

BILJEŠKE UZ NARONITANSKI SPOMENIK CIL 3 8438

NOTES ON NARONA MONUMENT CIL 3, 8438

U radu se raspravlja o znamenitom, ali nažalost izgubljenom naronitanskom nadgrobnom spomeniku CIL 3, 8438 s *dona militaria* i centurionskim insignijama na čeonj strani. Ukazuje se na zanimljivi način na koji je izgubljen, tipološku pripadnost spomenika, jedan neprimijećeni element ikonografije (*vitis*), a na kraju se predlaže i datiranje. Uputno se osvrće i na složenu problematiku postrojbe u kojoj je pokojnik služio u trenutku smrti, tj. pitanje jesu li kohorta *Camp.* bez ili s rednim brojem I jedna ili dvije postrojbe.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: *Narona*, *centurion*, *ara*, 13. legija, *Prva kohorta Campana / Campanorum*

UVOD

Godine 1877. u Naroni je otkriven nadgrobni spomenik nepoznatog centuriona (CIL 3, 8438 = ILS 2597 = HD/Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg 060635 = EDCS/Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss-Slaby 31500392) s većim dijelom natpisa i nadasve zanimljivim prikazima na čeonj strani (*dona militaria*).¹ Zbog vrijedne dekoracije sljedeće je godine upućen brodom prema Splitu, no na odredište nije nikada stigao; za transporta i oluje koja se podigla završio je u moru. Autori prvog dijela suplementa CIL-a iz 1902. god. naveli su u komentaru kako se to prema don F. Buliću dogodilo tijekom brodoloma.² Samo par godina kasnije o stradalom primjerku u knjizi o rimskim vojničkim spomenicima Podunavlja prvi i zadnji put opširnije je pisao H. Hofmann, koji je donio i fotografiju otiska očito uzetog prije tragičnog do-

This paper discusses the notable, but unfortunately lost Naronitan tombstone CIL 3, 8438 with *dona militaria* and centurion insignia on the front side. It describes the interesting way in which the tombstone was lost, as well as its typological classification, pointing out an iconographic element that has remained unnoticed (a *vitis*), and finally proposing a dating for it. At the same time, it touches upon the complex subject matter of the unit in which the deceased served at the time of his death, i.e. the question of whether the *Camp.* cohort without or with the ordinal number I was a single unit or two units.

KEYWORDS: *Narona*, *centurion*, *ara*, 13th Legion, *First Cohort Campana/Campanorum*

INTRODUCTION

In 1877 in Narona, a sepulchral monument to an unknown centurion (CIL 3, 8438 = ILS 2597 = HD 060635 = EDCS 31500392) was uncovered with a large preserved part of an inscription and highly interesting depictions on the front side (*dona militaria*).¹ Due to this important decoration, the following year it was sent by ship to Split but never reached its destination. During its voyage, there was a storm, and it ended up in the sea. The authors of the first part of the CIL supplement of 1902 stated that, according to Don F. Bulić, this happened as the result of a shipwreck.² Only a few years later, in his book on Roman military monuments in the Danube region, H. Hofmann for the first and only time wrote more extensively about the missing monument. He also published a photograph of an impress of it, which was obviously taken before the unfortunate event

1 M. GLAVINIĆ, 1878a, 12, br. 1 (cippo colossale).

2 CIL 3, 8438: „*Naufragio a. 1878 periisse eum auctor mihi est Bulić*“. Podatak o brodolomu spominje i C. PATSCH, 1896, 16, bilj. 3.

1 M. GLAVINIĆ, 1878a, 12, No. 1 (*cippo colossale*).

2 CIL 3, 8438; „*Naufragio a. 1878 periisse eum auctor mihi est Bulić*“. The information about the shipwreck is mentioned also by C. PATSCH, 1896, 16, note 3.



SL. 1. / FIG. 1.

Otisak pročelja naronitanskog spomenika CIL 3, 8438 (prema H. HOFMANN, 1905, 22, sl. 13).

Imprint of the front side of the Naronite monument CIL 3, 8438 (based on H. HOFMANN, 1905, 22, Fig. 13).

gađaja (Sl. 1).³ U primjerku Hofmannove knjige, koji se čuva u knjižnici Arheološkog muzeju u Splitu, don F. Bulić rukom je uz bilješku 67 napisao kratku crticu o nesretnoj mu sudbini. Iz nje međutim proizlazi da je spomenik bačen u more (!), a o sudbini broda koji ga je prevozio ne govori se ništa.⁴ Činjenica da je najvrjedniji trag o izgled-

(Fig. 1).³ In the edition of Hofmann's book kept in the library of the Archaeological Museum in Split, next to note 67, Don F. Bulić wrote a short line about its unhappy fate. However, this suggests that the monument was thrown into the sea! There is no mention of the fate of the ship transporting it.⁴ The fact that the most important evidence regarding the appearance of

3 H. HOFMANN, 1905, 21 i d., br. i sl. 13.

4 „*In traiectu maris Narona Spalatum, instante procella, a. 1878 in mare deiectus, miserrime periit. Bulić*“ (u slobodnijem prijevodu: „Za prijevoza morem iz Narone u Split, tijekom oluje, godine 1878. bio je bačen u more i jedno propade“).

3 H. HOFMANN, 1905, 21 ff., No. and Fig. 13.

4 „*In traiectu maris Narona Spalatum, instante procella, a. 1878 in mare deiectus, miserrime periit. Bulić*“ (a free translation into English would read: “During its transportation by sea from Naronite to Split in the year 1878, a storm arose and it was tossed into the sea and sadly disappeared.”).

du spomenika publiciran davne 1905. godine, i to u studiji na njemačkom jeziku, razlog je zašto je priča o ovom zanimljivom naronitanskom komadu poznata tek manjem broju stručnjaka, pa sam odavno donio odluku napisati o tome par redaka. To ovom prigodom činim u čast pokojnog kolege dr. Zdenka Brusića. Namjera mi je ovim prilogom ukazati na mjesto i vjerojatan kontekst otkrića, jedan neprimijećeni element ikonografije, tipološku pripadnost spomenika, kao i pokušati argumentirano potkrijepiti dataciju koju ću na kraju predložiti. U raspravu o postrojbama spomenutima na natpisu ući ću samo u onoj mjeri koja je potrebna za problematiku datacije, ali bez ekstenzivne rasprave o pojedinim pitanjima jer bi ona implicirala uvođenje obimnoga znanstvenog aparata.

MJESTO I KONTEKST NALAZA

U prvoj objavi u splitskom Bulletinu iz 1877. M. Glavinić – voditelj istraživanja – naveo je samo uopćene podatke o nalazu, obećavši da će podrobnije izvješće dati u dogledno vrijeme. Nažalost, zbog njegova skorašnjeg odlaska iz Splita to se nije dogodilo. Iz teksta doznajemo tek to da se otkriće dogodilo za arheološke „ekskurzije“ u lipnju i srpnju 1877. god. te da je naš spomenik – čiji opis zbog važnosti donosi na prvome mjestu – otkriven u skupini s još jedanaest drugih.⁵ Iz inventarne knjige natpisa Arheološkoga muzeja u Splitu (A), gdje su ti natpisi inventirani od strane don F. Bulića, i kasnijih napisa istoga autora teško bismo doznali o kojemu je mjestu zapravo riječ, ali iščitavajući radove C. Patscha – autora koji se početkom 20. st. najviše bavio Naronom – to je pitanje lako razriješiti. Naime, opisujući sjeverne zidine Narone i svoja istraživanja južno od ceste prema Prudu, C. Patsch u znamenitoj *Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Narona* jasno pokazuje da se naziv „Grad“ u to vrijeme koristio za Naronu u cjelini unutar pojasa zidina, dok je dio izvan sjevernih zidina uz cestu prema Prudu nazvan „strana iza Grada“. Još je važnije da je Patsch nakon opisa rezultata svojih istraživanja na prostoru te naronitanske nekropole i pretpostavke o postojanju jarka ispred krajnjega sjeveroistočnog trakta zidina eksplicitno locirao mjesto iskapanja iz 1877., ka-

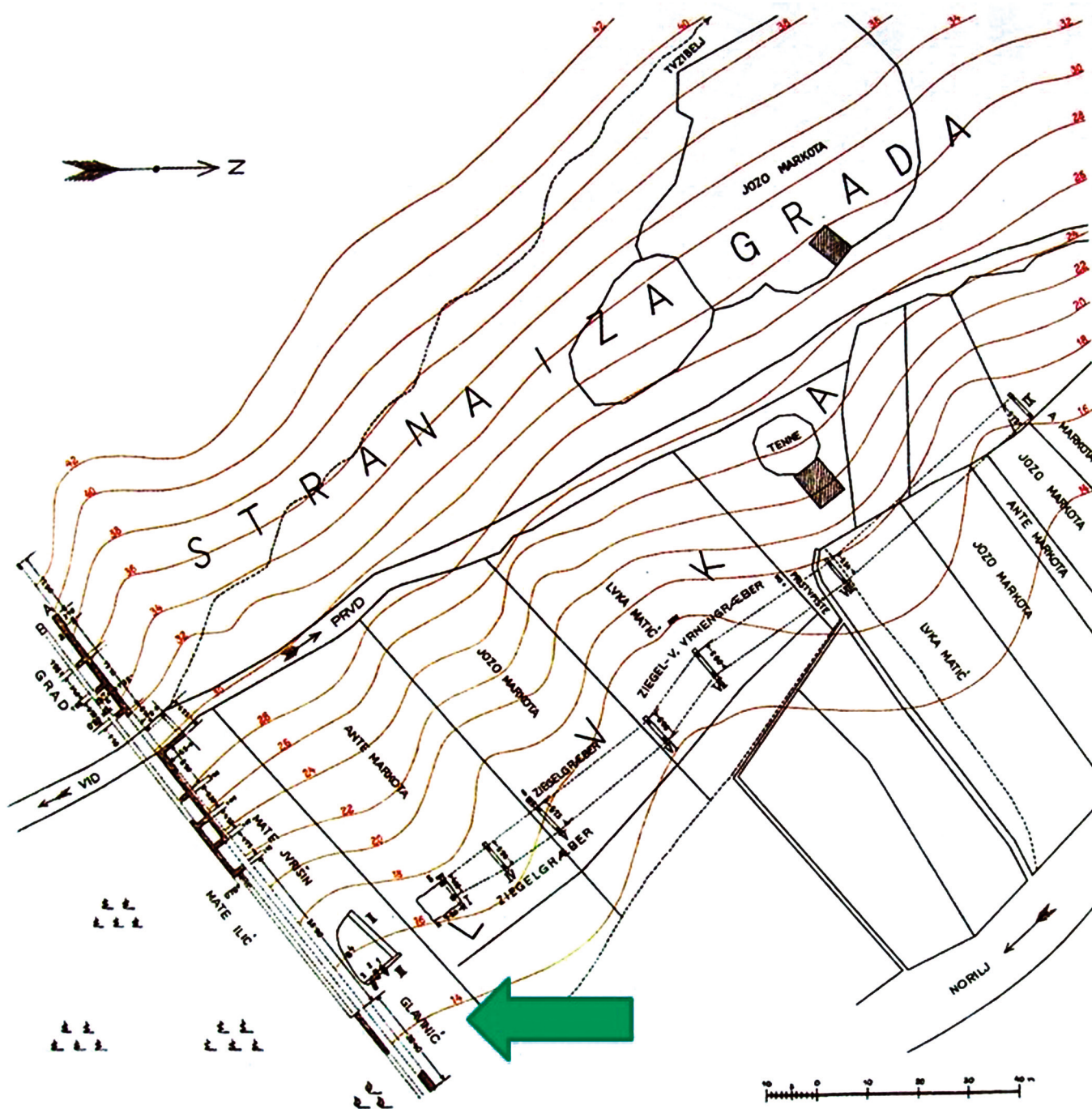
the monument was published as far back as 1905, and this in a study written in German, is why the story of this interesting Naronitan piece has been known to only a small number of experts. Therefore, I decided long ago to write a few lines about it. I am doing so on this occasion in honour of our late colleague Zdenko Brusić. It is my intention to suggest the location and probable context of the discovery, as well as to point out an unnoticed iconographic element and the typological classification of the monument, and to attempt to establish a dating, which I will propose at the end. I shall discuss the units mentioned on the inscription only to the extent necessary for the purpose of dating, but without going into an extensive discussion of particular issues, as this would necessitate introducing an extensive scholarly apparatus.

SITE AND CONTEXT OF THE FIND

In its initial publication in the Split Bulletin of 1877, M. Glavinić (the excavation campaign leader) provided only general data concerning the find, promising to give a more detailed account in the near future. Unfortunately, due to him leaving Split soon afterwards, this never happened. The text reveals only that the unearthing happened during an archaeological “excursion” in June and July 1877, and that the monument, which (due to its significance) he describes first, was uncovered in a group with eleven other finds.⁵ From the inventory made by Don F. Bulić of inscriptions preserved at the Archaeological Museum in Split (A) and from later writings by the same author, it is difficult to make out which location is actually referred to, but by reading the papers of C. Patsch, the author who at the beginning of the 20th century worked on Narona the most, the question can be easily resolved. In his account of Narona’s northern walls and his campaign south of the road towards Prud in his notable work *Zur Geschichte und Topographie von Narona*, C. Patsch clearly demonstrates that the name *Grad* (“town”) at that time was used for the part of Narona that was located within the walls, while the part outside the northern walls along the road to Prud used to be called *strana iza Grada* (“the side behind the Town”). It is even more significant that after providing an account of the results of his campaign in the area of the Narona

5 Usp. bilj. 1. Praktički isto Glavinićevo priopćenje objavljeno je i na njemačkom jeziku u časopisu *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen*: M. GLAVINIĆ, 1878b, 89 i d.

5 Compare note 1. Glavinić’s announcement, which was practically the same, was also published in German in the magazine *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mitteilungen*: M. GLAVINIĆ, 1878b, 89 ff.



Sl. 2. / FIG. 2.

Mjesto nalaza spomenika (prema C. PATSCH, 1907, tab. II).

Find site of the monument (based on to C. PATSCH, 1907, Pl. II).

zavši da se ono nalazi istočnije od njegova i označivši ga Glavinićevim imenom (Sl. 2).⁶ Studiozan kakav je bio, Patsch je pokušao otići i korak dalje te odgovoriti na pitanje „jesu li to bili kameni nadgrobnici ili samo planirani građevni materijal za gradnju groba“. Po njegovu sudu, dobra očuvanost svih spomenika i slični nalazi istočnije pri-

necropolis and his assumption of the existence of a ditch in front of the north-easternmost tract of the walls, Patsch explicitly located the site of the excavation of 1877 as being east of his site, and named it after Glavinić (Fig. 2).⁶ As Patsch was meticulous in his studies, he attempted to go a step further and answer the question of whether these were tombstones

6 C. PATSCH, 1907, 18 i d., osob. 20 i d., taf. II (= 1996, 27 i d., osob. 29 i d., tab. II).

6 C. PATSCH, 1907, 18 ff., particularly 20 ff., Taf. II (= 1996, 27 ff., particularly 29 ff., Tab. II).

je ukazuju da su otkriveni „na svojim prvobitnim mjestima“, negoli kao ispuna obrambenog jarka ili građevni materijal druge namjene.⁷

Ono što po mome sudu upada u oči po tom pitanju jest činjenica da su među jedanaest ostalih otkrivenih spomenika čak četiri četvrtastog tijela, tj. velike nadgrobne are CIL 3, 8448, 8449, 8462 i 8464. Primjeri i praksa iz drugih gradova rimske Dalmacije, primjerice Salone, Jadera i Aserije, zorno pokazuju kako su upravo are najčešće uzimane sa svojih položaja na nekropolama i iznova ugrađivane u razne kasnoantičke, pretežito obrambene strukture. Na primjer, gotovo sve nadgrobne are i ugaoni cipusi s obližnjih grobnih areala zapadne salonitanske nekropole otkriveni su uzidani u zapadnom zidu Salone i nekim od tamošnjih kasnoantičkih kula, dio kojih je kasnije razgrađen tijekom procesa izgradnje željezničke stanice u Saloni krajem 19. st.⁸ Slična je situacija i u Jaderu ili npr. Aseriji, gdje su sve are također otkrivene u sekundarnom kontekstu.⁹ Stoga se moramo zapitati je li moguće očekivati otkriće jedne takve netaknute skupine spomenika u Naroni, i to na relativno osjetljivom obrambenom položaju tik poviše rijeke Norina (Sl. 2). Odgovor je, naravno, potvrđan, ali samo zamislimo li specifične okolnosti, npr. plavljenje rijeke, podlokavanje obale i nasipavanje predmetnog prostora, tj. pokušaj formiranja operativne obale. Međutim, čak i u tom slučaju veća je vjerojatnost da je materijal uzet sa svoga prvotnog mjesta (u blizini) i naprosto recikliran, negoli da je prekriven nasipom zemlje koji ga je očuvao netaknutim. Da Glavinić ni uz najbolju volju (u to vrijeme) nije mogao utvrditi izvoran kontekst ko-

or just building material intended for grave construction. In his opinion, the fact that all the monuments and similar finds uncovered further east were well preserved suggests that they were unearthed in their original positions and were not filling for a defensive ditch or construction material for other purposes.⁷

In my opinion, it is significant that of the other eleven unearthed monuments, as many as four have a rectangular shape and are large *arae*: CIL 3, 8448, 8449, 8462 and 8464. Examples and practice from other towns in Roman Dalmatia, for example Salona, Iader and Asseria, clearly illustrate that *arae* were the most frequently taken necropolis items that were rebuilt into various Late Antiquity, predominantly defensive, structures. For example, almost all the *arae* and rectangular *cippi* from the nearby grave areals of the western Salonitan necropolis were discovered built into Salona's western wall and some of its Late Antiquity towers. Part of the towers later disintegrated in the course of the construction of the railway station in Salona near the end of the 19th century.⁸ The situation is similar in Iader or, for example, in Asseria, where all the *arae* were also uncovered in a secondary context.⁹ Therefore, we should ask ourselves whether it is possible to expect the discovery of such an intact group of monuments in Naroni, and this in a relatively sensitive defensive location right above the River Norina (Fig. 2). Of course, the answer is affirmative, but only if we imagine specific circumstances, for example diversion of the river, construction of an embankment, and the inundation of the said area, i.e. in an attempt to create a quay. However, even in that case it is more probable that the material was taken from its original (nearby) position and simply reused than it being

7 C. PATSCH, 1907, 20 (= 1996, 30).

8 Pregledno: S. PIPLOVIĆ, 2005, 1 i d., gdje se donosi i brojna starija lit. Jedan od svakako najčuvenijih primjera slučaj je s golemom arom Pomponije Vere, danas izloženom u vrtu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Još godine 1901. trinaest njezinih dijelova bilo je raspršeno na pedesetak metara dugačkom potezu zapadnoga perimetralnog zida Salone, otprilike između stare ceste za Trogir i novoizgrađene željezničke stanice: F. BULIĆ, 1903, 5 i d. U dvjema kulama na istom potezu vidjeli su se još za njihova postojanja ugrađeni spomenici: M. GLAVINIĆ, 1878c, 129 i d.; M. GLAVINIĆ, 1880, 34 i d. Vjerujući da se u masi njihovih zidova krije još mnogo drugih spomenika, ali i zbog potreba gradnje pruge Split – Knin i solinske željezničke stanice, na prijedlog M. Glavinića mjerodavni organi u Beču donijeli su odluku da se prva, tj. manja kula do trogirске ceste ukloni te da se spomenici izvade i pohrane u splitskom Muzeju. Prema Glavinićevu svjedočanstvu, iz kule je izvađena velika nadgrobna kamena vaza i ukupno čak 18 natpisa, od toga najmanje pet ara: M. GLAVINIĆ, 1881, 19 i d., br. 5, 6, 34 i d., br. 10, 11 i 12, 49 i d., br. 14 i 15.

9 Aserija: I. FADIĆ, 2003, 13 i d., sl. 11; Jader: D. MARŠIĆ, 2013, 390 i d.

7 C. PATSCH, 1907, 20 (= 1996, 30).

8 For an overview, see S. PIPLOVIĆ, 2005, 1 ff., where extensive older literature is also mentioned. Certainly one of the most prominent examples is the huge *ara* to Pomponia Vera, currently exhibited in the gardens of the Archaeological Museum in Split. Back in 1901, thirteen of its parts were dispersed along a fifty-metre stretch of Salona's western perimeter wall, approximately between the old road to Trogir and the newly built railway station: F. BULIĆ, 1903, 5 ff. In two towers in the same area, monuments were visible that had been built into them at the time of their erection: M. GLAVINIĆ, 1878c, 129 ff.; M. GLAVINIĆ, 1880, 34 and d. Believing that its walls contained many other monuments, but also because of the construction of the Split-Knin railway line and Solin railway station, at the suggestion of M. Glavinić, the authorities in Vienna passed a decision ordering the smaller tower by the Trogir road to be dismantled and that its monuments be removed and housed in Split Museum. According to Glavinić's testimony, a large sepulchral stone vase and as many as 18 inscriptions were recovered from the tower, of which at least five were *arae*: M. GLAVINIĆ, 1881, 19 ff., Nos. 5, 6, 34 ff., Nos. 10, 11 and 12, 49 ff., Nos. 14 and 15.

9 Asseria: I. FADIĆ, 2003, 13 ff., Fig. 11; Iader: D. MARŠIĆ, 2013, 390 ff.

pajući do zdravice pokazuju Patschove riječi, koji je iskapajući zapadnije i spustivši se do dubine od 2 m, morao prekinuti daljnji iskop zbog prodora podzemne vode.¹⁰ Nakon svega iznijetog smatram kako poziciju ili potencijalnu strukturu unutar koje je spomenik otkriven treba tražiti između dviju opcija: nasipa/obale i neke druge kasnoantičke, kasnije porušene strukture, moguće kule ili još prije manjeg predzida ispred glavnog zida grada, na mjestu njegova spoja s rijekom Norinom.

TIPOLOGIJA I IKONOGRAFIJA

Spomenik je očito bio sačuvan u više od dvije trećine izvorne visine, odnosno na način da mu je ravno otklesan vrh tijela (Sl. 1). To je razvidno i iz teksta natpisa koji u sačuvanom obliku i restituciji glasi:

[... dom?]o Arim(i)n(o) / mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII, donat(us) torq(uibus), / armil(lis), phal(eris), et (centurio) coh(ortis) I / Camp(anae vel anorum), an(norum) LX, t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit). Posidonius / et Prunicus lib(erti) posuer(unt) / et ali ne(mini). H(ic) s(itus) e(st).

Što se tiče restitucije natpisa i rekonstrukcije izgubljenog dijela, postoje tek dvije manje poteškoće koje ne utječu na njegovo razumijevanje. Prva se tiče riječi od koje je preostalo početno slovo O, a druga punog imena drugospomenute postrojbe. U jednom starijem radu C. Patsch je slovo O pripisao dativnom obliku kognomena *Frontus* (na natpisu [*Front*]o), ne precizirajući razloge za takvu tvrdnju i uopće izbor imena.¹¹ No kasnije se priklonio prijedlogu CIL-a i Hofmanna da je posrijedi završno slovo ablativa *domo* (prihvaćaju ga gotovo svi autori, kao i epigrafske baze)!¹² I dok o domicilu pokojnika i tako ne može biti rasprave budući da je jasno navedeno, ostaje pitanje nije li ispred njega možda ipak stajao kognomen u nominativnom obliku jer se oznaka domicila nerijetko javlja

covered with a mound of earth which would have preserved it intact. Glavinić, even with the best intentions, was at this time unable to identify the original context, digging down to sterile soil, which is indicated by Patsch's words. The latter dug further west and, having reached a depth of 2 metres, had to stop digging due to reaching underground water.¹⁰ Based on everything that has been stated, I believe that the position or potential structure within which the monument was uncovered should be looked for in one of two places: the embankment/coast or another Late Antiquity structure that was later destroyed, possibly a tower or an even smaller rampart in front of the main town walls at the place where it meets the River Norin.

TIPOLOGY AND ICONOGRAPHY

It is clear that more than two-thirds of the original height of the monument had been preserved, i.e. up to the point where the top of its body was cut off (Fig. 1). This is obvious also from the text of the inscription which, in its preserved form and restitution, reads:

[... dom?]o Arim(i)n(o) / mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII, donat(us) torq(uibus), / armil(lis), phal(eris), et (centurio) coh(ortis) I / Camp(anae vel anorum), an(norum) LX, t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit). Posidonius / et Prunicus lib(erti) posuer(unt) / et ali ne(mini). H(ic) s(itus) e(st).

As far as the restitution of the inscription and the reconstruction of its lost part are concerned, there are two small difficulties. However, these have no impact on its understanding. The first is the word to which the initial letter o belonged, and the second relates to the full name of the unit. In an older paper, C. Patsch assigned the letter o to the dative form of the cognomen *Frontus* (on the inscription [*Front*]o), without giving reasons for his statement and for the name selection in general.¹¹ However, he was later more inclined to CIL's and Hofmann's proposal that this was the last letter of the ablativ *domo* (accepted by almost all other authors, as well as epigraphic databases).¹² The domicile of the deceased does not need to be discussed, since it is clearly stated. However, the question remains as to whether there was a cognomen in the nominative form in front, as the domicile is often

10 C. PATSCH, 1907, 18, taf. II, pozicija III (= 1996, 27, tab. II).

11 C. PATSCH, 1896, 16.

12 C. PATSCH, 1907, 21 (= 1996, 30).

10 C. PATSCH, 1907, 18, Taf. II, Position III (= 1996, 27, Pl. II).

11 C. PATSCH, 1896, 16.

12 C. PATSCH 1907, 21 (= 1996, 30).

i bez izraza *domo*, što je lako provjeriti na množini vojničkih natpisa.¹³ To bi došlo u obzir samo pod uvjetom da *tribus* nije bio naveden ili da je stajao iza filijacije, što ne možemo znati. Međutim, forma i izvedba spomenika te posljedično datacija koja će se kasnije predložiti ne idu tomu u prilog. Što se tiče restitucije imena postrojbe, mnogi autori, pa čak i današnje najpoznatije epigrafske baze (*Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* i *Epigraphik Datenbank Clauss-Slaby*) donose nadopunu *Camp(estrus)*, što je po svoj prilici pogrešno i ima dublje implikacije na interpretaciju natpisa. O tome zašto se ime postrojbe ima restituirati u obliku *Campana* ili *Campanorum* više se govori u sljedećem poglavlju.

Iz natpisa je vidljivo da je riječ o nadgrobnom spomeniku nižeg časnika (*centuriona*), ranije običnog vojnika, kojemu je od imenske formule sačuvan dakle samo domicil. Iz njega doznajemo da je bio rodom iz grada *Ariminum* (današnji Rimini) u Italiji. S obzirom na vojni *cursus*, riječ je o rimskom građaninu, pa u nedostajućem dijelu natpisa treba vidjeti ime s filijacijom u dvoimenskoj ili troimenskoj formi i eventualno spomen glasačkog okruga (*tribus*), što upućuje na zaključak da natpisu nedostaju najmanje dva retka teksta, odnosno čitav prvi i najveći dio drugog reda.¹⁴ Budući da sve objave donose i dimenzije spomenika, od kojih je najvažnija dubina od 0,80 m (visina je 0,73 m, a širina 0,86 m), evidentno je bila riječ o spomeniku gotovo oblika kocke (*kubusa*). To nas vodi k zaključku da govorimo o nadgrobnoj ari, a ne steli ili nekom drugoj formi, što postaje tim očitije jer su još četiri od preostalih jedanaest u istoj prigodi otkrivenih spomenika bili istoga tipa! Glavinić i *CIL* konstatiraju taj detalj izrade, što se vidi po upotrebi termina *cippus*. S obzirom na pozamašne dimenzije „kocke“, sasvim je sigurno bila riječ o ari kompozitne izrade. To pak znači da je osim vrha tijela/trupa nedostajala i baza, a je li spomenik imao i krunište i kakvog je oblika bilo, ostaje otvoreno pitanje.

Ono što je privuklo pozornost stručnjaka nije samo zanimljiv natpis koliko prikazi ispod njega, a koji u konačnici zajedno razrješuju biografiju pokojnika i omogućuju dosta preciznu dataciju are. Iz natpisa se jasno čita da je pokojnik bio vojnik 13. legije, da je odlikovan ogrlicama (*torques*), narukvicama (*armillae*) i medaljonima (*phalerae*)

denoted without the expression *domo*, as can be easily verified in numerous military inscriptions.¹³ This would only be possible if no *tribus* was mentioned or if it stood behind the filiation, which we cannot know. However, the form and rendering of the monument, and consequently the dating which shall be proposed later, do not confirm this. As for the restitution of the name of the unit, many authors, as well as the well-known present-day epigraphic databases (*Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg* and *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby*) propose the supplement *Camp(estrus)*, which is most probably erroneous, and has deeper implications for the interpretation of the inscriptions. More on why the name of the unit needs to be restituted as the forms *Campana* or *Campanorum* can be found in the following section.

The inscription suggests that this was a tombstone of a lower-ranking officer (a centurion), previously a regular soldier, of whose nominal form only the domicile has been preserved. From this, we find out that he was born in the town of *Ariminum* (modern-day Rimini) in Italy. Given the military *cursus*, this was a Roman citizen. Therefore, the missing part of the inscription should be read as a name with a filiation consisting of two or three nouns and possibly mentioning the *tribus*, suggesting that at least two text lines, i.e. the entire first row and a major part of the second row of the inscription, are missing.¹⁴ All publications give the monument's dimensions, the most important of which is its depth of 0.80 m (its height is 0.73 and width 0.86 m). The monument clearly had an almost cube-like shape. This leads us to the conclusion that this was a sepulchral *ara*, and not a stela or other form. This becomes even more evident when we consider that another four of the remaining eleven monuments unearthed on the same occasion were of the same type. Glavinić and *CIL* noted this production detail, which is suggested by the use of the term *cippus*. The substantial size of the “cube” suggests with certainty an *ara* of composite production. This, again, implies that besides the top of the body, the base was also missing. Whether the monument also had a battlement, and if so of what form, remains open.

What drew the attention of experts was not so much the interesting inscription, but rather the illustrations below it, which ultimately resolve the biography of the deceased individual, and enable a rather

13 Usp. npr. D. TONČINIĆ, 2011, 23 i d., br. 1 i 2.

14 Usp. ILS 2597.

13 Compare, for example, D. TONČINIĆ, 2011, 23 ff., Nos. 1 and 2.

14 Compare ILS 2597.

te da je također bio i centurion pomoćne kohorte čije je ime donijeto s rednim brojem I i kraticom CAMP. Iz redosljeda navođenja dviju službi prilično je jasno da je od običnog vojnika promoviran u rang centuriona – što je relativno rijedak primjer napredovanja – zasigurno zbog istih onih razloga zbog kojih je i odlikovan.¹⁵ Na to pitanje još ćemo se jednom vratiti.

Ispod natpisa bila su i prikazana navedena odlikovanja (*dona*) i insigniji centurionskog ranga, izgled kojih poznajemo samo zahvaljujući Hofmannovoj objavi (Sl. 1). Uz lijevi rub spomenika stajao je centurionski štap (*vitis*) koji se pružao gotovo cijelom visinom tijela spomenika.¹⁶ Desno od njega nalazio se zaštitni nazuvak (lat. *ocrea*, grč. κνημίς) na kojemu je Hofmann s pravom primijetio reljefni ukras u obliku glave Gorgone, u njegovu gornjem zaobljenom dijelu koji štiti koljeno.¹⁷ Desno od nazuvka stajala je jedna ogrlica (torkva) u gornjem redu i narukvica (armila) točno ispod nje. Ogrlica je prikazana tordiranog tijela, otvorenih krajeva okrenutih prema dolje, a u gornjem dijelu, točno po sredini, bila je prikazana manja vezica s čvorom, ista ona kakvom se taj predmet obično privezivao na oklop. Armile su nešto manje i tanjih zatvorenih obruča. Sredinu prikaza zauzimao je sustav kožnatog remenja s čak trinaest nešto manjih medaljona (*falera*) bez vidljivih prikaza ili druge dekoracije. Po tri medaljona pričvršćena su na tri glavne vodoravne trake i po dva na dvije dijagonalne trake kojima središnja *falera* tako predstavlja okosnicu. Pored tih traka bijahu prikazane i one koje su se u stvarnosti prebacivale na leđa i tamo kopčale; polukrug gornje sasvim se jasno vidi jer je visoko podignut, a donja je, čini se, bila nešto niža i manje istaknuta (?). Prikaz je na desnoj strani zaokruživao još jedan nazuvak, ali je njegov reljef bio odlomljen već u trenutku otkrića spomenika. Okosnicu prikaza tako je predstavljao sustav *falera* i bio je koncipiran simetrično, uz izuzetak centurionskog štapa. *Vitis* i nazuvke treba shvati-

precise dating of the *ara*. The inscription clearly reads that the deceased was a 13th Legion soldier, that he had been decorated with neck rings (*torques*), armlets (*armillae*) and medals (*phalerae*), and that he was also a centurion of the auxiliary cohort, whose name was rendered by the ordinal number I and abbreviation CAMP. The order of listing the two offices quite clearly suggests that he had been promoted from the rank of common soldier to that of centurion. This is a relatively uncommon example of promotion, and was certainly for the same reasons for which he was decorated.¹⁵ We shall return to this question later.

Below the inscription, there were depictions of the mentioned decorations (*dona*), and also the centurion's insignia, whose appearance is known only thanks to Hofmann's publication (Fig. 1). Along the monument's left edge, there stood a centurion's staff (*vitis*), stretching almost along the entire height of the monument's body.¹⁶ To its right, there was a greave (Lat. *ocrea*, Gr. κνημίς) on which, in the upper, rounded part protecting the knee, Hofmann correctly noticed a relief decoration in the form of a Gorgon's head.¹⁷ To the right of the greave, there was a neck ring (*torques*) in the upper row and a bracelet (*armilla*) immediately below it. The neck ring is represented with a spirally twisted body and with open ends turned downwards, while in the upper part, right in the middle, there was a rather small lace with a knot, the same as those used for fastening an object to armour. The *armillae* are slightly smaller and with thinner, closed hoops. The central portion of the illustration was occupied by a system of leather belts with as many as thirteen somewhat smaller medals (*phalerae*) with no visible illustrations or other decorations. A set of three medals was fastened to each of the three main horizontal ribbons, and a set of two medals to each of the two diagonal ribbons, with the central *phalera* serving as a framework. Next to these ribbons, there were those that in reality were thrown behind and clasped; the semicircle of the upper ribbon can be clearly seen because it is raised, while the lower ribbon seems to

15 Usp. npr. P. A. HOLDER, 1980, 86, 101, tab. 7.1, br. 2, gdje se ovaj slučaj po važnosti uspoređuje s tri druga.

16 CIL i H. Hofmann ne spominju *vitis*. Autori CIL-a podatke su dobili od F. Bulića, pa zaključujem da ga nije ni on uočio. Hofmann je po svoj prilici smatrao da je riječ o zadebljanju, tj. pregibu kartona kojim je sa spomenika uzet otisak. Da je riječ o centurionskom štapu, po mome sudu govore dvije stvari: prvo, *vitis* je standardni znak centuriona i drugo, prilično se jasno vidi da je riječ o predmetu oblika kraćeg koplja, posebice stoga jer na tome mjestu nema vidljivih tragova oštećenja.

17 H. HOFMANN, 1905, 22-23, gdje joj pridaje apotropaesku funkciju.

15 Compare, for example, P. A. HOLDER, 1980, 86, 101, Pl. 7.1, No. 2, where the significance of this case is compared with three others.

16 CIL and H. Hofmann make no mention of a *vitis*. The authors of CIL obtained the data from F. Bulić. Therefore, I conclude that he did not identify it either. Hofmann most probably believed that this was a thickening or folding of the cardboard that served for taking the imprint of the monument. In my opinion, a centurion's staff is suggested by two facts: firstly, the *vitis* was a standard mark and tool of a centurion, and secondly, it is quite clear that it is an object shaped like a short spear, particularly as there are no visible traces of damage on this spot.

17 H. HOFMANN, 1905, 22-23, assigning it an apotropaic function.

ti kao standardne znakove centurionskog ranga, a medaljone, dvije ogrlice i dvije narukvice kao odličja. Vrsta i broj prikazanih odličja odgovaraju darovima, tj. odlikovanjima koja su dodjeljivana običnim vojnicima.¹⁸

DATIRANJE

U znanstvenoj literaturi iznijeto je više kratkih opažanja ili tvrdnji o vremenu nastanka natpisa (are). Od njih treba izdvojiti kratak osvrt C. Patscha koji ga je najprije datirao na sam kraj 1. st. po Kr.,¹⁹ a zatim u početak 2. st.,²⁰ zatim rasprave E. Ritterlinga i W. Wagnera iz kojih proizlazi postanak na samom početku 1. st.,²¹ mišljenje G. Alföldyja koji ga je također smjestio u početak 1. st.²² i ono V. Maxfield koja ga je datirala u Augustovo ili Tiberijevo doba.²³ Naravno da sve tvrdnje, s podrobnijom analizom ili bez nje, počivaju na spomenu postrojbi u kojima je pokojnik služio (i u kojoj je u dobi od šezdeset godina preminuo), a ponekad inkorporiraju i raspravu o pitanju u kojem je to događaju/trenutku nepoznati centurion mogao zaslužiti odlikovanja. To je i logično jer formativne i tektonske karakteristike spomenika same za sebe ne nude dovoljno uporišta za preciznu dataciju.

Sudeći prema epitafu na kojem se ne spominje izraz „veteran“, pokojnik je umro kao aktivni centurion, i to najvjerojatnije nedaleko od mjesta službovanja. Spomenik mu podižu oslobođenici *Posidonius* i *Prunicus*, a interesantan je podatak da je izostavljen navod o broju stipendija (godišnjih plaća), pretpostavljam zato jer komemoratorima nije bio poznat ili nije bio naveden u testamentu (usp. formulu TFI). U trenutku smrti pokojnik je bio centurion 1. kohorte čije je ime donijeto u kratici CAMP. Do sada je u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji otkriveno pet sigurnih i dva pretpostavljena natpisa pripadnika pomoćne postrojbe tog imena. Pet ih je u svojoj poznatoj raspravi prikupio G. Alföldy, a na još jedan moguć fragment upozorio je J. Spaul

have been somewhat lower and less accentuated (?) On the right-hand side, the illustration was rounded off by another greave, although its relief had already been broken off at the moment of the uncovering of the monument. Thus, the system of *phalerae* served as a framework for the illustration, and was conceived symmetrically, with the exception of the *vitis*. The *vitis* and greaves should be interpreted as standard insignia of the centurion's rank, and the medals, two neck rings and two armlets as awards. The type and number of the represented awards correspond to those of *dona*, i.e. decorations awarded to common soldiers.¹⁸

DATING

Several short observations or hypotheses regarding the dating of the inscriptions (*arae*) have been published in academic literature. These include the brief review by C. Patsch, who first dated them to the end of the 1st century AD,¹⁹ and then to the beginning of the 2nd century,²⁰ as well as E. Ritterling's and W. Wagner's discussions suggesting the start of the 1st century,²¹ G. Alföldy's dating also to the beginning of the 1st century,²² and V. Maxfield's dating to the reigns of Augustus or Tiberius.²³ Of course, all claims, with or without a detailed analysis, are based on the mentioning of the units in which the deceased individual served (and the sixty years of age at which he passed away), and sometimes also include a discussion of the event/period in which the unknown centurion may have earned his awards. This is only logical, because the monument's formative and tectonic characteristics offer insufficient bases for a more precise dating.

Based on the epitaph, which makes no mention of the expression “veteran”, the deceased individual was killed as an active centurion, most probably in the vicinity of the place where he served. The monument to him was erected by the freedmen *Posidonius* and *Prunicus*. Interestingly, the information on the number of *salaria* (a soldier's annual allowances) was left out, presumably because the commemorators were not

18 Kombinacija sastavljena od falera, ogrlica i narukvica (zadnjih obično u paru) dodjeljivana je običnim vojnicima i centurionima te predstavlja odličja nižeg razreda. Usp. V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 86 i d., osob. 213 i d., tab. M.

19 C. PATSCH, 1896, 17.

20 C. PATSCH, 1907, 21 (= 1996, 30).

21 PWRE, XII/2, 1925, 1712 (E. Ritterling); W. WAGNER, 1938, 115.

22 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 285, br. 10.4.

23 V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 216.

18 A combination consisting of *phalerae*, neck rings and armlets (the latter two usually coming in pairs) was awarded to common soldiers and centurions, and represented awards of a lower rank. Compare V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 86 ff., particularly 213 ff., Pl. M.

19 C. PATSCH, 1896, 17.

20 C. PATSCH, 1907, 21 (= 1996, 30).

21 PWRE, XII/2, 1925, 1712 (E. Ritterling); W. WAGNER, 1938, 115.

22 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 285, No. 10.4.

23 V. A. MAXFIELD, 1981, 216.

(CIL 3, 1819 i 14216).²⁴ Samo na poznatom votivnom natpisu iz Salone (CIL 3, 8693) koji spominje funkciju *custos Tragurii* uklesano je cijelo ime koje glasi *Campana*, na još jednom žrtveniku iz Narone ono se, čini se, može rekonstruirati u istom obliku (CIL 3, 14623/3), a kod ostalih je donijeto u kratlici identičnoj onoj na našem spomeniku ili je sačuvano samo prvo slovo imena odnosno redni broj postrojbe (I). Prva dva spomenika donose nam očito pravo ime postrojbe koje je za boravka u Dalmaciji glasilo *cohors Campana*, iako nije nemoguće da se već tada paralelno koristio i oblik *Campanorum*.²⁵ Popunjavali su je rimski građani, koji su u trenutku podizanja pretežno bili iz Kampanije i neposredne okolice.²⁶ Upotrebu imena/varijante *Campestris* (iza rednog broja I), koje se u funkciji restitucije javlja u CIL-u i nekim starijim publikacijama, s razlogom je potrebno odbaciti. M. P. Speidel je upozorio da se ono usprkos mišljenju mnogih autora ne javlja ni na jednom od natpisa (u punom obliku), a tu je konstataciju podupro i J. Spaul.²⁷ Većina autora smatra kako se u kasnijem životu postrojbe (tijekom boravka u Panoniji u 2. st.) ustalilo ime *cohors I Campanorum*, često s dodatkom *voluntariorum*, a nekada i *civium Romanorum*.²⁸ S druge strane, Speidel je iznio zanimljivo mišljenje kako ne treba odbaciti mogućnost da je riječ o dvije jedinice (od kojih dalmatinska, ponovimo, ne bi imala redni broj), ali ga i sam zastupa pod uvjetom (!!!) da se dokaže njihovo vremensko preklapanje. Zanimljivo je da pomišlja kako bi naronitanski centurion mogao pripadati toj drugoj, panonskoj jedinici, što znači da njegov spomenik

familiar with it or it was not mentioned in the testament (cf. TFI clause). At the moment of his death, the deceased was a centurion of the First Cohort, whose name is rendered by the abbreviation CAMP. To date, in the Roman province of Dalmatia, five reliable and two assumed inscriptions relating to members of auxiliary units bearing this name have been uncovered. Five were collected by G. Alföldy and published in his well-known discussion, and one more possible fragment was pointed out by J. Spaul (CIL 3, 1819).²⁴ Only on the known votive inscription from Salona (CIL 3, 8693), which mentions the function of a *custos Tragurii*, is the whole name engraved, which reads *Campana*. It seems that it can be reconstructed in the same form on an offering stone from Narona (CIL 3, 14623/3), while on others it was rendered in an abbreviated form identical to that on our monument, or only the first element of the name was preserved, i.e. the unit's ordinal number (I). The first two monuments obviously reveal the real name of the unit which, while in Dalmatia, was called *cohors Campana*, although it is not impossible that at that time the form *Campanorum* was also in use.²⁵ It was composed of Roman citizens who, at the moment of the erection of the tombstone, were largely from Campania and its surroundings.²⁶ The possible use of the name/variant *Campestris* (after the ordinal number I), which occurs in the restitution in CIL and in certain older publications, should be rejected, and with good reason. M. P. Speidel pointed out that, despite the opinion of many authors, it does not appear in any inscriptions (in its full form), and this assertion was also supported by J. Spaul.²⁷ Most authors believe that in the course of the unit's later operations (during its stay in Pannonia in the 2nd century), the name *cohors I Campanorum* was used, frequently with the appendix *voluntariorum*, and sometimes also *civium Romanorum*.²⁸ On the other hand, Speidel expressed an interesting opinion

24 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 285, br. 10.1-5; J. SPAUL, 2000, 22. Spaul dalmatinskim natpisom proglašava i CIL 3, 14216/1, no on je iz Drobete u Dakiji.

25 Usp. npr. imena/natuknice pod kojima autori analiziraju ovu postrojbu: M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 341 i d. (*cohors Campana/Campanorum*); G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250 i d. (*cohors I Campana*); J. SPAUL, 1980, 22-23 (*cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum*). P. A. HOLDER, 1980, 65 i d., bilj. 6-7 u raspravi o imenu iznosi zanimljivu opasku da se slično njoj i *cohors III Alpina* pojavljuje i kao *III Alpinorum*, tako da pojava dvojnog imenovanja ne bi bila nimalo čudna!

26 M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 341; G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250, 258 tab. 1, 285.

27 M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 341 i d., bilj. 9 s djelomičnim popisom autora; J. SPAUL, 2000, 23.

28 Usp. npr. P. A. HOLDER, 1980, 65; G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250; J. SPAUL, 2000, 22-23.

24 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 285, Nos. 10.1-5; J. SPAUL, 2000, 22. Spaul considers CIL 3, 14216/1 to be of Dalmatian origin, but it comes from Drobeta in Dacia.

25 Compare, for example, the names under which this unit has been analysed: M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 341 ff. (*cohors Campana/Campanorum*); G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250 ff. (*cohors I Campana*); J. SPAUL, 1980, 22-23 (*cohors I Campanorum voluntariorum*). P. A. HOLDER, 1980, 65 ff., notes 6-7, in a discussion of the name interestingly noted that the *cohors III Alpina* similarly occurred as *III Alpinorum*, which means that the occurrence of dual nomenclature should not be at all odd.

26 M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 341; G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250, 258 Pl. 1, 285.

27 M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 341 ff., note 9 with a partial list of authors; J. SPAUL, 2000, 23.

28 Compare, for example, G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250; P. A. HOLDER, 1980, 65; J. SPAUL, 2000, 22-23.

vidi kao nešto kasniji od ostalih u Dalmaciji.²⁹ To bi bilo na tragu Patschove datacije i objašnjenja kako su odličja prikazana na spomeniku zaslužena u dačkim ratovima tijekom Domicijanove vladavine ili nešto kasnije.³⁰ Više je problema koji ne idu tomu u prilog. Kao prvo, sigurno preklapanje temeljem epigrafskih potvrda postrojbi ni dandanas nije pouzdano dokazano. Drugi je problem što bi bilo deplasirano spomenike iz Narone i Salone sa spomenom iste jedinice (o njima nešto kasnije) pripisivati dvjema različitim postrojbama samo temeljem spomena ili izostanka rednog broja I. Sljedeći je problem što epigrafičke formule na našem natpisu, kao što su TFI i HSE, nikako ne idu u prilog kasnijoj dataciji. Nadalje, koliko je meni poznato na natpisima koji spominju odličja zaslužena u Domicijanovim i Trajanovim dačkim pohodima češće stoji izraz *donatus donis* (ili dat. *donato donis*), a ne samo *donatus* koji je učestaliji u ranije doba. Zbog svih navedenih razloga priklanjam se mišljenju velike većine autora da je riječ o jednoj postrojbi čija se organizacija, sustav zapovijedanja i nomenklatura tijekom vremena očito mijenjala.

Imena i domicil pripadnika postrojbe zabilježeni na dalmatinskim natpisima upućuju po G. Alföldyju na val novaka iz vremena njezina podizanja, na samom početku 1. st. po Kr., što bi posredno govorilo o tome da su svi sačuvani natpisi nastali u prvoj polovici 1. st. po Kr.³¹ Boravak postrojbe u Dalmaciji inače po njemu traje sve do 86. god. kada ju je vjerojatno napustila s 4. legijom.³² S druge strane, J. Spaul pomiče mogući boravak sve do početka 2. st., odnosno Trajanova doba,³³ a M. P. Speidel konstatira da je otišla za Panoniju „u neko vrijeme prije 116. god.“³⁴ Mišljenje o boravku u Dalmaciji tijekom kasnijeg 1. st., da ponovim, za sada nema čvrstu potvrdu u natpisnoj građi, ali se ne može ni automatski opovrgnuti.

that the possibility should not be rejected that these were in fact two units (the Dalmatian one of which, let it be pointed out once more, possibly had no ordinal number). However, he presented his opinion with the reservation (!!!) that their co-existence needed to be proven. Interestingly, he supposed that the Narona centurion might belong to another, Pannonian unit, implying that he saw this monument as being somewhat later than others in Dalmatia.²⁹ This would be in line with Patsch's dating and explanation that the awards represented on the monument were earned in the Dacian wars in the course of Domitian's reign or slightly later.³⁰ There are several arguments against this. First, based on epigraphic evidence, no synchronicity of the units has so far been confirmed with certainty. The other problem is that it would be out of place to ascribe monuments from Narona and Salona that mention the same unit (more about this later) to two different units solely based on the presence or absence of the ordinal number I. Another problem is that epigraphic formulas in our inscription, such as TFI and HSE, by no means speak in favour of a later dating. Furthermore, as far as I know, in inscriptions mentioning awards earned in Domitian's and Trajan's Dacian conquests, the expression *donatus donis* (or the dative form *donato donis*) is more frequently encountered than only *donatus*, which was more frequent in the earlier period. For all the aforementioned reasons, I support the opinion of the vast majority of authors that it was a single unit whose organisation, command system and nomenclature obviously changed over time.

The name and domicile of the members of the unit, as recorded in Dalmatian inscriptions, according to G. Alföldy, suggest a wave of recruits from the period of its establishment at the start of the 1st century AD, which would indirectly suggest that all preserved inscriptions originated from the first half of the 1st century AD.³¹ In his opinion, the unit stayed in Dalmatia until AD 86, when it probably left together with the Fourth Legion.³² On the other hand, J. Spaul put back a possible dating to as late as the beginning of the 2nd century and Trajan's reign,³³ while M. P. Speidel concluded that it left for Pannonia "some time before 116".³⁴ To repeat, the opinion concerning its stay in

29 Usp. M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 342-343, 345.

30 Usp. bilj. 19.

31 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250, 285.

32 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 251, 273 i d., osob. 275 i 276, tab. 2.

33 J. SPAUL, 2000, 23.

34 M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 342.

29 Compare M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 342-343, 345.

30 Cf. note 19.

31 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250, 285.

32 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 251, 273 ff., in particular 275 and 276, Pl. 2.

33 J. SPAUL, 2000, 23.

34 M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 342.

Što se pak tiče prve postrojbe u kojoj je pokojnik služio – 13. legije – stvari su mnogo jednostavnije. Već su stariji istraživači poput E. Ritterlinga, W. Wagnera i drugih pretpostavili da je riječ o 13. legiji dvojnici (*legio XIII gemina*), jednoj od najpoznatijih rimskih legija na prijelazu dviju era. Ritterling je aru naronitanskog centuriona upotrijebio u kontekstu rasprave o lokaciji 13. legije tijekom ranijeg Augustova doba, smatrajući da njezino otkriće možda govori da je bila dio rane posade Ilirika, a tu je misao preuzeo i W. Wagner.³⁵ Datio ju je u Augustovo doba, a odlikovanja objasnio djelovanjem Tiberija Cezara (!), moguće slamanjem ustanka Panonaca i Delmata 6. – 9. god., ostavivši ipak mogućnost da su stečena i ranije.³⁶ Alföldy nije doveo u pitanje prepoznavanje legije, ali je ustvrdio da je pokojnik kao centurion u kampanjskoj kohorti mogao služiti već za spomenutog ustanka, ako ne i nešto ranije.³⁷ Što se tiče događaja u kojem su odlikovanja zaslužena, obje ovdje iznijete teze jednako su moguće i jednako teško dokazive (ili oborive), ali Alföldyjeva implicira da su odlikovanja zaslužena u nekom od ranijih pohoda legije, najvjerojatnije na alpskom ili panonskom prostoru gdje je djelovala, a upravo je to vrijeme njezine povijesti problematično i ostavilo je najmanje literarnih i epigrafskih tragova! Ako bi teza bila točna, a imajući u vidu visoku dob u kojoj je centurion preminuo (60 godina) i očitu činjenicu da mu je ukupna vojna karijera bila iznimno duga i trajala oko 40 godina – od čega na onu u legiji mora otpasti 10 – 20 godina, a još toliko ili nešto više na staž u kohorti – to bi nas u svakoj računici dovelo do ranijeg Tiberijeva doba kao vremena smrti i nastanka spomenika! Ipak sam pristalica Ritterlingove teze da su odlikovanja zaslužena za držanje u ustanku 6. – 9. god. i da je unaprjeđenje uslijedilo nakon toga. No čak i u tom slučaju vrijeme obnašanja centurionata nije moguće zaključiti kasnije od zadnjih godina Tiberijeve vladavine, eventualno u prvih par godina Klaudijeva principata. Teoretski je moguće spomenik smjestiti i u posljednje godine Augustove vladavine, ali pod uvjetom da je kohorta Campana podignuta negdje

Dalmatia in the late 1st century so far does not have any firm grounds in the inscription material. However, it cannot automatically be rejected either.

As for the first unit in which the deceased individual served, the Thirteenth Legion, things are much simpler. Leading scholars, such as E. Ritterling, W. Wagner and others, assumed that it was the Thirteenth Twin Legion (*legio XIII gemina*), one of the most famous Roman legions at the turn of the Common Era. Ritterling mentioned the *ara* of the centurion of Naronia in a discussion on the location of the Thirteenth Legion in the course of the earlier reign of Augustus, believing that its unearthing possibly suggested that it was part of the early siege of Illyricum. This opinion was also taken up by W. Wagner.³⁵ He dated it to the reign of Augustus, and connected the awards with Tiberius Caesar's (!) activity, possibly the suppression of the uprising of the Pannonians and the Delmatae from AD 6-9, still leaving the possibility open that they were acquired even earlier.³⁶ Alföldy did not question the identification of the legion, but stated that the deceased individual, as a centurion in the Campanian cohorts, may have already served during the uprising, if not even earlier.³⁷ As for the events in which the awards were earned, both theses presented here are equally possible and equally hard to defend (or to reject). However, Alföldy implies that the awards were earned in some of the legion's earlier conquests, most probably in the Alpine or Pannonian areas, where it was active. This is a problematic period of its history with the fewest literary and epigraphic traces. If the thesis was correct, and bearing in mind the old age at which the centurion passed away (60), and the obvious fact that his total military career was extraordinarily long, lasting approximately 40 years (of which 10-20 years must have been with the legion, and another 10-20 in the cohorts), this would bring us to the earlier reign of Tiberius as the period of his death and the creation of the monument. However, I adhere to Ritterling's thesis that the awards were earned in the uprising of AD 6-9, and that the promotion followed afterwards. However, even in this case, the period in which he was a centurion could not be later than the last years of the reign of Tiberius or perhaps the first couple of the reign of Claudius. Theoretically, it is also possible to date the monument to the last years of Augustus's reign, provided that the Campana Cohort was

35 PWRE, XII/2, 1925, 1711 i d. (E. Ritterling); W. WAGNER, 1938, 114 i d.

36 PWRE, XII/2, 1925, 1712 (E. Ritterling).

37 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250-251.

35 PWRE, XII/2, 1925, 1711 ff. (E. Ritterling); W. WAGNER, 1938, 114 ff.

36 PWRE, XII/2, 1925, 1712 (E. Ritterling).

37 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 250-251.

početkom kasnijeg Augustova doba, no za tako nešto u ovom trenutku nemamo indicija.³⁸ Nadalje, to bi bilo u suprotnosti s pojavom ara u priobalju rimske provincije Dalmacije. Naime, pojava prvih nadgrobnih ara događa se u Saloni u kasnijim godinama Tiberijeve i prvim godinama Klaudijeve vladavine i iza tih najranijih primjeraka stoje određeni vojni komitenti.³⁹ Kako sada stvari stoje, čini se da su vojnici i novopridošli Italici i zaslužni za uvođenje toga tipa spomenika.⁴⁰ Najranije primjerke karakterizira jednostavno oblikovanje i motivi koji nemaju nikakve veze s formativno-funkcionalnim ishodištem toga tipa spomenika (u Saloni npr. motiv vrata). Pojava vojnih odlikovanja odlično se uklapa u takvu pojavu. Da je ara nastala kasnije, primjerice u flavijevskom razdoblju ili tijekom 2. st., mišljenja sam da bi prikazi s čelone strane bili gurnuti na bokove, ako već ne bi bili uključeni i vegetabilni okviri. Svi navedeni razlozi učvršćuju me u uvjerenju da je naronitanska ara nastala negdje krajem Tiberijeva doba, iz čega bi proizašlo da je nepoznati centurion odlikovanja vjerojatno stekao za držanje u velikom ustanku 6. – 9. god.

Mjesto otkrića are navelo je Alföldyja na pomisao da sjedište 1. kohorte *Campana / Campanorum* potraži na lokalitetu Gračine u Humcu pokraj Ljubuškog.⁴¹ Tomu u prilog na prvi pogled ide i pojava drugoga naronitanskog spomenika vojnika iste postrojbe s posvetom božanskim blizancima Kastoru i Poluksu (CIL 3, 14623/3). Međutim, najmanje dva spomenika pripadnika postrojbe potječu i iz Salone, od kojih je jedan nadgrobnog karaktera (CIL 3, 14246/1). Upozorivši na još jedan potencijalni spomenik pripadnika postrojbe, na žalost fragmentarno očuvan, J. Spaul je taj broj za Naronu uvećao za još jedan mogući spomenik.⁴² Dakle, od šest spomenika, uz izuzetak onoga iz Lopsike, krajnje fragmentarno sačuvanog i moguće nešto malo kasnijeg, dva spomenika sigurno

established somewhere near the beginning of the later period of Augustus's reign, although at present there is no evidence for this.³⁸ In addition, this would contradict the presence of *arae* along the coast of the Roman Province of Dalmatia. Namely, the first sepulchral *arae* occurred in Salona in the last years of Tiberius's and the first years of Claudius's reign, and these earliest specimens were as a rule erected in honour of persons of military rank.³⁹ As things stand, it seems that the military and Italic newcomers were largely responsible for introducing this monument type.⁴⁰ The earliest examples are characterised by a simple design and motifs that have nothing in common with the formative-functional origin of this monument type (for example the gate motif in Salona). The occurrence of military decorations perfectly matches this. If the *arae* had been erected later, for example in the Flavian era, or in the course of the 2nd century, in my view the illustrations on the front side would have been pushed to the sides, and it is possible that there would even have been a vegetable frame. All these reasons support my opinion that the Naronitan *ara* originates from somewhere near the end of Tiberius's reign, which suggests that the unknown centurion obtained his awards probably for his achievements in the great uprising of AD 6-9.

The discovery site of the *ara* led Alföldy to believe that the centre of the First Cohort *Campana / Campanorum* was at the Gračine site in Humac near Ljubuški.⁴¹ At first glance, this is also confirmed by the occurrence of another Naronitan monument to a soldier of the same unit with a dedication to the divine twins Castor and Pollux (CIL 3, 14623/3). However, at least two monuments to members of the unit also originate from Salona, one of which has a sepulchral character (CIL 3, 14246/1). Having pointed out one more potential monument to unit members, unfortunately only fragmentarily preserved, J. Spaul further increased the number for Naronu by one more possible monument.⁴² Thus, of six monuments, ignoring

38 Teoriju da je kohorta podignuta „mnogo prije“ nemilih događaja iz 6. – 9. god. zastupa M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 345, ali je problem ponovno u tome da to tvrdi za (dalmatinsku) kohortu Kampanu, dok podizanje 1. kohorte Kampane (navodne druge jedinice) stavlja u nepoznato (kasnije?) vrijeme.

39 Usp. N. CAMBI, 2002, 124 (I), 55, sl. 26 (II) (ara M. Ticija, vojnika 7. legije); D. TONČINIĆ, 2011, 97 i d., kat. i sl. 67 (ara Gaja Vibija Pudeta, centuriona 7. legije CPF), kat. i sl. 69 (ara signifera 7. legije CPF); N. CAMBI, 2013, 25 i d., sl. 48 (ara G. Vatinija Kapitona, veterana 7. legije CPF).

40 Za tu interpretaciju usp. N. CAMBI, 2002, 124; N. CAMBI, 2013, 25.

41 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 251, 269.

42 Usp. bilj. 24 (J. Spaul).

38 The theory that the cohort had been raised “long before” the unfortunate events of AD 6 and 9 is advocated by M. P. SPEIDEL, 1976, 345, but the problem again is that he claims this in relation to the (Dalmatian) Campana Cohort, while at the same time he sets the establishment of the First Campana Cohort (allegedly another unit) in an unknown (later?) period.

39 Compare N. CAMBI, 2002, 124 (I), 55, Fig. 26 (II) (*ara* to M. Titius, soldier of the Seventh Legion); D. TONČINIĆ, 2011, 97 ff., Cat. and Fig. 67 (*ara* to Gaius Vibius Pudetius, a centurion of the Seventh Legion CPF), Cat. and Fig. 69 (*ara* to signifier of the Seventh Legion CPF); N. CAMBI, 2013, 25 ff., Fig. 48 (*ara* to G. Vatinius Capitonius, a veteran of the Seventh Legion CPF).

40 For this interpretation, cf. N. CAMBI, 2002, 124; N. CAMBI, 2013, 25.

41 G. ALFÖLDY, 1987, 251, 269.

42 Compare note 24 (J. Spaul).

dolaze iz Salone, a iz Narone moguće i tri. Spaula je to navelo na pomisao da joj se sjedište nalazilo u jednom ili drugom gradu, odnosno u oba (?), ne precizirajući pri tome misli li na susjedne logore u Tiluriju i Humcu.⁴³ Čini mi se da je takva konstatacija sasvim na mjestu i da možemo već u ovom trenutku naslutiti kako su pripadnici upravo ove postrojbe bili angažirani u različitim poslovima pri uredu carskog namjesnika u Saloni, odnosno po raznim vojnim zadaćama delegirani u druge priobalne kolonije.

that from Lopsica, which is extremely fragmentarily preserved and possibly dating to somewhat later, certainly two monuments have been uncovered in Salona, and maybe three in Narona. Spaul was therefore led to believe that the unit's centre was in one of the two towns, or possibly in both, without precisely stating whether he meant the neighbouring camps of Tilurium and Humac.⁴³ It seems that such a conclusion is correct, and we can suppose that members of this unit were engaged in various tasks at the office of the imperial governor in Salona, and delegated to other coastal colonies on various military tasks.

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43 J. SPAUL, 2000, 23.

43 J. SPAUL, 2000, 23.