

Legionari iz porajnskih provincija u Dalmaciji

Legionaries from the Rhine Provinces in Dalmatia

Ivan Matijević

ivan.matijevic@ffst.hr

Odsjek za povijest / *Department of History*

Filozofski fakultet u Splitu / *Faculty of Humanities and Social*

Sciences Split

Poljička cesta 35, HR – 21000 Split

UDK/UDC: 355.312(37)“00“

doi: 10.15291/misc.4736

Izvorni znanstveni rad / *Original scientific paper*

Primljeno / *Received*: Received: 5. VII. 2024.



Ključne riječi: Dalmacija
(*Dalmatia*); Gornja Germanija
(*Germania Superior*); Donja
Germanija (*Germania Inferior*);
legija; vojnik; veteran

U Dalmaciji su otkriveni malobrojni natpisi legionara čije su postrojbe bile smještene u Gornjoj i Donjoj Germaniji. Nekoliko vojnika i veterana u vremenu između sredine 1. stoljeća i završetka principata pripadalo je legiji *VIII Augusta* koja je bila građevinski aktivna u logoru Burnumu. Iz legije *XXII Primigenia* i legije *XXX Ulpia victrix* potvrđen je po jedan veteran, a iz legije *I Minervia* bio je centurion u službi prepozita kohorte *I Belgarum*. Ovaj rad pokušat će rasvijetliti karakter prisutnosti tih vojnika i veterana u Dalmaciji, odnosno način na koji je provincija bila povezana s legijama u porajnskim provincijama.

Keywords: Dalmatia (*Dalmatia*);
Upper Germania (*Germania*
Superior); Lower Germania
(*Germania Inferior*); legion; soldier;
veteran

Few inscriptions of legionaries whose units were located in Upper and Lower Germania were found in Dalmatia. Several soldiers and veterans in the period between the middle of the 1st century and the end of the Principate served in *Legio VIII Augusta*, which was active in construction in the legionary camp of Burnum. From *Legio XXII Primigenia* and *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* one veteran was confirmed each, and from *Legio I Minervia* there was a centurion who served as *praepositus* of *Cohors I Belgarum*. This paper will try to shed light on the particulars of the presence of these soldiers and veterans in Dalmatia, that is, the way in which the province was associated with the legions in the Rhine provinces.

Ovisnost Dalmacije o legijama na dunavskome limesu

Izbijanje rata protiv Kvada i Markomana početkom vladavine cara Marka Aurelija neizravno je utjecalo i na sigurnosno stanje u provinciji Dalmaciji. Njezinu dotadašnju vojnu posadu sastavljenu od samo tri pomoćne kohorte (*I Belgarum, III Alpinorum, VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*) ubrzo su ojačale dvije novoosnovane kohorte (*I milliaria Delmatarum, II milliaria Delmatarum*). Provincija tada nije imala vlastitih legija pa su, kako to jasno svjedoče epigrafski izvori, najodgovornije i najzahtjevnije vojne zadaće kao i visokorangirane službe u namjesnikovoj administraciji gotovo redovito povjeravane vojnicima iz legija smještenih na dunavskoj granici. Najslabija je veza postojala s onima iz noričko-recijskoga dijela limesa odakle su u Salonu zbog podizanja gradskih zidina 169. – 170. poslane veksilacije Druge italske legije (*Legio II Italica*) i Treće italske legije (*Legio III Italica*). Nakon izvršenja zadatka najvjerojatnije su napustile provinciju u kojoj je epigrafski potvrđen samo jedan njihov veteran. Još slabija povezanost ostvarena je s legijama iz Gornje Mezije. Sedma legija (*Legio VII Claudia*) potvrđena je na nadgrobnome spomeniku jednoga namjesnikova oficijala, a nema ni jednoga natpisa koji bi dokazao da je Četvrta legija (*Legio IIII Flavia felix*) slala svoje vojnike na neku službu u Dalmaciju. Njihova izuzetno slaba zastupljenost vjerojatno je posljedica toga što su zadaćama bile vezane za matičnu provinciju, Donju Panoniju i neke istočne provincije. U Dalmaciji su najzastupljeniji legionari iz panonskih provincija. Iz Gornje Panonije legija Četnaesta dvojna (*Legio XIII Gemina*) davala je vojnike (trojica) i namjesnikove principale (komentarijenz, spekulator, osmorica beneficijarija), a Deseta dvojna (*Legio X Gemina*) zastupljena je isključivo preko beneficijarija (osmorica). Iz Donje Panonije legija Prva pomoćnica (*Legio I Adiutrix*) slala je vojnike (centurion, dvojica vojnika) i namjesnikove principale (spekulor, desetorica beneficijarija), a Druga pomoćnica (*Legio II Adiutrix*) potvrđena je prisutnošću običnih vojnika (centurion, trojica vojnika). Moglo bi se reći da je istovjetna vrsta povezanosti postojala i s legijama u Donjoj Meziji te u mnogo manjoj mjeri s onima iz Dakije. Iz Donje Mezije Jedanaesta legija (*Legio XI Claudia*) potvrđena je natpisom jednoga centuriona i službenicima u namjesnikovu oficiju (spekulor, osmorica beneficijarija), a Prva italska (*Legio I Italica*) imala je veksilaciju u Saloni (osmorica vojnika),

The Dependence of Dalmatia on the Legions on the Danube Limes

The outbreak of war against the Quadi and Marcomanni at the beginning of the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius indirectly affected the security situation in the province of Dalmatia. Its previous military crew, consisting of only three auxiliary cohorts (*I Belgarum, III Alpinorum, VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*), was soon strengthened by two newly established cohorts (*I milliaria Delmatarum, II milliaria Delmatarum*). The province did not have its own legions at the time, so, as epigraphic sources clearly testify, soldiers from the legions located on the Danube border were almost regularly entrusted with the most demanding military tasks as well as with the high-ranking positions in the governor's administration. The weakest connection was established with the legions from the Noricum-Rhaetian part of the limes, from where the vexillations of *Legio II Italica* and *Legio III Italica* were sent to Salona in 169 – 170 to build the city walls. After completing their mission, they most likely left the province, where only one of their veterans is confirmed in epigraphic sources. An even weaker connection was established with the legions from Upper Moesia. *Legio VII Claudia* is confirmed on the tombstone of a governor's official, and there is not a single inscription that would prove that *Legio IIII Flavia Felix* sent its soldiers to Dalmatia to perform a certain task. Their extremely low representation is probably a consequence of the fact that they were tasked with certain duties in their home province, Lower Pannonia, and some eastern provinces. The biggest number of legionaries in Dalmatia were from the Pannonian provinces. From Upper Pannonia, *Legio XIII Gemina* provided soldiers (three) and the governor's *principales* (*commentariensis, speculator, eight beneficiarii*), while *Legio X Gemina* was represented exclusively through *beneficiarii* (eight). From Lower Pannonia, *Legio I Adiutrix* sent soldiers (centurion, two soldiers) and the governor's *principales* (*speculator, ten beneficiarii*), while *Legio II Adiutrix* was confirmed by the presence of ordinary soldiers (centurion, three soldiers). It could be said that there was the same type of connection with the legions in Lower Moesia, and to a much lesser extent with those from Dacia. From Lower Moesia, *Legio XI Claudia* was confirmed by the inscription of one centurion and officials in the governor's *officium* (*speculator, eight beneficiarii*), and *Legio I Italica* had a vexillation in Salona (eight soldiers), but also members of the governor's administration (six *beneficiarii*). From Dacia, *Legio V Macedonica* provided

ali i pripadnike namjesnikove administracije (šestorica beneficijarija). Iz Dakije je legija Peta makedonska (*Legio V Macedonica*) davala obične vojnike (centurion) i namjesnikove oficijale (dvojica beneficijarija), a Trinaesta dvojna (*Legio XIII Gemina*) zastupljena je isključivo preko običnih vojnika (centurion, vojnik). Veterani iz nekih ovdje spomenutih legija naselili su se u Dalmaciji što se objašnjava njihovom službom u provinciji ili su se nakon otpusta iz vojske vratili u rodni kraj. Moglo bi se reći da je Dalmacija u vojno-upravnome smislu bila čvršće povezana s Donjom i Gornjom Panonijom što proizlazi i iz njihova međusobnog geografskog položaja.¹

U Dalmaciji su otkriveni i malobrojni natpisi legija čiji su stalni logori bili u Gornjoj i Donjoj Germaniji. *Legio VIII Augusta* zabilježena je na nekoliko natpisa aktivnih vojnika i veterana datiranih u vrijeme između druge polovine 1. stoljeća i završetka 3. stoljeća, proizvodila je tegule i izvodila građevinske zahvate u legijskome logoru Burnumu. *Legio XXII Primigenia* i *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* potvrđene su dvama veteranskim natpisima iz vremena kasnog principata, a *Legio I Minervia* posvetnim natpisom centuriona koji je služio kao prepozit Prve kohorte Belgâ. Ovaj rad pokušat će rasvijetliti karakter prisutnosti tih vojnika i veterana u Dalmaciji, odnosno način na koji je provincija bila povezana s legijama u porajnskim provincijama.

Legionari s Limesa u Gornjoj Germaniji

Legio VIII Augusta

Osma legija pripadala je vojsci nekadašnjega ili-ričkog prostora u vremenu poslije 14. godine što pokazuju i natpisi njezinih aktivnih vojnika i veterana u Virunu, Emoni, Celeji i Akvileji. Čini se da je 45. godine sudjelovala u ratu protiv bosporskoga kralja Mitridata poslije čega je najvjerojatnije premještena u legijski logor Nove u Donjoj Meziji. Poslije Neronove smrti stala je na Otonovu stranu i s ostalim se postrojbama iz Mezije zaputila prema Italiji 69., zatim je dala potporu Vespazijanu u njegovu poražavanju Viteljevih snaga kod Kremone. Legija je ranih sedamdesetih godina izgradila logor u Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, vjerojatno da bi se lakše nadgledala lokalna populacija Lingonaca koja je sudjelovala u pobuni Batavaca. U njemu

ordinary soldiers (centurion) and governor's *officiales* (two *beneficarii*), and *Legio XIII Gemina* was represented exclusively through ordinary soldiers (centurion, soldier). Veterans from some of the legions mentioned here settled in Dalmatia, which is explained by their service in the province, or they returned to their homeland after being discharged from the army. It could be said that in the military-administrative sense, Dalmatia was more closely connected with Lower and Upper Pannonia, which results from their geographical position.¹

Few inscriptions of legions whose permanent camps were in Lower and Upper Germania have also been found in Dalmatia. *Legio VIII Augusta* is recorded on several inscriptions of active soldiers and veterans dated between the second half of the 1st century and the end of the 3rd century, producing tegulae and carrying out construction work in the legionary camp of Burnum. *Legio XXII Primigenia* and *Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix* are confirmed by two veteran inscriptions from the late Principate, and *Legio I Minervia* by a votive inscription of a centurion who served as *praepositus* of *Cohors I Belgarum*. This paper will try to shed light on the particulars of the presence of these soldiers and veterans in Dalmatia, that is, the way in which the province was associated with the legions in the Rhine provinces.

Legionaries from the Limes in Upper Germania

Legio VIII Augusta

Legio VIII belonged to the army of the former Illyrian area after 14 AD, as is also shown by inscriptions of its active soldiers and veterans in Virunum, Emona, Celeia and Aquileia. It seems that in 45 AD it participated in the war against the Bosporean king Mithridates, after which it was most likely transferred to the legionary camp of Novae in Moesia Inferior. After Nero's death, it sided with Otho and with other units from Moesia headed for Italy in 69, then supported Vespasian in his defeat of Vitellius' forces at Cremona. In the early 70s, the legion built a camp in Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, probably to monitor the local population of the Lingones who had participated in the Batavian revolt. It was stationed there until the beginning of the war against the Chatti or, more likely, until the outbreak

¹ Matijević 2022: 172–178.

¹ Matijević 2022: 172–178.

je bila smještena do početka rata protiv Haćana ili, što se čini vjerojatnijim, do izbijanja Saturninove pobune 89. godine.² Logor u Argentoratu u Gornjoj Germaniji zauzela je početkom devedesetih godina 1. stoljeća i u njemu je ostala do vremena kasne antike. Oko 119. poslala je pojačanja u Britaniju što je činila i kasnije kada je sudjelovala u podizanju Hadrijanova i Antoninova zida. Od vremena Komodove vladavine sudjelovala je u nizu sukoba tijekom kojih joj je car dao počasni naslov *pia fidelis*, prvi put epigrafski potvrđen 186. godine.³ Zajedno s ostale tri legije iz Germanije sudjelovala je u drugoj kampanji Septimija Severa protiv Parta između 197. i 199. godine. Najvjerojatnije s tim operacijama treba povezati epigrafski potvrđenoga njezina vojnika u Seleukiji Pijeriji, u logističkom smislu izuzetno važnomu gradu, i još jednog vojnika iz grada Kirha čiji natpis može biti datiran u vrijeme prve polovine 3. stoljeća. Vojnici iz Osme legije zajedno s onima iz drugih legija u Germaniji tijekom severskoga doba poslani su u Lugdun da bi zamijenili tamošnju Trinaestu gradsku kohortu (*Cohors XIII Urbana*). Čini se da je legija kasnije bila odana caru Galijenu, kada su njezine veksilacije zajedno s onima iz ostalih legija iz Germanije i Britanije potvrđene u Sirmiju. Na Karauzijeve novcu spomenuta je zajedno s Dvadeset i drugom legijom.⁴

Osma je legija u Dalmaciji ostavila priličan broj natpisa aktivnih vojnika i veterana koji se okvirno mogu podijeliti na one koji pripadaju vremenu ranoga principata i one iz vremena kasnoga principata.⁵

of the revolt of Saturninus in 89 AD.² It occupied the camp at Argentoratum in Upper Germania from the early 90s AD and remained there until the time of Late Antiquity. Around 119, it sent reinforcements to Britain, which it also did later when it participated in the construction of Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. From the time of Commodus' reign, it took part in a series of conflicts during which the emperor gave it the honorary title *pia fidelis*, first attested in inscriptions in 186.³ Together with the other three legions from Germania, it took part in Septimius Severus' second campaign against the Parthians between 197 and 199. Most likely, these operations are epigraphically reflected in the inscription of a soldier in Seleucia Pieria, a logistically exceptionally important city, and of another soldier from the city of Cyrrhus whose inscription can be dated to the first half of the 3rd century. Soldiers from *Legio VIII*, together with those from other legions in Germania, were sent to Lugdunum during the Severan period to replace *Cohors XIII Urbana*. Later the legion seems to have been loyal to Emperor Gallienus, when its vexillations, along with those of other Germanic and British legions, were confirmed at Sirmium. It was mentioned together with *Legio XXII* on Carausius' coin.⁴

Legio VIII in Dalmatia left a considerable number of inscriptions of active soldiers and veterans, which can be roughly divided into those belonging to the early Principate and those from the late Principate.⁵ The

² Reddé 2000: 121–122.

³ Reddé 2000: 123–125.

⁴ Reddé 2000: 124–126. Veksilacija legija s rajnskoga limesa vjerojatno je imala jačinu jedne kohorte i bila pod zapovjedništvom tribuna i nekolicine legijskih centuriona, Reuter 2012: 17–27.

⁵ Iz rasprave sam isključio natpise za koje smatram da nemaju elemente zbog kojih bi mogli biti atribuirani vojnicima Osme legije iako se u većini literature tvrdi suprotno. Iz Nedina je ulomak teško oštećenoga nadgrobnoeg cipusa koji je Luciju Oktaviju Frontinu postavio njegov brat. Iako je oštećenje uništilo komemoratorovo ime, svi su autori suglasni da je služio u Osmoj legiji. Od mogućega imena legije sačuvan je samo njezin brojčani dio (*VIII*), prije kojega se uočavaju tragovi triju slova: prva dva donja traga mogla bi pripadati slovima *LE*, a trag trećega slova mogao bi biti gornji dio luka slova *G* što bi značilo da je ovdje bila uklesana kratica *LEG(ionis)*. U oštećenome dijelu retka dovoljno je mjesta za uklesivanje oznake vojničkoga statusa (npr. *miles*). Drugi razlog zbog kojega postoji sumnja da je ovdje spomenuta Osma legija jest nedostatak njezina imena (*Augusta*) koji nije uklesan na početku 3. retka. Ako se pretpostavi da je komemorator zaista služio u Osmoj legiji, sljedeći problem jest njegov status u ovoj postrojbici. U manjem dijelu literature pretpostavlja se da je bio veteran (*CIL* 3,

² Reddé 2000: 121–122.

³ Reddé 2000: 123–125.

⁴ Reddé 2000: 124–126. *Vexillatio* of the legions from the Rhine limes probably had the strength of a single cohort and was under the command of a tribune and a few legionary centurions, Reuter 2012: 17–27.

⁵ I have omitted the inscriptions that I believe do not contain elements that would allow their attribution to soldiers of *Legio VIII*, although most other authors claims the opposite. A fragment of a badly damaged funerary cippus erected by Lucius Octavius Frontinus' brother is from Nedinum. Although the name of the commemorator was destroyed, all authors agree that he served in *Legio VIII*. Of the possible name of the legion, only its numerical part (*VIII*) has been preserved, before which traces of three letters can be seen: the first two lower traces could belong to the letters *LE*, and the trace of the third letter could be the upper part of the arch of the letter *G*, which would mean that the abbreviation *LEG(ionis)* was engraved here. There is enough space in the damaged part of the line to engrave a military status designation (e.g. *miles*). Another reason for doubting that *Legio VIII* is mentioned here is the lack of its name (*Augusta*), which is not engraved at the beginning of the third line. If it is assumed that the commemorator did indeed serve in *Legio VIII*, the next problem is his status in this unit. There are

Legija je tijekom boravka u provinciji proizvodila i tegule.⁶ Iz Burnuma je nadgrobni natpis aktivnoga vojnika Seksta Valerija Lucina(?), rodnom iz Vijene u Narbonskoj Galiji. Umro je u dobi od 29 godina, kao pripadnik centurije Terencija Julijana, nakon što je u vojsci proveo najvjerojatnije devet godina.⁷ Tročlani imenski obrazac s filijacijom i oznakom glasačkoga okruga upućuje na dataciju u vrijeme ranoga principata, odnosno u vrijeme poslije vladavine cara Klaudija jer vojnik ima kognomen.⁸ Iako su lijevi, donji i gornji dio spomenika oštećeni, vidi se da u natpisnome polju te na profilaciji iznad natpisnoga polja nije uklesana posveta *D(is) M(anibus)*. Ona se na dalma-

legion also produced tegulae during its deployment in the province.⁶ A tombstone of the active soldier Sextus Valerius Lucinus(?), a native of Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis was found in Burnum. He died at the age of 29, as a member of the centuria of Terentius Julianus, after having spent most likely nine years in the army.⁷ The three-part name form with filiation and the voting tribe designation indicates dating to the early Principate, i.e. to the time after the reign of Emperor Claudius, because the soldier has a cognomen.⁸ Although the left, lower and upper parts of the monument are damaged, it is clear that the dedication *D(is) M(anibus)*

2865 = EDH HD051048), a ostali su autori u to sigurni te dodaju, s obzirom na to da je preminuli bio njegov brat, da su obojica imali isti gentilicij (*Octavius*) (EDCS-28400117; Betz 1938: 72, br. 231; Wilkes 1969: 312; Alföldy 1989: 202–203; Bojanovski 1990: 700. br. 6; Fadić 1990: 267, br. 33, Tab. 11. 1). Međutim, i ovakva je restitucija problematična jer je temeljena isključivo na dva slova (ER) na završetku 1. sačuvanoga retka i podrazumijeva da je nastavak te imenice (ANVS) uklesan bez skraćivanja u dijelu sljedećega retka koji je potpuno otučen ([*vet*]/[*er*]/[*anus*]), ali u kojemu za to ima mjesta. Primjerice, natpis veterana Osme legije iz Krka (CIL 3, 3127 = 10126) ima veteransku oznaku uklesanu bez skraćivanja, a tako je i s natpisima nekih drugih veterana u Dalmaciji (CIL 3, 1813; 1815; 2918). S druge strane, smije se pretpostaviti da slova ER pripadaju nekoj drugoj riječi, možda gentiliciju *Valerius* ili imenici *frater*. Od 75 poznatih liburnskih cipusa ni na jednome se ne spominje neki vojnik, a na samo se dva spominju karijere pojedinaca (Kurilić 2010: 142) što također ojačava pretpostavku da na ovome natpisu nije spomenut vojnik, što se ipak ne smije isključiti. Iz korpusa dalmatinskih natpisa Osme legije moraju se isključiti onaj iz Švrakina sela pored Sarajeva (Alföldy 1989: 204; Bojanovski 1990: 700–701, br. 99; CIL 3, 2776a=8374 = EDCS-28300093: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Tonitra/tori T(itus) Aur(elius) / Maximus / ve<t=I>(eranus?) Augg(ustorum)*) što ne može promijeniti ni drugačije čitanje posljednjega retka koje nudi EDH (HD051057: VI *I(dus) Augg(ustas)*). Drugi natpis (CIL 3, 13863 = EDH HD054639 = EDCS-31900238 = *Lupa 23771: D(is) M(anibus) // T(itus) Aur(elius) Saturninus / Aur(eliae) Amurcian(a)e / coniugi pientis/simae bene mere/nti et sibi vi/vus memori/am posuit q(uae) / vixit an(nos) XXVIII / m(enses) IIII*) iz okolice Sarajeva također ne pripada Osmoj legiji. Spomenik je epigrafski i morfološki sličan portretnoj steli veterana Osme legije iz Gradca pored Sarajeva (v. dalje u tekstu) zbog čega je Bojanovski (1990: 701), uzimajući u obzir provedenu epigrafsku analizu, pretpostavio da je i Aurelije Saturnin bio veteran.

⁶ Za starije prikaze povijesti Osme legije na prostoru provincije Dalmacije v. Patsch 1897: 338–340; Ritterling 1925: 1659; Betz 1938: 50–52.

⁷ *ILug 2818 = EDCS-10101843 = EDH HD035401: [S]ex(tus) Valeri/[u]s Sex(ti) filius / V<o>ltinia / [L]uci[n]us(?) / [V]i[a=e] nna miles / [I]eg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / [centuria] Terent(i) Iuliani vixit / an(n)is XXIX /¹⁰ miles an(n)is [V?]IIII [---]. Za fotografiju v. Lupa 22869.*

⁸ Alföldy 1969: 27–28.

some assumptions that he was a veteran (CIL 3, 2865 = EDH HD051048), and other authors are certain of this and add, given that the deceased was his brother, that both had the same gentilicium (*Octavius*) (EDCS-28400117; Betz 1938: 72, no. 231; Wilkes 1969: 312; Alföldy 1989: 202–203; Bojanovski 1990: 700. no. 6; Fadić 1990: 267, no. 33, Tab. 11. 1). However, even this reading is dubious because it is based solely on two letters (ER) at the end of the first preserved line and implies that the continuation of this noun (ANVS) was carved without shortening in the part of the next line that is completely lost ([*vet*]/[*er*]/[*anus*]), but in which there is room for it. For example, the inscription of a veteran of *Legio VIII* from Krk (CIL 3, 3127 = 10126) has the veteran's designation carved without shortening, and so is the case with the inscriptions of some other veterans in Dalmatia (CIL 3, 1813; 1815; 2918). On the other hand, it can be assumed that the letters ER belong to some other word, perhaps the gentilicium *Valerius* or the noun *frater*. Of the 75 known Liburnian cippi, none mentions a soldier, and only two mention the careers of individuals (Kurilić 2010: 142), which also supports the assumption that this inscription does not mention a soldier, which still cannot be ruled out. From the corpus of Dalmatian inscriptions of *Legio VIII*, we should leave out the one from Švrakino Selo near Sarajevo (Alföldy 1989: 204; Bojanovski 1990: 700–701, no. 99; CIL 3, 2776a=8374 = EDCS-28300093: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Tonitra/tori T(itus) Aur(elius) / Maximus / ve<t=I>(eranus?) Augg(ustorum)*), which cannot be changed even by a different reading of the last line offered by EDH (HD051057: VI *I(dus) Augg(ustas)*). The second inscription (CIL 3, 13863 = EDH HD054639 = EDCS-31900238 = *Lupa 23771: D(is) M(anibus) // T(itus) Aur(elius) Saturninus / Aur(eliae) Amurcian(a)e / coniugi pientis/simae bene mere/nti et sibi vi/vus memori/am posuit q(uae) / vixit an(nos) XXVIII / m(enses) IIII*) from the vicinity of Sarajevo also does not belong to *Legio VIII*. The monument is epigraphically and morphologically similar to the portrait stela of a veteran of *Legio VIII* from Gradac near Sarajevo (see below), which is why Bojanovski (1990: 701) assumed that Aurelius Saturninus was also a veteran, taking into account the epigraphic analysis conducted.

⁶ For older overviews of the history of *Legio VIII* in the province of Dalmatia see Patsch 1897: 338–340; Ritterling 1925: 1659; Betz 1938: 50–52.

⁷ *ILug 2818 = EDCS-10101843 = EDH HD035401: [S]ex(tus) Valeri/[u]s Sex(ti) filius / V<o>ltinia / [L]uci[n]us(?) / [V]i[a=e] nna miles / [I]eg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / [centuria] Terent(i) Iuliani vixit / an(n)is XXIX /¹⁰ miles an(n)is [V?]IIII [---]. For the photo see Lupa 22869.*

⁸ Alföldy 1969: 27–28.

tinskim nadgrobnim natpisima javlja tek poslije završetka 1. stoljeća,⁹ što znači da taj natpis nije mogao nastati mnogo vremena poslije početka 2. stoljeća.¹⁰ Taj vojnik u legiju nije bio primljen prije nego što je zauzela svoj logor u Galiji odnosno u Germaniji,¹¹ što znači da u Burnumu nije mogao biti pokopan prije 78. godine, a možda ni prije otprilike 86. jer je do tada u logoru bila Četvrta legija.¹² U Burnumu je pokopan još jedan vojnik Osme legije rodом iz Vijene,¹³ vjerojatno tijekom završetka 1. ili početka 2. stoljeća što je datacija učinjena prema novomu mišljenju o boravku legije u Dalmaciji.¹⁴ On je poput Lucina(?) u legiju bio primljen kada je boravila u Mirebeau ili u Argentoratu; u to vrijeme u legiji su služili i novaci iz Narbonske Galije.¹⁵ Iz Alvone je ulomak nadgrobnoga natpisa vojnika Maksima¹⁶ koji je prema starijoj pretpostavci o boravku legije u Dalmaciji datiran u posljednju trećinu 1. stoljeća.¹⁷ Međutim, čini se da bi natpis prema svojim karakteristikama mogao biti datiran u vrijeme kasnoga principata. Fragmentirani natpis iz Salone komemorirao je aktivnoga vojnika ili veterana.¹⁸ Sadrži oznaku domicila i završnu formulu *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(iussit)* što su odlike natpisa ranoga principata.¹⁹ Tijekom ranoga principata u Fulfinu na otoku Krku

is not carved in the inscription field nor on the molding above the inscription field. This dedication appears on Dalmatian tombstones only after the end of the 1st century,⁹ which means that this inscription could not have been created much later than the beginning of the 2nd century.¹⁰ This soldier was not recruited into the legion before it occupied its camp in Gaul, or Germania,¹¹ which means that he could not have been buried in Burnum before 78, and perhaps not before approximately 86, because *Legio IV* was in the camp by then.¹² Another soldier of *Legio VIII*, a native of Vienna,¹³ was buried in Burnum, probably during the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century, which is dating made according to the new opinion about the legion's deployment in Dalmatia.¹⁴ He, like Lucinus(?), was admitted to the legion when it stayed at Mirebeau or Argentoratum. At that time recruits from Gallia Narbonensis also served in the legion.¹⁵ Alvona yielded a fragment of the tombstone of the soldier Maximus,¹⁶ which, according to the older assumption about the stay of the legion in Dalmatia, is dated to the last third of the 1st century.¹⁷ However, it seems that the inscription could be dated to the late Principate judging from its characteristics. A fragmentary inscription from Salona commemorated an active soldier or veteran.¹⁸ It contains the designation of the domicile and the final

⁹ Alföldy 1969: 28.

¹⁰ Za takvu dataciju v. Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 401; Alföldy 1989: 202.

¹¹ Reddé 2000: 124.

¹² Wilkes 1969: 115–116.

¹³ Taj je natpis (*CIL* 3, 14992) prvotno atribuiran Sedmoj legiji (Tončinić 2011: 55, kat. br. 79; *EDH* HD061333), ali se čini da je ipak riječ o Osmoj legiji. Detaljnije o razlozima takve atribucije, Cesarik (2016), što je prihvaćeno i u *EDCS*-32700567: [*Ant*]onius / [---] Vienn[a ---] / [---] l[eg](ionis) VII[I Aug(ustae)] / [---] sti[p(endiorum) ---]. Jedina razlika u čitanju koje daje *EDCS* u odnosu na Cesarikovo jest restitucija imena u 1. retku.

¹⁴ Cesarik 2016: 270. Za takvu dataciju boravka legije u Dalmaciji tijekom ranoga principata v. ispod bilj. 40–47.

¹⁵ Mann 1983: 105, 106. Tijekom kasnijih razdoblja legija je novačenje uglavnom provodila u pograničnim prostorima i susjednim provincijama.

¹⁶ *CIL* 3, 3051 = *EDH* HD060591 = *EDCS*-28400307: [---] / Maxi[mus] / miles le[g](ionis) / VIII Au[g(ustae)] / mil(itavit) a[nn(os)] / [---].

¹⁷ Bojanovski 1990: 700. Alföldy (1989: 202) datira ga u 1. stoljeće. Za pregled starijih mišljenja o kratkotrajnome boravku legije u Dalmaciji v. ispod bilj. 40–42.

¹⁸ *EDH* HD053958: [---] / [---] mil(es) vel vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / VIII A[u(gustae) ---] / domo [---] / t(estamento) f(ieri) [i(iussit) ---]; za objašnjenje ovakve atribucije, Kurilić 2006: 134, 140, br. 54; za fotografiju v. *Lupa* 24190.

¹⁹ Alföldy 1969: 28.

⁹ Alföldy 1969: 28.

¹⁰ For such dating see Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 401; Alföldy 1989: 202.

¹¹ Reddé 2000: 124.

¹² Wilkes 1969: 115–116.

¹³ This inscription (*CIL* 3, 14992) was originally attributed to *Legio VII* (Tončinić 2011: 55, cat. no. 79; *EDH* HD061333), but it seems it was *Legio VIII* after all. More extensively about the reasons of such attribution, Cesarik (2016), which was accepted in *EDCS*-32700567: [*Ant*]onius / [---] Vienn[a ---] / [---] l[eg](ionis) VII[I Aug(ustae)] / [---] sti[p(endiorum) ---]. The only difference in the reading given by *EDCS* compared to Cesarik's is the restoration of the name in the first line.

¹⁴ Cesarik 2016: 270. For such dating of the legion's stay in Dalmatia during the early Principate, see notes 40–47 below.

¹⁵ Mann 1983: 105, 106. During later periods, the legion mainly conducted recruitment in border areas and neighboring provinces.

¹⁶ *CIL* 3, 3051 = *EDH* HD060591 = *EDCS*-28400307: [---] / Maxi[mus] / miles le[g](ionis) / VIII Au[g(ustae)] / mil(itavit) a[nn(os)] / [---].

¹⁷ Bojanovski 1990: 700. Alföldy (1989: 202) dates it to the 1st century. For an overview of older opinions on the legion's short stay in Dalmatia, see notes 40–42 below.

¹⁸ *EDH* HD053958: [---] / [---] mil(es) vel vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / VIII A[u(gustae) ---] / domo [---] / t(estamento) f(ieri) [i(iussit) ---]; for an explanation of such attribution, Kurilić 2006: 134, 140, no. 54; for the photo see *Lupa* 24190.

pokopan je veteran Lucije Trebije Paulo.²⁰ Takva je datacija određena zbog upotrebe kratice *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*,²¹ iako nije isključena ni uža datacija u vrijeme 1. stoljeća jer natpisu nedostaje formula *D(is) M(anibus)*.²² Trebiji su jedna od vodećih familija u Liburniji,²³ u Dalmaciji epigrafski potvrđeni isključivo u vremenu ranoga principata, i to tri puta u Jaderu, po jedan put u Saloni i u Naroni.²⁴ Možda je taj veteran podrijetlom iz Fulfina u koji se vratio nakon službe u nekoj od provincija u kojoj je legija dugotrajnije boravila,²⁵ iako se čini mnogo vjerojatnijim da je u legiju primljen tijekom njezina boravka u Dalmaciji u doba kasnoga 1. ili ranoga 2. stoljeća i da se vratio u rodni kraj nakon završetka službe.

Druga skupina natpisa pripada vremenu kasnoga principata. Iz Salone potječe vrlo važan, ali oštećeni natpis duplikarija (*duplicarius*) Aurelija.²⁶ Prvi dio svoje karijere proveo je kao običan legionar poslije čega je napredovao na neke službe u platnome razredu seskviplikarija (*sesquiplicarius*). Njihovo obavljanje obično je trajalo najmanje šest godina poslije čega je mogao biti promoviran na neki od položaja (*optio*, *signifer*, *aquilifer*, najvjerojatnije *imaginifer*) u rangu duplikarija što je značilo primanje plaće dva puta veće od plaće običnoga legionara.²⁷ Legijino ime prati počasni naslov *pia fidelis* koji je dobila 185. godine,²⁸ tako da natpis nije mogao nastati prije te godine. Možda je Aurelije pripadao legijskoj veksilaciji tada

formula *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)* which are features of inscriptions of the early Principate.¹⁹ Veteran Lucius Trebius Paulus was buried in Fulfinum on the island of Krk during the early Principate.²⁰ This dating is determined by the use of the abbreviation *t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*,²¹ although a more precise dating to the 1st century is not excluded because the inscription lacks the formula *D(is) M(anibus)*.²² The Trebii were one of the leading families in Liburnia,²³ and in Dalmatia they are epigraphically confirmed only during the early Principate, three times in Iader, once in Salona and once in Naronia.²⁴ Perhaps this veteran was originally from Fulfinum, to which he returned after serving in one of the provinces where the legion had been stationed for a longer period,²⁵ although it seems much more likely that he was recruited into the legion during its stay in Dalmatia in the late 1st or early 2nd century and that he returned to his native land after completing his service.

The second group of inscriptions dates to the late Principate. A very important but damaged inscription of a *duplicarius* Aurelius comes from Salona.²⁶ He spent the first part of his career as an ordinary legionary, after which he was promoted to some positions in the pay grade of *sesquiplicarius*. Their performance usually lasted at least six years, after which he could be promoted to one of the positions (*optio*, *signifer*, *aquilifer*, most likely *imaginifer*) in the rank of *duplicarius*, which meant receiving a salary twice that of an ordinary legionary.²⁷

²⁰ CIL 3, 3127 = EDH HD051046 = EDCS 28400381: *L(ucius) Trebius Pau(lus) vetera(nus) leg(ionis) VIII / Aug(ustae) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*. Natpis je u vremenu od objave u CIL-u pretrpio oštećenje zbog čega je od njega danas ostala samo desna polovica, za fotografiju v. Čaušević-Bully & Valent 2015: 117, sl. 4.

²¹ Alföldy 1969: 28.

²² Alföldy (1989: 202) datira ga u 1. stoljeće.

²³ Wilkes 1969: 197–198.

²⁴ Alföldy 1969: 128.

²⁵ Alföldy 1989: 202. Čaušević-Bully & Valent (2015: 115–116) navode da je legija u Burnumu boravila 69. godine, ne uzimajući u obzir novu i mnogo izgledniju pretpostavku da taj boravak treba datirati u doba druge polovine 1. i ranoga 2. stoljeća. Mislim da nema elemenata prema kojima bi se ovoga veterana i boravak Osme legije u Burnumu povezivalo s izgradnjom Fulfina.

²⁶ CIL 3, 14692 = EDH HD051051 = EDCS-32700255: [---] / [---] Aureli[us ---] / [---]s duplic[arius] / [le]g(ionis) VIII p(iae) f(idelis) [---] / [---].

²⁷ Breeze 1971: 131–135; Breeze 1974: 245, 267–278. Godišnja plaća duplikarija u doba Septimija Severa (197.) iznosila je 4800 sestercija, što je Karakala (212.) povećao na 7200 sestercija, a Maksimin Tračanin (235.) udvostručio na 14400 sestercija, Speidel 1992: 101.

²⁸ Ritterling 1925: 1660; Betz 1938: 52; Reddé 2000: 124–125.

¹⁹ Alföldy 1969: 28.

²⁰ CIL 3, 3127 = EDH HD051046 = EDCS 28400381: *L(ucius) Trebius Pau(lus) vetera(nus) leg(ionis) VIII / Aug(ustae) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*. In the time since its publication in CIL, the inscription suffered damage, due to which only the right half remains today, for the photo see Čaušević-Bully & Valent 2015: 117, fig. 4.

²¹ Alföldy 1969: 28.

²² Alföldy (1989: 202) dates it to the 1st century.

²³ Wilkes 1969: 197–198.

²⁴ Alföldy 1969: 128.

²⁵ Alföldy 1989: 202. Čaušević-Bully & Valent (2015: 115–116) state that the legion stayed in Burnum in 69, without taking into account new and much more likely assumption that this stay should be dated to the second half of the 1st and early 2nd centuries. I think there are no elements according to which this veteran and the stay of *Legio VIII* in Burnum could be connected with the construction of Fulfinum.

²⁶ CIL 3, 14692 = EDH HD051051 = EDCS-32700255: [---] / [---] Aureli[us ---] / [---]s duplic[arius] / [le]g(ionis) VIII p(iae) f(idelis) [---] / [---].

²⁷ Breeze 1971: 131–135; Breeze 1974: 245, 267–278. The annual salary of a *duplicarius* in the time of Septimius Severus (197) was 4,800 sesterces, which Caracalla (212) increased to 7,200 sesterces, and Maximinus Thrax (235) doubled to 14,400 sesterces, Speidel 1992: 101.

smještenoj u Dalmaciji²⁹ ili je obavljao neki zadatak u okviru namjesnikove administracije u Saloni.³⁰ Ta se pretpostavka čini manje izglednom jer na ulomku nema sačuvane oznake neke službe iz razreda principala u namjesnikovu oficiju u kojemu su, kako to pokazuje više od sedamdeset natpisa legionara iz Dalmacije, služili isključivo pripadnici nekih legija smještenih na dunavskome limesu.³¹ Iako nema natpisa koji bi potvrdio da su dalmatinski namjesnici uzimali oficijale iz porajnskih legija, ne može se tvrditi da tako nisu postupali, ali sigurno je da se to ne može dokazati duplikarijevim natpisom. Iz Letke na Duvanjskome polju potječe žrtvenik koji je Marsu posvetio vojnik Tosije(?) Sura(?).³² Pretpostavljalo se da je nastao tijekom 1. stoljeća,³³ što je Alföldy otklonio i smjestio ga u doba 2. ili 3. stoljeća zahvaljujući njegovim paleografskim karakteristikama, odnosno sličnosti koju pokazuje u usporedbi sa spomenicima iz unutrašnjosti Dalmacije nastalima tijekom kasnijega razdoblja. Također, romanizacija i „epigrafska kultura“ doprli su u prostor sjeverno od Dinare tek tijekom 2. stoljeća što je drugi razlog zbog kojega dataciju treba smjestiti u kasnije vrijeme.³⁴ Taj žrtvenik dokazuje da je na Duvanjskome polju služio vojnik Osme legije koji bi se kronološki mogao povezati s duplikarijem iz Salone, odnosno s mogućim boravkom jedne legijine veksilacije u vremenu poslije 185. godine. Alföldy je pretpostavio da je tijekom 3. stoljeća jedna veksilacija Osme legije ojačala malu dalmatinsku vojnu posadu

The name of the legion is accompanied by the honorary title *pia fidelis*, which it received in 185,²⁸ so the inscription could not have been made before that year. Perhaps Aurelius belonged to the legionary vexillation stationed in Dalmatia²⁹ at the time or performed some task within the governor's administration in Salona.³⁰ This assumption seems less likely because the fragment does not contain any preserved sign of any post in the rank of *principalis* in the governor's *officium*, which was taken exclusively by members of some legions stationed on the Danube limes, as illustrated by more than seventy inscriptions of legionaries from Dalmatia.³¹ Although there is no inscription confirming that the Dalmatian governors took officials from the Rhine legions, it cannot be stated that they did not do so, but it is certain that this cannot be proven by the *duplicarius*' inscription. An altar dedicated to Mars by the soldier Tossius(?) Sura(?) comes from Letka in Duvanjsko polje.³² It was assumed that it was created during the 1st century,³³ which Alföldy rejected and placed it in the 2nd or 3rd century thanks to its paleographic characteristics, i.e. the similarity it shows in comparison with monuments from the interior of Dalmatia created during later period. Also, Romanization and "epigraphic culture" reached the area north of Dinara only during the 2nd century, which is another reason why the dating should be placed at a later time.³⁴ This altar proves that a soldier of *Legio VIII* served in Duvanjsko Polje, who could be chronologically connected

²⁹ Alföldy 1989: 203.

³⁰ Bojanovski 1990: 700, 706; Miletić 2011: 270–271; također Betz 1938: 52.

³¹ Matijević 2020a: 15–46.

³² *ILLug* 785 = *EDH* HD024771 = *EDCS*-10000797: *Marti* / [–] *Tos(sius)(?) Sur[a](?) / mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII A[ug(ustae)] / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*. Zbog teškog oštećenja natpisa krajnje je nepouzdana restitucija 2. retka u kojemu je dedikantovo ime, v. *Lupa* 30587. Možda bi na ispravnost Alföldyjeva prijedloga restitucije legionarova gentilicija (*Tossius*) mogla ukazivati njegova rasprostranjenost. Naime, osim na mnogobrojnim natpisima u Italiji, gentilicij je poznat još samo u južnoj Galiji i Saloni, Alföldy 1969: 128; *OPEL* 4, str. 127, *Tossius*. To bi moglo ukazivati na legionarovo podrijetlo iz Galije odakle je postrojba tijekom ranoga principata primala novake (Mann 1983: 105) ili na podrijetlo iz Salone odakle je veksilacija tijekom mogućega boravka u provinciji mogla novačiti vojnike. Detaljno o različitim mogućnostima čitanja prvih dvaju redaka natpisa, kao i o tome zašto treba odbaciti čitanje 1. retka ponuđeno u *ILLug* i *EDCS* prema kojemu je poslije imena boga Marsa stajala riječ *deus*, Alföldy 1989: 204.

³³ *ILLug* 785; Bojanovski 1990: 700, br. 4.

³⁴ Alföldy 1989: 205–206; također Wilkes 1969: 271–272; Reddé 2000: 125.

²⁸ Ritterling 1925: 1660; Betz 1938: 52; Reddé 2000: 124–125.

²⁹ Alföldy 1989: 203.

³⁰ Bojanovski 1990: 700, 706; Miletić 2011: 270–271; također Betz 1938: 52.

³¹ Matijević 2020a: 15–46.

³² *ILLug* 785 = *EDH* HD024771 = *EDCS*-10000797: *Marti* / [–] *Tos(sius)(?) Sur[a](?) / mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII A[ug(ustae)] / v(otum) l(ibens) p(osuit)*. Due to the severe damage to the inscription, the restoration of the second line, which contains the dedicator's name, is extremely unreliable, see *Lupa* 30587. Perhaps the correctness of Alföldy's suggestion of reading the legionary's gentilicium (*Tossius*) could be indicated by its widespread use. Namely, apart from numerous inscriptions in Italy, the gentilicium is known only in southern Gaul and Salona, Alföldy 1969: 128; *OPEL* 4, p. 127, *Tossius*. This could indicate the legionary's origin from Gaul, from where the unit received recruits during the early Principate (Mann 1983: 105), or his origin from Salona, from where the vexillation could have recruited soldiers during a possible stay in the province. For a detailed discussion of the different possible readings of the first two lines of the inscription, as well as why the reading of the first line offered in *ILLug* and *EDCS*, according to which the word *deus* appeared after the name of the god Mars, should be rejected, see Alföldy 1989: 204.

³³ *ILLug* 785; Bojanovski 1990: 700, no. 4.

³⁴ Alföldy 1989: 205–206; also Wilkes 1969: 271–272; Reddé 2000: 125.

sastavljenu od pet pomoćnih kohorti i da je pomagala u odbijanju opasnosti koja je prijetila sjeveroistočnomu dijelu provincije od barbara iz karpatskoga bazena.³⁵ Međutim, dalmatinska vojna posada tada je imala i veksilaciju Prve italske legije u Saloni i vojnike iz drugih podunavskih legija.³⁶ Veteran Aurelije Super postavio je tijekom života u Gradcu pored Sarajeva monumentalnu portretnu stelu sebi, supruzi, kćeri i sinu.³⁷ Spomenik bi zbog spominjanja gentilicija *Aurelius* i općega obrasca natpisa mogao biti datiran u vrijeme završetka 2. stoljeća ili u 3. stoljeće.³⁸ Najvjerojatnije se radi o veteranu koji se vratio u rodni kraj nakon otpusta iz službe koju je u cijelosti mogao izvršiti izvan Dalmacije. Alföldy pretpostavlja da je unovačen u vrijeme cara Karakale kada su germanske legije tijekom privremenoga boravka u Podunavlju 213. i 214. te prije careva pohoda na istok bile popunjavane novacima iz prostora „sjevernog Balkana“.³⁹

U znanstvenoj literaturi prevladala je pretpostavka o kratkotrajnome boravku Osme legije u Dalmaciji tijekom 69. godine kada je išla prema sjevernoj Italiji,⁴⁰ s čime se složio Wilkes dopuštajući i mogućnost prema kojoj je legija u provinciji mogla boraviti poslije 86., odnosno nakon što u njoj više nije bila smještena Četvrta legija.⁴¹ Legija je u Dalmaciji proizvodila tegule što pokazuju njihovi nalazi u Burnumu, Asseriji, Tiluriju i Humcu, a kojima nedostaje arheološki kontekst zbog čega ih se oduvijek datiralo prema spomenutim natpisima. Unatoč tome, Alföldy je primijetio da nije postojao veliki vremenski razmak između proizvodnje tegula koju su u Smrdeljima izvodile Četvrta i Osma legija.⁴² Legijin boravak u Burnumu početkom 1. stoljeća ne može se arheološki dokazati,

with the *duplicarius* from Salona, or with the possible stay of a legionary vexillation in the period after 185. Alföldy assumed that during the 3rd century, a vexillation of *Legio VIII* reinforced a small Dalmatian military garrison consisting of five auxiliary cohorts and that it helped repel the danger that threatened the northeastern part of the province from the barbarians from the Carpathian Basin.³⁵ However, the Dalmatian military garrison at that time also had the vexillation of *Legio I Italica* in Salona and soldiers from other Danubian legions.³⁶ During his life in Gradac near Sarajevo, the veteran Aurelius Super erected a monumental portrait stela to himself, his wife, daughter and son.³⁷ The monument could be dated to the end of the 2nd century or the 3rd century, due to the mention of the gentilicium Aurelius and the general pattern of the inscription.³⁸ Most likely, it is a veteran who returned to his homeland after being discharged from service, which he could have performed entirely outside Dalmatia. Alföldy assumes that he was recruited during the time of Emperor Caracalla, when the Germanic legions, during their temporary stay in the Danubian region in 213 and 214 and before the emperor's campaign to the East, were filled with recruits from the “northern Balkans”.³⁹

The prevailing assumption in the scholarly literature is that *Legio VIII* spent a short time in Dalmatia during 69 AD when it was heading towards northern Italy,⁴⁰ which Wilkes agreed with, allowing for the possibility that the legion could have stayed in the province after 86 AD, that is, after *Legio IV* was no longer stationed there.⁴¹ The legion produced tegulae in Dalmatia, as evidenced by their finds in Burnum, Asseria, Tilurium and Humac, which lack archaeological context and have therefore been dated according to the aforementioned inscriptions. Despite this, Alföldy noted that there was no great time gap between the production of tegulae

³⁵ Alföldy 1989: 206.

³⁶ Matijević 2022: 159–167.

³⁷ CIL 3, 8375 (12749) = EDH HD051053 = EDCS-31400640: *D(is) M(anibus) // Aurel(ius) Super vete//ranus ex leg(ione) VIII Aug(usta) / memoriam sibi / viv(u)s et Ver(a)e con/iugi Maximinae / et Victorino fili(i)s / nostris filiam / defunctam vi¹⁰xit annos XXVIII.*

³⁸ Za dataciju u vrijeme kraja 2. ili prve polovine 3. stoljeća, Bojanovski 1990: 700; za dataciju u 3. stoljeće, Lozić 2021: 164, kat. br. 140; za fotografiju v. Lupa 23384.

³⁹ Alföldy 1989: 203–204, također Alföldy 1987c: 368 i dalje.

⁴⁰ Smatralo se da su vojnici čiji su natpisi otkriveni u Burnumu i Alvoni preminuli tijekom ovoga legijina marša, Betz 1938: 50–52; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 401 i d.; Alföldy 1989: 201–202.

⁴¹ Wilkes 1969: 115 i dalje.

⁴² Alföldy 1987a: 319–320; također Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 402.

³⁵ Alföldy 1989: 206.

³⁶ Matijević 2022: 159–167.

³⁷ CIL 3, 8375 (12749) = EDH HD051053 = EDCS-31400640: *D(is) M(anibus) // Aurel(ius) Super vete//ranus ex leg(ione) VIII Aug(usta) / memoriam sibi / viv(u)s et Ver(a)e con/iugi Maximinae / et Victorino fili(i)s / nostris filiam / defunctam vi¹⁰xit annos XXVIII.*

³⁸ For dating to the end of the 2nd or first half of the 3rd century, see Bojanovski 1990: 700; for dating to the 3rd century, see Lozić 2021: 164, cat. no. 140; for the photo see Lupa 23384.

³⁹ Alföldy 1989: 203–204, also Alföldy 1987c: 368 ff.

⁴⁰ The soldiers whose inscriptions were discovered at Burnum and Alvona were thought to have died during this legion's march, Betz 1938: 50–52; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 401 ff.; Alföldy 1989: 201–202.

⁴¹ Wilkes 1969: 115 ff.

a nije vjerojatan ni njezin kratkotrajan boravak tijekom 69. godine. Teško je povjerovati da je legijin put iz Mezije u sjevernu Italiju vodio preko Dalmacije, odnosno Burnuma kada se mogao koristiti onaj kraći preko Siscije i Emone. Također je teško zamisliti da je legija tijekom građanskoga rata pokretala intenzivnu i zahtjevnju proizvodnju tegula čiji ciklus nije bio kraći od jedne ili dvije godine. Zbog toga Miletić opravdano pretpostavlja da je legija ili njezina veksilacija došla u logor Burnum nakon što ga je oko 86. godine napustila Četvrta legija što nije protivno karakteristikama nadgrobnoga natpisa njezina aktivnog vojnika Lucina(?) koji može biti datiran i u vrijeme početka 2. stoljeća. Proizvodnja tegula snažno sugerira da je veksilacija poslana u Dalmaciju zbog izvršenja nekih građevinskih zadataka, ponajprije u Burnumu u čijem je kampusu na tri mjesta otkriveno dvadesetak njezinih tegula. Pečati na njima istovjetni su pečatima na tegulama koje je legija proizvodila u Germaniji što bi moglo značiti da su kalupe donijeli iz Argentorata. Amfiteatar u logoru dovršen je 76. – 77. godine, a kampus je dovršen deset ili dvadeset godina poslije, odnosno tijekom građevinske faze koja se povezuje s tegulama Osme legije.⁴³ Raspored otkrivenih tegula jasno pokazuje da je legija u logoru izvodila značajne građevinske zahvate, osobito na prostoru kampusa, ali i amfiteatra. Ostali materijal otkriven u njihovu arheološkom kontekstu govori da pripadaju vremenu druge polovine 1. ili početka 2. stoljeća.⁴⁴ Možda bi trebalo dopustiti mogućnost po kojoj je veksilacija Osme legije u logor došla ranije, odnosno dok je u njemu boravila Četvrta legija što bi značilo da je ovdje došla iz svojega logora u Mirebeau. To nije nespojivo s podacima koje sadrži natpis njezina vojnika Lucina(?) koji je u legiju mogao biti primljen upravo tijekom prvih godina legijina boravka u Galiji i u Burnu preminuti najranije 79. godine. Legija je u Mirebeau i širem prostoru toga dijela Galije također bila izrazito građevinski aktivna.⁴⁵ Opravdano je upitati se zašto bi se tako činilo dok je u logoru boravila Četvrta legija koja je u njemu također bila građevinski aktivna što dokazuje njezina proizvodnja tegula i radovi na dovršenju amfiteatra. Jedan primjer djelovanja vojske u

carried out in Smrdelji by the Fourth and Eighth Legions.⁴² The legion's stay in Burnum at the beginning of the 1st century cannot be archaeologically proven, and its short deployment during 69 AD is also unlikely. It is hard to believe that the legion's route from Moesia to northern Italy led through Dalmatia, or Burnum, when the shorter route via Siscia and Emona could have been used. It is also hard to imagine that the legion during the civil war initiated an intensive and demanding production of tegulae, the cycle of which was not shorter than one or two years. For these reasons, Miletić rightfully assumes that the legion or its *vexillatio* came to the Burnum camp after *Legio IV* left it around 86, which is not contrary to the characteristics of the tombstone of its active soldier Lucinus(?), which can also be dated to the beginning of the 2nd century. The production of tegulae strongly suggests that the vexillation was sent to Dalmatia to carry out some construction tasks, primarily in Burnum, where about twenty of its tegulae were discovered in three places in the campus. The stamps on them are identical to those that the legion produced in Germania, which could mean that the molds were brought from Argentoratum. The amphitheater in the camp was completed in 76 – 77, and the campus was completed ten or twenty years later, or during the construction phase associated with the tegulae of *Legio VI-II*.⁴³ The arrangement of the recovered tegulae clearly shows that the legion carried out significant construction work in the camp, especially in the campus area, but also in the amphitheater. Other material found in the same archaeological context suggests that they date from the second half of the 1st or early 2nd century.⁴⁴ Perhaps we should consider the possibility that the vexillation of *Legio VIII* arrived at the camp earlier, that is, while *Legio IV* was there, which would mean that it came here from its camp at Mirebeau. This is not incompatible with the information contained in the inscription of its soldier Lucinus(?), who could have been admitted to the legion during the first years of the legion's stay in Gaul and died in Burnum no earlier than 79. The legion was also extremely active in construction at Mirebeau and the wider area of that part of Gaul.⁴⁵ It

⁴³ Miletić 2011: 270–272.

⁴⁴ Borzić 2020: 173–174.

⁴⁵ Neki od pečata na tegulama pronađenima u logoru Mirebeau pokazuju sličnost s onima iz Burnuma, Bérard, Le Bohec & Reddé 1995: 191–219.

⁴² Alföldy 1987a: 319–320; also Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 402.

⁴³ Miletić 2011: 270–272.

⁴⁴ Borzić 2020: 173–174.

⁴⁵ Some of the stamps on tegulae found at the Mirebeau camp show similarities to those from Burnum, Bérard, Le Bohec & Reddé 1995: 191–219.

Africi mogao bi poslužiti kao dobra analogija. Naime, Treća galska legija (*Legio III Gallica*) tijekom 2. stoljeća neprekidno je boravila u Siriji i na Bliskome istoku kada je jedna njezina veksilacija poslana u Afriku da bi zajedno s Trećom legijom (*Legio III Augusta*) sudjelovala u podizanju utvrde u Dimidiju.⁴⁶ Ako natpis iz Alvone potječe iz doba ranoga principata, onda bi mogla biti riječ o vojniku koji je preminuo tijekom premještanja legijine veksilacije iz matičnoga logora u Dalmaciju ili obrnuto u nekom trenutku druge polovine 1. ili početka 2. stoljeća. Neovisno o tome je li veksilacija Osme legije boravila u Dalmaciji istodobno s Četvrtom legijom ili poslije kada je Četvrta legija premještena u Gornju Meziju, znakovit je ulomak natpisa njezina pripadnika iz Salone koji pripada razdoblju ranoga principata. Ako je bio veteran, ne začuđuje što je nastavio svoj civilni život u provincijskoj metropoli jer su to prije njega učinili mnogi veterani Sedme, Jedanaeste legije te jedan iz Četvrte legije. Ako je bio aktivni vojnik, onda je najvjerojatnije služio u Saloni, poput vojnika iz spomenutih legija smještenih u Dalmaciji tijekom 1. stoljeća.⁴⁷

Iz vremena kasnoga principata druga je skupina legijinih dalmatinskih natpisa prema kojima je mnogo teže odrediti je li i kada je legija imala svoju veksilaciju u provinciji zbog čega su u literaturi postojala različita mišljenja. Smatralo se da je u doba vladavine Antonina Pija vodila borbe protiv ustanika u Dalmaciji,⁴⁸ da je jedna njezina veksilacija branila taj prostor tijekom rata protiv Kvada i Markomana,⁴⁹ odnosno tijekom 2. stoljeća,⁵⁰ te da je ovdje bila u nekom vremenu kasnoga principata.⁵¹ Duplikarijev nadgrobni natpis iz Salone datiran u vrijeme poslije 185. godine i posvetni natpis iz Letke drugoga aktivnog vojnika iz vremena 2. ili 3. stoljeća govore u prilog tome da je jedna veksilacija Osme legije prisutna u Dalmaciji tijekom kasnoga principata. Međutim, njihov boravak u Dalmaciji možda je povezan s djelovanjem legijske veksilacije u Donjoj Panoniji odnosno u Sirmiju tijekom

is justified to ask why this would have happened while *Legio IV* was in the camp, which was also active in construction, as evidenced by its production of tegulae and work on completing the amphitheater. An example of the army's activities in Africa could serve as a good analogy. Namely, *Legio III Gallica* was continuously stationed in Syria and the Middle East during the 2nd century when one of its vexillations was sent to Africa to participate in the construction of the fort at Dimmidi together with *Legio III Augusta*.⁴⁶ If the inscription from Alvona dates from the early Principate, then it could be a soldier who died during relocation of the legion's vexillation from its home camp to Dalmatia or vice versa at some point in the second half of the 1st or early 2nd century. Regardless of whether the vexillation of *Legio VIII* was in Dalmatia at the same time as *Legio IV* or after *Legio IV* was transferred to Moesia Superior, there is an interesting fragment of an inscription of its member from Salona, dating to the early Principate. If he was a veteran, it is not surprising that he continued his civilian life in the provincial metropolis, as many veterans of the Seventh, Eleventh, and one of the Fourth Legions had done before him. If he was an active soldier, then he most likely served in Salona, like the soldiers from the aforementioned legions stationed in Dalmatia during the 1st century.⁴⁷

The second group of legionary inscriptions from Dalmatia date to the time of the late Principate. On the basis of these inscriptions, it is much more difficult to determine whether and when the legion had its vexillation in the province, which is why there were different opinions in the literature. It was believed that during the reign of Antoninus Pius it led battles against the rebels in Dalmatia,⁴⁸ that one of its vexillations defended this area during the war against the Quadi and Marcomanni,⁴⁹ that is, during the 2nd century,⁵⁰ and that it was here at some time in the late Principate.⁵¹ The tombstone of *duplicarius* from Salona dated to after 185 and the votive inscription from Letka of another active soldier from the 2nd or 3rd century support the fact that one vexillation of *Legio VIII*

⁴⁶ Dabrowa 2000: 311.

⁴⁷ Matijević 2020b: 3–11, 18–20.

⁴⁸ Patsch 1897: 338.

⁴⁹ Ritterling 1925: 1659; Wilkes 1969: 115 i dalje.

⁵⁰ Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 401 i dalje. Detaljnije o prikazu starijih mišljenja Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 402–404; Alföldy 1989: 201–202.

⁵¹ Alföldy 1989: 201–202.

⁴⁶ Dabrowa 2000: 311.

⁴⁷ Matijević 2020b: 3–11, 18–20.

⁴⁸ Patsch 1897: 338.

⁴⁹ Ritterling 1925: 1659; Wilkes 1969: 115 ff.

⁵⁰ Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 401 ff. More extensively on the overview of earlier opinions Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984: 402–404; Alföldy 1989: 201–202.

⁵¹ Alföldy 1989: 201–202.

Galijenove vladavine. Bojanovski je najvjerojatnije u pravu kada kaže da su dvojica legionara poslana u Dalmaciju zbog obavljanja nekih službi u Saloni odnosno na prostoru Duvanjskoga polja.⁵² Reddé, međutim, iznosi drugačije mišljenje. On predlaže dataciju duplikarijeva natpisa u seversko doba i pretpostavlja njegovu povezanost sa sudjelovanjem legije u vojnim kampanjama na istoku gdje je mogla biti premještena koristeći se plovidbenim pravcem Salona – Korint – Seleukija u Pijeriji.⁵³

Legio XXII Primigenia

Legiju je osnovao Kaligula zajedno s Petnaestom Primigenijom (*Legio XV Primigenia*) uoči vojne operacije koju je planirao protiv Hačana 39. godine. Vjerojatno je već 40. ili 41. došla u logor u Mogontijaku u čijoj je polovici tada smještena *Legio IIII Macedonica* s kojom se 69. pobunila protiv Galbe i dala potporu Viteliju. Poslije poraza od Vespazijanovih postrojbi u bitci kod Kremone, ostatci Dvadeset i druge legije zajedno s dijelovima ostalih poraženih postrojbi poslani su na nekadašnji ilirički prostor, Panoniju i Meziju, ne bi li ih se onemogućilo da sudjeluju u nastavku građanskoga rata. Vjerojatno je tada bila smještena negdje na dunavskoj granici i bila usmjerena protiv vanjskih prijetnji. Najkasnije 71. godine ponovno je vraćena na Rajnu gdje je u Veteri izgradila novi logor, napustila ga najvjerojatnije 97. kada je ponovno dovedena u logor u Mogontijaku u Gornjoj Germaniji u kojemu je boravila do 4. stoljeća. Njezina je veksilacija između 101. i 107. štitila legijski logor u Boni dok je iz njega izbivala *Legio I Minervia* zbog sudjelovanja u Trajanovu ratu protiv Dačana. Oko 130. godine njezine su veksilacije zajedno s veksilacijama Sedme dvojne legije (*Legio VII Gemina*) i Osme legije, svaka

was present in Dalmatia during the late Principate. However, their stay here may have been connected with the activities of the legionary vexillation in Lower Pannonia, or rather in Sirmium, during the reign of Gallienus. Bojanovski is most likely right when he claims that the two legionaries were sent to Dalmatia to perform some duties in Salona, or rather in the area of Duvanjsko polje.⁵² Reddé, however, expresses a different opinion. He suggests dating the *duplicarius*' inscription to the Severan period and assumes its connection with the legion's participation in military campaigns in the east, where it could have been relocated using the Salona – Corinth – Seleucia navigation route in Pieria.⁵³

Legio XXII Primigenia

The legion was founded by Caligula together with *Legio XV Primigenia* on the eve of a military operation he planned against the Hattians in 39. In 40 or 41 it probably arrived in the camp at Mogontiacum, in half of which *Legio IIII Macedonica* was then stationed, with which it rebelled against Galba in 69 and supported Vitellius. After the defeat by Vespasian's troops at the Battle of Cremona, the remnants of *Legio XXII* were sent, together with parts of other defeated troops, to the former Illyrican territory, Pannonia and Moesia, in order to prevent them from participating in the continuation of the civil war. It was probably then located somewhere on the Danube border and was directed against external threats. In 71 AD at the latest, it returned to the Rhine where it built a new camp at Vetera, leaving it most likely in 97 AD when it was brought back to the camp at Mogontiacum in Upper Germania, where it remained until the 4th century. Its vexillation protected the legionary camp at Bonna between 101 and 107 while *Legio I Minervia* was absent from it due to its participation in Trajan's war against the Dacians. Around 130, its vexillations, together with those of *Legio VII Gemina*

⁵² Bojanovski 1990: 705–706. O njezinu boravku u tome dijelu Carstva svjedoči nadgrobni natpis iz Sirmija (*ILJug* 272 = *EDH* HD009820) s imenima dvojice njezinih centuriona poginulih u ratu koji je nazvan *Bellum Serdicense*, te još jedan natpis (*ILJug* 274 = *EDH* HD033672) koji najvjerojatnije pripada razdoblju sredine 3. stoljeća. Možda je *bellum Serdicense* rat koji se u Galijenovo vrijeme vodio protiv uzurpatora Makrina i Kvijeta, Mirković 2017: 67. Tijekom Galijenove vladavine u Sirmiju su boravile veksilacije legija iz Britanije i Germanije (*CIL* 3, 3228) što podrazumijeva i prisutnost pripadnika Osme legije, Saxer 1967: 55, br. 101.

⁵³ Reddé 2000: 124–125; Reddé 2001: 43–52. Prisutnost vojnih plovila ravenatske i mizenatske carske ratne mornarice u Saloni tijekom kasnoga principata potvrđuje tadašnju važnost njezine luke, Matijević 2019.

⁵² Bojanovski 1990: 705–706. Its stay in that part of the Empire is attested by a tombstone from Sirmium (*ILJug* 272 = *EDH* HD009820) with the names of two of its centurions who died in the war called *Bellum Serdicense*, and another inscription (*ILJug* 274 = *EDH* HD033672) which most likely dates to the mid-3rd century. Perhaps *Bellum Serdicense* is the war that was waged during Gallienus' time against the usurpers Macrianus and Quietus, Mirković 2017: 67. During Gallienus' reign, vexillations of legions from Britain and Germania were stationed in Sirmium (*CIL* 3, 3228), which implies the presence of members of *Legio VIII*, Saxer 1967: 55, no. 101.

⁵³ Reddé 2000: 124–125; Reddé 2001: 43–52. The presence of warships of the Ravenna and Misenum imperial navy in Salona during the late Principate confirms the importance of its harbor at that time, Matijević 2019.

jačine tisuću vojnika, sudjelovale u operacijama u Britaniji i pomagale u podizanju Hadrijanova zida i kasnije u gradnji Antoninova zida. Natpisi iz sjeverne Afrike iz vremena kasnoga 2. i početka 3. stoljeća svjedoče da je jedna veksilacija i tamo boravila, ali nije jasno zbog čega. Njezin je legat zapovijedao veksilacijom četiriju rajnskih legija u Drugome partskom ratu Septimija Severa. Ubrzo potom car je raspustio gradsku kohortu u Lugdunu i zamijenio je veksilacijom sastavljenom od pripadnika četiriju rajnskih legija kojoj je vjerojatno pripadao tamo pokopani veteran. Između 206. i 208. legijska je veksilacija pod zapovjedništvom Julija Septimija Kastina djelovala u Panoniji *adversus defectores et rebelles*. Legija je bila aktivna u borbama protiv germanskih plemena 213., a vjerojatno i u ratovima protiv Parta 214. – 218./219. Njezini legionari potvrđeni u Britaniji tijekom vladavine cara Karakale vjerojatno su dovedeni za potrebe vojne kampanje Septimija Severa. Nakon što je Filip Arapin odbio napade Karpa na Dakiju, 246.-247. obnovljen je *Limes Alutanus*. U tom su pothvatu mezijske i dačke legije (*VII Claudia*, *XI Claudia*, *V Macedonica*) dobile pomoć od Dvadeset i druge legije ili jedne njezine veksilacije. Godinu dana poslije sve su te postrojbe sudjelovale u obnovi gradskih zidina provincijske metropole Romule. Legija je poduprla cara Galijena koji je njoj u čast kovao seriju novca. Ne može se utvrditi je li pripadala vojsci koju je postavio u Sirmiju oko 260. godine da bi je upotrijebio protiv uzurpatora Ingenua i Regalijana.⁵⁴

Između Kostanja i Zadvarja, u neposrednoj blizini rijeke Cetine koja je tu danas svladana Pavića mostom, nalazi se Podgrađe. U njemu su pronađeni ulomci dvaju natpisa za koje se u literaturi navodi da sadrže ime Dvadeset i druge legije. Prvi potječe s lokaliteta Solioce, vjerojatno je nadgrobnoga karaktera i pripadao je veteranu te legije.⁵⁵ Drugi

and *Legio VIII*, each a thousand soldiers strong, took part in operations in Britain and assisted in the construction of Hadrian's Wall and later the Antonine Wall. Inscriptions from North Africa from the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries attest to a vexillation also being stationed there, but it is not clear why. Its legate commanded the vexillation of four Rhine legions in the Second Parthian War of Septimius Severus. Shortly afterwards, the emperor disbanded the city cohort at Lugdunum and replaced it with a vexillation composed of members of the four Rhine legions, to which the veteran buried there probably belonged. Between 206 and 208, a legionary vexillation under the command of Julius Septimius Castinus operated in Pannonia *adversus defectores et rebelles*. The legion was active in the battles against the Germanic tribes in 213, and probably also in the wars against the Parthians from 214 to 218/219. Its legionaries confirmed in Britain during the reign of Emperor Caracalla were probably brought for the military campaigns of Septimius Severus. After Philip the Arab repelled the attacks of the Carpi on Dacia, the *Limes Alutanus* was rebuilt in 246 – 247. In this undertaking, the Moesian and Dacian legions (*VII Claudia*, *XI Claudia*, *V Macedonica*) were assisted by *Legio XXII* or one of its vexillations. A year later, all these units participated in the rebuilding of the city walls of the provincial metropolis of Romula. The legion supported Emperor Gallienus, who minted a series of coins in its honor. It cannot be determined whether it belonged to the army he stationed at Sirmium around 260 to use against the usurpers Ingenuus and Regalianus.⁵⁴

Fragments of two inscriptions, which are stated in the literature to contain the name of *Legio XXII*, were found in Podgrađe (located between Kostanje and Zadvarje, in the immediate vicinity of the Cetina River, which is now spanned by the Pavić Bridge). The first comes from the site of Solioce, is probably a tombstone and belonged to a veteran of this legion.⁵⁵ The second is

⁵⁴ Franke 2000: 95–104.

⁵⁵ Bulić 1915: 33. Bulić nije donio crtež ni restituciju natpisa raspoređenoga po retcima, nego njegov opis koji glasi: „Čini se da se u prvom redu vidi, nakon otučenog mjesta, tragove VR, u drugom retku čita se *VETER* u kojem je *TE* u ligaturi. U trećem: *XXII*, čemu slijedi jedno *P*. U četvrtom retku su tri nesigurna slova, ali trebalo bi biti *RIM*. Prema tome, u 4. i 5. retku *PRIM*, tj. *primigeniae*, naslov *XII* legije.“ Prema ovome se može pretpostaviti da je natpis odlomljen sa svih strana i da je imao tekst sačuvan u najmanje pet redaka. U tekstu je Bulić učinio slovčanu pogrešku jer je napisao da se radi o *XII*, a ne o *XXII* legiji. *EDH* HD034313 i *EDCS*-10100919 sadržaj donose u jednome retku.

⁵⁴ Franke 2000: 95–104.

⁵⁵ Bulić 1915: 33. Bulić did not bring a drawing or reading of the inscription arranged by lines, but its description which reads: “It seems that in the first line, after the chipped-off place, traces of *VR* can be seen, in the second line one reads *VETER* in which *TE* is in ligature. In the third: *XXII*, followed by one *P*. In the fourth line there are three uncertain letters, but it should be *RIM*. Therefore, in the 4th and 5th lines *PRIM*, i.e. *primigeniae*, the title of the *XII* legion.” According to this, it can be assumed that the inscription was broken from all sides and that it had a text preserved in at least five lines. In the text, Bulić made a spelling mistake because he wrote that it was the *XII*, not the *XXII* legion. *EDH* HD034313 and *EDCS*-10100919 bring the content in one line.

je mnogo slabije očuvan, ali očigledno navodi ime iste legije.⁵⁶ Nema sumnje da ti natpisi ne mogu biti prihvaćeni kao dokaz o prisutnosti tih legionara u Dalmaciji.⁵⁷ Kako onda objasniti njihov pronalazak u tome dijelu zaleđa dalmatinske obale?

Podgrađe je oduvijek bilo vrlo povoljno mjesto za život što dokazuju nalazi *impresso* keramike i ostataka nastambe na Soliocu iz vremena starijega neolitika (6000. – 5500. prije Krista).⁵⁸ Tijekom kasnijih razdoblja imalo je prometnu vrijednost jer je pored njegova istočnoga ruba prolazila prirodna komunikacija kojom se iz unutrašnjosti preko Ciste Provo, Zadvarja i Dupca pristupalo Makarskomu primorju, a najvjerojatnije je još jedna komunikacija povezivala prostor Zadvarja s Gatima na zapadu.⁵⁹ Upravo zbog blizine Cetine i dobre povezanosti prapovijesnim komunikacijama, tu je najvjerojatnije postojalo naselje tijekom rimskoga carskog doba te sigurno u vremenu 6. i 7. stoljeća.⁶⁰ To potvrđuju ulomak Jupiterova žrtvenika⁶¹ i starokršćanski natpis koji je tijekom druge polovine 5. ili tijekom 6. stoljeća stajao u samostanskoj blagovaonici.⁶² Arheološka istraživanja provedena nekoliko metara sjeverno od župne crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije otkrila su ostatke starokršćanskoga crkvenog objekta datiranoga u vrijeme 5. i 6. stoljeća. Longitudinalna bazilika razvijala se tijekom najmanje dviju graditeljskih faza, imala je krstionicu s piscinom u obliku križa i okolni cimetrij. Ta je crkva, zajedno s bazilikom u Gatima, jedini kasnoantički kompleks s baptisterijem na prostoru između rijeka Žrnovnice i Cetine.⁶³ Gotovo je sigurno da je toj kasnoantičkoj aglomeraciji prethodilo naselje iz razdoblja principata o kojemu nemamo saznanja, ali smijemo pretpostaviti da je bilo razmjerno skromno i da su u njemu živjeli rimski građani od kojih su neki bili unovačeni u

less well preserved, but apparently mentions the name of the same legion.⁵⁶ There is no doubt that these inscriptions cannot be accepted as evidence of the presence of these legionaries in Dalmatia.⁵⁷ How then to explain their discovery in this part of the hinterland of the Dalmatian coast?

Podgrađe has always been a very favorable place to live, as evidenced by the finds of *Impresso* pottery and the remains of a dwelling structure in Solioce from the Early Neolithic period (6000 – 5500 BC).⁵⁸ During later periods, it was important in terms of transport because a natural communication ran along its eastern edge, which allowed access to the Makarska Riviera from the interior via Cista Provo, Zadvarje and Dubci, and most likely another communication connected the Zadvarje area with Gata in the west.⁵⁹ Precisely because of the proximity of the Cetina River and good connections to prehistoric communication routes, a settlement most likely existed here during the Roman imperial period, and certainly during the 6th and 7th centuries.⁶⁰ This is confirmed by a fragment of an altar to Jupiter⁶¹ and an early Christian inscription that stood in the monastery refectory during the second half of the 5th or during the 6th century.⁶² Archaeological research conducted a few meters north of the parish church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary unearthed the remains of an early Christian church building dated to the 5th and 6th centuries. The longitudinal basilica developed during at least two construction phases, had a baptistery with a cross-shaped pool and a surrounding cemetery. This church, together with the basilica in Gata, is the only late antique complex with a baptistery in the area between the Žrnovnica and Cetina rivers.⁶³ It is almost certain that this late antique complex was preceded by a settlement from the Principate period about which we have no information, but we can assume that it was

⁵⁶ Bulić 1915: 34 = EDH HD034314 = EDCS-10100920. U *ILIug* 1980b,c stoji da su oba natpisa nadgrobna karaktera. Betz (1938: 58) smatra da je prvi vjerojatno nadgrobna karaktera i da je o drugome teško govoriti zbog loše očuvanosti.

⁵⁷ Betz 1938: 58.

⁵⁸ Delonga 2009: 608–609.

⁵⁹ Bojanovski 1977: 131–132.

⁶⁰ Bulić 1915: 32–33.

⁶¹ *ILIug* 1980a = EDH HD034312.

⁶² *Salona* 4, 47 = EDH HD021252.

⁶³ Delonga 2005: 378–380; Delonga 2008: 571–574; Delonga 2009: 606–609.

⁵⁶ Bulić 1915: 34 = EDH HD034314 = EDCS-10100920. In *ILIug* 1980b,c it is stated that both inscriptions are of a funerary character. Betz (1938: 58) believes that the first is probably of a funerary character and that it is difficult to speak about the second due to its poor preservation.

⁵⁷ Betz 1938: 58.

⁵⁸ Delonga 2009: 608–609.

⁵⁹ Bojanovski 1977: 131–132.

⁶⁰ Bulić 1915: 32–33.

⁶¹ *ILIug* 1980a = EDH HD034312.

⁶² *Salona* 4, 47 = EDH HD021252.

⁶³ Delonga 2005: 378–380; Delonga 2008: 571–574; Delonga 2009: 606–609.

legije. Jedan od njih vjerojatno je bio taj veteran koji se poslije otpusta iz službe vratio u rodni kraj. U kojim je okolnostima i kada mogao biti unovačen u Dvadeset i drugu legiju? Nakon što je Karakala pobijedio Alamane 213., veksilacije rajnskih legija sudjelovale su u njegovim vojnim operacijama u Panoniji, Dakiji i Donjoj Meziji, zatim su krenule u Siriju te su se na istoku zadržale do prvih mjeseci 219. godine. U tome razdoblju u njih je primljen veći broj novaka iz tračkih i iliričkih prostora,⁶⁴ pa je tako u veksilaciju Dvadeset i druge legije mogao biti unovačen i taj veteran. Nije isključeno ni da se to moglo dogoditi ranije kada je legijina veksilacija vjerojatno sudjelovala u borbama protiv Kvada i Markomana o čemu bi mogao svjedočiti natpis dvojice njezinih vojnika iz Akvinka (*CIL* 3, 14375).⁶⁵

Legionari s Limesa u Donjoj Germaniji

Legio I Minervia

Legija je osnovana u vrijeme cara Domicijana i smještena u Boni u Donjoj Germaniji. Poslije slamanja Saturninova ustanka 88. godine dobila je počasni naslov *pia fidelis Domitiana*. Mnogi nadgrobni natpisi potvrđuju obične i višerangirane vojnike na različitim službama diljem matične provincije uključujući i one u namjesnikovu oficiju. Legija je sudjelovala u Trajanovim ratovima protiv Dačana; njezina je veksilacija najvjerojatnije pratila Šestu legiju (*Legio VI Victrix*) kada je 118. – 119. premještena u Britaniju, a jedna je veksilacija u doba Antonina Pija sudjelovala u gušenju ustanka Maura o čemu svjedoče nadgrobni natpisi njezinih aktivnih vojnika u Mauretaniji. Pod svojim zapovjednikom Klaudijem Frontonom bila je u ratu protiv Parta 161. – 162., nakon što se vratila u Germaniju sudjelovala je u odbijanju pljačkaških pohoda Hauka i gotovo sigurno u vojnim operacijama tijekom rata protiv Kvada i Markomana. Pridružila se Septimiju Severu kada se 193. proglasio carem, nije jasno je li tijekom građanskoga rata u nadolazećim godinama imala udio u operacijama u Italiji i na istoku, ali je zato sudjelovala u poražavanju Klodija Albina kod Lugduna. Poslije bitke car je u tome gradu postavio jednu legijinu

relatively modest and that it was inhabited by Roman citizens, some of whom were recruited into the legions. One of them was probably this veteran who returned to his native land after being discharged from service. Under what circumstances and when could he have been recruited into *Legio XXII*? After Caracalla defeated the Alamanni in 213, the vexillations of the Rhine legions participated in his military operations in Pannonia, Dacia and Moesia Inferior, then they set off for Syria and remained in the east until the first months of 219. During this period, a larger number of recruits from Thracian and Illyrican areas were admitted to them,⁶⁴ so this veteran could also have been recruited into the vexillation of *Legio XXII*. It is possible that this could have happened earlier when the legion's vexillation probably participated in the battles against the Quadi and Marcomanni, as evidenced by the inscription of two of its soldiers from Aquincum (*CIL* 3, 14375).⁶⁵

Legionaries from the Limes in Upper Germania

Legio I Minervia

The legion was founded during the reign of Emperor Domitian and stationed at Bonna in Germania Inferior. After the suppression of the revolt of Saturninus in 88, it was given the honorary title *pia fidelis Domitiana*. Many funerary inscriptions confirm ordinary and higher-ranking soldiers in various posts throughout its home province, including those in the *officium* of the governor. The legion participated in Trajan's wars against the Dacians, its vexillation most likely accompanied *Legio VI Victrix* when it was transferred to Britain in 118 – 119, and one vexillation during the reign of Antoninus Pius participated in the suppression of the Moorish uprising, as evidenced by inscriptions of its active soldiers in Mauretania. Under its commander Claudius Fronto, it was in the war against the Parthians in 161 – 162, after returning to Germania it participated in repelling the raids of the Chauci and almost certainly in military operations during the war against the Quadi and Marcomanni. It joined Septimius Severus when he proclaimed himself emperor in 193. It is not clear whether it took part in the operations in Italy and the east during the civil war in the coming years, but it

⁶⁴ Alföldy 1987c: 372–374.

⁶⁵ Betz 1938: 58.

⁶⁴ Alföldy 1987c: 372–374.

⁶⁵ Betz 1938: 58.

veksilaciju, dobro potvrđenu natpisima trojice centuriona, legatova beneficijarija, imaginifera, vojnika i veterana. Jedna je veksilacija 208. godine djelovala vjerojatno negdje na zapadu, kada je bila aktivna i u osvajanjima u Britaniji. Tijekom severske dinastije nosila je počasni naslov *Antoniniana*, *Severiana*, *Alexandriana*, a u doba vojničkih careva *Gordiana* i *Philippiana*.⁶⁶

Iz Dalmacije je poznata jedna epigrafska potvrda njezina pripadnika.⁶⁷ Riječ je o Sulpiciju Kalvionu koji je na prostoru današnjega Vrgorca posvetio žrtvenik Jupiteru. Bio je centurion i prepozit (*praepositus*) Prve kohorte Belgâ.⁶⁸ Kohorta je u Dalmaciji boravila u 2. i 3. stoljeću. Glavnina postrojbe bila je u Gračinama kod Humca u dolini Trebižata, a manji dio u logoru u Tiluriju.⁶⁹ *Praepositus* podrazumijeva višerangiranoga vojnika s posebnim ovlastima, odnosno onoga koji je „postavljen na čelo“ neke postrojbe.⁷⁰ Najmanje trideset epigrafskih izvora potvrđuje legijske centurione kao zapovjednike pomoćnih postrojbi od kojih su neki bili *praepositi*, a neki *curam agentes*.⁷¹ Njihovo je zapovjedništvo vjerojatno bilo privremenoga karaktera i trajalo u vremenu između odlaska staroga i dolaska novoga

participated in defeating Clodius Albinus near Lugdunum. After the battle, the emperor stationed a legion's vexillation in that city, which is well attested by the inscriptions of three centurions, legate's *beneficiarius*, *imaginifer*, soldiers and veterans. One vexillation probably operated somewhere in the west in 208, when it was also active in conquests in Britain. During the Severan dynasty, it bore the honorary title of *Antoniniana*, *Severiana*, *Alexandriana*, and in the period of barracks emperors *Gordiana* and *Philippiana*.⁶⁶

There is one epigraphic confirmation of its member from Dalmatia.⁶⁷ It is Sulpicius Calvio who dedicated an altar to Jupiter in the area of today's Vrgorac. He was a centurion and *praepositus* of *Cohors I Belgarum*.⁶⁸ The cohort was in Dalmatia during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. The majority of the unit was in Gračine near Humac in the Trebižat valley, and a smaller part in the camp at Tilurium.⁶⁹ *Praepositus* implies a higher-ranking soldier with special authorities, or someone who was “placed at the head” of a unit.⁷⁰ At least thirty epigraphic sources confirm legionary centurions as commanders of auxiliary units, some of which were *praepositi* and some *curam agentes*.⁷¹ Their command was probably temporary and lasted between the departure of the old tribune and the

⁶⁶ Novi nalazi nisu ozbiljno promijenili povijest legije koju je napisao Ritterling (1919: 1420–1434); za dopune njegova teksta Eck 2000; Le Bohec 2000; Ezov 2007: 68.

⁶⁷ Natpis *CIL* 3, 10036a (13272 = *EDH* HD056469) iz Brekovice pored Bihaća nije pripadao ovoj legiji, nego najvjerojatnije Prvoj italjskoj legiji, detaljnije Matijević 2024, 57–58.

⁶⁸ *CIL* 3, 1918 = *EDH* HD053697 = *EDCS*-27500013 = Sinobad 2010: 181, br. 12: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Sulpicius Cal/vio c(enturio) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) pr/aeopositus c(o)h(ortis) I Belg(arum) hoc in / loco maiesta/te et Numin(e) / eius servat/us*. Ezov (2007: 71) natpis datira u vrijeme poslije 173. godine.

⁶⁹ Alföldy 1987a: 249; Wilkes 1969: 141; za njezine spomenike iz Salone odnosno područja Ljubuškoga, Matijević 2011; Marić 2016: 105–116.

⁷⁰ *Praepositus* se kao pojam počeo razvijati tijekom 2. stoljeća, Smith 1979: 273.

⁷¹ U provincijama bez vlastitih legija prepoziti kohorti mogli su biti konjanički dekurioni, Birley 1983: 79–83. Takvih je primjera samo nekoliko, a vjerujem da im treba dodati i jedan iz Dalmacije. To je poznati nadgrobni natpis (*CIL* 3, 8739) za koji se pogrešno ranije vjerovalo da je iz Salone, ali se pokazalo da je iz Narone. Pripadao je dekurionu Treće alpske kohorte. Poslije oznake dekurionata slijedi slovo *P* i veliko oštećenje te naziv postrojbe. Možda je riječ o njegovoj prefekturi (*EDH* HD062533), odnosno zapovjedništvu nad postrojbom, ali s obzirom na raspoloživi prostor nema razloga ne dopustiti drugačije tumačenje po kojemu je komemorirani bio prepozit, Alföldy 1987a: 281, br. 10; *EDCS*-28700953.

⁶⁶ The new findings have not seriously changed the history of the legion written by Ritterling (1919: 1420–1434); for additions to his text Eck 2000; Le Bohec 2000; Ezov 2007: 68.

⁶⁷ The inscription *CIL* 3, 10036a (13272 = *EDH* HD056469) from Brekovica near Bihać did not belong to this legion but most likely to *Legio I Italica*, more comprehensively Matijević 2024, 57–58.

⁶⁸ *CIL* 3, 1918 = *EDH* HD053697 = *EDCS*-27500013 = Sinobad 2010: 181, no. 12: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Sulpicius Cal/vio c(enturio) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) pr/aeopositus c(o)h(ortis) I Belg(arum) hoc in / loco maiesta/te et Numin(e) / eius servat/us*. Ezov (2007: 71) the inscription dates to the period after the year 173.

⁶⁹ Alföldy 1987a: 249; Wilkes 1969: 141; for its monuments from Salona, or rather the Ljubuški area, Matijević 2011; Marić 2016: 105–116.

⁷⁰ *Praepositus* as a term began to develop during the 2nd century, Smith 1979: 273.

⁷¹ In provinces without their own legions, the *praepositi* of the cohorts could be cavalry decurions, Birley 1983: 79–83. There are only a few such examples, and I believe that one from Dalmatia should be added. This is a well-known tombstone (*CIL* 3, 8739) which was previously mistakenly believed to be from Salona, but turned out to be from Narona. It belonged to a decurion of the Third Alpine Cohort. After the decurionate's designation, the letter *P*, a large damaged part and the name of the unit follow. It may be his prefecture (*EDH* HD062533) or the command of the unit, but given the available space there is no reason not to allow a different interpretation according to which *praepositus* was commemorated, Alföldy 1987a: 281, no. 10; *EDCS*-28700953.

tribuna odnosno prefekta.⁷² Otprilike polovica tih izvora sigurno se ili s određenom vjerojatnošću datira u 3. stoljeće, što se povezuje s drugim tumačenjem prema kojemu su ta privremena zapovjedništva dodjeljivanja jer je upravo tada bilo teško pronaći vitezove raspoložene i prikladne za obnašanje viteških milicija.⁷³ Vrijeme Septimija Severa u tom je smislu donijelo promjene i snižavanje standarda što dobro pokazuje primjer P. Elija Valerija (*CIL* 3, 3237), bivšega veterana i tribuna Prve kampanske kohorte (*Cohors I Campanorum*) u Donjoj Panoniji 212. godine.⁷⁴ Od tih legijskih centuriona velika ih je većina zapovijedala kohortama u provincijama u kojima je djelovala njihova legija, ali bilo je i onih koji su prepozituru došli odslužiti iz legija smještenih u udaljenim krajevima Carstva kao što to pokazuju dva primjera iz Britanije. Prepozit Prve hispanske kohorte (*Cohors I Hispanorum*) bio je centurion iz Desete legije (*Legio X Fretensis*) (*CIL* 7, 371 = *EDH* HD070058), tada smještene u Judeji, čija je veksilacija poslana u Britaniju tijekom Hadrijanove vladavine. Centurion Julije Kandido iz Prve italske legije (*AE* 1983, 642 = *EDH* HD000063) djelovao je u ime prefekta kohorte, vjerojatno kao pripadnik legijske veksilacije koja je u provinciju došla tijekom Severova rata u sjevernome dijelu otoka. Tim potvrdama Birley je dodao i dvije iz Dalmacije koje se odnose na Prvu kohortu Belgâ za koju kaže da je bila pod zapovjedništvom centuriona iz panonske Prve pomoćnice legije 173. godine i centuriona Kalviona čiji se žrtvenik ne može datirati. Pretpostavlja da Kalvion nije poslan iz legijina logora u Donjoj Germaniji, nego iz legijine veksilacije koja je sudjelovala u ratovima na Dunavu, možda u doba Marka Aurelija.⁷⁵ Međutim, u Sirmiju je tijekom

arrival of the new tribune or *praefectus*.⁷² About half of these sources are dated to the 3rd century, definitely or with some probability, which is connected with another interpretation according to which these temporary commands were assigned because it was precisely at that time that it was difficult to find equestrians willing and suitable to carry out equestrian *militiae*.⁷³ The time of Septimius Severus brought changes and lowering of standards in this regard, as well illustrated by the example of Publius Aelius Valerius (*CIL* 3, 3237), a former veteran and tribune of *Cohors I Campanorum* in Lower Pannonia in 212.⁷⁴ Of these legionary centurions, the vast majority commanded cohorts in the provinces in which their legion operated, but there were also those who came to serve as *praepositi* from legions stationed in distant parts of the Empire, as shown by two examples from Britain. The *praepositus* of *Cohors I Hispanorum* was a centurion from *Legio X Fretensis* (*CIL* 7, 371 = *EDH* HD070058) then stationed in Judaea whose vexillation was sent to Britain during the reign of Hadrian. The centurion Julius Candido of *Legio I Italica* (*AE* 1983, 642 = *EDH* HD000063) acted on behalf of the *praefectus* of the cohort, probably as a member of the legionary vexillation that came to the province during the Severan War in the northern part of the island. To this evidence Birley adds two confirmations from Dalmatia relating to *Cohors I Belgarum* which he says was under the command of a centurion from the Pannonian *Legio I Adiutrix* in 173, and the centurion Calvio whose altar cannot be dated. He assumes that Calvio was not sent from the legion's camp in Lower Germania but from the legion's vexillation that participated in the wars on the Danube, perhaps during the reign of Marcus Aurelius.⁷⁵ However, during the 3rd

⁷² Southern 1989: 98. Prepozit je mogao preuzeti zapovjedništvo zbog iznenadnoga premještanja na drugu službu ili smrti postojećega postrojbinaog zapovjednika, Davies 1981: 184.

⁷³ Birley 1983: 83; o tome također Birley 1969: 70 i dalje. U afričkim je provincijama tijekom 3. stoljeća sve manji broj vitezova potjecao iz gradova, a čak 35,1% bilo ih je iz militariziranih sredina, detaljnije Jarrett 1963: 210–226.

⁷⁴ Birley 1969: 75 i d. za ostale primjere; o mnogim drugim primjerima vojnika primljenih u viteški stalež tijekom 3. stoljeća, primjerice o onima koji su postali vitezovi, a da nisu obavljali ni centurionat, Davenport 2012: 89–123.

⁷⁵ Birley 1983: 73–77. Međutim, čini se da natpis iz Gračine (*CIL* 3, 8484 = *EDH* HD050262: *Templum Liberi / Patris et Liberae vetustate dila{b=p}sum restituit / coh(ors) I Bel(garum) adiectis por{f}ticibus curam agente / Fl(avio) Victore 7(centurione) leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) p(iae) / f(idelis) Severo et Pompeiano / II co(n)s(ulibus)*) is not a proper analogy. The cohort completed the renovation and expansion of the temple of Liber and Libera under

⁷² Southern 1989: 98. The *praepositus* could take over command due to a sudden transfer to another post or the death of the existing unit commander, Davies 1981: 184.

⁷³ Birley 1983: 83; on this also Birley 1969: 70 ff. In the African provinces during the 3rd century, a decreasing number of equestrians came from cities, and as many as 35.1% of them were from militarized environments, in more detail Jarrett 1963: 210–226.

⁷⁴ Birley 1969: 75 ff., for other examples; on many other examples of soldiers admitted to the equestrian rank during the 3rd century, for example those who became equestrians without even being centurions, Davenport 2012: 89–123.

⁷⁵ Birley 1983: 73–77. However, it seems that the inscription from Gračine (*CIL* 3, 8484 = *EDH* HD050262: *Templum Liberi / Patris et Liberae vetustate dila{b=p}sum restituit / coh(ors) I Bel(garum) adiectis por{f}ticibus curam agente / Fl(avio) Victore 7(centurione) leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) p(iae) / f(idelis) Severo et Pompeiano / II co(n)s(ulibus)*) is not a proper analogy. The cohort completed the renovation and expansion of the temple of Liber and Libera under

3. stoljeća pokopan njezin centurion (*ILlug* 237 = *EDCS*-10000344) koji je vjerojatno pripadao veksilaciji sastavljenoj od legija i pomoćnih postrojbi iz Germanije i Britanije koje su došle u Sirmij da bi se u doba cara Galijena borile protiv panonskih uzurpatora Ingenua i Regalijana.⁷⁶ Dakle, nije isključena ni mogućnost prema kojoj je Kalvion pripadao toj veksilaciji iz koje je poslan u Dalmaciju da bi obavio prepozituru u Prvoj kohorti Belgâ. Bez obzira na te pretpostavke, sigurno je da Kalvionovu službu treba datirati u vrijeme kohortina boravka u Dalmaciji, odnosno između početka 2. i kraja 3. stoljeća.

Vrgoračkim krajem dominira planina Matokit čije ime dolazi od latinskoga *Mons acutus* što znači 'oštra planina'.⁷⁷ Taj oronim jedan je od rijetkih podsjetnika rimske prisutnosti na prostoru današnjega Vrgorca koji su zaobišle glavne rimske prometnice što je dobrim dijelom bio razlog njegove slabije naseljenosti.⁷⁸ Tu je pronađen još samo ulomak Jupiterova žrtvenika⁷⁹ i ulomak jednoga natpisa.⁸⁰ Pokušavajući odgovoriti na pitanje zašto je prepozit Prve kohorte Belgâ na takvome mjestu posvetio žrtvenik Jupiteru, pomišljalo se i na to da je bio službeno prisutan na prostoru koji je pripadao teritoriju logora njegove jedinice smještene u Gračinama.⁸¹ Natpis ne sadrži elemente prema kojima bi se moglo zaključiti da je vrgorački kraj tada pripadao logorskomu teritoriju što se ne smije isključiti s obzirom na slabu romaniziranost toga prostora i

century, a centurion from this legion was buried in Sirmium (*ILlug* 237 = *EDCS*-10000344). He probably belonged to the vexillation composed of legions and auxiliary units from Germania and Britain that came to Sirmium to fight against the Pannonian usurpers Ingenuus and Regalianus during the reign of Emperor Gallienus.⁷⁶ Therefore, the possibility that Calvio belonged to this vexillation from which he was sent to Dalmatia to serve as a *praepositus* in *Cohors I Belgarum* is not excluded. Regardless of these assumptions, it is certain that Calvio's post should be dated to the time of the cohort's stay in Dalmatia, i.e. between the beginning of the 2nd and the end of the 3rd century.

The Vrgorac region is dominated by Matokit Mountain, whose name comes from the Latin *mons acutus*, meaning sharp mountain.⁷⁷ This oronym is one of the rare reminders of the Roman presence in the area of today's Vrgorac. This place was not on the main Roman roads, which was largely the reason for its low population.⁷⁸ Only a fragment of an altar to Jupiter⁷⁹ and a fragment of an inscription have been found here.⁸⁰ Trying to answer the question of why a *praepositus* of *Cohors I Belgarum* dedicated an altar to Jupiter in such a place, it has also been suggested that he was officially present in the area that belonged to the territory of the camp of his unit located in Gračine.⁸¹ The inscription does not contain elements that would allow one to conclude that the Vrgorac area belonged to the camp territory at that time, which cannot be ruled out given the poor Romanization of this area and the fact that it was found in a place only about fifteen kilometers away from the

nije dobra analogija. Kohorta je pod centurionovim nadzorom (*curam agens*) dovršila obnovu i dogradnju Liberova i Liberina hrama te upotreba toga izraza u ovome kontekstu uopće ne znači da je Viktor zapovijedao kohortom. Na kraju krajeva, Birley (1983: 79, br. 3) u svojem je popisu natpisa s centurionima kao zapovjednicima kohorti slično protumačio *CIL* 13, 6509 = *EDH* HD037047 iz Gornje Germanije i kazao da je centurion mogao zapovijedati samo jednim dijelom kohorte zaduženim za izgradnju kule te je postavio natpis nakon izvršene zadaće. Štoviše, natpis iz Gračina datira se u 173. godinu, a upravo je tijekom markomanskih ratova ovdje vjerojatno boravila veksilacija Prve pomoćnice i Druge pomoćnice legije iz kojih je centurion Flavije Viktor mogao biti poslan da bi nadzirao kohortu prilikom izvršenja toga zadatka, Matijević 2022: 154–155.

⁷⁶ Mirković 2017: 66–67, 158.

⁷⁷ Kapović 2006: 123.

⁷⁸ Gudelj 2003: 249. Nije dokazano postojanje prometnice koja je povezivala Vrgorac i Nove; detaljnije o rimskim cestovnim komunikacijama u ovome kraju Bojanovski 1977: 139, bilj. 191.

⁷⁹ *CIL* 3, 8510 = *EDH* HD058398.

⁸⁰ Dodig 2003: 238, br. 8 = *EDCS*-71400195.

⁸¹ Bojanovski 1977: 139, bilj. 192; Bojanovski 1988: 121.

the supervision of the centurion (*curam agens*), and the use of this term in this context does not at all mean that Victor commanded the cohort. After all, Birley (1983: 79, no. 3) in his list of inscriptions with centurions as commanders of cohorts similarly interpreted *CIL* 13, 6509 = *EDH* HD037047 from Upper Germania and said that the centurion could command only a part of the cohort responsible for building the tower and placed the inscription after the task was completed. Moreover, the inscription from Gračine is dated to 173, and it was precisely during the Marcomannic Wars that the vexillation of *Legio I Adiutrix* and *Legio II Adiutrix* stayed here. The centurion Flavius Victor could have been sent from these legions to supervise the cohort during the execution of this task, Matijević 2022: 154–155.

⁷⁶ Mirković 2017: 66–67, 158.

⁷⁷ Kapović 2006: 123.

⁷⁸ Gudelj 2003: 249. The existence of a road connecting Vrgorac and Novae has not been proven; more details about Roman road communications in this area can be found in Bojanovski 1977: 139, note 191.

⁷⁹ *CIL* 3, 8510 = *EDH* HD058398.

⁸⁰ Dodig 2003: 238, no. 8 = *EDCS*-71400195.

⁸¹ Bojanovski 1977: 139, note 192; Bojanovski 1988: 121.

činjenicu da je pronađen na mjestu koje je od logora udaljeno samo petnaestak kilometara. Nemoć je govoriti o opsegu logorskoga teritorija bez provođenja terenskih istraživanja, a sve bi sumnje nestale pronalaskom međašnih natpisa poput onih kojima je označen teritorij legijskoga logora Burnuma.⁸² Iako je Kalvionov žrtvenik posvećen Jupiteru Najvećemu i Najboljem, teško se oduprijeti dojamu da je posveta privatnoga karaktera, a ne službenoga poput onih koje su u Dalmaciji postavljali, primjerice, namjesnikovi beneficijariji u svojim postajama⁸³ ili augzilijski centurioni u škripskim kamenolomima na Braču.⁸⁴ Posvetu je učinio *hoc in loco*, odnosno na „ovome mjestu“ gdje je mislio da mu je Jupiter pomogao, izbavio ga iz neke pogibelji pa mu je zahvalio postavljanjem žrtvenika.⁸⁵ Zbog očigledno vrlo slabe romanizacije toga prostora zbog čega je nemoguće pretpostaviti da je tamo prije postojao Jupiterov hram, i zato što je Kalvion mislio da je Jupiter djelovao na točno određenome mjestu, čini se vjerojatnim da je žrtvenik postavio u prirodi. To mu je dalo priliku da posvetu oblikuje na intimniji način čime je njegova komunikacija postala privatnijom, kao što se to može primijetiti na nekim posvetama iz ruralnih dijelova Dakije.⁸⁶ Nije isključeno da je drugi žrtvenik iz toga kraja, također posvećen Jupiteru, izvorno postavljen na istome mjestu što bi govorilo o tome da je njegov kult tamo bio poznat i održavan. Možda je upravo Kalvion bio njegov začetnik. Svetišta na otvorenome nisu neuobičajena u Dalmaciji što potvrđuju Mitrini kulturni reljefi uklesani u stijenama pored Arupija (*Arupium*, Prozor pored Otočca),⁸⁷ na brdu Sv. Juraj i u Močićima pored Epidaura (*Epidaurum*,

camp. It is impossible to speak about the extent of the camp territory without conducting field research, and all doubts would be dispelled with the discovery of boundary inscriptions such as those marking the territory of the legionary camp of Burnum.⁸² Although Calvio's altar is dedicated to Jupiter Best and Greatest, it is difficult to resist the impression that the dedication is private, and not official like those erected in Dalmatia, for example, by the governor's *beneficarii* in their stations⁸³ or by auxiliary centurions in the Škrip quarries on Brač.⁸⁴ He made the dedication *hoc in loco*, that is, in "this place" where he thought Jupiter had helped him, rescued him from some danger, so he thanked him by setting up an altar.⁸⁵ Due to the apparently very poor Romanization of this area, which makes it impossible to assume that a temple of Jupiter existed here before, and because Calvio thought that Jupiter acted in a specific place, it seems likely that he erected the altar in nature. This gave him the opportunity to shape the dedication in a more intimate way, which made his communication more private, as can be seen in some dedications from rural parts of Dacia.⁸⁶ It is not excluded that another altar from this region, also dedicated to Jupiter, was originally placed in the same place, which would indicate that his cult was known and maintained here. Perhaps exactly Calvio was its initiator. Open-air sanctuaries are not uncommon in Dalmatia, as confirmed by the Mithraic cult reliefs carved into the rocks near Arupium (Prozor near Otočac),⁸⁷ on Sv. Juraj hill and in Močići near Epidaurum (Cavtat),⁸⁸ Silvanus' reliefs on Kozjak and Klis in the immediate vicinity of Salona,⁸⁹ or the altar of Jupiter that was carved into the

⁸² Za međašne natpise teritorija legijskoga logora Burnuma s uputama na ostalu literaturu koja se bavi tom problematikom, Zaninović 1985; općenito o vojnim teritorijima Le Bohec 2001: 219–220.

⁸³ Matijević 2020a: 22–38, kat. br. 12–86.

⁸⁴ To su centurion Prve kohorte Belgâ (*CIL* 3, 3096; Matijević 2011: 194–195) i centurion Treće kohorte Alpinaca (*AE* 1979, 448; Matijević 2020a: 56–57).

⁸⁵ Zahvaljujem prof. dr. sc. Bruni Kuntić-Makvić na pomoći u razumijevanju natpisa čiji je drugi dio ovako prevela: „(...) spašen na ovome mjestu Njegovim božanskim veličanstvom / veličanstvenim božanstvom“, dodajući da je „autor teksta savršeno vičan rimskim sakralnim konceptima i njegovanom latinskom jeziku.“

⁸⁶ Szabó 2018: 174.

⁸⁷ Rendić-Miočević 2015: 409–416.

⁸² For the boundary inscriptions of the territory of the legionary camp Burnum with references to other literature dealing with this issue, Zaninović 1985; generally on military territories Le Bohec 2001: 219–220.

⁸³ Matijević 2020a: 22–38, cat. no. 12–86.

⁸⁴ These were a centurion of *Cohors I Belgarum* (*CIL* 3, 3096; Matijević 2011: 194–195) and a centurion of *Cohors III Alpinorum* (*AE* 1979, 448; Matijević 2020a: 56–57).

⁸⁵ I would like to thank professor Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, PhD, for her help in understanding the inscription, the second part of which she translated as follows: „(...) saved in this place by His divine majesty / magnificent divinity“, adding that “the author of the text was perfectly versed in Roman sacral concepts and the cultivated Latin language.”

⁸⁶ Szabó 2018: 174.

⁸⁷ Rendić-Miočević 2015: 409–416.

⁸⁸ Selem & Vilogorac-Brčić 2018: 86–88, no. 15–17.

⁸⁹ Rendić-Miočević 1982: 121–137.

Cavtat),⁸⁸ Silvanovi reljefi na Kozjaku i Klisu u neposrednoj blizini Salone⁸⁹ ili Jupiterov žrtvenik koji je u stijeni na padinama Mosora dao uklesati gradski dužnosnik L. Egnacije Klement.⁹⁰

Legio XXX Ulpia victrix

Legiju je osnovao car Trajan, vjerojatno prije Prvoga rata protiv Dačana, iako je moguće da se to dogodilo prije ili poslije Drugoga rata protiv Dačana. Počasni naslov *victrix* dobila je u trenutku osnivanja ili ubrzo potom. Prva su novačenja najvjerojatnije provedena u sjevernoj Italiji, a najmanje dvojica centuriona poslana su iz sjevernoafričke Treće legije da bi se pobrinula za obuku novaka.⁹¹ Tijekom ranoga 2. stoljeća legija je zaposjela logor u Brigeciju, napustila ga je 118. kada je otišla na prostor Donje Rajne gdje se iste godine ili 122. smjestila u logoru u Veteri. Ubrzo je počela proizvoditi značajne količine tegula koje su poslužile za podizanje nekoliko velikih javnih objekata u Donjoj Germaniji. Njezini su vojnici bili prisutni u kamenolomima pored današnjega Krufta i osiguravali građevinski materijal za tada još mladu obližnju koloniju (*Ulpia Traiana*).⁹² Dio legije zajedno je s veksilacijama drugih rajnskih i panonskih legija oko 150. godine sudjelovao u smirivanju stanja u Mauretaniji s čime vjerojatno treba povezati natpis njezina vojnika preminuloga u Cezareji. Nakon što je Prva Minervija otišla na istok u okviru vojne kampanje protiv Parta 162., jedna je veksilacija Tridesete legije osiguravala njezin prazni logor u Boni. Tijekom vladavine Marka Aurelija i Komoda njezini su pripadnici potvrđeni diljem provincije Donje Germanije na izvršavanju različitih zadataka nadzora, izvođenja građevinskih radova i proizvodnje tegula. Tijekom proljeća 193. stala je na stranu Septimija Severa kada je očigledno odigrala važnu ulogu jer joj je car dao počasni naslov *pia fidelis*. Ubrzo su njezine veksilacije poslone u istočne provincije da bi se sukobile sa snagama Pescenija Nigera, s čime se vjerojatno može povezati natpis njezina vojnika iz Ankire. Rajnske su legije u događajima tijekom tih godina pretrpjele ozbiljne gubitke u ljudstvu koji su nadomješteni brojnim novacima iz Trakije. U Lugdunu je poslije

rock on the slopes of Mosor by the city official Lucius Egnatius Clemens.⁹⁰

Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix

The legion was founded by Emperor Trajan, probably before the First Dacian War, although it is possible that it occurred before or after the Second Dacian War. It was given the honorary title *victrix* at the time of its foundation or shortly thereafter. The first recruitments were most likely carried out in northern Italy, and at least two centurions were sent from the North African Third Legion to take care of the training of the recruits.⁹¹ During the early 2nd century, the legion occupied the camp at Brigetium, abandoning it in 118 when it went to the Lower Rhine area, where it was located in the camp at Vetera in the same year or in 122. It soon began to produce significant quantities of tegulae, which were used to erect several large public buildings in Lower Germania. Its soldiers were present in the quarries near present-day Kruft and provided building materials for the then still young nearby colony (*Ulpia Traiana*).⁹² Part of the legion, together with the vexillations of other Rhine and Pannonian legions, participated in the pacification of Mauretania around 150. The inscription of its soldier who died in Caesarea is probably associated with these events. After the First Minervia went to the east as part of the military campaign against the Parthians in 162, a vexillation of *Legio XXX* secured its vacated camp in Bonna. During the reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, its members were confirmed throughout the province of Lower Germania carrying out various tasks of supervision, construction work and the production of tegulae. In the spring of 193, it sided with Septimius Severus, when it apparently played an important role, as the emperor gave it the honorary title *pia fidelis*. Soon its vexillations were sent to the eastern provinces to confront the forces of Pescennius Niger. The inscription of its soldier from Ancyra can probably be connected with this turmoil. The Rhine legions suffered serious losses in manpower in the events of these years, which were replaced by numerous recruits from Thrace. In Lugdunum, after the defeat of Albinus, the city cohort was disbanded, its place taken by a vexillation composed of soldiers from four Rhine

⁸⁸ Selem & Vilogorac-Brčić 2018: 86–88, br. 15–17.

⁸⁹ Rendić-Miočević 1982: 121–137.

⁹⁰ *CIL* 3, 1942; detaljnije Alduk 2014: 55–62.

⁹¹ Reuter 2012: 5–7.

⁹² Reuter 2012: 9–16.

⁹⁰ *CIL* 3, 1942; more comprehensively Alduk 2014: 55–62.

⁹¹ Reuter 2012: 5–7.

⁹² Reuter 2012: 9–16.

Albinova poraza raspuštena gradska kohorta čije je mjesto zauzela veksilacija sastavljena od vojnika četiriju rajnskih legija; veksilacije tih legija sudjelovale su u Drugome partskom ratu (198. – 202.), vjerojatno su se između 206. i 208. borile *adversus defectores et rebelles*, ali se o okolnostima tih borbi ne može više reći. Trideseta je legija vjerojatno sudjelovala u Karakalinoj vojnoj kampanji protiv Germana 213. te kasnije u borbama protiv Parta s čime se može povezati njezin vojnik čiji je nadgrobni spomenik otkriven u Prusi, u današnjoj zapadnoj Turskoj. Nije isključeno djelovanje legije u ratu protiv Perzije 231. s čime najvjerojatnije treba povezati natpise njezinih vojnika otkrivene u Maloj Aziji. Tijekom vladavine Valerijana i njegova sina Galijena najmanje je jedna legijska veksilacija djelovala na istočnoj strani Donje Rajne. Galijen je na reversu legijskih antoninijana kovanima 260. počastio Tridesetu legiju zato što je pobijedila u nekim bitkama, možda u onima protiv Alamana u sjevernoj Italiji i protiv uzurpatora Ingenua i Regaliana. Čini se da je legija tijekom ljeta 269. sudjelovala u Postumovu svrgavanju poslije čega se njezin časnik Lelijan proglasio carem. Bila je odana Viktorinu, caru Galskoga Carstva, koji je kovao novac u njezinu čast. Valerijan je uništio Galsko Carstvo te je 274. u bitki na Katalaunjskim poljima Trideseta legija očigledno pretrpjela značajne gubitke.⁹³

Iz Dalmacije potječe jedna epigrafska potvrda pripadnika Tridesete legije. To je nadgrobni natpis iz Salone koji su svojem petogodišnjem sinu Marku Veraciju Severinu i sebi postavili veteran Marko Veracije Sever i Licinija tijekom kasnoga principata.⁹⁴ Gentilicij *Veratius* u provincijama je zapadnoga dijela Carstva šest puta potvrđen u Galiji Belgici i Dalmaciji, pet puta u Italiji i Noriku, dvaput u Dakiji i jedan put u Hispaniji i Noriku, a čak trideset i pet puta u Narbonskoj Galiji.⁹⁵ Narbonska je Galija tijekom cijeloga principata davala novake za legije u Gornjoj i Donjoj Germaniji; epigrafski je potvrđeno

legions; the vexillations of these legions participated in the Second Parthian War (198 – 202), probably fighting *adversus defectores et rebelles* between 206 and 208, but nothing more can be said about the circumstances of these battles. *Legio XXX* probably participated in Caracalla's military campaign against the Germans in 213, and later in the battles against the Parthians, which can be linked to a soldier whose tombstone was discovered in Prusa, in present-day western Turkey. The legion's activities in the war against Persia in 231 are not excluded, with which the inscriptions of its soldiers discovered in Asia Minor are most likely to be connected. During the reigns of Valerian and his son Gallienus, at least one legionary vexillation operated on the eastern side of the Lower Rhine. Gallienus honored *Legio XXX* on the reverse of legionary antoniniani minted in 260 for its victories in some battles, perhaps against the Alamanni in northern Italy and against the usurpers Ingenuus and Regalianus. The legion seems to have participated in the overthrow of Postumus in the summer of 269, after which its officer Laelianus proclaimed himself emperor. It was loyal to Victorinus, emperor of the Gallic Empire, who minted coins in its honor. Valerian destroyed the Gallic Empire, and in 274 *Legio XXX* apparently suffered significant losses at the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains.⁹³

One epigraphic evidence related to a member of *Legio XXX* comes from Dalmatia. It is a tombstone from Salona, which was erected by the veteran Marcus Veratius Severus and Licinia for their five-year-old son Marcus Veratius Severinus and themselves during the late Principate.⁹⁴ In the provinces of the western part of the Empire, the gentilicium *Veratius* is attested six times in Gallia Belgica and Dalmatia, five times in Italy and Noricum, twice in Dacia and once in Hispania and Noricum, and as many as thirty-five times in Gallia Narbonensis⁹⁵ which provided recruits for the legions in Upper and Lower Germania throughout the Principate, and it is epigraphically confirmed that recruits from Gaul served in *Legio XXX* and that many of its

⁹³ Reuter 2012: 17–27. Ukratko o legiji Le Bohec 2000: 71–75.

⁹⁴ CIL 3, 2064 = EDCS-27800055 = EDH HD063265: *M(arco) Veratio / Severino / defunct(o) an(norum) V / M(arcus) Veratius / Severus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / XXX Ulp(iae) vic(tricis) et / Licinia vivi / posuerunt / fil(io) suo et sibi*. Datacija se temelji na upotrebi tročlanoga imenskog obrasca bez filijacije i glasačkoga okruća: glagola *posuerunt*, riječi *vivi* bez skraćivanja te izraza *defunctus annorum*, Alföldy 1969: 27–30.

⁹⁵ OPEL 4, str. 56, *Veratius*. Za dalmatinske potvrde Alföldy 1969: 135.

⁹³ Reuter 2012: 17–27. In brief on the legion Le Bohec 2000: 71–75.

⁹⁴ CIL 3, 2064 = EDCS-27800055 = EDH HD063265: *M(arco) Veratio / Severino / defunct(o) an(norum) V / M(arcus) Veratius / Severus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / XXX Ulp(iae) vic(tricis) et / Licinia vivi / posuerunt / fil(io) suo et sibi*. The dating is based on the use of a three-part naming formula without filiation and voting tribe designation, the verb *posuerunt*, the word *vivi* without shortening, and the expression *defunctus annorum*, Alföldy 1969: 27–30.

⁹⁵ OPEL 4, p. 56, *Veratius*. For Dalmatian evidence Alföldy 1969: 135.

da su novaci iz Galije služili u Tridesetoj legiji i da su se mnogi njezini veterani naselili u Galiji.⁹⁶ Severova žena imenovana je kognomenom koji je epigrafski posvuda potvrđen, a posebice u južnoj Galiji,⁹⁷ što bi moglo biti dovoljno za pretpostavku da su oboje potjecali iz tih krajeva. Najveći broj natpisa veterana Tridesete legije potječe iz šire okolice njezina logora u Veteri, iz Lugduna i iz sjeverne Italije, a jedini koji su otkriveni izvan tih triju područja su Veracijev natpis i natpis (AE 1991, 1400) jednoga veterana iz Trakije.⁹⁸ Iako je vrlo teško objasniti razloge Severova naseljavanja u Saloni,⁹⁹ moguće je predložiti neka rješenja. Možda je dio vojne službe proveo u Dalmaciji tijekom čega je stekao uvjete za stjecanje statusa veterana. U Tridesetoj legiji služili su Dalmatinci što pokazuje natpis (CIL 13, 6952 = EDH HD056178) centuriona rodnom iz Ekva,¹⁰⁰ što znači da je i Sever možda bio podrijetlom iz Dalmacije u koju se odlučio vratiti kada je postao veteran. Možda je potaknut nekim drugim, nepoznatim razlozima odabrao Salonu za nastavak civilnoga života. Koliko je teško prema sadržaju natpisa otkriti motive koji su utjecali na veterane prilikom odabira mjesta za nastavak života, pokazuje primjer Marka Utedija Salubijana Gaja Petilija Amanda iz Četrnaeste dvojne legije (*Legio XIII Gemina*) iz flavijevsko-trajanskoga doba. Ne može se dokazati da je legija ili jedan njezin dio tada boravio u provinciji, veteran je potjecao iz italskoga Iguvija, oženio se Salonitankom, adoptirao ga je punac i time mu omogućio ulazak u gradsku aristokraciju i postizanje najviših političkih i svećeničkih funkcija u Saloni.¹⁰¹

veterans settled in Gaul.⁹⁶ Severus' wife has a cognomen that is epigraphically confirmed everywhere, especially in southern Gaul,⁹⁷ which might be sufficient to assume that they both came from those regions. The largest number of inscriptions of veterans of *Legio XXX* originate from the wider area of its camp in Vetera, from Lugdunum and from northern Italy, and the only ones found outside these three areas are the inscription of Veratius and the inscription (AE 1991, 1400) of a veteran from Thrace.⁹⁸ Although it is very difficult to explain the reasons for Severus' settlement in Salona,⁹⁹ some solutions may be proposed. He may have spent part of his military service in Dalmatia, during which he met the conditions for acquiring veteran status. Dalmatians served in *Legio XXX*, as shown by the inscription (CIL 13, 6952 = EDH HD056178) of a centurion born in Aequum,¹⁰⁰ which means that Severus may have been originally from Dalmatia, to which he decided to return when he became a veteran. Perhaps he was motivated by some other, unknown reasons and chose Salona to continue his civilian life. The difficulties of discovering the motives that influenced veterans when choosing a place to continue their lives based on the content of the inscription are illustrated by the example of Marcus Utedius Salubianus Gaius Petilius Amandus from *Legio XIII Gemina* from the Flavian-Trajanic era. It cannot be proven that the legion or a part of it was then stationed in the province, the veteran came from Italian Iguvium, married a Salonitan woman, was adopted by his father-in-law, who thus enabled him to enter the city aristocracy and achieve the highest political and priestly functions in Salona.¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ Mann 1983: 93–95, 99.

⁹⁷ Alföldy 1969: 231; OPEL 3, str. 26–27, *Licinius*.

⁹⁸ Reuter 2012: 43. Nemoguće je reći zbog čega se spomenuti veteran naselio u Trakiji iako je jedno od mogućih tumačenja njegovo lokalno podrijetlo, odnosno povratak u rodni kraj nakon otpusta iz vojske, Reuter 2012: 111, br. 64.

⁹⁹ Reuter 2012: 164–165, kat. br. 140; također Betz 1938: 58.

¹⁰⁰ Karijeru je započeo kao akvilifer u Tridesetoj legiji, nastavio kao centurion u Četrnaestoj dvojnoj te Dvadeset i drugoj legiji, Reuter 2012: 95–96. O mogućem dalmatinskom podrijetlu još dvojice vojnika (CIL 13, 7789; 8607) v. Alföldy 1987c: 369–371.

¹⁰¹ CIL 3, 2066 = EDCS-27601609 = EDH HD057518; detaljnije Matijević 2019: 157–159.

⁹⁶ Mann 1983: 93–95, 99.

⁹⁷ Alföldy 1969: 231; OPEL 3, str. 26–27, *Licinius*.

⁹⁸ Reuter 2012: 43. It is impossible to say why the aforementioned veteran settled in Thrace, although one of the possible interpretations is his local origin, i.e. his return to his homeland after discharge from the army, Reuter 2012: 111, no. 64.

⁹⁹ Reuter 2012: 164–165, cat. no. 140; also Betz 1938: 58.

¹⁰⁰ He began his career as an *aquilifer* in *Legio XXX*, continued as a centurion in *XIII Gemina* and *XXII*, Reuter 2012: 95–96. About the possible Dalmatian origin of two more soldiers (CIL 13, 7789; 8607) see Alföldy 1987c: 369–371.

¹⁰¹ CIL 3, 2066 = EDCS-27601609 = EDH HD057518; more comprehensively Matijević 2019: 157–159.

Zaključak

Događaji uzrokovani velikim ratom protiv Kvada i Markomana početkom vladavine Marka Aurelija uveli su Rimsko Carstvo u razdoblje velikih vojnih promjena. One nisu zaobišle ni provinciju Dalmaciju čiju su vojnu posadu činile samo tri pomoćne postrojbe kojima su ubrzo dodane i dvije novoosnovane. Više od sedamdeset natpisa nadgrobna i posvetnoga karaktera jasno pokazuje da je Dalmacija sve potrebe za legionarima u namjesnikovu oficiju i za obavljanje redovitih vojnih zadaća namirivala njihovim uzimanjem iz većine legija smještenih na dunavskoj granici. Najviše je legionara bilo iz Donje i Gornje Panonije s kojima je u vojno-upravnome smislu bila snažnije povezana čineći tako s njima svojevrsnu cjelinu. Međutim, malobrojni natpisi vojnika čije su legije imale svoje stalne logore u Gornjoj Germaniji (*Legio VIII Augusta*, *Legio XXII Primigenia*) i Donjoj Germaniji (*Legio I Minervia*, *Legio XXX Ulpia victrix*) pokazuju da su pripadnici i tih postrojbi imali veze s Dalmacijom.

Najbrojnije i najraznolikije materijalne tragove u Dalmaciji ostavila je Osmu legiju. Riječ je o sedam nadgrobničkih natpisa, jednome posvetnom natpisu i nekoliko tegula. Oni se jasno mogu podijeliti u one iz razdoblja ranoga i one iz razdoblja kasnoga principata. Epigrafski spomenici ukazuju na to da su njezine veksilacije ovdje boravile i djelovale u najmanje dvjema vremenski odvojenim prigodama. Arheološka otkrića tegula u legijskome logoru u Burnumu govore da je u njemu bila građevinski aktivna tijekom druge polovine 1. ili početkom 2. stoljeća. Epigrafski su tragovi njezina boravka u logoru nadgrobni natpis aktivnoga vojnika Lucina(?) koji nije mogao biti postavljen prije 78. godine i ulomak epitafa vojnika čije ime nije u potpunosti sačuvano. Obojica su bili rodom iz Vijeune u Narbonskoj Galiji, provincije iz koje su potjecali njezini brojni novaci. Uvjerljiva je pretpostavka da su ti vojnici u logor došli nakon što ga je napustila Četvrta legija tijekom prvih godina Domicijanove vladavine pa je opravdano kazati da su nastavili obavljati zadaće koje su prethodno bile odgovornost njihovih kolega. Proizvodili su tegule, gradili u logoru, a vrlo vjerojatno i davali vojnike za potrebe vojne posade u Saloni što se smije pretpostaviti prema ulomku jednoga nadgrobničkog natpisa iz provincijske metropole. Veksilacija je mogla doći u Dalmaciju nakon što je iz nje otišla Četvrta legija što znači da je poslana iz svojega matičnog logora u Argentoratu u Gornjoj

Conclusion

The events caused by the great war against the Quadi and Marcomanni at the beginning of the reign of Marcus Aurelius introduced the Roman Empire into a period of great military changes that were also felt in the province of Dalmatia, whose military garrison consisted of only three auxiliary units, to which two newly founded ones were soon added. More than seventy funerary and votive inscriptions clearly show that in Dalmatia legionaries for the governor's *officium* and for performing regular military tasks were taken from most of the legions located on the Danube border. The largest number of legionaries came from Lower and Upper Pannonia, with which it was more strongly connected in military and administrative terms, thus forming a kind of whole with them. However, the few inscriptions of soldiers whose legions had their permanent camps in Upper Germania (*VIII Augusta*, *XXII Primigenia*) and Lower Germania (*I Minervia*, *XXX Ulpia Victrix*) indicate that members of these units also had connections with Dalmatia.

Legio VIII left the most numerous and diverse material traces in Dalmatia. These are seven tombstones, one votive inscription and several tegulae. They can be clearly divided into those from the early and late Principate periods. Epigraphic monuments indicate that its vexillations resided and operated here on at least two separate occasions. Archaeological finds of tegulae in the legionary camp at Burnum indicate that it was active in construction there during the second half of the 1st or early 2nd century. Epigraphic traces of its deployment in the camp are the tombstone of an active soldier Lucinus(?), which could not have been erected before 78, and a fragment of the epitaph of a soldier whose name has not been fully preserved. Both were natives of Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis, the province from which its numerous recruits came. It is plausible to assume that these soldiers arrived at the camp after *Legio IIII* had left it during the first years of Domitian's reign, and it is reasonable to say that they continued to perform the tasks that had previously been the responsibility of their colleagues. They produced tegulae, did construction works in the camp, and very likely provided soldiers for the needs of the military garrison in Salona, which can be assumed from a fragment of a tombstone from the provincial metropolis. The vexillation could have arrived in Dalmatia after *Legio IIII* had left it, which means that it was sent from its home camp in Argentoratum in Germania Superior. However, the

Germaniji. Međutim, legijin je logor između 70. i 90. godine bio Mirebeau u Galiji, u kojemu je također proizvodila tegule i bila izrazito građevinski aktivna. Možda bi se njezin dolazak u Dalmaciju mogao datirati i ranije, što bi značilo da je tamo došla iz logora Mirebeau, možda čak u vrijeme dok je u Burnumu boravila Četvrta legija. Moguće lokalno podrijetlo veterana pokopanoga u Fulfinu na otoku Krku te moguća pripadnost legiji komemoratora s natpisa iz Nedina možda ukazuju na to da je postrojba tijekom boravka u Dalmaciji provodila novačenja što bi, zajedno s brojnošću natpisa njezinih pripadnika, ukazivalo na dugotrajniji boravak Osme legije. Na primjer, Četvrta je legija u provinciji boravila desetljeće i pol, a iza sebe je ostavila natpise trojice aktivnih i jednoga isluženog legionara. Nije isključeno da vremenu ranoga principata pripada nadgrobni natpis njezina legionara iz Alvone. Taj grad smješten je na južnome obodu komunikacija kojima se legijina veksilacija mogla služiti tijekom prebacivanja iz Dalmacije prema Donjemu Porajnju ili Galiji odnosno obrnuto.

O djelovanju pripadnika Osme legije tijekom kasnoga principata u Dalmaciji postoje mnogo oskudniji podatci koji se temelje na samo dva epigrafska izvora. Jedini koji se može preciznije datirati jest onaj duplikarija Aurelija potvrđenoga u Saloni poslije 185. godine. Iako postoje moguća objašnjenja boravka toga prilično visoko rangiranoga vojnika u provincijskoj metropoli, najmanje se vjerojatnim čini da izvršavao neku službu u namjesnikovu oficiju, ponajprije jer o tome nema traga na ulomku njegova natpisa, a nema ni dokaza da su te službe povjeravane vojnicima iz legija na Rajni. Njegov boravak u Saloni i djelovanje vojnika Tosija(?) Sure(?) na prostoru Duvanjskoga polja mogli bi biti povezani s aktivnostima legije ili njezinih veksilacija u Panoniji tijekom Galijenove vladavine. Kada se nisu mogli osloniti na vojnike iz podunavskih legija, dalmatinski su namjesnici za potrebe svoje vojne posade uzimali vojnike iz veksilacija porajnskih legija koje su se tada zatekle u Panoniji. Te su veksilacije svoje redove možda popunjavale novcima s tih prostora što bi mogao potvrđivati primjer veterana Aurelija Supera koji se nakon otpusta vratio u rodni kraj, imao obitelj i bio pokopan u današnjemu Gradcu pored Sarajeva.

Kao što su Aurelije i Sura(?) vjerojatno poslani iz legijinih veksilacija u susjednoj Panoniji, tako je na službu prepozita Prve kohorte Belgâ mogao doći centurion Sulpicije Kalvion. Veksilacije njegove Prve *Minnervia* legije djelovale su u Panoniji tijekom vladavine

legion's camp between 70 and 90 was Mirebeau in Gaul, where it also produced tegulae and was exceptionally active in construction. Perhaps its arrival in Dalmatia could be dated even earlier, which would mean that it came here from the Mirebeau camp, possibly even at the time when *Legio IIII* was stationed in Burnum. The possible local origin of the veteran buried in Fulfinum on the island of Krk, as well as the possible affiliation with the legion of the commemorator from the inscription from Nedinum, may indicate that the unit conducted recruitment during its stay in Dalmatia, which, together with the large number of inscriptions of its members, would indicate a longer stay of *Legio VIII*. For example, *Legio IIII* stayed in the province for a decade and a half, and left behind the inscriptions of three active and one retired legionary. It is not excluded that the tombstone of its legionary from Alvona belongs to the early Principate. This city is located on the southern edge of the communication routes that the legion's vexillation could have used during the transfer from Dalmatia to the Lower Rhine region or Gaul, or vice versa.

Information on the activities of the members of *Legio VIII* in this area during the late Principate is much more limited, based on only two epigraphic sources. The only one that can be dated more precisely is that of the *duplicarius* Aurelius attested in Salona after 185. Although there are possible explanations for the stay of this rather high-ranking soldier in the provincial metropolis, it seems least likely that he was in some post in the governor's *officium*, primarily because there is no trace of this on the fragment of his inscription, and there is no evidence that these posts were entrusted to soldiers from the legions on the Rhine. His stay in Salona, as well as the activities of the soldier Tossius(?) Sura(?) in the Duvanjsko polje region, could be associated with the activities of the legion or its vexillations in Pannonia during the reign of Gallienus. When they could not rely on soldiers from the Danubian legions, the Dalmatian governors recruited soldiers from the vexillations of the Rhine legions that were in Pannonia at the time for the needs of their military garrisons. These vexillations may have filled their ranks with recruits from these areas, as could be confirmed by the example of the veteran Aurelius Super, who returned to his homeland after his discharge, had a family, and was buried in what is now Gradac, near Sarajevo.

Just as Aurelius and Sura(?) were probably sent from the legion's vexillations in neighboring Pannonia, the centurion Sulpicius Calvio could have served as *praepositus* of *Cohors I Belgarum*. The vexillations of his *Legio I Minervia* operated in Pannonia during the reign of Marcus

Marka Aurelija ili Galijena. Očigledno su neke izvanredne okolnosti dovele do toga da na položaj privremenoga zapovjednika jedne od pet dalmatinskih pomoćnih postrojbi bude postavljen Kalvion. Podatke o njegovoj službi doznajemo iz žrtvenika koji je posvetio Jupiteru i to na vrlo slabo romaniziranome prostoru, oko petnaestak kilometara južno od kohortina logora na Gračinama. To je učinio na mjestu gdje ga je, prema njegovu uvjerenju, Jupiter „spasio“. Posveta nema strogi službeni oblik i odaje intimniji, privatni karakter. Kalvion kaže da je „spašen“ na točno određenome mjestu što možda ukazuje na to da je žrtvenik postavljen u prirodi.

Nema epigrafskih dokaza o tome da su aktivni vojnici Dvadeset i druge odnosno Tridesete legije djelovali u Dalmaciji. U Dvadeset i drugoj služio je veteran čiji je ulomak natpisa otkriven u Podgrađu, smještenome zapadno od donjega dijela rijeke Cetine. Tijekom različitih razdoblja 3. stoljeća legija je djelovala na prostoru Panonije kada je u nju mogao biti primljen taj vojnik koji se nakon otpusta iz službe vratio u rodni kraj. Iako se taj ulomak čini beznačajan, zahvaljujući njemu može se pretpostaviti da je Podgrađe, iako se nalazilo izvan glavnih prometnih pravaca, ipak bilo prilično romanizirano i davalo vojnike za službe u udaljenim legijama tijekom kasnoga principata. Iz Salone potječe jedini natpis veterana Tridesete legije u Dalmaciji. Ime Veracija Severa i ime njegove žene Licinije snažno upućuju na podrijetlo iz Galije odakle su potjecali brojni novaci u toj legiji. Nemoguće je odrediti je li službom bio vezan za provinciju u čijoj je metropoli nastavio živjeti nakon otpusta iz vojske ili se poslije službe vratio jer je Dalmacija bila njegov rodni kraj.

Osma je legija tijekom dvaju razdoblja bila povezana s Dalmacijom. Starija veza iz vremena druge polovine 1. odnosno početka 2. stoljeća bila je snažnija na što upućuje brojnost i raznolikost materijalnih izvora. Njezini su vojnici najvjerojatnije izvodili sve zadaće koje su tijekom prethodnoga razdoblja izvodili njihovi kolege iz Sedme i Jedanaeste te Četvrte legije i tako održali kontinuitet legijske prisutnosti u provinciji. Tijekom kasnoga principata, odnosno u vremenu poslije 185. godine, o njezinu djelovanju u provinciji svjedoče natpisi samo dvojice vojnika, jednoga iz Salone, drugoga iz Letke. Centurion iz Prve *Minervia* legije služio je kao prepozit Prve kohorte Belgâ. Oni su na te službe najvjerojatnije poslani iz svojih legijskih veksilacija koje su u raznim vremenima kasnoga principata bile prisutne u Panoniji. Veteran iz Dvadeset i druge legije

Aurelius or Gallienus. Apparently, some extraordinary circumstances led to Calvio being appointed to the position of temporary commander of one of the five Dalmatian auxiliary units. We learn about his service from the altar he dedicated to Jupiter in a very poorly Romanized area, about fifteen kilometers south of the cohort's camp at Gračine. He did this at the place where, according to him, Jupiter “saved” him. The dedication does not have a strict official form and reveals a more intimate, private character. Calvio says that he was “saved” at a specific place, which perhaps indicates that the altar was set up in nature.

There is no epigraphic evidence that active soldiers of *Legio XXII* or *XXX* served in Dalmatia. Inscription fragment of a veteran who served in *Legio XXII* was discovered in Podgrađe, located west of the lower course of the Cetina River. During various periods of the 3rd century, the legion operated in the area of Pannonia, when this soldier could have been admitted to this legion, who returned to his native land after being discharged. Although this fragment seems insignificant, it allows an assumption that Podgrađe, although located outside the main transport routes, was still quite Romanized and provided soldiers for service in distant legions during the late Principate. The only inscription of a veteran of *Legio XXX* in Dalmatia comes from Salona. The name Veratius Severus and the name of his wife Licinia strongly indicate origin from Gaul, wherefrom many recruits in this legion came. It is impossible to determine whether his service tied him to the province, in whose metropolis he continued to live after his discharge from the army, or whether he returned here after his service because Dalmatia was his homeland.

Legio VIII was connected to Dalmatia during two periods. The older connection from the second half of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century was stronger, as indicated by the number and variety of material sources. Its soldiers most likely performed all the tasks that their colleagues from the Seventh, Eleventh and Fourth Legions had performed during the previous period, thus maintaining the continuity of the legionary presence in the province. During the late Principate, i.e. after 185, its activities in the province are confirmed by the inscriptions of only two soldiers, one from Salona, the other from Letka. A centurion from *Legio I Minervia* served as *praepositus* of *Cohors I Belgarum*. They were most likely sent on these missions from their legionary vexillations that were present in Pannonia at various times during the late Principate. A veteran from *Legio XXII* almost certainly originated from Podgrađe, and a veteran from *Legio XXX* may have been of Dalmatian origin. The much smaller

gotovo je sigurno podrijetlom iz Podgrađa, a dalmatinskoga je podrijetla možda bio i veteran iz Tridesete legije. Višestruko manji broj natpisa vojnika iz porajnskih legija u odnosu na one iz podunavskih legija jasno govori da su tijekom kasnoga principata namjesnici provincije Dalmacije u vrlo maloj mjeri povjeravali zadaće tim legionarima i da ti vojnici uopće nisu sudjelovali u radu provincijskoga oficija. Iz prikaza povijesti pokreta tih legija jasno je da nikada nisu boravile u Dalmaciji i da je njihova prisutnost u provinciji tijekom kasnoga principata odraz djelovanja njihovih veksilacija na prostoru panonskoga Podunavlja.

number of inscriptions of soldiers from the Rhine legions compared to those from the Danubian legions clearly indicates that during the late Principate the governors of the province of Dalmatia entrusted these legionaries with very few tasks and that these soldiers did not participate in the work of the provincial *officium* at all. From the overview of the history of movements of these legions it is clear that they never stayed in Dalmatia and that their presence in the province during the late Principate is a reflection of the activities of their vexillations in the Pannonian Danube region.

Bibliografija / Bibliography

Popis skraćenica / Abbreviations

AE – *Année épigraphique*, Paris.

CIL – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, Accademia litterarum regia Borussica.

EDCS – *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby* (<http://www.manfredclaus.de/>) (pregledano / accessed 10/06/2024).

EDH – *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*. (<http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/inschrift/suche>) (pregledano / accessed 10/06/2024).

ILIug – 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).

Lupa – *Ubi Erat Lupa* (<https://lupa.at/>) (pregledano / accessed 10/06/2024).

OPEL 3 – *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. III: LABAREVS – PYTHEA, Wien, 2000.

OPEL 4 – *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, Vol. IV : QVADRATIA-ZVRES, Wien, 2002.

Salona 4 – *Inscriptions de Salone chretienne IVE-VIIe siecles*, eds. N. Gauthier, E. Marin & F. Prévot, Roma & Split, 2010.

Popis literature / Literature

Alduk 2014 – Ivan Alduk, Razmišljanja o Klisu u antici, *Tusculum*, 7, Solin, 2014, 51–65.

Alföldy 1969 – Geza Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Heidelberg, 1969.

Alföldy 1987a – Géza Alföldy, Die auxiliartuppen der Provinz Dalmatien, u / in: *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985*. (MAVORS: Roman Army Researches III), ed. M. P. Speidel, Amsterdam, 1987, 239–297.

Alföldy 1987b – Géza Alföldy, Die verbreitung von militärziégeln in Römischen Dalmatien, u / in: *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985*. (MAVORS: Roman Army Researches III), ed. M. P. Speidel, Amsterdam, 1987, 317–325.

Alföldy 1987c – Géza Alföldy, Epigraphisches aus dem Rheinland II. Thrakische und Illyrische soldaten in den Rheinischen legionen, u / in: *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962-1985*. (MAVORS: Roman Army Researches III), ed. M. P. Speidel, Amsterdam 1987, 368–375.

Alföldy 1989 – Géza Alföldy, Zu den inschriften der legio VIII Augusta in Dalmatia, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 82, Split, 1989, 201–207.

Bérard, Le Bohec & Reddé 1995 – François Bérard, Yann Le Bohec & Michel Reddé, Les tuiles estampillées, u / in: *Le Camp légionnaire de Mirebeau*, Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Monographien, 36, eds. R. Goguet & M. Reddé, Mainz, 1995, 191–267.

Betz 1938 – Artur Betz, *Untersuchungen zur militargeschichte der romischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Abhandlungen des archaologisch-epigrafischen Seminars der Universität Wien, Neue Folge, Heft 3, Wien, 1938.

Birley 1969 – Eric B. Birley, Septimius Severus and the Roman army, *Epigraphische Studien*, 8, Graz & Köln, 1969, 63–82.

Birley 1983 – Eric B. Birley, A Roman Altar from Old Kilpatrick and Interim Commanders of Auxiliary Units, *Latomus*, 42, Bruxelles, 1983, 73–83.

Bojanovski 1977 – Ivo Bojanovski, Prilozi za topografiju rimskih i predrimskih komunikacija i naselja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, 22, Sarajevo, 1977, 83–152.

Bojanovski 1988 – Ivo Bojanovski, *Bosna i Hercegovina u antičko doba*, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja, knj. 6, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, knjiga LXII, Sarajevo, 1988.

Bojanovski 1990 – Ivo Bojanovski, Legio VIII Augusta u Dalmaciji, *Arheološki vestnik*, 41, Ljubljana, 1990, 699–712.

Borzić 2020 – Igor Borzić, *Keramički nalazi iz legijskog logora Burnum*, Šibenik, 2020.

Breeze 1971 – David J. Breeze, Pay grades and ranks below the centurionate, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 61, London, 1971, 130–135.

Breeze 1974 – David J. Breeze, The organisation of the career structure of the immunes and principales of the Roman army, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 174, Bonn, 1974, 245–292.

Bulić 1915 – Frane Bulić, Trovamenti antichi a Podgragje di Poljica, *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, 38, Split, 1915, 32–36.

- Cesarik 2016 – Nikola Cesarik, A Note on CIL III 14992: legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis or legio VIII Augusta?, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 197, Bonn, 2016, 268–270.
- Čaušević-Bully & Valent 2015 – Morana Čaušević-Bully & Ivan Valent, Municipium Flavium Fulfinum Diakronijska studija gradske strukture s posebnim osvrtom na forumski prostor / Municipium Flavium Fulfinum Diachronic study of the city structure with a special attention to the forum, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 32, Zagreb, 2015, 111–145.
- Dabrowa 2000 – Edward Dabrowa, Legio III Gallica, u / in: *Les legions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 septembre 1998*, eds. Y. Le Bohec & C. Wolff, Lyon, 2000, 309–315.
- Davenport 2012 – Caillan Davenport, Soldiers and Equestrian rank in the Third century AD, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 80, Rome, 2012, 89–123.
- Davies 1981 – Roy W. Davies, Some Military Commands from Roman Britain, *Epigraphische Studien*, 12, Köln & Bonn, 1981, 183–214.
- Delonga 2005 – Vedrana Delonga, Lokalitet: Podgrađe – Solioce, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 2, Zagreb, 2005, 378–380.
- Delonga 2008 – Vedrana Delonga, Lokalitet: Podgrađe – Solioce, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 5, Zagreb, 2008, 571–574.
- Delonga 2009 – Vedrana Delonga, Lokalitet: Podgrađe – Solioce, *Hrvatski arheološki godišnjak*, 6, Zagreb, 2009, 606–609.
- Dodig 2003 – Radoslav Dodig, Epigrafički spomenici iz naronitanskog konventa, u / in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Naroni i dolini Neretve*, Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 22, Znanstveni skup, Metković, 6.-9. listopada 2001., ed. E. Marin, Zagreb, Metković & Split, 2003, 233–252.
- Eck 2000 – Werner Eck, Die legio I Minervia. Militärische und zivile Aspekte ihrer Geschichte im 3. Jh. n. Chr., u / in: *Les legions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 septembre 1998*, eds. Y. Le Bohec & C. Wolff, Lyon, 2000, 87–93.
- Ezov 2007 – Amiram Ezov, The Centurions in the Rhine Legions in the Second and Early Third Century, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 56, Stuttgart, 2007, 46–81.
- Fadić 1990 – Ivo Fadić, Aserijatska skupina liburnskih nadgrobnih spomenika tzv. liburnskih cipusa, *Diadora*, 12, Zadar, 1990, 209–300.
- Franke 2000 – Thomas Franke, Legio XXII Primigenia, u / in: *Les legions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 septembre 1998*, eds. Y. LeBohec & C. Wolff, Lyon, 2000, 95–104.
- Gudelj 2003 – Ljubomir Gudelj, Zavojane – Prilog arheološkoj karti Zabiokovlja, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 30, Split, 2003, 247–260.
- Jarrett 1963 – Michael G. Jarrett, The African Contribution to the Imperial Equestrian Service, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, 12, Stuttgart, 1963, 209–226.
- Kapović 2006 – Mate Kapović, Toponimija sela Prapatnice u Vrgorskoj krajini, *Folia onomastica Croatica*, 15, Zagreb, 2006, 113–131.
- Kurilić 2006 – Anamarija Kurilić, Recent epigraphic finds from the Roman province of Dalmatia, u / in: *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970-2001. Papers in honour of J. J. Wilkes*, eds. D. Davison, V. Gaffney & E. Marin, Oxford, 2006, 133–147.
- Kurilić 2010 – Anamarija Kurilić, Komemoratori i pokojnici s liburnskih cipusa: tko su, što su i odakle su? / Commemorators and deceased on Liburnian cippi: who were they, what were they and where have they come from?, *Asseria*, 8, Zadar 2010, 131–274.
- Kurilić & Serventi 2024 – Anamarija Kurilić & Zrinka Serventi, Dii Manes in Roman Dalmatia, u / in: *Between fearing and worshipping. Household spirits in the Greco Roman World*, eds. A. Guzmán Almagro & S. Tantimonaco, Sevilla: SPAL (Editorial Universidad de Sevilla), 2024, 195–225.
- Le Bohec 2000 – Yann Le Bohec, Legio XXX Vlpia, u / in: *Les legions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 septembre 1998*, eds. Y. Le Bohec & C. Wolff, Lyon 2000, 71–75.
- Le Bohec 2001 – Yann Le Bohec, *The Imperial Roman Army*, London & New York, 2001.
- Lozić 2021 – Edisa Lozić, *Funerary Monuments in the Interior of the Roman Province of Dalmatia*, E-monographiae Instituti archaeologici Sloveniae 11, Ljubljana.
- Mann 1983 – John C. Mann, *Legionary Recruitment and Veteran Settlement During the Principate*, London, 1983.
- Marić 2016 – Almir Marić, Prva kohorta Belgâ i njeni pripadnici u ljubuškom kraju, *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja*, 45, Sarajevo, 2016, 105–118.
- Matijević 2011 – Natpisi Prve kohorte Belgâ iz Salone / Inscriptions of the cohorts I Belgarum from Salona, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku*, 104, Split, 2011, 181–207.

- Matijević 2019 – Ivan Matijević, Salonitanski natpisi vojnika i veterana na upravnim i vjerskim službama u nekim gradovima rimske Dalmacije, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 45, Split, 2019, 153–174.
- Matijević 2020a – Ivan Matijević, *Officium consularis provinciae Dalmatiae. Vojnici u službi namjesnika rimske Dalmacije u doba principata*, Split, 2020.
- Matijević 2020b – Ivan Matijević, Vojna posada u Saloni u 1. stoljeću, *Historijski zbornik*, 73, Zagreb, 2020, 1–22.
- Matijević 2022 – Ivan Matijević, Legionari iz podunavskih provincija u Dalmaciji, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 54/3, Zagreb, 2022, 145–194.
- Matijević 2024 – Ivan Matijević, Rimska vojska u sjeverozapadnom dijelu provincije Dalmacije / The Roman army in the northwestern part of the province of Dalmatia, *Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu*, 41, Zagreb, 2024, 49–65.
- Miletić 2011 – Željko Miletić, Production of tegulae in Burnum in the context of building activities, u / in: *Rimske keramičarske i staklarske radionice – proizvodnja i trgovina na jadranskom prostoru. Zbornik I. međunarodnog arheološkog kolokvija, Crikvenica, 23.-24. listopada 2008.*, eds. G. Lipovac Vrkljan, I. Radić Rossi & B. Šiljeg, Crikvenica, 2008, 263–277.
- Mirković 2017 – Miroslava Mirković, *Sirmium. Its History from the First Century AD to 582 AD*, Sremska Mitrovica & Novi Sad, 2017.
- Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1984 – Barbara Oldenstein-Pferdehirt, Die Geschichte der Legio VIII Augusta, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 31, Mainz, 1984, 397–433.
- Patsch 1897 – Carl Patsch, Die legio VIII Augusta in Dalmatien, *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*, 5, Wien, 1897, 338–340.
- Reddé 2000 – Michel Reddé, Legio VIII Augusta, u / in: *Les legions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire, Actes du Congrès de Lyon 17-19 septembre 1998*, eds. Y. Le Bohec & C. Wolff, Lyon, 2000, 119–126.
- Reddé 2001 – Michel Reddé, Le rôle militaire des ports de l'Adriatique sous le Haut-Empire, u / in: *Strutture portuali e rotte marittime nell'Adriatico di età romana*, Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Aquileia 20-23 maggio 1998, ed. C. Zaccaria, Trieste & Roma, 2001, 43–54.
- Rendić-Miočević 1982 – Ante Rendić-Miočević, Uz dva Silvanova svetišta u okolici Salone, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, 8-9, Zagreb, 1982, 121–140.
- Rendić-Miočević 2015 – Ante Rendić-Miočević, Momuments of the Mithraic cult in the territory of Arupium (Dalmatia), u / in: *Romanising Oriental Gods? Religious transformations in the Balkan provinces in the Roman period. New finds and novel perspectives. Proceedings of the international Symposium, Skopje, 18-21 September 2013*, eds. A. Nikoloska & S. Müskens, Skopje, 2015, 403–426.
- Reuter 2012 – Marcus Reuter, *Legio XXX Ulpia victrix. Ihre Geschichte, ihre Soldaten, ihre Denkmäler*, Darmstadt, 2012.
- Ritterling 1925 – Emil Ritterling, Legio, *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 12, Stuttgart, 1925, 1211–1829.
- Saxer 1967 – Robert Saxer, *Untersuchungen zu den Vexillationen des römischen Kaiserheeres von Augustus bis Diokletian*, Köln, 1967.
- Selem & Vilogorac-Brčić 2018 – Petar Selem & Inga Vilogorac-Brčić, *ROMIC II. Religionum Orientalium monumenta et inscriptiones ex Croatia II.*, Zagreb, 2018.
- Sinobad 2010 – Marko Sinobad, Jupiter i njegovi štovatelji u svjetlu epigrafskih izvora na području Hrvatske / Jupiter and his Worshippers in the light of Epigraphic sources in Croatia, *Opuscula archaeologica*, 34, Zagreb, 2010, 145–229.
- Smith 1979 – Richard E. Smith, Dux, Praepositus, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 36, Bonn, 1979, 263–278.
- Southern 1989 – Pat Southern, The Numeri of the Roman Imperial Army, *Britannia*, 20, London, 1989, 81–140.
- Speidel 1992 – Michael A. Speidel, Roman Army Pay Scales, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 82, London, 1992, 87–106.
- Szabó 2018 – Csaba Szabó, *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia. Materiality and Religious Experience*, Oxford: Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 49, 2018.
- Tončinić 2011 – Domagoj Tončinić, *Spomenici VII. legije na području rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Split, 2011.
- Wilkes 1969 – John J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969.
- Zaninović 1985 – Marin Zaninović, Prata legionis u Kosovom polju kraj Knina s osvrtnom na teritorij Tilurija, *Opuscula archaeologica*, 10, Zagreb, 1985, 63–79.

