 Calabi Limentani 1991, str. 131.

65 Bulić 1907, str. 39. Žrtvenik je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu inventiran pod oznakom A-3784.

66 Alföldy 1969, str. 223.

67 Alföldy 1969, str. 169.

68 Betz 1938, str. 73.

69 ILJug 2045.

70 Alföldy 1969, str. 27.

62 Abramić (1922, p. 7) also allowed for the possibility of existence of the designation of a rank at the place where the inscription is damaged.

63 Salomies 1987, p. 300 ff., 390 ff.

64 Calabi Limentani 1991, p. 131.

65 Bulić 1907, p. 39. The altar is inventoried in the Archaeological Museum in Split under designation A-3784.

66 Alföldy 1969, p. 223.

67 Alföldy 1969, p. 169.

68 Betz 1938, p. 73.

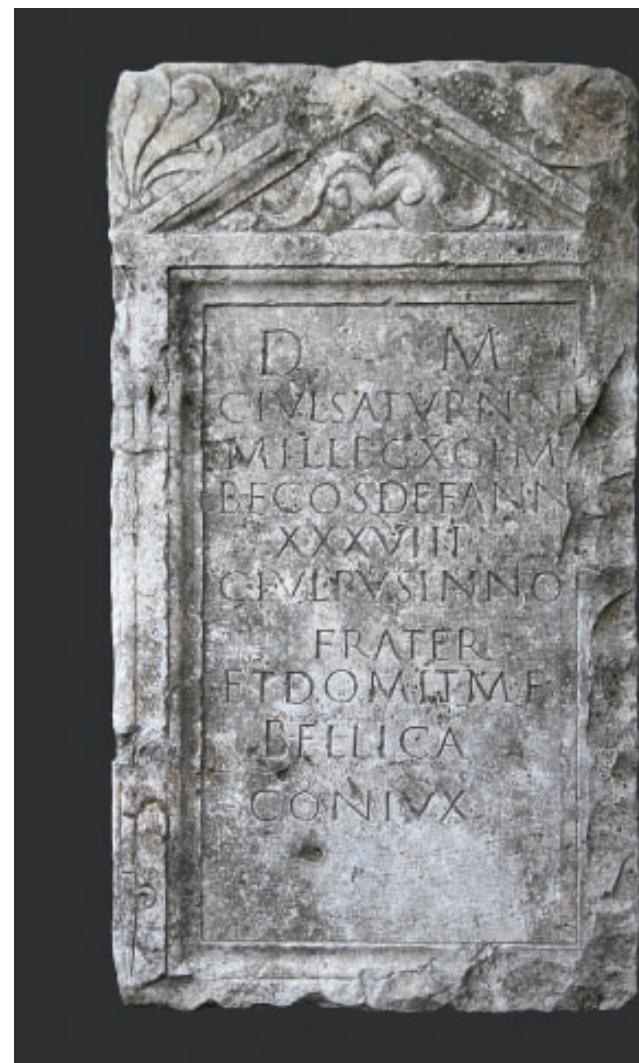
69 ILJug 2045.

70 Alföldy 1969, p. 27.

upotreba prijedloga *ex sasvim logična i u skladu s njihovim veteranskim statusom.*<sup>71</sup>

Jedinom aktivnom konzularnom beneficijariju iz ove legije pripadala je stela s natpisom (sl. 5): *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) lul(io) Saturnino / mil(it) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) / b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) def(uncto) ann(orum) / XXXVIII / C(aius) lul(ius) Pusinnio / frater / et Domit(ia) M(arci) f(ilia) / Bellica / coniux.*<sup>72</sup> Bila je uzidana u Zrinjsko-Frankopanskoj ulici u kući Katić,<sup>73</sup> koja je porušena sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća; tada je iz nje izvađena ova stela i portretna stela vojnika Aurelija Pontijana iz Prve italske legije.<sup>74</sup> Oba spomenika sigurno su iz Salone jer je vlasnik kuće bio Katić, nekadašnji solinski župnik.<sup>75</sup> Gaj Julije Saturnin umro je kao aktivni vojnik i konzularni beneficijarij, a za njegov grob pobrinuli su se brat Gaj Julije Pusinije i supruga Domicija Belika. Saturnin je živio 38 godina, što donekle omogućuje govoriti o dinamici njegova napredovanja do službe konzularnog beneficijarija. Novaci su u legije primani u svojim ranim dvadesetim godinama,<sup>76</sup> pa treba prepostaviti da je Saturnin u trenutku smrti odslužio između 13 i 18 godina. To je vrijeme u kojem je relativno brzo počeo s napredovanjem do položaja beneficijarija. Naime, vojnici su nakon četiri ili pet sukcesivnih činova, od kojih je služenje na svakom trajalo prosječno tri godine, mogli postati beneficijariji.<sup>77</sup> Mnogi su u toj službi dočekali umirovljenje jer je broj viših položaja koje su mogli postići bio malen. Štoviše, obično se smatra da u oficiju od kraja 2. stoljeća konzularni beneficijari služe trajno osim u slučaju promaknuća.<sup>78</sup> Saturninov imenski obrazac ima prenomen pa stelu ne bi trebalo datirati dalje od početka 3. stoljeća,<sup>79</sup> ali ni prije sredine 2. stoljeća<sup>80</sup> jer od vremena Antoninâ vojnici iz namjesnikova ureda (*officiales*) ime namjesnika uz naziv svoje službe<sup>81</sup> zamjenjuju pojmom *consularis*.<sup>82</sup>

Saturnina je smrt zatekla u Saloni. Možda je tek došao u glavni grad provincije i u namjesnikovu oficiju čekao nove naredbe, koje su mogle biti vezane za rad u nekoj od postaja u unutrašnjosti.<sup>83</sup> Ipak, vjerojatnijim se čini da je službom bio vezan uz namjesnikov oficij, gdje je mogao obnašati različite zadaće. Natpsi iz ostalih dijelova Carstva spominju beneficijarije kao nadglednike namjesnikova kućanstva (*domicurator*), pomoćnike centuriona koji je bio na čelu namjesnikova stožera (*adiutor*



Slika 5.

Stela Gaja Julija Saturnina  
(foto: T. Seser)

Figure 5.

Stela of Gaius Julius Saturninus  
(photo: T. Seser)

examples. Discharged soldiers often emphasized their previous posts in inscriptions, particularly if these were prestigious posts such as *beneficiarius*. Therefore the use of the preposition *ex* was entirely logical and in compliance with their veteran status.<sup>71</sup>

The sole active *beneficiarius consularis* from this legion had the stela with this inscription (Fig. 5.): *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) lul(io) Saturnino / mil(it) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) / b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) def(uncto) ann(orum) / XXXVIII / C(aius) lul(ius) Pusinnio / frater / et Domit(ia) M(arci) f(ilia) / Bellica / coniux.*<sup>72</sup> It was built into a wall in the Katić house on Zrinjsko-frankopanska street,<sup>73</sup> the house was demolished in the 1970s, and at the time this stela and a portrait stela of the soldier Aurelius Pontianus from the First Italic Legion were removed from it.<sup>74</sup> Both monuments

71 Speidel 1993, str. 191-192.

72 CIL 3, 6376 (8656) = CBFIR 479.

73 Abramić 1922, str. 5-6, sl. 5. Stela je u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu inventirana pod oznakom A-5397.

74 CIL 3, 2010.

75 Cambi 1988, str. 97.

76 Goldsworthy 2003, str. 78.

77 Breeze 1974, str. 444.

78 Duse 1997, str. 282.

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

80 Ovakvu dataciju predlaže i Abramić (1922, str. 6).

81 Duse 1997, str. 281, bilj. 46.

82 Rankov 1999, str. 20

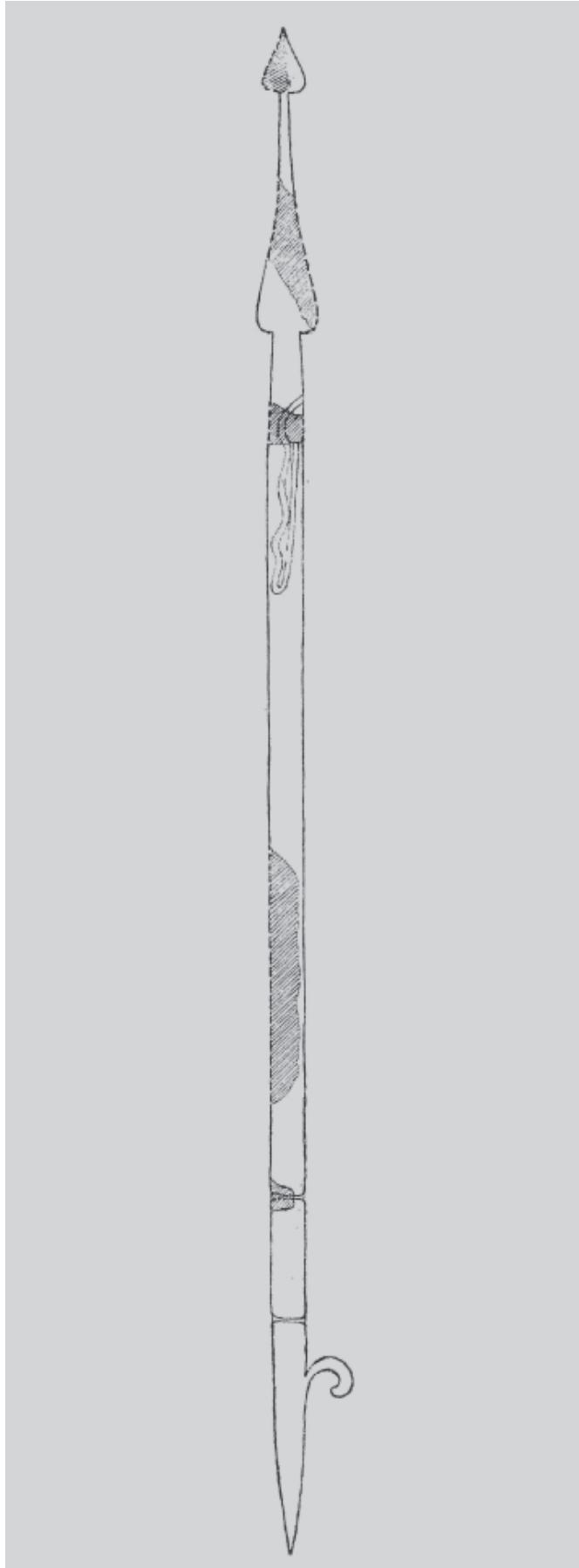
83 Nelis-Clément 2006, str. 288.

71 Speidel 1993, pp. 191-192.

72 CIL 3, 6376 (8656) = CBFIR 479.

73 Abramić 1922, pp. 5-6, Fig. 5. The stela is inventoried in the Archaeological Museum in Split under designation A-5397.

74 CIL 3, 2010.



Slika 6.  
Crtež beneficijarijskog koplja  
sa Saturninove stele (Abramić  
1922, T. II., sl. 6)

Figure 6.  
Sketch of the beneficiarius spear  
from the stela of Saturninus  
(Abramić 1922, P. II., Fig. 6)

were certainly from Salona, because the owner of the house was Katić, the former pastor in Solin.<sup>75</sup> Gaius Julius Saturninus died as an active soldier and *beneficiarius consularis*, and his grave was arranged by his brother Gaius Julius Pusinnio and his wife Domitia Bellica. Saturninus lived for 38 years, which to some extent allows speaking of the pace of his promotion to the post of *beneficiarius consularis*. Recruits were admitted to the legions in their early twenties,<sup>76</sup> so it should be assumed that Saturninus had served between thirteen and eighteen years at the time of his death. This was the time in which he began to advance relatively rapidly to the post of *beneficiarius*. For after four or five successive ranks, of which each entailed service of three years on average, soldiers could reach the post of *beneficiarius*.<sup>77</sup> Many awaited retirement at this post, for there were few higher ranks they could achieve. Moreover, it is generally believed that from the end of the second century onward, *beneficiarii consularis* served in the *officium* permanently unless promoted.<sup>78</sup> The name formula of Saturninus has a praenomen, so the stela should not be dated from the beginning of the third century,<sup>79</sup> but not prior to the mid-second century,<sup>80</sup> because from the Antoninian period onward, soldiers from the governor's office (*officiales*) replaced the name of the governor next to the title of their post<sup>81</sup> with the term *consularis*.<sup>82</sup>

Saturninus died in Salona. Perhaps he had just arrived in the provincial capital and was awaiting new orders in the governor's office which may have been tied to work in one of the stations in the interior.<sup>83</sup> Nonetheless, it would appear more likely that his duties were tied to the governor's *officium* where he may have performed various duties. Inscriptions from the remaining parts of the Empire mention the *beneficiarii* as stewards of the governor's household (*domicurator*), assistants to centurions heading governor's staffs (*adiutor principis praetorii*) or heralds and officers at the governor's court.<sup>84</sup>

Abramić observed that between the left edge of the stela and the inscription field, there is a harmoniously carved spear (*Beneficiarierlanzen*) as the symbol of Saturninus' *beneficiarius* post (Fig. 6.). It has a pointed end near the bottom with a hook which allowed it to be more easily poked and removed from the ground. Despite considerable damage, it is possible to note that the upper portion has an expansion with a heart-shaped ending above it. Below these expansions a belt is rendered in shallow relief.<sup>85</sup> Most

75 Cambi 1988, p. 97.

76 Goldsworthy 2003, p. 78.

77 Breeze 1974, p. 444.

78 Duse 1997, p. 282.

79 Salomies 1987, p. 300 ff., 390 ff.

80 This dating was also proposed by Abramić (1922, p. 6).

81 Duse 1997, p. 281, note 46

82 Rankov 1999, p. 20.

83 Nelis-Clément 2006, p. 288.

84 Rankov 1999, p. 27.

85 Abramić 1922, pp. 6-7. For the basic literature dealing with the problem of these symbols, see Rankov 1990, p. 181, note 29.

*principis praetorii*) ili glasnike i časnike na namjesnikovu sudu.<sup>84</sup>

Abramić je primijetio da između lijevog ruba stele i natpisnog polja stoji skladno uklesano kopljje (*Beneficiarierlanzen*) kao znak Saturninove beneficijarijske službe (sl. 6). Pri dnu ima šiljasti završetak, s kukom koja služi za lakše zabijanje i vađenje iz zemlje. Unatoč znatnim oštećenjima, moguće je zamjetiti da je gornji dio imao jedno zadebljanje iznad kojega je sрcoliki završetak. Ispod tih zadebljanja u plitkom je reljefu izveden remen.<sup>85</sup> Ovome znaku najsličniji je onaj na žrtveniku iz Friedberga.<sup>86</sup> Razvijeniji tip ovoga znaka nalazi se i na lijevoj strani are beneficijarija Kvinta Emilija Rufa,<sup>87</sup> iako se za njega može reći da je izveden puno nemarnije i formalizirane u odnosu na Saturninov znak. Treći poznati primjer beneficijarskog kopljja sačuvan je na Proklinovoj ari i, za razliku od Rufovog i Saturninovog znaka, pripada drugom tipu prema Ritterlingovoj klasifikaciji.<sup>88</sup> Slična kopljja nosili su frumentariji i spekulatori.<sup>89</sup> Ova tri salonitanska primjera pokazuju da su znakovi bili uklesani samo na spomenicima aktivnih beneficijarija. S druge strane, tri salonitanska spomenika aktivnih spekulatora imaju prikazane slične znakove.<sup>90</sup> Alföldi drži kako nema sumnje da ovi znakovi nisu obilježavali njihove nositelje nego suverenu vlast i moć Rimskog Carstva u čije su ime djelovali.<sup>91</sup> Prestankom njihove dužnosti prestaje i pravo isticanja znaka službe, što može opravdati izostanak ovih prikaza na spomenicima bivših beneficijarija, spekulatora i frumentarija.

U literaturi se odavna spominje natpis konzularnog beneficijarija Gaja Komarga iz legije Desete gemine koji je učinio posvetu Jupiteru i Fortuni.<sup>92</sup> Mommsen je natpis svrstao među one iz Dalmacije, ali s nepoznatog mjesta, a Abramić ga je, slijedeći ove podatke, isključio iz svojega rada, u kojemu je obradio samo one natpise za koje je bio siguran da su iz Salone.<sup>93</sup> Međutim, prema nekim spoznajama ovaj spomenik najvjerojatnije ne potječe iz Salone. Najprije, od svih natpisa konzularnih beneficijarija iz Salone koji su nabrojani na početku ovoga rada nema ni jednoga koji je posvetnoga karaktera. Općenito, vrlo malen broj posvetnih beneficijarskih natpisa potječe iz provincijskih metropola, a

O salonitanskim natpisima konzularnih beneficijarija iz legije Desete...  
On the Salona inscriptions of *beneficiarii consularis* from *legio X...*

similar to this symbol is that on the altar from Friedberg.<sup>86</sup> A more developed type of this symbol can be found on the left side of the altar of the *beneficiarius* Quintus Aemilius Rufus,<sup>87</sup> even though it may be said it was rendered much more inelegantly and more formalized than in comparison to Saturninus' symbol. The third known example of the *beneficiarius* spear was preserved on the altar of Proclinus and, as opposed to the symbols of Rufus and Saturninus, belongs to the second type according to Ritterling's classification.<sup>88</sup> Similar spears were borne by *frumentarii* and *speculatori*.<sup>89</sup> These three Salona examples demonstrate that these symbols were only carved onto the monuments of active *beneficiarii*. On the other hand, the three Salona monuments of active *speculatori* bear similarly portrayed symbols.<sup>90</sup> Alföldi maintained that there is no doubt that these symbols did not indicate their bearers but rather the sovereign authority and power of the Roman Empire on whose behalf they were serving.<sup>91</sup> The end of their service also meant the end of their right to use the insignia of their service, which may justify the absence of these portrayals on the monuments of former *beneficiarii*, *speculatori* and *frumentarii*.

An inscription long since noted in the literature is that of Gaius Comargus from *legio X Gemina*, who made a dedication to Jupiter and Fortuna.<sup>92</sup> Mommsen classified the inscription among those from Dalmatia but from an unknown place, while Abramić, following these data, excluded it from his work in which he analyzed only those inscriptions that he was sure were from Salona.<sup>93</sup> However, according to some information, this monument most likely was not from Salona. First, out of all inscriptions of *beneficiarii consularis* from Salona specified at the beginning of this work, not one has a dedicatory character. In general, a very small number of dedicatory *beneficiarii* inscriptions originated from the provincial capitals, and most of them were precisely from the stations in which they served.<sup>94</sup> In Salona there is a very modest number of preserved inscriptions that active soldiers dedicated to deities, and one of the rare examples is a

84 Rankov 1999, str. 27, 29.

85 Abramić 1922, str. 6-7. Za osnovnu literaturu koja se bavi problematikom ovih znakova v. Rankov 1990, str. 181, bilj. 29.

86 Abramić 1922, str. 6, v. i Ritterling 1919, str. 21.

87 Ritterling 1919, str. 15-16 = Ritterling 1924-1925a, str. 90; Abramić 1922, str. 8; Alföldi 1959, str. 27.

88 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 103, 104. O dalmatinskim spomenicima na kojima je sačuvan prikaz beneficijarskog kopljja v. Rankov 1990, str. 182, bilj. 31.

89 Ritterling 1919, str. 23 i dalje; Alföldi 1959, str. 11, bilj. 114 i 115; Rankov 1999, str. 31, v. i Bishop, Coulston 1993, str. 126.

90 ILJug 2097 (*XI C. p. f.*); ILJug 2086 (*I Adiutrix*); CIL 3, 9401 (*XIV Gemina*); v. Abramić 1922, str. 1-3.

91 Alföldi 1959, str. 11-12.

92 CIL 3, 3158a = CBFIR 500: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Fort(unae) / Red(uci) / G(--)* *Comarg/us b(e)nefficiarius co(n)sularis leg(ionis) X / G(eminae) vot(um) solvit / libe(n)s meruit*. On the inscription see Wilkes 1969, p. 123, note 3.

93 Abramić 1922, str. 8, bilj. 11.

86 Abramić 1922, p. 6, see also Ritterling 1919, p. 21.

87 Ritterling 1919, pp. 15-16 = Ritterling 1924-1925a, p. 90; Abramić 1922, p. 8; Alföldi 1959, p. 27.

88 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, pp. 103, 104. On the Dalmatian monuments on which images of the *beneficiarius* spear have been preserved, see Rankov 1990, p. 182, note 31.

89 Ritterling 1919, p. 23 ff.; Alföldi 1959, p. 11, note 114 and 115; Rankov 1999, p. 31, see also Bishop, Coulston 1993, p. 126.

90 ILJug 2097 (*XI C. p. f.*); ILJug 2086 (*I Adiutrix*); CIL 3, 9401 (*XIV Gemina*); v. Abramić 1922, pp. 1-3.

91 Alföldi 1959, pp. 11-12.

92 CIL 3, 3158a: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Fort(unae) / Red(uci) / G(--)* *Comarg/us b(e)nefficiarius co(n)sularis leg(ionis) X / G(eminae) vot(um) solvit / libe(n)s meruit*. On the inscription see Wilkes 1969, p. 123, note 3.

93 Abramić 1922, p. 8, note 11.

94 Out of the 16 *beneficiarius* altars dated to the mid-second century, only one is from a provincial capital (Virunum, Noricum), while out of the 22 altars dated from 150 to 170, not one originated from a provincial capital, see Duse 1997, pp. 275-276.

najviše ih je upravo iz postaja u kojima su služili.<sup>94</sup> U Saloni je vrlo skroman broj sačuvanih natpisa koje su aktivni vojnici posvećivali božanstvima, a jedan od rijetkih primjera je posveta Silvanu koju je učinio vojnik Marko Aurelije Atenije iz Prve legije *Adiutrix*.<sup>95</sup> Pet natpisa iz Salone izravno potvrđuje petoricu vojnika koji su služili u Desetoj gemini. Saturnina je smrt zatekla u Saloni, gdje je najvjerojatnije i služio u namjesnikovu uredu kao beneficijarij. Je li prethodno obavljao ovu službu u nekoj od brojnih postaja u provinciji za sada je nemoguće reći. Dolent je bio veteran i bivši beneficijarij, jednako poput Respekta, o kojemu svjedoče dva epigrafska dokaza. Njegov nadgrobni natpis je iz Salone, a ulomak posvetnog natpisa s njegovim imenom pronađen je u Burnu. Veterani su bili Valent i Kalvin. Rekonstrukcija Kalvinova natpisa prilično uvjerljivom čini pretpostavku da je i on bio bivši beneficijarij. Možda je beneficijarij bio i Valent, a kako nedostaje desna polovica njegove stele, o tome je zaista nezahvalno govoriti. Četiri lokaliteta iz unutrašnjosti Dalmacije pružila su četiri natpisa beneficijarija Desete legije (Runovići, Lipa, Prijedor i Skelani), Komargov posvetni natpis najvjerojatnije potječe iz neke postaje u provinciji, dok je iz okolice Sinja ulomak natpisa veterana ili beneficijarija.

Prema ovome je očito da su gotovo svi vojnici ove legije u Dalmaciji bili konzularni beneficijariji i teško je povjerovati da to nije bio samo Valent, čiji je natpis na ključnom mjestu oštećen. Bez obzira na njegovu moguću službu jasno je da u Dalmaciji nedostaju natpisi aktivnih vojnika, zbog čega treba zaključiti da *legio X Gemina* nije imala svoja odjeljenja u provinciji, kako su davno prepostavili Abramić i Betz, nego je davala vojnike za službu konzularnih beneficijarija namjesnikovu oficiju u Saloni, i to od sredine 2. stoljeća pa do prvih desetljeća 3. stoljeća.<sup>96</sup>

dedication to Silvanus which was done by the soldier Marcus Aurelius Attenio from *legio I Adiutrix*.<sup>95</sup>

The five inscriptions from Salona directly confirm five soldiers who served in the *legio X Gemina*. Saturninus died in Salona, where he most likely served in the consul's office as a *beneficiarius*. Whether he previously held this post in one of the numerous stations in the province cannot be ascertained for now. Dolens was a veteran and former *beneficiarius*, just like Respectus, on whom two epigraphic texts testify. His grave inscription is from Salona, while the fragment of a dedicatory inscription bearing his name was found in Burnum. Valens and Calvinus were also veterans. The reconstruction of Calvinus' inscription makes the hypothesis that he was also a former *beneficiarius* appear rather likely. Perhaps Valens was also a *beneficiarius*, but since the right half of his stela is missing it is a rather thankless task to engage in any conjecture in this regard. Four sites in the Dalmatian interior provided four *beneficiarius* inscriptions of the Tenth Legion (Runovići, Lipa, Prijedor and Skelani), the dedicatory inscription of Comargus most likely originated in a station in the province, while the fragment of an inscription of a veteran or *beneficiarius* originated in the vicinity of Sinj.

Based on the above, it is apparent that almost all soldiers of this legion in Dalmatia were *beneficiarii consularis*, and it is difficult to believe that only Valens, whose inscription is damaged at the most crucial place, was not. Regardless of his possible post, it is clear that the inscriptions of active soldiers in Dalmatia are lacking, leading to the conclusion that *legio X Gemina* did not have its detachments in the province, as assumed long before by Abramić and Betz, rather it only provided soldiers to serve as *beneficiarii consularis* in the governor's *officium* in Salona from the mid-second century to the first decades of the third century.<sup>96</sup>

94 Od 16 beneficijarskih žrtvenika datiranih do sredine 2. stoljeća samo je jedan iz glavnoga grada provincije (Virunum, Norik), a od 22 žrtvenika datirana od 150. do 170. godine ni jedan ne potječe iz provincijske metropole, v. Dise 1997, str. 275-276.

95 AE 1989, 599. Dediči posvetnih natpisa CIL 3, 1940 i CIL 3, 8672 su pripadnici kohorti. Zbog oštećenosti spomenika nije moguće sa sigurnošću utvrditi nazive ovih postrojba.

96 Abramić 1922, str. 7.

95 AE 1989, 599. The dedicators of the dedicatory inscriptions under CIL 3, 1940 and CIL 3, 8672 were members of cohorts. Since these monuments are heavily damaged, it is not possible to ascertain the names of these units.

96 Abramić 1922, p. 7.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

AE - Anneé épigraphique

AJA - American Journal of Archaeology

ANRW - Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt

ANUBIH - Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine

ARR - Arheološki radovi i rasprave

BASD - Bulletino di archaeologia e storia dalmata

BJb - Bonner Jahrbücher

CBI - Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja

CBFIR - E. Schallmayer, et al., *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I*, Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches, Stuttgart 1990.

CIL - Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

EDH - Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg - <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index.html.de> (14. 04. 2011.)

GZM - Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja

HA - Histria Antiqua

HAD - Hrvatsko arheološko društvo

HAZU - Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti

ILJug - Anna et Jaro Šašel, *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Sítula, 5, Ljubljana, 1963); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Sítula, 19, Ljubljana, 1978); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCML repertae et editae sunt* (Sítula, 25, Ljubljana, 1986)ILS - *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* (ed. H. Dessau). Berlin 1892-1916

OA - Opuscula archaeologica

PWRE - Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

RFFZd - Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdrio povijesnih znanosti

VAHD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

VAMZ - Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu

VAPD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

ZPE - Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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