

NADGROBNI NATPIS IZ KLAPAVICA SA SPOMENOM CENTURIONA KOHORTE VIII VOLUNTARIORUM GAJA ALAZINIJA VALENTINA

THE SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION FROM KLAPAVICE MENTIONING GAIUS ALASINIUS VALENTINUS, A CENTURION OF THE VIII VOLUNTARIORUM COHORT

Rad obrađuje antički nadgrobni natpis, pronađen 2006. god. na lokalitetu Klapavice, koji je uklesan na steli iskorištenoj u srednjem vijeku za poklopicu groba. Sačuvani dio natpisa donosi spomen centuriona VIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte rimskih građana (cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum) Gaja Alazinija Valentina (C. Alasinius Valentinus) za kojeg autor smatra da je ovdje bio naveden kao komemorator, odnosno da je postavio natpis svojim roditeljima. Kohorta čiji je bio centurion epigrafski je najbolje potvrđena kohorta u Dalmaciji, što ne iznenađuje, budući da je VIII. kohorta vojna jedinica koja je u ovoj provinciji i najduže boravila, od 1. do barem sredine 3. st. Gentilicij Alasinius vrlo je rijetko potvrđen na epigrafskim spomenicima, a osim na ovome, javlja se na samo dva natpisa s istog područja pa se pretpostavlja da je lokalnog podrijetla. Jedan od njih je pronađen početkom 20. st. na istom lokalitetu, a spominje još jednog pripadnika VIII. kohorte, te se zaključuje da se radi o pripadnicima iste obitelji koji su služili u istoj jedinici. U članku se na temelju epigrafskih potvrda u Dalmaciji i ostatku Carstva donose i zapažanja o ustroju VIII. kohorte.

Ključne riječi: natpisi, Dalmacija, Klapavice, VIII. kohorta, *Alasinius*, centurion, prefekt, tribun, *cohortes voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *cohors equitata*.

The paper analyzes the Roman sepulchral inscription found at Klapavice site in 2006. The inscription is carved on a stela used in Middle Ages as a grave slab. The preserved part commemorates Gaius Alasinius Valentinus, a centurion of the VIII Cohort of Roman Citizen Volunteers (cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum). In the author's opinion, he is mentioned here as the commemorator who has erected the inscribed memorial to his parents. The cohort he was a centurion in is the best epigraphically confirmed cohort in Dalmatia. This is no surprise, given the fact that, of all Roman units, the VIII Cohort stayed in the province for the longest period of time – from the 1st century AD to not earlier than mid-3rd century AD. The gentilicium Alasinius is very rarely confirmed on epigraphic monuments: in addition to this one, it is only found in two inscriptions from the same area. It is therefore assumed that it is of local origin. As one of them, found in the early 20th century, mentions another soldier of the VIII Cohort, they were probably members of the same family serving in the same unit. Based on the epigraphic confirmations in Dalmatia and in other provinces of the Empire, this article also makes observations on the internal structure of the VIII Cohort.

Key words: inscriptions, Dalmatia, Klapavice, VIII Cohort of Volunteers, *Alasinius*, centurion, prefect, tribune, *cohortes voluntariorum civium Romanorum*, *cohors equitata*.

Lokalitet Crkvina u Klapavicama nalazi se 2 kilometra sjeverno od Klisa i u arheološkoj je literaturi ponajviše znan po ostacima kasnoantičke crkve. Ovaj je položaj većinom istražen početkom 20. stoljeća¹, a stoljeće poslije, točnije 2006. god., na njemu su izvršena nova, djelomična revizijska istraživanja.² Sam lokalitet pokazuje naseljenost u različitim razdobljima (od 5. do 6. st., kraj 9. i početak 10. st., i 16. st.), ali se prema dosadašnjim istraživanjima nekropole ne može govoriti o kontinuitetu ukapanja.³ Unutar sakralnog arhitektonskog kompleksa otkriveni su kasnoantički i srednjovjekovni grobovi, a za ovu je raspravu najzanimljiviji grob 6 koji je kao poklopnicu rake imao sekundarno upotrijebljen antički nadgrobni natpis (Sl. 1).⁴ Grob 6, kao i još nekoliko istraženih grobova, bio je obzidan vijencem od velikih neobrađenih kamenih blokova, a sadržavao je ostatke triju pokojnika. Prilikom ukapanja pokojnika probijena je podnica tzv. prostorije B, sagrađene u kasnoantičkom razdoblju.⁵ Spomenuta poklopnica groba zapravo je rimskodobna stela od vapnenca (vis. 117, šir. 62, deb. 15 cm) koja je dosta oštećena sa svih strana, vjerojatno prilikom preklešavanja na željenu mjeru prilikom ponovne upotrebe. Na gornjem dijelu ulomka stele kamen se mjestimično i raslojio pa se natpis na pojedinim mjestima nije sačuvao. Gornji i desni dio stele nedostaju, dok je s lijeve strane kamen otklesan upravo na mjestu gdje je trebao biti lijevi rub profilacije stele. Smatramo kako ovakva intervencija nije nastala prilikom natkrivanja srednjovjekovnog groba, već je najvjerojatnije taj dio otklesan kako bi se dobila zaravnjena ploča koja se potom mogla iskoristiti kao građevinski materijal, možda za dio crkvene arhitekture. S obzirom na način gradnje groba, profilirani dio stele ne bi smetao prilikom natkrivanja srednjovjekovnog groba pa iz tog razloga držimo da je ploča uzeta iz tada već sekundarnog konteksta. Na to nas nadalje upućuje i kontekst nalaza još četiriju natpisa iz istih istraživanja prilikom kojih su kao spoliji pronađeni miljokaz⁶, žrtvenik te još dva dijela natpisa⁷ unutar kasnoantičkog arhitektonskog sklopa.⁸ Neupitno je, dakle, da je za gradnju kasnoantičkog kompleksa iskorišten antički kameni materijal s neke obližnje nekropole (stele), potom s obližnje rimske ceste (miljokaz), a možda i iz kakvog kućnog svetišta (žrtvenik).

Slova natpisa kvalitetno su klesana kvadratnom kapitalom (vel. slova 4-6,5 cm), a sačuvani su ostatci devet redaka:

Located two kilometers north of Klis, the Crkvina site in Klapavice is best known in archaeological literature by the remnants of a Late Antiquity church. The excavations on most of the site were carried out in the early 20th century.¹ A century later – in 2006, to be exact – new excavations were conducted.² Although there is evidence that the site was inhabited in various periods of time (from the 5th to 6th centuries, from the late 9th to early 10th centuries and in the 16th century), the excavations carried out in the necropolis have not confirmed a continuity of burials there.³ Of the Late Antiquity and medieval graves discovered within the sacral architectural complex, the most interesting for this paper is Grave No. 6, with a Roman sepulchral inscription reused as a cover slab (Fig. 1).⁴ Like a few other graves examined, Grave No. 6 was lined with large, unworked stone blocks and contained the remains of three persons. During the burial, the floor of the so-called Chamber B, built in Late Antiquity, was penetrated.⁵ The said cover slab is actually a Roman limestone stela (H: 117cm, W: 62cm, Th: 15cm). It is rather damaged on all sides – probably due to re-dressing down to the desired dimensions when it was prepared for reuse. As the stone on the upper fragment of the stela is partially decomposed, parts of the inscription have not been preserved. The upper and right parts of the stela are missing and the stone on the left side is chiseled off on the place where the left edge of the stela's molding was supposed to be. In our opinion, it did not occur during covering of the medieval grave; this part was most likely chiseled off in order to obtain a flat slab that could be used as construction material, perhaps for sacral architecture. Given the method of the grave's construction, the molded part of the stela would not present a problem during covering of the medieval grave. We therefore believe that the slab had already been reused when it was taken. Additional evidence of it is the context in which four other inscriptions were found during the same excavations: a milestone⁶, an altar and two other parts of inscriptions⁷ were then found as spolia within a Late Antiquity architectural complex.⁸ It is therefore beyond doubt that stone elements from a nearby Roman necropolis (the stela), a Roman road (the milestone), and, possibly, some home shrine (an altar) were used for the construction of the Late Antiquity complex.

1 F. Bulić, 1907.

2 A. Jurčević, 2007. Ovom prilikom zahvaljujem kolegi Anti Jurčeviću, dipl. arh. koji mi je ustupio natpis na objavu.

3 A. Jurčević, 2007, 257.

4 Fotografija stele pronađene *in situ* objavljena je u A. Jurčević, 2007, 263, sl. 1.

5 A. Jurčević, 2007, 252.

6 D. Demicheli, 2009, 67-68. Miljokaz je pronađen ugrađen kao prag narteksa ranokršćanske crkve.

7 Žrtvenik je posvećen Junoni, jedan je fragment nadgrobnog natpisa, dok je jedna ploča s gotovo posve izlizanim natpisom ostavljena *in situ*. Natpisi su u postupku objave.

8 U Bulićevim su istraživanjima također pronađeni epigrafski spomenici kao spoliji. O tome F. Bulić, 1907.

1 F. Bulić, 1907.

2 A. Jurčević, 2007. I am using this opportunity to express my gratitude to my colleague Ante Jurčević, B. Sc. (Arch.), for allowing me to publish the inscription.

3 A. Jurčević, 2007, 257.

4 The photo of the stela found *in situ* was published in A. Jurčević, 2007, 263, Fig. 1.

5 A. Jurčević, 2007, 252.

6 D. Demicheli, 2009, 67-68. The milestone was found as part of the threshold of an early Christian church's narthex.

7 The altar is dedicated to Juno, one fragment belonged to a tombstone, while a slab with an almost completely worn-out inscription had been left *in situ*. The inscriptions are to be published soon.

8 Epigraphic monuments used as spolia were found during Bulić's excavations, too (F. Bulić, 1907).

Slika 1. Stela sa spomenom centuriona kohorte VIII Voluntariorum Gaja Alazinija Valentina iz Klapavica
 Figure 1. Stela from Klapavice, mentioning Gaius Alasinius Valentinus, centurion of VIII Voluntariorum Cohorte

foto / photo: A. Jurčević

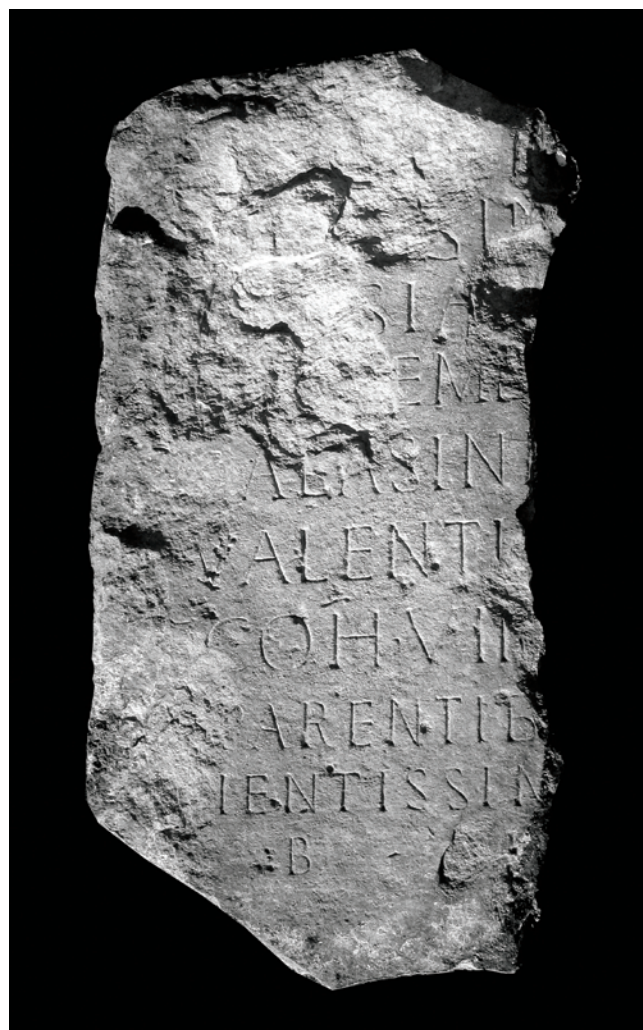
 SIN
 SIA
 EME
 C ALASINI
 5 VALENTI+
 7 COH VIII
 PARENTIB
 PIENTISSIM
 B M

Prijedlog restitucije natpisa glasilo bi:

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [C(aio)? Ala]sin[io] / [----]sia[--- et] / [----]jeme[----] / C(aius) Alasini[us] / Valenti[nus]/ 7(centurio) coh(ortis) VIII [Vol(untariorum)]/ parentib[us] / pientissim[is] / b(ene) m(erentibus)

Prijevod: *Bogovima Manima. Gaju? Alaziniju [----- i -----]. Gaj Alazinije Valentin, centurion VIII. Dobrovoljačke kohorte, najpobožnijim i zaslužnim roditeljima.*

Sudeći prema tekstu natpisa, procjenjujemo da su se na desnom dijelu, koji nedostaje čitavom svojom visinom, nalazila 2 do 3 slova natpisa u svakom retku. Iako nije sačuvano nijedno ime u nominativu, prema kompoziciji teksta natpisa smatramo da je spomenik svojim roditeljima postavio centurion VIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte, Gaj Alazinije Valentin (C. *Alasinius Valentinus*).⁹ Sigla njegovog predimena C jedva je vidljiva, no ne ostavlja dvojbu da se radi o ijednom drugom imenu osim *Gaius*. Imena njegovih roditelja nisu se sačuvala, a prema sačuvanim ostacima slova [---]sin[---] u prvom vidljivom retku, restituiran je gentilicij *Alasinius* (u dativu *Alasinio*) za koji smatramo da je morao pripadati centurionovu ocu. Očevo predime restituirano je prema analogiji s predimenom centuriona, no ne znači da je tako uistinu glasilo. Majčino ime nije bilo moguće rekonstruirati zbog nedovoljno sačuvanih slova. Oznaka centurionskog čina uklesana je znakom koji podsjeća na arapsku brojku 7, s tim da je oštećen u svome donjem dijelu (Sl. 2). Rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta vidljivi su između kratice predimena C i gentilicija *Alasinius* u 4. retku, te između kratice *coh* i broja



The letters of the inscription are skillfully rendered in square capitals (their size being 4 – 6.5cm). Parts of nine lines have been preserved:

 SIN
 SIA
 EME
 C ALASINI
 5 VALENTI+
 7 COH VIII
 PARENTIB
 PIENTISSIM
 B M

The proposed restitution of the inscription would read as follows:

[D(is) M(anibus)] / [C(aio)? Ala]sin[io] / [----]sia[--- et] / [----]jeme[----] / C(aius) Alasini[us] / Valenti[nus]/ 7(centurio) coh(ortis) VIII [Vol(untariorum)]/ parentib[us] / pientissim[is] / b(ene) m(erentibus)

⁹ Druga je mogućnost da je osoba čije se ime nije sačuvalo postavila nadgrobni natpis majci i ocu centurionu, no to držimo manje vjerojatnim.



Slika 2. Detalj natpisa s uklesanom centurionskom oznakom
Figure 2. Detail of inscription with centurion insignia

foto / photo: D. Demicheli

VIII u 6. retku. S obzirom na razdoblje u kojem je spomenik nastao, smatramo da je tekst započinjao posvetom bogovima Manima (*Dis Manibus*).

Gentilicij *Alasinius* iznimno je rijedak i dosad potvrđen na samo dva natpisa. Oba su pronađena u Dalmaciji, i to na istom području. Prvi je natpis na urni i spominje Alazinija Feroka (*Alasinius Ferox*)¹⁰ koji je u Saloni postavio spomenik svojoj supruzi, dok je drugi (Sl. 3)¹¹, kao i natpis o kojem govori ovaj rad, pronađen na lokalitetu Crkvina u Klapavicama i stoga zanimljiviji za našu raspravu. Tekst toga natpisa glasi:

D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Alasinio / Secundo def(uncto) / ann(is) LXXXVII / C(aius) Alasinius / Secundinus mil/es coh(ortis) VIII Vol(untariorum) / dupl[icar(ius)] Alasini/a Quintina patri / b(ene) m(erenti) pos(uerunt)

Prijevod: Bogovima Manima. Gaju Alaziniju Sekundu koji je umro u dobi od 87 godina. Zaslužnome su ocu postavili Gaj Alazinije Sekundin, vojnik-duplikarij VIII. Dobrovoljačke kohorte i Alazinija Kvintina.

Natpis spominje trojicu pripadnika obitelji *Alasinius* od kojih je jedan bio vojnik VIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte. Gaj Alazinije Sekundin (*C. Alasinius Secundinus*) bio je duplikarij (*duplicarius*), što znači da je pripadao skupini vojnika koji su

Translation: *For the Manes. To Gaius Alasinius [----- and -----]. Gaius Alasinius Valentinus, Centurion of the VIII Cohort of Volunteers, to the most pious and meritorious parents.*

The text of the inscription leads us to believe that there were 2 to 3 letters in every line on the right-hand vertical part that is missing. Although no name in nominative has been preserved, the structure of the text makes us believe that Gaius Alasinius Valentinus, a centurion of the VIII Cohort of Volunteers, erected the monument to the memory of his parents.⁹ While hardly visible, the sigil of his praenomen, C, leaves no doubt that the name in question is Gaius. The names of his parents have not been preserved. The remains of the letters in the first visible line, [---]sin[---], help us reconstitute the gentilicium *Alasinius* (*Alasinio* in dative), which – we believe – must have belonged to the centurion's father. To reconstruct the father's praenomen, we have used the analogy with the centurion's praenomen. However, it was not necessarily so. The mother's name could not have been reconstructed because not enough letters have been preserved. The centurion's insignia carved in the stela reminds of the Arabic numeral 7, but its lower part is damaged (Fig. 2). Triangular dividing signs can be seen between the praenomen abbreviation C and gentilicium *Alasinius* in the fourth line, as well as between the abbreviation *coh* and number *VIII* in the sixth line. Considering the period in which the monument was erected, we believe that the beginning of the text was dedicated to the Manes (*Dis Manibus*). The gentilicium *Alasinius* is very rare: it has been confirmed on only two inscriptions so far. Both were found in Dalmatia, in the same region. The first inscription, carved on an urn, mentions *Alasinius Ferox*,¹⁰ who erected a monument in Salona, dedicated to his wife. The second one (Fig. 3)¹¹ is more interesting because it was found on Crkvine site in Klapavice, just like the subject of this paper. This inscription reads:

D(is) M(anibus) / C(aio) Alasinio / Secundo def(uncto) / ann(is) LXXXVII / C(aius) Alasinius / Secundinus mil/es coh(ortis) VIII Vol(untariorum) / dupl[icar(ius)] Alasini/a Quintina patri / b(ene) m(erenti) pos(uerunt)

Translation: *For the Manes. To Gaius Alasinius Secundus, who died at the age of 87. Erected to the memory of their meritorious father by Gaius Alasinius Secundinus, a*

10 CIL III 12930 (Salona), *Ael(iae) Procul(a)e / def(unctae) a[nn(orum)] XXX / posuit Alasini/us Fir[o]x (!) coniu[gi] inc[om]parabili [---]*

11 ILJug, 2007 (Klis). Spomenik je također pronađen u sekundarnoj uporabi i to prilikom Buličevih istraživanja u Klapavicama 1906. god. (F. Bulić 1907, 116-117). Stela se danas čuva u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu (inv. br. A-3740). Zahvaljujem dr. Ortolfu Harlu, autoru fotografije, te Mariju Radaljcu, kustosu epigrafičke zbirke u Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu na dozvoli za njezino publiciranje.

9 Another possibility is that a person whose name has not been preserved erected the sepulchral inscription dedicated to their mother and their father centurion, but we find it less likely.

10 CIL III 12930 (Salona), *Ael(iae) Procul(a)e / def(unctae) a[nn(orum)] XXX / posuit Alasini/us Fir[o]x (!) coniu[gi] inc[om]parabili [---]*

11 ILJug, 2007 (Klis). This monument was also reused. It was found during Bulić's excavations in Klapavice in 1906 (F. Bulić, 1907, 116-117). The stela is kept in Archaeological Museum Split (Inv. No. A-3740). I express my gratitude to Dr. Ortolf Harl, the author of the photograph, and Mario Radaljca, curator of the Epigraphic Collection in Archaeological Museum Split, for allowing its publishing.



Slika 3. Stela Gaja Alazinija Sekunda

Figure 3. Stela of Gaius Alasinius Secundus

foto / photo: O. Harl

za svoj posao u vojsci primali dvostruku plaću od one običnog vojnika.¹² Sekundin je, zajedno sa svojom sestrom Alazinijom Kvintinom (*Alasinia Quintina*), postavio nadgrobnii spomenik ocu Gaju Alaziniju Sekundu. S obzirom na iznimnu rijetkost imena *Alasinius* i na činjenicu da je spomenik pronađen na istome području kao i ovaj neobjavljeni, smatramo da se radi o osobama koje su potjecale iz iste ili šire obitelji i koje su najvjerojatnije u blizini imale posjed s obiteljskom nekropolom. Na to nas može uputiti i činjenica da su sva trojica muških pripadnika na ovim dvama natpisima nosila predime Gaj (*Gaius*), a kako je već rečeno, moguće je da je centurionovome ocu predime također glasilo *Gaius*. Sukladno svemu navedenom, može se zaključiti da je ovaj natpis nova potvrda da je gentilicij *Alasinius* dalmatinskog podrijetla.¹³

12 M. A. Speidel, 1992, 93, 100-101; D. Breeze, 1993; M. A. Speidel, 2014, 61-62. Za posve drugačije mišljenje o pojmovima *duplicarius* i *sesquuplicarius* v. P. Le Roux, 2012.

13 Ovu su pretpostavku iznijeli Hans Krahe (H. Krahe, 1929.) i Anton Mayer (Mayer, 1957, 36, s. v. *Alasinius*). G. Alföldy razmatra i da se možda radi o italjskom gentiliciju, no za to još uvijek nema potvrde u Italiji (G. Alföldy, 1969, 56, s. v. *Alasinius*).

soldier and *duplicarius* of the VIII Cohort of Volunteers, and *Alasinia Quintina*.

The inscription mentions three members of the *Alasinius* family, one of whom was a soldier of the VIII Cohort of Volunteers. Gaius Alasinius Secundinus was a *duplicarius*, which means he was one of the troops whose pay was twice as high as that of privates.¹² Together with his sister *Alasinia Quinta*, Secundinus erected the gravestone to the memory of their father Gaius Alasinius Secundus. Considering the fact that the name *Alasinius* is very rare and that the monument was found in the same region is this, unpublished one, we believe that these persons were members of the same immediate or extended family, who probably had their landed property and a family necropolis nearby. This is indicated by the fact that all three male family members mentioned in these two inscriptions had the praenomen Gaius and, as we have already said, that it is possible that the centurion's father also had the same praenomen. Based on the above, we can conclude that this inscription additionally supports the thesis that the gentilicium *Alasinius* is of Dalmatian origin.¹³

As we have already mentioned, Gaius Alasinius Valentinus was a centurion of the VIII Cohort. He is also the eleventh or twelfth centurion of the cohort confirmed in inscriptions.¹⁴ Several inscriptions mention centurions by their names, with no other details, as commanders of the *centuria* in which the person who erected the monument served. Based on some 45 inscriptions of this cohort,¹⁵ we can conclude that the ratio of centurions to other soldiers on stone monuments is around 1:4. Since the sample is relatively small, this ratio of the centurions and other soldiers of the VIII Cohort most likely reflects the situation at a certain moment, not the real situation. The fact that the last three of the five cohort monuments found mention centurions supports this thesis. When reflecting on the reasons for this

12 M. A. Speidel, 1992, 93, 100-101; D. Breeze, 1993; M. A. Speidel, 2014, 61-62. For a completely different opinion about the terms *duplicarius* and *sesquuplicarius*, see P. Le Roux, 2012.

13 This hypothesis was made by Hans Krahe (Krahe, 1929) and Anton Mayer (Mayer, 1957, 36, s. v. *Alasinius*). G. Alföldy considers the possibility that it also could have been an Italic gentilicium, but no confirmation for it has been found in Italy yet (G. Alföldy, 1969, 56, s. v. *Alasinius*).

14 *CIL* III 1742 (*Epidaurum*); *CIL* III 2706 (*Tilurium*); *CIL* III 3163 (the site of the find not known); *CIL* III 8336 (Jezdine); *CIL* III 8490 (*Bigeste*); *CIL* III 13875 (*Dračevica*); *CIL* III 13975 (*Tilurium*); *ILJug* 1645 (Halapić); *AE* 2004, 1104 (*Tilurium*); *AE* 2006, 1013 (*Salona*).

15 The exact number of inscriptions cannot be positively established as there are several monuments that could be attributed to the VIII Cohort, albeit without hard evidence. The stamps on bricks and tiles are not included in the number of inscriptions.

Kako je već spomenuto, Gaj Alazinije Valentin bio je centurion VIII. kohorte, a jedanaesti je ili dvanaesti centurion ove kohorte dosad potvrđen na natpisima.¹⁴ Na nekoliko su spomenika centurioni navedeni imenom, bez dodatnih podataka, kao zapovjednici centurije u kojoj je služio postavljač spomenika. Prema oko 45 natpisa ove kohorte¹⁵ može se reći da je odnos centuriona i ostalih vojnika na kamenim spomenicima otprilike 1:4. S obzirom da se radi o relativno malenom uzorku, ovaj brojčani odnos centuriona i ostalih pripadnika VIII. kohorte trenačan je te ne može odražavati stvaran omjer, a tome u prilog ide i podatak da su na zadnja tri od pet pronađenih spomenika ove kohorte zabilježeni centurioni. U razmišljanje o razlogu ovakvog omjera svakako treba uključiti i visinu njihovih plaća, koja je kod centuriona znatno izdašnija nego kod običnog vojnika.

Uzevši u obzir izgled obiju stela te formule korištene u natpisu i troimensku shemu, smatramo da bi oba natpisa trebalo datirati u 2. stoljeće, s tim da je natpis Gaja Alazini- ja Sekunda vjerojatno nastao nešto prije natpisa koji svom ocu postavlja Gaj Alazinije Valentin. Izravne rodbinske veze u prvom koljenu nije moguće potvrditi, ali mogu se isključiti dva odnosa. Gaj Alazinije Valentin i Gaj Alazinije Sekundin, postavljači ovih dvaju spomenika, nisu mogli biti braća jer na oba natpisa svaki postavlja spomenik svoje ocu, i Gaj Alazinije Valentin nije mogao biti otac Gaju Alaziniju Sekundinu. Oba su spomenika pronađena kao spoliji na istom lokalitetu, a s obzirom na pretpostavljeno srodstvo, smatramo da su izvorno bila postavljena na nekropoli obitelji koja je imala posjed u salonitanskome zaleđu. U oba su slučaja postavljači spomenika pripadnici VIII. kohorte, a prema svemu prethodno navedenome, lokalno su regrutirani te su vojnu službu obnašali, cijelu ili barem jedan njezin dio, u dvadesetak kilometara udaljenom logoru Tiluriju.¹⁶

Lokalitet Klapavice dao je vrlo vrijedne arheološke nalaze pa smatramo da bi se istraživanja na njemu trebala nastaviti. Iako je lokalitet najbitniji zbog nalaza iz razdoblja kasne antike i srednjega vijeka, nadamo se još kojem natpisu obitelji Alazini- ja čija je obiteljska nekropola morala biti u blizini ovog lokaliteta.

VIII. dobrovoljačka kohorta rimskih građana (*cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*), s otprilike 45 natpisa

ratio, we should certainly consider their pays – which were much higher for centurions than for privates.

Considering the appearance of both stelae, the formulas used in the inscription and the three-name system, we believe that both inscriptions should be dated to the 2nd century. That said, the Gaius Alasinius Secundus inscription was probably made some time before the inscription erected by Gaius Alasinius Valentinus to his father. While immediate family relationships cannot be confirmed, we can safely exclude two particular types of relationships. Gaius Alasinius Valentinus and Gaius Alasinius Secundinus, who erected the two monuments, could not have been brothers because each of them erected a monument to his respective father. Also, Gaius Alasinius Valentinus could not have been Gaius Alasinius Secundinus' father. Both monuments were found as spolia on the same site. Considering the supposed kinship, we believe they were originally erected in the necropolis of a family who had their landed property in the Salona hinterland. In both cases they were erected by members of the VIII Cohort and, based on the above, they were recruited locally and they did their military service – or at least part of it – in fortress Tilurium, some twenty kilometers away.¹⁶

As Klapavice site yielded very valuable archaeological results, we believe that the excavations there should be reassessed. Although the site is primarily important because of the Late Antiquity and medieval finds discovered there, we hope to find some more inscriptions mentioning the Alasinius, whose family necropolis must have been in the vicinity of this site.

With approximately 45 inscriptions found so far¹⁷, the VIII Cohort of Roman Citizen Volunteers (*cohors VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) is the best epigraphically confirmed cohort in Dalmatia. It is not surprising, given the time it spent in the province. Its camp was first in Andetrium, near present-day Muć Gornji. After the VII Legion *Claudia pia fidelis* had left Dalmatia in the 6th and 7th decades of the 1st century AD, the cohort was deployed in its place in Tilurium.¹⁸ According to the gravestone of a soldier named Servius Ennius Fuscus (*CIL III 9782, Andetrium*), dated to late 1st century AD¹⁹, it is possible that part of the cohort remained in Andetrium or that it came to Tilurium after that period. The VIII Cohort was deployed in Dalmatia

14 *CIL III 1742 (Epidaurum); CIL III 2706 (Tilurium); CIL III 3163 (nepoznato mjesto pronalaska); CIL III 8336 (Jezdine); CIL III 8490 (Bigeste); CIL III 13875 (Dračevica); CIL III 13975 (Tilurium); ILJug 1645 (Halapic); AE 2004, 1104 (Tilurium); AE 2006, 1013 (Salona).*

15 Točan broj natpisa nije siguran, budući da postoji nekoliko spomenika koji se mogu pripisati VIII. kohorti, ali za to nema čvrstih dokaza. U broj natpisa nisu uvršteni pečati na opekama.

16 Tilurij je u ovo vrijeme bio matični logor ove kohorte i, premda su ovi vojnici mogli jedan dio karijere biti u službi i u još kojem mjestu gdje je epigrafski potvrđen boravak pripadnika VIII. kohorte, držimo da su većinu svoje karijere ipak proveli u Tiluriju.

16 Tilurium was at that time the central camp of the cohort and, while these soldiers could have done part of their service in some other place where epigraphy confirms the presence of the VIII Cohort, we believe that they nevertheless spent most of their career in Tilurium.

17 Several authors have published the list of inscriptions of the VIII Cohort: D. Sergejevski, 1924; G. Alföldy, 1987; D. Tončinić, 2004; I. Matijević, 2009. Cf. also I. Matijević, 2013, where the list is extended with the inscriptions found in the meantime. These lists do not include the brick and tile stamps with the cohort's name.

18 G. Alföldy, 1987, 254; M. Zaninović, 1996, 216. There is extensive literature on this cohort, mostly listed in I. Matijević, 2013, 119, footnote 11.

19 N. Cambi, 2005, 67-68, Fig. 95.

pronađenih dosad¹⁷, epigrafski je najbolje potvrđena kohorta u Dalmaciji, što ne iznenađuje s obzirom na to koliko je dugo boravila u ovoj provinciji. Isprva joj je logor bio u Andetriju (*Andetrium*) pored današnjeg Muća Gornjeg, a nakon što je legija VII *Claudia pia fidelis* otišla iz Dalmacije, 50-ih ili 60-ih godina 1. stoljeća, prebačena je na njezino mjesto u Tilurij (*Tilurium*).¹⁸ Prema nadgrobnom spomenku vojnika Servija Enija Fuska (*Ser. Ennius Fuscus*, *CIL* III 9782, *Andetrium*), koji se datira u kraj 1. stoljeća¹⁹, moguće je da je dio kohorte i dalje ostao u Andetriju ili da je u Tilurij došla nakon ovog razdoblja. VIII. kohorta bila je u Dalmaciji od 1. pol. 1. st. do barem sredine 3. stoljeća²⁰, duže od svih drugih vojnih jedinica. Nakon Tilurija vjerojatno je prebačena u Arabiju, budući da je *Notitia Dignitatum* na kraju 4. st. navodi kao jednu od jedinica ondje stacioniranih pod imenom *cohors octava voluntaria*.²¹ Osim u Andetriju i Tiluriju, VIII. je kohorta u Dalmaciji epigrafski potvrđena i u logoru pomoćnih postrojbi *Bigeste*, te na drugim mjestima gdje su vjerojatno boravila manja odjeljenja jedinice.²² U Saloni se, kao središtu provincije, nalazio ured namjesnika s vojnicima najčešće detaširanim iz legija, a od vojnika iz kohorata koje nalazimo u uredu, najviše je onih koji su pripadali VIII. dobrovoljačkoj kohorti.²³

Iskoristit ćemo priliku objave ovog spomenika i ukazati na nekoliko problema o ustrojstvu VIII. kohorte. Osnovni su problemi vezani uz to je li bila pješaka (*peditata*) ili konjanička (*equitata*), zašto su joj kao zapovjednici potvrđeni i tribuni i prefekti te kakav joj je bio sastav, s obzirom na ime koje sugerira da je bila sačinjena od rimskih građana.

Ova se kohorta, kao i ostale dobrovoljačke, ubraja u tzv. građanske kohorte sastavljene od vojnika s rimskim građanskim pravom, za razliku od ostalih pomoćnih postrojbi u kojima su uglavnom služili peregrini.²⁴ U pravilu, na čelu je dobrovoljačkih kohorata stajao tribun (*tribunus cohortis*)²⁵, što je vidljivo iz epigrafskih primjera diljem Carstva.²⁶ Osim

between the first half of the 1st century and not earlier than mid-3rd century,²⁰ longer than any other military unit. After Tilurium, it was probably transferred to Arabia, since *Notitia Dignitatum* from the late 4th century mentions it as one of the units stationed there under the name *cohors octava voluntaria*.²¹ In addition to Andetrium and Tilurium, the VIII Cohort's presence in Dalmatia has been epigraphically confirmed in the camp of the auxiliary units *Bigeste* and in other places where smaller detachments of the unit were probably deployed.²² The governor's office was located in Salona, the provincial capital. Some soldiers, usually detached from legions, were stationed there. Of the soldiers from cohorts stationed in the office, most of them came from the VIII Cohort of Volunteers.²³

We will use the publishing of this monument to point at several questions concerning the structure of the VIII Cohort. The basic questions are: was it an infantry (*peditata*) or a cavalry (*equitata*) cohort; why have both tribunes and prefects been confirmed as its commanders; who were its members, in view of the name that suggests it consisted of Roman citizens?

Like other volunteer cohorts, this cohort was one of the so-called citizens cohorts consisting of Roman citizens, unlike other auxiliary units usually consisting of peregrines.²⁴ As a rule, volunteer cohorts were commanded by a tribune (*tribunus cohortis*)²⁵, which is indicated by epigraphic examples from all across the Empire.²⁶ Tribunes commanded not only volunteer cohorts, but also praetorian cohorts and cohorts of the watchmen (*vigiles*) in the city of Rome, as well as 1,000-strong cohorts (*cohortes milliariae*). A prefect (*praefectus cohortis*) commanded peregrine infantry cohorts (*cohors peditata*) with 480 soldiers and peregrine cavalry cohorts (*cohors equitata*) which had 120 cavalrymen attached to foot soldiers – all together, around 600 troops.²⁷ Exceptions to the rule as regards the command over cohorts have been confirmed in the VIII and XXIII Cohorts of Volunteers and in some other citizens cohorts that will not be discussed in this paper.²⁸

17 Popis natpisa VIII. kohorte donosi nekoliko autora: D. Sergejevski, 1924; G. Alföldy, 1987; D. Tončinić 2004; I. Matijević, 2009. Usp. i I. Matijević, 2013, gdje je popis dodatno proširen objavama natpisa pronađenih u međuvremenu. U ove popise nisu uvršteni pečati na ciglama koji nose ime kohorte.
18 G. Alföldy, 1987, 254; M. Zaninović, 1996, 216. O ovoj kohorti postoji opširna literatura, a većina je nabrojana u I. Matijević, 2013, 119, bilj. 11.
19 N. Cambi, 2005, 67-68, sl. 95.
20 Natpis *CIL* III 9724 (*Tilurium*) postavljen je 245. godine te predstavlja zasad najkasniji zabilježeni spomen ove kohorte u Dalmaciji. Moguće je da je tu boravila i u drugoj polovini 3. stoljeća, a G. Alföldy (1987, 255) smatra da je mogla biti prebačena u Arabiju u vrijeme cara Aurelijana (270-275. god.).
21 Not. Dig. Or. XXXVII, 33. Jedinica je bila stacionirana u mjestu zvanom *Ualtha*.
22 G. Alföldy, 1987, 254-255.
23 *CIL* III 2052 (*Tragurium*); *CIL* III 12679 (*Doclea*); *ILJug* 1947 (*Tilurium*); *AE* 2001, 1607 (*Salona*). O pripadnicima VIII. kohorte u uredu namjesnika provincije više kod I. Matijević, 2009.
24 Mnoge građanske kohorte imenom sugeriraju da su sastavljene od rimskih građana, no nije razriješeno je li tako bilo u svim razdobljima. O sastavu ovih kohorata v. K. Kraft, 1951, 95, 195; P. A. Brunt, 1974; M. P. Speidel, 1976a i P. A. Holder, 1980, 64-69.
25 M. P. Speidel, 1976a, 341, 343.
26 Npr. *CIL* III 386a-d (*Antigoneia*); *CIL* III 506 (*Patrae*); *CIL* III 6302 (*Singidunum*); *CIL* III 6758 (*Ancyra*); *CIL* III 8737 (*Salona*); *CIL* VI 32929 (*Roma*); *CIL* VII 383 (*Alauna*); *CIL* VIII 23068 (*Segermes*); *CIL* IX 5835, 5836 (*Auximum*); *CIL* X 4579 (*Caiatia*); *CIL* XIII 6449 (*Benningen*), *CIL* XIII 6530 (*vicus Murrensis*); *AE* 1930, 92 (*Gerasa*); *ILJug* 636 (*Epidaurum*).

20 The inscription *CIL* III 9724 (*Tilurium*), erected in 245 AD, is the latest known mentioning of this cohort in Dalmatia. It is possible that it was deployed there even in the second half of the 3rd century. G. Alföldy (1987, 255) thinks it could have been transferred to Arabia during the reign of Emperor Aurelian (270-275 AD).
21 Not. Dig. Or. XXXVII, 33. The unit was stationed in a place called *Ualtha*.
22 G. Alföldy, 1987, 254-255.
23 *CIL* III 2052 (*Tragurium*); *CIL* III 12679 (*Doclea*); *ILJug* 1947 (*Tilurium*); *AE* 2001, 1607 (*Salona*). For more on the members of the VIII Cohort in the provincial governor's office, see I. Matijević, 2009.

24 The names of many citizens cohorts suggest they consisted of Roman citizens, but it is still unclear whether it was so in all periods. For the structure of these cohorts, see K. Kraft, 1951, 95, 195; P. A. Brunt, 1974; M. P. Speidel, 1976a and P. A. Holder, 1980, 64-69.
25 M. P. Speidel, 1976a, 341, 343.
26 For example, *CIL* III 386a-d (*Antigoneia*); *CIL* III 506 (*Patrae*); *CIL* III 6302 (*Singidunum*); *CIL* III 6758 (*Ancyra*); *CIL* III 8737 (*Salona*); *CIL* VI 32929 (*Roma*); *CIL* VII 383 (*Alauna*); *CIL* VIII 23068 (*Segermes*); *CIL* IX 5835, 5836 (*Auximum*); *CIL* X 4579 (*Caiatia*); *CIL* XIII 6449 (*Benningen*), *CIL* XIII 6530 (*vicus Murrensis*); *AE* 1930, 92 (*Gerasa*); *ILJug* 636 (*Epidaurum*).

27 R. W. Davies, 1971; P. A. Holder, 1980, 7-8.
28 M. P. Speidel, 1976a.

dobrovoljačkim, tribuni su zapovijedali i pretorijanskim, gradskim i kohortama vigila u gradu Rimu, te kohortama od tisuću ljudi (*cohortes milliariae*). Prefekt je (*praefectus cohortis*) zapovijedao peregrinskim pješničkim kohortama (*cohors peditata*) s 480 vojnika i peregrinskim konjaničkim kohortama (*cohors equitata*) koje su, uz pješake, imale i 120 konjanika, tj. ukupno oko 600 vojnika.²⁷ Odstupanja od ovih „pravila“ zapovjedništva nad kohortama potvrđena su u VIII. i XXVIII. dobrovoljačkoj kohorti te još nekim građanskim kohortama koje nećemo vezivati uz ovu raspravu.²⁸

U Dalmaciji dosad nije potvrđen tribun VIII. kohorte, no postoje epigrafske potvrde od drugdje. Na jednom se spomeniku iz Rima²⁹ iz 1. pol. 1. st. spominje Tiberije Julije Julijan (*Ti. Iulius Iulianus*), tribun kohorte *VIII Voluntariorum*, koja je tada bila u Dalmaciji (*quae est in Dalmatia*). Ovo je najraniji spomenik s imenom VIII. kohorte, a i jedan od najranijih spomena provincije Dalmacije na natpisima. Natpis iz Ostije³⁰ spominje viteza Marka Acilija Priska (*M. Acilius Priscus*), tribuna kohorte *IIX Voluntariorum*, pri čemu se broj *IIX* interpretira kao broj VIII. Sljedeći poznati zapovjednik ove kohorte zabilježen je na spomeniku iz Betike - Gaj Klodije E[---] (*C. Clodius E[---]*).³¹ Dio natpisa koji se odnosi na njegovo zapovjedničko mjesto nedostaje, a prema dosadašnjim objavama restituira se kao *praefectus cohortis*.³² Kako se natpis može datirati u 1. ili početak 2. stoljeća, smatramo da bi se njegov položaj mogao (možda i trebao) restituirati i kao *tribunus cohortis*.

U Dalmaciji je zabilježen samo jedan zapovjednik VIII. kohorte, a radi se o prefektu Marku Ceciliju Afrikanu (*M. Caecilius Africanus*), pod čijim je zapovjedništvom u doba cara Antonina Pija (148-161. god.) ova kohorta u Tiluriju izgradila konstrukciju za dopremanje vode (*turrus ad aquam tollendam*).³³ Iz istog je logora poznata i stela Flavija Plarenta (*Flavius Plares*) koji je u kohorti *VIII Voluntariorum* bio prefektov beneficijarij (*beneficiarius praefecti*)³⁴, a sam bi se natpis okvirno mogao datirati u 2. pol. 2. ili početak 3. st.

Prefekta VIII. kohorte, Kvinta Julija Frontina (*Q. Iulius Frontinus*), nalazimo na zavjetnom natpisu iz Numidije.³⁵ H. Devijver³⁶, a potom i J. Spaul³⁷, smatraju da je dobrovoljačka kohorta kojoj na natpisu³⁸ nije sačuvano ime, a kojoj je zapovijedao prefekt *L. Septi[mius?] Petro[nianus?]*, ustvari VIII. kohorta.

No tribune of the VIII Cohort has been confirmed in Dalmatia so far, but there are epigraphic confirmations from other places. A monument from Rome²⁹ from the first half of the 1st century mentions Tiberius Iulius Iulianus, tribune of the *VIII Voluntariorum* cohort, deployed in Dalmatia (*quae est in Dalmatia*) at the time. This is the earliest monument mentioning the VIII Cohort and also one of the earliest monuments mentioning the province of Dalmatia. An inscription from Ostia³⁰ mentions equestrian Marcus Acilius Priscus, a tribune of the *IIX Voluntariorum* cohort (the number *IIX* is interpreted here as VIII). The next known commander of this cohort is mentioned on a monument from Baetica: *Gaius Clodius E[---]*.³¹ The part referring to his command post is missing; in the papers published so far it is restituted as *praefectus cohortis*.³² Since the inscription can be dated to the 1st century or early 2nd century, we believe that his post could (and perhaps should) be restituted as *tribunus cohortis*.

Only one commander of the VIII Cohort has been registered in Dalmatia – prefect Marcus Caecilius Africanus – under whose command the cohort built a water-supply structure (*turrus ad aquam tollendam*) in Tilurium during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius (148 – 161 AD).³³ From the same camp also comes the stela of Flavius Plares, the prefect's beneficiarius (*beneficiarius praefecti*)³⁴ in the *VIII Voluntariorum* cohort. The inscription could roughly be dated to the second half of the 2nd century or to the early 3rd century AD.

The name of the prefect of the VIII Cohort, Quintus Iulius Frontinus, is found on a votive inscription from Numidia.³⁵ H. Devijver³⁶, a then J. Spaul³⁷, think that the Cohort of Volunteers the name of which has not been preserved in an inscription³⁸ and which was under the command of prefect *L. Septi[mius?] Petro[nianus?]* is actually the VIII Cohort.

As mentioned above, the XXVIII Cohort of Volunteers also had tribunes for commanders,³⁹ and then prefects.⁴⁰ In Speidel's opinion, there was no established rule for the command over volunteer cohorts.⁴¹ According to M. Le Glay, who thought that volunteer cohorts consisted not only of Roman citizens, but also of freemen, and even slaves, the VIII Cohort had been under the command of

27 R. W. Davies, 1971; P. A. Holder, 1980, 7-8.

28 M. P. Speidel, 1976a.

29 AE 1913, 194 (*Roma*).

30 AE 1955, 169 (*Ostia*).

31 *CIL* II/7 281 (*Corduba*).

32 HEp 4, 00283, a tako je preuzeto i na mrežnim epigrafskim bazama Clauss-Slaby i EDH.

33 ILJug 1948 (*Tilurium*).

34 *CIL* III 14930 (*Tilurium*).

35 AE 1954, 145, (*Thamugadi*).

36 H. Devijver, 1976, nr. 104.

37 J. Spaul, 2000, 35-36.

38 AE 1958, 156 (*Caesarea*).

29 AE 1913, 194 (*Roma*).

30 AE 1955, 169 (*Ostia*).

31 *CIL* II/7 281 (*Corduba*).

32 HEp 4, 00283; the online epigraphic data bases Clauss-Slaby and EDH also quote it as such.

33 ILJug 1948 (*Tilurium*).

34 *CIL* III 14930 (*Tilurium*).

35 AE 1954, 145, (*Thamugadi*).

36 H. Devijver, 1976, nr. 104.

37 J. Spaul, 2000, 35-36.

38 AE 1958, 156 (*Caesarea*).

39 *CIL* XIII 6449 (Benningen); *CIL* XIII 6530 (*vicus Murrensis*).

40 AE 1971, 287 (Stettfeld) mentions a veteran of the XXVIII Cohort of Volunteers who was the Prefect's cornicularius (*Florentinius Quintianus, veteranus coh. XXVIII vol. ex corniculario praefecti*).

41 M. P. Speidel, 1976a, 343; P. A. Holder, 1980, 65 quotes his opinion.

Kako je spomenuto, uz VIII. dobrovoljačku i XXVIII. dobrovoljačka kohorta za zapovjednike ima tribune³⁹, a potom prefekte.⁴⁰ Speidelovo je mišljenje da nije postojalo ustaljeno pravilo za zapovjedništvo nad dobrovoljačkim kohortama.⁴¹ M. Le Glay, koji je smatrao da su u dobrovoljačkim kohortama služili ne samo građani, nego i oslobođenici, pa čak i robovi, piše da već od Domicijanova razdoblja VIII. kohortom zapovijeda prefekt.⁴² Mišljenje je, među ostalim, utemeljio na zaključku da su, prema podacima s diplome iz Salone⁴³, u ovoj kohorti služili peregrini, da je time izgubila svoj dotadašnji status kohorte rimskih građana te se počela smatrati „običnom“ kohortom.⁴⁴ To bi, pak, rezultiralo time da je više ne predvodi tribun nego prefekt⁴⁵, no dosad nije potvrđen niti jedan peregrin ove jedinice⁴⁶, stoga je i dalje promatramo kao građansku.⁴⁷ Novačenje peregrina spomenutih na diplomi iz Salone vezujemo uz građanski rat 68/69. god. i to smatramo iznimkom koja traje do njihovog otpusta krajem 1. stoljeća, što je detaljnije objašnjeno nešto kasnije u tekstu. Tek su nakon toga, u 2. stoljeću, prefekti potvrđeni u VIII. kohorti, a u XXVIII. kohorti u 3. stoljeću.

Zanimljiva je činjenica da je na svim spomenicima, osim jednog, ova kohorta navedena kao *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, odnosno bez dodatka imena koje bismo očekivali prema drugim dobrovoljačkim kohortama - *civium Romanorum*.⁴⁸ Ovaj naziv zasad čitamo samo na spomenutoj vojnoj diplomi iz Salone. M. Le Glay je pretpostavljao da je VIII. kohorta možda postala nedostojna ovog naslova.⁴⁹ To se moralo dogoditi nakon 94. godine, kada se datira spomenuta diploma s naslovom kohorte kao *civium Romanorum*, no ova se kohorta ni na jednom natpisu iz 1. stoljeća, uključujući i onaj iz njegove 1. polovice, ne navodi s dodatkom *civium Romanorum* pa se ne možemo složiti s ovim

prefects ever since Domitian's reign.⁴² Among other things, his opinion is based on the conclusion that, according to the diploma from Salona⁴³, this cohort consisted of peregrines, which made it lose its earlier citizen status and was henceforth considered "ordinary" cohort.⁴⁴ It would mean that it was no longer commanded by a tribune but by a prefect⁴⁵; however, as no peregrine from this unit has not been confirmed yet⁴⁶, we still consider it citizens' unit.⁴⁷ The recruitment of the peregrines mentioned on the diploma from Salona is associated with the civil war of 68/69 AD and is considered an exception that lasted until their discharge in the late 1st century (explained in detail in the text below). Only later, in the 2nd century, are prefects confirmed in the VIII Cohort (and not before the 3rd century in the XXVIII Cohort).

Interestingly, all monuments but one mention this cohort as *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, without the addition to its name that we could expect by analogy with other volunteer cohorts - *civium Romanorum*.⁴⁸ This name can only be found on the said military diploma from Salona. M. Le Glay assumed that the VIII Cohort perhaps became unworthy of this title.⁴⁹ It must have happened after 94 AD, the year to which the above mentioned diploma specifying the cohort as *civium Romanorum* is dated. However, since this addition is not found on any 1st-century inscription mentioning the cohort, we cannot support this opinion. Also, the onomastic analysis of the members of the VIII Cohort has not shown that it was not a cohort of Roman citizens. Perhaps it is due to the epigraphic habit of not underlining the fact that a cohort consisted of Roman citizens. Throughout the period during which its presence in Dalmatia is confirmed, it was the only Roman citizens cohort in the province and the title *Voluntariorum* clearly indicated its type.

The addition to the cohort's name can be found on one gravestone and two votive monuments. Two of

39 CIL XIII 6449 (Benningen); CIL XIII 6530 (*vicus Murrensis*).

40 AE 1971, 287 (Stettfeld) spominje veterana XXVIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte koji je bio prefektov kornikularij (*Florentinius Quintianus, veteranus coh. XXVIII vol. ex corniculario praefecti*).

41 M. P. Speidel, 1976a, 343; Mišljenje prenosi i P. A. Holder, 1980, 65.

42 M. Le Glay, 1972, 219-220. Autor navodi Batonov ustanak i kriznu situaciju u vrijeme Marka Aurelija kada su se primali i oslobođenici i robovi u građanske vojne formacije, no i sam konstatira da nije jasno u kojem bi trenutku ovim vojnicima bila dodijeljena građanska prava.

43 CIL XVI 38 (*Salona*). O ovoj diplomi v. raspravu dalje u tekstu.

44 M. Le Glay, 1972, 220.

45 M. Le Glay, 1972, 220-221.

46 Stelu (CIL III 2039) svojoj nećakinji postavio je vojnik VIII. Dobrovoljačke kohorte koji je naveden samo s jednim imenom kao Licinije (*Licinius*). Ne smatramo da se radi o peregrinu, nego o tome da nije naveo svoje puno ime s gentilicijem. O njemu vidi i G. Alföldy, 1987, 256 i M. Le Glay, 1972, 220, bilj. 30.

47 Kod nekih vojnika možemo prepoznati da su potjecali iz autohtonih (vjerojatno peregrinskih) obitelji jer na to ukazuju njihova imena: npr. Flavije Plarent (*Fl. Plares, CIL III 14930, Tilurium*) i Dasije Eternal (*Dassius Aeternalis, CIL III 146601, Salona*). Prema onomastičkoj shemi i činjenici da se radi o aktivnim vojnicima, a ne veteranima koji su dobili građansko pravo nakon odrađivanja vojne službe, vidimo da služe kao građani.

48 Ovo je najbolje epigrafski potvrđena dobrovoljačka kohorta pa donekle iznenađuje činjenica da dosad ni na jednom kamenom spomeniku nema dodatka *civium Romanorum*. Kod drugih dobrovoljačkih kohorata tek ponekad izostaje izraz *civium Romanorum*, dok neke kohorte nose ovaj naslov iako su oformljene kao peregrinske.

49 M. Le Glay, 1972, 221.

42 M. Le Glay, 1972, 219-220. The author mentions Bato's Revolt and the crises during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when freemen and slaves were admitted to the citizens' military units. However, he himself concludes that it is not clear at what time would these soldiers be granted Roman citizenship.

43 CIL XVI 38 (*Salona*). For this diploma, see the discussion below.

44 M. Le Glay, 1972, 220.

45 M. Le Glay, 1972, 220-221.

46 A soldier of the VIII Cohort of Volunteers, mentioned only as Licinius, erected a stela (CIL III 2039) to his niece. We do not think he was a peregrine - he merely failed to specify his full name with the gentilicium. See more in G. Alföldy, 1987, 256 and M. Le Glay, 1972, 220, footnote 30.

47 For some soldiers we can tell that were from autochthonous (probably peregrine) families because their names indicate so: e.g. Flavius Plares (CIL III 14930, *Tilurium*) and Dassius Aeternalis (CIL III 146601, *Salona*). Based on the onomastic system and the fact that they were active soldiers and not veterans who had been granted Roman citizenship after they had done their military service, it is clear that they served as citizens.

48 As this is the best epigraphically confirmed volunteer cohort, it is somewhat surprising that the *civium Romanorum* addition has not been found on any stone monument yet. In the case of other volunteer cohorts, the addition is omitted only sometimes. Also, some cohorts wear this title even though they were formed as peregrine cohorts.

49 M. Le Glay, 1972, 221.

mišljenjem. Nadalje, onomastička analiza pripadnika VIII. kohorte ne pokazuje da se ne radi o kohorti rimskih građana. Može biti da je izostanak ovog naslova posljedica epigrafske prakse pri kojoj nije trebalo posebno naglašavati da se radi o građanskoj kohorti. Ona je kroz čitavo vrijeme, otkad je zabilježena na natpisima, u Dalmaciji bila jedina kohorta rimskih građana, te je iz naslova *Voluntariorum* bilo jasno o kakvoj se kohorti radi.

Dodatno ime na kamenim spomenicima ova kohorta ima na jednom nadgrobnom i dva zavjetna spomenika od kojih se na dvama čita *cohors VIII Voluntariorum Antoniniana*⁵⁰, a na trećem *cohors VIII Voluntariorum Philippiana*⁵¹, i svi su iz 3. st. Kako se radi o počasnim naslovima koje je ova kohorta dobila od dvojice careva (*Antoniniana* za Karakale, *Philippiana* za Filipa), vrlo vjerojatno su istaknuti zbog časti ovoj kohorti koju su trenutni carevi iskazali dodjeljivanjem počasnoga imena. Zato kod rasprave o mogućnosti da je ova jedinica strukturno promijenjena u konjaničku, uzimamo da pridjev *equitata* vrlo vjerojatno ne bi ni stajao na natpisima, kao što nije stajala ni odrednica *civium Romanorum*. Kao potvrdu tome navodimo i činjenicu da III. kohorta Alpinaca također početkom 3. st. nosi počasni naslov *Antoniniana*, no usprkos tome što je potvrđeno konjanička, pridjev *equitata* nije zabilježen na natpisima u Dalmaciji.

Znanstvenu postavku da je VIII. kohorta *equitata*, kako piše J. Spaul⁵², uzimamo s rezervom iz nekih drugih razloga. Riječ s natpisa iz Salone koju autor navodi kao dokaz za to (*CIL* III 8776) i čita je kao *turma*, zapravo glasi *-tura*, i vjerojatno je završetak imena supruge koja postavlja spomenik te nema veze s konjaničkom turmom.⁵³ I D. Sergejevski je naveo nekoliko činjenica zbog kojih je smatrao da je VIII. kohorta u jednom razdoblju bila *equitata*⁵⁴: spomenutu vojnu diplomu iz Salone koja spominje pješake i konjanike III. i VIII. kohorte⁵⁵, natpis veksilarija VIII. kohorte iz Andetrija⁵⁶ i posvetu božici konja Eponi na žrtveniku iz Dokleje koji je postavio vojnik Dobrovoljačke kohorte.⁵⁷ On sva tri spomenika datira u kraj 1. st. te drži da je tada privremeno ova kohorta bila *equitata*.⁵⁸ Međutim, smatramo da se ovi spomenici ne mogu dovesti u zajednički kontekst koji bi potom dokazivao takvo ustrojstvo kohorte. U međuvremenu je odbačeno mišljenje da samo konjaničke kohorte

the inscriptions read *cohors VIII Voluntariorum Antoniniana*⁵⁰ and the third one *cohors VIII Voluntariorum Philippiana*⁵¹. They are all from the 3rd century. Since these are the honorary titles given to the cohort by two emperors (*Antoniniana* by Caracalla and *Philippiana* by Philip), they were probably mentioned to reflect the honor paid by them to the cohort. This is why, when discussing the possibility that the unit changed its structure and became a cavalry unit, we hold that the adjective *equitata* most likely would not be mentioned in inscriptions, just like the *civium Romanorum* determinant. To support this, we can mention the fact that the III Alpine Cohort – also in the early 3rd century – had the honorary title *Antoniniana*, but the adjective *equitata* has not been confirmed for it in Dalmatian inscriptions even though it has been positively established that it was a cavalry unit.

The scientific proposition that the VIII Cohort was an *equitata* cohort, as J. Spaul⁵² claims, should be taken with a pinch of salt for some other reasons. The word from a Salona inscription that the author offers as evidence of it (*CIL* III 8776) and reads it as *turma* is actually *-tura*. It is probably the ending of the name of the wife who erected the monument and has nothing to do with a cavalry *turma*.⁵³ D. Sergejevski gave a few facts that made him think that the VIII Cohort had been *equitata* during one period⁵⁴: the above mentioned military diploma from Salona that mentions infantrymen and cavalrymen of the III and VIII Cohorts⁵⁵, the inscription of a *vexillarius* of the VIII Cohort from Andetrium⁵⁶ and the inscription to goddess of horses, Epona, found on a Doclea altar erected by a soldier of the Cohort of Volunteers.⁵⁷ Sergejevski dates all three monuments to the late 1st century and believes that the cohort was temporarily *equitata* at the time.⁵⁸ However, we believe that these monuments cannot be put in a context that could be seen as evidence of such a structure of the cohort. In the meantime, the opinion that only cavalry cohorts had *vexillarii* has been discarded; they were standard parts of infantry units, too⁵⁹, so it cannot be considered evidence that the VIII Cohort was a cavalry cohort. As for the altar dedicated to Epona, Sergejevski found a good connection between goddess Epona and the presence of

50 *CIL* III 9732; 13187 (*Tilurium*).

51 *CIL* III 9724 (*Tilurium*). Natpis je pretrpio *damnatio memoriae* upravo na mjestu gdje se spominje počasni naziv ove kohorte, a s obzirom na 245. godinu, jasno je da se radi o caru Filipu, čije je ime također otučeno.

52 J. Spaul, 2000, 35, 37.

53 Treba pripaziti na to da brojevi bilježaka u Spaulovom djelu na stranicama 35-37 ne odgovaraju onome na što upućuju pa broj bilješke br. 4 kod natpisa o kojem pišemo, zapravo treba upućivati na bilješku br. 5. Također moramo napomenuti da je na natpisu ime ove jedinice sačuvano samo kao *[volun]tario[rum]*, iako se najvjerojatnije radi o VIII. kohorti.

54 D. Sergejevski, 1924, 120-121.

55 *CIL* XVI 38 (*Salona*).

56 *CIL* III 2745 (*Andetrium*).

57 *CIL* III 12679 (*Doclea*).

58 D. Sergejevski, 1924, 120-121.

50 *CIL* III 9732; 13187 (*Tilurium*).

51 *CIL* III 9724 (*Tilurium*). The inscription suffered the *damnatio memoriae* on the place where the honorary title of the cohort was mentioned. Since it is dated to 245 AD, the name that was chiseled off was clearly Emperor Philip's.

52 J. Spaul 2000, 35, 37.

53 We should note here that the footnote numbers in Spaul's work, on pages 35-37, do not correspond to what they refer to: thus, the footnote number 4, referring to the inscription we discuss here, should really be number 5. We should also note that the name of this unit on the inscription is preserved only as *[volun]tario[rum]*, although it is most likely the VIII Cohort.

54 D. Sergejevski, 1924, 120-121.

55 *CIL* XVI 38 (*Salona*).

56 *CIL* III 2745 (*Andetrium*).

57 *CIL* III 12679 (*Doclea*).

58 D. Sergejevski, 1924, 120-121.

59 M. P. Speidel, 1976b, 938.

imaju veksilarije, nego su oni standardan dio i pješačkih jedinica⁵⁹, pa to ne može biti dokaz da je VIII. kohorta bila konjanička. Za žrtvenik Eponi Sergejevski je pronašao dobru poveznicu između božice Epone s prisutnošću konjanika u kohorti, no ovaj bi se žrtvenik trebalo datirati oko sredine 2. stoljeća⁶⁰, te se u kronološkom smislu ne može dovesti u vezu s ostala dva spomenika.

Što se tiče vojne diplome iz Salone, ona je zanimljiva za raspravu oko ustrojstva i sastava ove jedinice. Naime, carskom su konstitucijom obuhvaćeni časno otpušteni pripadnici pješadije i konjaništva III. kohorte Alpinaca i VIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte rimskih građana koji u služili Dalmaciji. Sama je diploma izdana u vrijeme cara Domicijana, 94. godine, za Veneta, Ditovog sina, pripadnika peregrinske zajednice Daversa koji je služio kao pješak u kohorti III Alpinorum. Dio teksta diplome glasi: „(...) *peditibus et equitibus qui militant in cohorte III Alpinorum et in VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum qui peregrinae condicionis probati*⁶¹ *erant et sunt in Delmatia (...)*“, odnosno „(...) *pješacima i konjanicima koji služe u III. kohorti Alpinaca i VIII. Dobrovoljačkoj kohorti rimskih građana, a koji su bili unovačeni pod peregrinskim uvjetima* (odn. kao peregrini)“.

Iz ovog dijela teksta možemo izdvojiti naizgled neobičan podatak da su u VIII. kohortu primljeni peregrini. Smatramo da se radi o iznimnoj situaciji koja se poklapa s godinama građanskog rata (68/69. god.) tijekom kojeg su mnogi peregrini unovačeni u vojne formacije u koje se inače primaju isključivo građani.⁶² Tako su od mornara-peregrina Mizenatske i Ravenatske flote upravo u ovim godinama nastale legije I i II *Adiutrices*, te su i njihovi pripadnici otpušteni iz vojske s diplomom kojom im je tek tada bilo jamčeno građansko pravo.⁶³ Diplome su možda bile izdavanе i za pripadnike još nekih građanskih kohorata tijekom prva dva stoljeća.⁶⁴

Podatak o konjanicima s diplome vjerojatno se odnosi na III. kohortu Alpinaca, koja dosad u Dalmaciji nije imenom potvrđena kao *equitata*, no jasno je prema natpisima konjanika da je imala konjaničko odjeljenje.⁶⁵ Kad bi se

cavalrymen in the cohort. However, as the altar should be dated to mid-2nd century⁶⁰, it cannot be chronologically connected with the other two monuments.

As regards the military diploma from Salona, it is of interest for the discussion about the structure and composition of this unit. The imperial constitution applied to the honorably discharged members of the infantry and cavalry of the III Alpine Cohort and VIII Cohort of Roman Citizen Volunteers who had served in Dalmatia. The diploma was issued in 94 AD, during Domitian's reign, for Venetus, the son of Ditus, a member of the peregrine community of the Daversi, who served as an infantry-man in the III *Alpinorum* cohort. Part of the text on the diploma reads: „(...) *peditibus et equitibus qui militant in cohorte III Alpinorum et in VIII Voluntariorum civium Romanorum qui peregrinae condicionis probati*⁶¹ *erant et sunt in Delmatia (...)*“, or „(...) *to the infantry-men and cavalrymen serving in the III Alpine Cohort and VIII Cohort of Roman Citizen Volunteers who were recruited under the peregrine conditions* (in other words, as peregrines)“.

From this part of the text we can single out a seemingly unusual piece of information that peregrines were admitted to the VIII Cohort. In our opinion, it was an exceptional situation that coincided with the civil war years (68-69 AD) during which many peregrines were recruited in the military units which would normally recruit citizens only.⁶² This is how, during these years, the legions I and II *Adiutrices* were formed of the peregrine sailors of the Misenate and Ravennate Fleets and their members were also discharged with the military diploma that finally granted them Roman citizenship.⁶³ The diplomas were perhaps issued to the members of some other citizen cohorts in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.⁶⁴

The cavalrymen mentioned on the diploma were probably from the III Alpine Cohort which has not been confirmed in Dalmatia as *equitata* yet. However, the inscriptions of its members clearly indicate that the cohort had its cavalry detachment.⁶⁵ Even if the text really referred

59 M. P. Speidel, 1976b, 938.

60 I. Matijević ovaj spomenik povezuje s nadgrobni natpisom Publija Benija Priscijana (*P. Bennius Priscianus*), koji je kao konzularni frulaš (*tibicen consularis*) radio u namjesnikovom uredu u Saloni i čiji se spomenik može datirati u 2. pol. 2. stoljeća (I. Matijević, 2009, 50).

61 *Izraz peregrinae condicionis probati* javlja se samo na ovoj diplomi.

62 Da se radi o peregrinima koji su unovačeni u VIII. kohortu mislio je i H. Nesselhauf u komentaru ove diplome (*Itaque certe iam a. 68 suppletæ sunt cohortes voluntariorum civium Romanorum ex peregrinis*, *CIL XVI 37*). Prema takvom mišljenju skeptičan je bio J. Wilkes (1969, 145), dok je G. Alföldy (1987, 254, bilj. 102) smatrao da se peregrini odnose samo na III. kohortu Alpinaca.

63 Npr. pripadnik naroda Dezidijata, Nerva, Laidov sin, otpušten je iz legije II *Adiutrix pia fidelis* 70. godine (*CIL XVI 11*). O ovome više u: G. Forni, 1986.

64 O ostalim građanskim kohortama koje se spominju na diplomama v. J. Spaul, 2000, 501. Da su dobrovoljačke kohorte primale peregrine govori nadgrobni natpis vojnika kohorte XXXII *Voluntariorum* koji se zvao *P(h)iladelphus, P(h)ilandri (f.), Cappadox*, *CIL XIII 7382, (Nida)*. Usp. i *CIL XIII 11952 (Saalburg)*.

65 *CIL III 2012 (Salona)*; *CIL III 2759 (Vrlika)*; *CIL III 8495 (Bigeste)*; *CIL III 8725 (Salona)*; *ILJug 1922 (Bigeste)*; *AE 1975, 677 (Gromile)*; Prema pečatima na ciglama iz Gornje Panonije (B. Lőrincz, 2001, nr. 245, 246) ova je kohorta u 3. st. nosila i službeni pridjev *equitata*.

60 I. Matijević brings this monument into connection with the inscription of Publius Bennius Priscianus, who was employed in the Governor's office in Salona as a consular piper (*tibicen consularis*) and whose monument can be dated to the second half of the 2nd century (I. Matijević, 2009, 50).

61 The expression *peregrinae condicionis probati* is only found on this diploma.

62 In his comment on this diploma, H. Nesselhauf also thought that these were the peregrines recruited in the VIII Cohort (*Itaque certe iam a. 68 suppletæ sunt cohortes voluntariorum civium Romanorum ex peregrinis*, *CIL XVI 37*). J. Wilkes (1969, 145) was skeptical about that opinion and G. Alföldy (1987, 254, footnote 102) thought that the peregrines mentioned in it were only the ones from the III Alpine Cohort.

63 For example, Nerva, the son of Laidus – a member of the Daesidiates tribe – was discharged from the II *Adiutrix pia fidelis* Legion in 70 AD (*CIL XVI 11*). More on this in: G. Forni, 1986.

64 For other citizen cohorts mentioned on diplomas, see J. Spaul, 2000, 501. Supporting the thesis that volunteer cohorts did recruit peregrines is the gravestone inscription of a soldier of the XXXII *Voluntariorum* Cohort named *P(h)iladelphus, P(h)ilandri (f.), Cappadox*, *CIL XIII 7382, (Nida)*. Cf. also *CIL XIII 11952 (Saalburg)*.

65 *CIL III 2012 (Salona)*; *CIL III 2759 (Vrlika)*; *CIL III 8495 (Bigeste)*; *CIL III 8725 (Salona)*; *ILJug 1922 (Bigeste)*; *AE 1975, 677 (Gromile)*; According to the brick and tile stamps from Upper Pannonia (B. Lőrincz 2001, nr. 245, 246), this cohort had the official adjective *equitata* in the 3rd century.

eventualno i odnosio na VIII. kohortu, čini se da bi to bila, kao i tadašnje novačenje peregrinskih pješaka, iznimna i privremena situacija.

Moramo spomenuti i rad P. Faurea koji je detaljno istražio karijeru Tita Flavija Lucilija, časnika otpuštenog u doba Hadrijana.⁶⁶ Prema Faureovom mišljenju, Lucilije je, nakon što je odslužio karijeru u gradu Rimu kao časnik carske konjice (*sesquiplicarius*, *duplicarius* i *summus curator equitum singularium Augusti*), postao centurion VIII. kohorte, što bi možda moglo upućivati na to da je ova kohorta tada bila konjanička.⁶⁷

Jedina održiva pretpostavka s konjaničkim odjeljenjem VIII. kohorte temeljena je na posveti iz 2. stoljeća Eponi⁶⁸, božici koja se vezuje uz konjanike.⁶⁹

Većina se spomenika VIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte može datirati u 2. i 3. stoljeće, što je i očekivano budući da uglavnom potječu iz Salone i iz Tilurija, a istraživanja područja logora Andetrija mogla bi pružiti bolji uvid u strukturni sastav ove kohorte tijekom 1. st. Zasad VIII. dobrovoljačku kohortu i dalje možemo smatrati pješačkom jedinicom, a ujedno i kohortom koja prema epigrafskim dokazima opravdava svoj naslov da je bila sačinjena od rimskih građana. Kako je to često u rasvjetljavanju prošlosti, već bi nam i jedan novopronađeni natpis mogao pomoći jasnije oblikovati spoznaje o ovoj kohorti.

to the VIII Cohort, it would probably be an exceptional and temporary situation, as was the case with the then recruitment of the peregrine infantry.

We should mention the work of P. Faure who examined the career of T. Flavius Lucilius, who had received an honorable discharge as Hadrian's officer.⁶⁶ According to Faure's opinion, Lucilius, after he had completed the service in Rome as an imperial cavalry officer (*sesquiplicarius*, *duplicarius* and *summus curator equitum singularium Augusti*), was appointed to Dalmatia as a centurion of the VIII Cohort, which might point to the possibility that this cohort then was *equitata*.⁶⁷

A sustainable assumption about the cavalry detachment of the VIII Cohort is based on a 2nd-century inscription dedicated to Epona⁶⁸, the goddess worshipped by cavalrymen.⁶⁹

Expectedly, most of the monuments of the VIII Cohort of Volunteers can be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries because they are mostly from Salona and Tilurium. The excavations in the military camp at Andetrium could shed more light on the structure of that cohort in the 1st century. For the time being, the VIII Cohort of Volunteers can be considered an infantry unit and also – based on epigraphic evidence – a cohort made up of Roman citizens. As is often the case when we try to throw more light on the past, even a single newly found inscription could help us gain a better insight into this cohort.

66 AE 2006, 1013 (*Salona*); P. Faure, 2010.

67 P. Faure, 2010, 232.

68 *CIL III 12679 (Doclea), I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Epon(a)e Regin(ae) / genio loci / P(ublius) Bennius Eg/regius mil(es) / coh(ortis) Vol(untariorum) adiu(tor) / princ(eps) b(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit)*. Iako je ovaj spomenik najvjerojatnije postavio pripadnik VIII. dobrovoljačke kohorte, moramo iskazati tek manji oprez, budući da je ova kohorta navedena samo kao *cohors Voluntariorum*.

69 Božica Epona je *par excellence* zaštitnica konjaničkog svijeta (konjanika, konja i štala). O posvetama Eponi u vojnom kontekstu v. C. Schmidt Heidenreich, 2013, 170-171.

66 AE 2006, 1013 (*Salona*); P. Faure, 2010.

67 P. Faure, 2010, 232.

68 *CIL III 12679 (Doclea), I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Epon(a)e Regin(ae) / genio loci / P(ublius) Bennius Eg/regius mil(es) / coh(ortis) Vol(untariorum) adiu(tor) / princ(eps) b(ene)ff(iciarii) co(n)s(ularis) v(otum) s(olvit)*. Although the monument was most likely erected by a member of the VIII Cohort of Volunteers, we should still take it with a grain of salt because the cohort is mentioned in it only as *cohors Voluntariorum*.

69 Goddess Epona is a *par excellence* protector of the equestrian world (of horsemen, horses and stables). For inscriptions dedicated to Epona in the military context, see C. Schmidt Heidenreich, 2013, 170-171.

Popis kratica / Abbreviations

AE – L'Année épigraphique, Paris
BAR – British archaeological reports, Oxford
BASD – Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Split
CIL – Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
GZMBH – Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
ILJug – Inscriptiones Iugoslaviae quae repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana
Not. Dig – *Notitia Dignitatum* (ed. Otto Seeck), Berlin 1876.
JRS – The Journal of Roman Studies, London
TAPhA – Transactions of the American Philological Association
ZPE – Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Köln

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