

# Inscribed funerary monuments of Legio VII and the emergence of military communities in 1st century AD Dalmatia

---

**Coopey, Ewan Shanks**

*Source / Izvornik:* **Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu, 2023, 40, 89 - 128**

**Journal article, Published version**

**Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)**

<https://doi.org/10.33254/piaz.40.2.3>

*Permanent link / Trajna poveznica:* <https://um.nsk.hr/um:nbn:hr:291:997540>

*Rights / Prava:* [Attribution 4.0 International](#) / [Imenovanje 4.0 međunarodna](#)

*Download date / Datum preuzimanja:* **2024-10-18**



INSTITUT ZA  
ARHEOLOGIJU

*Repository / Repozitorij:*

[RIARH - Repository of the Institute of archaeology](#)



UDK 902  
ISSN 1330-0644  
Vol. 40/2  
ZAGREB, 2023.

# PRILOZI

Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu

Pril. Inst. arheol. Zagrebu  
Str./Pages 1–186, Zagreb, 2023.

PRILOZI INSTITUTA ZA ARHEOLOGIJU  
U ZAGREBU, 40/2/2023  
STR./PAGES 1–186, ZAGREB, 2023.

Izdavač / Publisher  
INSTITUT ZA ARHEOLOGIJU  
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Adresa uredništva /  
Address of the editor's office  
Institut za arheologiju / Institute of archaeology  
HR-10000 Zagreb, Jurjevska ulica 15  
Hrvatska / Croatia  
Telefon / Phone ++385 / (0)1 61 50 250  
Fax ++385(0)1 60 55 806  
e-mail: urednistvo.prilozii@iarh.hr  
<http://www.iarh.hr>

Glavni i odgovorni urednik / Editor in chief  
Marko DIZDAR

Tehnički urednici / Technical editors  
Marko DIZDAR  
Katarina BOTIĆ

Uredništvo / Editorial board  
Prapovijest / Prehistory:  
Marko DIZDAR, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,  
Hrvatska  
Snježana VRDOLJAK, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,  
Hrvatska  
Viktória KISS, Hungarian Academy of Sciences,  
Institute of Archaeology, Budapest, Hungary  
Antika / Antiquities:  
Goranka LIPOVAC VRKLJAN, Institut za arheologiju,  
Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Ivan RADMAN-LIVAJA, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu,  
Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Srednji vijek i novi vijek / Middle Ages and Modern era:  
Tajana SEKELJ IVANČAN, Institut za arheologiju,  
Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Katarina Katja PREDOVNIK, University of Ljubljana,  
Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia  
Natascha MEHLER, Eberhard Karls University of  
Tübingen, Tübingen, Germany  
Tatjana TKALČEC, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb,  
Hrvatska  
Juraj BELAJ, Institut za arheologiju, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Metodologija / Methodology  
Predrag NOVAKOVIĆ, University of Ljubljana, Faculty  
of Arts, Ljubljana, Slovenia

Izdavački savjet / Editorial advisory board  
Dunja GLOGOVIĆ, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Ivor KARAVANIĆ, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski  
fakultet, Odsjek za arheologiju, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Kornelija MINICHREITER, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Alexander T. RUTTKAY, Nitra, Slovakia  
Ivančica SCHRUNK, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul,  
Minnesota, USA  
Željko TOMIČIĆ, Hrvatska Akademija znanosti i  
umjetnosti, Zagreb, Hrvatska  
Ante UGLEŠIĆ, Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za  
arheologiju, Zadar, Hrvatska

Prijevod na engleski / English translation  
Tomislav BILIĆ, Sara ESSERT, Makso HERMAN,  
Tamara LEVAK POTREBICA, Marko MARAS

Prijevod na hrvatski / Croatian translation  
Danijel DŽINO

Lektura / Language editor  
Marko DIZDAR (hrvatski jezik / Croatian)  
Marko MARAS (engleski jezik / English)

Korektura / Proofreads  
Katarina BOTIĆ

Grafičko oblikovanje / Graphic design  
Umjetnička organizacija OAZA

Računalni slog / Layout  
Hrvoje JAMBREK

Tisak / Printed by  
Sveučilišna tiskara d.o.o., Zagreb

Naklada / Issued  
400 primjeraka / 400 copies

Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu indeksirani su u /  
Prilozi Instituta za arheologiju u Zagrebu are indexed by:  
DYABOLA – Sachkatalog der Bibliothek – Römisch-  
Germanische Kommission des Deutschen  
Archaeologischen Instituts, Frankfurt a. Main  
Clarivate Analytics services – Web of Science Core  
Collection  
CNRS / INIST – Centre National de la Recherche  
Scientifique / L'Institut de l'Information Scientifique et  
Technique, Vandoeuvre-lès-Nancy  
EBSCO – Information services, Ipswich  
ERIH PLUS – European Reference Index for the  
Humanities and Social Sciences, Norwegian  
Directorate for Higher Education and Skills, Bergen  
SciVerse Scopus – Elsevier, Amsterdam

E-izdanja. Publikacija je dostupna u digitalnom obliku i  
otvorenom pristupu na  
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozii-iaz>  
E-edition. The publication is available in digital and  
open access form at  
<https://hrcak.srce.hr/prilozii-iaz?lang=en>

DOI 10.33254

Ovaj rad licenciran je pod Creative Commons  
Attribution By 4.0 međunarodnom licencom /  
this work is licenced under a Creative Commons  
attribution By 4.0 international licence  
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>



# SADRŽAJ

## CONTENTS

Izvorni znanstveni radovi

Original scientific papers

5

DOLORES KNEŽIĆ  
RENATA ŠOŠTARIĆ  
MARTINA ČELHAR  
**Arheobotanička analiza  
„liburnske“ keramike s lokaliteta  
Nadin – Gradina**

DOLORES KNEŽIĆ  
RENATA ŠOŠTARIĆ  
MARTINA ČELHAR  
**Archaeobotanical Analysis of  
“Liburnian” Pottery from the  
Nadin – Gradina site**

63

TOMISLAV BILIĆ  
**Late Iron Age coins of the  
Đurđevac (Gjurgjevac)  
tradition from Kuzelin (south-  
western Pannonia)**

TOMISLAV BILIĆ  
**Mlađeželjeznodobne kovanice  
đurđevačke tradicije s Kuzelina  
(jugozapadna Panonija)**

89

EWAN SHANKS COOPEY  
**Inscribed funerary monuments  
of *Legio VII* and the emergence  
of military communities in 1<sup>st</sup>  
century AD *Dalmatia***

EWAN SHANKS COOPEY  
**Epigrafski nadgrobnji spomenici  
VII. legije i pojava vojničkih  
zajednica u rimskoj provinciji  
Dalmaciji u 1. stoljeću po Kr.**

129

SARA ESSERT  
PETAR SEKULIĆ  
**Archaeobotanical analysis  
of a medieval “pantry” in the  
courtyard of Banski dvori  
Palace (Zagreb, Croatia)**

SARA ESSERT  
PETAR SEKULIĆ  
**Arheobotanička analiza nalaza  
iz srednjovjekovne „smočnice“  
iz dvorišta palače Banski dvori  
(Zagreb, Hrvatska)**

147

RENATA ŠOŠTARIĆ  
TATJANA KOLAK  
**Karbonizirane žitarice iz  
udbinske Gradine te pregled  
nalaza o uzgoju usjeva u  
srednjem i novom vijeku u  
Hrvatskoj**

RENATA ŠOŠTARIĆ  
TATJANA KOLAK  
**Carbonized cereals from the  
Udbina – Gradina site and the  
overview of evidence of crop  
cultivation in the medieval and  
post-medieval periods in Croatia**

SNJEŽANA VRDOLJAK  
**Spheres of Interaction. Con-  
tacts and Relationships be-  
tween the Balkans and Adjacent  
Regions in the Late Bronze Age  
/ Iron Age (13th–5th Centuries  
BCE), Proceedings of the Con-  
ference held at the Institute of  
Archaeology, Belgrade 15-17  
September, 2017, Gavranović  
M., Heilmann D., Kapuran A.,  
Verčák M. (eds.), Perspectives  
on Balkan Archaeology 1, Verlag  
Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rhaden/  
Westfalen, 2020.**

SNJEŽANA VRDOLJAK  
Spheres of Interaction.  
Contacts and Relationships  
between the Balkans and  
Adjacent Regions in the Late  
Bronze Age / Iron Age (13th–5th  
Centuries BCE), Proceedings  
of the Conference held at  
the Institute of Archaeology,  
Belgrade 15-17 September,  
2017, Gavranović M., Heilmann  
D., Kapuran A., Verčák M.  
(eds.), Perspectives on Balkan  
Archaeology 1, Verlag Marie  
Leidorf GmbH, Rhaden/  
Westfalen, 2020.

# INSCRIBED FUNERARY MONUMENTS OF *LEGIO VII* AND THE EMERGENCE OF MILITARY COMMUNITIES IN 1<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY *AD DALMATIA*

## EPIGRAFSKI NADGROBNI SPOMENICI VII. LEGIJE I POJAVA VOJNIČKIH ZAJEDNICA U RIMSKOJ PROVINCiji DALMACIJI U 1. STOLJEĆU PO KR.

Izvorni znanstveni rad / antička arheologija  
Original scientific paper / Roman archaeology  
UDK UDC 726.82: 003.071(497.5 Dalmacija)''00''  
Primljeno / Received: 27. 6. 2023. Prihvaćeno / Accepted: ????.

doi.org/10.33254/piaz.40.2.3

### **EWAN SHANKS COOPEY**

Macquarie University  
Department of History and Archaeology  
25b Wally's Walk  
Macquarie Park, NSW, 2109, Australia  
ewan.coopey@hdr.mq.edu.au

The Imperial Roman military consisted of a vast collection of armies and overlapping sub-communities, causing it to be a multi-layered entity. Scholars have explored its social dynamics since the 1980s, with epigraphic material – particularly of a funerary nature – providing valuable insight. The provinces of southeastern Europe, such as *Dalmatia*, are home to a great deal of well-catalogued archaeological and epigraphical material which could contribute to these studies, however, they are often left unconsidered in scholarship from outside the region. This paper conducts an epigraphical and archaeological analysis of the Romano-Dalmatian inscribed funerary monuments of the Seventh Legion (*Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*) to study the construction of identity and community. It is demonstrated that *Legio VII* was home to a complex network of servicemen intersected by various social, familial, legal, and military roles, relations, and symbols, which was rejuvenated and negotiated through the textual, sculptural, and spatial dimensions of funerary monuments. Moreover, these very funerary monuments were a significant part of this network, acting as media of identity and community (re)construction and (re)negotiation. Not only does this shed light on the social dynamics of Roman military communities, but it also reinforces the image which has emerged in recent scholarship of funerary monuments as socially constructive media. Finally, this paper demonstrates the value of theoretically engaged analyses of material from, and scholarship concerning, Romano-Dalmatia.

**KEY WORDS:** Roman military, Dalmatia, Seventh legion, military community, epigraphy, provincial archaeology



Copyright © Autor(i)  
The Author(s) 2023

Open Access This work is distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>) which permits unrestricted re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited.  
Open Access Ovaj rad dijeli se prema odredbama i uvjetima licence Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>), koja dopušta neograničenu ponovnu upotrebu, dijeljenje i reprodukciju u bilo kojem mediju, pod uvjetom da je izvorno djelo ispravno citirano.

Rimska carska vojska predstavljala je višeslojnu cjelinu sastavljenu od konglomerata međusobno preklapajućih različitih vojnih postrojbi i pratećih civilnih zajednica. Društvena dinamika carske vojske intenzivno se istražuje još od 1980-ih, s naglaskom na epigrafski materijal i posebno nadgrobne spomenike. Područja nekadašnjih rimskih provincija u jugoistočnoj Europi, poput Dalmacije, posjeduju veliku količinu izvrsno katalogiziranog arheološkog i epigrafskog materijala koji bi itekako mogao pridonijeti ovim studijama. Nažalost, radovi pisani na vodećim svjetskim jezicima obično nemaju običaj uzimati u obzir ovaj značajan korpus izvora što značajno ograničava domet istraživanja. Ovaj rad se bavi epigrafskom i arheološkom analizom nadgrobničkih spomenika Sedme legije (*Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*) iz provincije Dalmacije, s ciljem proučavanja konstrukcije identiteta vojničke zajednice ove postrojbe. Diskusija pokazuje da je *Legio VII* bila dom složenoj mreži legionara, ispresijecanoj različitim društvenim, obiteljskim, pravnim i vojnim ulogama, međusobnim odnosima i specifičnim simbolima, koji su osnaživani i uspostavljeni kroz tekstualne, skulpturalne i prostorne dimenzije nadgrobničkih spomenika. Sami nadgrobni spomenici predstavljali su značajan dio ove složene mreže, djelujući kao aktivni mediji u procesu konstrukcije identiteta i (re)konstrukcije odnosno (ponovnog) uspostavljanja odnosa unutar vojničke zajednice. Ne samo da se tako baca svjetlo na društvenu dinamiku rimskih vojničkih zajednica, već također pojačava sliku koja se pojavila u novijim proučavanjima nadgrobničkih spomenika kao društveno konstruktivnih medija. Naposljetku, ovim se radom nastoji pokazati vrijednost teorijski angažiranih analiza rimske arheološke građe iz provincije Dalmacija kao i rezultatima dosadašnjih istraživanja.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: rimska vojska, Dalmacija, Sedma legija, vojna zajednica, epigrafika, provincijalna arheologija

## Introduction

Following the unconnected Roman military interventions of various sizes from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, Octavian's campaigns of 35–33 BC and the establishment of *Illyricum* around 32–27 BC present the first real attempts at conquest in the region. Between 14 and 8 BC, *Illyricum* was expanded by other military actions, such as the Pannonian war of Tiberius (12–9 BC), up to the Drava and into the lands of modern northern and central Bosnia (Wilkes 1969: 13–77; Šašel Kos 2005: 249–271; 2011: 107–110; Domić-Kunić 2006; Džino 2010; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013; 2018). The *bellum Batonianum* ('war of the Batos') of 6–9 AD represented the final major challenge to Roman rule in *Dalmatia*, with between 69,000 and 100,000 rebels rising up (Cass. Dio. 55.29–56.16; Vell. Pat. 2.110–117; Pašalić 1956; Džino 2006; 2009; 2010: 137–145; Šašel Kos 2015). Following the termination of this rebellion, Roman dominion was concretised by splitting *Illyricum* into *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* at some point in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Kovács 2008; 2014; cf. Bojanovski

## Uvod

Nakon sporadičnih i međusobno nepovezanih rimskih vojnih intervencija različitoga intenziteta od 3. do kasnog 1. st. pr. Kr., tek Oktavianove kampanje od 35. do 33. g. pr. Kr. i uspostavu provincije Ilirik između 32. i 27. g. pr. Kr. možemo vidjeti kao prve prave pokušaje osvajanja ovoga područja. Između 14. i 8. g. pr. Kr., Ilirik je, između 14. i 8. g. pr. Kr., proširen vojnim akcijama, kao što je Tiberijev Panonski rat (12. – 9. g. pr. Kr.), do Drave i u prostor današnje sjeverne i središnje Bosne (Wilkes 1969: 13–77; Šašel Kos 2005: 249–271; 2011: 107–110; Domić-Kunić 2006; Džino 2010; Džino, Domić Kunić 2013; 2018). Batonski rat (*bellum Batonianum*) od 6. do 9. g. po Kr. predstavljao je posljednji veliki izazov rimskoj vlasti u Dalmaciji, koja se suočila s 69.000 – 100.000 pobunjenika (Cass. Dio. 55.29–56.16; Vell. Pat. 2.110–117; Pašalić 1956; Džino 2006; 2009; 2010: 137–145; Šašel Kos 2015). Nakon gušenja ove pobune, rimska vlast uspostavljena je podjelom Ilirika na Panoniju i Dalmaciju u tijekom 1. st. po Kr. (Kovács 2008; 2014; usp. Bo-

1988; Glavičić 2008: Fig. 1; Šašel Kos 2010a: 220–222; 2010b: 129–130; 2022; Demicheli 2017: 9–10; Cesarik 2020; Šačić Beća 2022).

Integral to this dominion and the maintenance of *Illyricum*, *Dalmatia*, and the vast Roman Empire was the Roman 'military', or rather, its conglomeration of *exercitus* (armies), *milites* (soldiers) and camp-followers (James 1999: 14; 2011: 22–23). In earlier scholarship, this military was considered a monolithic fighting machine wholly separate from civilian society (Alston 1995: 3–4; James 2002). However, the 1980s saw research integrate Roman armies and soldiers into their socio-cultural context, with scholars exploring social dynamics, interactions with non-military groups, and the lives of the diverse individuals who comprised these armies (MacMullen 1984; Goldsworthy, Haynes 1999; James 1999; Collins 2006; Lee 2020: 113–133). Particularly from the late 1990s onwards, this bottom-up appreciation of the military understood it as an amalgamation of communities and groups structured symbolically and relationally through shared communal and individual practices, materials, and identities (James 1999; Gardner 2001; 2007; Haynes 2013).

This scholarship (particularly anglophone scholarship) concerned with the social dynamics of Roman armies has tended to focus on evidence from central, western, and northern Europe, along with select regions of the Empire such as Egypt (Alston 1995) and sites such as *Dura Europos* (James 2018). Furthermore, these non-northern and non-western European regions and sites are often studied for their wealth of evidence rather than as a deliberate attempt to increase the geographical scope of the field – though this is usually acknowledged as a welcome side-effect. This often leaves evidence from southeastern Europe, including the modern regions once contained within southern *Illyricum* and, later, *Dalmatia* (parts of Albania, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Serbia) at the wayside in debates concerning the more social aspects of the Roman military. This is despite the wealth of material available and the vast volume of robust research.

Indeed, the history and the archaeology of the army in *Dalmatia* has received a good deal of attention, including several broadly focused works and volumes (Alföldy 1962; Wilkes 1969: 88–152; 2000a; 2000b; Radman-Livaja 2010; 2022).

janovski 1988; Glavičić 2008: sl. 1; Šašel Kos 2010a: 220–222; 2010b: 129–130; 2022; Demicheli 2017: 9–10; Cesarik 2020; Šačić Beća 2022).

Sastavni dio ove vlasti i održavanja Ilirika, Dalmacijekao i golemog rimskoga Carstva bila je rimska „vojska“, točnije, njezin konglomerat sastavljen od *exercitus* (vojske), *milites* (vojnika) i pratećeg osoblja u vojnim logorima (James 1999: 14; 2011: 22–23). U prijašnjim istraživanjima rimska vojska smatrala se monolitnim borbenim strojem potpuno odvojenim od civilnog društva (Alston 1995: 3–4; James 2002). Međutim, od 1980-ih, istraživanja su nastojala integrirati rimsku vojsku i vojnike u njihov društveno-kulturni kontekst, kroz proučavanje društvene dinamike, interakcije s civilnim skupinama i živote različitih pojedinaca koji su sačinjavali te vojne postrojbe (MacMullen 1984; Goldsworthy, Haynes 1999; James 1999; Collins 2006; Lee 2020: 113–133). Od kasnih 1990-ih naovamo, ovaj pristup odozdo prema gore počeo je razotkrivati rimsku vojsku kao spoj zajednica i skupina strukturiranih simbolički i relacijski kroz zajedničke i pojedinačne prakse, artefakte i identitete (James 1999; Gardner 2001; 2007; Haynes 2013).

Istraživanja (osobito anglofona) koja se bave društvenom dinamikom rimske vojske nastojala su se usredotočiti na dokaze iz središnje, zapadne i sjeverne Europe, uključujući odabrana područja Carstva poput Egipta (Alston 1995) kao i značajne lokalitete kao što je *Dura Europos* (James 2018). Nadalje, ova područja i lokaliteti izvan sjeverne i zapadne Europe najčešće su se proučavala zbog količine nalaza, a ne kao namjerni pokušaji povećanja zemljopisnoga opsega istraživanja – mada se ovo širenje opsega istraživanja obično vidjelo kao dobrodošla nuspojava. Ovakav pristup najčešće ostavlja po strani dokaze iz jugoistočne Europe, uključujući područja koja su nekada bila unutar južnog Ilirika i, kasnije, provincije Dalmacije (dijelovi Albanije, Hrvatske, Bosne i Hercegovine, Crne Gore, Kosova i Srbije) u raspravama koje se tiču društvenih aspekata rimske vojske, unatoč izobilju dostupnog arheološkog i epigrafskog materijala i velikom broju opsežnih istraživanja.

Povijesti i arheologiji rimske vojske u Dalmaciji posvećena je značajna znanstvena pozornost, uključujući nekoliko sintetski usmjerenih publikacija (Alföldy 1962; Wilkes 1969: 88–152; 2000a; 2000b; Radman-Livaja 2010; 2022). Međutim, najveći broj radova bavi se



However, much of the scholarship is concerned with micro narratives such as unit movements, camp and fortress topography, epigraphic typologies, and concise case studies (Dziurdzik, Mech 2021: 130–131). Whilst this generates a reliable reconstruction of military activity in the province, it leaves the more social and theoretical dimensions of the material record underexplored – something typical of most Croatian archaeological scholarship more broadly up until the 2000s (Novaković 2011: 382–383). This is not a critique of the *value* of the scholarship, for it has generated a thorough understanding of archaeological material and the Roman military history of the region. Instead, this is an observation on the general focus of this scholarship and the opportunities for novel lines of investigation.

There are also exceptions, of course, regarding these foci, and scholarship concerning the wider southeastern European region of the Roman world has engaged with some of the themes addressed in this paper. The consumption of foodstuff at the fort *Tilurium* / Gardun (Vukov 2020: 525), for example, or the purchasing power of the soldiers based at the camp (Kaić 2020) and the symbolic significance of certain motifs on loom weights (Šimić-Kanaet, Matijević 2021), have been recently explored. Farther afield, Gui and Petruț have studied the use of certain funerary motifs by *milites* in *Pannonia* to construct a sense of shared identity (Gui, Petruț 2018) and Vladimir Mihajlović has argued that inscribed monuments are key mediums of social construction (Mihajlović 2012). David Walsh has also illuminated the communal religious practices in the military of *Pannonia*, particularly in relation to cults of *Mithras* (Walsh 2020). Indeed, it is this body of growing scholarship that the present paper contributes towards, integrating material and scholarship from the southeastern European region into wider debates in Roman studies, subsequently diversifying our reconstructions. Here specifically, I provide a new in-depth case-study of a unit-based community and its epigraphic expression to shed light on the social dynamics of the Roman military.

The unit in question is the Seventh Legion, or *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* as it became known after 42 AD. *Legio VII* was stationed in *Dalmatia* from c. 7 to 59 AD at the fort of *Tilurium*, with *vexillationes* also stationed at *Salona* / Solin and, potentially, other sites in the province (Mitchell 1976; Strobel 2000; Tončinić

mikro-narativima kao što su pokreti jedinica, topografija logora i utvrda, epigrafska tipologija i lokalne studije (Dziurdzik, Mech 2021: 130–131). Iako ovakvi pristupi stvaraju pretpostavke za pouzdanu rekonstrukciju vojnih aktivnosti u nekadašnjoj provinciji, društvene i teorijske dimenzije materijalnoga zapisa ostavljaju se nedovoljno istraženim – što je tipično za većinu hrvatskih arheoloških radova u širem smislu do 2000.-ih (Novaković 2011: 382–383). Ovo se, dakako, ne treba shvatiti kao kritika *vrijednosti* dosadašnjega istraživačkoga rada, koji je nedvojbeno stvorio čvrste temelje za razumijevanje arheološkog materijala i rimske vojne povijesti ove regije. Umjesto toga, ovo je promišljanje usmjereno na ocjenu općega fokusa dosadašnjih istraživanja kao i potencijalnih mogućnosti za nove pravce istraživanja.

Postoje naravno, i iznimke, tako da se znanost koja se bavi širom jugoistočnom Europom u rimsko doba bavila i nekim od tema kojima se bavi ovaj rad. U ovom kontekstu bitno je spomenuti nedavne studije potrošnje namirnica na građini *Tilurium* / Gardun (Vukov 2020: 525), kupovne moći vojnika smještenih u ovom logoru (Kaić 2020) te simboličkim značajem pojedinih motiva na utezima za tkalački stan (Šimić-Kanaet, Matijević 2021). Nadalje, vrijedno je spomenuti nedavnu publikaciju Gui i Petruța koja se bavi upotrebom određenih pogrebnih motiva od strane vojnika u Panoniji u svrhu konstrukcije zajedničkog identiteta (Gui, Petruț 2018) te rad Vladimira Mihajlovića u kojem je autor došao do zaključka kako su epigrafski rimski spomenici ključni mediji društvene izgradnje (Mihajlović 2012). Na posljetku, treba spomenuti i studiju Davida Walsha koja je doprinijela rasvjetljavanju zajedničke religijske prakse u vojsci Panonije, posebno u odnosu na kultove Mitre (Walsh 2020). Cilj ovoga rada je doprinijeti rastućem korpusu znanstvenih radova, koji integrira arheološko-epigrafsku građu i znanstvena istraživanja jugoistočne Europe u šire rasprave o rimskim studijama, čime se šire naše spoznaje. Konkretno, ovdje se namjerava prezentirati nova dubinsku studiju slučaja vojničke zajednice i njezinoga epigrafskog izričaja kako bi se doprinijelo rasvjetljavanju društvene dinamike rimske vojske.

Postrojba o kojoj je ovdje riječ je VII. legija ili *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis* kako je nazvana nakon 42. godine. *Legio VII* bila je stacionirana u Dalmaciji od 7. do 59. g. po Kr. u utvrđi *Tilurium*, s veksilacijama (*vexillationes*) također stacioni-

2011: 11–15). Whilst garrisoning *Dalmatia*, the servicemen and *veterani* ('veterans') of *legio VII* erected – or were commemorated by – numerous inscribed monuments of various kinds. Over 100 of these monuments have survived to us today (Tončinić 2011).<sup>1</sup>

Specifically relevant to this paper are the 71 confirmed inscribed funerary monuments from *Dalmatia* which refer to *Legio VII* servicemen, either as commemorated individuals, commemorators, or dedicants, as well as another approximately 18 possible monuments of *Legio VII* (Tab. 1–2).<sup>2</sup> The majority of this material is either funerary stelae or funerary inscriptions, with the rest of the corpus comprising *tituli*, fragmented inscriptions and funerary *arae* ('altars'). Although spread around much of southwestern *Dalmatia* and its coast, the material is particularly concentrated around the camp of *Tilurium*, the provincial capital of *Salona*, and the veteran settlements of *pagus Scunasticus* / Ljubuški (Fig. 1) (Tončinić 2011: 168–178.). At their most fundamental levels, each of these inscribed funerary monuments (or what is left of them) would have been "a sign that stands for the dead person in the world of the living" (Hope 2001: 2). Yet, such material was also so much more, serving as a medium through which identities and communities could be symbolically and relationally (re)negotiated by servicemen, their extended community, and the monuments themselves.

ranim u Saloni / Solinu i, potencijalno, na drugim mjestima u provinciji (Mitchell 1976; Strobel 2000; Tončinić 2011: 11–15). Dok su služili u Dalmaciji, vojnici i veterani VII. legije podigli su za života – ili su bili posthumno komemorirani – brojne epigrafske spomenike raznih vrsta. Do danas je sačuvano preko 100 takvih spomenika (Tončinić 2011).<sup>1</sup>

Za ovaj rad posebno je relevantan 71 potvrđeni epigrafski nadgrobni spomenik iz Dalmacije koji se odnosi na pripadnike VII. legije, bilo kao komemorirane pojedince, komemoratore ili dedikante, kao i još oko 18 spomenika koje je moguće pripisati VII. legiji (tab. 1–2).<sup>2</sup> Većina ovog materijala su nadgrobne stele ili natpisi, dok ostatak korpusa čine *tituli*, fragmentirani natpisi i pogrebne are („oltari“). Iako raširen po većem dijelu jugozapadne Dalmacije i njezinom priobalju, materijal je ponajviše koncentriran oko logora Tilurij, glavnog grada provincije *Salone* te veteranskog naselja *pagus Scunasticus* / Ljubuški (sl. 1) (Tončinić 2011: 168–178). Na svojim najosnovnijim razinama, svaki od ovih ispisanih nadgrobni spomenika (ili što je ostalo od njih) bio bi „...a sign that stands for the dead person in the world of the living“ (Hope 2001: 2). Ipak, takav je materijal predstavljao i mnogo više, služeći kao medij kroz koji su vojnici, njihova proširena zajednica ali i sami spomenici mogli simbolično i relacijski služiti u procesu konstrukcije identiteta vojnika i njihove šire zajednice u duljem vremenskom periodu.

Monument Type	Count
Stela / Stela	41
Funerary inscription / Nagrobni natpis	18
Funerary <i>ara</i> / Nagrobni <i>ara</i>	5
<i>titulus</i>	4
Inscription fragment / Ulomak natpisa	3
Total	71

Tab. 1 — Count of definite *Legio VII* funerary monument types (after: Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021). For a slightly different count because of recently published monuments and different interpretations of *legio* attribution see Tončinić (2011) (made by: E. S. Coopey)

Tab. 1 — Sigurno određeni tipovi nadgrobni spomenika *Legio VII* (prema: Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021). Za nešto drugačiji broj zbog uvrštavanja recentno objavljenih spomenika, kao i različitih tumačenja atribucije ove legije vidjeti Tončinić (2011) (izradio: E. S. Coopey)

1 The catalogue is included in the open access dataset of *Legio VII* monuments (Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021).

2 One should note, this count includes a grave altar set up between 171 and 230 AD (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 54).

1 Katalog je uključen u skup podataka spomenika *Legio VII* u otvorenom pristupu (Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021).

2 Valja napomenuti kako ovaj broj uključuje i grobni oltar postavljen između 171. i 230. godine (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 54).

Monument Type	Count
Stela / Stela	12
Funerary inscription / Nagrobni natpis	4
Inscription fragment / Ulomak natpisa	2
Total	18

Tab. 2 — Count of possible *Legio VII* funerary monument types (after: Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021)

Tab. 2 — Mogući nadgrobni spomenici *Legio VII* (prema: Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021)

### Geographic Distribution / Geografska distribucija

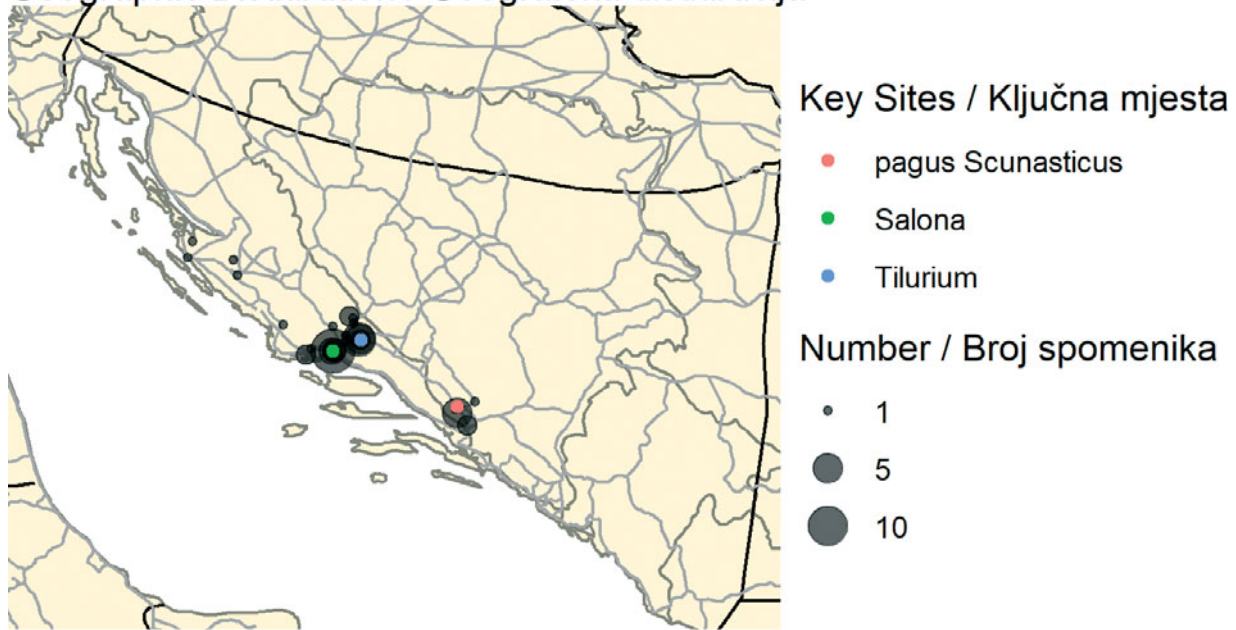


Fig. 1 — Distribution of definite *Legio VII* funerary monuments in *Dalmatia* dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Coopey, CC BY-SA 4.0 (R scripts in: Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021)

Sl. 1 — Rasprostranjenost sigurno određenih nadgrobni spomenika *Legio VII* u Dalmaciji koji datiraju u 1. stoljeće. Coopey, CC BY-SA 4.0 (R skripte u: Coopey, Ballsun-Stanton 2021)

Due to its size, scholarship on the corpus is relatively extensive, ranging from in-depth studies of the content, style, production, and distribution of the monuments themselves (Atanacković-Salčić 1981; Fadić 1995; 1997; Sanader 2000; Dodig 2003; 2005a; 2005b; Čerina, Rismondo 2004; Demicheli, Tončinić 2008; Demicheli 2011; Miletić 2013) to the data they reveal about the origins, movement, and status of *Legio VII* and its soldiers (Ritterling 1925: 1614–1616; Cuntz 1929: 70–76; Betz 1938: 14–17; Wilkes 1969: 92–115, 128–134; 1999: 99–104; Mitchell 1976; Strobel 2000; Matijević 2017; Pelcer-Vujačić 2018: 159–160). Typically, these works solely use the textual dimension of inscribed monuments or analyse their sculptu-

Zbog svoje brojnosti, proučavanje ovog korpusa spomenika relativno je opsežno, u rasponu od detaljnih studija njihovoga sadržaja, stila, izrade i distribucije (Atanacković-Salčić 1981; Fadić 1995; 1997; Sanader 2000; Dodig 2003; 2005a; 2005b; Čerina, Rismondo 2004; Demicheli, Tončinić 2008; Demicheli 2011; Miletić 2013) do podataka koji otkrivaju podrijetlo, kretanje i status VII. legije i njezinih vojnika (Ritterling 1925: 1614–1616; Cuntz 1929: 70–76; Betz 1938: 14–17; Wilkes 1969: 92–115, 128–134; 1999: 99–104; Mitchell 1976; Strobel 2000; Matijević 2017; Pelcer-Vujačić 2018: 159–160). Tipično, ovi radovi isključivo koriste tekstualnu dimenziju ispisanih spomenika ili analiziraju njihovu skulpturu, ne pristupajući spomenicima uvijek holistički kao „integriranim

re, and do not always approach the monuments holistically as 'integrated wholes' (a concept explored below). Moreover, as described above, minimal attention has been paid to the more social dynamics of the monuments and the *legio* – with Nenad Cambi, Ivan Matijević, and John Wilkes the exceptions here (Cambi 1990: 71; Wilkes 2000a; Matijević 2019).

By far the most valuable source for the corpus is the extensive catalogue of Domagoj Tončinić (2011), which has provided us with the opportunity to properly explore the social dynamics of the *legio*. The catalogue contains a highly detailed dataset, providing historical background, synthesising previous scholarship, conducting statistical analyses of the monuments' epigraphic, physical, and sculptural data, and, of course, providing an extensive catalogue and typology. This is the very same type of dataset which is becoming more valued in Roman studies, due to there being an increased awareness that applying theory to such datasets is key to creating more encompassing and nuanced reconstructions of the ancient Roman experience (Eckardt 2014: 9–10). This corpus of inscribed funerary monuments thus presents the perfect opportunity to address the imbalance in scholarship.

To do so, this paper considers the funerary monuments of *Legio VII* as 'integrated wholes' (Hope 2001: 6), analysing their main communicative dimensions (the visual, textual, and contextual) together, understanding that some specific mediums of communication related to these dimensions may no longer be accessible, and that these dimensions only provide a distinct snapshot into historical social processes. The extant visual dimension refers to sculptural features such as portraiture, decoration, and style (the overall composition of various features), the analysis of which is underpinned by contemporary understandings of Roman provincial art as an avenue for the negotiation of identities through the synthesis of broader 'classical' Roman styles with local artistic features (Johns 2003: 17–20; Scott, Webster 2003; Džino 2017; Montoya González 2020). The textual dimension refers to the Latin epitaphs and inscriptions. Finally, the spatial dimension of the monuments, primarily their cemeterial or geographic context, is reconstructed and considered where possible, focusing on the location of the material in relation to nearby settlements, cemeteries, and other monuments. It is impor-

teljina" – konceptu koji se detaljno diskutira u nastavku rada. Štoviše, kao što je ranije rečeno, minimalna pozornost posvećena je društvenoj dinamici spomenika i legija — uz Nenada Cambija, Ivana Matijevića i Johna Wilkesa kao vrijedne iznimke (Cambi 1990: 71; Wilkes 2000a; Matijević 2019).

Daleko najvrjedniji izvor za izučavanje korpusa je opsežan katalog Domagoja Tončinića (2011), pružajući nam priliku da na pravi način istražimo društvenu dinamiku legije. Katalog sadrži vrlo detaljan skup podataka, povijesnu pozadinu i sintetski prikaz prethodnih istraživanja, statističke analize epigrafskih, fizičkih i skulpturalnih podataka o spomenicima i, naravno, opsežan katalog i tipološku raščlambu spomenika. Ovakav skup podataka sve se više cijeni u izučavanju rimskog svijeta, zbog povećane svijesti da je primjena teorije na takve skupove podataka ključna za stvaranje sveobuhvatnijih i nijansiranih rekonstrukcija rimske prošlosti (Eckardt 2014: 9–10). Tončinićev korpus epigrafskih nadgrobni spomenika stoga predstavlja savršenu osnovu za rješavanje neravnoteže izazvane nedovoljnom upotrebom suvremenih teorijskih pristupa u dosadašnjim studijima.

Ovaj rad tretira nadgrobne spomenike VII. legije kao "integrirane cjeline" (Hope 2001: 6), analizirajući njihove glavne komunikacijske dimenzije (vizualnu, tekstualnu i kontekstualnu), podrazumijevajući kako neki specifični mediji komunikacije povezani s tim dimenzijama možda više nisu dostupni te da ove dimenzije daju samo zamagljenu sliku povijesnih društvenih procesa. Dosadašnja izučavanja vizualne dimenzije odnosila su se na skulpturalne značajke kao što su portret, dekoracija i stil (zbir različitih obilježja), a njihova je raščlamba poduprta suvremenim shvaćanjima rimske provincijske umjetnosti kao puta uspostavljanja identiteta kroz sintezu širih „klasičnih“ rimskih stilova s lokalnim umjetničkim inačicama (Johns 2003: 17–20; Scott, Webster 2003; Džino 2017; Montoya González 2020). Tekstualna dimenzija odnosi se na latinske epitafe i natpise, a prostorna dimenzija spomenika, prvenstveno njihov grobni ili geografski kontekst, rekonstruirana je i diskutirana gdje god je to moguće, s fokusom na položaj nalaza u odnosu na obližnja naselja, groblja i druge spomenike. Važno je naglasiti da se svi ovi elementi trebaju uzeti zajedno u obzir, iako određene rasprave mogu imati zaseban fokus. Ovakva integrirana analitička metoda omogućuje pristup mnoštvu simbola i odnosa konstruiranih putem različitih medija, što potom

tant to stress that, whilst certain discussions may have a particular focus, all elements are considered together. This integrated analytical method allows me to capture a multitude of symbols and relations constructed via different mediums, subsequently facilitating a fuller reconstruction of social dynamics and processes of social emergence.

In doing so, I look to contribute to the field of Roman studies by examining how these inscribed funerary monuments of or for *milites* of *Legio VII* created a sense of community in *Dalmatia* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Also, I demonstrate the value of treating epigraphic evidence more theoretically and archaeologically and reveal the need to develop a new theoretical framework for the Roman military community that allows for engagement with the role of objects in the construction of communities in and around military spaces.

## The *Legio VII* 'community of the soldier' and its articulation, creation, and reiteration by funerary monuments

To investigate the social dynamics of the military community of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia*, I place my primary emphasis here upon the social dynamics of the 'community of the soldier', that is, not the extended military community of non-combatants and intra-communal human agents (stonemasons, merchants, imperial representatives and so-on) but the soldiers (active and retired). The focus here is upon the relations recorded in the epitaphs and what they reveal about the composition, relations, and social values of the soldiers and ex-servicemen within the community, and how a sense of community was cultivated, expressed, and established through the erection, decoration, and position of funerary monuments. Naturally, these processes implicitly involve the extended community, particularly dedicants, but the explicit focus here is upon the servicemen.

Before exploring community construction, it is important to pencil in the social network revealed by the monuments. Similar previous studies exist of sub-sections of the corpus (Wilkes 2000a: 328–331; Matijević 2015; 2019: 64–65, 78–81, 88), but this is the first time the whole corpus has been examined together in this way, as Wilkes noted it should be (Wilkes

omogućuje potpuniju rekonstrukciju društvene dinamike i procesa nastanka društvenih skupina.

U isto vrijeme, rad nastoji pridonijeti širem polju rimskih studija nastojeći objasniti kako su ovi ispisani nadgrobnji spomenici rađeni za *milites VII*. legije u Dalmaciji stvarali osjećaj međusobnoga zajedništva u 1. st. po Kr. Također, demonstrira se vrijednost teoretskog i arheološkog pristupa epigrafskom materijalu i otkriva potreba za razvojem novog teorijskog okvira izučavanja rimske vojne zajednice koji se bavi ulogom predmeta i objekata u izgradnji zajednica u, i oko, vojnih prostora.

## *Legio VII* „vojnička zajednica“, njezina artikulacija, stvaranje i odražavanje na nadgrobnim spomenicima

Kako bi se istražila društvena dinamika vojničke zajednice VII. legije u Dalmaciji, ovdje stavljamo primarni naglasak na društvenu dinamiku „vojničke zajednice“, tj. na vojnike (aktivne i umirovljene) radije nego civile koji su pripadali proširenoj vojnoj zajednici (klesare, trgovce, carske dužnosnike itd.). Naglasak je dakle na odnosima zabilježenim u epitafima i onome što oni otkrivaju o sastavu, odnosima i društvenim vrijednostima vojnika, odnosno bivših vojnika, unutar vojničke zajednice te načinima njegovanja, izražavanja i uspostavljanja osjećaja zajedništva kroz postavljanje, uređenje i položaj nadgrobnih spomenika. Naravno, podrazumijeva se da ovi procesi implicitno uključuju širu zajednicu, posebno dedikante, ali eksplicitni naglasak ostaje na vojnicima.

Prije istraživanja izgradnje vojničke zajednice, neophodno je definirati društvenu mrežu koju nam razotkrivaju ovi spomenici. Manji dijelovi spomeničkog korpusa proučavani su u ranijim istraživanjima (Wilkes 2000a: 328–331; Matijević 2015; 2019: 64–65, 78–81, 88), ali ovo je prvi put da je cijeli korpus ispitan na ovaj način, što je Wilkes ranije sugerirao kao neophodno (Wilkes 2000a: 328, 335). Tončinić je već obavio opsežan rad na *domicilia*, *stipendia*, časničkim položajima, postrojbama i nomenklaturi, pa te stvari ne treba ovdje ponavljati, uz napomenu da je većina posvjedočenih *domicilija* prije 42. godine galaćanska, a nakon 42. talijanska (Tončinić 2011: 179–216, tab. 29–33, grafikoni 3–12). Naša mogućnost datiranja spomenika u ova dva razdoblja povezana je s uključivanjem

2000a: 328, 335). Extensive work has been done on the *domicilia*, *stipendia*, offices, units, and nomenclature by Tončinić, and does not need repeating here, besides noting that majority of attested *domicilia* from before 42 AD are Galatian, and beyond 42 AD are Italian (Tončinić 2011: 179–216, Tab. 29–33, Charts 3–12). Our ability to date the monuments to these two periods relates to the inclusion (or exclusion) of the *Claudia pia fidelis* title ('loyal and faithful to Claudius'), which was rendered epigraphically as 'C.P.F' and granted to the *legio* in 42 AD for not partaking in the rebellion of Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (Parat 2016). That said, we should be careful not to apply too much weight to this dating method when the title is excluded, as select monuments may not have borne the title post 42 AD (Cesarik 2014: 742). On account of this difficulty, despite the fact that the events of 42 AD likely had a significant impact on unit and serviceman identity, in-depth comparisons between pre- and post-42 AD monuments have been avoided, though I do believe this presents a potentially fruitful line of investigation.

Thirty-eight definite monuments not erected during the lifetime of the commemorated individual refer to commemorators. Up to 20 (~52%) of these are either *Legio VII* members or un-related males which could also have been fellow servicemen, though may have been freedmen or clients. A similar range is found amongst other 1<sup>st</sup> century AD corpora in Africa (67%), the Danube (*legionarii*: 57%, *auxilia*: 53%) and in Rome (praetorians: 42%) (Phang 2001: 152–159, 404–409). Naturally, these epitaphs are not a perfect one-to-one representation of the much greater number of monuments now lost. Still, they provide insight into the social reality of certain *legionarii* and *veterani* (Walas 2015).

Despite the Imperial marriage ban, as Oliver Stoll, Sara Phang, Ivan Matijević, and others have demonstrated, nuclear military families were more common in *Dalmatia* and across the Roman Empire than previously thought (Phang 2001; 2002; Stoll 2006; Matijević 2019; Campbell 1978; Radulova 2022). *Legio VII* was no different. Filial–paternal servicemen relationships are possibly recorded upon three monuments (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 11, 14, 59), with one duo perhaps serving together (Betz 1938: 67; Wilkes 1969: 129; Fadić 1997: 81; Tončinić 2011: 36–38). An avuncular (uncle–nephew)

(ili isključivanjem) titule *Claudia pia fidelis*, epigrafski prevedene kao .C.P.F. i dodijeljene legiji 42. godine zbog odbijanja da sudjeluje u pobuni Lucija Aruncija Kamila Skribonijana (Parat 2016). S tim u svezi, trebali bismo paziti da ne pridajemo preveliki značaj ovoj metodi datiranja u slučajevima kada se ovaj počasni naziv ne nalazi jer pojedini spomenici možda i nisu nosili titulu C.P.F. poslije 42. godine (Cesarik 2014: 742). Zbog ovoga problema, bez obzira na činjenicu da su događaji iz 42. godine morali imati značajan utjecaj na ovu postrojbu i identitet njezinih pripadnika, detaljnijih usporedbi između spomenika datiranih prije i poslije 42. godine ovdje neće biti, iako osobno vjerujem kako bi studija fokusirana na moguće razlike između ovih spomenika dala iznimno zanimljive rezultate.

Trideset i osam spomenika podignutih poslije smrti komemoriranoga pojedinca odnosi se na komemoratore. Do 20 (~ 52 %) su ili pripadnici VII. legije ili muškarci koji nisu bili u srodstvu s pokojnikom i također su mogli biti suborci, iako su potencijalno mogli biti oslobođenici odnosno klijenti. Sličan omjer nalazimo i u ostalim epigrafskim korpusima iz 1. stoljeća kao što su oni u Africi (67 %), podunavskim provincijama (*legionarii*: 57 %, *auxilia*: 53 %) i Rimu (pretorijanci: 42 %) (Phang 2001: 152–159, 404–409). Naravno, ovi natpisi nisu u potpunosti reprezentativni jer moramo uzeti u obzir činjenicu postojanja mnogo većeg broja spomenika koji su danas izgubljeni. No, bez obzira na stanje sačuvanosti, oni nam ipak daju neki uvid u društvenu zbilju pojedinih legionara i veterana (Walas 2015).

Unatoč carskoj zabrani braka, vojne obitelji bile su u Dalmaciji, kao i diljem rimskog Carstva, češće nego što se ranije mislilo što su već pokazali Oliver Stoll, Sara Phang, Ivan Matijević i drugi (Phang 2001; 2002; Stoll 2006; Matijević 2019; Campbell 1978; Radulova 2022). VII. legija nije bila iznimka. Spomen oca i sina moguće je zabilježen na tri spomenika (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 11, 14, 59), pri čemu je jedan od ovih obiteljskih parova otac–sin možda i služio zajedno (Betz 1938: 67; Wilkes 1969: 129; Fadić 1997: 81; Tončinić 2011: 36–38). Posvjedočen je i avuncularni odnos (stric – nećak) (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 52). Iako se izričito ne spominje kao veteran VII. legije, često se smatra da je stric Lucije Riccius služio u istoj jedinici kao i njegov nećak zbog njihovog zajedničkog anatolijskog podrijetla (Betz 1938: 66; Wilkes 1969: 463; Tončinić 2011: 82).

relation is also attested (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 52). Whilst not referred to explicitly as a *veteranus* of *Legio VII*, the uncle Lucius Riccius is often thought to have served in the same unit as his nephew on account of their shared Anatolian origins (Betz 1938: 66; Wilkes 1969: 463; Tončinić 2011: 82).

There was also evidently a strong sense of fraternity within the *legio*, both of a familial kind and of a more figurative, yet perhaps just as important, social kind comparable to camaraderie. Five, possibly six commemorators are recorded as *fratres* ('brothers') (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 1, 8, 24, 34–35, 76). Two are siblings: one pair were cremated and interred alongside one another in a shared plot at *Salona* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 35–36; 2022).<sup>3</sup> The other is commemorated in an epigraphic poem (*carmen epigraphicum*) in which one brother – Quintus Ancharenus – laments that he will never sip wine with his brother Lucius again (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 1; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demicheli 2013).<sup>4</sup>

Amongst contemporaneous 1<sup>st</sup> century AD armies, however, *frater* did not always refer to a sibling, with a strong convention of recording fellow servicemen as *fratres* across the provinces of the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. Soldiers often used *frater* and similar expressions as a term of endearment akin to *amicus* (Kepartová 1986; Speidel 2014: 322–323).<sup>5</sup> Three, maybe four Tilurian funerary monuments record these relationships, indicating a close-knit band of 'brothers' (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 24, 8, 34, 76).<sup>6</sup> Expressions such as *frater fratri* ('by a brother for a brother') or *frater et heres* ('brother and heir') are used, with these tight bonds perhaps expressed in the sixth line of the *carmen epigraphicum* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 8): *dum vixi hilaris iucundus amicis* ('merry

Također je očito postojao snažan osjećaj bratstva unutar legije, kako u pravom obiteljskom smislu riječi, tako i u figurativnom, što je možda jednako važan međusobni odnos usporidiv s prijateljstvom. Pet, možda i šest komemoratora zabilježeno je kao *fratres* („braća“) (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 1, 8, 24, 34–35, 76). U dva primjera imamo pravu krvnu braću. U prvom su braća kremirana i pokopana jedan uz drugoga na zajedničkoj grobnoj parceli u Saloni (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 35–36; 2022).<sup>3</sup> Drugi primjer se spominje u epigrafskoj poemi (*carmen epigraphicum*) u kojoj jedan brat – Kvint Anharen – jadicuje što više nikada neće piti vino sa svojim bratom Lucijem (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 1; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demicheli 2013).<sup>4</sup>

No, u suvremenoj rimskoj vojsci 1. stoljeća, termin *frater* nije se uvijek odnosio na krvnu braću, a obilježavanje kolega vojnika kao *fratres* u rimskim provincijama u periodu 1.–3. stoljeća, kako se čini, postaje konvencijom. Vojnici su često koristili *frater* i slične izraze kao izraze bliskosti slično terminu *amicus* (Kepartová 1986; Speidel 2014: 322–323).<sup>5</sup> Tri, možda i četiri tilurijska nadgrobna spomenika bilježe te odnose, ukazujući na blisko povezanu skupinu „braće“ (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 24, 8, 34, 76).<sup>6</sup> Koriste se izrazi *frater fratri* („brat bratu“) ili *frater et heres* („brat i nasljednik“), pri čemu su te čvrste veze možda izražene u šestom retku *carmen epigraphicum* (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 8): *dum vixi hilaris iucundus amicis* („veseo dok sam bio, i drag [svojim] drugovima bio“) (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 227, usp. Tončinić 2011: 30–32; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demicheli 2013: 485–486). Iako se za komemoratore ne navodi uvijek izričito da su *milites*, popularnost izraza i činjenica da su svi komemorirani *milites* umrli tijekom aktivne službe u Tiluriju implicira da su bili.<sup>7</sup> Ipak, iskopavanja unutar i izvan

3 Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 35. Whilst commemorator Gaius Lucretius is not mentioned by name – referred to as '*frater*' in Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 35 – his own funerary monument (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 36) was located nearby, probably in the same plot, and he shares *nomen gentilicium* (Betz 1938: 65–66; Tončinić 2011: 61–63; 2022).

4 Lines 8–9: *optaram vivo potius dare vina / me tib(i) non obito care ferenda* ('I had hoped rather that I would give you wine when you were alive, which cannot be given to you now dead, my beloved'). Translation Samuel Wessels.

5 For example, *AE* 1971, 415; 1977, 638; 1994, 1356–1357; *CIL* 3: 803, 807, 7327, 1051414349<sup>2</sup>, 14349<sup>8</sup>; *CIL* 6: 32671; *CIL* 13: 6232, 7292. See Lendon (2006) for other similar terms.

6 Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 76 has a lacuna: *mil(es) leg(ionis) V[---]*. However, because of the number of *Legio VII* funerary stelae in *Dalmatia* and the *lacuna* size I would reconstruct as: *mil(es) leg(ionis) V[II C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)]*. However, *V[Mac(edonicae)]* or *V[III Aug(ustae)]* are possible. M. Arruntius and M. Julius of Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 24 have different *nomen gentilicium*, so may not have been blood brothers, however this is not certain. Nevertheless, Kepartová (1986) refers to their tombstone.

3 Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 35. Dok se komemorator Gaj Lukrecije ne spominje po imenu – naziva se samo *frater* kod Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 35 – njegov vlastiti nadgrobni spomenik (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 36) nalazio se u blizini, vjerojatno na istoj grobnoj parceli, s istim *nomen gentilicium* (Betz 1938: 65–66; Tončinić 2011: 61–63; 2022).

4 Redci 8–9: *optaram vivo potius dare vina/me tib(i) non obito care ferenda* ('I had hoped rather that I would give you wine when you were alive, which cannot be given to you now dead, my beloved'). Prijevod Samuel Wessels.

5 Npr. *AE* 1971, 415; 1977, 638; 1994, 1356–1357; *CIL* 3: 803, 807, 7327, 1051414349<sup>2</sup>, 14349<sup>8</sup>; *CIL* 6: 32671; *CIL* 13: 6232, 7292. Vidi Lendon (2006) za slične izraze.

6 Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 76 ima lakunu: *mil(es) leg(ionis) V[---]*. Međutim, zbog brojnosti *Legio VII* nadgrobni stela u Dalmaciji i veličini lakune, rekonstruirao bih je kao: *mil(es) leg(ionis) V[II C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)]*. Naravno, moguće rekonstrukcije su i *V[Mac(edonicae)]* ili *V[III Aug(ustae)]*. M. Aruntije i M. Julije iz Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 24 imaju različit gentilicij, pa možda nisu bili krvna braća, ali to nije sigurno, iako Kepartová (1986) navodi njihov nadgrobni spomenik u ovom kontekstu.

7 U Tiluriju je potvrđen samo jedan *Legio VII* veteranus (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 12).

while alive, and dear to (my) companions was') (Rendić-Miočević 1987: 227, cf. Tončinić 2011: 30–32; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demiche-  
li 2013: 485–486). While the commemorators  
are not always explicitly stated to be *milites*,  
the popularity of the expression and the fact  
all commemorated *milites* died during active  
service at *Tilurium* implies they were.<sup>7</sup> That  
said, excavations inside and outside this fort  
have not been extensive and it is also possible  
that families were located in a nearby *vicus* or  
further afield at *Pons Tiluri* (Trilj).<sup>8</sup>

Servicemen were also commonly recorded as  
*heredes* ('heirs') in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Empire,  
admittedly at different rates (Saller, Shaw 1984:  
139–144; Phang 2001: 145; Stoll 2006: 288, 325–  
326; Matijević 2019: 62, 90), with Phang showing  
there were well established legal grounds for  
an unrelated brother to be *heres* (Phang 2001:  
163; *Dig.* 28.5.58.1). Wilkes (1969: 110, 129) was  
of the opinion that the situation was similar for  
*Legio VII*, and the evidence does suggest the  
community was intersected by legal relations.  
An aforementioned *frater* and probable *Legio VII*  
*C.p.f. miles* Marcus Arruntius (Tončinić 2011: cat.  
no. 24), is recorded as a *heres*, and the Tilurian  
tombstones of two *milites* (Tončinić 2011: cat.  
no. 26, 68) record *heredes* with different *gen-*  
*tilicia*. Whilst not confirmed *milites*, the active  
status of the commemorated servicemen and  
their placement at *Tilurium* render it likely. The  
same logic applies to the unnamed *heredes* re-  
corded on the Tilurian tombstone of *signifer* Qu-  
intus Oppius (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 46) and that  
of *miles* Gaius Lartinius (Tončinić 2011: cat. no.  
29) from Dicmo – perhaps produced at *Tilurium*  
(Cambi 1984: 84–86). Two monuments of *vete-*  
*rani* from the veteran settlement at *pagus Scuna-*  
*sticus* (Hardomilje, Ljubuški) found on the right  
banks of the Trebižat river were also erected by  
*heredes* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 31, 63). The pre-  
sence of a large community of *Legio VII veterani*  
in this region suggests they may have been *mili-*

ove utvrde nisu bila prostorno opsežna i tako-  
đer je moguće da su obitelji bile smještene u  
obližnjem *vicusu* ili dalje u naselju *Pons Tiluri*  
(Trilj).<sup>8</sup>

Vojnici su također često bilježeni kao *here-*  
*des* („nasljednici“) u 1. stoljeću, doduše u razli-  
čitim statističkim omjerima (Saller, Shaw 1984:  
139–144; Phang 2001: 145; Stoll 2006: 288,  
325–326; Matijević 2019: 62, 90), s tim da je  
Phang ukazao kako postoje dobro utvrđeni  
pravni temelji da „brat“ koji nije u srodstvu po-  
stane nasljednikom (*heres*) (Phang 2001: 163;  
*Dig.* 28.5.58.1). Wilkes (1969: 110, 129) smatra  
kako je situacija bila slična i u slučaju VII. le-  
gije, a epigrafski nalazi sugeriraju da je zajed-  
nica bila ispresijecana definiranim pravnim od-  
nosima. Spomenuti *frater* i vjerojatno *Legio VII*  
*C.p.f. miles* Marko Aruntije (Tončinić 2011: kat.  
br. 24), spominje se kao *heres*, a tilurijski nad-  
grobni spomenici dva legionara (*milites*) (Ton-  
činić 2011: kat. br. 26, 68) spominju nasljednike  
(*heredes*) s različitim gentilicijima. Iako nije po-  
tvrđen njihov status kao *milites*, aktivni status  
komemoriranih vojnika i njihov položaj u Tiluriju  
čini ga vjerojatnim. Ista logika vrijedi i za neime-  
novane *heredes* zabilježene na tilurijskoj nad-  
grobnoj ploči signifikatora Kvinta Opija (Tonči-  
nić 2011: kat. br. 46) i ploči vojnika Gaja Lartinija  
(Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 29) iz Dicma – možda  
proizvedene u Tiluriju (Cambi 1984: 84–86).  
Dva spomenika veterana iz veteranskog naselja  
*pagus Scunasticus* (Hardomilje, Ljubuški) pro-  
nađenih na desnoj obali rijeke Trebižat također  
su podigli *heredes* (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 31,  
63). Prisutnost velike zajednice veterana VII. le-  
gije u ovom području sugerira da su možda bili  
*milites* (Glavičić, Pandža 2017), no to se mo-  
že samo pretpostavljati.<sup>9</sup> Još je manje siguran  
status nasljednika na dva spomenika iz Salone  
(Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 59, 10). Bez obzira na  
sve moguće nedoumice, očito je postojala zna-  
čajna pravna dimenzija društvene umreženosti

7 Only one *Legio VII veteranus* is attested at *Tilurium* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 12).

8 Excavations of *Tilurium* are well published (Sanader 2003; Šimić-Kanaet 2010; Sanader et al. 2014; 2017; 2021). Two funerary monuments commemorating civilians have been found at *Tilurium*, but they may date beyond the period in question (*CIL* 3: 2723, 13972). The exact date of the nearby *Pons Tiluri* settlement is unknown, with the permanent bridge only established in the early 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. A number of the finds from *Pons Tiluri* are also military, including a *pugio* and scabbard from the Cetina River dating from the late 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – mid 1<sup>st</sup> AD, the approximate time *Legio VII* was stationed at *Tilurium* (Milošević 2009: 176–179). Nevertheless, non-combatants are found in forts across the Empire to differing degrees and their existence should not be disregarded *a priori* (van Driel-Murray 1997; Allison 2008; Greene 2020).

8 Iskopavanja Tilurija objavljena su u većem broju publikacija (Sanader 2003; Šimić-Kanaet 2010; Sanader et al. 2014; 2017; 2021). Dva civilna nadgrobna spomenika pronađena su u Tiluriju, ali oni možda datiraju i poslije razdoblja o kojem je riječ (*CIL* 3: 2723, 13972). Točan datum osnivanja obližnjeg naselja *Pons Tiluri* nije poznat, s tim da je trajni most na ovom mjestu izgrađen tek početkom 1. stoljeća. Jedan broj nalaza s ovoga lokaliteta također je vojne prirode, kao primjerice rimski bodež (*pugio*) s koricama, pronađen u koritu rijeke Cetine i datiran u period između kasnog 1. st. pr. Kr. i sredine 1. st. po Kr. – isti period kada je i VII. legija bila smještena u Tiluriju (Milošević 2009: 176–178). Unatoč tome, razvidno je da se civili u različitim statističkim omjerima nalaze u utvdama diljem Carstva i njihova se nazočnost ne bi smjela osporavati bez valjanih dokaza (van Driel-Murray 1997; Allison 2008; Greene 2020).

9 Smokovice, Hardomilje: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 31–32, 63. Vuna, Hardomilje: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 60. Neki su spomenici pronađeni u sekundarnim kontekstima tako da je teško razlučiti točnu lokaciju groblja.



tes (Glavičić, Pandža 2017), yet this can only be hypothesised.<sup>9</sup> Even less certain is the status of the *heredes* on two monuments from civilian *Salona* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 59, 10). Irrespective, there was evidently a significant legal dimension to the social network of *Legio VII*, both amongst active servicemen and the extended community.

This admittedly small snapshot reveals a community intersected by familial, comradely, and legal bonds; it is significant to notice that Hope (2020: 94–95) observes a similar situation with sailors at *Misenum*. These bonds were felt amongst certain members of *Legio VII* at *Tilurium*, to the point that *milites* erected tombstones for their departed comrades, referred to themselves and/or the deceased as *fratres*, and made each other *heredes*. By epigraphically advertising these bonds in the necropolis/eis of *Tilurium*, *Salona*, and *pagus Scunasticus*, the commemorators and monuments established these bonds as a comprising feature of the community of *Legio VII*, imbuing these relations with symbolism and significance – a process described anthropologically by Anthony Cohen (1985: 117) and explored theoretically by Mihajlović (2020: 36). Similarly, this epigraphic expression of service-based brotherhood would have reiterated this as a core feature of the broader military community. To better explore this creation of a distinct local yet 'global' community within *Legio VII* one must go beyond the epitaphs to the material, spatial, ritual, and sculptural dimensions.

## A communally significant act: the erection of a military tombstone

The erection of a Roman funerary marker, the internment of cremated remains, and their related rituals and rites are highly complex research areas (Pearce, Weekes 2017; Pearce 2017), and, because of space, only the act of erection is explored here. Within the armies of the early-mid Empire, the funerary stela was the preferred monument type, meaning the monument and its related rites were prevalent in the military community of the 1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD (Hope 2003: 84–85; Speidel 2014: 321–326).<sup>10</sup> The plethora of military tombsto-

VII. legije, kako među aktivnim vojnicima tako i među širom zajednicom povezanom s legijom.

Navedeni primjeri otkrivaju zajednicu koju presijecaju obiteljske, prijateljske i pravne veze; u ovom kontekstu zgodno je spomenuti kako Hope (2020: 94–95) zapaža sličnu situaciju kod mornara Mizenske flote. Ove su se veze osjećale među određenim članovima VII. legije u Tiluriju do te mjere da su *milites* podizali nadgrobne ploče za svoje preminule prijatelje, a sebe i/ili pokojnike nazivali *fratres* i jedni druge proglašavali nasljednicima. Epigrafskim oglašavanjem ovih međusobnih veza u nekropolama Tilurija, Salone i pagusa *Scunasticus*, komemoratori i spomenici pokazuju te veze kao sastavni dio zajednice VII. legije, prožimajući ih simbolizmom i značenjem – proces koji je antropološki opisao Anthony Cohen (1985: 117), a teorijski istražio Mihajlović (2020: 36). Slično tome, ovaj epigrafski izraz bratstva temeljenog na službi se pokazuje kao temeljna značajka šire vojne zajednice. Kako bi bolje razumjeli stvaranje ove specifične lokalne, a ipak „globalne“ zajednice unutar VII. legije moramo uzeti u obzir materijalne, prostorne, ritualne i skulpturalne dimenzije spomenika.

## Zajednički značajan čin: postavljanje vojnog nadgrobnog spomenika

Podizanje rimskog nadgrobnog obilježja, pohranjivanje kremiranih ostataka i s njima povezani rituali i obredi iznimno su složena područja istraživanja (Pearce, Weekes 2017; Pearce 2017), a zbog ograničenoga prostora, ovdje ćemo uzeti u obzir samo čin podizanja nadgrobnoga obilježja. U vojnim postrojbama principata, nadgrobna stela bila je najčešća vrsta spomenika, što znači da su spomenik i s njim povezani obredi prevladavali u rimskim vojničkim zajednicama između 1. i 3. stoljeća (Hope 2003: 84–85; Speidel 2014: 321–326).<sup>10</sup> Mnogštvo vojnih nadgrobničkih spomenika pronađenih diljem Carstva to dokazuje, a vojnički natpisi su ponekad bili najraniji primjeri rimske provincijske epigrafske kulture, kao što vidimo u Britaniji (Hope 1997: 255). Slično tome, rimski vojnici u Dalmaciji proizveli su velike količine

<sup>9</sup> Smokovice, Hardomilje: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 31–32, 63. Vuna, Hardomilje: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 60. Some monuments were found repurposed so exact cemeterial context is hard to discern.

<sup>10</sup> This could be the result of the high degree of social mobility experienced by *milites* – who were often serving far from home – and the resultant 'status anxiety' (Woolf 1996: 33; Hope 2000: 180; Meyer 2012: 207; Haynes 2013: 251).

<sup>10</sup> To bi mogao biti rezultat visokog stupnja društvene pokretljivosti koju su iskusili *milites* – koji su često služili daleko od kuće – kao i posljedične „statusne tjeskobe“ (Woolf 1996: 33; Hope 2000: 180; Meyer 2012: 207; Haynes 2013: 251).

nes across the Empire evidence this, with servicemen sometimes the earliest participants in the Roman provincial epigraphic culture, as seen in *Britannia* (Hope 1997: 255). Similarly, servicemen in *Dalmatia* produced great amounts of funerary epigraphic material in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. To illustrate, 360 (~36.29%) of the 992 Dalmatian *tituli sepulcrales* dating between 30 BC and 117 AD in the EDCS are categorised as referring to *milites*, and in Matijević's (2019) overview of the relations attested to in Salonitan inscriptions dating to the Principate, 136 monuments were observed to be related to a member of the military.<sup>11</sup>

The extant corpus is testament to the importance of tombstones for a portion of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f.* servicemen, ex-servicemen, and extended community members. Because of its wider military popularity, the erection of tombstones and funerary inscriptions should be considered as attempts to demonstrate membership within the *Legio VII* community and the 'community of the soldier' through a medium popular within the social unit. Indeed, military communities likely acted as the (at least perceived) primary audience in several settings (Speidel 2014: 326). This particularly applies to the 34 *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f.* servicemen (and four possible servicemen) commemorated by stelae in spaces where the army and its extended community were a significant presence: *Asseria*, *Tilurium*, *pagus Scunasticus*, the veteran *colonia* at *Siculi*, the military specific plots in *Salona* (see below) and so on.<sup>12</sup>

Alongside this, the erection of an inscribed monument was collectively significant. The 22 monuments likely erected by a servicemen or ex-servicemen represent 55% of the 40 post-mortem monuments with commemorator information. Members of the *Legio VII* community were therefore directly involved in the erection of tombstones, as were extended community members. In addition to providing the opportunity for serviceman and families to mourn lost community members (Mihajlović 2012: 42), the

nadgrobnog epigrafskog materijala u 1. stoljeću. Ilustracije radi, 360 (~36,29 %) od 992 dalmatinska *tituli sepulcrales* u EDCS –u, koji se datiraju između 30. g. pr. Kr. i 117. godine, kategorizirano je kao da se odnosi na *milites*, a u Matijevićevom (2019) pregledu odnosa posvjedočenih na salonitanskim natpisimadatiranih u doba principata, uočeno je 136 spomenika koji se odnose na pripadnike vojske.<sup>11</sup>

Sačuvani korpus svjedoči o važnosti nadgrobnih spomenika za dio vojnika *Legio VII* i *VII C.p.f.*, bivše vojnike i članove šire vojničke zajednice. Zbog svoje šire popularnosti, postavljanje nadgrobnih spomenika i nadgrobnih natpisa treba smatrati pokušajima prezentiranja pripadnosti zajednici VII. legije i pripadnosti „vojničkoj zajednici“ kroz medij popularan unutar te društvene zajednice. Doista, vojničke zajednice vjerojatno su djelovale kao (barem percipirana) primarna publika (Speidel 2014: 326). To se posebno odnosi na 34 *Legio VII* i *VII C.p.f.* legionara (kao i četiri moguća) komemoriranih stelama u prostorima gdje su vojska i njezina proširena zajednica bile značajno prisutne: *Aserija*, *Tilurij*, *pagus Scunasticus*, veteranska kolonija u *Sikulima* te specifične vojne grobne parcele u *Saloni* (vidi dolje) itd.<sup>12</sup>

Kolektivno značajno bilo je i postavljanje samog natpisnog spomenika; 22 spomenika koja su vjerojatno podigli vojnici ili bivši vojnici predstavljaju 55 % od 40 nadgrobnih spomenika s podacima o komemoraciji. Pripadnici zajednice VII. legije bili su izravno uključeni u podizanje nadgrobnih spomenika, zajedno s pripadnicima šire zajednice. Osim pružanja prilike vojnicima i obiteljima da žale za izgubljenim članovima zajednice (Mihajlović 2012: 42), ti su obredi ojačavali veze među vojnicima i njihovom širom zajednicom, jačajući povezanost potvrđenu u epitafima (Hope 2003: 87). Ovu dimenziju grupe uključivosti možda su pospjeli zajednički financijski spomenički fondovi jer je moguće da je VII. legija posjedovala pogrebne fondove kolegija koje je opisao Vegecije krajem 4./početkom 5. stoljeća (*Mil.* 2.20 ). Dok su vojni kolegiji potvrđeni tek u drugoj polovici 2. sto-

11 EDCS numbers from August 2020. Data and analysis available at [https://github.com/EwanSC/BromansCoopey/blob/master/r\\_files/r\\_scripts/edcs\\_inscriptions.R](https://github.com/EwanSC/BromansCoopey/blob/master/r_files/r_scripts/edcs_inscriptions.R). Neither of these figures is wholly representative of the 'true' number of monuments, yet they illustrate the significant portion erected by members of the military community in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD *Dalmatia*.

12 *Legio VII*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 1–2, 4–6, 8, 12, 18, 20–21, 26, 29, 31–32, 34, 37, 39, 42, 46, 50, 53, 59–60, 63, 65–66, 68. *Legio VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10, 35, 38, 41, 57, 70; Matijević 2017: Fig. 1. Possibly *Legio VI*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40, 55, 74; Medini 1984: Fig. 2 = Cambi 2008: 27.

11 EDCS brojevi od kolovoza 2020. Podaci i analiza dostupni na [https://github.com/EwanSC/BromansCoopey/blob/master/r\\_files/r\\_scripts/edcs\\_inscriptions.R](https://github.com/EwanSC/BromansCoopey/blob/master/r_files/r_scripts/edcs_inscriptions.R). Nijedna od ovih brojki nije u potpunosti reprezentativna za „pravi“ broj spomenika, ali ipak ilustrira značajan dio spomenika koji su podigli pripadnici vojničke zajednice 1. stoljeća u Dalmaciji.

12 *Legio VII*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 1–2, 4–6, 8, 12, 18, 20–21, 26, 29, 31–32, 34, 37, 39, 42, 46, 50, 53, 59–60, 63, 65–66, 68. *Legio VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10, 35, 38, 41, 57, 70; Matijević 2017: sl. 1. Moguće *Legio VI*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 40, 55, 74; Medini 1984: sl. 2 = Cambi 2008: 27.

se rites would have strengthened ties amongst the soldiers and their wider community, reinforcing the cohesion attested to in the epitaphs (Hope 2003: 87). This dimension of group engagement may have been furthered by communal monument funds, as it is possible that *Legio VII* was home to the *collegia* burial funds described by late 4<sup>th</sup>/early 5<sup>th</sup> century AD author Vegetius (*Mil.* 2.20). Whilst attestations of military *collegia* only appear in the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, civilian *collegia* appear in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and military versions could therefore also have had earlier origins (Pegler 2000: 38–39; Carroll 2009: 825–826).

## **Portae and plots: the visual and spatial articulation of community membership**

The *Legio VII* 'community of the soldier' in 1<sup>st</sup> century AD *Dalmatia* was clearly an entity intersected with various relations which all came into play through the communally regenerative act of erecting tombstones. Beyond this, the community itself was also visible within the funerary record – visually (re)constructed through funerary monuments. The main avenues through which this was achieved were sculpture and spatial distribution.

The '*porta inferi*' motif or 'Asia Minor Façade' is a four-panelled door to the underworld depicted upon the lower portion of numerous Romano-Dalmatian funerary stelae, and, when considered with the shrine-like *aediculae*, may have represented a tomb. Each panel could contain a range of iconography (Fig. 2), such as handles, tools, lion heads, and the god Attis.<sup>13</sup> Monuments of this style were worked into a sophisticated typology of architectural types and reduced types over approximately three decades (Cambi 1990: 65–69; 2005: 52–57; Sanader 2003; Tončinić 2011: 147–164), and were the focus of much debate prior to this as well.

Harold Hofmann (1905: 54–57) argued in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that the motif originated from Asia Minor. Since then, Julijan Medini (1984: 112–114) has maintained there were Anatolian influences, Sergio Rinaldi Tufi (1971: 116–117, 131–133) has argued for an Italian influence, and Cambi has purported that it was a local architectural reduction of an *aedicula* / *naiskos* or tomb produced by local

ljeća, civilni kolegiji pojavljuju se već u 1. st. pr. Kr. pa su njihove vojne inačice stoga mogle biti i ranije (Pegler 2000: 38–39; Carroll 2009: 825–826).

## **Portae i grobne parcele: vizualna i prostorna artikulacija pripadnosti zajednici**

„Vojnička zajednica“ VII. legije u Dalmaciji 1. stoljeća očito je bila cjelina isprepletena različitim odnosima koji su se ostvarivali kroz zajednički regenerativni čin podizanja nadgrobnihih spomenika. Osim toga, sama zajednica također je bila vidljiva unutar grobnog zapisa – vizualno (re)konstruirana kroz nadgrobne spomenike. Glavni smjerovi kojima se to postiglo bili su skulptura i prostorna distribucija spomenika.

*Porta inferi* ili „maloazijska fasada“ je motiv vrata s četiri ploče koja vode u podzemni svijet prikazan na donjem dijelu brojnih rimskih nadgrobnihih stela u Dalmaciji, moguće predstavljajući grobnicu ako je uzmemo u obzir skupa s edikulama nalik na svetište. Svaka reljefna ploča mogla je sadržavati niz različitih ikonografskih elemenata (sl. 2), kao što su ručke, alati, lavlje glave i božanstvo Atis.<sup>13</sup> Spomenici toga stila klasificirani su u sofisticiranu tipologiju arhitektonskih tipova i reduciranih tipova tijekom zadnja tri desetljeća (Cambi 1990: 65–69; 2005: 52–57; Sanader 2003; Tončinić 2011: 147–164), a bili su i u središtu mnogih rasprava i ranije.

Harold Hofmann (1905: 54–57) je početkom 20. stoljeća tvrdio da ovaj motiv potječe iz Male Azije, a Julijan Medini (1984: 112–114) nastojao je pokazati postojanje anatolskih utjecaja. Sergio Rinaldi Tufi (1971: 116–117, 131–133) zagovarao je talijanski utjecaj, dok je Cambi ustvrdio kako se ovdje radilo o lokalnoj arhitektonskoj redukciji edikule (*naiskos*) ili grobnice koju su izradili lokalni klesari (Cambi 1994: 166–170; 2020; 2021; Miletić 2013: 422; 2015; Tončinić 2011: 16–19).<sup>14</sup> Iako mi se osobno čini da se radi o lokalnoj redukciji s nekoliko utjecaja, podrijetlo i vjersko značenje motiva nije toliko bitno za ovaj rad. Umjesto toga, fokusirat ćemo se

13 According to Cambi, these depictions of Attis may be defeated 'Orientals' or *barbari* (Cambi 2003; 2021; Miletić 2015). Others observe that the motifs could be 'Orientals' and be influenced by the cult of Attis and Cybelle (Miletić et al. 2014).

13 Prema Cambiju, ovi prikazi Atisa mogu predstavljati poražene „istočnjake“ ili „barbare“ (Cambi 2003; 2021; Miletić 2015). Drugi autori primjećuju da bi motivi mogli biti „orijentalni“ i pod utjecajem kulta Atisa i Kibebe (Miletić et al. 2014.).

14 Grčka stela s Visa iz 3. – 1. st. pr. Kr. prikazuje sličan motiv i redukciju naiskosa (AMS A–80; Jovanović 2021: kat. br. 9).

stonemasons (Cambi 1994: 166–170; 2020; 2021; Miletić 2013: 422; 2015; Tončinić 2011: 16–19).<sup>14</sup> Whilst I place more weight behind the argument for it being a local reduction with several influences, the origin and religious meaning of the motif does not concern this paper. Instead, my focus is upon the communal significance of the motif and the related overall stela-style in the Dalmatian military community – in other words, not the intent or rationale behind the adoption of the motif in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC/AD, but rather the affect, or impact, of the motif once it was adopted.<sup>15</sup>

There are definitely 13 (likely 16) *Legio VII* funerary monuments with the design: nine from *Tilurium* and its surrounds (Dugopolje),<sup>16</sup> four from *pagus Scunasticus* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 32, 40, 60, 63), and three from *Salona* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10, 41, 56). Most can be stylistically classified, with nine A1a, one A2, two A3a, two reduced, and one *ara*, but one is too damaged (*ILJug 2*, 733). Commemorated soldiers range in rank and unit, with at least five *veterani* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10, 12, 21, 60, 63), an *eques* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 56) and a *centurio* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 87), as well as at least two members of *Legio VII C.p.f.* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 12, 41). The decoration and style was therefore a prominent feature of the *Legio VII* funerary record of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. Whilst this popularity is likely related, in part, to the prominence of a *Tilurium*-based workshop (Miletić 2015: 363; Cambi 2020), the *milites* and/or their commemorators maintained agency in monument design, particularly in choosing one style over another due to communal significance. Masons could also leave monuments partially finished, allowing for certain elements to be added later (Stewart 2008: 32–38; Edmondson 2014). The *ara* of *Legio VII eques* Marcus Titius from *Salona* may be an example of this (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 56), because it is the only published *ara* with the panelled door motif, perhaps representing a design choice at the request of Titius or his commemorator. Cambi is of a similar mind concerning the other Salonitan-produced stelae bearing the motif (Cambi 1986: 81; 1994: 170–171; 2005: 54–58, Fig. 77–78; 2020: 15–19).<sup>17</sup>

na zajednički značaj motiva i povezanom cjelokupnom stilu stele u vojničkoj zajednici rimske Dalmacije. Drugim riječima, diskusija će razmatrati učinak motiva nakon što je usvojen a ne moguću namjeru ili obrazloženje usvajanja motiva u 1. st. pr./po Kr.<sup>15</sup>

Definitivno postoji 13 (vjerojatno 16) nadgrobni spomenika VII. legije s ukrasom: devet iz Tilurija i okolice (Dugopolje),<sup>16</sup> četiri iz *pagus Scunasticus* (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 32, 40, 60, 63) te tri iz Salone (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10, 41, 56). Većina se može stilski klasificirati: devet je tipa A1a, jedan A2, dva A3a, dva su reducirana, jedna je ara, a jedan spomenik je previše oštećen (*ILJug 2*, 733). Komemorirani vojnici variraju u činovima i pripadnosti postrojbama, s najmanje pet veterana (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10, 12, 21, 60, 63) jednim konjanikom (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 56) i jednim centurionom (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 87), kao i najmanje dva pripadnika (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 12, 41) *Legio VII C.p.f.* Dekoraciju i stil stoga možemo vidjeti kao istaknutu značajku nadgrobno zapisa VII. legije iz 1. stoljeća. Iako je ta popularnost vjerojatno djelomično povezana s utjecajem tilurijske klesarske radionice (Miletić 2015: 363; Cambi 2020), *milites* i/ili njihovi komemoratori zadržavali su aktivnu ulogu u odabiru dizajna spomenika, osobito u odabiru jednog stila umjesto drugog zbog zajedničkog značaja. Klesari su također mogli ostaviti spomenike djelomično završenim, dopuštajući naknadno dodavanje određenih elemenata (Stewart 2008: 32–38; Edmondson 2014). Ara Marka Ticija konjanika VII. legije iz Salone može biti dobar primjer za ilustraciju ovoga argumenta (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 56) jer je to jedina objavljena ara s motivom *porta inferi*, vjerojatno izbor Ticija ili njegovoga komemoratora. Cambi je sličnog mišljenja i o drugim salonitanskim stelama s ovim motivom (Cambi 1986: 81; 1994: 170–171; 2005: 54–58, sl. 77–78; 2020: 15–19).<sup>17</sup>

Postoji i mnoštvo slično stiliziranih dalmatinskih nadgrobni spomenika iz ovoga perioda koji ne pripadaju pripadnicima VII. legije. Neki se mogu naći u i oko Tilurija u Dugopolju i Trilju (*AE* 1994: 1356 = Cambi 1994: kat. br. 2; Tončinić 2005: sl. 1; Medini 1984: sl. 2; Cambi 2008: kat.

14 A Greek stela from Vis dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> century BC depicts a similar motif and reduction of a *naiksos* (AMS A–80; Jovanović 2021: cat. no. 9).

15 'Affect' is here understood in the theoretical archaeological sense as 'forces of impact' (Jones 2020: 548–550).

16 Definite: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 2, 8, 12, 20–21, 34. Likely: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 14, 25. Potentially: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 87.

17 Cambi (2005) argues that the presence of the motif on the *ara* without the *aedicula* suggests that the motif was not influenced by actual tombs from Asia Minor.

15 „Utjecaj“ je ovdje shvaćen u teoretskom arheološkom smislu kao „sila udara“ (Jones 2020: 548–550).

16 Definitivno: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 2, 8, 12, 20–21, 34. Vjerojatno: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 14, 25. Potencijalno: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 87.

17 Cambi (2005) argumentira da prisutnost motiva na *ari* bez *edikule* sugerira kako na pojavu ovoga motiva nisu utjecale stvarne grobnice iz Male Azije.



Fig. 2 — Left to right: Archaeological museum in Split, inv. no. A 2588 = Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 2 from *Tilurium* of the A1a type; AMS 38403 = Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 41 from *Salona* of the A3a type; A 178 = Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 34 from *Tilurium* of the A2 type; with permission (photo by: Ante Verzotti)

Sl. 2 — S lijeva na desno: Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. A 2588 = Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 2 iz Tilurija tipa A1a; AMS 38403 = Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 41 iz Salone tipa A3a; A 178 = Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 34 iz Tilurija tipa A2, uz dozvolu (snimio: Ante Verzotti)

There are also a multitude of similarly styled contemporary Dalmatian funerary monuments not belonging to *Legio VII* members. Some can be found in and around *Tilurium* at Dugopolje and Trilj (AE 1994: 1356 = Cambi 1994: cat. no. 2; Tončinić 2005: Fig. 1; Medini 1984: Fig. 2; Cambi 2008: cat. no. 27). Others have been found at *Burnum* depicting a bow, arrows, and a quiver (AE 1925: 13 = *ILJug* 3: 2820; Abramić 1924: Fig. 4–5), and monuments with a reduction of the motif into two panels have been found dating to the second-half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, including two Tilurian monuments of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* and a monument of a *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum miles* from *Bigeste / Gračina* (Cambi 1994: 158–162, 168–170. AE 1994: 1357–1358; 2000: 1179). Military tombstones from *Alpes Maritimae* also bear the *porta inferi*, with one from *Cemenelum / Nice* belonging to a provincial Dalmatian of *Cohortis Ligurum* (AE 1981: 601: *DALMAT(ae)*), implying the motif may have spread to the region via Dalmatian *auxilia* (Morabito 2015). As Cambi and Tončinić (amongst others) have observed, these are mostly military funerary monuments (Cambi 1990: 66; 1993: 33–34; Tončinić 2007: 262), with only select funerary stelae of a similar style belonging to civilians, such as the stela of *Vadica Titua* from *Asseria / Podgrađe* (*ILJug* 1: 207 = Cambi 1993: Pl. 1–2).

The *porta inferi* motif, at least upon funerary monuments, evidently became associated with

br. 27). Drugi su pronađeni u *Burnumu* s prikazom luka, strijele i tobolca (AE 1925: 13 = *ILJug* 3: 2820; Abramić 1924: sl. 4–5), a pronađeni su spomenici s redukcijom motiva u dvije ploče datiranih do druge polovice 1. st. po Kr., uključujući dva tilurijska spomenika vojnika *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* i jedan spomenik vojnika *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* iz *Bigeste / Gračina* (Cambi 1994: 158–162, 168–170; AE 1994: 1357–1358; 2000: 1179). Vojnički nadgrobni spomenici iz provincije *Alpes Maritimae* također imaju motiv *porta inferi*, a jedan od njih iz *Cemenelum / Nice* pripada Dalmatincu iz *Cohortis Ligurum* (AE 1981: 601: *DALMAT(ae)*), što ukazuje na to da se motiv mogao proširiti na ovo područje putem dalmatinskih auxilijara (Morabito 2015). Kako su (između ostalih) primijetili Cambi i Tončinić, radi se uglavnom o vojničkim nadgrobni spomenicima (Cambi 1990: 66; 1993: 33–34; Tončinić 2007: 262), a samo pojedine nadgrobne stele sličnog stila pripadaju civilima, npr. stela *Vadice Titue* iz *Aserije / Podgrađa* (*ILJug* 1: 207 = Cambi 1993: T. 1–2).

Motiv *porta inferi*, barem na nadgrobni spomenicima, povezuje se s vojnom službom, a samim time i pripadnosti vojničkoj zajednici u Dalmaciji u ovom razdoblju. Uključivanjem ovog motiva, pokojnici i/ili njihovi komemoratori ukazivali su na pripadnost svojoj vojničkoj zajednici putem „zajedničkog stila“ koji je bio

military service, and, therefore, membership within the military community in *Dalmatia* in this period. Through the inclusion of this motif, the deceased and/or their commemorators were signalling membership within their military community via a 'communal style': a style that was communally significant (Feldman 2014). As Cambi (1990: 72) observes of two tombstones from *Salona*, soldiers *Legio VII* "wanted to manifest their belonging to the same military and legionary community" through style. Whilst most (11) of the *Legio VII milites* commemorated with the motif are from Asia Minor (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 2, 8, 12, 14, 20–21, 34, 40, 56, 60, 63),<sup>18</sup> suggesting a particular affinity amongst these members, there are examples commemorating members from Italy (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10, 25), Macedonia (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 32), and unknown origins (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 41, 87). The distribution of the motif across sites, units, and ranks also suggests this sense of community was felt amongst all types of soldiers in *Dalmatia*. In this way, the funerary monuments were a constructor of the 'community of the soldier' in *Dalmatia* – as well in *Legio VII* – through sculptural uniformity, particularly at *Tilurium*, *Burnum*, and *pagus Scunasticus*.

As Mihajlović notes 'the spatial positioning of [a] monument could enhance or reduce the effect left on observers, or even directly affect the effectiveness of the intended function' (translation of Mihajlović 2012: 37). The location of the funerary monuments is therefore also significant to consider, and the unit-specific plots at *Salona* present another phenomenon of community generation, rendering the community visible in cemetery contexts and complementing the sculptural unity. Cambi and Miletić, among others, convincingly argue that there was a plot reserved for *Legio VII* members or at least military servicemen in both the northern and eastern Salonitan necropoleis (Fig. 3) (Cambi 1986: 83–84; Miletić 1990: 178–180; 1992: 30–34; 2013: 424).

The northern necropolis ran east–west parallel to the later northern city wall, as well as northwards to the Manastirine in later periods, with the oldest section (1<sup>st</sup> century AD) west of the point where the wall met the old city (*Urbs vetus*) and *cardo* (Mardešić 2019). The eastern necropolis – not to be confused with the southeastern necropolis – stretched "from *Porta Ca-*

značajan unutar zajednice (Feldman 2014). Cambi (1990: 72) je interpretirao dva nadgrobna spomenika iz *Salone* time da su vojnici *Legio VII* ovim stilom htjeli naglasiti pripadnost istoj vojničkoj i legijskoj zajednici. Većina (11) *Legio VII milites* obilježena ovim motivom podrijetlom je iz Male Azije (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 2, 8, 12, 14, 20–21, 34, 40, 56, 60, 63),<sup>18</sup> što ukazuje na posebnu povezanost među njima, ali postoje i primjeri koji na ovaj način obilježavaju pripadnike legije rodom iz Italije (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10, 25), Makedonije (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 32) te dva legionara nepoznatoga podrijetla (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 41, 87). Distribucija motiva po nalazištima, postrojbama i vojnim činovima također sugerira da se taj osjećaj zajedništva osjećao među svim vojnicima u Dalmaciji. Na taj su način nadgrobni spomenici kroz svoju skulpturalnu uniformnost bili graditelji „vojničke zajednice“ u Dalmaciji, osobito u *Tiluriju*, *Burnumu* i *pagus Scunasticus*.

Kako Mihajlović napominje, „prostorno pozicioniranje spomenika moglo je da pojača ili oslabi efekat koji se ostavljao na posmatrača, ili čak direktno utiče na učinkovitost nameravane funkcije“ (Mihajlović 2012: 37). Lokacija nadgrobničkih spomenika stoga je također znakovita za razmatranje, a vojne parcele u salonitanskim grobljima predstavljaju još jedan fenomen stvaranja zajednice, čineći zajednicu vidljivom u kontekstu groblja i nadopunjujući njezino skulpturalno jedinstvo. Cambi i Miletić, između ostalih, uvjerljivo tvrde da je i na sjevernoj i na istočnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli postojala parcela rezervirana za pripadnike VII. legije (sl. 3) (Cambi 1986: 83–84; Miletić 1990: 178–180; 1992: 30–34; 2013: 424).

Sjeverna nekropola pružala se u smjeru istok – zapad paralelno s kasnijim sjevernim gradskim bedemom, kao i sjeverno do Manastirina u kasnijim razdobljima, s najstarijim dijelom (1. st. po Kr.) zapadno od točke gdje se bedem spajao sa starom gradskom jezgrom (*Urbs vetus*) i *cardo* (Mardešić 2019). Istočna nekropola – koju ne smijemo miješati s jugoistočnom nekropolom – protezala se „od *Porta Caesarea* do *Zgona* (istočno od *Porta Andetria*)“ (Miletić 1992: 50). Jedna vojna parcela VII. legije pripadala je sjevernoj nekropoli između *Porta Suburbia I*, *Kapljuča* i

18 This may support the argument for a design influence from Asia Minor (Hofmann 1905: 54–57).

18 Ova činjenica može poduprijeti argument u prilog utjecaja dizajna iz Male Azije (Hofmann 1905: 54–57).

esarea to Zgon (east of the *Porta Andetria*)" (translation of Miletić 1992: 50). One *Legio VII* / military plot fell within the northern necropolis between *Porta Suburbia I*, Kapljuč, and the *cardo / Urbs vetus*, with three funerary stelae found in close proximity on land owned by the Parać family, and another found nearby.<sup>19</sup> Three *Legio VII* funerary monuments, commemorating two *Legio VII milites* and one *VII C.p.f. miles*,<sup>20</sup> were found in a second plot in the eastern necropolis in modern Bilankuša outside *Porta Andetria* (Cambi 1986: 83–84; Miletić 1992: 33–34).<sup>21</sup> It is possible that a number of the monuments found during early surveys of *Salona* were also found near these plots, however, lacking detailed provenience data, this cannot be claimed with certainty.<sup>22</sup> Similar practices have been found elsewhere, and in these situations, space is often one avenue through which military belonging is built up.

Monuments commemorating Praetorian Guard (*cohortes praetoriae*) in *Aquileia*, *Pompeii*, and Rome have been found together, advertising their distinct military identity (Calderini 1930: 211–214; Durry 1968: 60–63; De Caro 1979: 85–95).<sup>23</sup> Like the *cohortes praetoriae*, the 'community of the soldier' within *Legio VII* or the Dalmatian military was also being made spatially evident through this use of community-specific plots, with the visual and textual dimension of the monuments reinforcing this community visibility through things such as the aforementioned shared style (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 41, 56; Coulston 2000: 96–97, Fig. 5.3, 5.6–5.7; Hope 2001: 46–47). Monument distribution along the *viae* near *Tilurium* (Sanader 2006: 59; Sanader, Tončinić 2010: 43) and *pagus Scunasticus* (Dziurdzik et al. 2016: 302–304, Fig. 1) may have been similar, or at least clustered alongside other military funerary monuments, yet this hypothesis remains untested. Irrespective, a distinct *Legio VII* and military community was evi-

*cardo / Urbs vetus*, s tri nadgrobne stele pronađene u neposrednoj blizini na zemljištu obitelji Parać, dok je još jedna stela pronađena u blizini.<sup>19</sup> Tri nadgrobna spomenika VII. legije, koji obilježavaju dva vojnika VII. legije i jednog vojnika VII. legije *C.p.f.*,<sup>20</sup> pronađena su na drugoj parceli u istočnoj nekropoli u današnjoj Bilankuši izvan *Porta Andetria* (Cambi 1986: 83–84; Miletić 1992: 33–34).<sup>21</sup> Moguće je da se u blizini ovih parcela nalazio i niz spomenika pronađenih tijekom ranih istraživanja *Salone*, no to se u nedostatku detaljnih podataka o provenijenciji, ne može sa sigurnošću tvrditi.<sup>22</sup> Slična praksa nalazi se i drugdje, ali je u tim situacijama prostor najčešće samo jedan od načina na koji se gradi pripadnost vojničkoj zajednici.

Spomenici koji obilježavaju pretorijansku gardu (*cohortes praetoriae*) u Akvileji, Pompejima i Rimu pronađeni su na istom mjestu, promičući njihov poseban vojnički identitet (Calderini 1930: 211–214; Durry 1968: 60–63; De Caro 1979: 85–95).<sup>23</sup> Poput *cohortes praetoriae*, „vojnička zajednica“ VII. legije i rimske vojske u Dalmaciji također postaje prostorno evidentna s ovom upotrebom vojničkih parcela, kada je spojimo s vizualnom i tekstualnom dimenzijom spomenika koja je pojačavala vidljivost ove zajednice kroz karakteristike kao što je spomenuti zajednički stil (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 41, 56; Coulston 2000: 96–97, sl. 5.3, 5.6–5.7; Hope 2001: 46–47). Rasprostranjenost spomenika duž ceste koja je prolazila u blizini *Tilurija* (Sanader 2006: 59; Sanader, Tončinić 2010: 43) i vodila u *pagus Scunasticus* (Dziurdzik i dr. 2016: 302–304, sl. 1) možda je bila slična ili su barem bili grupirani uz druge vojničke nadgrobne spomenike, ali ova hipoteza se za sada ne može dokazati. Prema tome, možemo ustvrditi kako je posebna „vojnička zajednica“ VII. legi-

19 (Northern necropolis) Land owned by Parać family: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 4, 53, 82. Nearby: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 50 (Miletić 1990: 166–168, Fig. 2). It is possible that Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 70, found repurposed in Kapljuč, originated in this plot, along with perhaps Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 38 from the amphitheatre. Two possible *Legio VII* funerary monuments (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 19, 86) also originate in the northern necropolis, as does Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 51, a funerary monument for the freedman of *Legio VII C.p.f. centurio* Publius Plotuis.

20 (Eastern necropolis) *Legio VII*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 5, 19. *Legio VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 41.

21 Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 81 (Klis) and Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 56 (Gradina, near *Salona*) may also have originated in the eastern necropolis, but this is less certain. Stela Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 69 was unearthed east of the *Porta Caesarea* at Five Bridges (Pet mostova) (Tončinić 2011: 100–101).

22 Maršić (2010: 65, n. 3) hypothesises that Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 15 is from one of the plots.

23 Hope (2001: 40–47) also notes clusters of monuments belonging to *Legio XIV Gemina* (CSIR 2.5 109, CSIR 2.5 151) and *cohors Raetorum et Vindellicorum* (CSIR 2.5 76, CSIR 2.5 104) at *Aquileia* and Mainz.

19 (Sjeverna nekropola) Zemljište u vlasništvu obitelji Parać: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 4, 53, 82. U blizini: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 50 (Miletić 1990: 166–168, sl. 2). Također je moguće da stela Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 70, pronađena prenamijenjena na Kapljuč, potječe iz ove parcele, zajedno s možda Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 38 iz amfiteatra. Iz sjeverne nekropole potječu i dva moguća grobna spomenika *Legio VII* (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 19, 86), kao i Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 51, nadgrobni spomenik oslobođeniku centuriona VII. legije *C.p.f. Publija* Plotuisa.

20 (Istočna nekropola) *Legio VII*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 5, 19. *Legio VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 41.

21 Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 81 (Klis) i Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 56 (Gradina, pored *Salone*) također mogu potjecati iz istočne nekropole, ali ova pretpostavka je manje vjerojatna. Stela Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 69 iskopana je istočno od *Porta Caesarea* kod Pet mostova (Tončinić 2011: 100–101).

22 Maršić (2010: 65, n. 3) pretpostavlja da Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 15 potječe s jedne od takvih parcela.

23 Hope (2001: 40–47) također bilježi skupove spomenika koji pripadaju *Legio XIV Gemina* (CSIR 2.5 109, CSIR 2.5 151) i kohorti *Raetorum et Vindellicorum* (CSIR 2.5 76, CSIR 2.5 104) u Akvileji i Mainzu.

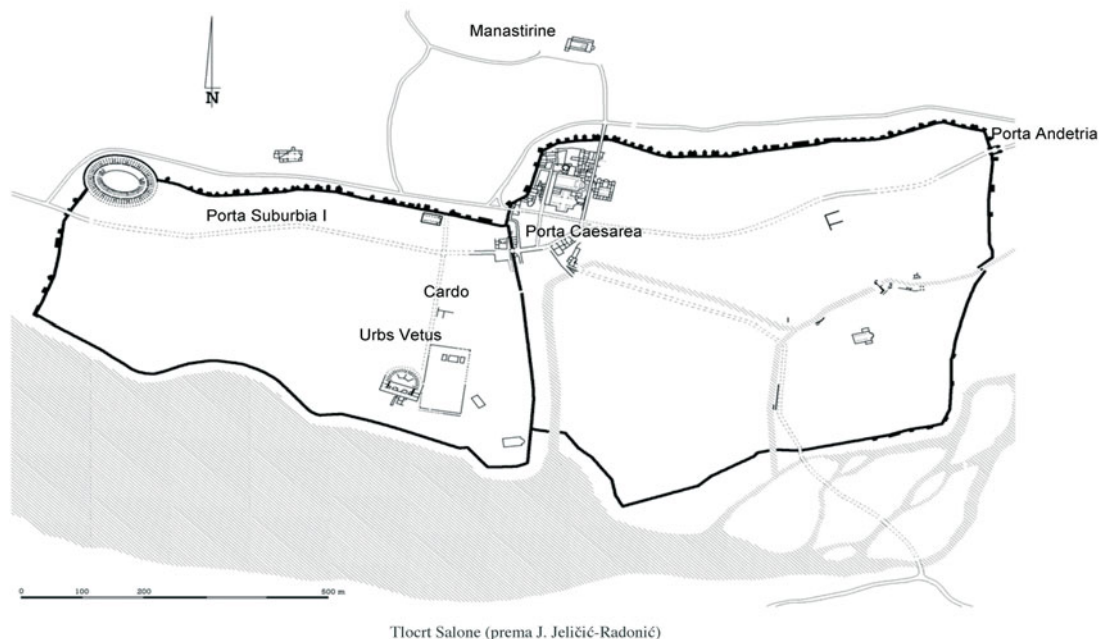


Fig. 3 — Ancient Salona. Note, much of the walls and all of the early Christian complexes date well beyond the 1st century AD (after: Jeličić-Radonić 2008: Fig. 1; modified by: E. S. Coopey; © Jeličić-Radonić 2008)

Sl. 3 — Antička Salona. Većina zidova i svi starokršćanski kompleksi datiraju znatno kasnije od 1. stoljeća (prema: Jeličić-Radonić 2008: sl. 1; doradio: E. S. Coopey; © Jeličić-Radonić 2008)

dently rendered visible to both community members and onlookers by funerary markers, through communal style *and* their spatial distribution.

### A truly 'military' community: the intersection between individual military identities and a communal military ethos

The erection of funerary monuments by and for *Legio VII* servicemen was evidently a product and producer of the social dynamics of the community of the *Legio VII*. Yet, the medium was also utilised to fashion the military identities of the soldier and veteran members of this community, as well as (re)define its ethos. On a fundamental level, the *militēs* and *veterani* of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f* used the textual medium of monuments to express military identities and (re)negotiate the military ethos of their community. They did so by aligning with the 'military epitaphic formula', or rather, by including statements concerning features of a military life.

This military formula has a number of distinguishing elements – such as *nomen*, *tri-*

je evidentno bila vidljiva i članovima zajednice i vanjskim promatračima kroz pogrebne oznake, zajednički stil *i* prostornu distribuciju.

### Prava „vojnička“ zajednica: raskrižje između individualnih vojničkih identiteta i zajedničkog vojnog etosa

Podizanje nadgrobnih spomenika za života kao i poslije smrti pripadnika VII. legije očito je proizvod ali i proizvođač društvene dinamike zajednice ove legije. Ovaj medij je korišten i za oblikovanje vojničkih identiteta vojnika i veterana ove zajednice, kao i za (re)definiranje njezina etosa. Na temeljnoj razini, *militēs* i *veterani* *Legio VII* i *VII C.p.f* koristili su tekstualni medij spomenika za izražavanje vojnih identiteta i (ponovno) uspostavljanje vojnoga etosa svoje zajednice. Učinili su to usklađujući se s „vojničkom epitafskom formulom“, točnije, uključivanjem iskaza koji se tiču obilježja vojničkog života.

Ova formula ima niz razlikovnih elemenata – kao što su *nomen*, *tribus*, *domicilium*, postrojba,



*bus, domicilium, unit, office, stipendia* (years of service), and *anni* (Anderson 1984: 20–24; Speidel 2014: 321–326) – but the primary component is a reference to military service. Regularly this is marked by regiment (*legio, cohors, ala*) and office, though *stipendia, anni*, and sub-unit also feature. In addition to simply providing insight into the life of the deceased, these identifiers of a military life constructed identities and created a military *memoria*: a reputation for being a military man (Carroll 2011: 66–67). The situation is no different with *Legio VII*, and many of the funerary monuments contain some or all of the aforementioned information.

Specifically, 71 funerary monuments epigraphically record a member – or members – of *Legio VII* as the commemorated, the commemorators, or both.<sup>24</sup> There are also 38 records of *anni* and 37 of *stipendia*, often together.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, 64 record office,<sup>26</sup> with three *centuriones*, three *signiferi*, an *imaginifer*, three *equites*, and a plethora of *milites* attested.<sup>27</sup> The full 71 monuments also preserve between 33 and 36 *Legio VII* or *VII C.p.f. veterani* who, despite their – admittedly typically short – time outside of the military, were remembered as men defined by service.<sup>28</sup> In short, *Legio VII veterani* and serving *milites* alike were defined by their military life, and presented themselves as such epigraphically (Coulston 2004: 150).

This military epitaphic content reveals a great deal about communally valued features of service. Rank, office, *stipendia*, and *anni* stress the social importance of certain statuses or achievements. As observed above, offices (including the 'rank' of *veteranus*)

čin, *stipendia* (godine službe) i *anni* (Anderson 1984: 20–24; Speidel 2014: 321–326) – ali primarnu sastavnicu predstavljale su reference na vojnu službu. Redovito se formula označavala nazivom postrojbe (legije, kohorte, ale) i vojnim činom, iako se u pojedinim primjerima pojavljuju *stipendija, anni*, i nazivi postrojbi nižega ranga. Osim pružanja uvida u život pokojnika, ovi označivači vojnog života pomagali su pri konstrukciji identiteta i u stvaranju vojne uspomene na reputaciju vojnika (Carroll 2011: 66–67). Sličnu situaciju vidimo i kod VII. legije, a svaki od nadgrobnih spomenika sadrži sve ili barem neke od navedenih informacija.

Naime, 71 nadgrobnih spomenika epigrafski bilježi pripadnika – ili pripadnike – VII. legije kao komemorirane, komemoratore ili oboje.<sup>24</sup> Postoji također 38 natpisa koji spominju godine i 37 sa spomenom godina službe, najčešće navedene zajedno.<sup>25</sup> Osim toga, 64 natpisa spominju vojni čin:<sup>26</sup> tri centuriona, tri signifera, jednog imaginifera, tri konjanika i veći broj običnih vojnika.<sup>27</sup> Čak 71 spomenik spominje između 33 i 36 veterana *Legio VII* ili *VII C.p.f.* koji su usprkos njihovom – doduše obično kratkom – vremenu izvan vojske ostali zapamćeni kao ljudi definirani vojničkom službom.<sup>28</sup> Ukratko, veterani i legionari u aktivnoj službi VII. legije bili su podjednako definirani svojim vojnim životom te su se kao takvi prikazivali epigrafski (Coulston 2004: 150).

Vojnički epitafski sadržaj nam otkriva mnoge podatke o zajedničkim vrijednim značajkama službe. Čin, položaj, godine službe i dob naglašavaju društvenu važnost određenih statusa ili postignuća. Kao što je ranije navede-

24 Only two monuments list *centuriae* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 5, 23), contrasting with *Legio XI C.p.f.* where references to *centuria* were common (Demicheli 2018: 120–121). As Walas (2015: 24) notes, this does not necessarily mean that these smaller units were any less significant for the individual because it may be due to epigraphic norms and costs.

25 (Monuments with information on length of service and age) *Stipendia* and *anni*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 1–2, 5–6, 8, 10–12, 17, 20–22, 24–25, 29–32, 34–35, 37, 41–42, 46, 53, 56, 59, 60–61, 63, 68, 71–72, 74. Only *stipendia*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 3, 38–39, 75. Only *anni*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 4, 27, 45, 52, 54. Tončinić (2011: 209–214) discusses this data and what it reveals about service times across periods and groups.

26 *Legio VII*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 1–2, 5–8, 11–13, 16–18, 20–22, 26, 29, 31–32, 34, 37, 39, 42, 45–46, 50, 52–53, 56, 58–61, 63, 65–66, 68, 71–72. *Legio VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 3, 9–10, 15, 24, 27–28, 30, 33, 35–36, 38, 41, 44, 49, 51, 57, 62, 64, 67, 69, 70, 73; Matijević 2017: Fig. 1: VII C; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 54. *Legio VII* or *VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 74. This differs from the number provided by Tončinić (2011: 207–209, Tab. 33) because his includes non-funerary monuments and this includes a recently published monument (Matijević 2017: Fig. 1).

27 *Centuriones*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 13, 51, 67. *Signiferi*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 35, 46, 69. *Imaginifer*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 9. *Equites*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 3, 30, 56.

28 Tončinić (2011: 214) calculates that *veterani* lived for an average of two to three years after dismissal.

24 Samo dva spomenika navode centurije (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 5, 23), za razliku od *Legio XI C.p.f.* gdje su reference na centurije bile česte (Demicheli 2018: 120–121). Kao što primjećuje Walas (2015: 24), to ne znači nužno da su te manje postrojbe bile manje značajne jer se rjeđe spominjanje može objasniti postojanjem epigrafskih normi i povećanim troškovima izrade spomenika.

25 (Spomenici s podacima o radnom stažu i godinama) *Stipendia* i *anni*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 1–2, 5–6, 8, 10–12, 17, 20–22, 24–25, 29–32, 34–35, 37, 41–42, 46, 53, 56, 59, 60–61, 63, 68, 71–72, 74. Samo *stipendije*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 3, 38–39, 75. Samo *anni*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 4, 27, 45, 52, 54. Tončinić (2011: 209–214) raspravlja o ovim podacima i onome što oni otkrivaju o vremenu služenja kroz razdoblja i skupine.

26 *Legio VII*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 1–2, 5–8, 11–13, 16–18, 20–22, 26, 29, 31–32, 34, 37, 39, 42, 45–46, 50, 52–53, 56, 58–61, 63, 65–66, 68, 71–72. *Legio VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 3, 9–10, 15, 24, 27–28, 30, 33, 35–36, 38, 41, 44, 49, 51, 57, 62, 64, 67, 69, 70, 73; Matijević 2017: sl. 1: VII C; Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 54. *Legio VII* ili *VII C.p.f.*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 74. Ovo se razlikuje od broja koji daje Tončinić (2011: 207–209, tab. 33) jer je on uključio i spomenike koji nisu pogrebnog karaktera, a u broj se uključuje i nedavno objavljeni spomenik (Matijević 2017: sl. 1).

27 *Centuriones*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 13, 51, 67. *Signiferi*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 35, 46, 69. *Imaginifer*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 9. *Equites*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 3, 30, 56.

28 Tončinić (2011: 214) računa da su *veterani* nakon otpusta živjeli u prosjeku dvije do tri godine.

feature in most epitaphs, indicating that – in addition to reinforcing military hierarchies and maintaining *disciplina* – military role was communally significant (Lendon 2001: 245–248; McLaughlin 2015: 180–182). Particularly revealing in this regard is the Naronitan funerary inscription of Publius Lastus Scaeva (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 14), which records him as both an *equus* and *veteranus* of *Legio VII C.p.f.* Publius or his commemorators evidently considered his status and previous military role as defining features of his identity as a ‘military man’, even after his potentially lengthy life as a *veteranus*, which was ~8 years according to Tončinić (2011: Charts 12–13).<sup>29</sup>

Drawing upon the logic of social anthropologist Anthony Cohen, the frequency of these epigraphic references to these features of military life would have (re)asserted their value within the *Legio VII* military community (Cohen 1985: 117–118). As Wilkes and Tončinić have observed, commemorators, location, and therefore audience were also important here, with this reciprocal process of influence particularly pertinent when these monuments were erected within primarily military cemeterial contexts like *Tilurium* (Wilkes 2000a: 331; Tončinić 2011: 211–212). Supporting this is the fact that 18 funerary inscriptions recording *stipendia* were from the surrounds of *Tilurium*.<sup>30</sup>

## Arms, armour, and... *dolabrae*? ‘Military’ sculptural decorations and identity

The interplay between communal and individual identities preserved within the textual dimension of this corpus, as well as the significance of roles, is further evident in funerary sculpture. Whilst there was indeed a degree of uniformity, seen with the communal style, it would seem that, as Hope (2000: 165) concludes more generally, “[i]t is the sculpture... which exhibits the greatest diversity”. This variation provides insight into the ways military identifi-

no, službe (uključujući „čin“ *veterana*) se pojavljuju u većini epitafa, što ukazuje na to da je – osim jačanja vojne hijerarhije i održavanja discipline – vojnička uloga bila smatrana značajnom za zajednicu (Lendon 2001: 245–248; McLaughlin 2015: 180–182). Ovdje je osobito bitno spomenuti naronitanski nadgrobni natpis Publija Laste Skeve (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 14), koji ga bilježi i kao *equus* i kao *veterana* VII. legije *C.p.f.* Publije ili njegovu komemoratori očito su smatrali status i prethodnu vojničku ulogu definirajućim značajkama njegovog identiteta kao „vojnika“, čak i nakon potencijalno dugoga veteranskog života, koji je bio ~8 godina prema Tončiniću (2011: grafikon 12–13).<sup>29</sup>

Oslanjajući se na logiku socijalnog antropologa Anthony Cohena, učestalost ovih epigrafskih referenci na značajke vojničkog života bi (ponovno) potvrđivala njihovu vrijednost unutar vojničke zajednice VII. legije (Cohen 1985: 117–118). Kao što su primijetili Wilkes i Tončinić, komemoratori, lokacija, a time i publika, također su bili važni ovdje, s ovim uzajamnim procesom utjecaja posebno relevantnim kada su ti spomenici podignuti unutar primarno vojno-grobljanskih konteksta poput *Tilurija* (Wilkes 2000a: 331; Tončinić 2011: 211–212). Ovu ideju podupire činjenica da 18 nadgrobni natpisa koji bilježe godine službe dolazi iz okolice *Tilurija*.<sup>30</sup>

## Oružje, oklop i ... *dolabrae*? „Vojničke“ skulpturalne dekoracije i identitet

Međusobni utjecaj između zajedničkog i individualnog identiteta sačuvan unutar tekstualne dimenzije ovoga spomeničkoga korpusa, dodatno su vidljivi u nadgrobnoj skulpturi. Iako je doista postojao određeni stupanj uniformnosti, diskutiran ranije u kontekstu zajedničkog stila, čini se da, kao što zaključuje Hope (2000: 165), upravo je skulptura ta koja pokazuje najveću raznolikost na vojničkim nadgrobni-

29 The distinct military role of *equites* may have contributed to the importance of this (Dixon, Southern 1997), though, as mentioned, rank and office were often included in epitaphs (Speidel 2014: 327).

30 *Tilurium*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 1–2, 6, 8, 12, 20, 22, 24, 26, 34, 39, 42, 46, 61, 68, 71. Dicmo: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 29. Dugopolje: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 21. As Tončinić (2011: 211–212) argues, it is important to note that *stipendia* is more common on monuments before 42 AD. However, there are still seven *Legio VII C.p.f.* (post 42 AD) funerary monuments recording *stipendia*. Thus, the convention did not disappear entirely after the legion’s name change.

29 Specifična vojna uloga *equites* možda je doprinijela značaju vojničkoga identiteta (Dixon, Southern 1997), mada, kako je već spomenuto, vojni čin i dužnost u postrojbi su često uključivane u natpise (Speidel 2014: 327).

30 *Tilurij*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 1–2, 6, 8, 12, 20, 22, 24, 26, 34, 39, 42, 46, 61, 68, 71. Dicmo: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 29. Dugopolje: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 21. Kako Tončinić (2011: 211–212) tvrdi, godine službe su češće spominjane na spomenicima prije 42. godine. Međutim, još uvijek imamo sedam nadgrobni spomenika *Legio VII C.p.f.* (nakon 42. godine) koji ih bilježe. Dakle, konvencija nije u potpunosti nestala poslije promjene naziva legije.

es were expressed, as well as the ways in which communal values were (re)negotiated. Three decorations: military friezes, *dona militaria*, and construction tools, reveal that certain symbols associated with the army were used to construct military identities and simultaneously (re) affirm martial and non-martial *legio* functions as a core component of the communal ethos.

Scholarship has noted that at least nine (but likely 11) *Legio VII* monuments have friezes depicting armour, arms, and equipment, referred to here as 'military friezes' (Miletić 2013: 422; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demicheli 2013: 484). All, but one, bear the *porta inferi* motif and are either type A1a or A3a in Tončinić's typology.<sup>31</sup> The friezes range in detail but have a general form consisting primarily of shields, grieves, quivers, arrow-bundles, spears, swords, and helmets (Fig. 4). In two instances a cuirass is displayed hung-up in a *tropaeum*- or trophy-like fashion (Maršić 2010: 71). Seen on other military monuments in *Dalmatia* (e.g. AE 2000: 1179 from *Bigeste*), these friezes are evidently martial in nature, depicting items embodying the (at least perceived) primary function of *militēs*: combat. As such, the choice of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f* servicemen or their commemorators – who range from military *heredes* to family members – to purchase monuments with the frieze was done, in part, to convey a military identity.

These friezes also held communal significance, primarily because they almost exclusively accompany the four-panelled *porta inferi* motif and, therefore, monuments of the communal style. Because these monuments were asso-

menicima. Ova varijabilnost također nam daje uvid u načine izražavanja vojničkih identiteta, kao i načina pomoću kojih su (ponovno) uspostavljane zajedničke vrijednosti. Tri vrste ukrasa: vojni friz, *dona militaria* i alatke za gradnju, otkrivaju da su određeni simboli povezani s vojskom korišteni za konstrukciju vojnih identiteta i istovremenu (re)afirmaciju ratničkih i civilnih funkcija kao temeljne komponente zajedničkog etosa.

Postojeća istraživanja primijetila su da najmanje devet (ali vjerojatno 11) spomenika VII. legije imaju frizove s prikazima oklopa, oružja i opreme, koji nazivaju „vojničkim frizovima“ (Miletić 2013: 422; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demicheli 2013: 484). Svi spomenici, s jednim izuzetkom, imaju motiv *porta inferi* i pripadaju tipu A1a ili A3a u Tončinićevoj tipologiji.<sup>31</sup> Frizovi se razlikuju u detaljima, ali imaju opći oblik koji se uglavnom sastoji od štitova, knemida, tobolaca, snopova strijela, kopalja, mačeva i kaciga (sl. 4). U dva slučaja prsni oklop (*cuirass*) je prikazan obješen na tropeju ili kao trofej (Maršić 2010: 71). Ovi frizovi se nalaze i na drugim vojnim spomenicima u Dalmaciji (npr AE 2000: 1179 iz *Bigeste*). Oni su očito ratničke prirode, prikazujući predmete koji utjelovljuju (barem percipiranu) primarnu funkciju vojnika: borbu. Prema tome vojnici VII. legije i VII. legije *C.p.f* ili njihovi komemoratori – nasljednici i članovi obitelji – odabirali su spomenike s frizom između ostalog i zbog naglašavanja vojničkoga identiteta.

Ovi su frizovi imali i zajedničko značenje, ponajprije stoga što gotovo isključivo prate mo-

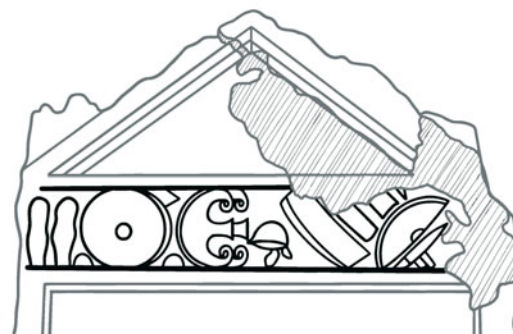


Fig. 4 — Outlines of the military friezes of Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 2 and 46 (image by: J. Roberts; CC BY-SA 3.0 AU)  
Sl. 4 — Obrisii vojnih frizova prema Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 2 i 46 (prikaz: J. Roberts; CC BY-SA 3.0 AU)

31 *Tilurium*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 2, 12, 14, 25, 46. *Salona*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10, 41. *Pagus Scunasticus*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 32, 40, 60, 63. Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 14 and 25 are likely monuments of *Legio VII* on account of style, location, and *domicilium*, yet their inscriptions are damaged. Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 46 is of the reduced C1 type.

31 *Tilurij*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 2, 12, 14, 25, 46. *Salona*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10, 41. *Pagus Scunasticus*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 32, 40, 60, 63. Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 14 i 25 su vjerojatno spomenici VII. legije zbog svoga stila, lokacije i domicilija, ali su njihovi natpisi oštećeni. Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 46 je smanjenog C1 tipa.

ciated with the community, the inclusion of a military frieze can be understood as an act of reaffirming the martial function of the *legio* as an integral facet of the community. This nature of the *Legio VII* community as one structured around a martial ethos is perhaps not surprising, but what *is* significant is how the military character of the community is being defined through funerary monuments, with the monuments contributing towards the perpetuation of this collective significance (Mihajlović 2020: 36). The spread of the monuments, both temporally and geographically, and the range in military offices amongst the commemorated (three *milites*, one *signifer*, six *veterani*), demonstrates that this martial ethos was significant for a range of servicemen.<sup>32</sup>

Admittedly, as with the *porta inferi*, the prominence of this frieze is, in part, the result of a prominent workshop. Again, I would argue the choice of the stonemason to create stelae bearing this design was influenced by an understanding of the communal significance of military iconography. One could choose to not have a military frieze, so its inclusion should be understood as a conscious choice. In fact, whilst the monuments from *Tilurium* and *pagus Scunasticus* may have been produced at the same or derivative workshops, two *Legio VII C.p.f.* monuments from *Salona* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10, 41) were likely carved at the provincial capital, for, unlike the others, they include a portrait-bust and, in the case of Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 41 especially, seem to have captured more intricate details (Miletić 2013).

Arms and armour were not the only martial icons depicted upon funerary monuments in the early–mid Empire, with a great number of monuments for active and ex-servicemen adorned with *dona militaria* (military awards): most commonly, *coronae* (crowns), *phalerae* (discs), *torques*, and *armillae* (bracelets) (Maxfield 1981: 67–81, 86–95). These could be depicted upon portraits, as seen with the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD monument of Marcus Caelius, *Centurio* of *Legio XVIII* from *Vetera* / *Xanten* (Maxfield 1981: Pl. 2a; *CIL* 13: 8648). They are also found as decorations, as seen with two fragmented 1<sup>st</sup> century AD funerary stelae from *Burnum* (Abramić 1924: Fig. 4–5; Maxfield 1981: Pl. 11b; Miletić

tiv četverostrukih *porta inferi*, a time i spomenike ranije diskutiranoga zajedničkog stila. Budući da su ti spomenici bili povezani sa zajednicom, uključivanje vojničkoga friza može se shvatiti i kao čin reafirmacije ratničke funkcije legionara kao sastavnoga aspekta zajednice. Ovakvo viđenje VII. legije kao zajednice strukturirane oko ratničkoga etosa možda nije iznenađujuće, ali značajno je spomenuti kako se vojnički karakter zajednice definira preko nadgrobnih spomenika, pri čemu ovi spomenici doprinose ovjekovječenju kolektivnoga značaja (Mihajlović 2020: 36). Rasprostranjenost spomenika, kako vremenski i geografski, kao i kroz raspon u vojnim činovima među komemoriranim (tri vojnika, jedan signifer, šest veterana), pokazuje da je ratnički etos bio značajan za niz vojnika.<sup>32</sup>

Doduše, kao i kod *porta inferi*, istaknutost ovog friza dijelom je rezultat utjecaja klesarske radionice. Ustvrdio bih ponovo da je odabir klesara za izradu stela s ovakvim dizajnom bio pod utjecajem razumijevanja zajedničkoga značaja vojne ikonografije. Mogao se naravno načiniti spomenik i bez vojničkoga friza, pa njegovu nazočnost treba shvatiti kao svjestan izbor komemoratora. Dok su spomenici iz *Tilurija* i *pagus Scunasticus* možda proizvedeni u istoj ili srodnoj radionici, dva spomenika *Legio VII C.p.f.* iz *Salone* (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10, 41) vjerojatno su isklesana u glavnom gradu provincije jer za razliku od ostalih uključuju i portret-bistu, a posebno u primjeru Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 41, čini se da su klesari uključili i kompleksnije detalje prigodom izrade (Miletić 2013).

Oružje i oklopi nisu bili jedini ratnički simboli prikazani na nadgrobnim spomenicima principata. Veliki broj spomenika koji su komemorirali aktivne i bivše vojnike ukrašavan je s *dona militaria* (vojna odličja): najčešće *coronae* (krune), *falerae* (diskovi), *torques* i *armillae* (narukvice) (Maxfield 1981: 67–81, 86–95). Simboli ovih odličja su ili prikazani na portretima, kao primjerice na spomeniku Marka Kelija centuriona XVIII. legije iz *Vetere* / *Xantena* datiranoga u 1. st. po Kr. (Maxfield 1981: T. 2a; *CIL* 13: 8648), ili su dodani kao ukrasi, kao što se vidi na dvije fragmentarne nadgrobnne stela iz *Burnuma* iz 1. stoljeća (Abramić 1924: sl. 4–5; Maxfield 1981: T. 11b; Miletić 2010: kat. br. 80; Maršić 2014: sl. 1–3).

Elaborirana nadgrobnna stela Lucija Mumija (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 42) iz *Tilurija* još je jedan

32 (Offices of soldiers with military friezes) *Milites*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 2, 25, 41. *Signifer*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 46. *Veterani*: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10, 12, 32, 40, 60, 63. No data: Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 14.

32 (Činovi vojnika s vojničkim frizovima) *Milites*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 2, 25, 41. *Signifer*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 46. *Veterani*: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10, 12, 32, 40, 60, 63. Bez podataka: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 14.

2010: cat. no. 80; Maršić 2014: Fig. 1–3) or a sculpted panel from the *Augusta Emerita* (Mérida) in *Lusitania*, where the sculpted *dona* are all that hint of a military career for the deceased (Keppie 2003: Fig. 12).

The elaborate funerary stela of *Legio VII miles* Lucius Mummius (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 42) from *Tilurium* (Trilj) is a product of this cultural trend (Fadić 1995; Sanader, Tončinić 2010: cat. no. 114, catalogue entry by A. Librenjak; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demicheli 2013: 488). The A2 type tombstone has the typical *aedicula* and epitaph with a military formula. Below this, however, sits a *carmen epigraphicum* wherein freedman Cornelius Chrestus laments the death of Mummius and celebrates his life. Beneath this are *dona militaria*: nine *paenulae* strung together flanked by two *torques* and *armillae*. Mummius likely won these awards for service – perhaps during the *Bellum Batonianum* – and either purchased the stela prior to death, or informed Chrestus that he wanted the awards depicted. In addition to reinforcing his military identity, which is already observable through the epigraphic ‘military formula’ and the *carmen epigraphicum*,<sup>33</sup> the inclusion of these *dona militaria* mark Mummius and the military community of *Legio VII* as members (or parts) of this larger military culture wherein military success was highly valued (Lendon 2001: 237–266). Again, this is not necessarily surprising, but what is important is to understand the role of tombstones in sustaining this social value.

Not every facet of military identity was centred around martial prowess of course, and the identities of *Legio VII* servicemen were also expressed through non-martial construction tools. *Legio VII* servicemen undertook a great range of construction activities during their times in *Dalmatia*, building roads (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 91), forts, and buildings in urban centres such as *Iader* / Zadar (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 92) and *Aequum* / Čitluk (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 111, 113). Three *Legio VII* funerary monuments from the surrounds of *Tilurium* depict tools: Tončinić 2011: cat. nos. 26, 39 from Gardun, and Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 25 from Vojnić (Fig. 5).<sup>34</sup>

produkt ovoga kulturnoga trenda (Fadić 1995; Sanader, Tončinić 2010: kat. br. 114, kataloški zapis A. Librenjak; Sanader, Milićević Bradač, Demicheli 2013: 488). Nadgrobnik tipa A2 ima tipičnu edikulu i natpis s vojničkom formulom. Ispod nje, međutim, nalazi se *carmen epigraphicum* u kojoj oslobođenik Kornelije Krest oplakuje Mummijevu smrt i slavi njegov život. Ispod natpisa su *dona militaria*: devet *paenulae* nanizanih zajedno i flankiranih s dva *torquesa* i *armillae*. Mumije je najvjerojatnije osvojio ove nagrade za službu – možda čak i tijekom Batonskoga rata – a stelu je kupio prije smrti, ili je obavijestio Kresta kako želi da se odličja prikažu na steli. Osim jačanja njegovog vojnog identiteta, koji je već vidljiv kroz epigrafsku „vojničku formulu“ i *carmen epigraphicum*,<sup>33</sup> uključivanje ovih *dona militaria* označava Mumija i vojničku zajednicu VII. legije kao pripadnike (ili dio) veće vojničke kulture u kojoj se vojni uspjeh visoko cijenio (Lendon 2001: 237–266). Pono, ovo nije nužno iznenađujuće, ali je važno u razumijevanju uloge nadgrobničkih spomenika u odražavanju ovih društvenih vrijednosti.

Naravno, nije svaki aspekt vojnog identiteta bio usredotočen na ratničko umijeće, a identiteti pripadnika VII. legije također su bili izraženi kroz prikaz građevinskih alatki, koje spadaju u civilnu kulturu. Vojnici VII. legije poduzimali su širok spektar građevinskih aktivnosti tijekom njihova boravka u Dalmaciji, gradeći ceste (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 91), utvrde i građevine u urbanim središtima kao što su *Iader* / Zadar (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 92) i *Aequum* / Čitluk (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 111, 113). Tri nadgrobna spomenika iz okolice Tilurija prikazuju oruđe: Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 26, 39 iz Garduna te Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 25 iz Vojnića (sl. 5).<sup>34</sup> Ispod njihovih natpisnih polja nalaze se prikazi *dolabrae* ili građevinskih alatki – konkretno kutnika (*norma*), šestara prijenosnika (*circinus rectus*), čekića te uzice i viska (*perpendicularum*) (sl. 5) (Tončinić 2007).

Kao što je prikazano na Trajanovom stupu, *dolabrae* su pijuci koje su vojnici koristili za nekoliko zadataka, uključujući izgradnju logora, sječu drva, kopanje rovova, pa čak i borbu (Richmond 1935: 18–23). Kao standardna oprema, *dolabrae* se nalaze gotovo isključivo u vojnom kontekstu, uključujući Tilurij (Ivčević 2013a: 438), a prikazuju se i na

33 Referring to Mummius, line 7 states: *Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis* ('Who bore fortunate weapons for eight years twice') (Tončinić 2011: 73).

34 Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 25 does not explicitly state the deceased was a serviceman, but the style, location, and fragmented inscription suggest he was.

33 Pozivajući se na Mumija, 7. redak navodi: *Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis* („Koji je dva puta nosio sretno oružje osam godina“) (Tončinić 2011: 73).

34 Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 25 ne navodi izričito da je pokojnik bio vojnik, ali njegova vojnička pripadnost je sugerirana stilom, položajem i fragmentiranim natpisom.



Fig. 5 — The lower portions of the stelae of Sextus Clodius and Lucius Cornelius, with permission (Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. nos. A 1982, A 1998 = Tončinić 2011: nos. 25–26) (photo by: Ante Verzotti)  
Sl. 5 — Donji dijelovi stela Seksta Klodija i Lucija Kornelija, uz dozvolu (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. A 1982, A 1998 = Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 25–26) (snimio: Ante Verzotti)

Below their inscription fields are depictions of either *dolabrae* or construction tools – specifically a square (*norma*), straight callipers (*circinus rectus*), a hammer, and a line and plummet (*perpendicularum*) (Fig. 5) (Tončinić 2007).

As depicted upon Trajan's column, *dolabrae* were pickaxes used extensively by soldiery for several tasks, including camp construction, logging, trench digging, and even combat (Richmond 1935: 18–23). As standard issue gear, *dolabrae* are "found almost exclusively in military contexts", including *Tilurium* (Ivčević 2013a: 438), and are also depicted upon the monuments of other *milites* (A 1529 = *CIL* 3: 8740 from *Salona*). The tool was thus associated with the military community and its servicemen in this period, and these images upon the monuments of Cornelius and Marcius Bassus preserve another means of constructing military identities. In a similar vein, the construction tools upon Clodius' monument, whilst not considered military by some scholars (Ivčević 2013b: Pl. 12), were also possibly a way of signalling his membership within the military community. As noted above, *Legio VII milites* were actively constructing roads, camps, and even settlements and it is possible that these activities were considered central to the communal ethos. Indeed, funerary depictions of construction tools are also common at *Burnum* (Maršić 2007; Ivčević 2013b: 12–13) and a similar example was found at the military site

spomenicima drugih vojnika (A 1529 = *CIL* 3: 8740 iz *Salone*). Alat je stoga bio povezan s vojničkom zajednicom i vojnicima u ovom razdoblju, a njegov prikaz na spomenicima Kornelija i Marcija Basa sačuvali su nam još jedan način konstrukcije vojničkih identiteta. Na sličan način, građevinski alati na Klodijevu spomeniku, iako ih neki autoriteti ne smatraju vojnim (Ivčević 2013b: T. 12), također su vjerojatno bili način označavanja njegove pripadnosti vojničkoj zajednici. Kao što je ranije navedeno, vojnici VII. legije aktivno su gradili ceste, logore, pa čak i naselja i moguće je da su se i te aktivnosti smatrale ključnim za zajednički etos. Doista, nadgrobni prikazi alata za gradnju također su česti u *Burnumu* (Maršić 2007; Ivčević 2013b: 12–13), a sličan primjer pronađen je i na vojnom lokalitetu *Andetrij / Muć* (AMS 1111).<sup>35</sup> Iako nisu bili povezani s ulogom u ratovanju, građevinski alati su ipak prikazivani na nadgrobnim spomenicima kako bi se umrli vojnici predstavili kao članovi vojne zajednice.

## Civilni konjanici, vojna nošnja i bivši vojnici: portret i identitet

Portret je fokus mnogih studija rimskog identiteta, uključujući i vojnički (Coulston 2007). Ovdje se do sada nije spominjao, prvenstveno zato što je portreta malo – nešto što bi se moglo očekivati s obzirom na to da je portret bio popularniji među

35 Slični prikazi oruđa za rad na nadgrobnim spomenicima mogu se pronaći u civilnom kontekstu (Hope 2001: 43, 54–55). Treba primijetiti manje sličnosti s prevladavajućim *sub ascia dedicavit* izrazom i motivom sjekire, koji je bio osobito popularan u *Gallia Lugdunensis* (Hatt 1951: 85–107), ali je pronađen i u Dalmaciji (*CIL* 3: 1712).

of *Andetrium* / Muć (AMS 1111).<sup>35</sup> Whilst not related to martial function, construction tools were nonetheless depicted upon funerary monuments to present deceased soldiers as members of the military community.

## Citizen cavalry, military dress, and civilian ex-servicemen: portraiture and identity

Portraiture is the focus of many studies of Roman identity, including within the military (Coulston 2007). It has gone unmentioned here so far, primarily because there is little portraiture – something perhaps to be expected considering portraiture was more popular amongst *auxilia* in this period (Hope 2000: 173–176). Only 11 monuments bore portraits,<sup>36</sup> six are fragmentary, and three are only described in the *CIL* (one of these is a female bust and another is not described in detail, listed merely as a *protome* or Graeco-Roman bust) (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 36, 58). Nevertheless, the nine relevant portraits provide insight into the dynamics of identity construction within *Legio VII*.

Two monuments are *Reitertyp* ('rider-relief') stelae: the lost stela of *Legio VII C.p.f. eques legionis* Marcus Antonius Celurus (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 3) and the fragmentary stela of Marcus Percennius from *Tilurium* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 48), who was possibly an *eques legionis* of *Legio VII* during the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD (Fig. 6) (Fadić 1997: 77–81; Pilhofer 2000: 717, no. 709; Tončinić 2011: 79–80; Ivčević 2013a: 505–506).<sup>37</sup> The *CIL* and Hofmann (1905: 49–50, no. 37) record that Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 3 depicted a horseman wielding a lance in his right hand and a round shield with a thunderbolt in the other.<sup>38</sup> Only half of the rearing horse remains on Percennius' monument, but the

augzilarima u tom razdoblju (Hope 2000: 173–176). Samo 11 spomenika imalo je portrete,<sup>36</sup> šest je fragmentarnih, a tri su samo opisana u *CIL*-u (jedan od njih je žensko poprsje, a drugi nije detaljno opisan, naveden je samo kao protoma ili grčko-rimsko poprsje) (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 36, 58). Ipak, devet relevantnih portreta pruža uvid u dinamiku izgradnje identiteta unutar VII. legije.

Dva spomenika su stele tipa *Reitertyp*: izgubljena stela *Legio VII C.p.f. eques legionis* Marka Antonija Celura (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 3) i fragmentarna stela Marka Percenija iz Tilurija (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 48), koji je je vjerojatno bio *eques legionis* VII. legije tijekom 1. stoljeća (sl. 6) (Fadić 1997: 77–81; Pilhofer 2000: 717, br. 709; Tončinić 2011: 79–80; Ivčević 2013a: 505–506).<sup>37</sup> *CIL* i Hofmann (1905: 49–50, br. 37) bilježe da je na Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 3 prikazan konjanik s kopljem u desnoj i okruglim štitom s prikazom munje u drugoj ruci.<sup>38</sup> Na Percenijevom spomeniku ostala je samo polovica propetog konja, ali se jasno vidi silueta torza.<sup>39</sup>

Ova vrsta nadgrobnog portreta pretežno je odabrana za augzilijare 1. – 2. st. po Kr., ali i legionari se spominju, mada u manjem broju (Schleiermacher 1984). Iako nije uobičajen, izbor Celura, Percenija ili njihovih komemoratora stoga nije čudan. Korištenjem motiva uobičajenog među suvremenim vojnicima (augzilijari ili legionari) ovi su portreti označili Celera i Percenija kao istaknute članove zajednice. Ratnički karakter propetog konjanika koji rukuje oružjem predstavlja ove pojedince kao vojnike. Za Celera (i moguće za Percenija, čiji je vojni čin izgubljen), izbor ovog motiva također pokazuje da je specifični status kao *eques* bio važan aspekt njegova identiteta, a isto tako, pokazuje društvenu važnost ove uloge unutar zajednice. Drugim riječima, uloga konjanika bila je od zajedničkog značajna, pa su Celer i Percenije željeli naglasiti ovaj status – pojavu koju vidimo i na drugim mjestima u Dalmaciji (Cambi 2020: 17). Time su spomenici ostali kao svjedočanstvo zajedničkog značaja ove vojničke

35 Similar depictions of occupational tools upon funerary monuments can be found in civilian contexts (Hope 2001: 43, 54–55). One should note slight similarities to the prevalent *sub ascia dedicavit* expression and axe motif, which was particularly popular in *Gallia Lugdunensis* (Hatt 1951: 85–107), but has been found in *Dalmatia* (*CIL* 3: 1712).

36 *Legio VII* portraiture: (fully preserved) Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 31, 41; (fragmentary) Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 4, 34–35, 48, 58, 66; (lost) Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 3, 10, 36.

37 The third line has been recorded both as *[---]eg(ionis)[---]* and *[---]eg(ionis) IV[---]*, however this second interpretation does not seem supported by the actual inscription. Nevertheless, *Legio XI* and *IV* are still possible candidates.

38 *CIL* 3: 3162a: *protome mulieris. eques, d. lanceam texens, s. clipeum, in quo conspicitur fulmen* ('Bust of a female. A horseman, wielding a lance in the right hand and concealed by a round shield, inside which a thunderbolt is observable').

36 *Legio VII* portreti: (sačuvan u cijelosti) Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 31, 41; (fragmentarno) Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 4, 34–35, 48, 58, 66; (izgubljeni) Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 3, 10, 36.

37 Treći redak je zabilježen i kao *[---]eg(ionis) IV[---]* i *[---]eg(ionis) IV[---]*, međutim ovo drugo tumačenje ne podupire natpis. Ipak, *Legio XI* i *IV* i dalje su mogući kandidati.

38 *CIL* 3: 3162a: *protome mulieris, eques, d. lanceam texens, s. clipeum, in quo conspicitur fulmen* („Žensko poprsje. Konjanik, s kopljem u desnoj ruci i skriven okruglim štitom, unutar kojeg se vidi munja“).

39 Oblik ovog *Reitertypa* je sličan drugoj steli iz 1. stoljeća pronađenoj u Tiluriju na kojoj se nalazi *porta inferi* s četiri ploče a čuva se u muzeju Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju (inv. br. RS 154 = Medini 1984: sl. 2 = Cambi 2008: kat. br. 27). Na temelju nalazišta, *porta inferi*, portreta i epitafa okruženih s dva stupa, ovaj bi se spomenik trebao promatrati kao mogući spomenik pripadnika *Legio VII* ili *Legio VII C.p.f.*

silhouette of a torso is visible.<sup>39</sup>

This funerary portrait type was predominantly chosen for 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century AD *auxilia*, but *legionarii* are commemorated, albeit in fewer numbers (Schleiermacher 1984). Whilst not common, the choice of Celurus, Percennius, or their commemorators is, therefore, not perplexing. Indeed, by using a motif common amongst contemporary servicemen (*auxilia* or *legionarii*) these portraits marked Celer and Percennius as distinct community members. The overall martial character of a rearing horseman wielding a weapon presents these individuals as military men. For Celurus (and possibly for Percennius, whose office is lost), the choice of this motif also demonstrates that his specific status as an *eques* was an important facet of his identity, and, likewise, demonstrates the social importance of the role within the community. In other words, the role of *eques* was communally significant, so Celer and Percennius wished to advertise this status (Coulston 2004: 149); something we see with other offices of distinction in *Dalmatia* (Cambi 2020: 17). In doing so, the monuments remained as testaments to the communal significance of this role for future generations.

Whilst explored in-depth elsewhere (Coopey, Džino, forthcoming), it is worth briefly addressing the depictions of cloaks within the corpus and their communal significance. Genevieve Fisher and Diana Loren argue that individuals can present themselves as members of certain social groups "by means of dress, ornamentation, body modification, posture, gesture, and representation", and, by extension, through funerary portraiture (Fisher, Loren 2003: 225–229). Whilst Roman funerary portraits were not always meant to provide a perfect likeness, they can still reveal a great deal through dress (Coulston 2004: 151–152). Two portraits of *Legio VII / VII C.p.f* servicemen depict the deceased in a thick hooded *birrus* or *lacerna* cloak (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 31, 41), as do possibly a third and fourth (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 4, 34). These cloaks were common in early Imperial military: associated with service in the literary sources (Mart. 14.132; Cic. *Phil.* 8.11.32; *Verr.*



Fig. 6 — The fragmentary stela of Marcus Percennius, with permission (Archaeological Museum in Split, inv. no. A 2458 = Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 48) (photo by: Ante Verzotti)

Sl. 6 — Fragment stele Marka Perčenija, uz dozvolu (Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. br. A 2458 = Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 48) (snimio: Ante Verzotti)

uloge za buduće generacije.

Iako je detaljno istraženo drugdje (Coopey, Džino, u tisku), vrijedi se ukratko pozabaviti prikazima ogrtača unutar korpusa i njihovim zajedničkim značenjem. Genevieve Fisher i Diana Loren tvrde da se pojedinci mogu predstaviti kao članovi određenih društvenih skupina putem odijevanja, ukrasa, modifikacije tijela, držanja, gesta i prikaza, te šire, kroz nadgrobne portrete (Fisher, Loren 2003: 225–229). Iako rimski nadgrobni portreti nisu uvijek bili namijenjeni pružanju savršene sličnosti, oni ipak mogu otkriti puno kroz odjeću (Coulston 2004: 151–152). Dva portreta vojnika *Legio VII / VII C.p.f* prikazuju pokojnike u debelom ogrtaču od *birrusa* ili *lacerne* s kapuljačom (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 31, 41), kao vjerojatno i treći i četvrti portret (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 4, 34). Ovakvi su ogrtači bili uobičajeni u ranocarskoj vojsci, što nam svjedoče i pisana vrela (Mart. 14.132; Cic. *Phil.* 8.11.32; *Verr.* 2.5.94; Hor. *Epod.*

<sup>39</sup> The form of this *Reitertyp* is similar to another unattributable 1<sup>st</sup> century AD stela found at *Tilurium* (Trilj) bearing the four-panelled *porta inferi* and held in the Franciscan monastery museum in Sinj (inv. no. RS 154 = Medini 1984: Fig. 2 = Cambi 2008: cat. no. 27). Based upon the *porta inferi*, the portrait and the epitaph being enclosed by two columns, and the *Tilurian* find site, this monument should be seen as a possible *Legio VII* or *Legio VII C.p.f* monument.



2.5.94; Hor. *Epod.* 9) and depicted frequently in portraiture (Speidel 2012: 8–9). They also were somewhat popular in *Dalmatia*, for instance, Srđana Schönauer has highlighted at least two other relatively contemporaneous monuments from *Dalmatia* in her survey of the province: the mid-late 1<sup>st</sup> century AD Tilurian stelae of *Claudiae Novae eques alae* Marcus Elvadius (*CIL* 3: 2712 = 9727) and *Cohors II Chyrestarum miles* Marcus Pytha (*CIL* 3: 14934) (Schönauer 2001: 256–263, 403–404, Fig. 29–33, Pl. T. X–XII; Cesarik 2022: 309–310, Fig. 3).

By sculpting the portraits in such a manner, the sculptors may have been drawing attention to, and affirming, the three individuals' identities as servicemen. The difference here to the *Reitertyp* reliefs and military friezes is that the communal identifier (a cloak) was not necessarily related to the servicemen's martial function, rather, it was related to their membership within a community associated with a certain garb. Parallels may exist with the popularity of the *sagum* in 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD funerary reliefs in *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, however this must be probed further (Migotti 2017: 23–25; Gui, Petruț 2018: 134–135).

Portraits also provide a snapshot of other non-military identities, ones which the *milites* of *Legio VII* would have maintained alongside those drawn from service. This is best seen with the fragmented portrait of *veteranus* Lucius Vettius Secundus and a female from *Aequum* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66). Secundus wears a *toga* – associated with civilian life – aside his female companion in a *stola* (Demicheli, Tončinić 2008: 351; Tončinić 2011: 97; Demicheli 2011: 71–73, cat. no. 1). Secundus, who erected the monument, evidently wished to be represented as a civilian citizen through portraiture – reinforcing the citizen status firmly established by his *tria nomina*. This civil identity is likely the result of Secundus' veteran status and increased assimilation into civilian society at *Aequum*. The same rationale applies to *veteranus* Lucius Caesius Bassus from *Salona* who was also depicted in a *toga* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 10).<sup>40</sup> Crucially, the epitaphs on both monuments reveal military careers and are, therefore, testament to the complex nature

9) a često su prikazivani na portretima (Speidel 2012: 8–9). Srđana Schönauer je istaknula još najmanje dva suvremena spomenika iz Dalmacije: tilurske stele iz sredine i kasnog 1. stoljeća *Claudiae Novae eques alae* Marko Elvadije (*CIL* 3: 2712 = 9727) i *Cohors II Chyrestarum miles* Marko Pytha (*CIL* 3: 14934) (Schönauer 2001: 256–263, 403–404, sl. 29–33, T. X–XII; Cesarik 2022: 309–310, sl. 3).

Ovakvim oblikovanjem portreta kipari su vjerojatno skretali pozornost potvrđujući identitet ova tri pokojnika kao vojnika. Razlika u odnosu na *Reitertyp* reljefe i vojne frizove je u tome što zajednički označivač (ogrtač) nije bio nužno povezan s vojničkom funkcijom vojnika, već s njihovom pripadnosti zajednici povezanoj s nošenjem određene odjeće. Paralele možemo povući s popularnošću *saguma* na nadgrobnim reljefima 3. stoljeća u Dakiji i Panoniji, što se mora dodatno istražiti (Migotti 2017: 23–25; Gui, Petruț 2018: 134–135).

Portreti nam isto daju sliku drugih, civilnih identiteta, koje bi *milites* Legije VII koristili usporedno s vojničkim. To izvrsno vidimo na fragmentarnom portretu veterana Lucija Vetija Sekunda i žene iz *Aequuma* (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 66). Na njemu se vidi Sekund u togi pored svoje družice u stoli, implicirajući civilni kontekst prikaza (Demicheli, Tončinić 2008: 351; Tončinić 2011: 97; Demicheli 2011: 71–73, kat. br. 1). Sekund, koji je podigao spomenik, očito je želio biti predstavljen kao rimski građanin na ovom portretu, što nam govore i njegova *tria nomina*. Ovaj građanski identitet vjerojatno je rezultat Sekundovog statusa veterana i njegove asimilacije u civilno društvo *Aequuma*. Isto možemo reći i za veterana Lucija Cezija Basa iz *Salone* koji je također prikazan u togi (Tončinić 2011: kat. br. 10).<sup>40</sup> Epitafi na oba spomenika otkrivaju vojne karijere ova dva veterana i stoga su vrlo bitna svjedočanstva složene prirode identiteta i njegove konstrukcije kroz nadgrobne spomenike – točnije, kako su se različite komunikacijske dimenzije spomenika mogle koristiti za istovremeno konstruiranje različitih identiteta. Ovo je već uočeno za primjere iz Nimesa i Akvileje (Hope 2001: 44–48).

40 In the 18<sup>th</sup> century Venetian abbot Alberto Fortis and French painter Louis-François Cassas both record that the portrait depicted a man in a *toga* (Maršić 2010: 75, cat. no. 43). Caesius Bassus' status as a citizen may have been further reinforced by the *rotulus* ('scroll') he holds. Whilst the iconographic significance of these *rotuli* is contested, some consider them a symbol of citizenship (Grüll 2018: 139–140; cf. László 2006: 14).

40 Alberto Fortis i francuski slikar Louis-François Cassas bilježe u 18. stoljeću da je ovaj portret prikazivao čovjeka u togi (Maršić 2010: 75, kat. no. 43). Status Cezija Basa kao rimskoga građanina možda je dodatno ojačan rotulom („svitkom“) koji drži u ruci. Dok je ikonografsko značenje ovih *rotula* osporavano, neki ih smatraju simbolom rimskoga građanstva (Grüll 2018: 139–140; usp. László 2006: 14).

of identity and its construction through funerary monuments – specifically, how the various communicative dimensions of the monument could be used to construct *different* identities simultaneously. This has also been observed at *Nimes* and *Aquileia* (Hope 2001: 44–48).

## Concluding discussion

Service “was the basis of the soldiers’ identity” (Hope 2001: 38, 48) and being a *miles* was more than purely a profession, constituting a way of life. This was evidently true for *Legio VII milites* and *veterani* who were stationed and settled in *Dalmatia* in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, attested to by their inscribed funerary monuments. In fact, it was through these very media that these servicemen (re)constructed themselves as military men, establishing themselves and their *fratres* as individuals defined by service within the diverse and (following the events of 42 AD) prestigious regiment of *Legio VII / VII Claudia pia fidelis*.

*Legio VII* was home to a close-knit community wherein the distinction between fraternal siblings and fraternal-like comrades was blurred, where familial and legal matters overlapped, and where serving and retired *milites* were supported by a familial and pseudo-familial network. The men of *Legio VII* were *fratres*, in both the literal and figurative sense. Additionally, the sense of communal belonging was rejuvenated and expressed individually and collectively through the practice of erecting a tombstone or funerary epitaph, with the collective involvement in the erection of the memorial reinforcing the close-knit nature of the community. Finally, this military community – and membership within it – was visually and spatially evident. Collectively significant sculptural motifs – namely the panelled *porta inferi* and its encompassing architectural style – acted as a communal style which, along with the spatial distribution of the monuments, advertised membership within both the *Dalmatia*-wide military community and the *Legio VII* community. In all of these instances, the funerary monument was a participant in the social network, key in the (re)definition and (re)construction of the identity, form, and relationalities of the *Legio VII* community. This ability is not conscious nor intentional, like that of human, but rather, as with other forms of material culture, relates to an ability to affect soci-

## Zaključna rasprava

Služba je bila temelj vojničkoga identiteta (Hope 2001: 38, 48) a biti rimskim vojnikom predstavljalo je način života, ne samo zanimanje. To je očito vrijedilo za pripadnike VII. legije – legionare i veterane – stacionirane i nastanjene u Dalmaciji u 1. st. po Kr., o čemu svjedoče njihovi epigrafski nadgrobni spomenici. Zapravo, upravo koristeći medij isklesanoga kamenoga spomenika ovi su vojnici iskazivali svoj vojnički identitet, predstavljajući sebe i svoju braću kao osobe definirane službom unutar raznolike i (nakon događaja 42. g. po Kr.) prestižne *Legio VII / VII Claudia pia fidelis*.

VII. legija bila je domom blisko povezane zajednice u kojoj je razlika između krvne braće i vojničkoga bratstva bila zamagljena, gdje su se obiteljska i pravna pitanja preklapala, i gdje su služeći i umirovljeni legionari podržavani obiteljskom i pseudo-obiteljskom društvenom mrežom. Pripadnici VII. legije bili su *fratres*, i u doslovnom i u figurativnom smislu. Osim toga, osjećaj pripadnosti zajednici je osnaživan i izražavan individualno i kolektivno kroz praksu podizanja nadgrobnog spomenika ili nadgrobnog epitafa, pri čemu je kolektivno sudjelovanje u postavljanju spomenika osnaživalo blisku prirodu zajednice. Konačno, ta vojnička zajednica – i pripadnost istoj – bila je vizualno i prostorno očigledna. Kolektivno značajni kiparski motivi – posebno *porta inferi* s četiri ploče i njezin sveobuhvatni arhitektonski stil – djelovali su kao zajednički stil koji je, zajedno s prostornom distribucijom spomenika, naglašavao članstvo unutar dalmatinske vojničke zajednice i zajednice *Legio VII* u užem smislu. U svim ovim slučajevima nadgrobni je spomenik postajao svojevrsnim sudionikom unutar društvene mreže, značajnim za (re)definiranje i (re)konstrukciju identiteta, oblika i odnosa zajednice VII. legije. Ova uloga nadgrobni spomenika nije bila svjesna niti namjerna, već se, kao i u slučaju drugih oblika materijalne kulture, odnosila na sposobnost utjecaja na društvenu stvarnost kroz čino-ve ponavljanja i poboljšavanja (Eckardt 2014: 8).

Reference na značajke vojničke službe kao što su vojni čin i pripadnost postrojbi dominiraju epitafima, otkrivajući značajne zajedničke i individualne vrijednosti. Te su se vrijednost često nadopunjavale skulpturom, vojničkim frizovima i Reitertyp portretima, koji su uspostavljali

al reality through things such as reiteration and enhancement (Eckardt 2014: 8).

References to features of service such as office and unit dominate the epitaphs, revealing significant communal and individual value. This value was often complemented by sculpture, with the martial function of the *milites* and the *legio* established as a core facet of the community by military friezes and *Reitertyp* portraits. However, other items associated with military service but not necessarily martialness, such as construction tools and cloaks, were also (re) established as constituent communal symbols through funerary sculpture. Each soldier and his extended community thus had a plethora of symbols, roles, and relations which they used to define their military identities. Significantly, these symbols were drawn from the experience of *Legio VII* members in *Dalmatia* – such as their involvement in construction activities – as well as from more general Empire-wide concepts of 'being military', seen with the importance of offices and the (perceived) primary function of the *milites* as combatants. The form and location of the inscribed monuments also rendered them participants in these social dynamics of community construction, representing the deceased and (re)defining the nature of the community for contemporary (and future) audiences. As the monuments within the corpus were representations of – or rather, extensions of – the deceased, they could also communicate non-military identities, with the medium utilised as a means to negotiate their distinct social situations as soldier civilians. Finally, the roles of extended community members – such as freedmen, wives, and children – in erecting these monuments, viewing them, and participating in related rites, places them centrally within all of these processes of communal rejuvenation as well.

Inscribed and sculptural monuments were evidently integral in the construction of community around *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia* – key to processes of social formation and identity negotiation. Moreover, it is beyond purely 'standing in' for humans that monuments did this. They were active in these social processes. As such, future research should explore new frameworks which can properly engage with this animated nature of inscribed funerary material, as well as other material culture related to military communities such as dress and equipment. Perhaps certain tenets of posthumanist and new materialist archaeologies – already being engaged with elsewhere in

ratnički karakter vojnika i same legije kao središnjeg dijela zajednice. Međutim, drugi predmeti povezani s vojnom službom, ali ne nužno i ratničkim karakterom, poput građevinskih alatki i ogrtača, također su (ponovno) vizualno uspostavljeni u nadgrobnoj skulpturi kao sastavni simboli zajednice. Svaki vojnik i njegova šira zajednica tako su imali na raspolaganju mnoštvo simbola, uloga i odnosa koje su koristili za definiranje svojih vojničkih identiteta. Značajno je primijetiti da su ovi simboli izvučeni iz proživljenoga iskustva pripadnika VII. legije u Dalmaciji – kao što je njihova uloga u građevinskim djelatnostima – ali i iz općenitijih koncepata vojničkoga identiteta u cijelom Carstvu, s obzirom na važnost vojnih službi i (percipirane) primarne funkcije *milites* kao ratnika. Oblik i mjesto podizanja epigrafskih spomenika također ih je činio sudionicima ove društvene dinamike izgradnje zajednice, predstavljajući preminule pripadnike zajednice i (re)definirajući prirodu zajednice za suvremenu (i buduću) publiku. Budući da su spomenici unutar korpusa predstavljali – ili bolje rečeno, bili produžecima – pokojnika, mogli su također prenositi i civilne identitete, pri čemu se medij (kamen) koristio kao sredstvo uspostavljanja njihovih različitih uloga u različitim društvenim situacijama kao vojnika i civila. Konačno, uloge članova proširene zajednice – poput oslobođenika, žena i djece – u podizanju ovih spomenika, njihovom promatranju i sudjelovanju u povezanim obredima, također ih postavlja u središte svih ovih procesa osnaživanja osjećaja zajednice.

Epigrafski i skulpturalni spomenici očito su bili sastavni dio izgradnje zajednice oko VII. legije u Dalmaciji – ključni akteri procesa društvenog oblikovanja i uspostavljanja identiteta. Štoviše, to što su spomenici učinili nije bila samo „zamjena“ za ljude koje su predstavljali. Sami spomenici postajali su aktivni čimbenici u tim društvenim procesima. Buduća bi istraživanja trebala istražiti nove okvire koji će moći interpretirati ovu animiranu prirodu epigrafskog nadgrobnog materijala, kao i drugih oblika materijalne kulture povezane s vojničkim zajednicama, poput odjeće i opreme. Možda određena načela posthumanističkih i novih materijalističkih arheologija – kojima se znanstvenici već uveliko bave u rimskoj arheologiji – mogu pomoći pri ovom nastojanju (Van Oyen 2016; Selsvold, Webb 2020; Mihajlović 2020; 2023). Time ovaj rad pokazuje vrijednost provođenja detaljnih i teorijski potkrijepljenih raščlambi do-

Roman archaeology – can aid in this endeavour (Van Oyen 2016; Selsvold, Webb 2020; Mihajlović 2020; 2023). Moreover, this paper demonstrates the value of conducting in-depth and theoretically informed analyses of the well-catalogued Romano-Dalmatian evidence, and the consequent integration of this evidence – and the related scholarship – into broader discussions concerning the Roman military.

## Acknowledgements

This paper was supported by the Croatian Studies Foundation 2020 Community, Culture and Research Scheme and the Macquarie Gale Graeco-Roman Travelling Scholarship. I would like to thank Danijel Džino for his comments on drafts of this article and its translation into the Croatian language, and Dino Demicheli and Vladimir Mihajlović for their helpful and constructive comments on the thesis upon which this article was based. I also thank the two anonymous reviewers for their constructive feedback. All errors remain my own.

bro katalogiziranog materijala iz rimske Dalacije i posljedične integracije tog materijala – i s njime povezanih istraživanja – u šire rasprave o rimskoj vojsci.

## Napomene i zahvale

Ovaj rad financijski su poduprli „Program zajednice, kulture i istraživanja“ australske Zaklade hrvatskih studija za 2020. i Macquarie Gale Graeco-Roman Travelling Scholarship. Zahvaljujem Danijelu Džinu na komentarima na nacрте ovog članka i njegovom prijevodu na hrvatski jezik, te Dinu Demicheliju i Vladimiru Mihajloviću na korisnim i konstruktivnim komentarima magistarskoga rada, koji predstavlja osnovu ovoga članka. Želim zahvaliti i dvoje anonimnih recenzenata za konstruktivne primjedbe. Sve greške ostaju moje.

**Prijevod** Translation DANIJEL DŽINO  
**Lektura** Proofreading MARKO MARAS

Appendix 1: Funerary monuments of <i>Legio VII</i> / Nadgrobni spomenici VII. legije				
Tončinić 2011 no.	Alternative reference / Usporedna literatura	Monument type / Tip spomenika	Ancient site / Antičko nalazište	Modern find site / Moderno nalazište
1	AE 1999, 1230	stela	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
2	CIL 3, 2709	stela	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
3	CIL 3, 3162a	stela		
4	ILJug 3, 2091	stela	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
5	CIL 3, 8723	stela	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
6	AE 1995, 1231	stela	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
7	CIL 3, 2913	stela	<i>ladera</i>	Zadar
8	CIL 3, 9733	stela	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
9	CIL 3, 8735	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
10	CIL 3, 2014	stela	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
11	CIL 3, 8487	<i>titulus</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Filovača
12	CIL 3, 2710	stela	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
13	CIL 3, 2914	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>ladera</i>	Zadar
15	CIL 3, 2022	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
16	CIL 3, 1813	stela	<i>Narona</i>	Vid
17	CIL 3, 6364	<i>titulus</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Glavica – Ljubuški
18	CIL 3, 2033	stela	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
20	ILJug 3, 1950	stela	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
21	AE 1994, 1355	stela		Dugopolje
22	CIL 3, 2714	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić

<b>Appendix 1: Funerary monuments of <i>Legio VII</i> / Nadgrobnji spomenici VII. legije</b>				
<b>Tončinić 2011 no.</b>	<b>Alternative reference / Usporedna literatura</b>	<b>Monument type / Tip spomenika</b>	<b>Ancient site / Antičko nalazište</b>	<b>Modern find site / Moderno nalazište</b>
23	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2885	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Corinium</i>	Donji Karin
24	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2715	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Tilurium</i>	Košute
25	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9734	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
27	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2019	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
28	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14244/1	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
29	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14931	<i>stela</i>		Dicmo
30	<i>CIL</i> 3, 1814	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Narona</i>	Vid
31	<i>AE</i> 2000, 1174	<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Smokovice – Hardomilje
32	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 1920	<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Smokovice – Hardomilje
33	<i>AE</i> 1996, 1215	<i>titulus</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
34	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9737	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
35	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2040	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
36	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2041	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
37	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9939	<i>stela</i>	<i>Asseria</i>	Podgrađe
38	<i>AE</i> 1904, 172	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
39	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14932	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
41	<i>AE</i> 1991, 1291	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
42	<i>AE</i> 1995, 1232	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
44	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14946	<i>stela</i>	<i>Aequum</i>	Glavice
45	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 1916	<i>titulus</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Vuna – Hardomilje
46	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2716	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
49	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2772	<i>stela</i>	<i>Municipium Riditarum/ Rider</i>	Danilo
50	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2280	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
51	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2601	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Kapljuč
52	<i>CIL</i> 3, 1818	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Narona</i>	Čitluk
53	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2048	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
54	<i>AE</i> 1940, 0177	altar / oltar	<i>Andetrium</i>	Gornji Muć
56	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2090	altar / oltar	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
57	<i>CIL</i> 3, 8760	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
58	<i>ILJug</i> 2, 0670	<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Humac
59	<i>AE</i> 1991, 1290	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
60	<i>AE</i> 2003, 1330	<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Vuna – Hardomilje
61	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2717	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
62	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9761	funerary inscription / nadgrobnji natpis	<i>Aequum</i>	Hrvace
63	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 1921	<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Smokovice – Hardomilje
64	<i>CIL</i> 3, 8764	altar / oltar	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
66		<i>stela</i>	<i>Aequum</i>	Hrvace
67	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2678	altar / oltar	<i>Tragurium</i>	Trogir

<b>Appendix 1: Funerary monuments of <i>Legio VII</i> / Nadgrobni spomenici VII. legije</b>				
<b>Tončinić 2011 no.</b>	<b>Alternative reference / Usporedna literatura</b>	<b>Monument type / Tip spomenika</b>	<b>Ancient site / Antičko nalazište</b>	<b>Modern find site / Moderno nalazište</b>
68	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9741	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
69	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2093	altar / oltar	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
70	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2600	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Kapljuč
71	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9742	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Tilurium</i>	Trilj
72	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2071	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
73	<i>CIL</i> 3, 2733	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Aequum</i>	Sinj
74	<i>AE</i> 2000, 1176	<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Grebine – Vitaljina
75	<i>CIL</i> 3, 8732	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
77	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9711	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Tragurium</i>	Trogir
78	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14699	inscription fragment / dio natpisa	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
81	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2028	inscription fragment / dio natpisa	<i>Salona</i>	Klis
82	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14248	inscription fragment / dio natpisa	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
	Matijević 2017: Fig. 1	<i>stela</i>	<i>Siculi</i>	Bijaći

<b>Appendix 2: Possible funerary monuments of <i>Legio VII</i> / Mogući nadgrobni spomenici VII. legije</b>				
<b>Tončinić 2011 no.</b>	<b>Alternative reference / Usporedna literatura</b>	<b>Monument type / Tip spomenika</b>	<b>Ancient site / Antičko nalazište</b>	<b>Modern find site / Moderno nalazište</b>
14	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 1949	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
19	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2105	<i>stela</i>	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
25	<i>CIL</i> 3, 13976	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
40		<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Veljaci
43	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9738	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Vojnić
47	<i>CIL</i> 3, 13978	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
48	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14933	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Trilj
55	<i>CIL</i> 3, 8493	<i>stela</i>	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i>	Gračine – Humac
65	<i>CIL</i> 3, 9712	<i>stela</i>	<i>Siculi</i>	Bijaći
76		<i>stela</i>		
79	<i>CIL</i> 3, 14992	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Burnum</i>	Kistanje
80	<i>CIL</i> 3, 8763	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
83	<i>CIL</i> 3, 8767	inscription fragment / dio natpisa	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
84	<i>ILJug</i> 3, 3239	inscription fragment / dio natpisa	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
85	<i>CIL</i> 3, 12909	funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
86		funerary inscription / nadgrobni natpis	<i>Salona</i>	Solin
87	<i>ILJug</i> 2, 733	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Gardun
	Medini 1984: Fig. 2	<i>stela</i>	<i>Tilurium</i>	Trilj

## ABBREVIATIONS KRATICE

- AE** – *L'Année épigraphique*, Paris, <https://anneepigraphique.com/>; <https://www.jstor.org/journal/anneepig>
- Buecheler, Carm. Epigr. 1876** – F. Buecheler, *Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, 2 vols. with Suppl. by E. Lommatzsch (1894–1930).
- CIL** – *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, IL vols. with Suppl. by E. Lommatzsch (1894–1930), Berlin, <https://cil.bbaw.de/>
- CSIR 2.5** – Boppert, W. 1992, *Militärische Grabdenkmäler aus Mainz und Umgebung, Corpus signorum imperii Romani. Corpus der skulpturen der römischen welt. (Germania Superior*, II, 5, Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, Mainz.
- EDCS** – Clauss, M., Kolb, A., Slaby, W. A., Woitas, B., Epigrafik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby, Universität Zürich, Katholische Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt, Zürich, Eichstätt, <https://db.edcs.eu/> (accessed 09.06.2023.).
- ILJug 1** – Šašel, A., Šašel, J. 1963, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 5, Narodni muzej, Ljubljana.
- ILJug 2** – Šašel, A., Šašel, J. 1978, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 19, Narodni muzej, Ljubljana.
- ILJug 3** – Šašel, A., Šašel, J. 1986, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, Situla 25, Narodni muzej, Ljubljana.

## SOURCES IZVORI

- Cary, E. (ed.)** 1917, *Dio Cassius, Roman History, Vol. VI: Books 51-55*, Loeb Classical Library 83, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Cary, E. (ed.)** 1924, *Dio Cassius, Roman History, Vol. VII: Books 56-60*, Loeb Classical Library 175, Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Hainseelin, P., Watelet, H. (eds.)** 1932, *Velleius Paterculus et Florus, Historiae romanae*, Classiques Garnier, Paris.
- Heraeus, W., Borovskij, J. (eds.)** 1976 (reprint of 1925), *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata*, B. G. Teubner, Stuttgart, <https://scaife.perseus.org/library/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1294.phi002/> (accessed 08.12.2023.)
- Lang, C. (ed.)** 1967 (reprint of 1872), *Vegetius. Epitoma Rei Militaris*, B. G. Teubner, Stuttgart.
- Scott, S. P. (transl.)** 1932, *The Civil Law VI*, The Central Trust Company, Cincinnati, [https://droitomain.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/Anglica/digest\\_Scott.htm](https://droitomain.univ-grenoble-alpes.fr/Anglica/digest_Scott.htm) (accessed 08.12.2023.)
- Vollmer, F. (ed.)** 1912, *Horati Flacci Carmina. Epodon*, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig. <https://scaife.perseus.org/library/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0893.phi003/> (accessed 08.12.2023.)
- Yonge, C. D. (ed.)** 1903, *M. Tullius Cicero. The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, George Bell & Sons, London. <https://scaife.perseus.org/reader/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0474.phi005.perseus-eng2> (accessed 08.12.2023.)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY LITERATURA

- Abramić, M.** 1924, *Militaria Burnensia*, in: *Strena Buliciana. Commentationes Gratulatoriae Francisco Bulic / Buličev zbornik. Naučni prilozi posvećeni Frani Buliću prigodom LXXV. godišnjice njegova života od učenika i prijatelja, IV. oktobra MCMXXI*, Abramić M., Hoffiller V. (eds.), Zaklada tiskare Narodnih Novina, Zagreb – Split, 221–228.
- Alföldy, G.** 1962, *Die Auxiliartruppen der Provinz Dalmatien, Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 14, 259–296.
- Allison, P. M.** 2008, *Measuring Women's Influence on Roman Military Life: using GIS on published excavation reports from the German frontier, Internet Archaeology*, Vol. 24. <https://doi.org/10.11141/ia.24.5>
- Alston, R.** 1995, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*, Routledge, London – New York.
- Anderson, A. S. 1984, *Roman Military Tombstones*, Shire Publications Ltd, Aylesbury.
- Atanacković-Salčić, V.** 1981, *Kameni spomenici u arheološkoj zbirci na Humcu, Naše starine*, Vol. XIV–XV, 257–284.
- Betz, A.** 1938, *Untersuchungen zur Militärgeschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Rohrer Verlag, Wien.
- Bojanovski, I.** 1988, *Ad CIL III, 1741, Obod kod Cavtata (Epidaurum), Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Dubrovniku i dubrovačkom području*, Znanstveni skup, Dubrovnik, 1.–4.10.1984., Rapanić Ž. (ed.), Izdanja Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 12, Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Zagreb, 101–110.
- Calderini, A.** 1930, *Aquileia romana. Ricerche di storia e di epigrafia*, Società editrice 'Vita e pensiero', Milano.
- Cambi, N.** 1984, *Gardunski tropej*, in: *Cetinska krajina od prehistorije do dolaska Turaka*, Znanstveni skup, Sinj, 3–6. VI 1980., Rapanić Ž. (ed.), Izdanja Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 8, Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Split, 77–92.
- Cambi, N.** 1986, *Salona i njene nekropole, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, Vol. 25(12), 61–108. <https://doi.org/10.15291/radovipov.2103>
- Cambi, N.** 1990, *Two Soldiers' Stelai from Salona, Römisches Österreich*, Vol. 17–18 (1989–1990), 61–72.
- Cambi, N.** 1993, *Rimski nadgrobnici spomenici iz Aserije, Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, Vol. 31(18), 25–51. <https://doi.org/10.15291/radovipov.2138>
- Cambi, N.** 1994, *Stele iz kasnoantičke grobnice u Dugopolju, Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Vol. 86, 147–181.
- Cambi, N.** 2003, *Attis or Someone Else on Funerary Monuments from Dalmatia?*, in: *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum – Neue Funde und Forschungen, Akten des VII. Internationalen Colloquiums über Probleme des provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens*, Köln, 2. bis 6. Mai 2001, Noelke P., Naumann-Steckner F., Schneider B. (eds.), Philipp von Zabern, Mainz and Rhein, 511–520.
- Cambi, N.** 2005, *Kiparstvo rimske Dalmacije / The Sculpture of the Roman Province of Dalmatia*, Književni krug, Split.

- Cambi, N.** 2008, Bilješke o skulpturalnoj baštini, in: *Arheološka zbirka franjevačkog samostana u Sinju*, Topić M. (ed.), Franjevački samostan Čudotvorne Gospe Sinjske, Ogranak Matice hrvatske, Sinj, 73–111.
- Cambi, N.** 2020, Salona and Tilverium, Two Interconnected Stone Carving Centres, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, Vol. 19, 7–30. <https://doi.org/10.21857/yvjrclz3y>
- Cambi, N.** 2021, Atis ili netko drugi na nadgrobnim spomenicima u Dalmaciji, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, Vol. 20, 173–200. <https://doi.org/10.21857/ypn4oc1629>
- Campbell, B.** 1978, The Marriage of Soldiers Under the Empire, *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 68, 153–66. <https://doi.org/10.2307/299633>
- Carroll, M.** 2009, Dead Soldiers on the Move: Transporting Bodies and Commemorating Men at Home and Abroad, *Gladius*, Vol. 13, 823–832.
- Carroll, M.** 2011, Memoria and Damnatio Memoriae. Preserving and Erasing Identities in Roman Funerary Commemoration, in: *Living through the Dead. Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World*, Carroll M., Rempel J. (eds.), Oxbow Books, Oxford, 65–90.
- Cesarik, N.** 2014, The Inscription of Medicus of the XI<sup>th</sup> Legion from Burnum, *Collegium Antropologicum*, Vol. 38(2), 739–744.
- Cesarik, N.** 2020, Dalmacija nakon 9. godine: zasebna provincija ili dio provincije Ilirik? / (Dalmatia after 9 AD: Separate Province or Part of the Province of Illyricum?), *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, Vol. 60, 9–21. <https://doi.org/10.21857/mnlqgcrexy>
- Cesarik, N.** 2022, Bilješke o natpisima vojnika pomoćnih konjaničkih postrojbi s područja Salone, in: *Salona od 119. godine prije Krista do kasne antike*, Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa, Split, 23. i 24. rujna 2019, Cambi N., Matijević I. (eds.), Književni krug, Split, 301–321.
- Cohen, A. P.** 1985, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, Routledge, London – New York. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203131688>
- Collins, R.** 2006, Late Roman frontier communities in northern Britain: A theoretical context for the 'end' of Hadrian's Wall, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, Vol. 2005, 1–11. [https://doi.org/10.16995/trac2005\\_1\\_11](https://doi.org/10.16995/trac2005_1_11)
- Coopey, E. S., Ballsun-Stanton, B.** 2021, Community and Identity in the Roman Seventh Legio: Digitally mapping funerary monuments referring to Legio VII servicemen and related members of the military community in Roman *Dalmatia* (v. 1.1.0), Zenodo. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8081125>
- Coopey, E. S., Džino, D.** (forthcoming), Roman *militēs* and defeated "barbari": soldierly bodies, dress, and identities in first century Tilverium, Dalmatia, in: *The body of the combatant in the ancient Mediterranean*, Chidwick H.-M. D. (ed.), Bloomsbury Academic, London.
- Coulston, J. C. N.** 2000, Armed and belted men: the soldiery in imperial Rome, in: *Ancient Rome: the Archaeology of the Eternal City*, Coulston J. C. N., Dodge H. (eds.), Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 54, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 76–118.
- Coulston, J. C. N.** 2004, Military identity and personal self-identity in the Roman army, in: *Roman Rule and Civic Life: Local and Regional Perspectives*. Proceedings of the Fourth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, c. 200 B.C. – A.D. 476), Leiden, June 25–28, 2003, de Ligt L., Hemelrijk E. A., Singor H. W. (eds.), Impact of Empire 4, J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam, 133–52.
- Coulston, J. C. N.** 2007, Art, Culture and Service: The Depiction of Soldiers on Funerary Monuments of the 3rd Century AD, in: *The Impact of the Roman Army (200 BC – AD 476). Economic, Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Aspects*, Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, 200 B.C. – A.D. 476), Capri, Italy, March 29–April 2, 2005, de Blois L., Lo Cascio E. (eds.), Impact of Empire 6, Leiden, Brill, 529–561.
- Cuntz, O.** 1929, *Legionare des Antonius und Augustus aus dem Orient*, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 25, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Wien.
- Čerina, D., Rismondo, T.** 2004, *Katalog lapidarija muzeja franjevačkog samostana na Humcu*, unpublished manuscript, Humac.
- De Caro, S.** 1979, Scavi nell'area fuori Porta Nola a Pompei, *Cronache Pompeiane*, Vol. V, 59–101.
- Demicheli, D.** 2011, Neobjavljeni latinski natpisi iz Muzeja Cetinske krajine i zbirke Franjevačkog samostana u Sinju / Unpublished ancient Roman inscriptions belonging to the Museum of the Cetina District and to the Franciscan Monastery Collection in Sinj, in: *Arheološka istraživanja u Cetinskoj krajini*. Radovi kolokvija Rimska vojska u procesu romaniziranja provincije Dalmacije, Znanstveni skup, Sinj, 10. – 13. listopada 2006., Librenjak, A., Tončinić, D. (eds.), Izdanja Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 27, Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Muzej Cetinske krajine, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 69–97.
- Demicheli, D.** 2017, Tiberius and his family on the epigraphic monuments from Dalmatia, in: *Tiberius in Illyricum. Contributions to the history of the Danubian provinces under Tiberius' reign (14–37 AD)*, Kovács P. (ed.), Hungarian polis studies 24, Eötvös Loránd University, University of Debrecen, Budapest – Debrecen, 9–39.
- Demicheli, D.** 2018, A soldier of the Legion XI *Claudia Pia Fidelis* from Forum Iulii on the inscription from Kapitulum near Knin, in: *The Century of the Brave. Roman Conquest and Indigenous Resistance in Illyricum during the Time of Augustus and His Heirs*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Zagreb, 22–26.9.2014., Miličević Bradač M., Demicheli D. (eds.), FF Press, Zagreb, 117–123.
- Demicheli, D., Tončinić, D.** 2008, Stela veterana VII. legije Lucija Vetija Sekunda iz Hrvaca kod Sinja, *Archeologia Adriatica*, Vol. 2(1), 349–358. <https://doi.org/10.15291/archeo.959>
- Dixon, K. R., Southern, P.** 1997, *The Roman Cavalry. From the First to the Third Century AD*, Routledge, London.
- Dodig, R.** 2003, Spomenik Kvinta Valerija iz Hardomilja kod Ljubuškoga, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Vol. 95, 363–373.



- Dodig, R.** 2005a, Afterlife Ideas on Military Monuments in Narona Hinterland, in: *Religija i mit kao poticaj rimskoj provincijalnoj plastici / Religion und Mythos als Anregung für die Provinzialrömische Plastik*, Akten des VIII. Internationalen Colloquiums Über Probleme des Provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Zagreb 5.–8. V. 2003., Sanader M., Rendić-Miočević A. (eds.), Golden marketing-Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb, 205–211.
- Dodig, R.** 2005b, The Seventh Legion's monuments in the area of Ljubuški / Spomenici VII. legije na području Ljubuškog, in: *Illyrica Antiqua. Ob Honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević.*, Radovi s Međunarodnog skupa o problemima antičke arheologije, Zagreb, 6.–8. XI. 2003., Sanader M. (ed.), FF Press, Zagreb, 209–217.
- Domić-Kunić, A.** 2006, Bellum Pannonicum (12.–11. pr. Kr.). Posljednja faza osvajanja južne Panonije / (Bellum Pannonicum (12–11 BC). The final stage of the conquest of the southern Pannonia), *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3.s. Vol. XXXIX, 59–164.
- van Driel-Murray, C.** 1997, Women in forts?, *Jahresbericht: Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa*, Vol. 1997, 55–61. <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-281702>
- Durry, M.** 1968, *Les cohortes prétoriennes* (1938 ed. re-published), E. de Boccard, Paris.
- Džino, D.** 2006, Velleius Paterculus and the Pannonii: Making up the numbers, *Godišnjak: Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja*, Vol. XXXV(33), 145–158.
- Džino, D.** 2009, The *Bellum Batonianum* in contemporary historiographical narratives. In a search for the post-modern Bato the Daesitiate, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, Vol. 16, 29–45.
- Džino, D.** 2010, *Illyricum in Roman Politics, 229 BC–AD 68*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511675942>
- Džino, D.** 2017, Sculptor Maximinus and his images of the goddess Diana and the girl Lupa from the Dalmatian hinterland, in: *Illyrica Antiqua II. In honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević.* Proceedings of the International Conference, Šibenik 12<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> September 2013, Demicheli D. (ed.), FF Press, Zagreb, 335–344.
- Džino, D., Domić Kunić, A.** 2013, *Rimski ratovi u Iliriku. Povijesni antinarativ*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb.
- Džino, D., Domić Kunić, A.** 2018, A View from the Frontier Zone: Roman Conquest of Illyricum, in: *The Century of the Brave. Roman Conquest and Indigenous Resistance in Illyricum during the Time of Augustus and His Heirs*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Zagreb, 22–26.9.2014., Miličević Bradač M., Demicheli D. (eds.), FF Press, Zagreb, 77–87.
- Dziurdzik, T., Mech, A.** 2021, Securing the Hostile Hinterland: The Roman Fort at Gračine and the Defences of Narona, in: *The Art of Siege Warfare and Military Architecture from the Classical World to the Middle Ages*, Eisenberg M., Khamisy R. (eds.), Oxbow Books, Oxford, 129–136. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv13nb9q8.20>
- Dziurdzik, T., Mech, A., Pisz, M., Rašić, M.** 2016, Gračine – central place in the hinterland of ancient Narona? Preliminary results of cultural landscape project in Ljubuški općina, West Herzegovina, in: *Landscape in the Past & Forgotten Landscapes*, Kołodziejczyk P., Kwiatkowska-Kopka B. (eds.), Cracow Landscape Monographs 2, Institute of Archeology Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Institute of Landscape Architecture Cracow University of Technology, Kraków, 299–307.
- Eckardt, H.** 2014, *Objects and Identities. Roman Britain and the North-Western Provinces*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Edmondson, J.** 2014, Inscribing Roman Texts: Officinae, Layout, and Carving Techniques, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Bruun C., Edmondson J. (eds.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 111–130. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195336467.013.007>
- Fadić, I.** 1995, Novi natpisi VII. legije Iz Tilurija, *Diadora: glasilo Arheološkog Muzeja u Zadru*, Vol. 16–17, 163–187.
- Fadić, I.** 1997, Spomenici VII. legije na područja Tilurija (Tilurium), *Diadora: glasilo arheološkog muzeja u Zadru*, Vol. 18–19, 77–119.
- Feldman, M. H.** 2014, *Communities of Style. Portable Luxury Arts, Identity, and Collective Memory in the Iron Age Levant*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago – London. <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226164427.001.0001>
- Fisher, G., Loren, D. P. D.** 2003, Embodying Identity in Archaeology: Introduction, *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 13(2), 225–230. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0959774303210143>
- Gardner, A.** 2001, Identities in the Late Roman Army: Material and Textual Perspectives, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, Vol. 2000, 35–47. [https://doi.org/10.16995/trac2000\\_35\\_47](https://doi.org/10.16995/trac2000_35_47)
- Gardner, A.** 2007, *An Archaeology of Identity. Soldiers and Society in Late Roman Britain*, Routledge, New York.
- Glavičić, M.** 2008, Epigrafska baština rimskodobnog Epidaura, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, Vol. 2(1), 43–62. <https://doi.org/10.15291/archo.922>
- Glavičić, M., Pandža, Ž.** 2017, *Veterani Pagi Scunastici*, in: *Kulturno povijesna baština općine Ljubuški. Zbornik radova*, Glavičić M., Pandža Ž. (eds.), Općina Ljubuški, Ljubuški, 49–77.
- Goldsworthy, A. K., Haynes, I.** (eds.) 1999, *The Roman Army as a Community*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 34, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
- Greene, E. M.** 2020, Roman Military Communities and the Families of Auxiliary Soldiers, in: *New Approaches to Greek and Roman Warfare*, Brice L. L. (ed.), John Wiley & Sons, New Jersey, 149–159. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781119248514.ch12>
- Grüll, T.** 2018, Origo as Identity Factor in Roman Epitaphs, in: *Social Interactions and Status Markers in the Roman World*, Cupcea G., Varga R. (eds.), Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 37, Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Oxford, 139–149.
- Gui, M, Petruț, D.** 2018, Soldiers and Their Monuments for Posterity. Manifestations of Martial Identity in the Funerary Iconography of Roman Dacia, in: *Social Interactions and Status Markers in the Roman World*, Cupcea G., Varga, R. (eds.), Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 37, Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Oxford, 115–138.
- Hatt, J.-J.** 1951, *La tombe Gallo-Romaine. Recherches sur les inscriptions et les monuments funéraires Gallo-Romains des trois premiers siècles de notre ère*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Haynes, I.** 2013, *Blood of the Provinces. The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Hofmann, H.** 1905, *Römische militärgrabsteine der Donauländer*, Alfred Hölder, Wien.

- Hölscher, T.** 2004, *The Language of Images in Roman Art* (Translation and 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of *Römische Bildsprache als semantisches System*, Heildeberg 1987), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Hope, V. M.** 1997, Words and Pictures: The Interpretation of Romano-British Tombstones, *Britannia*, Vol. 28, 245–258. <https://doi.org/10.2307/526768>
- Hope, V. M.** 2000, Inscriptions and Sculpture: the Construction of Identity in the Military Tombstones of Roman Mainz, in: *The Epigraphy of Death. Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome*, Oliver G. J (ed.), Liverpool University Press, Liverpool.
- Hope, V. M.** 2001, *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nimes*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 960, Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Oxford.
- Hope, V. M.** 2003, Trophies and Tombstones: Commemorating the Roman Soldier, *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35(1), 79–97. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0043824032000078090>
- Hope, V. M.** 2020, Life at Sea, Death on Land: the Funerary Commemoration of the Sailors of Roman Misenum, in: *Reflections: Harbour City Deathscapes in Roman Italy and Beyond*, Bargfeldt N., Petersen J. H. (eds.), Edizioni Quasar, Roma, 79–97.
- Ivčević, S.** 2013a, Project Tilurium – Roman Military Equipment, in: *Rimska vojna oprema u pogrebnom kontekstu / Weapons and Military Equipment in a Funerary Context / Militaria als Grabbeilage*, Radovi, Proceedings, Akten, XVII<sup>th</sup> Roman Military Equipment Conference, Zagreb, 24. – 27. 05. 2010., Sanader M., Rendić-Miočević A., Tončinić, D., Radman-Livaja I. (eds.), Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 435–453.
- Ivčević, S.** 2013b, Roman Military Gear Depicted on Grave Monuments from the Archaeological Museum in Split, in: *Sepulkralna skulptura zapadnog Ilirika i susjednih oblasti u doba Rimskog Carstva / Funerary Sculpture of the Western Illyricum and Neighbouring Regions of the Roman Empire*, Proceedings of the International Scholarly Conference, Split, 27<sup>th</sup>–30<sup>th</sup> September 2009, Cambi N., Koch G. (eds.), Književni krug, Split, 443–479.
- James, S.** 1999, The Community of Soldiers: A Major Identity and Centre of Power in the Roman Empire, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, Vol. 1998, 14–25. [https://doi.org/10.16995/trac1998\\_14\\_25](https://doi.org/10.16995/trac1998_14_25)
- James, S.** 2002, Writing the Legions: The Development and Future of Roman Military Studies in Britain, *Archaeological Journal*, Vol. 159(1), 1–58. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.2002.11020514>
- James, S.** 2011, *Rome and the Sword. How Warriors and Weapons Shaped Roman History*, Thames and Hudson, London.
- James, S.** 2018, Ghost train: the (almost) invisible dependants of the Roman garrison at Dura-Europos, Syria, in: *Embracing the Provinces. Society and Material Culture of the Roman Frontier Regions*, Essays in honour of Dr Carol van Driel-Murray, Ivleva T., de Bruin J., Driessen M. (eds.), Oxbow Books, Oxford, 37–48.
- Jeličić-Radonić, J.** 2008, AVRELIA PRISCA, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, Vol. 41, 5–25.
- Johns, C.** 2003, Art, Romanization and Competence, in: *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, Scott S., Webster J. (eds.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 9–23.
- Jones, A. M.** 2020, An Archaeology of Affect: Art, Ontology and the Carved Stone Balls of Neolithic Britain, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, Vol. 27(3), 545–560. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-020-09473-8>
- Jovanović, J.** 2021, Grčki natpisi iz Ise, in: *In Vis-à-Vis 200. Arheološka baština otoka Visa. Izložba u povodu 200. obljetnice Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*, Ivčević S. (ed.), katalog izložbe, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Split, 54–67.
- Kaić, I.** 2020, Some remarks on the engraved gems from Tilurium and the purchasing power of Roman soldiers, in: *Colloquium Lauriacum 2016. Das römische Heer – Wirtschaftsfaktor und Kulturträger*, Beiträge zur Tagung im Museum Lauriacum, Enns, 22. – 24. September 2016, Forschungen in Lauriacum 19, Traxler S., Lang F. (eds.), Forschungen in Lauriacum 19, Gesellschaft für Landeskunde und Denkmalpflege Oberösterreich, Linz, 91–96.
- Keprtová, J.** 1986, *Frater* in Militärschriften - Bruder oder Freund?, *Listy filologické- Folia philologica*, Vol. 109 (1), 11–14.
- Keppie, L. J. F.** 2003, 'Having Been a Soldier'. The Commemoration of Military Service on Funerary Monuments of the Early Roman Empire, in: *Documenting the Roman Army: Essays in Honour of Margaret Roxan*, Wilkes J. J. (ed.), Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supp. 81, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 31–53. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2041-5370.2003.tb01976.x>
- Kovács, P.** 2008, Some Notes on the Division of Illyricum, in: *Die Römischen Provinzen. Begriff Und Gründung*, Colloquium Cluj-Napoca, 28. September - 1. Oktober 2006, Piso I. (ed.), Editura Mega, Cluj-Napoca, 237–248.
- Kovács, P.** 2014, *A History of Pannonia during the Principate*, Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn.
- László, B.** 2006, *Vezető Komárom város római kori kőemlékeihez*, Klapka György Múzeum, Komárom.
- Lee, A. D.** 2020, *Warfare in the Roman World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139013680>
- Lendon, J. E.** 2001, *Empire of Honour. The Art of Government in the Roman World* (reprint), Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Lendon, J. E.** 2006, Contubernalis, Commanipularis, and Commilito in Roman Soldiers' Epigraphy: Drawing the Distinction, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, Vol. 157, 270–276.
- MacMullen, R.** 1984, The Legion as a Society, *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*, Vol. 33(4), 440–456.
- Mardešić, J.** 2019, Stanje istražnosti sjeverne nekropole Salone / Current state of research at Salona's northern necropolis, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Vol. 112, 127–150.
- Maršić, D.** 2007, Nadgrobni spomenici Burnuma (pregled), in: *Krka: Prirodna i kulturna baština, zaštita i održivi razvitak*, Zbornik Radova sa simpozija 'Rijeka Krka i nacionalni park', Marguš D. (ed.), Javna ustanova Nacionalni park Krka, Šibenik, 203–228.

- Maršić, D.** 2010, Izgubljeni salonitanski spomenici (II.) / Portretne stele vojnika VII. legije C.p.f. Gaja Lukrecija i Lucija Cezija Basa / Lost Monuments of Salona (II): Portrait Stelae of Two Soldiers of Legio VII C.p.f., Gaius Lucretius and Lucius Caesius Bassus, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Vol. 103, 63–80.
- Maršić, D.** 2014, Ikonografija stele rimskoga centuriona iz Arheološkog muzeja Zadar / Iconography of a stela of a Roman centurion from the Archaeological Museum of Zadar, *Archaeologia Adriatica*, Vol. VIII, 27–49.
- Matijević, I.** 2015, Rimski vojnici i njihovi oslobođenici na natpisima iz Salone iz doba principata / Roman soldiers and their freedmen in the Principate-era inscriptions from Salona, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Vol. 108, 131–156.
- Matijević, I.** 2017, Neobjavljena stela veterana legije Sedma Claudia pia fidelis iz Sikula / An Unpublished Stela of a Veteran of Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis from Siculi, *Miscellanea Hadriatica et Mediterranea*, Vol. 3, 125–138. <https://doi.org/10.15291/misc.1354>
- Matijević, I.** 2019, Životni suputnici rimskih vojnika na salonitanskim nadgrobnim natpisima iz doba principata, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, Vol. 51(2), 61–116. <https://doi.org/10.17234/RadoviZHP.51.16>
- Maxfield, V. A.** 1981, *The Military Decorations of the Roman Army*, B. T. Batsford Ltd, London.
- McLaughlin, J. J.** 2015, *The Transformation of the Roman Auxiliary Soldier in Thought and Practice*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (MI).
- Medini, J.** 1984, Spomenici s Atisovim likom na području Sinjske krajine, in: *Cetinska krajina od prehistorije do dolaska Turaka*, Znanstveni skup, Sinj, 3–6. VI 1980., Rapanić Ž. (ed.), Izdanja Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 8, Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, Split, 107–26.
- Meyer, E. A.** 2012, Epigraphy and Communication, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, Peachin M. (ed.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 191–226. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195188004.013.0009>
- Migotti, B.** 2017, *Saxa Loquuntur. Roman Epitaphs from North-Western Croatia / Rimski epitafi iz sjeverozapadne Hrvatske*, Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Oxford.
- Mihajlović, V. D.** 2012, Rimaska spomeničko-epigrafska praksa: Antropološki pristup / Roman Monumental Epigraphic Practice: An Anthropological Approach, *Istraživanja: Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. 23, 33–50. <https://doi.org/10.19090/i.2012.23.33-50>
- Mihajlović, V. D.** 2020, Roman Epigraphic Funerary Markers, Ontological Transition, and Relational Work-Nets, in: *Beyond the Romans. Posthuman Perspectives in Roman Archaeology*, Selsvold I., Webb L. (eds.), Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (TRAC) Themes in Roman Archaeology 3, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 25–40.
- Mihajlović, V. D.** 2023, Hegemony and "relational associations" in the Roman Empire, in: *Archaeological Theory at the Edge(s)*, Babić S., Milosavljević S. (eds.), Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Beograd, 89–114.
- Miletić, I, Pavlić, A., Šćukanec Rezniček, P., Vilogorac-Brčić, I.** 2014, Tužni Istočnjak na rimskim nadgrobnim spomenicima s hrvatskoga povijesnog prostora / The mourning Oriental on Roman funerary monuments from Croatia, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, Vol. 46, 129–44. <https://doi.org/10.17234/RadoviZHP.46.20>
- Miletić, Ž.** 1990, Sjeverna salonitanska nekropola / (Northern Salona necropolis), *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, Vol. 29(16), 163–194.
- Miletić, Ž.** 1992, Istočna i jugoistočna nekropola Salone / (Eastern and South-eastern necropolis in Salona), *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio povijesnih znanosti*, Vol. 30(17), 21–50. <https://doi.org/10.15291/radovipov.2167>
- Miletić, Ž.** 2010, Burnum – vojničko središte provincije Dalmacije / Burnum – A military centre in the province of Dalmatia, in *Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj / Finds of Roman Military Equipment in Croatia*, Radman-Livaja I. (ed.), Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 113–176.
- Miletić, Ž.** 2013, Stele iz radionica VII. legije u Tilurijumu i Viminaciju / Stelae from the workshops of the 7th legion from Tilurium and Viminacium, in: *Sepulkralna skulptura zapadnog Ilirika i susjednih oblasti u doba rimskog carstva / Funerary sculpture of Western Illyricum and neighbouring regions of the Roman Empire*, Proceedings of the International Scholarly Conference, Split, 27<sup>th</sup>–30<sup>th</sup> September 2009, Cambi N., Koch G. (eds.), Književni krug, Split, 419–442.
- Miletić, Ž.** 2015, Identification of Oriental Figures Depicted on Military Stelae from a Tilurium Workshop, in: *Romanising Oriental Gods? Religious transformations in the Balkan provinces in the Roman Period. New finds and novel perspectives*, Proceedings of the International Symposium, Skopje, 18–21 September 2013, Nikoloska A., Müskens S. (eds.), Macedonian Academy of Sciences and Arts, University of Leiden, Skopje, 357–370.
- Milošević, A.** 2009, Pons Tiluri, *Histria Antiqua*, Vol. 17, 169–182.
- Mitchell, S.** 1976, Legio VII and the Garrison of Augustan Galatia, *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 26(2), 298–308. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0009838800033188>
- Montoya González, R.** 2020, Becoming glocal! Globalisation, the victorious charioteer from the villa of El Pomar (Hispania Baetica) and the emergence of a regional visual koiné in 4th-century Augusta Emerita (Lusitania), in: *A Globalised Visual Culture?: Towards a Geography of Late Antique Art*, Guidetti F., Meinecke F. (eds.), Oxbow Books, Oxford, 29–46.
- Morabito, S.** 2015, *Signa et tituli dans les Alpes maritimes: l'exemple des stèles funéraires en forme de porte*, in: *Signa et tituli. Monuments et espaces de représentation en Gaule méridionale sous le regard croisé de la sculpture et de l'épigraphie*, Agusta-Boularot S., Rosso E. (eds.), Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine (BiAMA) 18, Publications du Centre Camille Jullian, Aix-en-Provence, 113–121. <https://doi.org/10.4000/books.pccj.2288>
- Novaković, P.** 2011, Archaeology in the New Countries of Southeastern Europe: A Historical Perspective, in: *Comparative Archaeologies. A Sociological View of the Science of the Past*, Lozny L. R. (ed.), Springer, New York, 339–461. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-8225-4\\_12](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4419-8225-4_12)
- Parat, J.** 2016, Reconsidering the traces of Scribonianus' rebellion, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, Vol. 48, 191–212. <https://doi.org/10.17234/radovizhp.48.9>

- Pašalić, E.** 1956, *Quaestiones de bello Dalmatico Panonique* (a. 6-9 n. ae.), *Godišnjak društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, Vol. VIII, 245–300.
- Pearce, J.** 2017, Introduction: Death as a process in Roman funerary archaeology, in: *Death as a Process. The Archaeology of the Roman Funeral*, Pearce J, Weekes J. (eds.), *Studies in Funerary Archaeology* 11, Oxbow Books, Oxford, 1–26.
- Pearce J., Weekes J.** (eds.) 2017, *Death as a Process. The Archaeology of the Roman Funeral*, Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Pegler, A.** 2000, Social Organisations within the Roman Army, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, Vol. 1999, 37–43. [https://doi.org/10.16995/trac1999\\_37\\_43](https://doi.org/10.16995/trac1999_37_43)
- Pelcer-Vujačić, O.** 2018, From East to West Recruitment of Soldiers from Asia Minor in *Legio VII Claudia* and *Legio XI Claudia*, in: *The Century of the Brave. Roman Conquest and Indigenous Resistance in Illyricum during the Time of Augustus and His Heirs*, Proceedings of the International Conference, Zagreb, 22-26.9.2014., Miličević Bradač M., Demicheli D. (eds.), FF Press, Zagreb, 157–162.
- Phang, S. E.** 2001, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C. - A.D. 235). Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, Brill, Leiden – Boston.
- Phang, S. E.** 2002, The Families of Roman Soldiers (First and Second Centuries A.D.): Culture, Law, and Practice, *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 27(4), 352–373. <https://doi.org/10.1177/036319902236623>
- Pilhofer, P.** 2000, *Philippi. II: Katalog der Inschriften von Philippi*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 119, Mohr Siebeck GmbH, Tübingen.
- Radman-Livaja, I.** (ed.) 2010, *Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj / Finds of the Roman Military Equipment in Croatia*, Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb.
- Radman-Livaja, I.** 2022, The Roman Army in Dalmatia. An Updated Overview, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité*, Vol. 134(1), 31–60. <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefra.12715>
- Radulova, L.** 2022, Legal Protection Granted to Soldiers' Partners in the Military Diplomas, *Právně-historické Studie*, Vol. 52(2), 11–23. <https://doi.org/10.14712/2464689X.2022.16>
- Rendić-Miočević, D.** 1987, *Carmina Epigraphica*, Književni krug, Split.
- Richmond, I. A.** 1935, Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. 13, 1–40.
- Rinaldi Tufi, S.** 1971, *Stele funerarie con ritratti di età romana nel Museo Archaeologico di Spalato. Saggio di una tipologia strutturale*, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Roma.
- Ritterling, E.** 1925, Legio. Verteilung und kriegerische Betätigung der Legionen des stehenden Heeres von Augustus bis Diocletian (Fortsetzung), in: *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (RE) XII(2), Pauly A. F., Wissowa G., Kroll W. (eds.), J. B. Metzler, Stuttgart, column 1329–1829.
- Saller, R. P., Shaw, B. D.** 1984, Tombstones and Roman Family Relations in the Principate: Civilians, Soldiers and Slaves, *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 74, 124–156. <https://doi.org/10.2307/299012>
- Sanader, M.** 2000, Kasnocarska grobnica iz vojnića, *Opuscula archaeologica*, Vol. 23–24 (1999–2000), 225–236.
- Sanader, M.** 2003, *Tilurium I: Istraživanja, 1997. – 2001. / Tilurium I: Forschungen, 1997 – 2001*, Golden marketing–Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb.
- Sanader, M.** 2006, The Roman Legionary Fortress at Tilurium – State of Research, in: *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province 1970-2001. Papers in Honour of J. J. Wilkes*, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1576, Davison D., Gaffney V., Marin E. (eds.), Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Oxford, 59–66.
- Sanader, M., Tončinić, D.** 2010, Gardun – antički Tilurium / Gardun – the Ancient Tilurium, in: *Nalazi rimske vojne opreme u Hrvatskoj / Finds of Roman Military Equipment in Croatia*, Radman-Livaja I. (ed.), Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 33–111.
- Sanader, M., Miličević Bradač, M., Demicheli, D.** 2013, Project Tilurium – a “Poet” in the Military Camp at Tilurium, in: *Rimska vojna oprema u pogrebnom kontekstu / Weapons and Military Equipment in a Funerary Context / Militaria als Grabbeilage*, Radovi, Proceedings, Akten, XVII<sup>th</sup> Roman Military Equipment Conference, Zagreb, 24. – 27. 05. 2010., Sanader M., Rendić-Miočević A., Tončinić, D., Radman-Livaja I. (eds.), Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb, 483–491.
- Sanader, M., Tončinić, D., Buljević, Z., Ivčević, S., Šeparović, T.** 2014, *Tilurium III. Istraživanja 2002. – 2006. godine*, Dissertationes et Monographiae 6, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb.
- Sanader, M., Tončinić, D., Šimić-Kanaet, Z., Buljević, Z., Ivčević, S.** 2021, *Tilurium V. Arheološka istraživanja 2010. – 2018. godine*, Dissertationes et Monographiae 10, FF Press, Zagreb.
- Sanader, M., Tončinić, D., Šimić Kanaet, Z., Ivčević, S., Buljević, Z., Šeparović, T., Miloglav, I.** 2017, *Tilurium IV. Arheološka istraživanja 2007.–2010. godine*, Dissertationes et Monographiae 8, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zagreb.
- Scott, S., Webster, J.** (eds.) 2003, *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Schleiermacher, M.** 1984, *Römische Reitergrabsteine. Die kaiserzeitlichen Reliefs des triumphierenden Reiters*, Bouvier, Bonn.
- Schönauer, S.** 2001, Odjeća, obuća i nakit u antičkoj Dalmaciji na spomenicima iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Vol. 93, 223–515.
- Selsvold, I., Webb, L.** (eds.) 2020, *Beyond the Romans. Posthuman Perspectives in Roman Archaeology*, Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (TRAC) Themes in Roman Archaeology 3, Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Speidel, M. A.** 2012, Dressed for the occasion. Clothes and context in the Roman army, in: *Wearing the Cloak. Dressing the Soldier in Roman Times*, Nosch M.-L. (ed.), Oxbow Books, Oxford, 1–12.
- Speidel, M. A.** 2014, The Roman Army, in: *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Brunn C., Edmondson J. (eds.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 319–344. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195336467.013.016>

- Stewart, P.** 2008, *The Social History of Roman Art*, Key Themes in Ancient History, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Stoll, O.** 2006, Legionäre, Frauen, Militärfamilien. Untersuchungen zur Bevölkerungsstruktur und Bevölkerungsentwicklung in den Grenzprovinzen des Imperium Romanum, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, Vol. 53(1), 217–344. <https://doi.org/10.11588/jrgzm.2006.1.18497>
- Strobel, K.** 2000, Zur Geschichte der *Legiones V (Macedonica)* und *VII (Claudia Pia Fidelis)* in der Frühen Kaiserzeit und zur Stellung der Provinz *Galatia* in der augusteischen Heeresgeschichte, in: *Les Légions de Rome Sous Le Haut-Empire*, Actes du Congrès de Lyon, 17-19 septembre 1998, Le Bohec Y. (ed.), Diffusion De Boccard, Lyon, 515–528.
- Šačić Beća, A.** 2022, The Issue of Origin and Division of the Province of Illyricum, *Arheološki radovi i rasprave*, Vol. 21, 87–110. <https://doi.org/10.21857/yk3jwhnznx9>
- Šašel Kos, M.** 2005, *Appian and Illyricum*, Situla 43, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana.
- Šašel Kos, M.** 2010a, The early urbanization of Noricum and Pannonia, in: *Roma e le province del Danubio*, Atti del I Convegno Internazionale, Ferrara - Cento, 15-17 Ottobre 2009, Zerbini L. (ed.), Rubbettino Editore, Soveria Mannelli, 209–230.
- Šašel Kos, M.** 2010b, Pannonia or Lower Illyricum?, *TYCHE: Contributions to Ancient History, Papyrology and Epigraphy*, Vol. 25, 123–130. <https://doi.org/10.15661/tyche.2010.025.00>
- Šašel Kos, M.** 2011, The Roman conquest of Dalmatia and Pannonia under Augustus – some of the latest research results, in: *Fines imperii – imperium sine fine?*, Römische Okkupations- und Grenzpolitik im frühen Principat, Beiträge zum Kongress ‚Fines imperii – imperium sine fine?‘, Osnabrück, vom 14. bis 18. September 2009, Moosbauer G., Wiegels R. (eds.), Osnabrücker Forschungen zu Altertum und Antike-Rezeption 14, Verlag Marie Leidorf GmbH, Rahden/Westfalen, 107–117.
- Šašel Kos, M.** 2015, The final phase of the Augustan conquest of Illyricum, *Antichità Altoadriatiche*, Vol. LXXXI, 65–87.
- Šašel Kos, M.** 2022, The creation of the province of Dalmatia in light of the recent research, *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité*, Vol. 134(1), 61–70. <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefra.12763>
- Šimić-Kanaet, Z.** 2010, *Tilurium II. Keramika 1997. – 2006*, 2 vols., Dissertationes et Monographiae 5, Golden marketing–Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb.
- Šimić-Kanaet, Z., Matijević, V.** 2021, Ne samo ukras nego i symbol. Razmišljanja o nalazima keramičkih utega u Tiluriju / Not just a decoration but also a symbol. Reflections on the findings of ceramic weights in Tilurium, *Diadora: glasilo Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru*, Vol. 35, 107–128.
- Tončinić, D.** 2005, Eine Unveröffentlichte Grabstele Aus Tilurium, in: *Religija i mit kao poticaj rimske provincijalne plastike / Religion and Myth as an Impetus for the Roman Provincial Sculpture*, The Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> International Colloquium on Problems of Roman Provincial Art, Zagreb, 5.–8. V. 2003., Sanader M., Rendić Miočević A. (eds.), Golden marketing–Tehnička knjiga, Zagreb, 281–286.
- Tončinić, D.** 2007, Werkzeugdarstellungen auf einer Grabstele aus Tilurium, in: *Die Selbstdarstellung der römischen Gesellschaft in den Provinzen im Spiegel der Steindenkmäler*, Akten des IX. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des Provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffens, Innsbruck, 25–28 Mai 2005, Walde E., Kainrath B. (eds.), Innsbrucker klassisch-archäologische Universitäts-schriften (IKARUS) 2, Innsbruck University Press, Innsbruck, 259–264.
- Tončinić, D.** 2011, *Spomenici VII. legije na području rimske provincije Dalmacije / Monuments of Legio VII in the Roman Province of Dalmatia*, Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Split.
- Tončinić, D.** 2022, *Gaii Lucretii ex legionis VII Claudia pia fidelis* i pitanje obiteljskih odnosa na stelama VII. legije u Saloni / *The Gaii Lucretii ex Legionis VII Claudia Pia Fidelis* and the Issue of Family Relations on Stelae of Legio VII in Salona, in: *Salona od 119. godine prije Krista do kasne antike*, Zbornik radova s Međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa, Split, 23. i 24. rujna 2019., Cambi N., Matijević I. (eds.), Književni krug, Split, 365–388.
- Van Oyen, A.** 2016, Networks or Work-nets? Actor-Network Theory and Multiple Social Topologies in the Production of Roman *Terra Sigillata*, in: *The Connected Past: Challenges to Network Studies in Archaeology and History*, Brughmans T., Collar A., Coward F. (eds.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 35–56. <https://doi.org/10.1093/9780198748519.003.0008>
- Vukov, M.** 2020, Roman amphorae from Tilurium, in: *Studia honoraria archaeologica. Zbornik radova u prigodi 65. rođendana prof. dr. sc. Mirjane Sanader*, Tončinić D., Kaić I., Matijević V., Vukov M. (eds.), Dissertationes et Monographiae 9, FF Press, Zagreb, 521–528.
- Walas, A. H.** 2015, An Integrated Cognitive and Epigraphic Approach to Social Networks within the Community of a Roman Military Base, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal*, Vol. 2014, 17–30. [https://doi.org/10.16995/TRAC2014\\_17\\_30](https://doi.org/10.16995/TRAC2014_17_30)
- Walsh, D.** 2020, Military Communities and Temple Patronage: A Case Study of Britain and Pannonia, *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 124(2), 275–299. <https://doi.org/10.3764/aja.124.2.0275>
- Wilkes, J. J.** 1969, *Dalmatia*, Routledge, London.
- Wilkes, J. J.** 1999, The Roman Army as a Community in the Danube Lands: The Case of the Seventh Legion, in: *The Roman Army as a Community*, Goldsworthy A. Haynes I. (eds.), Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 34, Portsmouth, Rhode Island, 95–104.
- Wilkes, J. J.** 2000a, Army and Society in Roman Dalmatia, in: *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, Alföldy G., Dobson B., Eck W. (eds.), Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 327–342.
- Wilkes, J. J.** 2000b, Roman Legions and Their Fortresses in the Danube Lands (First to Third Centuries AD), in: *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions*, Brewer R. J. (ed.), The Society of Antiquaries of London, London, 101–17.
- Woolf, G.** 1996, Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire, *Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 86, 22–39. <https://doi.org/10.2307/300421>