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## Rimska vojna diploma iz Podgrađa (*Asseria*)

### The Roman military diploma from Podgrađe (*Asseria*)

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U ovome radu autor donosi podatke o dosad nepoznatoj rimskoj vojnoj diplomi koja je nedavno slučajno nađena na području Asserije, bogatom arheološkom lokalitetu uz mjesto Podgrađe nedaleko od Benkovca. Riječ je o dosta rijetkom epigrafskom nalazu pravnoga karaktera, tj. tek četvrtom natpisu takve vrste s hrvatske obale Jadrana. Asserijaska vojna diploma, premda necjelovito sačuvana, donosi niz vrijednih podataka, osobito važnih za bolje poznavanje rimske vojne povijesti. Izdana je u vrijeme vladavine cara Hadrijana, i to kada je on deseti put obnašao tribunsku čast, što omogućuje datiranje asserijatske isprave u godinu 125./126. Nakon carevoga imena s titulaturom, u toj rimskoj vojnoj diplomi slijedi popis augzilizarnih postrojbi čiji su časno otpušteni vojnici dobili rimsko građansko pravo. Prvo su navedene dvije ale. Slijedi niz od pet kohorti. Potom je ponovno navedena jedna pomoćna konjanička formacija, i to *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis*. Zatim slijede podatci o njihovom području službovanja. Riječ je o Donjoj Daciji, rimskoj provinciji čiji je upravitelj tada bio *Cocceius Naso*. O njemu se malo zna. Kao prokurator u toj rimskoj provinciji poznat je tek odnedavno, i to zahvaljujući diplomama koje su izdane nekoliko godina prije asserijatske. Nažalost, u njoj nisu sačuvani, među inim, i podatci o primatelju vojne diplome. No autor na kraju članka pretpostavlja da je njezin vlasnik možda bio upravo jedan od veterana iz vexilacije iliričkih konjanika. Naime, diploma potječe iz Asserije, liburnskoga grada koji je bio smješten na iliričkome području, prostoru odakle su i bili unovačeni konjanici za tu rimsku vojnu formaciju.

This paper contains data on a heretofore unknown Roman military diploma which was recently discovered by chance in the area of Asseria, a rich archaeological site next to the village of Podgrađe near the town of Benkovac. This is a rather rare epigraphic find with a legal character, i.e. only the fourth inscription of this type from the Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea. The Asserian military diploma, although not preserved in its entirety, carries a wealth of valuable data, particularly important to a better understanding of Roman military history. It was issued during the reign of Emperor Hadrian, at the time he held the post of tribune for the tenth time, which makes it possible to date the Asserian document to 125/126. The emperor's name with titular on this Roman military diploma is followed by a list of auxiliary units whose honourably discharged soldiers were granted Roman citizenship rights. First two alae are mentioned. This is followed by a series of five cohorts. Then an auxiliary cavalry formation is once more mentioned, the *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis*. Data on their region of service follow. This is Dacia Inferior, a Roman province at the time administered by *Cocceius Naso*. Little is known of him. As a procurator in this Roman province, he became known only recently, thanks to diplomas issued several years prior to this example found in Asseria. Unfortunately, data on the person receiving the military diploma, among other things, have not been preserved. Even so, at the end of the article, the author posits that its owner may in fact have been a veteran of the Illyrian cavalry vexillation. The diploma is originally from Asseria, a Liburnian town which was situated in Illyrian territory, an area whence cavalry troops for this Roman military formation were recruited.

*Ključne riječi: Podgrađe (Asseria), rimska vojna diploma (constitutio), alae, kohorte, vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis, Donja Dacija (Dacia inferior), Cocceius Naso*

*Key words: Podgrađe (Asseria), Roman military diploma (constitutio), alae, cohorts, vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis, Dacia Inferior, Cocceius Naso*

Na području Podgrađa, mjestu nedaleko od Benkovca, u antičkome razdoblju nalazila se *Asseria*. Riječ je o jednom od najznačajnijih središta južne Liburnije, gradu i zajednici koje spominju brojni povijesni literarni izvori i epigrafska građa.<sup>1</sup> *Asseria* je bila na cesti koja je iz Jadera vodila u Burnum, a od tog raskrižja u Salonu i unutrašnjost provincije. Već odavno postoji pretpostavka o tome da se taj bogati liburnski grad koristio i lukom u priobalju Pakošтана.<sup>2</sup> Ondje je ona nedavno i otkrivena.<sup>3</sup>

U *Asseriji*, smještenoj na vapnenačkom uzvišenju iznad plodnoga i prostranoga benkovačkog polja, tj. na razmeđu Bukovice i Ravnih kotara, prva značajnija iskopavanja proveo je bečki Austrijski arheološki institut, i to prije stotinjak godina.<sup>4</sup> *Asseria* je potom bila prepuštena propadanju i zaboravu, sve do 1998., kada su djelatnici Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru, i to pod vodstvom dr. sc. Ive Fadića, započeli sustavna istraživanja toga velebnog antičkoga grada.<sup>5</sup> Njegovi izvrsno očuvani bedemi izgrađeni od golemih kamenih blokova, zatim *forum* te ostatci monumentalnih vrata u obliku slavoluka (*Porta Traiana*), samo su neki od arheoloških građevinskih ostataka koji govore o tome da su *Asserijati* još prije dva tisućljeća prihvatili kulturu gradskog načina življenja, i to visoke razine. O tome svjedoče i njihovi mnogobrojni javni i privatni natpisi.<sup>6</sup>

S prostora *Asserije* potječe i jedan dosad neobjavljeni epigrafski spomenik pravnoga karaktera. Riječ je o necjelovito sačuvanoj rimskoj vojnoj diplomi (**sl. 1-2**). Za nju sam saznao koncem 2008., i to od Ivica Čerina iz Podgrađa, u čijem je vlasništvu. Uz odobrenje za objavu tog rijetkog i zanimljivog natpisa, on mi je velikodušno dao i podatke o mjestu i okolnostima pronalaska. Za tu darovanu dobrotu ovom mu prigodom od srca zahvaljujem. Prema njegovim riječima, taj rimski epigrafski nalaz slučajno je otkriven nedaleko od sjevernih *asserijatskih* gradskih bedema, odnosno na prostoru maloga parkirališta koje je izgrađeno izravnavanjem terena pomoću bagera.

Takve isprave izdavale su se pripadnicima pomoćnih ala i kohorti, flote te drugih vrsta izvanlegijskih formacija, a iznimno čak i vojnicima nekih legija. Među inim, u njima je istaknuto davanje rimskoga građanskog prava, i to časno otpuštenim veteranima. Izdavane su u razdoblju od cara Klaudija, pa sve do početka 4. st. Rimske vojne diplome sastoje se od dvije brončane pločice na kojima je tekst upisan dva puta. Budući da se onaj na nutarnjoj strani teže mogao zlorabiti, smatrao se je vjerodostojnijim i o tome su jamčili svjedoci, čija su imena upisana

The area of Podgrađe, a village near Benkovac, was the site of *Asseria* in Antiquity. This was one of the most important centres of Southern Liburnia, a city and a community mentioned in numerous historical literary sources and epigraphic materials.<sup>1</sup> *Asseria* was on the road which led from Iader to Burnum, and from this crossroads to Salona and the provincial interior. A long-held hypothesis is that this wealthy city also used a harbour in the coastal belt of Pakošтана.<sup>2</sup> Such a harbour was in fact discovered there recently.<sup>3</sup>

The first major excavations at *Asseria*, situated on a limestone plateau above the fertile and spacious Benkovac field, i.e. at the boundary between Bukovica and Ravni kotari, were conducted by the Austrian Archaeology Institute of Vienna roughly a century ago.<sup>4</sup> *Asseria* was then left to decay and oblivion, until 1998, when the staff of Zadar's Archaeological Museum, led by Ivo Fadić, Ph.D., launched systematic research into this immense Roman-era city.<sup>5</sup> Its splendidly preserved walls made of enormous stone blocks, and then the *forum* and the remains of the monumental gate in the shape of a triumphal arch (*Porta Traiana*), are just some of the archaeological architectural remains demonstrating that *Asseria's* residents accepted the urban way of life - indeed, at a very high level - over two millennia ago. Their numerous public and private inscriptions also testify to this fact.<sup>6</sup>

A thus far unpublished epigraphic monument with a legal character also comes from *Asseria*. This is an incompletely preserved Roman military diploma (**Figs. 1-2**). I learned this at the end of 2008 from Ivica Čerina of Podgrađe, who owns it. Besides granting me permission to publish this rare and fascinating inscription, he also graciously furnished me with information on the site and circumstances of its discovery. I would like to take this opportunity to sincerely thank him for being so forthcoming. According to Čerina, this Roman epigraphic find was discovered by chance not far from *Asseria's* northern city walls, in the area of a small parking lot made by levelling the terrain with an excavator.

Such documents were issued to the members of auxiliary *alae* and cohorts, fleets and other extra-legionary formations, and, exceptionally, even to the soldiers of certain legions. Among other things, the granting of Roman citizenship is emphasized in them, to honourably discharged veterans. They were issued from the reign of Emperor Claudius to the early fourth century. Roman military diplomas consisted of two bronze plates on which the text was written twice. Since the text on the inside was deemed more difficult to misuse, it was considered more authentic, and witnesses testified to this. Their names were inscribed on the outer side of the

1 Čače 2003, str. 7-43; Čače 2006, str. 65-79; Čače 2007, str. 39-82; Kurilić 2006, str. 7-10.

2 Jelić 1898, str. 121; Iveković 1932, str. 155.

3 Brusić 2005, str. 121-122; Brusić 2006, str. 306-307; Brusić 2007, str. 11-37; Ilkić, Parica, Meštrov 2008, str. 214.

4 Liebl, Wilberg 1908, str. 17-88.

5 Fadić 2003; Fadić 2007, str. 88-97.

6 Od novijih radova v. npr. Fadić 2006, str. 73-104; Kurilić 2006, str. 7-72. Za starije objave v. katalog natpisa kod Kurilić 1999, str. 454 i *sub verbo*.

1 Čače 2003, pp. 7-43; Čače 2006, pp. 65-79; Čače 2007, pp. 39-82; Kurilić 2006, pp. 7-10.

2 Jelić 1898, p. 121; Iveković 1932, p. 155.

3 Brusić 2005, pp. 121-122; Brusić 2006, pp. 306-307; Brusić 2007, pp. 11-37; Ilkić, Parica, Meštrov 2008, p. 214.

4 Liebl, Wilberg 1908, p. 17-88.

5 Fadić 2003; Fadić 2007, pp. 88-97.

6 Among more recent works, see, e.g. Fadić 2006, pp. 73-104; Kurilić 2006, pp. 7-72. For older publications, see the inscription catalogue in Kurilić 1999, p. 454 and *sub verbo*.



Slika 1.

Prva pločica diplome, izvana (foto: Mato Ilkić)

Figure 1.

First plate of the diploma, outside (photo: Mato Ilkić)

na vanjskoj stranici druge pločice diptiha. Računajući i necjelovito sačuvane vojne diplome, diljem nekadašnjega Rimskoga Carstva dosad je otkriveno oko tisuću takvih isprava.<sup>7</sup> Međutim, s prostora hrvatske obale Jadrana poznate su - uključujući i ovu upravo otkrivenu - samo njih četiri: dvije iz Solina<sup>8</sup> i jedna iz sela Jeci (Ježi) nedaleko od Umaga.<sup>9</sup> Jedan mali ulomak diplome čuva se i u sinjskome Muzeju Cetinske krajine, no nažalost nisu sačuvani podatci o mjestu njegova pronalaska.<sup>10</sup>

diptych plates. Counting also the incompletely preserved military diplomas, roughly a thousand such documents have been found throughout the former Roman Empire.<sup>7</sup> However, in the territory of the Croatian Adriatic coast, only four are known, including the one just discovered: two from Solin<sup>8</sup> and one from the village of Jeci (Ježi) not far from Umag.<sup>9</sup> One small fragment of a diploma is held in the Cetina Frontier Museum in Sinj, but unfortunately no data on the site of its discovery have been preserved.<sup>10</sup>

7 Za diplome vidi Keppie 2001, str. 84-85; Matijašić 2002, 157-161; Lassère 2005, str. 797-807; usp. i <http://www.romancoins.info/MilitaryDiploma1a.htm>

8 CIL XVI 14, 38.

9 CIL XVI 134; Sticotti 1908, str. 289-294; Benedetti 1973, str. 37-49.

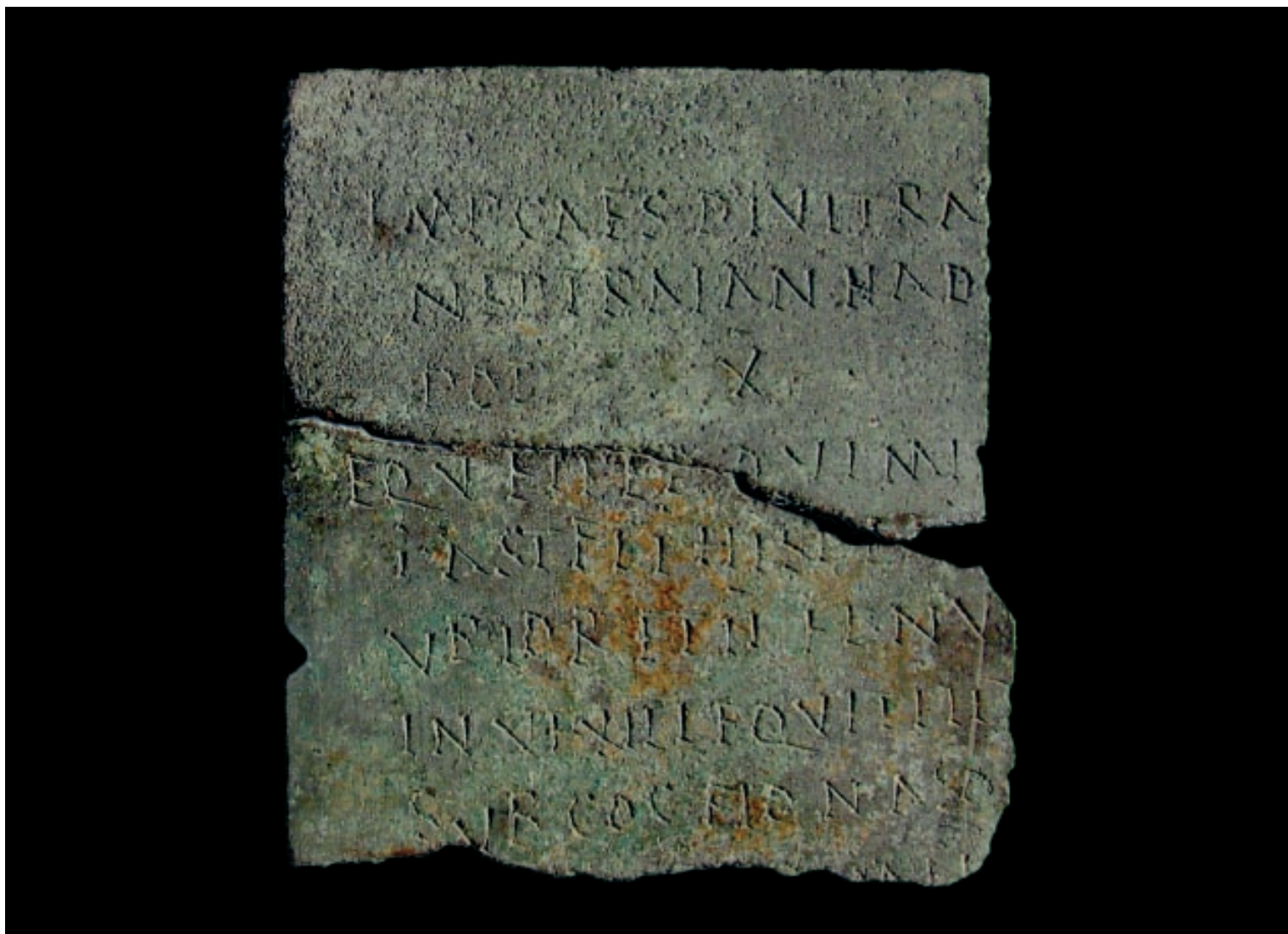
10 Taj dosad nepoznati ulomak diplome prvi je prepoznao i izdvojio Ivan Radman Livaja, kojemu zahvaljujem na dobivenim podacima. Prema mišljenju tog djelatnika zagrebačkog Arheološkog muzeja, fragment iz sinjskoga Muzeja Cetinske krajine možda potječe s područja Trilj ili Čitluka.

7 On diplomas, see Keppie 2001, pp. 84-85; Matijašić 2002, 157-161; Lassère 2005, pp. 797-807; cf. also <http://www.romancoins.info/MilitaryDiploma1a.htm>

8 CIL XVI 14, 38.

9 CIL XVI 134; Sticotti 1908, pp. 289-294; Benedetti 1973, pp. 37-49.

10 This until now unknown diploma fragment was first recognized and set aside by Ivan Radman Livaja, whom I would like to thank for the information. According to a staff member of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, the fragment from the Cetina Frontier Museum in Sinj may have originated in the area of Trilj or Čitluk.



Slika 2

Prva pločica diplome, iznutra (foto: Mato Ilkić)

Figure 2.

First plate of the diploma, inside (photo: Mato Ilkić)

Od aserijatske diplome sačuvana su dva brončana ulomka koja se međusobno spajaju, a pripadaju prvoj pločici diptiha (sl. 1-2). Za nju sam saznao koncem 2008., i to od Ivica Čerine iz Podgrađa, u čijem je vlasništvu tada bila.<sup>11</sup> Svaki od njih ima debljinu od 1,1 mm, a zajedno tvore površinu od 79 x 70 mm. Pločice su izvrsno očuvane. Nisu čišćene pa imaju izvornu patinu.

Na vanjskom natpisnom polju (sl. 1), koje je uz rubove omeđeno dvjema urezanim crtama, sačuvan je početni i središnji dio prvih 13 redaka. Od njih su prvi i četvrti neznatno izvučeni. Tekst je poprilično zbijen. Slova su pravilno urezana. Iznad brojki je najčešće vodoravna hasta. Između često pokraćenih riječi uglavnom nema razmaka ni interpunkcije. Iznimka je treći redak, gdje se redovito nalazi točka unutar naglašenog razmaka između kratica. U 6. retku, ispred pokraćenog imena kohorte *BRITT* ∞,

The two bronze fragments of the Asseria diploma have been preserved which fit together, and which belong to the first plate of the diptych (Figs. 1-2). I learned this at the end of 2008 from Ivica Čerina of Podgrađe, who then owned it.<sup>11</sup> Each of them is 1.1 mm thick, and together they form a surface of 79 x 70 mm. The plates have been wonderfully preserved. They have not been cleaned so they have their original patina.

On the external inscription field (Fig. 1), which is bordered on the edges with two engraved lines, the initial and middle portion of the first 13 lines are preserved. Of these, the first and fourth are slightly drawn out. The text is quite tightly packed. The letters are uniformly engraved. There is most often a horizontal bar above the numbers. There are generally no punctuation marks between the often abbreviated words. The exception is the third line,

<sup>11</sup> Pronalazač je ulomke diplome predao Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru, gdje su uvedeni pod inventarnim brojevima A14007 i A14008.

<sup>11</sup> The founder gave the fragments to the Archaeological museum in Zadar, where they are inventoried as inv. nos A14007 and A14008.

nedostaje *ET*, veznik koji se inače redovito javlja u popisu između naziva vojnih postrojba. Sačuvani natpis na vanjskoj stranici aserijatske diplome glasi:

IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI [---]  
 NERV NEPOS TRAIANVS [---]  
 PONT • MAXIM • TRIB • [---]  
 EQVITIB ET PEDIT QVI MILI[---]  
 5 V QVAE APPELL I AST ET I H[---]  
 MAGEN I BRITT ∞ ET VBIO[---] (sic!)  
 ET II FLAV BESSOR ITEM I[---]  
 ILLYRICI ET SVNT IN DA[---]  
 IO NASONE QVIN ET VICEN [---]  
 10 EMER DIMISS HONESTA [---]  
 MIN SVBSCRIPT SVNT [---]  
 TERISQ EORVM CIVITATE[---]  
 [---]RIB QVA[---]

Na nutarnjoj stranici (sl. 2), gdje su urezana nešto veća slova, sačuvana je približno lijeva polovica teksta, i to njegovih prvih osam redaka te djelić devetoga. Između njih je neznatno širi razmak. Prvi i četvrti redak naglašeni su izvlačenjem. Iznad brojki je vodoravna crta. U zadnjem retku je ime *Cocceio* pogrešno upisano u obliku COCEIO. Dakle, od natpisa s nutarnje strane diplome iz Asserije sačuvan je sljedeći dio:

IMP CAES DIVI TRA[---]  
 NEP TRAIAN HAD[---]  
 POT X [---]  
 EQV ET PED QVI MI[---]  
 5 I AST ET I HISP ET I [---]  
 VBIOR ET II FL NV[---]  
 IN VEXILL EQVIT ILL[---]  
 SVB COCEIO NASO[---] (sic!)  
 [- - - - -] M H [---]

Iako su pojedine riječi istog značenja različito pokraćene, natpis s objiju strana pločica ima isti sadržaj. Prema tome, rimska vojna diploma iz Asserije omogućuje uvid u približno prvu polovicu njezina sadržaja. To su podatci o imperatoru, vojnim postrojbama i provinciji njihove službe. Vidljiv je i dio zakonske formule koja se odnosi na dodjeljivanje rimskoga civiteta. Nažalost, nije sačuvan završni dio teksta, koji je, među inim, sadržavao i podatke o primatelju. Prema tomu, na nutarnjoj i vanjskoj stranici prve pločice bio je upisan sljedeći sadržaj:

*Imp(erator) Caesar, divi Traiani [Parthici f(i)lius], divi] Nerv(ae) nepos, Traianus Had[rianus Aug(ustus)], pont(ifex) maxim(us), trib(unicia) pot(estate) X, [co(n)s(ul) III], equitib(us) et pedit(ibus) qui mili[taverunt in alis II et coh(ortibus)] V quae appell(antur) I Ast(urum) et I Hisp(anorum) et I [Fl(avia) Com]magen(orum) (et) I Britt(onum) (milliaria) et Ubior(um) et II Fl(avia) Nu[mid(arum)] et II Fl(avia) Bessor(um) item in vexill(atione) equit(um) Illyrici(anis) et sunt in Da[cia infer(iore)] sub Coc(c)eiio Nasone,*

where a dot is regularly placed within the notable spaces between abbreviations. In the sixth line, in the abbreviated name of the cohort I BRITT ∞, the ET is absent, a conjunction which otherwise regularly appears in the list between the names of military units. The preserved inscription on the external side of the Asserian diploma reads:

IMP CAESAR DIVI TRAIANI [---]  
 NERV NEPOS TRAIANVS [---]  
 PONT • MAXIM • TRIB • [---]  
 EQVITIB ET PEDIT QVI MILI[---]  
 5 V QVAE APPELL I AST ET I H[---]  
 MAGEN I BRITT ∞ ET VBIO[---] (sic!)  
 ET II FLAV BESSOR ITEM I[---]  
 ILLYRICI ET SVNT IN DA[---]  
 IO NASONE QVIN ET VICEN [---]  
 10 EMER DIMISS HONESTA [---]  
 MIN SVBSCRIPT SVNT [---]  
 TERISQ EORVM CIVITATE[---]  
 [---]RIB QVA[---]

On the internal side (Fig. 2), where somewhat larger letters are engraved, roughly the left half of the text has been preserved - its first eight lines and a small portion of the ninth. Between them there is a negligibly wider space. The first and fourth lines are emphasized by being drawn out. There are horizontal lines above the numbers. In the last line, the name *Cocceio* is written mistakenly in the form COCEIO. Thus, the following portion of the inscription on the inside of the diploma from Asseria has been preserved:

IMP CAES DIVI TRA[---]  
 NEP TRAIAN HAD[---]  
 POT X [---]  
 EQV ET PED QVI MI[---]  
 5 I AST ET I HISP ET I [---]  
 VBIOR ET II FL NV[---]  
 IN VEXILL EQVIT ILL[---]  
 SVB COCEIO NASO[---] (sic!)  
 [- - - - -] M H [---]

Although individual words with the same meaning are abbreviated differently, the inscription has the same content on both sides of the plate. The Roman military diploma from Asseria thus makes it possible to see roughly the first half of its content. These are data on the emperor, military units and the province of their service. A part of the legal formula pertaining to the conferral of Roman citizenship is also visible. Unfortunately, the closing portion of the text has not been preserved, which, among other things, contained data on the receiver. Therefore, the following text was written on the internal and external sides of the first plate:

*Imp(erator) Caesar, divi Traiani [Parthici f(i)lius], divi] Nerv(ae) nepos, Traianus Had[rianus Aug(ustus)], pont(ifex) maxim(us), trib(unicia) pot(estate) X, [co(n)s(ul) III], equitib(us) et pedit(ibus)*

*quin(is) et vicen[(is) pluribusve stipend(iis)] emer(itis) dimiss(is) honesta [missione, quorum no]min(a) subscript(a) sunt, [ipsis liberis pos]terisqu(e) eorum civitate[m dedit et conubium cum ux]o]rib(us) qua[s tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.---]*

Iako na aserijatskoj vojnoj diplomu nisu sačuvani podatci o konzulskome paru, kao ni o nadnevku njezina izdavanja, ona se ipak može pouzdano datirati, i to unutar jedne godine, zahvaljujući tomu što je u cijelosti sačuvan podatak o tribunskoj časti Hadrijana, vladara s čijim imenom i punom titulaturom započinje natpis na toj konstituciji. Naime, treći redak s nutarnje strane natpisa započinje kraticom *POT*, iza koje slijedi brojka *X*, iznad koje je vodoravna crta. Nedvojbeno je da je doista upisana upravo rimska brojka 10 jer se ispred i iza nje nalazi znatna praznina. Dakle, riječ je o razdoblju vladavine rimskoga cara Hadrijana, i to onda kada je on po deseti put obnašao tribunsku čast (*TRIB POT X*). Taj treći po redu car iz dinastije Antonina, kojeg je Trajan adoptirao, na prijestolje antičke velesile stupio je 11. kolovoza godine 117. Hadrijan je prvi put obnašao tribunsku čast do 10. prosinca iste godine, i svake sljedeće godine ju je na taj dan redovito obnavljao, sve do svoje smrti 10. srpnja 138. godine.<sup>12</sup> Prema tome, rimski car Hadrijan je 10. tribunsku vlast imao između 10. prosinca 125. i 9. prosinca 126. U tom razdoblju je izdao i konstituciju, tj. carsku uredbu kojoj pripada i necjelovito sačuvana vojna diploma iz Asserije.

Unutar popisa vojnih postrojba čiji su veterani časno otpušteni te time i nagrađeni rimskim građanskim pravom, najprije su navedene dvije ale: *I Asturum* i *I Hispanorum*. Slijedi niz od pet kohorti: *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Brittonum milliaria*, (*I*) *Ubiorum*, *II Flavia Numidarum* i *II Flavia Bessorum*. Na kraju popisa je ponovno konjanička postrojba, i to *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis*. Donosim osnovne podatke o tim augzilijarnim formacijama, i to onim redom kojim su navedene u popisu na diplomu iz Asserije.

*Ala I Asturum* konjanička je postrojba izvorno hispanškoga podrijetla za koju se pretpostavlja da je unovačena u ranocarskom razdoblju, te da je u početku bila na službi u Germaniji.<sup>13</sup> Diploma od 14. kolovoza 99. spominje ju u popisu augzilijarnih formacija Donje Mezije.<sup>14</sup> U toj provinciji je bila i 105. godine.<sup>15</sup> Vjeruje se da je sudjelovala u Trajanovim ratovima protiv Dačana.<sup>16</sup> Nakon njihova pokoravanja činila je dio vojne posade u Daciji. Osim u logoru Borošneul Mare, tegule s njezinim pečatima pronađene su i na lokalitetu Hoghiz,<sup>17</sup> utvrdi na gornjem toku rijeke Olt, gdje je, kako se pretpostavlja, bilo njezino najstarije mjesto boravka u

*qui mili[taverunt in alis II et coh(ortibus)] V quae appell(antur) I Ast(urum) et I Hisp(anorum) et I [Fl(avia) Com]magen(orum) (et) I Britt(onum) (milliaria) et Ubior(um) et II Fl(avia) Nu[mid(arum)] et II Fl(avia) Bessor(um) item in vexill(at)ione equit(um) Illyrici(anis) et sunt in Da[ci]a infer(iore)] sub Coc(c)ei]o Nasone, quin(is) et vicen[(is) pluribusve stipend(iis)] emer(itis) dimiss(is) honesta [missione, quorum no]min(a) subscript(a) sunt, [ipsis liberis pos]terisqu(e) eorum civitate[m dedit et conubium cum ux]o]rib(us) qua[s tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.---]*

Even though no data on the consul pair nor on the date of its issue are preserved on the military diploma, it can nonetheless be reliably dated, within a year, thanks to the fact that data on the tribune post of Hadrian, the ruler with whose name and full titular the inscription on this diploma begin, are fully preserved. The third line on the internal side of the inscription begins with the abbreviation *POT*, followed by *X*, a number with a horizontal line above it. There can be no doubt that the Roman numeral 10 was inscribed here, because there is a considerable space before and after it. This denotes the period of rule of the Roman Emperor Hadrian, at the time when he held the post of tribune the tenth time (*TRIB POT X*). This third emperor of the Antonine dynasty, who was adopted by Trajan, ascended to the throne of this ancient great power on 11 August 117. Hadrian first held the post of tribune up to 10 December of the same year, and each year he regularly renewed the post regularly, until his death on 10 July 138.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, the Roman Emperor Hadrian served as tribune the tenth time between 10 December 125 and 9 December 126. During this period, he also issued the constitution, i.e. imperial decree, to which this partially preserved military diploma from Asseria belongs.

Within the list of military units whose veterans were discharged and thereby rewarded with Roman citizenship, first two alae are cited: *I Asturum* and *I Hispanorum*. This is followed by five cohorts: *I Flavia Commagenorum*, *I Brittonum milliaria*, (*I*) *Ubiorum*, *II Flavia Numidarum* and *II Flavia Bessorum*. The end of the list once more features a cavalry unit, the *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis*. Hereafter basic information on these auxiliary formations will be provided in the order in which they are specified in the list on the diploma from Asseria.

The *ala I Asturum* is a cavalry unit originally of Hispanian origin, which is assumed to have been recruited during the Early Empire period, when it first served in Germania.<sup>13</sup> The diploma of 14 August 99 mentions it in the list of auxiliary formations of Moesia Inferior.<sup>14</sup> It was also in this province in 105.<sup>15</sup> It is believed to have participated

12 Kienast 1996, str. 128-130. Međutim, postoji mogućnost da je po deseti put tribunsku čast obnašao od kolovoza 125. do kolovoza 126; Lassère 2005, str. 600 i 1008.

13 Spaul 1994, str. 38.

14 CIL XVI 45.

15 Pferdehirt 2004, kat. br. 11.

16 Wagner 1938, str. 10.

17 Ţentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, str. 262.

12 Kienast 1996, pp. 128-130. However, it is possible that he served as tribune the tenth time from August 125 to August 126; Lassère 2005, pp. 600 and 1008.

13 Spaul 1994, p. 38.

14 CIL XVI 45.

15 Pferdehirt 2004, cat. no. 11.

novoosnovanoj rimskoj provinciji.<sup>18</sup> Upravo aserijatska diploma iz 125./126. prvi put izrijeком povezuje tu konjaničku postrojbu s Donjom Dacijom. U toj provinciji je *ala I Asturum* boravila i kasnije, sudeći prema diplomama iz 129./130. godine,<sup>19</sup> 140. godine<sup>20</sup> i 146. godine.<sup>21</sup> Malo je podataka o njezinom kasnijem boravišnom mjestu. No postoji mišljenje o tome da je tijekom 3. st. sudjelovala u teškim obrambenim borbama na dačkom području.<sup>22</sup>

*Ala I Hispanorum* je augzilijarna formacija za koju J. Spaul pretpostavlja da je formirana u vrijeme cara Augusta, te da je za njegovu nasljednika bila u Germaniji. No dopušta i mogućnost da je iz te nemirne provincije još za Tiberija bila premještena u Ilirik.<sup>23</sup> Postoji i mišljenje da je ona već bila u Iliriku u vrijeme Panonsko-delmatskog ustanka, među drugim brojnim augzilijama koje spominje Velej Paterkul.<sup>24</sup> Stela jednog njezinog konjanika, datirana otprilike u 70.-80. g., otkrivena je u Ivoševcima,<sup>25</sup> pa je moguće da joj je castrum bio u Burnumu, ali možda ne baš na samom početku 1. stoljeća. Iz toga dalmatinskoga rimskog vojnog uporišta ona je, prema nekim istraživačima, već oko sredine 1. st. bila dislocirana na Dunav, i to u *Aquincum*.<sup>26</sup> Ta konjanička formacija vjerojatno se odnosi na jednu od dvije ale Hispanaca s bročjanom oznakom *prima (I Hispanorum et Aravacorum i I Hispanorum Auriana)*, koje su, među inima, navedene u popisu vukovarske diplome izdane 2. srpnja 61. godine.<sup>27</sup> Ona je u Panoniji do 69., kada ponovno ide na put, i to u donje Podunavlje.<sup>28</sup> Nekoliko vojnih diploma iz razdoblja od 92. do 105. spominju je u sastavu vojske Donje Mezije.<sup>29</sup> Vrlo je vjerojatno sudjelovala u dačkim ratovima. Prema nekim rumunjskim znanstvenicima *ala I Hispanorum* je godine 119. bila u sastavu vojske Gornje Dacije.<sup>30</sup> No očito se tu nije dugo zadržala, jer ju aserijatska diploma iz 125./126. smješta u Donju Daciju. Uz nju je vezuje još nekoliko vojnih diploma izdanih u razdoblju od 129./130. do 146. godine.<sup>31</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je u njoj boravila sve dok ta rimska provincija nije bila napuštena. Castrum Prve ale Hispanaca u kasnom razdoblju njezina djelovanja bio je na lokalitetu Slaveni.<sup>32</sup>

in Trajan's wars against the Dacians.<sup>16</sup> After their subjugation, it formed part of the military garrison in Dacia. Besides the camp at Borošneul Mare, tegulae bearing its stamps were also found at the Hoghiz site,<sup>17</sup> a fortification on the upper course of the Olt River, which is assumed to be its oldest place of sojourn in the newly-established Roman province.<sup>18</sup> It is precisely the Asserian diploma of 125/126 which first explicitly mentions the link between this cavalry unit and Dacia Inferior. The *ala I Asturum* was stationed in this province even earlier, judging by the diplomas of 129/130,<sup>19</sup> 140<sup>20</sup> and 146.<sup>21</sup> Information on its later posts is meagre. However, according to some views, it participated in the heavy defensive combat in Dacian territory during the third century.<sup>22</sup>

The *ala I Hispanorum* was an auxiliary formation. J. Spaul conjectured that it was formed during the era of Emperor Augustus, and that it was stationed in Germania during the reign of his successor. However, he allows for the possibility that it was transferred from this restless province to Illyricum during the reign of Tiberius.<sup>23</sup> There is also the view that it had already been in Illyricum at the time of the Pannonian/Dalmatian uprising, among the other, numerous auxiliaries mentioned by Velleius Paterculus.<sup>24</sup> A stela dated to approximately 70-80 of one of its cavalymen was discovered in Ivoševci,<sup>25</sup> so it is possible that its castrum was in Burnum, albeit perhaps not quite at the beginning of the first century. From this Roman Dalmatian stronghold it was, according to some researchers, transferred to the Danube, to *Aquincum*, already around the mid-first century.<sup>26</sup> This cavalry formation probably pertains to one of two alae of Hispanians bearing the numerical designation *prima (I Hispanorum et Aravacorum and I Hispanorum Auriana)* which, among others, are cited in the list of the Vukovar diploma issued on 2 July 61.<sup>27</sup> It was in Pannonia until 69, when it once more set off on a journey to the lower Danubian area.<sup>28</sup> Several military diplomas from the 92-105 period are mentioned it as a component of the army of Moesia Inferior.<sup>29</sup> It is very likely that it participated in the Dacian wars. According to some Romanian scholars, *ala I Hispanorum* was a part of the Dacia Superior forces in 119.<sup>30</sup> However, it obviously did not remain here long, for the Asserian diploma of 125/126 places it

18 Wagner 1938, str. 10.

19 Weiß 1997, str. 243-246; RMD 376.

20 RMD 39.

21 RMD 269.

22 Wagner 1938, str. 11.

23 Spaul 1994, str. 145.

24 Cambi, Glavičić, Maršić, Miletić, Zaninović 2007, str. 26.

25 Raknić 1965, str. 71-84, T. I. 1 (= ILJug 843; AE 1971, 299).

26 Lőrincz 2001, str. 20. Međutim, Raknić 1965, str. 71-72, navodi da je otišla prema Aquincumu tek oko 80. god.

27 Dušanić 1999, str. 51-62; RMD 202.

28 Lőrincz 2001, str. 20.

29 Weiß 1997, str. 233-238; Pferdehirt 2004, kat. br. 10; Tentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, str. 268.

30 Tentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, str. 268.

31 CIL XVI 75; Weiß 1997, str. 243-246; RMD 39, 269, 376.

32 Spaul 1994, str. 145.

16 Wagner 1938, p. 10.

17 Tentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 262.

18 Wagner 1938, p. 10.

19 Weiß 1997, pp. 243-246; RMD 376.

20 RMD 39.

21 RMD 269.

22 Wagner 1938, p. 11.

23 Spaul 1994, p. 145.

24 Cambi, Glavičić, Maršić, Miletić, Zaninović 2007, p. 26.

25 Raknić 1965, pp. 71-84, P. I. 1 (= ILJug 843; AE 1971, 299).

26 Lőrincz 2001, p. 20. However, Raknić 1965, p. 71-72, stated that it departed from Aquincum only at around 80.

27 Dušanić 1999, pp. 51-62; RMD 202.

28 Lőrincz 2001, p. 20.

29 Weiß 1997, pp. 233-238; Pferdehirt 2004, cat. no. 10; Tentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 268.

30 Tentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 268.



*Cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* je pješачka postrojba sirijskoga podrijetla za koju se obično misli da je formirana u razdoblju Flavijevaca.<sup>33</sup> Čini se, međutim, da je ona utemeljena ipak nešto ranije. Naime, na popisu je vojske Donje Mezije u jednoj diplomi iz 92. godine.<sup>34</sup> S obzirom na to da su tada njezini časno otpušteni pripadnici bili nagrađeni rimskim građanskim pravom nakon uobičajenih 25 godina službe, proizlazi da je ta komagenska kohorta unovačena najkasnije 67., dakle barem još potkraj vladavine Neronove. Komagena je anektirana godine 72., postavši sjevernim dijelom rimske provincije Sirije. No njezine bivše kraljevske vojne postrojbe vjerojatno su preustrojene u sustav rimskih auxilija. Naime, G. L. Cheesman kaže da su Rimljani uzeli u službu vojnike bivših klijentskih kraljevstava, kao što je bila i Komagena.<sup>35</sup> Kohorti je možda pridodan počasni naziv *Flavia*, kao nagrada za sudjelovanje na strani Vespazijana u građanskome ratu. Kako god bilo, osim već na spomenutoj diplomi iz 92., na popisu je vojske Donje Mezije, sve do 111. godine.<sup>36</sup> Potom je u razdoblju do 125./126. prema aserijatskoj diplomi bila dislocirana u Donju Daciju. U toj je provinciji posvjedočena i na nekoliko kasnijih vojnih diploma, sve do 146. godine.<sup>37</sup>

*Cohors I Brittonum milliaria* pomoćna je rimska vojna formacija za koju J. Spaul misli da je vjerojatno osnovana u razdoblju vladavine Vespazijanove.<sup>38</sup> No, na popisu je panonske vojske u diplomi iz godine 85.,<sup>39</sup> pa je ta kohorta možda ipak formirana još za julijevsko-klaudijevske dinastije. Naime, njezini pripadnici koji su otpušteni te godine morali su biti unovačeni najkasnije godine 60., s obzirom na to da su kao auxilijarci služili najmanje 25 godina. Prema podacima iz diploma izdanih za vladavine Trajanove isprva je bila u Gornjoj Meziji,<sup>40</sup> a potom u sastavu garnizona Dacije.<sup>41</sup> U toj novoformiranoj rimskoj provinciji dobila je titulu *Ulpia Torquata*, odlikovanje koju je nosila nekoliko godina.<sup>42</sup> Nakon što je provincija razdijeljena, pripala je Donjoj Daciji. To se, prema aserijatskoj diplomi, dogodilo najkasnije 125./126. Potom je premještena u srednje Podunavlje. Naime, prema diplomi od 19. svibnja 135. bila je u sastavu vojske Donje Panonije.<sup>43</sup> Potkraj vladavine Antonina Pija i početkom vladavine Marka Aurelija *cohors I Brittonum milliaria* je u provinciji *Dacia Porolissensis*, o čemu svjedoči nekoliko rimskih vojnih diploma

in Dacia Inferior. Several more military diplomas issued in the period from 129/130 to 146 are associated with it as well.<sup>31</sup> It is assumed to have remained in this Roman province until the latter was abandoned. The castrum of the First Hispanian ala was at the Slaveni site in the later period of its operations.<sup>32</sup>

The *cohors I Flavia Commagenorum* was an infantry unit of Syrian origin which is customarily believed to have been formed during the Flavian era.<sup>33</sup> However, it would appear that it was in fact established somewhat earlier, for it is on the list of the army of Moesia Inferior in a diploma issued in 92.<sup>34</sup> Given that its honourably discharged members were at the time rewarded with Roman citizenship after the customary 25 years of service, it follows that this Commagene cohort was recruited not later than 67, therefore at least near the end of Nero's reign. Commagene was surveyed in 72, having become the northern section of the Roman province of Syria. However, its former royal military units were probably redeployed in the system of Roman auxiliaries. Namely, G. L. Cheesman said that the Romans admitted into service the soldiers of former client kingdoms, such as Commagene.<sup>35</sup> The honorary title *Flavia* was perhaps added to the cohort's name by Vespasian in the civil war. Whatever the case, in addition to the already mentioned diploma of 92, it was on the list of the army of Moesia Inferior until 111.<sup>36</sup> Then, up to 125/126, according to the *Asseria* diploma it was transferred to Dacia Inferior. Several later military diplomas testify to its presence in this province, all until 146.<sup>37</sup>

The *cohors I Brittonum milliaria* was an auxiliary Roman military formation which J. Spaul believes was probably established during the reign of Vespasian.<sup>38</sup> However, it is on the list of the Pannonian army in a diploma of 85,<sup>39</sup> so this cohort may in fact have been formed during the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Its members who were discharged that year had to be recruited not later than the year 60, since as auxiliary troops they served not less than 25 years. According to the data from the diplomas issued during the reign of Trajan, it was first in Moesia Superior,<sup>40</sup> and then a part of the Dacia garrison.<sup>41</sup> In this newly-formed Roman province, it obtained the title *Ulpia Torquata*, an honorific it bore for several years.<sup>42</sup> After the province was divided, it belonged to Dacia Inferior. This, according to the *Asseria* diploma, occurred not later than 125/126. It was then transferred to the central Danubian basin. According to a diploma issued on 19 May 135, it was a component of the army

33 Cichorius 1900, str. 273; Wagner 1938, str. 123.

34 Petolescu, Popescu 2004, str. 269-276; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, str. 279.

35 Cheesman 1975, str. 18.

36 CIL XVI 50; Weiß 1997, str. 233-238; RMD 222.

37 Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2004, str. 44-45; Weiß 1997, str. 243-246; RMD 39, 269, 376.

38 Spaul 2000, str. 196.

39 CIL XVI 31.

40 CIL XVI 54.

41 CIL XVI 160, 163; RMD 148, 226.

42 Spaul 2000, str. 197.

43 Pferderhirt 2004, kat. br. 27.

31 CIL XVI 75; Weiß 1997, pp. 243-246; RMD 39, 269, 376.

32 Spaul 1994, p. 145.

33 Cichorius 1900, p. 273; Wagner 1938, p. 123.

34 Petolescu, Popescu 2004, pp. 269-276; Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 279.

35 Cheesman 1975, p. 18.

36 CIL XVI 50; Weiß 1997, pp. 233-238; RMD 222.

37 Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2004, pp. 44-45; Weiß 1997, pp. 243-246; RMD 39, 269, 376.

38 Spaul 2000, p. 196.

39 CIL XVI 31.

40 CIL XVI 54.

41 CIL XVI 160, 163; RMD 148, 226.

42 Spaul 2000, p. 197.

izdanih između 154. i 164. godine.<sup>44</sup> Početkom 3. st. sudjelovala je u izgradnji utvrde na području mjesta Bumbesti.<sup>45</sup> Jedan njezin vojnik spominje se i na nadgrobnom spomeniku iz Splita.<sup>46</sup> Premda je iza sebe ostavila mnoštvo epigrafske građe u različitim provincijama, malo se zna o njezinom kasnijem djelovanju.

*Cohors (I) Ubiorum* je u vojnim diplomama prvi put spomenuta 75., i to sa službom u Meziji.<sup>47</sup> No, J. Spaul misli da su njezini počeci znatno stariji, te je povezuje s jednim prefektom s početka 1. st. Također, pretpostavlja da je ta podrijetlom germanska kohorta isprva bila stacionirana u Noriku.<sup>48</sup> Kako god bilo, ona je 97. sigurno posvjedočena u provinciji Donjoj Meziji.<sup>49</sup> Tada je bila navedena bez brojčane oznake *prima*, kao i u popisu aserijatske diplome, izdane oko tri desetljeća kasnije, i to za vojsku Donje Dacije, koja je prva spominje kao dio vojnog garnizona te rimske provincije.<sup>50</sup> Nakon toga je službovala u Gornjoj Daciji, gdje je s brojčanom oznakom *prima* prvi put spominje jedna fragmentirana vojna diploma datirana u vrijeme posljednjih nekoliko godina vladavine Hadrijanove.<sup>51</sup> *Cohors I Ubiorum* zadržala se u toj rimskoj provinciji barem do kraja 2. st. *Kastrum* joj je bio u mjestu *Odorheiul Secuiesc*.<sup>52</sup>

*Cohors II Flavia Numidarum* postrojba je o kojoj se malo zna. Podrijetlom je iz Mauretanije. C. Cichorius i W. Wagner tvrde da je nastala u flavijevskom razdoblju.<sup>53</sup> Na vojnim diplomama prvi je put spomenuta 17. srpnja 122., i to u sastavu vojske Donje Dacije.<sup>54</sup> Za tu rimsku provinciju je, osim aserijatske diplome, vezuje i još nekoliko drugih iz nešto kasnijega razdoblja, sve do 19. svibnja 146. godine.<sup>55</sup> Pozivajući se na mnogobrojni građevinski materijal označen njezinim pečatom, W. Wagner pretpostavlja da je *cohors II Flavia Numidarum* poslije bila u Gornjoj Daciji.<sup>56</sup> J. Spaul spominje njezine opeke označene kraticom COH NVM ANT.<sup>57</sup> Završni dodatak *Antoniniana* iz njezinoga imenovanja upućuje na to da je bila stacionirana na dačkom području i u prvim desetljećima 3. st., po svoj prilici za vladavine Karakale ili Elagabala.

*Cohors II Flavia Bessorum* tračkoga je podrijetla, a nastala je, sudeći prema imenu, u flavijevskom razdoblju.<sup>58</sup> Prvi put

of Pannonia Inferior.<sup>43</sup> Toward the end of the reign of Antoninus Pius and the beginning of the rule of Marcus Aurelius, the *cohors I Brittonum milliaria* was in the province *Dacia Porolissensis*, to which several Roman military diplomas issued between 154 and 164 testify.<sup>44</sup> At the beginning of the third century, it participated in the construction of the fortification in the area of Bumbesti.<sup>45</sup> One of its soldiers is also mentioned on a grave monument from Split.<sup>46</sup> Even though it left behind a multitude of epigraphic materials in various provinces, little is known of its later activities.

The *cohors (I) Ubiorum* was first mentioned in military diplomas in 75, when serving in Moesia.<sup>47</sup> But J. Spaul believes that its beginnings are much older, tying it to a prefect from the early first century. Also, he assumed that this originally Germanic cohort was first stationed in Noricum.<sup>48</sup> As the case may be, in 97 it was certainly proven to have been in the province of Moesia Inferior.<sup>49</sup> At the time it was cited without the numerical designation *prima*, as in the list on the Asserian diploma, issued approximately three decades later for the army of Dacia Inferior, which first mentioned it as a part of the military garrison of that Roman province.<sup>50</sup> Thereafter it served in Dacia Superior, where it was first mentioned with the numerical designation *prima* on a fragmented military diploma dated to the last several years of the rule of Hadrian.<sup>51</sup> The *cohors I Ubiorum* remained in that Roman province at least until the end of the second century. Its *castrum* was at *Odorheiul Secuiesc*.<sup>52</sup>

The *cohors II Flavia Numidarum* is a unit about which little is known. It was originally from Mauretania. C. Cichorius and W. Wagner have asserted that it emerged in the Flavian era.<sup>53</sup> It was first mentioned on military diplomas on 17 July 122, as part of the army of Dacia Inferior.<sup>54</sup> Besides the Asserian diploma, several others from later periods, up to 19 May 146, tie it to this Roman province.<sup>55</sup> Citing the numerous pieces of construction material marked with its stamp, W. Wagner conjectured that the *cohors II Flavia Numidarum* was later in Dacia Superior.<sup>56</sup> J. Spaul mentioned its bricks stamped with the abbreviation COH NVM ANT.<sup>57</sup> The final modifier *Antoniniana* in its name indicates that it was stationed in Dacian territory in the first centuries of the third century as well,

44 CIL XVI 185; RMD 31, 47, 63, 64, 177; Eck, Isac, Piso 1994, str. 577-591.

45 Chichorius 1990, str. 262; Spaul 2000, str. 197.

46 CIL III 2024.

47 Pferdehirt 2004, kat. br. 1.

48 Spaul 2000, str. 252.

49 Weiß 1997, str. 233-238.

50 *Cohors Ubiorum* je na popisu vojske Donje Dacije i na još jednoj diplomi koja je zbog slabe sačuvanosti šire datirana, i to u razdoblje od 119. do 129 (o tome vidjeti u: RMD 374).

51 RMD 384.

52 Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, str. 295.

53 Cichorius 1900, str. 320; Wagner 1938, str. 173.

54 Pferdehirt 2004, kat. br. 20.

55 CIL XVI 50, 75; Weiß 1997, str. 243-246; RMD 39, 269.

56 Wagner 1938, str. 174.

57 Spaul 2000, str. 474.

58 Cichorius 1900, str. 254; Wagner 1938, str. 97.

43 Pferdehirt 2004, cat. no. 27.

44 CIL XVI 185; RMD 31, 47, 63, 64, 177; Eck, Isac, Piso 1994, pp. 577-591.

45 Chichorius 1990, p. 262; Spaul 2000, p. 197.

46 CIL III 2024.

47 Pferdehirt 2004, cat. no. 1.

48 Spaul 2000, p. 252.

49 Weiß 1997, pp. 233-238.

50 The *Cohors Ubiorum* is on the list of the army of Dacia Inferior and on another diploma which has been dated over a broader period due to its poor state of preservation, in the period from 119 to 129 (on this see: RMD 374).

51 RMD 384.

52 Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 295.

53 Cichorius 1900, p. 320; Wagner 1938, p. 173.

54 Pferdehirt 2004, cat. no. 20.

55 CIL XVI 50, 75; Weiß 1997, pp. 243-246; RMD 39, 269.

56 Wagner 1938, p. 174.

57 Spaul 2000, p. 474.

se spominje 92., i to sa službom u Gornjoj Meziji.<sup>59</sup> Ondje je posvjedočena i 97. godine<sup>60</sup> te 105. godine.<sup>61</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je sudjelovala u dačkim ratovima.<sup>62</sup> U svakom slučaju, *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* je poslije bila u provinciji Donjoj Daciji. To potvrđuje, uz aserijatsku, i niz drugih diploma koje su izdane u razdoblju od 122. do 146. godine.<sup>63</sup> Prema tvrdnji rumunjskih istraživača rimske vojne povijesti, njezin castrum je bio na gornjem Oltu, i to u mjestu Cincșor.<sup>64</sup> W. Wagner pretpostavlja da je *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* za cara Marka Aurelija bila premještena na Istok.<sup>65</sup>

*Vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis*<sup>66</sup> posljednja je od postrojba s popisa na aserijatskoj diplomi. Isprava je izdana 125./126., pa je to za sada najstariji spomen te veksilacije iliričkih konjanika na vojnim diplomama. Također, u rimskoj provinciji Donjoj Daciji potvrđena je i 129./130. godine<sup>67</sup> te 130. godine.<sup>68</sup> Međutim, potkraj Hadrijanove vladavine bila je na službi u Gornjoj Daciji.<sup>69</sup> Nije poznato je li već tada promijenila svoj naziv, no vojne diplome iz 140. i 146., kada je ponovno bila u sastavu provincije Donje Dacije, navode je kao *numerus equitum Illyricorum*.<sup>70</sup> Ali ni taj naziv, čini se, nije dugo zadržala. G. L. Cheesman misli da je za vladavine cara Antonina Pija dobila naziv *ala Illyricorum*.<sup>71</sup> Opeke s njezinim pečatima otkrivene su na lokalitetima Vecs i Burghalla,<sup>72</sup> pa neki znanstvenici pretpostavljaju da joj je castrum bio u sjeveroistočnom dijelu provincije.<sup>73</sup> Vjeruje se da je ta augzilijarna postrojba - koja je iz veksilacije pretvorena najprije u numer, a potom u standardnu alu - nastala od elitnih konjanika iliričkoga podrijetla, i to za potrebe Trajanove vojne protiv Dačana.<sup>74</sup> Sudeći prema podacima iz aserijatske diplome, veksilacija iliričkih konjanika utemeljena je najkasnije 100./101. godine. Vjerojatno je riječ o njezinim prvim pripadnicima, koji su dobili časni otpust, te time stekli i rimsko građansko pravo. S obzirom na službu od najmanje 25 godina, ti su augzilijarci bili unovačeni oko 100./101., odnosno u vrijeme kada je rimski car Trajan prikupljao vojsku

during the reigns of Caracalla or Elagabalus.

The *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* was Thracian in origin, and it emerged, judging by its name, during the Flavian period.<sup>58</sup> It was first mentioned in 92, when serving in Moesia Superior.<sup>59</sup> There is also evidence that it was here in 97<sup>60</sup> and in 105.<sup>61</sup> It is assumed that it participated in the Dacian campaigns.<sup>62</sup> In any case, the *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* was later in the province of Dacia Inferior. This is confirmed by both the Asserian and a number of other diplomas issued in the period from 122 to 146.<sup>63</sup> According to the assertions of Romanian scholars of Roman military history, its castrum was on the upper course of the Olt, at Cincșor.<sup>64</sup> W. Wagner assumed that the *cohors II Flavia Bessorum* was transferred to the East during the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius.<sup>65</sup>

The *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum/Illyricianis*<sup>66</sup> is the last of the units on the list on the Asserian diploma. The document was issued in 125/126, so this is for now the oldest known mention of this Illyrian cavalry vexillation on a military diploma. Also, in the Roman province of Dacia Inferior, it was confirmed in 129/130<sup>67</sup> and 130.<sup>68</sup> However, toward the end of Hadrian's reign it was serving in Dacia Superior.<sup>69</sup> It is not known whether it had already changed its name then, but military diplomas from 140 and 146, when it was once more part of the province of Dacia Inferior, specify it as *numerus equitum Illyricorum*.<sup>70</sup> But not even this name, it would appear, lasted very long. G. L. Cheesman thought that during the reign of Emperor Antoninus Pius it was given the name *ala Illyricorum*.<sup>71</sup> Bricks bearing its stamps were discovered at the sites of Vecs and Burghalla,<sup>72</sup> so some scholars conjectured that its castrum was in the north-eastern part of the province.<sup>73</sup> It is believed that this auxiliary unit, which was transformed from a vexillation first into a numerus and then into a standard ala, had its origins in an elite cavalry of Illyrian origin for the needs of Trajan's campaigns against the Dacians.<sup>74</sup> Judging by

59 Petolescu, Popescu 2004, str. 269-276.

60 Weiß 1997, str. 233-238.

61 CIL XVI 50.

62 Spaul 2000, str. 342.

63 CIL XVI 75; RMD 39, 269; Weiß 1997, str. 243-246; Pferdehirt 2004, kat. br. 20; Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2004, str. 41-44.

64 Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, str. 273.

65 Wagner 1938, str. 97.

66 Njezino ime obično se navodi kao *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum* (npr. CIL XVI 75 = CIL III 876 i str. 1977), međutim, postoje i primjeri u kojima se Iliričani navode u obliku *Illyricianis* (npr. AE 1926, 79 = AE 1927, str. 25, bilj. 93), kako je upravo moralo biti i na ovoj diplomi iz Asserije.

67 CIL XVI 75.

68 RMD 376.

69 RMD 384.

70 RMD 39, 269.

71 Cheesman 1975, str. 77, 157, 176.

72 Spaul 1994, str. 150.

73 Cichorius 1893, str. 1249; Wagner 1938, str. 52; Beneš 1970, str. 189.

74 Cichorius 1893, str. 1249-1240; Wagner 1938, str. 51; Cheesman 1975, str. 77, 157, 176; Beneš 1970, str. 189.

58 Cichorius 1900, p. 254; Wagner 1938, p. 97.

59 Petolescu, Popescu 2004, pp. 269-276.

60 Weiß 1997, pp. 233-238.

61 CIL XVI 50.

62 Spaul 2000, p. 342.

63 CIL XVI 75; RMD 39, 269; Weiß 1997, pp. 243-246; Pferdehirt 2004, cat. no. 20; Eck, MacDonald, Pangerl 2004, pp. 41-44.

64 Țentea, Matei-Popescu 2004, p. 273.

65 Wagner 1938, p. 97.

66 Its name is generally cited as *vexillatio equitum Illyricorum* (e.g. CIL XVI 75 = CIL III 876 and p. 1977), however, there are examples in which the Illyrians are cited in the form *Illyricianis* (e.g. AE 1926, 79 = AE 1927, p. 25, note 93), as it had to be on this diploma from Asseria as well.

67 CIL XVI 75.

68 RMD 376.

69 RMD 384.

70 RMD 39, 269.

71 Cheesman 1975, pp. 77, 157, 176.

72 Spaul 1994, p. 150.

73 Cichorius 1893, p. 1249; Wagner 1938, p. 52; Beneš 1970, p. 189.

74 Cichorius 1893, pp. 1249-1240; Wagner 1938, p. 51; Cheesman 1975, pp. 77, 157, 176; Beneš 1970, p. 189.

i započeo Prvi dački rat. Dakle, vrsni ilirički konjanici očito su odabrani radi sudjelovanja u proširivanju i učvršćivanju antičke velesile.

Nakon popisa auxilijarnih postrojba u aserijatskoj diplomu izrijekom je navedeno da su se one nalazile *in Da[cia inferiore] sub Coc(c)eiō Nasone*. Godine 107., nakon pobjedonosnog rata protiv Dačana, car Trajan je na osvojenom području formirao rimsku provinciju Daciju. Ona se rasprostirala između Tise, Dunava, Dnjestra i Karpatha. No taj veliki prostor već je za cara Hadrijana razdijeljen na dva manja upravna dijela, od kojega je istočni pretvoren u provinciju Donju Daciju. Kasnije, za cara Marka Aurelija došlo je ponovno do reorganizacije, kada su formirane tri dačke provincije (*Tres Daciae*). Hadrijanova *Dacia inferior* bila je pod upravom prokuratora, koji je imao *ius gladii*.<sup>75</sup> Čini se da je *Cocceius Naso* bio jedan od prvih njezinih upravitelja. Na toj dužnosti sigurno je bio već 17. srpnja 122., kako to svjedoče dvije nedavno objavljene nečelovito sačuvane rimske vojne diplome.<sup>76</sup> *Cocceius Naso* zasad nije poznat s drugih vrsta epigrafske građe. O njemu se malo zna.<sup>77</sup> No očito je njegovo namjesništvo u rimskoj provinciji Donjoj Daciji trajalo duže vrijeme, barem do 125./126., sudeći upravo prema vojnoj diplomu iz Asserije. Nedugo nakon izdavanja te carske uredbe vjerojatno je došlo do smjene u Donjoj Daciji. Naime, njome je poslije upravljao *Plautius Caesianus*, potvrđen na diplomu od 22. ožujka 129. godine.<sup>78</sup> Potom je uslijedio *Claudius Constans*, kojega kao namjesnika Donje Dacije spominje jedna diploma izdana u razdoblju između 10. prosinca 129. godine i 9. prosinca 130. godine.<sup>79</sup>

Na sačuvanom dijelu natpisa s aserijatske diplome čitljiv je još samo prvi dio zakonske formule, koja se odnosi na davanje rimskoga građanskog prava i zakonitost braka onim veteranima koji su bili časno otpušteni nakon 25 ili više godina službe. Dakle, kako sam već bio istaknuo, nisu sačuvani podaci o primatelju isprave. Međutim, prema njezinome mjestu pronalaska, moguće je pretpostaviti da je on bio možda upravo veteran posljednje

the data from the Asserian diploma, the Illyrian cavalry vexillation was established in 100/101 at the latest. These were probably its first members who were granted an honourable discharge, thereby acquiring Roman citizenship. Given the minimum service of 25 years, these auxiliary troops were recruited at around 100/101, at the time when the Roman Emperor Trajan was gathering an army and launched the First Dacian War. Thus, these skilled Illyrian horsemen were obviously chosen to participate in the expansion and reinforcement of the ancient superpower.

After the list of auxiliary formations in the Asserian diploma, it explicitly states that they were located *in Da[cia inferiore] sub Coc(c)eiō Nasone*. In 107, after the victory in the war against the Dacians, Emperor Trajan formed the Roman province of Dacia in the conquered territory. It extended between the Tisza, Danube and Dniester Rivers and the Carpathians. However, this immense territory was already divided into two smaller administrative components during Hadrian's reign, of which the eastern part was transformed into the province of Dacia Inferior. Later, another reorganization was conducted during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when three Dacian provinces were formed (*Tres Daciae*). Hadrian's *Dacia inferior* was administered by a procurator, who wielded *ius gladii*.<sup>75</sup> It would appear that *Cocceius Naso* was one of its first administrators. He was certainly already at this post on 17 July 122, as two recently published, incompletely preserved Roman military diplomas testify.<sup>76</sup> *Cocceius Naso* is thus far not known from any other type of epigraphic materials. Very little is known of him.<sup>77</sup> However, it is obvious that his regency in the Roman province of Dacia Inferior lasted for a longer period, at least until 125/126, judging precisely by the military diploma from Asseria. Changes probably occurred in Dacia Inferior not long after this imperial edict was issued, for it was later administered by *Plautius Caesianus*, as confirmed on a diploma issued on 22 March 129.<sup>78</sup> He was followed by *Claudius Constans*, who is mentioned as the regent of

75 Brandis 1901, str. 1970-1971.

76 Pferdehirt 2004, kat. br. 20; RMD 361. Prve važne podatke o tom upravitelju rimske provincije Donje Dacije dobio sam od Andreasa Pangerla, izvrsnog poznavatelja rimskih vojnih diploma. On me je uputio i na stručnu literaturu u kojoj se spominje *Cocceius Naso*, te mu ovom prigodom najljepše zahvaljujem na ukazanom povjerenju i darovanoj dobroti. Također, prof. dr. sc. Anamarija Kurilić s Odjela za povijest Sveučilišta u Zadru, uz niz korisnih savjeta, dala mi je i teško dostupnu stručnu literaturu, na čemu joj najljepše zahvaljujem.

77 Na žalost, ni onomastička analiza njegova imenovanja ne može biti od koristi za upoznavanje njegova života. Oba imena vrlo su česta na latinskim natpisima diljem Rimskoga Carstva, pa su stoga slabe informativne snage. Na primjer, za rasprostranjenost tih imenâ u italiskim regijama IX-XI. te u većem dijelu rimskodobne Europe, v. OPEL 2, 67 (*Cocceius*) i OPEL 3, 96 (*Naso*); usp. i EDCS, prema kojemu se ime *Cocceius* javlja na 522 natpisa, a ime *Naso* na 105 epigrafskih spomenika (za to ime također usp. i Kajanto 1965, str. 237).

78 CIL XVI 75.

79 Weiß 1997, str. 243-246.

75 Brandis 1901, pp. 1970-1971.

76 Pferdehirt 2004, cat. no. 20; RMD 361. I received the first significant data on this administrator of the Roman province of Dacia Inferior from Andreas Pangerl, whose knowledge of Roman military diplomas is exemplary. He pointed me to the scholarly literature in which *Cocceius Naso* is mentioned, and I would like to take this opportunity to extend by sincerest gratitude for the confidence and generosity he demonstrated. Also, Prof. Anamarija Kurilić Ph.D. from the History Department of the University of Zadar, besides providing much useful advice, also gave me scholarly literature otherwise quite difficult to find, for which I thank her most sincerely.

77 Unfortunately, not even an onomastic analysis of his appointment is of any use in learning about his life. Both names are quite common in Latin inscriptions throughout the Roman Empire, so their capacity to provide information is limited. For example, on the widespread nature of these names in Italic regions IX-XI and in most of Roman-era Europe, see OPEL 2, 67 (*Cocceius*) and OPEL 3, 96 (*Naso*); cf. also EDCS, according to which the name *Cocceius* appears in 522 inscriptions, while the name *Naso* appears on 105 epigraphic monuments (for this name cf. also Kajanto 1965, p. 237).

78 CIL XVI 75.

u nizu spomenute vojne formacije. Naime, Asserija se nalazila na iliričkome prostoru, s kojega i potječu vojnici iz veksilacije iliričkih konjanika. To bi tada moglo značiti da se veteran, nakon časnog otpusta, vratio u svoj rodni kraj. Kako god bilo, on je kao rimski građanin došao u Asseriju, i to s dačkoga područja, gdje je prethodno bio na službi, vjerojatno još od početka Trajanova osvajanja tog prostora s lijeve strane Dunava.

Dacia Inferior in a diploma issued between 10 December 129 and 9 December 130.<sup>79</sup>

The only other legible part of the preserved portion of the inscription on the Asserian diploma is the beginning of the legal formula pertaining to the granting of Roman citizenship and the legality of marriage to those veterans who were honourably discharged after 25 or more years in the service. Thus, as I already emphasized, data on the person who received the diploma have not been preserved. However, based on the site of its discovery, one may assume that he was in fact a veteran of the last in the series of listed military formations. Namely, Asseria was in Illyrian territory, whence the troops from the Illyrian cavalry vexillation came. This would then mean that the veteran, after honourable discharge, returned to the region of his birth. Whatever the case may be, he arrived in Asseria as a citizen from Dacian territory where he had served, probably since the beginning of Trajan's conquests of this territory on the left bank of the Danube.

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79 Weiß 1997, pp. 243-246.

**Kratice / Abbreviations**

AE - L'anneé épigraphique

AMN - Acta Musei napocensis

CIL - Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

EDCS - Epigraphik - Datenbank Claus - Slaby (EDCS), <http://compute-in.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/pls/epigr/>, 3. svibnja 2009.

HAD - Hrvatsko arheološko društvo

ILluc - 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)

Ljetopis JAZU - Ljetopis Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti

OPEL - Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum, vol. I-IV, 1994.-2002.

RE - Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft

RMD - M. M. Roxan, Roman military diplomas 1954-1977, London 1987.

- M. M. Roxan, Roman military diplomas 1978-1984, London 1985.

- M. M. Roxan, Roman military diplomas 1985-1993, London 1994.

- M. M. Roxan, P. Holder, Roman

military diplomas IV, London 2003.

VHAD - Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva

ZPE - Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

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