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Ala Parthorum i ala
Pannoniorum na natpisima iz
Salone

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Sažetak:

Rad je posvećen salonitanskoj steli dekuriona [Tiberija] Julija Maksima iz ale *Parthorum* (CIL 3, 8746; EDH HD050401) i steli duplikarija Kloucija iz ale *Pannoniorum* (CIL 3, 2016; EDH HD054712) – jedinim epigrafskim potvrđama ovih pomoćnih konjaničkih postrojba u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji. Prevladavajući mišljenja da ih treba datirati u završne godine Augustove ili početne godine Tiberijeve vladavine. Pretpostavlja se da su ove konjaničke postrojbe u godinama nakon Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka (6.–9. godine) boravile u neposrednoj blizini Salone. Otkriće Maksimove stele u Pleštinama, jugozapadno od Kliškog prijevoja, možda indicira da je upravo na tom položaju bila smještena ala *Parthorum* ili jedan njezin

The ala *Parthorum* and the ala
Pannoniorum in inscriptions
from Salona

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Abstract:

The paper is dedicated to the Salonitan stele of the decurion [Tiberius] Julius Maximus from ala *Parthorum* (CIL 3, 8746; EDH HD050401) and the stele of the duplicarius Cloutius from ala *Pannoniorum* (CIL 3, 2016; EDH HD054712) as the only epigraphic confirmations of these auxiliary cavalry units in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The prevailing opinion is that they should be dated to the closing years of the Augustan era or the early years of the reign of Tiberius. It is suggested that these cavalry units were posted in the immediate vicinity of Salona in the years following the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising (6-9 AD). The discovery of the stele of Maximus at Pleštine, southwest of the Klis mountain pass, may indicate

dio, sa zadaćom osiguravanja komunikacijskih pravaca između Salone i unutrašnjosti. Autor raspravlja o društvenom statusu i porijeklu dekuriona [Tiberija] Julija Maksima, sina Gaja Julija Tiridata, pripadnika partske aristokracije rođenog u Rimu. Duplikarij Kloucije, sin Klutamov, bio je iz asturskoga naroda Susara iz sjeverozapadne Hispanije i nije jedini Hispanac tada primljen u postrojbu izvorno sastavljenu od panonskih konjanika. Pokušava se odrediti vrijeme kada su ale napustile Dalmaciju. Ala *Pannoniorum* je početkom Tiberijeve vladavine premještena u Panoniju gdje je nadzirala ceste prema logoru u Araboni. Za alu *Parthorum* se pretpostavljalo da je tijekom prve polovice 1. st. prebačena u Germaniju, gdje je potvrđena kao ala *Parthorum et Araborum*, ali noviji nalazi iz Pizorake upućuju na zaključak da je početkom Klaudivijeva doba prebačena u sjeverozapadnu Hispaniju.

Ključne riječi: Dekurion, duplikarij, ala Parthorum, ala Pannoniorum, Salona, Klis

that this was exactly where ala Parthorum, or a part of it, was positioned with the task of securing the communication route between Salona and the mainland. The author discusses the social status and origin of the decurion [Tiberius] Julius Maximus, the son of Gaius Julius Tiridates, a Roman-born member of the Parthian aristocracy. The duplicarius Cloutius, the son of Clutamus, came from the Asturian Susarri people of southwest Hispania and was not the only Hispanian admitted at the time to the unit originally composed of Pannonian cavalrymen. The author attempts to determine the time when the alae left Dalmatia. At roughly the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, ala Pannoniorum was transferred to Pannonia, where it kept watch over the roads to the camp in Arrabona. The ala Parthorum was believed to have been transferred to Germania in the first half of the 1st century, where it was confirmed as ala Parthorum et Araborum, but more recent finds from Pisoraca suggest that it was transferred to northwest Hispania at the outset of the Claudian era.

Key words: Decurion, duplicarius, ala Parthorum, ala Pannoniorum, Salona, Klis

Konjaničke pomoćne postrojbe (*alae*) u vojsci Rimskog Carstva

Ale (*alae*) su u rimskoj carskoj vojsci bile pomoćne postrojbe sastavljene isključivo od konjanika. Naziv dolazi od riječi *ala* koja na latinskom znači „kri-lo“, što proizlazi od njihovog smještanja na bokovima tijekom bitke. Najzastupljenije su bile ale kvingenarije (*quingenaria*) sastavljene od 16 turmi (*turmae*) za koje nije moguće utvrditi točan broj konjanika. Ulomak jednoga izvješća o brojčanoj snazi (*pridianum*) ale *Commagenorum* iz klaudivjevskog vremena evidentira 434 pripadnika i 12 dekuriona, iz čega proizlazi da je svaka turma imala 36 konjanika. Postoji mogućnost da je u stvarnosti brojčana snaga turme bila manja. Papirus s evidencijom isporuke sijena za turmu ale *Veterana Gallica* iz 130. godine broji 30 konjanika bez dekuriona. Arijan, namjesnik Kapadocije u Hadrijanovo doba, tvrdi da je ala kvingenarija brojala 512 pripadnika, prema čemu je svaka turma imala 32 konjanika uključujući i časnike.¹

Tijekom flavijevskog doba javljaju se ale milijarije (*milliaria*), kao elitne konjaničke postrojbe kojih je u Carstvu bilo samo nekoliko. Obično su osnovane povećavanjem broja pripadnika ale kvingenarije. Higin navodi da su podijeljene u 24 turme, što otvara pitanje broja ljudi u svakoj turmi. Ako se naziv ale (*milliaria*) uzme doslovno, njezina je turma morala imati 42 konjanika. S druge strane, *quingenaria* i *milliaria* nisu bile precizne oznake, nego samo približni izrazi. Činjenica da je milijarija imala 24 turme, a ne 32, ukazuje kako su Rimljani formiranjem ovakve postrojbe namjeravali imati alu jedan i pol puta veće snage od ale kvingenarije. Stoga se čini izglednijim kako je brojčana snaga turme bila slična u svim postrojbama i da je imala otprilike 32 pripadnika, što znači da izraz *milliaria* označava tek veću postrojbu.² U Augustovo vrijeme postojale su 52 konjaničke pomoćne

Auxiliary cavalry units (*alae*) in the Roman imperial army

In the Roman Army, *alae* were auxiliary troops composed solely of cavalrymen. The term comes from the word *ala*, which is Latin for “wing” and suggests their posting on the flanks of the line of battle. The most common was the *ala quingenaria*, composed of 16 *turmae*, for which the number of troopers cannot be determined with any precision. An excerpt from a report on the numerical strength (*pridianum*) of the *ala Commagenorum* from the Claudian period lists 434 members and 12 decurions, suggesting that each *turma* numbered 36 cavalrymen. It is possible that the numerical strength of a *turma* was actually lesser. A papyrus from 130 AD, with a record of hay delivery for a *turma* of the *ala Veterana Gallica* 130, enumerates 30 cavalrymen, not including the decurions. Arianus, the governor of Cappadocia during Hadrian’s reign, asserted that an *ala quingenaria* numbered 512 troopers, which would suggest that each *turma* had 32 cavalrymen, including the officers.¹

The Flavian era saw the emergence of *alae milliariae* as elite cavalry units, which were few in number throughout the Empire. They were usually established by increasing the number of *ala quingenaria* troopers. Hyginus claimed they were divided into 24 *turmae*, which raises the question of troop headcount in each *turma*. If the term *ala milliaria* is taken literally, its *turma* must have numbered 42 cavalrymen. On the other hand, *quingenaria* and *milliaria* were not precise, but rather approximate designations. The fact that a *milliaria* included 24 rather than 32 *turmae* indicates that, by forming such a unit, the Romans intended to have an *ala* one and a half times stronger than the *ala quingenaria*. Therefore, it seems more likely that the numerical strength of a *turma* was similar in all units and that it consisted of approximately 32 troopers, meaning that the term *milliaria* only

1 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 23. Za pitanje broja konjanika u jednoj turmi v. Cheesman 1914, str. 26-27, Campbell 2009, str. 25. Arheološka istraživanja konjaničkih vojarni u South Shieldsu i Wallsendu u Britaniji pokazuju da su tri konja dijelila prednju prostoriju, a da su trojica konjanika stanovala u stražnjoj prostoriji. Prema tome je devet takvih sklopova moglo primiti turmu od 27 konjanika i trojicu časnika, što znači da ih je bilo 30. Slične vojarnje od devet dvojnih prostorija poznate su iz Benwella, prema čemu bi se moglo reći da je to bio općeprihvaćeni način prostorne organizacije vojarni konjaničkih postrojba, v. Hodgson, Bidwell 2004; Campbell 2009, str. 49.

2 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 24. Sumarno o broju konjanika u turmi ale kvingenarije i milijarije prema pisanim izvorima v. Hodgson, Bidwell 2004, str. 134, bilj. 29.

1 Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 23. On the question of the number of cavalrymen in a *turma*, see Cheesman 1914, pp. 26-27, Campbell 2009, p. 25. The archaeological research of the cavalry barrack blocks in South Shields and Wallsend, UK, show that three horses shared the front room, with three cavalrymen living in the back room. Accordingly, nine such sets could accommodate a *turma* of 27 cavalrymen and three officers, which means that there were 30 troopers. Similar barrack blocks consisting of nine sets of paired rooms are known from Benwell, which suggests that it was a generally accepted spatial layout of cavalry unit barracks; see Hodgson, Bidwell 2004; Campbell 2009, p. 49.

postrojbe, do kraja principata bilo ih je ukupno 85. Smatra se kako je u ranijim vremenima jedna legija u svojoj pratnji imala dvije ale za potrebe izvidanja.³

Zapovjednik ale bio je *praefectus equitum*. Većinom se radilo o mladićima viteškog statusa koji su prije postizanja ovog položaja morali uzastopno obaviti nekoliko civilnih i vojnih dužnosti. Zapovjedništvo ale milijarije bilo je najcjenjenije od svih augzilijarnih zapovjedništava. Prefekt je na svom položaju obično bio između tri i četiri godine. Nakon takvih funkcija bilo je čak moguće ostvariti neku carsku službu ili postati član Senata.⁴

Svatom turmom u ali zapovijedao je dekurion (*decurio*). Dekurionom se obično postajalo nakon napredovanja kroz niže zapovjedne položaje u ali, iako je to mogao biti i legionar kojemu je dekurionat bio samo jedna od službi u nizu do postizanja centurionata. Dekurion je brinuo o svojoj postrojbici u logoru, kontrolirao je vojnike na straži, pazio da se redovito provodi vježbanje, da svi vojnici dobivaju jednaku mjeru hrane, kažnjavao je prekršitelje, saslušavao pritužbe i obilazio bolesne. Nižerangirani časnici u zapovjednoj strukturi turme podijeljeni su na principale (*principales*) i imune (*immunes*). Principali su mogli zamijeniti dekuriona i zapovijedati malim odjeljenjima konjanika. Najviše rangirani časnik među principalima bio je veksilarij (*vexillarius*), čije ime proizlazi od male pravokutne zastave koju je nosio (*vexillum*). *Imaginifer* je bio zadužen za držanje careva poprsja, *signifer* je nosio znakovlje svoje turme, *cornicularius* je obavljao tajničke poslove za više časnike. Dozapovjednik turme bio je *duplicarius*, nakon kojega je po važnosti bio *sesquiplicarius*. Njihovo nazivlje izvedeno je iz visine plaće – duplikarij je imao dva puta veća primanja, a seskviplikarij jedan i pol puta veća primanja od običnog konjanika. Pretpostavlja se da su signifer i kornikularij također primali dvostruku plaću. Nižerangirani imuni bili su pošteđeni nekih dužnosti kako bi mogli obavljati posebne zadatke, no nisu imali viša primanja ni viši status od svojih kolega običnih vojnika. Ovoj skupini pripadaju računovođa (*curator*), od kojih je jedan dodijeljen svakoj turmi, zatim vojnik zadužen za brigu o naoružanju (*custos armorum*) i zapovjednikovo činovničko-administrativno osoblje koje su činili *actarius*, *strator*, glasnik (*stator*), činovnik (*librarius*) i prefektov pomoćnik (*beneficiarius*).⁵

Kandidati za službu u ali morali su zadovoljiti strože kriterije u odnosu na one koji su željeli pristupiti kohorti ekvitata.⁶ Plaće konjanika u ali bile su više od

designates a larger unit.² In the Augustan period, there were 52 auxiliary cavalry units, with their number rising to a total of 85 by the end of the Principate. It is believed that, in earlier times, each legion was accompanied by two *alae* for reconnaissance purposes.³

The *ala* was under the command of a *praefectus equitum*. He mostly would have come from the ranks of young men with equestrian status, who were – prior to attaining this rank – supposed to hold a succession of civil and military posts. The command of an *ala milliaria* was the most prestigious of all auxiliary commands. The *praefectus* would normally hold his post between three and four years. With such a track record, it was even possible to be admitted to imperial service or become a member of the Senate.⁴

Each *turma* was commanded by a decurion (*decurio*). To become a decurion, one was usually supposed to advance through the lower command ranks in the *ala*, but it could also be a legionary whose decurionate was only one of a series of offices on his way to attaining the rank of centurion. The decurion took care of his troops in the camp, checked his soldiers on sentry duty, made sure that drills were regularly conducted and that all soldiers received equal portions, sanctioned offenders, heard grievances, and visited the sick. Lower-ranking officers in the command hierarchy of a *turma* included the *principales* and *immunes*. The *principales* could act as deputies to the decurion and assume command of smaller cavalry detachments. The highest-ranking officer among the *principales* was the *vexillarius*, whose name derived from the small rectangular banner he carried (*vexillum*). The *imaginifer* was in charge of bearing the emperor's bust, the *signifer* carried the emblems of his *turma*, and the *cornicularius* performed secretarial tasks for higher-ranking officers. The *duplicarius* acted as the *turma*'s deputy commander and was hierarchically followed by the *sesquiplicarius*. Their names derive from the levels of their pay: the *duplicarius* received double and the *sesquiplicarius* one-and-a-half times the pay of a common cavalryman. It is believed that the *signifer* and the *cornicularius* also received double pay. Lower-ranking *immunes* were relieved from certain duties so that they could perform special tasks, but they neither received higher pay nor did they have a higher status than their peers – common soldiers. This group included the accountant

3 Spaul 1994, str. 260.

4 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 24.

5 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 24-25.

6 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 80-81.

2 Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 24. For a summary about the number of cavalrymen in a *turma* of an *ala quingenaria* or *milliaria* according to written sources, see Hodgson, Bidwell 2004, p. 134, note 29.

3 Spaul 1994, p. 260.

4 Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 24.

onih koje su primali pripadnici ostalih pomoćnih postrojba. Isplaćivani su tri ili četiri puta godišnje, prije čega su im odbijani iznosi za hranu, opremu, odjeću, hranu za konja, a vjerojatno i za njegovu kupovinu. Dokumentacija XX. kohorte *Palmyrenorum* iz *Dura Europos* svjedoči da je uobičajen iznos za konja bio 125 denara. Augzilijari kao pojedinci nisu primali nagrade, ali ih je zbog pokazane hrabrosti mogla dobiti cijela postrojba, kao primjerice *ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana milliaria civium Romanorum bis torquata*, koja je dvaput primila torkvese i građansko pravo.⁷ Iako je u mirnodopskim uvjetima za postrojbu najvažnije bilo vježbanje, njezini su pripadnici obavljali različite vojne i civilne zadaće. Najviše podataka o tome donose papirusi, među kojima je posebno značajan *pridianum* I. kohorte *Hispanorum veterana quingenaria equitata* datiran oko 105. godine. U njemu između ostaloga piše da su neki konjanici izvršavali izvidničke zadaće, neki su poslani kako bi se opskrbili konjima, drugi su služili u logoru, jedan je dekurion bio u namjesnikovoj straži, a drugi je nadgledao žito dopremljeno brodovima. Papirusi s popisom dužnosti pripadnika XX. kohorte *Palmyrenorum* iz 219. i 222. godine svjedoče o konjanicima koji su stražarili u logoru, izviđali, prenosili poruke između logora, osiguravali namjesnika i bili mu pratnja. U gradovima su kombinirane postrojbe pješaka i konjanika obavljale policijske zadaće, posebno kada je trebalo dovesti u red rulju i spriječiti veće javne nemire.⁸

U rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji epigrafski je potvrđeno šest pomoćnih konjaničkih postrojba. *Ala Hispanorum* je između Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka (6.–9. godine) i 42. godine smještena u Burnumu.⁹ Jedan natpis iz Dugopolja po svemu sudeći potvrđuje kratkotrajnu prisutnost ale *Tungrorum* tijekom Tiberijeve vladavine.¹⁰ U Dalmaciji je od 42. ili 45. do 70. godine stacionirana *ala Claudia nova*,¹¹ čiji je misicij Virodmar pokopan u Saloni, što potvrđuje njegova portretna stela (*CIL* 3, 2065).¹² U Tiliriju je od 70. do 80. godine boravila *ala Frontoniana*.¹³ Ovaj rad posvećen je steli dekuriona ale *Parthorum* i steli duplikarija ale *Pannoniorum* – iznimnim salonitanskim nadgrobnim spomenicima i jedinim epigrafskim potvrdama boravka ovih konjaničkih postrojba u

(*curator*), one being assigned to each *turma*, then a trooper in charge of the weapons (*custos armorum*) and the commander's clerical and administrative staff including the *actarius*, the *strator*, the messenger (*stator*), the clerk (*librarius*) and the assistant to the *praefectus (beneficiarius)*.⁵

The candidates for service in the *ala* had to fulfill more stringent criteria than those seeking admission to the *cohors equitata*.⁶ The pay received by *ala* cavalrymen was higher than that earned by members of other auxiliary units. They were paid three or four times per year, subject to prior deductions for their food and gear, fodder for their horses and, in all likelihood, purchase of the latter as well. The documentation of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* from *Dura-Europos* shows that the amount commonly paid for a horse was 125 denarii. The auxiliary soldiers received no reward as individuals, but an entire unit could be awarded for the demonstrated courage, such as – for example – the *ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana milliaria civium Romanorum bis torquata*, which received *torques* and citizenship on two occasions.⁷ While the drill was paramount to a unit during peacetime, its members also performed different military and civilian tasks. In this respect, the major source of information is provided by papyri, the most notable being the *pridianum* of the *cohors I Hispanorum veterana quingenaria equitata*, dated to ca. 105 AD. Among other things, it states that some cavalrymen performed reconnaissance tasks, some were sent to procure horses, others served in the camp, one dekurion was in the governor's guard, and the other kept watch over the grain delivered by ships. The papyri from 219 and 222 AD, listing the duties of the members of *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, describe cavalrymen keeping watch in the camp, scouting, delivering messages between the camps, and safeguarding and escorting the governor. In cities, combined cavalry and infantry units did police work, especially when there was a need to discipline mobs and prevent public unrest.⁸

There are epigraphic confirmations of six auxiliary cavalry units in the Roman province of Dalmatia. The *ala Hispanorum* was stationed in Burnum between the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising and 42 AD.⁹ An inscription from Dugopolja presumably confirms the brief presence of the *ala Tungrorum* during the reign

7 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 87-89, 151.

8 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 135-136.

9 Miletić 2010, str. 135, v. također i Cesarik, Štrmelj 2016, str. 234-236.

10 Detaljno o ali *Tungrorum* i ali *Frontoniana* v. Cesarik 2014.

11 Alföldy 1987, str. 242-243.

12 Detaljno o tome salonitanskom spomeniku v. Maršić 2015, str. 7-18.

13 Alföldy 1987, str. 243.

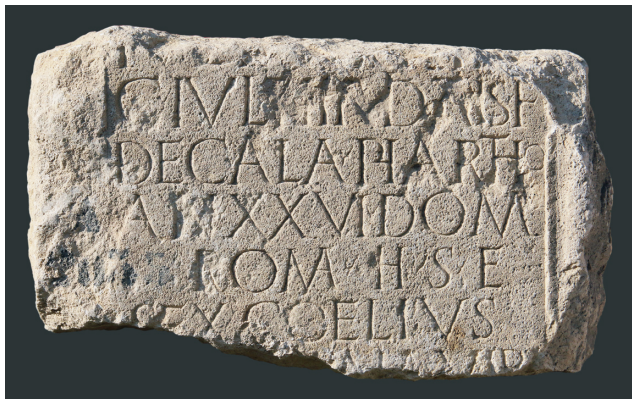
5 Dixon, Southern 1992, pp. 24-25.

6 Dixon, Southern 1992, pp. 80-81.

7 Dixon, Southern 1992, pp. 87-89, 151.

8 Dixon, Southern 1992, pp. 135-136.

9 Miletić 2010, p. 135, see also Cesarik, Štrmelj 2016, pp. 234-236.



Sl. 1. Ulomak stele dekursiona [Tiberija] Julija Maksima iz ale Parthorum (foto: T. Seser)

Fig. 1. A stele fragment of decurion [Tiberius] Julius Maximus from ala Parthorum (photo: T. Seser)

rimske provincije Dalmaciji, gdje su bile aktivne tijekom kasnih godina Augustove i ranih godina Tiberijeve vladavine.

Ala Parthorum

Bulić je 1885. pronašao ulomak stele (sl. 1) u zidu na posjedu Bože Pleštine u Klisu.¹⁴ Nije ga opisao, nego je donio samo skicu iz koje se vidi da tekst ima pet redaka, da su interpunkcijski znakovi u 2. retku i da su lijevo i desno od natpisnoga polja profilacijske letvice. Zabilježio je da su ligature u 1. retku (*ID*, *TI*), 2. retku (*PH*, *TH*) i 4. retku (*MA*). Predložio je restituciju natpisa u kojoj je pretpostavio da je u 2. retku spomenuta *ala Parthorum* te ga je na temelju oblika slova datirao u 1. stoljeće.¹⁵ Hirschfeld je iste godine u kratkoj analizi donio crtež iz kojeg je jasno kako je natpis imao najmanje sedam redaka. Utvrdio je da zaista spominje alu *Parthorum* uz navod da je jedna *ala I Augusta Parthorum* početkom 3. stoljeća evidentirana u Mauretanijskoj Cezarijskoj kao i da dva natpisa spominju prefekte ove postrojbe. Suglasan je s Bulićevom datacijom i kaže kako bi na natpisu spomenuti Gaj Julije Tiridat mogao biti u nekom srodstvu s partskim kraljem Tiridatom koji je pobjegao Rimljanima. Citira navod iz *Notitia Dignitatum* prema kojemu je u Mezopotamiji bila

of Tiberius.¹⁰ The *ala Claudia nova* was stationed in Dalmatia from 42 or 45 to 70 AD.¹¹ Its *missicius*, Vir-domarus, was buried in Salona, as confirmed by his portrait stele (*CIL* 3, 2065).¹² The *ala Frontoniana* was stationed in Tilurium from 70 to 80 AD.¹³ This paper is dedicated to the stelae of the decurion of *ala Parthorum* and the *duplicarius* of *ala Pannoniorum* – two remarkable Salonitan gravestones and the only epigraphic confirmations of the presence of these cavalry units in the Roman province of Dalmatia, where they were active during the latter years of Augustan rule and the initial years of the reign of Tiberius.

Ala Parthorum

In 1885, Bulić found a stele fragment (Fig. 1) in a wall on Bože Pleština's property in Klis.¹⁴ He never described it, but only produced a sketch showing that the text had five lines, that the punctuation marks were in the second line, and that the moulding bands were to the left and right of the inscription field. He recorded letters rendered in ligature in the first (*ID*, *TI*), second (*PH*, *TH*) and fourth lines (*MA*). He proposed the restoration of the inscription, wherein he assumed that the second line mentioned *ala Parthorum*, dating it to the 1st century AD based on the letterform.¹⁵ In a brief analysis from that same year, Hirschfeld presented a drawing which clearly shows that the inscription had at least seven lines. He confirmed that it did mention the *ala Parthorum*, stating that one *ala I Augusta Parthorum* had been recorded in Mauretania Caesariensis at the beginning of the 3rd century AD and that the *praefecti* of this unit had been mentioned in two inscriptions. He concurred with the dating suggested by Bulić, stating that Gaius Julius Tiridates may have been somehow related with the Parthian King Tiridates, who had fled the Romans. He referred to a quote from the *Notitia Dignitatum*, according to which the *ala prima Parthorum* was stationed in

14 Natpis se čuva u depou Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu pod inventarnom oznakom A-2035. Visina ulomka je 0,25 m, širina 0,44 m, debljina 0,13 m. Napravljen je od vapnenca. Stela je otučena sa svih strana. Lijevo i desno od natpisnog polja nalaze se ostatci jednostavne profilacijske letvice. Riječi su odvojene znakovima interpunkcije.

15 Bulić 1885, str. 32, br. 92.

10 For details on *ala Tungrorum* and *ala Frontoniana*, see Cesarik 2014.

11 Alföldy 1987, pp. 242-243.

12 For more details on this Salonitan monument, see Maršić 2015, pp. 7-18.

13 Alföldy 1987, p. 243.

14 The inscription is kept in the depot of the Archaeological Museum in Split under inventory designation A-2035. The fragment is 0.25 high, 0.44 m wide and 0.13 m thick. It is made of limestone. The stele is battered on all sides. There are remains of a simple moulding band to the left and right of the inscription field. The words are separated by punctuation marks.

15 Bulić 1885, p. 32, no. 92.

smještena *ala prima Parthorum*.¹⁶ Hirschfeld je i kasnije ponovio pretpostavku o povezanosti osobe na natpisu s partskim aristokratskim krugovima.¹⁷ To je potvrdio i Dessau, uz isticanje da je ovaj dekuri- on bio rodom Part; prema njegovu gentiliciju (*Iulius*) smjestio ga je u ranocarsko doba napominjući da je znakovito kako je rođen u Rimu.¹⁸ Cichorius je natpis atribuirao ali *Parthorum veterana*, ponovio da ga treba dovesti u vezu s partskim izbjeglicama, što je potvrdio citirajući Tacita koji u svojim *Analima* piše o Ornospadu i njegovu sudjelovanju pod Tiberijem u slamanju Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka (6. - 9. godine). Kaže da se postrojba možda može poistovjetiti s partskom alom za koju *Notitia* navodi da je bila u Mezopotamiji, ali i da sigurno nema veze s partskom alom (*ala I Augusta Parthorum*) smještenom u Mauretanijskoj. ¹⁹ Prema navedenom je jasno kako su svi autori prihvatili ovakvo čitanje natpisa prema kojemu je dekuri- on ale *Parthorum* bio Gaj Julije Tiridat. Sukladno tome Gilliam je pretpostavio da je bio zapovjednik turme upravo zbog svoje pripadnosti velikaš- koj partskoj obitelji u izgnanstvu, odnosno da se može reći kako je njegov vojni položaj u postrojbi donekle odgovarao njegovu društvenom položaju u vlastitoj zajednici.²⁰

Međutim, potom se natpisu posvetio Alföldy i pre- ma vrlo skromnim ostatcima slova u 1. retku donio restituciju prema kojoj cjeloviti sadržaj natpisa glasi: *[Ti(berius)] Iul(ius) Max[i]m[us] / C(ai) Iul(i) Thiri- ridatis f(i)lius / dec(urioni) ala(e) P{h}artha(rum) / an(norum) XXVI dom(o) [♂] Roma h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Sex(tus) Coelius / [---]NAVIB(?)*. U prijevodu nat- pis glasi: “Ovdje počiva [Tiberije] Julije Maksim, sin Gaja Julija Tiridata, dekuri- onu ale *Parthorum*, iz Rima (koji je živio) dvadeset i šest godina. Seksto Ce- lije [---], NAVIB(?)”.²¹ Dakle, jasno je kako Tiridat nije bio dekuri- on, nego je tu službu imao njegov sin [Tiberije] Julije Maksim, što znači da u jedinicu nisu primani samo izbjeglice nego i njihovi sinovi rođeni u Rimu. Alföldy kaže da je postrojba vrlo brzo nakon gušenja Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka premještena iz provincije i po svemu je sudeći treba identificirati s alom *Parthorum et Araborum* koja je u prvoj polovici

Mesopotamia.¹⁶ Hirschfeld also repeated his specu- lation about the relationship between the individual mentioned in the inscription and the Parthian aristoc- racy on a later occasion.¹⁷ This was also confirmed by Dessau, stressing that this decurion was of Parthian origin. In line with his gentilicium (*Iulius*), he placed him in the early imperial period, underscoring his Ro- man birth as a telling fact.¹⁸ Cichorius attributed the inscription to the *ala Parthorum veterana*, reiterating that it should be linked to the Parthian refugees, which he confirmed by quoting Tacitus who wrote in his *An- nals* about Ornospades and his participation in the suppression of the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising (6-9 AD) under Tiberius. He claimed that the unit could be identified with the Parthian *ala* stationed in Meso- potamia as stated in the *Notitia*, but that it definitely had nothing to do with the Parthian *ala* (*ala I Augusta Parthorum*) posted in Mauretania.¹⁹ Therefore, it is clear that all of the authors accepted the interpreta- tion of the inscription according to which Gaius Julius Tiridates was the decurion of the *ala Parthorum*. Ac- cordingly, Gilliam suggested that he had commanded a *turma* precisely because he came from an exiled Parthian aristocratic family, i.e. that his military rank in the unit to some extent reflected his social status in his own community.²⁰

However, the inscription was then addressed by Alföldy, who – relying on rather modest traces of let- ters in the first line – produced a restoration accord- ing to which the full text of the inscription reads: *[Ti(berius)] Iul(ius) Max[i]m[us] / C(ai) Iul(i) Thiri- ridatis f(i)lius / dec(urioni) ala(e) P{h}artha(rum) / an(norum) XXVI dom(o) [♂] Roma h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Sex(tus) Coelius / [---]NAVIB(?)*. In translation, the inscription reads: “Here lies [Tiberius] Julius Maxi- mus, son of Gaius Julius Tiridates, decurion of *ala Parthorum*, of Rome (who lived) twenty-six years. Sextus Coelius [---], NAVIB(?)”.²¹ It is thus clear that the office of decurion was not held by Tiridates, but by his son [Tiberius] Julius Maximus, which means that admission to the unit was not open only to

16 Hirschfeld 1885, str. 19-20, br. 32.

17 *CIL* 3, 8746.

18 *ILS* 2535.

19 Cichorius 1894, 1256-1257. Tacit (*Anali* 6, 37) ovako piše o Ornospadu: “Uza sve to načine most od lađa, i vojska prijede. Ornospad dođe prvi u tabor s mnogo ti- suća konjanika. Nekoć prognan, odlikova se pomažući Tiberija kad je dovršavao rat u Dalmaciji, i zato bude podaren pravom rimskog građanina.”

20 Gilliam 1957, str. 166.

21 Matijević 2015a, str. 582, kat. br. 185.

16 Hirschfeld 1885, pp. 19-20, no. 32.

17 *CIL* 3, 8746.

18 *ILS* 2535.

19 Cichorius 1894, 1256-1257. Tacitus (*Annals* 6, 37) wrote about Ornospades as follows: “For all that, they made a bridge out of the vessels and the army crossed. Ornospades was the first to get into the camp with many thousands of cavalrymen. Once exiled, he earned himself distinction by aiding Tiberius as he was final- izing the war in Dalmatia, for which he was awarded Roman citizenship.”

20 Gilliam 1957, p. 166.

21 Matijević 2015a, p. 582, cat. no. 185.

1. stoljeća bila u Germaniji. *Ala Parthorum* poznata iz kasnijeg doba u Cezarijanskoj Mauretanijskoj također najvjerojatnije nije odvojiva od ove postrojbe.²²

Kasniji autori većinom su prenosili njegovo tumačenje, ali je svaki od njih dodao i nešto novo: Wilkes kaže da se samo za ovu alu i XI. kohortu *Gallorum* može reći da su bile u Dalmaciji tijekom rata između 6. i 9. godine,²³ M. P. Speidel piše da je salonitanski natpis najvjerojatnije najraniji spomen ove postrojbe,²⁴ Holder dodaje kako je Maksim bio sin partskog aristokrata kojemu je August dao civitet i da je postrojba bila u Panoniji u doba Tiberija.²⁵ Kennedy je utvrdio postojanje čak šest različitih postrojba partskog konjanništva. Citirajući Maksimov natpis, nije donio sadržaj 1. retka jer nije znao za Alföldyjevku restituciju iz 1965., ali je unatoč tome pretpostavio da se ovdje radi o sinu nekog istaknutog Parta u egzilu ili taocu rođenom u Rimu. Prema upotrebi kratice *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)* i imenice “ala” u ablativu datirao je natpis u sam početak 1. stoljeća. Nastavio je s kratkom raspravom o tome treba li ovu postrojbu poistovjetiti sa I. alom *Parthorum veterana* ili je iz nje nastala *ala Parthorum et Araborum* stacionirana u Mogontijaku.²⁶ Spaul je donio pregled svih ranijih mišljenja i pretpostavio da je jedinicu osnovao August od Parta i Arabljana (*ala Augusta Parthorum et Araborum sagittaria*) i poslao

refugees, but also their Roman-born sons. Alföldy claims that the unit was transferred soon after the Panonian-Dalmatian uprising was quashed, and should presumably be identified with *ala Parthorum et Araborum*, which was stationed in Germania in the first half of the 1st century AD. The *ala Parthorum*, known from a later period in Mauretania Caesariensis, is most probably not separable from this unit either.²²

Later authors have mostly perpetuated his interpretation, but each has also added a new element: Wilkes claimed that only this *ala* and the *cohors XI Gallorum* can be said to have been stationed in Dalmatia during the war between 6 and 9 AD;²³ M. P. Speidel wrote that the Salonitan inscription presumably constituted the earliest mention of this unit;²⁴ Holder added that Maximus was the son of a Parthian aristocrat who was granted citizenship by Augustus and that the unit was stationed in Pannonia during the reign of Tiberius.²⁵ Kennedy established the existence of as many as six different Parthian cavalry units. Quoting Maximus’ inscription, he failed to cite the content of the first line because he was unaware of Alföldy’s 1965 restoration. Nonetheless, he assumed that it was about the son of a prominent Parthian in exile or a Roman-born hostage. Since the abbreviation *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)* and the noun *ala* were used in the ablative case, he dated the inscription to the very outset of the 1st century AD. He then proceeded to a brief discussion about whether this unit needed to be identified with *ala I Parthorum veterana* or seen as the unit from which *ala Parthorum et Araborum*, stationed in Mogontiacum, had been formed.²⁶ Spaul presented an overview of all of

22 Alföldy 1965, str. 96-97. Njegovo čitanje prihvatili su svi kasniji autori uključujući i EDH HD050401. Alföldy je kasnije (1987, str. 294) napisao da alu *Parthorum (veterana)* valja razlikovati od mauretanijske I. ale *Augusta Parthorum*.

23 Wilkes 1969, str. 140.

24 M. P. Speidel 1978, str. 483, bilj. 21.

25 Dva natpisa iz Germanije (EDH HD019393; HD006086) smjestio je u Tiberijevo doba, v. Holder 1980, str. 151, 286-287, br. 671, 672.

26 Kennedy kaže da su u početku sve partske postrojbe bile sastavljene od strijelaca i smještene daleko od istočnih provincija. Međutim, očito su vrlo brzo prestale biti sagitarije, jer nedostaju dokazi koji bi potvrdili kontinuirani dolazak unovačenih strijelaca s Istoka. Također, onomastička analiza jasno pokazuje da su etnički Parti u ovim postrojbama služili u ranocarsko doba jer kasniji natpisi sadrže imena vojnika tipična za prostore u kojima su postrojbe bile smještene. I prije Ornospadove službe pod Tiberijem postojala je duga tradicija partskih postrojba u Rimu. Značajan broj partskih konjanika služio je pod Pompejom 47. g. pr. Kr., kasnije su bili s Kasijem u Siriji. Spomenuti Ornospad osigurao je nekoliko tisuća konjanika za Vitelijevu partsku ekspediciju kojom se poduprla pretendenta Tiridata. Njihov angažman u rimskoj vojsci nastavio se i u kasnijim razdobljima te se može reći da je trajao najmanje tri stoljeća. O svemu detaljnije Kennedy 1977, str. 522-523, 527-530.

22 Alföldy 1965, pp. 96-97. His reading was adopted by all later scholars, including EDH HD050401. Alföldy later wrote (1987, p. 294) that *ala Parthorum (veterana)* had to be distinguished from the Mauretanian *ala I Augusta Parthorum*.

23 Wilkes 1969, p. 140.

24 M. P. Speidel 1978, p. 483, note 21.

25 He placed two inscriptions from Germania (EDH HD019393; HD006086) in the Tiberian era; see Holder 1980, pp. 151, 286-287, no. 671, 672.

26 Kennedy suggested that all Parthian units were initially composed of archers and positioned far from the eastern provinces. However, they obviously ceased to be *sagittariae* very soon as there is no evidence confirming the continued influx of enlisted archers from the East. Furthermore, onomastic analysis clearly shows that ethnic Parthians served in these units during the early imperial period because later inscriptions contain soldier names typical of the regions where the units were stationed. Even before Ornospades served under Tiberius, there had been a long tradition of Parthian troops in Rome. A significant number of Parthian cavalrymen served under Pompey in 47 BC, to be later found in

je u Germaniju odakle je povučena kako bi Tiberiju pomogla u slamanju Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka. Kada se vratila u Germaniju, smjestila se u Neuss i pomalo gubila svoju vezu s Arabljanima, nazivajući se samo *ala Parthorum*. Nije bila posebno korisna u rajnskim dolinama, piše Spaul, te je nakon što su u Germaniju došle druge konjaničke postrojbe premještena u Mauretaniju, gdje je u 3. stoljeću poznata kao *ala Parthorum*, odnosno *ala I Augusta Parthorum*.²⁷ Knight spominje da se njezin odlazak iz Dalmacije u Germaniju možda može dovesti u vezu s Varovim porazom, ali je ipak oprezniji jer je kao gornju granicu dopustio vrijeme vladavine cara Klaudija, odnosno Nerona.²⁸ Međutim, novi poticaj u rasvjetljavanju povijesti postrojbe dali su rezultati nedavnih arheoloških istraživanja logora Herrera de Pisuerga (*Pisoraca*) u sjeverozapadnoj Hispaniji. Prema otkriću četiriju tegula pečatiranih imenom *ala Parthorum* zaključilo se da je postrojba tu boravila između Klaudijeve vladavine i kraja 1. stoljeća, kada je najvjerojatnije poslana u Afriku.²⁹ Cesarik smatra kako zbog ovoga treba zaključiti da *ala Parthorum* iz Dalmacije i *ala Parthorum et Araborum* iz Germanije nisu iste postrojbe, to više što se u Mauretaniji javlja *ala Parthorum* bez etnika *Araborum*.³⁰

Haynes se također posvetio partskim aristokratima koji su često bili u službi Rima. Za Maksima je kazao kako nije bio običan augzilijar, ponajprije zato što njegov otac ima građansko pravo što je vrlo rijetko među pripadnicima pomoćnih postrojba u najranije carsko doba. Posjedovanje civiteta i očevo ime mogli bi čak sugerirati da je Maksim bio sin Tiridata koji je pokušao vratiti partsko prijestolje 26. - 25. g. pr. Kr. Međutim, ako nije bio sin toga Tiridata, nema sumnje da je rođen u istaknutoj partskoj obitelji koja je u Rimu živjela u egzilu ili u zatočeništvu. Povijesni izvori potvrđuju slične primjere angažmana Parta u rimskoj vojsci. Čini se da je njihovo sudjelovanje u pomoćnim postrojbama posljedica partskog dinastijskog frakcionaštva, jer su gubitnici u ovim konfliktima bili protjerani iz svoje zemlje i pokušali napredovati u rimskoj vojsci. Haynes ističe kako su prikladni

the earlier views and assumed that the unit had been formed by Augustus out of Parthians and Arabians (the *ala I Augusta Parthorum et Araborum sagittaria*) and sent off to Germania, whence it had been withdrawn to help quell the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising. Once it was back in u Germania, it was stationed in Neuss and gradually lost its connection to the Arabians, being called simply *ala Parthorum*. According to Spaul, it was not of much use in the valleys of the Rhine and, after other cavalry units arrived in Germania, it was transferred to Mauretania, where it came to be known in the 3rd century AD as *ala Parthorum* or *ala I Augusta Parthorum*.²⁷ Knight mentioned that its departure from Dalmatia to Germania may perhaps be associated with Varro's defeat, but was still more cautious because he set the reigns of Claudius or Nero as the upper limit.²⁸ However, a new impetus to shed light on the history of the unit was given by the results of recent archaeological research at the Herrera de Pisuerga (*Pisoraca*) camp in northwest Hispania. The discovery of four tegulae stamped with the name *ala Parthorum* led to the conclusion that the unit stayed there between the reign of Claudius and the end of the 1st century AD, when it was most probably deployed to Africa.²⁹ Cesarik believed that this should point to the conclusion that the *ala Parthorum* of Dalmatia and the *ala Parthorum et Araborum* of Germania are not one and the same unit, all the more so as the *ala Parthorum* appears in Mauretania without the ethnic designation *Araborum*.³⁰

Haynes also addressed the Parthian aristocrats who were often in Rome's service. As for Maximus, he said that he was not a common auxiliary, notably because his father had citizenship, which was quite uncommon among auxiliary troopers in the earliest

Syria with Cassius. The aforementioned Ornospadés procured several thousand cavalrymen for the Parthian expedition undertaken by Vitellius to support Tiridates as pretender to the throne. Their engagement in the Roman army also continued in later periods, and can be said to have lasted for at least three centuries. For more details, see Kennedy 1977, pp. 522-523, 527-530.

27 Spaul 2000, str. 176-178; Grainger 2018, str. 97-98.

28 Knight 1991, str. 189-190.

29 Pérez-González, Illarregui 2006, str. 323-325; v. također i *AÉ* 2002, 784.

30 Cesarik je tezu iznio u svome izlaganju "Bilješke o natpisima vojnika pomoćnih konjaničkih postrojbi s područja Salone" održanome na međunarodnom znanstvenom skupu *Salona od godine 119. prije Krista do kasne antike*, Split, 23.-25. rujna 2019. Kolegi sam zahvalan jer me je prije skupa upozorio na svoja zapažanja i literaturu o rezultatima arheoloških istraživanja rimskoga logora u Herrera de Pisuerga.

27 Spaul 2000, pp. 176-178; Grainger 2018, pp. 97-98.

28 Knight 1991, pp. 189-190.

29 Pérez-González, Illarregui 2006, pp. 323-325; see also *AÉ* 2002, 784.

30 Cesarik offered this proposition in his presentation "Notes on the inscriptions of soldiers of the auxiliary cavalry units from the area of Salona", delivered as part of the international conference *Salona from 119 BC to Late Antiquity*, Split, 23-25 September 2019. My gratitude goes to my colleague for bringing my attention to his observations and references about the results of archaeological research at the Roman camp in Herrera de Pisuerga prior to the conference.

pojedinci katkada vrlo brzo poslije novačenja promovirani u centurionat ili dekurionat i tako ponavlja Gilliamovu tezu kako se to katkada radilo da bi vojska dobila pismene i obrazovane ljude potrebne za obavljanje administracije.³¹ Konjanik je prije promoviranja u dekurionat obično obavljao niže rangirane službe³² i brojni natpisi pokazuju kako su mnogi od njih dočekali kraj vojne karijere kao dekurioni.³³ Dekurioni u alama su tijekom prva dva stoljeća principata mnogo češće imali građansko pravo nego obični vojnici.³⁴ Maksim je zahvaljujući svojoj pripadnosti partskoj aristokraciji i posjedovanju građanskog prava postao dekurion u vrlo ranoj fazi vojne karijere te je prije smrti u 26. godini života mogao imati tek nekoliko godina vojnog iskustva.

U preposljednjem retku Maksimova natpisa spominje se Sekst Celije. Postavljanje imena ove osobe na kraju sugerira da je on bio komemorator, nasljednik i zbog posjedovanja civiteta vjerojatno časnik u istoj postrojbi.³⁵ To nije neobično jer su vojnike u 1. stoljeću gotovo redovito komemorirali kolege vojnici, posebice oni određeni za njihove nasljednike. Velika mobilnost postrojba u ranom principatu također je onemogućavala razvijanje stalnih veza s civilnim stanovništvom.³⁶ Gentilicij *Coelius* svugdje je vrlo čest, pa čak i na Istoku,³⁷ što u ovom primjeru može biti znakovito jer su postrojbu činili orijentalci.

Čini se da bi mjesto nalaza Maksimove stele na prostoru zaselka Pleštine jugozapadno od Klisa moglo

imperial period. His citizenship and his father's name might even suggest that Maximus was the son of Tiri-dates, who attempted to regain the Parthian throne in 26-25 BC. However, even if he was not that individual's son, he was definitely born to a prominent Parthian family living in Rome in exile or captivity. Historical sources confirm similar examples of Parthians engaged in the Roman army. Their participation in auxiliary units seems to have been the result of the Parthian dynastic factionalism, because those who lost in these conflicts were expelled from their country and sought to advance in the Roman army. Haynes stressed that suitable individuals were sometimes promoted to the centurionate or dekurionate quite shortly after their recruitment, thus reiterating Gilliam's proposition that it was sometimes done so that the army could have literate and educated people required to handle administrative work.³¹ Before being promoted to the dekurionate, a cavalryman would usually hold lower-ranking posts,³² and a number of inscriptions show that many of them came to end their military careers as dekurions.³³ In the first two centuries of the Principate, having citizenship was far more common among dekurions in *alae* than among ordinary soldiers.³⁴ Originating from the Parthian aristocracy and having citizenship, Maximus became a dekurion at a very early stage of his military career and could only have a few years of military experience before he died at the age of 26.

The penultimate line of Maximus' inscription mentions Sextus Coelius. Placing this person's name at the end of the inscription suggests that he was the commemorator and heir and, since he had

31 Drugi ranocarski nadgrobnii natpis iz Mogontijaka u Germaniji potvrđuje Parta u službi u ali *Parthorum et Araborum*. On je također mogao biti povezan s partskom aristokracijom. Njegovo porijeklo iz cilicijskog grada Anzarba sugerira povezanost s Vononom kojega je Rim ponovno naselio u Ciliciji, i to na zahtjev kralja Artabana, Haynes 2013, str. 111-112.

32 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 25.

33 Evo nekih primjera: EDH HD009644: *vet(eranus) ex d[e]curione [alae] Par(thorum)*; HD011596: *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) alae I T(h)rac(um) v(eteranae)*; HD008655: *[ve]t(erani) ex dec(urione) al(ae) II Fl(aviae) |(miliariae) mil(itavit) an(nos) XXX*; HD057845: *vet(erano) ex dec(urione) alae I Com(magenorum) an(norum) LX*; HD034879: *v(eteranus) ex dec(urione) alae Tamp(ianae)*; HD037664: *vet(erano) ex dec(urione) [al(ae)] III [---] S[e]v[e]rianae*; HD038153: *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) al(ae)*; HD038372: *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) al(ae) II Pann(oniorum)*; HD039474: *vet(erano) ex dec(urione) alae III Thra(cum) vixit an(nos) L*.

34 M. P. Speidel 1984.

35 Alföldy 1987, str. 280.

36 Scheidel 2007, str. 420-421.

37 Alföldy 1969, str. 76-77.

31 A second early imperial epitaph from Mogontiacum in Germania attests to a Parthian serving in *ala Parthorum et Araborum*. He too may have been associated with Parthia. His origin in the Cilician city of Anzarbus suggests a link to Vonones, who was resettled in Cilicia by Rome at the request of King Artabanus; Haynes 2013, pp. 111-112.

32 Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 25.

33 Some examples include: EDH HD009644: *vet(eranus) ex d[e]curione [alae] Par(thorum)*; HD011596: *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) alae I T(h)rac(um) v(eteranae)*; HD008655: *[ve]t(erani) ex dec(urione) al(ae) II Fl(aviae) |(miliariae) mil(itavit) an(nos) XXX*; HD057845: *vet(erano) ex dec(urione) alae I Com(magenorum) an(norum) LX*; HD034879: *v(eteranus) ex dec(urione) alae Tamp(ianae)*; HD037664: *vet(erano) ex dec(urione) [al(ae)] III [---] S[e]v[e]rianae*; HD038153: *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) al(ae)*; HD038372: *vet(eranus) ex dec(urione) al(ae) II Pann(oniorum)*; HD039474: *vet(erano) ex dec(urione) alae III Thra(cum) vixit an(nos) L*.

34 M. P. Speidel 1984.

biti indikativno.³⁸ Naime, za sigurnost Salone bila je ključna kontrola kliškoga prijevoja, odnosno potpun nadzor nad tamošnjom utvrdom s koje se nadzirao prostor od Tragurija do Oneja, uključujući salonitansku luku i ceste. Klis je u rimsko vrijeme pripadao Saloni, što je arheološki dokazano; prostorom južno od nje prolazila su četiri cestovna pravca. Jedna cesta je od tzv. *Porta Andetria* išla prema istoku, najvjerojatnije sve do izvora Jadra, od kojeg je očito skretala prema sjeveru povezujući fortificirani lokalitet u Uvodićima i mosorske padine gdje se vadio kamen za potrebe gradnji u Saloni. Nastavljala se uz planinu do točke gdje se povezivala s drugom cestom, koja je otprilike od tzv. Šuplje crkve zakretala prema sjeveru, prolazila istočno od Biloga briga prema Klisu i zaobilazila ga s istočne strane. Jedna cesta išla je od Manastirina prema sjeveru, dodirivala je naselje na Žižinoj gradini i naselje u Rupertini, zatim Rižinice, spuštala se prema Crkvinama, uspinjala prema Klisu i zaobilazila ga s jugoistoka. Jednim se dijelom podudara s današnjom prometnicom, a drugi joj je dio i danas vidljiv. Taj je pravac bio najkraći i najizravniji put između Klisa i Salone.³⁹ Uz tu komunikaciju pružao se dio tzv. Sjeverne salonitanske nekropole,⁴⁰ čiji se razvoj prema značajkama pronađenih nadgrobnih natpisa može smjestiti u kasni principat.⁴¹ Ni jedan od njih ne može

citizenship, probably an officer in the same unit.³⁵ This is not unusual because in the 1st century AD soldiers were almost regularly commemorated by their fellow soldiers, in particular those designated as their heirs. The high mobility of troops during the early Principate also prevented the development of lasting connections with the civilian population.³⁶ The gentilicium *Coelius* was widespread everywhere, even in the East,³⁷ which could be telling in this case as the unit consisted of men from the Orient.

It seems that the find-site of the stele of Maximus in the Pleštine hamlet southwest of Klis might offer some clue.³⁸ Specifically, to ensure the security of Salona, it was crucial to have control of the Klis mountain pass, that is, to fully control the fortress of Klis which overlooked the area from Tragurium to Oneum, including the Salonitan port and connecting roads. In the Roman period, Klis belonged to Salona, which is demonstrated by archaeological evidence: four road communication routes ran through the area to its south. One ran eastward from the so-called *Porta Andetria*, most probably all the way to the Jadro River's source, whence it obviously turned northward, linking the fortified site at Uvodići to the slopes of Mt. Mosor, where stone was quarried for construction projects in Salona. It went on along the mountain up to the point where it connected to another road, which turned northward from some place near the so-called Šuplja crkva and ran east of Bili brig toward Klis, bypassing it on its eastern side. One road ran northward from Manastirine, touching the settlements at the Žižina hillfort and Rupertina, then reaching Rižinice, descending towards Crkvine and ascending towards Klis, circumventing it from the southeast. It partly overlaps with the present road, and the rest of it is still visible. This was the shortest and most direct route between Klis and Salona.³⁹ This road was adjacent to a part of the so-called Northern Salonitan Necropolis,⁴⁰ whose development can be dated to the late Principate, judging

38 Katastar iz 1831. pokazuje da se zaselak Pleštine nalazi oko 850 metara jugozapadno od Kliške tvrđave (<https://mapire.eu/en/map/cadastral/?layers=osm%2C3%2C4&bbox=1836783.2488959772%2C5396576.0944955265%2C1840564.4931389596%2C5397770.423062482> (15. prosinca 2018.)).

39 Cambi 2000, str. 84, 86-88. Za prikaz cesta istočno od Salone i južno od Klisa v. Miletić 1993, str. 138, sl. 4.

40 Miletić 1990, str. 186-191.

41 Pretraživanjem *EDH* pokazalo se kako je uz ceste prema Klisu, a posebice uz posljednju spomenutu, pronađeno oko stotinu natpisa. Od toga se u 1. stoljeće mogu datirati neki posvetni natpisi (HD010936, 025684, 025687, 025690, 025693, 033006, 034323, 052014), dok je nadgrobnoga karaktera velika većina ostalih natpisa i svi imaju elemente tipične za kasni principat (034283, 034308, 034326-034336, 034338-034340, 034343, 034419, 053942, 056520, 057987, 058457, 058458, 060697, 060708, 060713, 060734, 060738, 060774, 060783, 061101, 061131, 061229, 061308, 061362, 061365, 061417, 061427, 061506, 061519, 061555, 062174, 062178, 062189, 062283, 062310, 062637, 062770, 062776, 062777, 062793, 062808, 062857, 062898, 063086, 063117, 063160, 063208, 063215, 063290, 063464, 063563, 063707, 063810, 063814, 063858, 063942, 064005), uključujući i devet natpisa aktivnih vojnika i veterana (034325, 054184, 054372, 055082, 056729, 059983, 062486, 063268, 063845). Ranome principatu pripadaju četiri natpisa

35 Alföldy 1987, p. 280.

36 Scheidel 2007, p. 420-421.

37 Alföldy 1969, pp. 76-77.

38 The 1831 cadastre shows that the Pleštine hamlet lies about 850 metres southwest of the Klis fortress (<https://mapire.eu/en/map/cadastral/?layers=osm%2C3%2C4&bbox=1836783.2488959772%2C5396576.0944955265%2C1840564.4931389596%2C5397770.423062482> (15 December 2018)).

39 Cambi 2000, pp. 84, 86-88. For an outline of the roads east of Salona and south of Klis, see Miletić 1993, p. 138, Fig. 4.

40 Miletić 1990, pp. 186-191.

biti pouzdano datiran u ranocarsko vrijeme kojemu pripada Maksimova stela.⁴² Stoga se može zaključiti da je Maksim ovdje pokopan u vrijeme kad još nije bila organizirana nekropola, što je donekle logično jer je ranocarsko doba rana razvojna faze Salone, kada se njezini stanovnici pokapaju u grobnim arealima blizu grada. Stoga je potpuno opravdano upitati se zašto je Maksim pokopan na mjestu oko tri kilometra od grada i kako to da je njegov ukop tako izoliran? Nesumnjivo je Klis imao iznimno strateško značenje i bio ključ Salone, te je potpuno opravdano zaključiti da takav položaj zahtijevao prisutnost vojnih jedinica, odnosno da je ovdje mogla biti smještena upravo *ala Parthorum*⁴³ ili jedan njezin dio, možda samo turma kojom je zapovijedao Maksim.⁴⁴ U vrijeme neposredno nakon slamanja Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka sigurnosna je situacija vrlo vjerojatno nalagala da se zbog preventivnih razloga zaštite provincijske metropole u njezinoj neposrednoj blizini utabori ova konjanička postrojba. Ona ovdje nije bila sama, jer natpisi jasno ukazuju na prisutnost pješaka i konjanika VII. i XI. legije te, najvjerojatnije, još nekih pomoćnih kohorti. Njezin je boravak ovdje, čini se, bio razmjerno

(034337, 058460, 060837, 061286) čije značajke pokazuju da ih se može datirati i u kasni principat.

- 42 Kako bi ova tvrdnja u potpunosti bila održiva, potrebno je provesti cjelovitu reviziju svih natpisa pronađenih uz ceste koje se od Salone pružaju prema Klisu, posebice onih koji su najbliži mjestu pronalaska Maksimove stele i koji su pronađeni pokraj zaselka Pleštine. Naime, Miletić (1990, str. 191) nije analizirao dio nekropole koji se protezao istočno od lokaliteta Crkvine i Pod kamenicom, tako da u svome radu ne spominje Maksimov natpis, ni ostale ukope u Pleštinama. Njihovo kartiranje, epigrafska analiza i datacija mogu pomoći objašnjavanju razvoja nastavka ove gradske nekropole, pokazati je li na tom mjestu bilo još ukopa iz ranocarskog vremena i, između ostaloga, dati odgovor na pitanje jesu li vojnički natpisi iz Klisa dokaz o tamošnjoj vojnoj službi preminulih vojnika ili su ti vojnici posjedovali grobne areale u ovim najudaljenijim dijelovima nekropole. Koliko je važna revizija ovoga materijala, ilustriraju rezultati novije epigrafske analize stela konzularnoga beneficijarija L. Vetija Proba (*CIL* 3, 14703; *EDH* HD055082) iz XI. legije *Claudia*, koja se u kontekstu razvoja nekropole datirala u vrijeme između 42. i 68. godine (Miletić 1990, str. 190). Način imenovanja legije i pridjev *consularis* uz oznaku beneficijarijske službe u potpunosti odbacuju takvo datiranje i dokazuju da je stela najmanje jedno stoljeće mlađa, odnosno da pripada kasnom principatu, v. Matijević 2015a, str. 461, kat. br. 84.
- 43 Alduk 2014, str. 54.
- 44 Nekoliko primjera iz afričkih provincija svjedoči o dekurionima koji su zapovijedali augzilijarnim odjeljenjima, v. M. P. Speidel 1992.

by the features of the discovered epigraphs.⁴¹ None of them can be positively dated to the early imperial period, to which the stela of Maximus belongs.⁴² Accordingly, it may be concluded that Maximus was buried there at the time when the necropolis had yet

- 41 A search of *EDH* showed that roughly a hundred inscriptions had been found along the roads to Klis, especially along the last mentioned route. Among these, some dedicatory inscriptions are datable to the 1st century AD (HD010936, 025684, 025687, 025690, 025693, 033006, 034323, 052014), while the vast majority of the remaining inscriptions include epitaphs and feature the elements typical for the late Principate (034283, 034308, 034326-034336, 034338-034340, 034343, 034419, 053942, 056520, 057987, 058457, 058458, 060697, 060708, 060713, 060734, 060738, 060774, 060783, 061101, 061131, 061229, 061308, 061362, 061365, 061417, 061427, 061506, 061519, 061555, 062174, 062178, 062189, 062283, 062310, 062637, 062770, 062776, 062777, 062793, 062808, 062857, 062898, 063086, 063117, 063160, 063208, 063215, 063290, 063464, 063563, 063707, 063810, 063814, 063858, 063942, 064005), including nine inscriptions of active soldiers and veterans (034325, 054184, 054372, 055082, 056729, 059983, 062486, 063268, 063845). Four inscriptions are attributed to the early Principate (034337, 058460, 060837, 061286), but their features suggest that they can also be dated to the late Principate.
- 42 For this argument to be fully sustainable, all inscriptions found along the roads running from Salona to Klis should be subjected to a comprehensive revision, especially those found nearest to the find-site of the stela of Maximus and those found near the Pleštine hamlet. Since Miletić (1990, p. 191) did not analyse the part of the necropolis stretching east of the Crkvine and Pod Kamenicom sites, his paper did not mention the inscription of Maximus or other burials at Pleštine. Their mapping, epigraphic analysis and dating might help clarify how the extension of this municipal necropolis developed, show whether this site contains other burials from the early imperial period and, among other things, answer the question whether the soldier inscriptions from Klis prove that the deceased soldiers were there on military service or that they possessed grave plots in those remotest parts of the necropolis. How important it would be to revise this material is illustrated by the results of a recent epigraphic analysis of the stela of the *beneficiarius consularis* L. Vettius Probus (*CIL* 3, 14703; *EDH* HD055082) from *legio XI Claudia*, which was – in the context of the necropolis' development – dated to the period between 42 and 68 AD (Miletić 1990, p. 190). The legion's name and the adjective *consularis* after the designation of the *beneficiarius* service completely refute such dating and prove that the stela is at least a century younger, i.e. that it can be attributed to the late Principate; see Matijević 2015a, p. 461, cat. no. 84.

kratkotrajan, no unatoč tome morala je imati vlastiti logor. Nekropola izvan rimske utvrde u High Rochesteru (*Bremenium*) u Britaniji sadržavala je ukope časnika i aktivnih vojnika,⁴⁵ što dodatno osnažuje pretpostavku da je i Maksim bio pokopan u blizini logora svoje postrojbe. Logor je mogao biti sagrađen od drva,⁴⁶ ali je morao biti dovoljno prostran za smještaj postrojbe i prikladan za držanje njezinih konja.⁴⁷ Iako dimenzije augzilizarnih logora variraju jer ih određuje vrsta postrojbe koja je u njima smještena, može se pretpostaviti njegova veličina jer je, primjerice, logor ale *Augusta*, postrojbe po ustroju istovjetne ali *Parthorum*, na mjestu današnjeg Chestersa (*Cilurnum*) pored Hadrijanova zida u Britaniji imao površinu od 2,3 hektara. Usporedba svih poznatih augzilizarnih logora pokazuje da Rimljani prilikom njihove izgradnje nisu slijedili strogo određeni obrazac i da postoje značajne varijacije, to više što je isti logor znalo zauzeti više postrojba, kao što pokazuje primjer egipatske Sijene, gdje su 118. godine bile tri kohorte ekvitata.⁴⁸ Logor ale *Parthorum* mogao je postojati na nekoj zaravni između Klisa, Rižinica, Klis-Kose i Debele glave na jugu visoke 150 metara.⁴⁹ Možda se nalazio

to be formed, which is somehow logical as the early imperial period was the time when Salona's development was in its initial stages and its inhabitants were buried in grave areas near the city. This fully justifies asking why Maximus was buried at a site about three kilometres away from the city and why his burial was so isolated. As Klis undoubtedly had exceptional strategic significance and was key to Salona's security, it would be fully justified to conclude that such a position required the presence of military units, meaning that this is exactly where *ala Parthorum* may have been stationed,⁴³ or at least a part of it – possibly only the *turma* under the command of Maximus.⁴⁴ In the period just after the suppression of the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising, the security situation was most probably such that this cavalry unit had to pitch camp in the immediate vicinity for preventive reasons, that is, to protect the province's capital. In this, it was not alone as the inscriptions clearly point to the presence of the infantry and cavalrymen of the *Legiones VII* and *XI* and, in all likelihood, some other auxiliary cohorts. As it appears, its stay there was relatively brief, but it still had to have its own camp. The necropolis outside the High Rochester (*Bremenium*) Roman fort in Britain contained the burials of officers and active soldiers,⁴⁵ which additionally reinforces the assumption that Maximus too was buried near his unit's camp. The camp may have been made of timber,⁴⁶ but it had to be spacious enough to accommodate the unit and suitable for keeping its horses.⁴⁷ While the dimensions

45 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 107.

46 Primjerice, u Dormagenu u Donjoj Germaniji između 80. i 90. godine podignut je drveni logor koji je nakon dolaska ale *Noricorum* sredinom 2. stoljeća obnovljen u kamenu, v. Southern, Dixon 1992, str. 192-195.

47 Ala kvingenarija imala je između 544 i 576 konja, a turma 35 konja. Do sada su najbolje poznati ostatci konjušnica otkriveni u Dormagenu, no i dalje nije jasno je li u logoru bilo dovoljno mjesta za sve konje postrojbe. Također je potrebno naglasiti da još uvijek nije iskopana ni jedna utvrda za koju se jednoglasno smije reći da su u njoj bili smješteni svi konji jedne postrojbe. Postoje sugestije da je dio konja bio smješten izvan utvrde. Konji su svakodnevno i redovito morali biti timareni, održavani u formi i dobrom zdravlju. Najvažniji su bili suhi podovi kako bi im se sačuvale noge, prostorije su morale biti redovito čišćene jer se tako sprječavao razvoj bolesti, v. Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 181, 187-188, 192-195, 199-201. Novija istraživanja u South Shieldsu potvrđuju da su u logoru konjanici bili smješteni odmah uz svoje konje, što ima smisla, jer su nakon dobivanja zadatka morali brzo odjahati, Campbell 2009, str. 49.

48 Campbell 2009, str. 29, 32.

49 Na istočnome obodu ovoga prostora pokraj zaselka Bralići (Uvodići) na mosorskim padinama prema Klis-Kosi u pravcu istok-zapad nalaze se ostatci arhitektonskog sklopa površine oko dva hektara. Unutar prostora djelomično omeđenog zidovima uočavaju se pravokutne prostorije, pragovi, nadvratnici, stube uklesane u kamenu živcu kao i natpis (*CIL* 3, 1942) što ga je gradski dužnosnik L. Egnacije Klement posvetio Jupiteru. Ovo nalazište odavno je poznato i nije dokazano čemu

43 Alduk 2014, p. 54.

44 Several examples from the African provinces testify to decursions in command of auxiliary detachments; see M. P. Speidel 1992.

45 Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 107.

46 For example, a timber camp was raised between 80 and 90 AD in Dormagen, Germania Inferior, which was – after the arrival of the *ala Noricorum* in the mid-2nd century – reconstructed in stone; see Southern, Dixon 1992, pp. 192-195.

47 An *ala quingenaria* had between 544 and 576 horses, while a *turma* had 35 horses. The best known remains of horse stables found to date are those in Dormagen, but it is still unclear whether the camp was spacious enough to accommodate all of the unit's horses. It should also be noted that no fort has been excavated yet, which could unequivocally be said to have housed all horses of a unit. There are suggestions that some of the horses were kept outside of the fort. Horses had to be groomed and kept fit and in good health on a regular daily basis. Dry floors were crucial to preserve their legs and the rooms had to be regularly cleaned to prevent the development of diseases; see Dixon, Southern 1992, pp. 181, 187-188, 192-195, 199-201. More recent research in South Shields confirms that



Sl. 2. Ulomak stele duplikarija Kloucija iz ale Pannoniorum (foto: T. Seser)

Fig. 2. A stele fragment of duplicarius Cloutius from ala Pannoniorum (photo: T. Seser)

u blizini staroga kliškog zaselka Pleštine, gdje je pronađena Maksimova stela. Taj položaj omogućuje izvrsnu kontrolu cijele doline prema jugu, uključujući sve cestovne koridore i kliški prijevoj, posebice cestu koja preko Rupatine povezuje Klis sa Salonom i cestu koja od Kliških vrata ide prema Saloni zaobilazeći Bili brig s istoka. Položaj je istodobno izvrsno prirodno zaštićen jer ga sa sjevera i istoka zakriljuju kozjački obronci. Katastar iz 1831. pokazuje da su oko 200 metara istočno i zapadno postojala dva vodotoka koji su ondje morali biti i u antičko vrijeme, što znači da vodoopskrba nije predstavljala problem. Međutim, prije bilo kakvog ozbiljnijeg razmišljanja o ubiciranju mogućeg logora potrebno je provesti temeljito rekonosciranje terena i eventualne indicije o njegovom postojanju potvrditi arheološkim istraživanjima.

je služilo iako se pretpostavlja da je imalo stambeno-sakralni ili strateško-obrambeni karakter (Alduk 2014, str. 55-59). Njegovo proučavanje (Cambi 1991, str. 31) najvjerojatnije može dati nove spoznaje o genezi i razvitku salonitanskih naselja. Sudeći prema dostupnim tlocrtima i fotografijama toga areala, čini se kako nema osnove za pretpostavku po kojoj je ovdje mogao biti logor za smještaj konjaničke pomoćne postrojbe.

of auxiliary camps varied depending on what kinds of units they accommodated, its size can be presumed because, for instance, the camp of *ala Augusta* – a unit whose structure was identical to that of *ala Parthorum* – which was located in today's Chesters (Cilurnum) by Hadrian's Wall in Britain, covered an area of 2.3 hectares. A comparative analysis of all known auxiliary camps shows that the Romans never followed a strictly defined pattern in their construction and that there were significant variations, all the more so as one and the same camp could be occupied by several units, as demonstrated by the example of Egypt's Syene, where three *cohortes equitatae* were stationed in 118 AD.⁴⁸ The *ala Parthorum*'s camp may have lain on a plateau between Klis, Rižnice, Klis-Kosa and 150 metre-high Debela glava.⁴⁹ It may have been located near the old Klis hamlet of Pleštine, where the stele of Maximus was found. This position would allow excellent control over the entire plain toward the south, including all road corridors and the Klis mountain pass, especially the road linking Klis to Salona via Rupatina as well as that running from the Klis gate to Salona, bypassing Bili brig from the east. The location also has great natural protection, shielded by Kozjak's slopes to its north and east. The 1831 cadastre shows that, at some 200 metres to the east and west, there used to be two watercourses which must have been there in ancient times as well, meaning that water supply was not an issue. However, before any serious consideration is given to specifying the location of a possible camp, a thorough field survey should

cavalrymen were accommodated in the camp next to their horses, which makes sense because, once assigned their task, they had to ride off quickly, Campbell 2009, p. 49.

48 Campbell 2009, pp. 29, 32.

49 On the eastern edge of this area, lying near the hamlet of Bralići (Uvodići) on the slopes of Mosor toward Klis-Kosa in the east-west direction, are the remains of an architectural complex covering approximately two hectares. Inside an area partly delimited by walls, there are visible traces of rectangular rooms, thresholds, lintels, stairs carved into the bedrock, as well as an inscription (*CIL* 3, 1942) dedicated to Jupiter by the municipal official L. Egnatius Clemens. This site has been known since long ago, but it has never been proven what it served for, although it is believed to have had a residential and sacral or strategic and defensive character (Alduk 2014, pp. 55-59). Its study (Cambi 1991, p. 31) could most probably provide fresh insights into the genesis and development of Salonitan settlements. Judging by the available ground plans and photographs of this area, it seems that there are no grounds for the assumption that this may have been the site of a camp raised to accommodate an auxiliary cavalry unit.

Ala Pannoniorum

Lanza je u salonitanskim ruševinama 1824. pronašao natpis pripadnika ale *Pannoniorum* (sl. 2).⁵⁰ Donio je opis spomenika, prijepis teksta i prijedlog restitucije u kojoj je pogrešno napisao pokojnikovo ime (*Caius Loutius*), u analizi je pretpostavio njegovo panonsko porijeklo i uz ime postrojbe stavio broj *I*.⁵¹ Mommsen je osobno vidio spomenik i donio prijepis natpisa odbacujući pretpostavku da je uz ime ale stavljen broj (*I*), kratko se osvrnuo na pokojnikovo ime i porijeklo, zabilježio je da se iznad natpisnog polja nalazi reljefni prikaz dvaju konja i ostatak ljudske figure.⁵² Hirschfeld je kasnije u *CIL*-u donio malu korekciju sadržaja završetka 5. retka,⁵³ Dessau se također vezao uz vojničko porijeklo pomišljajući da bi to mogla biti *Curunda* u Hispaniji.⁵⁴ Upravo je izdanje natpisa u *CIL*-u postalo općeprihvaćeno u kasnijoj literaturi i suvremenim mrežnim bazama natpisa,⁵⁵ tako da nakon što sam ga i osobno pregledao, uz potvrdu ispravnosti Cesarikove revizije,⁵⁶ mogu reći da je njegov sadržaj sljedeći: *Cloutius Clutami fi(lius) / duplicarius alae / Pannonior(um) Susarrus / domo Curunniace / an(norum) XXXV stipen(diorum) XI[-(?)] / [h(ic)] s(itus) est pos(u)it CA[---] / [---]*. U prijevodu natpis glasi: “Ovdje počiva Kloucije Klutamov sin, duplikarij ale *Pannoniorum*, Susar iz Kurunijaka, (koji je živio) trideset i pet godina, odslužio jedanaest(?) (godina). Podigao je Ka[---].”⁵⁷

Cichorius piše da je Kloucijeva stela najraniji natpis ale *Pannoniorum*. Potvrđuje njezin boravak u Dalmaciji koju je napustila tijekom postupnog smanjenja

be conducted and any indication of its existence must be confirmed by archaeological excavations.

Ala Pannoniorum

In 1824, Lanza found the inscription of a member of *ala Pannoniorum* among the Salonitan ruins (Fig. 2).⁵⁰ He described the monument, transcribed its text and proposed its restoration, wherein he misspelled the deceased's name (*Caius Loutius*). In the analysis, he assumed his Pannonian origin and put number *I* next to the unit's name.⁵¹ Mommsen saw the monument in person and offered his transcript of the inscription, rejecting the assumption that a number (*I*) stood next to the *ala*'s name. He briefly addressed the deceased's name and background and noted two horses and traces of a human figure rendered in relief above the inscription field.⁵² Hirschfeld later made a minor correction to the ending of the fifth line in *CIL*,⁵³ while Dessau also followed up on the soldier's background, suggesting that this could be *Curunda* in Hispania.⁵⁴ It was precisely the *CIL* edition of the inscription that received general acceptance in later literature and contemporary epigraphic online databases,⁵⁵ so that – having inspected it personally and having confirmed the accuracy of Cesarik's revision⁵⁶ – I can only reaffirm that it reads as follows: *Cloutius Clutami fi(lius) / duplicarius alae / Pannonior(um) Susarrus / domo Curunniace / an(norum) XXXV stipen(diorum) XI[-(?)] / [h(ic)] s(itus) est pos(u)it CA[---] / [---]*. In translation, the inscription reads: “Here lies

50 Natpis se čuva u lapidariju Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu pod inventarnom oznakom A 467. Visina ulomka je 0,52 m, širina 0,46 m, debljina 0,16 m. Napravljen je od vapnenca. Natpisno polje uokvireno je jednostavnom *S*-profilacijom. Riječi su odvojene trokutastim znakovima interpunkcije. Donji dio natpisa je otučen i rekonstruiran cementom. U gornjem lijevom dijelu stele je prikaz konja.

51 Lanza 1850, str. 88-89, br. 56.

52 *CIL* 3, 2016.

53 *CIL* 3, 8577.

54 *ILS* 2530.

55 *EDH* HD054712; *EDCS*-27601580; *Lupa* 24969.

56 Cesarik je na spomenutom skupu o Saloni dopunio čitanje natpisa sa dva detalja koja nisu promijenila njegov sadržaj. U 1. retku oznaka filijacije nije potpuno skraćena, nego glasi *fi(lius)*, a možda čak i *fil(ius)* prema čemu je na profilacijskoj letvici moralo biti uklesano slovo *L*, što je teško potvrditi zbog oštećenja. U 2. retku ime etnika navedeno je u cijelosti (*Susarrus*), s time da je posljednje slovo (*S*) uklesano na profilacijskoj letvici.

57 Matijević 2015a, str. 580-581, kat. br. 184.

50 The inscription is kept in the stone monument collection of the Archaeological Museum in Split under inventory designation A 467. The fragment is 0.52 m high, 0.46 m wide and 0.16 m thick. It is made of limestone. The inscription field is framed by simple “S” moulding. The words are separated by triangular punctuation marks. The lower section of the inscription broke off and was reconstructed using cement. The upper left section features an image of a horse.

51 Lanza 1850, pp. 88-89, no. 56.

52 *CIL* 3, 2016.

53 *CIL* 3, 8577.

54 *ILS* 2530.

55 *EDH* HD054712; *EDCS*-27601580; *Lupa* 24969.

56 At the aforementioned conference on Salona, Cesarik supplemented the reading of the inscription with two details that did not affect its substance. The filial designation the first line is not completely abbreviated, but reads *fi(lius)*, or even *fil(ius)*, suggesting that the letter *L* must have been carved on the moulding band, though it is difficult to confirm this due to damage. The ethnic designation in the second line is stated in full (*Susarrus*), with the final letter (*S*) being carved on the moulding band.

ovdašnje vojne posade i potom prebačena u Panoniju, što dokazuju natpisi njezinih aktivnih konjanika iz Gyalóke.⁵⁸ Kraft slijedi isto mišljenje, navodeći da je ala u Panoniji od prve polovice 1. stoljeća.⁵⁹ Pridružuje mu se Alföldy, koji smatra da je Dalmaciju napustila 15. godine, odnosno da je u Panoniji već u doba Tiberija i Kaligule. Dodaje kako je upitno na temelju jedinog sačuvanog dalmatinskog natpisa iz Salone pretpostaviti da je upravo tu bila smještena.⁶⁰ Wilkes slijedi njegovo mišljenje i dodaje kako je ala vjerojatno bila na ovim prostorima tijekom rata između 6. i 9. godine te da je premještena u Panoniju u okviru organizacije dunavskog limesa.⁶¹ To se podudara s Knightom, koji kaže da prebacivanje postrojbe može biti povezano s upravnim odvajanjem provincije Panonije od Ilirika.⁶² Holder natpis također datira u Augustovo doba, a transfer ale u Panoniju u vrijeme cara Tiberija.⁶³ Spaul pretpostavlja da je ala mogla biti osnovana u kasnim godinama Augustove vladavine za službu u ovom dijelu Carstva i da se tijekom većega dijela 1. stoljeća nazivala *ala Pannoniorum*. Drži da je vjerojatno svoj logor imala u Saloni ili njezinoj blizini.⁶⁴ Natpisi iz Gyalóke (*CIL* 3, 4227; 4228) u Panoniji pripadali su iskusnim konjanicima sa 23, odnosno 24 godine vojne službe koji su vjerojatno izvršavali zadaću nadzora i zaštite zapadnog prilaza utvrdi u Araboni.⁶⁵ Roxan i Eck slijede istu crtu najranije povijesti postrojbe i kažu da je nakon osnivanja i u vrijeme kada u imenu nije imala broj jedan (*I*) vjerojatno boravila u Dalmaciji i potom u Panoniji.⁶⁶ Lörincz datira spomenike iz Gyalóke u Tiberijevo doba i tvrdi da je upravo tada iz Dalmacije došla u Panoniju.⁶⁷ Ferjančić također kaže da je postrojba do oko 15. godine bila u Dalmaciji, da nije poznato gdje joj je bio logor, a da bi se prema mjestu pronalaska Kloucijeva natpisa moglo pretpostaviti da se nalazio u blizini Salone. U Panoniji je stacionirana u utvrdi Strebersdorf, četiri kilometra od Peresznyaea, gdje su u blizini Gyalóke pronađeni već spomenuti natpisi *CIL* 3, 4227 i *CIL* 3, 4228. Nedavna arheološka istraživanja potvrdila su da je najstariji logor na tome mjestu sagrađen u Tiberijevo doba. Ala je služila u zaštiti tamošnjih cestovnih pravaca.⁶⁸

Cloutius, the son of Clutamus, the *duplicarius* of *ala Pannoniorum*, a Susarrian from Curunniacis, (who lived) thirty-five years and served eleven (?) (years). Raised by Ca[---].⁵⁷

Cichorius wrote that the stele of Cloutius is the earliest inscription of *ala Pannoniorum*. It confirms its stay in Dalmatia, whence it departed as the military presence in the province was gradually reduced, after which it was transferred to Pannonia, as shown by the inscriptions of its active cavalymen from Gyalóka.⁵⁸ Kraft shared this opinion, stating that the *ala* stayed in Pannonia from the first half of the 1st century AD.⁵⁹ He was joined by Alföldy, who suggested that the *ala* left Dalmatia in 15 AD, i.e. that it was already in Pannonia during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. He added that the only preserved Dalmatian inscription from Salona provides a questionable basis for the assumption that this was exactly where it was stationed.⁶⁰ Wilkes concurred, adding that the *ala* was probably there during the war between 6 and 9 AD and was transferred to Pannonia as part of the efforts to organise the Danubian Limes.⁶¹ This is consonant with Knight's proposition that the unit's transfer might be associated with the administrative separation of the province of Pannonia from Illyricum.⁶² Holder also dated the inscription to the Augustan era, placing the *ala*'s transfer to Pannonia in the period of Emperor Tiberius.⁶³ Spaul assumed that the *ala* could have been formed in the later years of Augustus' reign to serve in this part of the Empire, and that it was known as *ala Pannoniorum* for most of the 1st century AD. He believed that its first camp was probably located in Salona or its vicinity.⁶⁴ The inscriptions from Gyalóka (*CIL* 3, 4227; 4228) in Pannonia belonged to experienced cavalymen with 23 and, respectively, 24 years of military service, who were probably in charge of controlling and guarding western access to the Arrabona fort.⁶⁵ Roxan and Eck followed the same thread of the unit's earliest history, stating that – after it was formed and at the time when there was no number (*I*) in its name – it probably stayed in Dalmatia and then Pannonia.⁶⁶ Lörincz dated the Gyalóka monuments to the Tiberian era and argued that this was precisely the time when

58 Cichorius 1894, 1255.

59 Kraft 1951, str. 155-156.

60 Alföldy 1987, str. 244.

61 Wilkes 1969, str. 140-141, 471.

62 Knight 1991, str. 190.

63 Holder 1980, str. 151, 283, br. 621

64 Spaul 1994, str. 170.

65 Spaul 1995, str. 66.

66 Roxan, Eck 1997, str. 195.

67 Lörincz 2001, str. 22, 203-204, br. 151-153.

68 Ferjančić 2015, str. 38.

57 Matijević 2015a, pp. 580-581, cat. no. 184.

58 Cichorius 1894, 1255.

59 Kraft 1951, pp. 155-156.

60 Alföldy 1987, p. 244.

61 Wilkes 1969, pp. 140-141, 471.

62 Knight 1991, p. 190.

63 Holder 1980, pp. 151, 283, no. 621

64 Spaul 1994, p. 170.

65 Spaul 1995, p. 66.

66 Roxan, Eck 1997, p. 195.

Jedinica je nakon premještanja u Meziju u kasnoflavijsko doba poznata kao I. ala *Pannoniorum*.⁶⁹

Kloucije je umro u Saloni kada je imao 35 godina života. Redak s podatkom o dužini njegove službe oštećen je na završetku, a gledajući preostali prostor iza crte loma, može se zaključiti kako je bilo dovoljno mjesta za urezivanje još jedne, dvije ili tri okomite haste, što znači da je u vojsci proveo 12, 13 ili 14 godina. Kloucije je bio duplikarij, prvi nižerangirani časnik ispod položaja dekuriona te je primao dvostruko veću plaću od plaće običnog konjanika, što je bilo više i od plaće pješaka u legiji.⁷⁰ Raspolagao je sa dva konja.⁷¹ Čini se da je ovo najstarija epigrafska potvrda duplikarija u nekom augziliju.⁷² Kloucije, Klutamov sin, pripadao je asturskom narodu Susara iz grada Kurunjaka, o čijoj ubikaciji mišljenja nisu ujednačena. Smatra se da se nalazio u sjeverozapadnoj Hispaniji,⁷³ gdje su oba imena bila vrlo česta.⁷⁴ Prema drugoj pretpostavci Kurunda i narod Susara sa sigurnošću mogu biti smješteni na teritorij južne Asturije i sjeveroistočno od prostora koji su naseljavali Giguri.⁷⁵ Nije isključeno ni da Kurundu treba tražiti u blizini današnjega grada Bembibre.⁷⁶ Kloucije je jedan od 16 epigrafski potvrđenih vojnika koji su tijekom julijevsko-klaudijevskog doba u sjeverozapadnoj Hispaniji unovačeni u različite augzilije.⁷⁷

Roxan i Eck pišu da su na natpisu sačuvana imena Kloucijevih kolega,⁷⁸ što bi značilo spominjanje još najmanje dvaju imena. Međutim, prema *CIL* 3, 2016 na kraju 6. retka očuvana su samo slova *CA[---]* koja bi eventualno mogla pripadati početnim slovima imena samo jedne osobe, i to najvjerojatnije one koja je

it arrived in Pannonia from Dalmatia.⁶⁷ Ferjančić also claimed the unit was in Dalmatia in ca. 15 AD, that the location of its camp remains unknown, and that – judging by the find-spot of Cloutius' inscription – it may be assumed that it was stationed garrisoned in the vicinity of Salona. In Pannonia, it garrisoned the fortress at Strebersdorf, four kilometres from Peresznye, where the aforementioned inscriptions *CIL* 3, 4227 i *CIL* 3, 4228 were found near Gyalóka. Recent archaeological excavations have shown that the earliest camp at this site was constructed during the reign of Tiberius. The *ala* served for the protection of local roads.⁶⁸ After its relocation to Moesia in the late Flavian period, the unit came to be known as *ala I Pannoniorum*.⁶⁹

Cloutius died in Salona at the age of 35. The line containing a reference to his years of service is damaged at the end, while the space left behind the breakage suggests that there was enough room to carve another one, two or three vertical bars, which means that he spent 12, 13 or 14 years in the military. Cloutius was a *duplicarius* – the first lower-ranking officer below the position of decurion – and received double the pay of an ordinary cavalryman, which was also higher than the pay of a legionary foot soldier.⁷⁰ He had two horses at his disposal.⁷¹ This seems to be the earliest epigraphic confirmation of a *duplicarius* in an auxiliary unit.⁷² Cloutius, the son of Clutamus, belonged to the Asturian people of the Susarri from the city of Curunniacis, whose precise location is still debated. It is believed to have been located in north-west Hispania,⁷³ where both names were quite common.⁷⁴ Another suggestion is that Curunda and the Susarri people can positively be placed in the territory of south Asturia and north-east of the area inhabited by the Gigurri.⁷⁵ Also, it cannot be ruled out that Curunda should be sought in the vicinity of today's Bembibre.⁷⁶

69 Matei-Popescu 2010, str. 191.

70 Southern 2006, str. 123, 304; M. A. Speidel 2009, str. 358-359.

71 M. P. Speidel 1987, str. 62, 64-65.

72 Holder 1980, str. 92.

73 Hübner 1901, 1894; Alföldy 1987, str. 280, bilj. 6; Monteagudo 1999, str. 76-77.

74 Albertos Firmat 1974, str. 431-433.

75 Meyer 2012, str. 118.

76 Susari su bili jedno od 22 asturska plemena. Zabilježeni su na ediktu iz El Bierza koji je 15. g. pr. Kr. izdao August. Car je njime zajamčio trajni imunitet stanovnicima Pemejobrige koji su pripadali rodu Susara jer su za razliku od ostalih plemena sjeverozapadne Hispanije ostali odani Rimu između 26. i 22. g. pr. Kr. Sjeveroistočno od Susara živjeli su Giguri, a kako ih kao jedno od asturskih plemena spominje Plinije, može se pretpostaviti da su i Susari bili Asturi. Detaljnije o Susarima i trećoj pretpostavci o ubikaciji Kurunde v. Ferjančić 2015, str. 39-40.

77 Pitillas Salañer 2006, str. 26, 33-34, tab. 1, 2.

78 Roxan, Eck 1997, str. 195, bilj. 9.

67 Lörincz 2001, pp. 22, 203-204, no. 151-153.

68 Ferjančić 2015, p. 38.

69 Matei-Popescu 2010, p. 191.

70 Southern 2006, pp. 123, 304; M. A. Speidel 2009, pp. 358-359.

71 M. P. Speidel 1987, pp. 62, 64-65.

72 Holder 1980, p. 92.

73 Hübner 1901, 1894; Alföldy 1987, p. 280, note 6; Monteagudo 1999, pp. 76-77.

74 Albertos Firmat 1974, pp. 431-433.

75 Meyer 2012, p. 118.

76 The Susarri were one of the 22 Asturian tribes. They are recorded in the Bierzo Edict, issued by Augustus in 15 BC. In this edict, the emperor bestowed permanent immunity to the inhabitants of Paemeiobriga, who belonged to the Susarri people, because – unlike other tribes in northwest Hispania – they had remained loyal

Klouciju podigla ovaj nadgrobni spomenik.⁷⁹ Ako je opravdano pretpostaviti da je tu bilo uklesano ime komemoratora, onda bi to mogao biti Kloucijev kolega iz postrojbe, što potvrđuje podatak da su tijekom 1. stoljeća dalmatinski auxilijari jedni drugima gotovo redovito postavljali nadgrobne natpise.⁸⁰ Dakle, uz veliku bi se zadržku moglo govoriti o epigrafskoj potvrdi još jednog konjanika ale *Pannoniorum* u Saloni. Možda bi trebalo pomišljati na osobu porijeklom iz sjeverozapadne Hispanije, odakle je bio Kloucije i gdje su provođena novačenja za ovu postrojbu. U tom je kontekstu osobito značajan prethodno spomenuti nadgrobni natpis *CIL* 3, 4227 iz Gyalóke koji su konjaniku iz ove postrojbe podigla dvojica njegovih kolega⁸¹ u rano doba Tiberijeve vladavine.⁸² Sva trojica su porijeklom iz sjeverozapadne Hispanije.⁸³ Meyer ističe kako služenje vojnika iz ovoga dijela Hispanije u panonskoj postrojbi smještenoj u Panoniji ima široke implikacije i izričito pokazuje kako ona u najranijoj fazi svoga postojanja nije uzimala vojnike isključivo iz izvornog mjesta novačenja. Ala je mogla biti osnovana već 9. g. pr. Kr., kada je Tiberije završio osvajanje prostora između Save i Drave, iz čega se može pretpostaviti da je Kloucije pripadao prvoj generaciji njezinih novaka. Postrojba će sve do sredine sljedećeg stoljeća u svoje redove primati i vojnike stranoga porijekla. Zašto? Meyer pretpostavlja kako je njezin najstariji časnički kadar biran među pouzdanim i odanim vojnicima upoznatima s rimskom vojskom, a kako takvih očito nije bilo dovoljno među novopokorenim narodima, trebalo ih je potražiti u udaljenijim postrojbama ne vodeći računa o njihovom etničkom porijeklu. Postavljanje iskusnih časnika u tek osnovanu postrojbu može objasniti okolnosti koje su Kloucija dovele u alu *Pannoniorum*, i to u rang duplikarija, ali takve indicije u potpunosti izostaju kada se radi o njegovoj trojici kolega, običnih konjanika iz Gyalóke.

79 Danas nije moguće provjeriti ispravnost ovakvog čitanja jer je od Mommsenova vremena do rekonstrukcije donjeg dijela stele cementom došlo do novog oštećivanja spomenika te je moguće pročitati samo slova *PO[---]*. Ipak, ovdje je donesen prijepis natpisa iz *CIL*-a kojeg se pridržavaju i svi ostali autori.

80 Alföldy 1987, str. 263-264.

81 *CIL* 3, 4227; *EDH* HD040483: *Abilus Tur/anci f(i)lius dom(o) / Lucocadiacus / eques ala(e) f Pannoniorum / ann(or)um XLIII / stipen(diorum) XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex tes(tamento) her(edes) f¹⁰ posuerunt / Bovegius Vem/ini f(i)lius Lancie(n)sis / Pentius Dovi/deri f(i)lius Aliga¹⁵ntie(n)sis).*

82 Holder 1980, str. 283, br. 622; Lörincz 2001, str. 203, br. 151.

83 Spaul 1995, str. 71-73; Pitillas Salañer 2006, str. 31, br. 3, 5, 10.

Cloutius is one of the 16 epigraphically confirmed soldiers recruited into different auxiliary units during the Julio-Claudian period.⁷⁷

Roxan and Eck wrote that the inscription preserves the names of Cloutius' fellow soldiers,⁷⁸ which would mean that it mentions at least two additional names. However, according to *CIL* 3, 2016, only the letters *CA[---]* have been preserved at the end of the sixth line, which could possibly be the initial letters in the name of a single person, most probably the one who raised the gravestone to Cloutius.⁷⁹ If it is reasonable to presume that this was where the commemorator's name was carved in, than this could be a colleague of Cloutius from the unit, which is confirmed by the fact that, during the 1st century AD, the Dalmatian auxiliaries almost regularly raised gravestones to each other.⁸⁰ Therefore, it is with great reservation that we could speak of the epigraphic confirmation of another cavalryman from *ala Pannoniorum* in Salona. We should perhaps think of him as someone originating from north-west Hispania, whence Cloutius came and where people were recruited for this unit. In that context, of particular significance is the aforementioned epitaph *CIL* 3, 4227 from Gyalóka, raised to a cavalryman from this unit by two of his fellow soldiers⁸¹ in the early years of Tiberius's reign.⁸² All three had their origins in north-west Hispania.⁸³ Meyer pointed

to Rome between 26 and 22 BC. The area north-east of the Susarri was inhabited by the Gigurri, and since Pliny mentioned them as one of the Asturian tribes, it may be assumed that the Susarri were Astures, too. For more details on the Susarri and the third presumption about the location of Curunda, see Ferjančić 2015, pp. 39-40.

77 Pitillas Salañer 2006, pp. 26, 33-34, pl. 1, 2.

78 Roxan, Eck 1997, p. 195, note. 9.

79 It is impossible today to verify the accuracy of this reading because the monument sustained further damage in the period between Mommsen's time and the reconstruction of the stele's lower section with cement. As a result, it is only possible to read the letters *PO[---]*. Still, the present paper cites the *CIL* transcript of the inscription, which is also accepted by all other scholars.

80 Alföldy 1987, pp. 263-264.

81 *CIL* 3, 4227; *EDH* HD040483: *Abilus Tur/anci f(i)lius dom(o) / Lucocadiacus / eques ala(e) f Pannoniorum / ann(or)um XLIII / stipen(diorum) XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / ex tes(tamento) her(edes) f¹⁰ posuerunt / Bovegius Vem/ini f(i)lius Lancie(n)sis / Pentius Dovi/deri f(i)lius Aliga¹⁵ntie(n)sis).*

82 Holder 1980, p. 283, no. 622; Lörincz 2001, p. 203, no. 151.

83 Spaul 1995, pp. 71-73; Pitillas Salañer 2006, p. 31, no. 3, 5, 10.

Moglo bi se reći da su Bovegije i Pentije kao Abilovi komemoratori bili međusobno snažno povezani i da je njihovo zajedništvo očito pojačano osjećajem istog porijekla i identiteta. Meyer ih je potpuno opravdano povezo s Kloucijem, napominjući kako je nemoguće dokazati da su njih četvorica u isto vrijeme služila u ali *Pannoniorum*, ali i da je ta pretpostavka prilično izgledna. Možda su iberski vojnici integrirani u alu kako bi se nadomjestili njezini teški gubitci ili osigurala njezina odanost koja je postala upitnom tijekom Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka između 6. i 9. godine ili pobune 14. godine. Meyer ističe kako ta spekulacija podrazumijeva vrlo rani datum osnivanja postrojbe, odnosno da su ovi Hispanci bili među njezinim prvim novacima. Isto tako, kaže da su vjerojatnije njih četvorica unovačena u Iberiji i poslana u alu *Pannoniorum* tijekom njezina boravka u Saloni ili vrlo brzo nakon što ju je napustila. Neovisno o svemu, očito je da su konjanici iz Gyalóke, a možda čak i Kloucije, održavali posebne veze s ljudima iz svoje postrojbe koji su imali isto geografsko porijeklo.⁸⁴ Sukladno tome moglo bi se pretpostaviti da je *Ca[---]* u 6. retku salonitanskog natpisa početak imena Kloucijeva kolege iz jedinice s kojim je možda dijelio istu etničku pripadnost. Možda se zvao *Caturo*, poput patronimika vojnika (*Meduttus Caturonis f.*) iz I. kohorte *Bracaraugustanorum* na natpisu (*ILlug* 1928) iz Bigesta koji je porijeklom također bio iz tog dijela Hispanije.⁸⁵

Reljef na Kloucijevoj steli

Brojni reljefi konja na nadgrobnim spomenicima konjanika nisu učinjeni u namjeri vjernog prikazivanja određenih pasmina. Iako je moguće povući određene općenite zaključke o karakteristikama životinja, umjetnički prikazi su u najmanju ruku nepouzdana jer je moguće da su na nekim spomenicima namjerno smanjeni kako bi se istaknuli ostali dijelovi spomenika. Rimski konjanici jahali su konje krupnih tijela i laganih nogu, lagane grive i visoko postavljene repa. U ranom Carstvu favorizirani su konji iz Libije i Numidije.⁸⁶

Iznad natpisnog polja Kloucijeve stele bio je reljef od kojeg je ostala sačuvana lijeva strana. Ona sadrži vrlo kvalitetan prikaz konja s glavom spuštenom do razine kopita. Noge i glava su prilično oštećeni. Nosi sedlo. Od prikaza na desnoj strani uočavaju se donji dijelovi četiriju nogu. Prva od njih je konjska, a

out the fact that soldiers from this part of Hispania serving in a Pannonian unit stationed in Pannonia has wide implications and clearly shows that, in the earliest stage of its existence, it did not exclusively recruit soldiers from its original recruitment area. The *ala* may have been formed as early as 9 BC, when Tiberius completed his conquest of the area between the Sava and Drava Rivers, which suggests that Cloutius belonged to the first generation of its recruits. Up to the middle of the following century, the unit also admitted soldiers of foreign origin into its ranks. Why? Meyer presumed that its earliest cadre of officers was selected from among reliable and loyal soldiers familiar with the Roman army, and as such staff was clearly scarce among the newly subjugated peoples, they had to be drawn from more remote troops, regardless of their ethnic background. The assignment of experienced officers to a recently formed unit may explain the circumstances which brought Cloutius to *ala Pannoniorum*, no less than to hold the rank of *duplicarius*, but such circumstantial evidence is completely non-existent when it comes to his three fellow-soldiers – ordinary cavalymen from Gyalóka. It can be said that Bovegius and Pentius, as Abilus' commemorators, were strongly tied to each other and that their closeness was obviously reinforced by a sense of shared background and identity. Meyer had every reason to associate them with Cloutius, noting that it was impossible to prove that the four of them had served in *ala Pannoniorum* at the same time, but that this assumption seemed very likely, too. The Iberian soldiers may have been incorporated into the *ala* to compensate for its heavy losses or to ensure its loyalty, which came into question during the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising between 6 and 9 AD or the rebellion in 14 AD. Meyer stressed that this speculation implies that the unit was formed very early and that these Hispanians were among its earliest recruits. He also claimed that it is more probable that the four of them were recruited from Iberia and assigned to *ala Pannoniorum* during its stay in Salona or very shortly its departure it. Nevertheless, it is clear that the cavalymen from Gyalóka maintained special relationships with the people from their unit who shared their geographic background.⁸⁴ Accordingly, it can be assumed that *Ca[---]* in the sixth line of the Salonitan inscription represents the beginning of the name of Cloutius' fellow soldier from his unit, with whom he may have shared the same ethnic background. His name was, perhaps, *Caturo*, like the patronymic of a soldier (*Meduttus Caturonis f.*) from *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* in the inscription

84 Meyer 2012, str. 110-115.

85 Pitillas Salañer 2006, str. 31, br. 8. Isti patronimik zabilježen je i na natpisu (*AÉ* 2000, 1179) pripadnika iste kohorte iz Bigesta.

86 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 163-166.

84 Meyer 2012, pp. 110-115.

najvjerojatnije i treća, dok su druga i četvrta noga ljudske. Prikazani čovjek nesumnjivo je *calo*, koji na spomenicima ovakvog tipa drži konja za uzde.⁸⁷ Koliko mi je poznato, postoje samo tri nadgrobna spomenika na kojima je prikazan konjušar između dva konja.⁸⁸ Prvi je iz Germanije i datiran u vrijeme cara Tiberija i nije sigurno prikazuje li konjanika ili konjušara.⁸⁹ Dva su spomenika iz Apameje u Siriji i datiraju se u kraj 3. stoljeća. Jedan je pripadao duplikariju,⁹⁰ a drugi seskviplikariju.⁹¹ *Calones* su sluge vojnika i općenito je prihvaćeno da su bili robovi u privatnom ili državnom vlasništvu.⁹² Za vojnike su obavljali svakodnevne poslove kuhanja, čišćenja, dobavljanja vode, slame i drva. Tijekom vojnih operacija brinuli su o pričuvnim konjima i vojniskovoj prtljazi, bili su naoružani, opremljeni, izvježbani i organizirani za borbu, čuvali su logor i služili kao posljednja pričuva. Nesumnjivo je

(*ILLug* 1928) from Bigeste, who also originated from this part of Hispania.⁸⁵

The relief on the stele of Cloutius

Numerous relief images of horses on the grave-stones of cavalrymen were not produced in order to provide a faithful depiction of specific breeds. While it is possible to draw some general conclusions about the characteristics of animals, their artistic representations are, to say the least, unreliable because it is possible that, on some monuments, they were deliberately reduced so as to emphasise other parts of the monuments. Roman cavalrymen rode horses with robust bodies, light legs, light manes and their tails knotted. Horses from Libya and Numidia were favoured in the early imperial period.⁸⁶

Above the inscription field of Cloutius' stele, there was a relief, with its left side remaining preserved to date. It contains a very fine image of a horse with its head lowered to hoof level. The legs and the head are rather damaged. It wears a saddle. The lower parts of four legs are visible on the right side of the image. The first one belongs to the horse and, most probably, so does the third one, while the second and the fourth legs are human. The depicted man is undoubtedly a *calo*, who – on monuments of this kind – holds the horse on reins.⁸⁷ To my knowledge, there are only three grave monuments featuring a groom between two horses.⁸⁸ The first one comes from Germania and is dated to the period of Emperor Tiberius, but it is uncertain whether it depicts a cavalryman or a groom.⁸⁹ Two monuments originate from Apamea in Syria and are dated to the end of the 3rd century AD. One belonged to a *duplicarius*,⁹⁰ and the other

87 Zahvaljujem akademiku Nenadu Cambiju i prof. dr. Draženu Maršiću na pomoći oko interpretacije reljefa. Profesor Maršić za prikaz desnoga konja kaže kako mu se ne vide ostatci stražnjih kopita pa je možda bio prikazan u poluprofilu ili je zamišljen kao ždrijebe pa je zato skraćen. Tilurijska stela konjanika Melvadija iz ale *Claudia nova* (*CIL* 3, 2712; *EDH* HD054440) ispod natpisnoga polja ima prikaz sluge i konja bez jahača, v. Cambi 2013, str. 23, 53, sl. 35.

88 Kramer 2014, str. 172.

89 *EDH* HD075183; *Lupa* 16490, detaljnije Kramer 2014, str. 116-117, kat. br. 34.

90 *EDH* HD053020; *Lupa* 3904.

91 *EDH* HD053022. Detaljnije o apamejskim spomenicima Kramer 2014, str. 135-139. U teško oštećenom reljefnom prikazu ispod veksila na bočnoj plohi nadgrobnog žrtvenika T. Flavija Lucilija (*AE* 2006, 1013; *EDH* HD053432), bivšeg pripadnika carske konjaničke straže iz hadrijanskog doba, treba pretpostaviti prikaz konja. Očito je riječ o sepulkralnoj ikonografiji omiljenoj među carskim singularima u Rimu. Detaljno o različitim interpretacijama Lucilijeva konjaničkog reljefa v. Faure 2010, str. 229-230. Kloucijeva stela i najvjerojatnije Lucilijev žrtvenik jedini su vojnički spomenici iz Salone s reljefnim prikazima konja.

92 Osim izraza *calones* za njih je upotrebljavana i riječ *lixae*, u pisanim izvorima još i latinski *servi*, *mancipia*, *pueri* te grčki *therapontes* i *oiketai*, Vishnia 2002, str. 267; Southern 2006, str. 224-225. Privatni robovi vojnika iz carskog doba povremeno se spominju u papirusima, ali su rijetki na natpisima, v. Roth 1999, str. 103. Iz Salone potječe samo jedna epigrafska potvrda aktivnog vojnika koji je posjedovao svoga roba. To je G. Publije Vero iz VIII. kohorte *Voluntariorum*, čija se stela (*CIL* 3, 2045; *EDH* HD063844) datira u vrijeme između sredine 2. i sredine 3. stoljeća, detaljnije o tome natpisu v. Matijević 2015a, str. 543, kat. br. 148; Matijević 2015b, str. 133.

85 Pitillas Salañer 2006, p. 31, no. 8. The same patronymic is also recorded in the inscription (*AE* 2000, 1179) of a member of the same cohort from Bigeste.

86 Dixon, Southern 1992, pp. 163-166.

87 I owe my gratitude to Nenad Cambi, Academy member, and Prof. Dražen Maršić, Ph.D., for their assistance with the interpretation of the relief. Maršić claimed that the image of the right horse does not feature any visible traces of the rear hooves, suggesting that the horse may have been rendered in semi-profile or meant to represent a foal, and was hence shortened. The Tilurium stele of the cavalryman Melvadius from *ala Claudia nova* (*CIL* 3, 2712; *EDH* HD054440) features a groom and a horse with no rider beneath its inscription field, see Cambi 2013, pp. 23, 53, Fig. 35.

88 Kramer 2014, p. 172.

89 *EDH* HD075183; *Lupa* 16490; for more details, see Kramer 2014, pp. 116-117, cat. no. 34.

90 *EDH* HD053020; *Lupa* 3904.

svaki konjanik u postrojbi imao jednoga konjušara.⁹³ On je vodio potpunu brigu o konjima i bio na usluzi svojim gospodarima.⁹⁴

Zaključak

Stela dekuriona [Tiberija] Julija Maksima iz ale *Parthorum* i stela duplikarija Kloucija iz ale *Pannoniorum* pronađene u Saloni jedine su epigrafske potvrde ovih konjaničkih postrojba u provinciji Dalmaciji. Tacit u svojim *Analima* piše da je partski aristokrat Ornospad pobjegao u Rim i svojim konjanicima pomogao Tiberiju u gušenju Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka između 6. i 9. g. zbog čega je bio nagrađen građanskim pravom. U ovoj partskoj konjaničkoj postrojbi nisu služili samo izbjeglice nego i njihovi potomci rođeni u Rimu, što izričito potvrđuje Maksimov natpis, po svemu sudeći najraniji epigrafski spomen ove pomoćne postrojbe. Njegovu historiografsku vrijednost potvrđuje i podatak da je Maksimov otac Gaj Julije Tiridat imao civitet, što je vrlo rijetka pojava kod augzilijara iz najranijega carskog doba. Dakle, može se zaključiti da je Maksim kao sin partskog aristokrata imao istaknut status u svojoj zajednici jer je zapovijedao turmom u dobi od samo 26 godina. Brojni su augzilijari dočekali kraj karijere kao dekurioni, a on je taj položaj imao vjerojatno već nakon nekoliko godina službe. Komemorirao ga je Sekst Coelije, vrlo vjerojatno kolega iz postrojbe i časnik poput njega. U literaturi je prevladavalo mišljenje po kojemu je *ala Parthorum* vrlo brzo poslije 9. godine premještena u Germaniju, gdje je u prvoj polovici 1. stoljeća potvrđena kao *ala Parthorum et Araborum*. Prema raspoloživim podacima nemoguće je odrediti do kada je boravila u Dalmaciji, iako postoje nova saznanja koja bi mogla pomoći u rješavanju toga pitanja. Naime, prema najnovijoj tezi temeljenoj na arheološkim otkrićima tegula s pečatom postrojbe (*ala Parthorum*) u logoru u Pizoraki u sjeverozapadnoj Hispaniji, drži se da je ala ondje boravila između Klaudijeve vladavine i kraja 1. stoljeća. To bi značilo da iz Dalmacije nije otišla u Germaniju, odnosno da *ala Parthorum et Araborum* nije istovjetna ali *Parthorum*. Ako zaista nije riječ o istim postrojbama, što je izgledno, ala je u Dalmaciji bila tijekom Tiberijeve i Kaliguline vladavine, uz uvjet da u međuvremenu nije boravila u nekoj drugoj provinciji, što se u ovom trenutku ne može pretpostaviti.

Maksimova stela pronađena je u zaselku Pleštine jugozapadno od Klisa, gdje se pružala jedna rimska cesta koja je Salonu povezivala s Klisom. Površan

to a *sesquiplicarius*.⁹¹ *Calones* were soldiers' servants and it is generally accepted that they were privately or state-owned slaves.⁹² They performed daily tasks for soldiers, such as cooking, cleaning and fetching water, straw and wood. During military operations, they took care of reserve horses and soldiers' luggage. They were armed, trained and organised to engage in combat, kept watch over the camp and served as the last reserve. It is certain that each cavalryman in the unit had one groom.⁹³ He took full care of the horses and stood at his master's service.⁹⁴

Conclusion

The stele of decurion [Tiberius] Julius Maximus from *ala Parthorum* and the stele of the *duplicarius* Cloutius from *ala Pannoniorum* found in Salona are the sole epigraphic confirmations of these cavalry units in the province of Dalmatia. In his *Annals*, Tacitus wrote that the aristocrat Ornospades fled to Rome and, with his cavalryman, assisted Tiberius in crushing the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising between the years 6 and 9 AD, for which he was awarded with citizenship. Not only refugees served in this Parthian cavalry unit; so did their descendants born in Roman territory, which is explicitly confirmed by the inscription for

91 EDH HD053022. For more details on the Apamean monuments, see Kramer 2014, pp. 135-139. The heavily damaged relief image beneath the *vexillum* on the lateral surface of the grave altar of T. Flavius Lucilius (AÉ 2006, 1013; EDH HD053432), a former member of the imperial guard cavalry from the Hadrianic period, should be presumed to depict a horse. It is clearly an example of sepulchral iconography popular among the imperial *singulares* in Rome. For more details on different interpretations of Lucilius' equestrian relief, see Faure 2010, pp. 229-230. The stele of Cloutius and, most likely, the altar of Lucilius are the only soldier gravestones in Salona bearing relief images of horses.

92 In addition to the term *calones*, they were also referred to as *lixae*, while written sources also use the Latin words *servi*, *mancipia*, *pueri* and the Greek terms *therapontes* and *oiketai*, Vishnia 2002, p. 267; Southern 2006, pp. 224-225. Private slaves belonging to soldiers from the imperial era are occasionally mentioned in papyri, but are rare in inscriptions, see Roth 1999, p. 103. Salona is the source of just one epigraphic confirmation of an active soldier who possessed his own slave. This was G. Publius Vero from *cohors VIII Voluntariorum*, whose stele (CIL 3, 2045; EDH HD063844) is dated to the period between the mid-2nd and mid-3rd centuries AD; for more details on this inscription, see Matijević 2015a, p. 543, cat. no. 148; Matijević 2015b, p. 133.

93 M. P. Speidel 1989, str. 241-247.

94 Dixon, Southern 1992, str. 204.

93 M. P. Speidel 1989, pp. 241-247.

94 Dixon, Southern 1992, p. 204.

pogled na oko stotinu nadgrobnih natpisa otkrivenih na prostoru južno od Klisa koji presijeca nekoliko cestovnih komunikacija, pokazuje da gotovo svi pripadaju kasnome principatu. Nužno je provesti temeljitu analizu ovog epigrafskog materijala, u prvom redu onoga koji potječe istočno od Kamenica i Pleština, i sukladno tome pokušati preciznije odrediti kronologiju ukapanja u ovom dijelu nekropole. Ipak, može se reći da u doba Maksimova ukopa na prostoru južno i jugozapadno od Klisa nije bila organizirana nekropola jer nema ni jednoga natpisa koji može biti datiran u Augustovo doba, što upućuje na zaključak da je njegova stela ovdje bila izolirana. Kako se to može objasniti? Možda se odgovoru možemo približiti uzmu li se u obzir primjeri pokraj Hadrijanova zida u Britaniji, gdje su neki vojnici i časnici pomoćnih postrojba pokapani u neposrednoj blizini svojih logora. Maksimov natpis može biti pokazatelj da je upravo ovdje, na prostoru u blizini staroga kliškog zaselka Pleštine, oko tri kilometra sjeveroistočno od Salone, u godinama nakon slamanja Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka bila smještena *ala Parthorum* ili jedno njezino odjeljenje. Logor je mogao biti sagrađen od drva ili od kamena, morao je zadovoljiti specifične potrebe za smještaj konjanika i njihovih konja. Izrazito mobilna i iskusna postrojba kao što je očito bila *ala Parthorum* imala je sposobnost brze reakcije na bilo kakvu vanjsku prijetnju koja je glavnome gradu provincije mogla doći sa sjevera. Njezinim raspoređivanjem mogle su se vrlo brzo blokirati dvije ceste kojima se od Klisa najbrže stizalo do Salone. Klis je u antici, ali i u kasnijim povijesnim razdobljima, imao iznimno strateško značenje, jer je kontrola nad njime zapravo značila kontrolu Salone i cijelog priobalja od Oneja do Tragurija. Kliški prijevoj bio je ključna komunikacijska točka kroz koju su ceste iz Salone išle u unutrašnjost provincije Dalmacije. Međutim, ako je taj logor zaista postojao, što mogu dokazati samo arheološka istraživanja, nije morao udomljavati samo ovu postrojbu nego i *alu Pannoniorum* ili jedno njezino odjeljenje. Mogao je već tada, ali i u kasnije vrijeme 1. stoljeća služiti za prihvat pripadnika ostalih postrojba čiji su vojnici detaširani na službu u Saloni, poput vojnika iz VII., XI. i III. legije ili pomoćnih postrojba kao što je bila II. *Cyrrhestarum*, kohorta *Campanorum*, kohorta *Aquitanorum*, I. kohorta *Flavia Brittonum*, odnosno u 2. i 3. stoljeću I. kohorta *Belgarum*, III. *Alpinorum*, VIII. *Voluntariorum* ili nekih legijskih veksilacija u kasnome principatu.

Stela duplikarija Kloucija snažno upućuje na prisutnost *ale Pannoniorum* u Saloni tijekom prvih godina nakon Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka. Ovdje je vrlo kratko boravila jer natpisi iz Gyalóke u Panoniji potvrđuju njezine pripadnike koji su već u Tiberijevo doba najvjerojatnije osiguravali cestovne prilaze

Maximus, by all indications the earliest epigraphic mention of this auxiliary unit. Its historiographic value is further confirmed by the fact that Gaius Julius Tiridates, the father of Maximus, also had citizenship, which was a very rare case among auxiliaries of the earliest imperial period. It may therefore be concluded that Maximus, as the son of a Parthian aristocrat, had a prominent status in his community, because he commanded a turma at the rather young age of 26. Many auxiliary soldiers ended their careers with the rank of decurion, but he held this post probably after only a few years in the service. He was commemorated by Sextus Coelius, very likely a fellow soldier in the unit and an officer like he was. The prevailing view in the relevant literature is that *ala Parthorum* was transferred to Germania very soon after 9 AD, where it was confirmed in the first half of the 1st century as *ala Parthorum et Araborum*. Based on available data, it is impossible to determine when it was stationed in Dalmatia, although more recent knowledge could help in resolving this question. Namely, according to on the latest hypothesis based on archaeological discoveries of tegulae bearing the unit's stamp (*ala Parthorum*) in the camp at Pisoraca in north-west Hispania, it is believed that the *ala* was posted there between the reign of Claudius and the end of the 1st century. This would mean that it did not depart for Germania from Dalmatia, i.e., that *ala Parthorum et Araborum* is not synonymous with *ala Parthorum*. If these are truly not the same unit, which is likely, the *ala* was in Dalmatia during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula, provided that it was not posted in some other province in the meantime, which cannot be assumed at this point.

The stele of Maximus was found in the hamlet of Pleštine south-west of Klis, where a Roman road linking Klis to Salona once extended. Even a perfunctory glance at the roughly one hundred gravestone inscriptions discovered in the area south of Klis – which is intersected by several overland communication routes – shows that almost all date to the late Principate. A thorough analysis of this epigraphic material will be necessary, primarily to attempt to more precisely determine the chronology of burials in this part of the necropolis. Nonetheless, it may be said that at the time when Maximus was buried, there was no organized necropolis in the area south and south-west of Klis, because there is not a single inscription that may be dated to the Augustan era, which points to the conclusion that his stele was isolated here. How can this be explained? Perhaps an answer may be forthcoming if we take into consideration the examples next to Hadrian's Wall in Britain, where certain auxiliary unit soldiers and officers were buried in the immediate vicinity of their encampments. The inscription to Maximus may be an indicator that it was right there, in the area

logoru u Araboni. Kloucije potječe iz grada Kurunijaka na teritoriju naroda Susara u sjeverozapadnoj Hispaniji. Umro je u dobi od 35 godina nakon najmanje 12 godina službe. Zahvaljujući plaći dva puta većoj od plaće običnoga konjanika, imao je pravo na dva konja. U gornjem dijelu stele prikazan je jedan konj, desno od njega po svemu sudeći još jedan kojeg za uzde drži Kloucijev sluga. Kloucijev komemorator bila je neka muška osoba pa bi se, jednako kao i kod Maksima, moglo pretpostaviti da se radilo o njegovom kolegi iz postrojbe. Kada se ovaj natpis promatra u kontekstu s nešto kasnijim natpisom pripadnika ale *Pannoniorum* iz Gyalóke u Gornjoj Panoniji, jasno je da su u ovu postrojbu tijekom rane faze njezina postojanja uzimani novaci rodom iz Hispanije. Očito da među novopokorenim panonskim narodima nije bilo dovoljno pouzdanih kandidata za časničke položaje, pa su ta mjesta u postrojbi popunjavana novacima iz udaljenijih dijelova Carstva, neovisno o njihovom etničkom porijeklu. Tako se može objasniti Kloucijev položaj duplikarija. Konjanici ale *Pannoniorum* i konjanici ale *Parthorum* su po svemu sudeći u kasnim godinama Augustove i ranim godinama Tiberijeve vladavine svojom mobilnošću i iskustvom pridonijeli sigurnosti provincijske metropole. Zadaću su izvršavali kao dio veće vojne posade sastavljene od pješaka, konjanika i strijelaca iz nekoliko legijskih, odnosno pomoćnih postrojba.

close to the old Klis hamlet of Pleštine, approximately 3 kilometres north-east of Salona, that *ala Parthorum* or one of its detachments was stationed in the years following the quelling of the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising. The camp may have been constructed from timber or stone, but it had to meet the specific requirements for the accommodation of cavalymen and their horses. An exceptionally mobile and seasoned unit such as *ala Parthorum* had to be able to respond rapidly to any external threat which could approach the provincial capital from the north. Its deployment could very rapidly block the two roads from Klis that afforded the quickest access to Salona. In Antiquity, as in later historical eras, Klis had exceptional strategic significance, because control over it meant control of Salona and the entire coastal belt from Oneum to Tragurium. The Klis pass was a crucial communication point, through which the roads from Salona to the provincial interior of Dalmatia passed. However, if this camp did in fact exist, which can only be proven by archaeological excavations, it did not necessarily need to accommodate only this unit, but also *ala Pannoniorum* or one of its detachments. Already at that time, but also in later periods of the 1st century, it may have served to accommodate members of units whose troops were assigned to service in Salona, such as soldiers from Legiones VII, XI and XIII or auxiliary units such as *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, *cohors Campanorum*, *cohors Aquitanorum*, *cohors I Flavia Brittonum*, and, in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, *cohors I Belgarum*, *III Alpinorum*, *VIII Voluntariorum* or certain legionary *vexillationes* in the late Principate.

The stele of the *duplicarius* Cloutius strongly indicates the presence of *ala Pannoniorum* in Salona during the first years after the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising. It stayed there very briefly, because inscriptions from Gyalóka in Pannonia confirm its members there, as they were already securing the roads to the camp in Arrabona. Cloutius was originally from the city of Curunniacis in the territory of the Susarri people in north-western Hispania. He died at the age of 35 after a minimum of 12 years in the service. Thanks to a salary twice that of an ordinary cavalryman, he was entitled to two horses. A horse is depicted in the upper section of the stele, and to its right is, by all indications, another with its reins held by the servant of Cloutius. The commemorator of Cloutius was a male individual, so just as in the case of Maximus, it may be presumed that this was a fellow soldier in the unit. When this inscription is considered in the context of the somewhat later inscriptions dedicated to the members of *ala Pannoniorum* from Gyalóka in Pannonia Superior, it is clear that during this unit's early phase it received recruits who were originally from Hispania. It is obvious that among the newly-

subjugated Pannonian peoples there was not enough reliable candidates to serve as officers, so these posts in units were filled with recruits from distant parts of the Empire, regardless of their ethnicity. This may explain why Cloutius held the rank of *duplicarius*. By all indications, thanks to their mobility and experience, the cavalymen of *ala Pannoniorum* and the cavalymen of *ala Parthorum* contributed to the security of provincial capitals during the later years of Augustus and the early reign of Tiberius. They performed their duties as components of larger military detachments composed of foot soldiers, cavalymen and archers from several legions and auxiliary units.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE	Anneé épigraphique, Paris.
AEM	Archaeologisch epigraphische mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn, Wien.
AS	Ancient Society, Leuven.
BASD	Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Split.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
EDCS	Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss Slaby (http://www.manfredclaus.de/gb/index.html) (30. 11. 2018.)
EDH	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg (http://edhwww.adw.uniheidelberg.de/inschrift/suche) (30. 11. 2018.)
ILJug	Anna et Jaro Šašel, Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt (Situla, 5, Ljubljana, 1963); Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt (Situla, 19, Ljubljana, 1978); Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt (Situla, 25, Ljubljana, 1986).
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae selectae, Berlin.
Lupa	Ubi Erat Lupa (http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org) (30. 11. 2018.)
PWRE	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
RFFZd	Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio povijesnih znanosti, Zadar.
TAPhA	Transactions of the American Philological Association, Baltimore.
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split.
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bonn.

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