

“FOREIGN PEREGRINI” IN THE AUXILIARY UNITS OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE OF DALMATIA



Ivan MATIJEVIĆ

University of Split

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

imatijev@ffst.hr

Abstract. – Numerous military auxiliary units were stationed in the Roman province of Dalmatia during the 1st century, the vast majority of which were composed of peregrini originating from other parts of the Roman Empire. There are 31 pieces of epigraphic evidence of such soldiers, who served in seven cohorts and five alae. After the beginning of the 2nd century, the Dalmatian auxiliary units were drastically reduced in number and they mostly began to recruit local peregrini, and from the time of Marcus Aurelius, all epigraphically confirmed recruits had citizenship. This paper will provide insight into the inscriptions and monuments of these soldiers who were peregrines and came from various parts of the Roman Empire. An attempt will be made to answer some questions, such as: From which parts of the Empire did they come from? What was the character of the relationships that these “foreign” soldiers established with the other individuals? Were they commemorated on tombstone inscriptions by civilians or fellow unit members? Do their monuments have elements that show they “adapted” to life in a new environment or did they bring over something characteristic from their ethnic culture, thus enriching the diversity of “unclassical” Dalmatia?

Key words. – inscription, monument, auxiliary units, peregrini, Dalmatia

On the auxiliary troops in the Roman army

Cohortes and *alae* were auxiliary units of the Roman army. Well-trained and organized, they had the ability to fight alongside the legions while also allowing the army diversity, as they included foot soldiers, cavalry, camel-riders, slingers and archers. *Alae* could have 500 cavalrymen (*ala quingenaria*) divided into 16 *turmae*, or 1000 cavalrymen (*ala milliaria*) divided into 24 *turmae*. Cohorts were composed of 500 soldiers (*cohors quingenaria*) distributed in six *centuriae*, or of 1000 soldiers (*cohors milliaria*) distributed in 10 *centuriae*. It seems that *milliariae* did not exist before the Flavian era, and those composed of soldiers with civil rights

enjoyed special prestige. Some cohorts were *equitatae*, which means that in addition to six centuries, they also had 120 cavalrymen divided into four *turmae*.¹ At the head of each *centuria* was a *centurio*, who was assisted by an *optio*, a *signifer* and a *tesserarius*, and the *turma* was commanded by a *decurio* with an *optio* and a *vexillarius*.² Cavalrymen received a higher salary than foot soldiers, and both were paid slightly less than legionaries.³

At the time of establishment, and for most auxiliary units it was at the beginning of the principate, peregrines served in cohorts and *alae*. The name of the people in the name of the unit clearly indicates in which area the first recruitment was carried out.⁴ More than three-quarters of the auxiliaries (301 out of 383) were recruited from European provinces, of which more than half (215) were founded in the West, followed by those from Asia (57) and Africa (25). Gaul, Hispania, Thrace and Pannonia were known for good cavalrymen, archers mostly served in *numeri*. From the time of Tiberius, recruitment for individual auxiliary units was carried out near their camps or in the wider area of the province where they were stationed. After several years, there were fewer and fewer soldiers from the original place of recruitment, despite the fact that the unit still retained the original designation of ethnicity in its name.⁵ Due to unexpected and high losses, some units were filled with recruits who did not come from the province where they operated. Thus, *Cohors I Lusitanorum equitata* had to compensate for the large losses suffered in the military operations against the Jews in Egypt in 117 by recruiting 126 soldiers from Asia Minor.⁶ Between 3,000 and 3,600 soldiers who had accumulated 25 or more years of active service were discharged each year, and about 7,000 recruits were needed to keep the auxiliary units effective.⁷ The greatest number of auxiliary units was established during the early Imperial period and consisted of soldiers of peregrine status, which is especially noticeable in the cohorts. During the Julio-Claudian dynasty, the vast majority of peregrines served in them (in cohorts the ratio is 44:0, in *alae* 48:7), in the time between the reigns of Vespasian and Hadrian there was an increase

¹ Campbell 1994, 34; Keppie 1998, 154–156; Southern 2006, 120–123; Gilliver 2007, 193; Rankov 2007, 53–55.

² Holder 1980, 86–99; Dixon, Southern 1992, 25–27; Le Bohec 2001, 25–26; Southern 2006, 121; Gilliver 2007, 193.

³ Le Bohec 2001, 210–212, Tab. 39; Dixon, Southern 1992, 87–88; Southern 2006, 122; Pollard 2006, 220; Speidel 2009, 349–380.

⁴ Le Bohec 2001, 93.

⁵ Haynes 1999, 166; Le Bohec 2001, 93–97, Tab. 25. Although it was believed that this did not apply to the specialized units of Syrian archers (Le Bohec 2001, 28; Southern 2006, 121–122; Gilliver 2007, 193), it seems that this assumption should be discarded, Haynes 2016, 135–142.

⁶ Herz 2007, 308; Haynes 2016, 101–102.

⁷ Scheidel 2007, 432; Holder 2017, 13.

in the number of recruits with citizenship (cohorts 27:17, *alae* 32:29), and in the period up to the year 170 this relationship would completely change (cohorts 13:17, *alae* 13:10). Later, there were almost no peregrines in the auxiliary units; most pursued their military careers in *numeri*, which led to a drastic change in the ratio (cohorts 3:43, *alae* 0:38).⁸ Soldiers very often listed terms such as *domo*, *natione*, *natus*, *oriundus*, *regione* or *civis* along with the names of cities, provinces, nations or tribes on their tombstones. They took this information from the documents of their units, which means that the military administration significantly influenced their epigraphic habits.⁹ Apparently, they did not see the clear contradiction between emphasizing their military status and belonging to their provincial roots.¹⁰ The auxiliary units were often composed of soldiers of different geographical origins, as evidenced by the Adamklissi altar, on which it is written that during the Dacian Wars, soldiers from Africa, Noricum, Britannia, Raetia, Hispania and Gallia simultaneously served in one of them, which strongly points to the conclusion that soldiers of the same origin were more strongly connected,¹¹ and that placing people of different ethnic backgrounds in the same unit had become standard practice.¹² Tombstones were precisely one of the ways of expressing a soldier's identity, status, personal success, but also a feeling of difference or supremacy over others, at the same time representing a symbol of Roman military power. Setting up a monument to a deceased soldier is a characteristic of peaceful times, a kind of reflection of stability and proof that soldiers were socially and financially well-off. Their "brothers in arms" were their family, executors of their wills and commemorators.¹³

In the province of Dalmatia during the Julio-Claudian era, the numerical ratio of foreign and local soldiers in the peregrine auxiliaries was 34:1, and a change had taken place since the Flavian era when recruitment was carried out in the province where the unit resided.¹⁴ During the Flavian and Trajan period, the majority of recruits continued to be peregrines, while recruits with citizenship appeared in smaller numbers. At the turn of the century, only three cohorts stayed in Dalmatia. *Cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum* accepted only recruits with citizenship, and the *Cohors I Belgarum* and *Cohors III Alpinorum* cohorts received peregrines of local origin,¹⁵ although exceptions did exist.¹⁶ This work will

⁸ Le Bohec 2001, 98–99, Tab. 28; Southern 2006, 165; Gilliver 2007, 193.

⁹ Speidel 2017, 35, 39, 48, 50.

¹⁰ Alston 1999, 190.

¹¹ Haynes 1999, 166.

¹² Haynes 2001, 66.

¹³ Hope 2003, 85–87.

¹⁴ Alföldy 1987, 256–261, 263; on recruitment for these units, see Ferjančić 2018, 147–152.

¹⁵ Alföldy 1987, 261–262.

include all the inscriptions of the auxiliary units in Dalmatia on which soldiers of peregrine status originating from other parts of the Roman Empire are recorded. An attempt will be made to determine the nature of the connection these soldiers had with the other persons mentioned on their inscriptions, as well as to shed light on the mutual influence between the soldiers and the environments in which they served.

Cohortes

Cohors III Alpinorum

The cohort was founded during the reign of Augustus as *quingentaria equitata* and has been located in Dalmatia most likely since the time of the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising in the year 6. During the 1st century, its camp was in Gračine, next to Humac, while in the 2nd century it was most likely located in Andetrium. Smaller parts of the unit served in Burnum, the wider area of Petrovo polje and Tilurium, and its members were epigraphically confirmed in Salona and Naronā.¹⁷ In the area of the camp in Gračine, four inscriptions of soldiers of this cohort were found. Soldier Betulo, son of Karo, was commemorated after 21 years of service and 40 years of life by his heir Valerius, the unit's signifer.¹⁸ He came from the *Eguii* people who probably lived on the Italian side of the Alps.¹⁹ The stele has monumental dimensions (height 1.84 m; width 0.65 m; thickness 0.24 m), featuring a pseudo-gable with a portrait in the middle and acroteria on the sides. Below the multi-profiled beam is an inscription field flanked by two twisted half-columns with capitals, and below is an empty field (Fig. 1). It is similar to the pre-Claudian stelae of the veterans of the *Legio*

¹⁶ That is confirmed by the example of Gaius Valerius Proculus, whose stele was found in Salona. He was a Roman citizen of Dalmatian origin who built his career precisely in these two military units, Matijević 2011, 185–194.

¹⁷ Alföldy 1987, 245–247, 295; Spaul 2000, 266–268; Gayet 2006, 70; Marić 2017, 95–96; Cesarik, Drahotusky-Bruketa 2020, 34.

¹⁸ ILJug 115 = EDH HD021799 = EDCS-10000218 = Lupa 22578: *Betulo Karo/nis f(i)lius domo / Eguius mil(es) / coh(ortis) III Alp(inorum) /^s an(norum) XL stip(endiorum) XXII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / Valerius sig(nifer) / h(eres) p(osuit)*; more details about the inscription Marić 2017, 100.

¹⁹ Arnaud 2005, 101. On the *Tropaeum Augusti* or *Tropaeum Alpium*, today in the town of La Turbie, near Nice, erected in 6 BC after the subjugation of the Alpine tribes, the *Eguii* were listed before the *Vergunni* and after the *Turi* (CIL 5, 7817). It was previously believed that the *Eguiturii* were a single people and assumed that they lived near *Vergunni*, in the Verdon or Esteron Valley (Barruol 1975, 371). However, this theory was later dismissed, and it was established that they were two distinct groups (*Eguii* and *Turi*), with the *Eguii* possibly belonging on the territory of the city of Salinae (Morabito 2010, 137, 432). A cavalryman, Ti. Claudius Ligomarus, son of Carstimarus (CIL 3, 14632 = EDH HD056522), originating from Salinae, was evidently a Roman citizen, Wilkes 1969, 476; Holder 1980, 51; Alföldy 1987, 258.

VII found at this site²⁰ and was probably produced in a local workshop that catered to the needs of the legionaries and auxiliaries.²¹ A cavalryman named Vanaius, son of Venio[n(?)]t(us) (?), was commemorated by Valeria and Marcella after living 53 years and serving 25.²² The inscription (Fig. 2) is carved on a simple tombstone (height 0.58 m; width 0.82 m), which, according to the use of the abbreviation *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*, can be dated to the 1st century.²³ The exact relationship of Valeria and Marcella to the soldier is unknown, although they could have been slaves, as bearing Latin names does not necessarily imply they were citizens. One of them might have been his wife.²⁴ The *Bodiontii*, to which Vanaius belonged, lived on the Gallic side of the Alps, with Dinia as their center; they were annexed to Gallia Narbonensis in 69 AD.²⁵ Near Humac, the *tibicen* Primus, son of Titus, was buried at the age of 48, after serving 23 years in the army. His stele (height 0.76 m; width 0.62 m; thickness 0.13 m) was erected according to his will by his heirs, *optio* Lucius and veteran Tullius.²⁶ This appears to be a fragment of a larger stele (Fig. 3), very similar to that of Betulo. Primus belonged to the *Caturiges* tribe, who lived in the upper course of the Durance River, in the region of the Alpes Cottiae.²⁷ It was not unusual for the peregrini from the



Fig. 1. Stele of Betulo, Franciscan Museum in Humac (EDCS-10000218)

²⁰ These are stele of G. Licinius (AÉ 2000, 1174 = EDH HD039805), M. Livius (CIL 3, 9373 = EDH HD054439) and T. Varius (ILLug 1921 = EDH HD034241), more details about these monuments Tončinić 2011, 55–59, 93–95.

²¹ Miletić 2013, 423–424; Lozić 2021, 51–52, 56.

²² CIL 3, 8495 = EDH HD056460 = EDCS-31900309 = Lupa 23714: *Vanaius Venio[n(?)]t(i)(?) fi(lius) / domo Bodion[t(ius) e]q(ues) coh(ortis) / III Alp(inorum) an(norum) LIIII stip(endiorum) XXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Valeria et /⁵ Marcella p(osuerunt)*; more details about this inscription Marić 2017, 101–102.

²³ Alföldy 1969, 28.

²⁴ The authorities were unable to prevent soldiers from entering into so-called “marriages”, and as a result, they were not punished for it. For more details, see Phang 2001, 22–55; also cf. Allison 2010, 165–167; 172–181.

²⁵ Barruol 1975, 385; Arnaud 2005, 101; on recruitment for this cohort carried out in the Alps area, Gayet 2006, 70.

²⁶ CIL 3, 8491 = EDH HD058363 = EDCS-30600568 = Lupa 23308: *Primus Tit{t}i / f(ilius) tubicen do(mo) / Caturix mil(es) / coh(ortis) III Alp(inorum) /⁵ an(norum) XLIIIX st(ip(endiorum) XXIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) L(ucius) optio / et Tullius ve(ter(anus) h(eredes) p(osuerunt).*

²⁷ About *Caturiges*, Barruol 1975, 340–344; Morabito 2010, 87–88; more details about this inscription Marić 2017, 97–98.

Romanized regions of the Empire to bear Latin names.²⁸ Another soldier, Verus, son of Ve[---]ca(?), belonged to the *Bodiontii* people and was buried near the Kapitul,²⁹ as indicated by his tombstone, likely a stele (height 0.61 m; width 0.50 m; thickness 0.23 m). They served during the Julio-Claudian³⁰ or Flavian era.³¹ A soldier named Teraius, son of Gaius, was buried in the wider area of Salona and was commemorated by Maximus, son of Victor, his heir.³² Teraius was a peregrine whose origin is impossible to determine. Maximus, likely his comrade from the unit, was also a *peregrine*. This inscription (Fig. 4) probably dates to the 2nd century.³³

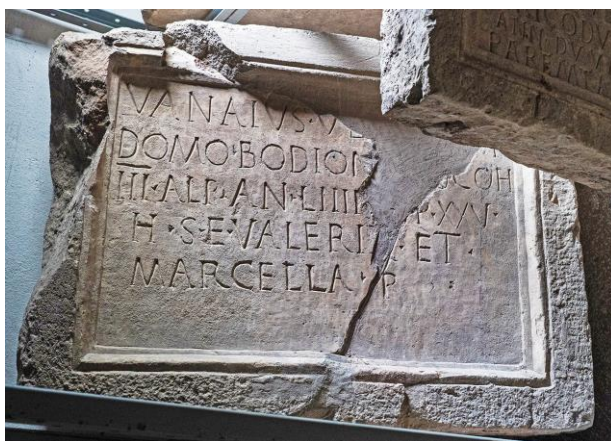


Fig. 2. Funerary inscription of Vanaius.
National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lupa 23714)

²⁸ Visočnik 2010, 233.

²⁹ CIL 3, 9907 = 14321.5 = EDH HD058278 = EDCS-30301431: *Verus Ve[---]/cae <f=I>(ilius) do[mo] / Bodiontii / mil(es) coh(ortis) II[II] f(ilius) Alp(inorum) {a}an[nor(um) ---] / [---] stip[en]d(iorum)---*. The dimensions of the monument (height 0.61 m; width 0.50 m; thickness 0.23 m) indicate that it is a stele.

³⁰ Wilkes 1969, 476.

³¹ Alföldy 1987, 245.

³² AE 2020, 963 = EDCS-74200209 = Lupa 24649: *Teraio Gai (filio) mil(iti) coh(ortis) / III Alp(inorum) Maximus / Victoris / h(eres) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*.

³³ Demicheli 2020, 311–314. In the context of the origins of soldiers, attention should be drawn to three additional examples. *[Q(?)] Caenius Q. f.* (ILug 1922 = EDH HD034242 = EDCS-10100866) bears a Roman gentilicium, which likely indicates that he held Roman citizenship. He originated from the *Velaunii* people in the western Alpine region, Barrool 1975, 372–373; Morabito 2010, 165; Marić 2017, 100. There are inscriptions confirming that recruits with citizenship served in peregrine units (e.g., *M. Valerius C. f., eques de ala Patruŕ; C. Oppius Varus, eq. alae Au[---]*), Holder 1980, 49–55. The names of two soldiers have not been preserved, making it impossible to determine their status. A *bucinator* of Norican origin was buried in Tilurium (CIL 3, 14935 = AE 1900, 47 = EDCS-16900022), while in Humac, a cavalryman belonging to the *Varciani* people was buried (ILug 116 = AE 1950, 110 = EDH HD021802 = EDCS-10000219). For the *Varciani*, see n. 144.



Fig. 3. Stele of Primus. National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lupa 23308)

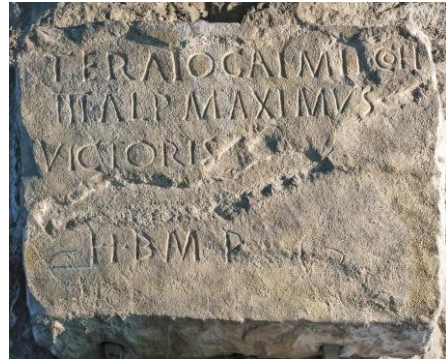


Fig. 4. Funerary inscription of Teraius. Archaeological Museum in Split (Lupa 24649)

Cohors Aquitanorum

Two inscriptions of this unit originate from Dalmatia, the name of which is not accompanied by a number, which makes it impossible to identify, as several cohorts were recruited in the region of Aquitania in Gaul.³⁴ Its presence in the province likely dates to the 1st century.³⁵ Tarcho, son of Tarbunnis, died in Salona at the age of 45, after serving for 25 years.³⁶ Tarcho is a Celtic name.³⁷ It was previously assumed that he originated from the city of Camulodunum;³⁸ which should be rejected and the designation of his ethnicity (*Camunni*) assumed in that place.³⁹ The *Camunni* lived in northern Italy between the *Trumpilini* and the *Vennonetes*, were conquered in 6 BC, and are mentioned on the *Tropaeum Alpium*.⁴⁰

³⁴ Gayet 2006, 73–75. Its identification has not yet been resolved; for more details, see Matijević 2015b, 60; Matijević 2020, 14–15; Cesarik 2020, 306–309.

³⁵ Within the 1st century, proposed dates range to the second half of the 1st century (Wilkes 1969, 472; Alföldy 1987, 282) or to the reign of Emperor Claudius (Holder 1980, 299).

³⁶ CIL 3, 2053 = EDH HD063271 = EDCS-27601627: *Tarcho / Tarbun/nis f(ilio) mil(iti) / coh(ortis) Aqu(itanorum) / ann(or)um XLV / stip(endiorum) XXV / dom(o) Camu(nn)i(s) / Tarpo Lie(?) / [---]*.

³⁷ Alföldy 1969, 305, 358. This is the only epigraphic confirmation of the names *Tarcho* and *Tarbunnis* in the European provinces, OPEL 4, 108; and it seems that they are not found elsewhere in the Empire, as shown by a search of EDH and EDCS.

³⁸ Alföldy 1987, 248.

³⁹ Matijević 2015b, 60, 255–256; Matijević 2020, 15; Cesarik 2020, 306–307. Holder (1980, 299) also dismisses the theory that the name of the city of Camulodunum was inscribed here.

⁴⁰ Arnaud 2005, 100; Morabito 2010, 430–433.

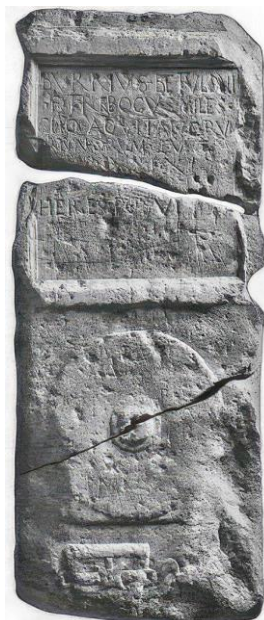


Fig. 5. Stele of Burrius.
Archaeological Collection
of the Franciscan monastery
in Sinj (EDCS-30100426)

Shortly after, they came under the jurisdiction of the nearby colony of Brixia, were granted the *Ius Latii*, and during the reign of Emperor Tiberius they became a *civitas*, meaning they held partial autonomy. Later, likely under the Flavian emperors or even during the time of Claudius, they gained self-governance and established their own municipal institutions.⁴¹ In the 8th line of Tarcho's inscription, the name of another person who had a tombstone erected and whose name was also mentioned with a patronymic (*Tarpo Lie[---]*) is most likely preserved.⁴² Near Aequum, a stele of another member of this cohort was discovered. This was Burrius, son of Betulo, who died at the age of 55, after 29 years of service, commemorated by his heir.⁴³ This anonymous heir is most likely his colleague from the unit.⁴⁴ His stele is of considerable size (height 1.37 m; width 0.47 m),⁴⁵ and below the inscription field is a depiction of a round shield (Fig. 5), characteristic of the members of auxiliary units.⁴⁶ Below the shield is a depiction of another object, perhaps a money bag.⁴⁷ Burrius be-

longed to the *Treboci* people, who lived in Germania alongside the *Vangiones* and the *Nemetes*. The center of their community was Brocomagus (modern-day Brumath), north of Argentoratum.⁴⁸ The soldier's patronymic is of Celtic origin,⁴⁹ known among the Germanic *Trever*⁵⁰ but also found among ethnic groups east of the Alps, as shown by the example of Betulo, son of Karo, a soldier of the *Cohors III Alpinorum* who belonged to the *Egiii*.⁵¹

⁴¹ Šašel Kos 1978, 22–24.

⁴² For more details, see Matijević 2015b, 60; Matijević 2020, 15; also Cesarik 2020, 356, where it is noted that this possible name begins with the same letters (*Tar-*) as the deceased's name and patronymic.

⁴³ CIL 3, 9760 = EDH HD061961 = EDCS-30100426: *Burrius Betuloni / f(ilius) Trebocus miles / c(o)ho(rtis) Aquitanorum / annorum LV /^s stip(endiorum) XXIX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / heres posuit*.

⁴⁴ Hope 2000, 177.

⁴⁵ Glavinić 1878, 33.

⁴⁶ Milovanović 2013, 167.

⁴⁷ EDH HD061961.

⁴⁸ Linckenheld 1937, 2405–2413; Mrozewicz 2013, 430–431.

⁴⁹ Alföldy 1969, 165.

⁵⁰ OPEL 1, 119; see CIL 3, 4499 = EDH HD073447.

⁵¹ Also OPEL 1, 119 (*Betvlo*); for this inscription, see n. 18–21.

Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum

The cohort was founded in Bracara Augusta, in northwestern Hispania. It was probably transferred to Dalmatia during the uprising between the years 6 and 9 AD, or at the beginning of Claudius' reign. Its camp was located at Gračine on Humac, from which it departed in the early years of Vespasian's rule, as by 75 AD it was already confirmed to be stationed in Moesia. All five of its epigraphic attestations in Dalmatia originate from this site.⁵² Cavalryman Veranus, son of Caturu, from Tiro's turma, died at the age of 38, after 18 years of service. This stele was erected by his heirs, *decurio* Tiro and Crispus, son of Caturu.⁵³ It is highly likely that Crispus and Veranus were brothers and entered the unit at the same time.⁵⁴ The names Veranus and Caturu are particularly common in Hispania.⁵⁵ The stele has monumental dimensions (height 2.22 m; width 0.68 m; thickness 0.25 m) and features a triangular gable at the top with a central depiction of a Gorgon, flanked by two decorated acroteria. Two twisted half-columns with capitals support an architrave adorned with a frieze, representing military equipment. Below, there is a portrait of the deceased, with an inscription field positioned on its lower part. In the lower section, there is a depiction of a horse in a race, and beneath it, two rectangular panels show mourning Orientals (Fig. 6).⁵⁶ This stele dates back to the mid-1st century and shares significant stylistic similarities with the military stelae from Salona, Dugopolje, and Tilurium, while also displaying its own unique characteristics. Compared to two monuments from Humac, Veranus' portrait does not reach the quality of that of the Seventh Legion veteran C. Licinius,



Fig. 6. Stele of Veranus. Franciscan Museum in Humac (Lupa 30601)

⁵² For a detailed account of the history of the unit and its monuments in Humac, see Alföldy 1987, 249–250; Spaul 2000, 88–90; particularly with regard to the latest findings, see Marić 2016, 18–23; Cesarik 2020, 311–312.

⁵³ AE 2000, 1179 = EDH HD039821 = EDCS-20601179 = Lupa 30601: *Veranus Caturonis / f(i)lius eq(ues) coh(ortis) I Bracaraug(ustanorum) / turma Tironis ann(norum) / XXXIIIX stipendiorum / XVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / h(eredes) p(osuerunt) / Tiro dec(urio) et Crispus / Caturonis.*

⁵⁴ Marić 2016, 20–21.

⁵⁵ Dodig 2007, 10–11.

⁵⁶ Miletic 2015, 362–364.

yet it closely resembles the portrait of Betulo, son of Karo, from *Cohors III Alpinorum*.⁵⁷ Another four stelae from this part of the province feature images of grieving Orientals wearing Phrygian caps.⁵⁸ The number of monuments of this type in the area of Ljubuški leads to the conclusion that a stonemason's workshop operated there.⁵⁹



Fig. 7. Stela of Tures.
Franciscan Museum in
Humac (Lupa 30557)

Cavalryman Tures, son of Alburus, passed away at the age of 25, after seven years of service. He was commemorated by his successor,⁶⁰ probably a colleague from the unit during the Claudian era. The soldier's name and patronymic are characteristic of the area of Hispania.⁶¹ His stela is of large dimensions (height 1.64 m; width 0.52 m; thickness 0.23 m) and consists of two parts. In the upper part, there is a gable with a rosette in the middle, on the left and right corners are two acroteria. Below a simple beam is a field showing a cavalryman holding a shield in his left hand and swinging a sword in his right hand, riding a horse that rears up on its hind legs (Fig. 7). Such and similar depictions, typical of cavalrymen from auxiliary units, are most common in Germania and Britannia, though they also appear in other regions of the Empire.⁶² The lower section of the monument contains the inscription field. Soldier Meduttus, son of Caturu, died at the age of 30,⁶³ in the middle of the 1st century.⁶⁴ The name Meduttus is also of Hispanic origin,⁶⁵ attested to on the territory of the Callaeci Bracarenenses, south of the Duero River.⁶⁶ His damaged stela (height 0.82 m; width

⁵⁷ Dodig 2007, 7–11.

⁵⁸ Cambi 2005, 54.

⁵⁹ Marić 2016, 15; for a brief note on the stela, see Miletić 2017, 36. On Licinianus' stela, dated to the middle of the 1st century, in the context of workshop centers in Tilurium and Salona, as well as similar stelae from Humac, see Cambi 2005, 53–54.

⁶⁰ AE 2000, 1178 = EDH HD039812 = EDCS-20601178 = Lupa 30557: *Tures Alburi / f(ilius) eq(ues) coh(ortis) I / Bracaraug(tanorum) / ann(or)um XXV stip(endiorum) VII / s(hic) s(itus) est h(eres) p(osuit)*.

⁶¹ Marić 2016, 22–23.

⁶² The earliest stelae of this type appear along the Rhine and were erected by cavalrymen from auxiliary units originating from the western parts of the Empire. They are very rarely found on stelae of legionary cavalrymen, Hope 2000, 169–171.

⁶³ ILug 1928 = EDH HD024005 = EDCS-10100872 = Lupa 23717: *Meduttus / Caturonis / f(ilius) miles coh(ortis) I / Bracaraug(ustanoru[m]) / ann(or)um XXX s[tip(endiorum)] / [---]*.

⁶⁴ Marić 2016, 21.

⁶⁵ Alföldy 1969, 248.

0.61 m; thickness 0.17 m) consists of a triangular gable with a rosette in the middle and acroteria at the corners. Below is a multiple and simply profiled beam supported by fluted rectangular half-columns between which is an inscription field (Fig. 8). It resembles the stele of Pinarius Scarpus, veteran of the *Legio VII* from Salona.⁶⁷



Fig. 8. Stele of Meduttus. National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lupa 23717)

Cohors I Lucensium

The cohort was established in northwestern Hispania. It likely arrived in Illyricum during or shortly after the end of an uprising that lasted between the years 6 and 9 AD, where it may have been stationed at the Kadina Glavica camp. Later, it was transferred to the camp at Humac, where it remained during the first half of the 1st century. At the beginning of Domitian's reign, the cohort moved to Pannonia, where it did not stay long, as it was recorded in Syria between 85 and 88 AD.⁶⁸ Rufus, son of Angetus, was buried in Humac after 11 years of service and 30 years of life.⁶⁹ This soldier originated from northwestern Hispania, where the unit was initially recruited, or possibly from Lusitania, where his patronymic is also recorded.⁷⁰ Although he was a peregrine, he has a Latin name, likely

⁶⁶ Hernandez 2017, 389.

⁶⁷ Tončinić 2011, 80, cat. no. 50 (ILIug 2280).

⁶⁸ Marić 2016, 13–14.

⁶⁹ CIL 3, 8492 = EDH HD058385 = EDCS-31900306 = Lupa 23300: *Rufus Angeti f(ilius) / mil(es) c(o)ho(rtis) I Luce(nsium) / annorum XXX / stipen(diorum) XI /⁵ h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / h(eres) p(osuit)*.

⁷⁰ A detailed analysis of the inscription, with citations to other literature, in Marić 2016, 14.



Fig. 9. Stele of Rufus. National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Lupa 23300)



Fig. 10. Stele of Andamionius (Marić 2016)

a result of the Romanization of his homeland and exposure to the Roman culture.⁷¹ Several similar examples of such naming conventions appear on inscriptions of auxiliary soldiers in Dalmatia.⁷² His stele is large (height 1.75 m; width 0.72 m; thickness 0.18 m), featuring a triangular pediment with a Gorgon head at its center and acroteria at the corners. Below is a multi-profiled beam supported by rectangular half-columns with capitals. In the middle there is an inscription field under which there is an empty area (Fig. 9). The stele resembles those of four veterans of the Seventh Legion buried in this area, suggesting that the dating of Rufus's stele should be placed in the pre-Claudian period, specifically around the second decade of the 1st century.⁷³ It also bears similarities to the stele of Meduttus, son of Caturu. The cavalryman Andamionius, son of Andamus, is buried here at the age of 35, after serving 15 years. A monument⁷⁴ was erected to him by

⁷¹ Visočnik 2010, 233.

⁷² *Verus Ve[---]cae f.* (soldier of *Cohors III Alpinorum*), *Crispus Caturonis* (commemorator of a soldier from *Cohors I Lucensium*, very likely also a soldier), *Rufus Angeti f.* (soldier of *Cohors I Lucensium*), *Maximus Regini f.* (commemorator of a cavalryman from *Ala Claudia Nova*, likely also a soldier), *Severus Triochari f.* (cavalryman of *Ala Tungrorum*, commemorated by his brother *Urbanusi*, probably his comrade from the unit). These monuments are discussed in more detail at various points in this text.

⁷³ Marić 2016, 14; for the stelae with which Marić compares them, see Tončinić 2011, 55–58, 91–95, Cat. No. 31 (AE 2000, 1174), Cat. No. 32 (ILJug 1920), Cat. No. 60 (AE 2003, 1330), Cat. No. 63 (ILJug 1921).

⁷⁴ CIL 3, 8486 = EDH HD056523 = EDCS-31900304: *Andamionius An/dami f(i)lius eq(ues) coh(ortis) I / Lucens(ium) ann(or)um XXXV / st(ipendiorum) XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) /⁵ Gav[i]llius fr[at]er / [eiu(?)]s pos(u)it.*

his *frater*, Gavillius, who may have been his biological brother or a "brother-in-arms" – a fellow soldier from the same unit.⁷⁵ Such terms of address reflect the close bonds among the soldiers,⁷⁶ with mutual commemorations being very common.⁷⁷ Andamionius was originally from Hispania, where his father's name (Andamus) is exclusively attested. The monument may be dated to the Claudian period. His large stele (height 1.24 m; width 0.43 m; thickness 0.22 m) features a triangular pediment with a depiction of a Gorgon at the top. Below the pediment, there is a field framed by two half-columns supporting an architrave, above which is a band adorned with floral motifs. Beneath the field depicting the cavalryman lies an inscription field (Fig. 10).⁷⁸ Flavos, son of Boutus, was buried in Promona after 10 years of service and at the age of 31.⁷⁹ His stele is relatively large (height 1.24 m; width 0.60 m) and features a rosette within a triangular pediment.⁸⁰ It may be dated to the Claudian period.⁸¹ Flavos was originally from the city of *Lucus Augusti* (modern-day Lugo) in northwestern Hispania, where the cohort was established.⁸² His origins are further confirmed by the characteristics of his name and patronymic, which were particularly common in Hispania.⁸³

Cohors Montanorum

The cohort was established in the regions of Raetia and Noricum.⁸⁴ It was stationed in Dalmatia during the reign of Emperor Nero, possibly even during the Claudian period, at one of the camps located on the right

⁷⁵ Phang 2001, 151, 162; Lendon 2006, 271.

⁷⁶ Cosme, Faure 2004, 346.

⁷⁷ Among most civilian populations, *frater-fratri* commemorations are very rare, accounting for only 4–5% of all relationships, whereas among members of the *Equites singulares Augusti* and certain units in Germania, such relationships are present in nearly half of the known examples, Saller, Shaw 1984, 141. Such commemorations are very rare in the military population of Salona. Of 17 inscriptions of active legionaries, they are recorded only three times, and are absent from seven inscriptions of the active soldiers from the auxiliary units, as well as from any of the 20 inscriptions of the legionary veterans or any of the five inscriptions of the auxiliary soldiers or sailors, Matijević 2019a, 90–94, 100–113, Tab. 1, Tab. 2.

⁷⁸ For a detailed analysis of the inscription with its photograph and citations to other literature, see Marić 2016, 14–17. I would like to thank my colleague Almir Marić for the information about the dimensions of the monument.

⁷⁹ CIL 3, 9834 = EDH HD061686 = EDCS-30301342: *Flav<u>O>s Bo/uti f(ilius) mil(es) / coh(ortis) I Luce(nsiu)m / ann(or)um XXXI /^s stip(endiorum) X dom(o) / Luco Aug(usti) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

⁸⁰ Bulić 1886, 162, n. 125.

⁸¹ Marić 2016, 15.

⁸² Marić 2016, 12–13. Four more cohorts were established from recruits from this city, Haynes 2016, 107.

⁸³ Alföldy 1969, 205; OPEL 1, 127–128.

⁸⁴ Spaul 2000, 275.

bank of the Krka River. Two of its soldiers are attested in Burnum.⁸⁵ Remmo, son of Saeco,⁸⁶ probably of Celtic origin,⁸⁷ was buried there. His stele, severely damaged and modest in size (height 0.40 m; width 0.44 m; thickness 0.15 m), has letters of very poor quality (Fig. 11). Sucicus, son of Staumus, originating from Brixia, died at the age of 26, after four years of service.⁸⁸ His stele is relatively large (height 1.35 m; width 0.60 m; thickness 0.17 m) with a triangular pediment in the upper section featuring a damaged central decoration, flanked by acroteria, and an inscription field below (Fig. 12).⁸⁹



Fig. 11. Stele of Remmo
(Liebl 1902)



Fig. 12. Stele of Sucius. Archaeological
Museum in Zadar (Photo by Ivan Čondić)

Cohors I Flavia Brittonum

The cohort was probably founded during the reign of Emperor Vespasian and is believed to have left Dalmatia at the turn of the 1st to the 2nd century, as it was stationed in Noricum during Trajan's reign.⁹⁰ Its presence in the province is attested solely by the stele from Salona dedicated to Fidelis, son of Saturio, who passed away after 18 years of service.⁹¹ While

⁸⁵ For a detailed account of the history of the cohort, along with the views of earlier authors, see Cesarik 2020, 318–320.

⁸⁶ CIL 3, 15003 = EDH HD035403 = EDCS-30200435: *Remmo / Saeconis / f(i)lius mil(es) coh(ortis) / Mont(anorum) ann(or)um / [---]*.

⁸⁷ Alföldy 1969, 281, 358.

⁸⁸ ILJug 841 = EDH HD034390 = EDCS-10000853: *Sucicus Staumi / f(i)lius Fab(ia) domo / Brixia miles / coh(ortis) Monta^snorum ann(or)um XXVI stip(endiorum) IIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*.

⁸⁹ For the new proposed reading and the soldier's peregrine status, see Cesarik 2022a, 67.

⁹⁰ Alföldy 1987, 250; for a detailed account of the history of the cohort, with references to other literature, see Spaul 2000, 195–197; Matijević 2020, 16.

⁹¹ CIL 3, 2024 = EDH HD054732 = EDCS-27601620: *D(is) M(anibus) / Fideli Sa/turionis / mil(es) coh(ortis) I Fl(aviae) /^s Brittonum / stip(endiorum) XVIII*.

the soldier's name is widespread,⁹² his patronymic may indicate origins in the Celtic provinces,⁹³ as it is most frequently found in Gallia Belgica, Noricum, Gallia Narbonensis, and Aquitania.⁹⁴

Cohors II Cyrrhestarum

The cohort was raised during the late reign of Augustus, after which it came to Dalmatia, likely to participate in the suppression of the Pannonian-Dalmatian uprising between the years 6 and 9 AD. It was the only Dalmatian auxiliary unit composed exclusively of archers.⁹⁵ It appears to have been disbanded during the early Flavian period.⁹⁶ Three of its soldiers died in Burnum, with funerary inscriptions indicating that they were 50 years old. Dacnas, son of Apsaeus, from Beroea, served for 24 years.⁹⁷ The upper section of his large stele (height 2.21 m; width 0.67 m; thickness 0.22 m) features a triangular pediment with a central rosette and two acroteria on the sides, with the inscription field below. The lower part of his stele depicts a doorway with knockers at the top and images of two arrows and a bow at the bottom (Fig. 13).⁹⁸ This type of ornamentation with a doorway is characteristic of the Tilurium workshop, known for producing such monuments for the members of the Seventh Legion. After the legion left the province, the craftsmen relocated to Burnum,⁹⁹ where this stele was created, placing its dating in the 60s AD. Also from Beroea was the soldier L. Mario N[---] f.,¹⁰⁰ whose stele is heavily damaged (Fig. 14). Its dimensions (height 0.85 m; width



Fig. 13. Stele of Dacnas. Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Lupa 20690)

⁹² Alföldy 1969, 203; OPEL 2, 140.

⁹³ Alföldy 1969, 288.

⁹⁴ OPEL 4, 51.

⁹⁵ Alföldy 1987, 251; for a brief history of the unit, see Matijević 2020, 14.

⁹⁶ Matijević 2009, 42–43; the same is considered by Cesarik 2020, 315.

⁹⁷ ILJug 889 = EDH HD025912 = EDCS-10101845 = Lupa 20690: *Dacnas / Apsaei f(ilius) / mil(es) coh(ortis) II / Cyrrhestaru(m) / dom(o) Berea / ann(or)um L stip(endiorum) XXIV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

⁹⁸ Cambi 1994, 168; Ivčević 2013, 448–451, 457–459.

⁹⁹ Cambi 2013, 22–23.

¹⁰⁰ The inscription was published based on Marun's sketch (Matijević 2009, 39–40 = EDH HD065347), but it was later found in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, which allowed for the reading to be corrected and supplemented, especially in the first line where



Fig. 14. Stele of L. Mario.
Archaeological museum in Zadar
(photo by Ortolf Harl)

0.64 m; thickness 0.20 m) suggest a close resemblance to other stelae in *Burnum* erected by soldiers from this cohort. *Heras*, son of *Ennomaus*, from the city of *Cyrrhus*, served in the military for 22 years. He was commemorated by his successor [---]raeus, son of *Abemmus*,¹⁰¹ likely a fellow *peregrine* and comrade. His stele (height 1.00 m; width 0.49 m; thickness 0.27 m) closely resembles *Dacnas*'s, with a triangular pediment featuring a rosette and flanking acroteria (Fig. 15a, b). *Stiev*, son of *Barnainu* from *Beroea*, was buried in *Iader* at the age of 30.¹⁰² His stele (height 0.64 m; width

0.60 m; thickness 0.24 m) also has a rosette in a triangular pediment with acroteria on the sides (Fig. 16). *M. Pytha*, son of *Segnus*, from *Cyrrhus*, was buried in *Tilurium* at the age of 60, after 35 years of service. He erected his portrait stele for himself and his freedman *Felix*¹⁰³ during the 70s or 80s AD.¹⁰⁴ The stele is large (height 1.35 m; width 0.76 m; thickness 0.30 m), with a niche in the upper part displaying two portraits flanked by two twisted half-columns with capitals and acroteria above (Fig. 17). This is one of the few inscriptions indicating that the auxiliary soldiers in *Dalmatia* had slaves or freedmen.¹⁰⁵ It is highly likely that the archer *Beres*, buried in *Salona*, belonged to this unit. His name suggests origins in the Syrian city of *Beroea*, where four other soldiers and one veteran of this cohort originated from.¹⁰⁶ All the members of this unit were likely from *Syria*,¹⁰⁷ with recruits consistently arriving from there.¹⁰⁸

the soldier's name appears. The inscription reads: *L(ucius) Mario N[---] / f(ilius) miles co[h(ortis)] / II Cyrr(h)es[tar(um)] / domo Be[rea] /⁵ ann(or)um L stip(endiorum) [---] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*, in detail *Cesarik 2022a*, 63–64.

¹⁰¹ *ILJug 842 = EDH HD034391 = EDCS-10000854 = Lupa 22868: Heras Ennom/ai f(ilius) mil(es) c(oh)or(tis) II / Cyrr(hestarum) do(mo) Cyr(rh)o / ann(or)um L sti(pendiorum) XXII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) /⁵ [---]raeus Ab/emmi f(ilius) (h)er(es) pos(uit).*

¹⁰² *ILJug 889 = EDH HD018007 = EDCS-10000900 = Lupa 23232: Stiev Barn/ainu f(ilius) domo / Berea annor(um) / XXX miles /⁵ coh(ortis) II C(yr)r(h)est/ar(um) stipen[di]o/[rum] [---].*

¹⁰³ *CIL 3, 14934 = EDH HD028183 = EDCS-30200432: M(arcus) Pytha Segni f(ilius) / mil(es) c(oh)or(tis) II C(h)yrr<h>es(tarum) / dom(o) Berea an(norum) LX stip(endiorum) / XXXV t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) sibi Felici l(iberto).*

¹⁰⁴ *Cambi 2000*, 49; *Cambi 2005*, 66–67.

¹⁰⁵ The military population of *Salona* in the 1st century largely consisted of members of three legions, as well as auxiliary units. Of the 17 individuals who had freedmen and freedwomen, only two were from auxiliary units, for more details see *Matijević 2015a*, 150, Tab. 1.

¹⁰⁶ *Matijević 2020*, 14.

¹⁰⁷ *Dacnas*, *Stiev* and *Pytha* are Semitic names, *Alföldy 1969*, 184, 278, 301, 363.



Fig. 15a. Stele of Heras, upper part. Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Lupa 22868)



Fig. 16. Stele of Stiev. Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Lupa 23232)



Fig. 15b. Stele of Heras, lower part. Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Lupa 22868)

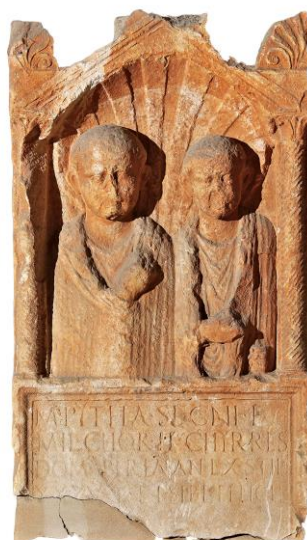


Fig. 17. Stele of M. Pytha. Archaeological Museum in Split (Photo by Tonči Seser)

¹⁰⁸ Matijević 2009b, 42–43; Rossignol 2017, 102.

Alae

Ala Pannoniorum

The unit was probably stationed in Dalmatia after the crushing of the Pannonian-Dalmatian Uprising, and it seems to have left during the reign of Tiberius when it was transferred to the area of Arabona in Pannonia.¹⁰⁹ From Salona comes the stele of the *duplicarius* Cloutius, son of Clutamus, who died after 35 years of life and at least 11 years of service.¹¹⁰ He belonged to the Asturian tribe of the Susarri, from the city of Curunniace, located in the northwestern region of Hispania, where both his names were quite common.¹¹¹ Asturica Augusta (modern-day Astorga) was the capital of the Astures, who provided personnel for seven cohorts and four alae.¹¹² This is the only epigraphic confirmation of this unit in Dalmatia, where its presence is dated to the time of the Julio-Claudian dynasty,¹¹³ although it appears that it might belong to the later period of Augustus's reign.¹¹⁴ Cloutius is not the only Hispanic who served in this unit during its early years. It is likely that Iberian soldiers were incorporated into the ala to compensate for heavy losses and ensure its loyalty during the uprising between the years 6 and 9 AD or the rebellion of 14 AD.¹¹⁵ The commemorator of Cloutius, whose name is partially preserved in the sixth line (*Ca[---]*), might have been named Caturo, similar to the patronymic of a soldier (Meduttus, son of Caturo) from *Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum*, also originating from this part of Hispania.¹¹⁶ The presence of a decurion of Hispanic origin in a Pannonian unit during the early 1st century may suggest that native languages had



Fig. 18. Stele of Cloutius. Archaeological Museum in Split (Photo by Tonči Seser)

¹⁰⁹ Matijević 2019b, 85–89.

¹¹⁰ CIL 3, 2016 = EDH HD054712 = EDCS-27601580 = Lupa 24969: *Cloutius Clutami fi(lius) / duplicarius alae / Pannonior(um) Susarrus / domo Curunniace /^san(norum) XXXV stipen(diorum) XI[-(?)] / [h(ic)] s(itus) est pos(u)it CA[---] / [---]*.

¹¹¹ Matijević 2019b, 87. For more details about his origin and the possible location of his hometown, see Meyer 2012, 112–118; Ferjančić 2015, 39–40.

¹¹² Haynes 2016, 107.

¹¹³ For a more detailed account of the period during which the unit was stationed in Dalmatia, see Cesarik 2022b, 311–313.

¹¹⁴ For an overview of other opinions, see Matijević 2019b.

¹¹⁵ Meyer 2012, 110–115.

¹¹⁶ Matijević 2019b, 89; for the inscription of Meduttus, see n. 63–67.

ceased to play a critical role in some units as early as the Augustan period.¹¹⁷ This implies that Cloutius may not have needed to know the Pannonian language, as communication within his unit likely occurred in Latin.¹¹⁸ Cloutius's stele is damaged and modest in size (height 0.53 m; width 0.47 m; thickness 0.16 m). Its upper section features a high-quality relief of a horse with its head lowered to the level of its hooves, held by a *calo* (a groom) grasping the reins (Fig. 18).¹¹⁹

Ala Hispanorum

The unit likely operated in Germania during Tiberius's reign and may have been relocated to Dalmatia towards the end of his reign or the beginning of Claudius'.¹²⁰ Its camp might have been in Burnum, where a tombstone of one of its cavalrymen was found. His name was Imerix, son of Servofredus, a Batavian who died at the age of 28, after serving for eight years.¹²¹ His stele (Fig. 19) (height 0.75 m; width 0.67 m; thickness 0.25 m) is of unusual shape, featuring a relief depiction of a cavalryman holding a spear and shield at the center of the inscription field. This is one of the earliest tombstones of Batavian cavalrymen featuring such a depiction.¹²² Another cavalryman of Batavian origin and peregrine status, likely serving in the same unit, has also been epigraphically confirmed in Burnum.¹²³ The *Batavians* inhabited the Lower Rhine frontier. Thanks to an agreement with Rome, they were exempt from certain taxes but became one of the primary sources of manpower for the Roman army.¹²⁴ During the 1st century, they provided man-



Fig. 19. Stele of Imerix. Archaeological Museum in Zadar (Lupa 24130)

¹¹⁷ Haynes 1999, 169.

¹¹⁸ Haynes 2016, 305.

¹¹⁹ Matijević 2019b, 90–91; for information on the relief, see Cesarik 2022b, 309–310.

¹²⁰ Cesarik 2020, 296; for the history of the unit, see Spaul 1994, 144–146.

¹²¹ ILug 852 = EDH HD011485 = EDCS-10000855 = Lupa 24130: *Imerix Servofr/edi f(ilius) Batav<u=O>s / eq(ues) ala / Hispano(rum) /⁵ [a]nnor(um) XXVIII / stip(endiorum) VIII / [h(ic)] s(itus) e(st) // [---]azicico / [---] et Apulo /¹⁰ [---]co Aetoris f(ilio) / [he(?)]res.*

¹²² Roymans 2004, 228.

¹²³ AE 2019, 1193 = EDCS-69000085: *[---]us / [---]uri f(ilius) equ[es] / [ala(e) Hisp(a-norum)] Batav(u)s [---]*; for more details on this fragment of the inscription, see Cesarik, Štrmelj 2016; on the *Batavians* in the Roman army with reference to these inscriptions, see Derks, Teitler 2018, 73–74.

¹²⁴ Haynes 2016, 113–116. In their funerary inscriptions, the *Batavians* identified themselves with the term *Batavus* rather than *civis Noviomagensis*, *Noviomagenses*, or *Ulpenses*.

power for one ala and at least eight cohorts, which means they supplied between 260 and 280 recruits annually.¹²⁵

Ala Frontoniana

The ala belongs to a small group of similar units named after their commander. It is believed to have been established during the Augustan period and stationed in Germania before being relocated to Dalmatia in 70 AD due to the Batavian revolt. Its stay in Dalmatia was brief, as by 80 AD the unit was already confirmed in Pannonia.¹²⁶ The unit was likely of Germanic origin, although another opinion suggests that its presence in Dalmatia should be dated to some point during the Julio-Claudian dynasty.¹²⁷ In Dalmatia, its presence is epigraphically confirmed by a stele discovered near Tilurium. The upper part of the stele, depicting a horse and one four-legged animal, is damaged (Fig. 20), while the inscription below states that [-]agenius, son of Eucisus, died at the age of 40, after 20 years of service.¹²⁸ He belonged to the Germanic tribe *Nemetes*, who, after the middle of the 1st century, lived on the left bank of the Rhine, between the *Vangiones* and the *Treboci*.¹²⁹ The location of the Sige remains unknown.¹³⁰



Fig. 20. Stele of Eucisus. Archaeological Museum in Split (Photo by Tonći Seser)

Ala Tungrorum

From Dugopolje comes a stele dedicated to the cavalryman Severus, son of Triocharus, who died at the age of 26, after five years of military service. It was erected by his brother Urban,¹³¹ most likely a comrade from

The same was more or less the case for the *Tungri* and the *Cananefates*, Derks 2009, 242, 250, 257, 263–264; for the *Batavians*, see also Roymans 2004, 55–101.

¹²⁵ Driel-Murray 2008, 83.

¹²⁶ Alföldy 1987, 243; for more details, see Cesarik 2014, 10–17; Dana 2016, 163–164.

¹²⁷ Cesarik 2020, 295.

¹²⁸ CIL 3, 9735 = EDH HD046617 = EDCS-30100405: [-]agenio(?) Eucisif(ilio) / eq(uiti) ala(e) Frontoni(anae) / an(norum) XL stip(endiorum) XX / (natione) Nemis (domo) Sige h(ic) s(itus) e(st) /⁵ frat{e}res frat{e}r(i) / fecerunt.

¹²⁹ Mrozewicz 2013, 430–431.

¹³⁰ Alföldy 1968, 189–190, n. 74; see also Cesarik 2014, 7–8.

¹³¹ AE 1994, 1356 = AE 2002, 1118 = EDH HD039734 = EDCS-00380802: Severus Triochari f(ilius) Ubis / eq(ues) ala(e) Tu/ngr(orum) ann(orum) /⁵ XXVI sti(pendiorum) V / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Urban/us fratri pos(u)it.

the same unit.¹³² This is the earliest epigraphic confirmation of the unit and its only inscription found in Dalmatia.¹³³ The stele is dated between 20 and 40 AD.¹³⁴ It is of considerable size (height 2.13 m; width 0.64 m; thickness 0.23 m) and features elaborate decorations. The upper part contains a triangular pediment with a depiction of a Gorgon, flanked by acroteria. Below the pediment is a beam adorned with floral motifs, supported by two twisted half-columns with capitals, framing the inscription field. The lower section of the stele is decorated with a depiction of a doorway, complete with knockers and handles for opening (Fig. 21). This motif is characteristic of the Tiurium workshop, which produced monuments for members of the Seventh Legion.¹³⁵ Severus belonged to the Germanic *Ubii* tribe, known for their strong ties with Rome since the late Republic. On their territory west of the Rhine, the city of Ara Ubiorum was founded and later elevated to the status of a colony in 50 AD (*Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*). The *Ubii* also served in other Roman cavalry alae and in the *Germani corporis custodes*, the elite bodyguard unit of the Roman emperors.¹³⁶



Fig. 21. Stele of Severus.
Archaeological Museum in Split
(Photo by Tonči Seser)

Ala Claudia Nova

The ala was established during the reign of Claudius and remained stationed in Dalmatia until the end of Nero's reign. Afterwards, it participated in the civil war between Otho and Vitellius. Following the conflict between Vitellius and Vespasian, the unit was relocated to Germania, where

¹³² Dana 2016, 167.

¹³³ For a detailed account of this unit and the stele, see Cesarik 2014, 11–13, 17–19; Cesarik 2020, 301.

¹³⁴ Cambi 1994, 158.

¹³⁵ Cambi 1994, 171; Cambi 2013, 22; see also Tončinić 2011, 19–20.

¹³⁶ Unlike the *Batavians*, *Tungri*, and *Cananefates*, the *Ubii* and the *Cugerni*, after their settlements were granted the status of colonies, stopped using their old ethnic names and replaced them with the names of those cities. The *Ubii* referred to themselves as *Agrippinenses*, while the *Cugerni* as *Traianenses*, as they wanted to express their connection to urban life, Derks 2009, 257, 260–264, 267.



Fig. 22. Stele of Vercaius. The Banovača Spring, Otavice (Photo by Frane Prpa)



Fig. 23. Stele of Melvadius. Archaeological Museum in Split (Photo by Tonči Seser)

it is confirmed by a military diploma from 74 AD. Inscriptions of its members have been discovered in the areas of Petrovo and Sinjsko Polje, near Bihać, and in Salona. The unit was likely stationed in one of the camps situated on the right bank of the Krka River or north of the Cetina River.¹³⁷ From Kadina Glavica, two well-preserved monuments belonging to members of the ala have been found. The first commemorates Surus, son of Sparucus, a cavalryman of the *Treboci* tribe, originally of Germanic origin. He died at the age of 30, after serving 13 years in the military.¹³⁸ His heir, Celatus, a *sesquiplicarius*, erected the monument. Surus was from the same tribe as Burrius, son of Betulo, from *Cohors Aquitanorum*, stationed near the Aequum. Celatus was likely of Celtic origin, as this cognomen is attested in Italia, Britannia, Aquitania, Gallia Narbonensis, Noricum and Raetia.¹³⁹ The second monument belongs to Vercaius, son of Me[n(?)]dus, who was commemorated by Maximus, son of Reginus,¹⁴⁰ likely a fellow soldier.

¹³⁷ Cesarik 2022b, 313–314.

¹³⁸ CIL 3, 9816 = EDH HD062295 = EDCS-28600128: *Surus Sparuci f(ilius) / dom(o) Tribocus / eques alae Claud/iae novae ann(or)um XXX /⁵ stip(endiorum) XIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / arbitratu Celati ses/quiplicari(i) heredis.*

¹³⁹ Alföldy 1969, 173; OPEL 2, 47.

¹⁴⁰ CIL 3, 9796 = EDH HD058349 = EDCS-30200149: *Vercaius Me/[n(?)]di f(ilius) eques / ala nova C<l=I>a/udia [t(ur)ma(?) L(?)]ici<n=I>i /⁵ domo Varcia/nus anno[r(um) ---] / st<i=U>pendior(um) XX[---] / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) posuit Max/imus Regini f(ilius).*

Vercaius died after serving 20 years. His patronymic, most frequently attested in Belgica (10 occurrences), Aquitania (7), and Lugdunensis (5),¹⁴¹ suggests Gallic origins. On his large stela (height 1.32 m; width 0.49 m) is the inscription of poor quality, and above the text field is a depiction of a cavalrman (Fig. 22).¹⁴² He belonged to the *Varciani*, a Pannonian tribe known for providing cavalry to the auxiliary units stationed in Dalmatia, as evidenced by examples from *Cohors III Alpinorum*.¹⁴³ The *Varciani* lived in southern Upper Pannonia, around present-day Velika Gorica, northwest of Siscia. Their name likely derives from the toponym *Varceia* or *Varcia*, which remains unlocated. During the Flavian era, the municipium Andautonia was established on their territory, likely with Latin rights.¹⁴⁴ From Košute near Tilurium comes a large portrait stele (height 2.03 m; width 0.89 m; thickness 0.21 m) of Melvadius, son of Macer, who lived 30 years and served 12. He was commemorated by his heir, Tiberius Claudius Aurelius,¹⁴⁵ during the late Claudian or early Neronian period.¹⁴⁶ His name is of Celtic origin,¹⁴⁷ and he belonged to the *Cugerni*, who lived in Lower Germania, where the *civitas Cugernorum* was located, later replaced by *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*.¹⁴⁸ Melvadius' stele features a complex architectural composition, with a portrait field showing the deceased wearing a *paenula*, an inscription field, and a lower section depicting a horse and *calo* (Fig. 23). The stele was crafted in the Tilurium workshop.¹⁴⁹ In Salona, the *missicius* Virdomar, son of Thartontis, erected a portrait stele for himself and his sister Pama.¹⁵⁰ His stele is of large dimensions (height 1.67 m; width 0.60 m; thickness 0.19 m). In the upper section, there is a triangular pediment featuring an eagle with outstretched wings at its center, flanked by a snake on one side and a bird on the other. The pseudo-acroteria are adorned with semi-palmettes. Below the pediment, there is a niche framed by a simple lintel and two twisted half-columns with capitals. Within the niche are male and female portraits. Pama is depicted embracing her brother with her hands. He is dressed in a *paenula*, while she is wearing a tunic with long sleeves. Her attire is not typical of Greco-Roman

¹⁴¹ OPEL 4, 25.

¹⁴² I thank my colleague Frane Prpa (Department of Art History, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Split) for the photograph of the monument.

¹⁴³ See above, n. 33.

¹⁴⁴ Grbić 2014, 273–274.

¹⁴⁵ CIL 3, 9727 = EDH HD054440 = EDCS-28300038: *Melvadius Macri f(i)lius / eq(ues) alae Claudiaae novae / dom(o) Cugernus ann(or)um XXX stipen(diorum) XII / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / Ti(berius) Claudius Aurelius / her(es) pos(uit)*.

¹⁴⁶ Maršić 2015, 12.

¹⁴⁷ Alföldy 1969, 245, 358.

¹⁴⁸ Derks 2009, 260–262.

¹⁴⁹ Maršić 2009, 39–41; Cambi 2013, 23; Ivčević 2013, 446–447.

¹⁵⁰ CIL 3, 2064 = EDH HD063264 = EDCS-27601608: *Virdomarus / Thartontis f(i)lius / domo Biturix / missicius alae / Claudiaae novae / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) et / Pamae sorori*.



Fig. 24. Stele of Virdomar

fashion, which aligns well with her peregrine status. Beneath the portraits are the remains of two profiled fields, which originally featured either lion heads or busts of captives (Fig. 24). The stele was erected during the early years of Vespasian's reign. Virdomar and his sister belonged to the *Bituriges*, a tribe from Gallia Aquitania.¹⁵¹

Conclusion

During the 1st century, 12 auxiliary units of the Roman army were stationed in Dalmatia, and it is in these units that soldiers without civil rights served. Evidence of this is provided by 31 funerary inscriptions, almost all of which were found in places in close proximity to the communication routes connecting Burnum, Petrovo Polje, Salona, Tilurium, and Humac. Clearly, these were soldiers serving in the existing military camps of this defensive-security belt, but also those performing various military duties in Salona and Iader. All the inscriptions date from the 1st century, specifically the Julio-

Claudian and Flavian periods. All the deceased soldiers mentioned in the inscriptions, as well as some of their colleagues who commemorated them, had peregrine status. They served in seven peregrine auxiliary cohorts (*Cohors III Alpinorum*, *Aquitanorum*, *I Bracaraugustanorum*, *I Lucensium*, *I Flavia Brittonum*, *II Cyrrhestarum*, *Montanorum*) and five cavalry units (*ala Pannoniorum*, *Frontoniana*, *Hispanorum*, *Tungrorum*, *Claudia nova*). The peregrine status of these soldiers is recognizable from their naming patterns, which consisted of personal names and patronymics, the majority of which were not of Latin origin. Some soldiers bear Latin names, which indicates that they had some kind of contact with the Roman world and were under its influence. Most of them listed the name of the people to whom they belonged, and some also mentioned the name of their city, making it easier to determine where they had lived before being recruited. When the inscriptions do not provide such information, the origin of individual soldiers is usually identifiable based on the distribution of their names and the locations where the unit was stationed, assuming that recruitment occurred there during that time. Based on the re-

¹⁵¹ For a comprehensive analysis of all the elements of the monument, see Maršić 2015, 7–18.

corded geographical origin, these soldiers can be divided into five main groups.

Seven of these soldiers came from Hispania. The names of six soldiers from *Cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* (*Veranus Caturonis f.*, *Tures Alburri f.*, *Meduttus Caturonis f.*) and *I Lucensium* (*Rufus Angeti f.*, *Andamionius Andami f.*, *Flavos Bouti f.*) clearly indicate origins from northwestern Hispania, where these units were formed. Only *Flavos Bouti f.* mentioned the name of his city (*Lucus Augusti*). A *duplicarius* (*Cloutius Clutami f.*) from *Ala Pannoniorum* also originated from this part of Hispania. Seven soldiers were from various Germanic tribes. Two *Batavians* (*Imerix Servofredi f.* and one of unknown name) served in *Ala Hispanorum*. A soldier from *Cohors Aquitanorum* (*Burrius Betuloni f.*) and a cavalryman (*Surus Sparuci f.*) from *Ala Claudia nova* were *Treboci*, and a cavalryman from *Ala Frontoniana* (*[-]agenius(?) Eucisi f.*) belonged to a neighboring tribe, the *Nemetes*. *Cugernian* (*Melvadius Macri f.*) also served in this unit, while *Ubian* (*Severus Triochari f.*) served in *Ala Tungrorum*. Five soldiers came from Alpine regions. Four from *Cohors III Alpinorum* came from communities living south and west of the Alps: two (*Vanaius Venio[n(?)]t(i)(?) f.*, *Verus Ve[---]cae f.*) were from the *Bodiontii* tribe on the Gallic side of the Alps, while to the north of them lived the *Caturiges*, from which one soldier (*Primus Tit{t}i f.*) originated. One soldier (*Betulo Karonis f.*) belonged to the *Eguui*, who inhabited the Italian side of the Alps. Nearby lived the *Camunni*, from which a soldier from *Cohors Aquitanorum* (*Tarcho Tarbunnis f.*) came. The *Camunni* belonged to the territory of the colony of Brixia, from where a soldier (*Sucicus Staumi f.*) from *Cohors Montanorum* originated. It is worth noting that the name *Betulo*, a patronymic of a soldier from the Germanic *Treboci* tribe, shows that this name was present in two different ethnic communities that were quite distant from each other. *Ala Claudia nova* had soldiers from the most diverse ethnic backgrounds. In addition to the Germanic *Cugerni* and *Treboci*, the unit also included cavalrymen from the Gallic *Bituriges* (*Viridomarus Thartontis f.*) and Pannonian *Varciani* (*Vercaius Me[n(?)]di f.*). The *Varciani* also had an unnamed cavalryman serving in *Cohors III Alpinorum*. For a soldier from *Cohors Montanorum* (*Remmo Saeconis f.*) and another from *Cohors I Flavia Brittonum* (*Fideli Saturionis*), it can only be said that they came from one of the Celtic provinces in the western part of the Empire, while the origin of a soldier from *Cohors III Alpinorum* (*Teraius G. f.*) remains unknown. The only auxiliaries from the eastern provinces were five members of *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum* from Syria, the only unit of its kind in Dalmatia. One came from Cyrrhus (*Heras Ennomai f.*), and four came from Beroea (*Stiev Barnainu f.*, *M. Pytha Segni f.*, *Dacnas Apsaei f.*, *L. Mario N[---] f.*).

On 14 of the monuments, the names of other individuals are mentioned. On four inscriptions, these are colleagues from the unit (*signifer Valerius*, *sesquiplicarius Celatus*, *decurio Tiro*, and *Crispus Caturonis f.*, most likely a soldier; *optio Lucius*; and veteran *Tullius*), which indicates that the responsibility for erecting the monuments for the soldiers was taken over by their superiors, including even a squadron commander. Two inscriptions mention individuals next to whom the term *frater* is used (*Urbanus*, *Gavillius*), which could imply that they were blood brothers of the deceased soldiers or, more likely, their “brothers in arms”, meaning fellow soldiers from the unit. The nature of the relationships with individuals of peregrine status (*Maximus Regini f.*, *Maximus Victoris*, [---]*raeus Abemmi f.*) and civic status (*Tiberius Claudius Aurelius*) is unclear, although it is most likely that they were colleagues from the same unit. One inscription mentions female individuals with Latin names (*Valeria*, *Marcella*), and the nature of their relationship to the soldier cannot be determined. Another inscription mentions the soldier’s sister (*Pama*) or a freedman of the soldier (*Felix*). On five inscriptions, the soldiers were commemorated by heirs whose names are not specified.

These funerary monuments can be divided into three large groups based on their place of discovery, within which certain morphological characteristics and similarities can be recognized. The first group consists of monuments from the broader area of the legionary camp in Burnum and Petrovo Polje. The two stelae of soldiers from *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum* clearly originate from the same workshop, as they share an identical design for the upper part, featuring a triangular pediment with a rosette and acroteria. Due to this similarity in craftsmanship, the stele of their colleague from Iader can be associated with these, and a very similar stele belongs to a soldier from *Cohors Montanorum*. However, this is not the case for the stele of the *Batavian* cavalryman from the *Ala Hispanorum*, which is completely different from the others, as it features a poorly executed relief of a cavalryman in gallop surrounded by an inscription. Similarly, despite its poorer preservation, the stele of the soldier from *Cohors Montanorum* can be said to be of lower quality, especially due to the poorly carved letters. In this group of monuments, the Vercaius stela stands out for its size, quality, and composition. The second group consists of monuments, most of which were discovered along the route between Salona and the broader area of the Tilurium camp. From Salona, there is a stele of a cavalryman from *Ala Pannoniorum*, with a relief depicting the horse and *calo*, and a portrait stele of a *missicius* from *Ala Claudia nova* and his sister. From Tilurium, there is a complex portrait stele depicting the deceased soldier from the same unit in the upper part, with his horse and *calo* in the lower part. Also, from the same site is a stele of a soldier from *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum* with a portrait of the soldier and his freedman,

and from Dugopolje, a stele of a soldier from this unit depicting a door with knockers and handles. Unlike the monuments from the previous group, these are of high quality, have different forms, are very elaborately crafted, and costly. However, the stele of a soldier from *Cohors Aquitanorum* from Aequum stands out for its slightly lower quality and more modest iconography. The third group consists of monuments from the broader area of Gračine in the Trebižat valley. They belonged to the soldiers of *Cohors III Alpinorum*, *I Bracaraugustanorum* and *I Lucensium*. Six of the stelae feature a triangular pediment with acroteria and half-columns supporting the beam. Of these examples, one depicts the deceased in a *paenula* and two have a relief of a cavalryman. On one stele, the cavalryman holds a spear and a shield, while on another, the relief is less visible but appears to be of higher quality craftsmanship. In any case, these examples are of much higher quality than the stele of the *Batavian* cavalryman from Burnum. On the other hand, the stele of Veranus seems to have been modeled after very similar legionary stelae from this region and Salona, but its sculptural quality is not very high, as seen in the poor rendering of the mourning Orientals and the fitting of the inscription field. Nevertheless, when choosing motifs for their stelae, these soldiers adhered to those that already existed among the soldiers in this part of Dalmatia.

The members of these auxiliary units were ethnically diverse, with most originating from provinces in the West, and only a few coming from Syria. All of them died in the places where they had served, and their careers are recorded on funerary monuments, many of which were luxuriously made. It is evident that they were able to set aside a considerable amount of money for their monuments, particularly in Salona and the legionary camp in Tilurium, where workshop offerings were richer, making the monuments discovered in these areas iconographically and morphologically more varied. One might say that the quality of these monuments was comparable to those of the legionaries in the region. One such example is the stele of M. Pytha, who had a slave, and both are depicted on a large stele. These individuals served near the legionary camps, but also at other locations in this part of Dalmatia, where they must have interacted with soldiers from the *Legiones VII*, *XI* and *III Flavia felix*. They adopted the form and iconography of legionary funerary monuments, with some variations, and by highlighting the names of the cohorts and alae in which they served, they clearly expressed their affiliation with the Roman military. Most of the funerals were organized by their comrades in the unit, suggesting that they did not have strong ties with the local population; their unit was their only family. Only a few among them had family members who joined them in their places of service, having come with them from their homelands.

During the 1st century, several thousand peregrine soldiers of foreign origin served in Dalmatia. They brought their customs, language, and non-classical culture and traditions with them, while simultaneously adopting the strict and clear obligations dictated by the Roman military system. Although the information from their funerary monuments suggests that they mostly maintained connections with their comrades in the same units, there is no doubt that they had interactions with the local population, especially in Salona and Iader, the largest urban centers on the coast. It would probably not be accurate to say that the urban way of life was unfamiliar to most of them, as some belonged to peoples who had long been in contact with the Roman world, some came from cities, and some, despite their peregrine status, had Latin names. Their funerary monuments, often of large dimensions, remained in place for years after their death and long after their units had left Dalmatia. Today, these monuments still testify to the soldiers who, together with the legionaries, contributed to maintaining the security of this part of Dalmatia. They are symbols of non-classical Rome on the soil of classical Dalmatia and stand as witnesses to the manner in which the Roman Empire accepted and transformed members of foreign peoples into Romans.

ABBREVIATIONS

AÉ – *Annéé épigraphique*, Paris.

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

EDCS – Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/>) (accessed July 10, 2024).

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

ILJug – Anna et Jaro Šašel, *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 5, Ljubljana, 1963); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 19, Ljubljana, 1978); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla, 25, Ljubljana 1986).

Lupa – Ubi Erat Lupa (<https://lupa.at/>) (accessed July 10, 2024).

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OPEL 2 – *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae latinarum*, vol. II: Cabalicius-Ixus, ex materia ab András Mócsy, Reinhardo Feldmann, Elisabetha Marton et Mária Szilágyi collecta, composuit et correxit Barnabás Lőrincz, Wien, 1999.

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