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Rimski vojnici i njihovi  
oslobođenici na natpisima iz  
Salone iz doba principata

Roman soldiers and their  
freedmen in the Principate-era  
inscriptions from Salona

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Analizirajući 28 većinom cjelovitih natpisa iz Salone koji spominju osobe iz rimskog vojnog sustava i oslobođenike, odnosno oslobođenice iz doba principata, autor je nastojao doći do što većeg broja podataka o odnosima između oslobođenika i njihovih patrona, o značajkama oslobođeničkih kognomena i o statusu vojnika koji su imali oslobođenike.

*Ključne riječi:* vojnici, veteran, legija, kohorta, oslobođenik, oslobođenica, principat

In analysing 28 largely whole inscriptions from Salona which mention persons from the Roman military system and freedmen or freedwomen dated to the time of the Principate, the author attempted to obtain the most possible data on relations between freed individuals and their masters, the features of the cognomina of freedmen/women and the status of soldiers who had freedmen/women.

*Key words:* soldier, veteran, legion, cohort, freedman, freedwoman, Principate

## Uvod

Na teritoriju Salone dosad je pronađeno 259 cjelovitih i fragmentiranih natpisa koji se izravno vežu uz pripadnike rimske vojske iz vremena principata. Velika većina ih je nadgrobno-karaktira i otkrivaju ne samo imena vojnika i njihove službe u različitim vojnim postrojbama nego i imena članova njihovih familija kojima su nerijetko, kako pokazuje 28 natpisa, pripadali i oslobođenici. Oslobođenik je bivši rob kojemu je njegov gospodar dao slobodu,<sup>1</sup> što je podrazumijevalo stjecanje građanskog prava i novoga imenskog obrasca sastavljenog od patronovog prenomena i gentilicija, a mjesto kognomena zauzelo je njegovo staro ime.<sup>2</sup> Oslobođenik je postao dio familije svoga patrona s kojim je ojačao stare veze, čime je kao rimski građanin olakšao svoju integraciju u društvo.<sup>3</sup> Posebno velike mogućnosti u napredovanju i stjecanju materijalnog bogatstva imali su oslobođenici iz velikih gradova.<sup>4</sup> Određivanje oslobođeničkog statusa neke osobe prema imenskom obrascu (*duo nomina* bez filijacije ili libertinacije) i dalje je nerješiv problem u rimskoj društvenoj povijesti.<sup>5</sup>

Ropstvo je, smatrao je Alföldy, imalo veliku ulogu u bogaćenju gornjega društvenog sloja u Saloni. Napomenuo je da oko trećina natpisa iz ranog principata donosi imena robova, odnosno, gotovo bez iznimke, oslobođenika. Često su spomenute brojnije familije oslobođenika pa je pretpostavio da je njihov udio u ukupnom gradskom stanovništvu možda bio i do 50%. Neki od njih su, baveći se trgovinom i obrtom, postali iznimno bogati te su na vlastiti trošak izvodili veće građevinske zahvate (*CIL* 3, 1947). Tridesetak natpisa svjedoči da su pojedini oslobođenici pripadali šesteročlanim kolegijima svećenika zaduženih za brigu o Augustovu kultu (*sexviri Augustales*).<sup>6</sup> S druge strane, u kasnom principatu robove i oslobođenike

## Introduction

Thus far, 259 complete and fragmentary inscriptions have been found in the territory of Salona which are directly tied to members of the Roman military from the time of the Principate. The vast majority of them have a funerary character and reveal not only the names of the soldiers and their service in various military units, but also the names of their family members, to whom, as 28 inscriptions show, freedmen/women often belonged. A freedman (or woman) was a former slave granted freedom by his/her master,<sup>1</sup> which also implied the acquisition of citizenship and a new name formula composed of the master's praenomen and gentilicium, while the slave's old name became the cognomen.<sup>2</sup> The freedman became a member of the family of his master, with whom old bonds were reinforced, whereby his integration into society as a Roman citizen was eased.<sup>3</sup> Freedmen from large cities had particularly great opportunities for advancement and earning wealth.<sup>4</sup> Determination of the freed status of a person according to the name formula (*duo nomina* without filiation or libtination) is still an insoluble problem in Roman social history.<sup>5</sup>

Slavery, according to Alföldy, played a major role in the enrichment of the upper societal class in Salona and he noted that approximately one third of the inscriptions from the early Principate included the names of slaves, and, almost without exception, freedmen. Often more numerous families of freed individuals are mentioned, so it has been assumed that their share of the total urban population may have been as high as 50%. Some of them, involved in commerce and artisanry, became exceptionally wealthy and financed major construction undertakings with their own money (*CIL* 3, 1947). Approximately thirty inscriptions testify to the fact that individual freedmen belonged to the six-member collegia of priests charged with

\* Ovaj rad proširena je i dopunjena inačica referata pročitanog na Četvrtom kongresu hrvatskih povjesničara s temom *Sloboda* održanom u Zagrebu od 1. do 5. listopada 2012. Temelji se na doktorskom radu koji je pod naslovom *Rimski vojnici na natpisima iz Salone iz doba principata* nastao pod mentorstvom prof. dr. sc. Anamarije Kurilić i obranjen je na Sveučilištu u Zadru 24. travnja 2015.

1 Treggiari 2006, str. 893-897.

2 Ross Taylor 1961, str. 125; Salway 1994, str. 128.

3 Temin 2004, str. 528-529.

4 Saller 2000, str. 835.

5 Phang 2001, str. 193-195.

6 Alföldy 1965, str. 111, bilj. 118-127. O augustalskim sevirima u Saloni ukratko v. i Wilkes 2002, str. 95; pregled 63 natpisa sa spomenom oslobođenika vidi u: Alföldy 1961, str. 143 i d.

\* This work is an expanded and supplemented variant of a paper delivered at the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress of Croatian Historians on the theme of "Freedom", held in Zagreb from 1 to 5 October 2012. It is based on a doctoral dissertation which, under the title *Rimski vojnici na natpisima iz Salone iz doba principata* ('Roman soldiers in the Principate-era inscriptions from Salona') was written under the mentorship of Prof. Anamarija Kurilić, Ph.D. and defended at the University of Zadar on 24 April 2015.

1 Treggiari 2006, pp. 893-897.

2 Ross Taylor 1961, p. 125; Salway 1994, p. 128.

3 Temin 2004, pp. 528-529.

4 Saller 2000, p. 835.

5 Phang 2001, pp. 193-195.

spominje tek 10 % natpisa. Rijetki potvrđuju postojanje brojnijih familija robova i oslobođenika tako da su u stvarnosti vjerojatno činili nešto veći postotak stanovništva. Za razliku od ranog principata, kada su gotovo bez iznimke spomenuti oslobođenici, od druge polovice 2. stoljeća potječe mnogo više epigrafskih potvrda za *servi* i *vernae*, a značajan je i broj *alumni*, od kojih su barem neki bili robovi. Alföldy piše da se u tom razdoblju broj robova na teritoriju kolonije napadno povećao.<sup>7</sup>

### Natpisi vojnika iz Salone na kojima se spominju robovi i oslobođenici

U rimskome svijetu vojnici je mogao posjedovati roba ili nekoliko njih kao vlastite slugu<sup>8</sup> koji su kuhali, čistili ili dobavljali drvo, hranu i sijeno.<sup>9</sup> Samo jedan natpis iz Salone svjedoči o vrlo mladom vojniku iz kohorte Osma *Voluntariorum* koji je imao svog roba,<sup>10</sup> a ukupno 28 većinom cjelovitih nadgrobnih natpisa svjedoči o povezanosti vojnika i njihovih bivših robova, odnosno oslobođenika i oslobođenica. Čak 16 natpisa (natpis broj 1, 3-10, 15, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28) sadrži imena oslobođenika s oznakom njihova statusa (*libertus/liberta*) koja je najčešće djelomično skraćena (*lib.*: 1, 4-8, 15, 20, 23, 25). Na jednom je natpisu potpuno skraćena (*l.*: 3), na dva minimalno skraćena (*libert.*: 10, 21), a na tri natpisa nije uopće skraćena (*libertus/liberta*: 9, 27, 28). Gotovo se uvijek nalazi poslije imena osobe, a na četiri natpisa (2, 9, 13, 14) kratica (*l.*) umetnuta je između oslobođenikovoga gentilicija i kognomena (tzv. libertinska filijacija, odnosno libertinacija). Tri natpisa ne sadrže oznaku oslobođeničkog statusa, ali se taj status pretpostavlja zbog oslovljavanja imenicom *patronus* (12, 22, 26). Šest natpisa (16-20, 24) sadrži izraz *libertis libertabusque*, koji je na svakome izveden drugačijim

care for the cult of Augustus (*sexviri Augustales*).<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, during the late Principate, slaves and freedmen/women were only mentioned in 10% of the inscriptions. Rare inscriptions confirm the existence of more numerous families of slaves and freedmen/women, so that in reality they probably accounted for a somewhat larger percentage of the population. As opposed to the early Principate, when freed individuals were mentioned almost without exception, many more epigraphic confirmations of *servi* and *vernae*, and also a considerable number of *alumni*, of whom at least some were slaves, originated as of the latter half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Alföldy wrote that during this period, the number of slaves in the colony's territory had increased to a striking degree.<sup>7</sup>

### Soldier inscriptions from Salona in which slaves and freedmen/women are mentioned

In the Roman world, a soldier could own one or several slaves as his own servants<sup>8</sup> who cooked, cleaned, and brought wood, food and hay.<sup>9</sup> Only one inscription from Salona testifies to a very young soldier from the eighth cohort (*Voluntariorum*) who had a slave,<sup>10</sup> while a total of 28 mostly whole funerary inscriptions testify to the relationships between soldiers and their former slaves, i.e., freedmen and freedwomen. As many as 16 inscriptions (inscription numbers 1, 3-10, 15, 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, 28) contain the names of freedmen/women with the designation of their status (*libertus/liberta*) which was most often partially abbreviated (*lib.*: 1, 4-8, 15, 20, 23, 25). In one inscription, it is entirely abbreviated (*l.*: 3), on two it is

7 Alföldy 1965, str. 115-116, bilj. 161-168; pregled 74 natpisa sa spomenom oslobođenika i ostalih koji spominju robove vidi u: Alföldy 1961, str. 147 i d.

8 Goldsworthy 2003, str. 103; Southern 2006, str. 225.

9 M. P. Speidel 1989, str. 242-245. Tijekom vojnih operacija o opskrbnim konvojima brinuli su se robovi koji su najčešće nazivani *calones* i *lixae* iako se u literarnim izvorima katkada upotrebljavaju i drugi latinski izrazi poput *servi*, *mancipia*, *pueri* ili grčki *therapontes* i *oiketai*. I dalje nije jasno jesu li ovi robovi pripadali pojedinačnim vojnicima ili ih je sve angažirala vojska; Southern 2006, str. 224-225; v. i Vishnia 2002, str. 265-272.

10 CIL 3, 2045: *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) P(ublio)(?) Ver(o) mil(iti) / coh(o)r(tis) VIII Vol(untariorum) / an(norum) XVIII Heli<sup>s</sup>us domino / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*; Wilkes 1969, str. 149.

6 Alföldy 1965, p. 111, note 118-127. On the *sexviri Augustales* in Salona, briefly in Wilkes 2002, p. 95; for an overview of 63 of inscriptions mentioning freedmen/women, see Alföldy 1961, p. 143 ff.

7 Alföldy 1965, pp. 115-116, note 161-168; for an overview of 74 inscriptions mentioning freedmen/women and others mentioning slaves, see Alföldy 1961, p. 147 ff.

8 Goldsworthy 2003, p. 103; Southern 2006, p. 225.

9 M. P. Speidel 1989, pp. 242-245. During military operations, supply convoys were administered by slaves who were most often called *calones* and *lixae*, even though in literary sources other Latin expressions were used, such as *servi*, *mancipia*, *pueri* or the Greek *therapontes* and *oiketai*. It is still uncertain as to whether these slaves belonged to individual soldiers or if they were all engaged by the army; Southern 2006, pp. 224-225; see also Vishnia 2002, pp. 265-272.

10 CIL 3, 2045: *D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) P(ublio)(?) Ver(o) mil(iti) / coh(o)r(tis) VIII Vol(untariorum) / an(norum) XVIII Heli<sup>s</sup>us domino / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*; Wilkes 1969, p. 149.

načinom skraćivanja (*lib. lib.*, *lib. liberisque*, *lib. libertabusque*, *libertis libertabusque*). Ovdje su u obzir uzeta i dva natpisa (11, 18) za koja se prema značajkama sačuvanih imena smije pretpostaviti da su spominjala oslobođenike.<sup>11</sup>

Jedanaest natpisa (1-11) pripadalo je vojnicima Sedme legije (*legio VII*) od kojih tri natpisa ne bilježe počasni naziv *Claudia pia fidelis* pa ih se datira u vrijeme prije 42. godine.<sup>12</sup> To su stele vojnikâ Gaja Asurija i Kvinta Valerija te veterana Gaja Pinarija Skarpa.

Vojniku Gaju Asuriju, preminulome u 14. godini službe i 35. godini života, stelu (1) je postavila oslobođenica Severa.

Vojniku Kvintu Valeriju, nakon 12 godina službe i 35 godina života, stelu (3) je postavio nasljednik Lucije Valerije. Ne može se zaključiti o karakteru njihove povezanosti, ali zajednički gentilicij daje naslutiti da je bio njegov oslobođenik, iako mu je mogao biti sin ili brat. Natpis spominje i Kvintovu oslobođenicu Valeriju Kvintu, koja je pokopana na istome mjestu gdje je pokopan i on.

Veteranu Gaju Pinariju Skarpu i njegovu sinu čije ime nije sačuvano, stelu (2) je postavila oslobođenica Pinarija, čiji je kognomen nepoznat zbog oštećenja natpisa.

Ostalih osam natpisa legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis* datiraju se u vrijeme nakon 42. godine.

Vojniku Luciju Treboniju Valentu, njegovu sinu i kćeri stelu (4) je postavio oslobođenik Lucije Trebonije Sukceso. Mjesto ukopa na istoj grobnoj parceli osigurao je za sebe i svoje oslobođenike i oslobođenice.

Centurion Publije Plotije postavio je stelu (5) svojem oslobođeniku Primigeniju. Natpis je oštećen upravo na mjestu oznake godina njegova života tako da je nemoguće reći je li umro u svojim dvadesetim ili tridesetim godinama. Bez obzira na to, riječ je o jedinom nadgrobnom natpisu iz korpusa koji je sačuvao ovaj, premda nepotpun, podatak za umrlog oslobođenika. Prema *Lex Aelia Sentia* iz 4. g. n. Krista rob u trenutku oslobađanja nije smio biti mlađi od trideset godina, osim u iznimnim okolnostima.<sup>13</sup> Prema Scheidelovom "srednjem" izračunu jedna trećina robova koji su premašili 25. godinu života bila je u doglednoj budućnosti oslobođena, a ostali su dočekali smrt kao robovi.<sup>14</sup>

Krugu časnika pripada signifer čije je ime bilo uklesano u gornjem otučenom dijelu nadgrobnog

minimally abbreviated (*libert.*: 10, 21), while on three it is not abbreviated at all (*libertus/liberta*: 9, 27, 28). It virtually always comes after the person's name, and in four inscriptions (2, 9, 13, 14) the abbreviation (*l.*) was inserted between the freedmen's gentilicium and cognomen (so-called libertine filiation or libertination). Three inscriptions do not contain the designation of libertine status, but this status was assumed due to addressing using the noun *patronus* (12, 22, 26). Six inscriptions (16-20, 24) contain the expression *libertis libertabusque*, which is abbreviated differently on each (*lib. lib.*, *lib. liberisque*, *lib. libertabusque*, *libertis libertabusque*). Here, two additional inscriptions (11, 18) come into consideration, because the features of the preserved names allow for the assumption that they mentioned freedmen.<sup>11</sup>

Eleven inscriptions (1-11) belonged to soldiers of the Seventh Legion (*legio VII*), of which three inscriptions do not record the honorary designation *Claudia pia fidelis*, so they can be dated to the period prior to 42 AD.<sup>12</sup> These are stelae of the soldiers Gaius Asurius and Quintus Valerius, and the veteran Gaius Pinarius Scarpus.

The soldier Gaius Asurius, who died in the fourteenth year of his service at the age of 35, had his stela (1) placed by the freedwoman Severa.

The stela (3) for the soldier Quintus Valerius, after twelve years of service at the age of 35, was placed by his heir Lucius Valerius. No conclusions can be drawn on the character of their relationship, but the common gentilicium allows for speculation that he was the former's freedman, even though he could have also been his son or brother. The inscription also mentions that Quintus had a freedwoman, Valeria Quinta, who was buried in the same plot as he was.

The veteran Gaius Pinarius Scarpus and his son, whose name was not preserved, had their stela (2) placed by the freedwoman Pinaria, whose cognomen remains unknown due to the damaged inscription.

The remaining eight inscriptions from Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis* have been dated to the period after 42 AD.

The stela (4) for the soldier Lucius Trebonius Valens and his son and daughter was placed by his freedman Lucius Trebonius Successus. He secured a burial site for his freedmen and freedwomen on the same grave plot.

The centurion Publius Plotius placed a stela (5) for his freedman Primigenius. The inscription was damaged precisely at the place where the year was written, so it is impossible to ascertain whether he died in his

11 V. u nastavku teksta bilj. 22, 40, 41.

12 Tončinić 2011, str. 14.

13 Treggiari 2006, str. 896.

14 Scheidel 1997, str. 162.

11 See, below, notes 22, 40, 41.

12 Tončinić 2011, p. 14.

žrtvenika (6). Može se pretpostaviti da se zvao Gaj Klodije [---] prema imenu njegova oslobođenika Gaja Klodija Feliksa, epigrafski potvrđenog i na vlastitom nadgrobnom natpisu iz Salone.<sup>15</sup> Od svih oslobođenika spomenutih u ovom radu samo je on bio svećenik u šesteročlanomu kolegiju augustala, rezerviranome uglavnom za oslobođenike koji su se tijekom jednogodišnje službe brinuli o Augustovu kultu.<sup>16</sup>

Nerijetko se događalo da vojnici ostave određenu svotu novca za oporučno podizanje nadgrobnog spomenika. Tako je učinio signifer Gaj Lukrecije koji je preminuo u 45. godini života, nakon 26 godina provedenih u vojnoj službi. Luksuznu i najmanje dvama portretima opremljenu stelu (7) na grobnoj je parceli postavio oslobođenik Krest. Znakovit je 7. redak, u kojem stoji da je Lukrecije spomenik dao postaviti “et Primo suo”. *Primus* je jedan od najuobičajenijih latinskih kognomena za osobe robovskog statusa,<sup>17</sup> u Saloni su epigrafski potvrđeni oslobođenici koji su ga nosili<sup>18</sup> i stoga postoji mogućnost da je Primo bio rob. S druge strane, ne može se odbaciti ni drugačiji odnos; naime, sačuvani portret u polju iznad natpisa čini izglednijom pretpostavku da je Primo bio Lukrecijev sin, iako to u natpisu nigdje izrijekom nije istaknuto.<sup>19</sup>

Ime veterana Gaja Lukrecija iz iste legije sačuvano je na drugom nadgrobnom natpisu (8) koji je za života postavio svome sinu i oslobođenicama Firmili i Tihe. Pretpostavlja se da je on bio brat spomenutog signifera Gaja Lukrecija koji na svojem natpisu spominje brata, ali ne navodi njegovo ime.<sup>20</sup>

Veteran Lucije Fabije Saturnin postavio je za života nadgrobni natpis (9) sebi i Klaudiji Euhi, koja mu je najvjerojatnije bila žena ili konkubina. Ovaj natpis u pogledu odnosa vojnika – oslobođenik odskaka od ostalih jer Klaudija Euha nije bila njegova oslobođenica, nego je slobodu dobila od Tiberija Klaudija Alipa. Njegova “libertinska filijacija” (*liberti*)

twenties or thirties. Regardless, this is the sole funerary inscription from this group which preserves this – albeit incomplete – information for a deceased freedman. According to the *Lex Aelia Sentia* from 4 AD, at the time of liberation, a slave could not be less than 30 years of age, except under extraordinary circumstances.<sup>13</sup> According to Scheidel’s “median” calculation, a third of slaves who passed the age of 25 were set free in the foreseeable future, but the rest remained slaves until death.<sup>14</sup>

The circle of officers included a *signifer* whose name was engraved in the upper, battered portion of a grave altar (6). It may be assumed that his name was Gaius Clodius [---] based on the name of his freedman Gaius Clodius Felix, epigraphically confirmed on his own gravestone inscription from Salona.<sup>15</sup> Out of all of the freedmen/women mentioned in this work, only he was a priest in the six-member collegia of Augustales, reserved generally for freedmen who cared for the cult of Augustus during their one year of service.<sup>16</sup>

It often occurred that soldiers left a certain sum of money for placement of a gravestone by testament. This was done by the *signifer* Gaius Lucretius, who died at the age of 45, after 26 years of military service. The luxurious stela (7), adorned by at least two portraits, was placed on the grave plot by the freedman Chrestus. The seventh line is notable, as here it states that Lucretius had the monument placed “*et Primo suo*”. *Primus* was one of the most common Latin cognomina for persons of slave status.<sup>17</sup> Freedmen who bore it in Salona have been epigraphically confirmed<sup>18</sup> and thus there is a possibility that *Primus* was a slave. On the other hand, one cannot reject another relationship; namely, the preserved portrait in the field above the inscription makes it seem more likely that *Primus* was the son of Lucretius, even though this is not explicitly stated anywhere in the inscription.<sup>19</sup>

The name of the veteran Gaius Lucretius from the same legion was preserved on another gravestone inscription (8), which he commissioned during his lifetime for his son and the freedwomen Firmilla and

15 CIL 3, 2095 (8583): *C(aius) Clodius Felix / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Clodiae Primigeniae / <sup>s</sup> filiae / posterisque suis*; v. i Glavičić 2002, str. 354, kat. br. 211.

16 Ross Taylor 1914, str. 231, 236; Crook 2006, str. 135; Galinsky 2007, str. 79-80; v. i Glavičić 2002, str. 126; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, str. 313-315.

17 Ross Taylor 1961, str. 125.

18 Alföldy 1969, str. 272-273.

19 Maršić 2010, str. 67.

20 Signifer je preminuo tijekom službe, a ovaj je dočeka status veterana; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006, str. 243, br. 326. Na oba natpisa stoje istovjetne mjere grobne parcele tako da su spomenici mogli pripadati istom grobnom arealu u vlasništvu njihove obitelji; Tončinić 2011, str. 63.

13 Treggiari 2006, p. 896.

14 Scheidel 1997, p. 162.

15 CIL 3, 2095 (8583): *C(aius) Clodius Felix / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Clodiae Primigeniae / <sup>s</sup> filiae / posterisque suis*; see also Glavičić 2002, p. 354, cat. no. 211.

16 Ross Taylor 1914, pp. 231, 236; Crook 2006, p. 135; Galinsky 2007, pp. 79, 80; see also Glavičić 2002, p. 126; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, pp. 313-315.

17 Ross Taylor 1961, p. 125.

18 Alföldy 1969, pp. 272, 273.

19 Maršić 2010, p. 67.

*Caesaris*), prenamen i gentilicij jasno svjedoče da je slobodu dobio od cara Klaudija.<sup>21</sup>

Veteran Gaj Vatinije Kapiton za života je postavio nadgrobni žrtvenik (10) sebi i oslobođenici Vatiniji Felikuli.

Posljednji natpis (11) koji spominje pripadnika legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis* sačuvao je dva kognomena, od kojih je *Abascantus* tipičan za oslobođenike pa bi se možda moglo raditi o osobi takvog statusa.<sup>22</sup>

Dvije epigrafske potvrde pripadale su vojnicima iz legije Jedanaesta *Claudia pia fidelis*. Svome patronu, veteranu Gaju Valeriju [---], nadgrobni titul (12) postavio je Valerije I[---]. Natpis potječe iz vremena nakon 42. godine kada je i ova legija, u isto vrijeme kada i Sedma legija, dobila počasni naziv *Claudia pia fidelis*.<sup>23</sup>

Centurion Marko Julije Paterno (13) započeo je svoj vrlo bogat profesionalni put kao vojnik u legiji Šesta *Victrix* nakon čega je obavljao centurionate u legiji Osma *Augusta*, Četrnaesta *Gemina Martia Victrix* i Jedanaesta *Claudia pia fidelis*. Četrnaesta *Gemina* dobila je svoj počasni naziv (*Martia Victrix*) 61. godine,<sup>24</sup> a u trenutku podizanja spomenika Paterno je bio centurion legije Jedanaesta *Claudia pia fidelis* koja je 69. godine napustila Dalmaciju<sup>25</sup> prema čemu bi spomenik trebalo datirati između ovih dviju godina.<sup>26</sup> Paternov oslobođenik Marko Julije Docim bio je i njegov nasljednik, a o njihovoj međusobnoj povezanosti dovoljno govori to što je na natpisu naveden odmah nakon imena Paternove supruge Julije Maksime. Za podizanje nadgrobnog spomenika ostavio im je 10.000 sestercija; to je jedini vojnički natpis iz Salone koji sadrži podatak takve vrste. Riječ je o priličnoj svoti ima li se na umu da je u to doba godišnja plaća legijskog centuriona bila 13.500 sestercija.<sup>27</sup> Toliki iznos sugerira da je spomenik bio popriličnih dimenzija i bogato ukrašen, u prilog čemu ide i usporedba s monumentalnim žrtvenikom Pomponije Vere sa kraja 1. stoljeća<sup>28</sup> za čije je postavljanje vlasnica izdvojila 20.000 sestercija.<sup>29</sup> Međutim, sa tumačenjem ovih iznosa treba biti oprezan jer nije sigurno odnosi li se on samo na spomenik ili je riječ o troškovima ukopa

Tyche. It has been assumed that he was the brother of the aforementioned *signifer* Gaius Lucretius, who mentioned a brother in his inscription, but did not specify his name.<sup>20</sup>

During his lifetime, the veteran Lucius Fabius Saturninus commissioned a funerary inscription (9) to himself and Claudia Euche, who was probably his wife or concubine. This inscription deviates from the others in the sense of the relationship between a soldier and freedman, because Claudia Euche was not his freedwoman, rather she secured her freedom from Tiberius Claudius Alypus. His “libertine filiation” (*liberti*) *Caesaris*), praenomen and gentilicium clearly testify to the fact that he was freed by Emperor Claudius.<sup>21</sup>

The veteran Gaius Vatinius Capito placed a grave altar (10) to himself and his freedwoman Vatinia Felicula during his lifetime.

The final inscription (11) that mentions a member of Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis* preserves two cognomina, of which *Abascantus* is typical for freedmen, so that it may be a person with this status.<sup>22</sup>

Two epigraphic confirmations belonged to soldiers from Legio XI *Claudia pia fidelis*. Valerius I[---] raised the grave titulus (12) to his master, the veteran Gaius Valerius [---]. The inscription dates to the time after 42 AD, when this legion, together with the Seventh Legion, acquired the honorary title *Claudia pia fidelis*.<sup>23</sup>

The centurion Marcus Julius Paternus (13) began his very rich professional career as a soldier in Legio VI *Victrix*, after which he served as centurion in Legio VIII *Augusta*, XIV *Gemina Martia Victrix* and XI *Claudia pia fidelis*. Legio XIV *Gemina* obtained its honorary designation (*Martia Victrix*) in 61 AD,<sup>24</sup> and at the time the monument was raised; Paternus was a centurion in Legio XI *Claudia pia fidelis*, which left Dalmatia in 69 AD,<sup>25</sup> so that this monument should be dated between those two years.<sup>26</sup> Paternus' freedman Marcus Julius Docimus was his heir, and the fact that he was mentioned immediately after the name of

21 Weaver 1972, str. 49 i d.

22 Usp. Alföldy 1969, str. 140.

23 Ritterling 1925, col. 1617; Betz 1938, str. 36-37; v. i Tončinić 2011, str. 14.

24 Franke 2000, str. 194.

25 Fellmann 2000, str. 127.

26 Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006, str. 239-240, br. 310.

27 M. A. Speidel 2009, str. 380.

28 Cambi 2002, str. 128.

29 CIL 3, 14827.

20 The signifer died during his service, while this soldier lived to become a veteran; Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006, p. 243, no. 326. Both inscriptions specify identical dimensions for the grave plot, so that the monuments may have been in the same grave area owned by their family; Tončinić 2011, p. 63.

21 Weaver 1972, p. 49 ff.

22 Cf. Alföldy 1969, p. 140.

23 Ritterling 1925, col. 1617; Betz 1938, pp. 36-37; see also Tončinić 2011, p. 14.

24 Franke 2000, p. 194.

25 Fellmann 2000, p. 127.

26 Mihăilescu-Bîrliba 2006, pp. 239-240, no. 310.

budući da su na nekim natpisima te cijene odvojeno navedene.<sup>30</sup>

Portretna stela (14) veterana Tita Fuficija iz Dvadesete legije nastala je tijekom tridesetih ili četrdesetih godina 1. stoljeća.<sup>31</sup> U gornjem portretnom polju prikazan je Fuficije sa svojom obitelji, a u donjem polju njegova tri oslobođenika čija su imena navedena u natpisu: Tit Fuficije Privato, Fuficija Priska i Fuficija Prima. Privato i Prima su Titovi oslobođenici, a Priska je oslobođenica neke žene. To je jedini vojnički natpis iz Salone koji poimenično spominje više oslobođenika.

Gaju Juliju Mari, veteranu kohorte Druga *Cyrrhestarum*, preminulome u 90. godini života, nadgrobni žrtvenik (15) postavio je oslobođenik i nasljednik Magno sredinom 1. stoljeća.<sup>32</sup>

Četiri natpisa svjedoče o vojnicima koji su imali oslobođenike i oslobođenice, ali ne navode njihova imena. Marko Antonije Suro, veteran legije Četvrta *Flavia felix* postavio je stelu (16) članovima svoje obitelji te oslobođenima i oslobođenicama. Najprije je spomenuta njegova supruga Pasija Prima, a nakon izraza *libertis liberatibusque* naveden je neki *Hermes*. *Hermes* je ime grčkog porijekla i tipično za ljude robovskog i oslobođeničkog statusa,<sup>33</sup> pa je stoga opravdano o njemu govoriti kao o robu. August je prema *Lex Fufia Caninia* iz 2. god. pr. Krista ograničio broj robova koje je gospodar, u odnosu prema ukupnom broju robova u svom vlasništvu, oporučno smio osloboditi.<sup>34</sup> Stoga ne treba čuditi što gospodari nisu svim robovima dali slobodu i što se katkada imena nekih nalaze na nadgrobnim natpisima. Ovaj natpis, sudeći prema vremenu dolaska postrojbe u Dalmaciju, valja datirati nakon 70. godine.<sup>35</sup>

Gaj Valerije Prokul, dekurion iz kohorte Prva *Belgarum*, na svojoj je steli (17) poslije imena supruge Apuleje Sabine također upisao izraz *libertis libertabusque*. Očito je imao dovoljno sredstava za posjedovanje više robova jer je bio rimski građanin, a položaji veksilarija i dekuriona koje je obavljao u dvjema kohortama smještenima u Dalmaciji na prijelazu iz 1. u 2. stoljeće donosili su mu i bolju plaću.<sup>36</sup>

Spekulatorka Tit Ti[---] umro je nakon 22 godine aktivne službe. Zbog prilične oštećenosti njegove stele

Paternus' wife Julia Maxima in the inscription speaks sufficiently of their relationship. He left them 10,000 sesterii to mount the gravestone; this is the only military inscription from Salona that contains information of this type. That was a considerable sum, if one bears in mind that during that era the annual salary of a legionary centurion was 13,500 sesterii.<sup>27</sup> Such an amount suggests that the monument had sizeable dimensions and was richly ornamented, something backed by the comparison with the monumental altar of Pomponia Vera from the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century<sup>28</sup> for which its owner set aside 20,000 sesterii.<sup>29</sup> However, these sums must be considered with some caution, because it is uncertain as to whether this pertains to the monument alone or if it also includes the interment costs, since these were separately cited in some inscriptions.<sup>30</sup>

The portrait stela (14) of the veteran Titus Fuficius from Legio XX was made during the fourth or fifth decade of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>31</sup> The upper portrait field shows Fuficius with his family, while the lower field shows his three freedmen/women, whose names are cited in the inscription: Titus Fuficius Privatus, Fuficia Prisca and Fuficia Prima. Privatus and Prima were freed by Titus, while Prisca was the freedwoman of some other woman. This is the only military inscription from Salona which mentions several freed individuals by name.

Gaius Julius Mara, a veteran of Cohors II *Cyrrhestarum*, who died at the age of 90, had his grave altar placed by his freedman and heir Magnus in the mid-1<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>32</sup>

Four inscriptions testify to soldiers who had freedmen and freedwomen, but their names are not mentioned. Marcus Antonius Surus, a veteran Legio IV *Flavia felix*, placed a stela (16) to the members of his family and freedmen and freedwomen. First his spouse, Pasia Prima, is mentioned, and after the expression *libertis liberatibusque*, a certain *Hermes* is mentioned. *Hermes* is a name of Greek origin and typical of persons who had servile or freed status,<sup>33</sup> so it is therefore justifiable to speak of him as a slave. With enactment of the *Lex Fufia Caninia* from 2 BC, Augustus limited the number of slaves that a master could manumit by testament in proportion to the total

30 Saller, Shaw 1984, str. 128, bilj. 21.

31 Cambi 2000, str. 44-45, kat. br. 50, tab. 62.

32 Matijević 2009a, str. 36-39.

33 Ross Taylor 1961, str. 125; Alföldy 1969, str. 215.

34 Westermann 1955, str. 89; Temin 2004, str. 531; Treggiari 2006, str. 895.

35 Ritterling 1925, col. 1540-1542; Le Bohec, Wolff 2000, str. 239.

36 Matijević 2011, str. 185-194.

27 M. A. Speidel 2009, p. 380.

28 Cambi 2002, p. 128.

29 CIL 3, 14827.

30 Saller, Shaw 1984, p. 128, note 21.

31 Cambi 2000, pp. 44-45, cat. no. 50, pl. 62.

32 Matijević 2009a, pp. 36-39.

33 Ross Taylor 1961, p. 125; Alföldy 1969, p. 215.

(18) od brojčanog dijela imena vojne postrojbe sačuvana je samo oznaka *X*, i to njezin lijevi rub, pa je teško sa sigurnošću govoriti o kojoj je legiji riječ iako su se raniji istraživači redom opredijelili za Jedanaestu *Claudia pia fidelis*.<sup>37</sup> Međutim, može se raditi o legiji Četrnaesta *Gemina*<sup>38</sup> ili o legiji Deseta *Gemina*.<sup>39</sup> Stelu su mu postavile dvije osobe čija su imena djelomično sačuvana također zbog oštećenosti spomenika. Od imena prve ostalo je *T[---] EVPHRO[---]*. Slovo *T* možda je prenamen muške osobe čiji je gentilicij bio ispisan u nastavku retka ili je možda ono početak gentilicija *TI[---]*. Mnoga imena iz grčkog svijeta počinjala su na *EVPHRO-*, a od njih je u Dalmaciji i Saloni potvrđen jedino *Euphrosynus* čiji su nositelji bili oslobođenici, što sugerira oslobođenički status i za ovu osobu.<sup>40</sup> Od imena druge osobe ostalo je sačuvano samo *T T[---]* i nesumnjivo je riječ o muškarcu koji također ima građansko pravo, a možda je upravo bio još jedan oslobođenik. Izraz *libertis libertabusque* potvrđuje da je Tit *Ti[---]* zaista imao oslobođenike i oslobođenice, što ide u prilog ispravnosti pretpostavke o statusu spomenutih dvaju komemoratora. Prema ornamentu u gornjem lijevom kutu stela teško može biti ranija od kraja 1. stoljeća ili početka 2. stoljeća, kada se slične dekoracije javljaju i na rijetkim primjercima nadgrobnih žrtvenika,<sup>41</sup> pa bi prema tomu natpis trebalo smjestiti u prvu polovicu 2. stoljeća.

Luksuzni nadgrobnni žrtvenik (19) Lucija Granija Proklina je iz druge četvrtine 2. stoljeća. Proklin je

number of slaves he owned.<sup>34</sup> Thus it should not be surprising that masters did not grant all of their slaves freedom and that sometimes the names of some of them were included in gravestone inscriptions. This inscription, judging by the time of this unit's arrival in Dalmatia, should be dated after 70 AD.<sup>35</sup>

Gaius Valerius Proculus, a decurion from Cohors I *Belgarum*, had written on his stela (17), after the name of his spouse, Apuleia Sabina, the expression *libertis libertabusque* without the individual names of his freedmen and freedwomen. It is apparent that he had sufficient money to possess a number of slaves, because he was a Roman citizen, and the posts of *vexillarius* and decurion which he held in two cohorts stationed in Dalmatia at the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> into the 2<sup>nd</sup> century brought him a higher income.<sup>36</sup>

The *speculator* Titus *Ti[---]* died after 22 years of active service. Due to the considerable damage sustained by his stela (18), only the *X* from the numerical portion of his unit's name has been preserved, at its left edge, so it is difficult to state with certainty the legion to which he belonged, although earlier researchers unanimously opted for XI *Claudia pia fidelis*.<sup>37</sup> However, it may have been Legio XIV *Gemina*<sup>38</sup> or Legio X *Gemina*.<sup>39</sup> The stela was placed for him by two persons whose names were only partially preserved, as the monument is damaged. Of the names, *T[---] EVPHRO[---]* is all that remains of the first. The letter *T* may be the praenomen of a man whose gentilicium was written out in the rest of the line or

37 Bulić 1912, str. 22; AÉ 1914, 75; Abramić 1922, str. 57-58; Ritterling, 1925, col. 1692; Betz 1938, str. 68, br. 104; ILJug 2097; Wilkes 1969, str. 103, 131, 465; Miletić 1990, str. 174, 177; AÉ 2006, 1009; Ivčević 2006, str. 134, 142-143; EDH HD028033. Namjesnici su potrebe za spekulativcima namirivali vojnicima iz redova ove postrojbe što potvrđuje i natpis (CIL 3, 1914 (8506)) iz Proložca datiran u vrijeme prije 42. godine. U kasnom principatu legija je iz Mezije slala vojnike za službe beneficijarija pa se može pretpostaviti da je u to vrijeme u Dalmaciji bilo i njezinih spekulativaca.

38 Njezini su vojnici također služili u oficiju u Saloni, i to već od druge četvrtine 2. stoljeća, što jasno potvrđuje spomenuti natpis beneficijarija Lucija Granija Proklina (18) i natpis (CIL 3, 9401) jednog spekulativca.

39 Njezini su vojnici u oficiju služili kao beneficijariji, v. Abramić 1922, str. 7; i detaljnije Matijević 2012, str. 71-78.

40 Alföldy 1969, str. 197. Evo nekih primjera navedenih u LGPN: *Euphronios*, *Euphron*, *Euphroniad*, *Euphronidas*, *Euphronilla*, *Euphronimos*, *Euphroninos*, *Euphronion*, *Euphronios*, *Euphronis*, *Euphronis*, *Euphroniska*, *Euphroniskos*, *Euphronita*, *Euphrosounos*, *Euphrosuna*, *Euphrosun*, *Euphrosunon*, *Euphrosunos*.

41 Zahvaljujem prof. dr. Draženu Maršiću na podatku o dataciji spomenika prema značajkama ornamenta.

34 Westermann 1955, p. 89; Temin 2004, p. 531; Treggiari 2006, p. 895.

35 Ritterling 1925, col. 1540-1542; Le Bohec, Wolff 2000, p. 239.

36 Matijević 2011, pp. 185-194.

37 Bulić 1912, p. 22; AÉ 1914, 75; Abramić 1922, pp. 57-58; Ritterling, 1925, col. 1692; Betz 1938, p. 68, no. 104; ILJug 2097; Wilkes 1969, pp. 103, 131, 465; Miletić 1990, pp. 174, 177; AÉ 2006, 1009; Ivčević 2006, pp. 134, 142-143; EDH HD028033. Governors met their need for speculatores with soldiers from among the ranks of this unit, which has also been confirmed by the inscription (CIL 3, 1914 (8506)) from Proložac dated to the period prior to 42 AD. In the late Principate, the legion sent troops from Moesia to serve as beneficiarii, so it may be assumed that its speculatores were also in Dalmatia at that time.

38 Its soldiers also served in the officium in Salona, already from the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, which is clearly confirmed by the aforementioned inscription of the beneficiarius Lucius Granus Proclinus (19) and the inscription (CIL 3, 9401) of a speculativca.

39 Its soldiers served as beneficiarii in the officium, see Abramić 1922, p. 7; and more details in Matijević 2012, pp. 71-78.



umro u dobi od 39 godina, nakon 14 godina vojne službe, a bio je konzularni beneficijarij legije Četrnaesta *Gemina*, flamen i član gradskog vijeća u koloniji *Aequum*. Nema sumnje da je zbog svojih službi bio utjecajan i dobrog imovnog stanja jer je posjedovao grobnu parcelu i veći broj oslobođenika i oslobođenica o čemu svjedoči izraz *libertis libertabusque*. Možda je u dijelu salonitanskog agera gdje je imao grobni areal bilo i njegovo imanje na kojemu su neki od njih mogli i raditi.<sup>42</sup>

Tit Flavije Lucilije je tijekom trajansko-hadrijanskog doba u Rimu obavljao različite funkcije u prestižnoj carskoj konjaničkoj straži (*equites singulares Augusti*). Nakon toga je u Dalmaciji nastavio karijeru kao centurion kohorte Osma *Voluntariorum*, bio je časno otpušten i nakon smrti pokopan na sjeveroistočnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli. Njegov nasljednik i oslobođenik Tit Flavije Eulog postavio mu je *ex voluntate sua* nadgrobni žrtvenik (20) između 117. i 138. godine. Isticanje da je to učinio svojom voljom dovoljno govori koliko je cijenio svoga gospodara. Kao centurion i bivši časnik careve konjaničke straže Lucilije je imao novca i mogućnosti za posjedovanje više robova.<sup>43</sup>

Vitez Kvint Kasije Konstant u Saloni je bio edil, kvatuorvir sa zakonodavnim ovlastima, augur i prefekt fabra nakon čega je postao zapovjednik kohorte Četvrta *Voluntariorum*. Nadgrobni natpis (21) podigao mu je oslobođenik i nasljednik Kvint Kasije Cerdo. Konstantov tročlani imenski obrazac s filijacijom i isticanjem glasačkog okruga te upotreba kratice *h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)* određuju dataciju spomenika u vrijeme ranog principata.<sup>44</sup> Postrojba kojom je zapovijedao epigrafski je potvrđena u Gornjoj Panoniji između 138. i 149. godine.<sup>45</sup>

Emilija Afrodita postavila je nadgrobni žrtvenik (22) svome patronu Kvintu Emiliju Rufu, konzularnom beneficijariju. Rufov imenski obrazac sadrži prenamen pa natpis ne bi trebao biti kasniji od početka 3. stoljeća,<sup>46</sup> ali ni raniji od sredine 2. stoljeća jer od vremena Antoninâ vojnici iz namjesnikova ureda (*officiales*) ime namjesnika uz naziv svoje službe zamjenjuju pojmom *consularis*.<sup>47</sup> Ovakvu dataciju podupire i vrsta spomenika jer se monolitni nadgrobni žrtvenici

perhaps the beginning of the gentilicium *Ti[---]*. Many names from the Greek world began with *EVPHRO-*, and of them, only Euphrosynus has been confirmed in Dalmatia and Salona, and it was borne by freedmen, which suggests that this person had freed status.<sup>40</sup> Of the second person's name, only *T T[---]* has been preserved, undoubtedly a man who also had citizenship, and he may have also been a freedman. The expression *libertis libertabusque* confirms that Titus *Ti[---]* truly had freedmen and freedwomen, which supports the accuracy of the hypothesis on the status of the two aforementioned commemorators. Based on the ornament in the upper left-hand corner, the stela cannot really be dated any earlier than the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century or the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup>, when similar decorations appeared on rare examples of grave altars,<sup>41</sup> so in this vein the stela should be dated to the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

The luxurious grave altar (19) of Lucius Granius Proclinus dates to the second quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Proclinus died at the age of 39, after 14 years of military service, and he was the *beneficiarius consularis* of Legio XIV *Gemina*, a flamen and member of the city council in the *Aequum* colony. There is no doubt that because of his posts, he was influential and also relatively wealthy, as he owned a grave plot and a considerable number of freedmen and freedwomen, whose existence is demonstrated by the expression *libertis libertabusque*. Perhaps his estate was in the part of the Salona ager in which he had his grave plot, on which some of them may have also worked.<sup>42</sup>

During the Trajanic-Hadrianic eras, Titus Flavius Lucilius performed various functions in the prestigious cavalry of the emperor (*equites singulares Augusti*). After this, he continued his career in Dalmatia as a centurion in Cohors VIII *Voluntariorum*; he was honourably discharged and, after his death, buried in Salona's north-east necropolis. His heir and freedman Titus Flavius Eulogus placed the grave altar (20) for him *ex voluntate sua* between 117 and 138 AD. His emphasis that he did so of his own free will speaks sufficiently of the high regard in which he held his master. As a centurion and former officer in the

42 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 98-104.

43 Faure 2010, str. 236-237.

44 Alföldy 1969, str. 27, 30.

45 Spaul 2000, str. 32.

46 Salomies 1987, str. 300 i d., 390 i d.

47 Syme 1968, str. 89; Dise 1997, str. 281, bilj. 46; Rankov 1999, str. 20-21, bilj. 39.

40 Alföldy 1969, p. 197. Here are some examples cited in LGPN: *Euphronios*, *Euphron*, *Euphroniad*, *Euphronidas*, *Euphronilla*, *Euphronimos*, *Euphroninos*, *Euphronion*, *Euphronios*, *Euphronis*, *Euphronis*, *Euphroniska*, *Euphroniskos*, *Euphronita*, *Euphrosounos*, *Euphrosuna*, *Euphrosun*, *Euphrosunon*, *Euphrosunos*.

41 I would like to thank professor Dražen Maršić for information on the dating of the monument based on the features of its ornamentation.

42 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, pp. 98-104.

ne javljaju prije početka 2. stoljeća.<sup>48</sup> Analogno nekim akvilejskim primjerima prestalo ih se proizvoditi malo nakon početka 3. stoljeća,<sup>49</sup> a očito je tako bilo i u Saloni jer u seversko doba za sada ne može biti datiran ni jedan primjerak.<sup>50</sup>

Veteranu i bivšem dekurionu Gaju Nertoniju Speratu preminulome u dobi od 55 godina nadgrobní žrtvenik (23) postavili su oslobođenici Gaj Nertonije Filokirij i Gaj Nertonije Krizant. Bio je porijeklom iz Dacije, zbog čega je Spaul pretpostavio njegovu službu u ali Prva nova *Illyricorum* koja je u toj provinciji boravila od Hadrijanova vremena.<sup>51</sup> I ovaj natpis uklesan je na monolitnom nadgrobnom žrtveniku, što dataciju stavlja između početka 2. stoljeća i severskog doba,<sup>52</sup> čemu u prilog ide i upotreba izraza *vixit annis*, glagola *posuerunt* ispisanog bez skraćivanja i tročlanog imenskog obrasca bez filijacije.<sup>53</sup>

Veteranu kohorte Osma *Voluntariorum* Luciju Juliju V[---] i sebi nadgrobní titul (24) postavila je supruga Novelija. Na natpisu se spominju njihova djeca i oslobođenici (*libertis liberisque*), ali ni jedan po imenu. Na dataciju u 2. stoljeće upućuje upotreba formule *Dis Manibus*<sup>54</sup> i imenski obrazac s preimenom.<sup>55</sup>

Veteranu Publiju Eliju Prokulinu sarkofag (25) su podigli kći Elija Prokulina i Elije Urban, oslobođenik i nasljednik. Prednja ploha sanduka sarkofaga raščlanjena je tipičnom tabulom s ansama kakva se javlja poslije druge polovice 2. stoljeća i nestaje u 4. stoljeću, a dataciju u kraj 2. ili početak 3. stoljeća podupire tročlani imenski obrazac.<sup>56</sup>

Mladome senatoru Publiju Balzamiju Sabinijanu, sinu viteza Aurelija Sabinijana, nadgrobní natpis (26) postavili su Konkordije, Viktorinijan i Vigor. Oslovlili su ga imenicom *patronus*, te nema sumnje da su bili njegovi oslobođenici.<sup>57</sup> Natpis zbog upotrebe titule *protector* ne može biti raniji od sredine 3. stoljeća.<sup>58</sup> Pflaum je oštećeni dio teksta restituirao kao *protec[tor(um) Augg(ustorum) n]n(ostrorum)*, što podrazumijeva careve Valerijana i Galijena koji su

emperor's cavalry, Lucilius had money and the opportunity to own a number of slaves.<sup>43</sup>

In Salona, the knight Quintus Cassius Constans was an *aedilis*, *III vir iure dicundo*, an *augur* and *praefectus fabrum*, after which he became commander of Cohors IV *Voluntariorum*. The gravestone inscription (21) was commissioned by his freedman and heir Quintus Cassius Cerdo. Constans' three-part name formula with filiation and emphasis on the voting tribe and use of the abbreviation *h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)* set the dating of this monument to the time of the early Principate.<sup>44</sup> The unit that he commanded was epigraphically confirmed in Pannonia Superior between 138 and 149 AD.<sup>45</sup>

Aemilia Aphrodite placed a grave altar (22) to her master Quintus Aemilius Rufus, a *beneficiarius consularis*. Rufus' name formula contains a praenomen, so the inscription should not be dated later than the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century,<sup>46</sup> but not earlier than the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> century, for since the time of the Antonines, soldiers from the governor's office (*officiales*) replaced the governor's name next to the designation of their post with the term *consularis*.<sup>47</sup> Such dating is also supported by the type of monument, for monolithic grave altars did not appear prior to the onset of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>48</sup> By way of analogy to some Aquileian examples, they stopped being produced after the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century,<sup>49</sup> and obviously this was the case in Salona, because thus far not one example can be dated to the Severan era.<sup>50</sup>

The grave altar (23) to the veteran and former decurion Gaius Nertonius Speratus, who died at the age of 55, was placed by his freedmen Gaius Nertonius Philocyrius and Gaius Nertonius Chrysanthus. He was originally from Dacia, which is why Spaul assumed that he had served in Ala I *nova Illyricorum*, which was posted in this province since the reign of Hadrian.<sup>51</sup> This inscription was also engraved onto a monolithic grave altar, which sets the dating between

48 Maršić 2005, str. 39 i bilj. 34 s navedenom literaturom.

49 Kurilić 2007, str. 101 i bilj. 49-51 s navedenom literaturom.

50 Cambi 2002, str. 134.

51 Spaul 1994, str. 150-151. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (2006, str. 76) pretpostavlja da je dekurionat oznaka njegove službe gradskog vijećnika.

52 V. ovdje bilj. 48-50.

53 Alföldy 1969, str. 27, 29.

54 Alföldy 1969, str. 28-29.

55 Salomies 1987, str. 300 i d., 390 i d.

56 Cambi 2010, str. 37, 39, 66-67.

57 Usp. Alföldy 1969, str. 180, 327-328.

58 Campbell 2005, str. 119.

43 Faure 2010, pp. 236-237.

44 Alföldy 1969, pp. 27, 30.

45 Spaul 2000, p. 32.

46 Salomies 1987, pp. 300 ff., 390 ff.

47 Syme 1968, p. 89; Dise 1997, p. 281, note 46; Rankov 1999, pp. 20-21, note 39.

48 Maršić 2005, p. 39 and note 34 with the sources cited therein.

49 Kurilić 2007, p. 101 and notes 49-51 with the sources cited therein.

50 Cambi 2002, p. 134.

51 Spaul 1994, pp. 150-151. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (2006, p. 76) assumed that the post of decurion denoted his service as a city councillor.

zajedno vladali od 253. do 260. godine pa bi u to vrijeme ili neposredno nakon trebalo datirati natpis.<sup>59</sup>

Centurionu frumentariju legije Treća *Cyrenaica* Titu Varoniju Maronu stelu (27) je postavio njegov oslobođenik Firmin. Služba frumentarija zahtijevala je od vojnika veliku mobilnost,<sup>60</sup> pa se smije pretpostaviti da je Firmin pratio Marona na njegovim zadacima koje je obavljao diljem Carstva tijekom svoje jedanaestogodišnje službe. Dobra analogija je reljef nadgrobnog spomenika (*ILS* 2378) iz Viminacija na kojemu je prikazan sluga kako nosi koplje svoga gospodara spekulatora,<sup>61</sup> oficijala čija je služba bila slična onoj frumentarija.<sup>62</sup> Rimski epitafi pripadnika numera frumentarija vrlo rijetko spominju žene i djecu, a brigu oko pokopa vodili su nasljednici, oslobođenici i posebno kolege iz numera koji su obično bili iz iste legije. Izvršavanje misija vrlo često u najudaljenijim dijelovima Carstva i kratkotrajnost boravka frumentarija na jednome mjestu mogu objasniti rijetku potvrđenost žena i djece jer oni nisu pratili svoje muževe i očeve.<sup>63</sup> Maronov tročlani imenski obrazac bez filijacije i oznake glasačkog okruga natpis datiraju u kasni principat.<sup>64</sup>

Ulomak nadgrobnog natpisa (28) aktivnog vojnika nepoznate postrojbe spominjao je oslobođenika koji je ujedno bio i vojnikov nasljednik. Zbog nedostatka databilnih elemenata vrijeme nastanka treba smjestiti između 1. i 3. stoljeća.

### Značajke kognomena oslobođenika i oslobođenica

Dvadeset i jedan natpis spominje 27 oslobođenika s njihovim imenima ispisanim na različite načine. Desetero ih je imenovano samo kognomenom (1, 5, 7, 8, 15, 26, 27), a ostalih 17 obrascem sastavljenim od prenomena, gentilicija i kognomena (4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 20, 21, 23), odnosno gentilicija i kognomena (3, 9, 10, 12, 14, 22, 25). Kognomeni grčkog porijekla, i inače uobičajeni za oslobođenike, su *Aphrodite*,<sup>65</sup> *Cerdo*,<sup>66</sup>

the beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and the Severan era,<sup>52</sup> additionally confirmed by the use of the expression *vixit annis*, the verb *posuerunt* written without abbreviation and the three-part name formula without filiation.<sup>53</sup>

The grave titulus (24) to the veteran of Cohors VIII *Voluntariorum* Lucius Julius V[---] and herself was placed by his spouse Novellia. Their children and freedmen (*libertis liberisque*) are also mentioned in the inscription, but none by name. Use of the formula *Dis Manibus*<sup>54</sup> and the name formula with praenomen indicate dating to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>55</sup>

The sarcophagus (25) to the veteran Publius Aelius Proculus was mounted by his daughter Aelia Proculina and Aelius Urbanus, his freedman and heir. The frontal surface of the sarcophagus coffin is articulated into the typical tabula with ansae, which appeared after the latter half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century and disappeared in the 4<sup>th</sup> century, while dating to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> or beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century is supported by the three-part name formula.<sup>56</sup>

The gravestone inscription (26) to the young senator Publius Balsamius Sabinianus, son of the knight Aurelius Sabinianus, was placed by Concordius, Victorinianus and Vigor. They addressed him with the noun *patronus*, and there is no doubt that they were his freedmen.<sup>57</sup> Due to use of the title *protector*, the inscription cannot be dated any earlier than the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> Pflaum restored the damaged portion of the text as *protec[tor(um) Augg(ustorum) n] n(ostrorum)*, which implies the Emperors Valerianus and Gallienus, who ruled together from 253 to 260, so the inscription should be dated to that period or immediately thereafter.<sup>59</sup>

The stela (27) to the centurion *frumentarius* of Legio III *Cyrenaica*, Titus Varonius Maro was placed by his freedman Firminus. The post of *frumentarius* demanded great mobility of a soldier,<sup>60</sup> so it may be assumed that Firminus accompanied Maro on his assignments, which he performed throughout the Empire during his eleven years of service. A good analogy is

59 Pflaum 1960, str. 933-935, 1000. Priređivači EDH (HD054170) natpis datiraju u 4. stoljeće i oštećene dijelove 6. i 7. retka ovako restituiraju: (...) *trib(uni) protec[tor(um) Augusti] / [---]N vigor (...)*.

60 Rankov 1990, str. 182; Rankov 1999, str. 20, 29-30.

61 Rankov 1990, str. 182.

62 Rankov 1999, str. 26-27.

63 Cosme, Faure 2004, str. 350-351. Činjenica da je Maron pokopan na nekropoli u Saloni na ustupljenom mjestu (*locus concessus*) pokazuje da nije posjedovao vlastito grobno mjesto i u određenoj mjeri svjedoči da je u gradu bio stranac; Matijević 2014, str. 71.

64 Usp. Alföldy 1969, str. 27, 29.

65 Alföldy 1969, str. 152.

66 Alföldy 1969, str. 174-175.

52 See notes 48-50 herein.

53 Alföldy 1969, pp. 27, 29.

54 Alföldy 1969, pp. 28-29.

55 Salomies 1987, pp. 300 ff., 390 ff.

56 Cambi 2010, pp. 37, 39, 66-67.

57 Cf. Alföldy 1969, pp. 180, 327-328.

58 Campbell 2005, p. 119.

59 Pflaum 1960, pp. 933-935, 1000. The editors of EDH (HD054170) dated the inscription to the 4<sup>th</sup> century and they restored the damaged parts of the sixth and seventh lines as: (...) *trib(uni) protec[tor(um) Augusti] / [---] N vigor (...)*.

60 Rankov 1990, p. 182; Rankov 1999, pp. 20, 29-30.

*Chrestus*,<sup>67</sup> *Chrysanthus*,<sup>68</sup> *Docimus*,<sup>69</sup> *Euche*,<sup>70</sup> *Eulogus*,<sup>71</sup> *Phylocirius*,<sup>72</sup> *Tyche*.<sup>73</sup> Kognomeni tipični za zapadni dio Carstva su *Concordius*,<sup>74</sup> *Firmilla*,<sup>75</sup> *Firminus*,<sup>76</sup> *Magnus*,<sup>77</sup> *Primus*,<sup>78</sup> *Priscus*,<sup>79</sup> *Privatus*,<sup>80</sup> *Severa*,<sup>81</sup> *Successus*,<sup>82</sup> *Quintus*,<sup>83</sup> *Victorinianus*,<sup>84</sup> *Vigor*,<sup>85</sup> a od takvih imena oslobođenici su svojstveni *Felicula*,<sup>86</sup> *Felix*,<sup>87</sup> *Primigenius*,<sup>88</sup> *Urbanus*.<sup>89</sup> Pevladavaju latinski kognomeni (16), a grčkih je gotovo dvostruko manje (9), što u postocima iznosi 64:36.

Postotni omjer latinskih i grčkih kognomena na natpisima iz Salone iz vremena ranoga principata bio je 72,5:27,5 što se promijenilo u kasnom principatu, kada je blago smanjen udio latinskih kognomena (34:66 %).<sup>90</sup> Posjedovanje grčkog kognomena nije podrazumijevalo grčko porijeklo njegova nositelja.<sup>91</sup>

### Vojnici i oslobođenice

Iako su carevi Klaudije i Hadrijan vojnicima dali određene privilegije i riješili pitanja nasljeđivanja, tek im je car Septimije Sever krajem 2. stoljeća omogućio sklapanje zakonitih brakova.<sup>92</sup> Legionar je za iznos dviju godišnjih plaća mogao priuštiti vlastitu

the relief on a gravestone (*ILS* 2378) from *Viminacium*, on which a servant is shown carrying a spear for his master, a *speculator*,<sup>61</sup> an official whose duties were similar to those of the *frumentarius*.<sup>62</sup> Roman epitaphs to members of the *numerus frumentariorum* very rarely mention women and children, and their burial was cared for by their heirs, freedmen and, especially, their colleagues from the *numerus* who were normally from the same legion. The performance of missions quite often in the most remote parts of the Empire and the short stays of the *frumentarii* in any single place can explain the rare confirmation of women and children, because they did not accompany their husbands and fathers.<sup>63</sup> Maro's three-part name formula without filiation and designation of voting tribe date the inscription to the late Principate.<sup>64</sup>

The fragment of a gravestone inscription (28) of an active soldier from an unknown unit mentions a freedman who was also the soldier's heir. Due to the absence of datable elements, it should be placed between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.

### Characteristics of the cognomina of freedmen and freedwomen

Twenty-one inscriptions mention 27 freedmen/women with their names written in various ways. Ten are named only by their cognomina (1, 5, 7, 8, 15, 26, 27), while the remaining 17 by a formula composed of the praenomen, gentilicium and cognomen (4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 20, 21, 23), or the gentilicium and cognomen (3, 9, 10, 12, 14, 22, 25). The cognomina of Greek origin, otherwise customary for freedmen/women, are *Aphrodite*,<sup>65</sup> *Cerdo*,<sup>66</sup> *Chrestus*,<sup>67</sup> *Chrysanthus*,<sup>68</sup> *Docimus*,<sup>69</sup> *Euche*,<sup>70</sup> *Eulogus*,<sup>71</sup> *Phylocirius*,<sup>72</sup> and *Tyche*.<sup>73</sup> The cognomina typical of the western part

67 Alföldy 1969, str. 176.

68 Alföldy 1969, str. 176.

69 Alföldy 1969, str. 190.

70 Alföldy 1969, str. 196.

71 Faure 2010, str. 236.

72 Alföldy 1969, str. 263.

73 Alföldy 1969, str. 315.

74 Alföldy 1969, str. 180.

75 Alföldy 1969, str. 203.

76 Alföldy 1969, str. 204.

77 Alföldy 1969, str. 235.

78 Alföldy 1969, str. 272.

79 Alföldy 1969, str. 273.

80 Alföldy 1969, str. 273.

81 Alföldy 1969, str. 295-296.

82 Alföldy 1969, str. 302.

83 Alföldy 1969, str. 280.

84 Alföldy 1969, str. 327.

85 Alföldy 1969, str. 328.

86 Alföldy 1969, str. 202.

87 Alföldy 1969, str. 202.

88 Alföldy 1969, str. 271.

89 Alföldy 1969, str. 316.

90 Alföldy, 1965, str. 115.

91 Gordon 1924, str. 106; Alföldy 1965, str. 111; Kurilić 2010, str. 136-137.

92 Scheidel 2007, str. 417-418; detaljnije v. Campbell 1978, str. 153-166, i posebno Phang 2001, str. 16-52, 86-133, 326-383. Garnsey (1970, str. 45-53) je smatrao da i nakon 197. godine vojnici nisu imali pravo na sklapanje zakonski priznatog braka.

61 Rankov 1990, p. 182.

62 Rankov 1999, pp. 26-27.

63 Cosme, Faure 2004, pp. 350-351. The fact that Maro was buried in a necropolis in Salona on a conceded plot (*locus concessus*) indicates that he did not have his own grave plot and testifies to some extent that he was an outsider in the city; Matijević 2014, p. 71.

64 Cf. Alföldy 1969, pp. 27, 29.

65 Alföldy 1969, p. 152.

66 Alföldy 1969, pp. 174-175.

67 Alföldy 1969, p. 176.

68 Alföldy 1969, p. 176.

69 Alföldy 1969, p. 190.

70 Alföldy 1969, p. 196.

71 Faure 2010, p. 236.

72 Alföldy 1969, p. 263.

73 Alföldy 1969, p. 315.

ropkinju,<sup>93</sup> a mnogi su im oporučno dali slobodu.<sup>94</sup> Šest natpisa spominje vojnika i žensku osobu koja je izričito označena kao oslobođenica (*liberta*): Gaj Asurije i Severa (1), Gaj Pinarije Skarpo i Pinarija (2), Kvint Valerije i Valerija Kvinta (3), Lucije Fabije Saturnin i Klaudija Euha, oslobođenica carskog oslobođenika (9), Gaj Vatinije Kapiton i Vatinija Felikula (10), Kvint Emilije Rufo i Emilija Afrodita (22). Istovjetni gentiliciji na četiri natpisa (2, 3, 10, 22) izravno potvrđuju da su ove žene bile oslobođenice upravo ovih vojnika, Severa je najvjerojatnije bila Asurijeva oslobođenica, a Klaudija Euha nije bila ropkinja Fabija Saturnina, već, kako je navedeno, carskoga oslobođenika. Redom je riječ o legionarima, a prva petorica bili su pripadnici legije Sedma (*Claudia pia fidelis*) iz prve polovice 1. stoljeća. To je vrlo nizak postotak usporedi li ga se s legijama na Dunavu tijekom 1. stoljeća u kojima su odnosi vojnika s njihovim oslobođenicama bili dosta česti (42 %) ili s carskim ratnim mornaricama (25 %). Moguće je, međutim, da se imena oslobođenica javljaju na još većem broju natpisa, ali nije istaknut njihov oslobođenički status koji bi se mogao naslutiti prema imenskom obrascu (*duo nomina* bez filijacije ili libertinacije).<sup>95</sup> Jesu li ove oslobođenice bile žene ovih vojnika i kakav je bio pravni karakter njihove veze, ostaje nejasno jer natpisi o tome šute. Vojnici su za svoje žene upotrebljavali izraz *uxor* i *coniux*, a za sebe *coniux* ili *maritus*; žene su također oslovljavane s *concubina*, *amica*, *hospita* i vrlo rijetko *focaria*. Ne može se reći sa sigurnošću kako se pravno gledalo na ove zajednice prije 197. godine: kao na *concubinatus* ili *matrimonia iniusta*. Vjerojatno se radilo o konkubinatu, ali vojnici često nisu marili da se to na natpisu istakne.<sup>96</sup>

Nije bilo neobično da se vojnik oženi svojom oslobođenicom. Primjerice, pripadnici ravenatske i mize-natske carske ratne mornarice to su činili većinom u kasnim dvadesetim godinama, a legionari iz logora na obalama Dunava u tridesetim godinama života, dok su vojnici iz provincija u sjevernoj Africi na to čekali do stjecanja veteranskog statusa.<sup>97</sup> Međutim, ni jedan od četiriju natpisa iz Salone (2, 3, 10, 22) ne pokazuje da su oslobođenice zaista bile i žene ovih vojnika. U legijama u Germaniji tijekom 1. stoljeća oslobođenice se često javljaju kao komemoratori (42-50 %) kao i kod pripadnika italjskih flota (25-59 %), dok u drugim uzorcima taj postotak osjetno varira (3-35 %).<sup>98</sup> Na

of the Empire are Concordius,<sup>74</sup> Firmilla,<sup>75</sup> Firminus,<sup>76</sup> Magnus,<sup>77</sup> Primus,<sup>78</sup> Priscus,<sup>79</sup> Privatus,<sup>80</sup> Severa,<sup>81</sup> Successus,<sup>82</sup> Quintus,<sup>83</sup> Victorinianus,<sup>84</sup> and Vigor,<sup>85</sup> and of such names, those specific to freedmen/women are Felicula,<sup>86</sup> Felix,<sup>87</sup> Primigenius,<sup>88</sup> and Urbanus.<sup>89</sup> Latin cognomina prevail (16), while there are almost only half as many of Greek origin (9), which, expressed in percentages, is 64:36.

The percentage ratio of Latin and Greek cognomina on inscriptions from Salona from the early Principate was 72.5:27.5, which changed in the late Principate, when the share of Latin cognomina declined slightly (34:66%).<sup>90</sup> Holding a Greek cognomen did not imply the Greek origin of its bearer.<sup>91</sup>

### Soldiers and freedwomen

Even though Emperors Claudius and Hadrian gave their soldiers certain privileges and settled the matter of inheritance, it was only Emperor Septimius Severus who allowed them to legally marry at the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>92</sup> For the sum of two annual salaries, a legionnaire could afford his own female slave,<sup>93</sup> and many set them free in their wills.<sup>94</sup> Six inscriptions mention soldiers and women explicitly designated as freedwomen (*liberta*): Gaius Asurius and Severa (1), Gaius Pinarius Scarpus and Pinaria (2), Quintus Valerius and Valeria Quinta (3), Lucius Fabius Saturninus and

93 Phang 2001, str. 196.

94 Phang 2001, str. 243-244.

95 Phang 2001, str. 193.

96 Phang 2001, str. 199-201 i d.

97 Scheidel 2007, str. 422; v. i Phang 2001, str. 194.

98 Scheidel 2007, str. 425.

74 Alföldy 1969, p. 180.

75 Alföldy 1969, p. 203.

76 Alföldy 1969, p. 204.

77 Alföldy 1969, p. 235.

78 Alföldy 1969, p. 272.

79 Alföldy 1969, p. 273.

80 Alföldy 1969, p. 273.

81 Alföldy 1969, pp. 295-296.

82 Alföldy 1969, p. 302.

83 Alföldy 1969, p. 280.

84 Alföldy 1969, p. 327.

85 Alföldy 1969, p. 328.

86 Alföldy 1969, p. 202.

87 Alföldy 1969, p. 202.

88 Alföldy 1969, p. 271.

89 Alföldy 1969, p. 316.

90 Alföldy, 1965, p. 115.

91 Gordon 1924, p. 106; Alföldy 1965, p. 111; Kurilić 2010, pp. 136-137.

92 Scheidel 2007, pp. 417-418; more details in Campbell 1978, pp. 153-166, and, particularly, Phang 2001, pp. 16-52, 86-133, 326-383. Garnsey (1970, pp. 45-53) believed that after 197 AD, soldiers no longer had the right to conclude legally recognized marriages.

93 Phang 2001, p. 196.

94 Phang 2001, pp. 243-244.

125 nadgrobnih natpisa vojnika i veterana iz Salone moguće je odrediti tko komemorira koga. Oslobođenice vojnika javljaju se kao komemoratori na samo četiri natpisa, dakle na samo 3,2 % spomenika, što je vrlo malo u odnosu na neke druge dijelove rimske države.

### Komemoratori i nasljednici

Oslobođenici su oporučno ili svojevoljno postavili spomenik svojim patronima u 14 primjera (1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 20-23, 25-27) od čega su dvojica to učinili zajedno sa užim članovima patronove obitelji (13, 25). Sedam spomenika (5, 7-10, 16, 17) sebi i svojim oslobođenima postavili su vojnici. Jedan spomenik svojem suprugu i oslobođenima podigla je supruga (24), jedan je svome sinu i oslobođenima postavila majka (19). Na jednome natpisu (3) komemorator vojniku i oslobođenici je možda oslobođenik ili sin, a na jednome (18) najvjerojatnije oslobođenik.

Pet natpisa (13, 15, 20, 21, 25) pokazuje da su oslobođenici ujedno i nasljednici svojih patrona. Od ovih spomenika odskače Lucilijev žrtvenik (20), koji mu je postavio njegov oslobođenik Eulog *ex voluntate sua* naglašavajući tako svoje poštovanje prema gospodaru. Istaknuo je, jednako kao i Lucije Trebonije Sukceso (4), da i on kao oslobođenik posjeduje vlastite oslobođenike, čime su ukazali na vlastiti društveni uspon.

### Status vojnika

Legionarima je pripadalo 18 natpisa. Jedanaestorica su bili iz legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis* (1-11), dvojica iz legije Jedanaesta *Claudia pia fidelis* (12, 13) i po jedan iz legije Dvadeseta (14), legije Četvrta *Flavia felix* (16), legije Četrnaesta *Gemina* (19), legije Treća *Cyrenaica* (27) i jedan iz nepoznate legije (18). Epigrafski je potvrđen jedan pripadnik kohorte Osmo *Voluntariorum* (24) i jedan koji je prije centurionata u ovoj postrojbi bio časnik carske konjaničke straže u Rimu (20). Jedan je časnik služio u kohorti Prva *Belgarum* (17), a jedan veteran služio je u kohorti Druga *Cyrrhestarum* (15). Za dvojicu veterana (23, 25) te jednog konzularnog beneficijarija (22) i vojnika (28) nije poznato u kojoj su postrojbi služili. Od pripadnika najviših društvenih slojeva potvrđen je vitez koji je nakon magistratura u Saloni bio zapovjednik kohorte Četvrta *Voluntariorum* (21) i jedan mladi senator (26). Dakle, jasno je da su oslobođenici bili svojstveniji pripadnicima legija nego pomoćnih jedinica, i to posebice onima iz legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis*. Treba istaknuti i to da iz Salone potječu 33 epigrafske potvrde njezinih pripadnika, što je najviše u odnosu

Claudia Euche, a freedwoman of an imperial freedman (9), Gaius Vatinius Capito and Vatinia Felicula (10), Quintus Aemilius Rufus and Aemilia Aphrodite (22). The identical gentilicia on four inscriptions (2, 3, 10, 22) directly confirm that these women were freed precisely by these soldiers, Severa was most likely the freedwoman of Asurius, while Claudia Euche was not the slave of Fabius Saturninus, but rather, as stated, of an imperial freedman. These were all legionnaires, and the first five were members of Legio VII (*Claudia pia fidelis*) in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century. This is a very low percentage if one compares it to the legions on the Danube during the 1<sup>st</sup> century, in which relations between soldiers and their freedwomen were quite frequent (42%) or with the imperial navy (25%). It is, however, possible that the names of the freedwomen appeared on an even higher number of inscriptions, but their freed status was not emphasized, so it could only be discerned on the basis of their name formulas (*duo nomina* without filiation or libertination).<sup>95</sup> Whether these freedwomen were the wives of these soldiers and the legal character of their relationships remain unclear, because the inscriptions are silent on these matters. The soldiers used the expressions *uxor* and *coniux* for their wives, and *coniux* or *maritus* for themselves; women were also referred to as *concupina*, *amica*, *hospita* and, very rarely, *focaria*. How these relationships were legally considered prior to 197 AD, as *concubinatus* or *matrimonia iniusta*, cannot be stated with certainty. It was probably deemed concubinage, but soldiers most often could not be bothered to stress this in inscriptions.<sup>96</sup>

It was not unusual for a soldier to marry his freedwoman. For example, the members of the Fleets of Ravenna and Misenum mostly did so in their late twenties, while the legionnaires from camps on the banks of the Danube married in their thirties, and soldiers from the provinces in Northern Africa waited until acquiring veteran status before doing so.<sup>97</sup> However, not one of the four inscriptions from Salona (2, 3, 10, 22) show that the freedwomen were truly the wives of these soldiers. In the legions in Germania during the 1<sup>st</sup> century, freedwomen often appeared as commemorators (42-50%) as they did with members of the Italian fleets (25-59%), while in other samples, this percentage noticeably varies (3-35%).<sup>98</sup> In the 125 gravestone inscriptions of soldiers and veterans from Salona, it is possible to determine who is commemorating whom. The freedwomen of soldiers

95 Phang 2001, p. 193.

96 Phang 2001, pp. 199-201 ff.

97 Scheidel 2007, p. 422; see also Phang 2001, p. 194.

98 Scheidel 2007, p. 425.

na ostale lokalitete u provinciji<sup>99</sup> i da ih je manje, sigurno bi bilo i manje potvrda njihovih oslobođenika. Moglo bi se reći da je manji broj oslobođenika drugih legija posljedica manje brojnosti njihovih natpisa.<sup>100</sup> Zanimljiva je usporedba s kohortom Osma *Voluntariorum*, čiji su pripadnici s 21 epigrafskom potvrdom po brojnosti odmah nakon legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis*. Datiraju iz razdoblja od Hadrijanova vremena do sredine 3. stoljeća,<sup>101</sup> a samo su dvojica (20, 24) imali oslobođenike, što dokazuje da njihovo posjedovanje zaista nije bilo svojstveno pripadnicima pomoćnih vojnih jedinica u Saloni. Mora se naglasiti da je manji broj oslobođenika kod augzilizara dijelom i posljedica manjeg broja njihovih natpisa u odnosu na natpise legionara.<sup>102</sup> Ukupno gledajući, njihov je brojčani odnos 113:71 u korist legija.

U aktivnoj službi bilo je 15 vojnika, među kojima su tek četvorica pješaci (1, 3, 4, 28). Prva trojica su legionari, a za četvrtoga nije poznato u kojoj je postrojbi služio. Ostali su pripadali višim zapovjednim krugovima u svojim postrojbama ili su bili viteškog, odnosno senatorskog statusa. Dakle, radi se o senatoru (26) i viteškom zapovjedniku (21) kohorte koji je prethodno bio magistrat u Saloni, zatim o dvojici legijskih centuriona (5, 13) i dvojici legijskih signifera (6, 7), četvorici visokopozicioniranih pripadnika namjesnikova oficija u Saloni (18, 19, 22, 27) i časniku kohorte (17). Prema ovome je jasno da su spomenuti vojnici većinom zbog bolje plaćene službe raspolagali većim svotama novca, koje su mogli upotrijebiti za kupovinu robova potrebnih za rad na imanjima ili za vođenje nekih drugih poslova.

S druge strane, oslobođenici su potvrđeni za 12 veterana, od kojih su osmorica služila u legijama (2, 8-10, 12, 14-16), dvojica u pomoćnim postrojbama

appear as commemorators in only four inscriptions, thus on only 3.2% of the monuments, which is very little in comparison to other parts of the Roman Empire.

### Commemorators and heirs

Freedmen placed monuments to their masters either by testament or voluntarily in 14 examples (1, 2, 4, 6, 12, 13, 15, 20-23, 25-27) of whom two did so together with members of the master's narrower family (13, 25). Seven monuments (5, 7-10, 16, 17) were raised by soldiers for themselves and their freedmen/women. One monument to her spouse and freedmen/women was raised by a wife (24), while a mother raised a monument to her son and freedmen/woman (19). In one inscription (3), the commemorator for a soldier and a freedwoman is perhaps a freedman or son, while in another (18), he is probably a freedman.

Five inscriptions (13, 15, 20, 21, 25) show that freedmen were also the heirs of their masters. Out of these inscriptions, one that deviates is the altar of Lucilius (20), which was installed for him by his freedman Eulogus *ex voluntate sua*, therefore underscoring his regard for his master. He emphasized, as did Lucius Trebonius Successus (4), that as a freedman he possesses his own freedmen, whereby they indicated their own social ascent.

### Soldier status

To the legionnaires belonged 18 inscriptions. Eleven of them were from Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis* (1-11), two were from Legio XI *Claudia pia fidelis* (12, 13) and one each from Legio XX (14), Legio IV *Flavia felix* (16), Legio XIV *Gemina* (19), Legio III *Cyrenaica* (27) and an unknown legion (18). Epigraphically, one member of Cohors VIII *Voluntariorum* (24) was confirmed, as well as one who, prior to his centurionate in this unit, was an officer of the emperor's cavalry in Rome (20). One officer had served in Cohors I *Belgarum* (17), while one veteran had served in Cohors II *Cyrrhestarum* (15). The unit of service is not known for two veterans (23, 25) and one was a *beneficiarius consularis* (22) and another soldier (28). The confirmed members of the highest social classes included a knight who, after his magistrature in Salona, served as commander of Cohors IV *Voluntariorum* (21), as well as a young senator (26). It is therefore clear that the freedmen/women were more typical of legionnaires than the members of auxiliary units, and particularly of Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*. It should also be stressed that 33 epigraphic confirmations of its members are from Salona, which is the most in

99 Tončinić 2011, str. 168-178.

100 Osim legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis* u Saloni su pronađeni i natpisi sljedećih legija (u zagradama je naveden broj natpisa): Jedanaesta *Claudia pia fidelis* (20), Druga *Italica* (12), Četrnaesta *Gemina* (7), Dvadeseta *Gemina* (5), Peta *Macedonica* (3), Druga *Adiutrix* (2), Druga *Traiana fortis* (2), Treća *Cyrenaica* (2), Četvrta *Flavia felix* (2), Osma *Augusta* (2), Druga *Italica* (1), Druga *Adiutrix* (1), Dvadeseta (1), Trideseta *Ulpia Victrix* (1), nepoznate legije (19); v. Matijević 2015.

101 Matijević 2009b, str. 47 i d.

102 Osim kohorte Osma *Voluntariorum* u Saloni su pronađeni i natpisi sljedećih pomoćnih postrojbi (u zagradama je naveden broj natpisa): kohorta Treća *Alpinorum* (10), Prva *Belgarum* (7), Prva *milliaria Delmatarum* (3), *Campanorum* (2), Druga *Cyrrhestarum* (2), Prva *milliaria Flavia Brittonum* (1), Prva *Aquitana* (1), nepoznate kohorte (19), ala *Claudia nova* (1), *Pannoniorum* (1), *Parthorum* (1), nepoznate ale (2); v. Matijević 2015.

(20, 24), a dvojica nisu istaknula pripadnost postrojbi (23, 25). Oni su robove mogli priuštiti nakon otpusta iz vojske kada su neki od njih možda primili veću svotu novca (*missio nummaria*), a u odnosu na ostalo stanovništvo uživali su bolji materijalni položaj zbog izuzeća od plaćanja nekih poreza.<sup>103</sup> Na četiri natpisa vojnici nisu naveli imena svojih oslobođenika i oslobođenica, nego samo sintagmu *libertis libertabusque* koja sugerira da su ih imali više. Svi vojnici koji su imali oslobođenike imali su rimsko građansko pravo: legionari, dvojica iz kohorte Osmo *Voluntariorum* koja je novačila isključivo ljude s građanskim pravom, augzilijski časnik Gaj Valerije Prokul i veterani iz pomoćnih jedinica ili nepoznatih postrojbi.

Wilkes je u svojoj sintezi *Dalmatia* iz daleke 1969. utvrdio da je na natpisima iz provincije Dalmacije zabilježeno više od 200 legionara, od kojih je samo manji broj imao vlastite oslobođenike i oslobođenice.<sup>104</sup> Na više od 120 natpisa pripadnika pomoćnih postrojbi<sup>105</sup> oslobođenici se također mnogo manje spominju<sup>106</sup> i tek rijetki primjeri iz 2. stoljeća svjedoče o veteranima koji su nakon otpusta iz vojske mogli pribaviti robove.<sup>107</sup> Ti zaključci dobrim dijelom najvjerojatnije i dalje vrijede, ali je neophodno dopuniti ih natpisima otkrivenima u posljednjih pedesetak godina. Najvjerodostojnije podatke moguće je dobiti analizom natpisa pripadnika legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis*, jer su nedavno objedinjeni u Tončinićevoj studiji.<sup>108</sup> Osim jedanaestorice njezinih pripadnika iz Salone, oslobođenike su imala i sedmorica veterana<sup>109</sup> te jedan aktivni vojnik,<sup>110</sup> čije epigrafske potvrde potječu sa šest lokaliteta smještenih na prostoru od šire okolice matičnog logora u Tiluriju do Narone. Prema ovome je jasno da su oslobođenici svojstveni njezinim legionarima u Saloni i da po ovom kriteriju ostali lokaliteti za njom jako zaostaju. Također, oslobođenike su imala čak šestorica njezinih aktivnih vojnika

comparison to other sites in the province<sup>99</sup> and that if there were less, then there certainly would have been less confirmations of their freedmen/women. It may be said that the smaller number of freedmen/women of other legions was the result of the lower number of their inscriptions.<sup>100</sup> It is interesting to compare it to Cohors VIII *Voluntariorum*, whose members, with 21 epigraphic confirmations, come immediately after Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis* in terms of numbers. They date from the time of Hadrian to the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century,<sup>101</sup> and only two (20, 24) had freedmen, which proves that their possession was truly not only unique to the members of auxiliary military units in Salona. It should be stressed that the smaller number of freedmen/women among auxiliaries was also partially a result of the smaller number of their inscriptions in relation to legionnaire inscriptions.<sup>102</sup> In overall terms, their numerical relationship is 113:71 to the benefit of legionnaires.

Fifteen soldiers were on active duty, among whom only four were infantrymen (1, 3, 4, 28). The first three were legionnaires, while the unit of the fourth is not known. The remainder belonged to senior command circles in their units or they had knightly or senatorial status. Thus, they were a senator (26) and knightly commander (21) of a cohort who had previously served as a magistrate in Salona, then two legionary centurions (5, 13) and two legionary *signifers* (6, 7), four highly-placed members of the governor's office in Salona (18, 19, 22, 27) and a cohort officer (17). Based on this, it is clear that these soldiers mostly – thanks to better paid service – had large sums of money at their disposal, which they could use to purchase the slaves necessary for work on estates or to administer certain other tasks.

99 Tončinić 2011, pp. 168-178.

100 Besides Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*, inscriptions of the following legions were also found in Salona (the number of inscriptions are cited in parentheses): XI *Claudia pia fidelis* (20), II *Italica* (12), XIV *Gemina* (7), X *Gemina* (5), V *Macedonica* (3), II *Adiutrix* (2), II *Traiana fortis* (2), III *Cyrenaica* (2), IV *Flavia felix* (2), VIII *Augusta* (2), II *Italica* (1), II *Adiutrix* (1), XX (1), XXX *Ulpia Victrix* (1), unknown legion (19); see Matijević 2015.

101 Matijević 2009b, p. 47 ff.

102 Besides Cohors VIII *Voluntariorum* in Salona, the inscriptions of the following auxiliary units were also found (inscription number cited in parenthesis): Cohors III *Alpinorum* (10), I *Belgarum* (7), I *milliaria Delmatarum* (3), *Campanorum* (2), II *Cyrrhestarum* (2), I *milliaria Flavia Brittonum* (1), I *Aquitano-rum* (1), unknown cohort (19), ala *Claudia nova* (1), *Pannoniorum* (1), *Parthorum* (1), unknown ala (2); see Matijević 2015.

103 Southern 2006, str. 167; Wesch-Klein 2007, str. 439.

104 Wilkes 1969, str. 128-135.

105 Alföldy 1987, str. 278-291.

106 Wilkes 1969, str. 148-150.

107 Alföldy 1987, str. 264-265.

108 Tončinić 2011.

109 CIL 3, 14946; Tončinić 2011, str. 75-76, br. 44 (Glavice kod Sinja), CIL 3, 9761; Tončinić 2011, str. 93, br. 62 i AÉ 2008, 1058; Tončinić 2011, str. 97, br. 66 (Hrvace kod Sinja), CIL 3, 1813; Tončinić 2011, str. 40, br. 16 i CIL 3, 1814; Tončinić 2011, str. 55, br. 30 (Narona), ILIug 670; Tončinić 2011, str. 89, br. 58 (Bigeste), AÉ 2000, 1176; Tončinić 2011, str. 103, br. 74 (Vitaljina kod Ljubuškog).

110 ILIug 1950; Tončinić 2011, str. 43, br. 20 (Vojnić kod Tilurija).



iz Salone, što pokazuje da su tijekom službovanja u gradu sa sobom imali robove.

### Zaključak

Osobe iz rimskog vojnog sustava i oslobođenici, odnosno oslobođenice spomenuti su na 28 natpisa iz Salone. Ranome principatu pripada 21 natpis, kasnome principatu četiri, dva se natpisa datiraju u 2. stoljeće, a jedan u raspon od 1. do 3. stoljeća.

Dvadeset natpisa spominje poimenično 28 oslobođenika koji su imali latinske kognomene (16), a grčki su bili manje zastupljeni (9). Među njima je šest oslobođenica koje su najvjerojatnije bile žene ovih vojnika. Oslobođenici su svojevoljno ili na temelju oporučnih odredbi njihovih bivših gospodara postavili spomenike svojim patronima u 14 primjera, a obrnuto je bilo u sedam primjera. Pet natpisa svjedoči da su oslobođenici nasljednici svojih patrona. Dvojica oslobođenika posjedovala su vlastite oslobođenike, što je očito posljedica njihova dobrog materijalnog statusa. Među vojnicima koji su imali oslobođenike dominiraju legionari (18), od kojih je najviše bilo onih iz legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis*, s 11 potvrda. Ostali su legionari zastupljeni sa samo dva primjera, odnosno jednim, a potvrđeni su još i jedan senator te jedan vitez, kao i nekolicina višerangiranih pripadnika kohorti. Svi su imali građansko pravo. Dominiraju aktivni vojnici, od kojih su tek trojica obični *militēs*, a ostala dvanaestorica obavljala su neke zapovjedne funkcije u svojim postrojbama ili su služili u namjesnikovu oficiju pa im je veća plaća učinila lakšim pribavljanje robova. Oslobođenike je posjedovao i jednak broj veterana koji su nakon otpusta iz vojske možda dobili značajnije svote novca, koje su također mogli upotrijebiti za kupovinu robova. Velika većina natpisa spominje tek jednog oslobođenika, gotovo redovito onoga koji se pobrinuo za opremu nadgrobno spomenika i pokop. Međutim, nema sumnje da je veći broj ovdje spomenutih vojnika posjedovao i veći broj oslobođenika, što pokazuju primjeri Tita Fuficija, Gaja Lukrecija i još trojice na čijim je natpisima upotrijebljen izraz *libertis libertabusque*.

Pitanje zastupljenosti oslobođenika u familijama aktivnih vojnika i veterana u cijeloj provinciji zahtijeva detaljnu studiju utemeljenu na pomnoj reviziji sadržaja starih i uzimanja u obzir novopronađenih natpisa. Ona bi pokazala koji su vojnici i u kojem razdoblju imali oslobođenike i u kolikoj je mjeri posjedovanje oslobođenika karakteristično za salonitansku vojničku populaciju. Međutim, kako ni jedan drugi lokalitet u Dalmaciji nije ni blizu Saloni po brojnosti vojničkih natpisa, može se pretpostaviti da ga nijedan drugi neće nadmašiti ni prema broju vojnika koji su imali oslobođenike. Da je tako, pokazala je i

On the other hand, freedmen/women were confirmed for 12 veterans, of whom eight had served in legions (2, 8-10, 12, 14-16), two in auxiliary units (20, 24), and two did not specify their units (23, 25). They could afford slaves after discharge from the military, when some of them may have received larger sums of money (*missio nummaria*), while in relation to the remainder of the population, they enjoyed a better material status due to exemptions from payment of certain taxes.<sup>103</sup> In four inscriptions, the soldiers did not specify the names of their freedmen and freedwomen, rather they only used the phrase *libertis libertabusque*, which suggests that they had several. All soldiers who had freedmen/women had Roman citizenship: legionnaires, the two from Cohors VIII *Voluntariorum* which only recruited citizens, the auxiliary officer Gaius Valerius Proculus and the veterans from auxiliary or unknown units.

In his synthesis *Dalmatia*, from the now distant 1969, Wilkes asserted that over 200 legionnaires were recorded in the inscriptions from the province of Dalmatia, of whom only a smaller number had freedmen and freedwomen.<sup>104</sup> On over 120 inscriptions of members of auxiliary units,<sup>105</sup> freedmen/women are also mentioned far less<sup>106</sup> while only rare examples from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century testify to veterans who, after discharge from the military, could procure slaves.<sup>107</sup> These conclusions are most likely still valid for the most part, but they must be supplemented with the inscriptions discovered over the past fifty years. The most reliable data can be obtained by analysing the inscriptions of members of Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*, because they were recently unified in Tončinić's study.<sup>108</sup> Besides its eleven members from Salona, freedmen/women were also possessed by seven veterans<sup>109</sup> and one active soldier,<sup>110</sup> whose epigraphic confirmations originated in six locales distributed over the wider area from their core camp in Tilverium to Narona. Thus, it is

103 Southern 2006, p. 167; Wesch-Klein 2007, p. 439.

104 Wilkes 1969, pp. 128-135.

105 Alföldy 1987, pp. 278-291.

106 Wilkes 1969, pp. 148-150.

107 Alföldy 1987, pp. 264-265.

108 Tončinić 2011.

109 CIL 3, 14946; Tončinić 2011, pp. 75-76, no. 44 (Glavice near Sinj), CIL 3, 9761; Tončinić 2011, p. 93, no. 62 and AÉ 2008, 1058; Tončinić 2011, p. 97, no. 66 (Hrvace near Sinj), CIL 3, 1813; Tončinić 2011, p. 40, no. 16 and CIL 3, 1814; Tončinić 2011, p. 55, no. 30 (Narona), ILIug 670; Tončinić 2011, p. 89, no. 58 (Bigeste), AÉ 2000, 1176; Tončinić 2011, p. 103, no. 74 (Vitaljina near Ljubuški).

110 ILIug 1950; Tončinić 2011, p. 43, no. 20 (Vojnić at Tilverium).

usporedba s natpisima pripadnika legije Sedma (*Claudia pia fidelis*). Naime, robovi su pratili aktivne časnike tijekom njihove službe u glavnome gradu, a robove su imali i veterani, od kojih su neki u Saloni i njezinoj okolini bili naseljeni tijekom Klaudijeve dedukcije u Sikulima nakon 42. godine. Oslobođenici su izrazita značajka pripadnika legije Sedma *Claudia pia fidelis*. S druge strane, revidiranje sadržaja svih salonitanskih natpisa koji spominju oslobođenike, pokazalo bi koliki udio u stvaranju ovog društvenog sloja imaju manumisije robova od strane vojnika, premda već i sama brojka od 28 oslobođenika govori da njihov doprinos ovom procesu nije bio od velikog značenja.

clear that freedmen/women were unique to its legionnaires in Salona and that based on this criterion the remaining sites lag behind it considerably. Additionally, six of its active soldiers in Salona had freedmen/women, which indicates that during their service in the city they had slaves with them.

### Conclusion

Persons from the Roman military system and freedmen and freedwomen are mentioned in 28 inscriptions from Salona. Of these, 21 inscriptions date to the early Principate, four to the late Principate, two to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century, and one to the period from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries.

Twenty inscriptions mention 28 freedmen/women by name who had Latin cognomina (16), while Greek names were less present (9). Among them, six are freedwomen who were probably the wives of these soldiers. The freedmen/women voluntarily or by the testament of their former masters raised the monuments to their masters in 14 cases, while there were seven examples of the opposite case. Five inscriptions testify to the fact that the freedmen were the heirs of their masters. Two of the freedmen possessed their own freedmen/women, which was obviously a result of their good material status. Among the soldiers who had freedmen/women, legionnaires dominate (18), of whom the most were from Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*, with 11 confirmations. The remaining legionnaires were present in only two examples, or rather one, and a senator and a knight were also confirmed, as well as several high-ranking cohort members. All of them had citizenship. Active soldiers dominate, of whom only three were ordinary *milites*, while the remaining twelve performed certain command functions in their units or they served in the governor's office, so their higher salaries made it easier for them to procure slaves. Freedmen/women were also possessed by an equal number of veterans, who received considerable sums of money after their discharge and could thus also use it to purchase slaves. A great majority of the inscriptions mention only a single freedman/woman, almost always the one who saw to the installation of the gravestone and burial. However, there is no doubt that the majority of the soldiers mentioned here had a higher number of freedmen/women, which is demonstrated by the examples of Titus Fuficius, Gaius Lucretius and three others, on whose inscriptions the term *libertis libertabusque* is used.

The question of representation of freedmen/women in the families of active soldiers and veterans in the entire province demands a more thorough study based on a careful re-examination of the content of older inscriptions, while taking into consideration those that

have been newly discovered. They would show which soldiers during which periods had freedmen/women and to what extent the possession of slaves was typical of the Salona military population. However, since not one other site in Dalmatia even comes close to Salona in terms of the number of military inscriptions, it may be assumed that not one other will surpass it in terms of the number of soldiers who had freedmen/women. That this is so was shown by the comparison of inscriptions of members of Legio VII (*Claudia pia fidelis*). Namely, the slaves accompanied active officers during their service to the capital city, while slaves were also owned by veterans, of whom some came to Salona and its environs during the Claudian deductions in Siculi after 42 AD. Freedmen/women were a notable characteristic of the members of Legio VII *Claudia pia fidelis*. On the other hand, an audit of the content of all Salona inscriptions that mention freedmen/women would show the share in the creation of this social class contributed by the manumission of slaves by soldiers, although simply the number of 28 indicates that their contribution to this process was not greatly significant.

br. no.	ime name	status/služba status/service	postrojba unit	oslobodjenik/ica freedman/women	ostale osobe other persons	datacija dating
1	C. Asurius	miles	leg. VII	Severa (K)		prije 42. g. / before 42 AD
2	C. Pinarius Scarpus	[ve]teranus	leg. VII	Pinaria [---] (K)	[---] (sin/son)	
3	Q. Valerius Q. f.	miles	leg. VII	Valeria Quinta	L. Valerius (K, N)	
4	L. Trebonius Valens	miles	leg. VII C. p. f.	L. Trebonius Successus (K), libertis libertabusque	L. Trebonius Constans (sin/son), Trebonia Tertulla (kći/daughter)	poslije 42. g. / after 42 AD
5	P. Plotius (K)	centurio	le[g.] VII C. p. f.	Primigeniu[s]		
6	[C. Clodius (?) ---]	signifer	leg. VII C. p. f.	C. Clodius Felix, IIIIIvir Aug. (K)		
7	C. Lucretius (K)	signifer	leg. VII C. p. f.	Chrestus	Primus, frater	
8	C. Lucretius (K)	veteranus	leg. VII C. p. f.	Firmilla, Tyche	Provincialis (sin/son)	
9	L. Fabius L. f. Saturninus (K)	veteranus	leg. VII [C. p.] f.	Claudia Euche, [T]i. Claudi A[I]ypi l. Caesaris	C. Titius Restitutus (prijatelj/friend)	
10	C. Vatinius Sex. f. Capito (K)	veteranus	leg. VII C. p. f.	Vatinia Felicula		
11	[---] T. f. Q[uir]ina [---]	[---]	[--- leg.] VII C. [p. f. ---]		Respe[ctus(?) ---], [--- A]basca[ntus(?)]	
12	C. Valerius [---]	veteranus	leg. XI p. [f. ---]	Valerius I(?) [---] (K)		
13	M. Iulius M. f. Voltinia Paternus	miles	leg. VI V.	M. Iulius M. l. Docimus (K, N)	Iulia T. f. Maxima (supruga/wife) (K, N)	61. - 69. g. / 61 - 69 AD
		centurio	leg. VIII Aug.; leg. XIII G. M. V.; leg. XI C. p. f.			
14	T. Fuficius C. f. Pollia	veteranus	leg. XX	T. Fuficius T. l. Privatus, Fuficia (mulieris) l. Prisca, Fuficia T. l. Prima		4. - 5. des. 1. st. / 4 - 5 decade of the 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD
15	C. Iulius Mara	veteranus	coh. II Cyrrhestarum	Magnus (K, N)		sred. 1. st. / middle of the 1 <sup>st</sup> cent. AD
16	M. Antonius M. f. Sergia Surus (K)	veteranus	leg. IIII F. f.	libertis libertabusque	Pasia Prima (supruga/wife), Hermes (rob?/slave?)	poslije 70. g. / after 70 AD
17	C. Valerius [---] f. Procul[us] (K)	eques	coh. I(II?) [A]lpinorum	libertis libertabusque	Apuleia Sabina (supruga/wife)	kraj 1. - poč. 2. st. / end of the 1 <sup>st</sup> - beg. of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD
		ve[xillarius], decurio equit[um]	[coh.] I Belgarum			
18	T. Ti[---]T. f. R[---]	speculator	leg. X[I] C. p. f. vel X Geminae vel XIII Geminae	[libertis] libertabusque	T. [Ti ---] Euphrosynus(?) --- (K), T. Ti[---] (K)	poslije kraja 1. ili poč. 2. st. / after the end of the 1 <sup>st</sup> or beg. of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD
19	L. Granius L. f. Proclinus	decurio coloniae Aequensium, flamin, bf. cos.	leg. XIII Geminae	libertis libertabusque	Epidia Procula (majka/mother) (K)	druga čet. 2. st. / second quarter of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> century AD
20	T. Flavius T. f. Pollia Lucilius	vexillarius, sesquiplicarius, duplicarius, summus curator	equites singulares Augusti	T. Flavius Eulogus (K, N), libertis libertabusque		117. - 138. g. / 117 - 138 AD
		centurio, veteranus	coh. VIII Voluntariorum			
21	Q. Cassius Q. f. Tromentina Constans	aedilis, IIIIvir i. d., augur, praef. fabr., trib. milit.	coh. IIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum	Q. Cassius Cerdo (K, N)		rani principat / early Principate
22	Q. Aemilius Rufus	bf. cos.		Aemilia Aphrodite (K)		2. pol. 2. st. / 2 <sup>nd</sup> half 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD
23	C. Nertonius Speratus	veteranus, ex decurio		C. Nertonius Philocyrius (K), C. Nertonius Chrysanthus (K)		2. st. / 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD
24	L. Iulius V[---]	veteranus	coh. VIII [Voluntariorum]	libertis	Novellia [---] (supruga/wife) (K), djeca/children, cognatio	2. st. / 2 <sup>nd</sup> cent. AD
25	P. Aelius Proclinus	veteranus		Aelius Urbanus (K, N)	Aelia Proculina (kći/daughter) (K)	kraj 2. - poč. 3. st. / end of the 2 <sup>nd</sup> - beg. 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD
26	Publius Balsamius Sabinianus	clarissimus puer, tribunus laticlavus		Vigor (K), Concordius (K), Victorinianus (K)		druga pol. 3. st. / 2 <sup>nd</sup> half of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> cent. AD
27	T. Varronius Maro	centurio frumentarius	leg. III Cyrenaicae	Firminus (K)		kasni principat / late Principate
28	[---]us	miles		[---]nalis (N)		1. - 3. st. / 1 - 3. cent. AD

**Tablica 1. Vojnici i njihovi oslobođenici K – komemorator; N – nasljednik**  
**Table 1. Soldiers and their freedman K – commemorator; N – descendant**

### Natpisi / Inscriptions

1. Stela vojnika Gaja Asurija / Stela of the soldier Gaius Asurius  
*C(aius) Asurius mil(es) / leg(ionis) VII >(centuria) Trini / ann(or)um XXXV stip(endiorum) XIV / domo Florentia /<sup>5</sup> Severa lib(erta) / pos(u)it*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 8723; *EDH* HD062488; Tončinić 2011, str. 27, br. 5.
2. Ulomak stele veterana Gaja Pinarija Skarpa / Fragment of stela of the soldier Gaius Pinarius Scarpus  
*Pinaria C(ai) lib(erta) / [---] / patrono suo / C(aio) Pinario Scarpo /<sup>5</sup> [ve]t(erano) leg(ionis) VII et filio / [---]*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *ILJug* 2280; *EDH* HD034679; Tončinić 2011, str. 81, br. 50.
3. Stela vojnika Kvinta Valerija / Stela of the soldier Quintus Valerius  
*Q(uintus) Valerius / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Corn(elia) Edessa mil(es) leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um / XXXV stip(endiorum) XII /<sup>5</sup> t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) L(ucius) Valerius / h(eres) p(osuit) et Valeria / Quinta l(iberta) h(ic) s(ita) e(st)*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *AE* 1991, 1290; *EDH* HD039722; Tončinić 2011, str. 91, br. 59.
4. Stela vojnika Lucija Trebonija Valenta / Stela of the soldier Lucius Trebonius Valens  
*L(ucio) Trebonio Valenti / mil(iti) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) et L(ucio) Trebonio Constanti f(ilio) et / Treboniae Tertullae /<sup>5</sup> sorori L(ucius) Trebonius / Successus lib(ertus) patronis / suis bene merentib(us) v(ivus) f(ecit) / sibi et suis libert(is) lib(ertabus)q(ue) / in f(r)onte p(edes) XX in ag(ro) p(edes) XII*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 8760; *EDH* HD062557; Tončinić 2011, str. 86-89, br. 57.
5. Ulomak stele oslobođenika Primigenija / Fragment of the stela of the freedman Primigenius  
*Primigeniu[s] / P(ubli) Ploti >(centurionis) le[g(ionis)] / VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) lib(ertus) / an[n(or)um] / XX[---] h(ic) s(itus) e(st) /<sup>5</sup> pat[ronus] p(osuit) --- / [---]*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *ILJug* 2601; *EDH* HD035037; Tončinić 2011, str. 81, br. 51.
6. Ulomak nadgrobnog žrtvenika signifera [Gaja Klodija (?) ---] / Fragment of grave altar of a signifer [Gaius Clodius (?) ---]  
*[C(aius) Clodius (?) ---] / signif(er) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) / C(aius) Clodius Felix /<sup>5</sup> lib(ertus) / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis)*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *ILJug* 2093; *EDH* HD034436; Tončinić 2011, str. 100, 101, br. 69.
7. Stela signifera Gaja Lukrecija / Stela of the signifer Gaius Lucretius  
*C(aius) Lucretius / signif(er) leg(ionis) VII / C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) dom(o) Verona / an(norum) XLV stip(endiorum) XXVI /<sup>5</sup> de suo peculio f(ieri) i(ussit) sibi / et Primo suo curam / egerunt frater et / Chrestus lib(ertus) / in f(r)onte p(edes) X in agr(o) p(edes) XX*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2040; *EDH* HD063842; Tončinić 2011, str. 61, br. 35.
8. Stela veterana Gaja Lukrecija i oslobođenica Firmile i Tihe / Stela of the veteran Gaius Lucretius and the freedwomen Firmila and Tyche  
*C(aius) Lucretius / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) / domo Verona v(ivus) f(ecit) / sibi et Provinciali f(ilio) et /<sup>5</sup> Firmillae et Tyche lib(ertae) / suisque omnibus / in f(r)onte p(edes) X in agr(o) p(edes) XX*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2041; *EDH* HD063843; Tončinić 2011, str. 63, br. 36.
9. Nadgrobni natpis veterana Lucija Fabija Saturnina i oslobođenice Klaudije Euhe / Gravestone inscription of the veteran Lucius Fabius Saturninus and the freedwoman Claudia Euhe  
*L(ucius) Fabius L(uci) f(ilius) Satur(ninus) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII [C(laudiae) p(iae)] f(idelis) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Claudiae [T]i(beri) / Claudi A[l]ypi l(iberti) Caesaris /<sup>5</sup> libertae Euche h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) / loc(um) don(avit) C(aius) Titius / Restitutus amicus / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*  
Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2022; *EDH* HD054723; Tončinić 2011, str. 38, 40, br. 15.
10. Nadgrobni žrtvenik veterana Gaja Vatinija Kapitona i oslobođenice Vatinije Felikule / Grave altar of the veteran Gaius Vatinius Capito and freedwoman Vatinia Felicula  
*C(aius) Vatinius / Sex(ti) f(ilius) Capito / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII / C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) dom(o) Arreti(o) /<sup>5</sup> v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Vatiniae Feli(culae) libert(ae)*

- Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 8764; *EDH* HD062460; Tončinić 2011, str. 95, br. 64.
11. Ulomak nadgrobnog natpisa / Fragment of gravestone inscription  
 [---] / [---] *T(it)i f(ilius) Q[uir(ina) ---] / [---] leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) [p(iae) f(idelis) ---] / [---] Respe[ctus(?) ---] / [---] A]basca[ntus(?) ---] / [---]*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 14699; *EDH* HD061551; Tončinić 2011, str. 107, br. 78.
12. Nadgrobni titul veterana Gaja Valerija [---] / Grave titulus of the veteran Gaius Valerius [---]  
*C(aio) Valerio [---] / vet(erano) leg(ionis) XI p(ia) [f(idelis) ---] / Valerius I(?) [---] / patrono [---]*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2056; *EDH* HD063269.
13. Nadgrobni natpis centuriona Marka Julija Paterna / Gravestone inscription of the centurion of Marcus Julius Paternus  
*M(arcus) Iul(ius) M(arci) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) / Paternus / Aquis Sextiis / mil(es) leg(ionis) VI Victric(is) /<sup>5</sup> [7(centurio)] leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) 7(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII / G(eminae) M(artiae) V(icticris) 7(centurio) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) ex HS X(decem milibus) / Iulia T(it)i f(ilia) Maxima uxor / et M(arcus) Iul(ius) M(arci) l(ibertus) Docimus h(eredes) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2035; *EDH* HD054813.
14. Stela veterana Tita Fuficija i oslobođenika Tita Fuficija Privata, Fuficije Priske i Fuficije Prime / Stela of the veteran of Titus Fuficius and the freedmen/women Titus Fuficius Privatus, Fuficia Prisca and Fuficia Prima  
*T(itus) Fuficius C(ai) f(ilius) Pol(lia) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XX // T(itus) Fuficius T(it)i l(ibertus) Privatus / Fuficia (mulieris) l(iberta) Prisca Fuficia T(it)i l(iberta) Prima*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2030; *EDH* HD054437; Malone 2006, str. 162, br. 37.
15. Nadgrobni žrtvenik veterana Gaja Julija Mare / Grave altar of the veteran of Gaius Julius Mara  
*C(aius) Iulius Mara / veter(anus) coh(ortis) II / Cyrrhestar(um) (qvi vixit) ann(or)um XC / dom(o) Berea t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) /<sup>5</sup> Magnus lib(ertus) idemque / heres posuit*
- Osnovna literatura / Basic references: Matijević 2009a, str. 36-39; *AE* 2009, 1015; *EDH* HD065346.
16. Stela veterana Marka Antonija Sura i njegovih oslobođenika / Stela of the veteran Marcus Antonius Surus and his freedmen/women  
*M(arcus) Antonius M(arci) f(ilius) / Ser(gia) Surus vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) III F(laviae) f(elicis) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) sibi et / Pasi-ae Primae /<sup>5</sup> uxori et / lib(ertis) lib(ertabusque) et / Hermeti / in f(ronte) p(edes) XII in ag(ro) p(edes) XIX / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2004; *EDH* HD054185.
17. Stela dekuriona Gaja Valerija Prokula i njegovih oslobođenika i oslobođenica / Stela of the decurion of Gaius Valerius Proculus and freedmen and freedwomen  
*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)] /<sup>5</sup> I Belg(arum) dec(urio) equit(um) / coh(ortis) eiusdem / hunc sepulcrum / viv{u=o}s paravi mihi / et Apulei(a)e Sabin(a)e /<sup>10</sup> uxori meae lib(ertis) / libertabusque / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *CIL* 3, 8762; *EDH* HD056329; Matijević 2011, str. 185-194.
18. Stela spekulatora Tita Ti[---] i njegovih oslobođenika i oslobođenica / Stela of the speculator of Titus Ti[---] and his freedmen and freedwomen  
*T(itus) Ti[---] / T(it)i f(ilius) R[---] / dom(o) Fa[---] / spec(ulator) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) vel X Gemina vel XIII Gemina ann(or)um ---] /<sup>5</sup> stip(endiorum) XXII t(estamento) [f(ieri) i(ussit) sibi et lib(ertis)] / lib(er)t(abus)q(ue) [posterisque eor(um)] / arbit(ratu) T(it)i [Ti[---] / Euphro[syni(?) ---] / et T(it)i Ti[---] //<sup>10</sup> in f(ronte) p(edes) [--- in a(gro) p(edes) ---]*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *ILLug* 2097; *AE* 2006, 1009; *EDH* HD028033.
19. Nadgrobni žrtvenik konzularnog beneficijarija Lucija Granija Proklina i njegovih oslobođenika i oslobođenica / Grave altar of beneficiarius consularis Lucius Granus Proclinus and his freedmen and freedwomen  
*D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Granio L(uci) f(ilio) / Proclino dec(urioni) / col(oniae) Aeq(uensium) flami/<sup>5</sup>ni b(ene)f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) leg(ionis) XIII / Gemi(nae) {i}st{u=i}p(endiorum) (!) XIII*

- / def(uncto) ann(or)um XXXVIII / Epidia Procula ma/ter filio dulcissimo / <sup>10</sup> et sibi libertis liberta/busque posterisque / eorum / in f(r)onte p(edes) XL in ag(ro) p(edes) XL*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 93-107; CBFIR 484; EDH HD008206.
20. Nadgrobní žrtvenik centuriona Tita Flavija Lucilija i oslobođenika Tita Flavija Euloga / Grave altar of the centurion of Titus Flavius Lucilius and his freedman Titus Flavius Eulogus  
*T(it) Fl(avio) T(it) f(ilio) Pol(lia) castr(ensi) / Lucilio / vexillario equitum sing(ularium) / Aug(usti) sesquiplicario eiusd(em) numeri / <sup>5</sup> duplicario et summo curat(ori) / equit(um) sing(ularium) Aug(usti) ☉(centurioni) coh(ortis) VIII Vol(untariorum) / honesta missione commodis accept(is) / omnibus ab Imp(eratore) Hadriano Aug(usto) / T(itus) Fl(avius) Eulogus lib(ertus) / <sup>10</sup> et heres vivus fecit ex vo/luntate sua et sibi et libert(is) / libertabusq(ue) suis posterisq(ue) eorum*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: Jeličić-Radonić 2006, str. 123-132; AÉ 2006, 1013; EDH HD053432; Faure 2010, str. 223-238.
21. Nadgrobní titul viteza Kvinta Kasija Konstanta / Grave titulus of the knight Quintus Cassius Constans  
*Q(uintus) Cassius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) Constans / aed(ilis) IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) augur praef(ectus) / fabr(um) tr(i)b(unus) milit(um) coh(ortis) IIII Vol(untariorum) civium / Romanorum Q(uintus) Cassius Cerdo libert(us) / <sup>5</sup> et heres faciundum curavit h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: CIL 3, 8737; EDH HD062532.
22. Nadgrobní žrtvenik konzularnog beneficijarija Kvinta Emilija Rufa / Grave altar of the beneficiarius consularis Quintus Aemilius Rufus  
*D(is) M(anibus) / Q(uinto) Aemil(io) Rufo / b(ene) f(iciario) co(n)s(ularis) Aemil(ia) / Aphr(o)dite patro(no)*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: CIL 3, 12895; CBFIR 476; EDH HD034705.
23. Nadgrobní žrtvenik veterana Gaja Nertonija Sperata / Grave altar of the veteran of Gaius Nertonius Speratus  
*G(aio) Nertonio Spe/rato vet(erano) ex dec(urione) / ex Dacia vixit an/nis LV G(aius) Nerto/ <sup>5</sup>nus Philocyrius / et / G(aius) Nertonius Chry/santhus lib(erti) patro/no posuerunt*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *ILIug* 2106; EDH HD034446.
24. Nadgrobní titul veterana Lucija Julija V[---] i njegovih oslobođenika i oslobođenica / Grave titulus of the veteran Lucius Julius V[---] and his freedmen and freedwomen  
*D(is) [M(anibus)] / Novellia [---] / sibi et L(ucio) Iul(io) V[---] / marito op[time] / <sup>5</sup> vet(erano) coh(ortis) VIII [Vol(untariorum)] / et cognationis[u] / ae et lib(ertis) liberisque eorum*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: CIL 3, 9708; EDH HD058591.
25. Sarkofag veterana Publija Elija Prokulina / Sarcophagus of the veteran Publius Aelius Proculinus  
*P(ublio) Aelio Proculino / veterano Aelia Proculina filia et Aelius / Urbanus lib(ertus) et her(es) bene / <sup>5</sup> merenti posuerunt*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: *ILIug* 2103; EDH HD034443.
26. Počasni natpis senatora Publija Balzamija Sabinijana / Honorary inscription of senator Publius Balsamius Sabinianus  
*Publio Balsamio / Sabiniano c(larissimo) p(uero) / trib(uno) laticl(avio) / filio Aur(eli) Sabiniani v(iri) e(gregii) / <sup>5</sup> procuratoris duc(enarii) prov(inciae) Dalmat(iae) / trib(uni) protec(tor(um) Augg(ustorum) n]/n(ostrorum) Vigor Concordius / Victorinianus / patrono praestantissimo*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: CIL 3, 1985 (8571); EDH HD054170.
27. Stela centuriona frumentarija Tita Varonija Marona / Stela of the centurion frumentarius of Titus Varonius Maro  
*D(is) M(anibus) / T(itus) V<a>rro(nius) / Maro frumen{t}arius / leg(ionis) III {Q=C}{u}{i} Y{re}na{r}ic(a)e / <sup>5</sup> qui cucurrit frum(entarius) / ann(or)um XI et c(enturio) frum(entarius) fac(tus) modo Firminus / libertus eius posuit / locus concessus*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: CIL 3, 2063 (8581); EDH HD063266; Matijević 2014, str. 68-71.
28. Ulomak vojniovog nadgrobnog natpisa / Fragment of a soldier's gravestone inscription  
*[---]us miles / [---]sit stip(endiorum) / [---] vivus f(ecit) qui / [vixit ann(or)um] XXXV l(i)b[er]t[us] / <sup>5</sup>[ert]us heres / [---]nalis*  
 Osnovna literatura / Basic references: neobjavljeno / unpublished.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AÉ</i>	<i>Année épigraphique</i> , Paris
<i>BAR</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i> , Oxford
<i>CBFIR</i>	<i>Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarii-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> , Stuttgart
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin
<i>EDH</i>	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg ( <a href="http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/inschrift/suche">http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/inschrift/suche</a> ) (pregledano 2. rujna 2014.)
<i>ILJug</i>	Anna et Jaro Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 5, Ljubljana 1963); <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 19, Ljubljana 1978); <i>Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 25, Ljubljana 1986)
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> , Berlin
<i>LGPN</i>	Lexicon of Greek Personal Names ( <a href="http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/database/lgpn.php">http://www.lgpn.ox.ac.uk/database/lgpn.php</a> ) (pregledano 2. rujna 2014.)

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