

SEPULKRALNA SKULPTURA
ZAPADNOG ILIRIKA
I SUSJEDNIH OBLASTI
U DOBA RIMSKOG CARSTVA

FUNERARY SCULPTURE OF THE WESTERN ILLYRICUM
AND NEIGHBOURING REGIONS
OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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ROMAN MILITARY GEAR DEPICTED ON GRAVE
MONUMENTS FROM THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM
IN SPLIT

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Grave monuments held in the Archaeological Museum in Split containing depictions of portions of Roman military gear are analyzed in this work. The motifs on the stelae are diverse: weapons, implements, designations of military status, clothing and accoutrements, musical instruments. Most of the stelae are architectural stelae. The most numerous date to the first century. The portrayals on them do not differ greatly from the garb shown on stelae in other parts of the Empire. The stelae belonging to members of the cohorts II Cyrenaica are specific in that they bear detailed portrayals of archery gear.

Military gear is a very broad concept, and besides offensive and defensive weaponry, it also includes implements which soldiers had to carry with them, clothing and footwear, riding gear, insignia, honours and medals, meaning everything which denoted a soldier as such and all of the equipment he used.

The intention underlying this work is to provide an overview of Roman grave monuments from Archaeological Museum in Split on which there are depictions of military gear. Emphasis will be placed on that gear which reflected the actual contemporary situation in military armaments.

Most knowledge of military gear has been generated by study of the actual artefacts found at archaeological sites, whether military camps and stations or civilian settlements. The answers to questions of production, the materials used to make them, forms, decoration and symbolism are obtained by examining specific finds from the field. Data on military gear, which implies weapons – both defensive and offensive, attire, insignia, medals, components of riding gear, and implements, is also provided by literary sources: both primary sources dealing with the structure of the armed forces or descriptions of military skills and use of weapons, and se-

condary literary sources which only incidentally mention military themes. Ancient authors can be also divided into three main categories.¹

Private letters² and messages in which weapons and gear are mentioned provide insight into the quantity and type of gear of individual soldiers. Sometimes there are also inscriptions on weapons which may contribute to their study, not just dating³, but also in the illumination of some as-yet unresolved matters. Besides the name of the owner, it was also customary to cite the name of the unit in which the soldier served, and thus the types of weapons used by specific units or branches of the military can be ascertained; one can determine the type of weaponry used by legionnaires and by auxiliary units, or which types of weapons were used by the cavalry and which by the infantry. Besides the owner's name, several names are sometimes mentioned, because a given weapon was inherited, and the names of the producers were also cited.

Epigraphic sources are of great importance not only because they allow for the precise dating of monuments, but also because they provide data on the unit to which a deceased individual belonged, which aids in the interpretation of arms and gear.

An absolutely essential part of studying portrayals of gear on stone monuments is information on workshops, types of stone and the possibilities it affords in indicating details, the skill of the stonemason, the purpose of the monument and the circumstances under which it emerged, i.e. the intention of the sculptors who made the monument as well as those who commissioned it, whose wishes had to be respected by the mason. All of these circumstances may have ultimately influenced the quality and precision of the depicted motifs.

There are two basic categories of monuments with depictions of soldiers wearing their gear: official monuments made as imperial propaganda for the purpose of extolling the military accomplishments of a ruler, and grave monuments. Public monuments were, logically, installed in the important centres of the Roman Empire, provincial seats and wherever they could be seen by the largest number of people. The masons who made them were often influenced by the Hellenistic style, and their knowledge of military gear was minimal. When making large monuments, they used templates to ease their work, and some figures (legionnaire, auxiliary unit member, centurion, etc.) and scenes (*adlocutio*, sacrifices, dedication of camps) were simply repeated. The composition of the portrayal is also important, so artists resorted to the substitution of soldiers with different gear simply to make the rhythm of the portrayal more lively and interesting.⁴ Differences in the rendering

¹ Southern 2007, pp. 18-34.

² Feugère 2002, p. 93; Southern 2007, pp. 6-8.

³ Thus the nomen formula on a helmet from Eich helped date that type; Bishop, Coulston, 2006, p. 45, n. 20.

⁴ Coulston 1989, pp. 35-37; Bishop, Coulston, 2006, p. 5.

of details are also present when the monuments are viewed chronologically,⁵ but also between coterminous monuments which emerged in different territories of the Roman Empire.⁶ When comparing different public monuments, a dilemma which arises is whether the differences in the portrayal of weapons are the result of actual changes or artistic license.⁷

What sets the grave stelae apart from other portrayals is that they emerged in the field, meaning in the workshops where the masons became thoroughly, at first hand so to speak, acquainted with the military gear of the soldiers with whom they lived. Military stelae emerged in the field, in workshops inside or adjacent to military camps, and master masons were well-acquainted with military gear and changes to that gear. Such precise portrayals of components of military gear and a dedication of their full attention to detail work provide a new dimension in studying roman military equipment,⁸ and the equipment shown can be compared with finds in the field. The monuments were painted, so details that were difficult to engrave were sometimes simply depicted with paint.

Military grave stelae had appeared since the Late Republic era, and most date to the first century and during that time they spread from Italy to the Roman provinces together with the expansion of the Empire's territory. During the second century, their numbers declined, but they appeared over a very wide territory. For the purposes of this study, it is significant that the decline in their quantity was mirrored by a decline in quality, with less attention dedicated to detail. In the third century their number increased only in some territories of the Empire, and they were also present in larger urban centres.⁹ Stelae as military grave monuments were used by soldiers until the fourth century, and thereafter they fell out of use.

⁵ Thus the column of Marcus Aurelius (161-180) with its portrayal of the Marcomanni Wars is imbued with great stylization and neglect for showing ethnic details, in contrast to Trajan's (97-117) column in Rome; Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 5; Coulston, 1988, p. 5.

⁶ A comparison of Tropaeum Traiani in Adamclisi with the Column in Rome shows the differences in portraying the soldiers and the absence of certain formulas used in the Column; Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 4. The emergence, rendering and purpose of these two monuments differ (Richmond 1967, pp. 38, 39), which leads to essential differences in the manner of depicting equipped soldiers.

⁷ On earlier monuments, a greater emphasis was given to illustrating the differences between legionnaires and auxiliary unit soldiers; this difference was probably underscored due to the civil rights exercised by legionnaires in earlier periods, which auxiliary unit troops only earned after the completion of their military service.

⁸ On the Tropaeum Traiani in Adamclisi, on which the relief portrayals of soldiers were made by legionnaire craftsmen who were unskilled in monumental sculpture, the most skilled carvings depict motifs of riders on horseback running down barbarians and entire figures of soldiers, and it was precisely this type of depiction that was most common on military grave monuments made in military camps. Richmond 1967, p. 38.

⁹ The number of stelae increased in the territory of the upper and central Danube and along the Rhine limes, and they were also well represented in Rome, which may be associated with the recruitment efforts of the Praetorian Guard in these territories after the reforms of Severus, Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 10.

This was also the situation in the province of Dalmatia, where the most numerous and highest-quality military stelae date to the first century, after which their numbers and quality would subsequently decline.¹⁰ The most attention has been accorded to study of the monuments of the seventh and eleventh legions, which were posted in the military camps in Dalmatia (*Tilurium* and *Burnum*) in the first century,¹¹ particularly the stelae bearing depictions of doors in the lower section (door-tombstones).¹²

Given the portrayal, military stelae can be divided into two groups: the first includes stelae on which the deceased is portrayed frontally with the accompanying attributes which specified his status and the duties he performed in the army, while the second includes portrayals of cavalymen.

Soldiers on the monuments in the first group, regardless of whether it is a portrait bust, semi-figure or the entire figure, are shown with weapons, gear or some other attributes that demonstrate their military careers.

Stelae showing the entire figure account for a significant group which is assumed to have emerged in the territory of Germania Superior,¹³ but they were well-accepted in other parts of the Empire. Even earlier stelae of this type were apparently discovered in the territory of Northern Italy, and it is possible that they exerted an influence on the territory of Germania, where they were produced in a large number.¹⁴ Such stelae were also present in Dalmatia, although to a smaller degree. Most belonged to soldiers, but they were also used by civilians.¹⁵

The monuments of the second group feature cavalymen, sometimes as riders on harnessed horses, brandishing weapons, with the horse often shown trampling an enemy. They are characteristic of auxiliary unit members. Legionnaires were often depicted with less gear, or in civilian garb, in the upper field of the stela, often on a catafalque (funeral feast), while the horse in the lower field is led by the reins by a groomer. There are exceptions to this rule as well.

A cavalryman of the *alae Claudiaae Novae*, Marcus Elvadius, is depicted in this manner on the stela found in Košute at Gardun.¹⁶ The stela, dated to the period from 60 to 70 AD, when the unit was posted in the province of Dalmatia, bears a portrait of the deceased in the upper portion, dressed in a *paenula*, while in the

¹⁰ Cambi 2002, pp. 149-152.

¹¹ Sanader, Tončinić 2009; Maršić 2009; Sanader 2008; Tončinić, Demicheli 2008; Cambi 2005, pp. 53-55; Tončinić 2011; Cambi 2002, pp. 149-150; Fadić 1997; Cambi 1994; Dodig 1985; Paškvalin 1985; Hofmann 1905.

¹² For the literature and views on this topic, see: Cambi 1993.

¹³ Gabelmann 1972, 109-112.

¹⁴ Rinaldi-Tuffi 1996, p. 173 and *passim*.

¹⁵ Cambi 1988.

¹⁶ Schönauer 2001, pp. 344, 345, P. X, XI; Rinaldi-Tuffi 1971, p. 97, n. 10, P. IV. 3.

lower part there is a horse with its groom. The riding harness is not visible due to the poor state of preservation, except that it can be seen that the horse has a saddle.¹⁷

The inscriptions on military grave monuments always contained data on military service, such as rank, duration of service, and the unit in which the deceased served, and these records were also written on the monuments by seasoned veterans. Therefore, Roman grave monuments primarily provide an insight into certain historical events, military movements, administration and organization, and the social status of soldiers, both as individuals within their units and soldiers in general within the framework of the Roman Empire.

Additionally, the portrayals on them may be of great assistance in uncovering the manner in which weapons were borne, the types of weapons used by specific military units, the manner of use of components made of organic materials (belts, sword straps, riding harnesses, clothing, etc.) or the status designations of individual services.

Military gear is a very broad concept, and besides offensive and defensive weaponry, it also includes implements which soldiers had to carry with them, clothing and footwear, riding gear, insignia, honours and medals, meaning everything which denoted a soldier as such and all of the equipment he used. The weapons of the soldiers draw the most attention. Offensive weapons such as swords, daggers and javelins, and defensive accoutrements such as shields and armour are usually shown on Roman military stelae. Study of the items thus depicted helps in the understanding of the manner of their use, particularly those which have few preserved artefacts. A series of other items, such as implements, musical instruments, clothing and footwear, belts, military »aprons«, awards and insignia of military status can also be found on grave stelae.

WEAPONS

It was precisely the desire to display weapons which led to the portrayal of soldiers as full figures or at a minimum as semi-figures more often than civilians. Armour was not often portrayed, and even helmets are a rarity, probably to place more emphasis on the portrait of the soldier.¹⁸ This was not a strict rule and there

¹⁷ Grave monuments showing riding gear are often a very good source for the study of the manner in which harnesses and other equipment were worn and decorated, and they may serve the study of equestrian gear; Feugère 2002, p. 134, 135, fig. 181; Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 13, fig. 4. Consideration should also be accorded to cavalry monuments showing a rearing horse; Gabelmann 1973.

¹⁸ Cavalrymen are more often depicted wearing helmets; Goldsworthy 2003, p. 67, Kiechle 1965, P. 9.

are exceptions.¹⁹ Military belts with weapons on them, spears and *pila*, held in the hand of the deceased, along with other attributes, are frequently portrayed.

Weapons on the grave monuments of soldiers were depicted in two ways: as part of the portrayal of the soldier, or independently, most often in the lower field of the stela below the inscription or portrait. Stelae showing archery weapons belong to the second group.

Archers were an important component of the Roman army since the days of the Republic.

Finds of pieces of archery weapons from the territory of the Roman Empire are meagre, and restricted to only some portions of equipment (arrowheads, reinforcements for bows). Bows and arrows were only rarely shown on grave monuments of cavalymen and infantry troops, mostly among the weapons of the deceased.²⁰ Ancient writers and master sculptors generally did not possess sufficient knowledge of archery, and their descriptions and depictions are often not helpful in the study of this type of weaponry.²¹ In Dalmatia a group of stelae appeared on which archery weapons were shown in the lower sections of the stelae, all belonging to the troops of Cohors II Cyrenaica, which was stationed in the Dalmatian province²² in the first century.²³ There are five stelae in the Archaeological Museum in Split which are attributed to the members of this cohort,²⁴ of which four bear portrayals of weapons specific to archers. Two stelae were discovered in Dugopolje, near Split, in 1981, in secondary use as parts of a Late Antique grave,²⁵ while two had already been in the Archaeological Museum in Split earlier.

Three more stelae of members of this unit were also found in Dalmatia; one from Zadar,²⁶ and two from the *Burnum*, military camp in Northern Dalmatia.²⁷ The image of a weapon was only preserved on the one discovered in Burnum, while only the inscriptions were preserved on the other two.

¹⁹ Lindenschmit 1882, P. V, 2, 3; Goldsworthy 2003, p. 136.

²⁰ Coulston 1985, pp. 235-238.

²¹ Coulston 1985, p. 223.

²² The question of where the unit was posted has also not been definitively ascertained, but a soldier of this unit probably served in both legions; Cambi, Glavičić, Maršić, Miletić, Zaninović 2007, pp. 29, 30; Cambi 1994, p. 174; Betz 1938, p. 85.

²³ J. Wilkes (Wilkes 1969, p. 141, 473) believed the cohort left Dalmatia at around 70 AD, G. Alföldy (Alföldy 1962, p. 261) assumed a longer stay by the unit in Dalmatia, Spoul 2000, p. 431 asserted that the unit may have been dissolved even prior to Vespasian's reign. But the decommissioning of this unit had to have occurred sometime later, for the stela of Marcus Pitha, a soldier of Cohors II Cyrenaica, with two portraits in the niche, has been dated to the early Flavian period based on its portrait feature; Cambi 2005, p. 66.

²⁴ This is confirmed by the inscriptions on three stelae, and by a door and weapons on a stela fragment from Gardun. The fifth stela, that of Beres, was classified on the basis of historical circumstances (Spaul 2000, p. 431).

²⁵ Cambi 1994, pp. 158-162, stelae no. 3 (A 5962) and no. 4 (A 5963).

²⁶ Šašel, Šašel 1978, p. 130, no. 889.

²⁷ Šašel, Šašel 1978, p. 121, no. 842; Medini 1984, p. 121, fig. 7.

The group of stelae of members of Cohors II Cyrenaica was analyzed by Nenad Cambi, who stated that in terms of shape, decoration and iconography, the stelae are characteristic of the workshops in Tilurium and they appeared at all the places where there were soldiers of Legio VII. One of the iconographic elements on the military stelae of Tilurian production was the portrayal of the door on panels in the lower section of the stela. In order to make possible the portrayal of some other elements in the lower section, archery equipment in this specific example, the door was gradually reduced, which was obviously prompted by the desires of the clients. Nenad Cambi demonstrated the gradual diminishment of this element, which was slowly reduced on this group of stelae.²⁸

On the stela of Dagnas,²⁹ the son of Apseas from Burnum, the lower section features a portrayal of a door with four panels. The upper panels feature a door-knocker, while the lower has weapons; to the left there are two downward pointing arrows, while there is a bow to the right.

Of the stela found in the territory of the former Roman camp of *Tilurium* (Gardun) in 1897³⁰ (fig. 1), only the lower section shaped like a door with four panels, has been preserved. The upper panels feature door-knockers. The lower left-hand panel has a quiver, while the right-hand panel contains a bow and two arrows pointing downward.

The image on the stelae from Dugopolje is somewhat different. There is a reduction of the picture of a door on the first, and only two panels are shown; in one there is a quiver, while the other contains a bow with two arrows pointing downward. The similarity between the two stelae is obvious at first glance; even the weapons are similar down to the details. The only difference between the two Dugopolje stelae is the placement of the weapons: the quiver on the stela of Gaius Julius Theodorus³¹ (fig. 2) shows it in the right panel, and the bow and arrows in the left, while the arrangement is the opposite on the stela of Gaius Julius Andromachus.³² (fig. 3)

If attention is turned exclusively to the portrayals of weapons, a considerable difference in rendering and selection of motif can be observed between the stela from Burnum on one hand, and the stelae from Gardun and Dugopolje on the other. Besides the fact that the first lacks any depiction of the quiver, the portrayal of the bow and arrow has no details. In the case of the Split stelae, which were probably made in workshops inside the Tilurium military camp, the portrayals are more precise, and full attention was given to the details, and on all three a quiver is shown in a separated framed field. Quivers and bow-cases were mandatory components of the gear carried by archers serving in the Roman military, to protect arrows from moisture and rain. Cylindrical quivers with conical lids on top were worn by

²⁸ Cambi 1994, pp. 169.

²⁹ Medini 1984, p. 114, fig. 7.

³⁰ Inv. n. AMS D 222

³¹ Cambi 1994, p. 178, fig. 8 (Inv. n. A 5962), fig. 9 (Inv. n. A 5963).

³² Cambi 1994, p. 179, fig. 4.

infantry troops on the *balteus*, so that the opening was behind the archer's right shoulder,³³ while cavalry riders placed it at their side on the saddle. Judging by the complete absence of finds of this type of equipment, it probably had no metallic lateral or horizontal reinforcement.³⁴ Since the arrow quiver is a stand-alone motif on the Split stelae,³⁵ a series of details are shown do not which otherwise appear in the depictions of entire soldiers or scenes. The hooped reinforcement was probably made of leather, like the belts on the quiver's sides, and these helped to hang the quiver on the *balteus*. The three and, in the lower portion, two bands probably served for additional binding and fastening of the quiver, or to grip the quiver so that the arrows would be firmly held together. The criss-crossing leather bands probably served this same purpose.

Although the arrows are shown in detail, as are even the notches at the butt-end for receiving the bow-string (nock), the type to which they belonged cannot be reliably ascertained given that the arrows vary in size, weight and formation of the back of the shaft (fletching), and in the form of the metallic head depending on the type of arrows and the bow being used.³⁶ Based on the appearance of the arrows, it may be assumed that these were barbed arrows, but the cross-section and type of socket remain uncertain. The most piercing arrows in combat against armoured opponents were those with a rectangular or triangular cross-section.³⁷ Barbed arrows, which had a rectangular cross-section, were found at various Roman sites. The monuments from Gardun and Dugopolje feature bows shown in considerable detail (bow string, ear laths with nocks for the string, grip lath). These are composite bows, and the archers in the Roman service generally used precisely such bows. At first glance, the difference between the depictions on the stela of Gaius Julius Theodorus (fig. 2) on one hand, and the depictions on the stelae from Gardun (fig. 1) and the stela of Gaius Julius Andromachus (fig. 3) are apparent. The most obvious difference is in the shape of the ear laths, which are curled-over on the other two bows.³⁸

It is important to note that the depictions on the stelae from Gardun and the stela of Gaius Julius Andromachus are almost identical, while that on the stela of Gaius Julius Theodorus is very similar,³⁹ which additionally backs the already

³³ Besides the scenes on Trajan's column (Coulston 1985, p. 271), the quiver lid behind the right shoulder is clearly visible on the stela from Housestedts Fort (Goldsworthy 2003, p. 136.)

³⁴ Metallic components of quivers were found in Hungary, Coulston 1985, p. 273.

³⁵ In the scenes on Trajan's column, such quivers are shown on the shoulders of soldiers in less detail, but they are important because they show the manner in which they were worn (scenes LXX and CVIII).

³⁶ Coulston 1985, p. 264.

³⁷ Coulston 1985, p. 268.

³⁸ Coulston 1985, p. 235-236.

³⁹ They only differ in details (quiver lid, ear laths on the bow, and the arrangement placed in mirror image); if compared with Dagnas's stela from Burnum, the portrayal also

ascertained fact that Dugopolje stelae were made in the Tilurium workshop,⁴⁰ and also serves as confirmation that doors with four or two panels were also made at the same time.

The stela from Salona (fig. 4) with the portrayal of a bow and arrows, differs from the preceding examples not only because the door is not shown, but also based on the manner in which the weapons are depicted.⁴¹ The weapons bear no links to the portrayals on the other stelae, because here the bow is shown with arrow drawn and ready for release on the left side of the stela's lower field. The preserved inscription fragment only has the name *Beres*, and, unusual the abbreviations *sagit* and *h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

There are several monuments in Archaeological Museum Split with the portrayal of soldiers with a military belt with a sword, such as the stela of Gaius Valerius⁴² found in Salona, Servius Ennius Fuscus⁴³ from Andetrium (fig. 5), both dated the first century, and Aurelius Pontianus⁴⁴ (fig. 6) from third century, also found in Salona. This stela with an image of a soldier shown in a rectangular niche, is very interesting. It has been precisely dated with the help of iconography and inscriptions, and on the basis of historical circumstances, to the period between 220 and 230.⁴⁵ Aurelius Pontianus was a member of *legio Prima Italica*, and during the reign of Alexander Severus (222-235 AD), some vexillations of *legio I Italica* moved to Salona.⁴⁶ The soldier is dressed in a tunic over which a cloak is thrown, fastened by a plate fibula at the right shoulder, while a sword with a large round chape is shown at the left hip. This type of chape is well represented on stone monuments.⁴⁷ In his left hand is a *rotulus*.

There are several possibilities which may explain this item, but the degree of damage renders any certain determination difficult.

Military stelae dated to the third century most often showed infantry and cavalry troops wearing wide belts with ring-buckles, which may have had tangs, or the belt could be tightened by drawing the ends through the buckle which would then be bent over it, and fastened to the belt with double-sided studs. Sometimes the bands were depicted descending down both sides in a semi-circle, and in some cases the belt band descended down the side.⁴⁸ That is a case of the stela fragment

differs in the selection of motifs and in the manner of portrayal: there is much more stylization on the Burnum stela.

⁴⁰ Cambi 1994, p. 168, 69.

⁴¹ Stela (Inv. n. A 1679) found in Salona in 1879; *Iscrizioni inedite* 1880, pp. 177, 178, no. 51.

⁴² Rinaldi-Tuffi 1971, P. X, 2.

⁴³ Inv. n. AMS A 1102; Cambi 2005, p. 67, note 231, p. 68, fig. 95.

⁴⁴ Inv. n. AMS 71200

⁴⁵ Cambi 1988, p. 97, T. II; Hofmann 1905, p. 74, fig. 51.

⁴⁶ Wilkes 1969, p. 119.

⁴⁷ Coulstin 1987, p. 143..

⁴⁸ Sumner 2003, p. 7, reconstruction plates D and E; Hofmann 1905, fig. 52. The stela from Apamea in Syria, where Legio II Parthica was stationed, only dates to a few decades

from Salona (fig. 7, see below) On the ends there were one or two, most often heart-shaped, pendants.

On some relief portrayals the deceased is represented holding a part of the belt on his right hand.⁴⁹ There are opinions for and against the view that Aurelius Pontianus holds the end of a belt in his right hand.⁵⁰

The soldier depicted on the stela fragment from Salona (fig. 7)⁵¹ has many common elements with the portrayal on the stela of Aurelius Pontianus, which should not be surprising given that both are military stela, made in the third century. Both have figures attired in a *sagum*, below which there is a tunic with belt characteristic of the third century. The end of a belt with pendant can be seen along the side on the stela fragment. The belt of that type is enough to identify the deceased as a soldier.⁵² Given the poor state of the stela, it is not clear what is shown below the left hand of the deceased, nor is the item in the right hand explained. There is an intriguing hypothesis according to which it is the mouthpiece of a musical instrument.⁵³

Such conjecture on his part is fuelled by the fact that the deceased is shown holding a tubular object in both hands, and it is not possible that he is holding two *rotuli*. Depictions of the deceased with tubular objects in their hands can also be found on grave monuments, not only *cornicenes* but *tubicenes* as well. This involved the instrument's mouthpiece, which was separately attached to the tube. Such parts of instruments were found at some sites, and they were made of bronze or bone. In Vindonissa,⁵⁴ a bronze mouthpiece was discovered, while in Straubing both bronze and bone mouthpieces were found.⁵⁵ Such items are present in Roman-era civilian sites, but they are much more common at military sites.⁵⁶ Inscriptions mentioning *cornicenes* have been recorded on military as well as civilian monuments.⁵⁷

earlier. The soldier Aurelius Muscianus, a *discens lanciarius*, is depicted in rectangular niche, wearing his gear. On the sketch (Sumner 2003, p. 8), much better than on the photograph (Goldsworthy 2003, p. 201), it is apparent that a belt is shown on the right side.

⁴⁹ Coulston 1987., p. 143, 144, sl. 4.

⁵⁰ Hofmann 1905, p. 75 believed it was a belt, Cambi 1988, p. 98, note 12 held that it cannot be a belt.

⁵¹ Inv. n. AMS D 607; Cambi 1988, pp. 98, 99.

⁵² Coulston 1987, p. 148.

⁵³ Cambi 1988, p. 103.

⁵⁴ Unz, Deschler-Erb 1997, P. 76. 2348

⁵⁵ Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 189, fig. 123, 5, 6.

⁵⁶ Buora 1996, p. 180.

⁵⁷ Bulić 1897, p. 134; inv. no. A 2328; Meucci 1989, P. VIIa, VIIb; Buora 1996, p. 179, fig. 11. During research at the city walls in Roman-era Narona (Vid, near Metković), a *cornicen* stela was found bearing the portrayal of a horn (*cornu*). The stela has been dated to the end of the first century. Its central field features a horn, and the lower section has winged Eros. The combination of military and civilian iconography is unusual. (Cambi 1980, pp. 135, 136, fig. 7.) While the portrayal of a horn is characteristic of military monuments, the latter did not feature winged Eroses, which were a standard component of civilian monuments, appearing at the end of the first century. It is also possible that the deceased may not have been a soldier but rather a civilian, for such musicians also participated in religious

Musical instruments are not exclusively a component of military gear, but were nonetheless a vital aspect of military strategy. They were used to send acoustic signals to camps and on the battlefield, and also during ceremonies.

A *cornicen* is shown resting cornu over his left shoulder on the grave monument from Aquinum.⁵⁸ *Tubicenes* were depicted similarly, as the one on the monument from Mainz dated to the third century.⁵⁹ Also from Mainz is the first-century stela on which the inscription has not been preserved, but the image on it is interesting because the soldier, dressed in a *paenula* (thrown over both shoulders), holds papyrus or a plaque in his left hand, and a short tubular object in his right which barely extends outside of the hand.⁶⁰

The primary military application of this instrument was to provide orientation to troops during battle, for example, to give instructions to the standard-bearers, and also during marches, in military camps, to soldiers on watch and during military religious ceremonies.⁶¹ According to sources, each legion had thirty-six horn-blowers (*cornicines*) and thirty-eight trumpeters (*tubicines*) stationed among various legionary units.⁶²

The *tubicen* stela from Dugopolje (fig. 8) on which the inscription has not been preserved⁶³ dated to the third quarter of the first century, on which a *tuba* and round shield⁶⁴ with a symbol of the unit to which it belonged are shown. Not much is known about these insignia and it is believed that thunderbolts, wings, crescents and stars were the symbols on legionary shields,⁶⁵ while praetorians often had scorpions as their symbol; not much is known about the insignia of auxiliary units

The *tuba* was a straight trumpet with a bell-shaped ending, and its purpose was to produce the loudest possible acoustic signals to give instructions to soldiers during assaults and withdrawals, and also in camps during changes of the guard and departure from the camp.⁶⁶ It was also used during sacrifices, in parades, and during triumphal⁶⁷ and funeral processions.

and lay ceremonies. Besides their use in funeral processions, in civilian life the horn was sounded to call people to gather for important meetings, during the imperial period they announced the arrival of the emperor, and they were also played during gladiatorial games and theatrical performances.

⁵⁸ Szilagy 1956, P. XXXVII

⁵⁹ Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 115, fig. 66.2.

⁶⁰ Behrens 1951, p. 46, fig. 6.

⁶¹ Ginsberg-Klar 1981, p. 314.

⁶² Southern 2007, p. 159.

⁶³ Circumstances of find and secondary use described in detail in an article on stelae; Cambi 1994, p. 179, fig. 10, stela no. 5 (Inv. n. AMS A 5964)

⁶⁴ A round shield is depicted on the stela of a *speculator* dated to the first century, found in Salona, see note 61.

⁶⁵ Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 92.

⁶⁶ Meucci 1989, p. 86.

⁶⁷ Scott Ryberg 1955, P. LII, fig. 79b.

IMPLEMENTS

On some monuments military service is highlighted by a portrayal of implements, such as the stela of Quintus Marcius Basus (fig. 9), a member of Legio VII, found in the military camp in Gardun, near Trilj, on which there is an inscription field in the upper part of the stela, and a portrayal of a *dolabra* in the lower part.⁶⁸ The *dolabra* (pick-axe) was standard issue military equipment,⁶⁹ used to dig trenches, clear forests, perform work wood, in construction, and as a weapon. It is mentioned by ancient writers in a military context.⁷⁰ Two were discovered in the same site as the stela, and both were dated to the first century.⁷¹ The other stela in the Archaeological Museum in Split with a portrayal of a *dolabra* in the lower section belonged to *Lucius Cornelius* (fig. 10), a member of Legio VII, and it was also discovered in Gardun.⁷² Both stelae date to the period prior to 42 AD, because the legion's honorary name is not mentioned on them,⁷³ while the stela of the soldier Sextus Clodius,⁷⁴ from Gardun (fig. 11) with implements (angle gauge, compasses, hammer and plumb line) has been dated to the period after this. The portrayal of this implement indicates that the deceased was a bricklayer, builder or mason, but it is not a case of specific military equipment.⁷⁵

Military stelae which in their lower portions bear portrayals of implements were not uncommon in Dalmatia during the first century, when construction within military camps was most intense. Depictions of implements are particularly frequent on the stelae from the military encampment of Legio XI in Burnum. Seven stelae from Burnum bear portrayals of masonry or carpentry tools, and five of them belong to the group of monumental articulated stelae. Most date to the period after 42 AD, when the legion obtained the honorific *Claudia pia fidelis* by 69 BC, i.e.

⁶⁸ Inv. n. AMS A 2459; CIL III 14932, Bulić 1900, p. 7; Betz 1938, p. 66, no. 34; Wilkes 1969, p. 460; Fadić 1997, p. 81, no. 17; Tončinić 2011, p. 66, 67, cat. no. 39.

⁶⁹ Soldiers were skilled at individual crafts to a very high degree, in some segments perhaps even more adept than civilian craftsmen. The *dolabra* and turf cutter, for example, are implements which can be found exclusively in a military context, and they emerged out of the need to dig trenches and pits when building camps. In military workshops, there were craftsmen who were, if not better, than certainly equally as skilled as their »civilian« counterparts; M. Feugère 2002, p. 180.

⁷⁰ Pietsch 1983, p. 15.

⁷¹ Šeparović 2003, p. 223, P. 4,1; Ivčević 2005, p. 165, P. 2, 30.

⁷² Inv. n. AMS A 1998; Tončinić 2011, p. 50, 51, cat. no. 26; Bulić 1888, pp. 99, 100, no. 55; Betz 1938, p. 65, n. 25; Wilkes 1969, p. 462; Fadić 1997, p. 81, n. 12.

⁷³ The honorary title *Claudia Pia Fidelis* was accorded to Legio VII in 42 AD, after the rebellion of Scribonius against Emperor Claudius, in which the members of this legion refused to participate; Cambi 2009; Tončinić 2011, p. 138-140

⁷⁴ The stela (inv. n. AMS A 1982) was recently typologically and iconographically analyzed in detail in: Tončinić 2007.

⁷⁵ The angle gauge, compasses and plumb line are portrayed in a similar manner on the stela from Muć, Abramić 1949, p. 233.

by the departure of Legio XI from Dalmatia.⁷⁶ After the departure of Legio XI, in which Legio IV *Flavia Felix* was posted the time, the door motif appeared on the lower portions of stelae,⁷⁷ which in an earlier period was characteristic of Gardun stelae. On the stela of Sextus Clodius, the number of the legion to which he belonged is not visible, but the site and the division of the lower portion into four fields (a motif characteristic of the Gardun stelae) point to Legio VII.

DESIGNATIONS OF MILITARY STATUS

The designation of military rank, which was also readily shown on grave monuments, may have been placed next to the image of the deceased in the main portrayal, or next to the inscription or even within it. An example of a monument with a designation of military rank is the stela found in Narona (fig. 12), dated to the latter half of the second century, and held in the Archaeological Museum in Split.⁷⁸ The monument is only partially preserved, so that the inscription is missing, as is a part of the portrayal. The soldier, dressed in a tunic and *paenula*, depicted on the stela was a centurion, for he holds in his right hand a *vitis*, a staff made of a vine stalk which was both a designation of military rank and a symbol of his irrefutable right to punish soldiers, and probably the means by which he exercised this right.⁷⁹ In his left hand he holds a polyptych, also a designation of his status. The soldier on the monument from Corinth in Greece is depicted in the same manner; he wears a tunic and *paenula* – a cloak with hood which was fastened in front, holding a *vitis* in his right hand, and a polyptych in his left.⁸⁰ On a monument from Turin dated to the second century, where the centurion is dressed in the same manner and holding the same attributes in his hand, only the position of the right arm is different, and the staff does not rest on the ground but rather is held in his raised hand.⁸¹ A portrayal on a stela from Ravenna⁸² is similar to the portrayal analyzed here, as it features a centurion in a *paenula* holding a *vitis*, but also holding a *rotulus* in his right hand. The *vitis* appears in several variants on monuments, for example with curved or rounded tips,⁸³ but almost always as a gnarled staff, as opposed to the

⁷⁶ See Maršić 2005.

⁷⁷ Maršić 2005, p. 224.

⁷⁸ Inv. n. AMS D 21; Hofmann 1905, p. 76, no. 60, fig. 53; Rinaldi-Tufi 1971, p. 109, P. X, 3; Cambi 1980, p. 135, fig. 6; Cambi 1988, p. 96, 97, P. I; Cambi 2005, p. 129, 132, fig. 192.

⁷⁹ Goldsworthy 2003, p. 101.

⁸⁰ Sumner 2002, p. 15.

⁸¹ Goldsworthy 2003, pp. 72, 73.

⁸² Mansuelli 1967, T. 18, fig. 47, n. 38.

⁸³ Lindenschmid 1882, P. I, 1, 6.

symbols for *optiones* (second in command to a centurion), which is rendered as a smooth staff with a spherical tip.

The polyptych, as a symbol of the work they did and their military rank, was also borne by beneficiaries. It could be seen in the left hand of the deceased or along the edge of the monument in the lower field. Additionally, as a sign of rank during the performance of certain administrative, procurement or supervisory duties (*beneficarii, frumentarii, speculatores*), Roman soldiers bore javelins (*lancea*) with specifically formed points, which came in various forms, probably based on which specific service was being performed in the office of the consul (*officium*). Such symbols can be seen on several monuments from Salona, and all of them differ from one another. The earliest is the stela of a *speculator* (fig. 13) dated to the first century, found in Salona, which shows a javelin in the field below the inscription.⁸⁴ The tip of the javelin was rendered somewhat clumsily, but it is clear that it had lugs on both sides at the bottom, as on the javelins to which the flags could be attached. A round shield is shown next to the javelin. Small round shields, as shown on the stela examined here, were only carried by soldiers who performed some special duty, or who handled a type of gear that required the possibility of the shield being carried below the arm as needed. This was trait shared by the standard-bearers as well as musicians.⁸⁵

The portrayal of the polyptych and beneficiary javelin appears on the frequently published⁸⁶ grave altar to the consular beneficiary Aemilius Rufus (fig. 14) from the second century, which was found in Salona. While one side bears a relief portrayal of writing utensils,⁸⁷ the other side shows a javelin with an unusual head shaped like two foliate hammered plates, above which there is a perpendicular shaft which is certainly a symbol of beneficiary office, which is indeed confirmed by the inscription on the monument.

A small handle is shown near the bottom of the javelin which served to more easily thrust and remove it from the ground. The same handle is shown on the stela from Split,⁸⁸ dated to the second century, contemporary to the monument of Quintus Aemilius Rufus. The consular beneficiary Gaius Julius Saturninus was appointed from Legio X, and the rank specified in the inscription is confirmed by the portrayal

⁸⁴ Inv. n. A B 684; BASD. 35, 1912, p. 22; Abramić 1923, 58, P. I, 1, 2; Ivčević 2006, p. 134, fig. 2.

⁸⁵ Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 91, 182; the standard-bearer on the stela from Cavtat is shown holding a shield in this manner, but it is an oval shield; Cambi 1988, p. 95, Hofmann 1905, p. 73, fig. 50.

⁸⁶ Inv. n. AMS 1771; CIL III, 12895; Bulić 1886, p. 410, no. 1771; Bulić 1892, p. 97, P. 1; Domaszewski 1904, p. 1, note 2; Ritterling 1919, p. 16, fig. 8; Abramić 1923, pp. 63, 64, P. 2, fig. 7, 8; Egger 1926, p. 68, no. 26; Alföldi 1969, pp. 55, 152, 284; Šašel, Šašel 1986, p. 241, no. 2304; Cambi 1988, p. 103, P. IV; Nikolanci 1989, p. 145, P. III, 2; Ivčević 2006, pp. 134, 142, cat. no. 1, fig. 1.

⁸⁷ Ivčević 2006, p. 134, fig. 1.

⁸⁸ Abramić 1923, pp. 61, 62, fig. 5.

along the edge of the monument. The javelin has a double foliate head, with a string shown in the upper part of the shaft, and a small handle for thrusting at the bottom. The similarity of these two portrayals is obvious, and since both monuments have been dated to the second century, it is possible that the beneficiaries bore precisely this type of symbol during that period. The beneficiary symbols on the monument of Lucius Granius Proclinus⁸⁹ a member of Legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix, also has a small handle near the bottom of the javelin, but the head and shaft are different.⁹⁰ The javelin head on the altar of Lucius Granius Proclinus is a hollow sphere with a pointed tip, while the shaft has a ball-shaped thickening (fig. 15).⁹¹

A change in form or the attribution of certain types of javelins to a specific period is not possible at this point. A considerable number of inscriptions mentioning beneficiaries have been found in the territory of Dalmatia, not only in military stations but also in civilian settlements and cities.⁹²

Two stelae from Salona, dated to the third century,⁹³ belong to *speculatores*, which, besides the inscription, is also confirmed by the image on the monument. Both monuments show a *lancea*, the javelin which had a specific appearance for the *speculatores*. They differed from each other; on one monument a foliate javelin is shown with a prominent rib and perpendicular shaft above (fig. 16), while on another monument there is a foliate javelin with two circular openings at the bottom (fig. 17). One of them was conferred from Legio I *Adiutrix*. Such a spear is depicted on the stela of a frumentarian from Kornberg.⁹⁴ In all of these symbols, except those on the monument of Lucius Granius Proclinus, there are finds which are either very similar or identical to those shown. A javelin similar to that from the altar of the *beneficiarius* Quintus Aemilius Rufus was found in Wiesbaden⁹⁵ and Weissenburg,⁹⁶ and that on the stela of *speculator* Lucius Valerius in Künzing.⁹⁷ In contrast to the javelin from Künzing,⁹⁸ which has diagonal incisions on both sides, the monument from Solin features a bar above the foliate part which probably

⁸⁹ Grave altar found at Smrdečac in Split, belonging to Lucius Granius Proclinus, who as a soldier of Legio XIV (*Gemina Martia Victrix*) was assigned to serve the provincial consul of Dalmatia when the legion to which he belonged was stationed in Carnuntum as part of the standing army in Pannonia (Inv. n. AMS E 632)

⁹⁰ Cambi, Rapanić 1979, p. 99, fig. 2.

⁹¹ Cambi, Rapanić 1979, pp. 103, 104; Emil Ritterling maintained that such symbols were borne by *frumentarii*, but the monument examined here in fact refutes this conclusion, because the inscription indicates that the deceased was a consular beneficiary.

⁹² Zaninović 2007, p. 182; Bojanovski 1988, pp. 360-364; Wilkes 1969, pp. 122-127.

⁹³ Abramić 1923, p. 59, 60; stela inv. no. A 4692 published in Bull. Dalm. XXXVII, 1914, p. 94, while stela A 927 in Bull. Dalm. 1985, p. 92. The inscription on stela A 4692 has been entirely preserved and reads: D(is) M(anibus) L(ucius) Val(erius)/Augusta/lis specula/tor leg(ionis) I/Ad(iutricis) infe/licissimo /posuit Val(eria/Sabina patr(i)/pientissi/mo pio.

⁹⁴ Ritterling 1919, P. 13, fig. 5.

⁹⁵ Bishop, Coulston 2006, p. 152, fig. 93, 13,

⁹⁶ Ritterling 1919, p. 15, fig. 7.

⁹⁷ Schönberge, Herrmann 1971, p. 66, fig. 24.

⁹⁸ Schönberger, Herrmann 1971, p. 66, fig. 24.

served to hang certain symbols.⁹⁹ Pendants shaped like foliate javelin-heads with circular openings and appendages, as depicted on the stela fragment of a *speculator* from Solin are a frequent find at Roman sites and they are normally interpreted as pendants with beneficiary symbols, *signa* and *vexilla*, but their great number, and the sword belt holders shaped like javelin-heads suggest that they were used as belt mounts and pendants.¹⁰⁰ This type is much more present in the territory of the *limes*, which may be a result of more intense research, but also due to the higher concentration of military personnel with special privileges (*immunis*) in this territory. Such pendants were probably worn by *beneficiarii*, *fructuarii* and *speculatores*, during the period from the mid-second century at the earliest to the mid-third century.¹⁰¹

Roman military units had various insignia (*aquila*, *imagines*, *vexilla*, *signa*) which besides their symbolic role also played a practical role in Roman warfare. Besides being a specific symbol of the military accomplishments of a given unit, they held the unit together during the battle because they could be seen at all times and be used, together with acoustic signals, for orientation. Standard-bearers were therefore very experienced soldiers, and they were additionally distinguished from other soldiers by the animal hides they wore over the head and shoulders. The stela fragment from Muć (*Andetrium*) held in the Archaeological Museum in Split showed a *signum* of which only the upper section is preserved (fig. 18).¹⁰² There is a perpendicular bar at its top, onto which two belt straps with pendants at the end were hung. Such pendants were shown at the ends of the straps on the military apron of Servius Ennius Fuscus (fig. 5), which was also found in Muć. Teardrop-shaped pendants appeared during the first century, and they persisted through the second century as well, although in smaller numbers.¹⁰³ This should also be the upper boundary for the monument of the standard-bearer in Muć. Such pendants can be found shown on the standard on the stela of a standard-bearer from Neuss dated to the end of the first century,¹⁰⁴ while the closest analogy to the standard with medallions can be found on the stelae from the *Burnum* military camp,¹⁰⁵ and on the stelae of a standard-bearer from Wurms.¹⁰⁶ Two medallions were preserved in their entirety, while only a part of the third is visible. Both medallions had images on

⁹⁹ The javelin head from the camp in Zugmantel also has such a bar Ritterling 1919, p. 33, fig. 19.

¹⁰⁰ Bishop, Coulston 2006, pp. 154, 184, fig. 119.

¹⁰¹ Oldenstein 1977, p. 156.

¹⁰² Inv. n. AMS A-1102

¹⁰³ Bishop 1988, p. 96, 98.

¹⁰⁴ Oxe 1925, p. 120, 121, fig. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Maršić 2005, p. 217, fig. 13; Abramić 1940, P. XXXVII, 2 (stela fragment on which a part of the standard is visible); Hofmann 1905, p. 19, fig. 10; Bulić 1900, p. 3, 4 (stela with the portrayal of a standard and animal hide).

¹⁰⁶ Lindenschmid 1882, P. VIII, 1.

them, but they are scarcely visible due to damage.¹⁰⁷ Only the end of the inscription has been preserved, from which it can be seen that the *imaginifer Messor Valerius*.¹⁰⁸ raised the monument to the standard-bearer, probably of the same legion in which he served himself. Data on the unit to which it belonged remain unknown given that the inscription was only partially preserved.¹⁰⁹

CLOTHING AND ACCOUTREMENTS

The stela of the soldier of the eighth volunteer cohort, Servius Ennius Fuscus (fig. 5), is vital to the study of the components of military gear. The monument, found in Muć (*Andetrium*), has been preserved in its entirety, and it bears the image of man and woman down to their upper legs.¹¹⁰ The man is shown as an equipped soldier, while the woman is attired as a Roman matron. The stela dates to the Flavian era, and it was probably made in a Salona workshop.¹¹¹ The ends of the *paenulae* are thrown over the shoulders, which enabled the portrayal of the sword at the right hip and part of the belt gear, of which the part of the belt is shown and the apron with three straps with metal mounts attached. There was a teardrop-shaped pendant at the bottom of each strap.¹¹² Such pendants on aprons were made throughout the first and second centuries. Apron straps always ended in pendants, and mounts were always fastened to them, often silver-plated and decorated with plant motifs. Most often they were rectangular and circular, but other shapes were also possible (e.g. *tabula ansata*). Sometimes inscriptions were inscribed on them,¹¹³ or they bore portraits of the emperors and imperial families, which was particularly fashionable in the Flavian era.¹¹⁴ The purpose of military aprons has not been entirely clarified. Often it is said to have had a protective function, i.e. it

¹⁰⁷ Mihovil Abramić stated that armour is shown in the upper medallion, while the image in the lower one is not visible, Abramić 1940, p. 232.

¹⁰⁸ The preserved portion of the inscription reads: *Valer(ius) Messor imag(inifer) posui(t)*. The gentilician Valerius was widespread throughout Illyricum, and in Dalmatia it could be found on the inscriptions of legionaries already since the first century; Pavan 1958, p. 32, it is well-represented in Salona as well; Pavan 1958, pp. 264-266. The same gentilician was borne by the *speculator* of Legio I Adiutrix, Lucius Valerius Augustalis.

¹⁰⁹ Since each legion and auxiliary unit had a standard-bearer (*signifer*) and *imaginifer*, all units recorded in the territory of Muć can be considered; Abramić 1949, p. 232.

¹¹⁰ Cambi 2005, p. 67, note 231, p. 68, fig. 95.

¹¹¹ Cambi 2005, p. 67. The manner in which the *paenula* with buckles is shown on this monument is very similar to the stela fragment from Salona (Rinaldi-Tuffi 1971, P. XI, 2).

¹¹² These are shown on the apron of the legionnaire on the stela from Wiesbaden, although the apron differs from that on the stela of Ennius Fuscus, Lindenschmid 1882, P. IV, 2.

¹¹³ Oldenstein 1977, P. 61, 766 - 777.

¹¹⁴ Bishop 1992, p. 96.

protected the thighs in battle, but in recent years this has been proven inaccurate, because spears, swords and daggers could easily pierce them, given that it was made of ribbon-like straps. On the other hand, when running or otherwise moving during combat operations it could impede a soldier's mobility, so it is unclear as to why it was worn, except for the visual and acoustic effect. They differed from one another in the number of straps, the number of mounts on each strap, the shape of the pendants and the manner in which they were hung from the belt.¹¹⁵ The apron may have had some role in designating status or membership in a particular unit, but for now it is impossible to observe any such links in the portrayals of soldiers serving in the same unit. Their importance as indicators of status or membership in a unit was certainly not the same as the *signa* on the shield. Aprons were only worn by infantry during the first century. They appeared as a component of apparel during the reign of Tiberius, and fell out of use by the reign of Hadrian.¹¹⁶ At the end of the first century, the apron was reduced in the apparel of legionaries, and then completely disappeared among the auxiliary units.¹¹⁷ The apron on the stela of Servius Ennius Fuscus consisted of three straps, and round mounts were fastened to it, with teardrop-shaped pendants at the bottom. The visible parts of the belt have no decorations, although there was a connection between the decoration of aprons and belts which began to be decorated at the end of the first century BC and experienced its zenith in the first half of the first century, while by the latter half this aspect declined and a simplification occurred, so that by the second century the decorations slowly disappeared.¹¹⁸ The straps were attached to the belt on the inside. At the time when this stela appeared, the reductions in portraying belt details had already begun.¹¹⁹ It is interesting that the portrayals most similar to this are not from military grave monuments, but rather to those on official sculpture such as Trajan's relief in Rome,¹²⁰ and the relief works from the reign of Emperor Hadrian.¹²¹

The right arm of Servius Ennius Fuscus is raised at the shoulder and below it is a fold of the cloak thrown over the shoulder, while below the bent elbow there is the pommel of the sword which hangs from his belt. No fold is depicted on the left side of the figure, although it should have been portrayed the same as on the right side, given that the tips of the cloak were the same in front. In order to free the arms, soldiers threw the ends of the *paenulae* over their shoulders so the ends would form a triangle in front, with folds at the shoulders. The *paenula* was typi-

¹¹⁵ Bishop 1992, p. 99.

¹¹⁶ Voirol 2000, p. 18.

¹¹⁷ Simkins 2003, p. 24.

¹¹⁸ Bishop 1992, p. 101.

¹¹⁹ There are a number of unresolved questions pertaining to the military »apron«, and portrayals on monuments are very important to their resolution, Bishop 1992.

¹²⁰ Bishop 1992, p. 91, fig. 11, 37.

¹²¹ Bishop 1992, p. 91, fig. 11, 39.

cal clothing for a soldier. It is believed to have been assumed from the Etruscans, and that initially it was not worn exclusively by soldiers, but also by workers, but that it was soon accepted as a *vestimentum militare*. The *paenula*, like the *sagum*, was worn by common soldiers, while the centurions and higher ranks wore the *paludamentum*.¹²² The only sources on how the *paenula* was worn are those shown on stone monuments and rather terse data from other sources, such as when Pliny the Elder recommends that a shawl be worn around the neck due to the excessively wide opening at the neck.¹²³ They varied in length, as shown by portrayals on various monuments, and they also had hoods, although on some portrayals it is unclear as to whether it was a shawl or hood.

The next interesting detail on this stela is the folds around the neck. Below the military cloak, regardless of type (*paenula*, *birrus* in later times, *paludamentum*, etc.), a tunic was worn. As previously stated, due to the wide neck openings on tunics and *paenulae*, the wearing of a shawl was recommended,¹²⁴ even though the *paenula* had a hood. *Ennius Fuscus* is probably shown with a shawl, given that the hood fell far on the back and was normally not seen from the front.¹²⁵ On the front, at the chest, buckles are shown which can also be found on grave monuments. They are much more poorly depicted on the, already mentioned, stela of the member of Cohors II Cyrenaica, Marcus Pitha from Gardun,¹²⁶ dated to the early Flavian era, and the monuments of Marcus Elvadius,¹²⁷ a cavalryman of the Claudia Nova ala, found in Košute near Gardun, also dated to the Flavian era, and on the rather poorly preserved stela of an unidentified soldier from the same site.¹²⁸

Most monuments from the Archaeological Museum in Split bearing a depiction of military gear are stelae. Most of these, eight in all, were discovered in Roman-era Solin (*Salona*), while four are from Gardun (*Tilurium*), three from Dugopolje, two from Muć (*Andetrium*), and one from Vid (*Narona*).

The portrayals on them do not differ greatly from the gear shown on stelae in other parts of the Empire. The stelae belonging to members of the cohorts II Cyrenaica are specific in that they bear detailed portrayals of archery gear.

The highest quality military stelae were made in the first century, which should not be surprising, since the highest number of military units were posted in Dalmatia during this period. Production of grave monuments proceeded in both

¹²² Differences in the types of cloak and clothing were very marked during the Republic era, while later these strict differences faded (Sumner 2002, p. 12).

¹²³ Sumner 2002, p. 13.

¹²⁴ Sumner 2002, p. 12.

¹²⁵ Reconstructions of portrayals from various Italian monuments show different ways of portraying shawls around the necks of soldiers, as well as differently thrown cloaks; Sumner 2002, p. 13, fig. A-D.

¹²⁶ Cambi 2005, p. 68, fig. 94.

¹²⁷ Schönauer 2001, pp. 344, 345, P. X, XI; S. Rinaldi-Tuffi 1971, p. 97, n. 10, P. IV. 3.

¹²⁸ Rinaldi-Tuffi 1971, pp. 97, 98, P. V. 1.

legionary camps during this period; Tilurium (*Legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*) and Burnum (*Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*)

Stelae from the first century predominate, while those from the second and third centuries are present to a lesser degree. Among the stelae analyzed herein, eleven are from the first century, three have been dated to the second century, and four to the third century.

Workshops producing military grave monuments in Dalmatia have already been discussed in the literature, and it is certain that they existed in the military camps in Burnum and Tilurium, which has been proven on the basis of study of the styles exhibited on stelae from this territory. A certain number of stelae was produced in workshops in larger urban centres, such as, for example, that of Gaius Ennius Fuscus and his wife, or of Quintus Methius, a member of Legio VII. The situation prevalent for the production of monuments was probably similar to that involving production of military gear. The fact is that the Roman army was directly involved in the production of equipment, which is proven by data from literary sources and archaeological remains in the field. Workshops in camps could have met the needs of a legion and the auxiliary units posted therein, while the workshops in nearby settlements could only engage in production based on special commissions from more distinguished officers who could afford to do so. A workshop may have had one or several master craftsmen, but most of its workers consisted of *imunes*, soldiers exempted from other peacetime duties in the camp so that they could engage in production. Within this framework, a workshop's output was confined to specific templates, while details could be made in line with a client's preferences. Such stelae were, logically, more reasonably priced, i.e. they were adapted to the potential buying power of a soldier.

The Trilj stelae serve as examples of template-based production, as they bear portrayals of doors on their lower portions that are repeated and vary only in their details. This motif underwent changes in portrayal, only to ultimately disappear upon the redeployment of the legion to another territory.

During the second and third centuries, the number of military stelae declined, as did the possibility of portraying the details on gear, but during this period there were portrayals of equipment which exhibit full attention to such details. An example would be the stela of Aurelius Pontianus from the third century, with a portrayal of the entire figure. Notable on this stela is a depiction of a belt characteristic of the third century and a weapon (sword). The reduced space on the stelae of the second and third centuries restricted the possibilities of showing gear, and so only symbols were more frequently shown, e.g. those indicating military status. The monuments of the second and third centuries were generally from larger urban centres in the province of Dalmatia, as the capacity of the camps declined and with it the production of monuments declined and gradually disappeared in them, and it was assumed by workshops in the larger settlements.

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RIMSKA VOJNIČKA OPREMA PRIKAZANA NA NADGROBNIM SPOMENICIMA U ARHEOLOŠKOM MUZEJU U SPLITU

S a ž e t a k

Namjera je u ovom radu dati pregled rimskih nadgrobnih spomenika na kojima se nalaze prikazani dijelovi vojničke opreme iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu.

Najviše spoznaja o vojničkoj opremi proizlazi iz proučavanja samih artefakata, pronađenih na arheološkim lokalitetima, bilo iz vojničkih logora i postaja, bilo iz civilnih naselja. Za opremu vojnika, pod čime mislimo na oružje, obrambeno i napadačko, odjeću, oznake, odličja, dijelove konjske opreme, oruđe i sl. podatke nam pružaju i literarni izvori, privatna pisma i poruke, natpisi na oružju, te epigrafički izvori.

Vojnički nadgrobnni spomenici, u prvom redu nam daju uvid u neke povijesne događaje, kretanja vojske, upravu i organizaciju, socijalni statusu vojnika, kako pojedinca unutar svoje jedinice, tako i sveukupno vojnika u okviru Rimskog Carstva. Osim toga prikazi na njima mogu biti od velike pomoći prilikom otkrivanja načina nošenja oružja, kakvo naoružanje koriste određene jedinice vojske, način uporabe dijelova koji su se izrađivali od organskog materijala (pojasevi, remenje mača, konjska orma, odjeća i sl.) ili oznake statusa pojedinih službi.

Ono što nadgrobnne stele izdvaja od prikaza na javnim spomenicima jest što nastaju na terenu, odnosno u radionicama gdje su klesari detaljno upoznati s opremom vojnika s kojima žive. Vojničke stele nastaju na terenu, u radionicama u vojnim logorima ili uz njih, majstori klesari su dobro upoznati s opremom vojnika i promjenama na opremi. Precizni prikazi dijelova vojničke opreme, obraćanje pune pozornosti na detalj daje novu dimenziju kod proučavanja takvih spomenika.

Vojničke nadgrobnne stele javljaju se od kasnorepublikanskog doba, najbrojnije su u 1. st. i u to vrijeme se iz Italije šire na područja rimskih provincija zajedno sa širenjem teritorija Rimskog Carstva. Tijekom 2. stoljeću smanjuje im se broj, no javljaju se na vrlo širokom području. Za našu temu važno je što s opadanjem broja stela opada i kvaliteta, te su detalji prikazani s manjom preciznošću. U 3. stoljeću se njihov broj povećava na nekim područjima Carstva, a zastupljene su i u većim gradskim središtima. Stele kao vojnički nadgrobnni spomenik rabe vojnici sve do u 4. stoljeće, a poslije tog vremena izlaze iz upotrebe. Vojničke stele obuhvaćale su arhitektonske i anarhitektonske stele, različite tipološke pripadnosti, no obzirom na prikaz na vojničkim stelama one se mogu podijeliti u određene skupine; stele na kojima je frontalno prikazan pokojnik s pripadajućim atributima koji mu određuju položaj i dužnosti koje je obavljao u vojsci, te prikazi konjanika.

Oružje se na nadgrobnim spomenicima vojnika prikazivalo na dva načina; kao dio opreme vojnika ili samostalno, najčešće na donjem polju stele ispod natpisa ili portreta. Upravo je želja za prikazivanjem oružja, uvjetovala da se vojnici češće od civila prikazuju u cijeloj figuri ili barem polufiguri.

Zanimljiv je prikaz streljačkog naoružanja na stelama pripadnika II kohorte Kiresta, koja je u provinciji Dalmaciji boravila u 1. st. Nalazi dijelova streljačkog naoružanja s područja Rimskog Carstva su malobrojni i organizirani na samo neke dijelove opreme (vrhovi strijela, ojačanja refleksnog luka). Prikazi na nadgrobnim spomenicima su također rijetki, no zabilježeni su na spomenicima konjanika i pješaka kao dio naoružanja pokojnika. Na tri stele koje se čuvaju u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu (sl. 1-3) prikazani su kompozitni luk, strijela i cilindrični tobolci za čuvanje strijela. Po obliku, dekoraciji i ikonografiji karakteristične za radionice u Tiluriju i javljaju se svugdje gdje ima pripadnika vojnika VII legije. Jedan od ikonografskih elemenata na vojničkim stelama tilurijske proizvodnje je prikaz vrata s kasetonima u donjem dijelu stele. Kako bi se u donjem dijelu moglo prikazati neke druge elemente, u konkretnom slučaju streljačko oružje, dolazi do redukcije vrata koja ide postupno i koja je očito potaknuta željom naručitelja. Spomenici s reduciranim prikazom vrata svi su iz vremena nakon 42. god. što daje vremenske smjernice kada se redukcija odvijala na tilurijskim spomenicima. Detaljni prikaz luka, strijele i tobolca na način da su oni u prvom planu daje uvid u detalje opreme rimskih strijelaca. Stela iz Salone (sl. 4) s prikazom luka i strijele razlikuje se od prethodne tri, na samo zato jer joj nedostaje prikaz vrata u donjem dijelu već i načinom na koji je oružje prikazano.

Nekoliko je stela iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu s prikazom vojnika s vojničkim pojasem i mačem na boku; stele Gaja Valerija iz Salone, Servija Enija Fуска iz Andetrija (sl. 5) obje datirane u 1. st., te stela Aurelija Pontijana s prikazom vojnika u četvrtastoj niši (sl. 6) iz 3. stoljeća. Na ulomku stele iz Salone (sl. 7) koji je datiran u 3. st., vidi se dio pojasa kakav je bio karakterističan za vojnika u tom razdoblju.

U skupinu spomenika s prikazom glazbenih instrumenata, koji nisu isključivo vojnička oprema, no bili su važan dio vojničke strategije, pripada stela *tubicena* iz Dugopolja datirana u treću četvrtinu 1. st., na kojoj je prikazana *tuba* i okrugli štit sa simbolom jedinice kojoj je pripadao (sl. 8).

Neke stele uz natpis imaju i prikaz oruđa. Takve su stele Kvinta Marcija Basa (sl. 9) i Lucija Cornelija (sl. 10), pripadnika VII legije, koje su pronađene u vojnom logoru *Tilurium* u Gardunu kod Trilja na kojoj je ispod natpisnog polja prikaz dolabre. Obje stele pripadaju razdoblju prije 42. god. jer na njima nije naveden počasni naslov legije. Stela vojnika Seksta Klodija (sl. 11) iz Vojnića kod Garduna u donjem dijelu nosi prikaz četiri polja uokvirena profilacijom s prikazom kutomjera šestara, čekića i viska, datirana je u razdoblje 42. god. Vojničke stele kojima je u donjem dijelu prikazan alat nisu neuobičajene u Dalmaciji u razdoblju 1. st., kada je gradnja unutar vojnih logora bila najintenzivnija.

Oznaka vojnog statusa, rado je prikazivana na vojničkim nadgrobnim spomenicima, uz lik pokojnika na glavnom prikazu, uz natpis ili čak unutar njega.

Na steli iz Narone (sl. 12) koja je datirana u drugu polovicu 2. st. vojnik, vjerojatno centurion prikazan je s *vitisom*, u desnoj ruci, dok u lijevoj ruci drži poliptih, također kao oznaku svog statusa.

Kao oznaku ranga za vrijeme obavljanja nekih dužnosti u upravljanju, nabavi ili nadziranju (*beneficarii*, *frumentarii*, *speculatores*) rimski vojnici nosili su koplje (*lancea*) s posebno oblikovanim vrhom, a bilo ih je raznih oblika vjerojatno obzirom na to koju konkretno službu obavljao u uredu namjesnika (*officium*). Na nekoliko spomenika iz Salone nalaze se prikazane takve oznake i sve se međusobno razlikuju. Najranije je datirana stela speculadora iz sredine 1. st. (sl. 13), pronađena u Saloni, na kojoj je prikazano koplje u polju ispod natpisnog, a se strane poliptih. Prikaz poliptiha i beneficijarskog koplja javlja se i na, često objavljivanom, nadgrobnom žrtveniku konzularnog beneficijara Q. Emilia Rufa iz 2. st., koji je pronađen u Saloni (sl. 14). Konzularni beneficijar Gaj Julije Saturnin dodijeljen je iz X legije, a status koji je naveden u natpisu potvrdio je prikazom koplja uz rub spomenika.

Na nadgrobnoj ari Lucija Granija Proklina (sl. 15) koplje, specifičnog oblika, se nalazi prikazano na bočnoj strani. Vrh koplja na ari Lucija Granija Proklina je šuplja kugla sa šiljastim vrhom, a na dršci se nalaze zadebljanja poput kugle.

Dvije stele iz Salone (sl. 16, 17), datirane u 3. st., pripadale su speculatorima, što je osim u natpisu potvrđeno i prikazom na spomeniku. Na oba spomenika prikazana je *lancea*, odnosno koplje koje je kod speculadora imalo poseban izgled. Međusobno se razlikuju; na jednome spomeniku prikazano je listoliko koplje s naglašenim rebrom i poprečnom šipkom iznad, na drugome spomeniku je listoliko koplje s dva kružna otvora pri dnu.

Na ulomku stele iz Muća (*Andetrium*) koja se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Splitu bio je prikazan *signum* od kojeg je sačuvan samo gornji dio (sl. 18). Pri vrhu je poprečna šipka na koju su obješena dva kratka remena s privjescima na kraju.

Spomenik Servija Enija Fuska, pronađen u Muću (*Andetrium*), sačuvan je u cijelosti, a na njemu su prikazani muž i žena do iznad koljena. Muškarac je prikazan kao vojnik u opremi s mačem o lijevom boku. Stela je datirana u flavijejsko doba, a izrađena je vjerojatno u salonitanskoj radionici. Zanimljiv je, za našu temu prikaz *paenule* kojoj su krajevi prebačeni preko ramena što je omogućilo prikazivanje mača o desnom boku te dio pojasa s pregačom, koja je bila karakteristični dio opreme pješaka u 1. st.

Vojnički ogrtač (*paenula*) prikazana je na nekoliko stela iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu; stela Marka Pite iz Garduna, koji je bio pripadnik II kohorte Cirenaca (*kohors II Cyrenaica*) datiranoj u flavijejsko doba, steli Marka Elvadija iz Košuta blizu Garduna, konjanika ale Kaludija Nove, datirane u isto vrijeme, te prilično loše sačuvana stela nepoznatog vojnika s istog lokaliteta.

Većina spomenika iz splitskog muzeja koji na sebi imaju prikaz vojničke opreme pripada stelama. Najviše ih je, njih osam, pronađeno u Saloni, četiri su iz vojnog logora u Tiluriju, tri iz Dugopolja, dvije iz Muća, te jedna iz Narone.

Prikazi na njima ne razlikuju se bitno od opreme prikazane na stelama u ostalim djelovima Carstva. Posebnost predstavljaju stele pripadnika cohors II Cyrenaica s detaljnim prikazom streljačke opreme.

Najkvalitetnije vojničke stele izrađene su u 1. st., što ne čudi, jer u tom razdoblju u Dalmaciji boravi najveći broj vojnih jedinica. Proizvodnja nadgrobnih spomenika odvijala se u tom razdoblju u oba legijska logora; Tilurium (legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis) i Burnum (Legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis). Prevladavaju stele iz 1. st, dok su u manjoj mjeri ali podjednako zastupljene one iz 2. i 3. st. Od ovdje obrađenih stela jedanaest ih pripada 1. st., tri su datirane u 2. st, a četiri u 3. st.

O radionicama nadgrobnih vojničkih spomenika u Dalmaciji već se raspravljalo u literaturi i sigurno je da su postojale u vojnim logorima u Burnu i Tiluriju, što je dokazano na osnovu stilskog proučavanja stela s našeg područja. Određeni broj stela proizveden je u radionicama u većim gradskim centrima kao npr. ona Gaja Enija Fusca i njegove žene, ili Kvinta Metija, pripadnika VII legije. Situacija je kod proizvodnje spomenika bila vjerojatno slična kao i s proizvodnjom vojničke opreme. Činjenica je da je rimska vojska direktno sudjelovala u proizvodnji opreme, što dokazuju podaci iz literarnih izvora i arheoloških ostataka na terenu. Radionice u logoru mogle su zadovoljiti potrebe legije i pomoćnih jedinica u jednom logoru, dok su radionice u obližnjim centrima proizvodile samo po posebnim narudžbama istaknutijih časnika koji su to sebi mogli priuštiti. Radionica je mogla imati jednog ili nekoliko majstora ali su većinu radnika činili *imunes*, vojnici oslobođeni od ostalih mirnodopskih dužnosti u logoru kako bi mogli sudjelovati u proizvodnji. U tim okvirima radionica je funkcionirala na način da se proizvodilo prema određenim šablonima, a u detaljima se moglo izaći u susret naručitelju. Takve su stele logično bile i pristupačnije u cijeni, odnosno prilagođene mogućnostima vojničke plaće.

Primjer proizvodnje prema šablonima su triljske stele koje u donjem dijelu imaju prikazana vrata, koja se ponavljaju i variraju u detaljima, doživljavaju promjenu u načinu prikazivanja, kako bi se na kraju potpuno izgubila odlaskom legije na drugo područje.

U razdoblju 2. i 3. st. smanjuje se broj vojničkih stela, te mogućnost preciznog prikazivanja detalja opreme, no i u tom razdoblju su zastupljeni prikazi opreme kojima se pokazuje puna pozornost. Navedimo kao primjer stelu Aurelija Pontijana iz 3. st. s prikazom čitavog lika. Na toj se steli uočava prikaz pojasa karakterističnog za razdoblje 3. st., i oružje (mač). Na stelama iz 2. i 3. smanjenjem prostora ograničavaju se i mogućnosti prikazivanja opreme, te se učestalije poseže za prikazom samo simbola npr. vojnog statusa. Spomenici 2. i 3. st. su uglavnom iz većih gradskih središta provincije Dalmacije, kapaciteti logora su smanjeni te se i proizvodnja spomenika smanjuje i postupno nestaje, a preuzimaju je radionice u većim središtima.



1. Fragment of stela found in the military camp of Tilverium (Gardun)



2. Stela of Gaius Julius Theodorus, a member of Cohors II Cyrenaica, found in Dugopolje, 1st century



3. Stela of Gaius Julius Andromachus, a member of Cohors II Cyrenaica, found in Dugopolje, 1st century



4. Stela of Beres,
from Salona, 1st century



5. Stela of Servius Ennius Fuscus
from Andetrium, 1st century



6. Stela of Aurelius Pontianus from Salona, a soldier of the first Italian legion (Legio I Italica), first third of the 3rd century



7. Fragment of stela found in Salona, 3rd century



8. The tubicen stela from Dugopolje, 1st century



9. Stela of Quintus Marcius Bassus
a member of Legio VII, found in
the military camp of Tilverium (Gardun),
first half of the 1st century



10. Stela of Lucius Cornelius
a member of Legio VII, found in the military
camp of Tilverium (Gardun),
first half of the 1st century



*11. Stela of Sextus Clodius, a member of Legio VII?,
found in the military camp of Tilverium (Gardun), 1st century*



12. Stela of centurion? found in Narona, latter half of the 2nd century



13. Stela of a speculator found in Salona, 1st century



14. Grave altar to the consular beneficiary Aemilius Rufus found in Salona, 2nd century



15. Grave altar of Lucius Granius Proclinus, a member of Legio XIV Gemina Martia Victrix, found in Split, first half of the 2nd century, detail



16. Stela of a speculator found in Salona, 3rd century



17. Stela of a speculator found in Salona, 3rd century



18. Stela of a signifer found in Muć, 1st century