

Fratres Romani in Dalmatia:
**The Social Dynamics of *Legio VII* and the Construction
of Community and Identity through Roman Funerary
Monuments**



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Cover Image: Illustration of the ‘military frieze’ from the Tilurian funerary stela of Titus Anchareus (*CIL* 3, 2709). Image: Jack Roberts. License: [CC BY-SA 3.0 AU](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/).

Table of Contents

Table of Contents.....	i
Table of Figures.....	iii
Summary.....	v
Statement of Originality	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations.....	viii
Chapter 1: Studying the Funerary Monuments of the <i>Fratres Romani Legionis VII</i>	1
1.1 Background.....	1
1.2 Aims, Evidence, and Approach	2
1.3 Literature Review.....	5
1.4 Summary and Chapter Overview	10
Chapter 2: Approaching the Roman Military Community, Military Identity, and Funerary Monuments ..	13
2.1 Introduction	13
2.2 Community and Social Identity.....	13
2.3 Roman Military Community and Identity.....	16
2.4 A Socially Constructive Medium: Roman Funerary Monuments.....	21
2.5 Summary Discussion: Community and Identity, Monuments and Men.....	26
Chapter 3: <i>Legio VII</i> in Dalmatia: The Men and their Stones	27
3.1 Introduction	27
3.2 The Arrival and Departure of <i>Legio VII</i>	27
3.3 <i>Legio VII</i> and Dalmatia	30
3.4 The Monuments of <i>Legio VII</i>	36
3.5 Summary Discussion: An Epigraphically Active Dalmatian Military Community	43
Chapter 4: The Social Dynamics of the <i>Legio VII</i> ‘Community of the Soldier’ and its Construction through Funerary Monuments	44
4.1 Introduction: A Tale of Military Men Told Through Tombstones.....	44
4.2 Comrades, Heirs, and Relatives: Male Intra-Unit Relations and Values within <i>Legio VII</i>	44
4.3 A Communally Significant Act: The Erection of a Military Tombstone.....	51
4.4 Portae and Plots: The Visual and Spatial Articulation of Community Membership	53
4.5 Concluding Discussion: A Socially Dynamic and Visible Community	61
Chapter 5: A Truly Military Community: The Intersection Between Individual Military Identities and a Communal Military Ethos	62
5.1 Introduction: Military Identities, Individual Yet Social.....	62
5.2 “MIL(es) LEG(ionis) VII”: Military Identity and Values through the Epitaph.....	62
5.3 Arms, Armour, and... Dolabrae? ‘Military’ Sculptural Decorations and Identity.....	66
5.4 Citizen Cavalry, Military Dress, and Civilian Ex-Servicemen: Portraiture and Identity	72
5.5 Concluding Discussion: Reciprocal Negotiation of Individual and Communal Identities	77

Chapter 6: Conclusion	79
Bibliography	82
<i>Ancient:</i>	82
<i>Modern:</i>	83
Appendix 1	100
Appendix 2	102
Appendix 3	114
Appendix 4	117
Appendix 5	123
Appendix 6	124

Table of Figures

Figure 1. Terentius, a military tribune, performs a sacrifice in front of a military standard accompanied by his men. Mid-3rd century CE painting from Dura-Europos. Yale Art Gallery, 1931.386, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/4961 , last accessed 11/01/2021. License: Public Domain.	19
Figure 2. A Roman scutum decorated with various patterns, a lion, two winged victories and an eagle. Mid-3rd century CE from Dura-Europos. Yale Art Gallery, 1933.715, https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/5959 , last accessed 11/01/2021. License: Public Domain.	21
Figure 3. A typical Reitertyp Stela of Gaius Romanus Capito, cavalryman of ala Noricorum. Mainz-Zahlbach. Held in Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum Mainz. Photo: Mike Bishop, https://www.flickr.com/photos/thearmaturapress/ , last accessed 15/07/2020. License: CC BY-NC-SA 2.0.	25
Figure 4. Domicilia of Legio VII members in Dalmatia according to their stelae. This data is based upon Tončinić 2011 Chart 8, albeit with the addition of the stela published by Matijević (2017) and some other adjustments. Image: Ewan Coopey. License: CC BY-SA 3.0 AU.	36
Figure 5. (Left to right) 5.1. CIL 3, 8764: ara of Gaius Vatinius Capito from Salona, Archaeological Museum in Split. Photo: Ante Verzotti; 5.2. CIL 3, 6364 = 8488: titulus of Lucius Herrenius from Ljubuški, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photo: Ante Verzotti.	38
Figure 6. Stelae and their types. (Left to right) 6.1. AE 1994, 1355: stela of Gaius Julius (A1a); 6.2. CIL 3, 9737: stela of Gaius Longius (A2); 6.3. AE 1991, 1291: stela of Quintus Mettius Valens (A3a); 6.4. CIL 3, 9733: stela of Quintus Baebius (reduced a); 6.5. CIL 3, 14932: stela of Quintus Marcius Bassus (reduced b); 6.6. AE 1999, 1230: stela of Lucius Ancharenus (reduced c1). Held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (6.1-5) and the Trilj Regional Museum (6.6). Photos: Ante Verzotti.	39
Figure 7. (Left to right) 7.1. CIL 3, 2709 from Tilurium of the A1a type; 7.2. AE 1991, 1291 from Salona of the A3a type; 7.3. CIL 3, 9737 from Tilurium of the A2 type; 7.4. ILJug 3, 2090, an altar from Salona. All held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. Photos: Ante Verzotti.	55
Figure 8. Ancient Salona and the general position of its northern (blue) and eastern (red) necropoleis. Note, much of the walls and all of the Christian complexes date well beyond the 1st century CE. Edit of Jeličić-Radonić 2008: fig. 1, https://hrcak.srce.hr/109683 , last accessed 07/01/2021. License: Open Access.	59
Figure 10. Section of the eastern necropolis outside the Porta Andetria (green), with the approximate placement of the Legio VII plot marked (red) and CIL 3, 8723, or 1424 (blue). Edit of Miletic 1991: fig. 3, https://doi.org/10.15291/radovipov.2167 , last accessed 07/01/2021. License: CC BY 4.0.	60
Figure 9. Approximate location (red) of the Legio VII plot alongside the road running parallel to the walls. Edit of Mardešić 2019: fig. 1, https://hrcak.srce.hr/234761 , last accessed 07/01/2021. License: CC BY 4.0.	60

Figure 11. (Left to Right) 11.1. AE 1995, 1231: stela of Lucius Attius (Tilurium), Museum of Cetina Region – Sinj. Photo: Ante Verzotti; 11.2. AE 1996, 1215: titulus of Gaius Lollius Valens (Salona), Marko Matijević Archaeological Collection in Solin. Photo: M. Matijević.....	64
Figure 12. CIL 3, 1814 (Narona): epitaph of Legio VII C.p.f. eques veteranus Publius Lastus Scaeva, Archaeological Museum in Split. Photo: Ante Verzotti.....	65
Figure 13. Outlines of the 'military friezes' of CIL 3, 2709 and 2716. Image: Jack Roberts. License: CC BY-SA 3.0 AU.	68
Figure 14. (Left to right) 14.1. CIL 3, 9734: lower portion of stela of Lucius Cornelius; 14.2. CIL 3, 14932: lower portion of stela of Quintus Marcius Bassus; 14.3. CIL 3, 13976: lower portion of stela of Sextus Clodius. Held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. Photos: Ante Verzotti.	71
Figure 15. (Left to right) 15.1. CIL 3, 3126a: Hofmann's (1905: 49, fig. 31) illustration of the funerary stela of Marcus Antonius Celer; 15.2. CIL 3, 14933: the fragmentary stela of Marcus Percennius, Archaeological Museum in Split. Photo: Ante Verzotti.....	74
Figure 17. Comparanda with funerary portraiture: (Left to right) 17. 1. CIL 3, 2712=9727: potrait of Claudiae Novae eques alae Marcus Elvadius; 17.2. CIL 3, 14934: portrait of Cohors II Chyrrestarum miles Marcus Pytha. Photos: Schönauer 2000: pl. T. X-XII, https://hrcak.srce.hr/198745 , last accessed 07/01/2021. License: CC BY 4.0.	76
Figure 16. (Left to right) 16.1. AE 2000, 1174: portrait of Gaius Licinius; 16.2. AE 1991, 1291: portrait of Quintus Mettius Valens; 16.3. CIL 3, 9737: portrait of Gaius Longinus. All held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. Photos: Ante Verzotti.	76
Figure 18. Map of Dalmatia and nearby Provinces (c. 117 CE) overlayed onto modern regions and cities. Image: Edit of DARMC, https://darmc.harvard.edu/ , last accessed 14/07/2020. License: CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.	100
Figure 19. Lower Dalmatia with main Legio VII sites. 1) Salona, 2) Tilurium/Pons Tiluri, 3) pagus Scunasticus, 4) Narona, 5) Aequum, 6) Dicmo, 7) Dugoplje, 8) Siculi, 9) Tragurium, 10) Corinium, 11) Andetrium, 12) Asseria, 13) Iader, 14) Municipium Riditarum. Image: Edit of MapCustomizer (© OpenStreetMap), https://www.mapcustomizer.com/map/Legio_VII_Main_Sites , last accessed 29/10/2020. License: CC BY-SA 2.0.....	101

Summary

The Imperial Roman military consisted of a vast collection of armies and overlapping sub-communities, causing it to be a multi-layered socio-cultural entity. Scholars have explored its social dynamics since the 1980s, with epigraphic material – particularly of a funerary nature – providing some of the best insight into the social ‘reality’ of members of the ‘Roman military community’. The Roman 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 it is often left unconsidered. As such, this thesis conducts an epigraphical and archaeological analysis of the 1st century CE Romano-Dalmatian inscribed funerary monuments of the Seventh Legion (*Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*) in order to study the social dynamics of the unit, as well as the construction of identity and community. This is done by applying a theoretically underpinned and historically contextualised approach to studying community and identity onto the detailed epigraphic corpus. It is demonstrated that *Legio VII* was home to a complex social network of servicemen – one which was intersected by various social, familial, legal, and military roles, relations, and symbols, and which was rejuvenated and negotiated through the textual, sculptural, and spatial dimensions of the soldiers’ funerary monuments. Moreover, these very funerary monuments were socially agential within the network, acting as a medium through which servicemen could symbolically and relationally (re)construct military identities and (re)define the nature of their community. Not only does this shed light on the social dynamics of a Roman unit-based community, but it also reinforces the image of funerary monuments as socially constructive mediums that has emerged in recent classical scholarship. Finally, this thesis demonstrates the value of theoretically engaged analyses of the detailed datasets collated by local scholarship on Romano-Dalmatia.

Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed) _____

Date: 09/11/2020

Ewan Coopey

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Abbreviations

Unless specified here, abbreviated references to authors and works from the classical world follow the conventions provided in S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow (2012), *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th Ed, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> (1888-).
<i>BASD</i>	<i>Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata</i> (1878-1922).
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Vols 1-17 (1863-).
<i>CLE</i>	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> , Vols 1-2 (1895-1897).
<i>CSIR 2.5</i>	<i>Militärische Grabdenkmäler aus Mainz und Umgebung, Corpus signorum imperii Romani, Deutschland (Germania Superior)</i> Vol. 2, 5 (1992).
<i>D.</i>	<i>Digesta</i> .
<i>DARMC</i>	<i>The Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations</i> , (2007-), https://darmc.harvard.edu/ , last accessed 14/07/2020.
<i>EDCS</i>	<i>Epigrafik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby</i> (1988-), http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/epi.php?s_sprache=en , last accessed 31/10/2020.
<i>EDH</i>	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg</i> (1986-), https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/home?lang=en , last accessed 31/10/2020.
<i>Fer. Dur.</i>	<i>Feriale duranum</i> = <i>P. Dura</i> 54 (See <i>P. Dura</i>).
<i>IA</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> , Vols 1-3 (1991-1993).
<i>IGRRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> , Vols 1-4 (1906-1927).
<i>ILJug</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 5), J. Šašel and A. Šašel (eds), Vol. 1 (1963); <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 19), J. Šašel and A. Šašel (eds), Vol. 2 (1978); <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla 25), J. Šašel and A. Šašel (eds), Vol. 3, (1986).

- ILS* *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Vols 1-3 (1892-1916).
- IMS* *Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure*, Vols 1-6 (1976-1982).
- Itin. Ant.* *Itineraria Antonini Augusti / Antonine Itinerary*.
- Izdanja HAD* *Izdanja Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* (1969-).
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, Vols 1-10 (1928-1993).
- P. Dura* *The Excavations at Dura-Europos conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Final Report. Vol. 5 pt. 1, 'The Parchments and Papyri' (1959).*
- Rav. Cosm.* *Cosmographia Anonymi Ravennatis / Cosmography of the Anonymous of Ravenna*.
- RFFZd* *Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta u Zadru*.
- RIB* *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, Vols 1-3 (1965-2009).
- Tab. Vindol.* *Tabulae Vindolandenses*, Vols 1-4 (1983-2011).
- TRAC/TRAJ* *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference* (1991-2017), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* (2018-).
- VAHD/VAPD* *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* (1920-2004, 2013-), *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* (2005-2012).

Chapter 1:

Studying the Funerary Monuments of the *Fratres Romani Legionis VII*

1.1 Background

Consolidating, expanding, and enforcing the vast Roman Empire was its military, or rather, its many *exercitus* (armies) and *milites* (soldiers) which some consider as having constituted a military institution.¹ These *milites* and their overarching ‘institution’ received a great deal of scholarly attention throughout the 19th and 20th centuries – indeed, ‘Roman military studies’ is “almost a sub-discipline of ancient history”.² However, during this time, the Roman army was considered a monolithic fighting machine, almost separate from civilian society, with a particular scholarly emphasis placed upon organisation, tactics, troop movements, and composition. More recently, since the 1980s, scholars have integrated Roman armies into their socio-cultural context, exploring their social and relational dynamics, and their many sub-groups, as well as their interactions with non-military or liminal groups.³ This has resulted in a new ‘bottom up’ appreciation of the Roman military as an amalgamation of communities and sub-communities which are structured symbolically and relationally through shared communal and individual ‘military identities’, and grounded upon the sense of groupness and fraternity felt amongst the serving *milites*⁴ – a sense of fraternity so strong that these *milites* could be considered ‘*fratres Romani*’.

One regiment home to these ‘Roman brothers’ was the Seventh Legion, or *Legio Septima (VII) Claudia Pia Fidelis* as it became known after 42 CE. This *legio* was stationed in the province of *Dalmatia* (parts of Albania, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Kosovo, and Serbia) from 7 CE to 59 CE, a time during which its members were involved in a number of offensive, administrative, and infrastructure initiatives, attested to by numerous inscribed monuments. Most of this epigraphic material is funerary, acting at their most fundamental level as “a sign that stands for the dead person in the world of the living”.⁵ Yet, such material was also a medium through which identities and

¹ Others have not. See James 2011: 22-23.

² Alston 1995: 3-4.

³ E.g. Gardner 2001; James 2011.

⁴ From here on this is what is referred to as ‘the Roman military’.

⁵ Hope 2001: 2.

communities could be symbolically and relationally (re)negotiated. Whilst the epigraphic monuments of *Legio VII* have received a deal of scholarly attention, this predominantly local Croatian scholarship has been primarily catalogic, typological, and descriptive, not often engaging with these more complex social dynamics. Nevertheless, this has resulted in the production of a highly detailed dataset, the very same type of dataset which is becoming valued in Roman studies, for there is an increasing scholarly awareness that the application of theory – or theoretically engaged approaches – to such datasets is key to creating the most encompassing and nuanced reconstructions of the ancient experience.⁶ Furthermore, there is a tendency in theoretically engaged Roman military scholarship, particularly Anglophone scholarship, to focus on central and northern Europe, as well as other select regions of the Empire such as Africa and Egypt, with evidence from southeastern Europe often left unconsidered. As such, this corpus presents the perfect opportunity to address this imbalance, positively contributing to the field of Roman military studies.

1.2 Aims, Evidence, and Approach

1.2.1 Aims

To achieve this, I aim to conduct an epigraphical and archaeological analysis of the construction of military social identities and community through the inscribed funerary monuments of *Legio VII* (and *VII C.p.f.*) in *Dalmatia*, studying the monuments as both a snapshot of the social networks present within the regiment and as medium through which the servicemen enacted their capacity as social agents. Moreover, this thesis investigates *how* the monuments are themselves implicated in the processes of constructing and developing communities, sub-communities, and individual social identities.

More specifically, this thesis aims to analyse the epigraphic funerary monuments of *Legio VII* dating between 7 CE and approximately 80 CE, focusing upon two main lines of investigation, examining what they reveal about:

1. the social dynamics of the ‘community of the soldier’ that was both *Legio VII* servicemen (*milites*) and ex-servicemen (*veterani*); and
2. the construction of individual military identities and community through funerary monuments.

⁶ Eckardt 2014: 9-10.

In doing so, this thesis contributes towards a better understanding of a) the social dynamics of a Roman unit-based community, and b) the socially constructive nature of Roman funerary monuments within the context of such a community. As mentioned, this aids in the increased integration of valuable local scholarship and southeastern European evidence into more mainstream and theoretically underpinned discussions, diversifying modern reconstructions.

For clarity, the ‘community of the soldier’ refers to serving and retired *milites*, amongst whom there was a communal identity and shared sense of belonging centred around a common occupation. As explored in Chapter 2, there were many overlapping and interfacing sub-communities within the armies of Rome, yet on account of scope, this distinct group is to be the focus. Indeed, this community is arguably more readily distinguishable and present in the epigraphic record than others on account of the characteristic ‘military epitaphic formula’ and *milites*’ general attraction towards inscribed funerary monuments (see 2.4.3). ‘Social dynamics’ is understood here as the intra-unit relations and networks between servicemen, the deceased, their community, and funerary monuments. On account these focuses, the types of identity studied in this thesis relate purely to the social plains of identity formation, as opposed to those of a more ethnic, religious, and personal nature (which funerary monuments can also be used to investigate). That said, this focus allows for an in-depth analysis and reconstruction of the aforementioned broader communal social dynamics. Finally, this research is not primarily concerned with *why* military communities and identities were constructed, but rather *how* they were constructed and communicated through funerary monuments and *what* these communities looked like socially according to this epigraphic material.

1.2.2 Evidence

The exact size, form, and content of the corpus, as well as the general function of Roman funerary monuments, are explored in depth in Chapters 2.4 and 3.1. Nonetheless, it is important to briefly define ‘funerary monument’ here. Roman funerary monuments were inscribed markers (often, but not exclusively, made of stone) primarily erected to indicate places of interment, as well as produce and preserve a memory of the deceased or soon-to-be deceased in a quasi-public cemeterial or funerary context. Whilst it was not uncommon for these monuments to be erected during the life of the commemorated individual, most were erected by an heir, relative, friend, or comrade after death, often *testamento fieri iussit*

(‘according to their will’).⁷ As noted above, funerary monuments were also socially constructive, constructing ‘ideal’ identities of the deceased and (re)defining the nature of the social groupings in which the commemorated was a member. As such, they also shed light on the social dynamics of Roman daily life.

There are over 80 funerary monuments of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia*, and like many of the funerary monuments of the early Empire, these consist predominantly of funerary stelae: stone monuments or ‘slabs’ with an inscribed epitaph bearing formulaic descriptions of the deceased and the commemorators – what we may refer to today as tombstones. However, funerary *arae* (altars), *tituli* (isolated epitaphs with no, or minimal decorations), and fragmentary inscriptions of a funerary and/or sacral nature also comprise part of the corpus.⁸ These monuments range in decoration: some are intricate, with several sculptural decorations creating an overall style, others are more simple, consisting of purely an epitaph. In terms of provenience, the large majority of the corpus is spread around three sites, the permanent camp of *Tilurium* (Gardun), the provincial capital of *Salona* (Solin), and the veteran settlement of *pagus Scunasticus* (Ljubuški). Unless found in states of secondary usage, the monuments have been removed from their original context and are now held in several museums.⁹ This hinders interpretation somewhat when proper context data is lacking (as it often is), as discussed in Chapter 3.4.2.

1.2.3 Approach and Method

My thesis primarily draws upon the approach developed by the British epigrapher and archaeologist Valerie Hope. I consider the funerary monuments of *Legio VII* as ‘integrated wholes’, analysing their main communicative dimensions: the visual, textual, and contextual, understanding that some specific mediums of communication related to these dimensions may no longer be accessible.¹⁰ The extant visual dimension refers to the sculptural features such as portraiture, decorations, and styles (the overall composition of various features), which could construct military identities as well as advertise a sense of

⁷ E.g. CIL 3, 2014; 2717 = 9728; *ILJug* 3, 1920.

⁸ This understanding of *tituli* is taken from Tončinić 2011: 162-164.

⁹ Most of the corpus is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split, however the Trogir City Museum, Museum of the Franciscan monastery at Humac, Museum of the Franciscan monastery collection in Sinj, Archaeological collection of Marko Matijević in Solin, Trilj Regional Museum, Archaeological Museum in Zadar, Museum of Cetinska Krajina in Sinj, and the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina all also hold monuments related to *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia*.

¹⁰ Hope 2001: 6. See also Woolf 1996: 25-28. For instance, stelae would have originally been painted, creating another avenue for visual communication. One can note that these categories may overlap and include multiple subcategories. For example, when considered together, the textual and visual dimensions can reveal information about craftsmanship.

community, including common styles and motifs, military or otherwise, which may be interpreted as expressions of a sense of communal belonging ('communityness' one could say). This analysis 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.¹¹ The textual dimension refers to the Latin epitaphs, namely statements of military membership, office, and awards, as well as references to any intra-unit social relations. The contextual or 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 funerary monuments. This is done to explore *if* and *how* the location of the monuments expresses – and therefore constructs and reinforces – a sense of community. It is important to stress that, whilst certain discussions may have a particular focus, all elements are considered together. The significance of this integrated analytical method is the fact that it enables the capture of a multitude of symbols and relations communicated via different mediums, subsequently facilitating a fuller reconstruction of social dynamics and processes of social construction

Whilst not a theoretical discussion, this thesis is informed by modern social theories surrounding community and identity, namely Anthony Cohen's theory of community as a symbolic construct, social identity theory (SIT), and identity theory (IT).¹² These theories are contextualised within the Roman military and applied to Roman funerary monuments through their synthesis with approaches and understandings that have been developed in Roman scholarship. This understanding is then deployed upon the epigraphic and material dataset provided by local scholars. Though such an approach does not engage with every dimension of identity and social 'reality', this allows for an effective investigation of the snapshot of identity negotiation, community (re)development, and social 'reality' provided by the communicative dimensions of Roman funerary tombstones outlined above.

1.3 Literature Review

To effectively develop this approach, scholarship from several areas of study has been consulted. As mentioned, this was crucial for the development of a sound theoretical understanding of both community and identity, their nature within the context of the Roman military, and their relation to Roman funerary monuments. This synthesis is outlined in

¹¹ Johns 2003: 17-20.

¹² Cohen 1985; Hogg, Terry, and White 1995.

Chapter 2. The core of my research centres around the consultation of a large body of primarily Croatian scholarship concerning the epigraphic monuments of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia* (funerary and administrative) in order to develop an appreciation of the material onto which the aforementioned understandings and approaches will be applied. This scholarship will now be overviewed.

This scholarship is relatively extensive, primarily on account of the sheer size of the *Legio VII* epigraphic corpus (over 100 inscribed stone and ceramic monuments), and is indeed varied, ranging from valuable demographic studies of the servicemen, to in-depth analyses of the content, style, and distribution of their related monuments. Some even feature engagement with more complex discussions concerning the social dynamics of the Roman world. As the literature is too extensive to cover in full, my focus is upon illustrative and (where appropriate) recent works.

1.3.1 Discovery and Publication

A great number of the monuments were published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in the third volume of the *CIL*, and several issues of the *BASD* (or both).¹³ Many of these monuments were visible to the naked eye, whilst others, particularly those recorded by Frane Bulić in the *BASD*, were found during excavations or surveys.¹⁴ These works are invaluable, sometimes providing the only information for now-lost monuments.¹⁵ That said, they are not devoid of issues, typically being concerned solely with inscriptions, and rarely recording visual features or precise provenience.¹⁶ Not all early scholarship shared these drawbacks: Johannes Brøndsted, for instance, led excavations of the Kapljuč region of *Salona* between 1922-1924 (where several stelae related to *Legio VII* were situated) and published detailed contextual data, descriptions, and illustrations.¹⁷

Newer discoveries have also continued to be published (albeit in far fewer numbers). In the 1990s, Ivo Fadić, for instance, epigraphically studied all of the *Legio VII* monuments from the surrounds of the camp at *Tilurium* (Gardun, Trilj, Vojnić, and Dicmo), formulating the first overview of the unit's epigraphic record at this site – one later bolstered by Mirjana

¹³ A great number were actually discussed in the first volume of the bulletin, *BASD* 1: 17-20, 33-35, 85-89, 120-144.

¹⁴ E.g. above n. 13. These early 'excavations' and 'surveys' were primarily around the Salonitan necropoleis and typically conducted by small teams and focused on the early Christian cemeteries and cemeterial basilicas, but a number of extant monuments were also accidental finds of the local inhabitants.

¹⁵ E.g. *CIL* 3, 3162a.

¹⁶ Tončinić 2011: 15-16.

¹⁷ Brøndsted 1928.

Sanader.¹⁸ The monuments from Ljubuški's surrounds (western Herzegovina in Bosnia and Herzegovina) were published in a similar manner, with Vukosava Atanacković-Salčić, Dubravka Čerina, Tajma Rismondo, and Radoslav Dodig being just a few of the scholars who have examined the finds.¹⁹ Other isolated finds have also been addressed in similar later 20th century works, with the prominent archaeologist and art historian Nenad Cambi publishing the funerary stela of a *Legio VII veteranus* from Dugopolje for example.²⁰

A great deal of local scholarship has focused upon the composition of *Salona's* several necropoleis and select monuments of *Legio VII* are addressed in these works. For instance, Cambi outlined the nature of the Salonitan necropoleis in 1986 and, summarising the work of various earlier archaeologists, Željko Miletić overviewed the northern and eastern necropoleis in the 1990s.²¹ Both scholars described the findspots of several relevant inscriptions.²² Multiple papers have also been published concerned solely with Salonitan *Legio VII* material, with Cambi examining two monuments from the (north-)eastern cemetery in his previously noted 1986 paper and Ivan Matijević briefly summarising the corpus in 2017.²³

1.3.2 “...karakterističan je za vojnike VII legije”: Previous Studies of the monuments²⁴

Scholarship has proven valuable in tracking the movements, activities, and settlement patterns of *Legio VII* members, appearing relatively early on within the seminal work of Emil Ritterling: ‘*Legio*’.²⁵ The aforementioned surveys of the Ljubuški area conducted by Dodig convincingly confirm the existence of settled *veterani* in the region (*pagus Scunasticus*), and similar works continue to be published in light of new findings.²⁶ The main focus of Matijević's previously noted 2017 article was to (re)publish the tombstone of a *Legio VII veteranus*, Gaius Aulus Secundus, found in *Siculi* (Bijaći – situated above Kaštel Štafilić, between *Tragurium*/Trogir and *Salona*). Within his discussion, Matijević observes

¹⁸ Fadić 1995: 1997; Sanader 2000.

¹⁹ Atanacković-Salčić 1981: 263-273; Čerina and Rismondo 2004; Dodig 2003a; 2003b; 2005a; 2005b.

²⁰ Cambi 1994: 154-156. The stela, along with six others, was found as part of a Late Antique tomb. Similar works of note are Demicheli and Tončinić 2008; Demicheli 2011, which publish and study a monument from *Aequum/Hrvace* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66).

²¹ Cambi 1986; Miletić 1990: 179-80; 1991: 28-34. Cf. Jagoda Mardešić (2019: 143-45) who argues that the northern necropolis was larger and more established than Miletić suggests.

²² E.g. *AE* 1991, 1290-91; *CIL* 3, 2048.

²³ Cambi 1986: 80-85, figs. 8-9; 1990; Matijević 2017: 131-35. Matijević (2019) also studied the Salonitan monuments of *Legio VII* in his extensive survey of the relations listed upon military funerary stelae from *Salona*.

²⁴ Cambi 1986: 81. Translation: ‘it is characteristic of the soldiers of *legio VII*’.

²⁵ Ritterling 1925: 1614-1620.

²⁶ Dodig 2003a; 2003b; 2005a; 2005b; Glavičić and Pandža 2017.

how the monument altered previously accepted compositional data for *Legio VII*.²⁷ Further to this, scholars should be commended for their frequent reassessment of the archaeological evidence. Illustrative of this is Nikola Cesarik's recent reassessment of *CIL* 3, 14992 from *Burnum*, which ascribes it to *Legio VIII Augusta*, not *Legio VII*.²⁸

The style, production, and distribution of the funerary monuments of *Legio VII* have also been of great scholarly interest, with related discussions arising relatively early in the 20th century with Harold Hofmann.²⁹ Scholars such as Hofmann, Sergio Rinaldi Tufi, Julijan Medini, and Cambi examined the monuments bearing the so-called 'Asia Minor façades' or 'porta inferi' motifs, discussing the origin and religious significance of the design and coming to different conclusions.³⁰ Since the 1990s, there has also been a rising awareness of distinct styles of monument. In a great exemplum of sequential scholarship, over approximately three decades, Cambi, Sanader, and Domagoj Tončinić developed a sophisticated typology of architectural 'types' and 'reduced types' for the funerary monuments of *Legio VII*.³¹ The monuments have also been addressed in studies which conduct analyses of a wider range of Romano-Dalmatian monuments. Aleksandra Nikoloska includes the funerary stela of Gaius Longius (*CIL* 3, 9737) in her study of the development of the cult of Cybele and Attis,³² and Sanja Ivčević and Tončinić address several monuments in their examination of the military imagery upon Tilurian tombstones.³³ The aforementioned typological studies also opened the way for in-depth investigations of stelae production. From the late-1980s, noting the similar style and materiality amongst the funerary stelae of *Legio VII* (and other units) from the wider Sinjsko polje, scholars began to hypothesise that there was a stonemason's workshop at *Tilurium*.³⁴ As is explored further

²⁷ Matijević 2017: 127-28. Up until this point, the accepted compositional data was that presented by Tončinić 2011: 201-7. See 3.3.3 for the composition of *Legio VII*.

²⁸ Cesarik 2016. The inscription had previously been attributed to *Legio VII*. However, this is not conclusive, so it has been included as a potential monument of *Legio VII*.

²⁹ This is addressed further at 3.3.

³⁰ Hofmann 1905: 54-57; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 116-117, 131-133; Medini 1984: 112-114; Cambi 1994: 166-170. Their conclusions vary, with arguments for Asiatic, Italian, and Hellenistic origins or influences. For a more recent paper with a succinct overview and a new 'take', see Miletić 2015.

³¹ Cambi 1990: 65-69; Sanader 2003; Tončinić 2011: 147-164. See 3.4.1 and Appendix 6.

³² Nikoloska 2010: 24-25, fig. 67. The stela supposedly depicts Attis upon its lower register, see Medini (above n. 30). One should note that this identification of the human figures upon select *Legio VII* stelae as Attis is not accepted by all scholars. Cf. Cambi 1994: 170; 2005: 53-55. See 4.4.1 for further discussion. Moreover, Selem and Vilogoric Brčić (2012: 79-154) do not include it in their catalogue of Salonitan monuments dedicated to the cult of Cybele and Attis. However, this may be because it is from the wider region (*Tilurium*).

³³ Tončinić and Ivčević 2013: figs. 1-2, 4-16, 18-19, 22-23, 29.

³⁴ See Cambi 1992: 33-34; Zaninović 1996: 280-291; Wilkes 2000: 331; Ivčević 2013b: 20.

in Chapter 3.4, scholars such as Miletić have since been able to examine the clusters of stelae further and better understand the region's main production centres.³⁵

1.3.3 Analytical Style

Most of the above-cited scholarship typically provides little to no engagement with socially complex discussions concerning the Roman military or society at large, especially those of a more theoretical nature. As Predrag Novaković notes, this was typical of most Croatian archaeological scholarship up until the 2000s.³⁶ This is not a critique of the *value* of the previously discussed scholarship, for it has formed a thorough understanding of the epigraphic corpus of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia*, rather just a note on its general focus. There are naturally exceptions, with several works engaging with mainstream topics concerning the Roman world, including those surrounding the military. Some studies of Cambi, as well as several papers published by English archaeologist John Wilkes, are the best (but not the sole) examples of such exceptions.³⁷ In 1990, Cambi attempted to explain the similarity in decoration between the *Legio VII* stelae at *Tilurium* and *Salona*, stating that the soldiers “wanted to manifest their belonging to the same military and legionary community”.³⁸ Whilst this point is neither explored nor explained much further, it signals some genuine engagement with the communal significance of a certain sculptural style amongst servicemen in *Dalmatia*.

Wilkes studied the funerary monuments of *Legio VII* on several occasions, most notably in his 1969 monograph *Dalmatia* and two contributions to edited volumes in 1999 and 2000.³⁹ In the latter two instances, Wilkes used select *Legio VII* tombstones (from *Dalmatia* and other provinces) as case-studies of the Roman military community. Wilkes' approach is still primarily epigraphical and text-centric, featuring little theoretical engagement or consideration of the visual and spatial dimensions of the monuments. In 1999, he outlined the diverse origins of *Legio VII*'s *legionarii*, but did not adequately explore the implications of this multi-culturalism on cohesion or identity.⁴⁰ Likewise, in 2000, Wilkes described the social relationships preserved within funerary epitaphs, observing a wide range of familial, marital, and links, but did not go beyond this observational analysis.⁴¹

³⁵ Miletić 2013.

³⁶ Novaković 2011: 382-383.

³⁷ See also Miletić 2015.

³⁸ Cambi 1990: 72.

³⁹ Wilkes 1969: 92-115, 128-134; 1999: 97-98, 100-102; 2000: 329-331.

⁴⁰ Wilkes 1999: 99-104.

⁴¹ Wilkes 2000: 328-331.

Commendably, Wilkes acknowledges complex analyses could, and should, be conducted, stating that he endeavoured “merely to indicate but one aspect of the potential for Roman studies of that treasure house of figured and inscribed monuments”.⁴² Moreover, channelling the (at the time) recently departed scholar Eric Birley’s passion for revisionist studies, Wilkes stated that his findings should be revised and expanded upon in the future when the corpus is larger and more accessible.⁴³ Indeed, it is partly in response to this statement that this thesis was developed.

1.3.4 New Opportunities

One of the most important works in relation to this thesis was published 11 years after Wilkes’ chapter from 2000: Tončinić’s bi-lingual monograph (based on his MA thesis), which compiles 115 monuments of *Legio VII* from *Dalmatia* and consists of a catalogue with accompanying photos, illustrations, transliterations, and translations, as well as a section of analysis containing a number of useful tables, charts, and graphs.⁴⁴ Whilst indeed addressing and summarising the stylistic and contextual dimensions of the monuments, much of Tončinić’s analysis centres around the textual dimension, providing valuable insight into *praenomen*, *cognomen*, *domicilium*, *stipendia*, and age of death.⁴⁵ As a largely catalogic work, the monograph does not contribute towards any ongoing debates concerning Roman society, such as colonisation or globalisation (or provincialisation). Nonetheless, the work brings almost all of the data related to the monuments together and provides an extensive bibliography accessible to both local and Anglophone scholarship. Crucially, it allows for the funerary monuments of *Legio VII* to be studied together visually, textually, and, to an extent, contextually, enabling complex investigations of the material evidence; investigations such as the one undertaken in this thesis.

1.4 Summary and Chapter Overview

In summary, this Chapter has outlined the rationale, aims, evidence, approach, and scholarly context of this thesis. The aim is to explore the social dynamics and socially constructive processes surrounding identity, community, and funerary markers within the context of a 1st century Roman *legio* by analysing the corpus of inscribed funerary monuments of *Legio VII* from the province of *Dalmatia*. To do so, this thesis synthesises a range of scholarship from ancient world studies and other areas of the humanities to formulate an approach and method

⁴² Wilkes 2000: 328.

⁴³ Wilkes 2000: 335.

⁴⁴ Tončinić 2011: 22-136 (catalogue), 137-218 (analysis).

⁴⁵ Tončinić 2011: 179-216.

that best engages with the more social facets of community and identity, as well as comprehensively captures the various communicative dimensions of Roman funerary monuments. This is then deployed onto the rich and detailed epigraphic dataset which has been produced by the descriptive, typological, and catalogic local, mostly Croatian scholarship, thus taking advantage of a potential for a complex theoretically engaged analysis that has, so far, remained untapped. In doing so, this thesis will draw attention to the great work conducted by these scholars, as well as the value of Romano-Dalmatian evidence. The layout of this process is as follows.

Chapters 2 and 3 provide a theoretical and historical background. Chapter 2 develops a theoretically informed approach to understanding identity and community within the context of the Roman army and asserts that Roman funerary monuments were actively utilised as a medium to (re)construct both phenomena. First, this Chapter synthesises understandings of identity and community developed in anthropology, sociology, and psychology to formulate an understanding of the two phenomena at a theoretical level (2.2). Drawing upon historical and archaeological scholarship, the two concepts are then contextualised within the Roman military (2.3). Lastly, the nature of Roman funerary monuments is addressed and their socially constructive capabilities within the military and more generally are examined (2.4). Chapter 3 historically contextualises the epigraphic corpus under study, first by providing an overview of the history of *Legio VII*, focusing upon its arrival and departure from *Dalmatia* (3.2), and then by summarising the service, settlement, and composition of its *milites* during its Dalmatian stay (3.3). Finally, the form, content, distribution, and production of the funerary monuments erected by and for these men is addressed (3.4).

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 provide the discussion and findings of this thesis. It is here I deploy the ‘integrated whole’ approach alongside my theoretical and historical foundations established in Chapters 2 and 3 to investigate the very questions posed above (1.2). In Chapter 4, the social dynamics of the *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’ are examined, with a focus upon the social networks recorded upon the epitaphs (4.2), the communal significance of erecting a tombstone (4.3), and the visualisation and projection of community through the sculptural and spatial dimensions of these funerary markers (4.4). Moving on from this understanding, this thesis explores the use of inscriptions (5.2), sculpture, and sculptural decorations (5.3-4) to construct military identities and (re)define the military

nature, or ethos, of the community. Finally, my conclusions and observations are consolidated in Chapter 6, supplemented by suggestions for future lines of inquiry.

Chapter 2:

Approaching the Roman Military Community, Military Identity, and Funerary Monuments

2.1 Introduction

To explore the social dynamics of military community and identity through the funerary monuments of *Legio VII*, the present study draws upon approaches and understandings from a range of theoretical, historical, and archaeological dialogues. These dialogues can be categorised (albeit artificially) under three sub-headings: sociological, psychological, and anthropological theories of community and identity; the Roman military community and identity; and the relationship between community, identity, and Roman funerary monuments. It will become evident that there is a great deal of overlap between these, testament to their ontological and epistemological compatibility. The subsequent framework is not socially all encompassing, however, it has been curated to facilitate an understanding of Roman military communities and identities as fluid constructs which are largely the product of the collective and individual agency of their constituents, and which are defined, constructed, and, therefore, accessible through funerary monuments.

2.2 Community and Social Identity

Any examination of community and identity in the ancient world must be framed by modern scholarship, for without an effective theoretical appreciation of community and identity, how can one expect to apply these concepts onto the material produced by the social agents of the past? Naturally, as Andrew Gardner notes, these modern theories must also be placed within a Roman historical and cultural context, as will be done below (2.3).⁴⁶ Community and identity are particularly multi-faceted, complex, and contested concepts, and related scholarship is consequently vast. My particular framework enables me to investigate a distinct iteration of each phenomenon, namely relationally and symbolically constructed military communities and the interrelated social identities of their constituents.

As one of the most common social structures fashioned by that ever-so-social animal, the human, community has received a great deal of attention, resulting in a plethora of ‘community theories’. A particularly relevant one is the concept of the community as a symbolic construct, a symbolic interactionist theory developed in the 1980s by social

⁴⁶ Gardner 2001: 37.

anthropologist Anthony Cohen.⁴⁷ Building upon Victor Turner and Fredrik Barth, Cohen (and, more broadly, symbolic anthropologists) considers ‘community’ to be a flexible socio-cultural entity “which is meaningfully constructed by people through their symbolic prowess and resources” and “provides a sense of identity within a bounded whole for its members”.⁴⁸ In other words, community is developed through the imbuing of shared symbols (be they tangible objects, ideas, relations, or practices) with meaning, and community members are agents in this process. As communities are constructed around symbols, they are not always geographically bound, as is seen with ‘occupational communities’, wherein the focus is upon occupation-related symbols and interactions.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the symbolic repertoire of a community acts as a referent for the identities of its constituents, providing the means by which to express their belonging.⁵⁰ By studying common symbols within, for example, a Roman military community, one can thus gain a deeper appreciation of the nature of that community and the identities of its constituents.

In addition to the social agency Cohen’s model grants community members, two other benefits are its openness to community development through the alteration of symbols, and its ability to be effectively transplanted across temporal, geographical and socio-cultural boundaries on account of its emphasis on contextualised symbols.⁵¹ The fact that the theory has been used to study both modern football fanbases and late Roman frontier communities is indicative of this.⁵² That said, Cohen’s model is not without limitations. Expanding upon the work of Barth, Cohen focuses on symbolic (cultural) boundaries, collective inter-group relations, and, thus, exclusiveness, largely ignoring the relational dynamic of community.⁵³ Applied in isolation, Cohen’s model would, therefore, only provide a partial reconstruction of the military community, one which underplayed the significance of intra-group relations.

To alleviate this, my research also considers the social relations *within* the community, an endeavour enabled by social identity theory (SIT) and identity theory (IT).⁵⁴ Identity is a complex and fluid iteration of the ‘self’, highly contextualised in the situations within which it is formed and expressed. We can have a multiplicity of identities related to

⁴⁷ Cohen 1985; 1987; Delanty 2001: 46-47

⁴⁸ Turner 1969; Barth 1969; Cohen 1985: 38; Hamilton 1985: 9.

⁴⁹ Cohen 1985: 108, 117. For more on ‘occupational communities’ see Salaman 1974; Collins 2006: 4-7.

⁵⁰ Cohen 1985: 12, 117-118.

⁵¹ Cohen 1985: 17-18, 28; Delanty 2001: 47.

⁵² Brown, Crabbe, and Mellor 2008; Collins 2008.

⁵³ Delanty 2001: 48.

⁵⁴ Hogg, Terry, and White 1995.

the plethora of intersections within our lives, such as sexuality, dis/ability, gender, race, class, socioeconomic status, age, and so on.⁵⁵ Crucially, an individual may also have converging, even conflicting identities. Developed in the social sciences, this understanding has penetrated into post-processual archaeological and classical scholarship.⁵⁶ In light of this, an identity preserved in a certain archaeological dataset is understood not to be the whole ‘self’, but a facet of that ‘self’.

Social identity is, therefore, a distinct form of identity, related to relations and social roles, and is centred upon the presentation of oneself relative to these relations and roles. It is this ‘social self’ that SIT and IT address, with both theories ontologically grounded by the assumption that the social ‘self’ is formed in response to an individual’s relation to groupings.⁵⁷ SIT originated in social psychology and examines the generative role of inter- and intra-group interactions and relations. Crucially, it asserts that when group related identities are consciously articulated, they are evidence of self-understood ‘groupness’, or, within this thesis, belonging to community.⁵⁸ Originating in sociology and heavily influenced by symbolic interactionism (like Cohen), IT declares that social roles greatly impact identity, becoming referents for how an individual understands and expresses themselves socially. Additionally, the more a certain role is referred to, the greater its identity salience (self-understood importance).⁵⁹ As such, by studying the relations and roles preserved upon a Roman tombstone, one can reconstruct part of the promoted social identity of the commemorated individual.

To summarise, community and social identity are heavily intertwined in a reciprocal relationship of renegotiation. In the context of this thesis, ‘community’ shall be defined as a socio-cultural entity to which individuals consciously belong. Community members (re)construct and (re)define the community through shared symbols which also act as a referent for their social identities. A community’s various inter- and intra-social interactions are equally influential and can themselves become core comprising components. ‘Social identity’ is a distinct representation of the ‘self’ negotiated in relation to one’s social context (such as within a community). Finally, within all of these formative processes, the individual

⁵⁵ Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1-3.

⁵⁶ E.g. Collins 2008: 45-47; Džino 2010a: 98; Eckardt 2014: 4-7; Roymans 2014: 232-233.

⁵⁷ Hogg, Terry, and White 1995: 255-256.

⁵⁸ Hogg and Abrams 1988: 52-54; Hogg, Terry, and White 1995: 259.

⁵⁹ Hogg, Terry, and White 1995: 256-258.

is an active social agent, affected by, yet also affecting the social relations and structures which influence their community and identity.⁶⁰

2.3 Roman Military Community and Identity

This lens must now be contextualised within the Roman Imperial army (or armies). In 1984, coming out of the (then) newly developed field of ‘New Military Studies’, Ramsay MacMullen published an article illuminating the strong sense of community felt amongst the soldiery of Rome, presenting it as one shaped through shared symbols and intensified social interactions facilitated by a hierarchical network.⁶¹ This article sparked the aforementioned (1.1) change in scholarly focus towards the socio-cultural dynamics of the Roman military, asserting that no real attempt had yet been made “to understand anything so romantic as the soul of the soldier”, and imploring future scholars to engage with sociology as a means of doing so.⁶² Studies have since proliferated, drawing upon a range of corpora to investigate the many intersections within the Roman military and better reconstruct the ‘reality’ of the Roman *miles* from the bottom up. What has emerged from this scholarship is the concept of the Roman military as a community, or, rather, as an amalgamation of sub-communities with strong unifying occupational-identities.⁶³ Moreover, scholarship has engaged with theories developed in the social sciences and humanities since the early 1990s, effectively integrating post-processualist approaches to archaeological data.⁶⁴ This contrasts with more general military studies, which have often been dictated by “the perspectives and selections of so-called facts presented by a small number of ancient authors”.⁶⁵ The following discussion defines the Roman military community between the late 1st century BCE and 3rd century CE, illustrating the above points and demonstrating that mainstream scholarship has, at times, overlooked evidence from certain provinces of Rome’s far-reaching empire, such as *Dalmatia*.

2.3.1 The Roman Military Community

First and foremost, the Roman military was a mechanism of empire, establishing, enforcing, and maintaining it. How the military was understood in the Roman consciousness, however,

⁶⁰ Joyce and Lopiparo 2005; Dornan-Fish 2012: 281-283.

⁶¹ MacMullen 1984: 443-446. For a brief overview of the development of ‘New Military History’ and Graeco-Roman warfare studies more specifically see Brice 2020: 2-4.

⁶² MacMullen 1984: 440.

⁶³ James 1999; Collins 2006: 7-9; 2008: 50; Haynes 2014: 451.

⁶⁴ Notable works are Alston 1995; 1999; James 1999; 2011; Haynes 1999a; 1999b; 2014.

⁶⁵ Gardner 2001: 36. Publius Cornelius Tacitus and Ammianus Marcellinus serve as prime examples of this type of ancient author.

is a different matter. There was no Latin word for the ‘military institution’ or ‘army’, just for armies (*exercitus*, *exercitus*) and soldiers (*miles*, *milites*). In a sense, this reveals that the Romans themselves may not have understood the military as a colossal institution, but rather a collection of armies and soldiers.⁶⁶ As Ian Haynes notes, “multiple local communities existed within [this] large military community”, with the numerous and diverse units of the Roman Empire, such as *legiones*, *cohortes*, *alae*, and *milliaria*, as well as their smaller overlapping groupings (such as *centuriae* or *contubernales*), all maintaining a degree of social cohesion.⁶⁷ These smaller overlapping units and sub-units would have been a Roman *miles*’ primary point of contact with this imagined occupational community, nourishing his sense of belonging, as well as providing the social settings wherein he would fashion his strongest (military) social bonds and craft his military identity.⁶⁸ The importance of this sense of community, at every level of the military, cannot be over-emphasised, providing the ethnically diverse Roman *milites* – often serving a long way from home – something to belong to, something tangible, yet also larger than themselves.⁶⁹

In stark contrast to MacMullen’s claim that “[t]he army appears to our view as a society rather sealed off from the ordinary”, it has become evident that the various *exercitus* of *milites* were not ‘sealed off’ from the non-military.⁷⁰ Richard Alston’s work on Roman soldiery in Egypt, via thorough consultation of papyrological evidence, illuminates the social interactions between soldier and civilian, demonstrating that these interactions would have influenced both the role of garrisons and the identities of its constituents.⁷¹ In fact, whilst *milites* and *veterani* – that is, the members of the ‘community of the soldier’ – likely exercised the most agency within military communities,⁷² the broader entity itself did not consist entirely of servicemen. There has been a rising awareness since the 1990s of an extended community of non-combatants, Carol van Driel-Murray, Lindsay Allason-Jones, and Penelope Allison have all convincingly argued that tradespeople, women, and children could be active within military contexts.⁷³ For instance, artefacts typically related to female agency, namely spindle-whorls, are found in varying frequencies within several central and

⁶⁶ James 1999: 14-15; 2011: 22-23; Coulston 2004: 140.

⁶⁷ Haynes 1999a: 7.

⁶⁸ MacMullen 1984: 446; Walas 2014: 77; 2015: 20-24, 27; Haynes 2014: 453.

⁶⁹ Marić 2019: 15-16.

⁷⁰ MacMullen 1984: 441. See Gardner 2001: 43.

⁷¹ Alston 1995; 1999: 189-190.

⁷² Wives of officers may be an exception to this rule, see below.

⁷³ van Driel-Murray 1997; Allason-Jones 1999; Allison 2006a; 2006b. See also Haynes 2014: 450, 457.

northern European military contexts.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the *Vindolanda* tablets reveal that officers' wives could be socially mobile within their local community.⁷⁵ As such, it is acknowledged that, whilst this thesis is concerned only with the 'community of the soldier', Haynes is right in saying the broader 'story' of the Roman army "is one not simply of soldiers, but of a far wider range of people".⁷⁶

As argued above (2.2), one's social interactions within a community form an integral part of one's social identity, and the military base was home to a wide range of social networks which facilitated relations and informed roles, as well as practices wherein these relations could be (re)developed and these roles (re)articulated.⁷⁷ As is the case with *Legio VII*, detachments of *centuriae* could form a *vexillatio* and perform various tasks such as roadbuilding and garrisoning.⁷⁸ Moreover, close living quarters, daily drills, and communal messes would have facilitated social interaction,⁷⁹ with Sara Elise Phang even demonstrating that *Disciplina militaris* (military discipline) played a role in fashioning social cohesion.⁸⁰ Conversely, these instances of interaction were not purely profane, often being ritualistic or cultic. For instance, the *Feriale Duranum* (224-235 CE) from *Dura Europos* reveals that numerous religious festivals were celebrated throughout the military calendar, and a relief unearthed within the confines of the same site depicts *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* performing a sacrifice to their unit standard as part of the 'cult of the standards' (fig. 1).⁸¹

⁷⁴ Allison 2008: 5-6 (*Vetera I*/Fürstenberg, Rottweil, Oberstimm, Ellingen); Alberti 2018 (*Vindolanda*/Hexham and Corbridge). Cf. James (2006: 34) rightly notes that spindle whorls may not have always been used by women. Nevertheless, it is also unlikely that they were *always* used by males, especially in camps with large extra-mural *vici* such as *Vindolanda*.

⁷⁵ *Tab. Vindol.* II 291, 292; Greene 2012; 2016: 945-946.

⁷⁶ Haynes 2014: 449.

⁷⁷ Collins 2008: 47.

⁷⁸ *CIL* 3, 3198a. These road building activities will be discussed later (see 3.3.2). One should note here that these activities involved a *vexillatio* of *Legio XI*, and therefore could have provided an opportunity for inter-unit social interaction.

⁷⁹ For an examination of social networks within a camp see Walas 2015: 20-23.

⁸⁰ Phang 2008: 287-290.

⁸¹ *Fer. Dur.* = *P. Dura* 54; James 2004: xxv, pls. 1-2. For 'cult of the standards', see Haynes 2014: 454-455.



Figure 1. Terentius, a military tribune, performs a sacrifice in front of a military standard accompanied by his men. Mid-3rd century CE painting from Dura-Europos. Yale Art Gallery, 1931.386, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/4961>, last accessed 11/01/2021. License: [Public Domain](#).

2.3.2 The Roman Military Identity

For the servicemen within this layered community, the main avenue through which membership was articulated, and, by Cohen's logic, how the wider community was (re)constructed, was through the symbolic expression of the so-called 'military identity' (or identities). This identity was chiefly conveyed through iconographically distinctive dress, equipment, rituals, monuments and so forth.⁸² The aforementioned 'cult of the standards', for example, was symbolically "bound up with regimental identity", providing an opportunity for the expression of belonging, as well as the articulation of 'militaryness', for regiments standards were unique icons of extreme significance, effectively totemic in nature, potentially representing the *genius* ('spirit') of the *legio*.⁸³ Epigraphic evidence, primarily dedicatory altars,⁸⁴ supports the argument that these cults of regiment and unit specific *genii* were important for communal identity, allowing *milites* to venerate the literal essence of their military community.⁸⁵ Arguably the main symbol of military enterprise was the sword, for this was, theoretically, what differentiated *milites* from *cives* (civilians).⁸⁶ Consequently,

⁸² Coulston 2004: 134-138.

⁸³ Haynes 1999a: 10; 2014: 444-5. For instance, the standards of *Legio XX Valeria Victrix* in Britain often depicted a boar.

⁸⁴ E.g. *CIL* 3, 215; *RIB* 446, 447, 448, 449, 944.

⁸⁵ Haynes 1999a: 11; 2013: 220-222. The frequency at which these altars are dedicated to the *genii* of smaller units, such as *centuriae*, suggests that social networks may have been stronger at these smaller levels, see Walas 2015: 23-26. Interestingly, dedications to *genii* of *contubernales* are rare, with Haynes (2013: 221) suggesting that these "contingents that consisted exclusively of ordinary soldiers were not considered appropriate bodies for the patronage of *genii*" (emphasis added).

⁸⁶ James 2004: 64. Cf. Coulston 2004: 141.

accessories related to the weapon were a key facet of military dress, especially scabbards and military belts, the poet Juvenal even making the point of referring to soldiers as “armed (or armoured) and belted”.⁸⁷

This ‘military identity’ was not stagnant either, continually renegotiated in relation to changing conditions within, or external to, Rome’s armies. This resulted in the large-scale popularisation of certain equipment and dress styles, despite the lack of a state-sanctioned uniform.⁸⁸ The 3rd century CE adoption of ‘Antonine military dress’ may serve as an example of this process, with sculpture and reliefs revealing wide-spread adoption of hose and baldrics in the 3rd century CE (note the significance of a sword-related accessory).⁸⁹ In line with this capacity for variation, distinct identities could also be formulated at each level of the community, with *legiones*, *cohortes* and *centuriae* developing a certain ‘flavour’. For example, Vegetius and Cassius Dio record that *milites* could decorate their shields with unit-specific iconography (*digmata*) or inscribe them with the name or number of their *centurio* or *centuria*.⁹⁰ The extant *scutum* (fig. 2) and *clipei* unearthed at *Dura Europos* indeed confirm that they could be intricately decorated.⁹¹ This formation of distinct identities and sub-groupings is seen particularly with the *auxilia* of the early Empire, wherein the non-citizen status and provincial ethnicities of the *auxilia* intersected with the military identity, subsequently affecting both the ethnic identity of these *auxilairii*, as well as their unit’s communal identity, causing the negotiation of unique and distinct *cohors* and *ala* identities.⁹²

⁸⁷ Anderson 2009: 66; Juv. 16.48: *ast illis quos arma tegunt et balteus ambit*. For a description of military belts and how to approach them, see Hoss 2013.

⁸⁸ The Roman army lacked many of the forces which drove modern armies to adopt military wide uniforms, Coulston 2004: 144-146.

⁸⁹ James 2011: 188-191, fig. 66. Using similar evidence, James (1999: 19-23) has argued that the Roman military should be understood as a form of ‘contact culture’, wherein trends were spread through inter-unit contact. Whilst 2nd and 3rd century CE metal moulds from military milieus on Hadrian’s Wall reveal that provincial metalworkers had the capability to facilitate the spread of such trends, more evidence and/or investigations are required to support the claim. For these moulds and their significance see Allason-Jones and Dungworth 1997; Haynes 2014: 451.

⁹⁰ Veg. *Mil.* 2.18; Cass. Dio. 64.14.21; MacMullen 1984: 446.

⁹¹ James 2004: xxvii-xxix, pls. 6-10, for further discussion of these shields see *ibid.* 159-187.

⁹² In relation to this reciprocal process see the *Batavii* in particular, who fashioned a very distinct communal ethos that synthesised their ethnic and military identities. Roymans 2008; 2014. For more studies of the *Auxilia* engaging with identity see Haynes 2013; Meyer 2020.

Another significant inscribed monument within the context of the Roman military is the funerary monument, which, on account of its value for this thesis, is discussed separately below. Before doing so, it is crucial to reflect upon the evidence that has been consulted by scholarship concerning the military community. This scholarship has predominantly, but not always, focused upon northern and central European material, as well as select material from Egypt (primarily papyri), Africa (epigraphical), and Syria.⁹³ Evidence from other regions – epigraphic and archaeological – must be analysed to formulate a more representative history. The region that was once *Dalmatia* is home to great number of inscriptions (upwards of 9000), many of these related to military activity and/or individuals, and the following section demonstrates how some of this material, namely that of a funerary nature, can prove valuable in the reconstruction of the social dynamics of the Roman military.⁹⁴



Figure 2. A Roman scutum decorated with various patterns, a lion, two winged victories and an eagle. Mid-3rd century CE from Dura-Europos. Yale Art Gallery, 1933.715, <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/object/5959>, last accessed 11/01/2021. License: [Public Domain](#).

2.4 A Socially Constructive Medium: Roman Funerary Monuments

In addition to being a proponent of historically contextualising theory, Gardner stresses the need to engage with “multiple interpreted pasts, rather than attempt to represent a single true past”, an act achieved by understanding ancient material as the product of ‘practical action’.⁹⁵ One must isolate the snapshots preserved by the material culture under study, and acknowledge the context within which it was produced, meaning that this corpus preserves

⁹³ Cf. James 2011; Haynes 2013. Whilst still using a great deal of evidence from northern and central Europe, James and Haynes uses a great range of material from a number of regions not often considered in mainstream scholarship. Other recent works have also started to address the imbalance, e.g. Migotti 2017; Gui and Petruț 2018.

⁹⁴ Beltrán Lloris (2014b: 138-140, Tables 8.2-3) stated that as of March 2012, Dalmatian inscriptions numbered 8,972. Conversely, the EDCS in October 2020 lists 9981 inscriptions: <http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/hinweise/distributio.html>, last accessed 13/10/2020.

⁹⁵ Gardner 2001: 37. ‘Practical action’ is here borrowed from Anthony Giddens’ theory of structuration, referring to socio-culturally constructive activity conducted by human agents, Giddens 1984.

only one snapshot of the Roman military community and its members. To isolate this snapshot, I now examine the nature of these sculptural and inscribed communicative monuments and explore the broader socio-cultural context within which they were created.

2.4.1 Roman Epigraphic Culture: The Roman Urge to Inscribe

The funerary monuments of *Legio VII* and, more generally, the military, are products of a particular Roman socio-cultural phenomena, the ‘epigraphic habit’ or ‘epigraphic culture’.⁹⁶ This refers to the supposed extreme intensification of inscribed Roman monuments in the Roman West from the end of the 1st century BCE until the seemingly sudden decline of such monuments in the 3rd century CE.⁹⁷ MacMullen, in 1982, exhorted scholars to explore the forces behind this proliferation, this Roman urge to inscribe.⁹⁸ The early contributions – whilst focusing on the Latin epitaphs, underplaying provincial variations, and utilising somewhat problematic dates – highlighted several driving forces.⁹⁹ Elizabeth Meyer, for instance, argued that matters of inheritance and citizenship were significant, perhaps even causational.¹⁰⁰ Whilst status, inheritance, and citizenship were indeed contributing factors, this disregards the complexity of the broader phenomenon.¹⁰¹

Greg Woolf, Francisco Beltrán Lloris, and others have presented more nuanced understandings of the phenomenon as the proliferation of monuments which bore inscribed statements, driven by a variety of factors and occurring at different rates across the Empire. Woolf hypothesises that the high degree of social mobility in the early Empire would have resulted in the formation of new identities which one could convey through an inscribed monument.¹⁰² Whilst condemnatory of the uncritical adoption of Jean-Marie Lassère’s epigraphic dates, Beltrán Lloris agrees with Woolf, noting the significance of ‘social cohesion’ which would have rendered “the publicizing of fame or one’s very existence meaningful to the rest of the community”.¹⁰³ Studies of specific liminal social groups have

⁹⁶ ‘Epigraphic culture’ is coined by Greg Woolf (1996: 22-3) and is the more appropriate term for it focuses more on the phenomenon as a product of Roman culture and society, rather than some predetermined ‘habit’, allowing for a more complex and diverse understanding of the phenomenon.

⁹⁷ Woolf 1996: 30.

⁹⁸ MacMullen 1982: 244-246.

⁹⁹ Cf. Mann (1985) and Hope (1997b) who conducted case studies of the ‘epigraphic habit’ in Romano-Britain.

¹⁰⁰ Meyer 1990: 94-95.

¹⁰¹ Whilst Meyer (Meyer 1990: 91-94) notes that the epigraphic situation is different in the eastern provinces, she claims this is because fewer citizens lived in these provinces prior to the ‘edict of Caracalla’ in 212 CE. Cf. Meyer (2012: 208-210) has since acknowledged that the ‘epigraphic culture’ involved the expression of status more generally, not just in relation to matters of citizenship.

¹⁰² Woolf 1996: 22-24, 31-36.

¹⁰³ Beltrán Lloris 2014b: 132-136, 141-45. For the dates in question see Lassère 1973; Mrozek 1973; 1988.

reinforced these claims. For instance, freedmen of late Republican and early Imperial Italy erected elaborate monuments, often with a familial focus, to advertise their social success as freed slaves who now possessed (or *could* possess) wealth and the right to marry.¹⁰⁴ What unifies Woolf and Beltrán Lloris, along with other like-minded scholars such as Henrik Mouritsen and Vladimir Mihajlović, is an appreciation of the complexity of the phenomenon, as well as the importance of identity and social groupings.¹⁰⁵ They all stress the need to study socially, geographically, and temporally bound epigraphic corpora to appreciate the various driving factors, contending that these studies must look beyond purely the epitaph.¹⁰⁶ My research is such a study, focusing upon a distinct monument (funerary monuments), group (*Legio VII*), and context (1st century CE *Dalmatia*).

2.4.2 The Roman Funerary Monument

As outlined at 1.2.2, the Roman funerary monument was a communicative and socially constructive monument, the primary functions of which were to indicate a place of interment and to preserve, or rather create, a memory of a dead individual in a funerary context.¹⁰⁷ Monuments were agential in a sense, tied to, and representing the commemorated individual; facilitating their ontological transition to becoming ‘deceased’ (the state of having undergone the various culture-specific processes required to become an entity of the afterlife).¹⁰⁸ Whilst the funerary monuments of the early Empire typically took the form of a stela, they could range in grandeur, from elaborate sarcophagi and tombs to simple submerged (or partially submerged) ceramic containers. A Latin funerary epitaph, no matter where it was inscribed, typically followed standardised conventions, providing at least basic details on the deceased and the commemorator – usually their names and relationship.¹⁰⁹ Originally erected in grave plots within the dense road-hugging Roman necropoleis, or *Gräberstraßen*, the funerary monument is a common indicator of a Roman presence in the Western Empire, constituting a vast majority of the extant epigraphic corpus.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Hope 1997a: 114-118; Mouritsen 2005: 55-62.

¹⁰⁵ Mouritsen 2005: 62-63; Mihajlović 2012: 40-45. For ‘identity anxiety’, see Woolf 1996: 32.

¹⁰⁶ Woolf 1996: 27-28; Hope 2001: 6-9. Local scholarship on Roman *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia* has begun to deploy these ideas, see Zović and Kurilić 2015; Kurilić 2008; Demicheli 2015; 2016; 2017b; Džino 2010a; 2017a: 335; Migotti 2017; Marić 2019: 10-11.

¹⁰⁷ Carroll 2011: 65-67; Meyer 2012: 200-202.

¹⁰⁸ Mihajlović 2020: 27-35.

¹⁰⁹ Hope 2001: 11; Beltrán Lloris 2014a: 95-96.

¹¹⁰ Of the approximately 300,000-400,000 extant Latin inscribed Roman monuments, it is calculated that around $\frac{3}{4}$ are funerary in nature, Saller and Shaw 1984: 124. Only approximately 3% of Latin inscriptions originate in the eastern provinces, Beltrán Lloris 2014b: 136-137.

Unfortunately, the monuments are not regularly excavated in-situ, often found in states of disrepair and secondary usage.¹¹¹

The value of funerary monuments cannot be understated, as Hope eloquently observes “[u]nlike literature, here, it would seem, we have the voices of ordinary people”.¹¹² Moreover, these unique voices are preserved within monuments which are “so obviously personalised”, as Mihajlović goes at length to stress.¹¹³ Whilst they have also been used for demographic studies of the Roman population, scholars have recently challenged the representativeness of the data available in funerary monuments. For one, only individuals of a certain economic and social situation would have had the capacity, or the desire even, to erect such a monument – and then one must consider the complexity of the ‘epigraphic culture’ observed above.¹¹⁴ In contrast, funerary monuments *can* prove useful for studying the construction of identities, the social dynamics of social groupings, and the subsequent (re)negotiation of these groupings, as well as the agential role of funerary monuments themselves. That said, identities constructed by funerary monuments are not representative of the whole ‘self’, rather they are idealised depictions of the ‘self’ created in apprehension of, or following death, and constructed by the (soon to be) deceased individual or their commemorators according to socio-cultural conventions surrounding commemoration.¹¹⁵ This process typically centred around the communication of symbols or relations through the monuments’ various textual, visual material, and contextual dimensions.¹¹⁶ As such, it “is only possible to understand how [and what] each funerary monument communicated if all its surviving dimensions are studied together”.¹¹⁷

2.4.3 Military Identity, Community, and the Funerary Monument

Funerary monuments belonging to members of the Roman military provide some of the best insight into how the medium was used to construct social identities and negotiate community boundaries. So-called ‘military funerary monuments’ are very similar to regular funerary monuments but are specifically products (and producers) of the military community. Their

¹¹¹ For an exception, see the excavated necropolis at *Scupi*, Jovanova 2015: 9-44. Additionally, the interred crematory remains of the deceased are rarely preserved, somewhat on account of the aforementioned frequent re-use and disturbance of inscribed funerary markers.

¹¹² Hope 2001: 4.

¹¹³ Mihajlović 2020: 31.

¹¹⁴ Hope 1997a: 108; Coulston 2004: 148.

¹¹⁵ Hope 1997a: 119.

¹¹⁶ Džino 2010a: 99-102; Mihajlović 2020: 34-35.

¹¹⁷ Hope 2001: 6-7, 91. Content within brackets has been added.

epitaphs characteristically followed a ‘military formula’, listing the serviceman’s name (*nomen*), tribe (*tribus*), *domicilium*, unit (e.g. *legio*), office, years of service (*stipendia*), and age of death (*anni*).¹¹⁸ They were also one of the mediums through which the military identity was constructed and the community was (re)defined, providing a snapshot of the more social dynamics of life in the Roman military, illuminating the many relations, bonds, and experiences shared amongst Rome’s soldieries. Indeed, the actual erection of a funerary monument can be considered as a socially significant, almost performative act in the context of the Roman military community; Michael A. Speidel rightly observes that “members of the Roman army had a tendency to address the military community as their epigraphic ‘audience’”, often erecting funerary monuments at “location[s] with a significant military ‘audience,’ i.e. a military base or cemetery.”¹¹⁹

To illustrate the relationship between funerary monuments and the military community I will discuss the well-studied *Reitertyp* stelae. One of the starkest distinctions made *within* the military, in the early Empire at least, was between *auxilia* and *legionarius*, and the funerary monument was a medium through which this intra-community citizen vs (initially) non-citizen divide was negotiated. *Reitertyp* portraits, or ‘rider-reliefs’, depicted a standardised image of a Roman cavalryman riding down a ‘barbarian’ with a spear, sometimes accompanied by an attendant (fig. 3).¹²⁰ Along with other depictions of cavalymen, these were popular amongst 1st and 2nd century CE *auxilia* in the northern provinces.¹²¹ Often erected alongside the tombstones of *legionarii*, these portraits accentuated both this distinction between the two groups of servicemen, as well as that made between the ‘Romanised’ *auxiliarius* and the ‘barbarian’, fashioning a unique



Figure 3. A typical *Reitertyp* Stela of Gaius Romanus Capito, cavalryman of ala Noricorum. Mainz-Zahlbach. Held in Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum Mainz. Photo: Mike Bishop, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/thearmaturapr ess/>, last accessed 15/07/2020. License: [CC BY-NC-SA 2.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/2.0/).

¹¹⁸ While there was no Latin word for a ‘military inscription’, and this category is imposed by the modern observer, there is indeed this distinct ‘military formula’ within the epitaph, Anderson 1984: 20-24; Speidel 2014: 321-326.

¹¹⁹ Speidel 2014: 326. For more on this aspect of funerary markers see 4.3-4.

¹²⁰ For more on this motif and the debate surrounding its origin see Mackintosh 1986.

¹²¹ Anderson 1984: 17-19; Mackintosh 1986: 1-2; Hope 1997b: 252-253.

military identity in the process (at communal and individual levels).¹²² Crucially, they also illustrate a self-awareness of the overarching ‘community of the soldier’. The reliefs often contain militarily significant symbols, the very “arms and armour which distinguished them as a group [separate] from ‘the civilian’ and marked them out as members of ‘the community of soldier’”.¹²³ As such, whilst implicit in illuminating and giving meaning to intra-communal distinctions, the funerary monuments also drew attention to intra-communal similarities centred around shared ‘militaryness’.

2.5 Summary Discussion: Community and Identity, Monuments and Men

Having historically contextualised anthropological, psychological, and sociological understandings of community and social identity, this thesis, along with modern scholarship on the Roman military, is able to better capture the social dynamics of Rome’s many armies and the identities of its diverse servicemen. The late 1st century BCE – 3rd CE Roman military was a complex socio-cultural entity consisting of a range of intersecting and overlapping sub-communities, amongst whom there was a strong sense of belonging – felt internally and towards this broader entity – centred around shared experience and occupation. This entity and its sub-communities were symbolically and relationally (re)constructed by Roman servicemen and their ‘extended-community’ through social actions relating to military practices surrounding things such as dress, ritual, camp life, and iconography. Additionally, community members crafted their social identities in relation to these communally significant symbols, roles, and social relations, and, by doing so, imbuing these very symbols, roles, and relations with communal relevance. One medium through which identity and community were symbolically and relationally (re)negotiated was the inscribed funerary monument. Members of Rome’s armies embraced the ‘epigraphic culture’, using the funerary monument to define their social identities and declare membership within military groupings, with the monuments reciprocally (re)defining the very nature of these entities, as well as providing a ‘snapshot’ of the social dynamics of military service. It is through this very lens that the corpus of this thesis and its related servicemen are to be studied. However, before doing so, a deeper appreciation of *Legio VII*, its *milites*, and their inscribed markers is required.

¹²² Hope 2000: 176-181; 2001 41-43, 48; Stewart 2010: 27-31; Haynes 2013: 259-260, 265-266. For more examples of this type of relief, along with others depicting cavalrymen, see Bishop 1988: 68-80, figs. 1-15. *Legionarii* also used these types of portraits, but to a lesser extent. Examples from this corpus are discussed below (5.4.1).

¹²³ Haynes 2013: 270.

Chapter 3:

Legio VII in Dalmatia: The Men and their Stones

3.1 Introduction

Between 7 and 59 CE, a mix of Italian and Eastern *legionarii*, serving within *Legio VII* (later, *VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*), were stationed in the Imperial Roman province of *Dalmatia*. This mix of *milites*, who conducted a range of military, administrative, and infrastructural activities, were commemorated by, and often responsible for, the erection of the numerous inscribed funerary monuments that are focus of this study (as well as an undoubtedly greater number which have since been lost). Specifically, there are 74 confirmed inscribed funerary monuments in *Dalmatia* which refer to *Legio VII* servicemen, either as commemorated individuals, commemorators, or dedicants, as well as approximately another possible 15 monuments (Appendix 2).¹²⁴ Of the 74 definite monuments, 44 are funerary stelae or stela fragments, 18 are funerary inscriptions whose original form is hard to discern, four are *tituli*, five are funerary *arae*, and three are funerary/sacral inscription fragments.¹²⁵ For reasons outlined below, the monuments related to active *milites* date to the period of their stay (7-59 CE), however, if they mention a *veteranus* of *Legio VII C.p.f* they can date up to the late 1st century CE (c. 80).¹²⁶

3.2 The Arrival and Departure of *Legio VII*

Before delving deeper into this corpus, it is important to historically contextualise it by studying the servicemen it relates to, the *milites* and *veterani* of *Legio VII* and *Legio VII C.p.f.*, as well as the many activities these men were preoccupied with. This has received considerable scholarly attention, both within works of a broader scope, such as Ritterling's 'Legio', and within more specific discussions related to incidents such as the (short-lived) rebellion of Scribonianus in 42 CE.¹²⁷ Like any good historical phenomenon, the history of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia* is shrouded by debate. That said, its early history is relatively easy to map. The *legio* is first recorded as part of Caesar's Gallic forces, adopting the bull as its

¹²⁴ These monuments, as well as a number of other inscribed non-funerary monuments, have been catalogued in a .SQL database alongside a number of comparanda and other monuments indirectly related to *Legio VII* and their stay in *Dalmatia* (Appendices 2-4). A *beta* version of this database is readily available on request.

¹²⁵ This low proportion of *arae* can be explained on account of the unpopularity of the monument in military context until the Flavian period, Schmidt Heidenreich 2013: 249-253; Vukov 2018: 971.

¹²⁶ Note, one funerary monument (*AE* 1940, 177) dates to c. 200 CE when the unit was referred to as *Legio VII Claudia*, Tončinić 2011: 23-24.

¹²⁷ Ritterling 1925: 1221, 1614-1616; Parat 2016.

totem-animal during the conflict.¹²⁸ Caesar later disbanded the *legio*, settling its soldiers in *Campania*.¹²⁹ This was short-lived, and many were recalled by Octavian after 44 BCE, serving alongside the young general during the civil wars of the 40s and 30s BCE – it is beyond this point that the narrative becomes hazy.¹³⁰

The most notable discussions surround the legion's transferal to and from *Dalmatia*. The early 20th century scholars Otto Cuntz and Artur Betz asserted that the *terminus ante quem* of the arrival of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia* (or, at that point, *Illyricum*) was between 18-15 BCE, claiming the *legio* arrived sometime after campaigning with Marcus Licinius Crassus along the Danube (29-27 BCE).¹³¹ Ritterling challenged this, claiming that a funerary stela from *Plagiari* (*Thracia*) belonging to a member of *Legio VII Macedonicae* is evidence that the *legio* remained near Macedonia after 27 BCE, assisting Lucius Calpurnius Piso on his Thracian campaigns (13-11 BCE) and recruiting its Eastern troops during this time.¹³² This has been accepted by most scholars, as has his use of the tombstone of Lucius Domitus to date the unit's arrival to the *Bellum Batonianum* (6-9 CE).¹³³ While in agreement about the campaigns of Piso and the *Bellum Batonianum*, Stephen Mitchell and Karl Strobel have argued that the *legio* was stationed in *Galatia* outside of these events, based in *Antiochia Caesareia* (Pisidian Antioch) from c. 25 BCE, and arriving in *Illyricum* in 7 CE with M. Plautius Silvanus.¹³⁴ A number of *Legio VII* members have Galatian origins and a handful of 1st century BCE stelae from *Galatia* were erected by *Legio VII* servicemen; including two active *milites* and two Iconian *veterani* who were likely enlisted under the

¹²⁸ Laporte 2000: 555-557; Caes. *BG* 2.22.4.

¹²⁹ *CIL* 10, 3886 = *ILS* 2225.

¹³⁰ Laporte 2000: 558-559; Cic. *Phil.* 11.37, 14.27.

¹³¹ Cuntz 1929: 70-76; Betz 1938: 14-17. Betz uses the age of Gaius Julius (a *Legio VII miles*) to date the arrival of the *legio* in *Dalmatia*, *CIL* 3, 2714 = 9736. This proposal rests upon the uncertain grounds that the *gentilicia* of some *legionarii* are related to Antonian generals, and their recruitment, therefore, can be dated between 35-32 BCE.

¹³² Ritterling 1925: 1614-1616; *CIL* 3, 7386: *leg(ionis) VII Maced(onicae) >(centuria) M(arci) Caecili c(o)ho(rtis) X*. See Šašel Kos 2005: 502-508 for a succinct yet robust outline of the campaigns of Crassus and Piso. Mann (1983: 50-51) concludes that sourcing *legionarii* in this way from adjacent provinces was common practice in the Julio-Claudian period. For more on these Eastern *legionarii* see Chapter 3.3.3 and Pelcer-Vujačić 2018: 159-160.

¹³³ *CIL* 3, 8487; Ritterling 1925: 1616: Ritterling subtracted Domitius' years of service (33) from the last year he could have died (42 CE). Examples of supporting modern scholarship are: Dodig 2005b; Tončinić 2011: 12-13.

¹³⁴ Mitchell 1976: 300-303; 1993: 73, 137-138; Strobel 2000: 526-528. Mitchell claims that the *legio* came across to *Pannonia* with M. Plautius Silvanus, who Velleius Paterculus (*Vell. Pat.* 2.112.4) records as arriving in 7 CE after defeating the Isaurians in Southern Asia Minor in 6 CE. Strobel suggests it left the province after 9 CE and was only permanently transferred to *Dalmatia* in 14 CE when *pagus Scunasticus* was established. See also Laporte 2000.

first governor, Marcus Lollius (25 BCE).¹³⁵ Whilst one would perhaps expect more monuments for such a long stay (c. 40 years), some form of sojourn cannot be dismissed, primarily because of the two active *milites*.¹³⁶ Whilst Ritterling's account is the most commonly cited, I thus place more weight behind the arguments for a Galatian occupation.

The date of departure from *Dalmatia* is also uncertain, with the *terminus ante quem* of 66 CE the only certainty (Josephus reports only one garrison at this time, *Legio XI C.p.f.*).¹³⁷ That said, where they transferred to is agreed upon: *Moesia Superior*. Ritterling and Strobel claim that the *legio* replaced *Legio III Scythicae* between 55-57 CE, with Whately noting that *Legio V Macedonica* left *Moesia* at a similar time, implying that *Legio VII* must have arrived by 59 CE so as to not leave the province under-garrisoned.¹³⁸ Wilkes and Marin Zaninović suggest 45 CE as the date of departure, referencing the annexation of *Thracia*, the supposedly low number of *VII C.p.f.* attestations, and the potential threat of two *legiones* in *Dalmatia* following Scribonianus' uprising (see below).¹³⁹ Conversely, of the 72 securely datable *Legio VII* funerary monuments, 26 (34%) date beyond 42 CE, and it seems a stretch to suggest these were erected in just three years.¹⁴⁰ Hence, the later dating (55-59 CE) is preferable, and the funerary monuments that comprise this corpus can be dated between 7-59 CE when referring to active *milites*, with those mentioning *veterani* of *Claudia pia fidelis* dating later into the 70s CE, as these men could have died after the *legio* left the province, perhaps even returning from *Moesia Superior*.¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ CIL 3, 6827 (*Antiochia Caesarea*); Bean 1959: no. 93 (*Cormasa*); IGRRP 3, 1476 (*Iconium*). Two other *Legio VII veterani* are also attested to in *Galatia*, CIL 3, 6826 (*Antiochia Caesarea*); MAMA 4, 237 (*Apollonia*).

¹³⁶ Tončinić 2011: 14. The stelae belonging to *veterani* may be excluded, for the *veterani* may have simply wished to retire in *Galatia*. Recently, Whately (2016: 13-14) has reinforced the argument that *Legio VII* was moved to *Galatia* some time before Piso's conquests, arguing that *Legio III Scythicae* and *Legio V Macedonica* were stationed in *Moesia* at the time, not *Galatia*.

¹³⁷ Josephus BJ 11.16.4:

“[370] οἱ δὲ τοσαυτάκις πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν ἀναχαιτίσαντες Δαλμάται καὶ πρὸς τὸ μόνον αἰεὶ χειρωθέντες τότε συλλεξάμενοι τὴν ἰσχὺν πάλιν ἀποστήναι, νῦν οὐχ ὕφ' ἐνὶ τάγματι Ῥωμαίων ἡσυχίαν ἄγουσιν.”

“And for the Dalmatians, who have made such frequent insurrections in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion.”

¹³⁸ Ritterling 1925: 1619 (56/57 CE); Strobel 2000: 528 (55 CE); Whately 2016: 15 (57-59 CE). Cf. *IMS* 2: 35-38, wherein Mirković argues for a date closer to 69 CE.

¹³⁹ Wilkes 1969: 96; Zaninović 1996: 287. For more on this uprising see 3.3.2.

¹⁴⁰ This is even if one considers half of the monuments referring to veterans (six) to date beyond the *legio*'s departure. This calculation is based primarily off the charts and tables provided by Tončinić 2011: 139-14, Chart 1, Tables 2-3. Maršić (2010: 74 n. 37) is a similar mind but with different statistics because he uses the work of Betz (1938: 64-67).

¹⁴¹ As this date is naturally conjectural, c.80 CE has been chosen as the *terminus ante quem* for Dalmatian *C.p.f.* monuments in this thesis.

3.3 *Legio VII* and *Dalmatia*

Before examining the *milites* of this *legio*, the history of Roman *Dalmatia* should be summarised to contextualise these men and their monuments within the region. Roman interactions with the eastern Adriatic has generated a significant bibliography.¹⁴² Provincial command of *Illyricum* was created in 59 BCE by the *lex Vatinia* and first given to Caesar in 58 BCE as an extension of Cisalpine command.¹⁴³ This ‘province’, originally focused around coastal cities (namely *Salona*, *Narona*/Vid, and *Iader*/Zadar) and most of the islands, was gradually expanded into the hinterland and what would become *Pannonia* through the conquests of Octavian (35-33 BCE) and Tiberius (12-9 BCE), who brought the province up to the Drava and Danube and to an approximate size of 140,000 km².¹⁴⁴ At some point under Tiberius (14-37 CE), the province was split into *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia*, perhaps originally called *Illyricum superius* and *Illyricum inferius* (Appendix 1, fig. 18).¹⁴⁵ As Džino observes, the road building activities undertaken by Publius Dolabella (governor 14-20 CE) would have solidified and symbolised the establishment of this ‘new’ province.¹⁴⁶ A key event in the birth of *Dalmatia*, perhaps partially responsible, is the aforementioned *Bellum Batonianum* (6-9 CE), wherein Tiberius (who, at one point, led 10 *legiones* and numerous *auxilia*) fought against a confederation of indigenous tribes from *Illyricum*.¹⁴⁷ As noted, *Legio VII* arrived during this uprising, and it is likely that their martial efforts during the conflict strengthened their intra-unit (and perhaps inter-unit) bonds.

3.3.1 *domum dulce domum: Tilurium*

At the closure of the *Bellum Batonianum*, *Legio VII* began to construct their permanent camp at *Tilurium*. Pliny refers to the site “*Tribulium*” as one of the *nobilitata proeliis castella*, ‘fortresses that are famous for battles’, and this has been interpreted by some as an indication that *Tilurium* was once an Iron-Age hillfort.¹⁴⁸ Excavations are yet to reveal pre-Roman

¹⁴² Some notable syntheses are Wilkes 1969; Šašel Kos 2005; Džino 2010b; Džino and Domić Kunić 2013.

¹⁴³ Džino 2010b: 81-84, 140.

¹⁴⁴ Kovács 2014: 23-39. For further discussion and bibliography concerning these campaigns and *Illyricum*’s gradual ‘conquest’ see Šašel Kos 2018; Džino and Domić Kunić 2018.

¹⁴⁵ The argument for the original names of *Ill. Sup.* and *Ill. Inf.* was first presented by Bojanovski (1988) and is based upon an inscription from *Epidaurum* which supposedly once bore the expression “*civitates superioris provinciae Hillyrici*” (*CIL* 3, 1741 = *ILS* 938); see also Šašel Kos 2010, 220–222. However, this line is now lost from the inscription (see Glavičić 2008: fig. 1) and its veracity has been called into question by some, such as Kovács 2014: 44. For a more in-depth summary of the debate and related scholarship see Džino 2017b: 42-44.

¹⁴⁶ Džino 2017b: 44. For some examples of this road building see below at 3.3.2, and for further discussion see Bojanovski 1974; Schmidt 2006.

¹⁴⁷ Vell. Pat. 2.110-117; Cass. Dio. 55.29-56.16. For a recent discussion of the conflict, its other sources, and its impact on the development of the province(s) see Džino 2010b: 137-155.

¹⁴⁸ Plin. *HN* 3.142; Zaninović 1996: 291; Sanader 2006: 59.

architectural remains on site, however, several small finds attest to pre-Roman inhabitation in the region, as does the Iron-Age dry-wall ('Prizida') that runs from Mount Čemernica towards Gardun.¹⁴⁹ Republican material has also been unearthed, perhaps belonging to a temporary fort, but it is generally agreed that permanent fortifications were established by *Legio VII*.¹⁵⁰ The fort was approximately 12 ha, and surveys and excavations have unearthed the remains of several structures (walls, barracks, a warehouse, a cistern, and possibly an amphitheatre) as well as military metallurgical finds (brooches, weaponry, and armour).¹⁵¹ It is here, within the confines of *Tilurium*, that many *legionarii* would have trained, eaten, and manufactured goods together, strengthening their social bonds.

It is likely that the site was chosen for strategic reasons.¹⁵² Situated upon a hilltop (377m – 440m), the fort overlooked the surrounding Sinjsko polje (Sinj plains) and its communication routes, namely the Cetina river (*Hippus flumen*) and the three roads running from *Salona*: one running northeast through *Delminium* to *Argentaria*, another southeast to *Scodra* and *Dyrrachium* through *Narona*, and another up to *Servitum*.¹⁵³ Whilst not running through the camp, these roads likely ran through the nearby way-station, and later settlement, *Pons Tiluri*, and then ran over a bridge upon the *Hippus flumen*, which was established sometime in the early-to-mid 1st century CE, likely by *Legio VII* (and then upgraded in 184 CE).¹⁵⁴ The garrison was therefore perfectly situated to defend *Salona* from the hinterland, with the *milites* upon the ramparts able to monitor the incoming and outgoing traffic, a fact that would have been self-evident for any traveller who laid eyes on the landmark.

A recent archaeological survey conducted by Nikola Cesarik has revealed the existence of an auxiliary camp nearby at Golinjevo, attesting to the region's strategic importance.¹⁵⁵ Additionally, it has been hypothesised that *Tilurium*, alongside *Burnum* (Ivoševci), *Promona* (Tepljuh), *Magnum* (Balina/Balijina glavica), *Andetrium* (Gornji Muć), and *Bigeste* (Ljubuški), was part of a defensive *Delmataean limes* developed between

¹⁴⁹ Britvić 1965: 29-33; Sanader and Tončinić 2010: 51; Sanader and Tončinić 2013: 414-415. For an overview of the wider Cetina region see Milošević 1998.

¹⁵⁰ Sanader and Tončinić 2017: 52-54.

¹⁵¹ Sanader and Tončinić 2013: 420-422. For metal finds see Ivčević 2005; 2011; 2013a; 2017.

¹⁵² Zaninović 1996: 280-283; Sanader and Tončinić 2013: 419. A number of other *legiones*, *cohortes* and *alae* were stationed at *Tilurium*: *Legio IV Flavia Felix*, *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, *ala Claudia Nova*, *ala Frontoniana*, *cohors III Alpinorum*, *cohors I Belgarum*, and *cohors VIII voluntariorum civium Romanorum*.

¹⁵³ Sanader 2006: 59; Sanader and Tončinić 2010: 43. Two boundary stones from Prud and Imotski indicate that the Scodra-Dyrrachium road was considered, at least administratively, to have begun at *Tilurium*: *CIL* 17.4, 363 (Prud); 342 (Imotski).

¹⁵⁴ Milošević 2009; *CIL* 3, 3202.

¹⁵⁵ Cesarik 2019. No date can be provided as of yet for this camp, and it may, therefore, date beyond the period in question (1st century CE).

34-33 BCE and the mid-1st century CE.¹⁵⁶ Nevertheless, only further excavations of the related sites will shed light on the issue.¹⁵⁷ Irrespective, following the *Bellum Batonianum*, Rome evidently wished to establish some form of *Pax Romana* by constructing several permanent camps, with *Tilurium* controlling *Salona*'s surrounding region.

3.3.2 A Busy Bunch: The Activities of Legio VII Legionarii

The servicemen of *Legio VII* (and *VII C.p.f.*) undertook a number of tasks whilst in *Dalmatia*, all of which could have influenced the social dynamics and cohesion of their community. For instance, a *vexillatio* was involved in the construction of roads from *Salona* to the border of *Illyricum* and from *Salona* to *Andetrium* (via *Gabiniana*).¹⁵⁸ Similar activity at the city of *Iader* and the colony of *Aequum* is attested to by a construction dedication and stamped *tegulae*.¹⁵⁹ However, *Legio VII legionarii* were more than glorified builders, with several boundary inscriptions attesting to land demarcations.¹⁶⁰ Numerous servicemen were also active at *Salona*. Gaius Curiatius Secundus informs us that he was a *scriba* there,¹⁶¹ and the many settled *veterani* and active *legionarii* commemorated at *Salona* suggest that Curiatius was not alone, accompanied by some form of quasi-veteran *sub-vexilo* and/or a regular *vexillatio*.¹⁶² Two tombstones from *Iader* also reveal that *Salona* may not have been the only settlement to house such detachments.¹⁶³

Legio VII was also involved in a significant crisis in *Dalmatia* (two, including the *Bellum Batonianum*): Scribonianus' rebellion of 42 CE.¹⁶⁴ Soon after the ascension of Claudius, the governor Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus rebelled with the support of

¹⁵⁶ For supporting arguments and bibliography concerning *Tilurium* and this *limes*, as well as the Danubian *limes* more generally, see Wilkes 1969: 91-92; Šašel 1974; Zaninović 1996: 280-282; Sanader 2002: 120-128; 2007; Tončinić 2015. For arguments against see Periša 2008; Dodig 2011.

¹⁵⁷ Periša (2008: 514) claims that the main focus of the camps was to act as recruitment centres for nine auxiliary *cohortes Delmatarum*, not as part of a defensive *limes* system. Cf. Sanader, Vukov, and Bužanić 2019.

¹⁵⁸ A Salonitan inscription dating to 16/17 CE records this: *CIL* 3, 3198a = 3200 (Appendix 3).

¹⁵⁹ (*Iader*) *CIL* 3, 2908 (18/19 CE); Strobel 2000: 526-8; (*Aequum*) Tončinić 2011: cat. nos. 111, 113. Moreover, it is likely that several of the unprovenanced stamps bearing '*LEG VII CPF*' which are now held in the archaeological collection of the Franciscan Monastery at Sinj were also once from structures at *Aequum*, e.g. Tončinić 2011: cat. nos. 100-110 (Appendix 3). For more on *Aequum* see Sanader 2016 with bibliography.

¹⁶⁰ Boundary inscriptions (Appendix 3): *CIL* 3, 2882 (unknown); 8472 (Krug, in Jesenice near Sumpetar); 9832 (Razvođe, near *Burnum*); 9864a (Vaganj); 9973 (Popović); 12794 (Krč, Dubrava, middle Poljica near Omiš). The one from the Vaganj mountain-pass over Mt Kamešnica between Sinj and Livno on the border of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina demonstrates that this activity took place far inland

¹⁶¹ *CIL* 3, 2019.

¹⁶² Cambi 1990: 71; Matijević, 2017: 132-136; *AE* 1904, 172; 1991, 1290-91; *CIL* 3, 2040; 2071; 8723; 8735; 8760; 8687; *ILJug* 3, 2090; 2093; 2601; and potentially *CIL* 3, 8767.

¹⁶³ *CIL* 3, 2913-14.

¹⁶⁴ For an overview of the evidence concerning the revolt, its main players, and the series of events see Parat 2016.

several senators and, initially, the two Dalmatian *legiones* (*VII* and *XI*). Whether by some form of miracle (as Suetonius would have us believe) or because of a lack of want for more Roman bloodshed (as Cassius Dio insinuates), the *legiones* deserted Scribonianus after five days.¹⁶⁵ For their actions, both *legiones* were gifted the title *Claudia pia fidelis*, ‘loyal and faithful to Claudius’, and from this point one can presume the title featured on all monuments (as *C.p.f.*), for servicemen would have undoubtedly wished to advertise this honour.¹⁶⁶ Josip Parat has also suggested the *legiones* received more than just titular rewards, highlighting the great number of Claudian coins from *Tilurium* and *Burnum*,¹⁶⁷ and arguing that the veteran settlement at *Siculi* was made a colony as a gift.¹⁶⁸

3.3.3 Veteran Settlement and the Composition of Legio VII

Up to 6000 servicemen of *Legio VII* and *XI* were dismissed as *veterani* during their time in *Dalmatia*.¹⁶⁹ These men had to settle somewhere after finishing service, and *Legio VII veterani* did so at several sites. 13 *veterani* are attested to in the surrounds of *Salona*.¹⁷⁰ Most settled within the urban centre, yet Lucius Vegnonius, Gaius Aulus Secundus, and presumably others chose *Siculi*.¹⁷¹ *Veterani* also settled in *pagus Scunasticus* in the *ager* of *Narona* in Ljubuški. Two identical inscriptions upon an altar record the provision of farmlands to so-called *veterani pagus Scunasticus* in 14 CE, and whilst no units are specified, the funerary markers of *Legio VII* from the surrounding region indicate their

¹⁶⁵ Suet. *Claud.* 13:

“...verum intra quintum diem oppressus est legionibus, quae sacramentum mutaverant, in paenitentiam religione conversis, postquam denuntiato ad novum imperatorem itinere casu quodam ac divinitus neque aquila ornari neque signa convelli moverique potuerunt”,

“...but his rebellion was put down within five days, since the legions which had changed their allegiance were turned from their purpose by superstitious fear; for when the order was given to march to their new commander, by some providential chance the eagles could not be adorned nor the standards pulled up and moved”;

Cass. Dio. 60, 15:

“...οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται, τοῦ Καμίλλου τό τε τοῦ δήμου σφίσιν ὄνομα προτείνοντος καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδώσειν ὑπισχνουμένου, ὑπόπτεισαν πράγματα αὐθις καὶ στάσεις ἔξειν, καὶ οὐκέτ’ αὐτῷ ἐπέισθησαν”,

“...for the soldiers, when Camillus held out to them the hope of seeing the republic restored and promised to give back to them their ancient freedom, suspected that they should have trouble and strife once more, and would therefore no longer listen to him”.

¹⁶⁶ Wilkes 1969: 451. The monuments in the corpus are thus relatively easy to date on account of the inclusion/exclusion of this title. The title was later reduced to *VII Claudia*, as seen with the Salonitan funerary altar of Lucius Septimius Gratianus (*AE* 1940, 177), which dates to the 3rd century CE.

¹⁶⁷ Parat 2016: 204-206. For the coins see Šeparović and Pavlović 2013: 457-60, Diagrams 2-3.

¹⁶⁸ For *Siculi* as a Claudian colony see Plin. *HN* 3.141. For the settlement of *veterani* at *Siculi* prior to this ‘official’ establishment see *CIL* 3, 9712 and Matijević 2017: 134-135. Recent archaeological finds from *Siculi* are presented in Kamenjarin and Šuta 2011.

¹⁶⁹ Matijević 2017: 134.

¹⁷⁰ For information on the necropoleis of *Salona* see: Miletic 1990; 1991; Mardešić 2019. *Veterani* inscriptions from *Salona* and surrounds: *AE* 1996, 1215; *CIL* 3, 2014; 2019; 2022; 2033; 2041; 2048; 8764; 12909; 14244/1; *ILJug* 3, 2091; 2280; 2600; (potentially) *CIL* 3, 8732.

¹⁷¹ *CIL* 3, 9712; Matijević 2017: fig. 1.

involvement (as well as *Legio XV*).¹⁷² In that same year, following Augustus' death, Pannonian *milites* revolted in response to lengthened service times, and it is possible that this settlement was a reward for the pacification of *Legiones VII* and *XV* (as well as an indication that Tiberius learnt his lesson: settle your *veterani*!).¹⁷³ Three *Legio VII veterani* are also attested north of *Tilurium*, at *Aequum* (Čitluk, near Sinj).¹⁷⁴ Whilst originally thought to have been established under either Claudius or Nero on account of the name *Colonia Claudia* in later documents, it would appear that it was settled by *veterani* prior to 42 CE, and made an official colony by Claudius after the fact.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps on account of the close vicinity of *Salona* and *Aequum*, and the popularity of *pagus Scunasticus* prior to 42 CE, only one veteran stela has been found near *Tilurium*.¹⁷⁶ Finally, some level of individual settlement seems to have also taken place (*Iader*, *Asseria*/Podgrađe, *Narona*).¹⁷⁷

These above-mentioned monuments which attest to the existence of these veteran settlements, alongside those erected prior to dismissal, also shed light on the service and origins of the *milites*. For example, using data from 47 inscriptions, Tončinić calculates that the average *Legio VII/VII C.p.f.* serviceman was recruited at 21 years and 8 months old, served 16 years and 11 months (28 years and 7 months for *veterani*), and died at 36 years and 8 months (or 55 and 4 months for *veterani*).¹⁷⁸ Additionally, the *domicilium* of 50 *Legio VII* servicemen can be traced (along with eight possible servicemen),¹⁷⁹ with 21 servicemen hailing from Asia Minor, 20 from Italy, four from Macedonia, and five of uncertain origins (the *domicilium* is either fragmentary or ambiguous).¹⁸⁰ These numbers are, of course, not

¹⁷² *ILJug* 113-114: *Divo Augusto et Ti(berio) Caesari Aug(usti) f. Aug(usto) sacrum. Veterani pagi Scunastic(i), quibus colonia Naronit(ana) agros dedit.* The *veterani*: *CIL* 3, 8487; 6364 = 8488; *ILJug* 2, 670; 3, 1916; 1920-21; *AE* 2000, 1174; 2000, 1176; 2003, 1330. For more on *pagus Scunasticus* see Ferjančić and Pelcer-Vujačić 2017: 58-61.

¹⁷³ For the revolt of 14 CE see Tac. *Ann.* 1.16-30; Zaninović 1996: 287-288; Wilkes 2000: 329; Šašel Kos 2014: 83-87; Mesihović 2016.

¹⁷⁴ Wilkes 1969: 101; *CIL* 3, 9761; 14946; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66.

¹⁷⁵ Ptol. *Geog.* 2,16,7; *Itin. Ant.* 269.6; *Rav. Cosm.* 4.16. For this interpretation see Zaninović 1996: 288; Sanader 2016: 50-51. See also Galsterer 1971. The monument that predated 42 CE is Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66, originally published by Demicheli and Tončinić 2008.

¹⁷⁶ *CIL* 3, 2710 = 9726.

¹⁷⁷ Individual settlement: (Dugopolje, probably *Tilurium*) *AE* 1994, 1355; (*Iader*) *CIL* 3, 2913; (*Asseria*) *CIL* 3, 9939; (*Narona* and its surrounds) *CIL* 3, 1813-14; 1818. Two *Legio VII* servicemen are recorded upon *CIL* 3, 1818.

¹⁷⁸ Tončinić 2011: 213-214.

¹⁷⁹ Tončinić 2011: 201-207, Table 32.

¹⁸⁰ *Domicilia*: (Asia Minor) *AE* 1994, 1355; 1995, 1232; 1999, 1230; 2000, 1174; 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 1818; 2019; 2048; 2709; 2710 = 9726; 6364; 8487; 9733; 9737; *ILJug* 3, 1916; 1921; 1950; 2090-91; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40; (Italy) *CIL* 3, 1814; 2014; 2040; 2041; 2071; 2678; 2716; 2913; 8723; 8763-64; 9712; 9742; 9939; 14244/1; 14931-32; 14946; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66; Matijević 2017: fig. 1; (Macedonia) *AE* 1991, 1290; *CIL* 3, 2717 = 9728; *ILJug* 3, 1920; 9741; (uncertain) *AE* 1995, 1231; 2000, 1176; *CIL* 3, 2714-

wholly representative of the actual composition of *Legio VII*, merely representing the ratios of extant *domicilia*,¹⁸¹ and thus providing only approximate compositional ratios and shedding light on recruitment patterns.

Of the 21 confirmed soldiers from Asia Minor, only one definitely dates beyond 42 CE, and – having lived to 66 years – this *veteranus* was possibly recruited before 30 CE.¹⁸² Of the Macedonian soldiers commemorated, all four predate 42 CE. In contrast, the Italian servicemen are relatively equally distributed: 10 predate 42 CE, nine date beyond 42 CE, and one dates to either period. The *legio* was evidently primarily composed of Eastern soldiers (from Asia Minor and Macedonia) during the first half of its stay in *Dalmatia*, and then Italian soldiers, both concurrently and later (fig. 4). I am of the opinion that the troops from Asia Minor were recruited prior to, or soon after the *legio*'s arrival, and the bulk of those from Italy were recruited once the *legio* had settled in. This is, however, just conjecture. Additionally, whilst none are attested to in this corpus, native Dalmatians were likely recruited closer to the *legio*'s departure, as several are attested to in *Moesia* between the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, including the *primus pilus* Lucius Oppius Secundus from *Varvaria* (Bribirska Glavica).¹⁸³

15; 9734. The eight monuments which may refer to *Legio VII* servicemen: (Asia Minor) *CIL* 3, 1818; 8493; *ILJug* 3, 1949; 2105; (Italy) *CIL* 3, 13976; (Macedonia) *CIL* 3, 14933; (uncertain) *CIL* 3, 9738; 13978.

Note: Despite the addition of Matijević 2017: fig. 1, the total number of definite *Legio VII* *domicilia* remains the same as Tončinić 2011: Chart 8, for *CIL* 3, 14992 has been counted as a possible monument on account of the possibility that it actually belonged to a member of *Legio VIII Augusta*, see Cesarik 2016: 268-270.

¹⁸¹ For more on the 'representativeness' of epigraphic corpora see Hope 1997a: 107-108; Speidel 2014: 334-335.

¹⁸² Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40 can only be dated to the 1st century CE.

¹⁸³ Mann 1983: 37; *CIL* 3, 14514 (stela of L. Oppius Secundus from *Viminacium*). A discharge monument from *Viminacium* recording soldiers recruited in 169 CE and dismissed in 195 CE also lists three Dalmatians (*CIL* 3, 14507 = *IMS* 2, 101). For studies of Dalmatians, namely Salonitans, in military service see Demicheli 2015; 2016.

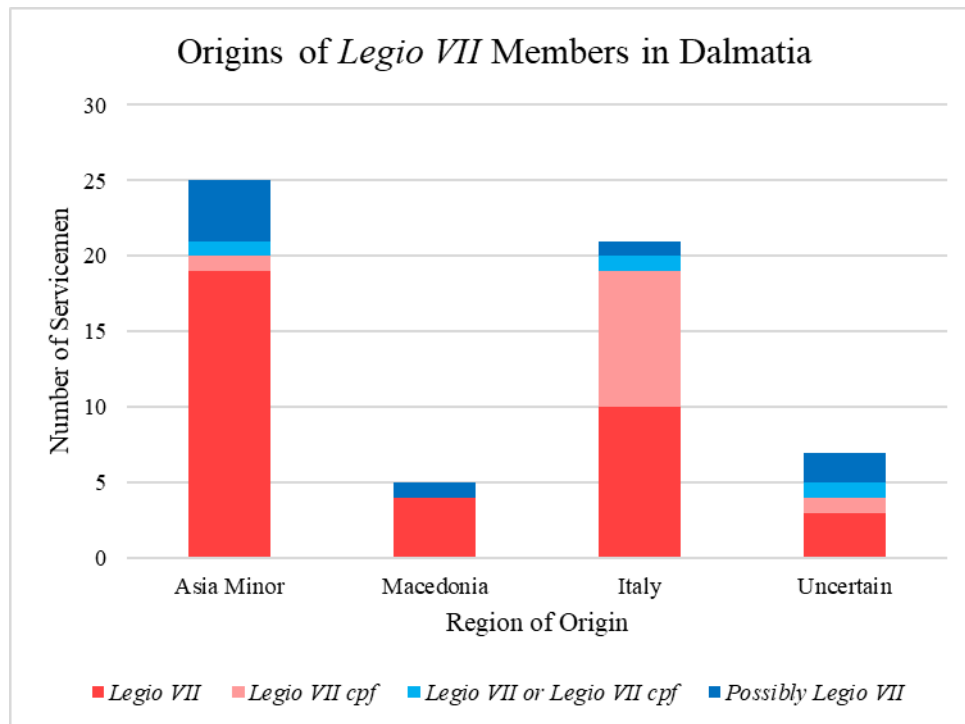


Figure 4. Domicilia of Legio VII members in Dalmatia according to their stelae. This data is based upon Tončinić 2011 Chart 8, albeit with the addition of the stela published by Matijević (2017) and some other adjustments. Image: Ewan Coopey. License: [CC BY-SA 3.0 AU](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/).

3.4 The Monuments of Legio VII

Now that an appreciation of the men who are attested to by the monuments comprising this epigraphic corpus have been established, it is finally time to outline the form, distribution, and production of these inscribed funerary markers in *Dalmatia*. That said, Tončinić provides an in-depth discussion of style, provenance, and distribution, so my summary is brief.¹⁸⁴

3.4.1 Content and Style

The funerary stelae are typically modest in size at around 1.2 x 0.55m, though some can be larger, surpassing 2.4 x 0.65m.¹⁸⁵ The epitaphs characteristically follow the ‘military formula’ described earlier (see 2.4.3), with many recording commemorators, named or unnamed.¹⁸⁶ The relatively modest stela of Marcus Vibius from *Tilurium* has one such ‘typical’ epitaph, recording that he was born in *Dyrrachium*, a member of the *Aemilia* tribe, a *miles* of Legio VII who served for 7 years and died at 30, and was commemorated by his

¹⁸⁴ Tončinić 2011: 15-133.

¹⁸⁵ E.g. *AE* 1994, 1355.

¹⁸⁶ See 4.2 for a discussion of some of these relations.

heir “---]lius”.¹⁸⁷ There is of course variation, with some featuring poetic verse (*carmina epigraphica*).¹⁸⁸ However, one is more likely to see significant variation in the sculptural dimension. Sculptural decorations upon the stelae in particular have received great attention, notably the ‘Asia Minor facades’ or ‘*porta inferi*’ motifs, which are distinguished by quad-panelled ‘doors’ occupying the lower portion of the stela.¹⁸⁹ Typologically, the last three decades in particular have been significant: Cambi argued for the existence of at least two styles of funerary stelae, noting a common architectural theme, and Sanader built upon this, noting two major styles, ‘Type A’ (or architectural type) and ‘reduced type,’ stressing the typological significance of the triangular roofed *naiskos* or *aedicula* (shrines).¹⁹⁰ Tončinić has since adjusted this into three main architectural types (A1-3) with sub-types and reduced types (red. a-c), and this typology is used here (Appendix 6).¹⁹¹

Type A is topped by an *aedicula* which incorporates a frieze (floral or ‘military’) and two twisted columns which frame an inscription, a portrait, or both. Based upon these differences in the content framed by the columns, type A is split into A1-3 (A1: inscription field; A2: portrait and inscription field; A3: portrait). Below this field there is either the panelled ‘*porta inferi*’ motif, another relief, or no décor, and types A1 and A3 are categorised further into A1a-b and A3a-c according to this. Illustrative examples are *AE* 1994, 1355 (A1a), *CIL* 3, 9737 (A2), and *AE* 1991, 1291 (A3a) (figs. 6.1-3). The second style is referred to as ‘reduced type’.¹⁹² As the name suggests, these monuments are of the same overall style as types A1-3, yet they lack one or more of the main components of the *aedicula* (typically the columns, the frieze, or both). This reduced type is subdivided into a-c depending on the lower field’s decoration (or lack thereof). Three illustrative examples are *CIL* 3, 9733 (reduced a), *CIL* 3, 14932 (reduced b), and *AE* 1999, 1230 (reduced c1) (figs. 6.4-6). Only two funerary stelae do not fit this typology.¹⁹³ The *arae*, *tituli*, and fragmented inscriptions

¹⁸⁷ *CIL* 3, 9741.

¹⁸⁸ *AE* 1995, 1232; *CIL* 3, 9733; *ILJug* 3, 1950 = *CLE* 1876. For an analysis of the poetic verses upon these stelae, see Sanader, Demicheli, and Milićević Bradač 2013.

¹⁸⁹ Hofmann 1905: 54-57; Rinaldi Tufi 1971: 131-133; Medini 1984: 112-114; Cambi 1987: 263-265; 1989: 46-49; 1994: 158-162, 168-170. One should note that there are several 1st century CE stelae from the surrounds of *Tilurium*, *Salona*, and other sites which bear the panelled ‘*porta inferi*’ motif but do not belong to *Legio VII*. For more on this motif, its other occurrences, and an analysis of its significance see 4.4.1.

¹⁹⁰ Cambi 1990: 65-69; Sanader 2003.

¹⁹¹ Tončinić 2011: 147-164, Sketch 1. This has acted as an effective key for more recent studies. For example, Matijević 2017: 126 n. 2 states that the recently *Legio VII* veteran stela from *Siculi* is similar in style to those categorised as reduced types c2 and c3, *CIL* 3, 2913; 9712.

¹⁹² Sanader 2003: 501-3; Tončinić 2011: 149, 158-160.

¹⁹³ The stelae of Quintus Murrius (*CIL* 3, 9738) and Lucius Trebinius Velentius (*CIL* 3, 8760) are distinct. This does not include fragmentary stelae which are unable to be categorised.

which comprise the rest of the corpus are typically unadorned and follow the ‘military epitaphic formula’. The altars and *tituli* are either minimally decorated or plain, as seen with *CIL* 3, 8764 and *CIL* 3, 6364 = 8488 (figs. 5.1-2), though there are two elaborately decorated *arae*: that of Marcus Titus from *Salona* (*ILJug* 3, 2090) which bears the panelled ‘*porta inferi*’, and the florally decorated *ara* of Gaius Vibius Pedes (*CIL* 3, 2678 = 9699) from *Tragurium*.¹⁹⁴

The stelae thus follow the generic ‘Roman’ or ‘classical’ form; being rectangular, topped by a triangular (or, rarely, semi-spherical) head and featuring an epitaph. Conversely, in harmony with this, the stelae also feature a ‘regional’ or ‘local’ combination of motifs, images, and décor, such as the overall Dalmatian-Salonitan architectural style described by Lozić and the ‘*porta inferi*’ motif.¹⁹⁵ Thus, the monuments align with scholarship’s recent understanding of provincial art as a fusion of broader ‘global’ Roman styles (‘classical’) and local designs (‘regional’).¹⁹⁶ As Hope observes with the stelae from Mainz, Aquileia and Nimes, “The influence of Rome was substantial, but every area had a unique way of interpreting what was on offer”.¹⁹⁷



Figure 5. (Left to right) 5.1. *CIL* 3, 8764: *ara* of Gaius Vatinius Capito from *Salona*, Archaeological Museum in Split. Photo: Ante Verzotti; 5.2. *CIL* 3, 6364 = 8488: *titulus* of Lucius Herrenius from Ljubuški, National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Photo: Ante Verzotti.

¹⁹⁴ In regard to inscription fragments, their content varies depending on their original monument type (which may or may not be ascertainable).

¹⁹⁵ Lozić 2018: 12-13, 41-42.

¹⁹⁶ E.g. Johns 2003: 17-20; Marić 2019: 11; Montoya González 2020. In line with this understanding, there has been calls to acknowledge that the phenomenon of the Roman ‘epigraphic culture’ involved the spread of sculptural monuments across the provinces, something Peter Stewart (2010: 34) attractively coins as a somewhat related yet separate ‘sculptural habit’.

¹⁹⁷ Hope 2001: 12.



Figure 6. Stelae and their types. (Left to right) 6.1. AE 1994, 1355: stela of Gaius Julius (A1a); 6.2. CIL 3, 9737: stela of Gaius Longius (A2); 6.3. AE 1991, 1291: stela of Quintus Mettius Valens (A3a); 6.4. CIL 3, 9733: stela of Quintus Baebius (reduced a); 6.5. CIL 3, 14932: stela of Quintus Marcius Bassus (reduced b); 6.6. AE 1999, 1230: stela of Lucius Ancharenus (reduced c1). Held in the Archaeological Museum in Split (6.1-5) and the Trilj Regional Museum (6.6). Photos: Ante Verzotti.

3.4.2 Distribution

Excluding the low number of monuments (five) from the surrounds of modern Šibenik and Zadar, the funerary markers of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia* have been discovered in the wider surrounds of three sites: *Tilurium*, *Salona*, and *pagus Scunasticus/Narona* (Appendix 1 fig. 19 and Appendix 5).¹⁹⁸

The surrounds of *Tilurium* are home to 16 funerary monuments (Appendix 2).¹⁹⁹ Only one epitaph commemorates a *Legio VII C.p.f.* serviceman, the *veteranus* Marcus Julius (*CIL* 3, 2715),²⁰⁰ with the remaining servicemen all *milites*, with the exception of one *signifer*, Quintus Oppius.²⁰¹ Approximately eight other monuments may also commemorate *Legio VII* members, some beyond reasonable doubt.²⁰² The stela of Sextus Clodius from Vojnić, for instance, is of the typical A1a type, and Betz and Tončinić have, therefore, rightly argued that Clodius was a *Legio VII miles*.²⁰³ The monuments are from Gardun, Vojnić, Košute, and Trilj, often having been repurposed in either antiquity, the present, or both, as seen with the tombstone of Gnaeus Domitius (*CIL* 3, 2710 = 9726), which is incorporated into two separate structures at Gardun.²⁰⁴ This greatly hinders the reconstruction of specific contexts and the subsequent capture of possible modes of communication. Nevertheless, one can reconstruct the general location of the monuments as having clustered outside the fortification walls, likely leading to, or along, the nearby roads that crossed the river at *Pons Tiluri*, with an audience consisting primarily of servicemen and their extended network.²⁰⁵ Four funerary monuments have also been found surrounding *Aequum* (Čitluk, Hrvace, Majstorovići, and Glavice), and single stelae have been discovered at Dicmo and Dugopolje (probably produced at *Tilurium*).²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁸ (*Corinium*, Donji Karin) *CIL* 3, 2885; (*Municipium Ridentarum*, Danilo Gornje) 2772; (*Iader*) 2913-14; (*Asseria*) 9939.

¹⁹⁹ *AE* 1995, 1231-32; 1999, 1230; *CIL* 3, 2709; 2710 = 9726; 2714-2716; 2717 = 9728; 9733-34; 9737; 9741-42; 14932; *ILJug* 3, 1950 = *CLE* 1876.

²⁰⁰ A potential explanation for the lack of veteran stelae was provided above (3.3.3).

²⁰¹ *CIL* 3, 2716. There is also a possible *Legio VII eques* (*CIL* 3, 14933).

²⁰² Tončinić 2011: 170-172. The monuments: Medini 1984: fig. 2 = Cambi 2008: no. 27; *CIL* 3, 9738; 13976; 13978; 14933; *ILJug* 2, 733; 3, 1949; 3239.

²⁰³ *CIL* 3, 13976; Betz 1938: 7; Tončinić 2007: 263-264; 2011: 48, 171-172. They reconstruct the inscription as: *m(iles) l[eg(ionis) VII C(laudia) p(iae)] f(idelis)*, which would bring the number of Tilurian monuments dating beyond 42 CE to two.

²⁰⁴ Tončinić 2011: 36. For more on the re-use of monuments in this way see also Demicheli 2017a; Tončinić and Vukov 2018.

²⁰⁵ This general reconstruction can still prove fruitful, as demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5, as well as by scholars such as Hope (2001: 10-11), who, for example, does this in her studies of the funerary monuments at Mainz and Nîmes.

²⁰⁶ (*Aequum*) *CIL* 3, 2733; 9761; 14946; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66; (Dicmo) *CIL* 3, 14931; (Dugopolje) *AE* 1994, 1355.

Unlike that of *Tilurium*, the corpus at *Salona* has multiple *veterani* and active servicemen (Appendix 2). There are 28 extant monuments, eight erected before 42 CE and 17 after 42 CE,²⁰⁷ as well as five possible monuments of *Legio VII*.²⁰⁸ In terms of offices, a *scriba*, *centurio*, *eques*, *imaginifer* and two *signiferi* are attested.²⁰⁹ Several monuments have also been found at ancient *Siculi* (Bijaći, Kaštel Štafilić) and *Tragurium* (Trogir): two stelae at the former and one altar and inscription at the latter.²¹⁰ Whilst not in the direct surrounds of *Salona*, these monuments reinforce the popularity of the wider Salonitan region for *Legio VII* servicemen. While far from unproblematic, the cemeterial context of some these monuments is better understood than that of *Tilurium*. As noted in 1.3.1 the necropoleis in general have received a great deal of attention, and a handful of monuments have also been unearthed relatively recently (however, most were published in the late 19th and early 20th centuries).²¹¹ On account of this, scholars have been able to argue that *Salona* was home to two *Legio VII* specific cemetery plots (discussed further at 4.4.2).²¹²

The third important site is *pagus Scunasticus* (Ljubuški), where three *tituli* and eight stelae are extant, with 12 definite servicemen referred to (Appendix 2).²¹³ The monuments are distributed across Hardomilje, Vitaljina, Filovača, Humac, and Veljaci in the region surrounding a military site of unknown form at Gračine.²¹⁴ This distribution may have been the case in antiquity, indicating a more isolated habitation pattern, supporting the previously outlined argument that *veterani* were granted *missio agraria* (land allotments) in *pagus Scunasticus* by Tiberius.²¹⁵ That said, it is also possible that the distribution of monuments

²⁰⁷ These dates are based on the inclusion or exclusion of the *C.p.f.* title, as discussed in Chapter 3.3.2. (Pre 42 CE) *AE* 1991, 1290; *CIL* 3, 2033; 2048; 2071; 8723; *ILJug* 3, 2280; 2090-91; (Post 42 CE) *AE* 1904, 172; 1991, 1291; 1996, 1215; *CIL* 3, 2014; 2019; 2022; 2040-41; 8732; 8735; 8760; 8764; 14244/1; 14699; *ILJug* 3, 2093; 2600-01; (c.1st century CE) *CIL* 3, 8687; 14248; *ILJug* 3, 2028.

²⁰⁸ Tončinić 2011: 174-175; *CIL* 3, 8763; 8767; 12909; *ILJug* 3, 2105; Tončinić 2011 cat. no. 86.

²⁰⁹ (*scriba*) *CIL* 3, 2019; (*signifer*) 2040; (*imaginifer*) 8735; (*eques*) *ILJug* 3, 2090; (*signifer*) 2093; (*centurio*) 2601.

²¹⁰ (*Siculi*) *CIL* 3, 9712; Matijević 2017: fig. 1; (*Tragurium*) *CIL* 3, 2678; 9711. Tončinić (2011: 176) categorises *CIL* 3, 9712 as a monument from *Tragurium*, but it is in fact from Bijaći, the now accepted site of *Siculi*, see Matijević 2017.

²¹¹ *AE* 1991, 1290-91; Cambi 1986 80-84; 1990: 61-72.

²¹² Cambi 1986: 83-84; Miletić 1990: 178-180; 1991: 30-34; 2013: 424.

²¹³ *AE* 2000, 1174; 2000, 1176; 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 6364; 8487; 8493; *ILJug* 2, 670; 3, 1916; 1920; 1921; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40. For a study of these '*veterani pagi Scunastici*' see Glavičić and Pandža 2017.

²¹⁴ Works on these monuments: (Ljubuški) Dodig 2005a; 2005b; (Humac) Atanacković-Salčić 1981: 263-273. For this camp at Gračine, Ljubuški, and the surrounding region, see the recent survey by Dziurdzik, et al. 2016.

²¹⁵ Betz 1938: 11-12; Zaninović 1996: 287; Mitchell 1976: 304; Strobel 2000: 526-528; Tončinić 2011: 16, 174. This is in opposition to Ritterling (1925: 1618), who assumed that the *veterani* were still active as a *vexilla veteranorum*.

has been greatly affected by modern agricultural activities.²¹⁶ There is a particular concentration of funerary monuments (including several civilian monuments) in Hardomilje, where it has been hypothesised a Roman road and accompanying cemetery (or a *Gräberstraßen*) ran south-east to *Narona* (Vid).²¹⁷ This urban centre of *Narona* and its surrounds have also yielded three funerary monuments, reinforcing the link with the area.²¹⁸

3.4.3 Production

Noting the similar stone, detail, and decoration of the stelae around *Tilurium*, the wider Sinjsko polje, and *pagus Scunasticus*, scholars have hypothesised that there was some form of stonemason's workshop at *Tilurium*.²¹⁹ In support of this, one can note the similarity between the weapons and armour depicted upon the Tilurian stelae (see 5.3.1) with those preserved upon the fragments of the Tilurian *tropaeum* (triumphal monument).²²⁰

Miletić observes that the aforementioned 'architectural' style of the funerary monuments is a typical feature of Salonitan stelae in the 1st century CE, emphasising instead that the stelae around *Tilurium* commonly featured the 'panelled door' (*porta inferi*) and weapons and armour friezes ('military friezes').²²¹ Based upon these distinctions, as well as the alteration of this style after *Legio VII* left *Tilurium*, Miletić (in line with Cambi) argues that the stelae were carved by stonemasons at *Tilurium*, the first generation of whom were trained at *Salona*, suggesting that stelae with small differences in detail and materiality were Salonitan.²²² He also claims that a 'derivative' workshop existed near *pagus Scunasticus*.²²³ At some point prior to *Legio VII C.p.f.*'s departure from *Dalmatia*, it also seems that the stonemasons established another workshop at *Burnum*, producing monuments for *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, *Legio XI C.p.f.* and, later, *Legio IV Flavia Felix*.²²⁴ Whilst the *legio* may have

²¹⁶ Dziurdzik 2018: 362.

²¹⁷ Dziurdzik, et al. 2016: 301-304.

²¹⁸ (Vid, Metković) *CIL* 3, 1813-14; (Čitluk) 1818.

²¹⁹ See Cambi 1994: 171; Zaninović 1996: 284; Wilkes 2000: 331; Sanader 2003: 510; Ivčević 2013b: 20.

²²⁰ Cambi 1984; 2011: 138-139.

²²¹ Miletić 2013.

²²² Cambi 2005: 53-54; Miletić 2013: 421-423.

²²³ Miletić 2013: 423-424. Note, whilst the high numbers of *Legio VII veterani* at this site would have made such a workshop a lucrative venture, Ljubuški is not far from *Tilurium* (2-3 days march), and the stelae could have been Tilurian. This calculation of travel time is based off of data accessed from *DARMC*, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0: <https://arcdg.is/1HrKaQ0>, last accessed 14/07/2020.

²²⁴ Cambi 1992: 33-34; Miletić 2013: 424. The *acroterium* of a recently published stela fragment from Kapitul near Knin (Demicheli 2018: fig. 4), likely produced at *Burnum*, also bears resemblance to that of several *Legio VII* stelae (e.g. *CIL* 3, 2710 = 9726; 9733; *ILJug* 3, 1920; 1949), containing a gorgon head and flanked by floral motifs (palmettes). This supports the idea that the workshops at *Tilurium* and *Burnum* were at least related, if not staffed by the same group of stonemasons. Additionally, drawing upon these aforementioned works on production, Lozić (2018) has been able to consider the monuments of *Legio VII* in

left the province in 59 CE, it would seem the stonemasons remained, producing monuments for a particular echelon of society with whom they were now well acquainted: the *milites*.

3.5 Summary Discussion: An Epigraphically Active Dalmatian Military Community

By the time of its departure in 59 CE, *Legio VII C.p.f.* (as it was known by that point) was a regiment with a proud and eventful history. Having been involved in two major political events, and having undertaken a number of construction and administration projects, the servicemen of *Legio VII* evidently played an integral part in the development of the southern region of *Illyricum* into a true Imperial province, physically and symbolically. Furthermore, through these various activities, the servicemen of the *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’ would have fashioned a strong identity and tightly knit social network. Hailing from Asia Minor, Italy, and Macedonia, these *milites* left their mark through the erection of inscribed funerary monuments that were both characteristically ‘classical’, yet also ‘local’, produced primarily at *Tilurium* and *Salona* in a regional architectural style coupled with distinctive motifs. *Legio VII milites* were, therefore, active participants of the ‘epigraphic culture’ and, considering what was established in Chapter 2, one can conject that these monuments constructed military identities and negotiated the social dynamics of the community through various communicative mediums – mediums that will now be investigated in the following chapters.

her survey of Dalmatian stelae and workshops, effectively demonstrating that the Tilurian stelae fit the wider and more general regional Salonitan schema. See n. 195.

Chapter 4:

The Social Dynamics of the *Legio VII* ‘Community of the Soldier’ and its Construction through Funerary Monuments

4.1 Introduction: A Tale of Military Men Told Through Tombstones

This Chapter is the first of two which investigate the social dynamics of the Roman military community of *Legio VII* servicemen in *Dalmatia* through their inscribed funerary monuments, exploring the socially constructive role of the epigraphic material in the process. Emphasis is placed upon the social dynamics of the *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’. Namely, the types of relations recorded in the epitaphs and what they can tell us about the composition, relations, and social values of the community, and how a sense of community was cultivated, expressed, and established through the erection, decoration, and position of funerary monuments.

4.2 Comrades, Heirs, and Relatives: Male Intra-Unit Relations and Values within *Legio VII*

What better place to start than the portion of the corpus which refer specifically to members of the military community as commemorators?²²⁵ There are 40 such monuments of *Legio VII* which were not erected during the lifetime of the commemorated individual. Of these, up to 22 (55%) record *Legio VII* members or at least un-related males, representing almost one third of the entire corpus (~29.3%). This pattern of commemoration (55%) falls within the range attested to by other 1st century CE military funerary monuments from Africa (67%), the Danube (*legionarii*: 57%, *auxilia*: 53%) and Rome (*praetorians*: 42%).²²⁶ These 22 monuments are, of course, not representative of the entire grouping. Still, they provide detailed insight into the social ‘reality’ of *Legio VII legionarii* and *veterani*. Additionally, *milites* commemorated with less detailed epitaphs would have likely experienced similar social ‘realities’ – in other words, the absence of epigraphic references to intra-unit relations is not the absence *of* said relations.²²⁷

²²⁵ Previous studies have examined the relations preserved within some of these monuments, however this is first time the whole corpus has been examined together (as Wilkes states it should be). See Wilkes 2000: 328-331; Matijević 2015; 2019: 64-65, 78-81, 88.

²²⁶ Phang 2001: 152-159, 404-409.

²²⁷ See Walas 2015: 24, 27.

4.2.1 Blood Brothers: Figurative and Literal Brotherhood Expressed via the Epitaphs

It is time to turn towards the very funerary monuments from which this thesis receives its title: those that refer to *fratres*; brothers in arms literally and figuratively. Amongst the corpus, there are five, possibly six commemorators recorded as *fratres*. These attest to both close familial links, as well as more figurative, yet perhaps just as important, social bonds comparable to comradeship, illuminating a tightly knit community of servicemen within *Legio VII*.

Two of these *fratres* are siblings, representing only a small fraction of the overall corpus, yet reinforcing the idea argued below that *Legio VII* was an entity intersected by familial bonds (4.2.2). Firstly, there is the (Vojnić) funerary stela of Lucius Ancharenus (*AE* 1999, 1230), one of the Tilurian monuments inscribed with poetic verse, (*carmen epigraphicum*), possibly composed by a poet stationed at *Tilurium*.²²⁸ In this poem, Lucius' sibling Quintus laments that his brother will never sip wine again, and it is stated that "*frater fratri posuit*" ('a brother placed this for a brother'), referring to Quintus and Lucius.²²⁹ The second funerary stela is that of *Legio VII C.p.f. signifer* Gaius Lucretius (*CIL* 3, 2040), found in an unknown location in *Salona* alongside the now lost funerary monument of Gaius Lucretius (*CIL* 3, 2041), a *Legio VII C.p.f. veteranus*.²³⁰ The epitaph records that it was erected by "*frater et Chrestus lib(ertus)*" ('his brother and his freedman Chrestus'), nevertheless, it is evident that this *frater* was Gaius Lucretius (*CIL* 3, 2041), who should be understood as a sibling on account of shared *nomen gentilicium* and funerary plot.²³¹

Amongst the Roman armies of the 1st century CE, *frater* did not always, or even typically, refer to a sibling. In her analysis of a number of military funerary epitaphs mentioning *fratres*, Jana Képartová persuasively demonstrated that *milites* across the provinces in the 1st-3rd centuries CE who erected monuments to their fallen comrades often referred to themselves and/or the deceased as a *frater* as a term of endearment akin to *amicus*.²³² Several funerary epitaphs from *Pannonia Inferior* and *Dalmatia* feature this type

²²⁸ Sanader, Demicheli, and Miličević Bradač 2013: 488-489.

²²⁹ Lines 8-9: "*optaram vivo potius dare vina/ me tib(i) non obito care ferenda*". For further analysis see Sanader 2000: 229-231; Sanader, Demicheli, and Miličević Bradač 2013: 484-485.

²³⁰ Betz (1938: 65-66) records that the stelae are from the same plot, and this is supported by the fact that the plot measurements on both monuments are the same – "*in fronte pedes X in agro pedes XX*", 'in a length of 10 feet and a width of 20'.

²³¹ Tončinić (2011: 61-63) also considers the two to have been brothers.

²³² Képartová 1986. E.g. *AE* 1971, 415; 1977, 638; *CIL* 3, 803; 807; 7327; 14349²; 14349⁸; *CIL* 6, 32671; *CIL* 13, 6232; 7292. See also Speidel 2014: 322-323; *CIL* 3, 10514.

of expression,²³³ including the funerary monument of a possible *Legio VII miles* (Tončinić 2011 cat. no. 76) which was erected by an unnamed *frater*.²³⁴ As such, contemporaneously to *Legio VII* being stationed in *Dalmatia*, there was a military epigraphic convention of considering, or at least referring to each other as *fratres*.

Three funerary monuments situated around *Tilurium* (Vojnić, Gardun, and Košute respectively) likely epigraphically advertise fraternal relationships: the stelae of *Legio VII milites* Quintus Baebius (*CIL* 3, 9733) and Gaius Longius (*CIL* 3, 9737), and the funerary monument of *Legio VII C.p.f miles* Marcus Julius (*CIL* 3, 2715). The funerary stela of Baebius bears the quad-panelled ‘*porta inferi*’, floral frieze, and *aedicula* typical of *Legio VII* monuments and is inscribed with a *carmen epigraphicum*.²³⁵ What is particularly relevant here is part of the 6th line “*dum vixi hilaris iucundus amicis*” (‘merry while alive, and dear to (my) companions I was’) and the concluding expression “*frater fratri*” (‘[erected] by a brother for a brother’).²³⁶ The fragmented funerary stela of Gaius Longius is decorated with a ‘*porta inferi*’, a portrait, and an epitaph which also ends with “*frater fratri*”.²³⁷ Finally, the lost funerary monument of Marcus Julius recorded a certain Marcus Arruntius as “*frater [et] [he]r[es]*” (‘brother and heir’). Here, the different *nomen gentilicium* suggests Julius and Arruntius are not siblings.²³⁸

Whilst these three commemorators (four including *AE* 1999, 1230) are not explicitly stated to be *milites*, this was likely the case. Firstly, as noted, the use of the term was popular in the military at the time (7-59 CE), and secondly, all three of the commemorated *milites* in question died during active service whilst they were, presumably, stationed at *Tilurium*. As such, their social networks would have consisted mainly of *milites*.²³⁹ That said, whilst excavations have, as of yet, found no evidence of a significant extra-mural *vicus* in the early 1st century for heightened soldier-civilian interactions, excavations outside of camp walls have not been extensive.²⁴⁰ It is therefore possible that families of serving *milites* were

²³³ E.g. (*Pannonia Inferior*) *CIL* 3, 10514; 14349²; *AE* 1977, 638; (*Dalmatia*) *AE* 1994, 1356-1357.

²³⁴ The parent unit of the *miles* mentioned in Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 76 is not entirely certain as there is lacuna: “*mil(es) leg(ionis) V[---]*”. Based on the number of *Legio VII* funerary stelae in *Dalmatia* and the size of the lacuna I would reconstruct the first line as follows: “*mil(es) leg(ionis) V[II C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)]*”, but “*V[Mac(edonicae)]*” or “*V[III Aug(ustae)]*” are possible.

²³⁵ Tončinić 2011: 159-160.

²³⁶ Translations based upon those of Rendić-Miočević 1987: 227. Cf. Tončinić 2011: 30-32; Sanader, Demicheli, and Miličević Bradač 2013: 485-486.

²³⁷ Tončinić 2011: 60-61, 156.

²³⁸ Indeed, Kepartová refers to the tombstone of in her aforementioned paper (n. 232).

²³⁹ This lack of heightened civilian contact is further stressed by the lack of *veterani* attested to at *Tilurium*: only one monument from the surrounds of the camp commemorates a *veteranus* (*CIL* 3, 2710 = 9726).

²⁴⁰ See Sanader and Tončinić 2017.

stationed nearby in a *vicus* or further afield at *Pons Tiluri* (see 3.3.1), particularly if one considers the evidence for civilian (female) inhabitation at other sites in northern Europe.²⁴¹

These monuments are too small of a sample to make generalisations about the frequency of these links or investigate the differences between three major sites associated with *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia*. That said, there were evidently strong social bonds felt amongst certain members of the unit based at *Tilurium*, to the point that *milites* 1) erected tombstones for their fallen comrades, and 2) referred to themselves or the deceased as *fratres*. For the commemorators and commemorated members of *Legio VII*, these bonds were evidently significant symbols within their community and important in their construction of their social (military) identities. For Baebius and his unnamed dedicator(s), intra-unit relations were so important that they may have been referenced poetically upon the epitaph in the 6th line of the *carmen epigraphicum*. Moreover, in line with the logic of Cohen and others (2.2), by advertising these social bonds in the necropolis/eis of *Tilurium*, where the audience would have been primarily *Legio VII* members (and, later, other *milites*), the monuments further advertised these bonds as important facets of the communal ethos of *Legio VII*.²⁴² These expressions of fraternity may also be evidence of members of *Legio VII* engaging with the concept of a broader military community which accommodated similar bonds. I would even postulate that the siblings Gaius Lucretius (*CIL* 3, 2041) and Quintus Ancharenus (*AE* 1999, 1230) may have consciously used *frater* to align with this epigraphic convention; this communal expression of brotherhood amongst *Legio VII* servicemen, and, more broadly, Roman *milites*.²⁴³

4.2.2 A Military Family: Fathers, Uncles, Sons and Nephews

Despite the apparent Imperial ban on military marriages, as scholars such as Oliver Stoll, Phang, and Matijević have demonstrated, nuclear families were more common in *Dalmatia* and across the Roman Empire than previously thought.²⁴⁴ Indeed, several active *milites* of

²⁴¹ Two funerary monuments commemorating civilians have been found at *Tilurium*, but they may date beyond *Legio VII*'s time at the camp: *CIL* 3, 2723; 13972. Note: the exact date of the *Pons Tiluri* settlement is unknown, and a permanent bridge was only established at the site in the early 1st century. Moreover, a number of the finds from the site are also military in nature, Milošević 2009: 176-178. For non-combatants in forts, see van Driel-Murray 1997 and n. 73-74 above.

²⁴² Cohen 1985: 117. See also Mihajlović 2020: 36.

²⁴³ However, a more extensive survey of the use of *frater* in military funerary contexts across *Dalmatia* should be conducted before this can be argued further.

²⁴⁴ Phang 2001; Stoll 2006; Matijević 2019. See also Campbell 1978.

Legio VII seem to have had wives, partners, and/or dependants, including three monuments which confirm paternal or avuncular (concerning an uncle) relations.

The funerary *titulus* of Lucius Domitius Aquila (*CIL* 3, 8487) inscribed upon rock in *pagus Scunasticus* (Filovača) records that he and his son Gaius Domitius Aquilinus were both servicemen of *Legio VII* prior to 42 CE. Lucius, who served an impressive 33 years, commissioned the monument as a *veteranus* for himself and his son (who served 20 years). Considering these service times, it is possible they served together for a period of time and retired to *pagus Scunasticus* sometime after Lucius' likely discharge in 14 CE.²⁴⁵ The elaborate 1st century funerary stela of Lucius Fabius (*ILJug* 3, 1949) from *Tilurium* (Trilj), erected by his son Gaius Fabius, may also preserve evidence of father and son servicemen, but the evidence is more ambiguous as neither is listed as an actual *miles*, let alone a *Legio VII* member. Still, Gaius' Eastern origin, coupled with the choice to erect a monument at *Tilurium* with a style of decorative programme shared with other servicemen (Type A1a), has led scholars to conclude that they served in *Legio VII*.²⁴⁶ Whilst the monument is lost, the funerary epitaph of the *Legio VII veterani* Lucius Riccius and Lucius Atilius (*CIL* 3, 1818) from the surrounds of *Narona* (Čitluk) also preserves a familial relation, except between an uncle and nephew. Lucius Atilius set up the monument for himself and his uncle, the 60-year-old Lucius Riccius.²⁴⁷ It is worthy to note that despite Riccius having three children and a wife, it was his nephew, the fellow *veteranus*, who (is recorded to have) erected the marker.²⁴⁸ The funerary stela of *Legio VII* Quintus Valerius from *Salona* (*AE* 1999, 1290) also deserves a mention, recording Lucius Valerius as commemorator (*heres*), who was likely the son of Quintus and his female partner, Valeria Quinta. That said, the location of the stela at *Salona* makes the question of Lucius' status as either a *miles* or civilian hard to ascertain.

Again, these stelae are a small fraction of the corpus (4%). Nevertheless, the snapshot provided by these epitaphic attestations reveal that the *Legio VII* 'community of the soldier' was intersected with familial bonds. The funerary monument of Riccius and Atilius

²⁴⁵ For these *veterani* see above at 3.3.3 and Glavičić and Pandža 2017.

²⁴⁶ Betz 1938: 67; Wilkes 1969: 129; Fadić 1997: 81; Tončinić 2011: 36-38. Examples of other Eastern *Legio VII* servicemen are *CIL* 3, 9733; *ILJug* 3, 1916, also see 3.3.3. (Other Type A1a stelae) *AE* 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 2709; 2710 = 9726; 13976; *ILJug* 3, 1920-21; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40, see also 4.4.1.

²⁴⁷ Whilst not referred to explicitly as a *veteranus* of *Legio VII*, scholars have rightly considered Riccius as such on account of his Anatolian *domicilium* and Atilius' status as a *Legio VII veteranus*. See Betz 1938: 66; Wilkes 1969: 463; Tončinić 2011: 82.

²⁴⁸ A certain Marcia Maxima, Lucius Riccius Valens, Lucius Riccius Gallus, and Riccia Bulla are recorded upon the stela.

demonstrates that the military facet of these familial relationships could remain significant long after the acquisition of *veteranus* status and the subsequent increased integration into civilian life (here specifically, at *Narona*).²⁴⁹ Moreover, by epigraphically referencing these bonds, the commemorators (and monuments) are establishing this familial overlap as a comprising feature of the community, imbuing these relations with communal relevance.

4.2.3 *Heredes*: Where the Social, the Familial, and the Legal Intertwine

Several studies have found that servicemen were commonly recorded as *heredes* ('heirs') on tombstones in the 1st century CE, admittedly at different rates across the provinces.²⁵⁰ Indeed, Phang has argued that there were well established legal grounds for an unrelated brother to be an *heres*.²⁵¹ Wilkes seems to be of the opinion that the situation was similar amongst *Legio VII* and *XI*.²⁵² If true, this would reinforce the image presented in the previous paragraphs of a closely knit community where the lines between family and comrade overlapped, diversifying it further with an additional (socially significant) legal dimension. There are several funerary monuments which strongly support Wilkes. The aforementioned *frater* and probable *Legio VII C.p.f miles* Marcus Arruntius (*CIL* 3, 2715), for example, is a *heres*, and the Tilurian tombstones of two *Legio VII milites*, Lucius Cornelius (*CIL* 3, 9734) and Marcus Vibius (*CIL* 3, 9741) both record *heredes* with different *gentilicia*: a certain Secundus and "[l]ius" respectively. Whilst not confirmed *milites*, the non-retired status of Cornelius and Vibius and the location of the monuments at *Tilurium* render the situation likely. The same logic applies to the unnamed *heredes* recorded on the Tilurian tombstone of *signifer* Quintus Oppius (*CIL* 3, 2716) and the monument of the *miles* Gaius Lartinius (*CIL* 3, 14931) from Dicmo (probably produced at *Tilurium*).²⁵³

Two monuments commemorating *veterani* from *pagus Scunasticus* (Hardomilje, Ljubuški) found on the right banks of the Trebižat river shed light on how the *Legio VII* 'community of the soldier' maintained significance for its members beyond retirement, as has already been highlighted by Lucius Domitius Aquila's *titulus* (*CIL* 3, 8487. See 4.4.2). The two funerary stelae (*AE* 2000, 1174; *ILJug* 3, 1921) were erected by unnamed *heredes*.

²⁴⁹ *CIL* 3, 1818.

²⁵⁰ See discussion and bibliography of Phang 2001: 145; Stoll 2006: 288; Matijevic 2019: 62. Cf. *Pannonia*, *Noricum*, some African provinces, and even stelae from *Salona* demonstrate that some regions had higher attestations of nuclear families than *heredes*. Saller Shaw 1984: 139-144; Stoll 2006: 325-326; Matijevic 2019: 90.

²⁵¹ Phang 2001: 163; *D.* 28.5.59(58).1

²⁵² Wilkes 1969: 110, 129.

²⁵³ Wilkes (1969: 129 n. 6) refers to these last four monuments as likely *milites*. For the movement of stelae from *Tilurium* to Dicmo and Dugopolje see Cambi 1984: 84-86.

Nonetheless, the fact that there was a large community of *Legio VII veterani* in the region, as well as the concentration of *Legio VII* monuments at Hardomilje, implies that these *heredes* could have been fellow *veteranus* or *miles* (sons).²⁵⁴ Two funerary monuments from *Salona* also record unnamed *heredes* (*AE* 1991, 1290; *CIL* 3, 2014), though, the high proportion of civilians at the settlement makes the status of these *heredes* ambiguous.²⁵⁵ Thus, there was evidently a significant legal dimension to the social dynamics of the military community of *Legio VII* during the unit's time in *Dalmatia*, with some members of the *legio* choosing fellow servicemen, sometimes unrelated, to be *heredes*. Indeed, as Meyer purports, the commemorators status as *heres* likely contributed towards their decision to erect the funerary monument in the first place.²⁵⁶ The communal significance of this legal dimension is hard to gauge, but it has the *potential* to have been important, as the individuals who erected funerary monuments which do not record any commemorators, as well as a number of those discussed in the above paragraphs, may have also been *heredes*.

In fact, there are five such monuments which have so far gone unmentioned.²⁵⁷ These funerary monuments record six named commemorators, of which five are likely not kin. For instance, *AE* 2003 1330 from *pagus Scunasticus* (Smokovice-Vuna, Hardomilje) was erected for *Legio VII veteranus* Quintus Valerius by Quintus Portorius and Quintus Valerius Anteros, and, as Dodig rightly observes, Portorius is not related to the deceased, and the three may all have been *Legio VII veterani* from Asia Minor who settled after 14 CE.²⁵⁸ However this is not the only possible interpretation.²⁵⁹ The other four erectors can be similarly categorised as possible *milites* or *veterani* on account of their different *gentilicia* to the deceased.²⁶⁰ Whilst their status as *heredes* is not definite, working from what has been discussed in this section, these commemorators evidently wished to preserve the memories of their deceased *Legio VII* comrades for a myriad of social, legal, familial, and amicable

²⁵⁴ (Smokovice, Hardomilje) *AE* 2000, 1174; *ILJug* 3, 1920; 1921; (Vuna, Hardomilje) *AE* 2003, 1330. For more on this road see Dziurdzik, et al. 2016: 302-304, fig. 1. Note, some were found repurposed so the exact cemeterial context is hard to discern.

²⁵⁵ That said, there was a strong *Legio VII* presence at the site (3.3.2-3). The member commemorated by *CIL* 3, 2014 was also a *veteranus*.

²⁵⁶ Meyer 1990: 75-78.

²⁵⁷ *AE* 1904, 172; 1994, 1355; 2003 1330; *CIL* 3, 14932; *ILJug* 3, 2090.

²⁵⁸ Dodig 2003b: 364-365.

²⁵⁹ Based upon shared *praenomen* and *gentilicium*, Quintus Valerius Anteros, for instance, could also have been a freedman of the deceased.

²⁶⁰ This is likely why Wilkes (1969: 129 n. 6) considers the commemorators recorded on *AE* 1904, 172 and *CIL* 3, 14932 as *Legio VII milites*.

reasons, and by doing so, they established the related social dynamics as communally significant.²⁶¹

4.3 A Communally Significant Act: The Erection of a Military Tombstone

Having addressed the social, legal, and familial relations present within (and constituting) the *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’, it is time to address the act of erecting a tombstone. The erection of a Roman funerary marker, the internment of cremated remains, and their related rituals and rites are highly complex and nuanced topics which warrant their own theses.²⁶² Instead, here the act of erection itself is assessed in brief so as to demonstrate that the social significance of the many funerary monuments comprising the corpus under study is related to more than the physical monument itself.

Within the armies of the early-mid Empire, the funerary stela was the preferred monument type, meaning that the monument and its related rites were prevalent in the military community in the 1st-2nd centuries CE.²⁶³ The great number of Roman military tombstones spread across the Empire are evidence of this, with servicemen sometimes the earliest drivers of the ‘epigraphic culture’ in certain regions. In *Britannia*, the earliest tombstones belong to members of the military.²⁶⁴ Similarly, servicemen in *Dalmatia* produced great amounts of funerary epigraphic material in the 1st century CE. To illustrate, 187 (~57%) of the 328 1st century CE Dalmatian *tituli sepulcrales* recorded in the *EDCS* refer to *milites*, as do 136 Salonitan military funerary monuments dated to the Principate by Matijević (several of which are not recorded in the *EDCS*).²⁶⁵

The tombstone was evidently an important monument within the wider military community in *Dalmatia*, as well as for a portion of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f.* servicemen and ex-servicemen, as evidenced by the extant corpus. Because of the popularity of the monument-type, the erection of the monument should be considered as an attempt to

²⁶¹ It has also recently been highlighted that the naval personnel commemorated at *Misenum* were part of a similar social network, with overlapping social, legal, and familial dimensions, Hope 2020: 94-95 (note, Hope addresses the wider network in this paper, studying relations from outside the naval community as well). For more on the social and ethnic identities of sailors also see Džino 2010a.

²⁶² For recent papers on Roman funerary processes and death rituals see the contributions to Pearce and Weekes 2017, particularly Pearce’s (2017) introduction and bibliography.

²⁶³ Hope 2003: 84-85. This could, in part, be the result of the high degree of social mobility experienced by Rome’s soldiery, who were often serving far from home, and their resulting ‘status anxiety’. For more on this see Woolf 1996: 33; Hope 2000: 180; Meyer 2012: 207; Haynes 2013: 251.

²⁶⁴ Hope 1997b: 255.

²⁶⁵ Matijević 2019. *EDCS* numbers are based off of a search from December 2020. Neither figure is wholly representative of the ‘true’ number of monuments, yet they illustrate the significant number of monuments erected by and/or for military servicemen, both retired and active, during the 1st century CE in *Dalmatia*.

demonstrate the deceased individual's membership within the *Legio VII* 'community of the soldier' through a communicative medium popular within the social unit. Indeed, the community had a role in 'encouraging' this type of act, acting as the (at least perceived) audience.²⁶⁶ This particularly applies to the 42 *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f.* servicemen who were commemorated by stelae (~55% of the corpus),²⁶⁷ and whose monuments were predominantly erected in spaces where 'the military' was present: *Tilurium*, *pagus Scunasticus*, and the military specific plots in *Salona* (see 4.4.2).²⁶⁸ As will become apparent throughout this chapter and the next, this statement of membership within the military community, inspired partially by the social dynamics of this very grouping, was strengthened through decorative style, location, and epitaphic content.

Alongside this more personal (yet still primarily social) dimension, the erection of an inscribed funerary monument was significant collectively. As outlined (4.2), the 22 monuments which were likely erected (solely or jointly) by a member of the 'community of the soldier' represent 55% of the 40 post-mortem monuments which contain information regarding commemorators (with a similar situation of ~55% presumable for the monuments which do not bear information regarding commemorators).²⁶⁹ Thus, members of the *Legio VII* community were directly involved in the erection of tombstones for their deceased comrades, in addition to those who may have been involved in the funerary rites which I do not have the space to discuss here. As well as providing the opportunity for fellow serviceman to mourn lost community members,²⁷⁰ this act would have strengthened ties amongst the soldiers (alive and deceased) and is itself indicative of the aforementioned high degree of cohesion attested to in the epitaphs.²⁷¹ Moreover, this dimension of community engagement may have been further heightened by communal funding of the monuments, as it is possible that *Legio VII* was home to the *collegia*-like burial funds described by the late 4th/early 5th century CE author Vegetius.²⁷² Despite Vegetius being far removed temporally

²⁶⁶ As Speidel (2014: 326) notes, "it was this community that inspired them to set up inscriptions".

²⁶⁷ The actual percentage is likely higher, as other inscription fragments or monuments now lost may also have once been stela. E.g. *CIL* 3, 8735.

²⁶⁸ (*Legio VII*) *AE* 1991, 1290; 1994, 1355; 1995, 1231-32; 1999, 1230; 2000, 1174; 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 1813; 2033; 2048; 2709; 2710 = 9726; 2716; 2913; 8723; 9712; 9733-34; 9737; 9741; 9939; 14931-32; *ILJug* 3, 1920-21; 1950; 2280; 2091; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66; (*VII C.p.f.*) *AE* 1904, 172; 1991, 1291; *CIL* 3, 2014; 2040; 2772; 3162a; 8760; 14946; *ILJug* 3, 2600; Matijević 2017: fig. 1; (Possibly *VII C.p.f.*) *AE* 2000, 1176; *CIL* 3, 8493; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40. See Appendix 2 and Appendix 5.

²⁶⁹ E.g. The Tilurian monuments of *Legio VII miles* Gaius Julius (CIL 3, 2714 = 9376) and *veteranus* Gnaeus Domitius (*CIL* 3, 2710 = 9726).

²⁷⁰ Mihajlović 2012: 42.

²⁷¹ Hope 2003: 87.

²⁷² Veg. *Mil.* 2.20.

from *Legio VII*, *collegia* were not a foreign concept in this period, with civilian *collegia* appearing in the 1st century BCE and epigraphic attestations of military *collegia* appearing in the second half of the 2nd century CE.²⁷³

4.4 *Portae* and Plots: The Visual and Spatial Articulation of Community Membership

The *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’ in 1st century CE *Dalmatia* was clearly an entity intersected with various social relations (as well as some quasi-legal and familial) which all came into play through the communally regenerative act of erecting tombstones. Beyond this, it is also apparent that the community itself was visible within the funerary record, being visually (re)constructed through these funerary monuments. The main avenues through which this was achieved were sculpture and spatial distribution.

4.4.1 *A Portal into the Community: The Communal Significance of the Porta Inferi*

The aforementioned (3.4.1) ‘*porta inferi*’ motif or ‘Asia Minor Façade’ is a four-panelled ‘door’ (perhaps to the underworld) depicted upon the lower portion of a number of Romano-Dalmatian funerary stelae, and, when considered with the shrine-like *aediculae*, may represent part of a tomb. Each panel could contain a range of iconography (figs. 7.1-3), such as door handles, tools, lion heads, and the god Attis (or, according to Cambi, defeated ‘Orientals’).²⁷⁴ As noted, the style has been the focus of much debate. Hofmann argues that the motif originated from Asia Minor, Rinaldi Tufi claims it came from Italy, and Cambi purports that the motif was a local architectural reduction of a tomb (*aedicula/naiskos*).²⁷⁵ Whilst I place more weight behind Cambi’s argument, the *origin* and religious *meaning* of the motif does not fit within the scope of this thesis. Instead, the focus is upon the communal *significance* of the motif and the related overall stela-style in the Dalmatian military community. There are definitely 13 (likely 16) *Legio VII* funerary monuments with the design: nine from *Tilurium* and its surrounds (Dugopolje),²⁷⁶ four from *pagus Scunasticus*,²⁷⁷ and three from *Salona*.²⁷⁸ Most can be classified stylistically, with nine A1a,

²⁷³ Peglar 2000: 38-39. As such, it is possible that military *collegia*, or at least burial funds, did exist in the 1st century CE, but are not attested epigraphically. See also Carroll 2009: 825-826, who supports the existence of military burial funds.

²⁷⁴ Cambi 2003; Miletić 2015. Cf. Miletić, et al. (2014) who observe that the motifs could potentially be ‘Orientals’ and be influenced by the cult of Attis and Cybelle. If one accepts this interpretation, these ‘Orientals’ may have been related to the expression of martial values within the military community, as seen with ‘military friezes’ discussed further below (5.3.1). However, an in-depth examination was unfortunately not within the time and space constraints of this thesis.

²⁷⁵ See above n. 30. See also Miletić 2013: 422.

²⁷⁶ (Definite) *AE* 1994, 1355 (from Dugopolje); *CIL* 3, 2709; 2710 = 9726; 9733; 9737; *ILJug* 3, 1950 = *CLE* 1876; (likely) *CIL* 3, 13976; *ILJug* 3, 1949; (potentially) *ILJug* 2, 733.

²⁷⁷ *AE* 2003, 1330; *ILJug* 3, 1920-21; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40.

²⁷⁸ *AE* 1991, 1291; *CIL* 3, 2014; *ILJug* 3, 2090.

one A2, two A3a, two reduced a, and one *ara*, but one is too damaged (*ILJug* 2, 733).²⁷⁹ The commemorated individuals range in rank and unit, with at least five *veterani*,²⁸⁰ an *eques*²⁸¹ and a *centurio*,²⁸² as well as at least two members of *Legio VII C.p.f.*²⁸³ The decoration and style was therefore a prominent feature of the funerary record of *Legio VII* during the 1st century CE. Whilst this popularity is likely related, in part, to the prominence of the *Tilurium*-based workshop, I am of the mind that the *milites* and/or their commemorators maintained agency in monument design, particularly in choosing one style over another due to its military or communal significance.²⁸⁴ The *ara* of *Legio VII eques* Marcus Titius from *Salona* supports this (*ILJug* 3, 2090. fig. 7.4). As this is the only published *ara* to bear the motif, I conject that this design choice was at the request of Titius or his commemorator, the probable *miles* Lucius Gellius, because of its communal popularity. Cambi is of the same mind concerning the other Salonitan-produced stelae bearing the motif.²⁸⁵ To reinforce this communal significance further, I will now look beyond *Legio VII* towards the wider 1st century CE *Dalmatian* armies.

²⁷⁹ See Appendix 2.

²⁸⁰ *AE* 1994, 1355; 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 2014; 2710 = 9726; *ILJug* 3, 1921.

²⁸¹ *ILJug* 3, 2090.

²⁸² *ILJug* 2, 733.

²⁸³ *AE* 1991, 1291; *CIL* 3, 2014.

²⁸⁴ Miletić 2015: 363. Indeed, as Mihajlović (2020: 31) convincingly argues, once the monument was inscribed with information concerning the deceased “[e]very single one of them was a unique item”.

²⁸⁵ Cambi: 1986: 81; 1994: 170-171; 2005: 54-58, figs. 77-78. Cambi (2005) also notes how the presence of the motif on the *ara* without the *aedicula* is also evidence for the motif not being influenced by actual tombs from Asia Minor.



Figure 7. (Left to right) 7.1. CIL 3, 2709 from Tilurium of the A1a type; 7.2. AE 1991, 1291 from Salona of the A3a type; 7.3. CIL 3, 9737 from Tilurium of the A2 type; 7.4. ILJug 3, 2090, an altar from Salona. All held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. Photos: Ante Verzotti.

There are a multitude of similarly styled contemporary (1st century CE) funerary monuments in *Dalmatia*. Some can be found within *Tilurium* and its surrounds, such as the funerary stela of Severus Ubius, *eques* of *Alae Tungrorum*.²⁸⁶ The four-panelled door has also been found at *Burnum*, seen with the stela of an unknown *miles legionis* (probably *XI*) or the stela of Dacnas of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum*, whose monument depicts a bow, arrows, and a quiver within its panels.²⁸⁷ Additionally, monuments bearing a reduction of the motif into two panels can be found dating to the second-half of the 1st century CE, including the Tilurian monuments of two *milites* of *cohors II Cyrrhestarum* and the monument of Veranus of *cohors I Bracaraugustanorum* from *Bigeste*.²⁸⁸ Military tombstones from *Alpes Maritimae* have also been found with the motif, with one from *Cemenelum* (Nice) belonging to a provincial Dalmatian of *Cohortis Ligurum* (AE 1981 601: “*Dalmat(ae)*”), indicating that the motif may have been spread to the region by Dalmatian *auxilia*.²⁸⁹ As Cambi and

²⁸⁶ AE 1994, 1356 = Cambi 1994: no. 2 (Dugoplje). Two unattributable monuments from Trilj also bear the motif: Tončinić 2005: fig. 1; Medini 1984: fig. 2 = Cambi 2008: no. 27.

²⁸⁷ Abramić 1924: figs. 4-5; AE 1925, 13 = ILJug 3, 2820.

²⁸⁸ AE 1994, 1357-58; 2000, 1179. On the reduction of the motif see Cambi 1994: 158-162, 168-170.

²⁸⁹ For more on this argument and for other monuments bearing the motif from *Alpes Maritimae* see Morabito 2015.

Tončinić (amongst others) have observed, these are all military funerary monuments.²⁹⁰ In fact, only one published funerary stela of a similar form from *Dalmatia* can *definitely* be assigned to a civilian, that of Vadica Titua.²⁹¹

The panelled door, or '*porta inferi*' motif, at least upon funerary monuments, was evidently a symbol heavily associated with military service (past or present), and, therefore, membership within the military community in *Dalmatia*. I would argue that through the inclusion of this motif, the deceased and/or their commemorators were signalling membership within their military community by using a 'communal style'.²⁹² As Cambi observes of two tombstones from *Salona*, through stela style, soldiers *Legio VII* "wanted to manifest their belonging to the same military and legionary community".²⁹³ Whilst most (11) of the *Legio VII milites* commemorated with the motif are from Asia Minor,²⁹⁴ suggesting a particular affinity with the design amongst these members, there are also two from Italy,²⁹⁵ one from Macedonia,²⁹⁶ and two whose *domicilium* is lost.²⁹⁷ Furthermore, the distribution of the motif across both sites, units, and ranks is evidence of a sense of community being felt between all members of the military in *Dalmatia*. Finally, this *Dalmatia*-wide sense of community would have been visually prominent – or at least recognisable – through sculptural uniformity in cemeterial contexts across *Dalmatia*, particularly at *Tilurium*, *Burnum*, and *pagus Scunasticus*, where large numbers of the deceased are servicemen; in this way, the funerary monuments were a tool for constructing the 'community of the soldier'.

4.4.2 Dedicated Spaces

As is apparent through the discussions above (and below), the location of the funerary monuments of *Legio VII* is (and was) significant, and one feature of this contextual dimension that has not yet been fully problematised (but previously noted, see 3.4.2) is the unit-specific plots at *Salona*. These rendered the community visible in cemeterial contexts, complementing the sculptural unity discussed above, because, as Mihajlović notes "the

²⁹⁰ Cambi 1990: 66; 1992: 33-34; Tončinić 2007: 262.

²⁹¹ (*Asseria*) *ILJug* 1, 207 = Cambi 1992: pls. 1-2.

²⁹² In other words, by using a style that was communally significant. For more on this concept see the work of Marian Feldman (2014) on communal art, identity, and memory in the Iron Age Levant.

²⁹³ Cambi 1990: 72.

²⁹⁴ *AE* 1994, 1355; 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 2709; 2710 = 9726; 9733; 9737; *ILJug* 3, 1921; 1949; 1950; 2090; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40. This may support the argument for a design influence from Asia Minor, see Hofmann 1905: 54-57.

²⁹⁵ *CIL* 3, 2014; 13976.

²⁹⁶ *ILJug* 3, 1920.

²⁹⁷ *AE* 1991, 1291; *ILJug* 2, 733.

spatial positioning of [a] monument could enhance or reduce the effect left on observers, or even directly affect the effectiveness of the intended function”.²⁹⁸

Cambi and Miletić, among others, have convincingly argued that there was a plot reserved for *Legio VII* members in both the northern and eastern Salonitan necropoleis (fig. 8).²⁹⁹ The northern necropolis complex is hard to map precisely, however Mardešić states that it ran east-west along the Roman road parallel to the northern city-wall, as well as northwards up to the Manastirine in later periods, with the oldest section (1st century CE) being west of the point where the wall met with the old city (*Urbs vetus*) and the *cardo*.³⁰⁰ According to Miletić, the eastern necropolis (not to be confused with the lower southeastern necropolis) stretched “from *Porta Caesarea* to Zgon (east of the *Porta Andetria*).”³⁰¹ The first *Legio VII* ‘plot’ fell within the oldest part of the northern necropolis, between *Porta Suburbia I*, the Basilica of the Five Martyrs in Kapljuč, and the *cardo*/*Urbs vetus* (fig. 9), with three funerary stelae found in close proximity to one another on land owned by the *Parać* family, and another found nearby.³⁰² Three *Legio VII* funerary monuments, commemorating two *Legio VII milites* and one *VII C.p.f. miles*,³⁰³ were found in a second plot in the eastern necropolis, situated outside the *Porta Andetria* in modern Bilankuša (fig. 10).³⁰⁴ It is probable that a number of the monuments found during early surveys of *Salona* were found near both of these plots, however, lacking detailed provenience data, this cannot be claimed with any certainty.³⁰⁵

Similar practices have been found elsewhere, and in these situations space is often, amongst other things, an avenue through which military and unit-specific belonging is conveyed. Monuments commemorating Praetorian Guard (*cohortes praetoriae*) in *Aquileia*,

²⁹⁸ Mihajlović 2012: 37: “prostorno pozicioniranje spomenika moglo je da pojača ili oslabi efekat koji se ostavljao na posmatrača, ili čak direktno utiče na učinkovitost nameravane funkcije”.

²⁹⁹ Cambi 1986: 83-84; Miletić 1990: 178-180; 1991: 30-34; 2013: 424.

³⁰⁰ Mardešić 2019.

³⁰¹ Miletić 1991: 50.

³⁰² Northern necropolis: (land owned by *Parać* family) *CIL* 3, 2048; 14248; *ILJug* 3, 2091; (nearby) *ILJug* 3, 2280. See also Miletić 1990: 166-168 fig. 2. It is also likely that *ILJug* 3, 2600, found repurposed in Kapljuč, also originated in this plot, along with *AE* 1904, 172 from the amphitheatre. *ILJug* 3, 2105; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 86 (two possible *Legio VII* funerary monuments) also originate in the northern necropolis, as does *ILJug* 3, 2601, a funerary monument erected by the *Legio VII C.p.f. centurio* Publius Plotuis for his freedman Primigenius.

³⁰³ Eastern necropolis: (*Legio VII*) *AE* 1991, 1290; *CIL* 3, 8723; (*Legio VII C.p.f.*) *AE* 1991, 1291.

³⁰⁴ Cambi 1986: 83-84; Miletić 1991: 33-34. *ILJug* 3, 2028 (Klis) and *ILJug* 3, 2090 (Gradina, near *Salona*) may also have originated in the eastern necropolis, but this is less certain. One should also be aware of *ILJug* 3, 2093, which was unearthed east of the *Porta Caesarea* at Five Bridges (Pet mostova). See Tončinić 2011: 100-101.

³⁰⁵ E.g. Maršić (2010: 65 n. 3) hypothesises that *CIL* 3, 2022; 2040-41 would have originated in either of the two plots.

Pompeii and Rome, for instance, have been found together in separate spaces, advertising their distinct military identity (one grounded upon their exceptionality as custodians of the Emperor).³⁰⁶ Like the *cohortes praetoriae*, the ‘community of the soldier’ that was *Legio VII* was evidently also rendered visible in the cemeterial context of *Salona* through this use of community-specific plots, with the sense of community felt amongst the *legionarii* (re)affirmed in the process. Further to this, as is seen with the funerary monuments of the *cohortes praetoriae*,³⁰⁷ the visual and textual dimension of the monuments would have reinforced this community visibility through the use of ‘military epitaphic formulas’ and the communal style of the ‘*porta inferi*’ motif and *aedicula* (see 4.4.1 and 5.2).³⁰⁸ From this, it is possible to hypothesise that the spatial distribution of monuments at *Tilurium* and *pagus Scunasticus* (along the *via* that ran through Hardomilje) would have been similar, or at least clustered alongside other military funerary monuments, yet this hypothesis must be tested.³⁰⁹ Irrespective, a distinct ‘*Legio VII* military community’ was evidently rendered visible to both community members and onlookers by funerary markers, through communal style and their spatial distribution.

³⁰⁶ Calderini 1930: 211-214; Durry 1968: 60-63; De Caro 1979: 85-95. 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 Vindelicorum* (CSIR 2.5 76, CSIR 2.5 104) at *Aquileia* and Mainz.

³⁰⁷ The 1st century CE graves of Praetorians in *Aquileia* are marked by similar small and undecorated stelae, Hope 2001: 46-47; *IA* 2834, 2836, 2846, 2847. In addition, Praetorians of the 2nd-3rd century CE in Rome were also depicted armed with a *pila* in funerary and public sculpture, something uncommon outside of the City, Coulston 2000: 96-97, figs. 5.3, 5.6, 5.7.

³⁰⁸ Two of the monuments from the eastern necropolis bear the quad-panelled *porta inferi* motif: *AE* 1991, 1291; *ILJug* 3, 2090.

³⁰⁹ For the possible plot in *pagus Scunasticus*/Ljubuški see n. 254. On account of time constraints, this could not be conducted as part of the present thesis.

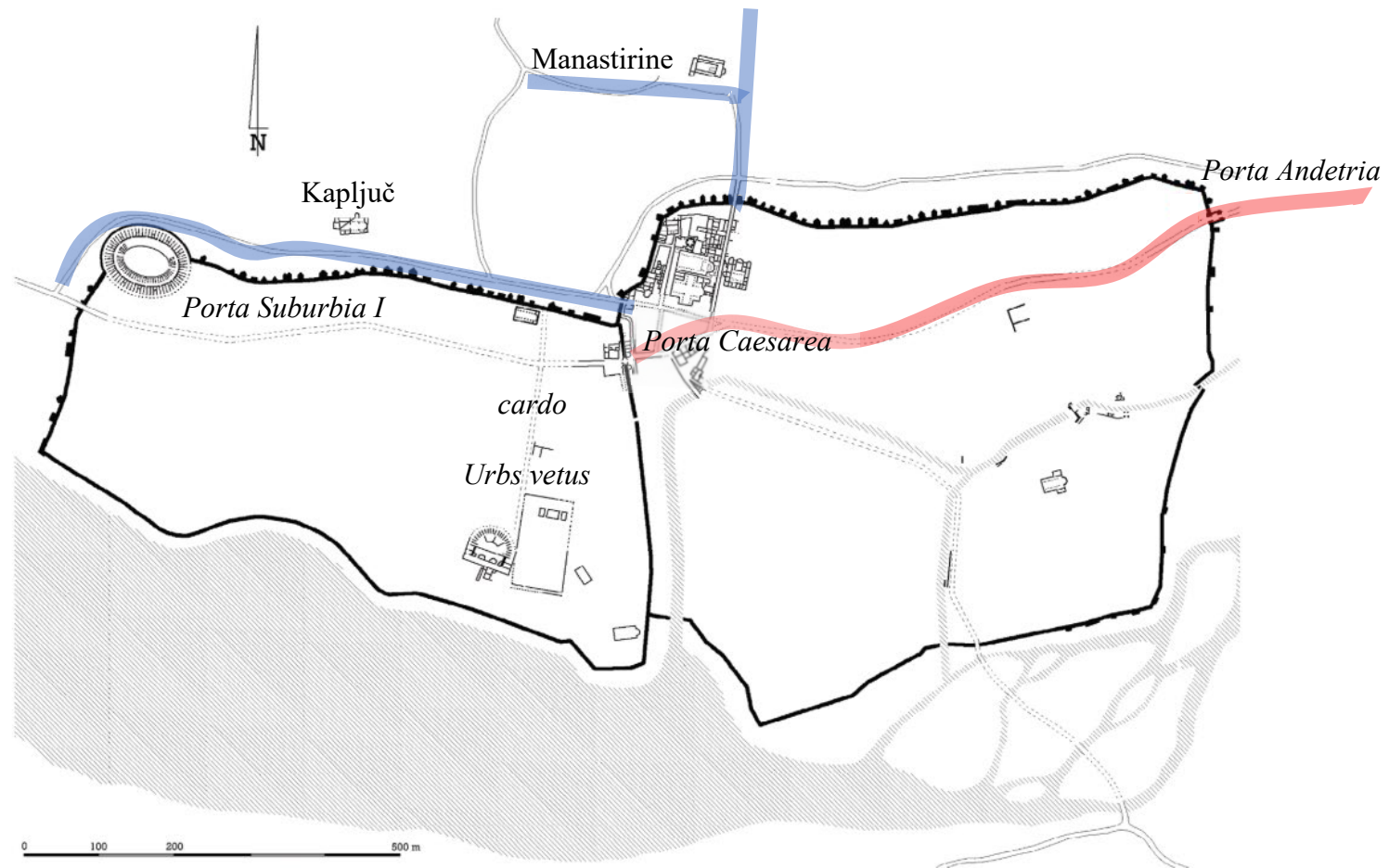
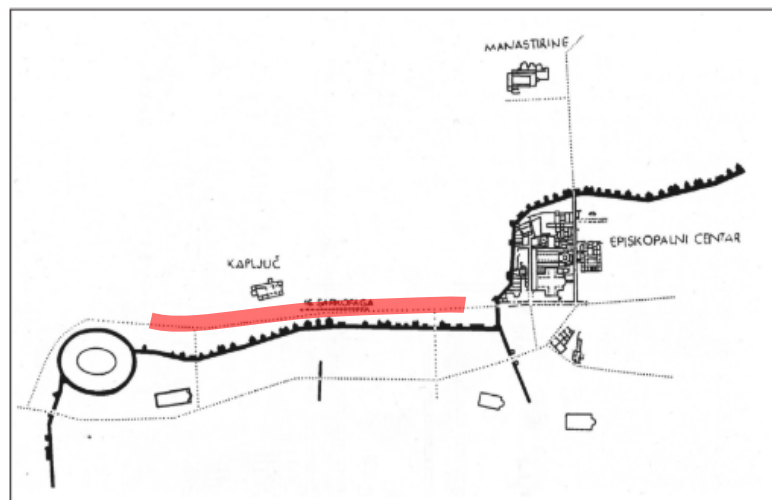


Figure 8. Ancient Salona and the general position of its northern (blue) and eastern (red) necropoleis. Note, much of the walls and all of the Christian complexes date well beyond the 1st century CE. Edit of Jeličić-Radonić 2008: fig. 1, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/109683>, last accessed 07/01/2021. License: [Open Access](#).



Sl. 1. Sjeverna nekropola sa cestom paralelnom s bedemima i sjevernim dijelom karda (preuzeto iz: Salona III Manastirine)

Fig. 1. Northern necropolis with the Roman road parallel to the town walls and the northern part of the cardo (from: Salona III Manastirine)

Figure 10. Approximate location (red) of the Legio VII plot alongside the road running parallel to the walls. Edit of Mardešić 2019: fig. 1, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/234761>, last accessed 07/01/2021. License: [CC BY 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

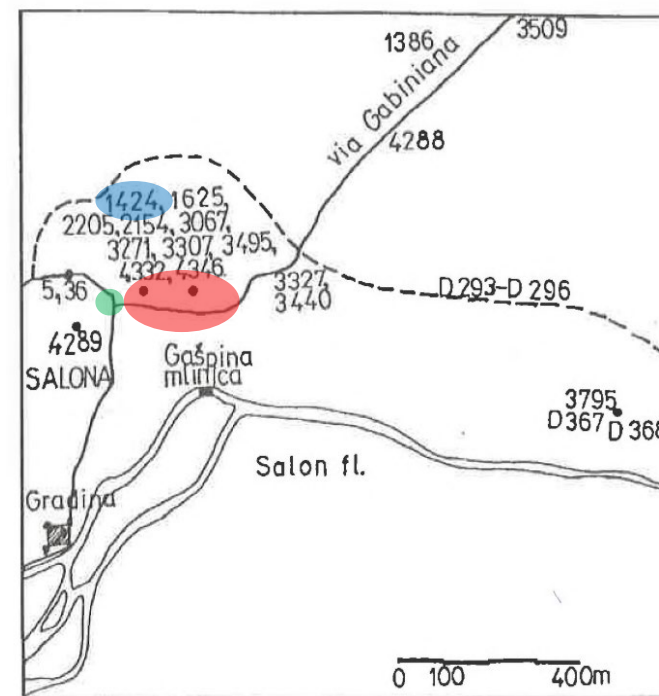


Figure 9. Section of the eastern necropolis outside the Porta Andetria (green), with the approximate placement of the Legio VII plot marked (red) and CIL 3, 8723, or 1424 (blue). Edit of Milić 1991: fig. 3, <https://doi.org/10.15291/radovipov.2167>, last accessed 07/01/2021. License: [CC BY 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).

4.5 Concluding Discussion: A Socially Dynamic and Visible Community

The *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’ was evidently intersected by various social, familial, and even legal relations, with the funerary epitaphs revealing a close-knit community wherein the distinction between fraternal siblings and fraternal-like comrades was blurred, where familial and fraternal matters overlapped with legal, and where serving and retired *milites* were supported by a familial and pseudo-familial communal network. The men of *Legio VII* were *fratres*, in both the literal and figurative sense. Funerary epitaphs played a crucial role in establishing these various social dynamics as constituent features of the community, setting the communal significance of these social relations in stone. 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 communal involvement in the erection of the memorial reinforcing (both for the onlooker and the community member) the close-knit nature of the community. Finally, this military community – and membership within it – was visually evident in the funerary record. Communally 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 funerary monuments, advertised membership within both the *Dalmatia*-wide military community and the *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’. In all of these instances, the funerary monument was a participant in the social network, agential in the (re)definition and (re)construction of the identity, form, and relationalities of the *Legio VII* community. This agential ability is not conscious nor intentional, like that of human, but rather, as with other forms of material culture, relates to an ability to effect social reality through reiteration and enhancement.³¹⁰

³¹⁰ Eckhardt 2014: 8.

Chapter 5:

A Truly Military Community: The Intersection Between Individual Military Identities and a Communal Military Ethos

5.1 Introduction: Military Identities, Individual Yet Social

The erection of funerary monuments by and for *Legio VII* servicemen was evidently a product of the social dynamics of the ‘community of the soldier’: a community of servicemen that was closely knit and intersected with various relations. Nevertheless, the funerary epigraphic medium was also utilised to communicate and fashion the military identities of the members of this ‘community of the soldier’, as well as (re)define the ethos of this very community. As such, this chapter examines the various ways military identities were constructed and the martial ethos of the community (or the communal military identity) was negotiated through funerary monuments. To do so, the corpus is considered first as a whole through the epitaph. Then, the more visual, namely sculptural dimensions of the monuments are considered, with reference to illustrative examples from across the corpus. In doing so, the intersections between the individual, the community, and the monument are illuminated.

5.2 “*MIL(es) LEG(ionis) VII*”: Military Identity and Values through the Epitaph³¹¹

To analyse the military identities of *Legio VII* community members, what better place to start than perhaps the most accessible element for the modern scholar: the epitaph. On a fundamental level, it is evident that the *milites* and *veterani* of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f* generated military identities and (re)negotiated the military ethos of their community through the textual medium—the very same medium they used to define the social dynamics of the community (see 4.2). They did so by aligning with the ‘military epitaphic formula’, or rather, by including statements concerning features of a military life.

Whilst this ‘military formula’ described in Chapter 2.4.3, at least according to Speidel, has a number of distinguishing elements, the real distinguishing feature of this ‘formula’, and therefore a ‘military epitaph’, is clearly the reference to military service.³¹² Regularly this is marked by regiment (*legio, cohort, ala*), and office, though *stipendia*, age of death (*anni*), and sub-unit (e.g. *centuriae*) also feature frequently across the empire of the

³¹¹ *AE* 1995, 1231.

³¹² For bibliography, see above at n. 118.

first three centuries CE.³¹³ In addition to simply providing insight into the life of the individual, through referencing these identifiers of a military life, the deceased and their commemorators should be seen as using inscribed funerary monuments to construct military identities, and create a military *memoria*: a reputation, even in death, for being a military man.³¹⁴ The situation is no different with *Legio VII*. Many of the funerary monuments which comprise this corpus contain some or all of the aforementioned information, as well as a handful of other monuments which may have once commemorated *Legio VII milites*.³¹⁵ Often, this reference to military life is the only piece of information provided about the deceased besides *nomen*, *pater*, *tribus*, and *domicilium*, as well as perhaps their relation to the commemorator/deceased.³¹⁶

74 funerary monuments epigraphically record a member, or members of *Legio VII* – as the commemorated, the commemorator, or both – by recording the regiment in the inscription as *LEGVII* or *LEGVIICPF*.³¹⁷ There are also 39 records of age of death (*anni*) and 38 references to *stipendia*, often appearing together.³¹⁸ Additionally, 65 of the 74 funerary monuments record the commemorated individual's office,³¹⁹ with three *centuriones*, three *signiferi*, an *imaginifer*, three *equites*, and a plethora of *milites* attested.³²⁰ These 74 monuments also preserve the memories of between 34 and 37 *Legio VII* or *VII*

³¹³ For the epigraphic significance of service times and age of death amongst servicemen and other 'violence specialists' (such as gladiators), see Hope 2001: 19-21, 51-52.

³¹⁴ For the relation between funerary epitaphs and *memoria* see Carroll 2011: 66-67.

³¹⁵ E.g. four potential monuments of *Legio VII* record *anni* and/or *stipendia*: *CIL* 3, 9738; 13978; 14992; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 76.

³¹⁶ E.g. (*Salona*) *AE* 2000, 1174; (*pagus Scinasticus*) *CIL* 3, 6364; (*Asseria*) *CIL* 3, 9939.

³¹⁷ For these monuments and their distribution see Appendix 2 and Appendix 5. Interestingly, only two monuments list a *centuria* (*CIL* 3, 2885; 8723), which contrasts with *Legio XI C.p.f.* where references to *centuria* were common, see 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, as the lack of references to *centuriae* and other sub-units may be due to epigraphic norms and cost.

³¹⁸ Monuments with information on length of service and age: (*stipendia* and *anni*) 1991, 1290-91; 1994, 1355; 1995, 1231-32; 1999, 1230; 2000, 1174; 2000, 1176; 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 1814; 2014; 2040; 2048; 2071; 2709-10; 2714-16; 2717 = 9728; 6364; 8487; 8723; 9733-34; 9737; 9741-42; 9939; 14931; *ILJug* 3, 1950 = *CLE* 1876; 2090; (only *stipendia*) *AE* 1904, 172; *CIL* 3, 3162a; 8732; 14932; (only *anni*) *AE* 1940, 177; *CIL* 3, 1818; 2019; *ILJug* 3, 1916; 2091. See Tončinić (2011: 209-214) for a discussion of this data and what it reveals about service times across periods and groups.

³¹⁹ Regiments: (*Legio VII*) *AE* 1991, 1290-90; 1994, 1355; 1995, 1231-32; 1999, 1230; 2000, 1174; 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 1813; 1818; 2033; 2048; 2071; 2709; 2710 = 9726; 2714; 2716; 2717 = 9728; 2913-14; 6364; 8487; 8723; 9712; 9733-34; 9737; 9741-42; 9939; 14931-32; *ILJug* 2, 670; 3, 1916; 1920-21; 1950; 2090; 2280; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66; (*VII C.p.f.*) *AE* 1904, 172; 1991, 1291; 1996, 1215; *CIL* 3, 1814; 2014; 2019; 2022; 2040-41; 2678; 2715; 2733; 2772; 3162a; 8735; 8760; 8764; 9761; 14244/1; 14946; *ILJug* 3, 2093; 2600-01; Matijević 2017: fig. 1; (*VII C.*) *AE* 1940, 177; (*VII or VII C.p.f.*) *AE* 2000, 1176. One can note this differs from the number provided by Tončinić (2011: 207-209, Table 33). This is because of his inclusion of non-funerary monuments as well as the recent publishing of Matijević 2017: fig. 1.

³²⁰ Notable military offices: (*centuriones*) *CIL* 3, 2678; 2914; *ILJug* 3, 2601; (*signiferi*) *CIL* 3, 2040; 2716; *ILJug* 3, 2093; (*imaginifer*) *CIL* 3, 8735; (*equites*) *CIL* 3, 1814; 3162a; *ILJug* 3, 2090.

C.p.f. veterani who, despite their – admittedly typically short – time outside of the military, wanted (or were considered to have wanted) to be remembered as men defined by service.³²¹ In short: *Legio VII veterani* and serving *milites* alike were defined by their military life, and presented themselves as such by epigraphically listing the defining features of this life.³²²

Unlike some of the other uses of the funerary monuments' communicative dimensions addressed in this thesis, this identity salience (self-understood importance) and construction of 'militaryness' is as evident, if not in fact more evident in the less elaborate funerary stelae and *tituli* of the corpus. Take, for instance, the monuments of *Legio VII miles* Lucius Attius (*AE* 1995, 1231) and *VII C.p.f. veteranus* Gaius Lollius Valens (*AE* 1996, 1215).³²³ For these monuments (fig. 9.1-2), as well as several others which were less elaborate or were not of the characteristic *Legio VII* architectural style, the epitaph may have been the most obvious, and perhaps only avenue for making a claim of military identity. Also relevant here are the three extant monuments commemorating members of the extended community (a father, a freedman, and a freedwoman) whose erectors, the *Legio VII centurio* Titius Evlius Salinator, *Legio VII veteranus* Gaius Valerius Dento, and the *Legio VII C.p.f.*



Figure 11. (Left to Right) 11.1. *AE* 1995, 1231: stela of Lucius Attius (Tilurium), Museum of Cetina Region – Sinj. Photo: Ante Verzotti; 11.2. *AE* 1996, 1215: titulus of Gaius Lollius Valens (Salona), Marko Matijević Archaeological Collection in Solin. Photo: M. Matijević.

³²¹ Tončinić (2011: 214) calculates that *veterani* lived for an average of two to three years after dismissal.

³²² Previous scholarship has acknowledged this in the context of the military more generally. See Coulston 2004: 150.

³²³ For 'identity salience' see n. 59.

centurio Publius Plotius, all apparently considered their military identity significant enough to include alongside their status as commemorator.³²⁴

This ‘military’ epitaphic content also reveals a great deal about certain facets of military service which were valued communally, and how this influenced identities. The aforementioned inclusion of rank and/or office and *stipendia* (and *anni*) stress the importance of certain statuses or ‘achievements’ within the community. As observed above, offices (including the rank of *veteranus*) feature in most epitaphs.³²⁵ This frequency indicates that, in addition to reinforcing military hierarchies and maintaining *disciplina*, office, rank, and therefore military role, were communally significant.³²⁶ Particularly revealing in this regard is the Naronitan funerary inscription of Publius Lastus Scaeva (*CIL* 3, 1814), which records him as both an *eques* and *veteranus* of *Legio VII C.p.f.* (fig. 12). Publius, or his commemorators working according to his *testamentum*, evidently considered his status and previous military role as defining features of his identity as a ‘military man’ (alongside service length and regiment), even after his dismissal and potentially lengthy life as a *veteranus* (~8 years), implying communal significance for this role.³²⁷

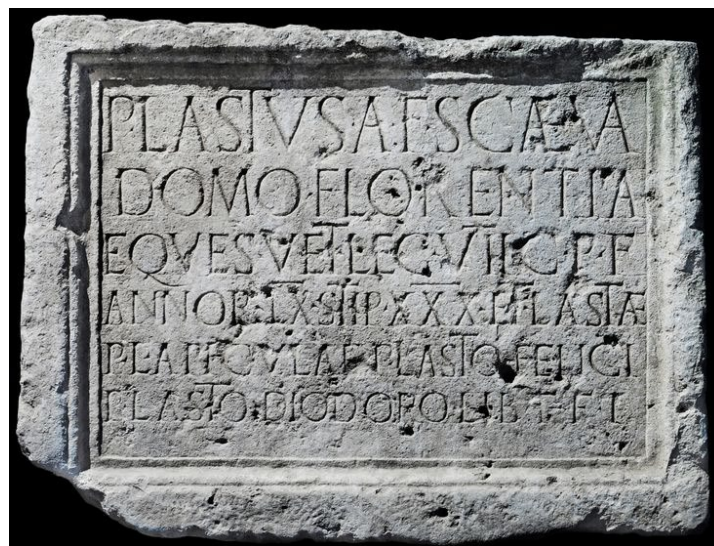


Figure 12. *CIL* 3, 1814 (Narona): epitaph of *Legio VII C.p.f.* *eques veteranus* Publius Lastus Scaeva, Archaeological Museum in Split. Photo: Ante Verzotti.

³²⁴ *CIL* 3, 2914; *ILJug* 2, 670; 3, 2601.

³²⁵ See n. 319.

³²⁶ The importance of rank and office is also found in military correspondence, see Mclaughlin 2015: 180-182 and bibliography.

³²⁷ Calculation of the median enlistment age based off data provided by Tončinić 2011: 242, Charts 12-13.

Further to this, drawing upon the logic of Cohen, the frequency of these epigraphic references to ranks, offices, and *stipendia*, and their subsequent imbuelement with significance, would have inadvertently (re)asserted their very value within the *Legio VII* military community.³²⁸ As Wilkes and Tončinić have observed, erectors, location, and by extension audience, were also important here, with this reciprocal process of influence particularly pertinent when these monuments were erected within primarily military cemeterial contexts (particularly at *Tilurium*).³²⁹ To support this, it is worthy to note that the surrounds of *Tilurium* are home to 18 funerary inscriptions recording *stipendia*, representing ~47% of the attestations.³³⁰

For every serviceman commemorated within this corpus, military life was one of, if not *the* defining feature of their social identity. When members of the *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’ were honoured with a funerary epitaph, these individuals – at their own request or on account of their character in life – were remembered as ‘military men’ through references to features of military service. Furthermore, by asserting these features of military life as key facets of their identities, these servicemen and their commemorators were (re)characterising the nature of their social entity. The inscribed funerary monument facilitated this social process, asserting ‘military life’ as the defining characteristic of the commemorated individual in their transition to becoming deceased.

5.3 Arms, Armour, and... *Dolabrae*? ‘Military’ Sculptural Decorations and Identity

As will now become apparent, the interplay between collective, communal, and individual identities that is preserved within the textual dimension of this corpus, as well as the significance of roles, is evident within its various examples of funerary sculpture. Whilst there was indeed a degree of visual uniformity in the corpus, seen with the communal style, it would seem that, as Hope concludes more generally, “[i]t is the sculpture... which exhibits the greatest diversity”.³³¹ In fact, this variation in sculptural decoration provides insight into the range of ways military identities were expressed within the ‘community of the soldier’

³²⁸ Cohen 1985: 117-118. See also n. 48.

³²⁹ Wilkes 2000: 331; Tončinić 2011: 211-212.

³³⁰ Tilurian monuments: (*Tilurium*) *AE* 1995, 1231-32; 1999, 1230; *CIL* 3, 2709; 2710 = 9726; 2714-2716; 2717 = 9728; 9733-34; 9737; 9741-42; 3, 14932; *ILJug* 3, 1950 = *CLE* 1876; (Dico) *CIL* 3, 14931; (Dugopolje) *AE* 1994, 1355. As Tončinić (2011: 211-212) argues, it is important to note that the inclusion of *stipendia* was more popular amongst *Legio VII* (pre 42 CE) monuments. However, there are still seven *Legio VII C.p.f.* (post 42 CE) funerary monuments which record service time, representing ~18% of the corpus of definite 1st century CE *Legio VII* attestations. Thus, the convention did not disappear entirely in the second half of the century, just perhaps lose popularity.

³³¹ Hope 2000: 165.

in 1st century CE *Dalmatia*, as well as the ways in which communal values and core symbols could be (re)negotiated. Upon the examination of three decorations: the so-called ‘military friezes’, *dona militaria*, and construction tools, it is apparent that certain symbols associated with the army were used to construct military identities. Furthermore, these symbols reaffirmed the martial function of the unit as a core component of the community, whilst also revealing (and reaffirming) that some non-martial functions were communally valued.

5.3.1 Martial Iconography and Identity

Previous scholarship has noted that numerous *Legio VII* funerary monuments have friezes depicting armour, arms, and equipment.³³² At least nine (but likely 11) *Legio VII* stelae from *Tilurium*, *Salona*, and *pagus Scunasticus* have these ‘military friezes’, and all, bar one, bear the ‘*porta inferi*’ motif and are either type A1a or A3a.³³³ The friezes range in detail, yet the arms and armour represented are of the same general form, consisting primarily of shields (namely the circular *clipeus*, rectangular *scutum*, and three-pointed ‘amazon shield’ or *pelta*), grieves, quivers, arrow-bundles, spears, swords, and helmets sculpted from various angles (fig. 13).³³⁴ In two instances a cuirass is displayed hung-up in a *tropaeum*-like fashion in the centre of the frieze.³³⁵ These friezes, which are seen on other military funerary monuments in *Dalmatia*, are evidently very martial in nature, depicting items embodying the (at least perceived) primary function of Rome’s *milites*: combat.³³⁶ As such, the choice by the nine *Legio VII* and two *Legio VII C.p.f* servicemen and/or their commemorators – who range from military *heredes* to family members – to include the frieze, was done in an effort to preserve a military identity.³³⁷

³³² Miletić 2013: 422; Sanader, Demicheli, and Milićević Bradač: 2013: 484

³³³ (*Tilurium*) *CIL* 3, 2709; 2710 = 9726; 2716; 13976; *ILJug* 3, 1949; (*Salona*) *AE* 1991, 1291; *CIL* 3, 2014; (*pagus Scunasticus*) *AE* 2003, 1330; *ILJug* 3, 1920-21; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40. *CIL* 3, 13976 and *ILJug* 3, 1949 are likely monuments of *Legio VII legionarii* on account of style, location, and *domicilium*, yet their inscriptions are damaged and do not explicitly state *legio* membership, see n. 203. *CIL* 3, 2716 is of the reduced c1 type.

³³⁴ See Maršić 2010: 71.

³³⁵ *AE* 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 2710 = 9726; (possibly) *ILJug* 3, 1920.

³³⁶ See *AE* 2000, 1179 (*Bigeste*).

³³⁷ I have counted *CIL* 3, 13976 and *ILJug* 3, 1949 as pre-42 CE monuments, as majority of the Dalmatian *Legio VII* monuments predate the acquisition of the *C.p.f* title.

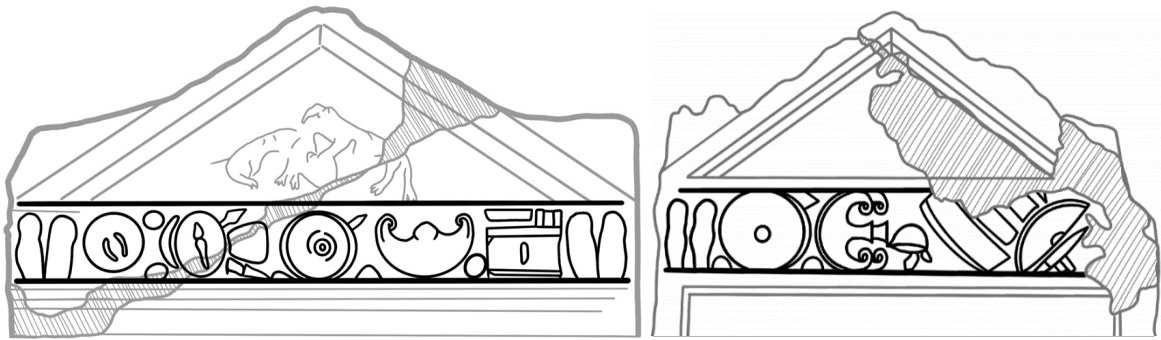


Figure 13. Outlines of the 'military friezes' of CIL 3, 2709 and 2716. Image: Jack Roberts. License: [CC BY-SA 3.0 AU](#).

These 'military friezes' also held communal significance, primarily because they almost exclusively accompany the four-panelled '*porta inferi*' motif and, therefore, monuments of the A1a and A3a types. This particular composition, as noted, constituted a communal style which expressed a sense of communal belonging to the 'community of the soldier' in *Dalmatia*.³³⁸ Crucially, because these monuments were associated with the community and its members, the inclusion of a 'military frieze' can be understood as an act of defining, or rather, reaffirming the martial function of the *legio* as an integral facet of their community.³³⁹ This nature of the *Legio VII* 'community of the soldier' as an entity structured around a martial ethos is perhaps not surprising. What *is* significant is how the military character of the community is being defined by its members and their commemorators as a constituent facet through the medium of a funerary monument, with the monument also contributing further towards the perpetuation of this military significance for the collective.³⁴⁰ This is as the communally (or at least militarily) dedicated cemeterial spaces at *Tilurium* and *Salona* (and possibly *pagus Scunasticus*), would have meant that the significance of this ethos was advertised to other members of *Legio VII* and other regiments (as well as general passers-by).³⁴¹ The spread of the monuments, both temporally and geographically, and the range in military status of the deceased (three *milites*, one *signifer*, six *veterani*),³⁴² demonstrates that this communal martial ethos was also considered significant by a range of servicemen.

³³⁸ See 4.4.1 and n. 292.

³³⁹ This is further reinforced by other motifs and symbols associated with military *virtus* which were not able to be discussed here, such as lions and defeated 'Orientals', see Miletic 2015: 361-363.

³⁴⁰ This has been observed of Roman inscribed funerary markers more generally, see Mihajlović 2020: 36.

³⁴¹ See above at 4.4.2 and n. 254.

³⁴² Offices of individuals commemorated with 'military friezes': (*milites*) *AE* 1991, 1291; *CIL* 3, 2709; 13976; (*signifer*) *CIL* 3, 2716; (*veterani*) *AE* 2003, 1330; *CIL* 3, 2014; 2710 = 9726; *ILJug* 3, 1920-1921; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40; (no data) *ILJug* 3, 1949.

Admittedly, as with the ‘*porta inferi*’ motif, the prominence of this frieze is, in part, the result of there being a prominent workshop with a distinct style. However, again, I would argue the choice of the stonemason to create stelae bearing this design was influenced by an understanding of the military significance of the motif. One could also evidently choose to not have a ‘military frieze’ upon their monument, so the inclusion of the motif should be understood as a conscious choice at the behest of the deceased and/or the commemorators. In fact, whilst the monuments from *Tilurium* and *pagus Scunasticus* may have been produced at the same workshop, or at least a derivative workshop,³⁴³ the two *Legio VII C.p.f.* monuments from *Salona* (*AE* 1991, 1291; *CIL* 3, 2014) were likely carved by stonemasons from the provincial capital, for they include a portrait-bust and, in the case of *AE* 1991, 1291 especially, seem to have captured more intricate details.³⁴⁴ Both were also erected according to the will of the deceased, possibly by fellow *milites*. Even within a civilian setting (*Salona*), we therefore see ‘military men’ wishing to present themselves, or their comrades, as members of the military community through the use of communally significant martial symbols.

Arms and armour were not the only martial icons depicted upon funerary monuments in the early-mid Empire, with a great number of active and ex-servicemen adorning their monuments with *dona militaria* (military awards): most commonly, *coronae* (crowns), *phalerae* (discs), *torques*, and *armillae* (bracelets).³⁴⁵ These were either depicted upon portraits of the deceased, as seen with the early 1st century CE funerary portrait of Marcus Caelius, *Centurio* of *Legio XVIII* from *Vetera* (Xanten),³⁴⁶ or as a decoration, as seen with two fragmented 1st century CE funerary stelae from *Burnum* which likely commemorate *centuriones*.³⁴⁷ The elaborate funerary stela of *Legio VII miles* Lucius Mummius (*AE* 1995, 1232) is a product of this military epigraphic trend.³⁴⁸

Found in *Tilurium* (Trilj), Mummius’ 1.75 x 0.6m tombstone is of the A2 type, with the typical *aedicula* containing an epitaph following the ‘military formula’. Below this is another wider inscription field containing a *carmen epigraphicum* wherein the freedman

³⁴³ Miletić 2013.

³⁴⁴ See n. 285.

³⁴⁵ Maxfield 1981: 67-81, 86-95.

³⁴⁶ Maxfield 1981: pl 2a (*CIL* 13, 8648).

³⁴⁷ Abramić 1924: figs. 4-5; Maxfield 1981: pl 11b; Miletić 2010: cat. no. 80 (catalogue entry by Maršić); Maršić 2014: figs. 1-3.

³⁴⁸ Fadić 1995; Sanader and Tončinić 2010: cat. no. 114 (catalogue entry by Librenjak); Sanader, Demicheli, and Milićević-Bradač 2013: 488.

Cornelius Chrestus (the erector) laments Mummius' death and celebrates his life. Beneath this there are *dona militaria*, more specifically, nine *paenulae* strung together and flanked by two *torques* and *armillae*. Mummius likely won these awards for service during the *Bellum Batonianum* and either purchased the stela prior to death, or Chrestus was close enough to know Mummius would want the awards depicted.³⁴⁹ In addition to reinforcing his military identity, which is already observable through the epigraphic 'military formula' and the reference to his service in the *carmen epigraphicum*,³⁵⁰ the inclusion of these *dona militaria* marks Mummius, and his military community of *Legio VII*, as a member (or part) of this larger military culture wherein military success was highly valued. As above, the erection of the stela at *Tilurium* would have meant that this communal martial value was also advertised to other community members.

5.3.2 Not Martial, but Very 'Military': Reliefs of Tools

Not every facet of the military identity was centred around martial prowess or functionality, and it is evident that the military identities of *Legio VII* servicemen were also expressed through depictions of non-martial symbols, namely construction tools. As was outlined in Chapter 3.3.2, *Legio VII* servicemen undertook a great range of construction activities, and it is evident these activities became associated with the 'community of the soldier'. Three funerary monuments from *Tilurium* depict construction tools. Firstly, there are the two similar stelae of *Legio VII milites* Lucius Cornelius (*CIL* 3, 9734) and Quintus Marcius Bassus (*CIL* 3, 14932) of the A1b and reduced b types respectively (figs. 14.1-2). Found in Gardun, these are both topped by an *aedicula* flanked by palmettes and containing a rosette. Significantly, below their inscription field there is a large depiction of a *dolabra* (pl. *dolabrae*). Secondly, there is the aforementioned stela of likely *Legio VII miles* Sextus Clodius from Vojnić (*CIL* 3, 13976). The monument is of the A1a type, with a quad-panelled 'porta inferi' motif which contains construction tools in each panel, specifically a square

³⁴⁹ Chrestus may also have been a freedman serving under one of Mummius' compatriots (he is referred to as a 'freedman of Marcus'), and therefore may have been a member of the wider military community of non-combatants mentioned in Chapter 2.3.1.

³⁵⁰ Referring to Mummius, line 7 states: "*Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis*" – 'Who bore fortunate weapons for sixteen years (for eight years twice)'. Translation is an edit of Tončinić 2011: 73.

(*norma*), straight callipers (*circinus rectus*), a hammer, and a line and plummet (*perpendicularum*) (fig. 14.3).³⁵¹



Figure 14. (Left to right) 14.1. CIL 3, 9734: lower portion of stela of Lucius Cornelius; 14.2. CIL 3, 14932: lower portion of stela of Quintus Marcius Bassus; 14.3. CIL 3, 13976: lower portion of stela of Sextus Clodius. Held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. Photos: Ante Verzotti.

As depicted upon Trajan's column, *dolabrae* were essentially Roman pickaxes used extensively by Rome's soldiery for a range of tasks, including camp construction, logging, trench digging, and even combat.³⁵² As it was a piece of standard issue gear, material remains of *dolabrae* are "found almost exclusively in military contexts",³⁵³ including *Tilurium*, where 1st century CE *dolabrae* heads have been found.³⁵⁴ I would argue, therefore, that the tool was associated with the military community and its servicemen in this period, and the presence of the image upon the monuments of Cornelius and Marcius Bassus was a way of preserving the military identities of the two soldiers. In a similar vein, I contend that the construction tools featured upon Clodius' monument, whilst not considered military by some scholars, were also a way of signalling his membership within the military community.³⁵⁵ As mentioned, *Legio VII milites* were active in the construction of roads, camps, urban developments, and even settlements.³⁵⁶ As such, it is possible these activities

³⁵¹ Tončinić 2007.

³⁵² Richmond 1935: 18-23.

³⁵³ Ivčević 2013a: 438.

³⁵⁴ Šeparović 2003: pl. 4,1; Ivčević 2005: pl. 2, 30.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Ivčević 2013b: 12.

³⁵⁶ Construction: (roads) CIL 3, 3198a = 3200; (building dedication at *Iader*) CIL 3, 2908; (*Aequum*) Tončinić 2011: cat. nos. 111, 113. See also above n. 159.

were seen as integral to the military community and its identity. In support of this, funerary depictions of construction tools are also common at *Burnum*, with seven different monuments commemorating *Legio XI* and *XI C.p.f. milites* depicting tools of a similar fashion.³⁵⁷

Thus, whilst not related to the martial function of the unit, construction tools were nonetheless depicted upon the funerary monuments of Cornelius, Marcius Bassus and Clodius to present the deceased as a member of the military community. Moreover, for these three men, their commemorators, and possibly other *Legio VII* servicemen, the non-martial role of the *Legio VII* ‘community of the soldier’ as builders was evidently significant, and the location of their monuments at *Tilurium* would have meant that this significance was conveyed to their fellow servicemen.

5.4 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.³⁵⁸ However, it has gone unmentioned in the present study so far, primarily because of the low amount of portraiture within the corpus; something perhaps to be expected considering portraiture was more popular amongst *auxilia* in this period.³⁵⁹ Only 11 monuments bear (or bore) portraits, and of these, six are fragmentary and three are briefly described in the *CIL*.³⁶⁰ Moreover, one is of a female (to whom the monument was erected) and another is not described in detail by the *CIL*, merely listed as a *protome* (Graeco-Roman bust).³⁶¹ Nevertheless, the nine relevant portraits provide valuable insight into the dynamics of identity construction amongst the *Legio VII*. Firstly, the two ‘rider-reliefs’ (*Reitertyp*) illuminate how the medium could be used to advertise and define one’s military identities. Secondly, the dress depicted upon certain monuments demonstrates how *Legio VII* members utilised portraiture to express their numerous social identities, be they military or civilian, reminding us of the various active plains of identity within these funerary monuments and in the lives of the commemorated individuals.

³⁵⁷ Maršić 2007; Ivčević 2013b: 12-13. Similar depictions of occupational tools upon funerary monuments can be found in civilian contexts, see Hope 2001: 43, 54-55.

³⁵⁸ E.g. Coulston 2007.

³⁵⁹ Hope 2000: 173-176.

³⁶⁰ *Legio VII* portraiture: (fully preserved) *AE* 1991, 1291; 2000, 1174; (fragmentary) *CIL* 3, 2040; 9737; 14933; *ILJug* 2, 670; 3, 2091; Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66; (lost) *CIL* 3, 2014; 2041; 3162a.

³⁶¹ *ILJug* 2, 670; *CIL* 3, 2041.

5.4.1 Embodying the Legionary Cavalryman: The Two *Reitertyp* Portraits

Two funerary markers are *Reitertyp* stelae: the lost stela of *Legio VII C.p.f. eques legionis* Marcus Antonius Celurus (*CIL* 3, 3162a), erected by Julia Maximus, and the fragmentary stela of Marcus Percennius from *Tilurium* (*CIL* 3, 14933), who was possibly an *eques legionis* of *Legio VII* during the 1st century CE (figs. 15.1-2).³⁶² According to the *CIL*, the former is topped by a bust of a female, with its middle portion depicting a horseman wielding a lance in his right hand and a round shield with a thunderbolt in the other – aligning with the general *Reitertyp* portrait, but void of both an attendant and the fallen barbarian.³⁶³ Only half of the rearing horse remains on Percennius’ monument, but the silhouette of a rider’s torso is visible.³⁶⁴

³⁶² 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, whilst *Legio VII* is likely, as it was the *legio* stationed at the camp for the longest period, *Legio XI* and *IV* are also possible candidates, Fadić 1997: 77-81; Pilhofer 2000: 717, no. 709; Tončinić 2011: 79-80; Tončinić and Ivčević 2013: 505-506.

³⁶³ *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’); Hofmann 1905: 49-50, no. 37.

³⁶⁴ I would suggest that the form of this *Reitertyp* is very similar to another unattributable 1st century CE stela found at *Tilurium* (Trilj) bearing the four-panelled ‘*porta inferi*’ motif and now held in the Franciscan monastery museum in Sinj (Inv. no. RS 154 = Medini 1984: fig. 2 = Cambi 2008: no. 27). Based upon the presence of the four-panelled ‘*porta inferi*’, the portrait and epitaph enclosed by two columns, and the Tilurian find site, I would also consider this monument a possible *Legio VII* or *Legio VII C.p.f.* monument.



Figure 15. (Left to right) 15.1. CIL 3, 3126a: Hofmann's (1905: 49, fig. 31) illustration of the funerary stela of Marcus Antonius Celer; 15.2. CIL 3, 14933: the fragmentary stela of Marcus Percennius, Archaeological Museum in Split. Photo: Ante Verzotti.

This funerary portrait type, as outlined earlier (2.4.3), was predominantly chosen by *auxilia* in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. However, *legionarii* also erected monuments bearing the figure, admittedly in far fewer numbers.³⁶⁵ Whilst not common, the choice of Celurus, Percennius, and/or their commemorators is, therefore, not perplexing. Indeed, by using a motif common amongst contemporary servicemen, be they *auxilia* or *legionarii*, I would argue these portraits were chosen to mark Celer and Percennius out as distinct members of the community. Firstly, the overall martial character of the motif (a rearing horseman wielding a weapon) presents these two individuals as military men, an ethos only accentuated by other features of the monuments.³⁶⁶ Moreover, for Celurus (and possibly for Percennius),³⁶⁷ the choice of this motif demonstrates that his specific military role as an *eques* was an important facet of his military identity, and, likewise, demonstrates the impact of one's role within the community in terms of social identity. As such, I suggest that this

³⁶⁵ Mathilde Schleiermacher (1984) provides a catalogue of 87 *Reitertyp* monuments which can be assigned to a regiment from across the Empire (along with numerous others which cannot), of which only six belong to *legionarii*.

³⁶⁶ Whilst the inscription cuts off after the third line, enough of CIL 3, 14933 survives to deduce this: (*nomen*) "M(arcus) Percenni[us---]", (*tribus*) "Voltinia", (*domicilium*) "Ph[ilippis?]", (unit) "[l]eg(ionis)".

³⁶⁷ The exact nature of Percennius' rank is uncertain.

role was communally significant to some degree, for Celer and Percennius wished to advertise this position, with the primary audience of Percennius' relief being his fellow *milites* at *Tilurium*.³⁶⁸

5.4.2 Cloaks and Togas: The Citizen Soldier in the Civilian Sphere

Genevieve Fisher and Diana Loren have established that individuals can present themselves as members of certain social groups “by means of dress, ornamentation, body modification, posture, gesture, and representation”.³⁶⁹ By extension, through funerary portraiture one is able to glimpse at the process of (social) identity construction. Whilst Roman funerary portraits were not always meant to provide a perfect likeness of the deceased, they can still reveal a great deal through certain features such as stance, hairstyle, and dress.³⁷⁰

The funerary portraits of *Legio VII veteranus* Gaius Licinius (*AE* 2000, 1174) from *pagus Scunasticus* and *Legio VII C.p.f miles* Quintus Mettius Valens (*AE* 1991, 1291) from the Salonitan eastern necropolis present the deceased as wearing either a *birrus* or *lacerna* (hooded cloaks), with Mettius Valens gripping the neck of said cloak with his right hand (figs. 16.1-2).³⁷¹ The fragmentary Tilurian funerary portrait of *Legio VII miles* Gaius Longinus (*CIL* 3, 9737) also seems to depict a figure wearing a similar cloak in the same fashion as Mettius Valens (fig. 16.3).³⁷² These cloaks, along with the *paenula*, were commonly (yet not *exclusively*) worn by members of the military in the early Empire.³⁷³ Srđana Schönauer has highlighted that at least two other relatively contemporaneous monuments belonging to *milites* bear portraits with individuals depicted in the same garb (figs. 17.1-2): the mid-late 1st century CE Tilurian stelae of *Claudiae Novae eques alae* Marcus Elvadius (*CIL* 3, 2712=9727) and *Cohors II Chyrrestarum miles* Marcus Pytha (*CIL* 3, 14934).³⁷⁴ By presenting Licinius, Mettius Valens, and Longinus in such a manner, the sculptors may have thus been drawing attention to, and affirming, the three individuals' identities as military servicemen. Furthermore, I would hypothesise that in *Dalmatia* in the

³⁶⁸ This reinforces the communal value of ranks, offices, and roles that was asserted through the textual dimension of the monuments (see 5.2). Whilst *CIL* 3, 3162a was found in *Dalmatia*, its specific provenience eludes us.

³⁶⁹ Fisher and Loren 2003: 225-229.

³⁷⁰ Coulston 2004: 151.

³⁷¹ This assertion is based upon the work of Srđana Schönauer, namely her discussion of two Dalmatian monuments which supposedly portray these two cloaks, Schönauer 2000: 256-263, pls. T.X-XII.

³⁷² The stela of *veteranus* Lucius Arruntius (*ILJug* 3, 2091) could also be wearing the same type of cloak, however the portrait is much more fragmentary.

³⁷³ Schönauer 2000: 260, 403-404, figs. 29-33. For the literary evidence concerning the *lacerna* in military and civilian settings see Mart. 14.132; Ov. *Fast.* 2.746; Plin. *HN.* 18.225.

³⁷⁴ See above n. 371.

1st century CE, at least within the context of the funerary portraiture, the *birrus* and *lacerna* were associated with the military community, perhaps in a similar manner as sword accessories, but further investigation is required.³⁷⁵ The difference here in relation to the *Reitertyp* reliefs and ‘military friezes’ is that the communal identifier (a cloak) was not necessarily related to the servicemen’s martial function within society. Rather, it was related to their membership within a community that was associated with a certain garb. Parallels may exist with the popularity of the *sagum* within reliefs depicting *milites* in the province of *Dacia* and *Pannonia*, however, civilians are sometimes also depicted in similar dress.³⁷⁶



Figure 17. (Left to right) 16.1. AE 2000, 1174: portrait of Gaius Licinius; 16.2. AE 1991, 1291: portrait of Quintus Mettius Valens; 16.3. CIL 3, 9737: portrait of Gaius Longinus. All held in the Archaeological Museum in Split. Photos: Ante Verzotti.



Figure 16. Comparanda with funerary portraiture: (Left to right) 17. 1. CIL 3, 2712=9727: potrait of Claudiae Novae eques alae Marcus Elvadius; 17.2. CIL 3, 14934: portrait of Cohors II Chyrrestarum miles Marcus Pytha. Photos: Schönauer 2000: pl. T. X-XII, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/198745>, last accessed 07/01/2021. License: CC BY 4.0.

³⁷⁵ It is also interesting to note that relatively simple busts were also common amongst the funerary portraiture of *legionarii* elsewhere in the Empire. See Hope 2000: 171; CSIR 2.5 22-24. For sword accessories and identity see 2.3.2.

³⁷⁶ Migotti 2017: 23-25; Gui and Petruț 2018: 134-135.

Portraits can also provide a snapshot of other identities, ones which the *milites* of *Legio VII* would have maintained alongside those drawn from military service. The best representation of this is seen with the broken portrait of *Legio VII veteranus* Lucius Vettius Secundus and a female individual (his wife or daughter) from *Aequum* (Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66). Vettius Secundus is presented in a *toga* – an item of clothing associated with civilian life – aside his female companion who dons a *stola*.³⁷⁷ Secundus, who erected the monument, evidently wished to be represented as a civilian and/or citizen through portraiture – reinforcing the citizen status which would have been firmly established by his inscribed *tria nomina*. This ‘civilian identity’ is likely the result of Vettius Secundus’ veteran status and increased assimilation into civilian society at the colony of *Aequum*. The same rationale applies to the monument of *Legio VII C.p.f veteranus* Lucius Caesius Bassus from *Salona* (*CIL* 3, 2014) which once depicted Caesius Bassus in a *toga*.³⁷⁸ Crucially, the monuments of Vettius Secundus and Caesius Bassus still bear an epitaph with information that reveals a military career and are, therefore, testament to the complex nature of social identities and their construction through funerary monuments – namely, how the various communicative dimensions of the monument (here, the visual and textual) could be used to construct *different* identities, as well as reinforce others.³⁷⁹

5.5 Concluding Discussion: Reciprocal Negotiation of Individual and Communal Identities

Being a *miles* was more than purely a profession in the Roman world, constituting a way of life. Indeed, as Hope asserts, service “was the basis of the soldiers’ identity”.³⁸⁰ As has been demonstrated, this was evidently true for the *Legio VII milites* and *veterani* who served and settled in *Dalmatia*, as is attested to by their inscribed funerary monuments. In fact, it was through this very medium (among others) that these servicemen presented themselves as military men, asserting themselves and their *fratres* as individuals defined by their service within the diverse and (following the events of 42 CE) prestigious regiment that was *Legio VII Claudia pia fidelis*. Moreover, one can note that the processes

³⁷⁷ Tončinić and Demicheli 2008: 351; Tončinić 2011: 97; Demicheli 2011: 71-73, no. 1.

³⁷⁸ The 18th century Venetian abbot Alberto Fortis and 19th century French antiquarian Lavallée Cassus both record that the portrait depicted a man in a *toga*, Maršić 2010: 75 n. 43. Caesius Bassus’ status as a citizen may have been further reinforced by the *rotulus* (scroll) he holds in his portrait. Whilst the iconographic significance of these *rotuli* is contested, some consider them a symbol of citizenship, Grüll 2018: 139-140. Cf. László 2006: 14.

³⁷⁹ This articulation of dual identities has been observed amongst other corpora of veteran funerary monuments, such as those of Aquileia and Nimes, see Hope 2001: 44-48.

³⁸⁰ Hope 2001: 38, 48.

of social construction within *Legio VII* were in fact a facet of the social dynamics outlined in Chapter 4.

References to features of service, including one's role, dominate the funerary epitaphs within this corpus, revealing how important these were at an individual level, as well as how valued they were communally. Sculpture often complements this, with the *dona militaria* of Mummius on display for all to see. Moreover, the martial function of the *milites* and the *legio* was established as a core facet of the community through 'military friezes' and *Reitertyp* portraits. However, other items associated with military service – but not necessarily martialness – such as construction tools and hooded cloaks, were also declared constituent communal symbols through funerary sculpture. Each soldier thus had a plethora of symbols, roles, and (linking to the previous chapter) relations which they could use to define their military identities. Significantly, it is evident these symbols, which were utilised in both individual and communal identity construction, were drawn from *Legio VII*'s distinct experience in *Dalmatia*, namely its construction activities, as well as more general empire-wide concepts of militaryness, seen with the martial values surrounding military roles and the primary (perceived) function of the *milites* as a combatant. It is also evident that the form and location of the inscribed funerary markers rendered them participants in the social dynamics of the community, representing the deceased and (re)defining the nature of the community for contemporary (and future) military audiences. Finally, as the monuments within the corpus were a representation of – or rather, an extension of – the deceased, they could also communicate non-military identities, with the medium utilised as a means for the *Legio VII veterani* Lucius Vettius Secundus and Lucius Caesius Bassus to negotiate their distinct social situations as 'soldier civilians'.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis has examined the social reality of the servicemen of *Legio VII* and *Legio VII C.p.f.* who were stationed in *Dalmatia* between 7 and 59 CE through the inscribed funerary monuments erected during and following their stay. These monuments represent a conscious choice to erect a monument in memory of these *fratres Romani Legionis VII*, be they active *milites* or settled *veterani*, *signiferi* or *equites*, or natives of *Sinope* or citizens of *Verona*. They have not only facilitated a sophisticated reconstruction of the community of *Legio VII*, its members, and its social dynamics in this thesis, but they have also revealed their own agency as mediums of social rejuvenation. Moreover, this thesis has demonstrated the value of conducting in-depth and theoretically informed analyses of the well-catalogued Romano-Dalmatian evidence, and the subsequent integration of this evidence – and the related local scholarship – into broader discussions concerning the Roman military.

In summary, through a theoretically engaged analysis of a well-catalogued Romano-Dalmatian dataset, this thesis has shown that the Dalmatian funerary monuments reveal that the unit-based community was home to a complex network, comprising various roles and relations, and in which the servicemen and their funerary markers were social agents – agents of whom the community itself was a product, as well as agents over whom the community held influence. This thesis has argued that community and identity were (re)constructed and (re)defined through the epigraphic, sculptural, and spatial communicative avenues of the funerary medium through the use and/or presentation of communally significant symbols, roles, and relations. Furthermore, these military social identities and the sense of a soldiery community within *Legio VII* were in fact products of, and, paradoxically, influencers of the aforementioned social dynamics of this community of *fratres Romani*.

More specifically, to develop an understanding of the social dynamics of the Roman military and the role of inscribed funerary monuments in this social sphere, Chapter 2 synthesised anthropological, psychological, and sociological understandings of community and social identity, as well as archaeological, historical, and epigraphical scholarship surrounding the Roman military, the ‘epigraphic culture’, and inscribed funerary monuments. This synthesis presented the military as a complex socio-cultural entity which was underpinned by strong military identities and was, in part, relationally and symbolically

(re)constructed by a range of intersecting sub-communities and their members, with inscribed funerary markers acting as one medium through which this social reality was negotiated. Chapter 3 then outlined the history of the *legio* and the general form of the corpus under study, revealing that the members of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f.* were integral in the development of the province of *Dalmatia* and active during their stay. Moreover, the funerary monuments of these men were shown to be fusions of ‘classical’ and ‘regional’ styles. All of this discussion facilitated the subsequent engagement with the two primary lines of inquiry posed in Chapter 1.³⁸¹

In response to the first line of inquiry, Chapter 4 argued that the funerary monuments reveal a tightly knit group of *milites* and *veterani*. This dense network was intersected with legal obligations, familial links, and familial-like bonds of brotherhood. Furthermore, these relations were established as constituent features of the overarching community through their reference in the funerary epitaphs, as well as defined as core components of community members’ social identities. The shared sense of belonging felt amongst these servicemen was further reinforced through the erection – both individually and communally – of inscribed monuments for deceased brethren. Additionally, the curation of a communal style and the clustered distribution of certain monuments caused the community to be visible in a funerary context. It was also proven that there was a degree of interplay between the *Legio VII* military community and that of the broader military community, with certain practices, such as the colloquial use of ‘*frater*’, the ‘*porta inferi*’ motif, and the erection of a funerary marker for a fallen comrade, popular across *Dalmatia* and several other northern and western provinces.

Addressing the second line of inquiry, Chapter 5 argued that the funerary monuments presented military service as a defining feature of the identities of *Legio VII* servicemen. A sense of individual militaryness was constructed either through epitaphic references to facets of service, such as *stipendia*, or through sculptural depictions of martialness and militaryness, seen with the ‘military friezes’ and *dolabrae*. Whilst constituents of the same grouping, each *miles* and their commemorators used a distinct combination of communally significant symbols and roles to construct this military identity through the funerary medium – Antonius Celer was commemorated with a *Reitertyp* portrait, Mummius with his *dona militaria*. Indeed, the chapter also observed how representations of civilian dress were used

³⁸¹ Chapter 1.2, p. 2.

by *veterani* to negotiate their distinct social situation as ex-servicemen partially integrated into civilian society. Nonetheless, simultaneously, the degree of uniformity amongst the corpus in sculptural theme (martial or military), epitaphic content, and location also asserted each serviceman's membership within the *Legio VII* 'community of the soldier'. Again, an interplay between *Legio VII* and the broader military body is evident, with certain symbols, such as the *Reitertyp* portrait and military cloaks, being militarily significant in the wider region. Throughout all these processes, the *Legio VII* community was (re)defined by its members and their commemorative monuments, with the martial function of the *Legio* established as a core component of the communal military ethos, alongside the many construction activities undertaken by its *milites*.

Naturally, this detailed picture of life within the Roman army in 1st century CE *Dalmatia* could be developed further. Indeed, this thesis is significant in that it is testament to the fact that similar studies of military epigraphic corpora from *Dalmatia* (and beyond) against the backdrop of the 'Roman military community' would prove valuable, allowing for comparative analyses. The inscribed markers of *Legio XI Claudia pia fidelis* and *Cohors II Cyrrhestarum milites* may serve as a good contemporary starting point for this endeavour.³⁸² In addition, future research could engage with the extended community of families, dependants, and other camp-followers, and attempt to explore the agency these individuals exerted in Dalmatian military communities. Finally, studies could venture beyond the epigraphic record, incorporating other forms of material evidence related to processes of identity construction and community (re)definition. Here, items of dress and accessories associated with the military may prove particularly useful, with a number of related datasets of metallurgical accessories already in existence and awaiting theoretically engaged analysis.³⁸³ All of these efforts would contribute towards more encompassing and nuanced reconstructions of the social subtleties of the Roman army in *Dalmatia*, bringing us closer to the 'reality' of the *miles* and his extended network.

³⁸² E.g. (*Cohors II Cyrrhestarum*) *AE* 1994, 1357-58; 2000, 11793; *CIL* 3, 14934.

³⁸³ E.g. the already referenced work of Ivčević 2005; 2011; 2013a; 2017

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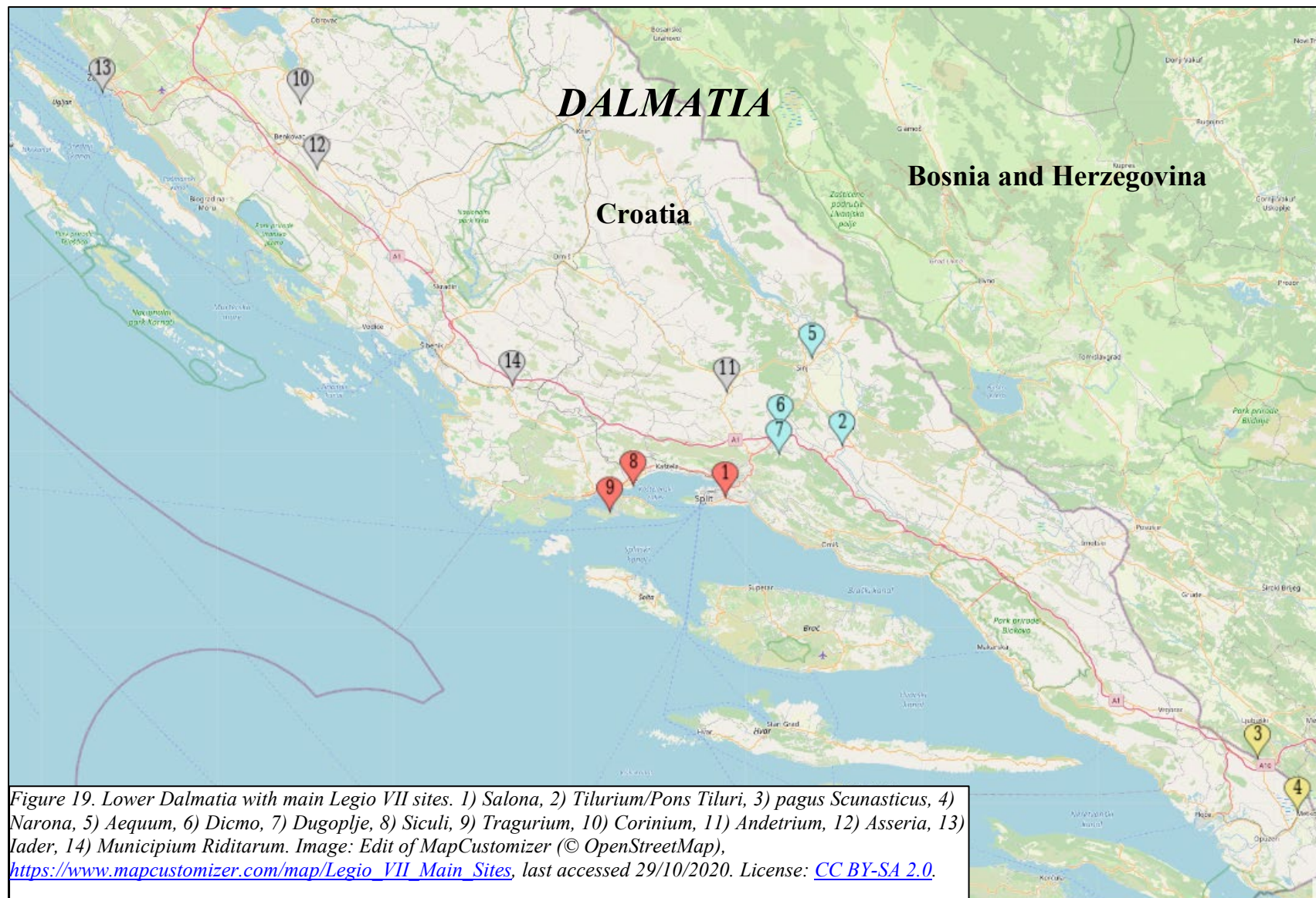
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Appendix 1

Maps of *Dalmatia* (fig. 18) and the find-sites of the epigraphic funerary monuments of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f.* (fig. 19).



Figure 18. Map of Dalmatia and nearby Provinces (c. 117 CE) overlaid onto modern regions and cities.
Image: Edit of DARMC, <https://darmc.harvard.edu/>, last accessed 14/07/2020. License: [CC BY-NC-SA 4.0](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/).



Appendix 2

This table records the main details about the 74 definite (a) and 15 possible (b) funerary monuments referencing *Legio VII* servicemen in *Dalmatia*. It is ordered first by title, and then alphabetically by reference. Most ‘monument types’ have been taken from Tončinić 2011: 147-164 (Appendix 6). The inscriptions are taken from either Tončinić 2011 or the *EDCS*. The table was generated using a .SQL database, of which a *beta* can be viewed upon request.

(a)					
Reference	Inscription	Monument Type	Style Type	Find Spot	Title
AE 1991, 1290	<i>Q(uintus) Valerius / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Corn(elia) / Edessa mil(es) / leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um / XXXV stip(endiorum) XII / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) L(ucius) Valerius / h(eres) p(osuit) et Valeria / Quinta l(iberta) h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	stela	Reduced c	Salona, east necropolis	VII
AE 1994, 1355	<i>C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) / Vel(ina) domo / Pessinunte / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XLV stip(endiorum) XXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / C(aius) Mummius p(osuit)</i>	stela	A1a	Dugopolje, probably Tilurium	VII
AE 1995, 1231	<i>L(ucius) Attius L(uci) f(ilius) Sergi(a) / Augusta / an(norum) XXX st(ipendiorum) VIII / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII / h(ic) s(itus) es(t)</i>	stela	Reduced c	Tilurium, Gardun	VII
AE 1995, 1232	<i>L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) f(ilius) Fab(ia) Ancyra / miles leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XXXVI / stipend(iorum) XVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) // Arma bis octonis felicia qui tulit annis / hic situs est fato Mummius ipse suo / si sapiunt obiti data munera percipis am(pla) / et recipis nostrae pignus amicitiae / hoc tibi cum titulo posuit / Cornelius Chrestus / et dixit</i>	stela	A1b	Tilurium, Vojnić	VII

	<i>lachrymans sit tibi ter(r)a levis // M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) l(ibertus) / Chrestus posuit</i>				
AE 1999, 1230	<i>L(ucius) Ancharenus Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Ser(gia triba) (domo) Laranda mil(es) / leg(ionis) VII(septima) ann(or)um XL(quadraginta) stip(endiorum) XXI(vigintiunorum) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Q(uintus) Ancharenus haec tan[---] / posuit tibi dona frater quia / longe a patria te cecidisse dolet / optaram vivo potius dare vi[na] / [---] non obito care ferenda / tuo si quicquam sentire potes / [---] mpore nostro damus haec / [---] sit tibi terra levis frater / fratri posuit.</i>	stela	Reduced c	Tilurium, Vojnić	VII
AE 2000, 1174	<i>C(aius) Licinius C(ai) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) dom(o) Sinope / vete(ranus) leg(ionis) VII an(norum) L / stip(endiorum) XXVII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / heredes posuer(unt)</i>	stela	A3c	Pagus Scunasticus, Smokovice, Hardomilje	VII
AE 2003, 1330	<i>Q(uintus) Valerius / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Qui(rina) dom(o) / Icon(io) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) / VII an(norum) LV stip(endiorum) / XXVIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Q(uintus) Portorius et Q(uintus) Va/lerius Anteros posuer(unt)</i>	stela	A1a	Pagus Scunasticus, Vuna, Hardomilje	VII
CIL 3, 1813	<i>M(arcus) Heredius M(arci) f(ilius) Pal(atina) / veteranus leg(ionis) VII / h(ic) s(itus) est fecit / Faustus l(ibertus)</i>	stela	Reduced c	Narona, Vid Metković	VII
CIL 3, 1818	<i>L(ucius) Riccius L(uci) f(ilius) Vel(ina) / Pessinunte ann(or)um LX vet(eranus) / Marcia Maxima uxor / L(ucius) Riccius L(uci) f(ilius) Valens / L(ucius) Riccius L(uci) f(ilius) Gallus / Riccia L(uci) [f(ilia)] Bulla / h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) / L(ucius) Atilius L(uci) f(ilius) Vel(ina) veter(anus) leg(ionis) VII / avunculo suo posuit et sibi</i>	funerary inscription		Narona, Čitluk (Herzegovina)	VII
CIL 3, 2033	<i>Q(uinto) Hortensio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) vet(erano) leg(ionis) / VII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Hortensia /</i>	stela		Salona	VII

	<i>Q(uinti) f(ilia) Quarta et / L(ucius) Corellius I[u]c/undus patri posuere</i>				
<i>CIL 3, 2048</i>	<i>T(itus) Sabinius T(iti) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) domo / Sebaste vete(ranus) / leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um LVI / sti(pendiorum) XXXII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	stela		<i>Salona, north necropolis</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2071</i>	<i>] / [Pompt]ina(?) A[rr]etio / [---] mil(es) le[g(ionis)] VII / ann{i}or(um) [---] / [s]tipe[n]dior(um) IX / h(ic) s(itus)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2709</i>	<i>T(itus) Ancharenus / T(iti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) / dom(o) Laranda / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII an(norum) / XLIV stip(endiorum) XXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	stela	A1a	<i>Tilurium, Gardun</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2710</i>	<i>Cn(aeus) Domiti/us Cn(aei) f(ilius) Vel(ina) / Pessinunte / an(norum) XLIV stip(endiorum) / XXV veteran(us) / ex leg(ione) VII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / testamento / fieri iussit</i>	stela	A1a	<i>Tilurium, Gardun</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2714</i>	<i>C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) / V(o)ltinia Clistin/na mil(es) leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) XLIX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Tilurium, Vojnić</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2716</i>	<i>Q(uintus) Oppius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Pol(lia) Foro Corne(lia) / signifer leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XXX stip(endiorum) VIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) heres pos(ui)t</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Tilurium, Gardun</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2717</i>	<i>L(ucius) Valerius L(uci) f(ilius) Volt(inia) / domo Philippis / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um XXXV / stip(endiorum) XV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Tilurium, Gardun</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2913</i>	<i>Sex(tus) Atilius / Sex(ti) f(ilius) Pap(iria) / veter(anus) leg(ionis) VII / domo Ticino / hic situs est / testamento / fieri iussit / in f(ronte) p(edes) XV in a(gro) p(edes) XX</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Iader</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2914</i>	<i>T(ito) Elvio Sca(ptia) Marino / IIIIvir(o) Altini / T(itus) Elvius T(iti) f(ilius) Salinator / >(centurio) leg(ionis) VII patri / in fronte</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Iader, Church of st. Michael</i>	<i>VII</i>

	<i>p(edes) XXX in agro p(edes) XXX / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)</i>				
<i>CIL 3, 6364</i>	<i>L(ucius) Herenni/us L(uci) f(ilius) Pap(iria) / Muliade / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII / an(norum) LX sti(pendiorum) / XXX h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	titulus		<i>Pagus Scunasticus, Glavica, Ljubuški</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 8487</i>	<i>L(ucius) Domitius L(uci) f(ilius) A<n=II>(iensi) / Aquila vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII / domo Myliada / stip(endiorum) XXXIII vi(vus) fe[c(it)] sib(i) / et C(aio) Domitio [L(uci) f(ilio)] A[n(iensi)] / [A]qui[l]ino mil(iti) [le]g(ionis) V[II] / stip(endiorum) XX h(onesta) m(issione) [m(isso) ---] / [-----] / [--- ---] / [---]A[---] / [---]V[---] fecit</i>	titulus		<i>Pagus Scunasticus, Beširica, Filovača</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 8723</i>	<i>C(aius) Asurius mil(es) / leg(ionis) VII >(centuria) Trini / ann(orum) XXXV stip(endiorum) XIV / domo Florentia / Severa lib(erta) / pos(u)it</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Salona, east necropolis</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 9711</i>	<i>Rutilia [---] / v(iva) f(ecit) sibi et Ar[---] / Tusco patri mil(iti) / leg(ionis) VII et A[---] / Primioni f(ilio) / et Rutiliae Fes[tae(?)] / defunctae</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Tragurium</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 9712</i>	<i>L(ucius) Vegnonius / L(uci) f(ilius) vet(eranus) leg(ionis) V[II] / [d]om(o) Florent[ia] / [Tr]opaena F[a]/[br]icia se vi[va] / [si]bi et vir[o] / <e=f>(ecit) / hic s(itus) est</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Siculi, Bijaći, above Kaštel Štafilić, near Tragurium</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 9733</i>	<i>Q(uintus) Baebius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Serg(ia) Conan(is) / miles leg(ionis) VII ann(orum) XXXXV / stip(endiorum) XX h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / quamvis lasse viator rogo ne graveris et / tumulum contempla meum lege et moraris iam / aliquid resciveris dum vixi hilaris iucundus amicis / nunc to[rpen]s iaceo hic o[ssa] req[ui]es[cunt] mea natus / sum Canonis</i>	stela	Reduced a	<i>Tilurium, Vojnić</i>	<i>VII</i>

	<i>conditu(s) in Illurico vale et bene / facito vitae dum fatum venit / frater fratri</i>				
<i>CIL 3, 9734</i>	<i>L(ucius) Cornelius L(uci) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) Heraclea / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII ann(or)um / XXXIII stip(endiorum) XII t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / Secundus h(eres) p(osuit) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	stela	A1	<i>Tilurium, Gardun</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 9737</i>	<i>C(aius) Longinus C(ai) f(ilius) / Cor(nelia) Amblada / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII an(norum) XL / stip(endiorum) XXI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / frater fratri</i>	stela	A2	<i>Tilurium, Gardun</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 9741</i>	<i>M(arcus) Vibius M(arci) f(ilius) / Aem(ilia) Durra(chio) / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XXX stip(endiorum) VII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [---]lius h(eres) p(osuit)</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Tilurium, Vojnić</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 9742</i>	<i>J / C[---] P[ol(lia) Aese / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XXX / stip(endiorum) VII h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Tilurium, Trilj</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 9939</i>	<i>Q(uintus) Magius / C(ai) f(ilius) Publ(ilia) dom(o) / Verona vetera(nus) / leg(ionis) VII annoru(m) / L stipend(iorum) XXV / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) h(ic) [s(itus)] e(st)</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Asseria, Podgrađe</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 14931</i>	<i>C(aius) Lartinius / C(ai) f(ilius) Pol(lia) domo / Foro Corneli / miles leg(ionis) VII / ann(or)um XXXIV / stip(endiorum) XVI h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / heredes posuer(unt)</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Dicmo, near Tilurium</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 14932</i>	<i>Q(uintus) Marcius / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Cor(nelia) Bassus / dom(o) Benevento / [m]il(es) leg(ionis) VII an(norum) / [---] stip(endiorum) XVII / [h(ic) s(itus)] e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / [ex arb]itratu / [M]aximi</i>	stela	Reduced b	<i>Tilurium, Gardun</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>ILJug 2, 670</i>	<i>P[---]a / at[---] fa/to rapta h(ic) s(ita) e(st) / C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Den/to veter(anus) leg(ionis) VII lib(ertae) / suae posuit</i>	stela		<i>Pagus Scunasticus, Humac</i>	<i>VII</i>

<i>ILJug 3, 1916</i>	<i>Q(uintus) Pius L(uci) [f(ilius)] / Ser(gia) Signinus do/mo Con(s)tan(ti)a vet(eranus) / leg(ionis) VII annor(um) LXXI / h(ic) s(itus)</i>	titulus		<i>Pagus Scunasticus, Vuna, Hardomilje</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 1920</i>	<i>M(arcus) Livius M(arci) f(ilius) Pal(atina) dom(o) / Aloro ve/teranus / leg(ionis) VII an(norum) / L stip(endiorum) XXVI / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)</i>	stela	A1a	<i>Pagus Scunasticus, Smokovice, Hardomilje</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 1921</i>	<i>T(itus) Varius T(iti) f(ilius) / Vel(in) domo / Pessinunte / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII / an(norum) L sti(pendiorum) XXIX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) her(es) pos(uit)</i>	stela	A1a	<i>Pagus Scunasticus, Smokovice, Hardomilje</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 1950</i>	<i>C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) Ninica / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII / an(norum) XXXIX stip(endiorum) / XVII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / hospes resis[te et] tumulum / contempla meum lege et / morarus iam scies quae / debeas vixi qua potui ca/rus sum Opiorum hic su/m sepultus hic ossua re/quiescum mea vale et / bene facito vitae dum fa/tum venit // Faustus l(ibertus) patrono</i>	stela	Reduced a	<i>Tilurium, Vojnić</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 2090</i>	<i>M(arcus) Titius M(arci) f(ilius) S[er]/gia domo Isinda / eques leg(ionis) VII anno[r(um)] / XXXV stipend(iorum) X[---] / ex testament(o) fi[eri] / iussit arbitr[atu] / L(uci) Gelli M(arci) f(ili) Serg[ia]</i>	altar		<i>Salona, east necropolis</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 2091</i>	<i>L(ucius) Arruntius / domo Pasimoae / anno(rum) LV / [vet(eranus) leg(ionis)] VII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [testament]o fieri iussit / [</i>	stela		<i>Salona, north necropolis</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 2280</i>	<i>Pinaria C(ai) lib(erta) / [--- ---] / patrono suo / C(aio) Pinario Scarpo / [ve]t(erano) leg(ionis) VII et filio / [</i>	stela		<i>Salona, north necropolis</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 66</i>	<i>L(ucius) Vettius M(arci) [f(ilius)] / Maec(ia) Secun[dus] / Libarn[a] vet(eranus) le[g(ionis)] / VII vivus [ff]ecit si[bi] / et Vettiae L(uci)</i>	stela	A3c	<i>Aequum, Hrvace</i>	<i>VII</i>

	<i>f(iliae) Ver[ae]] / et Vettiae L(uci) l(ibertae) S[---]</i>				
<i>AE 1904, 172</i>	<i>C(aius) Manticus / C(ai) f(ilius) Scap(tia) mil(es) / leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / stip(endiorum) XXIII / C(aius) Avinnius / [Post]umius / [---]s / [</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Salona, north necropolis</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>AE 1991, 1291</i>	<i>Q(uintus) Mettius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Volt(inia) Valens / mil(es) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / an(norum) XXXVIII stip(endiorum) XIIX / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)</i>	stela	A3a	<i>Salona, east necropolis</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>AE 1996, 1215</i>	<i>C(aius) Lollius C(ai) f(ilius) Pap(iria) Valens / veter(anus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) v(ivus) f(ecit) / sibi et Hostiliae P(ubli) f(iliae) Secu[ndae] / coniugi sanctissi[mae]</i>	titulus		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 1814</i>	<i>P(ublius) Lastus A(uli) f(ilius) Scaeva / domo Florentia / eques vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / annor(um) LX stip(endiorum) XXX et Lastae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) Apiculae P(ublio) Lasto Felici / P(ublio) Lasto Diodoro lib(erto) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Narona, Vid Metković</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2014</i>	<i>L(ucius) Caesius L(uci) f(ilius) / Cam(ilia) Bassus / domo Pisauri / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / an(norum) LIII stip(endiorum) XXXIII / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) h(eres) p(osuit) / in f(ron)te p(edes) VI in a(gro) p(edes) X</i>	stela	A3a	<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2019</i>	<i>C(aius) Curiatius T(iti) f(ilius) Serg(ia) / Secundus dom(o) Augusta / Troade vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / scrib[a] Salonis annor(um) LXV h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [in fr(onte) p(edes) --- in agr(o)] p(edes) XX</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

<i>CIL 3, 2022</i>	<i>L(ucius) Fabius L(uci) f(ilius) Satur/ninus vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Claudiae Ti(beri) / Claudi Alypi l(iberti) Caesaris / libertae Euche h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) / loc(um) don(avit) C(aius) Titius / Restitutus amicus / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2040</i>	<i>C(aius) Lucretius / signif(er) leg(ionis) VII / C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) dom(o) Verona / an(norum) XLV stip(endiorum) XXVI / de suo peculio f(aciendum) i(ussit) sibi / et Primo suo curam / egerunt frater et / Chrestus lib(ertus) / in fr(onte) p(edes) X in agr(o) p(edes) XX</i>	stela	A3c	<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2041</i>	<i>C(aius) Lucretius / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / domo Verona v(ivus) f(ecit) / sibi et Provinciali f(ilio) et / Firmillae et Tyche lib(ertabus) / suisque omnibus / in fr(onte) p(edes) X in agr(o) p(edes) XX</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2678</i>	<i>[Dis Manibus] / sa[crum] / C(aius) Vibi[us] C(ai) f(ilius) Pompt(ina)] / Pedes [dom(o) Arret(io)] / >(centurio) leg(ionis) VI[I C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) vivos fec(it)] / sibi et I[ul]iae C(ai) f(iliae) Pollae] / uxori</i>	altar		<i>Tragurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2715</i>	<i>M(arcus) Iulius M(arci) f(ilius) / Trernahensis / miles leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / an(norum) XXXXV stip(endiorum) XX / M(arcus) A[rr]untius frater [et] / [he]r[es] po[s]uit / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Tilurium, Košute</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2733</i>	<i>Sex(tus) Iu[li]us Sex(ti) f(ilius)] / Ani(ensi) Silva[nus] Foro Iulii] / summus c[urat(or) c(ivium) R(omanorum) prov(incia) Dalm(atiae)] / suffragio [eorum factus vet(eranus?)] / leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Aequum, Sinj</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

	<i>F(idelis) aed[ilis col(oniae) Claudiae Aequi ab] / ordine primus [post col(oniam) ded(uctam) creatus] / IIIvir i(ure) d(icundo) pont(ifex) [in col(onia?) Salona(?) ---] / in ag[ro] p(edes) [---] / h(oc) s(epulcrum) h(eredem) [n(on) s(equetur)]</i>				
<i>CIL 3, 2772</i>	<i>Q(uinto) Petro/nio Vale/nti militiav(it) / leg(ione) VII G[=C](laudia) P(ia) F(ideli) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)</i>	stela		<i>Municipium Riditarum/Rider, Danilo, near Šibenik</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2885</i>	<i>C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) / [Se]r(gia) [Agr]ippae / [---] leg(ionis) VII (Claudia?) P(iae) F(idelis) / >(centuria) Agrip[p]ae p(---) / Avita mari/to Agrippi[na] / patri</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Corinium, Karin, Near Iader</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 3162a</i>	<i>M(arco) Antonio Celeri / eq(uiti) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) Iulia / Maxsima heres fecit / sibi et coniugi caro suo st(ipendiorum) XXX / [in] f(ronte) p(edes) XII in ag(ro) (!) XVII</i>	stela	A3b	<i>Dalmatia</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 8732</i>	<i>Au]reli / [---] le]g(ionis) VII // C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / [---] st]ip(endiorum) XXX / [---] f(ilia) Ioventia / [</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 8735</i>	<i>C(aius) Bitt[ius- - -]/ Tro(mentina) Gem[ellus()] / imagini]fer] / leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) [P(iae) F(idelis)] / t(estamento) f(ieri) [i(ussit)]</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 8760</i>	<i>L(ucio) Trebonio Valenti / mil(iti) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) et L(ucio) Tre/bonio Constanti f(ilio) et / Treboniae Tertullae / sorori L(ucius) Trebonius / Successus lib(ertus) patronis / suis bene merentib(us) v(ivus) f(ecit) / sibi et suis libert(is) lib(ertabus)q(ue) / in f(ronte) p(edes) XX in ag(ro) p(edes) XII</i>	stela		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 8764</i>	<i>C(aius) Vatinius / Sex(ti) f(ilius) Capito / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII / C(laudiae) P(iae)</i>	altar		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

	<i>F(idelis) dom(o) Arreti(o) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Vatiniae Feli/culae libert(ae)</i>				
<i>CIL 3, 9761</i>	<i>M(arcus) Varenus / M(arci) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) Valens ve/ter(anus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / arbitratu M(arci) Vare/ni Secundi liberti idem/que heredis</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Aequum, Hrvace</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 14244/1</i>	<i>T(itus) Curtiacus / T(iti) f(ilius) Lem(onia) Bon(onia) / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 14699</i>	<i>] T(iti) f(ilius) Q[uir(ina?) ---] / [--- leg(ionis)] VII C(laudiae) P(iae) [F(idelis) ---] / [---] Respe[ctus] / [--- A]basca[ntus]</i>	inscription fragment		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 14946</i>	<i>C(aius) Octavius / C(ai) f(ilius) Fabia Vital[i]s / domo Brixiae / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / testamento f(ieri) i(ussit) / arbitratu Octavi/ae Secundaes lib(ertae) / suae</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Aequum, Glavice near Sinj</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 2093</i>	<i>] / signifer / leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / C(aius) Clodius Felix / lib(ertus) / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis)</i>	altar		<i>Salona, near Porta Caesarea</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 2600</i>	<i>] / vet(erano) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / Neria Pieris / coniugi suo / et sibi</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Salona, north necropolis, Kapljuč</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>ILJug 3, 2601</i>	<i>Primigeniu[s] / P(ubli) Ploti >(centurionis) leg(ionis) / VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) lib(ertus) an[n(orum)] / XX[---] h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / pat[ronus]</i>	stela		<i>Salona, north necropolis</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>Matijević 2017: fig. 1</i>	<i>C(aius) Auliu[s] C(ai) f(ilius) / Ani(ensis) Secundus / domo Cremona / vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis) / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Arria / Agat(h)emeris co(n)iugi / caris(s)imo ben[e] / merenti posu[it et(?)] / Q(uinto) Arri(o) Prisc[o(?)] p(atri) vel fr(atri) vel p(atrono)] / se viva et / sibi posuit.</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Siculi, Bijaći, near Tragurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

<i>AE</i> 1940, 177	<i>D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Septimio / Gratiano / mil(iti) leg(ionis) / VII Cl(audiae) exac/to co(n)s(ularis) v[i]/xit ann(os) XXII[II] / d(ies) XI Genia/lis Aug(usti) n(ostri) lib(ertus) / et Apuleia / Salvia filio / karissimo / pos(uerunt)</i>	altar		<i>Andetrium</i> , Gornji Muć	<i>VII Claudia</i>
<i>AE</i> 2000, 1176	<i>[---][Ca?]elius Ma[---] / [---]p domo R[---] / [--- ve]t(eranus) leg(ionis) VII / [--- st]ip(endiorum) XXVIII / [an]n(orum) LXII fili[o] / [eius e]t patrono v(otum) / [p]osuit [et] matri</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i> , Grebine, Vitaljina	<i>VII or VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL</i> 3, 8493	<i>M(arcus) Sosius M(arci) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) Sebasto/[poli --- leg(ionis)] VII / [</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i> , Gračine, Humac	<i>VII or VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL</i> 3, 14248	<i>l]eg(ionis) VII [---] / [---]ia Leg[</i>	inscription fragment		<i>Salona</i> , north necropolis	<i>VII or VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2028	<i>]e mul[---] / [---] Capit[o(?) ---] / [---] leg(ionis?) VII [</i>	inscription fragment		<i>Salona</i> , modern Klis, possibly from the east necropolis	<i>VII or VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 40	<i>L(ucius) Marcilius / C(ai) f(ilius) do]mo Pe/[ssin(unte?) --- leg(ionis) V]II / C[l(audiae) P(iae) F(idelis) ---] / [--- ---] / C(aius) M[arcilius?]]</i>	stela	A1a	<i>Pagus Scunasticus</i> , Veljaci	<i>VII or VII C.p.f.</i>
(b)					
Reference	Inscription	Monument Type	Style Type	Find Spot	Title
<i>CIL</i> 3, 8763	<i>] Sp(uri) f(ilius) Vale[---] / [---] Vet(uria) Place[ntia ---] / [--- le]g(ionis) VI[I</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	uncertain
<i>CIL</i> 3, 8767	<i>]ru[---] / [---] mil[es] / [legionis?] VII [</i>	inscription fragment		<i>Salona</i>	uncertain
<i>CIL</i> 3, 9738	<i>Q(uintus) Murrius / Q(uinti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Augusta / mil(es) leg(ionis) [--- an]n(orum) XXXV / stip(endiorum) VI[--- h(ic) s(itus)] e(st)</i>	stela		<i>Tilurium</i> , Vojnić	uncertain
<i>CIL</i> 3, 12909	<i>]OL[---] / [ve]t(er(anus) leg(ionis) / [VII Cl(audiae)] P(iae) E=f(idelis) v(ivus) f(ecit) / [sibi et] suis</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

<i>CIL</i> 3, 13976	<i>Sex(tus) Clodius / C(ai) f(ilius) Pub(lilia) Verona / mil(es) l[eg(ionis)]</i>	stela	A1a	<i>Tilurium</i> , Vojnić	uncertain
<i>CIL</i> 3, 13978	<i>C(aius) Parp[---] Fab(ia) / [-]ARE[---]C[-]X / annorum XLV / stipendior(um) XVI / N[---]</i>	stela	Reduced c	<i>Tilurium</i> , Gardun	uncertain
<i>CIL</i> 3, 14933	<i>M(arcus) Percenni[us---] / Voltinia Ph[ilippis] / [---] l[eg(ionis)]</i>	stela		<i>Tilurium</i> , Trilj	uncertain
<i>CIL</i> 3, 14992	<i>Ant]onius / [---] Vienn[a ---] / [---] l[eg(ionis)] VII[---] / [---] sti[p(endiorum)]</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Burnum</i>	uncertain
<i>ILJug</i> 2, 733	<i>[--- c]enturio le[g(ionis) VII]</i>	stela		<i>Tilurium</i> , Gardun	uncertain
<i>ILJug</i> 3, 1949	<i>L(ucius) Fabius C(ai) f(ilius) / Serg(ia) Conana / ann(orum) XX[---] / h(ic) s(itus) [e(st)] / C(aius) Fabius pa[ter] / filio posuit</i>	stela	A1a	<i>Tilurium</i> , Vojnić	uncertain
<i>ILJug</i> 3, 2105	<i>[---]ara [---]jilio / [---]t [// Q(uitus) Ignienus / Q(uiti) f(ilius) Ani(ensi) Ferox / dom(o) Troade /</i>	stela		<i>Salona</i> , north necropolis	uncertain
<i>ILJug</i> 3, 3239	<i>]S C Pala/[tina(?)] --- leg(ionis)] VII /</i>	inscription fragment		<i>Tilurium</i> , Gardun	uncertain
Medini 1984: fig. 2	<i>] < < + > > [</i>	stela		<i>Tilurium</i> , Trilj	uncertain
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 76	<i>mil(es) leg(ionis) V[II ---] an(n)or(um) XXIV stip(endorium) V h(ic) e(st) frater pos(u)it</i>	stela		<i>Dalmatia</i>	uncertain
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 86	<i>]SF[---] / [--- leg(ionis) ---] C(laudiae) P(iae) [F(idelis) ---] / [---]XIIIX[---] / [---]CFT[</i>	funerary inscription		<i>Salona</i> , north necropolis	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

Appendix 3

This table records the main details concerning the 27 definite (a) and 1 possible (b) non-funerary inscribed monuments of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia* which date to, or relate to, their stay in the province and the activities they undertook. These are ordered by monument type, *legio* title, and reference (alphabetically).

(a)				
Primary Reference	Inscription	Monument Type	Find Spot	Title
AE 2003, 1332	<i>Ex [dec(reto) P(ubli) Corn(eli)] / Dol(abellae) leg(ati) pr(o) [pr(aetore)] / det(erminavit) C(aius) Titius / Geminus >(centurio) / leg(ionis) VII inte[r] / Asser(iates) et C[or(nienses)]</i>	boundary inscription	Asseria, Podgrađe	VII
CIL 3, 2882	<i>L[---] / [---]nus Laco / [cent(urio?)] leg(ionis) VII iudex / [--- datu]s ex convent[ione eo]r(um) ab L(ucio) Volu[sio] / Saturnino le[g(ato)] / [p]ro pr(aetore) C(ai) Caesari[s] / [A]ugusti Germ[a]/[ni]ci inter Ned[i]/[tas] et</i>	boundary inscription	Dalmatia	VII
CIL 3, 9832	<i>Vib[ullius] t[rib(unus?)] / [le]g(ionis) VII et L(ucius) Sa[l]/[vius] M(arcus) Sueto ce[n]/[t]uriones leg(ionis) X[I] / [iu]dices d[a]ti ex / [co]<n=M>ventione a / [L(ucio) V]olusio Satur/[ni]no leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / [C(ai) C]aesaris Aug(usti) / [Ger]manici inter / [---]tine[s] e[st] ---]</i>	boundary inscription	Razvođe, near Burnum	VII
CIL 3, 8472	<i>L(ucius) Trebius / Secundus pr(aef(e)ctus castrorum inter / Onastinos et / Narestinos ter/minos pos(u)it ius/su L(uci) Volusi Satu/rni(ni) leg(ati) pro pr(aetore) C(ai) Ca[es]/[ari]s Au[g]usti G[e]rmanici ex / sentent(ent)i/a quam i(i)s ath/irito consi (!)/lio dixit</i>	boundary inscription	Krug, near Jesenice near Sumpetar	VII
CIL 3, 9864a	<i>L(ucius) Arruntius / Cami[ll]us Scri[b]o[nia]n[us] le[g(atus)] pro / pr(aetore) C(ai) [C]a[es]ar[is] Aug(usti) / Germanici iudicem / dedit M(anium) Coelium >(centurionem) / leg(ionis) VII inter Sapuates / e[st] La]matinos ut fines / [reg]eret et terminus po[n(eret)]</i>	boundary inscription	Vaganj, near Jajce, on Mt Kamešnica, between Sinj and Livno	VII
CIL 3, 9973	<i>E]x edict<o=u> P(ubli) Cor[neli] Dolabel(la)e leg(ati) / pro praetore determinav[it] / S(extus) Titius Geminus /</i>	boundary inscription	Popovići, near Karin	VII

	<i>pri(nceps) posterior leg(ionis) / VII inter Neditas / et Corinienses / restituit iussu A(uli) / Duceni Gemini / leg(ati) Augusti pr(o) p[r(aetore)] / per A(ulum) Resium [M]a/ximum >(centurionem) leg(ionis) XI / C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) pr(incipem) posterior(em) / et Q(uintum) Aebutium / Liberalem (h)astat(um) / posteriore(m) leg(ionis) / eiusdem</i>			
<i>CIL 3, 12794</i>	<i>[--- i]nter Ner[a]/[sti]nos et Pitunti/nos termini r[ec]/[o]gniti et restitu[t]i a / [P]isone leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / [Ti(beri)] Claudi Caesaris [Aug(usti)] / Germanici per C(aium) Ma[r]/ium Maternum >(centurionem) leg(ionis) / VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) quos L(ucius) Volus/[ius] Saturninus</i>	boundary inscription	Krč, near Dubrava, Middle Poljica near Omiš	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 2908</i>	<i>Ti(iberius) Caesar Divi Aug(usti) f(ilius) / Augustus Imp(erator) Pontif(ex) Max(imus) / trib(unicia) potest(ate) XX co(n)s(ul) III / leg(io) VII leg(io) XI / P(ublio) Cornelio Dolabella / leg(ato) pro pr(aetore)</i>	construction dedication	<i>Corinium</i> , Karin, near <i>Iader</i>	<i>VII</i>
<i>CIL 3, 3198a</i>	<i>[Ti(berius) C]aesar divi Aug(usti) f(ilius) / [Aug]ustus Imp(erator) pont(ifex) max(imus) / [trib(unicia)] potest(ate) XIII co(n)s(ul) II / [viam] a colonia Salonitan(a) / [ad f]in[e]s provinciae Illyrici // [--- ---] / cuius viai millia passus sunt / CLXVII munit per vexillarios / leg(ionum) VII et XI / item viam Gabinianam / ab Salonis Andetrium aperuit / et munit per leg(ionem) VII / [</i>	construction dedication	<i>Salona</i> , St Domnius Cathedral, Diocletian's Palace, Split	<i>VII</i>
<i>AE 1981, 669</i>	<i>Hercu(li) / sacrum / [P(ublius)] Plotius >(centurio) leg(ionis) / VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)</i>	sacral altar	<i>Tragurium</i> , Seget Donji	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
<i>CIL 3, 8687</i>	<i>m]iles leg(ionis) VI[I --] / [---] Veneri don[um] / [no]m(ine) cognation[is] / [Cl]odior(um) CVI[</i>	sacral monument	<i>Salona</i>	<i>VII or VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 100	<i>Leg(ionis) VII [C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)]</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 101	<i>[Leg(ionis)] VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 102	<i>[L]eg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 103	<i>[L]eg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 104	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 105	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 106	<i>[Leg(ionis)] VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 107	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	<i>Aequum</i> , Krinj, near Čitluk	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 108	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 109	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) [P(iae) F(idelis)]</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 110	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	Sinjsko polje, between <i>Aequum</i> and <i>Tilurium</i>	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 111	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	<i>Aequum</i> , Čitluk	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 112	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	<i>Tilurium</i> , Gardun	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 113	<i>Leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)</i>	tegula	<i>Aequum</i> , Čitluk	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 115	<i>[Leg(ionis)] VII C(laudiae) [P(iae) F(idelis)]</i>	tegula	<i>Tilurium</i> , Gardun	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>
Tončinić 2011: cat. no. 114	<i>[L]eg(ionis) VII [C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis)]</i>	tegula	<i>Tilurium</i> , Gardun	<i>VII or VII C.p.f.</i>
(b)				
Primary Reference	Inscription	Monument Type	Find Spot	Title
CIL 3, 14951	<i>] / Nymph[his] / sacr[um] / [-] Iulius [---]/us >(centurio) l[eg(ionis)] / [VII] C(laudiae) P(iae) [F(idelis)] / [cu]m Pri[</i>	sacral monument	<i>Andetrium</i> , Gornje Postinje	<i>VII C.p.f.</i>

Appendix 4

This table provides a cross-reference for all of the funerary monuments recorded in Appendix 2, both the 74 definite monuments of *Legio VII* (a) and the 15 potential monuments (b). Note, the **Tončinić** column refers to the catalogue number of the monument in his 2011 monograph. Likewise, **Betz** refers to catalogue numbers in his 1938 work. All works are referenced above in either the Abbreviations or Bibliography.

(a)						
Tončinić	CIL	AE	ILJug	Betz	Other	EDH
					Matijević 2017: fig. 1.	
1		1999, 1230			<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (27) 1904: 53 no. A 3209; Miletić 1989: 101; Miletić 1990: 174.	HD039866
2	3, 2709			21	<i>ILS</i> 2252; Hofmann 1905: no. 42; Wilkes 1969: 463; Fadić 1997: no. 1.	HD058869
3	3, 3162a			18	Hofmann 1905: no. 37.	HD062298
4			3, 2091	44	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (37) 1914: no. 4657 A; Wilkes 1969: 463; Miletić 1989: 102-106; Miletić 1990: 169.	HD034435
5	3, 8723			22	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (11) 1888: no. 94; Miletić 1989: 66-71; Miletić 1991: 27-34.	HD062488
6		1995, 1231			Fadić 1995: 163-187; Šegvić 1996: no. 31; Fadić 1997: no. 7.	HD040156
7	3, 2913			46	Nedved 1992: no. 7; Kurilić 1999: 1160.	HD060144
8	3, 9733			23	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: no. 24; Wilkes 1969: 463; Rendić-Miočević 1987: 226; Fadić 1997: no. 11; Sanader, Demicheli, and Milićević Bradač 2013.	HD058840
9	3, 8735			14	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (5) 1882: no. 11; Wilkes 1969: 467.	HD062531
10	3, 2014			48	Hofmann 1905: no. 46; Wilkes 1969: 460; Marsić 2010: 67-78.	HD054710
11	3, 8487			52-53	Hoernes 1880: 37-38; Patsch 1908: 111; Wilkes 1969: 463; Bojanovski 1985: 90; Bojanovski 1988: no. 19; Dodig 2005a: no. 1; Dodig 2005b: no. 5.	HD058380
12	3, 2710 = 9726			51	<i>ILS</i> 2253; Hofmann 1905: no. 43; Wilkes 1969: 463;	HD058819

					Medini 1984: 108-109 no. 2.	
13	3, 2914			8	Nedved 1992: no. 8; Kurilić 1999: 1878.	HD060145
15	3, 2022			54		HD054723
16	3, 1813	1999, 1221		55	Wilkes 1969: 468; Bojanovski 1988: no. 27; Marin 1999, et al.: no. 32.	HD051071
17	3, 6364 = 8488			56	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (6) 1883: 82 no. 31; Patsch 1908: 111; Patsch 1914: 167; Bojanovski 1988: no. 28; Dodig 2005a: no. 2.	HD058381
18	3, 2033			57		HD054808
20			3, 1950	28	<i>CLE</i> 1876; <i>BASD-VAHD</i> (31) 1908: 79 no. 3959 A; Rendić-Miočević 1987: 228; Fadić 1997: no. 10; Sanader, Demicheli, and Milićević Bradač 2013.	HD034294
21		1994, 1355			Cambi 1994, 154-156; Šegvić 1996: no. 25; Cambi 2001: 84-85, 99.	HD039996
22	3, 2714 = 9736			27	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: 20; Fadić 1997: no. 3.	HD058848
23	3, 2885			29	Wilkes 1969: 467.	HD060048
24	3, 2715			30	Wilkes 1969: 467; Fadić 1995: no. 4.	HD062415
26	3, 9734		1, 146	25	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (11) 1888: 99 no. 55; Wilkes 1969: 462; Fadić 1997: no. 12.	HD058787
27	3, 2019			49	<i>ILS</i> 7161; Wilkes 1969: 462.	HD054720
28	3, 14244/1 = 11, 21 (p. 1227)			50	Wilkes 1969: 460.	HD062044
29	3, 14931	1897, 105		31	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (20) 1897: 130 no. 2368; Wilkes 1969: 460; Fadić 1997: no. 16.	HD022811
30	3, 1814			19	Wilkes 1969: 460; Bojanovski 1988: 384.	HD053442
31		2000, 1174		58	Wilkes 1969: 462; Atanacković-Salčić 1981: 263-264 no. 2; Paškvalin 1985: 120; Bojanovski 1988: 384 no. 35; Škegro 1997: 86 no. 3; Marin, et al. 2000: 510 no. 1; Dodig 2005a: 212 no. 8	HD039805
32			3, 1920	59	Patsch 1912: 131-133 no. 1; Patsch 1914: 167; Wilkes 1969: 462; Bojanovski	HD034239

					1988: 384 no. 36; Cambi 1989: 47-48; Dodig 2005a: 211 no. 6.	
33		1996, 1215			Maršić 1997: 112-113 no. 9; Maršić and Matijević 2000: 34-35 no. 17.	HD039979
34	3, 9737			32	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: 18; Hofmann 1905: 57-58 no. 45; Wilkes 1969: 463; Medini 1984: 107-108 no. 1; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 13.	HD054439
35	3, 2040	2010, +1166		15	Wilkes 1969: 461; Maršić 2010: 65-67.	HD063842
36	3, 2041			60	Wilkes 1969: 461.	HD063843
37	3, 9939	1890, 51		61	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (13) 1890: 5 no. 3; Wilkes 1969: 461; Kurilić 1999: 1878.	HD058032
38		1904, 172	3, 2092	33	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (26) 1903: 193 no. 3150; Wilkes 1969: 462.	HD033465
39	3, 14932	1900, 46		34	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (23) 1900: 7 no. 2459; Wilkes 1969: 460; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 17.	HD028177
40					Truhelka 1893: 673; Bojanovski 1985: 72-74 no. 3; Dodig 2003b: 235-237 no. 4, pl. III. figs. 1-2; Dodig 2005a: 212 no. 10; Dodig 2005b: 205-206 pl. I fig. 1.	
41		1991, 1291			Cambi 1986: 81ff; Cambi 1990: 61-72; Miletić 1991: 28, 33.	HD039727
42		1995, 1232			Fadić 1995: 168-172; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 8; Šegvić 1996: 135-136 no. 32; Radman-Livaja 2010: 108-109 no. 114; Sanader, Demicheli, and Milićević Bradač 2013.	HD040157
44	3, 14946	1900, 139		62	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (23) 1900: 118; Miločević 1998: 182; Višić-Ljubić 2008: 122-123 no. 5.	HD028366
45			3, 1916	63	Wilkes 1969: 463; Atanacković-Salčić 1981: 265 no. 4; Bojanovski 1988: 384 no. 44; Škegro 1997: 86 no. 4; Čerina and Rismondo 2004 no. 9; Dodig 2005a: 211 no. 5.	HD056521; HD034234
46	3, 2716			16	Hofmann 1905: 59-60 no. 47; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 5.	HD058789
49	3, 2772			36		HD062405

50			3, 2280	64	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (27) 1904: 157 no. 3164; Egger 1926: 67 no. 2; Miletić 1989: 108-109; Miletić 1990: 183-186.	HD034679
51			3, 2601	10	Brøndsted 1928: 158 no. 5; <i>BASD-VAHD</i> (50) 1928-1929: 13 no. 5; Miletić 1989: 99, 105 pl. XV; Miletić 1990: 170-171 fig. 3.	HD035037
52	3, 1818			45	Wilkes 1969: 463; Bojanovski 1988: 383 no. 5, 385 no. 52.	HD053445
53	3, 2048			65	Lanza 1856: 78-80 no. 50; Wilkes 1969: 462; Miletić 1989: 101, 105-106; Miletić 1990: 179.	HD063317
54		1940, 177; 1941, 55	3, 1968	13	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (51) 1930-1934: 230; Abramić 1940: 230-231 pl. 36.1.	HD021072
55	3, 8493		2, 157	75	Hoernes 1880: 40 no. 3; Patsch 1908: 111; Wilkes 1969: 463; Bojanovski 1988: 365 no. 54; Dodig 2005a: 210 no. 3.	HD058391
56			3, 2090	20	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (36) 1913: 14-15 no. 4407 A; Wilkes 1969: 463; Miletić 1991: 33.	HD034434
57	3, 8760			37	Wilkes 1969: 467.	HD062557
58			2, 670	66	Zelenika 1961; Atanacković-Salšić 1981: 265-266 no. 5; Paškvalin 1985: 120-122; Škegro 1997: 86 no. 2; Dodig 2005a: 210 no. 4.	HD034084
59		1991, 1290			Cambi 1986: 61-62: pl. 8.1.; Cambi 1990: 61-72; Miletić 1991: 28: 33.	HD039722
60		2003, 1330			Dodig 2003a; Dodig 2005a: 213 no. 11.	HD045055
61	3, 2717 = 9728			38	Wilkes 1969: 462; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 6.	HD051028
62	3, 9761			67	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: 34 no. 32; Wilkes 1969: 469.	HD061959
63			3, 1921	68	Patsch 1908: 110 no. 30; Patsch 1914: 167 no. 34; Bojanovski 1977: 113 no. 3,1; Dodig 2005a: 211 no. 7.	HD034241
64	3, 8764			69	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (4) 1881: 33 no. 7; Wilkes 1969: 460.	HD062460
65	3, 9712			70	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (9) 1886: 6 no. 2; Wilkes 1969: 460.	

66					Milošević 1998: 151; Demicheli and Tončinić 2008; Demicheli 2011: 71- 72 no. 1.	
67	3, 2678 = 9699			11		HD058437
68	3, 9741			39	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: 34 no. 32; Wilkes 1969: 462; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 14.	HD058854
69			3, 2093	17	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (37) 1914: 55 no. 4576 A; Miletić 1991: 23-25 fig. 1.	HD034436
70			3, 2600	71	Brøndsted 1928: 157-8 no. 4; Miletić 1989: 99, 105 pl. XV; Miletić 1990: 170-171 fig. 3	HD035036
71	3, 9742			40	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: 16 no. 26; Wilkes 1969: 460; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 15.	HD058855
72	3, 2071	1982, 763	3, 2040 b5	41		HD000600
73	3, 2733	1977, 613		72	Galsterer 1971.	
74		2000, 1176			Atanacković-Salšić 1981: 273 no. 14; Bojanovski 1988: 386 no. 77; Škegro 1997: 86 no. 1; Marin, et al. 2000: 510 no. 1; Dodig 2005a: 212 no. 9.	HD039810
75	3, 8732			47	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (8) 1885: 92 no. 272.	HD062524
77	3, 9711			74		HD058594
78	3, 14699			78	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (22) 1899: 58-59 no. 2570 A.	HD061551
81			3, 2028	76	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (26) 1903: 189 no. 3228.	
82	3, 14248			79	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (18) 1895: 216 no. 2111; Miletić 1989: 105; Miletić 1990: 179.	HD062028
(b)						
Tončinić	CIL	AE	ILJug	Betz	Other	EDH
					Medini 1984: fig. 2; Cambi 2008: 27.	
14			3, 1949	80	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (26) 1903: no. 3321; Wilkes 1969: 463; Fadić 1997: no. 20.	HD034293
19			3, 2105	81	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (37) 1914: 65 no. 4656A; Wilkes 1969: 466; Miletić 1989: 102-106; Miletić 1990: 169-180.	HD034445
25	3, 13976	2007, 1104		24	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (17) 1894: 4 no. 2; Patsch 1897: no. 10; Wilkes 1969: 461; Fadić	HD058783

					1997: no. 18; Tončinić 2007.	
43	3, 9738 = 8781		3, 1941	35	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: 19 no. 23; <i>BASD-VAHD</i> (26) 1903: 134-135 no. 3244; Wilkes 1969: 461; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 9.	HD034287
47	3, 13978				<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (17) 1894: 5 no. 3; Patsch 1897: 350.	HD061690
48	3, 14933			82	<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (1) 1878: 19 no. 27; Hofmann 1905: 50 no. 38; Wilkes 1969: 462; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 19.	HD051029
76						
79	3, 14992			73	Wilkes 1969: 466.	HD061333
80	3, 8763			77	Wilkes 1969: 466; Alföldy 1969: 236, 266.	HD063539
83	3, 8767			43		HD062587
84			3, 3239		<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (26) 1903: 133 no. 3239.	HD034296
85	3, 12909			7		HD063895
86					<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (27) 1904: 53 no. A 3209; Miletic 1989: 101; Miletic 1990: 174.	
87			2, 733		<i>BASD-VAHD</i> (63/64) 1961/1962: 236-7 no. 15; Fadić 1997: 81 no. 21; Milošević 1998: 246.	HD034182

Appendix 5

This table records the sites in *Dalmatia* where the funerary monuments of *Legio VII* and *VII C.p.f.* were found, as well as their number. In this table, both definite and possible *Legio VII* monuments have been included (Appendix 2).

Site	Monuments
<i>Dalmatia</i>	2
<i>Dalmatia, Aequum</i>	4
<i>Dalmatia, Andetrium</i>	1
<i>Dalmatia, Asseria</i>	1
<i>Dalmatia, Burnum</i>	1
<i>Dalmatia, Corinium</i>	1
<i>Dalmatia, Dicmo</i>	1
<i>Dalmatia, Dugopolje</i>	1
<i>Dalmatia, Iader</i>	2
<i>Dalmatia, Municipium Riditarum/Rider, Danilo</i>	1
<i>Dalmatia, Narona</i>	3
<i>Dalmatia, pagus Scunasticus/Bigeste</i>	11
<i>Dalmatia, Salona</i>	32
<i>Dalmatia, Siculi</i>	2
<i>Dalmatia, Tilurium</i>	24
<i>Dalmatia, Tragurium</i>	2
Total	89

Appendix 6

Typology of the stelae of *Legio VII* in *Dalmatia*, from Tončinić 2011: 150-153.

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