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Singulari dalmatinskog namjesnika

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Jedini povijesni izvori koji govore o singularima namjesnika rimske provincije Dalmacije jesu 11 nadgrobni natpisi iz Salone. Autor se u ovome radu posvetio svakom natpisu posebno, nastojao je odrediti kojim su postrojbama pripadali singulari, jesu li postojale određene pravilnosti u njihovu odabiru za ovu službu, je li se radilo o iskusnim vojnicima, koliko ih je ukupno služilo pri oficiju, odakle su potjecali i koje se ostale osobe spominju na njihovim natpisima.

Ključne riječi: natpis, provincija, Dalmacija, Salona, officium consularis, singular, kohorta, pješak, konjanik, porijeklo, komemorator, supruga

Singulares of the Dalmatian governor

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The sole historical sources which speak of the *singulares* serving the governor of the Roman province of Dalmatia are eleven funerary inscriptions from Salona. In this work, the author accords attention to each inscription individually, and attempts to ascertain the military units to which the *singulares* belonged, whether there were specific regularities in their selection for this service, whether they were experienced soldiers, how many served in the staff, where they came from and which other persons are mentioned in their inscriptions.

Key words: inscription, province, Dalmatia, Salona, officium consularis, singularis, cohort, foot soldier, cavalryman, origin, commemorator, spouse

Tko su bili *singulares* namjesnika rimskih provincija?

Rimski su vojni zapovjednici u 2. stoljeću prije Krista za svoju tjelesnu stražu odabirali konjanike i pješake među pripadnicima savezničkih vojski, odnosno među pomoćnim postrojbama. Nastavljajući se na tu tradiciju provincijski namjesnici u Rimskom Carstvu imali su tjelesnu stražu (*singulares consularis*) sastavljenu od pješaka (*pedites singulares*) iz kohorti i konjanika (*equites singulares*) iz kohorti i ala smještenih u provinciji.¹ Unatoč pripadnosti namjesnikovoj straži *singulares* su formalno i dalje bili dio svojih matičnih postrojba u čije su se redove vratili nakon trogodišnje službe, osim ako nisu bili promovirani na viši položaj ili stekli uvjete za otpust.² Od svih pripadnika oficija samo se za njih veže izraz *numerus*, što sugerira da su zbog svoje brojnosti bili nezavisnije organizirani u odnosu na ostale oficijale. Unatoč jedinstvenom oslovljavanju (*numerus singularium*) konjanici i pješaci djelovali su kao zasebne jedinice jer su imali vlastite zapovjednike i administrativne urede (*tabularia*), odvojeno su izvodili zadaće u udaljenim provincijama, odvojeno su proizvodili opeke, vadili kamen i posvećivali žrtvenike božanstvima.³ Teško je reći jesu li *singulares* bili podijeljeni u turme i

Who were the *singulares* of the Roman provincial governors?

Roman military commanders in the 2nd century BC selected cavalrymen and foot soldiers from among the ranks of allied armies or auxiliary units to serve as their bodyguards. Continuing this tradition, the provincial governors in the Roman Empire had a bodyguard (*singulares consularis*) consisting of foot soldiers (*pedites singulares*) from the cohorts and cavalrymen (*equites singulares*) from the cohorts and alae stationed in the province.¹ Despite serving as the governor's bodyguard, the *singulares* still formally belonged to their core units, to which they returned after a three-year tour of duty, unless they were promoted to a higher post or met the criteria for discharge.² Out of all members of the governor's staff, or *officium*, they were the only ones with whom the expression *numerus* is associated, which suggests that because of their numbers they were more independently organized than other officials. Although they shared a common designation (*numerus singularium*), the cavalrymen and foot soldiers functioned as separate units, because they had their own commanders

* Ovaj je rad proširena i dopunjena inačica referata pročitanoga na Međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu *Illyrica antiqua 2 – in honorem D. Rendić-Miočević* u Šibeniku između 12. i 15. rujna 2013. godine. Temelji se na doktorskom radu "Rimski vojnici na natpisima iz Salone iz doba principata" nastalom pod mentorstvom prof. dr. sc. Anamarije Kurilić, koji je obranjen na Sveučilištu u Zadru 24. travnja 2015. godine.

- 1 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 4-7, 10, 15, 19-20; Rankov 1999, str. 22, bilj. 55. Iako njihove prve potvrde potječu iz ranoflavijevskog doba, prema M. P. Speidelu nema sumnje da su postojali od početka principata. Osim provincijskih namjesnika različitog ranga *singulares* su imali tribuni kohorta grada Rima, prefekt i tribuni pretorijanskih kohorti, prefekt grada Rima i legijski legati, v. M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 17-18; Rankov 1990a, str. 166. Rankov (1990a, str. 167-175) smatra da su *singulares* mogli biti i legionari, pozivajući se na primjer Tiberija Klaudija Maksima (*AE* 1969/70, 583), *singulara* legijskog legata koji je bio privremeni namjesnik provincije Mezije 85. godine. Pavković (1994, str. 223-228) odbacuje mogućnost uzimanja legionara za namjesnikovu *singularis* službu i smatra da su *singulares legati legionis* bili legatova tjelesna straža. O *singularima* kao jednim augzilijarima pri namjesnikovu oficiju v. Cupcea 2012, str. 267.
- 2 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 7.
- 3 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 23-25, bilj. 129. Upotreba izraza *numerus* svakako govori da je riječ o posebnoj vrsti postrojbe, v. Southern 1989, str. 84.

* This work is an expanded and supplemented variant of a paper read at the International Scholarly Symposium "Illyrica antiqua 2 – in honorem D. Rendić-Miočević" held in Šibenik on 12-15 September 2013. It is based on my doctoral dissertation, "Rimski vojnici na natpisima iz Salone iz doba principata" ('Roman soldiers in the inscriptions from Salona in the time of the Principate') written under the mentorship of Prof. Anamarija Kurilić, Ph.D. and defended at the University of Zadar on 24 April 2015

- 1 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 4-7, 10, 15, 19-20; Rankov 1999, p. 22, note 55. Although the first confirmation of them dates to the early Flavian era, according to M. P. Speidel there can be no doubt that they existed since the beginning of the Principate. Besides provincial governors of varying rank, *singulares* were also assigned to the tribunes of the cohorts in the city of Rome, the prefect and tribunes of the praetorian cohorts, the prefect of the city of Rome and the legionary legates, see M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 17-18; Rankov 1990a, p. 166. Rankov (1990a, pp. 167-175) believed that the *singulares* could also be legionnaires, citing the example of Tiberius Claudius Maximus (*AE* 1969/70, 583), the *singularis* of the legionary legate who was the temporary governor of the province of Moesia in 85 AD. Pavković (1994, pp. 223-228) rejected the possibility that a legionnaire was taken into the governor's *singularis* service and he believed that the *singulares legati legionis* were the legate's bodyguard. On the *singulares* as auxiliaries in the governor's staff, see Cupcea 2012, p. 267.
- 2 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 7.

centurije; najvjerojatnije su imali organizaciju sličnu veksilacijama ili legijskom konjaništvu. Legijski centurion s naslovom *praepositus* ili *curam agens* zapovijedao je singularima u legijskim provincijama, a u onima koje su bile *inermis* tu je zadaću najvjerojatnije obavljao dekurion kohorte ili ale s naslovom *princeps praetorii*.⁴ Drugi legijski centurioni podučavali su u rukovanju oružjem i jahanju.⁵ Ostali niže rangirani položaji bili su jednaki onima u kohortama i alama pa je tako na natpisima potvrđen *decurio princeps, decurio, duplicarius, sesquuplicarius, summus curator, actarius, optio, signifer, beneficiarius*, zatim *centurio, vexillarius, aedituus, librarius*. S druge strane, mnogi položaji i funkcije tipični za ale, carsku konjaničku stražu (*equites singulares Augusti*) i kohorte uopće nisu potvrđeni u hijerarhiji provincijskih singulara.⁶ Singulari su pojedinačno održavali kultove božanstava ukorijenjenih u sredinama svoje službe te su u svakoj provincijskoj metropoli imali svetište namijenjeno kultu i čuvanju znakovlja (*signa*), o čemu je brinuo *aedituus*.⁷

Provincijski singulari nisu pripadali razredu *principales* ni *immunes*,⁸ što znači da za svoja zaduženja nisu primali povišenu plaću⁹ i nisu bili pošteđeni

and administrative offices (*tabularia*), they carried out missions separately in remote provinces, and they separately manufactured bricks, quarried stone and dedicated altars to deities.³ It is difficult to say whether the *singulares* were divided into *turmae* and *centuries*, and they most likely had an organization similar to the vexillations or legionary cavalry. A legionary centurion with the title *praepositus* or *curam agens* commanded the *singulares* in the legionary provinces, and in those which were *inermis* this task was most likely performed by the decurion of a cohort or ala with the title *princeps praetorii*.⁴ The other legionary centurions gave instructions in handling weapons and equestrianism.⁵ The remaining lower ranking posts had a status equal to those in the cohorts and *alae*, so on inscriptions there is confirmation of *decurio princeps, decurio, duplicarius, sesquuplicarius, summus curator, actarius, optio, signifer* and *beneficiarius*, and then *centurio, vexillarius, aedituus* and *librarius*. On the other hand, many posts and functions typical of the *alae*, imperial cavalry guard (*equites singulares Augusti*) and cohorts were not even confirmed in the hierarchy of the provincial *singulares*.⁶ The *singulares* individually maintained the cult of deities rooted in the locations of their service and in each provincial metropolis they had sanctuaries dedicated to cults and the protection of their standards (*signa*), cared for by the *aedituus*.⁷

The provincial *singulares* did not belong to the class of *principales* nor *immunes*,⁸ which means that

4 U drugoj polovici 2. stoljeća isti je centurion zapovijedao stratorima i pješacima singularima Gornje Germanije, i to vjerojatno zato što su se zadužbe jednih i drugih često isprepletale, ali nema dokaza da su takva združena zapovjedništva bila uobičajena, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 25-27. Ukratko o unutrašnjoj organizaciji singulara v. i Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 31.

5 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 28-29.

6 U alama su to *cornicularius, cornicen, bucinator, imaginifer, armorum custos, strator, medicus, citator campi, optio campi*, u carskoj konjaničkoj straži *tablifer, signifer, armorum custos, medicus, optio valetudinarii, architectus, hastiliarius, victimarius, turarius, tubicen, bucinator, immunis, tector, adiutor principis*, a u kohortama *cornicularius, imaginifer, tesserarius, summus curator, tubicen, cornicen, bucinator, circitor, mensor, medicus, capsarius, magister campi, sacerdos*, detaljnije v. M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 31-35.

7 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 38-39.

8 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 45; Rankov 1999, str. 22-23.

9 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 36. Mnogi singulari stoga nisu mogli priuštiti skupo opremljene nadgrobne spomenike pa su oni nerijetko bili loše kvalitete, v. Davies 1976a, str. 141. Letimičan pogled na danas dostupne spomenike salonitanskih, odnosno dalmatinskih singulara potvrđuje ovu tvrdnju. Jedino se za Nikijatov spomenik (4) može reći da je zbog svoje veličine i vrsne izvedbe stajao više novca. Valentinova (6) i Nepotova (10) stela ničim ne odstupaju od mnoštva jednako ili slično oblikovanih salonitanskih stela kasnog principata, a isto vrijedi i za ulomak stele (11) kao i za Restutovu (2), odnosno Dizinu (5) urnu. Plarentova stela (1) također

3 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 23-25, note 129. The use of the term *numerus* certainly indicates that it was a special type of unit, see Southern 1989, p. 84.

4 In the latter half of the 2nd century, the same centurion commanded the *stratores* and *pedites singulares* of Germania Superior, probably because these duties often overlapped, but there is no evidence that such merged commands were common, M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 25-27. For a brief discussion of the internal organization of the *singulares*, see also Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 31.

5 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 28-29.

6 In the *alae* there were the *cornicularius, cornicen, bucinator, imaginifer, armorum custos, strator, medicus, citator campi* and *optio campi*, in the imperial cavalry bodyguard the *tablifer, signifer, armorum custos, medicus, optio valetudinarii, architectus, hastiliarius, victimarius, turarius, tubicen, bucinator, immunis, tector* and *adiutor principis*, and in the cohorts the *cornicularius, imaginifer, tesserarius, summus curator, tubicen, cornicen, bucinator, circitor, mensor, medicus, capsarius, magister campi* and *sacerdos*, more details in M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 31-35.

7 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 38-39.

8 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 45; Rankov 1999, pp. 22-23.

zaduženja tipičnih za obične vojnike pa su tako *equites* i *pedites singulares* Gornje Dacije proizvodili opeke, a *pedites singulares* iz Donje Germanije vadili su kamen iz tamošnjih kamenoloma.¹⁰ Katkada su cijele postrojbe provincijskih singulara pretvorene u nove augzilijarne jedinice, što također govori da nisu imali poseban status u okviru vojnog sustava.¹¹ Singulari su izvršavali policijske zadaće i suzbijali nered u gradu, iz sigurnosnih su razloga boravili pokraj namjesnikove palače i pratili namjesnika kada je odlazio u druge dijelove provincije,¹² a bili su i građevinski aktivni, što pokazuje primjer singulara pješaka koji su 182. godine podigli utvrdu na limesu u Reciji.¹³ Bili su uvijek pri ruci i na raspolaganju tako da su neki služili kao *statores* ili upravitelji cestovnih postaja (*stationarii*), katkada prenoseći poruke postrojbama diljem provincije ili caru u Rim.¹⁴ U Mauretanijskoj služili su čak 250 kilometara od glavnoga grada, što sugerira da su činili dio komunikacijskog sustava kojim je namjesnik bio u dodiru s perifernim dijelovima provincije. Njihovu prisutnost u čak pet utvrda smještenih na vitalnim komunikacijskim točkama sjeverne Britanije potvrđuju natpisi od kojih je sadržajno značajan *RIB 725* jer ga je postavio singular i poslije obnovio beneficijarij. Prema tome se također zaključuje da su singulari činili obavještajnu sponu između beneficijarija i namjesnikova oficija.¹⁵ U bitki su čuvali namjesnika i bili pričuvna postrojba, a o njihovu bojnomo djelovanju osim nekih nadgrobnih

they did not receive higher salaries for their work⁹ nor were they spared the duties typical of common soldiers, so that both the *equites* and *pedites singulares* of Dacia Superior made bricks, while the *pedites singulares* from Germania Superior extracted stone from the local quarries.¹⁰ Sometimes entire detachments of provincial *singulares* were transformed into auxiliary units, which also indicates that they did not have special status within the military system.¹¹ The *singulares* did police work and maintained the peace in cities; for security reasons they resided in front of the governor's palace and accompanied the governor when he travelled to other parts of a province,¹² and they were also active as builders, which is demonstrated by the example of the *pedites singulares* who erected a fortification along the frontier road in Raetia in 182 AD.¹³ They were always at hand and available, so that some served as *statores* or way-station administrators (*stationarii*), sometimes conveying messages to units throughout the provinces or to the emperor in Rome.¹⁴ In Mauretania Caesariensis, they served as far as 250 kilometres from

je bila skromnih dimenzija i, što je začuđujuće, s vrlo lošom kvalitetom slova. Svi su spomenici napravljeni od lokalnog vapnenca, Matijević 2015, str. 525, kat. br. 134 (Plarent); str. 526, kat. br. 135 (Restuto); str. 569, kat. br. 174 (ulomak stela); str. 615, br. 212 (Nikijat); str. 616, kat. br. 213 (Diza); str. 620, kat. br. 217 (Valentin); str. 627, kat. br. 224 (Nepot).

- 10 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 45, za posvetne natpise, odnosno pečate na crjepovima koji dokumentiraju ove aktivnosti v. M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 75, 90-91.
- 11 To su sljedeće postrojbe: *ala I Flavia singularium civium Romanorum pia fidelis*, *ala I Flavia praetoria singularium civium Romanorum*, *ala I Ulpia singularium*, *ala II Valeria singularis*, *cohors I Aelia singularium*, *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum*; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 54-66, v. i M. P. Speidel 1972, str. 302-305.
- 12 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 42.
- 13 Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, str. 87.
- 14 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 44-45, 126. O singularima kao glasnicima i potvrdama njihova boravka u Rimu v. posebno Rankov 1990b, str. 180-181, bilj. 26; Rankov 1990a, str. 167; Rankov 1999, str. 23, bilj. 57, str. 30.
- 15 Detaljno o singularima iz Mauretanijske i Britanije te njihovoj ulozi u tamošnjim komunikacijskim sustavima v. Davies 1976a, str. 137-141.

- 9 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 36. Many *singulares* could therefore not afford expensively furnished grave monuments, so they were often poor in quality, see Davies 1976a, p. 141. A perfunctory overview of the currently available monuments of Salona and Dalmatian *singulares* confirms this assertion. Only the monument of Nicias (4), due to its size and adept rendering, can be said to have cost more money. The stela of Valentinus (6) and Nepos (10) do not stand out from the multitude of identically or similarly crafted Salona stela of the late Principate, and the same applies to the stela fragment (11) and the urns of Restutus (2) and Diza (5). The stela of Plares (1) also had modest dimensions and, surprisingly, poor quality lettering. All monuments are made of locally-procured limestone, Matijević 2015, p. 525, cat. no. 134 (Plares); p. 526, cat. no. 135 (Restutus); p. 569, cat. no. 174 (stela fragment); p. 615, no. 212 (Nicias); p. 616, cat. no. 213 (Diza); p. 620, cat. no. 217 (Valentinus); p. 627, cat. no. 224 (Nepos).
- 10 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 45, for dedicatory inscriptions and stamps on tegulae which document these activities, see M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 75, 90-91.
- 11 These are the following units: *ala I Flavia singularium civium Romanorum pia fidelis*, *ala I Flavia praetoria singularium civium Romanorum*, *ala I Ulpia singularium*, *ala II Valeria singularis*, *cohors I Aelia singularium*, *numerus peditum singularium Britannicianorum*; M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 54-66, see also M. P. Speidel 1972, pp. 302-305.
- 12 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 42.
- 13 Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, p. 87.
- 14 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 44-45, 126. On *singulares* as heralds and confirmations of their stay in Rome, see in particular Rankov 1990b, pp. 180-181, note 26; Rankov 1990a, p. 167; Rankov 1999, p. 23, note 57, p. 30.

natpisa govori egipatski papirus iz 3. stoljeća u kojemu se spominje petnaest singulara preminulih od rana ili u akciji boreći se zajedno s legionarima i evokativima.¹⁶ Kada je u 2. stoljeću glavnina postrojba bila koncentrirana na uskim graničnim prostorima, *equites singulares* postali su respektabilna i vrlo pokretna vojna sila koja nije bila vezana uz zadaće na nekom određenom prostoru te je mogla biti prebačena u krizna žarišta. *Pedites singulares* u manjoj su mjeri imali takvu ulogu jer je većina provincijskih metropola bila u razmjernoj blizini vojnih logora, odakle je potreban broj pješaka uvijek mogao biti pozvan naoružje u slučaju izvanrednog stanja. Singulari su katkada prebacivani u udaljene dijelove Carstva pa su *pedites singulares Britannici* oko 100. godine iz Britanije poslani na Dunav, *pedites singulares Pannonici* sredinom 2. stoljeća iz Panonije u Mauretaniju, a *equites singulares* Gornje Mezije su u neko doba 2. ili 3. stoljeća poslani u Numidiju. Borbeno djelovanje podrazumijevalo je sposobnost samostalnog funkcioniranja svojstvenog svakoj rimskoj vojnoj postrojbi pa nije bilo zapreke da se od nekih oblikuju postrojbe, poput panonskog numera koji je nakon rata u Mauretaniji postao *cohors I Aelia singularium*.¹⁷ Redovito vježbanje činilo je provincijske singulare poticajnom sredinom za nastajanje kvalitetnoga zapovjednog kadra, ponajprije budućih dekuriona, koji su svoje znanje i iskustvo kasnije prenosili pripadnicima matičnih pomoćnih postrojba.¹⁸ Posljednji datirani spomen singulara jedan je natpis iz 231. godine i navod na papirusu iz Egipta iz 258. godine.¹⁹

Singulari su gotovo redovito bili smješteni u provincijskim metropolama, što potvrđuje podatak da od 71 epigrafske potvrde obuhvaćene u Speidelovoj studiji čak 45 njih potječe iz gradova u kojima su rezidirali

the capital city, which suggests that they formed part of the communication system employed by the governor to remain in contact with the peripheral parts of the province. Their presence in as many as five fortresses situated at vital communication points in northern Britannia has been confirmed by inscriptions, of which a significant one in terms of content is *RIB 725*, because it was placed by a *singularis* and later renewed by a *beneficiarius*. It has therefore been concluded that the *singulares* constituted an intelligence link between the *beneficarii* and the governor's staff.¹⁵ In combat they safeguarded the governor and functioned as a reserve detachment, and besides a few funerary inscriptions, a 3rd century Egyptian papyrus also testifies to their combat service, as it mentions fifteen *singulares* who died in action or succumbed to their wounds while fighting together with legionnaires and *evocati*.¹⁶ When most formations were concentrated on the narrow border zones, the *equites singulares* became a respectable and very mobile military force that was not bound to missions at specific locations, so they could be transferred to crisis points. The *pedites singulares* played such a role to a lesser degree, because most provincial capitals were relatively close to military camps, whence the necessary number of infantry troops could always be called to arms in extraordinary situations. The *singulares* were sometimes deployed to distant parts of the Empire, so the *pedites singulares Britannici* were sent to the Danube at around 100 AD, the *pedites singulares Pannonici* were transferred from Pannonia to Mauretania in the mid-2nd century, while the *equites singulares* of Moesia Superior were sent to Numidia at some point in the 2nd or 3rd century. Combat operations implied the capability of independent functioning typical of any Roman military formation, so there were no obstacles to the establishment of units from some of them, such as the Pannonian *numeri* who became *cohors I Aelia singularium* after the war in Mauretania.¹⁷

16 Davies 1976a, str. 142; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 48-50.

17 Ovaj primjer pokazuje da su panonski singulari bili idealni kao kostur za stvaranje nove postrojbe jer su stalno bili podvrgnuti intenzivnom vježbanju, imali su veliko iskustvo u borbi i nisu bili potrebni u matičnoj provinciji jer u njoj nisu čuvali neki dio granice ili određeno područje, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 14, 52-55, 64-66. Detaljnije o razlozima odlaska britanskih singulara na prostor dačkog Dunava krajem 1. stoljeća, odnosno odlaska panonskih singulara u Mauretaniju sredinom 2. stoljeća v. M. P. Speidel 1972, str. 302-305.

18 Pet natpisa sadrži izraz *decurio ex singularibus*, što može značiti da su na položaj dekuriona u ali ili kohorti bili promovirani iz singulara i da su radije istaknuli službu pri namjesnikovu oficiju nego ime aktualne postrojbe. Drugo je objašnjenje da se radi o dekurionima singulara analogno izrazu *eques ex singularibus*, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 51-52.

19 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 40.

15 For detailed consideration of the *singulares* from Mauretania and Britannia and their role in local communication systems see Davies 1976a, pp. 137-141.

16 Davies 1976a, p. 142; M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 48-50.

17 This example shows that the Pannonian *singulares* were ideal as a backbone for the creation of new units, because they were always subject to intense training, they had vast combat experience and they were not needed in their home provinces because they were guarding a part of the border or a specific territory there, M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 14, 52-55, 64-66. For more details on the reasons for the departure of the British *singulares* to the territory of the Dacian Danube at the end of the first century and the departure of the Pannonian *singulares* in Mauretania in the mid-2nd century, see M. P. Speidel 1972, pp. 302-305.

namjesnici.²⁰ Utvrda Cripplegate u Londiniju služila je tamošnjim singularima (*singulares Britannici*) i, sudeći prema njezinu položaju, vojarne ovoga tipa nisu morale biti uz namjesnikovu palaču.²¹ Međutim, najnovija istraživanja na istočnom rubu Viruna, glavnoga grada provincije Norika, čvrsto ukazuju na postojanje atipičnoga vojnog logora namijenjenog smještaju singulara i ostalih pripadnika namjesnikova oficija. Može biti da su ove vojarne bile dio namjesnikove palače ili locirane u njezinoj neposrednoj blizini.²² Natpis iz Taraka potvrđuje da se vježbalište (*campus*) tamošnjih singulara nalazilo izvan grada.²³

Natpisi singulara dalmatinskog namjesnika

O dalmatinskim singularima svjedoči 11 nadgrobnih natpisa iz Salone.²⁴ Pet ih je (4-7, 10) cjelovito sačuvano, dva (1, 2) su manje oštećena, no unatoč tome moguće ih je u potpunosti restituirati, a četiri (3, 8, 9, 11) su u većoj mjeri oštećena. Iako samo jedan (3) uz oznaku singularske službe nosi pridjev *consularis*, nema sumnje da su i na ostalima također spomenuti namjesnikovi singulari.²⁵ Sedam natpisa (1, 2, 4-6, 10, 11) uz ime vojnika sadrži sintagmu *ex singularibus*, što znači da su u trenutku postavljanja spomenika bili mrtvi ili veterani²⁶ pa je upotreba prijedloga *ex* logična i u skladu s njihovim statusom.²⁷

Najraniji singularski natpis (1) nije cjelovit i nemarno je isklesan, zbog čega je njegovo čitanje u

Regular maneuvers meant that the provincial *singulares* became a suitable pool for the emergence of a high-quality command cadre, primarily future decurions, who later conveyed their knowledge and experience to the members of the core auxiliary units.¹⁸ The final dated sources mentioning the *singulares* are in an inscription from 231 AD and the papyrus from Egypt from 258 AD.¹⁹

The *singulares* were almost regularly stationed in the provincial capitals, which is confirmed by the fact that out of the 71 epigraphic confirmations encompassed in Speidel's study, 45 are from cities in which governors resided.²⁰ The Cripplegate Fortress in Londinium was used by the local *singulares* (*singulares Britannici*) and judging by its position, barracks of this type did not have to be next to the consul's palace.²¹ However, the most recent research in the eastern edge of Virunum, the capital of the province of Noricum, strongly indicates the existence of an atypical military camp meant to accommodate *singulares* and other members of the governor's staff. It may be that these barracks were a component of the governor's palace or located in its immediate vicinity.²² The inscription from Tarraco confirms that a training ground (*campus*) of the local *singulares* was located outside of the city.²³

20 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 45, 71. Speidel je svoju sintezu osim na ovim natpisima temeljio na deset papirusa, tri nadgrobna reljefa, dva grafita, dva odlomka iz literarnih izvora i jednom prikazu na Trajanovu stupu. Ovaj materijal datira u raspon između 67. i 258. godine.

21 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 45, 127-128.

22 Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, str. 85, 86, 89. Međutim, za sada ni jedan od 35 vojnih natpisa iz Viruna i okolice, kao ni pokretni arheološki materijal ne mogu biti pripisani namjesnikovim singularima.

23 Instruktor (*campidoctor*) provincijskih singulara konjanika posvetio je natpis (*CIL* 2, 4083) Marsu Kampestru, bogu vojnog vježbališta. Natpis je pronađen tri kilometra izvan provincijskog središta Tarakonske Hispanije, na arheološki čistom prostoru, gdje je očito bilo njihovo vježbalište, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 28, 71-72, br. 1.

24 Singulari su epigrafski daleko najbolje potvrđeni od svih niže rangiranih pripadnika oficija namjesnika provincije Dalmacije. Do sada je dokazano postojanje dvojice pomoćnika kornikularija, trojice stratora, jednog frulaša i dvojice protektora, v. Matijević 2015, str. 151-155, 160-161.

25 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 109, bilj. 468; str. 118.

26 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 51.

27 M. A. Speidel 1993, str. 191-192.

18 Five inscriptions contain the expression *decurio ex singularibus*, which may mean that they were promoted to the post of decurion in an ala or cohort from the post of singularis and that they preferred to emphasize their service in the governor's staff rather than the name of the actual unit. Another explanation is that they were decurions *singulares* analogous to the term *eques ex singularibus*, M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 51-52.

19 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 40.

20 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 45, 71. Besides these inscriptions, Speidel based his synthesis on ten papyri, three funerary relief sculptures, two graffiti, two fragments from literary sources and one image on Trajan's Column. These materials range in dating from 67 to 258 AD.

21 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 45, 127-128.

22 Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, pp. 85, 86, 89. However, so far not one of the 35 military inscriptions from Virunum and its vicinity, nor the movable archaeological materials, can be attributed to governor *singulares*.

23 An instructor (*campidoctor*) of the provincial *equites singulares* dedicated an inscription (*CIL* 2, 4083) to Mars Campester, the god of the military parade ground. The inscription was found 3 km from the provincial seat of Hispania Tarraconensis, in an archeologically barren area where they obviously had a parade ground, M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 28, 71-72, no. 1.

nekoliko navrata bilo ispravljano. U 8. retku Rendić-Miočević prepoznao je oznaku *numerus*,²⁸ za čime su se kasnije poveli Alföldy²⁹ i Wilkes,³⁰ ali je Speidel primijetio, što jasno pokazuje i fotografija (slika 1), da u tom dijelu teksta nema traga koji bi opravdao takvu restituciju.³¹ Neovisno o tome, jasno se može razumjeti da je konjanik singular Plarent, Anejev sin, postavio nadgrobni natpis pješaku i tesarariju (*tesserarius*) Epikadu, Piramovu sinu, iz Marcelove centurije kohorte Treća *Alpinorum*. Posljednji redak natpisa (*ex sing a*) tumačen je kao *ex sing(ularibus) A(ugusti)*,³² što bi značilo da je Plarent bio konjanik u carskoj konjaničkoj straži (*equites singulares Augusti*). Speidel nije podržao ovakvu restituciju te je u sigli A vidio kraticu riječi *amicus*³³ i pri tome mišljenju je ostao jer natpis nije donio u svojoj kasnijoj studiji o svim poznatim natpisima pripadnika carske konjaničke straže.³⁴ Način Plarentova oslovljavanja Epikada bio je uobičajen u prigodama kada vojnik podiže nadgrobni spomenik svome kolegi iz postrojbe.³⁵ Štoviše, u 1. stoljeću i početkom 2. stoljeća većini aktivnih auxilijara u Dalmaciji spomenike postavljaju upravo njihovi kolege s kojima su služili u postrojbi,³⁶ prema čemu je realno očekivati i Plarentovu pripadnost kohorti Treća *Alpinorum*.³⁷ Dobru usporedbu pružaju i dva dalmatinska natpisa ove kohorte iz 1. stoljeća na kojima komemoratori vojnici ne navode pripadnost postrojbi.³⁸ Potpora toj pretpostavci može biti i natpis (*CIL* 8, 21453) iz Mauretanijske Cezarijske u kojemu *signifer* i *optio* podižu nadgrobni natpis preminulom kolegi iz panonskih singulara. Njih dvojica jamačno su bili pripadnici iste postrojbe jer nisu naveli neku drugu.³⁹ Plarent i Epikad porijeklom su iz jugoistočne Dalmacije⁴⁰ pa bi se s obzirom na njihovu nesumnjivu bliskost moglo pretpostaviti da je Plarent zaista pripadao ovoj kohorti i da su obojica u nju primljena u

Inscriptions of the Dalmatian governor's *singulares*

Eleven funerary inscriptions from Salona testify to the Dalmatian *singulares*.²⁴ Five (4-7, 10) have been preserved in their entirety, two (1, 2) have sustained damage although it is still possible to fully restore their text, and four (3, 8, 9, 11) have been damaged to a greater degree. Although only one (3) bears the adjective *consularis* next to the designation of service as *singularis*, there is no doubt that the others also refer to governor *singulares*.²⁵ Seven inscriptions (1, 2, 4-6, 10, 11) contain the phrase *ex singularibus* next to the soldier's name, which means that at the time of the monument's installation, they were either deceased or veterans,²⁶ so the use of the preposition *ex* was logical and indicative of their status.²⁷

The earliest *singularis* inscription (1) is not complete and also inartfully engraved, so its reading has been corrected on several occasions. Rendić-Miočević recognized the designation *numerus* in the eighth line,²⁸ which was later assumed by Alföldy²⁹ and Wilkes,³⁰ but Speidel noticed – something also clearly indicated by a photograph (Fig. 1) – that in this part of the text there is no trace that would justify such a restoration.³¹ Regardless of this, it can be clearly understood that the *equus singularis* Plares, son of Annaeus, installed a funerary inscription dedicated to the foot soldier and *tesserarius* Epicadus, son of Pirus, from *cohors III Alpinorum* in Marcellus' century. The final line in the inscription (*ex sing a*) has been interpreted as *ex sing(ularibus) A(ugusti)*,³² which would mean that Plares was a cavalryman in the imperial cavalry guard (*equites singulares Augusti*). Speidel did not agree with this restoration and saw the sigil A as an abbreviation for the word *amicus*,³³ and he maintained this view even later when he omitted this inscription in his study on known inscriptions of members of the

28 Rendić-Miočević 1952, str. 226, br. 35.

29 Alföldy 1987, str. 281, br. 14.

30 Wilkes 1969, str. 471.

31 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 88, bilj. 425.

32 *ILLug* 681; *EDH* HD034093. Takvu restituciju podržava i Demicheli (2015, str. 72).

33 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 87.

34 M. P. Speidel 1994, str. 33-410.

35 Lendon 2006, str. 271-272, bilj. 7.

36 Wilkes 1969, str. 148-149; Alföldy 1987, str. 264.

37 M. P. Speidel (1978, str. 88) kaže da je nemoguće biti siguran u Plarentovu pripadnost kohorti Treća *Alpinorum*.

38 *ILLug* 115 i *CIL* 3, 8491 (Bigeste).

39 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 83, br. 19; detaljnije o mauretanskom natpisu v. M. P. Speidel 1972, str. 299-301.

40 V. bilj. 118, 119. Demicheli (2015, str. 72) kaže da je Plarent možda bio Salonitanac.

24 *Singulares* have by far been the best epigraphically confirmed lower-ranking members of the governor's staff in Dalmatia. Thus far the existence of two assistants of *cornicularius*, three *stratores*, one *tibicen* and two *protectores* has been proven; see Matijević 2015, pp. 151-155, 160-161.

25 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 109, note 468; p. 118.

26 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 51.

27 M. A. Speidel 1993, pp. 191-192.

28 Rendić-Miočević 1952, p. 226, no. 35.

29 Alföldy 1987, p. 281, no. 14.

30 Wilkes 1969, p. 471.

31 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 88, note 425.

32 *ILLug* 681; *EDH* HD034093. Such a restoration was also upheld by Demicheli (2015, p. 72).

33 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 87.

istom ciklusu novačenja. Plarent je u namjesnikovim singularima služio kao konjanik pa bi lako moglo biti da je u singularima služio i Epikad, ali možda kao pješak (*pedes singularis*).⁴¹ Upravo je služba u singularima mnogim vojnicima bila ključna u daljnjem napredovanju tako da su obični *pedites* i *equites* u matičnim postrojbama poslije postali tesserariji, duplikariji i dekurioni.⁴² Epikad je na položaj tesserarija⁴³ mogao biti promoviran nakon službe u singularima jer je u trenutku smrti bio aktivni pripadnik Treće kohorte. Natpis pripada 1. stoljeću zbog upotrebe kratica *hic situs est* i *testamento fieri iussit*.⁴⁴ Alföldy se zalaže za precizniju dataciju i drži da je gornja granica nastanka početak 2. stoljeća,⁴⁵ što se poklapa s Holderovim mišljenjem prema kojemu je natpis postavljen u Domicijanovo doba, odnosno da je Epikad unovačen između 68. i 80. godine.⁴⁶ Njihova datacija u flavijevsko-trajansko doba prihvatljiva je zbog općih tendencija u novačenju za dalmatinske auxilije u 1. stoljeću.⁴⁷

Natpis na urni Lucija Atija Restuta (2) izravno dokazuje da je kohorta Treća *Alpinorum* zaista davala vojnike za službe singulara u oficiju dalmatinskog namjesnika. Restuto je u vojsci proveo 21 godinu, a pred kraj karijere služio je kao konjanik singular.⁴⁸ Kratica

imperial mounted bodyguard.³⁴ The way in which Plares addressed Epicadus was customary on occasions when a soldier raised a gravestone to a colleague from the same unit.³⁵ Moreover, in the 1st and early 2nd centuries, active auxiliaries in Dalmatia indeed raised monuments to their colleagues with whom they served in the same units,³⁶ so it is reasonable to expect that Plares also belonged to *cohors III Alpinorum*.³⁷ Two Dalmatian inscriptions of this cohort dated to the 1st century, on which the commemorating soldiers do not specify the unit to which they belong, serve as a good comparison.³⁸ The inscription (*CIL* 8, 21453) from Maurentania Caesariensis, on which a *signifer* and *optio* installed a funerary inscription to their deceased colleague from the Pannonian *singulares*, may also support this hypothesis. The two of them were assuredly members of the same unit, because they did not specify another.³⁹ Plares and Epicadus were originally from south-east Dalmatia,⁴⁰ so given their undoubted closeness, it may be assumed that Plares truly belonged to this cohort and that both of them were admitted in the same recruiting cycle. Plares served among the governor's *singulares* as a cavalryman, so it may well be that Epicadus also served in the *singulares*, but perhaps as a foot soldier (*pedes singularis*).⁴¹ It may be this service in the *singulares* which in fact proved crucial to soldiers in their further advancement, so that ordinary *pedites* and *equites* later became *tesserarii*, *duplicarii* and decurions in their core units.⁴² Epicadus may have been promoted to the post of *tesserarius*⁴³

41 Wilkes (1969, str. 471) je napisao da su obojica *equites ex numero singularium*.

42 Breeze 1974a, str. 445. Singular je nakon povratka u matičnu postrojbu karijeru mogao nastaviti i kao običan *miles*. Ima primjera koji pokazuju da su neki vrlo sporo napredovali pa je tako jedan bivši *eques singularis* nakon nekoliko transfera uspio postati samo *librarius*, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 37, bilj. 203.

43 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 87-88, br. 30. Tesserarij je u pomoćnoj postrojbici bio principal u razredu sesquiplikarija (*sesquiplikarius*), što znači da je primao plaću jedan i pol puta veću od plaće običnog vojnika. U zapovjednom lancu centurije bio je podređen opcionu i centurionu, Breeze 1971, str. 133-134. Glavna zadaća tesserarija bila je primanje zapovijedi od centuriona i prosljeđivanje vojnicima, a katkad je mogao zapovijedati odjeljenjima na posebnim zadacima, Cheesman 1914, str. 43.

44 Alföldy 1969a, str. 28.

45 Alföldy 1987, str. 281, br. 5, 14.

46 Holder 1980, str. 151, 298, br. 1061.

47 Alföldy 1987, str. 256-263.

48 M. P. Speidel (1978, str. 87, bilj. 422) je dopustio drugu mogućnost po kojoj je Restuto služio u singularima prefekta kohorte, što bi podrazumijevalo njezin smještaj u Saloni. Međutim, od toga se i ogradio citirajući Alföldyja (1987, str. 245-246) prema kojemu je kohorta tijekom 1. stoljeća boravila u Bigestama, u 2. stoljeću u Andetriju i manjim odjeljenjima u Tiluriju i Magnumu. O eventualnom boravku kohorte u Saloni tijekom 1. stoljeća, pa čak i ranog principata, na temelju trenutno poznatih natpisa ne može biti govora

34 M. P. Speidel 1994, pp. 33-410.

35 Lendon 2006, pp. 271-272, note 7.

36 Wilkes 1969, pp. 148-149; Alföldy 1987, p. 264.

37 M. P. Speidel (1978, p. 88) said it is impossible to state with any certainty that Plares belonged to *cohors III Alpinorum*.

38 *ILJug* 115 and *CIL* 3, 8491 (Bigeste).

39 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 83, no. 19; for more details on the Mauretian inscription, see M. P. Speidel 1972, pp. 299-301.

40 See notes 118, 119. Demicheli (2015, p. 72) asserted that Plares may have been a Salona native.

41 Wilkes (1969, p. 471) wrote that both were *equites ex numero singularium*.

42 Breeze 1974a, p. 445. Upon returning to his core unit, a *singularis* could have also continued his career as an ordinary *miles*. There are examples which show that some advanced rather slowly, so that one such former *eques singularis* only managed to become a *librarius* after several transfers. M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 37, note 203.

43 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 87-88, no. 30. A *tesserarius* in an auxiliary unit was the *principales* in the *sesquiplikarius* class, which meant that he received a salary that was one and one half higher than the salary of an

hic situs est tipična je za 1. stoljeće⁴⁹ i za razdoblje incineracije koja polako iščezava u 2. stoljeću.⁵⁰ Holder karijeru datira između Vespazijanove i Domicijanove vladavine,⁵¹ a Alföldy je proširuje i na trajansko doba, uz tvrdnju da se radi o jednome od prvih vojnika sa civitetom na službi u peregrinskoj kohorti⁵² pa bi se moglo reći da je natpis iz flavijevsko-trajanskog doba.

Osam natpisa (3-10) datira u kasni principat, a jedan ulomak (11) u vrijeme od 1. do 3. stoljeća.⁵³ Ulo-mak natpisa (3) s pridjevom *consularis* (u značenju “namjesnikov”) uz oznaku singularske službe posebno je zanimljiv jer još uvijek nije moguće pouzdano reći koja je kohorta na njemu spomenuta (sl. 3). O tome je više puta raspravljano, posebice u kontekstu natpisa (*CIL* 3, 8762) iz Salone koji dokumentira slijed službi dekuriona kohorte Prva *Belgarum* Gaja Valerija Prokula.⁵⁴ Wilkes je pretpostavio da se radi o kohorti Prva *Alpinorum*,⁵⁵ Alföldy je bio puno oprezniji i ogradio se od takve restitucije,⁵⁶ a Speidel uopće nije ulazio u ovaj problem.⁵⁷ Vojničke diplome pokazuju da ova kohorta nije boravila u Dalmaciji u vrijeme kada je nastao ovaj ulomak. Diploma iz Vindobone (*CIL* 16, 4) datirana u 60. godinu potvrđuje da se tada nalazila “u Iliriku”(!), odnosno u Panoniji, a diploma iz Klosterneuburga (*CIL* 16, 26) izdana 80. godine svjedo-či o njezinu boravku u Panoniji.⁵⁸ Prema najnovijem nalazu jedne diplome (*AE* 2007, 1783) kohorta je u Dalmaciji mogla biti 97. godine, a već 102. godine

after serving as a *singularis*, because at the time of his death he was an active member of the Third Cohort. The inscription should be dated to the 1st century because of use of the abbreviations *hic situs est* and *testamento fieri iussit*.⁴⁴ Alföldy advocated a more precise dating and held that the upper limit for its origin was the beginning of the 2nd century,⁴⁵ which comports with Holder’s opinion according to which the inscription was made during Domitian’s reign, i.e., that Epicadus was recruited between 68 and 80 AD.⁴⁶ Their dating to the Flavian-Trajanic era is acceptable based on the general tendencies of recruitment for the Dalmatian auxiliaries in the 1st century.⁴⁷

The inscription on the urn of Lucius Attius Restutus (2) directly proves that *cohors III Alpinorum* truly provided soldiers to serve as *singulares* in the staff of the Dalmatian governor. Restutus spent 21 years in the army, and near the end of this career he served as an *eques singularis*.⁴⁸ The abbreviation *hic situs est* is typical of the 1st century⁴⁹ and for the era of cremations which slowly began to fade in the 2nd century.⁵⁰

ordinary soldier. In the century’s chain of command, he was subordinate to the *optio* and centurion, Breeze 1971, pp. 133-134. The primary task of a *tesserarius* was to receive commands from the centurion and convey them to the troops, and sometimes he could command detachments on special missions, Cheesman 1914, p. 43.

44 Alföldy 1969a, p. 28.

45 Alföldy 1987, p. 281, no. 5, 14.

46 Holder 1980, pp. 151, 298, no. 1061.

47 Alföldy 1987, pp. 256-263.

48 M. P. Speidel (1978, p. 87, note 422) allowed for another possibility in which Restutus served in the *singulares* of the cohort’s *praefectus*, which would have implied its posting in Salona. However, he also rejected this, citing Alföldy (1987, pp. 245-246), according to whom the cohort was stationed in Bigeste in the 1st century, in Andetrium, with minor detachments in Tilurium and Magnum, in the 2nd century. Based on the currently known inscriptions, there can be no consideration of a possible stay of this cohort in Salona during the 1st century, even during the early Principate, because all have been dated between the mid-2nd century and the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235). These were the soldier Victorius Nepos (*CIL* 3, 12905), a cavalryman Gaius Valerius Marcellinus (*CIL* 3, 2058), the *vexillarius* Gaius Bebidius Marcellus (*CIL* 3, 2012) and the centurion Titus Flavius Pompeius (*AE* 1979, 448); for more details on the inscriptions, see Matijević 2015, pp. 63-64, 527-532, cat. no. 136-139. It is noteworthy that in that same place M. P. Speidel corrected Wilkes (1969, p. 145), which placed Gaius Bebidius Marcellus among the governor’s *singulares*.

49 Alföldy 1987, p. 280, no. 5, 8; cf. Alföldy 1969, p. 28.

50 Cambi 2010, pp. 11, 68.

jer se svi datiraju između sredine 2. stoljeća i vladavine Aleksandra Severa (222.-235.). Radi se o vojniku Viktoriju Nepotu (*CIL* 3, 12905), konjaniku Gaju Valeriju Marcelinu (*CIL* 3, 2058), veksilariju Gaju Bebidiju Marcelu (*CIL* 3, 2012) i centurionu Titu Flaviju Pompeju (*AE* 1979, 448), detaljnije o natpisima v. Matijević 2015, str. 63-64, 527-532, kat. br. 136-139. Treba reći da M. P. Speidel na istome mjestu ispravlja Wilkesa (1969, str. 145) koji je Gaja Bebidija Marcela svrstao među namjesnikove *singulare*.

49 Alföldy 1987, str. 280, br. 5, 8; usp. Alföldy 1969, str. 28.

50 Cambi 2010, str. 11, 68.

51 Holder 1980, str. 151, 298, br. 1062.

52 Alföldy 1987, str. 261. Upravo se u ovom razdoblju povećava udio novaka sa civitetom u peregrinskim postrojbama što će biti izraženije od sredine 2. stoljeća, v. Le Bohec 2001, str. 98-99, tab. 28; Gilliver 2007, str. 193.

53 V. bilj. 74, 75.

54 Matijević 2011, str. 187.

55 Wilkes 1969, str. 471.

56 Alföldy 1987, str. 241.

57 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 87, br. 29.

58 Spaul 2000, str. 259.

opet u Panoniji, iako postoji mogućnost pogreške u njezinu tekstu.⁵⁹

Četiri natpisa (4-7) cjelovito su očuvana, ali ne sadrže imena postrojbi kojima su singulari pripadali. Konjanik singular Gaj Sabinije Nikijat (4) preminuo je nakon 25 godina provedenih u vojsci, koliko je i trajala služba u pomoćnim postrojbama (sl. 4).⁶⁰

Od svih do sada poznatih namjesnikovih konjanika singulara u Carstvu samo je Aurelije Prisko (7) potvrđen kao *optio*.⁶¹ *Actarius*, *summus curator* i *optio* zajedno su vodili brigu o nabavi i raspodjeli potrebnoga za ljudstvo i konje u postrojbi. Iako je teško odrediti što je točno radio svaki od njih, čini se da je aktarij uz pomoć biblioteka vodio obračun, odnosno da su opcioni i glavni kurator primali potrepštine i usmjeravali ih ostalim vojnicima. Konjanici singulari imali su vlastitog aktarija, glavnog kuratora i opciona, što govori da se njihova opskrba odvijala samostalno i neovisno o onoj za pješake singulara, čime se potvrđuje zasebno funkcioniranje dviju grana namjesnikovih singulara.⁶² Prisko je položaj opciona najvjerojatnije imao u auguriliju i zadržao ga prilikom prelaska u singulara.⁶³

Aurelije Diza (5) preminuo je kao aktivni konjanik singular u 16. godini službe.

Valerije Valentin (6) stekao je veteranski status služeći kao konjanik singular.⁶⁴

Još četiri ulomka mogu se dovesti u vezu sa singularskom službom. Ako je restitucija 2. retka na ulomku natpisa (8) ispravna, tada bi se radilo o jedinom izravnom dokazu za postojanje pješaka singulara u Dalmaciji. Analogiju pruža natpis iz Mauretanijske (CIL 8, 21453: ... *miles ex peditibus singularibus*...).⁶⁵ Ovaj je vojnik u aktivnoj službi proveo 14 godina.

Holder dated his career between the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian,⁵¹ while Alföldy also expanded it to the Trajanic era with the assertion that he was one of the first soldiers with citizenship serving in a peregrine cohort,⁵² so it could be said that the inscription dates to the Flavian-Trajanic era.

Eight inscriptions (3-10) date to the late Principate, while one fragment (11) dates to the period from the 1st to 3rd centuries.⁵³ The inscription fragment (3) bearing the adjective *consularis* (meaning “the governor’s”) with designation of the *singularis* service is particularly interesting because it is still impossible to state with any certainty which cohort was mentioned therein. This has been discussed on many occasions, particularly in the context of the inscription (CIL 3, 8762) from Salona which documents the sequence of posts held by the decurion of *cohors I Belgarum*, Gaius Valerius Proculus.⁵⁴ Wilkes assumed that this was *cohors I Alpinorum*,⁵⁵ Alföldy was more cautious and discounted such a restoration,⁵⁶ while Speidel did not even delve into this matter.⁵⁷ Military diplomas show that this cohort was not stationed in Dalmatia when this fragment was made. A diploma from Vindobona (CIL 16, 4) dated to 60 AD confirms that it was then stationed “in Illyricum” (!), i.e., in Pannonia, while the diploma from Klosterneuburg (CIL 16, 26) issued in 80 AD testifies to its stay in Pannonia.⁵⁸ According to the most recent find of a diploma (AE 2007, 1783), the cohort may have been in Dalmatia in 97 AD, and then in Pannonia again in 102 AD, even though it is possible that there is an error in its text.⁵⁹

Four inscriptions (4-7) have been entirely preserved, but they do not contain the names of the units to which the *singulares* belonged. The *equus singularis* Gaius Sabinus Nicias (4) died after 25 years spent in the army, which was also the duration of his service in auxiliary units.⁶⁰

Out of all of thus far known *equites singulares consularis* in the Empire, only Aurelius Priscus (7)

59 Eck, Pangerl 2007, str. 235.

60 Goldsworthy 2003, str. 115; Southern 2006, str. 143.

61 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 31. *Optio* je obavljao raznovrsne zadatke zapovjedništva i administracije, a katkada su na ove položaje mogli biti postavljeni obični pješaci kojima su po potrebi povjeravana *ad hoc* zaduženja, Breeze 1976, str. 127-132. Primjerice, *optio equitum* vjerojatno je obavljao neke dužnosti u tabulariju postrojbe, M. P. Speidel 1970, str. 145, bilj. 36. *Optio* je katkada bio časnik zadužen za nešto određeno, nerijetko je zamjenjivao centuriona ili mu pomagao, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 34, bilj. 185; Le Bohec 2001, str. 48. Pripadao je rangu duplikarija i primao dvostruko veću plaću od običnog vojnika, Breeze 1971, str. 133-134.

62 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 34.

63 Tako je bilo sa centurionima, dekurionima, duplikarijima, seskviplikarijima, a vjerojatno i s ostalima, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 37.

64 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 7, bilj. 24.

65 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 83, br. 19.

51 Holder 1980, pp. 151, 298, no. 1062.

52 Alföldy 1987, p. 261. It was in fact during this period that the share of new recruits with citizenship in the peregrine units increased, which would become more marked from the mid-2nd century onward, see Le Bohec 2001, pp. 98-99, pl. 28; Gilliver 2007, p. 193.

53 See notes 74, 75.

54 Matijević 2011, p. 187.

55 Wilkes 1969, p. 471.

56 Alföldy 1987, p. 241.

57 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 87, no. 29.

58 Spaul 2000, p. 259.

59 Eck, Pangerl 2007, p. 235.

60 Goldsworthy 2003, p. 115; Southern 2006, p. 143.

Unatoč vrlo skromnoj očuvanosti čini se da je na ulomku nadgrobnog natpisa (9) također bio spomenut singular jer je oznaka ove službe isklesana u jednako skraćenom obliku (*SING*) kao na velikoj većini njihovih natpisa (1-7) iz Salone. Speidel ga zbog velike oštećenosti nije uvrstio u svoju studiju.⁶⁶

Jednako je postupio i sa ulomkom natpisa (11) vojnika nepoznate kohorte u čijem je 2. retku sačuvana oznaka službe konjanika singulara (*EQ EX S*). Za razliku od ostalih natpisa sa cjelovito sačuvanom kraticom oznake (*SING*), ovaj ulomak sačuvao je samo njezino početno slovo (*S*). Između njega i crte loma ostalo je previše slobodnog prostora i zato se ne može reći da je kratica bila upisana u uobičajenom obliku (*SING*), odnosno da je njezin nastavak otučen. Slova su jednake veličine, lijepog oblika, a između slova i riječi su gotovo jednaki razmaci pa je teško povjerovati da je nastavak kratice (*ING*) bio uklesan nakon neuobičajeno velikog razmaka. Iako je površina natpisa istrošena, čini se da je nakon slova *S* uklesan znak interpunkcije, kao što je učinjeno u 1. retku i prvom dijelu 2. retka, što dodatno potvrđuje pretpostavku o radikalnom skraćivanju oznake. Dakle, pored osam salonitanskih natpisa (1-7, 9) sa kraticom *SING*, ovaj ulomak svjedoči da je za označavanje singularske službe primjenjivano i početno slovo (*S*). Treba reći da razumijevanje sadržaja ulomka nije potpuno jasno. Bulić je u 3. retku pretpostavio oznaku domicila (*Verona*), a u značenje posljednjega retka (*dicend[---]*) nije ulazio⁶⁷ kao ni izdavači *ILLug-a*.⁶⁸

Korpusu natpisa dalmatinskih singulara pribrojena je i stela veterana Sestija Nepota (10). U 2. retku nakon oznake veteranskog statusa stoji *EX S* prema čemu sigla *S* označava službu koju je obavljao prije otpusta. U *CIL* 3, 2050 predloženo je da se radi o službi signifera što je prihvaćeno i u kasnijoj literaturi.⁶⁹ Od dvadesetak natpisa signifera iz Dalmacije nema niti jednoga na kojemu je oznaka njihove službe tako radikalno skraćena.⁷⁰ Cagnat drži da sigla *S* može označavati službu signifera jednako kao i službu singulara,⁷¹ pa bi u obzir ravnopravno mogle doći obje službe. Primjeri iz ostalih krajeva Carstva pokazuju različite načine ispisivanja, odnosno skraćivanja oznake singularske službe (*sin (cos)*, *singulares (cos)*, *singi*, *singu*, *singul*, *singula*, *singulares*), katkada na

has been confirmed as an *optio*.⁶¹ The *actarius*, *summus curator* and *optio* together took care of the procurement and distribution of necessities for personnel and horses in a unit. Although it is difficult to ascertain what each of them did precisely, it would appear that the *actarius*, with the help of a *librarius*, kept an account and ensured that the *optio* and chief *curator* received supplies and distributed them to the remaining soldiers. The *equites singulares* had their own *actarius*, chief *curator* and *optio*, which shows that their procurement proceeded independently from that of the *pedes singulares*, thereby confirming the independent functioning of these two branches of the governor's *singulares*.⁶² Priscus most likely held the post of *optio* in the auxiliary and maintained when he transferred to the *singulares*.⁶³

Aurelius Diza (5) died as an active *equus singularis* in the sixteenth year of his service.

Valerius Valentinus (6) earned veteran status serving as an *equus singularis*.⁶⁴

Four more fragments can also be brought into connection with the *singularis* service. If the restoration of the second line on inscription fragment (8) is correct, then this would be the sole direct evidence of the existence of a *pedes singularis* in Dalmatia. An analogy can be found in the inscription from Mauretania (*CIL* 8, 21453: ... *miles ex peditibus singularibus*...).⁶⁵ This soldier spent 14 years in active service.

Despite the very modest state of preservation, it would appear that the fragment of funerary inscription (9) also contains mention of a *singularis*, because the designation of this service is carved in an equally abbreviated form (*SING*) as on most of their inscriptions (1-7) from Salona. Speidel did not include it in

66 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 70, bilj. 358.

67 Bulić 1908, str. 68-69.

68 *ILLug* 2006.

69 Ferjančić 2002, str. 276, br. 281; *EDH* HD063272.

70 Signifer: *CIL* 3, 2716; 2915; 8436; 9904; *ILLug* 1962; 2093; signif(er) *ILLug* 1937; 2817; *CIL* 3, 2040; 2838; 9725; sign(ifer) *ILLug* 1930; sig(nifer) *ILLug* 115; 1927; *CIL* 3, 9899; 14935; 15001.

71 Cagnat 1914, str. 461.

61 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 31. An *optio* carried out various tasks for the command and administration, and sometimes ordinary foot soldiers could be appointed to these posts and then given *ad hoc* duties as needed, Breeze 1976, pp. 127-132. For example, an *optio equitum* probably performed certain duties in a unit's *tabularium*, M. P. Speidel 1970, p. 145, note 36. An *optio* was sometimes an officer charged with specific duties, not infrequently standing in for the centurion or assisting him, M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 34, note 185; Le Bohec 2001, p. 48. He belonged to the ranks of the *duplicarii* and received double the salary of an ordinary soldier, Breeze 1971, pp. 133-134.

62 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 34.

63 This was the case with centurions, decurions, *duplicarii*, *sesquiplicarii*, and probably with the others, M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 37.

64 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 7, note 24.

65 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 83, no. 19.

istom dokumentu na dva različita načina. Na opekama iz dačkoga Apuluma koje su proizveli singulari oznaka je izvedena u deset inačica. Vjerojatno su afričke i britanske postrojbe imale vlastiti način skraćivanja, s time da natpisi (*RIB* 865, 1713, 594, 1266, 725) pektorice britanskih singulara pokazuju radikalno skraćivanje (*S*)⁷² kao i jedan natpis (*EDH* HD058135) iz Recije.⁷³ Imajući na umu šarolikost upotrebljavanih kratica kao i primjer ulomka (11) iz Salone s radikalnim skraćivanjem, čini se vrlo izglednim da je Sestije Nepot prije otpusta iz aktivne službe bio singular.

Osim dva natpisa (1, 2) datirana u flavijevsko-trajansko doba, osam natpisa (3-10) može biti datirano u kasni principat, sukladno karakteristikama njihovih imenskih obrazaca i upotrijebljenih sepulkralnih izraza. Naime, četiri (5-7, 10) imaju dvočlane imenske obrasce, a četiri gentilicij *Aurelius* (3, 5, 7, 10). Na tri je upotrijebljen izraz *bene merens* (4-6), na tri izraz *vixit annorum* (4, 7, 9), na jednome *defunctus annorum* (8). Četiri natpisa sadrže pridjeve *verecundissimus* i *incomparabilis* (4), odnosno *carissimus* (5), *infelicissimus* (7) i *pietissimus* (10).⁷⁴ Ulomak natpisa (3) sačuvao je pridjev *consularis* koji se uz oznaku službe oficijala umjesto imena namjesnika javlja od sredine 2. stoljeća.⁷⁵ Ulomak stele (11) datira u široki raspon od 1. do 3. stoljeća zbog nedostatka čvrstih databilnih elemenata.

Matične postrojbe i odabir dalmatinskih singulara

Biti član namjesnikove tjelesne straže bila je velika čast za vojnika jedne pomoćne postrojbe pa su mnogi od njih na svojim natpisima istaknuli singularsku službu zanemarujući isticanje pripadnosti matičnom augziliju⁷⁶ iako su i dalje bili evidentirani u njegovoj dokumentaciji, što jasno pokazuje primjer kohorte Dvadeseta *Palmyrenorum* iz Dura Europe.⁷⁷ Međutim, brojni singulari ipak su naveli i ime svoje postrojbe,⁷⁸ što su učinila i četvorica dalmatinskih

his study because of the significant damage it had sustained.⁶⁶

He proceeded in the same fashion with inscription fragment (11) of a soldier from an unidentified cohort in which the second line has preserved in it the designation of the *eques singularis* service (*EQ EX S*). As opposed to the remaining inscriptions with the entirely preserved abbreviation (*SING*), this fragment only has the first letter (*S*) preserved on it. Too much space remains between it and the fracture line, which is why it is impossible to state whether the abbreviation was written in its customary form (*SING*), i.e., whether its extension had been broken off. The letters have the same size, a nice form, and there are almost identical spaces between the words, so it is difficult to ascertain as to whether the rest of the abbreviation (*ING*) was engraved after the unusually large intervening space. Even though the surface of the inscription is worn, it would appear that a punctuation mark was engraved after the letter *S*, as was done in the first line and in the first part of the second line, which additionally confirms the hypothesis on the radical abbreviation of designations. Thus, besides the eight Salona inscriptions (1-7, 9) with the abbreviation *SING*, this fragment also testifies to the fact that only the initial letter *S* was also used to designate the *singularis* service. It should be noted that the understanding of the content of this fragment is not entirely clear. Bulić assumed the designation of a domicile (*Verona*) in the third line, while he did not delve into the meaning of the final line (*dicend[---]*),⁶⁷ nor did the publishers of *ILLug*.⁶⁸

The stela of the veteran Sestius Nepos (10) has also been added to the body of inscriptions of Dalmatian *singulares*. In the inscription's second line, *EX S* is written after the designation of veteran status, wherein the sigil *S* indicates the service which he performed prior to discharge. In *CIL* 3, 2050 it has been proposed that this was the service of *signifer*, which was also accepted in the subsequent literature.⁶⁹ Out of the roughly twenty *signifer* inscriptions from Dalmatia, there is not a single one in which the designation of their service is so radically abbreviated.⁷⁰ Cagnat held that it is equally likely that the sigil *S* indicated the service of *signifer* or *singularis*,⁷¹ so both services can be considered. Examples from the remaining parts of

72 Davies 1976a, str. 134-136.

73 Upotreba skraćnice *SC* može biti protumačena i kao *s(ummus) c(urator)* kao primjerice na natpisu *ILS* 2524 iz Viruna, v. Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, str. 89.

74 Usp. Alföldy 1969, str. 27-30, 46-47.

75 Syme 1968, str. 68; Rankov 1999, str. 20-21, bilj. 39.

76 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 36. Katkada su vojnici svoje ime namjerno skraćivali i ispisivali ga u ligaturi kako bi uštedjeli mjesto za cjelovito ispisivanje oznake svoje službe. Lijep primjer je natpis *CIL* 7, 78 jednog stratora iz Irchestera u Britaniji, v. Davies 1976a, str. 135.

77 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 104-115.

78 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 7-8, bilj. 30.

66 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 70, note 358.

67 Bulić 1908, pp. 68-69.

68 *ILLug* 2006.

69 Ferjančić 2002, p. 276, no. 281; *EDH* HD063272.

70 Signifer: *CIL* 3, 2716; 2915; 8436; 9904; *ILLug* 1962; 2093; signif(er) *ILLug* 1937; 2817; *CIL* 3, 2040; 2838; 9725; sign(ifer) *ILLug* 1930; sig(nifer) *ILLug* 115; 1927; *CIL* 3, 9899; 14935; 15001.

71 Cagnat 1914, p. 461.

singulara od kojih su natpisi trojice (3, 8, 11) teško oštećeni te se ne može reći o kojim se kohortama radi. Pretpostavlja se da ulomak natpisa (3) spominje kohortu Prva *Alpinorum*, što je teško dokazati.⁷⁹ Konjanik singular Lucije Atije Restuto (2) pripadao je kohorti Treća *Alpinorum*, najvjerojatnije kao i singular Plarent (1). U njoj je služio i tesararij Epikad (1), koji je prethodno možda bio singular. Ako su ove pretpostavke ispravne i poveže li ih se s Restutovim natpisom, može se zaključiti da su tijekom flavijevsko-trajanskog doba za singulare u namjesnikovu oficiju primljena najmanje trojica vojnika iz kohorte Treća *Alpinorum*. Ona je bila *quingenaria equitata* sastavljena od oko 480 pješaka i oko 120 konjanika.⁸⁰ U provinciji je najvjerojatnije bila od Augustovog doba do početka 3. stoljeća.⁸¹ Prema postojećim izvorima nemoguće je reći koliko je tada singulara bilo popunjeno pripadnicima ove kohorte i zašto je izabrana baš ona, a ne neka druga smještena u Dalmaciji. Teško je reći koje su okolnosti dovele do njihova primanja u singulare jer ovi natpisi datiraju u dugi raspon od oko pola stoljeća. Nemoguće je utvrditi jesu li možda njezini vojnici birani za ovu službu i ranije tijekom julijsko-klaudijevskog doba, što bi značilo da su ova tri natpisa odraz nastavljanja već uhodanog postupanja provincijske administracije. S druge strane, možda je u nekom kraćem intervalu tijekom flavijevsko-trajanskog razdoblja garnitura singulara u određenoj mjeri popunjena vojnicima Treće kohorte. Dobar primjer dolazi iz Sirije, gdje su 219.-222. godine singulari u cijelosti zamijenjeni novima iz kohorte Dvadeseta *Palmyrenorum* jer su po svemu sudeći podupirali pogrešnog namjesnika.⁸² Čini se da je cjelovita zamjena singulara bila iznimka nego pravilo jer nije izgledno kako je svaki novi namjesnik raspuštao stražu svoga prethodnika i postavljao novu prema vlastitom izboru vojnika.⁸³ Ako je u flavijevsko-trajanskom dobu došlo do značajnije popune singulara vojnicima iz kohorte Treća *Alpinorum*, pitanje je može li se ono povezati s nekim prijelomnim događajima iz tog vremena. Prvo što se nameće jest građanski rat 68.-69. godine, koji je mogao utjecati na postavljanje novog namjesnika i eventualnu reorganizaciju ljudstva u njegovu oficiju. Međutim, takvo objašnjenje nema vrijednost jer je Dalmacijom između 67. i 70. godine upravljao Marko

the Empire show different ways of writing and abbreviating the designations of the *singularis* service (*sin* (*cos*), *singulares* (*cos*), *singi*, *singu*, *singul*, *singula*, *singulares*), sometimes in two different ways in the same document. The designation is rendered in ten variants on the bricks from Dacian Apulum made by *singulares*. The African and British units probably had their own manner of abbreviation, and the inscriptions (*RIB* 865, 1713, 594, 1266, 725) of five British *singulares* exhibit the radical abbreviation (*S*)⁷² as does an inscription (*EDH* HD058135) from Raetia.⁷³ Keeping in mind the diversity of the abbreviations employed as well as the example of a fragment (11) from Salona with radical abbreviation, it would appear quite likely that Sestius Nepos was a *singularis* prior to his discharge from active service.

Besides two inscriptions (1, 2) dated to the Flavian-Trajanic era, eight inscriptions (3-10) may be dated to the late Principate in line with the features of their name formulas and use of funerary expressions. Namely, four (5-7, 10) have dual name formulas, while four have the gentilicium *Aurelius* (3, 5, 7, 10). The phrase *bene merens* is used on three (4-6), while three others contain the phrase *vixit annorum* (4, 7, 9), and one has the phrase *defunctus annorum* (8). Four inscriptions contain the adjectives *verecundissimus* and *incomparabilis* (4), or *carissimus* (5), *infelicissimus* (7) and *pientissimus* (10).⁷⁴ Inscription fragment (3) has preserved in it the adjective *consularis*, which appeared next to the designation of the official's service instead of the governor's name from the mid-2nd century onward.⁷⁵ Stela fragment (11) has been dated to the broad period from the 1st to 3rd centuries because of a lack of firm datable elements.

Core units and the selection of Dalmatian *singulares*

Being a member of the governor's bodyguard was a great honour for a soldier in an auxiliary unit, so in their inscriptions many of them highlighted their service as *singulares* while neglecting to mention their core auxiliary unit,⁷⁶ even though the latter continued to be

79 V. bilj. 54-59.

80 V. bilj. 104-108.

81 Alföldy 1987, str. 245-247, 295; Gayet 2006, str. 70.

82 Davies 1976a, str. 143-144, bilj. 107.

83 Sintagma *equites singulares exercitus Arabici* pokazuje da su se doživljavali kao singulari provincijske vojske, a ne kao namjesnikovi singulari što bi bilo malo vjerojatno da ih je formirao svaki novi namjesnik, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 7-9.

72 Davies 1976a, pp. 134-136.

73 Use of the abbreviation *SC* may also be interpreted as *s(ummu)s c(urator)*, as for example in the inscription *ILS* 2524 from Virunum, see Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, p. 89.

74 Cf. Alföldy 1969, pp. 27-30, 46-47.

75 Syme 1968, p. 68; Rankov 1999, pp. 20-21, note 39.

76 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 36. Sometimes soldiers intentionally abbreviated their names and had it rendered in ligature to save space for the complete spelling of the designation of their service. A fine example is

Pompej Silvan, čija potpora Vespazijanu isprva nije bila odlučna, ali ga je u njoj učvrstio legat legije Jeda-naesta *Claudia pia fidelis* Lucije Anije Bas.⁸⁴ Drugo, izglednije objašnjenje jest da se uzimanjem vojnika iz ove kohorte htjelo ojačati njihov borbeni duh i zajedništvo koji će biti korisni poslije kada se vrate u svoju postrojbu.⁸⁵ Možda se kohortu tako htjelo čvršće vezati uz namjesnikovu administraciju, što se moglo dogoditi u prvim godinama Domicijanove vladavine, kada je Dalmaciju napustila legija Četvrta *Flavia felix* i pet kohorti⁸⁶ i kada su u njoj ostale samo kohorta Osma *Voluntariorum civium Romanorum* i Treća *Alpinorum*.⁸⁷ Moglo bi se reći da je u provinciji s krajnje reduciranom vojnom posadom bilo važno imati čvršću vezu s kohortom čije su ljudstvo većim dijelom činili peregri.⁸⁸

Iz kasnog principata potječu cjelovito sačuvani natpisi petorice singulara (4-7, 10) koji namjerno nisu istaknuli pripadnost matičnim postrojbama tako da u obzir dolaze augziliji tada smješteni u Dalmaciji. Osim kohorte Treća *Alpinorum* to su bile kohorte Osma *Voluntariorum*, Prva *Belgarum*, Prva i Druga *milliaria Delmatarum*.⁸⁹ Moguće je da su singulari uzimani samo iz Treće kohorte, što se može zaključiti prema načinu popunjavanja nekih položaja u dalmatinskom oficiju pripadnicima drugih augzilija. Naime, važnije funkcije obavljali su vojnici iz Osme kohorte jer natpisi potvrđuju jednog beneficijarija, dvojicu pomoćnika kornikularija i jednog frulaša.⁹⁰ Niže rangirane službe stratora obavljali su pripadnici kohorte Prva *Belgarum*, što dokazuje jedan natpis i najvjerojatnije još jedan oštećeni.⁹¹ Međutim, moglo

recorded in a given soldier's documentation, as clearly shown by the example of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* from Dura-Europus.⁷⁷ However, many *singulares* nevertheless also specified the name of their units,⁷⁸ which was done by four Dalmatian *singulares*, although in the case of three of these inscriptions (3, 8, 11) they are so heavily damaged that it is difficult to discern which cohorts. It is assumed that inscription fragment (3) mentions *cohors I Alpinorum*, which is difficult to prove.⁷⁹ The *eques singularis* Lucius Attius Restutus (2) belonged to *cohors III Alpinorum* most likely just as the *singularis* Plares (1). The *tesserarius* Epicadus (1), who may have been a *singularis* prior thereto, also served in it. If this speculation is correct and they are linked with the inscription of Restutus, then it may be concluded that a minimum of three soldiers from *cohors III Alpinorum* were admitted to the governor's staff as *singulares* during the Flavian-Trajanic era. It was a *quingenaria equitata* consisting of approximately 480 foot soldiers and 120 cavalrymen.⁸⁰ It was in the province most likely from the Augustan era until the beginning of the 3rd century.⁸¹ According to existing sources, it is impossible to state how many *singulares* at the time were members of this cohort and why it was specifically chosen rather than another one posted in Dalmatia. It is difficult to determine the circumstances which led to their admittance into the *singulares*, as these inscriptions have been dated over a broad period of roughly a half century. It is impossible to ascertain whether its soldiers were perhaps selected to this service even earlier, during the Julio-Claudian era, which would mean that these three inscriptions reflect the continuation of an already established practice by the provincial administration. On the other hand, perhaps the contingent of *singulares* was filled with soldiers from the Third Cohort during some brief interval during the Flavian-Trajanic era. A good example is from Syria, where in 219-222 AD *singulares* were entirely replaced with new ones from *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, which by all accounts had supported the wrong governor.⁸² It would appear that the complete replacement of *singulares* was an exception rather than a rule, because it was not likely that each new governor disbanded the guard of his predecessor and appointed a new one according to his own

84 Wilkes 1969, str. 84, 444; Levick 2003, str. 61; Wellesley 2005, str. 155. Silvanova funkcija kuratora vodoopskrbe u Rimu (71.-73. godine) i ponovno imenovanje konzulom (74. godine) svjedoče da je bio Vespazijanov čovjek kao i njegov nasljednik dalmatinski namjesnik Pegaz; v. Jones 2002, str. 54-56. Detaljnije o Silvanu prema ulomku monumentalnog natpisa (*AE* 1994, 1346) s njegovim imenom iz Salone, v. Rendić-Miočević 1985, str. 151-155. Ulomak još uvijek leži na kardu sjeverno od teatra, odakle bi ga trebalo skloniti na sigurno jer je izložen lošim vremenskim utjecajima i lokalnim vandalima. Detaljnije o Pegazu v. Champlin 1978, str. 269-278.

85 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 8-9.

86 Wilkes 1969, str. 141; Jones 1974, str. 49.

87 Početkom 2. stoljeća pridružila im se kohorta Prva *Belgarum*, Matijević 2011, str. 183-184.

88 Alföldy 1987, str. 280-282.

89 Alföldy 1987, str. 246-249, 251-252, 254-255.

90 Matijević 2009, str. 48-54.

91 Matijević 2011, str. 197-199; detaljnije o mogućnostima restitucije oštećenog stratorovog natpisa v. Matijević 2015, str. 154-155.

inscription *CIL* 7, 78 of a *strator* from Irchester in Britain, see Davies 1976a, p. 135.

77 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 104-115.

78 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 7-8, note 30.

79 See notes 54-59.

80 See notes 104-108.

81 Alföldy 1987, pp. 245-247, 295; Gayet 2006, p. 70.

82 Davies 1976a, pp. 143-144, note 107.

bi se ponuditi i objašnjenje temeljeno na analogiji iz Britanije. Jedan je singular bio rodom iz Panonije pa se pretpostavilo da ga je tijekom službe primijetio tamošnji namjesnik i doveo ga sa sobom kada je dobio namjesništvo u Britaniji.⁹² Prema tome, singulari koji ne navode postrojbu možda nisu služili u neke od dalmatinskih auxilijarija, nego ih je sa sobom u Dalmaciju doveo neki namjesnik iz svoje prethodne provincije. Od svih poznatih dalmatinskih singulara strano porijeklo najizglednije je za Gaja Sabinija Nikijata (4) i Aurelija Dizu (5), koji su možda potjecali iz istočnih provincija, odnosno Trakije.⁹³

Godine službe dalmatinskih singulara

Za četvoricu konjanika singulara postoje podatci o broju godina službe. Aurelije Diza (5) odslužio je 16, Lucije Atije Restuto (2) 21, Gaj Sabinije Nikijat (4) 25, a mogući pješak singular (8) 14 godina. Dvojica (6, 10) su u trenutku smrti bili veterani, odnosno bivši singulari i može se reći da su singularsku službu obavljali pred kraj svoje karijere kao već iskusni vojnici. Vojnici su mogli postati singulari u različitim razdobljima svoje karijere, neki pred umirovljenje, a neki i sa samo nekoliko mjeseci vojne službe⁹⁴ poput tek unovačenih pripadnika kohorte Dvadeseta *Palmyrenorum* 222. godine,⁹⁵ što donekle treba gledati kroz vojno-političke okolnosti u Siriji i na Istoku gdje je ova postrojba djelovala.⁹⁶

Brojnost singulara u uredu dalmatinskog namjesnika

Nema sumnje da je veličina svakog oficija ovisila o vojnoj važnosti provincije i o brojnosti vojske koju je namjesnik imao na raspolaganju.⁹⁷ Iako nijedan povijesni izvor ne navodi broj namjesnikovih singulara,⁹⁸ može se reći da ih bilo oko 500.⁹⁹ Opravdano je pretpostaviti da su sve auxilijarne postrojbe u Dalmaciji od početka principata providale vojnike za namjesnikove singularare što se, zahvaljujući natpisu Lucija Atija Restuta (2) i eventualno Plarenta (1),

choice of soldiers.⁸³ If a significant filling of the ranks of *singulares* with soldiers from *cohors III Alpinorum* occurred during the Flavian-Trajanic era, there is some question as to whether this may be linked to certain pivotal events of that time. The most obvious of the latter would be the civil war of 68-69, which may have influenced the appointment of a new governor and the possible reorganization of personnel in his staff. However, such an explanation is not valid, because Dalmatia was administered between 67 and 70 AD by Marcus Pompeius Silvanus, whose support to Vespasian was initially not very resolute, but it was reinforced in the province by the legate of *Legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* Lucius Annius Bassus.⁸⁴ Secondly, a more likely explanation is that by taking soldiers from this cohort, the intention was to bolster their fighting spirit and unity, which would prove useful later when they returned to their unit.⁸⁵ Perhaps the intention was to more firmly bind this cohort to the governor's administration, which may have occurred in the first years of Domitian's reign, when *Legio IV Flavia felix* and five cohorts departed from Dalmatia⁸⁶ and when only *cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum* and *III Alpinorum* remained.⁸⁷ It may be said that with a greatly reduced military presence in the province, it was vital to have a firmer tie with the cohort whose personnel largely consisted of peregrines.⁸⁸

Completely preserved inscriptions of five *singulares* (4-7, 10) date to the late Principate; these soldiers intentionally refrained from mentioning the core units to which they belonged, so the auxiliaries posted in Dalmatia at the time may be considered. Besides *cohors*

92 Otac ovoga singulara bio je *primus pilus* zahvaljujući čemu je mogao poticajno utjecati na karijeru svoga sina, detaljnije v. Davies 1976a, str. 137.

93 V. bilj. 122-124.

94 Breeze 1974b, str. 282, 284-285; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 7.

95 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 36.

96 Davies 1976b, str. 256.

97 Cupcea 2008, str. 264, bilj. 3.

98 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 12-13.

99 Rankov 1999, str. 24-25, bilj. 60, 62; Bérard 2000, str. 280-281.

83 The phrase *equites singulares exercitus Arabici* shows that the *singulares* viewed themselves as the provincial army's *singulares* rather than the governor's, which makes it highly unlikely that they were formed by each new governor, M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 7-9.

84 Wilkes 1969, pp. 84, 444; Levick 2003, p. 61; Wellesley 2005, p. 155. Silvanus' function as the water supply *curator* in Rome (71-73 AD) and his reappointment as consul (74 AD) indicate that he was Vespasian's man, as was his successor as Dalmatian governor, Pegasus; see Jones 2002, pp. 54-56. For more details on Silvanus based on the fragment of a monumental inscription (*AE* 1994, 1346) bearing his name from Salona, see Rendić-Miočević 1985, pp. 151-155. The fragment still lies on the *cardo* north of the theatre, from which it should be moved as it is exposed to harsh weathering and local vandals. For more details on Pegasus, see Champlin 1978, pp. 269-278.

85 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 8-9.

86 Wilkes 1969, p. 141; Jones 1974, p. 49.

87 At the onset of the 2nd century, they were joined by *cohors I Belgarum*, Matijević 2011, pp. 183-184.

88 Alföldy 1987, pp. 280-282.

može tvrditi samo za kohortu Treća *Alpinorum*. Tijekom 1. stoljeća u provinciji je epigrafski potvrđeno 13 pomoćnih postrojba, od kojih četiri ale (*Parthorum*, *Pannoniorum*, *Claudia nova*, *Frontoniana*) i devet kohorti (*Aquitانorum*, Prva *Bracaraugustanorum*, Prva *Lucensium*, Prva *Montanorum*, Prva *Flavia Brittonum*, Prva *Campanorum*, Druga *Cyrrhestarum*, Treća *Alpinorum* i Osmo *Voluntariorum*) koje tijekom toga vremena nisu bile istodobno prisutne.¹⁰⁰ Sudeći prema citiranoj Alföldyjevoj kronologiji, najduže su i istodobno u Dalmaciji, odnosno između 9. godine i kraja 1. stoljeća bile prisutne Prva *Bracaraugustanorum*, Prva *Campanorum*, Treća *Alpinorum* i Osmo *Voluntariorum*, a ostale su ovdje bile u različitim kraćim razdobljima u 1. stoljeću. Prvi problem jest taj što postojeću kronologiju boravka pomoćnih postrojba u Dalmaciji treba podvrgnuti temeljitoj reviziji, zasnovanoj na novim interpretacijama starih natpisa uzimajući u obzir i novootkrivene natpise. Posebno se mora istaknuti da znanstvenici često uopće nisu složni oko odgovora na pitanje kada je pojedina postrojba napustila provinciju,¹⁰¹ te se ne može kazati koje su postrojbe u njoj istodobno boravile. Variranje broja augzilijarnog ljudstva u provinciji moralo je utjecati i na brojnost singulara u oficiju, pa je prilikom pretpostavljanja njihova ukupnog broja posebno važno imati na umu da nisu sve postrojbe u provinciji davale jednak broj vojnika za ovu službu, što potvrđuje i spomenuti primjer iz Sirije.¹⁰²

Nešto je jednostavnije doći do okvirnog broja singulara u oficiju za vrijeme od početka 2. stoljeća do 170. godine kada su u provinciji boravile kohorte Osmo *Voluntariorum*, Treća *Alpinorum* i Prva *Belgarum*.¹⁰³ Po ustroju je svaka od njih bila *equitata quingenaria*,¹⁰⁴

III Alpinorum, these were *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, *I Belgarum*, and *I* and *II milliaria Delmatarum*.⁸⁹ It is possible that the *singulares* were only taken from the Third Cohort, which may be concluded based on the manner in which certain posts in the Dalmatian staff were filled with members of other auxiliaries. Namely, more important functions were performed by soldiers from the Eighth Cohort, because inscriptions confirm a *beneficiarius*, two assistants to the governor's *cornicularius* and one *tibicen*.⁹⁰ The lower-ranking post of *strator* was held by members of *cohors I Belgarum*, which is demonstrated by one inscription and probably by another damaged one.⁹¹ However, an explanation based on an analogy from Britain may also be proposed. One *singularis* was from Pannonia by birth, so it was assumed that during his service he was noticed by the local governor who then took him along when he was appointed to the governorship in Britannia.⁹² So perhaps the *singulares* who did not specify their unit did not serve in any of the Dalmatian auxiliaries, rather they were brought to Dalmatia by a governor from his previous province. Out of all of the known Dalmatian *singulares*, a foreign origin is mostly likely for Gaius Sabinius Nicias (4) and Aurelius Diza (5), who may have originally come from the eastern provinces, specifically Thrace.⁹³

Years of service of Dalmatian *singulares*

There are data on the years of service for four *equites singulares*. Aurelius Diza (5) served 16 years, Lucius Attius Restutus (2) served 21, Gaius Sabinius Nicias (4) served 25, and a possible *pedes singularis* (8) served 14 years. Two (6, 10) were veterans, formerly *singulares*, at the time of their death, so it may be said that they performed their service as *singulares* near the end of their careers as already seasoned soldiers. Soldiers could become *singulares* at various points in their careers, some just prior to retirement, and some after only several months in military service,⁹⁴ such as the just recruited members of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* in 222 AD,⁹⁵ which to some extent should be

100 Alföldy 1987, str. 276.

101 Primjerice, odlazak ale *Parthorum* možda se dogodio nakon Varova poraza (Holder 1980, str. 151, 286, br. 661; Alföldy 1987, str. 245), zatim tijekom Klaudijeve ili Neronove vladavine (Knight 1991, str. 189-190). Nije sigurno je li ala *Pannoniorum* napustila Dalmaciju oko 15. godine (Wilkes 1969, str. 140-141, 471; Holder 1980, str. 151, 283, br. 621; Alföldy 1987, str. 244; Meyer 2012, str. 112), odnosno do Klaudijeve vladavine (Spaul 1994, str. 170). Posebno je nezahvalno govoriti o vremenu boravka kohorte *Aquitانorum* jer na njezinu natpisu iz Salone ime kohorte ne prati brojčana oznaka tako da u obzir može doći nekoliko kohorti unovačenih u galskoj Akvitaniji, v. Matijević 2015, str. 60-61.

102 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 7.

103 Alföldy 1987, str. 246-249, 254-255.

104 Spaul 2000, str. 35-37, 190-192, 266-268. Nije sigurno da je kohorta Osmo *Voluntariorum* bila *equitata*, ali ovdje je to pretpostavljeno zbog pojednostavnjivanja računa kojemu je svrha dobivanje okvirnog broja

89 Alföldy 1987, pp. 246-249, 251-252, 254-255.

90 Matijević 2009, pp. 48-54.

91 Matijević 2011, pp. 197-199; for more details on the possibilities of restoring the *strator*'s damaged inscription, see Matijević 2015, pp. 154-155.

92 The father of this *singularis* was *primus pilus* thanks to which he could positively influence his son's career, for more details see Davies 1976a, p. 137.

93 See notes 122-124.

94 Breeze 1974b, pp. 282, 284-285; M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 7.

95 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 36.

dakle sastavljena od 480 pješaka (6 centurija) i 120 konjanika (4 turme), što daje ukupnu jačinu od 600 vojnika.¹⁰⁵ Točan broj vojnika u jedinicama ovog tipa još uvijek nije sa sigurnošću utvrđen,¹⁰⁶ jer neki smatraju da se radilo o 360 pješaka i 128 konjanika, prema čemu bi ukupna snaga kohorte od 488 vojnika bolje odgovarala njezinu pridjevu (*quingenaria*).¹⁰⁷ Prema ovim brojkama od početka 2. stoljeća pa do 170. godine sigurnost u Dalmaciji održavalo je 1440-1800 pješaka i 360-384 konjanika, ukupno 1800-2184 vojnika. Pretpostavljanje broja vojnika nalaže oprez jer pisani izvori pokazuju da se stvarna snaga kohorte mogla bitno razlikovati od njezine teoretske snage. Dobar primjer je kohorta Prva *Hispanorum veterana quingenaria*, koja je 106. godine u Meziji imala 417 pješaka i 119 konjanika.¹⁰⁸ Unatoč tome, prema ovim brojkama moguće je donekle odrediti koliko je singulara služilo u oficiju namjesnika Dalmacije analogno njihovu broju u drugim provincijama. *Pedites* i *equites singulares* su u vojno važnim provincijama po broju vojnika najvjerojatnije odgovarali jačini ale, odnosno kohorte. *Pedites singulares* su u Britaniji, Siriji i Donjoj Panoniji činili oko 5 % ukupnog auxilijarnog pješaštva. U provincijama sa smanjenom prisutnošću auxilija broj singulara morao je biti znatno manji,¹⁰⁹ a tako je zacijelo bilo i u Dalmaciji. Računanjem prema ovom postotku i okvirnom broju

viewed through the prism of military and political circumstances in Syria and in the Orient where the unit was active.⁹⁶

The number of *singulares* in the Dalmatian governor's staff

There is no doubt that the size of most staffs depended on the military importance of the province and the number of troops the consul had at his disposal.⁹⁷ Even though not a single historical source specifies the number of governor *singulares*,⁹⁸ it may be said that there were roughly 500 of them.⁹⁹ A justified assumption is that all auxiliary units in Dalmatia since the beginning of the Principate supplied soldiers for the governor's *singulares*, which thanks to the inscription of Lucius Attius Restutus (2) and possibly that of Plares (1) can only be said of *cohors III Alpinorum*. Epigraphic evidence confirms the presence of thirteen auxiliary units in the province during the 1st century, of which four were *alae* (*Parthorum*, *Pannoniorum*, *Claudia nova*, *Frontoniana*) and nine were *cohors* (*Aquitanorum*, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Lucensium*, *I Montanorum*, *I Flavia Brittonum*, *I Campanorum*, *II Cyrrhestarum*, *III Alpinorum* and *VIII Voluntariorum*) which were not there simultaneously during this period.¹⁰⁰ Judging by Alföldy's cited chronology, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Campanorum*, *III Alpinorum* and *VIII Voluntariorum* were in Dalmatia simultaneously for the longest period, from 9 AD to the end of the 1st century, while the remaining were there over different briefer periods in the 1st century. The first problem is that the existing chronology of the stay of auxiliary units in Dalmatia should undergo a complete revision based on new interpretations of old inscriptions, taking into consideration newly-discovered inscriptions. It is particularly noteworthy that scholars are often not at all in accord over the question of when individual units departed from the province,¹⁰¹ which alone impedes any assertions as to

vojnika u provinciji za ovo razdoblje. Naime, promoviranje bivšeg pripadnika carskih konjaničkih singulara Tita Flavija Lucilija (*AE* 2006, 1013) u centuriona ove kohorte može sugerirati da je Osmo *Voluntariorum* ipak bila *equitata*, Faure 2010, str. 232. Isto se može zaključiti za kohortu Treća *Alpinorum* prema natpisu (*CIL* 3, 2745) njezina veksilarija Gaja Bebidija Marcela, iako u ovom primjeru treba biti oprezan jer su veksilariji potvrđeni i među pješaštvom kohorti, M. P. Speidel 1974, str. 938, bilj. 42.

105 Davies 1971, str. 751-752.

106 Southern 2006, str. 121.

107 Breeze, Dobson 2000, str. 159-160; v. i Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 25-26.

108 Breeze, Dobson 2000, str. 160.

109 Sredinom 2. stoljeća u Siriji je smještena čak 21 kohorta i tri ale ukupne jačine oko 14.500 pješaka i konjanika, Spaul 2000, str. 521-522. Teško da je broj singulara tamošnjeg namjesnika bio manji od tisuću, dakle 500 pješaka s isto toliko konjanika i možda odjeljenjem dromedarija. Ovoliku broju sugerira i prostorna organizacija goleme utvrde Cripplegate u Londiniju, koja je osim singulara morala smještati i ostale pripadnike tamošnjeg namjesnikova oficija, M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 13-15. Norik je vjerojatno imao 250-300 pješaka i 120-150 konjanika singulara, a susjedna Recija 225-250 pješaka singulara, v. Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, str. 86.

96 Davies 1976b, p. 256.

97 Cupcea 2008, p. 264, note 3.

98 M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 12-13.

99 Rankov 1999, pp. 24-25, notes 60, 62; Bérard 2000, pp. 280-281.

100 Alföldy 1987, p. 276.

101 For example, the departure of ala *Parthorum* may have occurred after Varro's defeat (Holder 1980, pp. 151, 286, no. 661; Alföldy 1987, p. 245), and then during the reign of Claudius or Nero (Knight 1991, pp. 189-190). It is not certain as to whether ala *Pannoniorum* departed from Dalmatia at around 15 AD (Wilkes 1969, pp. 140-141, 471; Holder 1980, pp. 151, 283, no. 621; Alföldy 1987, pp. 244; Meyer 2012, p. 112)

augzilirijarnih pješaka u Dalmaciji i uz uvjet da su svi dalmatinski augziliji ravnopravno sudjelovali u popunjavanju singulara može se reći da je između početka 2. stoljeća i 170. godine pri oficiju služilo između 72 i 90 pješaka. Nakon 170. godine provincijskoj posadi priključene su dvije novoosnovane kohorte, Prva i Druga *milliaria Delmatarum*.¹¹⁰ Druga *milliaria Delmatarum* bila je *equitata*¹¹¹ sa 240 ili 256 konjanika (8 turma) te 800 pješaka (10 centurija),¹¹² što daje broj od oko 1050 vojnika. Toliko je imala i kohorta Prva *milliaria Delmatarum* iako nije jasno jesu li u njoj služili samo pješaci.¹¹³ Dakle, od 170. godine u provinciji je od augzilirijarnih jedinica bilo stacionirano 3540-3900 pješaka i 600-640 konjanika, što daje ukupan broj od 4140-4540 vojnika. Ako je Prva *Delmatarum* bila *equitata*, broj konjanika treba povećati za 240 ili 256, a za toliko smanjiti broj pješaka, što ne mijenja ukupan broj vojnika u provinciji. Uzimajući iste omjere, može se zaključiti da je broj pješaka singulara u Dalmaciji nakon 170. godine iznosio između 177 i 195.

Drugačije je bilo s konjanicima. Ako su neke od singularskih ala¹¹⁴ ustrojene od konjanika singulara, tada je njihov broj u provinciji bio oko 500, što predstavlja vrlo visok postotak od ukupnog broja konjanika u nekoj provinciji. Primjerice, u Donjoj i Gornjoj Germaniji bilo ih je između 2500 i 3000 pa bi brojka od 500 konjanika singulara predstavljala otprilike jednu šestinu ukupnog broja.¹¹⁵ Dalmacija je od početka 2. stoljeća do 170. godine imala između 360 i 384 konjanika, nakon te godine broj im je povećan na 600 do 640, odnosno na 850 do 890 uz uvjet da je kohorta Prva *milliaria Delmatarum* bila *equitata*. Prema tome, broj konjanika singulara u prvom razdoblju bio je 60 do 64 i u kasnom je principatu povećan na 106 ili 140 do 150. Vjerojatno je brojčana snaga dalmatinskog numera singulara bila manja jer provincija nije imala izraženo strateško značenje poput Donje Germanije i Sirije. Njihov manji broj realno je očekivati i zbog toga što ukupan broj svih pripadnika namjesnikova oficija u Saloni nije bio velik.¹¹⁶

110 Alföldy 1987, str. 251-252.

111 Holder 2000, str. 251.

112 Davies 1971, str. 751-752; Southern 2006, str. 121.

113 Spaul (2000, str. 300, 312-313) ne navodi da je bila *equitata* za razliku od Dušanaća (2000, str. 348, bilj. 45).

114 V. bilj. 11.

115 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 14.

116 Kada je u Domicijanovo doba postala *provincia inermis* Dalmacijom je upravljao namjesnik pretorskog ranga, a od Trajanova doba njome opet upravljaju namjesnici konzulskog ranga; Birley 2005, str. 7-8; detaljnije o statusu provincije i njezinih namjesnika u

which units were there at the same time. The varying number of auxiliary personnel in the province must have also influenced the number of *singulares* in the staff, so when estimating their total number it is particularly important to bear in mind that not all units in the province provided the same number of soldiers for this service, as confirmed by the aforementioned example from Syria.¹⁰²

It is somewhat simpler to come to a general number of *singulares* in the staff during the period from the onset of the 2nd century until 170 AD, when *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, *III Alpinorum* and *I Belgarum* were in the province.¹⁰³ In terms of organization, each of them was *equitata quingenaria*,¹⁰⁴ thus they consisted of 480 foot soldiers (6 centuries) and 120 cavalrymen (4 turmae), which accounts for a total force strength of 600 soldiers.¹⁰⁵ The precise number of soldiers in units of this type has still not been established with any certainty,¹⁰⁶ because some believe that there were 360 foot soldiers and 128 cavalrymen, according to which the total cohort force strength of 488 soldiers would better correspond to its adjective (*quingenaria*).¹⁰⁷ According to these figures, from the beginning of the 2nd century until 170 AD, Dalmatia's security was maintained by 1,440-1,800 foot soldiers and 360-384 cavalrymen, a total of 1,800-2,184 soldiers. Estimation of

or until the reign of Claudius (Spaul 1994, p. 170). It is particularly fruitless to speak of the time when *cohors Aquitanorum* resided in the province, because its name is not accompanied by a numerical designation in the inscription in Salona, so that several cohorts recruited in Gallian Aquitania may be considered, see Matijević 2015, pp. 60-61.

102 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 7.

103 Alföldy 1987, pp. 246-249, 254-255.

104 Spaul 2000, pp. 35-37, 190-192, 266-268. It is uncertain as to whether *cohors VIII Voluntariorum* was *equitata*, but this was assumed here because it simplified the computation which is aimed at obtaining a general number of soldiers in the province during this period. Namely, the promotion of a former member of the imperial *equites singulares*, Titus Flavius Lucilius (*AE* 2006, 1013), to the rank of this cohort's centurion may suggest that *cohors VIII Voluntariorum* was nonetheless *equitata*, Faure 2010, p. 232. The same may be concluded for the *cohors III Alpinorum* on the basis of the inscription (*CIL* 3, 2745) of *vexillarius* Gaius Bebidius Marcellus, although some caution must be exercised with this example because *vexillarii* were also confirmed among the cohort's foot soldiers, M. P. Speidel 1974, p. 938, note 42.

105 Davies 1971, pp. 751-752.

106 Southern 2006, p. 121.

107 Breeze, Dobson 2000, pp. 159-160; see also Dixon, Southern 1992, pp. 25-26.

Porijeklo dalmatinskih singulara

Porijeklo dalmatinskih singulara moguće je odrediti prema značajkama njihovih gentilicija i kognomena kao i prema specifičnostima novačenja za auxilijarne postrojbe tijekom principata. Naime, tijekom julijevsko-klaudijevskog doba gotovo su svi pripadnici auxilija u Dalmaciji pristizali iz sredina u kojima su postrojbe osnovane. Od flavijevskog doba došlo je do promjene jer su novačenja provedena u provinciji boravka postrojbi što je u njima povećalo udio vojnika lokalnog porijekla. Od početka 3. stoljeća gotovo svi dalmatinski auxilijari imaju civitet koji su dobili mahom zahvaljujući Karakalinoj konstituciji iz 212. godine tako da mnogi nose gentilicij *Aurelius*. Vojnici su pretežito porijeklom iz Dalmacije iako je potvrđen i pokoji stranac.¹¹⁷

U cijelosti su sačuvani imenski obrasci šestorice singulara (1, 2, 4-7) i dvojice vojnika koji su najvjerojatnije bili singulari (1, 10). Lokalnog porijekla bio je vojnik Epikad (1), mogući singular, iz kohorte Treća *Alpinorum* jer nosi ime svojstveno domaćem stanovništvu jugoistočnog dijela provincije, a smatra se da je ime njegova oca (*Piramus*) također tipično ilirsko.¹¹⁸ Singular Plarent, sin Anejev (1), za kojega se pretpostavlja pripadnost istoj kohorti, također nosi

ovom razdoblju v. Jones 1974, str. 49-50. Prema tome je brojnost namjesnikovih službenika trebala biti ekvivalentna njihovoj brojnosti u oficijima provincija sa legijskom posadom. Međutim, salonitanski oficij u stvarnosti nije bio toliko velik jer je potreba za vojnicima gornjeg razreda oficijala (*principales*) bila namirivana pripadnicima legija smještenih u Gornjoj Panoniji (*X Gemina*, *XIV Gemina*), odnosno Donjoj Meziji (*I Italica*, *V Macedonica*, *XI Claudia*). Dalmatinski namjesnici očito su mogli računati samo na određeni broj tih legionara te su manjkovi na nekim položajima katkada nadomješteni angažiranjem lokalnih auxilijara, što potvrđuje primjer beneficijarija Publija Benija Egregija iz Dokleje, pripadnika kohorte Osma *Voluntariorum*. Detaljnije o pitanju brojnosti pripadnika namjesnikova ureda i načinu popunjavanja službi u razredu principala i imuna, v. Matijević 2015, str. 161-165. Ovdje iskreno želim zahvaliti prof. dr. Borisu Rankovu (Royal Holloway, University of London) što je odvojio vrijeme i sa mnom podijelio svoja razmišljanja o ovome problemu. Također, možda je ovdje dobro napomenuti da radim na posebnoj studiji koja bi detaljnije trebala rasvijetliti strukturu i funkcioniranje ureda namjesnika provincije Dalmacije.

117 Alföldy 1987, str. 256-263.

118 Alföldy 1969, str. 193-194, 278; Bojanovski 1988, str. 95.

the number of soldiers warrants caution, because written sources show that the actual strength of the cohorts may have differed from their theoretical strength. A good example is *cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria*, which had 417 foot soldiers and 119 cavalrymen in Moesia in 106 AD.¹⁰⁸ Despite this, according to these numbers, to some degree it is nonetheless possible to ascertain how many *singulares* served in the Dalmatian governor's staff by way of analogy to their numbers in other provinces. The number of *pedites* and *equites singulares* in the militarily vital provinces probably corresponded to the strength of the ala or cohort. *Pedites singulares* in Britannia, Syria and Pannonia Superior made up approximately 5% of the total auxiliary infantry. In provinces with a lesser presence of auxiliaries, the number of *singulares* had to have been considerably smaller,¹⁰⁹ and this was certainly the case in Dalmatia. By calculating on the basis of this percentage and the general number of auxiliary foot soldiers in Dalmatia, and provided that the Dalmatian auxiliaries equally participated in filling the ranks of the *singulares*, it may be said that between the beginning of the 2nd century and the year 170, there were between 72 and 90 foot soldiers serving in the governor's staff. After 170 AD, the provincial contingent was joined by two newly-established cohorts, *I* and *II milliaria Delmatarum*.¹¹⁰ *Cohors II milliaria Delmatarum* was an *equitata*¹¹¹ with 240 or 256 cavalrymen (8 turmae) and 800 foot soldiers (10 centuries),¹¹² which gives a number of 1,050 soldiers. This was also the man-power of *cohors I milliaria Delmatarum*, although it is uncertain as to whether only infantrymen served in it.¹¹³ Thus, as of 170 AD, out of the auxiliary

108 Breeze, Dobson 2000, p. 160.

109 In Syria in the mid-2nd century, there were as many as 21 cohorts and three alae with a total strength of approximately 14,500 foot soldiers and cavalrymen, Spaul 2000, pp. 521-522. It is highly unlikely that the number of the local governor's *singulares* was lower than a thousand, so 500 foot soldiers and the same number of cavalrymen, and perhaps a contingent of *dromedarii*. Such a figure is also suggested by the spatial organization of the enormous Cripplegate Fortress in Londinium, which besides *singulares* had to accommodate the remaining members of the local governor's staff, M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 13-15. Noricum probably had 250-300 foot soldiers and 120-150 cavalrymen, while neighbouring Raetia had 225-250 *equites singulares*, see Gugl, Neubauer, Nau, Jernej 2015, p. 86.

110 Alföldy 1987, pp. 251-252.

111 Holder 2000, p. 251.

112 Davies 1971, pp. 751-752; Southern 2006, p. 121.

113 Spaul (2000, pp. 300, 312-313) did not state that it was *equitata*, as opposed to Dušanić (2000, p. 348, note 45).

ime tipično za spomenute krajeve, jednako kao i njegov otac (*Annaeus*).¹¹⁹

Gentilicij i kognomen Lucija Atija Restuta (2) odati porijeklo iz sjeverne Italije ili Norika,¹²⁰ ali kako u Saloni ima više od 15 nositelja ovoga gentilicija tijekom principata,¹²¹ ne treba isključiti ni njegovo lokalno porijeklo.

Kognomen Gaja Sabinija Nikijata (4) posvuda je rasprostranjen i ukazuje na orijentalno porijeklo, a gentilicij na Italiju ili keltske provincije.¹²² U provinciji postoji još samo jedna potvrda gentilicija *Sabinus*, i to iz ranog principata,¹²³ što može ukazivati na njegovo strano porijeklo.

Kognomen Aurelija Dize (5) upućuje na Trakiju,¹²⁴ gdje je mogao biti unovačen za neku od pomoćnih postrojba u Dalmaciji.¹²⁵

Kognomen Valerija Valentina (6) ukazuje na lokalno porijeklo.¹²⁶ Isto vrijedi i za Aurelija Priska (7), čiji je kognomen u Dalmaciji većinom zastupljen kod domaćeg stanovništva.¹²⁷

Gentilicij i kognomen Sestija Nepota (10) sugeriraju italsko ili lokalno porijeklo.¹²⁸

Ostale osobe spomenute na natpisima dalmatinskih singulara

Krajem 2. stoljeća car Septimije Sever dopustio je aktivnim vojnicima sklapanje zakonitih brakova (*conubium*), što u ranije doba principata nije bilo moguće iako je država prešutno tolerirala njihove zajednice sa ženama (*contubernium*, *concubinatus*) i djecu kao plod takvih zajednica.¹²⁹ Međutim, posve je

units there were 3,540-3,900 foot soldiers and 600-640 cavalrymen stationed in the province, which means a total of 4,140-4,540 soldiers. If *I Delmatarum* was *equitata*, the number of cavalrymen should be increased by 240 or 256, while the number of foot soldiers should be reduced by that same amount, which does not alter the total number of soldiers in the province. Using this same ratio, it may be concluded that the number of *pedites singulares* in Dalmatia after 170 AD was between 177 and 195.

It was different with cavalrymen. If any of the *singularis alae*¹¹⁴ consisted of *equites singulares*, then their number in the province was approximately 500, which constitutes a very high percentage of the total number of cavalrymen in a given province. For example, in Germania Inferior and Superior, there were between 2,500 and 3,000, so the number of 500 *equites singulares* would have constituted roughly one sixth of the total number.¹¹⁵ Dalmatia had between 360 and 384 cavalrymen between the start of the 2nd century and 170 AD, and after that year their number increased to 600-640 or to 850-890, provided that *cohors I milliaria Delmatarum* was *equitata*. Thus, the number of *equites singulares* in the first period was 60 to 64, while in the late Principate it increased to 106 or 140 to 150. It is likely that the numerical strength of the Dalmatian *numerus singularium* was lower, because the province did not have the great strategic importance of Germania Inferior and Syria. A lower number should also be expected because the total number of their members in the governor's staff in Salona was not very high.¹¹⁶

119 Alföldy 1969, str. 150, 267; v. i Alföldy 1987, str. 281, bilj. 17; Bojanovski 1988, str. 95. Alföldyju tvrdnju o Plarentovu dalmatinskom porijeklu prihvaća i M. P. Speidel (1978, str. 88).

120 Alföldy 1969, str. 63, 282; v. i Alföldy 1987, str. 280-281, bilj. 12. M. P. Speidel (1978, str. 87, bilj. 422) smatra da njegovo ime ne mora značiti da je bio iz Norika, iako drugi njegovi kolege iz kohorte jesu.

121 Alföldy 1969, str. 63.

122 Alföldy 1969, str. 116, 252, 361; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 86, br. 25.

123 Alföldy 1969, str. 116.

124 Alföldy 1969, str. 189.

125 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 87, br. 27.

126 Alföldy 1969, str. 320.

127 Alföldy 1969, str. 273.

128 Alföldy 1969, str. 120, 251; Alföldy 1987, str. 281, bilj. 6.

129 Scheidel 2007, str. 417-418; detaljnije v. Campbell 1978, str. 153-166, a 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.

114 See note 11.

115 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 14.

116 When Dalmatia became a *provincia inermis* during Domitian's reign, it was administered by a governor of praetorian rank, while as of the Trajanic period it was again administered by those of consular rank; Birley 2005, pp. 7-8; for more details on the status of the province and its governors in this period, see Jones 1974, pp. 49-50. So the number of the governor officials should have been equivalent to their number in the staffs of provinces manned by legions. However, the Salona officium was not actually that large, because the need for soldiers of the upper class of officials (*principales*) was supplied with members of the legions stationed in Pannonia Superior (*X Gemina*, *XIV Gemina*) and Moesia Inferior (*I Italica*, *V Macedonica*, *XI Claudia*). The Dalmatian governors could obviously count on only a certain number of these legionnaires and the shortages at certain positions were sometimes resolved by engaging local auxiliaries, which is confirmed by the example of the *beneficiarius* Publius Bennius Ergregius from Doclea, a member of *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*. For more on the matter of the number of members in the governor's office and the

drugačija politika države bila prema veteranima koji su imali pravo ženidbe sa samo jednom partnericom ili budućom ženom bez obzira na njezin građansko-pravni status. U 1. stoljeću na nadgrobnim natpisima vojnika prilično se rijetko spominju njihove žene jer su vojnici služili daleko od svojih domova, gdje nije bilo mnogo žena jednakoga društvenog statusa te su u takvom okruženju njihovi komemoratori gotovo redovito kolege vojnici, posebice oni koje su odredili za svoje nasljednike. Članovi uže obitelji, dakle žene i djeca, kao komemoratori sve se više javljaju tijekom 2. i posebno 3. stoljeća što je posljedica povećanog provincijskog novačenja kojima su sačuvane veze sa obiteljima i ženama iz lokalne sredine.¹³⁰ Rečeno se može više-manje primijeniti i na pripadnike pomoćnih postrojba jer su ih tijekom 1. stoljeća samo 16 % komemorirale žene, a 53 % su komemorirali kolege iz postrojbe ili neke druge osobe. Tijekom 2. i 3. stoljeća žene su komemoratori u 39 % primjera, dok su ostale osobe komemoratori u 29 % primjera.¹³¹

Od 11 natpisa dalmatinskih singulara osam (1, 3-8, 10) ih je sačuvalo imena drugih osoba za koje se osim u jednom primjeru (3) može reći na koji su način bili povezani s vojnikom.

Konjanik singular Plarent postavio je natpis (1) vojniku Epikadu iz kohorte Treća *Alpinorum* i nazvao ga je prijateljem. Datira se u flavijevsko-trajansko doba, kada su nadgrobne natpise jedni drugima gotovo redovito postavljali kolege vojnici, vrlo često iz iste postrojbe.¹³²

Šest natpisa iz kasnoga principata spominje najuže članove obitelji. Od toga se u četiri primjera kao komemoratori spominju supruge vojnika. Gaju Sabiniju Nikijatu natpis (4) je postavila Flavija Tertija i dala je istaknuti kako je s njime živjela 25 godina. On je u vojsci proveo jednak broj godina, što znači da mu je Tertija postala supruga kada je bio unovačen. Aurelija Dizu (5) komemorirala je Titija Valentina, Valerija Valentina (6) Sempronija Marcelina, a Sestija Nepota (10) Aurelija Kalista. Dva natpisa spominju sinove singulara: Aurelije Prisko postavio je natpis (7) svome istoimenome sinu preminulome u dobi od dvije godine i osam mjeseci. Natpis nepoznatog singulara (8) sačuvao je završni dio kognomena njegovog sina (*[---] and*), koji je najvjerojatnije bio komemorator. Moglo bi se raditi o kognomenu *Amandianus*, *Amandinus* ili *Amandus*, koji su potvrđeni u Saloni u kasnom principatu.¹³³

130 Scheidel 2007, str. 419-421; za postotne odnose v. i Phang 2001, str. 53-85, 142-164.

131 Phang 2001, str. 152-153.

132 V. bilj. 35, 36.

133 Alföldy 1969, str. 146-147.

Origin of the Dalmatian *singulares*

The origin of the individual Dalmatian *singulares* may be determined according to the characteristics of their gentilicia and cognomina and according to the specific aspects of recruitment for auxiliary units during the Principate. During the Julio-Claudian era, virtually all members of the auxiliaries in Dalmatia arrived from the locations at which the units were established. Changes occurred as of the Flavian era, because recruitment was conducted in the province in which a unit was stationed, so that the share of soldiers of local origin in them increased. Since the beginning of the 3rd century, almost all Dalmatian auxiliaries had citizenship, which they acquired largely thanks to the Edict of Caracalla of 212 AD, so that many bore the gentilicium Aurelius. The soldiers were mostly from Dalmatia, although the occasional foreigner has been confirmed.¹¹⁷

The name formulas of six *singulares* (1, 2, 4-7) and two soldiers who were most likely *singulares* (1, 10) have been entirely preserved. The soldier Epicadus (1), a possible *singularis* from *cohors III Alpinorum* may have been of local origin because he bore a name that was characteristic of the local population in the province's south-east, and it is believed that his father's name (Piramus) was also typically Illyrian.¹¹⁸ The *singularis* Plares, the son of Annaeus (1), who is assumed to have belonged to the same cohort, bore a name typical of these areas, just like his father (Annaeus).¹¹⁹

The gentilicium and cognomen of Lucius Attius Restutus (2) indicates an origin in northern Italy or Noricum,¹²⁰ but since there were over 15 persons who bore this gentilicium in Salona during the Principate¹²¹

way the service was filled in the *principalis* and *immunis* classes, see Matijević 2015, pp. 161-165. Here I would like to thank Prof. Boris Rankov, Ph.D. (Royal Holloway, University of London) for taking the time to share his thoughts on this problem with me. Also, it may be well to note here that I am working on a separate study that should illuminate the structure and functioning of the governor's office in the province of Dalmatia in greater detail.

117 Alföldy 1987, pp. 256-263.

118 Alföldy 1969, pp. 193-194, 278; Bojanovski 1988, p. 95.

119 Alföldy 1969, pp. 150, 267; see also Alföldy 1987, p. 281, note 17; Bojanovski 1988, p. 95. Alföldy's assertion on Plares' Dalmatian origin was also accepted by M. P. Speidel (1978, p. 88).

120 Alföldy 1969, pp. 63, 282; see also Alföldy 1987, pp. 280-281, note 12. M. P. Speidel (1978, p. 87, note 422) believes that his name need not mean that he was from Noricum, although his other colleagues from the cohort were.

121 Alföldy 1969, p. 63.

Zaključak

O singularima namjesnika provincije Dalmacije svjedoči 11 cjelovitih i fragmentiranih nadgrobnih natpisa pronađenih u njezinom glavnom gradu Saloni. Najranija potvrda potječe iz flavijevsko-trajanskog doba i spominje pješaka i tesarerija Epikada iz kohorte Treća *Alpinorum* kojemu je stelu (1) postavio konjanik singular Plarent. Nekoliko naznaka opravdava pretpostavku da je Epikad također bio singular, kao i to da je njegov komemorator Plarent služio u kohorti Treća *Alpinorum*. Iz ove postrojbe i istoga vremena je natpis konjanika singulara Lucija Atija Restuta (2), što dokazuje kako je kohorta providala vojnike za ovu službu u namjesnikovu oficiju. Dakle, može se pretpostaviti da je tijekom flavijevsko-trajanskog doba odredila najmanje trojicu svojih pripadnika za namjesnikove singularne. Nemoguće je reći je li do njihova primanja došlo u nekom određenom trenutku ili je za ovu službu davala vojnike tijekom dužeg vremena. Ako je riječ o većem broju vojnika, moglo bi se pomisliti da su primljeni u prvim godinama Domicijanove vladavine, kada je vojna posada u Dalmaciji brojala još samo kohortu Osmu *Voluntariorum* pa se na taj način postrojbu htjelo čvršće vezati za provincijsku upravu, možda i zato što su većinu u njoj činili peregrini. Od ostalih devet natpisa iz kasnog principata pet (4-7, 10) ih je cjelovito očuvano i na njima su konjanici singulari namjerno izostavili ime matične postrojbe. Gaj Sabinije Nikijat (4) umro je nakon 25 godina službe, a Aurelije Diza (5) nakon 16 godina službe. *Optio* Aurelije Prisko (7) vodio je brigu o opskrbi postrojbe i jedini je do sada potvrđen singular na tom položaju koji je najvjerojatnije imao i u matičnom augziliju. Veteran i bivši singular bio je Valerije Valentin (6) te gotovo sigurno i Sestije Nepot (10). Od preostala četiri oštećena natpisa (3, 8, 9, 11) nešto bolju očuvanost ima ulomak (3) za koji se držalo da nosi ime kohorte Prva *Alpinorum*, ali takva restitucija daleko je od pouzdane. Ulomak (9) sačuvao je tek oznaku singularske službe, a ulomak (8) je značajan jer možda predstavlja jedinu potvrdu za postojanje pješaka singulara u Dalmaciji. Jedan se ulomak (11) zbog velike oštećenosti datira između 1. i 3. stoljeća. Dvojica singulara umirovljeni su nakon ove službe, a četvorica su u trenutku smrti iza sebe imali 14, 15, 21 i 25 godina službe, što govori da su u namjesnikovu stražu primljeni pred kraj karijere i kao vrloiskusni vojnici. Oznaka singularske službe na velikoj je većini natpisa izvedena kraticom *SING* (1-7, 9), a na dva je natpisa (10, 11) radikalno skraćena (*S*).

Brojnost singulara u oficiju ovisila je o veličini vojske i vojnoj važnosti provincije. Zbog velikog broja pomoćnih postrojba u Dalmaciji tijekom 1. stoljeća i prilično zamršene kronologije njihova boravka teško

the possibility of a local origin should not be excluded.

The cognomen of Gaius Sabinius Nicias (4) was everywhere widespread and indicates an oriental origin, while the gentilicium points to Italy or the Celtic provinces.¹²² In the province there was only one other confirmation of the gentilicium Sabinius, from the early Principate,¹²³ which may indicate its foreign origin.

The cognomen of Aurelius Diza (5) indicates Thrace,¹²⁴ where he may have been recruited for one of the auxiliary units in Dalmatia.¹²⁵

The cognomen of Valerius Valentinus (6) indicates a local origin.¹²⁶ The same applies to Aurelius Priscus (7), whose cognomen was most represented in Dalmatia by the indigenous population.¹²⁷

The gentilicium and cognomen of Sestius Nepos (10) suggest an Italic or local origin.¹²⁸

Other persons mentioned in the inscriptions of the Dalmatian *singulares*

At the end of the 2nd century, Emperor Septimius Severus allowed active soldiers to conclude legal marriages (*conubium*), which was not possible in the earlier period of the Principate, even though the state tacitly tolerated their unions with women (*contubernium*, *concupinatus*) and the children born as a result of such bonds.¹²⁹ However, the state's policy was entirely different with regard to veterans, who were entitled to marry only a single partner or future spouse regardless of her civic/legal status. In the 1st century, the wives of soldiers were rarely mentioned in their funerary inscriptions, because soldiers served far from their homes, where there were not many women with the same social status, so under such circumstances their commemorators were almost regularly their fellow soldiers, particularly those who were designated as their heirs. The closer family members, meaning wives and children, began to appear more as commemorators during the 2nd and particularly in the 3rd

122 Alföldy 1969, pp. 116, 252, 361; M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 86, no. 25.

123 Alföldy 1969, p. 116.

124 Alföldy 1969, p. 189.

125 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 87, no. 27.

126 Alföldy 1969, p. 320.

127 Alföldy 1969, p. 273.

128 Alföldy 1969, pp. 120, 251; Alföldy 1987, p. 281, note 6.

129 Scheidel 2007, pp. 417-418; for more details see Campbell 1978, pp. 153-166, and especially Phang 2001, pp. 16-52, 86-133, 326-383. Garnsey (1970, pp. 45-53) believed that even after 197 AD soldiers did not have the right to conclude legally acknowledged marriages.

je odrediti broj vojnika i prema tome broj singulara. Od početka 2. stoljeća broj postrojba se stabilizirao pa je uz kohortu Treća *Alpinorum* i Osmo *Voluntariorum* u provinciji boravila i kohorta Prva *Belgarum* koje su tada, analogno primjerima iz Germanije i Sirije, vjerojatno dale 70-90 pješaka i 60-64 konjanika singulara. Od godine 170. pridružene su im i kohorte Prva i Druga *milliaria Delmatarum* pa je broj pješaka singulara bio 177-195, a konjanika singulara 106-150. U popunjavanju singularskih mjesta sve kohorte najvjerojatnije nisu sudjelovale u jednakom omjeru. Pretpostavljene brojke singulara morale su biti još manje zbog relativno slabije vojnostrateške važnosti Dalmacije i zato što je dalmatinski oficij u cjelini bio brojčano skroman.

Prema značajkama imenskih obrazaca porijeklo je određivo za šestoricu singulara (1, 2, 4-7) i dvojicu mogućih singulara (1, 10). Neki su nosili tipična dalmatinska imena, poput Epikada (1) i Plarenta (1) ili imena obilato potvrđena u provinciji, poput Valerija Valentina (6) i Aurelija Priska (7). Može se pretpostaviti da je Aurelije Diza (5) bio Tračanin, a Gaj Sabini-je Nikijat (4) iz Italije, keltskih ili istočnih provincija, što bi značilo da su u dalmatinskim augzilizijama služili i vojnici iz drugih krajeva države. Osim imena singulara i osnovnih podataka o njima natpisi su sačuvali i imena drugih osoba, pa je moguće odrediti karakter njihovih odnosa i reći tko je koga komemorirao. Natpis (1) iz 1. stoljeća preminulom vojniku postavio je kolega vojnik i pritom ga oslovio kao prijatelja. Od pet natpisa iz kasnog principata na čak četiri (4-6, 10) žene se javljaju kao komemoratori vojnika, a na jednome natpisu (7) singular komemorira svoga sina.

Unatoč dobrom epigrafskom materijalu o singularima i dalje postoji mnoštvo nepoznanica. Možda je najveća nesrazmjer između šest natpisa konjanika singulara i jednog mogućeg pješaka singulara. Je li slučajnost što prevladavaju konjanici iako procjene pokazuju da ih je u oficiju bilo značajno manje od pješaka singulara? Može li se to objasniti kao odraz njihove stvarne brojnosti u odnosu na pješake? Rasvjetljavanje ovakvih i sličnih pitanja ovisi o budućim nalazima natpisa kao što će samo arheološka istraživanja pokazati gdje je u Saloni bila vojarna za smještaj singulara.

century, which was a result of increased provincial recruitment and which meant that ties with local families and wives were preserved.¹³⁰ This can also be more or less applied to the members of auxiliary units, because during the 1st century, only 16% were commemorated by women, while 53% were commemorated by colleagues from their units or some other persons. During the 2nd and 3rd centuries, women were commemorators in 39% of the examples, while other persons were the commemorators in 29% of the examples.¹³¹

Out of the eleven inscriptions of Dalmatian *singulares*, eight (1, 3-8, 10) have preserved on them the names of other individuals, for whom, with the exception of one example (3), their relationship with the soldier can be determined.

The cavalryman Plares installed an inscription (1) to the soldier Epicadus from *cohors III Alpinorum* and called him his friend. It has been dated to the Flavian-Trajanic era, when funerary inscriptions to others were most often installed by fellow soldiers, very often from the same unit.¹³²

Six inscriptions from the late Principate mention the closest family members. Of these, four examples mention the soldier's spouse as the commemorator. The inscription dedicated to Gaius Sabinius Nicias (4) was placed by Flavia Tertia and she made it a point to stress that she had lived with him for 25 years. He spent an equal number of years in the army, which means that Tertia became his wife when he was recruited. Aurelius Diza (5) was commemorated by Titia Valentina, Valerius Valentinus (6) by Sempronia Marcellina, and Sestius Nepos (10) by Aurelia Calliste. Two inscriptions mention the sons of *singulares*: Aurelius Priscus installed an inscription (7) to his identically named son who died at the age of two years and eight months. The inscription of an unidentified *singularis* (8) only has preserved in it the final part of his son's cognomen (*[---]and*) who was probably the commemorator. This may have been the cognomen Amandianus, Amandinus or Amandus, which have been confirmed in Salona during the late Principate.¹³³

Conclusion

Eleven whole or fragmentary funerary inscriptions found in the capital city Salona testify to the governor *singulares* in the province of Dalmatia. The earliest confirmation originated in the Flavian-Trajanic era

130 Scheidel 2007, pp. 419-421; for percentage ratios, see also Phang 2001, pp. 53-85, 142-164.

131 Phang 2001, pp. 152-153.

132 See notes 35, 36.

133 Alföldy 1969, pp. 146-147.

and it mentions the foot soldier and *tesserarius* Epicadus from *cohors III Alpinorum*, to whom the stela (1) was placed by the cavalryman Plares. Several indications justify the hypothesis that Epicadus was also a *singularis*, as well as the fact that his commemorator Plares also served in *cohors III Alpinorum*. This inscription of the *singularis* Lucius Attius Restutus (2) mentions this same unit and dates to the same period, which demonstrates that this unit provided soldiers to serve in the governor's staff. It may therefore be assumed that during the Flavian-Trajanic era this unit provided a minimum of three of its members to serve as governor *singulares*. It is impossible to determine whether their admittance came at a certain moment or whether soldiers were provided for this service over a longer period. If this involved a higher number of soldiers, then it is conceivable that they were admitted in the first years of Domitian's reign when the military contingent in Dalmatia only consisted of it and *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, so the intention was to foster a stronger tie between this unit and the provincial administration, perhaps because it mostly consisted of peregrines. Out of the nine remaining inscriptions from the late Principate, five (4-7, 10) have been entirely preserved and on them the *equites singulares* intentionally omitted the name of their core units. Gaius Sabinius Nicias (4) died after 25 years in the service, while Aurelius Diza (5) died after 16 years in the service. The *optio* Aurelius Priscus (7) cared for the supply of the unit and he is the only thus far confirmed *singularis* who held this post, which he most likely also held in his core auxiliary unit. Valerius Valentinus (6) was a veteran and former *singularis*, as Sestius Nepos (10) almost certainly was as well. Out of the remaining four damaged inscriptions (3, 8, 9, 11), fragment (3) is somewhat better preserved, and it is believed to have bore the name of *cohors I Alpinorum*, but such a restoration is far from reliable. Fragment (9) only preserved the designation of the *singularis* service, while fragment (8) is significant because it may contain the sole confirmation of the existence of a *pedes singularis* in Dalmatia. One fragment (11) has been broadly dated from the 1st to 3rd centuries due to the damage it has sustained. Two *singulares* were retired after their service, while four had served 14, 15, 21 and 25 years at the time of their death, which means that they were admitted to the governor's guard just prior to the conclusion of their careers and as very experienced soldiers. The designation of the *singularis* service in the great majority of the inscriptions was rendered by the abbreviation *SING* (1-7, 9), while in two inscriptions it was (10, 11) radically abbreviated (*S*).

The number of *singulares* in the *officium* depended on the size of the army and the military importance of the province. Due to the high number of auxiliary

units in Dalmatia during the 1st century and the rather complex chronology of their stay there, it is difficult to determine the number of soldiers and thus the number of *singulares*. As of the beginning of the 2nd century, the number of units stabilized, so besides *cohors III Alpinorum* and *VIII Voluntariorum*, *cohors I Belgarum* was also posted in the province, and at the time – by way of analogy to Germania and Syria – they probably provided 70-90 *pedites singulares* and 60-64 *equites singulares*. As of 170 AD, they were joined by *cohors I* and *II milliaria Delmatarum*, so the number of *pedites singulares* was 177-195, while the number of *equites singulares* was 106-150. All of the cohorts probably did not participate in filling in the *singulares* posts in equal measure. The assumed numbers of *singulares* had to have been even smaller due to the relatively more limited military and strategic importance of Dalmatia, and because the Dalmatian *officium* as a whole was numerically modest.

Based on the characteristics of the name formulas, the origin of six *singulares* (1, 2, 4-7) and two possible *singulares* (1, 10) can be determined. Some bore typical Dalmatian names such as Epicadus (1) and Plares (1) or names abundantly confirmed in the province, such as Valerius Valentinus (6) and Aurelius Priscus (7). It may be assumed that Aurelius Diza (5) was a Thracian, while Gaius Sabinius Nicias (4) was from Italy, the Celtic or Oriental provinces, which would mean that soldiers from other parts of the state served in the Dalmatian auxiliaries. Besides the names of these *singulares* and basic data on them, the inscriptions also have preserved in them the names of other persons, so it is possible to determine the nature of their relationships and ascertain who commemorated them. Inscription (1) from the 1st century was dedicated to a deceased soldier by his fellow soldier, and he also referred to him as a friend. Out of the five inscriptions from the late Principate, women appear as commemorators of soldiers on as many as four (4-6, 10), while in one inscription (7) a *singularis* is commemorating his son.

Despite the epigraphic materials on *singulares*, there are still many unknowns. Perhaps the greatest is the discrepancy between the six inscriptions referring to *equites singulares* and the one that possibly mentions a *pedes singularis*. Is it coincidental that cavalrymen predominate, even though estimates show that there were far fewer in the *officium* than *pedites singulares*? Can this be explained as a reflection of their actual numbers in comparison to foot soldiers? The illumination of these and similar questions will depend on future finds of inscriptions, just as archaeological research itself will show where in Salona the barracks accommodating the *singulares* was located.



Sl. 1. Stela vojnika Epikada, Piramova sina (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, foto: I. Matijević)
 Fig. 1. Stela of the soldier Epicadus, son of Piramus (Archaeological Museum in Split, photo: I. Matijević)



Sl. 2. Ulomak urne konjanika singulara Lucija Atija Restuta (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, foto: I. Matijević)
 Fig. 2. Urn fragment of the eques singularis Lucius Attius Restutus (Archaeological Museum in Split, photo: I. Matijević)



Sl. 3. Ulomak singularovog nadgrobnog natpisa (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, foto: I. Matijević)
 Fig. 3. Fragment of funerary inscription of a singularis (Archaeological Museum in Split, photo: I. Matijević)



Sl. 4. Nadgrobni natpis konjanika singulara Gaja Sabinja Nikijata (kula 78, pokraj tzv. Porta Andetria u Saloni, foto: I. Matijević)
 Fig. 4. Funerary inscription of the eques singularis Gaius Sabinius Nicias (tower 78 next to so-called Porta Andetria in Salona, photo: I. Matijević)

Prilog 1. Natpisi singulara dalmatinskog namjesnika

1. Stela vojnika Epikada, Piramova sina (sl. 1)
[---]s Ep/[ica]dus Pir(ami filius) / mil(es) coh(ortis) III Alp(inorum) / (centuria) Marcelli tess(erarius) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / Plares Annaei (filius) eq(ues) / ex sing(ularibus) a(mico)
Datacija: flavijejsko-trajansko doba
Osnovna literatura: Rendić-Miočević 1952, str. 226, br. 35; *ILlug* 681; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 87-88, br. 30; Holder 1980, str. 151, 298, br. 1061; Alföldy 1987, str. 281, br. 5. 14; *EDH* HD034093.
2. Ulomak urne konjanika singulara Lucija Atija Restuta (sl. 2)
L(ucio) Attio Restuto e[q(uiti)] / ex sing(ularibus) c[o]h(ortis) III Alp[in(orom)] / stip(endiorum) XXI [h(ic)] s(itus) e(st)
Datacija: flavijejsko-trajansko doba
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 8755 (8725; 13906); M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 87, br. 28; Holder 1980, str. 151, 298, br. 1062; Alföldy 1987, 280, br. 5. 8; *EDH* HD062490.
3. Ulomak singularovog nadgrobnog natpisa (sl. 3)
[---]cato [---] / [---] coh(ortis) I A[lp(inorum)(?) ---] / [---] sing(ularis) c[o(n)s(ularis) ---] / [---] Aur(elius) M[---]
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 14693; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 87, br. 29; Alföldy 1987, str. 240-241; *EDH* HD061558.
4. Nadgrobni natpis konjanika singulara Gaja Sabinja Nikijata (sl. 4)
D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Sabinio / Niciati eq(uiti) / ex sing(ularibus) ho^omini verecu/ndissimo stip(endiorum) / XXV Fl(avia) Tertia / co(n)iugi inco{n=m}/parabili cum ^oquo vixit / ann(orom) XXV / b(ene) m(erenti)
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 2047; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 86, br. 25; *EDH* HD063318.
5. Urna konjanika singulara Aurelija Dize (sl. 5)
Aurel(io) Diz(a)e eq(uiti) / ex sing(ularibus) stip(endiorum) XVI / Titia Valentin(a) / coniugi carissi^omo b(ene) m(erenti) p(o)s(uit)
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 12897; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 86-87, br. 27; *EDH* HD063887.

Appendix 1. Inscriptions of the Dalmatian governor's *singulares*

1. Stela of the soldier Epicadus, son of Piramus (Fig. 1)
[---]s Ep/[ica]dus Pir(ami filius) / mil(es) coh(ortis) III Alp(inorum) / (centuria) Marcelli tess(erarius) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / Plares Annaei (filius) eq(ues) / ex sing(ularibus) a(mico)
Dating: Flavian-Trajanic period
Basic references: Rendić-Miočević 1952, p. 226, no. 35; *ILlug* 681; M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 87-88, no. 30; Holder 1980, pp. 151, 298, no. 1061; Alföldy 1987, p. 281, no. 5. 14; *EDH* HD034093.
2. Urn fragment of the eques singularis Lucius Attius Restutus (Fig. 2)
L(ucio) Attio Restuto e[q(uiti)] / ex sing(ularibus) c[o]h(ortis) III Alp[in(orom)] / stip(endiorum) XXI [h(ic)] s(itus) e(st)
Dating: Flavian-Trajanic period
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 8755 (8725; 13906); M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 87, no. 28; Holder 1980, pp. 151, 298, no. 1062; Alföldy 1987, 280, no. 5. 8; *EDH* HD062490.
3. Fragment of funerary inscription of a singularis (Fig. 3)
[---]cato [---] / [---] coh(ortis) I A[lp(inorum)(?) ---] / [---] sing(ularis) c[o(n)s(ularis) ---] / [---] Aur(elius) M[---]
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 14693; M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 87, no. 29; Alföldy 1987, pp. 240-241; *EDH* HD061558.
4. Funerary inscription of the eques singularis Gaius Sabinus Nicias (Fig. 4)
D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Sabinio / Niciati eq(uiti) / ex sing(ularibus) ho^omini verecu/ndissimo stip(endiorum) / XXV Fl(avia) Tertia / co(n)iugi inco{n=m}/parabili cum ^oquo vixit / ann(orom) XXV / b(ene) m(erenti)
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2047; M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 86, no. 25; *EDH* HD063318.
5. Urn of the eques singularis Aurelius Diza (Fig. 5)
Aurel(io) Diz(a)e eq(uiti) / ex sing(ularibus) stip(endiorum) XVI / Titia Valentin(a) / coniugi carissi^omo b(ene) m(erenti) p(o)s(uit)



Sl. 5. Urna konjanika singulara Aurelija Dize (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, foto: I. Matijević)
 Fig. 5. Urn of the eques singularis Aurelius Diza (Archaeological Museum in Split, photo: I. Matijević)



Sl. 7. Stela veterana i singulara (?) Sestija Nepota (Kuća Benzon u Vranjicu, foto: Švonja 2014, str. 252-253, br. 3)
 Fig. 7. Stela of veteran and singularis (?) Sestius Nepos (Benzon House in Vranjic, photo: Švonja 2014, pp. 252-253, no. 3)



Sl. 6. Stela veterana i konjanika singulara Valerija Valentina (Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, foto: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/>; ID 22372)
 Fig. 6. Stela of veteran and eques singularis Valerius Valentus (Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, photo: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/>; ID 22372)



Sl. 8. Ulomak stele konjanika singulara (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, foto: I. Matijević)
 Fig. 8. Fragment of the stela of an eques singularis (Archaeological Museum in Split, photo: I. Matijević)

6. Stela veterana i konjanika singulara Valerija Valentina (sl. 6)
D(is) M(anibus) / Valerio / Valentino / vet(erano) ex eq(uitum) / sing(ularium) / S{i=e}mpronio / Marcellina / con(iugi) b(ene) m(erenti)
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 2061; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 86, br. 26; *EDH* HD055648.
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 12897; M. P. Speidel 1978, pp. 86-87, no. 27; *EDH* HD063887.
7. Nadgrobni natpis Aurelija Priska
Aur(elius) Priscus opti(o) / eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aur(elio) Prisco / filio infelicissimo / qui vixit ann(or)um II m(enses) VIII
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 2011; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 31, br. 24; *EDH* HD054372.
8. Ulomak singularovog (?) nadgrobnog natpisa
[---] coh(ortis) [---] / [--- ex p]editibus(?) [---] / [---] d(e)functo ann(or)um [---] / [--- s]tip(endiorum) XIII [---] / [--- Am]and(us) (?) fil(ius) [---]
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 14248.1; *EDH* HD062026.
9. Ulomak singularovog nadgrobnog natpisa
[---]A [---] / [--- si]ng(ularis) c[o(n)s (ularis) (?) ---] / [--- qui v]ixit [ann(or)um ---] / [---]NCA[---]
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 14249; *EDH* HD062025.
10. Stela veterana i singulara(?) Sestija Nepota (sl. 7)
S{f=e}sti Nepot(is) vet{f=e}rani ex s(ingularis) vel signiferi / Aurelia Calli/ste marito p{f=e}ssimo sibi
Datacija: kasni principat
Osnovna literatura: *CIL* 3, 2050; *EDH* HD063272.
11. Ulomak stele konjanika singulara (sl. 8)
[---] / mil(iti) co[h(ortis) ---] / eq(uiti) ex s(ingularibus) [---] / Vero Ama[---] / dicend[---]
Datacija: 1. – 3. stoljeće
Osnovna literatura: *ILJug* 2006; *EDH* HD034154.
6. Stela of veteran and eques singularis Valerius Valentinus (Fig. 6)
D(is) M(anibus) / Valerio / Valentino / vet(erano) ex eq(uitum) / sing(ularium) / S{i=e}mpronio / Marcellina / con(iugi) b(ene) m(erenti)
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2061; M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 86, no. 26; *EDH* HD055648.
7. Funerary inscription of Aurelius Priscus
Aur(elius) Priscus opti(o) / eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aur(elio) Prisco / filio infelicissimo / qui vixit ann(or)um II m(enses) VIII
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2011; M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 31, no. 24; *EDH* HD054372.
8. Fragment of a funerary inscription of a singularis (?)
[---] coh(ortis) [---] / [--- ex p]editibus(?) [---] / [---] d(e)functo ann(or)um [---] / [--- s]tip(endiorum) XIII [---] / [--- Am]and(us) (?) fil(ius) [---]
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 14248.1; *EDH* HD062026.
9. Fragment of a funerary inscription of a singularis
[---]A [---] / [--- si]ng(ularis) c[o(n)s (ularis) (?) ---] / [--- qui v]ixit [ann(or)um ---] / [---]NCA[---]
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 14249; *EDH* HD062025.
10. Stela of veteran and singularis (?) Sestius Nepos (Fig. 7)
S{f=e}sti Nepot(is) vet{f=e}rani ex s(ingularis) vel signiferi / Aurelia Calli/ste marito p{f=e}ssimo sibi
Dating: late Principate
Basic references: *CIL* 3, 2050; *EDH* HD063272.
11. Fragment of the stela of an eques singularis (Fig. 8)
[---] / mil(iti) co[h(ortis) ---] / eq(uiti) ex s(ingularibus) [---] / Vero Ama[---] / dicend[---]
Dating: 1st-3rd centuries
Basic references: *ILJug* 2006; *EDH* HD034154.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AÉ	Anneé épigraphique, Paris
AJP	The American Journal of Philology, Baltimore
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin - New York
ANUBiH	Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
BAR	British Archaeological Reports, Oxford
BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Split. (=VAHD=VAPD)
BJ	Bonner Jahrbücher, Bonn
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
CBI	Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, Sarajevo
EDH	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/inschrift/suche) (2. rujna 2015.)
ILIug	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)
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, Berlin
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies, London
RIB	Roman Inscriptions of Britain, London (http://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org) (29. rujna 2015.)
TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association, Baltimore
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split. (=VAPD=BASD)
VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Split. (=VAHD=BASD)
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Köln

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