

**ROMAN MILITARY
DECORATION
TORQUES:**

literary, epigraphic,
representational and
archaeological evidence

**RIMSKO VOJAŠKO
ODLIKOVANJE
TORKVES:**

literarni, epigrafski
in arheološki viri
ter upodobitve



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Preface

In a scientific monograph on the Roman military equipment from the River Ljubljanica (Istenič 2019), one of the items was tentatively identified as the Roman military decoration of *torques*. It was an award known from depictions on stone monuments, as well as references in ancient literary works and inscriptions, but without reliable examples among the archaeological finds.

During the preparations for the monograph, Anja Ragolič was consulted on several occasions in connection with the literary evidence on *torques*. We both agreed that it would be useful to broaden the research on *torques* by collecting and studying the evidence in the ancient texts, epigraphic sources, depictions on stone monuments and archaeological sources.

We started the research at the beginning of the coronavirus pandemic while working from home during the first lockdown in March 2020. Anja Ragolič (ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archaeology) studied the ancient literary and epigraphic sources, while Janka Istenič (National Museum of Slovenia, Archaeological Department) examined the depictions on stone monuments and the presumed physical examples.

The list of Roman inscriptions mentioning an individual or a unit decorated with *torques* (*List 1* in Chapter 3) and the list of stone monuments with depictions of torques (*List 2* in Chapter 4) form the basis of the observations discussed in Chapters 3–6. When compiling the list of stone monuments, it transpired that much of the published data was incomplete (for example, without descriptions or photographs, or these were of low quality), contradictory or even erroneous and, as such, hindered a detailed analysis.

Particularly difficult and time consuming was gathering documentation on the depictions of *torques* on stone monuments. The first step was to establish where the monuments were kept. This work (at times almost that of detectives) would not have brought results if it were not for the valuable help of colleagues

abroad, particularly Alessandro Delfino (Museo Nazionale d’Abruzzo, L’Aquila), Cédric Brélaz (School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton), Emanuela Ceccaroni (Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le province di L’Aquila e Teramo), Piera Tabaglio (Musei Civici di Brescia), and Hamden Ben Romdhane (Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunisie, Tunis).

Help in gathering photographs (Chapter 4) came from Martina Celhar (University of Zadar, Department of Archaeology), Iva Ciglar (Ptuj - Ormož Regional Museum), Maria Murciano (Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida), Chiara Bianchi (Université de Fribourg, Institut du monde antique et byzantine), Margherita Bolla (Musei Civici di Verona), Elisabetta Gagetti (Università degli studi di Milano), Bettina Melchersmann (Landesmuseum Mainz), Eleonora Melliou (Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki), Ortoľ Harl (Ubi erat lupa), Daria Lanzaolo (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut), Dietrich Boschung, Lisa Schadow (both Archäologisches Institut, Universität zu Köln), Susanne Willer, Andrea Bußmann (both LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn), Carolin Falk (Stiftung Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden), Ellen Riemer (Landesmuseum Mainz), Béla Albert Polyvás (Kantonsarchäologie Aargau, Brugg), Eleni Papagianni (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Department of Archaeology), Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais (Universität Heidelberg, Philosophische Fakultät), Peter Pilhofer (formerly Friedrich-Alexander-Universität, Philosophische Fakultät und Fachbereich Theologie), and Eduard Verhoef (formerly University of Pretoria, Department of New Testament Studies).

Vasiliki P. Poulioudi (Ephorate of Antiquities of Drama) graciously allowed us to photograph the tombstone for Tiberius Claudius Maximus (*List 2: No. 17*).

Heimo Dolenz (Landesmuseum Kärnten) has kindly made the *torques* from Magdalensberg available to be documented and studied in detail and also agreed for our findings to be published in this book.

V monografski znanstveni objavi rimske vojaške opreme iz reke Ljubljanice (Istenič 2019) sem Janka Istenič za enega od predmetov domnevala, da predstavlja rimsko vojaško odlikovanje *torques*. Tega poznamo iz upodobitev na rimskih kamnitih spomenikih ter je omenjen v antičnih literarnih delih in epigrafskih zapisih, med arheološkimi viri pa ni bilo zanesljivega primerka.

Pri pripravi objave v letu 2019 sem se v zvezi s pisnimi viri o torkvesih večkrat posvetovala z Anjo Ragolič. Zdelo se nama je, da bi bilo smiselno raziskavo razširiti ter zbrati in analizirati podatke, ki jih najdemo v antični literaturi, epigrafskih zapisih, na upodobitvah na kamnitih spomenikih in v arheoloških virih. Naloge sva se lotili med prvim nenačrtovanim delom na domu ob začetku epidemije koronavirusne bolezni marca 2020. V antično literaturo in epigrafske vire se je poglobila Anja Ragolič (ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo), v upodobitve na kamnitih spomenikih in domnevne ohranjene primerke pa Janka Istenič (Narodni muzej Slovenije, Arheološki oddelek).

Posebej zamudno in težavno je bilo zbiranje dokumentacije o upodobitvah odlikovanja torkves na kamnitih spomenikih (*seznam 2* v poglavju 4); ta je poleg seznama rimskih napisov, ki omenjajo s torkvesom odlikovano enoto ali posameznika (*seznam 1* v poglavju 3), temelj izsledkov, podanih v poglavjih 3–6. Izkazalo se je, da so številni objavljeni podatki pomanjkljivi (npr. brez opisov oziroma fotografij ali pa so te nekakovostne), si nasprotujejo ali so celo napačni, zato ne omogočajo natančne analize.

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in Hamdena Ben Romdhaneja (Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunisie, Tunis).

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Janka Istenič, Anja Ragolič

1 Introduction

The term ‘torc’ or ‘torques’ has been present in the archaeological (mainly prehistoric) and related literature from the 19th century onwards. It seems initially to have been used for twisted metal necklaces.¹ Later, it came to refer to a penannular metal neck-ring frequently (though not exclusively) of a spirally twisted band, usually with expanded terminals that were in some cases decorated.² Torcs were worn in different parts of the Old World from prehistory to the Middle Ages; they seem to have appeared independently in different areas and eras.³

In Persia and among the Scythians, select or privileged men wore torcs from the 5th century onwards.⁴

In Europe, the earliest torcs were associated with the female costume of the Late Bronze Age.⁵ They became part of the male costume, probably of warriors, in the Early Iron Age (Ha C, D). Among the Celts, torcs were worn by men, women, and probably also children.⁶ In his description of the Celts whom the Romans had defeated at Telamon, Polybius noted that the leading warriors wore gold torcs and bracelets.⁷

Only very few torcs have come to light in the rare burials known from the last period of the Late Iron Age (LT D, roughly 150 to 50/15 BC), but they are common in the numerous contemporary hoards that are ascribed a cult significance. We also see them in the contemporary depictions of Celtic divinities.⁸

The Greeks in the Hellenistic period used torcs as an ethnic attribute in the depictions of Celtic and other Barbarian warriors; the most famous among them is the statue of *The Dying Gaul*.⁹

The Romans frequently portrayed the northern barbarian warriors with torc around the neck.¹⁰ They also perceived the torc to be an adornment or attribute of Celto-Roman divinities.¹¹ When worn not around the neck, but in pairs below the clavicles, torcs were a Roman military decoration.¹² It would appear that the beginnings of this decoration are associated with torcs that the Romans had seized from their adversaries.¹³ Recently, a Roman relief came to light that shows a Roman soldier taking a torc from a defeated barbarian. It dates to the first half of the 1st century AD and formed part of a large funerary monument.¹⁴

The Romans probably began awarding soldiers for their military exploits in the Late Republican period. At that time, victorious military commanders decorated both Romans and the Roman allies in the same way, for which the main criteria were bravery and merit; hence the same decoration could be awarded to both an ordinary soldier and his commanding officer.¹⁵

In the Early Principate, decorating soldiers gradually developed into a system with a clear set of rules that functioned to the early 3rd century. It was emperors (or in rare cases members of the imperial family) who decorated either units or individual soldiers; the latter could not be decorated posthumously. Evidence shows that the decorated units were those of auxiliary troops, *alae*, and cohorts, which were military formations usually manned by non-citizens.¹⁶

During the Principate, only Roman citizens were eligible to win decorations as individuals, primarily soldiers and officers in the units made up of citizen troops (legions, praetorian cohorts, urban cohorts), officers in auxiliary units (*alae*, cohorts), members of the emperor’s escort on campaign and provincial

1 Schuppe 1937, 1801.

2 Nick 2006; Farley, Hunter 2015, 41, fig. 22.

3 Adler 2003, 293–300, 303 (with references); Nick 2006.

4 Maxfield 1981, 86, 87; Adler 2003, 30, 31, 58, 300–302.

5 Harding 2000, 406–407; Teržan 1999, 115–119, fig. 11–13; Turk, Turk 2019, 202, 250, fig. 250; Turk, Turk 2021, 202, 250, fig. 250.

6 Adler 2003, 155–193; Farley, Hunter 2015, 41, fig. 22.

7 Polybius, *Historiae* 2,29; Maxfield 1981, 90.

8 Adler 2003, 303–305; Adler 2019.

9 Adler 2003, 50–59, 306, 307, fig. 1; Adler 2019.

10 Adler 2003, 55, 62–64, 306, 307, figs 2, 3, 5; Adler 2019.

11 Adler 2003, 109, 305; Adler 2019.

12 Maxfield 1981, 86–88.

13 Maxfield 1981, 86, 87; Adler 2019.

14 Adler 2019, 421–424, figs 2–5.

15 Maxfield 1981, 55–66.

16 Maxfield 1981, 86–88, 115–127, 136–141, 184–226.

V arheološki (predvsem prazgodovinski) in sorodni literaturi se pojem torkves pojavlja od 19. stoletja. Zdi se, da je najprej označeval tordirane ovratnice,¹ pozneje pa se je uveljavil za tog, krožno oblikovan in razklenjen kovinski vratni okras, pogosto (a ne izključno) iz tordiranega (spiralno zavitega) traku, običajno z odebeljenima zaključkoma, ki sta včasih okrašena.² Torkvese poznamo od prazgodovine do srednjega veka in iz različnih delov starega sveta; vse kaže, da so se marsikje pojavili neodvisno od drugih območij.³

V Perziji in pri Skitih so od 5. st. pr. Kr. ovratnice nosili izbrani oziroma privilegirani moški.⁴ Na območju Evrope najstarejše torkvese povezujemo z žensko nošo v pozni bronasti dobi.⁵ Del moške noše, najverjetneje vojščakov, so postali v starejši železni dobi (Ha C, D). Pri Keltih so jih nosili moški, ženske in verjetno tudi otroci.⁶ Polibij je v opisu Keltov, ki so jih Rimljani premagali pri Telamonu, zapisal, da so vodilni vojščaki nosili zlate torkvese in zapestnice.⁷

V grobovih iz zadnjega obdobja mlajše železne dobe (Lt D, okoli 150 do 50/15 pr. Kr.), ki so maloštevilni, najdemo torkvese zelo redko, pogosti pa so v depozjih, ki so v tem času številni in jim pripisujejo kulturni pomen. Poleg tega so upodobljeni na keltskih božanstvih tega časa.⁸

Pri Grkih je v helenistični dobi torkves okoli vratu postal eden od pokazateljev etnične opredelitve pri upodobitvah keltskih in drugih »barbarskih«⁹ bojevnikov; med najbolj znanimi je kip Umirajoči Galec.⁹

Rimljani so severne »barbarske«¹⁰ bojevnike pogosto upodobili s torkvesom okoli vratu. Poleg tega je bil pri njih torkves okras oziroma atribut keltsko-rimskih božanstev.¹¹ Torkvesi, ki jih niso nosili okoli vratu, temveč v paru pod ključnicama, pa so bili rimsko vojaško odlikovanje.¹² Zdi se, da je nastanek tega odlikovanja povezan s torkvesi (ovratnicami), ki so jih Rimljani v boju zasegli vojaškim nasprotnikom.¹³ Nedavno so odkrili rimski relief, del monumentalnega nagrobnika iz prve polovice 1. st. po Kr., ki kaže, kako je rimski vojak premaganemu barbaru odvzel torkves.¹⁴

Odlikovanje tistih, ki so se v vojaških spopadih posebno izkazali, se je pri Rimljanih verjetno začelo v pozni republikanski dobi. Takrat so odlikovanja podeljevali zmagoviti vojaški poveljniki, dobili pa so jih lahko Rimljani in njihovi zavezniki (nedržavljeni); bistveni merili sta bila njihovo junaštvo in zasluge, zato sta praviloma enako odlikovanje lahko dobila navaden vojak in njegov poveljnik.¹⁵

V zgodnjem principatu se je odlikovanje vojakov postopoma razvilo v sistem z jasnimi pravili, ki je deloval do začetka 3. st. Odlikovanja so podeljevali cesarji (ali redko člani cesarske družine), prejeli pa so jih celotne enote ali posamezniki – nikoli posthumno. Podatki kažejo, da so med celotnimi enotami odlikovali avksiliarne čete, tj. ale in kohorte, torej formacije, v katerih vojniki praviloma niso bili rimski državljani.¹⁶

Med posamezniki so v principatu odlikovanja lahko prejeli le rimski državljani, torej predvsem vojniki in oficirji v enotah rimskih državljanov (legije, pretorijanske kohorte, mestne kohorte), oficirji v enotah nedržavljanov (ale, kohorte) ter cesarjevi spremljevalci na vojaškem pohodu in provincialni upravniki. Vrsto odlikovanja je določal predvsem hierarhični

1 Schuppe 1937, 1801.

2 Nick 2006; Farley, Hunter 2015, 41, sl. 22.

3 Adler 2003, 293–300, 303 (z navedeno literaturo); Nick 2006.

4 Maxfield 1981, 86, 87; Adler 2003, 30, 31, 58, 300–302.

5 Harding 2000, 406, 407; Teržan 1999, 115–119, sl. 11–13; Turk, Turk 2019, 202, 250, sl. 250; Turk, Turk 2021, 202, 250, sl. 250.

6 Adler 2003, 155–193; Farley, Hunter 2015, 41, sl. 22.

7 Polybius, *Historiae* 2,29; Maxfield 1981, 90.

8 Adler 2003, 303–305; Adler 2019.

9 Adler 2003, 50–59, 306, 307, sl. 1; Adler 2019.

10 Adler 2003, 55, 62–64, 306, 307, sl. 2, 3, 5; Adler 2019.

11 Adler 2003, 109, 305; Adler 2019.

12 Maxfield 1981, 86–88.

13 Maxfield 1981, 86, 87; Adler 2019.

14 Adler 2019, 421–424, sl. 2–5.

15 Maxfield 1981, 55–66.

16 Maxfield 1981, 86–88, 115–127, 136–141, 184–226.

governors. The type of decoration depended largely on the rank of the individual within military hierarchy. *Torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae*, awarded at the same time, were given to soldiers of lower ranks, from ordinary soldiers to and including centurions. *Torques* were awarded in pairs and worn below the clavicles attached to a harness of leather straps that also bore *phalerae*. Higher military decorations were a range of crowns, a banner (*vexillum*) and a spear (*hasta*). In the order from the lesser to the most eminent, the crowns were as follows: *corona aurea* (appeared as a chaplet of laurel leaves), *corona vallaris* (chaplet in the shape of a square wall), *corona muralis* (chaplet in the shape of a circular wall), *corona navalis/classica/rostrata* (the naval crown, chaplet decorated with beaks of ships) and *corona civica* (the civic crown, appeared as a chaplet of oak leaves).¹⁷

The highest among the crowns of the Republican period, *corona obsidionalis* (the siege crown, made of grass or other vegetation) failed to survive into the Principate; not a single reliable representation of this decoration has been preserved.¹⁸

The early 3rd century, most likely after AD 212 when there were no longer any legal distinctions between citizens and non-citizens, brought an end to military decorations as used until then. They were replaced by conveying practical benefits, for example promotions, pecuniary awards, or increased food rations.¹⁹ *Torques* were still awarded to soldiers of exceptional bravery, but they were worn around the neck. *Torques* also came to stand as a mark of military rank or office, for example to signify standard-bearers and emperors' guardsmen.²⁰

The present study of the Roman torques up to the early 3rd century has been prompted by an object recovered from the Ljubljana River, in Slovenia, that may be among the rare surviving examples of such a military decoration.²¹ With more than four decades since the last comprehensive analysis,²² we believe the subject deserves to be reassessed and the evidence, new and old, re-examined in an in-depth study.

The study is based on ancient literary sources, inscriptions, relief depictions on stone monuments and archaeological evidence; they are presented in Chapters 2 to 5. This is followed by a discussion on the assumption, put forward in several contributions, that in the Principate the Romans, in addition to pairs of *torques*, also bestowed single *torques* that were worn around the neck (Chapter 6). The main findings from Chapters 2 to 6 and the conclusions drawn from them are given in Chapter 7.

In this book, we used the term 'torques' to refer to objects identified as Roman military decorations, whereas 'torc' is applied to all other objects, including those that cannot reasonably be assumed to have served as military decorations.

The book includes a list of 109 Roman inscriptions and a fake inscription that mention a unit or a soldier awarded one or more *torques* (*List 1*) and a list of 33 tombstones and other stone monuments bearing a relief depiction of the decoration (*List 2*). The depictions of *torques* on the monuments in *List 2* are presented with photographs of the best quality that we were able to obtain.²³ The lists and the photographs are intended as a support of the text and provide a possibility for the reader to verify the content; they can also be a good starting point for further studies.

Epigraphic sources are relevant to almost all aspects of the decoration discussed in this book; hence both authors participated in writing most of the chapters. Having said that, the primary responsibility for the contents of Chapters 2 and 3, as well as *List 1* rests with Anja Ragolič, for all other parts of the book with Janka Istenič.

17 Maxfield 1981, 53–54, 67–95, 110–127, 136–141, 184–226, 253. The view that *corona aurea* was made of gold (Maxfield 1981, 53–54, 81) and any assumptions on the materials used to make other decorations would require a thorough revision (cf. Chapter 5).

18 Maxfield 1981, 67–74. Cf. *List 2: No. 27*.

19 Maxfield 1981, 66, 248–254.

20 Speidel 1996, 236–241; Mráv 2015.

21 Istenič 2019, 124–129, 348, 349, fig. I2, pl. 20: I2.

22 Maxfield 1981. The analysis of awarding *torques* in the Late Roman period was published later (Speidel 1996).

23 Many depictions of *torques* on stone monuments have thus far only been published in Maxfield 1981, which provides neither the source of the photographs nor the information as to where the monuments are kept.

položaj vojaka. S torkvesi, armilami in falerami, ki so jih podeljevali hkrati, so nagrajevali posameznike nizkih činov, od navadnih vojakov do vključno centurionov. Torkvese so podeljevali v paru in nosili pod ključnicama, pripete na jermenje, ki je obenem nosilo falere. Višja vojaška odlikovanja v principatu so bili različni venci, prapor (*vexillum*) in sulica (*hasta*). Venci, od najmanj pomembnega navzgor, so bili: *corona aurea* (imel je videz venca iz lovorjevih listov), *corona vallaris* (venec z videzom pravokotnega obzidja), *corona muralis* (venec z videzom krožnega obzidja), *corona navalis/classica/rostrata* (z upodobitvijo ladijskih premcev okrašen venec) in *corona civica* (po videzu venec iz hrastovih listov).¹⁷ Pred začetkom principata je prišlo iz uporabe najvišje odlikovanje med venci republikanske dobe, *corona obsidionalis* (oblegovalni venec; spleten iz trave ali podobnega rastlinja). Ohranila se ni niti ena zanesljiva upodobitev tega venca.¹⁸

V začetku 3. stoletja, najverjetneje po letu 212, ko ni bilo več pravnega razlikovanja med državljani in nedržavljanji, se je do takrat običajen način vojaškega odlikovanja končal. Uveljavilo se je nagrajevanje s konkretnimi ugodnostmi, na primer z napredovanji, denarjem in povečanimi obroki hrane.¹⁹ Torkvese so še vedno podeljevali posebno pogumnim vojakom, ki pa so jih nosili okoli vratu. Poleg tega je bil torkves znak vojaškega položaja oziroma službe, npr. nosilcev praporov vojaških enot in cesarjevih osebnih stražarjev.²⁰

Povod za raziskavo rimskega vojaškega odlikovanja torkves do začetka 3. st. je bil predmet iz reke Ljubljanice, za katerega se zdi, da sodi med izredno redke ohranjene primerke tega odlikovanja.²¹ Od zadnje izčrpne obravnave torkvesov kot vojaških odlikovanj je minilo 40 let,²² zato se nam jih je zdelo smiselno ponovno poglobljeno preučiti.

Viri za vojaško odlikovanje torkves so antična literarna dela, napisi, upodobitve na kamnitih spomenikih in arheološke najdbe. Predstavili smo jih v poglavjih 2 do 5. Sledi obravnava v več objavah izražene domneve, da so Rimljani vojake odlikovali tudi s po enim torkvesom, ki so ga nosili okoli vratu (6. poglavje). Glavni izsledki poglavij 2 do 6 in sklepi, ki iz njih izhajajo, so v 7. poglavju.

Sestavna dela knjige sta seznam 109 rimskih napisov (in en ponarejen napis), ki omenjajo s torkvesom odlikovano enoto ali posameznika (*seznam 1*), ter seznam 33 nagrobnikov in drugih kamnitih spomenikov, na katerih je to odlikovanje upodobljeno (*seznam 2*). Spomeniki *seznama 2* oziroma upodobitve torkvesov na njih so predstavljeni z najboljšo fotografijo, ki nam jo je uspelo dobiti.²³ Seznama in fotografije bralcu omogočajo dobro sledenje v knjigi podanih vsebin in njihovo preverjanje, hkrati pa so lahko podlaga za nadaljnje preučevanje.

Zaradi vpletenosti epigrafskih vsebin v skoraj vse teme, ki jih obravnava v knjigi, sva pri pisanju večine poglavij sodelovali obe avtorici, vendar velja, da je za vsebino 2. in 3. poglavja ter *seznam 1* odgovorna Anja Ragolič, za vse druge dele knjige pa Janka Istenič.

17 Maxfield 1981, 53, 54, 67–95, 110–127, 136–141, 184–226, 253, sl. 6. Glede mnenja, da je bil venec *corona aurea* iz zlata (Maxfield 1981, 53–54, 81), in domneve o materialih drugih odlikovanj prim. pogl. 5.

18 Maxfield 1981, 67–74. Prim. *Seznam 2: št. 27*.

19 Maxfield 1981, 66, 248–254.

20 Speidel 1996, 236–241; Mráv 2015.

21 Istenič 2019, 124–129, 348, 349, sl. I2, t. 20: I2.

22 Maxfield 1981. Poznejša je obravnava poznorimskega odlikovanja s torkvesi (Speidel 1996).

23 Marsikatera upodobitev torkvesov na kamnitih spomenikih je bila doslej objavljena le v Maxfield 1981, ki ni navedla ne vira fotografij ne tega, kje spomenike hranijo.

2 Torques in ancient literary works

This chapter discusses the written sources related to the *torques* as Roman military decorations from the Late Republic to the early 3rd century AD and to their presumed development from the torcs seized from military opponents.

In the translations of ancient texts cited in the footnotes, the word ‘*torques*’ is given in Latin and not as ‘collars’, ‘necklaces’ or other terms used in the original translations.

Greek and Roman literary texts reveal that Persians, as well as Celtic and Germanic peoples, used torcs as personal adornments and/or status symbols.²⁴

Torques as military decoration are believed to have developed from the spoils the Romans seized from defeated enemies. This development is illustrated in the legend recorded by a number of Roman authors. It tells of Titus Manlius Imperiosus who, during a Celtic uprising in Italy in 391 BC, stripped a torc from the neck of a Gaul whom he had slain, earning himself the cognomen of Torquatus.²⁵

In *Ab Urbe Condita*, written in the Augustan period, the Roman historian Livy mentions several instances of the Romans seizing torcs and other personal items from military opponents. They took 58 insignia and numerous gold bracelets and torcs, for example, from the Iberian Celts during the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula between 218 and 211 BC, in battles south of the River Ebro.²⁶ In 196 BC, the Romans captured

an enemy camp in Cisalpine Gaul and took the standards and gold torcs.²⁷ Another instance is the triumphal procession for Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, organised to celebrate defeating the Boii. The procession displayed spoils of war that included weapons, standards, bronze vessels, captive soldiers, and 1471 gold torcs.²⁸

Annius Florus, a Roman poet and historian from the 2nd century AD, mentions torcs among the spoils that Drusus the Elder distributed among his soldiers following the victorious campaigns in Germania (12–9 BC).²⁹

In the triumph following the conquest of Britain in 51 AD, the Romans displayed the king of the

haud multo minus quam mille captum et signa militaria quinquaginta octo. Et spolia plurima Gallica fuere, aurei torques armillaeque, magnus numerus.

Translation (Yardley 2020, 311): More than eight thousand men were killed, not many fewer than a thousand were taken prisoner, and fifty-eight military standards were captured. The spoils, too, were mostly Gallic—golden *torques* and armbands, and in large numbers.

27 Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 33,36,13,1–14,1: *In eo proelio supra quadraginta milia hominum caesa Valerius Antias scribit, octoginta septem signa militaria capta, et carpenta septingenta triginta duo et aureos torques multos, ex quibus unum magni ponderis Claudius in Capitolio Iovi donum in aede positum scribit.*

Translation (Yardley 2017, 389): In the battle, according to Valerius Antias’ account, more than 40,000 men lost their lives, and 87 military standards were captured, along with 732 wagons and many gold *torques*, including a very heavy one that Claudius states was placed in the temple on the Capitoline as a gift to Jupiter (Cf. Martínez Morcillo 2014, 348).

28 Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 36,40,11,2–13,1: *In eo triumpho Gallicis carpentis arma signaque et spolia omnis generis travexit et vasa aenea Gallica et cum captiuis nobilibus equorum quoque captorum gregem traduxit. Aureos torques transtulit mille quadringentos septuaginta unum, ad hoc auri pondo ducenta quadraginta septem, argenti infecti factique in Gallicis vasis, non infabre suo more factis, duo milia trecenta quadraginta pondo, bigatorum nummorum ducenta triginta quattuor.*

Translation (Yardley 2018, 271): In that triumphal procession Scipio had arms, standards and spoils of all kinds carried on Gallic carts, and he also had on display Gallic vases made of bronze and a herd of captured horses along with highborn captives. He had 1,471 gold *torques* carried along, plus 247 pounds of gold, 2,340 lbs of silver, some unwrought and some in the form of Gallic vases, not inelegantly crafted in the Gallic style, and 234,000 coins stamped with the biga.

29 Annii Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann. DCC 2,30,16–18*: *Victor namque Drusus equos, pecora, torques eorum ipsosque praedam divisit et vendidit.*

Translation (Forster 1929, 337): ... for Drusus, after defeating them, divided up their horses, their herds, their *torques* and their own persons as spoil and sold them.

24 For the Persians, e.g., Herodotus, *Ἱστορίαι* 8.113.15–17 and Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 3,3,13,1–5, for the Celtic peoples e.g., Silius Italicus, *Punica* 4,152–156 and for the Germanic peoples e.g., Annii Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann. DCC 2,30,16–18*.

25 Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum* 1,23,8–1,24,1; 1,35,4; 2,73,2–6; Cicero, *De officiis* 3,112,18–20; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 4,49,10–11; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 6,42,5,1–6,1; 7,10,2,1–14,2; Ovidius, *Fasti* 1,601; Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann. DCC 1,8,5–7*; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 9,13,1,1–19,2; Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 22,1,1–2 (erroneous name Mallius Torquatus); Servius Honoratus, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros*, 6,824,6–8; Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum* (Caligula) 35,1,2–3; (Augustus) 43,2,6–8. Steiner 1906, 22, 24; Mitchell 1966; Maxfield 1981, 61, 87; Linderski 2007, 219.

26 Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 24,42,8,3–4: *Plus octo milia hominum caesa,*

Torkves v antičnih literarnih delih

Obravnavamo vire, ki so povezani s torkvesi kot rimskim vojaškim odlikovanjem od pozne republikanske dobe do začetka 3. st. in z njihovim domnevnim razvojem iz zaplenjenih ovratnic vojaških nasprotnikov.

V prevodih antičnih besedil, ki jih navajamo v opombah, pri besedi *torques* nismo sledili uveljavljenim prevodom, ki *torques* prevajajo kot ovratnica, in besede nismo prevajali.

Iz grških in rimskih literarnih del izhaja, da so bili torkvesi (ovratnice) pri Perzijcih, keltskih in germanskih ljudstvih osebni okras in/ali statusni simbol vojščakov.²⁴

Razvoj rimskega vojaškega odlikovanja *torques* iz ovratnic, ki so jih Rimljani zasegli premaganim nasprotnikom, nakazuje legenda, ki jo omenjajo številni rimski pisci. Govori o Titu Manliju Imperiozu (*Titus Manlius Imperiosus*), ki je med uporom Keltov v Italiji leta 361 pr. Kr. premagal nekega Kelta in mu odvzel torkves (ovratnico) ter zato dobil dodatni kognomen, *Torquatus*.²⁵

Rimski zgodovinar Livij v delu *Od ustanovitve mesta*, ki ga je napisal v avgustejski dobi, omenja več primerov rimskih zasegov torkvesov (ovratnic) in drugih osebnih predmetov vojaškim nasprotnikom. Ob osvajanju Iberskega polotoka med letoma 218 in 211 pr. Kr. so v bojih južno od reke Ebro iberskim Keltom zaplenili 58 bojnih znamenj (*insignia*) ter

številne zlate zapestnice in torkvese (ovratnice);²⁶ leta 196 pr. Kr. so v Cisalpinski Galiji osvojili sovražnikov tabor ter pobrali bojna znamenja in zlate torkvese (ovratnice);²⁷ ob triumfu Publija Kornelija Scipiona Nasike (*P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*) nad Boji so razkazovali vojni plen, ki je vključeval orožje, bojna znamenja, bronasto posodje, ujetnike in 1471 zlatih torkvesov (ovratnic).²⁸

Rimski pesnik in zgodovinar iz 2. st. Anij Flor omenja torkvese (ovratnice) premagancev med vojnim plenom, ki ga je Druz starejši po zmagovitih vojaških pohodih v Germaniji (12–9 pr. Kr.) razdelil med svoje vojake.²⁹

24 Za Perzijce npr. Herodot, *Ἱστορίαι* 8.113.15–17 in Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 3,3,13,1–5, za keltska ljudstva npr. Silius Italicus, *Punica* 4,152–156 in za germanska ljudstva npr. Annus Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann.* DCC 2,30,16–18.

25 Cicero, *De finibus bonorum et malorum* 1,23,8–1,24,1; 1,35,4; 2,73,2–6; Cicero, *De officiis* 3,112,18–20; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 4,49,10–11; Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 6,42,5,1–6,1; 7,10,2,1–14,2; Ovidius, *Fasti* 1,601; Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann.* DCC 1,8,5–7; Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 9,13,1,1–19,2; Ampelius, *Liber memorialis* 22,1,1–2 (napačno ime Mallius Torquatus); Servius Honoratus, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros*, 6,824,6–8; Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum* (Caligula) 35,1,2–3; (Augustus) 43,2,6–8. Steiner 1906, 22, 24; Mitchell 1966; Maxfield 1981, 61, 87; Linderski 2007, 219.

26 Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 24,42,8,3–4: *Plus octo milia hominum caesa, haud multo minus quam mille captum et signa militaria quinquaginta octo. Et spolia plurima Gallica fuere, aurei torques armillaeque, magnus numerus.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Več kot 8000 ljudi je bilo pobitih, zajetih ne dosti manj kot 1000 in kar 58 bojnih znamenj prilaščeni. Tudi galskega plena je bilo obilo, zlati torkvesi in armile v velikem številu.

27 Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 33,36,13,1–14,1: *In eo proelio supra quadraginta milia hominum caesa Valerius Antias scribit, octoginta septem signa militaria capta, et carpenta septingenta triginta duo et aureos torques multos, ex quibus unum magni ponderis Claudius in Capitolio Iovi donum in aede positum scribit.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Po Valeriju Antiatu je bilo v tej bitki ubitih več kot 40.000 mož, zajetih 87 bojnih znamenj, poleg tega še 732 vozov in veliko zlatih torkvesov, izmed katerih je Klavdij enega zelo težkega daroval v Jupitrovem svetišču na Kapitolu. Cf. Martínez Morcillo 2014, 348.

28 Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, 36,40,11,2–13,1: *In eo triumpho Gallicis carpentis arma signaque et spolia omnis generis travexit et vasa aenea Gallica et cum captiuis nobilibus equorum quoque captorum gregem traduxit. Aureos torques transtulit mille quadringentos septuaginta unum, ad hoc auri pondo ducenta quadraginta septem, argenti infecti factique in Gallicis vasis, non infabre suo more factis, duo milia trecenta quadraginta pondo, bigatorum nummorum ducenta triginta quattuor.*

Prevod (Ragolič): V tem zmagoslavnem sprevodu je [Scipion] na galskih vozovih prevažal orožje, bojna znamenja in različne vrste vojnega plena ter bronasto galsko posodje; in obenem z zajetimi plemiči se je zvrstila tudi čreda konj. Zraven je dal prinesti 1471 zlatih torkvesov, poleg tega pa še 247 funtov zlata, 2340 funtov srebra, neobdelanega ali v obliki galskega posodja, večje izdelanega po njihovi šegi, ter 234.000 novcev z upodobljeno dvovprego.

29 Annus Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann.* DCC 2,30,16–18: *Victor namque Drusus equos, pecora, torques eorum ipsosque praedam divisit et vendidit.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Po zmagi je namreč Druz razdelil konje, črede, njihove torkvese in njih same kot plen ter jih prodal.

Catuvellauni tribe and his family together with the seized *phalerae* and *torcs*.³⁰

Literary works show that these *torcs* could be made of precious metals (gold and silver) and, as such, possessed a high material value. Livy reports that the Romans in 170 BC made pecuniary reparations to the Celtic kingdom of King Cincibilus, as well as to the Carni, Histri, and Iapodes for the damage incurred by the troops led by Gaius Cassius Longinus; they also gave the king and his brother five silver vessels, two horses, cavalry weapons, military coats, clothes, and two *torcs* made of five pounds (roughly 1.6 kg) of gold.³¹ The same historian wrote that two years later, when war in Macedonia was still ongoing, envoys from the Celts 'from across the Alps' (their king was Balanus) came to the senate and offered to assist in the war effort. As a token of gratitude, the senate offered them gifts that included a two-pound (0.658 kg) gold *torc*.³² A Roman member of the equestrian order in the age of Cicero received a monetary incentive in the shape of a wreath, breast-bosses, and a *torc*.³³ The Celts gave Emperor Augustus a gold *torc* weighing 100 pounds (roughly 33 kg).³⁴

Of importance for the history of *torques* as Roman military decorations is that Polybius, a Roman historian of Greek origin living roughly between 200 and 120 BC and well-acquainted with the Roman army, does not mention them even though he describes the decorations and the circumstances under which they were awarded towards the end of the 3rd and first half of the 2nd century BC.³⁵

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Roman historian of Greek descent, writing in the Augustan period, noted the myth of Lucius Siccus Dentatus, a Roman soldier from the 5th century BC who received 83 *torcs* and numerous other decorations (18 *hastae purae*, 25 *phalerae*, 160 *armillae*, and 26 *coronae*).³⁶ The same myth appears in the writings of other Roman authors, among them Pliny the Elder,³⁷ who drew from the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Much of what the myth says is contradictory, however, and it cannot be taken as a reliable historical source or contribute to our knowledge of *torques* as decorations in the Republican period.³⁸

The earliest literary work mentioning *torques* as military decorations is *Bellum Hispaniense*. It was probably written by Caesar's officers. It describes the final years of Caesar's civil war and his military activities on the Iberian Peninsula;³⁹ it recounts that in 45 BC Caesar awarded five gold *torques* to the commander of the cavalry (*praefectus equitum*) for his contribution to the battle against Sextus Pompeius.⁴⁰

30 Tacitus, *Annales* 12,36,10–13: *Tunc incedentibus regis clientulis phalerae, torques quaeque bellis externis quaeviserat traducta, mox fratres et coniunx et filia, postremo ipse ostentatus.*

Translation (Jackson 1937, 365): Then, while the king's humble vassals filed past, ornaments and *torques* and prizes won in his foreign wars were borne in parade; next his brothers, wife, and daughter were placed on view; finally, he himself.

31 Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 43,5,1,1–9,1: *Munera mitti legatis ex binis milibus aeris censuerunt; duobus fratri reguli haec praecipua, torques duo ex quinque pondo auri facti et uasa argentea quinque ex viginti pondo et duo equi phalerati cum agasonibus et equestria arma ac sagula, et comitibus eorum vestimenta, liberis servisque.*

Translation (Schlesinger 1951, 21): They determined to send to the envoys gifts of two thousand asses apiece and to the two princely brothers the following special gifts, two *torques* made of five pounds of gold and five silver vessels of twenty pounds, and two horses with trappings for head and chest, along with their grooms, and cavalry weapons and military cloaks, and to the princes' attendants, both free and slave, garments (one Roman pound (*libra*) weighed 0.3289 kg).

32 Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 44,14,1,1–3,1: *Dum bellum in Macedonia geritur, legati Transalpini ab regulo Gallorum – Balanus ipsius traditur nomen; gentis ex qua fuerit, non traditur – Romam venerunt pollicentes ad Macedonicum bellum auxilia. Gratiae ab senatu actae muneraque missa, torquis aureus duo pondo et paterae aureae quattuor pondo, equus phaleratus armaque equestria.*

Translation (Schlesinger 1951, 133): While the war was continuing in Macedonia, envoys from across the Alps from a Gallic chieftain—his name is given as Balanus, but there is no record of his tribe—came to Rome promising aid for the Macedonian campaign. Thanks were expressed by the senate and gifts sent the envoys, a *torques* of two pounds of gold and golden bowls of four pounds, a horse with ornamental trappings, and cavalry weapons.

33 Cicero, *In Verrem* 3,185,7–10: *Neque enim solum scribam tuum anulo, sed etiam virum fortissimum ac tui dissimillimum, Q. Rubrium, excellentem virtute auctoritate copiis, corona et phaleris et torque donasti ...*

Translation (Greenwood 1935, 229): For you not only presented your clerk with a ring: you also presented Quintus Rubrius—a fine man of a very different type from yourself, notable for his valour, personal influence and prosperity—with chaplet, breast-bosses and a *torques*. Maxfield 1981, 114.

34 Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* 6,3,79,3–5: *Elusit Cassius Severus, obiciente quodam quod ei domo sua Procleius interdixisset, respon-*

dendo 'numquid ergo illuc accedo?' Sed eluditur et ridiculum ridiculo (ut divus Augustus, cum ei Galli torque aureum centum pondo dedissent, et Dolabella per iocum, temptans tamen ioci sui eventum, dixisset: 'imperator, torque me dona', 'malo' inquit 'te civica donare').

Translation (Russell 2002, 105): Humorous evasion is illustrated by the answer given by Cassius Severus when someone reproached him with the fact that Procleius had banned him from his house: 'Do I ever go there?' he replied. But (a) a joke may be evaded by a joke: the emperor Augustus was given a golden *torque* weighing a hundred pounds by the Gauls, and Dolabella, joking but with an eye to the outcome of his joke, said 'General, present me with a *torque*'; whereupon Augustus replied 'I would rather present you with a civic crown.'

35 Polybius, *Historiae* 6,39; Steiner 1906, 1–2 and 22; Maxfield 1981, 45, 62, 87.

36 Dion. Hal. 10.37.2.1–3.10; Steiner 1906, 98.

37 Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 7,101,5–102,9.

38 Maxfield 1981, 44, 45.

39 Conte 2010, 256.

40 *Bellum Hispaniense* 26,1,1–26,2,1: *Caesar ob virtutem turmae Cassianae donavit milia X III et praefecto torques aureos V ...*

Translation (Way 1955, 357): In recognition of the gallantry of the Cassian squadron Caesar awarded it three thousand denarii and its commander five golden *torques* (the translation takes into account the opinion by Linderski (2007, 219–220) that the *praefectus* refers to the commander of the cavalry (*praefectus equitum*) engaged in the battle, rather than of the squadron).

V triumfu po osvojitvi Britanije leta 51 po Kr. so Rimljani razkazovali kralja Katavelavnov in njegovo družino ter zaplenjene falere in torkvese (ovratnice).³⁰

Literarna dela kažejo, da so torkvesi (ovratnice) lahko bili iz plemenitih kovin (zlata in srebra) in so zato imeli visoko materialno vrednost. Tako od Livija izveemo, da so Rimljani leta 170 pr. Kr. kot odškodnino za škodo, ki jo je keltskemu kraljestvu kralja Cincibila ter Karnom, Histrom in Japodom s svojim vojaškim pohodom povzročil konzul Gaj Kasij Longin (*G. Cassius Longinus*), dali denar, keltskemu vladarju in njegovega bratu pa še pet srebrnih posod, dva konja, konjeniško orožje, vojaške plašče, oblačila in dva torkvesa iz petih funtov (okoli 1,6 kg) zlata.³¹ Isti zgodovinar je zapisal, da so dve leti pozneje, ko je vojna v Makedoniji še trajala, v senat prišli odposlanci Keltoz ozemlja »onstran Alp« (njihov kralj je bil Balan) ter ponudili pomoč v vojni. Senat jim je v zahvalo poleg drugih darov podaril dva funta (0,658 kg) težak zlat torkves.³² Rimski vitez v Ciceronovi dobi je kot podkupnino prejel venec, falere in torkves.³³ Kelti so cesarju Avgustu dali zlat torkves, ki je tehtal 100 funtov (pribl. 33 kilogramov!).³⁴

30 Tacitus, *Annales* 12,36,10–13: *Tunc incedentibus regis clientulis phalerae, torques quaeque bellis externis quaesiverat traducta, mox fratres et coniunx et filia, postremo ipse ostentatus.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Za tem, ko so mimo odkorakali kraljevi podložniki, so pripeljali falere, torkvese in kar je pridobil v tujih vojnah; zatem so postavili na ogled (njegove) brate, ženo in hčer ter naposled njega samega.

31 Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 43,5,1,1–9,1: *Munera mitti legatis ex binis milibus aeris consuerunt; duobus fratri reguli haec praecipua, torques duo ex quinque pondo auri facti et uasa argentea quinque ex viginti pondo et duo equi phalerati cum agasonibus et equestria arma ac sagula, et comitibus eorum vestimenta, liberis servisque.*

Prevod (Šašel Kos 2014): Poslancem so sklenili poslati darila v znesku dva tisoč asov, obema bratoma vladarjema pa tale posebna darila: dva torkvesa iz petih funtov zlata, pet srebrnih posod iz dvajset funtov in dva konja z opremo za glavo in prednji del, skupaj z njunima konjušnikoma, ter konjeniško orožje in vojaške plašče, spremljevalcem obeh vladarjev, tako svobodnim kot sužnjem, pa oblačila.

Rimski funt (*libra*) ustreza 0,3289 kg.

32 Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 44,14,1,1–3,1: *Dum bellum in Macedonia geritur, legati Transalpini ab regulo Gallorum – Balanus ipsius traditur nomen; gentis ex qua fuerit, non traditur – Romam venerunt pollicentes ad Macedonicum bellum auxilia. Gratiae ab senatu actae muneraque missa, torquis aureus duo pondo et paterae aureae quattuor pondo, equus phaleratus armaque equestria.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Medtem ko se je vojna v Makedoniji nadaljevala, so v Rim od galskega poglavarja – menda se je imenoval Balan, iz katerega plemena je bil, pa ni znano – prišli legati z onkraj Alp, da bi v makedonski vojni ponudili pomoč. Senat se jim je zahvalil in jim poslal darila: zlat torkves, težak 2 funta, zlate skodelice (paterae), težke 4 funte, konja, okrašenega s falerami, in konjeniško orožje.

33 Cicero, *In Verrem* 3,185,7–10: *Neque enim solum scribam tuum anulo, sed etiam virum fortissimum ac tui dissimillimum, Q. Rubrium, excellentem virtute auctoritate copiis, corona et phaleris et torque donasti ...*

Prevod (Ragolič): Nisi namreč samo svojemu pisarju podaril prstana, temveč si tudi Kvinta Rubrija, nadvse pogumnega moža, ki je popolno nasprotje tebe samega in se odlikuje po vrlini, ugledu in premoženju, obdaril z vencem, falerami in torkvesom. Maxfield 1981, 114.

34 Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* 6,3,79,3–5: *Elusit Cassius Severus, obiciente quodam quod ei domo sua Proculeius interdixisset, respondendo 'numquid ergo illuc accedo?' Sed eluditur et ridiculum ridiculo, ut divus Augustus, cum ei Galli torquem aureum centum pondo dedissent, et Dolabella per iocum, temptans tamen ioci sui eventum, dixisset: 'impera-*

Za zgodovino rimskega odlikovanja torkves je pomembno, da ga Polibij, rimski zgodovinar grškega rodu, ki je živel pribl. med letoma 200 in 120 pr. Kr. in je rimsko vojsko dobro poznal, ne omenja, čeprav je opisal odličja in načine odlikovanja v rimski vojski ob koncu 3. in v prvi polovici 2. st. pr. Kr.³⁵

Dionizij Halikarnaški, rimski zgodovinar grškega rodu, ki je pisal v avgustejski dobi, je zapisal mit o Luciju Sikciju Dentatu (*Lucius Siccus Dentatus*), rimskem vojaku iz 5. st. pr. Kr., ki je prejel 83 torkvesov in številna druga odlikovanja (18 sulic – *hastae purae*, 25 faler, 160 zapestnic – *armillae* in 26 vencev).³⁶ Isti mit so zapisali ali omenili drugi rimski pisci, med drugimi Plinij starejši,³⁷ ki je črpal iz dela Dionizija Halikarnaškega. Številni podatki v mitu si nasprotujejo, zato ne velja za zanesljiv zgodovinski vir in ne more prispevati k razumevanju odlikovanja s torkvesi v republikanski dobi.³⁸

Najstarejše literarno delo, ki omenja torkves kot vojaško odlikovanje, je Hispanska vojna (*Bellum Hispaniense*). Verjetno so ga napisali Cezarjevi častniki. Opisuje zadnja leta Cezarjeve državljanske vojne in njegovo vojaško delovanje na Iberskem polotoku.³⁹ V njem piše, da je Cezar leta 45 pr. Kr., za zasluge v vojni proti Sekstu Pompeju, poveljnika (prefekta) konjenice nagradil s petimi zlatimi torkvesi.⁴⁰

Plinij starejši je napisal, da so Rimljani zlate torkvese dajali tujcem, srebrne pa Rimljanom.⁴¹

tor, torque me dona, 'malo' inquit 'te civica donare'.

Prevod (Ragolič): Kasij Sever se je norčeval, ko mu je nekdo očital, da mu je Prokulej prepovedal vstop v njegovo hišo, in je odvrnil: »Mar grem kdaj tja?« Tudi s šalo se da odgovoriti na šalo: ko je pokojni cesar Avgust od Galceve prejel zlat torkves, težak 100 funtov, ga je Dolabela preskušal v šali, a z upanjem na donosen izid, rekoč: »Poveljnik, odlikuj me s torkvesom.« Avgust mu je odvrnil: »Raje bi te odlikoval z državljanskim vencem.«

35 Polybius, *Historiae* 6,39; Steiner 1906, 1–2 in 22; Maxfield 1981, 45, 62, 87.

36 Dion. Hal. 10.37.2.1–3.10; Steiner 1906, 98.

37 Plinius, *Naturalis historia* 7,101,5–102,9.

38 Maxfield 1981, 44, 45.

39 Conte 2010, 256.

40 *Bellum Hispaniense* 26,1,1–26,2,1: *Caesar ob virtutem turmae Casianae donavit milia X III et praefecto torques aureos V ...*

Prevod (Ragolič): Cezar je Kasijev oddelek konjenice (*turma Casiana*) zaradi hrabrosti nagradil s 3000 denarji in njenega prefekta s petimi zlatimi torkvesi. Pri prevodu smo upoštevali mnenje Linderskega (2007, 219–220), da ne gre za prefekta turme, ampak cele konjenice (*praefectus equitum*), ki je sodelovala v spopadu.

41 Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis historia* 33,37,2–3: *Auxilia quippe et externos torquibus aureis donavere, at cives non nisi argenteis, praeterque armillas civibus dedere, quas non dabant externis.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Z zlatimi torkvesi so bile denimo odlikovane pomožne enote in tujci, a državljanom so podeljevali zgolj srebrne; poleg tega so le državljanom dajali armile, ki pa jih tujci niso prejeli. Maxfield 1981, 88, 127.

Pliny the Elder wrote that the Romans offered gold torcs to foreigners and silver ones to Romans.⁴¹

In *Punica*, the epic on the Second Punic War that Silius Italicus wrote towards the end of the 1st century AD, a gold *torques* around the neck is mentioned among the decorations that Roman soldiers received after capturing the town of Carthago Nova (Cartagena in Spain) in 211 BC.⁴² This information, however, does not correspond with the absence of *torques* among the decorations of this period in Polybius, who possessed an in-depth knowledge of the Roman army and lived roughly in the time that he described in his works. It is surprising that Silius Italicus thought *torques* were worn around the neck in Republican times; it is assumed that his information is of little historic significance.⁴³

During the reign of Hadrian, the Roman historian Suetonius wrote that Augustus much preferred to award gold and silver *torques* than different *coronae*.⁴⁴

Tacitus mentions *torques* in *Historiae* and *Annales* that cover the history of the Roman Empire from the death of Augustus (AD 14) to the death of Domitian (AD 96) and were written in the early 2nd century. For Flavius (brother of Arminius, leader of the Cherusci who defeated the Romans in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9), who fought on the side of the Romans, we learn he received a raised salary, as well as a *torques*, *corona* and other military decorations.⁴⁵ Tacitus also writes that Helvius Rufus, who saved the life of a fellow-citizen in the province of Africa during the war against Tacfarinus (which lasted roughly from AD 15

to 24), was decorated with two or more *torques* and a *hasta*.⁴⁶

Torques and *phalerae* gleamed on the chests of the soldiers accompanying Emperor Vitellius upon his return to Rome, after having defeated Emperor Otho at the Battle of Bedriacum in AD 69.⁴⁷

Josephus Flavius is an author who possessed an in-depth knowledge of Roman military activities in the province of Judea during the Great Jewish Revolt (between AD 66 and 73). He mentions gold *torques* among the decorations that the emperor's son Titus, after the Roman conquest of Jerusalem in AD 70, used to decorate particularly deserving soldiers, who were also promoted to a rank.⁴⁸

During Nero's reign, Seneca deemed that what mattered was not the material value of *torques* and crowns that a general awarded a soldier but rather their value as tokens of honour.⁴⁹

In *Satires*, written in the first third of the 2nd century, Juvenal writes that bestowing *torques* and other military decorations to the bravest was in the interest of the commanding officer.⁵⁰

41 Plinius Secundus, *Naturalis historia* 33,37,2–3: *Auxilia quippe et externos torquibus aureis donavere, at cives non nisi argenteis, praeterque armillas civibus dedere, quas non dabant externis.*

Translation (Rackham 1952, 31): For instance our authorities actually bestowed gold *torques* on foreign soldiers, but only awarded silver ones to Roman citizens, and what is more they gave bracelets to citizens, which it was not their custom to give to foreigners. Maxfield 1981, 88, 127.

42 Silius Italicus, *Punica* 15,256: *Tum merita aequantur donis, ac praemia virtus sanguine parta capit: phaleris hic pectora fulget, hic torque aurato circumdat bellica colla, ille nitet celsus muralis honore coronae.*

Translation (Duff 1934, 343): Then good service gained its due reward, and valour received the prizes earned by wounds. On one man's breast glittered bosses of metal; another warrior put a *torques* of gold around his neck; and a third displayed with pride the decoration of a mural crown. Steiner 1906, 3; Maxfield 1981, 127.

43 Linderski 2007, 219, 221.

44 Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Augustus 25.3.1–4: *Dona militaria aliquanto facilius phaleras et torques, quicquid auro argentoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quae honore praecellerent, dabat ...*

Translation (Rolfe 1914, 185): As military prizes he was somewhat more ready to give trappings or *torques*, valuable for their gold and silver, than crowns for scaling ramparts or walls, which conferred high honour.

45 Tacitus, *Annales*, 2,9,11–12: *Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia ...*

Translation (Moore 1931, 397): Flavius mentioned his increased pay, the *torques*, the crown, and other military decorations; Arminius scoffed at the cheap rewards of servitude.

46 Tacitus, *Annales* 3,21,8–10: *Quo proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus rettulit donatusque est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta.* Translation (Moore 1931, 555): During the engagement a private soldier, Helvius Rufus, earned the distinction of saving a Roman life, and was presented by Apronius with the *torques* and spear. Maxfield 1981, 65, 84, 85, 117, 124.

47 Tacitus, *Historiae* 2,89,1–14: *Ante aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste, ceteri iuxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque fulgentes; et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant.*

Translation (Moore 1925, 305): Before the eagles marched the prefects of camp, the tribunes, and the chief centurions, dressed in white; the other centurions, with polished arms and decorations gleaming, marched each with his century. The common soldiers' medals and *torques* were likewise bright and shining.

48 *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.15: *καὶ κατ' ὄνομα καλῶν ἐπήνει τε παριόντας ὡς ἂν ὑπερευφραϊνόμενός τις ἐπ' οἰκείους κατορθώμασι καὶ στεφάνους ἐπέτιθει χρυσοῦς, περιαιχηνία τε χρυσῆ καὶ δόρατα μικρὰ χρυσῆ καὶ σημαίας ἐδίδου πεπονημένας ἐξ ἀργύρου, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου τάξιν ἠλλάττεν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, οὐ μὴν ἄλλὰ κάκ τῶν λαφύρων ἀργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῖς λείας δαψιλῶς ἀπένειμε.*

Translation (Thackeray 1928, 311): He then placed crowns of gold upon their heads, presented them with golden *torques*, little golden spears and standards made of silver, and promoted each man to a higher rank; he further assigned to them out of the spoils silver and gold and raiments and other booty in abundance. Maxfield 1981, 88, 238; Linderski 2007, 222.

49 Seneca, *De beneficiis* 1,5,6,1–5: *Hoc in aliis quoque rebus evenit, ut aliubi sit species rei, aliubi ipsa res. Imperator aliquem torquibus, murali et civica donat. Quid habet per se corona pretiosum? Quid praetexta? Quid fasces? Quid tribunal et currus? Nihil horum honor est, sed honoris insigne.*

Translation (Basore 1935, 23): The general presents a soldier with *torques* or with a mural and civic crown. What value has the crown in itself? Or the purple-bordered robe? Or the fasces? Or the judgment-seat and car of triumph? None of these things is in itself an honour, but is an emblem of honour.

50 Juvenalis, *Saturae* 16,58–60: *Ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur ut, qui fortis erit, sit felicissimus idem, ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus, omnes.* Translation (Morton Braund 2004, 511): Without a doubt, it seems to be important to the general that a man who is brave should be the most successful, that all those who delight in medals and *torques*.

V pesnitvi o drugi punski vojni (*Punica*), ki jo je Silij Italik (*Silius Italicus*) napisal ob koncu 1. st. po Kr., je zlat torkves okoli vratu omenjen med odlikovanji, ki so jih prejeli rimski vojaki po zavzetju mesta Carthago Nova (Cartagena v Španiji) leta 211 pr. Kr.⁴² Ta podatek se ne ujema z odsotnostjo odlikovanja torkves v tem obdobju pri Polibiju, ki je bil odličen poznavalec rimske vojske in je živel približno v času, o katerem je pisal. Preseneča, da je Silij Italik menil, da so v republikanskem času torkvese nosili okoli vratu. Podatki v pesnitvi imajo majhno zgodovinsko vrednost.⁴³

Rimski zgodovinar Svetonij je med vladavino cesarja Hadrijana zapisal, da je Avgust veliko raje podeljeval zlate in srebrne torkvese kot pa različne vrste vencev (*coronae*).⁴⁴

Tacit v delih *Zgodovina in Anali*, ki obravnavata zgodovino 1. st. in ju je napisal na začetku 2. st., omenja odlikovanje torkves. Za Flavusa (brata Arminija, ki je bil vodja Heruskov in je Rimljane porazil leta 9 po Kr. v Tevtoburškem gozdu), ki se je boril na strani Rimljanov, izvemo, da je prejel povišano plačo ter torkves, venec in druga vojaška odlikovanja.⁴⁵ Helvija Rufa (*Helvius Rufus*), ki je med vojno proti Takfarinu (trajala je od okoli 15 do 24 po Kr.) v provinci Afriki rešil življenje sodržavljanu, so odlikovali s torkvesoma oziroma torkvesi in sulico.⁴⁶

Torkvesi in falere so se bleščali na prsih vojakov, ki so spremljali cesarja Vitelija ob vrnitvi v Rim po zmagi nad cesarjem Otonom pri Bedriaku (*Bedriacum*) leta 69.⁴⁷

Jožef Flavij, dober poznavalec rimskega vojaškega delovanja v provinci Judeji med velikim židovskim uporom (med letoma 66 in 73), omenja zlate torkvese med odlikovanji, s katerimi je cesarjev sin Tit po rimskem zavzetju Jeruzalema leta 70 odlikoval posebno zaslužne vojake, ti so hkrati napredovali v višji čin.⁴⁸

Seneka je v času vladavine cesarja Nerona menil, da ni pomembna materialna vrednost torkvesov in vencev, pomemben je njihov simbolni pomen.⁴⁹

Juvenal v Satirah, napisanih v prvi tretjini 2. st., pravi, da je bilo podeljevanje torkvesov in drugih vojaških odlikovanj najpogumnejšim interes (korist) poveljnika.⁵⁰

V poznorimski zbirki biografij *Historia Augusta* so torkvesi omenjeni na več mestih, vendar vir ni zanesljiv. Vprašljiva nista le čas nastanka in avtorstvo dela, tega pripisujejo šestim anonimnim avtorjem, opaziti je tudi številna protislovja v posameznih življenjepisih.⁵¹

42 Silius Italicus, *Punica* 15,256: *Tum merita aequantur donis, ac praemia virtus sanguine parta capit: phaleris hic pectora fulget, hic torque aurato circumdat bellica colla, ille nitet celsus muralis honore coronae.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Tedaj se je zasluge poravnalo z darovi, poplačana pa je bila tudi hrabrost, izkazana z ranami. Na prsih enega so se bleščale falere, drugi vojak si je okrog vratu nadel zlat torkves, na tretjem se je s ponosom bleščal obzidni venec. Steiner 1906, 3; Maxfield 1981, 127.

43 Linderski 2007, 219, 221.

44 Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, Augustus 25.3.1–4: *Dona militaria aliquanto facilius phaleras et torques, quicquid auro argentoque constaret, quam vallares ac murales coronas, quae honore praecellerent, dabat ...*

Prevod (Ragolič): Nekoliko raje je za vojaška odlikovanja podeljeval falere in torkvese, izdelane iz zlata in srebra, kot pa vence v obliki okopov in pa obzidja, ki so izkazovali čast.

45 Tacitus, *Annales*, 2,9,11–12: *Flavus aucta stipendia, torquem et coronam aliaque militaria dona memorat, inridente Arminio vilia servitii pretia ...*

Prevod (Ragolič): Flavus opozori na zvišano vojaško plačo, torkves in venec ter na druga vojaška odlikovanja, Arminij pa se posmehuje malovrednim nagradam za suženjstvo.

46 Tacitus, *Annales* 3,21,8–10: *Quo proelio Rufus Helvius gregarius miles servati civis decus rettulit donatusque est ab Apronio torquibus et hasta.*

Prevod (Ragolič): In v tej bitki je navaden vojak Helvij Ruf rešil življenje državljanu, zato ga je Apronij odlikoval s torkvesi in kopjem. Maxfield 1981, 65, 84, 85, 117, 124.

47 Tacitus, *Historiae* 2,89,1–14: *Ante aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique et primi centurionum candida veste, ceteri iuxta suam quisque centuriam, armis donisque fulgentes; et militum phalerae torquesque splendebant.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Pred legijskimi orli (so stopali) prefekti tabora, tribuni in prvi centurioni, oblečeni v bela oblačila, nato preostali centurioni z zloščenim orožjem in odlikovanji, vsak ob svoji centuriji. Bleščali pa so se tudi falere in torkvesi vojakov.

48 *Bellum Iudaicum* 7.15: *καὶ κατ' ὄνομα καλῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιπέδα ὡς ἂν ὑπερενφραϊνόμενός τις ἐπ' οἰκειοῖς κατορθώμασι καὶ στεφάνους ἐπιτίθει χρυσούς, περιανχενία τε χρυσᾶ καὶ δόρατα μικρὰ χρυσᾶ καὶ σημαίας ἐδίδου πεπονημένας ἐξ ἀργύρου, καὶ τὴν ἐκάστου τάξιν ἠλλοττεν εἰς τὸ κρείττον, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λαφύρων ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἐσθῆτάς τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῖς λείας δαψιλῶς ἀπένειμε.*

Prevod (Ragolič): In ob tem (jim) je podaril zlate vence in zlate torkvese ter (jim) dal mala zlata kopja in bojna znamenja, izdelana iz srebra, vsakega pa je povzdignil v višji čin; od plena jim je nato enakomerno dodelil srebra in zlata ter oblačil in drugega plena v izobilju. Maxfield 1981, 88, 238; Linderski 2007, 222.

49 Seneca, *De beneficiis* 1,5,6,1–5: *Imperator aliquem torquibus, murali et civica donat. Quid habet per se corona pretiosum? Quid praetexta? Quid fasces? Quid tribunal et currus? Nihil horum honor est, sed honoris insigne.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Poveljnik nekoga odlikuje s torkvesi, obzidnim in državljanskim vencem. Kaj je samega po sebi vrednega na vencu? Kaj na togi, obrobljeni s škrlatom? Kaj na fascih? Kaj na sodnem stolu in zmagoslavnem vozu? Nič od tega ni čast, ampak je znamenje časti.

50 Iuvenalis, *Saturae* 16,58–60: *Ipsius certe ducis hoc referre videtur ut, qui fortis erit, sit felicissimus idem, ut laeti phaleris omnes et torquibus, omnes.*

Prevod (Ragolič): Nedvomno je za samega poveljnika pomembno, da je tisti, ki je pogumen, tudi najuspešnejši; da se vsi razveselijo faler in torkvesov.

51 Conte 2010, 694–696. Prim. Linderski 2007, 228.

Torques are mentioned in several places of *Historia Augusta*, a Late Roman collection of biographies. This source, however, is unreliable; what is questionable is not only the authorship of the work, which is attributed to six anonymous authors but also the time of its creation and the numerous contradictions in individual biographies.⁵¹

The last to mention *torques* as *dona militaria* is Vegetius, who was writing towards the end of the 4th or in the first half of the 5th century. In the military manual that used numerous earlier sources, he describes the Roman army from the Early Principate to his era.⁵² He states that a gold *torques* was a reward for valour.⁵³ It seems that this mention is related to *principales* (lower officers) and to a time after the change in the system of military decorations that took place in the early 3rd century.⁵⁴

⁵² Conte 2010, 678.

⁵³ Vegetius, *De Re militari* 2,7: *Torquati duplares, torquati simplares; torques aureus solidus virtutis praemium fuit, quem qui meruisset praeter laudem interdum duplas consequabatur annonas. Duplares, sesquiplares: duplares duas, sesquiplares unam semis consequabantur annonam.*

Translation (Milner 1996, 39): Wearers of the *torques* on double, and on single pay: the *torques* of solid gold was a prize of valour, winners of which sometimes gained double pay, in addition to praise. *Duplares, sesquiplares*: *duplares* got double pay, *sesquiplares* got pay-and-a-half. Translation according to Speidel (1996, 236, 237): Bravery was rewarded by a solid gold torc, and those who had earned it sometimes got double rations besides the honor.

⁵⁴ Speidel 1996, 236.

⁵¹ Conte 2010, 694–696. Cf. Linderski 2007, 228.

Zadnji, ki omenja torkvese kot *dona militaria*, je Vegetij, ki je pisal ob koncu 4. ali v prvi polovici 5. st. V vojaškem priročniku, za katerega je uporabil številne starejše vire, je opisal rimsko vojsko od zgodnjega cesarstva do svoje dobe.⁵² Kot pravi, je bil zlat torkves nagrada za pogum.⁵³ Zdi se, da je ta omemba povezana z nižjimi oficirji (*principales*) in s časom po spremembi sistema vojaških odlikovanj na začetku 3. st.⁵⁴

52 Conte 2010, 678.

53 Vegetius, *De Re militari* 2,7: *Torquati duplares, torquati simplares; torques aureus solidus virtutis praemium fuit, quem qui meruisset praeter laudem interdum duplas consequabatur annonas. Duplares, sesqui-plares: duplares duas, sesqui-plares unam semis consequabantur annonam.* Prevod (Ragolič): Vojaki, odlikovani s torkvesom z dvojno mero, vojaki, odlikovani s torkvesom z enojno mero: samo iz zlata [brez primesi] izdelan torkves je bil nagrada za hrabrost in tisti, ki so si ga prislužili, so poleg hvale včasih pridobili dvojno mero živeža. *Duplares, sesqui-plares*: prvi so prejeli dvojno, drugi pa poldrugo mero.

54 Speidel 1996, 236.

3

Torques in epigraphic sources

Compared with literary sources, ancient epigraphic evidence is a considerably wealthier source of information on military decoration *torques*, especially the monuments erected for individuals. They reveal the identity of the person decorated, the unit or units he served in, the occasion that led to the award and so forth.

Our analysis is based on a list of monuments bearing an inscription that mentions decoration with *torques* (*List 1*).⁵⁵ The list was compiled using the information published in Steiner 1906, Büttner 1957 and Maxfield 1981, as well as the *EDCS*, *EDH*, *EDR* and *lupa* online epigraphic databases. Although focusing on the *torques* awarded up to the early 3rd century, the list and discussion include the few potentially later monuments.

List 1 comprises 109 Roman monuments of either stone or bronze (and one fake inscription – *No. 110*). Group A consists of inscriptions mentioning units (n = 42) and Group B of those mentioning individuals decorated with *torques* (n = 67). The fragmentary inscriptions in which the mention of *torques* is uncertain⁵⁶ have not been considered in the analysis.

Most of the inscriptions carved in stone are honorific (n = 38; *Nos 3, 10, 11, 18, 23, 24, 30, 33, 35, 37–39, 41, 42, 53, 58, 59, 61–63, 66, 70–72, 78–81, 83, 86–88, 90, 91, 93, 95, 96, 104*). They are followed by funerary (n = 36; *Nos 12, 19, 29, 32, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 54–57, 60, 64, 65, 67–69, 74, 76, 82, 84, 85, 89, 92, 94, 97, 98, 101–103, 106, 108, 109*), votive (n = 8; *Nos 13, 14, 31, 49, 51, 75, 99, 100*) and building inscriptions (n = 5; *Nos 2, 36, 40, 46, 73*). Five inscriptions are uncertain as to their nature (*Nos 1, 9, 77, 105, 107*; *Fig. 3.1*).

The texts incised in bronze that appear in *List 1* are all public inscriptions. Group A comprises military diplomas (*Nos 4–8, 15–17, 20–22, 25–28, 34*). Group B contains only the inscription *No. 43*, which is similar to a military diploma in its content (granting citizenship and decorations to the enumerated soldiers) (*Fig. 3.1*).

3.1. Military units decorated with *torques* (*List 1: A*; *Fig. 3.2*)

Evidence shows that *torques* were awarded to auxiliary infantry units (*cohortes peditatae*: *Nos 4–8*), auxiliary cavalry units (*alae*: *Nos 11–42*) or auxiliary units of combined cavalry and infantry (*cohortes equitatae*: *Nos 1–3, 9, 10*; *Fig. 3.2*).

Upon receiving the award, a unit would be given the agnomen *torquata*, or *bis torquata* if decorated twice. The epigraphic record shows five such cohorts (*Nos 1–10*) and seven *alae* (*Nos 11–42*).

Cohors I Lepidiana equitata bis torquata civium Romanorum (*No. 1*) was thus decorated for the second time prior to AD 198 or 199; the exact date is unknown, as is the dating of its first award.⁵⁷

We do not know when *cohortes I Breucorum equitata civium Romanorum Valeria Victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata* (*Nos 2, 3*) was awarded its first decoration; it may have received the second decoration after a successful military campaign of Antoninus Pius.⁵⁸ We should also not exclude the possibility of it receiving both awards simultaneously.

Five inscriptions mention *cohortes I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum*

55 The inscriptions referring to *torques* as offerings to a divinity are not discussed (e.g. *EDCS-08400934*, *EDCS-38700302* and *EDCS-11500512*).

56 *AE 2005*, 1340; *EDCS-17900592*, *EDCS-47700099*, *EDCS-05800067*, *EDR100411* and *lupa 10360*.

57 Maxfield (1981, 221–222) believes it is more likely that the cohort received both decorations under Domitian or Trajan than under Septimius Severus; Spaul 2000, 155–156.

58 Spaul 2000, 317–319. Valerie Maxfield (1981, 226) inferred from the inscription under *No. 3* that the cohort was decorated with *torques* before Hadrian.

Torkves v epigrafskih virih

V primerjavi z antičnimi literarnimi viri posredujejo precej več informacij o vojaškem odlikovanju torkves epigrafski viri, zlasti spomeniki, postavljeni posameznikom. Izvemo, kdo je bil odlikovan, lahko pa tudi, v kakšni enoti oziroma enotah je služil, ob kateri priložnosti je prejel odlikovanje in drugo.

Pri analizi smo izhajali iz seznama spomenikov, ki v napisu omenjajo odlikovanost s torkvesom (*seznam 1*).⁵⁵ Sestavili smo ga iz podatkov, ki so objavljeni v Steiner 1906, Büttner 1957 in Maxfield 1981 ter v spletnih epigrafskih bazah *EDCS*, *EDH*, *EDR* in *lupa*. Čeprav smo se osredotočili na odlikovanje s torkvesi do začetka 3. st., smo v seznam in razpravo vključili maloštevilne spomenike, ki so morda mlajši.

V *seznamu 1* je 109 rimskih kamnitih ali bronastih spomenikov (in en ponaredek – št. 110). V skupini A so napisi z omembo enot, ki so bile odlikovane s torkvesom (n = 42), v skupini B pa napisi, ki omenjajo s torkvesi odlikovane posameznike (n = 67). Napisov, na katerih omemba torkvesov zaradi fragmentarnosti spomenika ni zanesljiva,⁵⁶ v analizi nismo upoštevali.

Med kamnitimi spomeniki, ki omenjajo odlikovanje s torkvesi, prevladujejo počastitveni napisi (n = 38; št. 3, 10, 11, 18, 23, 24, 30, 33, 35, 37–39, 41, 42, 53, 58, 59, 61–63, 66, 70–72, 78–81, 83, 86–88, 90, 91, 93, 95, 96, 104). Sledijo nagrobni (n = 36; št. 12, 19, 29, 32, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 52, 54–57, 60, 64, 65, 67–69, 74, 76, 82, 84, 85, 89, 92, 94, 97, 98, 101–103, 106, 108, 109), votivni (n = 8; št. 13, 14, 31, 49, 51, 75, 99, 100) in gradbeni napisi (n = 5; št. 2, 36, 40, 46, 73). Za pet napisov ni jasno, v katero skupino sodijo (št. 1, 9, 77, 105, 107; sl. 3.1).

V bron vrezani spomeniki v *seznamu 1* so brez izjeme uradni zapisi. V skupini A so to vojaške diplome (št. 4–8, 15–17, 20–22, 25–28, 34), v skupini B pa napis št. 43, ki je po vsebini (podelitev državljanstva in nagrad naštetim vojakom) precej podoben vojaškim diplomam (sl. 3.1).

3.1 S torkvesi odlikovane vojaške enote (*seznam 1: A; sl. 3.2*)

Vojaško odlikovanje torkves so prejele cele enote: pomožne enote pešakov (*cohortes peditatae*: št. 4–8), pomožne enote konjenice (*alae*: št. 11–42) ali mešane pomožne enote pešakov in konjenice (*cohortes equitatae*: št. 1–3, 9, 10; sl. 3.2).

Ob prejetju torkvesa so enote dobile agnomen *torquata* oziroma *bis torquata*, če so bile s torkvesom odlikovane dvakrat. Epigrafsko je izpričanih pet takih kohort (št. 1–10) in 7 al (št. 11–42).

Cohors I Lepidiana equitata bis torquata civium Romanorum (št. 1) je drugo odlikovanje s torkvesom prejela pred letom 198 oziroma 199; ne vemo, kdaj se je to zgodilo, niti, kdaj je prejela prvo odlikovanje.⁵⁷

Kdaj je bila *cohors I Breucorum equitata civium Romanorum Valeria Victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata* (št. 2, 3) prvič odlikovana, ne vemo; drugo odlikovanje je morda prejela po enem od uspešnih vojaških pohodov Antonina Pija. Ni izključeno, da je odlikovanji prejela sočasno.⁵⁸

55 Napisov z navedbo torkvesa, ki je bil votivni dar božanstvu (npr. *EDCS-08400934*, *EDCS-38700302* in *EDCS-11500512*), nismo obravnavali.

56 *AE* 2005, 1340; *EDCS-17900592*, *EDCS-47700099*, *EDCS-05800067*, *EDR100411* in *lupa* 10360.

57 Maxfieldovi (1981, 221, 222) se je zdelo verjetneje, da je bila kohorta obakrat odlikovana v času vladavine Domicijana ali Trajana kot pod Septimijem Severom; Spaul 2000, 155, 156.

58 Spaul 2000, 317–319. Valerie Maxfield (1981, 226) je iz napisa št. 3 sklepal, da je kohorta torkves prejela pred Hadrijanom.

(Nos 4–8), which most likely became *torquata* after Trajan's Second Dacian War.⁵⁹

The date at which *cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum* (No. 9) was decorated is difficult to determine, though it was certainly named *bis torquata* by AD 144.⁶⁰

Cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum equitata torquata (No. 10) was recorded as *torquata* in AD 129, suggesting it was awarded the decoration towards the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century.⁶¹

Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum (Nos 11–14) received its first *torques* probably in the 1st or the initial years of the 2nd century and became *bis torquata* in Trajan's Dacian Wars (Nos 12–14), or it could have been awarded both decorations simultaneously after Trajan's Dacian Wars.⁶²

Ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum Catafractaria (later *ala nova Firma ex Catafractaria*, No. 8) was decorated after Trajan's Parthian War.⁶³

Ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana Invicta (bis) torquata civium Romanorum (Nos 15–18) received its first decoration prior to AD 127, the second one later in the 2nd century.⁶⁴

The greatest number of inscriptions belongs to *ala Gallorum Tauriana civium Romanorum torquata Victrix* (Nos 19–28), a unit that likely received *torques* in the 1st century.⁶⁵

Ala Moesica felix pia fidelis torquata (Nos 29, 30) was probably honoured in the 1st century.⁶⁶

Towards the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century, *ala Petriana miliarum civium Romanorum* (Nos 31, 32) was first decorated with *torques*, and again in the first half of the 2nd century (No. 33).⁶⁷

Ala Siliana (bis torquata bis armillata) civium Romanorum (Nos 34–42) received the agnomen *torquata*

towards the end of the 1st century and *bis torquata* probably under Trajan or Hadrian (Nos 41, 42).⁶⁸

To conclude, the number of units known to have received the agnomen *torquata* or *bis torquata* has not changed since the analysis by Valerie Maxfield.⁶⁹ However, it was not known at the time that *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum Catafractaria* (No. 8) was among the decorated alae, whereas *cohors I Hispanorum* turned out not to have received the agnomen *torquata*.⁷⁰ Having said that, the main observations of Valerie Maxfield remain valid. Decorating units with *torques* began under the Flavians and was particularly common under Trajan and Hadrian, when units were either decorated for the first (Nos 4–8, 10, 11, 15–17, 19–32, 34–40)⁷¹ or many for the second time (Nos 1–3, 9, 12–14, 18, 33, 41, 42).⁷²

Five (of the five) cohorts and five (of the seven) alae decorated with *torques* have the agnomen *civium Romanorum* in the inscription. This agnomen is absent for the *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum Catafractaria* (No. 8) and *ala Moesica felix pia fidelis torquata* (Nos 29, 30).

The title *civium Romanorum* was given to the units that distinguished themselves in a military encounter; all or select⁷³ soldiers then forming the unit were granted Roman citizenship that they would otherwise have received after the required 25 years of military service. The soldiers who entered the unit later received the citizenship only after their obligatory service despite the fact that the unit retained the title *civium Romanorum*. The earliest examples of granting Roman citizenship to a whole unit date to 89/88 BC (*List 1: No. 43*) and 88 BC (*CIL XVI 35*), respectively.⁷⁴

Did a unit receive both titles at the same time or in succession?

The inscriptions associated with seven units (*cohors I Lepidiana equitata bis torquata civium Romanorum*, *cohors I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum*, *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum*, *ala Gallorum Tauriana civium Romanorum torquata Victrix*, *ala Petriana miliarum civium Romanorum*, *ala Siliana (bis torquata bis armillata) civium Romanorum* and *cohors III Thracum*

59 Maxfield 1981, 219; Spaul 2000, 195–197.

60 Maxfield 1981, 226; Spaul 2000, 375.

61 Maxfield 1981, 223; Spaul 2000, 287.

62 Maxfield 1981, 172, 223; Maxfield 1983, 148–150; Strobel 1988; Spaul 1994, 68–71.

63 Spaul 1994, 82–84; Ciongradi, Bota, Voişian 2009.

64 Spaul 1994, 87–88. Maxfield (1981, 226) believes that both decorations 'should belong to British wars, perhaps to the Agricola campaigns or to the later, Trajanic or Hadrianic period.'

65 Spaul 1994, 217–220. The unit may already have been decorated under the Flavians (Maxfield 1981, 222).

66 Spaul 1994, 163–164. The unit may already have been decorated under the Flavians (Maxfield 1981, 222).

67 Maxfield 1981, 224; Piccottini 1987–1988, 190; Spaul 1994, 180–182.

68 Maxfield 1981, 223–224; Spaul 1994, 200–203.

69 Maxfield 1981, 220–226.

70 Maxfield (1981, 224) believes that the unit was most likely named *torquata* during Trajan's Dacian Wars (cf. Spaul 2000, 109–111).

71 Thus in Maxfield 1981, 221.

72 Thus in Radnóti (1961, 461) in spite of him only analysing three alae (*Petriana*, *Britannica* and *Siliana*) epigraphically attested as *bis torquata*.

73 Maxfield 1981, 227.

74 Maxfield, 1981, 231.

Pet napisov omenja *cohors I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum* (št. 4–8), ki je postala *torquata* najverjetneje po Trajanovi drugi dačanski vojni.⁵⁹

Kdaj je bila s torkvesom odlikovana *cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum* (št. 9), je težko reči, vsekakor je leta 144 že poimenovana *bis torquata*.⁶⁰

Cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum equitata torquata (št. 10) je odlikovanje prejela konec 1. ali v začetku 2. st., saj je leta 129 izpričana kot *torquata*.⁶¹

Ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum (št. 11–14) je prvo odlikovanje prejela verjetno v 1. st. ali prvih letih 2. st. in je *bis torquata* postala v Trajanovih dačanskih vojnah (št. 12–14) ali pa je obe odlikovanji prejela sočasno po Trajanovih dačanskih vojnah.⁶²

Ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum Catafractaria (pozneje *ala nova Firma ex Catafractaria*, št. 8) je odlikovanje s torkvesom prejela po Trajanovi partski vojni.⁶³

Ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana Invicta (bis) torquata civium Romanorum (št. 15–18) je prvo odlikovanje prejela pred letom 127, drugo odlikovanje pa pozneje v 2. st.⁶⁴

Največ napisov pripada enoti, imenovani *ala Gallorum Tauriana civium Romanorum torquata Victrix* (št. 19–28). Torkves je prejela verjetno v 1. st.⁶⁵

Ala Moesica felix pia fidelis torquata (št. 29, 30) je bila odlikovana s torkvesom verjetno v 1. st.⁶⁶

Konec 1. ali v začetku 2. st. je svoje prvo vojaško odlikovanje s torkvesom prejela *ala Petriana miliarum civium Romanorum* (št. 31, 32), drugo pa v prvi polovici 2. st. (št. 33).⁶⁷

Ala Siliana (bis torquata bis armillata) civium Romanorum (št. 34–42) je dobila agnomen *torquata* konec 1. st. in *bis torquata* verjetno v času Trajana ali Hadrijana (št. 41, 42).⁶⁸

Število enot, ki so zanesljivo prejele agnomen *torquata* ali *bis torquata*, se od analize Valerie Maxfield⁶⁹ ni spremenilo. Takrat sicer še ni bilo znano, da k odlikovanim alam sodi *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum Catafractaria* (št. 8), vendar pa se je za *cohors I Hispanorum* izkazalo, da ni prejela agnomna *torquata*.⁷⁰ Kljub temu glavne ugotovitve Valerie Maxfield o odlikovanju enot s torkvesi še vedno držijo. Nagrajevanje enot s torkvesi se je začelo pod Flavijci in je bilo močno pod Trajanom in Hadrijanom, ko so bile enote prvič (št. 4–8, 10, 11, 15–17, 19–32, 34–40)⁷¹ ali številne že drugič odlikovane s torkvesi (št. 1–3, 9, 12–14, 18, 33, 41, 42).⁷²

Pet (od petih) kohort in pet (od sedmih) al, ki so bile odlikovane s torkvesi, ima v napisu pridevek (agnomen) *civium Romanorum*. Tega naziva pa nimata *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum Catafractaria* (št. 8) in *ala Moesica felix pia fidelis torquata* (št. 29, 30).

Naziv *civium Romanorum* so prejele enote, ki so se v nekem spopadu posebno izkazale; vse ali izbrane⁷³ vojake, ki so bili takrat v enoti, so nagradili z rimskim državljanstvom, ki bi ga sicer prejeli po končanem obveznem 25-letnem vojaškem služenju. Vojaki, ki so v enoto vstopili pozneje, so državljanstvo prejeli šele po odsluženem vojaškem roku, kljub temu, da je enota naziv *civium Romanorum* obdržala. Najzgodnejša primera podelitve državljanstva celotni enoti sta iz leta 89/88 (*seznam 1: št. 43*) oziroma 88 pr. Kr. (*CIL XVI 35*).⁷⁴

So enote prejele oba naziva hkrati ali zaporedno?

S sedmimi enotami povezani napisi kažejo, da sta se pri njih naziva *civium Romanorum* in (*bis*) *torquata* pojavila približno sočasno⁷⁵ (*cohors I Lepidiana equitata bis torquata civium Romanorum*, *cohors I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum*, *ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum*, *ala Gallorum Tauriana civium Romanorum torquata Victrix*, *ala Petriana miliarum civium Romanorum*, *ala Siliana (bis torquata bis armillata) civium Romanorum* in *cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum* (?)), s tremi enotami (*cohors I Breucorum*

59 Maxfield 1981, 219; Spaul 2000, 195–197.

60 Maxfield 1981, 226; Spaul 2000, 375.

61 Maxfield 1981, 223; Spaul 2000, 287.

62 Maxfield 1981, 172, 223; Maxfield 1983, 148–150; Strobel 1988; Spaul 1994, 68–71.

63 Spaul 1994, 82–84; Ciongradi, Bota, Voisian 2009.

64 Spaul 1994, 87, 88. Valerie Maxfield (1981, 226) obe odlikovanji povezuje z osvajanjem Britanije pod Agrikolo oz. nekaj let pozneje pod Trajanom ali Hadrijanom.

65 Spaul 1994, 217–220. Odlikovanje je enota morda prejela že pod Flavijci (Maxfield 1981, 222).

66 Spaul 1994, 163, 164. Odlikovanje je enota morda prejela že pod Flavijci (Maxfield 1981, 222).

67 Maxfield 1981, 224; Piccottini 1987–1988, 190; Spaul 1994, 180–182.

68 Maxfield 1981, 223, 224; Spaul 1994, 200–203.

69 Maxfield 1981, 220–226.

70 Maxfieldova (1981, 224) je menila, da je enota naziv *torquata* morda prejela med Trajanovimi dačanskimi vojnami (cf. Spaul 2000, 109–111).

71 Tako že Maxfield 1981, 221.

72 Tako že Radnóti (1961, 461), čeprav je analiziral le tri ale (*Petriana*, *Britannica* in *Siliana*), ki so bile dotlej epigrafsko izpričane kot *bis torquata*.

73 Maxfield 1981, 227.

74 Maxfield 1981, 231.

75 Analiza zaporedja obeh nazivov temelji na epigrafskih virih, zbranih v Spaul 1994 in 2000, dopolnjenih s podatki v bazi *EDCS*.

civium Romanorum (?)) show that the titles *civium Romanorum* or (*bis*) *torquata*⁷⁵ were awarded to them roughly simultaneously, whereas for three units (*cohors I Breucorum equitata civium Romanorum Valeria Victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata*, *cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum equitata torquata* and *ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana Invicta (bis) torquata civium Romanorum*) the early inscriptions only mention the title *civium Romanorum* and the later inscriptions both *c.R.* and *torquata* (Table 1).

The available data thus indicate that seven units may have received both titles simultaneously, while three units first became *civium Romanorum* and *torquata* subsequently; two *alae* are recorded as *torquata*, but not *civium Romanorum*.

unit	first recorded as <i>torquata/bis torquata</i>	first recorded as <i>civium Romanorum</i>
<i>cohors I Lepidiana equitata bis torquata civium Romanorum</i> (No. 1) ⁷⁶	late 1 st or 2 nd c.? (<i>torquata</i>) 198/199 (<i>bis torquata</i>)	AD 97 ⁷⁷
<i>cohors I Breucorum equitata civium Romanorum Valeria Victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata</i> (Nos 2, 3) ⁷⁸	Hadrianic/period of Antoninus Pius? (<i>torquata</i>) period of Antoninus Pius (<i>bis torquata</i>)	AD 105 ⁷⁹
<i>cohors I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum</i> (Nos 4–8) ⁸⁰	AD 106 (CIL XVI 160; <i>torquata</i>)	AD 106 ⁸¹
<i>cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum</i> (No. 9) ⁸²	? (<i>torquata</i>) AD 144 (<i>bis torquata</i>)	AD 107 ⁸³
<i>cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum equitata torquata</i> (No. 10) ⁸⁴	AD 129 (<i>torquata</i>)	between AD 103 and 107 ⁸⁵
<i>ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica milliaria civium Romanorum</i> (Nos 11–14) ⁸⁶	1 st /early 2 nd c. (<i>torquata</i>) Trajan's Dacian Wars (<i>bis torquata</i>)	between AD 71 and 100 ⁸⁷ or 102 ⁸⁸
<i>ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana Invicta (bis) torquata civium Romanorum</i> (Nos 15–18) ⁸⁹	AD 127 (<i>torquata</i>)	AD 105 ⁹⁰
<i>ala Gallorum Tauriana civium Romanorum torquata Victrix</i> (Nos 19–28) ⁹¹	1 st c. (<i>torquata</i>)	between AD 51 and 80 ⁹²
<i>ala Petriana miliarum civium Romanorum</i> (Nos 31–33) ⁹³	late 1 st /early 2 nd c. (<i>torquata</i>) first half of the 2 nd c. (<i>bis torquata</i>)	AD 98 ⁹⁴
<i>ala Siliana (bis torquata bis armillata) civium Romanorum</i> (Nos 34–42) ⁹⁵	late 1 st c. (<i>torquata</i>) Trajanic/Hadrianic (<i>bis torquata</i>)	AD 98 ⁹⁶

Table 1

Year of the first mention of titles *torquata/bis torquata* and *civium Romanorum* for the units discussed in the text.

75 The analysis of the succession of both titles is based on the epigraphic sources collected in Spaul 1994 and 2000, supplemented with the data in the EDCS database.

76 Spaul 2000, 155–156.

77 Inscriptions AE 2002, 1775; EDCS-34801151.

78 Spaul 2000, 317–319.

79 CIL V 875.

80 Spaul 2000, 195–197.

81 CIL XVI 160.

82 Spaul 2000, 375.

83 CIL XVI 55.

84 Spaul 2000, 287.

85 CIL XVI 54.

86 Spaul 1994, 68–71.

87 CIL III 15197.

88 CIL XVI 47.

89 Spaul 1994, 87, 88.

90 CIL XVI 51.

91 Spaul 1994, 217–220.

92 CIL II 2984.

93 Spaul 1994, 180–182.

94 CIL XVI 43.

95 Spaul 1994, 200–203.

96 CIL XVI 42.

3.2. Individuals decorated with torques (List 1: B; Figs 3.1, 3.3–3.6)

The 67 monuments with inscriptions mentioning decorated soldiers are of stone except one, which is a bronze plaque. Most are honorific or funerary inscriptions (Fig. 3.1);⁹⁷ this is understandable, as such monuments focus on individuals and these relatively frequently had military careers.

97 As Maxfield (1981, 48) already observed.

equitata civium Romanorum Valeria Victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata, cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum equitata torquata in ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana Invicta (bis) torquata civium Romanorum) pa so povezani napisi, pri katerih starejši primerki vsebujejo le pridevek *civium Romanorum*, mlajši pa tako *civium Romanorum* kot tudi *torquata* (pregl. 1).

Razpoložljivi podatki torej nakazujejo, da je sedem enot morda prejelo oba naziva hkrati, tri enote pa so najprej prejele pridevek *civium Romanorum*, nato pa še *torquata*; dve ali sta izpričani kot *torquata*, ne pa kot *civium Romanorum*.

Preglednica 1

Letnica prve omenbe pridevkov *torquata/bis torquata* in *civium Romanorum* pri enotah, omenjenih v besedilu.

enota	prvič izpričan pridevek <i>torquata/bis torquata</i>	prvič izpričan pridevek <i>civium Romanorum</i>
<i>cohors I Lepidiana equitata bis torquata civium Romanorum</i> (št. 1) ⁷⁶	konec 1. ali 2. st.? (<i>torquata</i>) 198/199 (<i>bis torquata</i>)	leto 97 ⁷⁷
<i>cohors I Breucorum equitata civium Romanorum Valeria Victrix bis torquata ob virtutem appellata</i> (št. 2, 3) ⁷⁸	Hadrijan/Antonin Pij? (<i>torquata</i>) Antonin Pij (<i>bis torquata</i>)	leto 105 ⁷⁹
<i>cohors I Brittonum miliaria Ulpia torquata pia fidelis civium Romanorum</i> (št. 4–8) ⁸⁰	leto 106 (CIL XVI 160; <i>torquata</i>)	leto 106 ⁸¹
<i>cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum</i> (št. 9) ⁸²	? (<i>torquata</i>) leto 144 (<i>bis torquata</i>)	leto 107 ⁸³
<i>cohors VIII Raetorum civium Romanorum equitata torquata</i> (št. 10) ⁸⁴	leto 129 (<i>torquata</i>)	med letoma 103 in 107 ⁸⁵
<i>ala I Flavia Augusta Britannica miliaria civium Romanorum</i> (št. 11–14) ⁸⁶	1./zač. 2. st. (<i>torquata</i>) dačanski vojni Trajana (<i>bis torquata</i>)	med letoma 71 in 100 ⁸⁷ oz. 102 ⁸⁸
<i>ala Gallorum et Thracum Classiana Invicta (bis) torquata civium Romanorum</i> (št. 15–18) ⁸⁹	leto 127 (<i>torquata</i>)	leto 105 ⁹⁰
<i>ala Gallorum Tauriana civium Romanorum torquata Victrix</i> (št. 19–28) ⁹¹	1. st. (<i>torquata</i>)	Med letoma 51 in 80 ⁹²
<i>ala Petriana miliarum civium Romanorum</i> (št. 31–33) ⁹³	konec 1./zač. 2. st. (<i>torquata</i>) 1. pol. 2. st. (<i>bis torquata</i>)	leto 98 ⁹⁴
<i>ala Siliana (bis torquata bis armillata) civium Romanorum</i> (št. 34–42) ⁹⁵	konec 1. st. (<i>torquata</i>) Trajan/Hadrijan (<i>bis torquata</i>)	98 ⁹⁶

76 Spaul 2000, 155, 156.

77 Napisa AE 2002, 1775; EDCS-34801151.

78 Spaul 2000, 317–319.

79 CIL V 875.

80 Spaul 2000, 195–197.

81 CIL XVI 160.

82 Spaul 2000, 375.

83 CIL XVI 55.

84 Spaul 2000, 287.

85 CIL XVI 54.

86 Spaul 1994, 68–71.

87 CIL III 15197.

88 CIL XVI 47.

89 Spaul 1994, 87, 88.

90 CIL XVI 51.

91 Spaul 1994, 217–220.

92 CIL II 2984.

93 Spaul 1994, 180–182.

94 CIL XVI 43.

95 Spaul 1994, 200–203.

96 CIL XVI 42.

3.2 S torkvesi odlikovani posamezniki (seznam 1: B; sl. 3.1, 3.3–3.6)

Med 67 spomeniki z napisi, ki omenjajo s torkvesi odlikovane vojake, je eden na bronasti plošči, drugi pa na kamnitih spomenikih. Prevladujejo počastitveni in nagrobni napisi (sl. 3.1).⁹⁷ To je razumljivo, saj so pri teh vrstah spomenikov v ospredju vedno posamezniki, ti pa so razmeroma pogosto imeli vojaško kariero.

97 Tako ugotavlja že Valerie Maxfield 1981, 48.

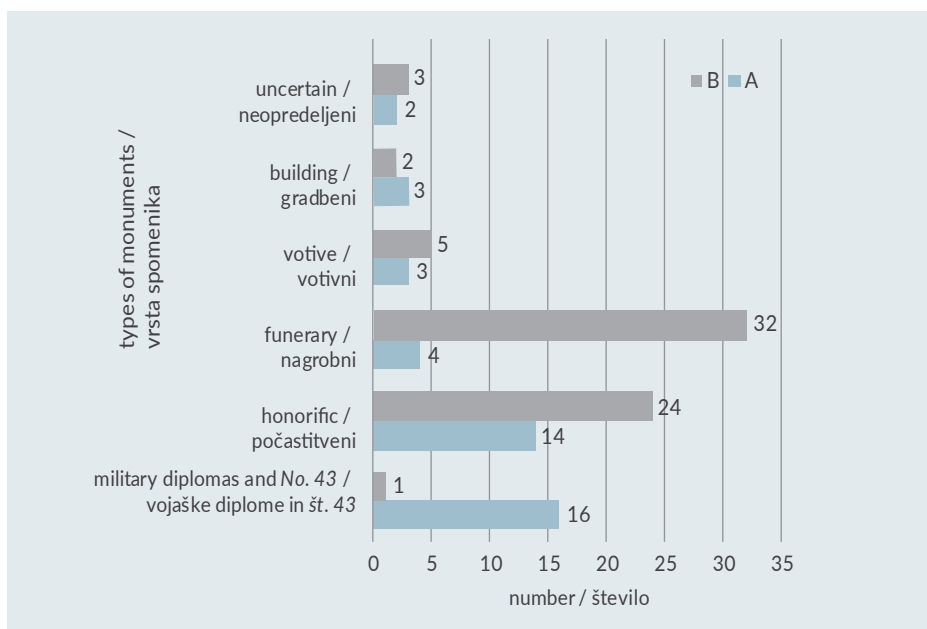


Figure 3.1
Incidence of the different types of monuments with inscriptions relating to military units (A) or individuals (B) decorated with *torques*. The official monuments are bronze, others stone. Source: List 1.

Slika 3.1
Številčna zastopanost različnih vrst spomenikov z napisi, ki izražajo odlikovanost vojaških enot (A) ali posameznikov (B) s torkvesi. Uradni spomeniki so iz bronca, vsi drugi so iz kamna. Vir: seznam 1.

3.2.1 Dating (Fig. 3.3)

The earliest epigraphic record of *torques* as the military decoration for an individual (rather than a unit) comes from a bronze plaque dated to 89/88 BC (No. 43). It bears the names of the cavalymen of the Hispanic allies, of *turma Sallvitana*, whose bravery won them Roman citizenship, double rations, *torques* and other *dona militaria* (*corniculum*, *patella*, *armilla*, *phalerae*).⁹⁸

The earliest funerary monuments date to the final decades of the Republic and come from Italy (Nos 44, 45).⁹⁹ One of these was erected for Gaius Canuleius, who presumably fell during Caesar's Gallic Wars (58–50 BC). A fragment of a building inscription from Aquileia (No. 46) dates to the final decades BC or initial decades AD; the name of the decorated individual has not survived.

Eleven inscriptions are from the first half of the 1st century AD (Nos 47–57). The tombstone for Titus Aponius, veteran of *legio IX Hispana* (No. 48), dates to the early 1st century. Seven monuments are from the Tiberian period (Nos 47, 49–54).

Most monuments from the first half of the 1st century relate the decorations that Tiberius awarded for the

heroic acts during his reign and earlier, under Augustus (Nos 47, 49–53); these include two associated with the Pannonian-Dalmatian War in AD 6–9 (Nos 47, 51), three that are presumably related to this war (Nos 50, 53, 54) and one that mentions a decoration earned during the Gallic revolt in AD 21 (No. 49).¹⁰⁰

Two monuments date to the Neronian period; they relate a decoration earned during Claudius' *bellum Britannicum* in AD 43 (Nos 58 – *first decoration*, 59) and one during Nero's action against the Astures (No. 58 – *second decoration: ob res prosper(e) / gest(as) contra Astures*).

One inscription is from the reign of Vespasian (No. 60), four of Domitian (Nos 63–65, 78), one of Nerva (No. 66), two are dated from Vespasian to the late 1st century (Nos 61, 62) and six from Domitian to Trajan (Nos 67, 69, 70, 72, 75, 92). Of the *torques* mentioned in these inscriptions, four were awarded by Vespasian: two in *bellum Commagenicum* of AD 72 (Nos 63, 70 – *first decoration*) and three after the Jewish War (Nos 61, 62, 78). Domitian awarded the decorations for the exploits in the Germanic (Nos 64, 70 – *second decoration*) and Dacian Wars (No. 65).

Nine monuments are from the Trajanic (Nos 68, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79–81), four from the Hadrianic (Nos 83, 84, 86, 87), one from the Trajanic or Hadrianic period (No. 88), three from the reign of Antoninus Pius (Nos 93, 95, 96) one from that of either Antoninus Pius or Marcus Aurelius (No. 94). A further five monuments date to the 2nd century (Nos 82, 85, 90, 91, 99). The inscriptions on 11 monuments report of

⁹⁸ Maxfield 1981, 64, 87; Speidel 2014, 336.

⁹⁹ Indicating a dating to the end of the Republican period is the absence of the cognomen in the name of the deceased. The cognomen was initially the privilege of the male members of patrician families and only began to be used by other male Roman citizens (*plebs ingenua*) after 125 BC. In the Augustan era, the use of *tria nomina* was so common for male citizens that we have practically no examples without the cognomen. The very rare later examples devoid of the cognomen are limited to the first half of the 1st century (Thylander 1952, 101, 103; Kajanto 1965, 19; Salomies 1987, 277; Solin 2017, 247).

¹⁰⁰ On the history of *legio XX Valeria Victrix*, see Ritterling 1925, 1769–1781.

Figure 3.2

A number of monuments with inscriptions mentioning military units decorated with *torques* according to the type of unit. Source: List 1: Nos 1–42.

Slika 3.2

Število spomenikov z napisom, ki omenja s torkvesi oziroma torkvesom odlikovane enote, glede na vrsto enote. Vir: seznam 1: št. 1–42.

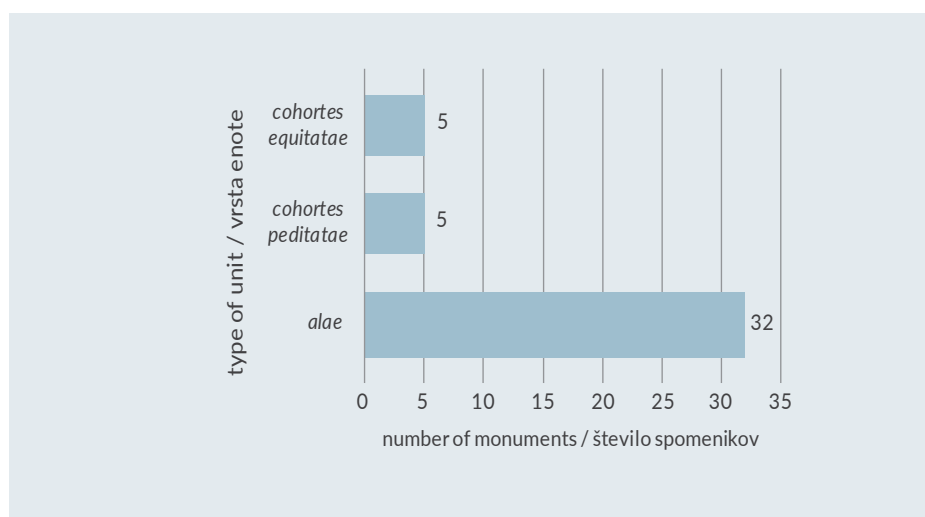
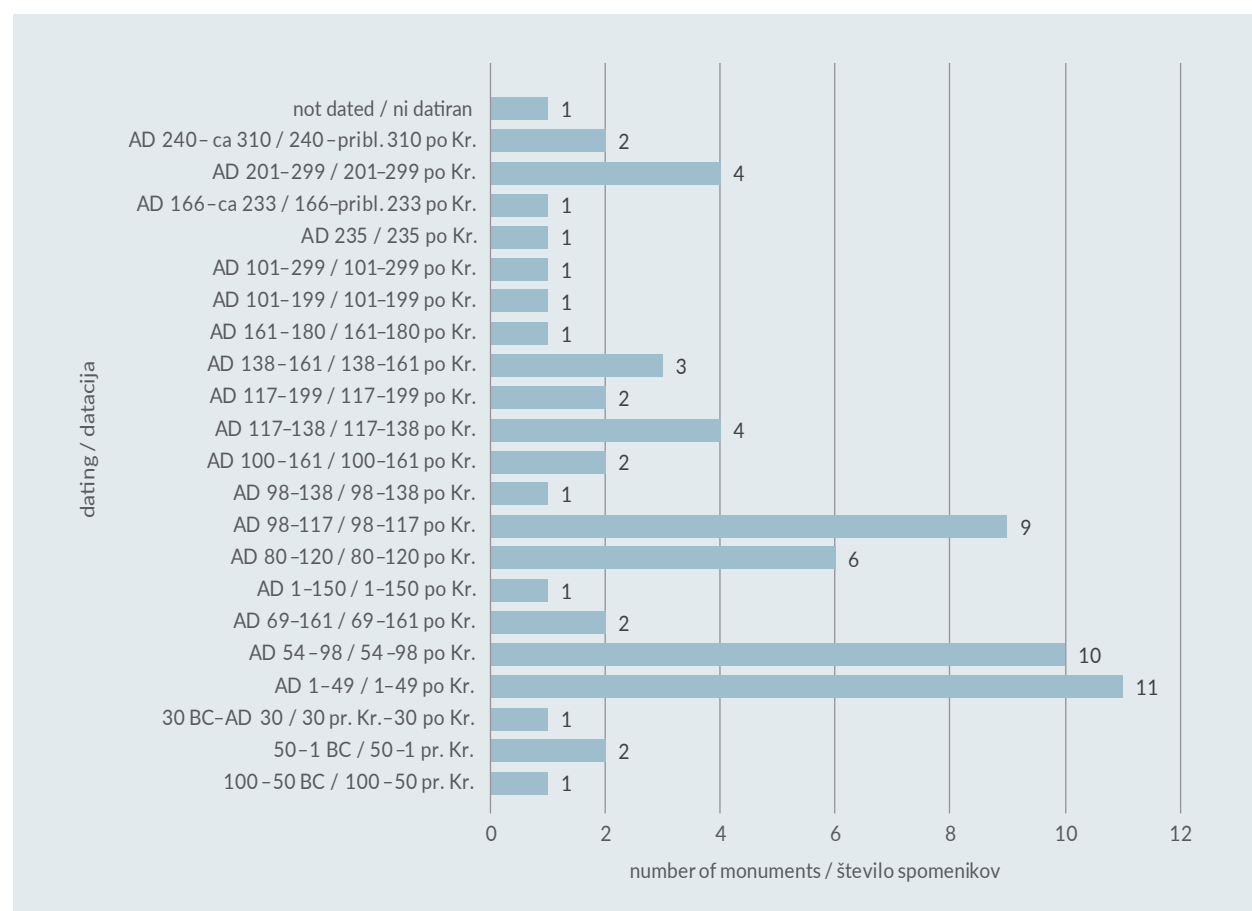


Figure 3.3

Dating of the monuments with inscriptions that mention individuals decorated with *torques*. Source: List 1: Nos 43–109.

Slika 3.3

Datacija spomenikov z napisom, ki izraža odlikovanost posameznikov s torkvesi. Vir: seznam 1: št. 43–109.



3.2.1 Časovna razporeditev (sl. 3.3)

Najzgodnejša epigrafska omemba torkvesa kot odlikovanja oseb (ne enot) je na bronasti plošči iz leta 89/88 pr. Kr. (št. 43). Na njej so poimensko navedeni vojaki konjenice hispanskih zaveznikov, turme Salvitane (*turma Sallvitana*); za izkazani pogum so prejeli rimsko državljanstvo, dvojni obrok hrane ter torkves in druga odlikovanja (*corniculum*, *patella*, *armilla*, *phalerae*).⁹⁸

Najstarejša nagrobna spomenika sta iz zadnjih desetletij republikanske dobe in izvirata iz Italije (št. 44, 45).⁹⁹ Za Gaja Kanuleja domnevamo, da je padel med Cezarjevimi galskimi vojniki (58–50 pr. Kr.). Odlomek gradbenega napisa iz Akvileje (št. 46) je iz zadnjih desetletij pr. Kr. ali prvih desetletij po Kr.; ime odlikovanca ni ohranjeno.

⁹⁸ Za datacijo v konec republikanske dobe govori odsotnost kognomna v navedbi imen pokojnikov. Sprva je bil kognomen namreč privilegij moških iz patricijskih družin, po 125 pr. Kr. pa so ga začeli uporabljati tudi drugi moški rimski državljani (*plebs ingenua*). V avgustejski dobi je bila uporaba *tria nomina* za poimenovanje moških državljanov že tako uveljavljena, da skoraj ni več primera poimenovanja brez kognomna. Izredno redki mlajši primeri opustitve kognomna so časovno omejeni na prvo polovico 1. st. (Thylander 1952, 101, 103; Kajanto 1965, 19; Salomies 1987, 277; Solin 2017, 247).

⁹⁸ Maxfield 1981, 64, 87; Speidel 2014, 336.

soldiers receiving decorations after Trajan's Dacian Wars (Nos 68 – twice, 71 – twice, 73, 74, 77, 81, 82, 85, 87, 88 – second decoration, 93). Lucius Aemilius Paternus' third decoration with *torques* is related to Trajan's Parthian War (No. 71). Five other decorations are associated with this conflict (Nos 83, 84, 86, 90, 91 – second decoration). Trajan's Germanic War brought decorations to three soldiers (Nos 79, 80, 91 – first decoration), Hadrian's Jewish War to two (Nos 95, 96).

Four monuments have a broader dating: from Vespasian to either the first half of the 2nd century (No. 89) or to the time of Antoninus Pius (No. 97), one to the 1st or first half of the 2nd century (No. 108) and one possibly to the 2nd or 3rd century (No. 107).

Gaius Titurnius Quartio, who had an aedicula constructed in the first third of the 3rd century at the latest, was awarded a *torques* and two *armillae* in either AD 165 or 197 (No. 100).

Seven monuments date to the 3rd century (Nos 98, 101–106). Marcus Petronius Fortunatus, for whom a tombstone was erected around 235, received *torques* and *phalerae* in the Parthian War between 195 and 197 (No. 98). Gaius Didius Saturninus was awarded a pair of *torques* and *armillae* by Marcus Aurelius (No. 104). During their joint reign (between 198 and 211), Septimius Severus and Caracalla decorated a soldier, whose name has not survived, with one *torques* (No. 105); this inscription makes no mention of *armillae* and *phalerae*, but rather other decorations (*corona aurea*, *hasta*, *clipeus*¹⁰¹), which suggests that we are dealing with one of the latest examples of decorations awarded according to the system in operation in the 1st and 2nd centuries. Three inscriptions describe the decorated soldier with the adjective *torquatus* (Nos 101–103), reflecting the changes of the system of military decorations that occurred after the early 3rd century.¹⁰² The same holds true of the funerary inscription No. 106.

3.2.2 Decorated soldiers (Fig. 3.4)

All the recipients of *torques* were both soldiers and Roman citizens; one was granted the decoration together with the citizenship (No. 43).¹⁰³

Fifty-six inscriptions provide evidence on the type of soldier (infantry or cavalry, legionary or member of an auxiliary unit) and his position in the military

101 Cf. Maxfield 1981, 80–81, 84–86, 97.

102 Maxfield 1981, 248–254; Speidel 1996, 235.

103 Cf. Maxfield 1983 with enumerated problematic examples of decorating non-citizens.

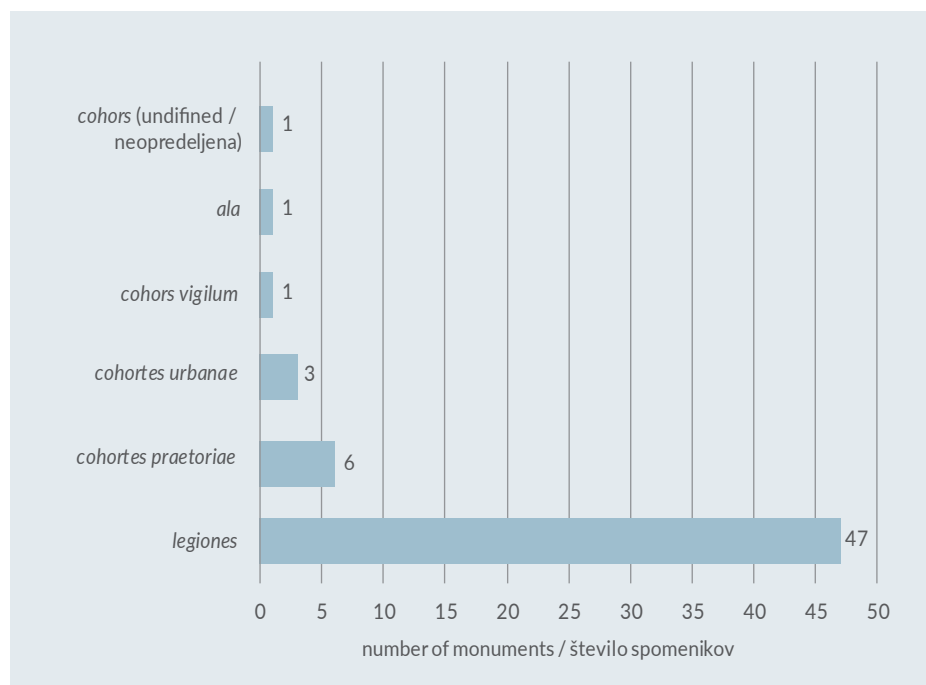


Figure 3.4

Incidence of soldiers serving in legions or other units of the Imperial period who were awarded *torques*. Source: List 1: Nos 44–109, except inscriptions Nos 46, 50, 51, 64, 70, 83, 105 and 108 (fragments not revealing the unit of the decorated individual). The inscription No. 58 is considered twice – the soldier was a praetorian when decorated first and a legionary (*primus pilus*) when decorated for the second time. Inscription No. 102 does not specify the deceased as a legionary, but we treated it as such by comparison with inscriptions Nos 101 and 103.

Slika 3.4

Številčna zastopanost s torkvesi odlikovanih vojakov v legijah in drugih enotah v cesarski dobi. Vir: seznam 1: št. 44–109, razen napisov št. 46, 50, 51, 64, 70, 83, 105 in 108 (odlomki brez podatka o tem, kakšni enoti je odlikovanec pripadal). Napis št. 58 je upoštevan dvakrat – ob prvem odlikovanju je bil vojak pretorijanec, ob drugem pa legionar (*primus pilus*). Na napisu št. 102 pokojnik ni eksplicitno omenjen kot legionar, vendar smo ga, po analogiji *militis torquati* z napisov št. 101 in 103, prišteli k legionarjem.

hierarchy.¹⁰⁴ Some inscriptions only relate the most important functions of the individuals, others describe their military career from the lowest to the highest function, or vice versa. To these we can add the inscription on the monument No. 52, the depiction of a *signum* on which reveals the deceased as a *signifer* even though the function is not mentioned in the inscription (List 2: No. 22; Fig. 4.22).

Regardless of whether the inscriptions state a single, (usually) highest function (for example Nos 57, 60, 67, 69, 74, 88, 89) or the career as a whole (for example Nos 58, 59, 62, 66, 71, 75, 76, 87), it is frequently not possible to infer the function at which the individual was decorated.¹⁰⁵

a) Soldiers in legions

List 1 comprises 47 inscriptions that mention legionaries decorated with *torques*.

Most of them were thus honoured on a single occasion (Nos 44, 45, 47–49, 53–57, 60–63, 67, 69, 72, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 85, 86, 89, 92, 94–96, 98, 100, 101, 102, 103, 106, 109), nine soldiers received them twice (Nos 52, 58 – second decoration, 68, 73, 84, 88, 91, 93, 104) and one probably even three times (No. 71¹⁰⁶).

At least five inscriptions indicate soldiers who did not rise above the rank of a common soldier, while there

104 This is not true of ten inscriptions (Nos 46, 50, 52, 64, 70, 77, 83, 102, 105, 108).

105 Maxfield 1981, 48, 49, 184; Maxfield 1983, 146.

106 The inscription mentions *torques*, *armillae*, *phalerae* and *corona val-laris* among the decorations and is not clear as to whether all were awarded three times or only the *corona*.

Enajst napisov je iz prve polovice 1. st. (št. 47–57). Iz začetka 1. st. je nagrobnik Tita Aponija (*Titus Aponius*), veterana Devete hispanske legije (št. 48). Sedem spomenikov je iz časa Tiberijeve vladavine (št. 47, 49–54).

Večina spomenikov prve polovice 1. st. izpričuje odlikovanja, ki jih je podelil Tiberij za junaštva med vojaškimi pohodi pod Avgustom ali v času svoje samostojne vladavine (št. 47, 49–53); med njimi sta dva spomenika povezana s panonsko-delmatsko vojno 6–9 po Kr. (št. 47, 51), za tri to domnevamo (št. 50, 53, 54), en spomenik pa omenja odlikovanje, prisluženo med bojevanjem v Galiji leta 21 (št. 49).¹⁰⁰

Iz časa Nerona sta dva spomenika; izpričujeta odlikovanje, prejeta v Klavdijevi britanski vojni (*bellum Britannicum*) leta 43 (št. 58 – *prvo odlikovanje*, 59) in po uporju Asturov (*ob res prosper(e) / gest(as) contra Astures*) pod Neronom (št. 58 – *drugo odlikovanje*).

En napis je iz časa Vespazijana (št. 60), štirje iz časa Domicijana (št. 63–65, 78), eden iz časa Nerve (št. 66), dva iz obdobja od Vespazijana do konca 1. st. (št. 61, 62) in šest iz obdobja od Domicijana do Trajana (št. 67, 69, 70, 72, 75, 92). Med odlikovanji s torkvesi, omenjenimi na teh spomenikih, je štiri podelil Vespazijan: dva v t. i. *bellum Commagenicum* leta 72 (št. 63, 70 – *prvo odlikovanje*) in tri po judovski vojni (št. 61, 62, 78). Domicijan je odlikovanja podelil za zasluge v germanski (št. 64, 70 – *drugo odlikovanje*) in dačanski vojni (št. 65).

Devet spomenikov je iz časa Trajana (št. 68, 71, 73, 74, 76, 77, 79–81), štirje iz časa Hadrijana (št. 83, 84, 86, 87), eden iz časa Trajana ali Hadrijana (št. 88), trije iz časa Antonina Pija (št. 93, 95, 96) in eden iz časa Antonina Pija ali Marka Avrelija (št. 94). Iz 2. st. je še pet spomenikov (št. 82, 85, 90, 91, 99). Napisi 11 spomenikov sporočajo, da so vojaki svoja odlikovanja prejeli po Trajanovih dačanskih vojnah (št. 68 – *dvakrat*, 71 – *dvakrat*, 73, 74, 77, 81, 82, 85, 87, 88 – *drugo odlikovanje*, 93). Lucij Emilij Patern (*Lucius Aemilius Paternus*) je bil poleg tega tretjič odlikovan po Trajanovi partski vojni (št. 71). Za isto vojno je izpričanih še pet odlikovanj (št. 83, 84, 86, 90, 91 – *drugo odlikovanje*). Trajanova germanska vojna je prinesla odlikovanja trem vojakom (št. 79, 80, 91 – *prvo odlikovanje*), Hadrijanova judovska vojna pa dve (št. 95, 96).

Širše so datirani štirje spomeniki: od Vespazijana do prve polovice 2. st. (št. 89) oziroma do Antonina Pija

100 O zgodovini Dvajsete legije Valerije Zmagovalke glej Ritterling 1925, 1769–1781.

(št. 97), v 1. st. ali prvo polovico 2. st. (št. 108) in morada v 2. ali 3. st. (št. 107).

Gaj Titurnij Kvartijo (*Gaius Titurnius Quartio*) je dal najpozneje v prvi tretjini 3. st. postaviti edikulo, s torkvesom in armilama pa je bil odlikovan leta 165 ali 197 (št. 100).

Sedem spomenikov je iz 3. st. (št. 98, 101–106). Mark Petronij Fortunat (*Marcus Petronius Fortunatus*), ki so mu postavili nagrobnik okoli leta 235, je prejel torkvese in falere v partski vojni med letoma 195 in 197 (št. 98). Gaja Didija Saturnina (*Gaius Didius Saturninus*) je s parom torkvesov in armil odlikoval Mark Avrelij (št. 104). Septimij Sever in Karakala sta med svojo skupno vladavino (med letoma 198 in 211) vojaka, čigar ime se ni ohranilo, odlikovala z enim torkvesom (št. 105). Armile in falere v napisu niso omenjene, so pa druga odlikovanja (*corona aurea, hasta, clipeus*¹⁰¹), zato menimo, da gre za enega najmlajših primerov odlikovanj po sistemu, ki je veljal v 1. in 2. st. Na treh napisih so odlikovanost s torkvesom izrazili s pridevnikom *torquatus* (tj. s torkvesom oziroma torkvesi odlikovan vojak; št. 101–103) in so odraz spremembe sistema odlikovanj po začetku 3. st.¹⁰² Enako velja za nagrobni napis št. 106.

3.2.2 Odlikovanci (sl. 3.4)

Vsi prejemniki odlikovanja torkves so bili vojaki in rimski državljani oziroma so – v enem primeru – odlikovanje prejeli skupaj z državljanstvom (št. 43).¹⁰³

Pri 56 napisih so podatki o vrsti vojaka (pešak ali konjenik, legionar ali pripadnik pomožne enote) in njegovem hierarhičnem položaju.¹⁰⁴ Včasih so navedene le najpomembnejše funkcije odlikovanca, drugič je njegova vojaška kariera opisana od najnižje do najvišje funkcije oziroma obratno. K tem napisom lahko prištejemo spomenik št. 52, saj upodobitev prapora (*signum*) na njem kaže, da je bil pokojnik signifer, čeprav napis tega ne sporoča (*seznam 2: št. 22; sl. 4. 22*).

Ne glede na to, ali napis omenja en, tj. (praviloma) najvišji doseženi položaj (npr. št. 57, 60, 67, 69, 74, 88, 89), ali celotno vojaško kariero posameznika (npr. št. 58, 59, 62, 66, 71, 75, 76, 87), iz napisa pogosto ni

101 Prim. Maxfield 1981, 80, 81, 84–86, 97.

102 Maxfield 1981, 248–254; Speidel 1996, 235.

103 Prim. Maxfield 1983 s tam navedenimi problematičnimi primeri podeljevanja odlikovanj nedržavljanom.

104 To ne velja za 10 napisov (št. 46, 50, 52, 64, 70, 77, 83, 102, 105, 108).

are further four inscriptions for which this is presumed even though the rank is not explicitly stated (Nos 47, 49, 54, 77?, 94?, 101, 102?, 103, 109?). Five inscriptions (Nos 44, 45, 48, 52, 69) refer to *principales*, i.e. soldiers just below the rank of a centurion.

At least 25 inscriptions relate that soldiers were or became centurions when they were awarded *torques*.¹⁰⁷ These include 12 inscriptions associated with 'ordinary' (Nos 60, 67, 68, 73, 74, 82, 86, 88, 89, 96, 98, 106) and thirteen with the senior centurions of the first cohort (*primipilares*; Nos 53, 57, 58 – *second decoration*, 61, 62, 63, 71, 84, 85, 91, 92?, 95, 104).

Five soldiers reached the rank of a *praefectus castrorum/legionis* (Nos 72, 75, 79, 80, 93).

The decorated legionaries include three cavalrymen (Nos 55, 56, 100); all others served in the infantry.

b) Soldiers in *cohortes praetoriae*, *cohortes urbanae* and *cohortes vigilum*

Six soldiers served in praetorian (Nos 58 – *upon the first decoration*, 59, 76, 81, 87, 97) and three in urban cohorts (Nos 65, 66, 78), one in the cohorts of *vigiles* (No. 90); one inscription is unclear as to the type of cohort the decorated soldier belonged to (No. 107).

Three of the decorated soldiers reached the position of *principales* (Nos 58 – *upon the first decoration*, 97, 107), three of centurion (Nos 65, 66, 81) and four of tribune (Nos 59, 76, 78, 90).

A soldier of a *cohors praetoria* (No. 81) and one of a *cohors urbana* (No. 65) were awarded *dona militaria* on two occasions. One of the decorated praetorians was a cavalryman (No. 87).¹⁰⁸

c) Soldiers of a cavalry unit

The inscription from 89/88 BC names the soldiers of a cavalry unit (*turma*) who were granted Roman citizenship and military decorations, among them also *torques* (No. 43).

d) Commander of an *ala*

The altar under No. 99 states Lucius Cassius Caeno, serving as *decurio alae*, as the one who dedicated the monument and received *torques* and *phalerae*.¹⁰⁹ We

presume he had already been decorated when still a legionary.¹¹⁰

e) Unspecified soldier

The altar dedicated to the god Janus set up by Gaius Iulius Aetor only relates his civil administrative posts (No. 51), though he must have held military office before embarking on a career in civil service.¹¹¹

To summarise, *torques* as military decorations from the second half of the 1st century BC to the early 3rd century were associated with Roman citizens, i.e. members of the infantry or cavalry serving in legions, as well as in *cohortes praetoriae*, *cohortes urbanae* and *cohortes vigilum*.

The inscription from 89/88 BC notes cavalrymen (No. 43) serving in a unit of Roman allies (*socii*) who were granted Roman citizenship together with the military decorations.

3.2.3. Phrases expressing the awarded military decoration (Fig. 3.5)

In inscriptions, the fact of a soldier being decorated with *torques* was most commonly expressed with the phrase *donis donatus* (38 inscriptions; Nos 49, 58–69, 71–81, 84–91 – *first decoration*, 93, 95–97, 107, 109) or only the word *donatus* (nineteen inscriptions; Nos 44–48, 50–57, 82, 91 – *second decoration*, 94, 99, 104, 106) in connection with *torquibus*. The active form occurs in single examples: *donavit* (No. 43) or *donaverunt* (No. 100).

Most inscription with the expression *donatus* (without *donis*) date up to and including Claudius' reign (thirteen inscriptions; Nos 44–48, 50–57), four are from the 2nd (Nos 82, 91 – *second decoration*, 94, 99) and two from the 3rd century (Nos 104, 106).

The active form *donavit/donaverunt* is used in the earliest (No. 43; 89/88 BC) and in one of the late inscriptions (No. 100; last third of the 2nd–first third of the 3rd century).

The phrase *donis donatus* occurs in one inscription from the first half of the 1st century (No. 49), 23 inscriptions from the second half of the 1st century to and including the reign of Trajan (Nos 58–69, 71–81), nine inscriptions from the 2nd century (Nos

¹⁰⁷ Maxfield 1981, 49.

¹⁰⁸ Frasson 2021, 25, 26.

¹⁰⁹ The interpretation of the inscription is taken from Le Roux 1981, 204.

¹¹⁰ Holder 1980, 88–90; Speidel 2009, 358, 376.

¹¹¹ Gizewski 1996, 140, 141; Maršić 2015, 46.

mogoče sklepati, na katerem položaju v svoji karieri je vojak prejel odlikovanja.¹⁰⁵

a) Vojaki v legijah

Seznam 1 vsebuje 47 napisov, ki izpričujejo s torkvesi odlikovane legionarje.

Večina je to odlikovanje prejela enkrat (št. 44, 45, 47–49, 53–57, 60–63, 67, 69, 72, 74, 75, 77, 79, 80, 82, 85, 86, 89, 92, 94–96, 98, 100, 101, 102?, 103, 106, 109), devet vojakov dvakrat (št. 52, 58 – drugo odlikovanje, 68, 73, 84, 88, 91, 93, 104), en vojak pa morda celo trikrat (št. 71¹⁰⁶).

Najmanj pet napisov kaže na vojake, ki niso presegli položaja navadnega vojaka, za štiri napise, na katerih položaj ni izrecno naveden, to domnevamo (št. 47, 49, 54, 77?, 94?, 101, 102?, 103, 109?). Na *principales*, tj. vojake tik pod rangom centuriona, se nanaša pet napisov (št. 44, 45, 48, 52, 69).

Najmanj 25 napisov govori, da so vojaki ob prejetju odlikovanja bili centurioni ali so to postali pozneje.¹⁰⁷ Med njimi je 12 napisov povezanih z »navadnimi« (št. 60, 67, 68, 73, 74, 82, 86, 88, 89, 96, 98, 106) in 13 napisov z najstarejšimi centurioni prve kohorte (*primipilares*; št. 53, 57, 58 – drugo odlikovanje, 61, 62, 63, 71, 84, 85, 91, 92?, 95, 104).

Pet odlikovancev s torkvesi je doseglo položaj legijskega prefekta (*praefectus castrorum/legionis*; št. 72, 75, 79, 80, 93).

Med s torkvesi odlikovanimi legionarji so trije konjeniki (št. 55, 56, 100), drugi so bili pešaki.

b) Vojaki v pretorijanskih in mestnih kohortah ter v kohortah nočnih in požarnih čuvajev (*cohortes praetoriae*, *cohortes urbanae*, *cohortes vigilum*)

Šest odlikovancev je služilo v pretorijanskih (št. 58 – prvo odlikovanje, 59, 76, 81, 87, 97) in trije v mestnih kohortah (št. 65, 66, 78) ter eden v kohorti nočnih in požarnih čuvajev (št. 90); pri enem napisu ni jasno, kakšni kohorti je odlikovanec pripadal (št. 107).

Trije odlikovanci so dosegli položaj *principales* (št. 58 – prvo odlikovanje, 97, 107), trije položaj centuriona (št. 65, 66, 81) in štirje položaj tribuna (št. 59, 76, 78, 90).

¹⁰⁵ Maxfield 1981, 48, 49, 184; Maxfield 1983, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Napis med odlikovanji omenja torkvese, armile, falere in venec (*corona vallaris*); ni jasno, ali je trikrat prejel vsa naštetá odlikovanja ali le venec.

¹⁰⁷ Maxfield 1981, 49.

Po dvakrat sta bila odlikovana vojak pretorijanske (št. 81) in vojak mestne kohorte (št. 65). En odlikovanec pretorijanske kohorte je bil konjenik (št. 87).¹⁰⁸

c) Vojaki konjeniške enote

Napis iz leta 89/88 pr. Kr. poimensko navaja vojake konjeniške enote (*turma*), ki so prejeli rimsko državljanstvo in odlikovanja – med drugimi torkves (št. 43).

d) Poveljnik ale

Na oltarju št. 99 je kot dedikant ter prejemnik torkvesov in faler naveden Lucij Kasij Kajno (*Lucius Cassius Caeno*), ki je bil poveljnik (*decurio*) ale.¹⁰⁹ Domnevamo, da je odlikovanje prejel že kot legionar.¹¹⁰

e) Vojak, podrobneje neopredeljeno

Na bogu Janu posvečenem oltarju, ki ga je dal postaviti Gaj Julij Etor (*Gaius Iulius Aetor*), so našete le njegove civilne funkcije oziroma službe (št. 51), vendar je pred civilno kariero moral opravljati vojaško službo.¹¹¹

Povzamemo torej lahko, da je bilo odlikovanje torkves od druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. do zgodnjega 3. st. povezano z rimskimi državljanji, tj. pešaki in konjeniki, ki so služili v legijah, pretorijanskih (*cohortes praetoriae*) in mestnih kohortah (*cohortes urbanae*) ter v kohortah nočnih in požarnih čuvajev (*cohortes vigilum*).

V napisu iz leta 89/88 pr. Kr. navedeni konjeniki (št. 43) so služili v enoti rimskih zaveznikov (*socii*) in so prejeli državljanstvo hkrati z vojaškimi odlikovanji.

3.2.3 Izražanje odlikovanosti (sl. 3.5)

Odlikovanost posameznikov s torkvesi so na napisih najpogosteje izrazili z besedno zvezo *donis donatus* (38 napisov; št. 49, 58–69, 71–81, 84–91 – prvo odlikovanje, 93, 95–97, 107, 109) ali le *donatus* (19 napisov; št. 44–48, 50–57, 82, 91 – drugo odlikovanje, 94, 99, 104, 106) v povezavi s *torquibus*. Po enkrat so uporabili aktivno obliko *donavit* (št. 43) oziroma *donaverunt* (št. 100).

Največ napisov s formulacijo *donatus* (brez *donis*) je do vključno Klavdijeve vlade (13 napisov; št. 44–48,

¹⁰⁸ Frasson 2021, 25, 26.

¹⁰⁹ Interpretacija napisa povzeta po Le Roux 1981, 204.

¹¹⁰ Holder 1980, 88–90; Speidel 2009, 358, 376.

¹¹¹ Gizewski 1996, 140, 141; Maršić 2015, 46.

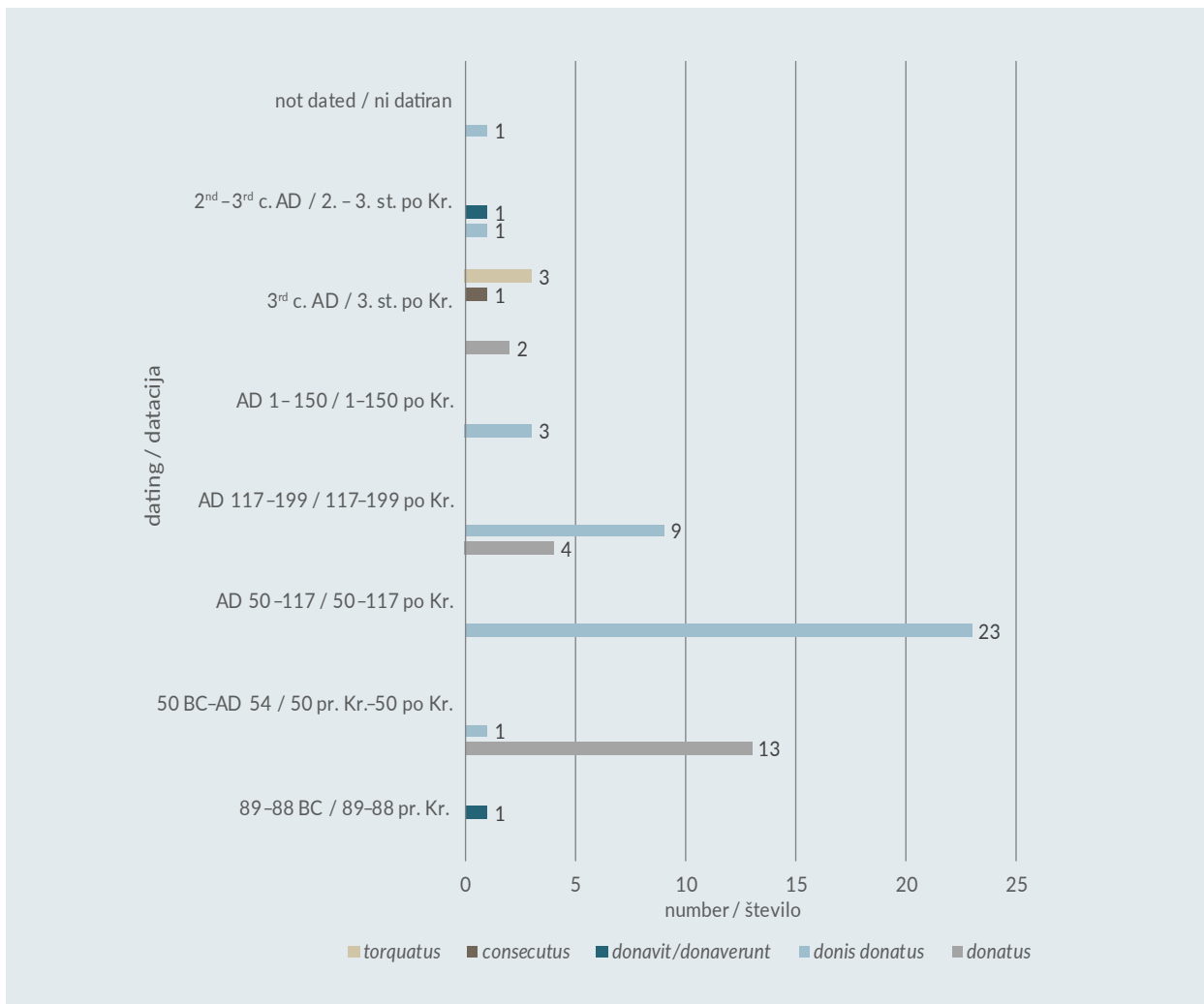


Figure 3.5
Phrases used in the inscriptions on monuments to relate that an individual was decorated with *torques* and the incidence of these phrases. Source: List 1: Nos 43-109. The statistics do not include the inscriptions Nos 70, 83, 92, 105 and 108, as they are not sufficiently well-preserved to allow attribution regarding the wording (*donis donatus/torquatus*).

Slika 3.5
Načini sporočanja odlikovanosti posameznikov s torkvesi v napisih in njihova številčna zastopanost. Vir: seznam 1: št. 43-109. V statistiki nismo upoštevali napisov št. 70, 83, 92, 105 in 108, ker niso dovolj ohranjeni, da bi jih lahko uvrstili v skupine na podlagi formule (*donis donatus/torquatus*).

84-87, 90, 91 – first decoration, 93, 95, 96), three inscriptions from the 1st or first half of the 2nd century (Nos 88, 89, 97), one inscription presumably from the 2nd or 3rd century (No. 107) and the inscription not dated more narrowly (No. 109); this phrase has otherwise not been recorded on the inscriptions from the 3rd century.¹¹²

In one inscription, on a tombstone dated to 235 (No. 98), the decoration was expressed with the word *consecutus*.¹¹³

Only on the monuments from the 3rd century is the soldier's decoration expressed with the adjective *torquatus* (Nos 101-103).

3.2.4. Number of awarded *torques*

The number of *torques* awarded on a single occasion is not explicitly stated in the inscriptions except for one (No. 92).

¹¹² The partial preservation that hinders the classification in one of the groups according to phrasing (*donis donatus/torquatus*) led us to disregard the inscriptions Nos 70, 83, 92, 105, 108.

¹¹³ *Consequor* = overtake, embrace, achieve.

The 67 inscriptions mentioning *torques* awarded to soldiers most commonly use the plural form in the ablative, i.e. *torquibus* (42 inscriptions), indicating that a soldier received two or more *torques*. In 11 inscriptions, the abbreviated form *tor* or *torq* allows for both the singular and plural form.¹¹⁴ Neither can the number of awarded *torques* be gleaned from the three inscriptions (Nos 101-103) that express the decoration with the word *torquatus* (for a soldier given one or more *torques*). The fragmentary state of eight inscriptions (Nos 46, 49, 63, 70, 81, 83, 85, 107) prevents us from establishing whether the word was given in singular or plural.

The inscription on the altar dedicated to the god Janus (No. 51), dated to AD 14/15 and mentioning *bellum Dalmaticum*, i.e. revolt in southern Illyricum in the last year of the Pannonian-Dalmatian War (AD 6-9),¹¹⁵ contains the abbreviation *torq* thus far believed to stand for the singular form *torque* (ablative). The reason for this was the adjective *maior* (abl. *maiore*) that directly follows the abbreviation *torq*.

¹¹⁴ The inscription No. 58 states the *torques* upon first decoration in the plural form (*torquibus*), upon the second decoration abbreviated as *torq*.

¹¹⁵ *Bellum Dalmaticum* (in places also *bellum Batonianum*), Tacitus, *Annales*, 6,37,14; Bratož 2007, 211.

50–57), štirje so iz 2. st. (št. 82, 91 – *drugo odlikovanje*, 94, 99) in dva iz 3. st. (št. 104, 106).

Aktivna oblika *donavit* oziroma *donaverunt* je na najstarejšem (št. 43; leto 89/88 pr. Kr.) in na poznem napisu (št. 100; zadnja tretjina 2.–prva tretjina 3. st.).

Formulacija *donis donatus* je na enem napisu iz prve polovice 1. st. (št. 49), 23 napisih iz druge polovice 1. st. do vključno Trajanove vlade (št. 58–69, 71–81), 9 napisih iz 2. st. (št. 84–87, 90, 91 – *prvo odlikovanje*, 93, 95, 96), na treh napisih iz 1. ali prve polovice 2. st. (št. 88, 89, 97) ter na napisu, za katerega domnevajo datacijo v 2. ali 3. st. (št. 107), in na napisu št. 109, ki ni ožje datiran; na napisih iz 3. st. te formulacije ni.¹¹²

V enem primeru, na nagrobniku iz leta 235 (št. 98), so odlikovanost izrazili s *consecutus*.¹¹³

Le na spomenikih iz 3. st. je odlikovanost posameznikov izražena s pridevnikom *torquatus* (št. 101–103).

3.2.4 Število podeljenih torkvesov

Število ob enem odlikovanju podeljenih torkvesov na spomenikih ni izrecno navedeno, razen v enem primeru (št. 92).

Med 67 napisi, ki omenjajo to odlikovanje v zvezi s posamezniki, so največkrat uporabili množinsko obliko v ablativu, tj. *torquibus* (42 napisov), kar pomeni, da je bil vojak odlikovan z dvema ali več torkvesi. Pri 11 napisih je zaradi okrajšave *tor* ali *torq* možna tako edninska kot množinska oblika.¹¹⁴ Števila podeljenih torkvesov prav tako ne izvemo iz treh napisov (št. 101–103), pri katerih je odlikovanje izraženo z besedo *torquatus* (s torkvesom oziroma torkvesi odlikovan vojak). Za osem napisov (št. 46, 49, 63, 70, 81, 83, 85, 107) zaradi fragmentarnosti ni mogoče ugotoviti, ali je bila prvotno v napisu edninska ali množinska oblika besede.

Na oltarju iz leta 14/15, posvečenem bogu Janu (št. 51), ki omenja *bellum Dalmaticum*, tj. upor v južnem delu Ilirika v zadnjem letu panonsko-delmatskega upora (6–9),¹¹⁵ je okrajšava *torq*, za katero je doslej veljala razvezava v edninsko obliko *torque* (ablativ).

¹¹² V statistiki zaradi delne ohranjenosti, ki ne omogoča uvrstitve v eno od skupin napisov glede formule (*donis donatus/torquatus*, nismo upoštevali napisov št. 70, 83, 92, 105, 108.

¹¹³ *Consequor* = doseči, pridobiti, dokopati se.

¹¹⁴ Na napisu št. 58 so torkvesi ob prvem odlikovanju navedeni v množinski obliki (*torquibus*), ob drugem pa okrajšani s *torq*.

¹¹⁵ *Bellum Dalmaticum* (ponekod tudi *bellum Batonianum*), Tacitus, *Annales*, 6,37,14; Bratož 2007, 211.

Vzrok za tako razvezavo je bil pridevnik *maior* (abl. *maiore*), ki neposredno sledi okrajšavi *torq*.

Zdi se, da je pravilna drugačna razvezava te okrajšave, tj. *torquibus*. Pridevniku *maiore* namreč sledi samostalnik v ablativu (*bello Dalmatico*), zato se po pravilih latinske slovnice *maiore* lahko veže tako s prvim samostalnikom (torkves) kot z drugim samostalnikom (vojna), torej *torque maior* ali *maiore bello Dalmatico*. Več argumentov govori za to, da se *maiore* navezuje na vojno in ne na torkves:

1. pridevnik *magnus* (primerjalnik *maior*) sodi med poudarjene pridevnike, ki navadno stojijo pred samostalnikom,¹¹⁶ zato ga je treba povezati z *bello Dalmatico*,

2. beseda *maiore* stoji na začetku nove vrstice in je zato tesneje povezana z neposredno sledečim besedilom, tj. *bello Dalmatico*,

3. v napisih, ki omenjajo en torkves, zanj niso uporabili okrajšave (št. 43, 100, 105; prim. zaključek tega poglavja),

4. drugi napisi, ki omenjajo en torkves, so bodisi zelo zgodnji (89/88 pr. Kr. – št. 43) bodisi pozni (konec 2. ali 3. st. – št. 100; prim. pogl. 3.2.1),

5. pridevnik *magnus* v povezavi z *bellum Dalmaticum* bi pomenil (časovno, številčno, prostorsko, strateško) pomembno¹¹⁷ vojno, kar se ujema z našim vedenjem o tej vojni.

O odlikovanju z enim torkvesom torej zanesljivo govorijo štirje napisi: eden zadeva odlikovanje konjenikov leta 89/88 pr. Kr. (št. 43), dva sta povezana z odlikovanji v cesarski dobi do začetka 3. st. (št. 100, 105), eden pa odraža spremembe sistema odlikovanj po začetku 3. st. (št. 106; prim. pogl. 3.2.1).

Ali kombinacija podatkov v napisu in na upodobitvi pomaga razvozlati vprašanje, koliko torkvesov so podelili ob enem odlikovanju?

Na treh spomenikih z napisi, ki omenjajo torkves, je to odlikovanje upodobljeno (*seznam 1*: št. 52, 54, 100; *seznam 2*: št. 6, 22, 33). Na spomenikih *seznam 2*: št. 6 in 22 sta upodobljena dva torkvesa, kar se ujema z izpisano množinsko obliko *torquibus* (*seznam 1*: št. 52) oziroma ne nasprotuje branju okrajšave *torq(ui-bus)* (*seznam 1*: št. 54). Na spomeniku št. 100; *seznam 2*: št. 33 se v napisu omenjeni en torkves (*torquem*)

¹¹⁶ Kopriva 1989, 190, op. 1.

¹¹⁷ Prim. geslo *maior* v Glare 1976, 1065, 1066, in *magnus* v Wiesthaler 2002, 198–200.

It would appear, however, that a different reading of the abbreviation *torq*, i.e. *torquibus*, would be more accurate. The adjective *maiore* is followed by a noun, in the ablative (*bello Dalmatico*), hence *maiore* may be associated with either the first (*torques*) or the second noun (*bello*) according to the rules of Latin grammar, i.e. either *torque maiore* or *maiore bello Dalmatico*. Several arguments speak in favour of the latter reading:

1. *magnus* (comparative *maior*) is an emphatic adjective that usually stands before the noun¹¹⁶ and should therefore be associated with *bello Dalmatico*;

2. the word *maiore* stands at the beginning of a new line and is therefore closely associated with the text immediately following it, i.e. *bello Dalmatico*;

3. the inscriptions mentioning a single *torques* do not give it in an abbreviated form (*Nos* 43, 100, 105; cf. end of this chapter);

4. other inscriptions mentioning a single *torques* are either very early (89/88 BC – *No.* 43) or late (late 2nd or 3rd century – *No.* 100; see Chapter 3.2.1);

5. the adjective *magnus* in association with *bellum Dalmaticum* would signify a major¹¹⁷ war (in terms of duration, soldier numbers, extent and strategy), which corresponds with what we know of this particular military encounter.

In view of the above, there are four inscriptions that can reliably be seen as referring to awarding single *torques*: one relates the decoration of cavalrymen in 89/88 BC (*No.* 43), two are linked to decorations in the Imperial period to the early 3rd century (*Nos* 100, 105) and one mirrors the changes of the decoration system that took place after the early 3rd century (*No.* 106; cf. Chapter 3.2.1).

Does the juxtaposition of information in the inscription and on the depiction help in answering the question regarding the number of *torques* awarded on single occasions?

There are three monuments that combine inscribed and depicted evidence (*List 1: Nos* 52, 54, 100; *List 2: Nos* 6, 22, 33). For the monuments in *List 2: Nos* 6 and 22 show two *torques*, which either corresponds with the plural form of *torquibus* in the inscription (*List 1: No.* 52) or does not contradict the reading of the abbreviation as *torq(uibus)* (*List 1: No.* 54). The

inscription on monument *No.* 100; *List 2: No.* 33) mentions (one) *torques* that corresponds with a single item shown in relief. The cited – albeit few – examples thus support the hypothesis that the plural form *torquibus* in the inscriptions dating up to the early 3rd century signified two *torques* and that it was frequently abbreviated to (*tor(q)*). The word was written in full in the case of single *torques* (to avoid confusion).

The inscription *No.* 92 (*torquib(us) n(umero) II[---]*) suggests that the number of *torques* was explicitly given when more than two *torques* were awarded.

3.2.5 Armillae and phalerae mentioned alongside torques (Fig. 3.6)

The inscription from 89/88 BC relates that soldiers were awarded single *torques*, single *armillae* and *phalerae* (*No.* 43).

The inscriptions dating from the second half of the 1st century BC to and including the 2nd century AD, as well as those likely linked to the decorations awarded up to and including the joint reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla (198–211), mention *torques* in the plural or abbreviated to *tor(q)*, usually in combination with *phalerae* and *armillae* (41 inscriptions; *Nos* 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 53–62, 64, 66, 68, 69, 71–80, 82, 84, 86–91, 93, 95, 96, 108), rarely only with *armillae* (five inscriptions; *Nos* 52, 65, 94, 104, 109), in two examples only with *phalerae* (*Nos* 98, 99) and in two examples without either *armillae* or *phalerae* (*No.* 51 – cf. Chapter 3.2.4 and *No.* 92).¹¹⁸

The monuments stating single *torques* awarded prior to 212 mention them alongside *phalerae* and *armillae* (*No.* 43), only *armillae* (*No.* 100) or mention neither *phalerae* nor *armillae* (*No.* 105; cf. Chapter 6.2)

The inscriptions from the 3rd century that refer to the decoration with the adjective *torquatus* (*Nos* 101–103) and the inscription *No.* 106 reflect a new system of awarding *dona militaria*¹¹⁹ that was established after the early 3rd century and is characteristic of the Late Roman period.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ The inscriptions included here are those from *List 1*, with the exception of *Nos* 46, 49, 63, 67, 70, 81, 83, 85, 97 and 107, which are not sufficiently well-preserved to enable us to determine what the soldiers were awarded in addition to *torques*.

¹¹⁹ Cf. Chapter 3.2.1.

¹²⁰ Speidel 1996, 237–241; Mráv 2015.

¹¹⁶ Kopriva 1989, 190, Note 1.

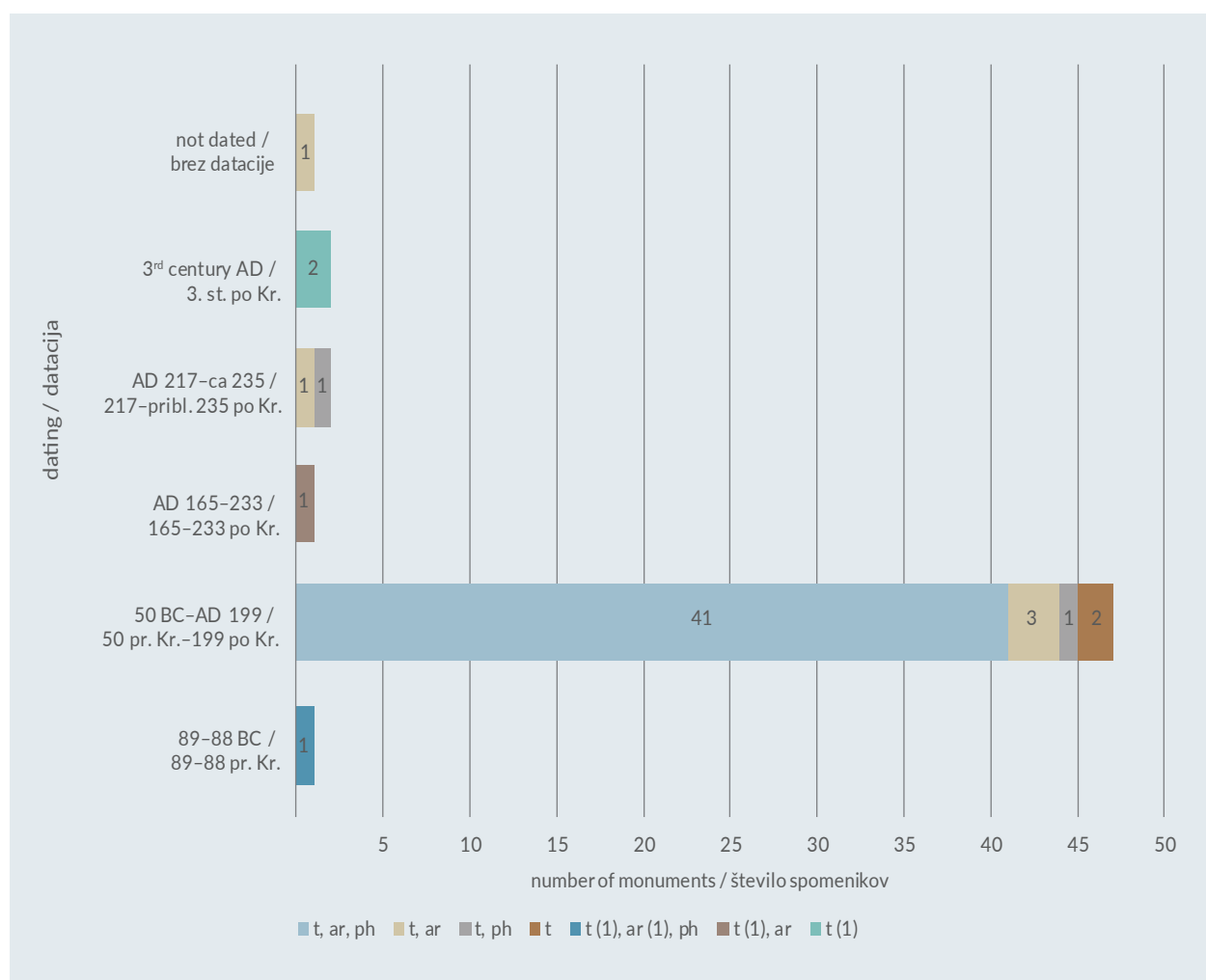
¹¹⁷ Cf. the *maior* entry in Glare 1976, 1065–1066 and *magnus* in Wiesthaler 2002, 198–200.

Figure 3.6

Combinations and incidence of decorations awarded to individuals, be it pairs of *torques* (t) and *armillae* (ar), a set of *phalerae* (ph), or a single *torques* (t/1), as related in the inscriptions according to periods. Source: *List 1: Nos 43–109*. The monuments *Nos 46, 49, 63, 67, 70, 81, 83, 85, 97 and 107* were not included due to their poor preservation.

Slika 3.6

Kombinacije in število omemb odlikovanosti posameznikov s pari torkvesov (t) in armil (ar) ter setom faler (ph) oziroma z enim torkvesom (t/1) na napisih po časovnih obdobjih. Vir: seznam 1: št. 43–109. Spomenikov št. 46, 49, 63, 67, 70, 81, 83, 85, 97 in 107 zaradi slabe ohranjenosti nismo mogli upoštevati.



ujema z enim torkvesom na reliefni upodobitvi. Navedeni – sicer maloštevilni – primeri torej govorijo v prid utemeljeni domnevi, da je množinska oblika *torquibus* v napisih do zgodnjega 3. st. označevala dva torkvesa in da so jo pogosto krajšali (*tor(q)*) ter da so v primeru enega torkvesa (v izogib nesporazumu) izpisali celo besedo.

Napis št. 92 (*torquib(us) n(umero) II[---]*) nakazuje, da so pri sočasni podelitvi več kot dveh (para) torkvesov v napisu navedli njihovo število.

3.2.5 Omemba armil in faler ob torkvesih (sl. 3.6)

Napis iz leta 89/88 pr. Kr. sporoča, da so odlikovanci prejeli po en torkves in eno armilo ter falere (št. 43).

V napisih od druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. do vključno 2. st. po Kr. in na tistih, ki so verjetno povezani z odlikovanji do vključno skupne vlade Septimija Severa in Karakale (198–211), so torkvesi navedeni v množinski obliki oziroma okrajšani s *tor(q)*, običajno v kombinaciji s falerami in zapestnicami (41 napisov;

št. 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 53–62, 64, 66, 68, 69, 71–80, 82, 84, 86–91, 93, 95, 96, 108), redko le z zapestnicami (5 napisov; št. 52, 65, 94, 104, 109), v dveh primerih zgolj s falerami (št. 98, 99) oziroma brez armil in brez faler (št. 51 – prim. pogl. 3.2.4 in št. 92).¹¹⁸

Med spomeniki, ki navajajo odlikovanje z enim torkvesom in se nanašajo na odlikovanja pred letom 212, so v po enem primeru poleg torkvesa omenjene falere in zapestnice (št. 43), le zapestnice (št. 100) oziroma nič od obojega (št. 105; prim. pogl. 6.2).

Napisi iz 3. st., ki odlikovanost izražajo s pridevnikom *torquatus* (št. 101–103), ter napis št. 106 odražajo novi sistem vojaškega odlikovanja,¹¹⁹ ki se je uveljavil po začetku 3. stoletja in je značilen za pozno rimsko dobo.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Upoštevali smo vse napise seznama 1, razen št. 46, 49, 63, 67, 70, 81, 83, 85, 97 in 107, ki niso dovolj dobro ohranjeni, da bi lahko ugotavljali, kaj so odlikovanci prejeli ob torkvesih.

¹¹⁹ Prim. pogl. 3.2.1.

¹²⁰ Speidel 1996, 237–241; Mráv 2015.

Epigraphic monuments mentioning the military decoration *torques*

All inscriptions are carved in stone unless otherwise specified. The successive number of each monument is followed in the first line by basic references (in corpora). The second line states the name and present-day country of the site, definition of the inscription type (honorific, funerary, votive, and building inscriptions) and dating together with either the reference to the publication proposing the dating or our arguments for the dating. Unless otherwise specified, all dates are AD.

Epigrafski spomeniki, ki omenjajo odlikovanje torkves

Napisi so na kamnu, razen, če je drugače navedeno. Za zaporedno številko vsakega napisa smo v prvi vrstici navedli njegove osnovne objave (v korpusih). V drugi vrstici si sledijo ime najdišča, država najdišča, opredelitev vrste napisa (počastitveni, nagrobni, votivni, gradbeni itd.) in datacija ter na koncu v oklepaju literatura, iz katere izhaja navedena datacija oziroma opomba z našimi argumenti za navedeno datacijo. Če ni drugače navedeno, so vse datacije po Kr.

A – military units/vojaške enote

Cohortes

1. **AE 1908, 22 = EDCS-16400476 = HD020333**

Melik Şerif, Turkey, building or honorific¹ inscription, AD 198/199 / Melik Şerif, Turčija, gradbeni ali počastitveni² napis, leto 198/199 (EDCS).

Imp(eratori) C[ae]sari L(ucio) Septi(mio) S[ev]ero Pio Pert(inaci) / [Au]g(usto) Arab(ico) Ad[iab(enico) Parth(ico)] / m(aximo) p(ontifici) m(aximo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VII imp(eratori) [XI(?) ---] / proc(onsuli) p(atri) p(atriae) co[h(ors) I(?) L]ep(idiana?) eq(uitata) c(ivium) [R(omanorum)] / [---] bis torq(uata) p[//] divi M[arci] // pe[r] L(ucium) M[---] / [---] ium leg(atum) Aug(usti) C[appadociae ---] / -----

2. **CIL III 11932 = EDCS-30500972 = HD058831**

Pfünz, Germany, building inscription, second half of the 2nd–first half of the 3rd century / Pfünz, Nemčija, gradbeni napis, druga polovica 2. st.–prva polovica 3. st. (EDCS; EDH).

----- / [---] V[al(eriae) Vi]ctr[icis] bis tor/[q]uat(ae) o[b virtutem] / [ap]pel(l)a[tae]

3. **CIL III 5918a = CIL III 11931 = EDCS-27500318 = HD058830**

Pfünz, Germany, honorific inscription, reign of Antoninus Pius / Pfünz, Nemčija, počastitveni napis, Antonin Pij (EDCS; EDH).

[Imp(eratori) C]aes(ari) divi H[ad(riani)] / [fi]l(io) T(ito) Ae(lio) Had(riano) A[n]/[t]onino Aug(usto) P[io] / [c]oh(ors) I Breuco(rum) / [---] D V(aleria) V(ictrix) bis to[r]/quat(a) ob v[irt(utem)] / apella[ta] / [---] OA I[---] / -----

4. **AE 1944, 57 = CIL XVI 160 = EDCS-12300364 = HD020352**

Moigrad, Romania, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 106 / Moigrad, Romunija, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 106 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traia(nus) August(us) German(icus) Dacic(us) pontifex / maxim(us) tribunic(iae) potestatis XIII / imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriae) / peditibus et equitibus qui militant / in cohorte I Brittonum mil[li]ariaria / Ulpia torquata P(ia) F(ideli) civium Romano(rum) quae est in Dacia sub D(ecimo) Terentio / Scauriano quorum nomina sub/scripta sunt pie et fideliter ex/peditione Dacica functis ante //

¹ EDCS: honorific inscription; Spaul 2000, 155: building inscription.

² EDCS: počastitveni napis; Spaul 2000, 155: gradbeni napis.

emerita stipendia civi/tatem Romanam dedit / a(nte) d(iem) III Idus Aug(ustas) / Darnithithi / L(ucio) M(inicio) Natale / Q(uinto) Silvano Graniano / co(n)s(ulibus) / pediti / M(arco) Ulpio Adco^brovati f(ilio) Novantico(ni) Ratis / descriptum et recognitum ex tabula ae/nea quae fixa est Romae // Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanic(us) Dacicus / pontif(ex) maximus tribun(icia) potest(ate) / XIII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriciae) / peditibus et equitibus qui militant / in **cohorte I Brittonum mil{li}aria / Ulpia torquata P(ia) F(ideli) civium Roma/norum** quae est in Dacia sub D(ecimo) / Terentio Scauriano quorum no/mina subscripta sunt pie et fideli/ter expeditione Dacica functis / ante emerita stipendia civita/tem Romanam dedit / a(nte) d(iem) III Idus Aug(ustas) / Darnithithi / L(ucio) Minicio Natale / Q(uinto) Silvano Graniano / co(n)s(ulibus) / pediti / M(arco) Ulpio Adcobrovati f(ilio) Novanticoni Rati(s) / descriptum et recognitum ex ta/bula aenea quae fixa est Ro/mae in muro post templum / divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam // P(ubli) Corneli Alexandri / L(uci) Pulli Verrecundi / P(ubli) Atini Amerimni / C(ai) Tuticani Saturnini / L(uci) Pulli Trophimi / C(ai) Iuli Parati / M(arci) Iuni Eutychi

5. **AE 1944, 58 = CIL XVI 163 = EDCS-12300367 = HD020355**

Moigrad, Romania, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 110 / Moigrad, Romunija, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 110 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus / Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) maximus tribunic(ia) / potestat(e) XIII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriciae) / i(i)s qui militaverunt equites et pedites in alis / quattuor et cohortibus decem et octo quae / appellantur I Augusta Ituraeor(um) et I Claudia / et I Britannica c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Pannonior(um) veterana / et **I Brittonum |(miliaria) Ulpia torq[u]ata c(ivium) R(omanorum)** et I Vinde/licor(um) |(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) et I Britannic[a] |(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Flavia H is/panor(um) |(miliaria) et I Montanor(um) et I [Th]racum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Cre/tum sagittarior(um) et I Hispa[n]or(um) P(ia) F(idelis) et I Panno/nio r (um) veterana P(ia) F(idelis) et II Hispa[n]or(um) et II Britannor(um) / |(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) et II Gallor(um) Pannon[ica] et II Gallor(um) Mace/donica et II Flavia Comma[ge]nor(um) sagittarior(um) / et V Lingonum et V Gallo[r(um)] et VI Thracum et / VIII Raetor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et pedi[tes] Britannici et / sunt in Dacia sub D(ecimo) Ter[entio] Scauriano qui/nis et vicenis pluribusv[e]st]ipendiis eme/ritis d[i]missis honest[a] missio]ne qu[o]rum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis poste/risque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum / uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas / iis data autsi qui caelibes essent cum iis quas / postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli {singul} singulas a(nte) d(iem) VI Non(as) Iul(ias) / C(aio) Eruciano Silone / L(ucio) Catilio Severo co(n)s(ulibus) / **coh(ortis) I Britton(um) Ulpia[e |(miliariae) torqu]at(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum)** cui prae(e)st / M(arcus) Aemiliu[s] Bassus / ex pe[dite] / M(arco) Ulpio Sacci f(ilio) [Longi]no Belgo / et Vit[ali] f(ilio) eius / descriptum et reco[gnitum] ex tabula aenea / quae fixa est Rom[ae] // Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus A[ug(ustus)] / Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) maximus tribunic(ia) potes[tat(e)] / XIII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V [p(ater) p(atriciae)] / iis qui militaverunt equites et pedites in al[is] quat/tuor et cohortibus decem et octo quae appell[an]tu[r] / I Augusta Ituraeor(um) et I Claudia et I Britannica c(ivium) R(omanorum) et / II Pannonior(um) veterana et **I Brittonum [(miliaria) Ulpia tor]/quata c(ivium) R(omanorum)** et I Vindellicor(um) |(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) et I Bri[tannica] |(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / et I Flavia Hispanor(um) |(miliaria) et I Montanor(um) et [I Thracum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et] / I Cretum sagittarior(um) et I Hispanor(um) P(ia) [F(idelis) et I Panno]n[io]r(um) / veterana P(ia) F(idelis) et II Hispanor(um) et II Brita[n]nor(um) |(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum)] P(ia) [F(idelis)] / et II Gallor(um) Pannonica et II Gallo[r(um)] Macedonica et II / Flavia Commagenor(um) sagittarior(um) [et V Lingonum] / et V Gallor(um) et VI Thracum et VIII R[ae]tor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et pedi]tes Britannici et sunt in Dacia sub D(ecimo) Ter[entio] Scauri]ano quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis e[merit]is / di[miss]is honesta missione quorum nomina sub/scr[i]pta s[unt] ipsis libe[r]is pos]terisque eorum civi]/tat[em] dedit et] conubium [cum uxoribus quas tunc] / hab[ui]ssent cum est ci[vitas] iis data aut si qui cae]/libes [es] sent cum [iis quas] poste[a] duxissent dum]/taxat singuli singulas a(nte) d(iem) VI Non(as) [Iul(ias)] / C(aio) Eruciano Silone / L(ucio) Catilio Severo co(n)s(ulibus) / **coh(ortis) I Britton(um) |(miliariae) Ulpiae torquat(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum)** cui prae(e)st / M(arcus) Aemilius Bassus / ex pedite / M(arco) Ulpio Sacci f(ilio) Longino Bel[go] / et Vitali f(ilio) eius / descriptum et re(c)ognitum ex tabul[a] aenea quae / fixa est Romae in muro post templum [divi] / Aug(usti) ad Minervam // P(ubli) Corneli Alexandri / L(uci) Pulli Verrecundi / P(ubli) Atini Amerimni / L(uci) Pulli Trophimi / C(ai) Tuticani Saturnini / C(ai) Iuli Parati / M(arci) Iuni Eutychi

6. **AE 1987, 854 = AE 1990, 860 = EDCS-12100013 = HD024969**

Ranovac, Serbia, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 109 / Ranovac, Srbija, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 109 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

*Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus / Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) max(imus) tribunic(ia) po/testat(e) XIII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriciae) / equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt in / alis tribus et cohortibus decem et sex / quae appellantur I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Flavia Comma/genor(um) sagittaria et II Pannonior(um) vetera/na et **I Brittonum [(miliaria) Ulpia torquata c(ivium) R(omanorum)]** / et I Britannica [(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Ituraeor(um) et I Thra/cum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) et I Vindelicor(um) / c(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) et I Pannonior(um) veterana et I Montanor(um) et II Gallor(um) Pannonica et II Hispa/nor(um) et II Britannor(um) [(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) et II Gallo/rum Macedonica et III Campestris c(ivium) R(omanorum) et / IIII Cypria c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V Gallorum et VIII Rae/torum et sunt in Dacia sub D(ecimo) Terentio / Scauriano quinis et vicenis pluribus/ve stipendiis emeritis dimissis honores/ta missione a Iulio Sabino quorum // nomina subscripta sunt ipsi libe/ris posterisque eorum civitatem dedit / et conubium cum uxoris quas tunc ha/buissent cum est civitas iis data aut si qu[i] / caelibes essent cum iis quas postea du/xissent dumtaxat singuli singulas / pr(idie) Idus Oct(obres) / C(aio) Iulio Proculo / C(aio) Aburnio Valente / co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) I Montanor(um) cui prae(e)st / Cornelius Felicior / ex peditibus / M(arco) Herennio M(arci) f(ilio) Polymita Berens(i?) / et Ianuario et Marcello f(iliis) eiu[s] / et Lucanae fil(iae) eius / descriptum et recognitum ex tabul[a] / aenea quae fixa est Romae // Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacicus pontif(ex) maxim(us) / tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XIII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriciae) / equitibus et peditibus qui militaverunt / in alis tribus et cohortibus decem et sex / quae appellantur I c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Flavia Comma/genor(um) sagittaria et II Pannonior(um) vetera/na et **I Brittonum [(miliaria) Ulpia torquata c(ivium) R(omanorum)]** et / {et} I Britannica [(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Ituraeor(um) et I Thra/cum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Aug(usta) Ituraeor(um) et I Vindelicor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / P(ia) F(idelis) et I Pannonior(um) veterana et I Montanor(um) / et II Gallor(um) Pannonica et II Hispanor(um) et II / Britannor(um) [(miliaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) et II Gallor(um) Macedonica / et III Campestris c(ivium) R(omanorum) et IIII Cypria c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V / Gallor(um) et VIII Raetorum et sunt in Dacia / sub D(ecimo) Terentio Scauriano quinis et vicenis / pluribusve stipendiis emeritis dimissis / honesta missione a Iulio Sabino quorum / nomina subscripta sunt ipsi liberis poste/risque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium / cum uxoris quas tunc habuissent cum / est civitas iis data aut si qui caelibes essent / cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat / singuli singulas pr(idie) Idus Oct(obres) / C(aio) Iulio Proculo C(aio) Aburnio Valente / co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) I Montanor(um) cui prae(e)st / Cornelius Felicior / ex peditibus / M(arco) Herennio M(arci) f(ilio) Polymita Berensi / et Ianuario f(ilio) eius et Marcello f(ilio) eius / et Lucanae fil(iae) eius / [de]scriptum et recognitum ex tabula aene/a quae fixa est Romae in muro post tem/plum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam // Ti(beri) Iuli Urban[i] / P(ubli) Corneli Alexandri / L(uci) Pulli Verrecundi / P(ubli) Atini Amerimni / C(ai) Iuli Parati / C(ai) Tuticani Saturnini / M(arci) Iuli Clementis*

7. **AE 2002, 1741 = EDCS-36500014 = HD055747**

Unknown origin, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 106 / neznana provenienca, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 106 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

*[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanic(us) Dacicus pontif(ex) maximus tribun(icia) potest(ate) XIII imp(erator) VI co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriciae) peditibus et equitibus qui militant in cohorte **I Brittonum mil[i]aria Ulpia tor[qu]a P(ia) F(ideli)]** / [c(ivium) R(omanorum) quae est in Dacia] sub D(ecimo) T(erentio) / [Scauriano quorum] nom[ina sub]/[scripta sunt pie et] fidei[ter ex]/[peditione Dacica f]unctis an[te emerita] / [stipendia civ]itatem R[omanam dedit] / [ante] d(iem) III Id[us Aug(ustas)] / [Darnithi]thi [L(ucio) Minicio Natale Q(uinto) Silvano Graniano co(n)s(ulibus) // [---]II[---] / [---] c(ivium) R(omanorum) quae est in Dacia] / [sub D(ecimo) Ter]entio Scau[riano quorum] / [nomin]a subscri[pta sunt] -----*

8. **AE 2009, 1177 = EDCS-46400887 = HD072876**

Cluj-Napoca, Romania, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 128 / Cluj-Napoca, Romunija, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 128 (AE; EDCS).

*[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ificus) max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) XII co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae) / [eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) qui mi]l(itaverunt) in al(is) III et coh(ortibus) XI / [quae app(ellantur) Silia]n(a) et **Gall(orum) et Pan(noniorum) torq(uata)** / [et I*

Front(oniana)] et Tungr(orum) et **I Ulp(ia) Brit(tonum)** / [**torq(uata)** et I] Brit(annica) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I F(lavia) Hisp(anorum) |(miliaria) / [---]t et I Hisp(anorum) et I Cann(anefatium) et II / [Hisp(anorum) // stipe]ndi[is emeritis dimissis honesta missione] quoru[m nomina subscripta sun]t ipsi liberis po[sterisque eorum civitat]em dedit et conu[bium cum uxoris quas] tunc habuissen[t cum est civitas iis da]ta aut si qui cae]libes essent cum iis qua]s postea duxisse[nt dumtaxat singuli sin]gulas Nonis [---] / [--- L(ucio) Val]erio Flacco Q(uinto) Iun[--- co(n)s(ulibus)] / [cohortis] **I Ulpia(e) Britton(um) t(orquatae)** cui praeest [---] Antonius Caru[s ---] / ex pedi[te] / [---]relio Aureli[---] / [desc]rip(tum) et recognit[um ex tabula aerea quae fix]a est Romae in mu[ro post templum divi] Aug(usti) ad Min[ervam]

9. EDCS-31001548 = HD058096 = lupa 10377

Gnotzheim, Germany, honorific, donator's or building³ inscription, AD 144 / Gnotzheim, Nemčija, počastitveni, donatorski ali gradbeni⁴ napis, leto 144 (EDCS; EDH; lupa).

[Imp(eratori) Cae]s(ari) T(ito) Ael(io) Hadr(iano) Antonino / [Aug(usto) Pio] trib(unicia) p(otestate) VII co(n)s(uli) III pontif(ici) max(imo) / [**coh(ors) II**] **I Thr(acum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) eq(uitata) bis torqua(ta)**

10. AE 1960, 375 = EDCS-11300582 = HD019117 = lupa 21566

Inlăceni, Romania, honorific inscription, AD 129 / Inlăceni, Romunija, počastitveni napis, leto 129 (AE; EDCS; EDH; lupa).

Imp(eratori) / [Ca]es(ari) divi Traia[ni] / [P]arthici fil(io) d[i]vi Nervae ne/poti Traiano / Hadriano Aug(usto) / pontifici ma[xi]mo trib(unicia) potes[t(ate)] / XIII co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriciae) **coh(ors) / VIII Raetorum / c(ivium) Ro(manorum) eq(uitata) tor(quata)**

Alae

11. AE 1908, 23 = EDCS-16400477 = HD020336

Yeşilyayla, Turkey, honorific inscription, second half of the 1st–beginning of the 2nd century / Yeşilyayla, Turčija, počastitveni napis, druga polovica 1. st.–zač. 2. st. (Maxfield 1981, 223; Maxfield 1983, 141–150, esp./zlasti 148–150).

Q(uinto) Statio Q(uinti) f(ilio) [--- praef(ecto) **alae I**] / **Brit(annicae) tor(quatae)** tr[ib(uno) coh(ortis) .. Gal]/loru[m] e]qu(itatae) c(ivium) [R(omanorum) ---] / [---]TI[I]C[---]PRI[---] / [---]C[---]IV[---] / [---]VSTV[---] / ----

12. AE 1914, 241 = AE 1982, 979 = EDCS-12700167 = HD000681

Tipaza, Algeria, funerary inscription, around 149 / Tipaza, Alžirija, nagrobni napis, okrog leta 149 (Maxfield 1983, 142).

D(is) M(anibus) sacru(m) / (A)elius Publ(ius) vetera/nus milita/vit **ala Bri(tannica) bi/s torquat/a** p(ius) v(ixit) a(nnos) LV / Numpidia(!) feci/t v(iro) p(ientissimo) et c(arissimo) m(arito) e(ius) / s(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis) v(otum) s(olvit) a(nimo) l(ibens) // O(ssa) q(uiescant) b(ene)

13. CIL III 6748 = EDCS-27800567 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 170

Amasya, Turkey, votive inscription, 2nd century, after Trajan's Dacian Wars / Amasya, Turčija, votivni napis, 2. st., po Trajanovih dačanskih vojnah (Maxfield 1981, 223).

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [Au]g(usto) s(acrum) **al]a I Flavia** / [Au]gusta Britan[n(ica)] / |(miliaria) **c(ivium) R(omanorum) bis to[r]/[q]uata** o[b v]i[rtu]/tem cui [praeest] / [---]us Bon[-----]

14. AE 1980, 496 = EDCS-08900382 = EDR077905 = HD008613 = lupa 9473

Ljubljana, Slovenia, votive inscription, between 102 and 114/116 / Ljubljana, Slovenija, votivni napis, v letih 102–114/116 (Maxfield 1983, 147).

Aecornae Aug(ustae) / P(ublius) Cassius Secundus / praef(ectus) **alae Brit(annicae) / mil[li]ariae c(ivium) R(omanorum) / bis torquatae** donis / donatus bis bello / Dacico ab / Imp(eratore) Caesare Nerva / Traiano Aug(usto) Ger(manico) / Dacico / coronis vexillis hastis

³ EDCS: honorific/building inscription; lupa: building inscription; EDH: building/donor's inscription.

⁴ EDCS: počastitveni/gradbeni napis; lupa: gradbeni napis; EDH: gradbeni/donatorski napis.

15. AE 2010, 1865 = EDCS-59600020

Unknown origin, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 127 / neznana provenienca, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 127 (AE).

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthi]ci f(i)lius divi Nervae / [nepos Traianus Hadrianu]s Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) / [tribun(icia) potest(ate) XI] co(n)s(ul) III / [equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) exerc(itus) P(ii) F(idelis) qui mil(itaverunt)] in al(is) V et coh(ortibus) XV qu(ae) / [appell(antur) Afror(um) veter(ana) et I Thrac(um) e]t **Gallor(um) et I Thr(acum) class(iana) / [c(ivium) R(omanorum) torq(uata) victrix et I Noric(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)]** (!) et I Pann(oniorum) et Dalm(atarum) et / [I Raet(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I class(ica) et I Luc(ensium) et] II Varcian(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Hisp(anorum) / [et II Ast(urum) et III Breuc(orum) et IIII Thrac(um) et VI B]ritt(onum) et VI Breuc(orum) et VI / [Raet(orum) et sunt in Germania in]fer(iore) sub L(ucio) Coelio Maxim(o) / [Rufo quin(is) et vic(enis) item class(icis) se]n(is) et vic(enis) plur(ibus)ve stip(endii) / [emerit(is) dimiss(is) honest(a) miss(ione) quor(um) no]m(ina) subscr(ipta) sunt // ipsi liberis posterisq(ue) eorum civitat(em) dedit et conub(ium) c]um uxori[us] quas tunc habuiss(ent) / [cum e]st civitas i(i)s data aut si qu[i] caelib(es) essent / [cum] i(i)s quas postea duxiss(ent) [dumtaxat sing]uli singulas a(nte) d(iem) XVII K(alendas) [Sept(embres)] / Q(uinto) Tineio R[ufo] / M(arco) Licinio C[a]elere [Nepote co(n)s(ulibus)] / alae Sulpic(iae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) [cui praeest] / C(aius) Lavonicus A[---] / Diero Diensis f(ilio) [Daco(?)] / descriptum et recognit(um) ex tabula [aenea quae fi]xa est Rom(a)e in muro post templum [divi Augusti] / ad Minervam

16. AE 1997, 1314 = EDCS-24400394 = HD055886

Montana, Bulgaria, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 127 / Montana, Bolgarija, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 127 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(i)lius divi Ner/vae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) / maxim(us) tribun(icia) potest(ate) XI co(n)s(ul) III / equitib(us) et peditib(us) exerc(itus) P(ii) F(idelis) qui militaver(unt) in / alis V et coh(ortibus) XV quae appell(antur) Afror(um) veter(ana) et I / Thrac(um) et **Gallor(um) et {I} Thrac(um) Classian(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum) torq(uata) / Victrix et I Noricor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)** et Sulpicia c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Fl(a)/via Hispan(orum) et I Latobic(orum) et Varcian(orum) et I Pan/nonior(um) et Dalmat(arum) et I Raet(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Classic(a) / et I Lucens(ium) et II Varcian(orum) et II c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Hispan(orum) et / II Astur(um) et III Breucor(um) et IIII Thrac(um) et VI Britt(onum) / et VI Breucor(um) et VI Raet(orum) et sunt in German/ia inferior(e) sub L(ucio) Coelio Rufo quin(is) et vi/cenis item classic(is) senis et vicenis plurib(us)ve / stipend(iis) emeritis dimissis honest(a) missi/one quorum nomina subscript(a) sunt ipsi / liberis posterisq(ue) eorum civitat(em) dedit et co/nub(ium) cum uxori(us) quas tunc habuiss(ent) cum est / civit(as) i(i)s data aut si qui caelib(es) essent cum i(i)s / quas postea duxiss(ent) dumtaxat singul(i) singul(as) / a(nte) d(iem) XIII K(alendas) Sept(embres) Q(uinto) Tineio Rufo / M(arco) Licinio Celere Nepote co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) IIII Thracum P(iae) F(idelis) cui prae(e)st / L(ucius) Porcius Crescens / ex equite / [---]sae Natusis f(ilio) Daco / [desc]ript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabul(a) aenea quae / [fix]a est Romae in muro post templum di/[vi A]ug(usti) ad Minervam // Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(i)lius divi N[ervae] / nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max[im(us)] / trib(unicia) potest(ate) XI co(n)s(ul) III / equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) exerc(itus) P(ii) F(idelis) qui milit(averunt) in alis V et / coh(ortibus) XV quae app(ellantur) Afr(orum) veter(ana) et I Thr(acum) et **Gall(orum) et {I} / Thr(acum) Class(iana) c(ivium) R(omanorum) torq(uata) Victr(ix)** et I Noric(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Sulp(icia) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / et I Fl(avia) Hisp(anorum) et I Latob(icorum) et Varc(ianorum) et I Pann(oniorum) et Dalm(atarum) / et I Raet(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Class(ica) et I Luc(ensium) et II Varc(ianorum) et II / c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Hisp(anorum) et II Ast(urum) et III Breuc(orum) et IIII Thrac(um) / et VI Brit(tonum) et VI Bre[ucor(um)] et VI Raet(orum) et sunt in Ger/man(ia) infer(iore) sub L(ucio) Coelio Rufo (!) et class(icis) senis / et vic(enis) plurib(us)ve stip(endii) emerit(is) dimiss(is) honest(a) / miss(ione) quor(um) nom(ina) subscr(ipta) sunt ipsi liber(is) poster(is)q(ue) eor(um) civit(atem) ded(it) et conub(ium) cum uxori(us) / quas tunc habuiss(ent) cum est civit(as) i(i)s data aut / -----

17. EDCS-35200380

Unknown origin, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 127 / neznana provenienca, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 127 (Pferdehirt 2004, 72–73).

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(i)lius divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) tribun(icia) potest(ate) XI co(n)s(ul) III equiti(bus) et peditib(us) exerc(itus) P(iae) F(idelis) qui

militav(erunt) in alis V et coh(ortibus) XV quae appell(antur) I Afror(um) veter(ana) et I Thrac(um) et Gallor(um) et Thrac(um) classi(ana) c(ivium) R(omanorum) torq(uata) victrix et I Norico(rum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Sulpicia c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Flavia Hispan(orum) et I La]tob(icorum) et Varc(ianorum) et I [Pannonior(um) et Dalma(tarum) et I Raetor(um) c(ivium)] R(omanorum) et I Class(ica) et I [Lucen(sium) et II Varcian(orum) et II c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II His]p(anorum) et II Ast(urum) et [III Breucor(um) et IIII Thrac(um) et VI Britt(onum) et VI] Breuc(orum) [et VI Raetor(um) et sunt in Germania inferior(e) su]b L(ucio) Caelio [Rufo quinis et vicenis it(em) class(icis) senis et vice]n(is) plu[rib(us)ve] stipend(iis) emeritis dimissis honest(a) mis]s(ione) quor[um] nom(in)at(a) subscripta sunt // ----- a]ut si [qui caelib(es) essent cum is quas postea duxi]ss(ent) dumta[ta] singul(i) singul(as) / [a]nte d(iem) XIII K(alendas) Sept(embres) Q(uinto) Tinei]o Rufo M. Licin[io] Celere Nepote co(n)s(ulibus)] / [coh(ortis) I Latob(icorum) et] Varcianor(um), [cui] praeest / [---]s / ex pedit(e) / [---] Daubasgi [f(ilio) ---]namesis fil(iae) uxori [eius ---] / [descript(um) et rec]ogn(itum) ex tabul(a) aenea, q[uae] fixa est Romae in mu]ro pos(t) templum divi Au[g(usti) ad Minervam]

18. CIL XI 6033 = EDCS-23100687 = EDR104400

Macerata Feltria, Italy, honorific inscription, 2nd century / Macerata Feltria, Italija, počastitveni napis, 2. st. (EDCS; EDR).

C(aio) Caesidio / C(ai) f(ilio) Cru(stumina) Dextro / eq(uiti) coh(ortis) VIII praef(ecto) / coh(ortis) I Lingonum / equitat(ae) trib(un) mil(itum) / leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) praef(ecto) / equit(um) alae clas/sianae Invictae / bis torquatae / c(ivium) R(omanorum) pontific(i) / Pit(ini) P[is]a]uri / patrono / munic(ipes) / l(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) // Cuius dedica/tione decu/rionibus VI(vi)r(is) / Aug(ustalibus) plebi urb(anae) / epulas dedit / et oleum in ba/lineo populo / item plebi / pane(m) et vinum

19. AE 1985, 600 = CIL II 2984 = EDCS-05502383 = HD003535

Calahorra, Spain, funerary inscription, between 51 and 80 / Calahorra, Španija, nagrobni napis, v letih 51–80 (EDCS; EDH).

Iulius Lon/ginus Doles / Biticenti f(ilius) Bes/sus eques alae / Tau(rianae) tor(quatae) Vic(tricis) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / an(norum) XL aer(or)um XXII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Sulpicius Susulla / et Fuscus Bitius / h(eredes) ex t(estamento) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt)

20. AE 1934, 98 = AE 1936, 71 = CIL XVI 73 = CIL XVI 169 = EDCS-12300277 = HD020628

Sidi Ali bou Jenoun, Morocco, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 122 / Sidi Ali bou Jenoun, Maroko, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 122 (AE; EDCS).

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Nerv(ae) Trai]ani Parthici f(ilius) divi / [Nervae nepos Traia]nus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pon(tifex) / [max(imus) trib(un)cia] potest(ate) VI co(n)s(ul) III proco(n)s(ul) / [equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui milit(averunt) i]n al(is) V et coh(ortibus) V[III] / [quae appell(antur) ---] et Gemell(iana) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et [G]all[or(um)] / [Taurian(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum) tor(quata) victr(ix) et III As]t(urum) et I Hamior(um) Sy[ror(um)] / [sagit(tariorum) et I Ituraeor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum)] et V D^a lma(atarum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II / [--- et III Gallor(um)] c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Astur(um) et Call(aeorum) / [c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Syror(um) sagittar(iorum)] (miliaria) et III Ast(urum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II / [Hispanor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Lemavor(um)] c(ivium) R(omanorum) quae sunt in Mau/retan(ia) Tingitan(a) sub Caecilio Reddito / quinis et vicenis plurib(us)ve stipe(ndiis) emerit(is) di/miss(is) honest(a) miss(ione) quor(um) nomin(a) / subscript(a) sunt ips[is] liber(is) poster(is)q(ue) / eor(um) civit(atem) ded(it) et conub(ium) cum uxori(b)us // [quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data // [Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Pa]rthici f(ilius) divi Ner/[vae] nepos Traianus Hadri]anus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) / [max(imus) trib(un)cia] pot(estate) VI co(n)s(ul) III proco(n)s(ul) / [equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui milit]averunt in alis / [V et coh(ortibus) nove]m quae appell(antur) / [--- et Gemell(iana) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et] Gallor(um) Taurian(a) / [c(ivium) R(omanorum) tor(quata) victr(ix) et III Ast]ur(um) et I Hamior(um) / [Syr(or)um] sagit(tariorum) et I Iturae]or(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V D^a lma(tarum) / [c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II --- et I]III Gallor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et / [I Astur(um) et Call(aeorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II S]yror(um) sagittar(iorum) (miliaria) / [et III Ast(urum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II His]panor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Le/[mavor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) quae sunt in] Mauretania Tin/[gitan(a) sub Caecilio Red]dito quinis et / [vic(en)is plurib(us)ve stip]endi(i)s emerit(is) / [dimiss(is) honest(a) mission]e quorum nomi/[na] subscript(a) sunt ipsi[s] liber(is) poster(is)q(ue) eorum civitatem dedit et conubium / cum uxori(b)us quas tunc habuissent cum

est / civitas iis data aut si qui caelibes essent / cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat / singuli singulas a(nte) d(iem)
 XIV K(alendas) Dec(embres) / C(aio) Trebio Maximo T(ito) Calestrio T(ir)one co(n)s(ulibus) / **alae Gallor(um)**
Taurian(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) torquat(ae) victr(icis) cui prae(e)st / M(arcus) Iulius Ti(beri) f(ilius)
 Pal(atina) Agrippa Roma / ex gregale / M(arco) Antonio Antoni f(ilio) Maximo Syro / et Valeriae Messi fil(iae) Messiae
 uxori eius Transduc(ta) / et Maximo f(ilio) eius et Maximae fil(iae) eius / descriptum et recognitum ex tabula ae/ne[a]
 quae fixa est Romae in muro post tem/[plum] divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam

21. AE 1952, 47 = CIL XVI 165 = EDCS-12300369 = HD018896

Sidi Ali bou Jenoun, Morocco, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, between 114 and 117 / Sidi Ali bou
 Jenoun, Maroko, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, v letih 114–117 (AE; EDCS).
 -----] Tingitana sub L(ucio) Seio A(vito) quinis et vicenis pluri]/busve stip(endiis) emer(itis) dim[issis honesta missione
 quorum nomina] / subscripta sunt ipsi[s liberis posterisque eorum civitatem] / ded(it) et conub(ium) [c]um ux[oribus
 quas tunc habuissent] / cum est civit(as) is d[at(a) aut si qui caelibes essent cum is quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli
 singulas] // [Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius) Nerva] Traianus Optim(us) / [Aug(ustus) Germ(anicus) Dacic(us)
 pont(ificex) max(imus) tribunic(ia) potest(ate) / [---] p(ater) p(atriciae) / [equitib(us) et peditib(us) qui militave]runt
 in alis quin[que et cohortibus decem qua]e appellantur I / [Hamior(um) Syror(um) sagit(taria) et III Astur(um)
 c(ivium)] R(omanorum) P(ia) F(idelis) et Aug(usta) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Ge/[mellian(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
 et **Gallor(um) Taurian(a) tor]quata Victrix c(ivium) R(omanorum) / [et I Ituraeor(um) c(ivium)
 R(omanorum) et I Astur(um) et Ca]llaecor(um) et I Celtibe/[ror(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Lemavor(um)
 c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Hi]spana c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II [(miliaria) sa/[gittaria et II Hispanor(um)
 c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III] Astur(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et IIII / [Gallor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V
 D`a`lmatar(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) q]uae sunt in Mau/[retania Tingitana sub L(ucio) Sei]o Avito quinis et
 vi/[cenis pluribusve stip(endiis) eme]r(itis) dimissis / [honesta missione quorum nomina] subscripta [sunt -----**

22. AE 1942/43, 83a = CIL XVI 170 = EDCS-12300373 = HD020625

Volubilis, Morocco, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 121/122 / Volubilis, Maroko, uradni napis
 (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 121/122 (AE; EDCS).
 [Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex)
 max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) VI co(n)s(ul) III proco(n)s(ul)] / [equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus) qui militaverunt in alis
 quinque et cohortibus novem quae appellantur --- et Gemell(iana) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et **Gallor(um) Taurian(a)**
c(ivium) R(omanorum) torq(uata) Victr(ix) et III Ast(urum) et I Hamio]r(um) Syr[or(um) sagit(taria)
 et I Ituraeor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V D`a`lmat(arum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et] II Hisp[ana c(ivium)
 R(omanorum) et III Gallor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Astur(um) et Call(aecorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
 et II] Syr(orum) sag(ittaria) [(miliaria) et III Ast(urum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Hisp(anorum) c(ivium)
 R(omanorum) et I Lemav(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) [quae sunt in Mauretania] Ti]ngita[n(a) sub Caecilio
 Reddito // [Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traia]ni [Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae nepos Traia]nus Had[rianus Aug(ustus)
 pontif(ex) max(imus) trib(unicia) potes]t(ate) VI co(n)s(ul) III proco(n)s(ul)] / [equit(ibus) et pedit(ibus)] qui
 milita[verunt in alis quinque et cohortibus n]ovem quae appell[antur --- et Gemell(iana) c(ivium)] R(omanorum) et
Gallor(um) Tauri(an(a) c(ivium) R(omanorum) torq(uata) Victr(ix) et III Ast(urum) et I Ha]mior(um)
 Syror(um) [sagit(taria) et I Ituraeor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V D`a`lmat(arum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et] II
 Hispa[na c(ivium) R(omanorum) et IIII Gallor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Astur(um) et Call(aecorum) c(ivium)
 R(omanorum) et II Syr(orum) sag(ittaria) [(miliaria) et III Ast(urum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Hisp(anorum)
 c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Lemav(orum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) quae sunt in Mauretania] Tingitan(a) sub Caecilio
 Reddito

23. AE 1939, 60 = AE 1940, 128 = AE 1951, 237 = EDCS-15000129 = HD022485

Baalbek, Lebanon, honorific inscription, second half of the 1st century / Baalbek, Libanon, počastitveni napis, druga
 polovica 1. st. (AE).
 Sex(to) Attio L(uci) filio Vol(tinia) / Suburano Aemiliano praef(ecto) / fabr(um) praef(ecto) **alae Taurianae**
tor/quatae adiutori Vibi Crispi leg(ati) / Aug(usti) pro pr(aetore) in censibus accipiendis / Hispaniae citerioris
 adiut(ori) Iuli Ursi / praef(ecti) annonae eiusdem in praef(ectura) / Aegypti proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ad Mercurium /
 proc(uratori) Aug(usti) Alpium Cottianarum et / Pedatium Tyriorum et Cammun/tiorum et Lepontiorum procur(atori)
 / provinc(iae) Iudaeae proc(uratori) provinc(iae) / Belgicae / Mari Cethegi corni(cularii) piiss(imi) fratres

24. **AE 1987, 796 = EDCS-07400585 = HD012557 = Visočnik 2017, 228–229, No./št. 224**

Celje, Slovenia, honorific inscription, between 151 and 170 / Celje, Slovenija, počastitveni napis, v letih 151–170 (EDCS; EDH; Visočnik).

[T(ito) V]ario T(iti) f(ilio) [Cla(udia) Cel(eia?)] / [Pr]isco proc[uratori] / [p]rovinciarum [---] / [Ma]uretanae [Tingitanae] / [D]aciae inferioris / [pra]ef(ecto) classis Britannicae / [pra]ef(ecto) al(ae) I Ulp(iae) Contarior(um) mil(iariae) / [pra]ef(ecto) **al(ae) I Tauri{a}norum tor/quat(ae) Victricis** praef(ecto) al(ae) / [I Hispa]nor(um) Campagon(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) tri(buno) leg(ionis) / [---] praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Lusitanor(um) equit(atae) / praesidi optimo / [de]curiones alar{i}es cohortales / [ce]nturiones et officiales proVecti / ab eo

25. **AE 1979, 553 = EDCS-12100863 = HD008452**

Pernik, Bulgaria, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 109 / Pernik, Bolgarija, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 109 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Nervae f(ilius)] Nerva Traianus [Aug(ustus) Germanic(us) Dacic(us) pon]tij(ex) max(imus) tribunic(ia) [pot(estate) XIII imp(erator) V]I co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) p(atriciae) [equitibus et peditib]us qui militaverunt in [alis tribus et cohort]ibus quat(t)uor [quae appellantur I] Aug(usta) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Gemel[liana et **Gall(or)um Taurian]a torquata victrix** [et I Astur(um) et Call]aecorum et Celti[beror(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II miliaria Sagi]ttarior(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et [III Asturum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et sunt i]n Mauretania [Tingitana sub M(arco) Clodio Catull]o quin[is et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit] et conubium [cum uxoribus quas] postea dux[issent dumtaxat] singuli singulas p[r(idie) Idus Oct(obres)] C(aio) Iulio [Proculo] C(aio) Aburnio [Valente co(n)s(ulibus)] alae I Augustae c(ivium) [R(omanorum) cui praeest] Q(uintus) Iulius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Qui[rina ---] ex gregale Sitali Cultra[---] et Iunia Gaditani fil(iae) M[---] et Martiali fi[l(io) eius] descriptum et recog[nitum ex tabula] aenea quae fixa est R[omae in muro] post templum divi [Aug(usti) ad Minervam]

26. **AE 2003, 2034 = EDCS-30100157 = HD055713**

Sidi Ali ben Ahmed, Morocco, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 135 / Sidi Ali ben Ahmed, Maroko, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 135 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthi]ci f(ilius) divi Nervae [nep(os)] / [Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex)] max(imus) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XI 'X' / [co(n)s(ul) III] p(ater) p(atriciae) / [eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) qui milit(ant) in alis V et c]oh(ortibus) VIII quae appellantur / [Aug(usta) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Gemel(liana) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et **I Gall]or(um) Taur(iana) torqua(ta) c(ivium) R(omanorum)** et I Hamior(um) / [Syror(um) sag(ittaria) et III Astu]r(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I It`u`r(a)eor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Asturum / [et Call(aecorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Bracaror(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum?) et I] Lemavor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Syror(um) sagit(taria) / [et II Hispanor(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III Astur(um) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III]I Gallo(rum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V D`a`lmat(arum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et sunt / [in Mauretania Ting(itana) sub ---]umio Rutilliano qui(n)qu(e) / [et viginti stipendiis emerit(is) dim(issis) hones]t(a) missio(ne) quor(um) nom(ina) sub/[scripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum ci]vi(tatem) ded(it) et con(ubium) cu(m) uxor(ibus) // [quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas] / [iis data aut si qui ca]elib(es) esse[nt cum iis quas] / [postea duxi]ssent dumtaxat sing(uli) sing(ulas) / pr(idie) K(alendas) Ian(uarias) / P(ublio) Rutilio Fabiano / Cn(aeo) Papirio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) / ala Gemelliana c(ivium) R(omanorum) cui prae(e)st / Ti(berius) Claudius Iustus f(ilius) Qui(rina) Iustus Roma / ex gregale / Aemilio Flavi f(ilio) Flavo Tingi(tano) / et Fortunato f(ilio) eius et Gemelliano f(ilio) eius / [des]criptum et recognit(um) ex tab(ula) aenea quae fixa / [est] Romae in muro post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) / ad Minervam

27. **AE 2004, 1891 = AE 2009, 1798 = EDCS-61700630 = HD056071**

Sidi Ali ben Ahmed, Morocco, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 104 / Sidi Ali ben Ahmed, Maroko, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 104 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Ne]rvae f(ilius) Nerva Traianus / [Augustus Germanic]us Dacicus pontifex max(imus) / [tribunicia pote]sta(t)e VIII imp(erator) (I) V co(n)s(ul) V p(ater) [p(atriciae)] / [equitibus et peditib]us qui militave[run]t in / [alis quinque et coh]ortibus decem et una qu[ae] / [appellantur I Ha]miorum sagittarioru[m] Syrorum et III] Asturum [c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Augusta] c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Gem[elliana c(ivium) R(omanorum) et **Gallorum Ta]ur[iana Torquata Victrix** [c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Ituraeor]um c(ivium) R(omanorum)

[et I Asturum et Callaecorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Celtiberorum et I Lemavorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Bracarorum c(ivium) R(omanorum)] et II Hisp[anorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Syrorum |(miliaria) sagittariorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III Asturum c(ivium) R(omanorum)] et IIII Gallo[rum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V Dalmatarum et sunt] in [Maur(etania) Ting(itana) sub // quae appellantur I Hamiorum sagittariorum Syrorum et III Asturum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et Augusta c(ivium) R(omanorum) et] / Geme[lliana c(ivium) R(omanorum) et **Gallorum Tauriana**] / **Torquata Victrix [c(ivium) R(omanorum)]** et I Itu]/r(a)eorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Ast[urum et Callaecorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I] / Celtiberorum et [I Lemavorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Bra]/carorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II [Hisp[anorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II Syror]/um |(miliaria) sagittari[orum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et] / III Asturum c(ivium) R(omanorum) e[t IIII Gallorum c(ivium) R(omanorum) et V Dalma]/tarum et [sunt in [Maur(etania) Ting(itana)] / sub L(ucio) [--- quinis et vicenis pluribusve stipendiis emeritis dimissis honesta missione quorum nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data aut si qui caelibes] / [essent ---] / -----

28. AE 2007, 1778 = EDCS-46400289

Unknown origin, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 135 / neznana provenienca, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 135 (AE; EDCS).

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius)] divi N[ervae nep(os) Traianus] / [Hadrianus Aug(ustus) po]nt(ifex) max(imus) [trib(unicia) pot(estate)] / [XIX co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae) equit(ibus) et ped(itibus) qui milit(averunt)] / [in al(is) V et coh(ortibus) VIII] I q[uae appellantur // pr(idie) K(alendas) Ian(uarias)] P(ublio) Ru[tilio Fabiano] / Cn(aeo) Pap[irio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus)] / **alae G[allor(um) Taurian(ae) torquat(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum)]** cui praeest] / C[-----]

29. AE 1969/70, 421 = AE 1971, 277 = AE 1992, 1276 = EDCS-09701091 = HD011470 = lupa 8437

Kaiseraugst, Switzerland, funerary inscription, between 31 and 69 / Kaiseraugst, Švica, nagrobni napis, v letih 31–69 (EDCS; EDH).

[-----] / [**alae Moes[icae]**] / [**torqu]atae [h(ic) s(itus) e(st)] / [---]us vex[illa]/[rius a]lae His[pa]/[nae] fac(iendum) c]uravi[t]**

30. CIL VI 3538 = EDCS-19700234 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 171

Rome, Italy, honorific inscription, end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century⁵ / Rim, Italija, počastitveni napis, konec 1. st. ali zač. 2. st.⁶

Tito Staberio / T(iti) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Secundo / praef(ecto) coh(ortis) Chalciden(sis) / in Africa tribuno / militum leg(ionis) VII / Geminae Felicis / in Germaniae praef(ecto) / equit(um) **alae Moesicae / Felicis Torquatae / Staberia mater i m`pensa / sua**

31. CIL VII 929 = EDCS-07801248 = HD070193 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 172

Carlisle, United Kingdom, votive inscription, between 98 and 105⁷ / Carlisle, Združeno kraljestvo Velike Britanije in Severne Irske, votivni napis, v letih 98–105.⁸

----- / [---] Luca / [pr]aef(ectus) **alae Augustae / Petrianae torq(uatae) m(iliariae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) / d(onum?) d(edit?)**

5 According to the military diploma CIL XVI 23, dated to AD 78, Titus Staberius Secundus is already serving as cavalry commander (*praefectus equitum*) of *ala Moesica Felix Torquata* (Spaul 1994, 163–164).

6 Titus Staberius Secundus je po vojaški diplomii CIL XVI 23, datirani v leto 78, že poveljnik konjeniške enote *ala Moesica Felix Torquata* (Spaul 1994, 163–164).

7 The *ala* received the title of *miliaria* under Trajan, probably between 98 and 105, as it is likely to have been given the title *bis torquata* during Trajan's Second Dacian War (Piccotini 1987–1988, 190).

8 *Ala* je prejela naziv *miliaria* pod Trajanom, verjetno med letoma 98 in 105, saj je verjetno agnomen *bis torquata* dobila med Trajanovo drugo dačansko vojno (Piccotini 1987–1988, 190).

32. **AE 1990, 775 = EDCS-05200539 = HD024732 = lupa 2542**

Magdalensberg, Austria, funerary inscription, between 81 and 117 / Štalenska gora, Avstrija, nagrobni spomenik, v letih 81–117 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

[.] / Sentio / Nigro / dec(urioni) **alae / Petrianae c(ivium) R(omanorum) to[r(quatae)] / dec(urioni)**
Virun(ensium) Sentia / Nigrina f(ilia) f(ecit)

33. **CIL XI 5669 = EDCS-23000341 = EDR015727 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 173**

Attiggio, Italy, honorific inscription, first half of the 2nd century / Attiggio, Italija, počastitveni napis, prva polovica 2. st. (EDCS; EDR).

C(aio) Camurio C(ai) f(ilio) / Lem(onia) Clementi praef(ecto) / fabr(um) IIII praef(ecto) i(ure) d(icundo)
Imper(atoris) / Caes(aris) Traiani Aug(usti) praef(ecto) coh(ortis) / VII Raet(orum) equ(i)t(atae) trib(unus) mil(itum)
coh(ortis) / II Ulpiae Paetraeor(um) mil(l)iar(iae) / equit(atae) praef(ecto) **alae Petrianae / mil(l)iarum c(ivium)**
R(omanorum) bis torquatae / proc(uratori) Aug(usti) ad Miniciam / proc(uratori) Aug(usti) epistrategiae / septem
nomor(um) et Arsi/noitae Treiensens patron(o) / ob merita eius decr(eto) d(ecurionum) / publice / l(ocus) d(atum)
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

34. **AE 2003, 2041 = EDCS-30100158 = HD056079**

Unknown origin, public inscription (military diploma), bronze, AD 119 / neznana provenienca, uradni napis (vojaška diploma), bron, leto 119 (AE; EDH).

[Imp(erator) Caesar d]iv[i Tra]iani P[a]rthici fil(ius) divi [Nervae nep(os) Tra]ian(us) H[ad]rian[us] August(us)
pont(ifex) max(imus) [tribunic(ia) potes]t(ate) III co(n)s(ul) III [equitibus] et pedit(ibus) qui militaverunt in alis [tribus
et cohortibus] quinqu(e) quae appellantur **Siliana [armil]l[ata to]rquata c(ivium) [R(omanorum)] et I] praetoria**
c(ivium) R(omanorum) et [I Hisp]anor(um) Campagon(um) et I Alpinor(um) et I Thracu(m) c(ivium) R(omanorum)
P(ia) F(idelis) et I Alpinor(um) [et] I Montanor(um) et I Noricor(um) quae su[nt] in [Pann]onia inferio[re] su[bi] L(ucio)
Cornel[io Latiniano] quinis et vice[nis pluribusve stipendiis] emeritis dim[issi]s hon[esta missione] quorum nomina
[subs]cript[a sunt ipsis lib]eris posterisque [eor(um) civi]tat(em) d[e]dit et conubium eum uxo[r]ibus quas] tunc habuissent
cum est civit[as iis data] aut si qui caelibes ess[ent eum iis] qu[as] postea duxissent dum[taxat si]n[guli] singulas a(n)te
d(iem) [--- A]pr(iles) Imp(eratore) Caesare T[r]aian[o Hadrian]o Aug(usto) III [A(ulo) Plator]i[o [Nepo]te co(n)
s(ulibus) **alae Sil[ianae] torquatae c(ivium) [R(omanorum)] cui prae(e)st T(itus) Seni[---] Rusticus [e]x gr[egale]**
Casu[---]s[---] B]esso et Su[---]ae [fil(iae) uxori eius B]ess(ae) [et --- eius descriptum et recognitum ex tabula aenea quae
fixa est Romae in muro post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam]

35. **AE 1951, 52 = EDCS-33400637 = HD021037**

Henchir Khasbat, Tunisia, honorific inscription, second quarter of the 2nd century⁹ / Henchir Khasbat, Tunizija, počastitveni napis, druga četrtina 2. st.¹⁰

M(arco) Vettio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) Latroni / flam(ini) divi Aug(usti) sac(erdoti) Cer(erum) anni / CXXXVII equo
pub(lico) et in quinq(ue) dec(urias) adl(ecto) / praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Alpinor(um) / equit(atae) donis don(ato) ab
Imp(eratore) Caes(are) / Ner(va) Trai(ano) Aug(usto) Ger(manico) Dac(ico) bello Dac(ico) has/ta pura corona murali
vexil/lo arg(enteo) trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is) / Piae Fid(elis) praef(ecto) **alae Silianae / civium**
R(omanorum) torquatae armil/latae proc(uratori) annonae Ostiae et / in Portu proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Siciliae
/ proc(uratori) Alpium Cottiarum / proc(uratori) Mauretaniae Caesariensis / M(arcus) Vettius Euthychi/des lib(ertus)
patrono / opt(imo) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

36. **CIL III 5775 = EDCS-27100292 = HD058435 = lupa 6431 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 169**

Epfach, Germany, building inscription, between 110 and 120 / Epfach, Nemčija, gradbeni napis, v letih 110–120 (EDCS; EDH; lupa).

[Claud(ius) P]aternus Cleme[ntianus] / proc(urator) Au[g(usti)] / [provinciarum] / [Iudaeae Sardiniae] / [Africae
et Norici] / praef(ectus) eq(uitum) **alae Silia[nae] / torquatae c(ivium) R(omanorum)** / trib(unus) [militum] /
leg(ionis) [XI Cl(audiae)] / [praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Cla]ssica[e] / [---] fecit

9 Marcus Vettius Latro became *procurator* of Mauretania Caesariensis between 128 and 131 (PIR VI, 256).

10 M. Vetij Latron je postal upravnik (*procurator*) Cezarejske Mavretanije med letoma 128 in 131 (PIR VI, 256).

37. **AE 1983, 859 = EDCS-08500587 = HD000967**

Gilău, Romania, honorific inscription, between 135 and 138 / Gilău, Romunija, počastitveni napis, v letih 135–138 (AE; EDCS; EDH).

[Imperator] Caesar] divi] / [Traiani D]acici P[arthi]/[ci fil(io) divi Ne]rvae nep[oti Tra]/[iano H]adriano / [Aug(usto) pontif(ici)] max(imo) trib(unicia) pot(estate) X[---] / [imp(eratori)] II co(n)s(uli) III / [ala Silian]a c(ivium) R(omanorum) torq(uata) et [armil(lata)]

38. **AE 1939, 81a = EDCS-08600957 = HD022533**

Henchir Khasbat, Tunisia, honorific inscription, second quarter of the 2nd century / Henchir Khasbat, Tunizija, počastitveni napis, druga četrtina 2. st. (PIR VI, 256).

M(arco) Vettio C(ai) f(ilio) Quir(ina) La/troni flam(ini) divi Aug(usti) sa/cerd(oti) Cer(erum) an(ni) CXXXVII equo pu/blico et in quinq(ue) dec(urias) adl(ecto) praef(ecto) / coh(ortis) I Alpin(orum) equit(atae) donis don(ato) / ab Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Ner(va) Trai(ano) Aug(usto) Ger(manico) / Dac(ico) bello Dac(ico) hasta pura coro/na murali vexillo arg(enteo) trib(uno) / mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiutr(icis) Piae Fidel(is) / praef(ecto) **alae Silian(ae) c(ivium) R(omanorum) torquatae / armillat(ae) proc(uratori) annonae Ostiae / et in Portu proc(uratori) prov(inciae) Siciliae pro/cur(atori) Alpium Cottiar(um) procur(atori) / Mauretaniae Caesariensis / M(arcus) Vettius Myrinus / lib(ertus) patrono opt(imo) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)**

39. **AE 1939, 81b = EDCS-08600958 = HD022536**

Henchir Khasbat, Tunisia, honorific inscription, second quarter of the 2nd century / Henchir Khasbat, Tunizija, počastitveni napis, druga četrtina 2. st. (PIR VI, 256).

[M(arco) Vettio C(ai) f(ilio)] Quir(ina) / [Latroni fla]m(ini) divi Aug(usti) / sacerdoti Cerer(um) anni / CXXXVII sacrorum / equo pub(lico) in quinq(ue) decu/ri(a)s adlecto praef(ecto) fabr(um) / praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Alpinorum e/quit(atae) ab Imp(eratore) Nerva / Trai(ano) Caes(are) Aug(usto) Ger(manico) Dac(ico) / donis militarib(us) hasta pur(a) / vexillo corona murali / donato trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) II Adiu/tricis Pia[e Fidel]is [pra]ef(ecto) **alae / Silian[ae Romanorum] civ(ium) to/[r]quatae armillatae ---] / -----**

40. **AE 1968, 406 = CIL III 5776 = EDCS-27100293 = HD014579 = lupa 6415**

Epfach, Germany, building inscription, between 110 and 120 / Epfach, Nemčija, gradbeni napis, v letih 110–120 (EDCS; EDH; lupa).

Cla(udius) Paternus / Clementia[n]us / proc(urator) Aug(usti) / provincia[rum] / Iudaeae Sar[diniae] / Africae et [Noricae] / praef(ectus) eq(uitum) [alae] / **Siliana[e t(orquatae) c(ivium) R(omanorum)] / trib(unus) milit[um] / leg(ionis) XI C[l(audia)] / pra[ef(ectus) coh(ortis) I classic(ae)] / [---]**

41. **AE 1930, 92 = EDCS-16100412 = HD025773**

Jarash, Jordan, honorific inscription, between 180 and 200 / Jarash, Jordanija, počastitveni napis, v letih 180–200 (EDCS; EDH).

[L(ucio) Valerio L(uci) fil(io)] / Poblilia Firmo / trib(uno) coh(ortis) XXVI vol(untariorum) / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) X (!) P(iae) F(idelis) praef(ecto) / **alae Siliana[e bis torquatae] / bis armillatae proc(uratori) / [-----]**

42. **AE 1996, 1630 = AE 2010, 1739 = EDCS-03000831 = HD050444**

Petra, Jordan, honorific inscription, between 123/128 and 164/168 / Petra, Jordanija, počastitveni napis, v letih 123/128–164/168 (Salomies, Fiema 2009, 133–134).

[M(arco) Ulpio M(arci) f(ilio) Andromacho] / [praef(ecto) **alae I Siliana[e c(ivium) R(omanorum)] / bis torquatae** in Dacia Porolis(sensi) / praef(ecto) alae II Ulp(iae) Auriana[e] / in Cappadocia dec(uriones) alae eiusdem / ob merita per Lucium signiferum

B – individuals decorated with torques/odlikovanje posameznikov

43. AE 1909, 30 = AE 1910, 218 = AE 1911, 126 = CIL VI 37045 = CIL I 709 = EDCS-19900038 = EDR072269 = HD019742

Rome, Italy, public inscription, bronze, 89/88 BC / Rim, Italija, uradni napis, bron, 89/88 pr. Kr. (EDCS; EDH).
 [C]n(aeus) Pompeius Sex(ti) [f(i)lius] imperator] virtutis caussa / equites Hispanos ceives [Romanos fecit in castr]eis
 apud Asculum a(n)te d(i)em XIV K(alendas) Dec(embres) / ex lege Iulia in consilio [fuerunt] / L(ucius) Gellius L(uci)
 f(i)lius Tro(mentina) Cn(aeus) Octavius Q(uinti) f(i)lius [---]cius C(ai) f(i)lius Ani(ensi) L(ucius) Iunius L(uci) f(i)lius
 Gal(eria) Q(uintus) Minuci(us) / M(arci) f(i)lius Ter(etina) P(ublius) Attius P(ubli) f(i)lius Ouf(entina) M(arcus)
 Maiolei(us) M(arci) [f(i)lius] --- Ae]mili(us) Q(uinti) f(i)lius Pal(atina) Cn(aeus) Corneli(us) Cn(aei) f(i)lius Pal(atina)
 T(itus) Anni(us) T(it) f(i)lius / Ouf(entina) M(arcus) Aureli(us) M(arci) f(i)lius Vol(tinia) L(ucius) Volumni(us)
 L(uci) f(i)lius Ani(ensi) L(ucius) [---] f(i)lius Suc(cusana) T(itus) Pompei(us) T(it) f(i)lius Cor(nelia) C(aius)
 Rabeiri(us) C(ai) f(i)lius Gal(eria) / D(ecimus) Aebut(us) D(ecimi) f(i)lius Cor(nelia) M(arcus) Teiedi(us) M(arci)
 f(i)lius Pol(lia) C(aius) Fundili(us) C(ai) f(i)lius Q[ui]r(ina) M(arcus) [F]aia[ni(us?)] M(arci) [f(i)lius] Se]r(gia?)
 T(itus) Acili(us) T(it) f(i)lius Vel(ina) Cn(aeus) Oppi(us) Cn(aei) f(i)lius Vel(ina) Q(uintus) Petilli(us) L(uci) f(i)lius
 Vel(ina) / L(ucius) Terenti(us) A(uli) f(i)lius Vel(ina) T(itus) Terenti(us) A(uli) f(i)lius Vel(ina) L(ucius) Vetti(us)
 L(uci) f(i)lius Vel(ina) C(aius) Fornasidi(us) C(ai) f(i)lius Pol(lia) Cn(aeus) Pompei(us) Cn(aei) f(i)lius Clu(stumina)
 Sex(tus) Pompei(us) S`e`x(ti) f(i)lius Clu(stumina) / M(arcus) Hostili(us) M(arci) f(i)lius Vel(ina) L(ucius) Aebut(us)
 L(uci) f(i)lius Men(enia) Q(uintus) Hirtulei(us) L(uci) f(i)lius S`e`r(gia) L(ucius) Iuni(us) Q(uinti) f(i)lius Lem(onia)
 Q(uintus) Rosidi(us) Q(uinti) f(i)lius Qui(rina) C(aius) Tarquiti(us) L(uci) f(i)lius Fal(erna) Q(uintus) Marci(us) /
 L(uci) f(i)lius Pap(iria) L(ucius) Opeimi(us) Q(uinti) f(i)lius Hor(atia) L(ucius) Instei(us) L(uci) f(i)lius Fal(erna)
 T(itus) Noni(us) T(it) f(i)lius Vel(ina) L(ucius) Noni(us) T(it) f(i)lius Vel(ina) C(aius) Herius C(ai) f(i)lius
 Clu(stumina) L(ucius) Ponti(us) T(it) f(i)lius Qui(rina) M(arcus) Lucani(us) M(arci) f(i)lius / Hor(atia) L(ucius)
 Sergi(us) L(uci) f(i)lius Tro(mentina) P(ublius) Pedani(us) P(ubli) f(i)lius A`e`m(ilia) C(aius) Laetori(us) C(ai)
 f(i)lius Vel(ina) A(ulus) Fulvi(us) A(uli) f(i)lius Tro(mentina) Q(uintus) Ampudi(us) Q(uinti) f(i)lius A`e`m(ilia)
 L(ucius) Minuci(us) L(uci) f(i)lius Vel(ina) / Ti(berius) Veturi(us) T(it) f(i)lius Vel(ina) Cn(aeus) Busseni(us)
 Cn(aei) f(i)lius Ste(latina) T(itus) Petroni(us) P(ubli) f(i)lius Fab(ia) M(anius) Otacili(us) M(ani) f(i)lius Pol(lia)
 L(ucius) Pullienus L(uci) f(i)lius Men(enia) M(anius) Aebut(us) M(ani) f(i)lius Pol(lia) P(ublius) Salvienus / L(uci)
 f(i)lius Ma`e`r(cia) L(ucius) Otacili(us) L(uci) f(i)lius Pup(inia) // Turma Salluitana // Sanibelser Adingibas f(i)lius
 / Illurtibas Bilustibas f(i)lius / Estopeles Ordennas f(i)lius / T`o`rsinno Austinco f(i)lius / Bagarensis / Cacususin
 Chadar f(i)lius / [---]licenses / [---] Sosimilus f(i)lius / [---]irsecel f(i)lius / [---]elgaun f(i)lius / [---]nespaiser f(i)lius //
 Ilerdensis / `Q` (uintus) Otacilius Suisetarten f(i)lius / Cn(aeus) Cornelius Nesille f(i)lius / P(ublius) `F` abius Enasagin
 f(i)lius / Begensis / Turtumelis Atanscer f(i)lius / Segiensis / Sosinadem Sosinasae f(i)lius / Sosimilus Sosinasae f(i)lius /
 Urgidar Luspanar f(i)lius / Gurtarno Biurno f(i)lius / Elandus Enneges f(i)lius // Agirnes Bennabels f(i)lius / Nalbeaden
 Agerdo f(i)lius / Arranes Arbiscar f(i)lius / Umargibas Luspang`i`b(as) f(i)lius / Ennegens`e`s / Beles Umarbeles f(i)lius
 / Turinnus Adimels f(i)lius / Ordumeles Burdo f(i)lius / Libenses / Bastugitas Adime`l`s f(i)lius / Umarillun Ta`r`bantu
 f(i)lius / Suconsenses / Belennes Albennes f(i)lius / Atullo Tautindals f(i)lius / Illuersensis / Balciadin Balcibil(os?)
 f(i)lius // Cn(aeus) Pompeius Sex(ti) f(i)lius imperator / virtutis caussa **turmam** / **Salluitanam** donavit in / castreis
 apud Asculum / corn`i`culo et patella **torque** / armilla p(h)alereis et f`r`umen`t`um / duplex.

44. CIL X 3886 = CIL I 792 = EDCS-17900595 = EDR005469 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 1

Capua, Italy, funerary inscription, final decades of the Republic / Capua, Italija, nagrobni spomenik, zadnja desetletja republikanske dobe (EDCS; EDR).

C(aius) Canuleius / Q(uinti) f(i)lius leg(ionis) VII evo/cat(us) mort(uus) est ann(or)um nat(us) / XXXV **donat(us)**
torq(ui)bus armil(lis) / p(h)aler(is) coron(a?) / Q(uintus) Canuleius Q(uinti) f(i)lius / leg(ionis) VII occ{e}is(us) in
 Gall(ia) / annor(um) nat(us) XVIII / duo fratr(es) / i{e}is monum(entum) pat(er) fec(it)

45. CIL V 7495 = EDCS-05400745 = EDR010487 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 4

Chieri, Italy, funerary inscription, final decades of the Republic / Chieri, Italija, nagrobni napis, zadnja desetletja republikanske dobe (EDCS; EDR).

L(ucius) Coelius Q(uinti) f(i)lius / miles leg(ionis) VIII / signifer ob / virtutes phalaris / **torquibus** / armillis don[atus]
 / -----?

46. EDCS-01401175 = EDR145292 = lupa 17196

Aquileia, Italy, building inscription, between 30 BC and 30 AD / Akvileja, Italija, gradbeni napis, leto 30 pr. Kr.–30 po Kr. (EDR; lupa).

----- / [---d]onatus to[rquibus ---] / [--- coronis a]ureis duabu[s ---] / [---]s in aede Caesaris f[ecit]

47. AE 2002, 386 = EDCS-27601649

San Vincenzo al Volturno, Italy, funerary inscription, Tiberian period / San Vincenzo al Volturno, Italija, nagrobni napis, Tiberij (AE).

C(aio) Poppid[io C(ai) f(ilio) V]ol(tinia) / Clemen[ti] / militi legionis XI / donatus(!) **torquibus** arm[ill(is)] / p(h)aleris / ab(!) Ti(berio) Caesare Augusto / C(aio) Poppidi[o --- pa]tri [---] / M(arco) Popp[idi]o C(ai) f(ilio) Vo]l(tinia) frat[ri] / Vibiae [---] matri e[st] / Vibiae [---] concubi(nae) [---] / suae ex [testamento fi]er[i iussit(?)]

48. AE 1975, 446 = EDCS-09400433 = EDR076307 = HD009867

Cremona, Italy, funerary inscription, beginning of the 1st century / Cremona, Italija, nagrobni napis, zač. 1. st. (AE; Migliorati 2006).

T(itus) Aponius P(ubli) f(ilius) / Ani(ensi) signifer / leg(ionis) IX Hispanien(sis) / vetera(nus) dona(tus) **torq(uibus)** / armillis phaleris / L(ucius) Aponius P(ubli) f(ilius) / fratri fecit

49. AE 2001, 1177 = CIL II 864 = EDCS-23900233 = HD046554

Ciudad Rodrigo, Spain, votive inscription, probably soon after AD 21 / Ciudad Rodrigo, Španija, votivni napis, verjetno kmalu po letu 21 po Kr. (AE).

L(ucius) Marcus / [L(uci)] f(ilius) [Ma]xi[mus] Gal(eria) / [m]i[l(es)] leg(ionis) XX V[a]l(eriae) / [Vi]c(tricis) [d(onis) d(onatus)] in Gal(lia) / [**tor(ques)**] arm(illae) phal(erae) / Victoriae / -----

50. CIL III 2718 = EDCS-28300043 = HD058891 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 11

Gardun, Croatia, funerary inscription, Tiberian period / Gardun, Hrvaška, nagrobni napis, Tiberij (EDCS; EDH).

M(arcus) Vireius T(iti) f(ilius) Celer Leo domo / Augusta Ba[g]ie[n(norum)] donatus a / Tib(erio) C(a)esare **tor(quibus)** armillis fale[ris(!)]

51. CIL III 3158 = EDCS-28600118 = HD062306 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 16

Unknown findspot in Dalmatia,¹¹ Croatia, votive inscription, AD 14 or 15 / neznano najdišče v Dalmaciji,¹² Hrvaška, votivni napis, leti 14/15 (Maršić 2014, 46).

Iano Patri / Aug(usto) sacrum / C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Ser(gia) / Aetor aed(ilis) / donatus ab(!) Ti(berio) Caes(are) / Aug(usti) f(ilio) Augusto **torq(ue)** / maiore bello D^a lma/tico ob honorem / Iiviratus cum liberis / suis posuit

New reading – cf. Chapter 3 / novo branje – prim. pogl. 3:

Iano Patri / Aug(usto) sacrum / C(aius) Iulius C(ai) f(ilius) Ser(gia) / Aetor aed(ilis) / donatus ab(!) Ti(berio) Caes(are) / Aug(usti) f(ilio) Augusto **torq(uibus)** / maiore bello D^a lma/tico ob honorem / Iiviratus cum liberis / suis posuit

52. CIL V 4365 = EDCS-04203417 = EDR090154 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 12 = Büttner 1957, No./št. 2 = List 2: No. 22 / seznam 2: št. 22

Brescia, Italy, funerary inscription, Tiberian period / Brescia, Italija, nagrobni napis, Tiberij (Franzoni 1987, 79).

L(ucius) Antonius L(uci) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) Quadra/tus donatus / **torquibus** et / armillis ab(!) / Ti(berio) Caesare bis / leg(ione) XX

¹¹ Perhaps Nin (Maršić 2014, 46).

¹² Morda Nin (Maršić 2014, 46).

53. EDCS-63400228 = lupa 23286

Zadar, Croatia, honorific inscription, Tiberian period / Zadar, Hrvatska, počastitveni napis, Tiberij (Giunio, Cesarik, Štrmelj 2018, 197–201).

[--- Ca]stricio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Cam(ilia) / [aed]il(i?) IIIvir(o) auguri Albae / [P]ompeiae prim(o) pil(o) leg(ionis) X[II] a / Ti(berio) Caesare Augusto donato / **torquibus** armillis phaleris / III et coronis aureis duabus / [d]ecur(ioni) Cremonae decur(ioni) Iade/[ris pr(incipi?)] Liburnor(um) et Iap^ri^um / [--- Cast]ricius Severus / [pat]rono

54. CIL III 8438 = EDCS-31500392 = HD060635 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 8 = Büttner 1957, No./št. 1 = List 2: No. 6 / seznam 2: št. 6

Sveti Vid, Croatia, funerary inscription, Tiberian period / Sveti Vid, Hrvatska, nagrobni napis, Tiberij (Maršić 2015, 103–108).

----- dom]o Arimin(o) / mil(es) leg(ionis) XIII donat(us) **torq(uibus)** / armil(lis) phal(eris) et |(centurio) coh(ortis) I / Camp(anorum) an(norum) LX t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) Posidonius / et Prunicus lib(erti) posuer(unt) / et ali ne(mini) h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

55. CIL III 9885 = EDCS-30301392 = HD061586 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 28

Roški slap, Croatia, funerary inscription, between 9 and 42 / Roški slap, Hrvatska, nagrobni napis, v letih 9–42 (EDCS; EDH).

M(arcus) Fraxsanius Sex(ti) f(ilius) / Pol(lia) domo Regio Lepido / veteranus leg(ionis) XI eques / annorum XLIII stipendiorum XXV donatus / phaleris **torquibus** / armillis h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Primu(s) l(ibertus) pro meritis

56. EDCS-31200128 = EDR115915 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 7

Calvi Vecchia, Italy, funerary inscription, first half of the 1st century / Calvi Vecchia, Italija, nagrobni napis, prva polovica 1. st. (EDCS; EDR).

M(arci) Aemili M(arci) f(ilii) Pob(lilia) / Soteriae equitis domo / Oscensis **torquibus** armill(is) / phaleris ab Imperatore / donatus(!) militis missici / veterani leg(ionis) VIII Hispanie(n)s(is) / hic ossa sita sunt

57. EDCS-01401125 = EDR117950 = lupa 13592 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 6

Aquileia, Italy, funerary inscription, first half of the 1st century / Akvileja, Italija, nagrobni napis, prva polovica 1. st. (EDCS; EDR; lupa).

T(itus) Stadius P(ubli) f(ilius) / Serg(ia) Marrax / prim(us) pil(us) leg(ionis) XIII / Geminae / donatus / **torquib(us)** armill(is) / phaleris hasta / pura bis coron[is] / aureis quin[que]

58. CIL XI 395 = EDCS-24600984 = EDR175577 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 29

Rimini, Italy, honorific inscription, AD 66 / Rimini, Italija, počastitveni napis, leto 66 po Kr. (EDCS; EDR; Maxfield 1981, 189, 211, 213).

M(arco) Vettio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) / Valenti / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VIII pr(aetoriae) benef(iciario) praef(ecti) pr(aetorio) / donis donato bello Britan(nico) / **torquibus** armillis phaleris / evoc(ato) Aug(usti) corona aurea donat(o) / |(centurioni) coh(ortis) VI vig(illum) |(centurioni) stat(orum) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) XVI urb(anae) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) / II pr(aetoriae) exercitatori equit(um) speculatorum princip(i) / praetori(i) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) ex trec(enario) [p(rimo) p(ilo)] leg(ionis) VI / Victr(icis) donis donato ob res prosper(e) / gest(as) contra Astures **torq(uibus)** phaler(is) arm(illis) / trib(uno) coh(ortis) V vig(illum) trib(uno) coh(ortis) XII urb(anae) trib(uno) coh(ortis) / III pr(aetoriae) [p(rimo) p(ilo) II] leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Mart(iae) Vic(tricis) / proc(uratori) Imp(eratoris) [[Neronis]] Caes(aris) Aug(usti) prov(inciae) Lusitan(iae) / patron(o) coloniae speculator(es) X h(onoris) c(ausa) / C(aio) Luccio Telesino C(aio) Suetonio Paulino co(n)s(ulibus)

59. CIL V 7003 = EDCS-05400255 = EDR108507 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 32

Torino, Italy, honorific inscription, Neronian period / Torino, Italija, počastitveni napis, Neron (EDCS; EDR; Maxfield 1981, 189, 211, 213).

C(aio) Gavio L(uci) f(ilio) / Stel(latina) Silvano / [p]rimipilari leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / [t]ribuno coh(ortis) II vigilum / [t]ribuno coh(ortis) XIII urban(ae) / [tr]ibuno coh(ortis) XII praetor(iae) / [d]onis donato a divo Claud(io) / bello Britannico / [to]rquibus armillis phaleris / corona aurea / [p]atrono colon(ia) / d(ecreto) [d(ecurionum)]

60. CIL VI 3580 = EDCS-69100014 = EDR121888 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 52

Rome, Italy, funerary inscription, reign of Vespasian / Rim, Italija, nagrobni napis, Vespazijan (EDCS; EDR).

M(arco) Blossio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Pudenti / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae) / donis militaribus / donato ab / Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Aug(usto) / torquib(us) armill(is) / phaler(is) corona aurea / vix(it) an(nos) XLIX sanctissime / et prope diem / consummationis / primi pili sui debitum / naturae persolvit / M(arcus) Blossius Olympicus / patrono opt i mo / fecit item sibi et libertis / et libertabus suis posteris/que eorum / long(us) p(edes) XXX lat(us) p(edes) XVII // M(arco) Blossio / Q(uinti) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Pudenti / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae) / donis militaribus / donato ab / Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Aug(usto) / torquib(us) armill(is) phaler(is) / corona aurea / vix(it) an(nos) XLIX sanctissime / et prope diem / consummationis / primi pili sui debitum / naturae persolvit / M(arcus) Blossius Olympicus / patrono opt i mo / fecit item sibi et libertis et / libertabus suis posterisque / eorum long(us) p(edes) XXX lat(us) p(edes) XVII

61. CIL XI 390 = EDCS-20401829 = EDR144693 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 51a

Rimini, Italy, honorific inscription, between 75 and 100 / Rimini, Italija, počastitveni napis, v letih 75–100 (EDCS; EDR).

L(ucio) Lepidio L(uci) f(ilio) An(iensi) / Proculo / mil(iti) leg(ionis) V Macedon(icae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) eiusdem |(centurioni) leg(ionis) eiusdem II / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Victricis / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is) / prim(o) pilo leg(ionis) XII[I] Gemin(ae) / donis donato ab / Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Aug(usto) / bello Iudaico torquib(us) / armillis phaleris / corona vallari / salinatores civitatis / Menapiorum ob mer(ita) eius / Septimina f(ilia) reponend(um) / curavit

62. CIL XI 391 = EDCS-20401830 = EDR144697 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 51b

Rimini, Italy, honorific inscription, between 71 and 100 / Rimini, Italija, počastitveni napis, v letih 71–100 (EDCS; EDR).

L(ucio) Lepidio L(uci) f(ilio) An(iensi) / Proculo / mil(iti) leg(ionis) V Macedonic(ae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) eiusdem |(centurioni) leg(ionis) eius[d]em II / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Victricis / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is) / prim(o) pilo leg(ionis) XIII Geminae / donis donato ab Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Aug(usto) bello / Iudaico torquib(us) armil(lis) / phaleris corona va[ll]ar(i) / salinatores civitatis / Morinorum ob mer(ita) eius / Septimina f(ilia) reponend(um) / curavit

63. CIL III 14387i = EDCS-17700196 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 44

Baalbek, Lebanon, honorific inscription, reign of Domitian / Baalbek, Libanon, počastitveni napis, Domicijan (Omar 2017, 58–60, No./št. 8).

----- bello / Co[m]magenico donis donato a[b] / [I]mperatoribus corona aurea tor[quibus] / [a]rmillis phaleris honorat(o) albat(a) dec[ur]s(ione) / ab Imp(eratore) primo pilo leg(ionis) III Gall(icae) honorato / Iviralib(us) ornament(is) decret(o) decur(ionum) / M(arcus) Antonius Hoplonis l(ibertus) / Hennunes ob merita

64. AE 1906, 166 = CIL VI 37298 = EDCS-20403373 = EDR072137 = HD022076

Rome, Italy, funerary inscription, reign of Domitian / Rim, Italija, nagrobni napis, Domicijan (EDCS; EDR).

----- donis d[on]at[us] / [a]b Imp(eratore) Domit[i]an(o) / Aug(usto) Germ(anico) torq[ui]bus / armill(is) p(h)aler(is) ob / bellum Germa(ni)c(um) / t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit)

65. AE 1991, 1661 = CIL VIII 1026 = EDCS-17700850 = HD051091 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 65

Carthage, Tunisia, funerary inscription, reign of Domitian¹³ / Kartagina, Tunizija, nagrobni napis, Domicijan.¹⁴
*Dis Manibus sacr(um) / Q(uintus) Vilanius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) Nepos / Philippis |(centurio) coh(ortis) XIII
urb(anae) / donis donatus a Domitiano / ob bellum Dacicum item ab / eodem ob bellum Germanicum / item **torquibus**
armillis ob bellum / Dacicum vixit ann(os) L militavit an(nos) XXXII / M(arcus) Silius Quintianus optio bene merenti /
posuit*

66. AE 1933, 87 = EDCS-15800368 = HD023865

Philippi, Greece, honorific inscription, reign of Nerva¹⁵ / Filipi, Grčija, počastitveni napis, Nerva.¹⁶
*L(ucio) Tatinio / L(uci) f(ilio) Vol(tinia) Cnoso / militi cohortis IIII pr(aetoriae) / singulari et benef(iciario) trib(uni) /
optioni benef(iciario) pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) evoc(ato) / Aug(usti) donis donato **tor/quibus** armillis phaler(is) / corona
aurea [[[ab Imp(eratore) Do]]]/[[[mitiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) Germ(anico)]]] / |(centurioni) coh(ortis) IV vigil(um)
|(centurioni) stator(um) / |(centurioni) coh(ortis) XI urbanae / veterani qui sub eo in vigilib(us) / militaver(unt) et
honestam mis/sione missi sunt*

67. AE 2000, 287 = EDCS-20100060 = EDR140002

Mentana, Italy, funerary inscription, from Domitian to Trajan / Mentana, Italija, nagrobni napis, Domicijan–Trajan
(EDCS; EDR).
*[-----] / [--- |(centurioni) l]eg(ionis) X G[em(inae)] / P(iae) F(idelis) D(omitiana?) donis] donato [ab] / [Imp(eratore)
Domiti]ano Caesa[re] / [Aug(usto) Ger]manico coro[na] / [vallar(i?) **to**]rquibus phal[er(is)] / [armill(is?) qui]
vix(it) ann(os) [---] / [--- l]ib(ertus?) Ali[---] / [patrono(?) su]o [b(ene) m(erenti) ---]*

68. CIL VI 3584 = EDCS-19700276 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 83

Rome, Italy, funerary inscription, Trajanic period¹⁷ / Rim, Italija, nagrobni napis, Trajan.¹⁸
*Ti(berio) Claudio Ti(beri) f(ilio) [G]al(eria) Vitali ex equ[i]te R(omano) / ordinem accepit in leg(ione) V
[Mac(edonica)] successione / promotus [ex] leg(ione) V Ma[c(edonica)] in leg(ionem) [I I]tal(ica) donis d(onato)
/ **torquib(us)** armill(is) phaler(is) corona val[ar(i)] bello / Dacico successione promot(us) ex leg(ione) I Ital(ica)
in leg(ionem) / I Miner(viam) [it]er(um) donis d(onato) **torquib(us)** armill[is] phaler(is) / corona val[ar(i)]
bello Dacico successione pro/mot(us) ex leg(ione) I Miner(via) in leg(ionem) XX Vict(ricem) item prom(otus) / in
leg(ionem) ead(em) item successione promotus ex leg(ione) XX / Vict(ricem) in leg(ionem) IX [Hi]sp(anicam) succ(essione)
promot(us) ex leg(ione) IX [Hi]sp(onica) / in leg(ionem) VII Cl(audiam) P(iam) F(idelem) item successit in leg(ione)
ead(em) / milit(avit) |(centurio) in II pr(inceps) post(erior) annis XI vixit annis XLI*

69. CIL V 48 = EDCS-04400182 = EDR134420

Poreč, Croatia, funerary inscription, end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century¹⁹ / Poreč, Hrvaška, nagrobni
napis, konec 1. st.–začetek 2. st.²⁰
*P(ublius) [Te]dus Sp(uri) f(ilius) Pup(inia) / Valens Terg(este) / signifer leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis) / donis
don(at)us **torquib(us)** / armillis phaleris / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)*

13 Soon after Domitian had died (18 September 96), the senate condemned him to *damnatio memoriae*. Domitian's name survives in the inscription; therefore, we date the funerary monument to the reign of Domitian or very shortly after his death. Strobel (1986, 280) dates it to AD 96.

14 Senat je Domicijana kmalu po njegovi smrti (18. 9. 96) obsodil na *damnatio memoriae*. Na spomeniku je Domicijanovo ime ohranjeno, zato nagrobnik datiramo v čas Domicijanove vladavine ali tik po njegovi smrti. Strobel (1986, 280) spomenik datira v leto 96.

15 *Damnatio memoriae* of Domitian.

16 *Damnatio memoriae* Domicijana.

17 Involved in both of Trajan's Dacian Wars.

18 Udeležba v obeh Trajanovih dačanskih vojnah.

19 *Legio IIII Flavia Felix* was established under Vespasian, around AD 70. Its first fort was at Burnum (Dalmatia, Croatia), which it left in AD 86 to move to Moesia. It fought in Domitian's (AD 86–88) and both of Trajan's (101–102, 105–106) Dacian Wars (Ritterling 1925, 1540–1549). Zaninović (1994, 149) dated the monument to the late 1st century without providing supporting arguments.

20 *Legio IIII Flavia Felix* je bila ustanovljena pod Vespazijanom okl. 70. Prvi tabor je imela v Burnumu (Dalmacija, Hrvaška), ki ga je leta 86 zapustila, ko se je premaknila v Mezijo. Borila se je v Domicijanovi (v letih 86–88) in v obeh Trajanovih (101–102, 105–106) dačanskih vojnah (Ritterling 1925, 1540–1549). Zaninović (1994, 149) je nagrobnik datiral v konec 1. st., vendar ni pojasnil, zakaj.

70. AE 1942/43, 33 = EDCS-08800443 = HD020490

Volubilis, Morocco, honorific inscription, reign of Domitian (after AD 84) or Trajan²¹ / Volubilis, Maroko, počastitveni napis, Domicijan (po letu 84) ali Trajan.²²

-----] hasta pura **to[rquibus ---]** / [bell]o Commageno[rum ---] / [--- cor]rona murali [---] / [--- bello Ge]rmanico [-----

71. CIL II 4461 = EDCS-05503494 = HD056452 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 82

Isona, Spain, honorific inscription, between 114 and 117 / Isona, Španija, počastitveni napis, v letih 114–117 (EDCS; EDH).

L(ucio) Aemilio / L(uci) fil(io) Gal(eria) / Paterno p(rimi)p(ilari) / praef(ecto) fabr(um) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII G(eminae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) IIII u[r(banae)] / |(centurioni) coh(ortis) IIII pr(aetoriae) CCC(trecenario) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) II Au(gustae) / et p(rimo) p(ilo) ter donis donato / ab Imp(eratore) Traiano **torqui/bus** armillis phaleris / corona vallari bis / in Dacia semel in Par/thia / Atilia L(uci) fil(ia) Vera be/ne de se merito

72. CIL III 454 = CIL III 6984 = CIL III 13648 = CIL III 14187³ = EDCS-27000339 = HD037474 = lupa 22555 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 140a = Büttner 1957, No./št. 4

Amasra, Turkey, honorific inscription, Trajanic or Hadrianic period²³ / Amasra, Turčija, počastitveni napis, čas Domicijana–Trajana (Ruscu 2017).²⁴

Sex(to) Vibio Gallo tre/cenario primipila/ri praef(ecto) kastror(um) leg(ionis) / XIII Gem(inae) donis dona/to ab Imperatoribus / honoris virtutisq(ue) / causa **torquib(us)** armil/lis phaleris coronis / muralibus III vallari/bus II aurea I hastis / [p]uris V vexillis II / Sex(tus) Vibius Cocce/ianus patrono / bene merenti // Coronae murales // Σέξ(τω) Ουείβίω Γάλλω τρεκιναρίω πρεμιπειαρίω / [σ]τρατοπ[ε]δάρχη λεγ(ιῶνος) ιγ τειμαῖς τετειμη[μ]έ[ν]ω [ὑπὸ τῶν Σεβασ]/[τ]ῶν [ἀ]ρετῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας χάριν στρεπτοῖς [φα]λ[ά]ροις / στεφάνοις πυργωτοῖς γ τειχωτοῖς β χρυσῶ α δόρ[ασι] / καθαροῖς ε οὐξίλλοις β Σέξ(τος) Ουείβιος Κοκκειανὸς τῶ π[ά]τρωνι

73. CIL III 6359 = EDCS-30600140 = HD058509 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 77

Risan, Montenegro, building inscription, Trajanic period / Risan, Črna gora, gradbeni napis, Trajan (EDCS; EDH).

C(aius) Statius C(ai) f(ilius) / Serg(ia) Celsus / evoc(atus) Aug(usti) donis / donatus bis corona / aurea **torquibus** / phaleris armillis / ob triumphos belli / Dacici ab Imp(eratore) Caesa/re Nerva Traiano Aug(usto) / Germ(anico) Dac(ico) Parthico / Optimo |(centurio) leg(ionis) VII Geminae / in Hispania t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit) et epulo / dedicavit

74. CIL III 10224 = ILJug 270 = EDCS-29300085 = HD073621 = lupa 4334 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 63

Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia, funerary inscription, Trajanic period / Sremska Mitrovica, Srbija, nagrobni napis, Trajan (EDCS; EDH; lupa).

T(itus) Cominius / T(iti) f(ilius) Volt(inia) Seve/rus Vienna |(centurio) / leg(ionis) II Adiutric(is) / donis donat(us) / ab Imp(eratore) Caesare / Aug(usto) bello Dacico / **torquibus** armillis / phaleris corona val/lari vixit ann(os) XXXXV / T(itus) Caesernius Macedo / proc(urator) Aug(usti) her(es) ex test(amento) p(osuit)

75. CIL III 14187⁴ = EDCS-30000342 = HD037479 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 140b

Cide, Turkey, votive inscription, from Domitian to Trajan²⁵ / Turčija, votivni napis, Domicijan–Trajan (Ruscu 2017).²⁶

Iovi Sarso Sex(tus) Vibi/us Gallus trecenari/us primipilaris praef(ectus) kas/tror(um) leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) {G} donis do/natus ab Imperatoribus ho/noris virtutisq(ue) causa **torquib(us)** armillis phale/ris coronis muralib(us) III / vallarib(us) II aurea I has/tis puris V vexillis II / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)

21 Domitian's *bellum Germanicum* was fought between 82 and 84.

22 Domicijanova *bellum Germanicum* je bila v letih 82–84.

23 Sextus Vibius Gallus was in the army during Domitian's and Trajan's reign (Ruscu 2017).

24 S. Vibij Gal je svojo vojaško službo opravljal pod Domicijanom in Trajanom (Ruscu 2017).

25 Cf. inscription No. 72.

26 Prim. napis št. 72.

76. CIL VI 1626 = EDCS-18100435 = EDR100472 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 55

Rome, Italy, funerary inscription, Trajanic period / Rim, Italija, nagrobni napis, Trajan (EDCS; EDR).

*Cn(aeo) Pompeio Sex(ti) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Homullo / Aelio Gracili Cassiano Longino / p(rimo) p(ilo) bis leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) et leg(ionis) X Fretens(is) / trib(uno) coh(ortis) III vig(ilum) trib(uno) coh(ortis) X urb(anae) / trib(uno) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) donis donato ab / Imp(eratore) **torq(ui)bus** phal(eris) armill(is) cor(ona) aur(ea) / hast(a) pur(a) proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinciae / Britanniae proc(uratori) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) / duarum Lugud(unensis) et Aquit(anicae) proc(uratori) / Aug(usti) a rationibus / heredes*

77. AE 1980, 225 = EDCS-08900171 = EDR077665 = HD005288

Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Italy, fragment – type of monument cannot be defined, Trajanic period / Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Italija, fragment – neopredeljivo, Trajan (AE, EDCS, EDR).

----- / [leg(ionis) I] Min(erviae) doni[s militarib(us)] / [do]nato **torquib[us armillis]** / [phale]ris corona vallar[i ob] / [expedit]ionem Dacicam [---]A[---] / [---]NVMATIA[---]T[---] XXXII / [---] ordini MIIA[---]nna / [---] statum priorem [---] / [---]RAM NAT[---] / [---] Atellius IAI[---] / [---] / [---]XXXV

78. AE 1903, 368 = EDCS-16300627 = HD031653 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 49

Baalbek, Lebanon, honorific inscription, reign of Domitian / Baalbek, Libanon, počastitveni napis, Domicijan (EDCS; Strobel 1986).

*C(aio) Velio Sal/vi f(ilio) Rufo p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) XII / Fulm(inatae) / praef(ecto) vexillari/orum leg(ionum) VIII I Adiut(ricis) II Adiut(ricis) / II Aug(ustae) VIII Aug(ustae) VIII Hisp(anae) XIII Ge/m(inae) XX Vic(tricis) XXI Rapac(is) trib(uno) co/h(ortis) XIII urb(anae) duci exercitus Africi et / Mauretanicis ad nationes quae / sunt in Mauretania comprimendas do/nis donato ab Imp(eratore) Vespasiano et Imp(eratore) / Tito bello Iudaico corona vallar(i) / **torquibus** ph`a[le]ris armillis item / donis donato corona murali / hastis duabus vexillis duobus et bel/lo Marcomannorum Quadorum / Sarmatarum adversus quos expedi/tionem fecit per regnum Decebali / regis Dacorum corona murali has/tis duabus vexillis duobus proc(uratori) Imp(eratoris) Cae/saris Aug(usti) Germanici provinciae Panno/niae et Dalmatiae item proc(uratori) provinciae / Raetiae ius gladi(i) hic missus in Parthiam Epipha/nem et Callinicum regis Antiochi filios ad / Imp(eratore) Vespasianum cum ampla manu tribu/tariorum reduxit M(arcus) Alfius M(arci) f(ilius) Fabia O/lympiacus aquilife[r] vet(eranus) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is)*

79. AE 1923, 28 = AE 1950, 57 = EDCS-08601003 = HD026002

Ksour-Dzemda, Tunisia, honorific inscription, Trajanic period, before 102²⁷ / Ksour-Dzemda, Tunizija, počastitveni napis, Trajan, pred letom 102.²⁸

*Q(uinto) Geminio / Q(uinti) fil(io) Arn(ensi) Sa/bino |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(i)n(ae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Fer(ratae) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XIV / Mar`t` (iae) Gem(inae) Vict(ricis) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) / X Gem(i)n(ae) P(iae) F(elicis) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(i)n(ae) hast(ato) pri/ori leg(ionis) I Adiut(ricis) P(iae) f(idelis) et prin/cipi peregrinor(um) d(onis) d(onato) ab Imp(eratore) / Caes(are) Traiano Aug(usto) Germani/co corona vallari **torqui/bus** et armillis et phaleris / bello Germanico praef(ecto) / leg(ionis) X Fretensis / vicani vici Annaei quam idem / Geminus Sabinus ab iis tes/tamento suo fieri iussit / posuerunt idemque dedica/verunt anno mag(istri) D(ecimi) Annaei Arn(ensi) / Advenae*

27 Trajan received the title 'Dacicus' after the First Dacian War, which is not yet present in this inscription (Strobel 2010, 255).

28 Po prvi dačanski vojni je Trajan dobio naslov *Dacicus*, ki na napisu še manjka (Strobel 2010, 255).

80. EDCS-08601004

Ksour-Dzemda, Tunisia, honorific inscription, Trajanic period, before 102²⁹ / Ksour-Dzemda, Tunizija, počastitveni napis, Trajan, pred letom 102.³⁰

Q(uinto) Geminio Q(uinti) fil(io) / Arn(ensi) Sabino / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XIV Mar't(iae) Gem(inae) Victr(icis) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) P(iae) F(elicis) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Gem(inae) hast(ato) priori leg(ionis) I / Adiutr(icis) P(iae) F(idelis) et principi pe/r'e`grinorum d(onis) d(onato) ab / Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Traiano Aug(usto) Germ(anico) / corona vallari **torquibus** / et armillis et phaleris bello / Germ(anico) praef(ecto) leg(ionis) X Fretensis / vicani vici Annaei quam idem / Geminus Sabinus ab iis testa/mento suo fieri iussit posue/runt idemq(ue) dedicaver(unt) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)

81. EDCS-11700956 = HD056403

Isona, Spain, honorific inscription, between 106 and 114 / Isona, Španija, počastitveni napis, v letih 106–114 (EDCS; EDH).

[L(ucio)] Aemilio [L(uci) fil(io)] / [G]al(eria) Patern[o pr(aefecto)] / [f]abrum |(centurioni) coh(ortis) IIII praet(oriae) [bis(?)] / [do]nis donato ab Imp(eratore) C(aes(are)) / [Ne]rva Traiano Aug(usto) s[emel I expe]/[dit]ione iterum [II Dacica(?)] / [**torquibus** armillis phaleris] / [corona vallari -----

82. AE 1892, 106 = CIL III 12411 = EDCS-29100179 = HD042822 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 62

Nedan, Bulgaria, funerary inscription, between 121 and 150 / Nedan, Bolgarija, nagrobni napis, v letih 121–150 (EDCS; EDH).

D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucius) Val(erius) L(uci) f(ilius) Proclus / mil(es) leg(ionis) VM(acedonicae) b(ene)f(iciarius) lega(ti) / opt(io) ad spe(m) ordin(is) / |(centurio) leg(ionis) eiusd(em) d(onatus) **tor(quibus)** ar(millis) / pha(ler)ris bel(lo) Dac(ico) |(centurio) leg(ionis) I / Ital(icae) |(centurio) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) |(centurio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) |(centurio) leg(ionis) VIIIHisp(anae) / mis(sus) h(onesta) mis(sione) vix(it) an(nos) LXXV / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

83. CIL V 546 = EDCS-04200636 = EDR093712 = HD033035 = lupa 16167 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 92

Trieste, Italy, honorific inscription, Hadrianic period / Trst, Italija, počastitveni napis, Hadrijan (EDCS; EDH; EDR; lupa).

----- donis donato] / ob bellum Parth(icum) [**torquibus**] / armillis phaleris co[r]ona ---] / L(ucius) Varius Papirius Papirianus pa[te]r / Iivir i(ure) d(icundo) Iivir i(ure) d(icundo) quinq(uennalis) Tergest(e) / praef(ectus) fabrum Romae et Terg(este)

84. CIL X 3733 = EDCS-17500294 = EDR161546 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 98

Sant'Arpino?, Italy, funerary inscription, Hadrianic period, after 135 / Sant'Arpino(?), Italija, nagrobni napis, Hadrijan, po letu 135 (EDCS; EDR).

C(aio) Nummio C(ai) fil(io) Fal(erna) / Constanti p(rimi)p(ilaris) / leg(ionis) II Traianae / centurion(i) II leg(ionis) III / Cyreneicae et VII Cla(udiae) / evocato in foro ab actis / militi coh(ortis) III praet(oriae) / et X urb(anae) donis donato ab / Imp(eratore) Traiano **torquibus** / armillis phaleris ob / bellum Parthicum i[te]m ab / Imp(eratore) Hadriano corona / aurea **torquibus** armillis / phaleris ob bellum Iud'aicum / heredes ex testamento

85. CIL XI 2112 = EDCS-22100266 = EDR170396 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 91

Chiusi, Italy, funerary inscription, Hadrianic period–end of the 2nd century / Chiusi, Italija, nagrobni napis, Hadrijan–konec 2. st. (EDCS; EDR).

----- primo] / [pi]l(o) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) / [|centurioni) leg(ionis) ex CCC et coh(ortis) X pra[et(oriae) et ---] / urb(anae) et statorum et [--- vig(illum)] / [e]voc(ato) Aug(usti) donis do[nato] / [o]b bellum Dacic(um) **to[rquibus]** / armillis phaler[is corona] / aurea et ab / Imp(eratore) Traiano Hadr[iano] / Augusto / [---] hast[a pura -----

29 Cf. inscription No. 79.

30 Prim. napis št. 79.

86. CIL XI 3108 = EDCS-22300272 = EDR158091 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 94

Civita Castellana, Italy, honorific inscription, Hadrianic period / Civita Castellana, Italija, počastitveni napis, Hadrijan (EDCS; EDR).

Q(uinto) Albio Q(uinti) f(ilio) Hor(atia) Felici / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(icticis) / corniculario pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) / donis donato ab(!) divo / Traiano Aug(usto) / **torquibus** armillis / phaleris bello Parthico et ab / Imp(eratore) Caesare Traiano / Hadriano Aug(usto) hasta pura / et corona aurea / Avillia Soteris mater / filio optimo pientissimo / l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

87. AE 2007, 526 = CIL XI 5646 = EDCS-23000316 = EDR015702 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 78

Matelica, Italy, honorific inscription, AD 132 / Matelica, Italija, počastitveni napis, leto 132 (EDCS; EDR).

C(aio) Arrio C(ai) f(ilio) Cor(nelia) / Clementi militi coh(ortis) IX / pr(aetoriae) equiti coh(ortis) eiusdem donis / donato ab Imp(eratore) Traiano / **torquibus** armillis phaleris / ob bellum Dacicum singulari / praefectorum pr(aetorio) tesserario o/ptioni fisci curatori cornicul(ario) / tribuni evocato Aug(usti) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) I vigil(um) |(centurioni) / statorum |(centurioni) coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) VII pr(aetoriae) / trecenario donis donato ab Imp(eratore) / Hadriano hasta pura corona aurea / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) primipilari Ilvir(o) quin/quennali patrono municipii / curatori rei publicae / decur(iones) et Aug(ustales) V[Ivir(i) et] municipes Matil(icates)

88. CIL XI 5992 = EDCS-23100799 = EDR016490 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 66

Sant'Angelo in Vado, Italy, honorific inscription, Trajanic or Hadrianic period / Sant'Angelo in Vado, Italija, počastitveni napis, Trajan–Hadrijan (EDCS; EDR).

L(ucio) Aconio L(uci) f(ilio) Clu(stumina) / Staturae / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) F(elicis) leg(ionis) / V Maced(onicae) leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) doni(s) / donato ab Imp(eratore) Traiano / Aug(usto) Germ(anico) ob bellum Dacic(um) / **torquib(us)** armill(is) phaleris / corona vallar(i) et a priorib(us) / principibus **eisdem donis** / donato ob bellum Germa(nicum) / et Sarmatic(um) a divo Traiano / ex militia in equestrem / dignitatem translato / Arimini pontif(ici) quinq(uennali) / Tif(erni) Mat(aurensis) flamini pontif(ici) / quinq(uennali) / L(ucius) Aconius Statura fil(ius) / ex testamento eius cuius / dedicatione epulum decu(rionibus) et plebi dedit / l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

89. AE 1995, 1190 = AE 2002, 1100 = CIL III 5334 = EDCS-14500646 = HD037974 = lupa1298 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 43

Seggauberg, Austria, funerary inscription, from Vespasian to the first half of the 2nd century / Seggauberg, Avstrija, nagrobni napis, Vespazijan–prva polovica 2. st. (EDCS; EDH, lupa).

T(itus) Cassius / Secundus / |(centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) / donis donat(us) / corona mura[l(i)] / phaler(is) **torquib(us)** / armillis t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / arbitr(atu) M(arci) Saxi Primi / h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit) / l(ocus) s(epulturae) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

90. CIL X 1202 = EDCS-11500131 = EDR102518 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 93

Avella, Italy, honorific inscription, from Hadrian to the time of Antoninus Pius / Avella, Italija, počastitveni napis, Hadrijan–Antonin Pij (EDCS; EDR).

N(umerio) Marcio / N(umeri) f(ilio) Gal(eria) / Plaetorio Celeri / quaest(ori) Ilvir(o) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII / Gemin(ae) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XVI Fl(aviae) Firm(ae) / donis donato a divo / Traian(o) bello Parthic(o) / corona murali **torquib(us)** / armillis phalaris |(centurioni) leg(ionis) II / Gall(icae) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) Mart(iae) Victr(icis) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) P(iae) F(idelis) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) I Adi(utricis) P(iae) F(idelis) p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) / eiusd(em) praeposit(o) numeror(um) / tendentium in ponto Ab/saro trib(uno) coh(ortis) III vigil(um) / patron(o) colon(iae) / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

91. AE 1998, 1435 = EDCS-12500329 = HD049184

Beirut, Lebanon, honorific inscription, first half of the 2nd century / Beirut, Libanon, počastitveni napis, prva polovica 2. st. (AE; EDCS).

Cn(aeo) Iulio L(uci) f(ilio) / [Fa]b(ia) Rufo |(centurioni) leg(ionis) II Adiut(ricis) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) V Mac(edonicae) / [(centurioni) l]eg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XI Cl(audiae) P(iae) F(idelis) |(centurioni) leg(ionis) VI / [Fer]r(atae) p(rimo) p(ilo) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae) donis donato / [ab I]mp(eratore) bello Germanico et Sarma/[t]ico **torquibus** armillis phaleris / [c]orona vallari item donato ab Imp(eratore) / [Cae]sare Traiano Aug(usto) Dacico Parthico / [bel]lo Parthi(co) **torquibus** armillis phal[er]is corona vallari et albata dec[ur]sione / [--- I]ulius Candidus |(centurio) leg(ionis) V M[ac(edonicae)] pio patruo [et soc]ero

92. CIL III 11667 = EDCS-14600164 = HD056388 = lupa 9002 = Büttner 1957, No./št. 3 = Wedenig 1997, 276–277, V 29

Allersdorf, Austria, funerary inscription, from Domitian to Trajan / Allersdorf, Avstrija, nagrobni napis, Domicijan–Trajan (Wedenig 1997, 276–277).

C(aio) Iul(io) [---] / Viruni [---] / Ti(berius) Cl(audius) Iuni[anus ---] / **torquib(us) n(umero) II[---]** / c[oron(is)] mur[alib(us)] III --- / leg(ionis) XXII [Pr]imig[e]n[iae ---] / p(rimus) p(ilus) princeps[is ---]

93. CIL XI 5696 = EDCS-23000370 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 85

Albacina, Italy, honorific inscription, reign of Antoninus Pius / Albacina, Italija, počastitveni napis, Antonin Pij (EDCS; EDR).

[C(aio)] Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) Ouf(entina) / Silvestri benef(iciario) / pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) evoc(ato) Aug(usti) / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) [F(elicis)] / leg(ionis) III Gall(icae) leg(ionis) VI / Ferr(atae) leg(ionis) XXX U(lpiae) V(ictricis) / p(rimo) p(ilo) praef(ecto) castror(um) leg(ionis) IIII F(laviae) [F(elicis)] / [do]nis d[on]ato bello Dacico bis / [**tor**]quibus armillis phale/[ris po]ntifici cur(atori) / [viar(um) et pont(ium)] Umbr(iae) et Piceni dato / [ab Imp(eratori) An]tonino Aug(usto) Pio / [p(atre) p(atriciae) imp(eratore) II] patrono municipi(i) / [---]erelius / [--- R]ufinus co(n)s(ules) ff(ecerunt)

94. CIL XII 2230 = EDCS-09200638 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 115

Grenoble, France, funerary inscription, from Antoninus Pius to Marcus Aurelius / Grenoble, Francija, nagrobni napis, Antonin Pij–Mark Avrelij (EDCS).

D(is) M(anibus) / T(iti) Camul(i) L(uci) f(ilii) Laveni / emeriti leg(ionis) III Gallic(ae) / honesta missione do/nat(i) ab Imper(atore) Antonino / Aug(usto) Pio et ex voluⁿ tate / Imp(eratoris) Hadriani Aug(usti) **tor/quibus** et armillis aure/is suffragio legionis / honorati Camulia soror / eius et Paregoria [p]ro[pt]e[r] / merita eius patrono op/timo et piissimo

95. AE 1888, 105 = CIL III 7334 = EDCS-24200086 = HD050760 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 110

Philippi, Greece, honorific inscription, reign of Antoninus Pius / Filipi, Grčija, počastitveni napis, Antonin Pij (EDCS; EDH).

[D(ecimus) Furi]us D(ecimi) f(ilii) / S[er]g(ia) Octavius Se/cundus Curib(us) Sab(inis) mil(es) coh(ortis) / X urb(anae) translatus in coh(ortem) VI pr(aetoriam) / singularis trib(uni) benef(iciarius) trib(uni) sing(ularis) pr(aefecti) / praet(orio) optio in centur(ia) signif(er) / fisci curat(or) cornicul(arius) trib(uni) / evoc(atus) Aug(usti) c(enturio) leg(ionis) X Fretensis / donis don(atus) ab(!) divo Hadriano / ob bell(um) Iudaicum corona au/rea **torquib(us)** armillis phaler(is) / et ab eodem promotus success(ione) / in leg(ionem) primam Italic(am) primipil(us) leg(ionis) / eiusdem adlectus decurio in / coloni(is) et ornam(enti) Iivirilib(us) / hon(oratus) Actiae Nicopoli et Ulpia(e) / [d(e) s(ua)] p(ecunia) d(onum) d(edit)

96. AE 1937, 101 = EDCS-15900398 = HD023259

Elbasan, Albania, honorific inscription, reign of Antoninus Pius / Elbasan, Albanija, počastitveni napis, Antonin Pij (EDCS; EDH).

*M(arco) Sabidi[o --- f(ilio)] / Aem(ilia) Ma[ximo] / mil(iti) leg(ionis) XI C[laud(iae)] / signif(ero) corn[ic]ular(io)] / optioni a[di]spe[m ordi]/nis |(centurioni) leg(ionis) s(upra) s(criptae) prom[oto] a] / divo Hadrian[o in leg(ionem) III] / Gall(ica) d(onis) d(onato) ab e[od]o [d(em) Imp(eratore) ob vic]/[to]r(iam) Iudaic(am) **torqui[bus] armil(lis)] / [ph]aleris corona mur[ali] |(centurioni) leg(ionis) III] / [S]cythicae item |(centurioni) leg(ionis) I[---] prom(oto)] / ab Imp(eratore) Antonino in l[eg(ionem) ---] / ab eod(em) Imp(eratore) prom(oto) in leg(ionem) [--- ab eod(em)] / Imp(eratore) prom(oto) in leg(ionem) XIII Gem(inam) v(ixit) [a(nnos) --- mil(itavit) st(ipendia)] / |(centurionica) [c]a(ligata) XX continua XL Valer[i---] / l(ocus) d(atus) a convic(anis) Scamp(ensibus) inlatis eis [---] / [---]II anno viola et ro[sa ---]***

97. CIL III 2887 = EDCS-28400139 = HD059982 = lupa 23218 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 108

Obrovac, Croatia, funerary inscription, from Vespasian to the time of Antoninus Pius / Obrovac, Hrvaška, nagrobni napis, Vespazijan–Antonin Pij (CIL; EDCS; EDH; lupa).

*A(ulus) Saufeius P(ubli) f(ilius) Ca[m(ilia) E]/max Ansio miles c[oh(ortis)] / VIII pr(aetoriae) |(centuria) Firmi Ter[tulli] / militavit annis [--- bene]/ficiarius t[ri]b(uni) tes[er] / serarius co[rn]icular(ius)] / donis do[natus] ab] / Imperat[ore ---] / no Cae[sare] Aug(usto) **tor]/quib[us]** / -----*

98. CIL VIII 217 = CIL VIII 11301 = EDCS-14900171 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 138

Kasserine, Tunisia, funerary inscription, around 235³¹ / Kasserine, Tunizija, nagrobni napis, okrog leta 235.³²
*[M(arcus) Petronius Fortunatus ---] / militavit annis IV in leg(ione) I Ita[lica] / librar(ius) tesser(arius) optio signifer / [(centurio)] factus ex suffragio leg(ionis) eiu[sdem] / militavit |(centurio) leg(ionis) I Ital(icae) leg(ionis) VII / |(centurio) leg(ionis) I Min(erviae) leg(ionis) X Gem(inae) |(centurio) leg(ionis) II A[---] / |(centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) |(centurio) II[I] Gall(icae) |(centurio) leg(ionis) XXX U[l]p(iae) / |(centurio) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) |(centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae) |(centurio) leg(ionis) XV Apol(linaris) / |(centurio) leg(ionis) II Par(thicae) |(centurio) leg(ionis) I Adiutricis / consecutus ob virtutem in / expeditionem Parthicam / coronam muralem vallarem / **torques** et phaleras agit in / diem operis perfecti annos LXXX / sibi et / Claudiae Marciae Capitolinae / [c]oniugi karissimae quae agit / in diem operis perfecti / annos LXV et / M(arco) Petronio Fortunato filio / militavit ann(os) VI |(centurio) leg(ionis) X[X]II Primig(eniae) / |(centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) vixit ann(os) XXXV / cui Fortunatus et Marcia parentes / karissimo memoriam fecerunt*

99. AE 1976, 296 = EDCS-13301302 = HD004945

Castrelo do Val, Spain, votive inscription, 2nd century / Castrelo do Val, Španija, votivni napis, 2. st. (EDCS; EDH).

*L(ucius) Cas(sius) Caen(o) / TAMC |(centuria) Nem() / dec(urio) al(ae) I Cl(audiae) G(allorum) / COMP[---] **torq(uiibus)** / phal(eris) [..] donatus / Iovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) v(otum) s(olvit) / l(ibens) a(nimo)*

31 Marcus Petronius Fortunatus was born around AD 154. He entered the army between 172 and 175. Under Septimius Severus, he fought in the Parthian War, for which he won a military decoration. He was honourably discharged from the army in 218/220, after which he settled in Tunisia and died there around 235 (Lassère 1991).

32 M. Petronij Fortunat je bil rojen ok. leta 154. V vojsko je vstopil med letoma 172–175. Pod Septimijem Severom se je udeležil partske vojne, v kateri je bil odlikovan. Iz vojske je bil častno odpuščen leta 218/220. Nato se je naselil v Tuniziji, kjer je okrog leta 235 umrl (Lassère 1991).

100. AE 1913, 48 = EDCS-13100033 = HD026973 = List 2: No. 33 / seznam 2: št. 33

Naïmine er-Rodoui, Tunisia, votive inscription,³³ last third of the 2nd century (Omar 2017, 181–182) or first third of the 3rd century³⁴ / Naïmine er-Rodoui, Tunizija, votivni napis,³⁵ zadnja tretjina 2. st. (Omar 2017, 181–182) ali prva tretjina 3. st.³⁶

*Militavit annis XXXV / C(aius) Titurnius Quartio eques legionis III / Gallicae cui Imp(eratores) Aug(usti) bello P{h}art(h)ico Seleucia / Babylonia **torquem** et armillas donaverun[t] / votum suum reddidit*

101. AE 1994, 657 = AIJ 172 = CIL III 3844 = CIL III 13398 = ILJug 316e = RINMS 43 = EDCS-26600536 = EDR129063 = lupa 2923 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 168 = Speidel 1996, 236

Ljubljana, Slovenia, funerary inscription, 3rd century or between 240 and 310 / Ljubljana, Slovenija, nagrobni napis, 3. st. oz. 240–310 (Speidel 1996, 236).

*D(is) i(n)feris M(anibus) / Aurelius / Iovinus / veter(anus) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / mil(es) **torquatus** / et dupl(ic)arius / e M(o)esi^a sup(eriore) / Aurel(iae) Urs(a)e / co(n)iugi / karissim(a)e*

102. CIL III 11971 = EDCS-30501025 = HD060155 = lupa 25405

Regensburg, Germany, funerary inscription, 3rd century / Regensburg, Nemčija, nagrobni napis, 3. st. (Gamer, Rüsich 1973, 88, No./št. 364).

*D(is) M(anibus) / A(u)r(elius) Tacitus **tor/quatus** vixit annis / XXXIII fec(it) mater / karis(s)ima et co(n)iu^x / Argentia dulcis/sima et soceri OBI*

103. AE 1982, 274 = AE 1983, 59 = EDCS-10700709 = EDR078582 = HD000165 = Speidel 1996, 236

Fabrica di Roma (Viterbo), Italy, funerary inscription, 3rd century (EDCS; EDR) or between 240 and 310 (Speidel 1996, 236) / Fabrica di Roma (Viterbo), Italija, nagrobni napis, 3. st. (EDCS; EDR) oziroma v letih 240–310 (Speidel 1996, 236).

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Aurelio Saturnino / militi **torquato** legionis / prim(a)e{s} Italic(a)e qui vix/{s}it an(n)is XL meⁿ sibus VI / diebus X militavit / annis XIII / Aurelius Arborius / fratri bene mer/enti fecit*

104. AE 1900, 95 = CIL XI 7264 = EDCS-20800590 = EDR071742 = HD028270 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 142

Saturnia, Italy, honorific inscription, 3rd century, after the death of Caracalla, probably between 218 and 222 / Saturnia, Italija, počastitveni napis, 3. st., po smrti Karakale, verjetno v letih 218–222 (EDCS; EDR).

*C(aio) Didio C(ai) f(ilio) Sab(atina) / Saturnino p(rimo) p(ilo) / donato bello Par(thico) / a divo Vero item / bello Germanico / a divo M(arco) **torq(ui)bus** et arm(illis) / item divis Severo et / Magno Antonino / coron(a) aurea civica / et (h)asta pura argent(ea) / ob insignia eius in / rem pub(licam) merita / Saturnienses / municipes patro(no) // Cura(m) agente C(aio) Min/tio Urbo*

105. EDCS-13301540 = HD044118

Empúries, Spain, honorific inscription(?), 3rd century, after 217 / Empúries, Španija, počastitveni napis(?), 3. st., po letu 217 (EDCS; EDH).

----- / [----- corona] / [au]rea [et] **torque** e[t] / hasta argentea e[t] / clypeo et equo ab [di]/vis Sev[ero et An]to/nino Imp(eratoribus) p[ro]no ob b[e]nific[i]a eius / in s[e]c[un]d[um] onlata ord(o) / [r(ei) p(ublicae) Em]p(oritanorum) d(ecreto) [d(ecurionum)]

33 EDCS identifies the monument as votive/funerary, though the phrase *votum suum reddo* usually occurs on votive (cf. s. v. *votum reddo* in EDCS) and very rarely on funerary monuments (EDCS-23600258; Christian inscription EDCS-12800697). In contrast, the years of army service and decorations received is information mainly to be found on funerary monuments.

34 Caius Titurnius Quartus was decorated either in the Partian War in 165, when the Romans conquered Seleucia that is therefore mentioned in the inscription (Omar 2017, 181–182), or in 197 (Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, 158–159, mentions both possibilities).

35 V EDCS je spomenik opredeljen kot votivni/nagrobni. Besedna zveza *votum suum reddo* se običajno pojavlja na votivnih (prim. s. v. *votum reddo* v EDCS) in zelo redko na nagrobnih (EDCS-23600258; krščanski napis EDCS-12800697). Nasprotno pa leta služenja vojske in prejeta odlikovanja najdemo predvsem na nagrobnih napisih.

36 Gaj Titurnij Kvart je odlikovanje prejel v partski vojni leta 165, ko so Rimljani osvojili Seleukijo, ki je zato omenjena v napisu (Omar 2017, 181–182) ali leta 197 (Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, 158–159, navaja obe možnosti).

106. AE 2008, 639 = CIL II 115 = EDCS-05500125^{37,38}

Évora, Portugal, funerary inscription, 3rd century / Évora, Portugalska, nagrobni napis, 3. st. (Stanley 1994).
D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / C(aio) Antonio C(ai) f(ilio) Fla/vino V(viro) iun(iori) / hast(ato) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)
torq(ue) / aur(eo) et an(nona) dupl(a) ob virt(utem) / donato Iun(ia) Verecun/da flam(inica) perp(etua) mun(icipii)
Ebor(ensis) / mater f(aciendum) c(uravit)

107. CIL III 2888 = ILJug 2850 = EDCS-28400140 = HD035463

Gornji Karin, Croatia, honorific inscription(?), 2nd or 3rd century(?) / Gornji Karin, Hrvaška, počastitveni napis?,
2. ali 3. st.? (EDCS; EDH).
-----] / [mi]l(iti) co[h(ortis) ---] / [---]R tesse[rar(io)] / [---] d(onis) d(onato) **tor[quibus]** -----

108. CIL III 14006 = EDCS-31200672 = HD060063 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 155

Zadar, Croatia, funerary inscription, 1st or first half of the 2nd century(?) / Zadar, Hrvaška, nagrobni napis, 1. st. ali
prva pol. 2. st.? (EDCS; EDR).
-----] / **torquib(us)** armil(lis) phale[r(is) ---] / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) / Vibia Maxima soror / faciend(um)
curavit / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)

109. AE 2005, 1692 = CIL VIII 5209 = EDCS-13001440 = HD061220 = Steiner 1906, No./št. 5

Kef beni Fredj, Algeria, funerary inscription, undatable / Kef beni Fredj, Alžirija, nagrobni napis, ni datiran.
C(aius) Iulius Getu/lus vet(eranus) donis / donatis **torqui/bus** et armillis / dimissus et in civit(ate) / sua Thullio
flam(en) / perp(etuus) vix(it) an(nos) LXXX // h(ic) s(itus) e(st) // "PUN"

110. CIL 13, p *33 = EDCS-72800142

Fake inscription / ponaredek.
L(ucius) Antonius L(uci) f(ilius) / Fab(ia) Quadra(tus) / **torquibus** et / armillis ad / T(iberio) Caesare bis / leg(ione)
XX

37 Concerning the authenticity of the inscription, see the discussion in Stanley 1994, Wesch-Klein 1994 and Speidel 1996, 236. We have provided the standard transcription of the inscription. The *torqu aur* abbreviation may also be read as *torq(uibus) aur(eis)*, though we believe the content of the inscription and its dating speak against this possibility.

38 Glede pristnosti napisa glej diskusijo pri Stanley 1994, Wesch-Klein 1994 in Speidel 1996, 236. Navedli smo ustaljeno transkripcijo napisa. Možna dopolnitev okrajšave *torqu aur* je tudi *torq(uibus) aur(eis)*, vednar se nam glede na vsebino napisa in datacijo ne zdi verjetna.

4

Torques in relief depictions

There are 33 known depictions of *torques*, all on stone monuments (*List 2*; *Table 2*; *Figs 4.1–4.33*). Most of them (29) are funerary, either tombstones or parts of other such forms (*No. 21*). Others comprise a pedestal for a statue or part of a (probably votive) altar (*No. 25*)¹²¹, a relief from a public building (*No. 27*), and the upper part of a votive aedicula (*No. 33*).

The *torques* on these monuments are presumed to be depictions of the decorations awarded to individual soldiers.

It is unclear whether the decoration of army units¹²² involved the bestowal of actual *torques*, which the unit would then likely have fastened to its standard. The only depiction of a *torques* on a standard is not associated with an auxiliary unit (*No. 26*).¹²³

In addition to the monuments that Valerie Maxfield discussed in her book,¹²⁴ *List 2* includes nine other monuments that were all but one either found or published later, after 1981 (*Nos 2, 3, 5, 18–21, 27, 30*).

4.1 Comparison of pictorial and epigraphic evidence

The 33 monuments with depictions of *torques* include four that also bear an inscription mentioning such decorations.

The funerary inscription *No. 6* relates that the soldier was awarded *torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae*, which corresponds with the relief representations of two *torques*, two *armillae*, and a set of *phalerae*.

Tiberius Claudius Maximus (*No. 17*), who ended his long military career as a *decurio* in an *ala*, was decorated on three occasions.¹²⁵ The inscription is silent on the type of award, while the relief shows two *torques* and two *armillae*.

The inscription *No. 22* reveals that Lucius Antonius Quadratus was awarded *armillae* and *torques* by Tiberius. The associated relief shows pairs of both decorations, as well as a set of *phalerae*.

The inscription *No. 33* mentions decoration with one *torques* and a pair of *armillae*, which agrees with the depiction.

4.2 Chronological distribution (*List 2*; *Table 2*; *Fig. 4.A*)

The chronological distribution of the monuments with *torques* depicted in relief is shown in *Fig. 4.A*.

The earliest funerary monument dates to the final decades of the Republic (*No. 28*). By far the greatest number are from the late Augustan to the Claudian period ($n = 16$; *Nos 1, 3–6, 8, 9, 11, 13–15, 20, 22, 29–31*). Three funerary monuments are from the middle (*Nos 7, 23, 32*) and two from the second half of the 1st century AD (*Nos 10, 24*), three are broadly dated to the 1st century (*Nos 18, 19, 21*), one is from the Flavian/Trajanic period (*No. 12*), two from the Trajanic period (*Nos 2, 26*) and two belong to a time from Trajan to the mid-2nd century (*Nos 16, 17*). At least 21 of 30 funerary monuments with depicted *torques* were thus likely erected in the 1st century AD.

121 See Chapter 6.3.

122 Maxfield (1981, 88) had a single *torques* in mind, while literary sources are silent on the number of decorations actually awarded.

123 Maxfield 1974, 44; Maxfield 1981, 219. Cf. *List 2*: *No. 26*.

124 Maxfield 1981.

125 Inscription *No. 17*: Maximus was first decorated with *torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae* by Emperor Domitian when serving as a *vexillarius equitum legionis*; later, he was twice decorated by Emperor Trajan and became the recipient of a double pay (*duplicarius*) and *explorator* of the *ala*.

Spomeniki z upodobitvijo rimskega vojaškega odlikovanja torkves

Poznamo 33 upodobitev rimskega vojaškega odlikovanja torkves – vse so na kamnitih spomenikih (seznam 2; pregl. 2; sl. 4.1–4.33). Velika večina so nagrobniki (29 spomenikov) oziroma so del drugih nagrobnih struktur (št. 21). Drugi spomeniki so podstavek kipa ali (verjetno votivni) oltar z manjkajočim vrhnjim delom (št. 25)¹²¹, okras javne stavbe (št. 27) in ovršje votivne edikule (št. 33).

Na nagrobnikih upodobljeni torkvesi so ozko povezani z odlikovanji posameznikov.

Ne vemo, ali je odlikovanje torkves, ki so ga prejele vojaške enote,¹²² vključevalo izročitev fizičnega torkvesa enoti, ki bi ga v tem primeru verjetno pripela na svoj prapor. Edina upodobitev torkvesa na praporu ni povezana z avksiliarno enoto (št. 26).¹²³

Poleg spomenikov, ki jih je obravnavala že Valerie Maxfield,¹²⁴ seznam 2 sestavlja še devet drugih spomenikov; vse razen enega so odkrili oziroma objavili po izidu njene knjige (št. 2, 3, 5, 18–21, 27, 30).

4.1 Primerjava upodobitev in napisov

Med 33 spomeniki z upodobljenim odlikovanjem torkves imajo štiri napis, ki omenja odlikovanja.

Napis št. 6 sporoča, da je pokojni vojak prejel torkvese, armile in falere, kar se ujema z upodobitvijo para torkvesov, para armil in seta faler.

Tiberij Klavdij Maksim (*Tiberius Claudius Maximus*; št. 17), ki je bil na koncu svoje dolge vojaške kariere

poveljnik ale, je bil odlikovan ob treh priložnostih.¹²⁵ Napis ne pove, kakšna odlikovanja je prejel, na nagrobniku pa vidimo par torkvesov in par armil.

Lucij Antonij Kvadrat (*Lucius Antonius Quadratus*; št. 22) je po podatkih v napisu od Tiberija prejel armile in torkvese, na upodobitvi pa poleg para torkvesov in para armil vidimo set faler.

Napis št. 33 omenja odlikovanje z enim torkvesom in parom armil, kar se ujema z upodobitvijo.

4.2 Časovna razporeditev (seznam 2; preglednica 2; sl. 4.A)

Časovno razporeditev spomenikov z upodobitvijo torkvesov kaže sl. 4.A.

Najstarejši nagrobnik je iz izteka poznorepublikanske dobe (št. 28). Daleč največ nagrobnih spomenikov je iz poznoavgustejske do vključno klavdijske dobe (n = 16; št. 1, 3–6, 8, 9, 11, 13–15, 20, 22, 29–31). Trije so iz sredine (št. 7, 23, 32) in dva iz druge polovice 1. st. (št. 10, 24), iz 1. st. brez ožje datacije so trije (št. 18, 19, 21). En nagrobnik je iz časa od Flavijcev do Trajana (št. 12), po dva sta iz časa Trajana (št. 2, 26) in časa od Trajana do sredine 2. st. (št. 16, 17). Najmanj 21 od 30 nagrobnikov z upodobljenim odlikovanjem torkves so torej verjetno postavili v 1. st.

V čas Klavdija je datiran okras javne stavbe iz Trsta (št. 27). Spomenik Kvinta Sulpicija Celza (*Quintus Sulpicius Celsus*), za katerega domnevamo, da ni nagrobnik (št. 25), je iz časa Vespazijana. Najmlajši spomenik z upodobitvijo odlikovanja torkves je ovršje votivne

¹²¹ Glej pogl. 6.3.

¹²² Valerie Maxfield (1981, 88) je imela v mislih en torkves, pisni viri o številu ob odlikovanju morda dejansko podeljenih torkvesov molčijo.

¹²³ Maxfield 1974, 44; Maxfield 1981, 219. Prim. seznam 2: št. 26.

¹²⁴ Maxfield 1981.

¹²⁵ Napis št. 17: pokojnik je prvo odlikovanje s torkvesi, armilami in falerami prejel od cesarja Domicijana, ko je bil zastavonoša legijske konjenice (*vexillarius equitum legionis*), dvakrat pa ga je odlikoval cesar Trajan, ko je postal prejemnik dvojne plače (*duplicarius*) in ogleđnik (*explorator*) v ali.

Dated to the reign of Claudius is the relief from a public building in Trieste (No. 27). The monument for Quintus Sulpicius Celsus, which is presumably not a funerary monument (No. 25), is from the time of Vespasian. The latest in date, from the last third of the 2nd or first third of the 3rd century, is the upper part of a votive aedicula (List 2: No. 33; List 1: No. 100). These monuments show single *torques* (cf. Chapter 4.4).

4.3 Recipients of *torques* (List 2; Table 2)

The texts and relief representations surviving on most funerary monuments in List 2 allow for inferences on the rank of the decorated soldiers.

The inscription on two funerary monuments survives complete but does not reveal whether the deceased was a soldier or not (Nos 28, 30). On six examples, the inscription is either missing or incomplete (Nos 4, 5, 8, 11, 18, 19), but the reliefs clearly identify the deceased as a soldier.

None of the monuments hold indications of the recipients not being Roman citizens.

For most recipients (n = 16), the inscriptions only mention service in a legion (Nos 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13–15, 20, 22, 24, 29, 31–33). Many did not rise above the rank of an ordinary soldier (in either infantry or cavalry: Nos 1, 3, 7, 10, 13?,¹²⁶ 33), others were or became a *signifer* (No. 22), *optio* (No. 2), *aquilifer* (No. 14), *centurio* (Nos 5, 9, 15, 18, 20, 24, 29, 31, 32),¹²⁷ or *primus pilus* (No. 23) after having received the decoration.

Five inscriptions relate service in a legion and (commanding) positions in auxiliary or praetorian units (Nos 6, 12, 17, 25, 26).

One inscription mentions the service as a *signifer* in a praetorian cohort (No. 16).

4.4 Number of awarded *torques* (List 2; Table 2; Figs 4.A, 4.B, 4.1–4.33)

The earliest monument (No. 28) shows three *torques*, two sets of three *armillae*, and two sets of *phalerae*.

There are 26 funerary monuments that depict one pair of *torques* (Nos 1–3, 5, 6, 8–15, 17–24, 26, 29–32) and two that show two pairs (Nos 4, 7). Three tombstones (Nos 4, 5, 15) reveal that awarding a pair of *torques*, a pair of *armillae*, and a set of *phalerae* became common in the early 1st century AD at the latest.

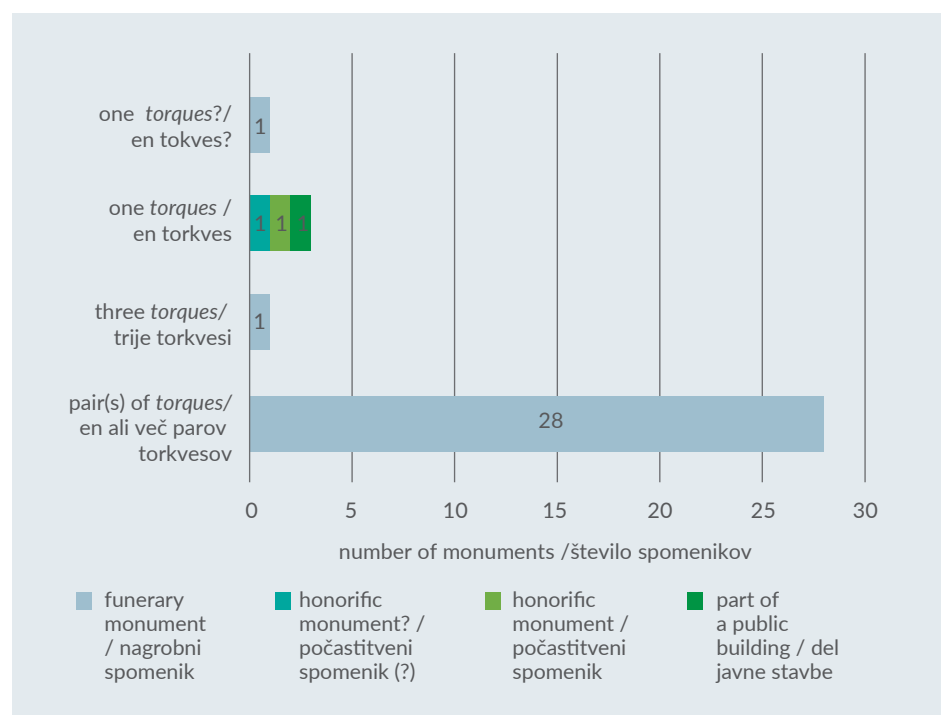
Single *torques* are shown on a sarcophagus (No. 16) and on three non-funerary monuments (Nos 25, 27, 33); all are discussed in detail in Chapters 6.2 and 6.3.

4.5 Manner of wearing *torques* (List 2; Table 2; Figs 4.1–4.33)

Six funerary reliefs (Nos 2, 13, 14, 15, 24, 29) show that *torques* were worn in pairs, below the collar bones, over the cuirass, and with the terminals facing down. *Torques* are also portrayed in pairs and downturned (i.e. with terminals facing down) on all other funerary reliefs (Nos 1, 3–7, 9–11, 17–20, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31) with the exception of No. 32 where the *torques* terminals face up and No. 21 where the upper *torques* is upturned and the lower *torques* downturned; the orientation of the *torques* is unclear on three monuments (Nos 8, 12, 24).

Figure 4.B
Number of funerary and other monuments with the depiction of *torques* in one/several pairs or individually.

Slika 4.B
Število nagrobnih in drugih spomenikov, ki prikazujejo odlikovanje torkves v paru/parih ali posamič.

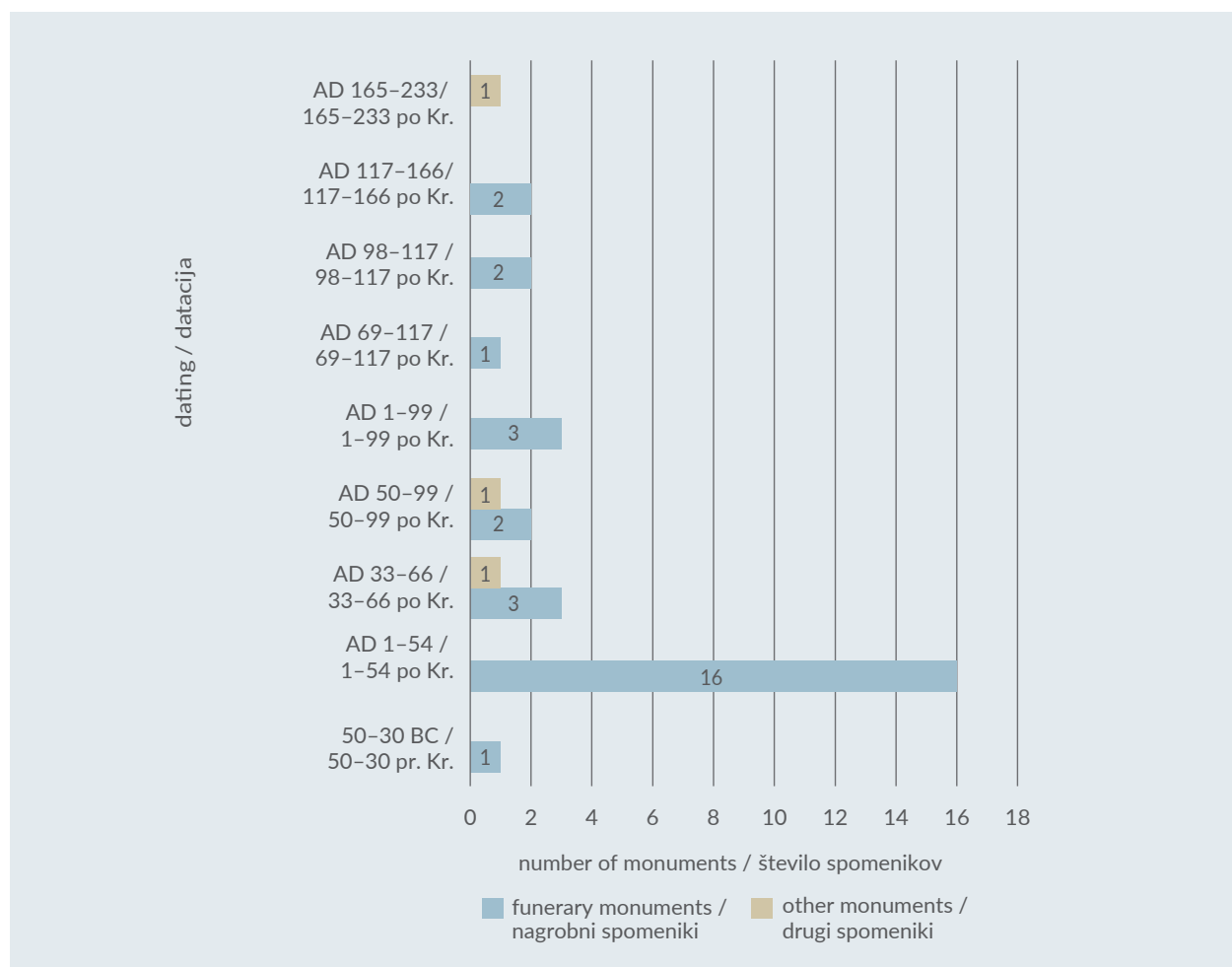


¹²⁶ Only part of the inscription survives.

¹²⁷ Only the *vitis* and greaves identify the deceased on the tombstones in List 2: Nos 5, 18 as centurions.

Figure 4.A
Chronological distribution
of the stone monuments
depicting the military
decoration *torques*.

Slika 4.A
Časovna razporeditev
kamnitih spomenikov z
upodobitvijo odlikovanja
torkves.



edikule iz zadnje tretjine 2. ali prve tretjine 3. st. (*seznam 2: št. 33; seznam 1: št. 100*). Našteti spomeniki prikazujejo po en torkves (prim. pogl. 4.4).

4.3 Odlikovanci (*seznam 2; preglednica 2*)

Na večini nagrobnikov z upodobljenimi torkvesi ohranjeno besedilo in upodobitve omogočajo sklepanje o položaju pokojnih vojakov v vojski.

Pri dveh nagrobnikih je ohranjen celoten napis, vendar iz njega ni mogoče sklepati, ali je bil pokojnik vojak (*št. 28, 30*), pri šestih nagrobnikih pa to ni mogoče, ker napis ni (dovolj) ohranjen (*št. 4, 5, 8, 11, 18, 19*); upodobitve na teh spomenikih jasno kažejo, da gre za nagrobne vojakov.

Za nikogar med odlikovanci ni pokazatelj, da ni bil rimski državljani.

Za večino odlikovancev ($n = 16$) je v napisu omenjena le služba v legiji (*št. 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 13-15, 20, 22, 24, 29, 31-33*). Številni niso presegli položaja navadnega vojaka (pešaki in konjeniki: *št. 1, 3, 7, 10, 13?,¹²⁶ 33*), drugi pa so bili oziroma so po prejetju odlikovanja torkves postali praporščak/*signifer* (*št. 22*), stotnikov pomočnik/*optio* (*št. 2*), orlonosec/*aquilifer* (*št. 14*), stotnik/*centurio* (*št. 5, 9, 15, 18, 20, 24, 29, 31, 32*)¹²⁷ ali prvi stotnik prve kohorte v legiji/*primus pilus* (*št. 23*).

Na petih spomenikih napis navaja službe v legiji in (poveljniške) položaje v pomožnih ali pretorijanskih enotah (*št. 6, 12, 17, 25, 26*).

Na enem nagrobnem spomeniku je edina omenjena vojaška služba signifer v pretorijanski kohorti (*št. 16*).

¹²⁶ Ohranjen je le del napisa.

¹²⁷ Na nagrobnikih *seznam 2: št. 5, 18* le *vitis* in golenice kažejo, da je bil pokojnik centurion.

Five funerary monuments indicate where and how the *torques* were fastened. Those of Marcus Caelius (No. 15) hang at the level of the collar bones, each in its own loop of folded fabric that disappears behind his neck; we can presume that at the back of the neck the fabric was fastened to the harness that bore the *phalerae*. The depiction on the tombstone of Cnaeus Musius (No. 14) suggests the *torques* were fixed to the shoulder front pieces of the harness that bore the *phalerae*. Three monuments (Nos 6, 19, 30) show a thin loop via which *torques* were attached.

4.6 Appearance and size of the *torques* depicted on funerary reliefs (Table 2; List 2; Figs 4.1–4.24, 4.26, 4.28–4.32)

The *torques* represented on funerary monuments are circular or rarely horseshoe-shaped (No. 2), plain (Nos 1–3, 7, 9, 10, 11b, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20–22, 26–29, 31), twisted (Nos 4, 6, 12, 17, 19, 23, 24, 30a, b, 32) or relief decorated with regularly (symmetrically?) arranged droplets or triangles oriented with the tip away from the terminals (Nos 11a, 15).

Torques composed of two halves are shown on two funerary reliefs (Nos 14, 19), possibly also on the funerary monuments Nos 6, 11a.

The bodies of the *torques* are either of an even thickness (Nos 2–4, 6, 16, 17, 20–23, 28, 30b, 32) or gradually expand from the middle towards the terminals (Nos 9–11a, b, 13–15, 18, 19, 29, 31, 32), very few gradually tapering towards expanded terminals (Nos 1, 30a; for monument No. 1, this may be related to difficulties in perspectival representation).

The terminals either touch each other (Nos 3, 4, 7, 9–11a, b, 13–15, 21, 30a, b, 31, 32) or not (Nos 1, 2, 16–20, 22, 23, 26–29). With the exception of monument No. 16, which shows a slight difference probably related to the quality of execution, the terminals are of the same shape on individual *torques*. They are usually expanded – most frequently to form a sphere or disc (Nos 2, 7, 10, 15, 16a, b, 17, 18, 20–22, 29, 30b, 31, 32), in some cases, an animal head (lion – Nos 3, 14; undetermined animal head: Nos 1, 11a, b), while in several examples the shape cannot be identified (Nos 13, 28).¹²⁸ The terminals on two *torques* are thinner

than the body (Nos 9, 19). The *torques* on monument No. 23 terminates at both ends in a rosette.

The appearance of the *torques* on stone reliefs is related to the condition of preservation and quality of execution. We should also bear in mind that painting, no longer visible today, may have produced a substantially different appearance; it could, for example, have been used to show twisting or relief decoration on the body.

On the funerary monuments, we usually see pairs of equal, and in one case three equal *torques*. In contrast, three funerary monuments show pairs of different *torques* (Nos 9, 11, 30), while the depictions on the front of a sarcophagus include single but different *torques* on each of the side panels (No. 16).

The relief depictions on five funerary monuments (Nos 2, 14, 15, 24, 29) indicate that the (internal) diameter of the *torques* was too small to fit around the neck of an adult man.

The difference in size between *torques* and *armillae* can be observed on nineteen monuments. Thirteen of those indicate *armillae* were considerably smaller than *torques* (Nos 1, 3, 5, 6, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 28, 30, 31); on four, the difference is less substantial though *armillae* are still clearly smaller (Nos 4, 7, 14, 16); on two, the difference is minor (Nos 26, 32). In short, the representations reveal *torques* to be larger than *armillae*.

The relief depictions that allow such a comparison to be made (Nos 2, 14, 15, 24, 29) consistently reveal that the interior diameter of *torques* was smaller than the neck width of the decorated soldier.

4.7 Decorations depicted alongside *torques* on funerary monuments (List 2; Table 2; Figs 4.1–4.33)

The 28 funerary monuments that represent or once represented pairs of *torques* include roughly two thirds that survive in a condition good enough to identify which of the decorations forming a set (*torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae*) are depicted. Ten of the monuments show the combination of a) a pair of *torques*, a pair of *armillae*, and a set of *phalerae* (Nos 1, 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 20, 26, 30, 31). Other monuments each show a different combination: b) two pairs of *torques*, two pairs of *armillae*, and a set of *phalerae* (No. 4),

¹²⁸ For the very poorly preserved relief of *torques* on monument No. 5, Maršić (2014, 30) writes that it shows snake head terminals; for our reservations on the subject, see List 2: No. 5.

4.4 Število podeljenih torkvesov (seznam 2; preglednica 2; sl. 4.A, 4.B, 4.1–4.33)

Na najstarejšem nagrobniku so upodobljeni trije torkvesi, dva seta po tri zapestnice in dva seta faler (št. 28).

Na 26 nagrobnih spomenikih je upodobljen en par torkvesov (št. 1–3, 5, 6, 8–15, 17–24, 26, 29–32) in na dveh nagrobnikih dva para (št. 4, 7). Trije nagrobniki (št. 4, 5, 15) kažejo, da je bilo odlikovanje s parom torkvesov, parom armil in setom faler uveljavljeno najpozneje na začetku 1. st. po Kr.

Po en torkves je upodobljen na sarkofagu (št. 16) in treh spomenikih, ki niso nagrobni (št. 25, 27, 33); podrobno smo jih obravnavali v pogl. 6.2 in 6.3.

4.5 Način nošnje (seznam 2; preglednica 2; sl. 4.1–4.33)

Iz upodobitev na nagrobnikih (št. 2, 13, 14, 15, 24, 29) je razvidno, da so torkvese nosili v paru, na prsih, približno v višini ključnice, nad oklepom, z zaključkoma navzdol. V paru in enako (tj. z zaključkoma navzdol) orientirani so torkvesi tudi na vseh drugih nagrobnikih (št. 1, 3–7, 9–11, 17–20, 22, 23, 26, 28, 30, 31), razen na dveh: pri prvem sta oba torkvesa obrnjena navzgor (št. 32), na drugem je zgornji torkves obrnjen navzgor, spodnji pa navzdol (št. 21). Na treh nagrobnikih orientacija torkvesa ni jasna (št. 8, 12, 24).

Način pritrditve torkvesov nakazuje pet nagrobnikov. Pri Marku Celiju (*Marcus Caelius*; št. 15) torkvesa visita v višini ključnice, vsak v svoji zanki iz nagubane tkanine, ki na upodobitvi izgine za Markovim vratom; domnevamo, da je bila na jermenu za vratom pripeta na jermenje, ki je nosilo falere. Iz upodobitve na nagrobniku Gneja Musija (*Cnaeus Musius*; št. 14) sklepamo, da sta bila torkvesa pripeta na zgornji del sprednje strani jermenja, ki je nosilo falere. Tenko zanko za pritrditev torkvesov vidimo na treh nagrobnikih (št. 6, 19, 30).

4.6 Videz in velikost na nagrobnih spomenikih upodobljenega odlikovanja torkves (preglednica 2; seznam 2; sl. 4.1–4.24, 4.26, 4.28–4.32)

Na nagrobnikih upodobljeni torkvesi so krožne ali izjemoma podkvaste (št. 2) oblike, gladki (št. 1–3, 7, 9, 10, 11b, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 26–29, 31), tordirani (št. 4, 6, 12, 17, 19, 23, 24, 30a, b, 32) ali pa je površina reliefno okrašena z motivom pravilno (simetrično?) razporejenih kapljic oziroma trikotnikov, orientiranih s konico stran od zaključkov torkvesa (št. 11a, 15).

Dva nagrobnika kažeta iz dveh polovic sestavljene torkvese (št. 14, 19), pri dveh pa to ni zanesljivo (št. 6, 11a).

Obroči torkvesov so enakomerno debeli (št. 2–4, 6, 16, 17, 20–23, 28, 30b, 32) ali pa se počasi debelijo od sredine proti zaključkoma (št. 9–11a, b, 13–15, 18, 19, 29, 31, 32), zelo redko pa se tanjšajo od sredine proti odebeljenima zaključkoma (št. 1, 30a; pri spomeniku št. 1 je to morda povezano s težavami pri prikazu v perspektivi).

Zaključka torkvesov se stikata (št. 3, 4, 7, 9–11a, b, 13–15, 21, 30a, b, 31, 32) ali ne (št. 1, 2, 16–20, 22, 23, 26–29). Razen na spomeniku št. 16, kjer je majhna razlika v zaključkih verjetno povezana s kakovostjo izdelave, imajo torkvesi enaka zaključka. Običajno sta odebeljena – največkrat kroglasto oziroma diskasto (št. 2, 7, 10, 15, 16a, b, 17, 18, 20–22, 29, 30b, 31, 32), včasih v obliki živalske glave (levja glava: št. 3, 14; neopredeljena živalska glava: št. 1, 11a, b) ali pa ni jasno, kakšna je oblika odebeljenih zaključkov (št. 13, 28).¹²⁸ Pri dveh torkvesih so zaključki ožji od obroča (št. 9, 19). Torkves na spomeniku št. 23 se na obeh koncih zaključki z rozeto.

Na videz upodobljenih torkvesov vplivata ohranjenost upodobitve in kakovost izdelave. Barvna poslikava, ki ni več vidna, je lahko precej spremenila videz torkvesov; z njo so lahko ponazorili tordiranje in reliefen okras obroča.

Praviloma na nagrobnikih vidimo par enakih torkvesov oziroma v enem primeru tri enake torkvese. Izjeme so trije nagrobniki, na katerih sta upodobljena

¹²⁸ Za zelo slabo ohranjeno upodobitev torkvesa na spomeniku št. 5 Maršić (2014, 30) meni, da kaže zaključek z videzom kačje glave; v zvezi z našimi pomisleki prim. seznam 2: št. 5.

c) two pairs of *torques*, one pair of *armillae*, and a set of *phalerae* (No. 7), d) a pair of *torques* and *armillae* and two sets of *phalerae* (No. 22), e) a pair of *torques* and a pair of *armillae* (No. 17), f) a pair of *torques* and a set of *phalerae* (Nos 2, 13?, 24, 29?) and probably g) a pair of *torques*, an *armilla*, and a set of *phalerae* (No. 21).

The earliest funerary monument shows three *torques*, six equal *armillae*, and two sets of *phalerae* (No. 28).

The depictions thus confirm the findings of the epigraphic analysis (Chapter 3.2.5) in that the commonest combination of decorations awarded on a single occasion consisted of a pair of *torques*, a pair of *armillae*, and a set of *phalerae*. We presume that such a combination was also depicted on most of the funerary monuments that only survive in part (Nos 8–12, 18, 19, 23, 32).

Several reliefs show one or more pairs of *torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae* in combination with other decorations: one, two, or three *coronae aureae* (Nos 21, 23, 24, 28, 31, 32), a *corona civica* (Nos 11, 15), and two *hastae purae* in addition to one or two *coronae* (Nos 21, 23, 28).

The decorations carved on funerary and other monuments in combination with single *torques* (Nos 16, 25, 27, 33) are discussed in Chapters 6.2 and 6.3.

dva različna torkvesa (št. 9, 11, 30), in sarkofag, na katerem sta bila v dveh reliefnih poljih upodobljena dva podobna, a ne enaka torkvesa (št. 16).

Upodobitve na petih nagrobnikih (št. 2, 14, 15, 24, 29) nakazujejo, da je bil (notranji) premer torkvesov tako majhen, da jih ne bi bilo mogoče nositi okoli vratu.

Razmerje med velikostjo torkvesov in armil lahko opazujemo na 19 nagrobnikih. Na trinajstih so armile precej manjše od torkvesov (št. 1, 3, 5, 6, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 28, 30, 31), na štirih je razlika manj izrazita, a so armile nedvomno manjše od torkvesov (št. 4, 7, 14, 16), na dveh pa so armile le malo manjše od torkvesov (št. 26, 32). Upodobitve na nagrobnikih torej kažejo, da so bili torkvesi večji od armil.

Nagrobniki, ki omogočajo primerjavo velikosti odlikovanja torkves s širino vratu odlikovanca (št. 2, 14, 15, 24, 29), v vseh primerih kažejo, da so notranji premeri torkvesov manjši od širine vratu.

4.7 Ob torkvesih upodobljena odlikovanja na nagrobnih spomenikih (seznam 2; preglednica 2; sl. 4.1–4.33)

Med 28 nagrobnimi spomeniki, ki prikazujejo oziroma so prikazovali parno število torkvesov, so številni (pribl. dve tretjini) dovolj dobro ohranjeni, da lahko ugotovljamo, kaj od skupine odlikovanj *torques*, *armillae*, *phalerae* prikazujejo. Na desetih vidimo kombinacijo a) par torkvesov, par armil in set faler (št. 1, 3, 5, 6, 14, 15, 20, 26, 30, 31). Na posameznih spomenikih so upodobljene naslednje kombinacije: b) dva para torkvesov, dva para armil in set faler (št. 4), c) dva para torkvesov, par armil in set faler (št. 7), d) po en par torkvesov in armil ter dva seta faler (št. 22), e) par torkvesov in par armil (št. 17), f) par torkvesov in set faler (št. 2, 13?, 24, 29?) ter verjetno g) par torkvesov, armila in set faler (št. 21).

Na najzgodnejšem nagrobnem spomeniku so prikazani trije torkvesi, šest enakih zapestnic in dva seta faler (št. 28).

Upodobitve torej potrjujejo ugotovitve iz analize napisov pogl. 3.2.5: običajna kombinacija ob enem odlikovanju je bila par torkvesov, par armil in set faler. Domnevamo, da je bila takšna kombinacija odlikovanj upodobljena na večini delno ohranjenih nagrobnikov (št. 8–12, 18, 19, 23, 32).

Na številnih spomenikih so razen armil in faler s parom oziroma pari torkvesov upodobljena še druga odlikovanja: ena, dve ali tri *coronae aureae* (št. 21, 23, 24, 28, 31, 32), ena *corona civica* (št. 11, 15) in na treh spomenikih poleg enega ali dveh vencev še dve *hastae purae* (št. 21, 23, 28).

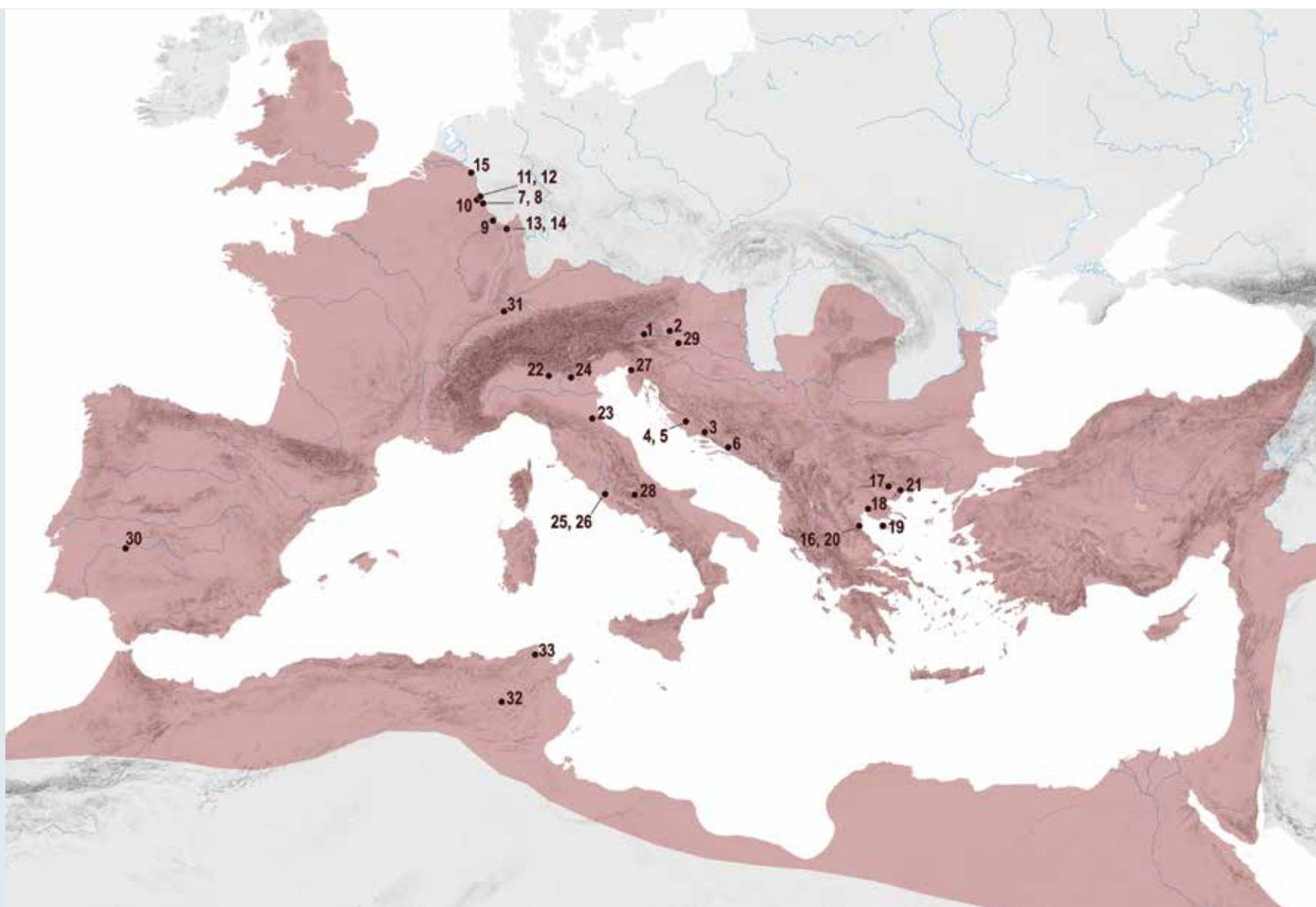
Odlikovanja, ki so upodobljena na nagrobnih in drugih spomenikih v kombinaciji z zgolj enim torkvesom (št. 16, 25, 27, 33), smo obravnavali v pogl. 6.2 in 6.3.

List 2

Stone monuments with the relief depiction of *torques*

Listed below are the monuments bearing depictions of the Roman military decoration *torques* but not those for which the identification is unclear, and the relief may show either a *torques*, a *corona*, or an *armilla*.¹²⁹ The designation of left and right in the descriptions takes the viewer's point of view.

The list is compiled according to countries. Each entry consists of the successive number of a monument, its findspot, brief identification, dating (unless otherwise specified, all dates are AD), place of storage, and inventory number, as well as the reference to its illustration in this book. The second paragraph provides the transcription of the inscription, and the third one a description of the depicted military decorations. Each entry ends with publication references.



¹²⁹ Maxfield 1981, Pl. 6c, 7a, 8c, 9b.

Seznam 2

Kamniti spomeniki z upodobitvijo odlikovanja torkves

V seznam smo vključili zanesljive in verjetne upodobitve rimskega odlikovanja torkves, ne pa npr. upodobitev, za katere ni jasno, ali prikazujejo torkvese ali vence ali armile.¹²⁹ Oznake levo oziroma desno v opisih se nanašajo na pogled gledalca proti upodobitvi.

Seznam je urejen po državah. Pri vsakem zapisu si v prvem odstavku sledijo zaporedna številka, najdišče, kratek opis spomenika, datacija (če ni drugače navedeno, so vse datacije po Kr.), kraj hrambe in inventarna številka ter navedba slike v knjigi. V drugem odstavku je podano besedilo napisa, v tretjem pa opis upodobljenih vojaških odlikovanj. Na koncu vsakega zapisa je literatura.

Map 1

Findspots of stone monuments bearing relief depictions of the Roman military decoration *torques* (List 2) on a map showing the outline of the Roman Empire during the reign of Hadrian.
1 Magdalensberg,
2 Seggauberg,
3 Gardun,
4–5 Kistanje,
6 Sv. Vid,
7–8 Bonn,
9 Boppard,
10 Kierdorf,
11–12 Köln,
13–14 Mainz,
15 Xanten,
16 Dion,
17 Grammeni,
18 Solun,
19 Kassandria,
20 Dion or its surroundings,
21 Philippi,
22 Brescia,
23 Forlí,
24 the River Illasi near Cellore,
25–26 Rome,
27 Trieste,
28 Villavallelonga,
29 Videm near Ptuj,
30 Mérida,
31 Windisch,
32 Haydrah,
33 Naïmine er-Rodoui.

Karta 1

Najdišča spomenikov z upodobitvami odlikovanja *torques* (seznam 2) na zemljevidu z obrisom rimskega cesarstva v času cesarja Hadrijana.
1 Štalenska gora,
2 Seggauberg,
3 Gardun,
4–5 Kistanje,
6 Sv. Vid,
7–8 Bonn,
9 Boppard,
10 Kierdorf,
11–12 Köln,
13–14 Mainz,
15 Xanten,
16 Dion,
17 Grammeni,
18 Solun,
19 Kassandria,
20 Dion ali okolica,
21 Filipi,
22 Brescia,
23 Forlí,
24 reka Illasi pri kraju Cellore,
25–26 Rim,
27 Trst,
28 Villavallelonga,
29 Videm pri Ptuj,
30 Mérida,
31 Windisch,
32 Haydrah,
33 Naïmine er-Rodoui.

¹²⁹ Npr. Maxfield 1981, t. 6c, 7a, 8c, 9b.

AUSTRIA

1

Magdalensberg, tombstone for brothers Gaius and Quintus Vettius, cavalrymen in *legio VIII Augusta*, first half of the 1st century (EDCS; EDH; lupa; Pochmarski 2001, 284–285), Archäologischer Park Magdalensberg, Museum, Inv. No. 52; Fig. 4.1a, b.

C(aius) Vettius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Pol(lia) eq(ues) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / ann(or)um XLIIIX stip(endiorum) XXVIII / idem quaestor / veteranorum / et Q(uintus) Vettius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Pol(lia) frater eq(ues) leg(ionis) / VIII Aug(ustae) ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / M(arcus) Metilius eq(ues) leg(ionis) / VIII Aug(ustae) et P(ublius) Arrius her(edes) / C(ai) Vetti test(amento) posuerunt

The main panel, below the inscription, shows a stylised set of nine (three rows of three) *phalerae* on a harness of vertical and horizontal straps and, above them, two *torques* in the centre flanked by one penannular *armilla* with outwards facing terminals on either side. The single-piece penannular *torques* have a smooth body that tapers towards the expanded, animal(snake?)-head terminals.

CIL III 4858; Steiner 1906, Pl. 2: 5; Büttner 1957, No. 25; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, Pl. 13a; Pochmarski 2001, 284–285, Fig. 1; EDCS-14500157; HD056850; lupa 1145.



a

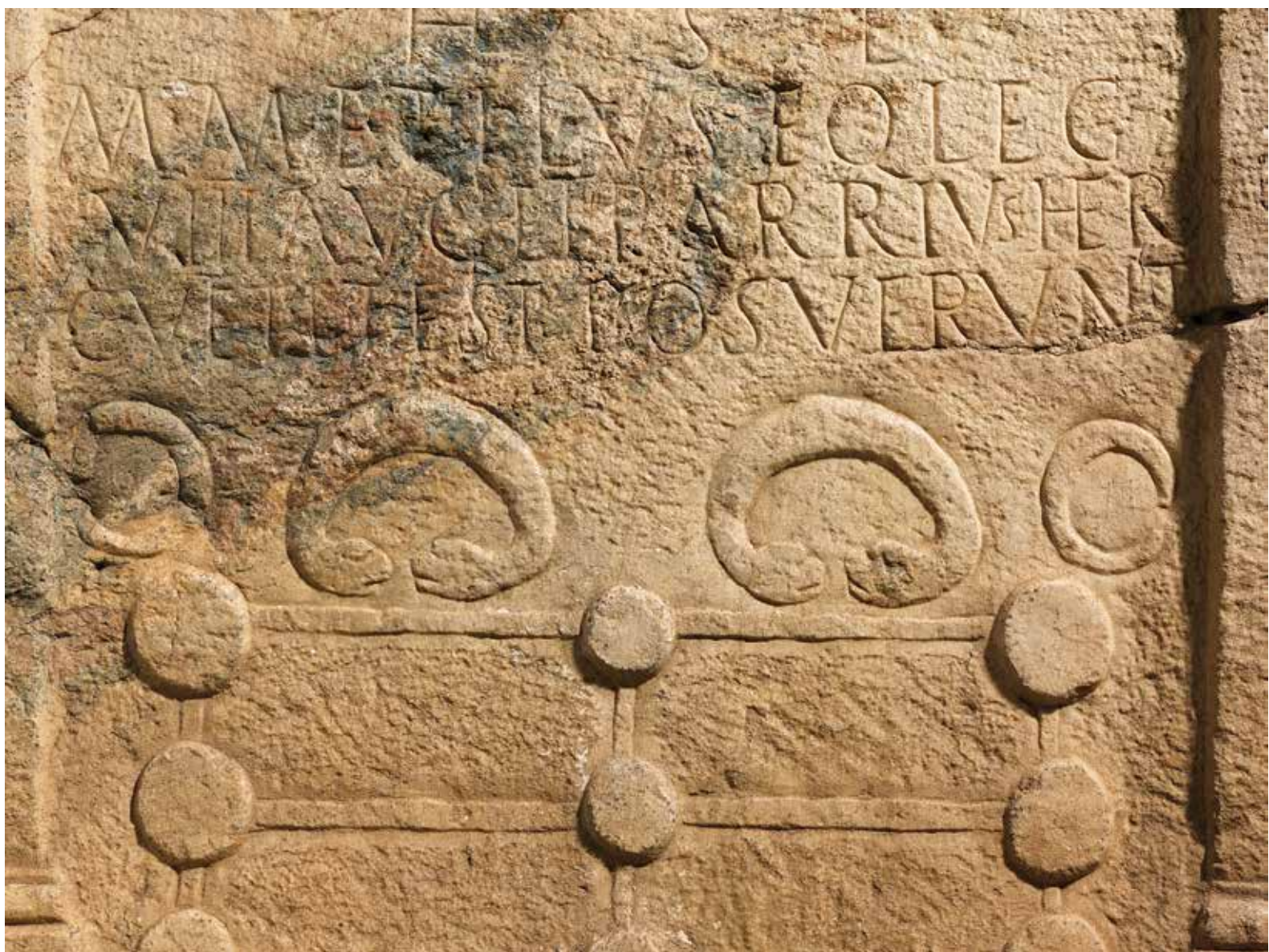


Figure 4.1
Tombstone for brothers Gaius and Quintus Vettius from Magdalensberg (Austria), first half of the 1st century AD. List 2: No. 1; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.1
Nagrobnik bratov Gaja in Kvinta Vetija s Štalenske gore (Avstrija), prva polovica 1. st. po Kr., seznam 2: št. 1; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

AVSTRIJA

1

Štalenska gora, nagrobna stela bratov Gaja in Kvinta Vetija (*Gaius Vettius, Quintus Vettius*), konjenikov v Osmi Avgustovi legiji, prva polovica 1. st. (EDCS; EDH; lupa; Pochmarski 2001, 284–285), muzej na Štalenski gori, inv. št. 52; sl. 4.1a, b.

C(aius) Vettius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Pol(lia) eq(ues) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / ann(or)um XLIIIX stip(endiorum) XXVIII / idem quaestor / veteranorum / et Q(uintus) Vettius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / Pol(lia) frater eq(ues) leg(ionis) / VIII Aug(ustae) ann(or)um XL stip(endiorum) XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / M(arcus) Metilius eq(ues) leg(ionis) / VIII Aug(ustae) et P(ublius) Arrius her(edes) / C(ai) Vetti test(amento) posuerunt

V spodnjem delu stele je upodobljen set devetih faler na vodoravno in navpično povezanem jermenju (tri vrste po tri falere) in nad njimi v sredini dva torkvesa ter ob straneh po ena nesklenjena armila z zaključkoma, orientiranima proti zunanjsima stranicama stele. Torkvesa sta enodelna in razklenjena; gladek obroč se tanjša od sredine proti odebeljenima zaključkoma v obliki živalskih (kačjih?) glav.

CIL III 4858; Steiner 1906, t. 2: 5; Büttner 1957, št. 25; Maxfield 1981, 216, pregl. Ml. 13a; Pochmarski 2001, 284–285, sl. 1; EDCS-14500157; HD056850; lupa 1145.



a

Figure 4.2
Funerary altar for Quintus Carminius Latinus and Carminius Cupitus, probably from Wagna near Leibnitz/Lipnica (Austria), roughly AD 100–120, *List 2: No. 2*; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.2
Nagrobni oltar Kvinta Karminija Latina in Karminija Kupita, verjetno iz Wagne pri Lipnici (Avstrija), okoli 100 do 120 po Kr., *seznam 2: št. 2*; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

2

Seggau, funerary altar for Quintus Carminius Latinus and Carminius Cupitus, *optio in legio I Minervia*, roughly AD 100–120 (*lupa*), Seggau, Seggau Castle, no. Inv. No.; *Fig. 4.2a, b*.

Q(uito) Carminio / Latino et Carminio / Cupito opt(ioni) leg(ionis) / I Min(erviae) / Catulla a(v) unc(ulo) et frat(ri) / f(aciendum) c(uravit)

The niche above the inscription panel holds the busts (with heavily damaged faces) of the deceased. On the left is Quintus Carminius Latinus in a tunic and cloak, to the right Carminius Cupitus, probably in a cuirass with the military cloak over the left shoulder, a strap (likely for sword suspension) placed diagonally from

the left shoulder towards the right hip, a pair of *torques* on his chest, and a pole behind his right shoulder. The *torques* are penannular, almost horseshoe-shaped with smooth bodies of an even thickness. The coarse finish and poor preservation in this part of the relief prevent us from identifying their shape more precisely. Lower on the chest, below the *torques*, are poorly visible and only partly surviving discs (*phalerae*?).

The altar most likely originates from the cemeteries of *Flavia Solva*/Wagna near Leibnitz.

CIL III 5333; RISt 179; Büttner 1957, No. 11; Pochmarski, Weber-Hiden 2016, No. 66; EDCS-14500645; HD037973; lupa 1303.



b

2

Seggau, nagrobni oltar Kvinta Karminija Latina (*Quintus Carminius Latinus*) in Karminija Kupita (*Carminius Cupitus*), ki je bil *optio* v Prvi Minervini legiji, okoli 100 do 120 (*lupa*), Seggau, Grad Seggau, brez inv. št.; sl. 4.2a, b.

*Q(uinto) Carminio / Latino et Carminio / Cupito
opt(ioni) leg(ionis) / I Min(erviae) / Catulla a(v)
unc(ulo) et frat(ri) / f(aciendum) c(uravit)*

Nad napisnim poljem sta doprsni upodobitvi z močno poškodovanim obrazom; na levi Kvint Karminij Latin v tuniki in z ogrnjenim plaščem, na desni Karminij Kupit, verjetno v oklepu, z vojaškim plaščem na levi rami, z jermenom (verjetno nosilcem nožnice meča) diagonalno od njegove leve rame proti desnemu boku

in z dolgo palico na njegovi desni strani. Na njegovih prsih sta pribl. simetrično upodobljena torkvesa, ki imata izrazito razklenjena zaključka in sta zato podkvaste oblike. Imata gladka in enakomerno debela obroča. Videz njunih zaključkov zaradi grobe izdelave in slabe ohranjenosti tega dela upodobitve ni jasen. Nižje na prsih, pod torkvesoma, sta slabo vidni in le delno ohranjeni upodobitvi dveh krožnih predmetov (faleri?).

Oltar najverjetneje izvira z grobišč Flavie Solve (Wagna pri Lipnici).

CIL III 5333; *RISt* 179; Büttner 1957, št. 11; Pochmarski, Weber-Hiden 2016, št. 66; *EDCS*-14500645; *HD037973*; *lupa* 1303.

CROATIA

3

Gardun, tombstone for Lucius Mummius, soldier in *legio VII*, prior to AD 42 (Tončinić 2011), AD 1–42 (EDCS; EDH; lupa), Muzej Cetinske krajine – Sinj, Inv. No. MCK-B-1373; Fig. 4.3a, b.

L(ucius) Mummius L(uci) / f(ilius) Fab(ia) Ancyra / miles leg(ionis) VII / ann(orum) 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 lachrymans(!) sit tibi ter(r)a levis // M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) l(ibertus) / Chrestus pos(u)it

The lower part of the stela includes a sunken panel with military decorations shown in relief. In the centre is a set of nine identical *phalerae* attached to a harness of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal straps, as well as a strap at the top that probably went around the neck. Above each of the top corner *phalerae* is the continuation of straps that were likely crossed behind the soldier's back. To the left and right of this set are pairs of *torques* (above) and *armillae* (below). The *torques* appear identical; the left one is better preserved. They have smooth bodies that thicken very slightly from the midpoint towards the contiguous terminals. Surviving in the best condition is the left terminal of the left *torques*, which has the shape of a lion's head; it is precisely and well made. The pair of *armillae* each have the form of a closed, uniformly thick ring.

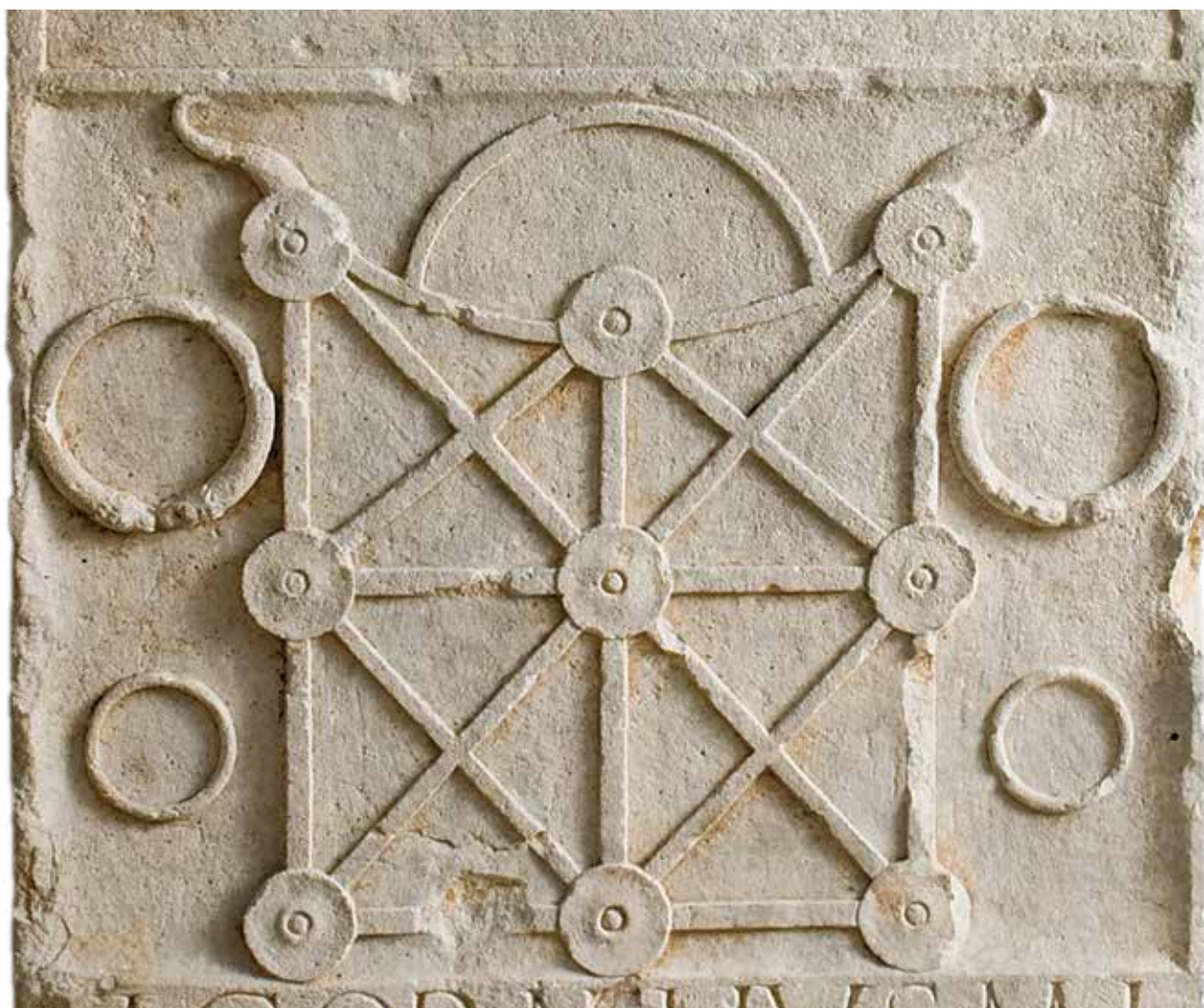
AE 1995, 1232; Radman-Livaja 2010, 108, 109, No. 114; Tončinić 2011, 71, No. 42; EDCS-03300744; HD040157; lupa 21465.



a

Figure 4.3
Tombstone for Lucius Mummius from Gardun (Croatia), AD 1–42, List 2: No. 3; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.3
Nagrobnik Lucija Mumija iz Garduna (Hrvaška), med letoma 1 in 42 po Kr., seznam 2: št. 3; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.



b

HRVAŠKA

3

Gardun, nagrobna stela Lucija Mumija (*Lucius Mummius*), vojaka Sedme legije, pred letom 42 po Kr. (Tončinić 2011), v letih 1–42 (EDCS; EDH; lupa), Muzej Cetinske krajine v Sinju, inv. št. MCK-B-1373; sl. 4.3a, b.

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 lachrymans(!) sit tibi ter(r) a levis // M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) l(ibertus) / Chrestus pos(u)it

V spodnjem delu stele je polje z reliefnim okrasom, ki kaže odlikovanja *phalerae* (devet enakih krožnih

faler na vodoravno, navpično in diagonalno povezanem jermenju in z jermenom, ki je bil verjetno nameščen za vratom). Za skrajnima zgornjima falerama je nakazano nadaljevanje jermenov, ki sta se verjetno prekrizala na hrbtu vojaka. Levo in desno od seta faler sta po en *torques* (zgoraj) in *armilla* (spodaj). Zdi se, da sta bila torkvesa enaka, levi je bolj ohranjen. Njuna obroča sta gladka in se komaj opazno debelita od sredine proti zaključkom, ki se stikata. Najbolje je ohranjen levi zaključek levega torkvesa, ki ima videz levje glave; zdi se, da je bila natančno in kakovostno izdelana. Armili sta v obliki sklenjenega, enakomerno debelega obroča.

AE 1995, 1232; Radman-Livaja 2010, 108, 109, št. 114; Tončinić 2011, 71, št. 42; EDCS-03300744; HD040157; lupa 21465.



Figure 4.4
Fragmentary remains of a
tombstone from Kistanje near
Ivoševci (Croatia), early
1st century AD, *List 2: No. 4*;
a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.4
Del nagrobnika iz Kistanja pri
Ivoševcih (Hrvaška), začetek
1. st. po Kr., *seznam 2: št. 4*;
a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

a

4

Kistanje near Ivoševci, fragmentary remains of a tombstone, early 1st century AD (Abramić 1924; Büttner 1957), Arheološki muzej u Splitu, Inv. No. D 268; *Fig. 4.4a, b*.

The inscription is missing.

The panel with the depiction of *dona militaria* is missing its upper part. Shown in the centre is a set of nine same-size *phalerae* bearing different embossed ornaments on a harness of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal straps; also shown are the straps that went behind

the soldier's back. The *phalerae* are flanked by a pair of spiral *armillae* on each side. Above the *phalerae* is a horizontal row of four *torques*. They have a twisted body that thickens slightly from the midpoint towards the expanded animal-head terminals. The ends of ribbons that reach down behind the *torques* indicate that *coronae*, probably a pair of them, were depicted in the missing upper part.

Abramić 1924, 225–229, Figs 4, 5; Büttner 1957, 168–169, No. 17; Maxfield 1981, Pl. 11b.



b

4

Kistanje pri Ivoševcih, del nagrobne stele, začetek 1. st. (Abramić 1924; Büttner 1957), Arheološki muzej u Splitu, inv. št. D 268; *sl. 4.4a, b.*

Napis ni ohranjen.

Polju, ki prikazuje vojaška odlikovanja, manjka zgornji del. V sredini spodnjega dela je set devetih enako velikih krožnih faler z različnimi okrasi na vodoravno, navpično in diagonalno povezanem jermenju; prikazano je tudi jermenje, ki je bilo na vojakovi hrbtni

strani. Levo in desno ob falerah sta po dve spiralno zaviti armili. Nad falerami so v vodoravni vrsti nanizani štirje torkvesi. Imajo tordiran obroč, ki se rahlo debeli od sredine proti odebeljenima zaključkoma v obliki živalske glave. Zaključki vrvic, ki z vrha segajo na površino s torkvesi, kažejo, da so bili v manjkajočem zgornjem delu polja upodobljeni venci, verjetno dva.

Abramić 1924, 225–229, *sl. 4, 5*; Büttner 1957, 168–169, št. 17; Maxfield 1981, t. 11b.

Kistanje near Ivoševci, lower part of a tombstone, Late Augustan (probably after AD 9)–Tiberian (Maršić 2014), Arheološki muzej Zadar, Inv. No. A10578; Fig. 4.5a, b.

The inscription is missing.

The panel with relief decoration shows the attributes of the rank of a centurion (a pair of greaves and the *vitae* on the left that continues down into the coarsely dressed part of the stela) and military decorations.

Nine *phalerae* are shown on a harness of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal straps. They are of the same size but differ in ornament; Maršić (2014) studied them in detail. The *phalerae* in the top corners bear busts in profile (the better surviving left bust shows the emperor, probably Tiberius), while the *phalera* between them has an animal (dog or boar), also in profile. The middle row has a *gorgoneion* in the central *phalera* flanked by those with a moulded design of concentric circles. The *phalerae* in the bottom corners bear rosettes.

The depictions of the circular objects directly above the *phalerae* are poorly preserved. We can see a double body (one thick and the other thinner), but it is unclear whether the objects are annular, and the terminals are not visible; they are probably *armillae*.

The upper part of the relief panel is missing. Visible above the left greave is a very poorly surviving lower part (slightly less than half) of a penannular circular object, most likely a *torques*; its terminals do not survive. Maršić (2014, 30) mentions small drill holes that he believes can be interpreted as a detail of the nostril and eye of a snake-shaped protome that probably decorated the left end of the necklace; we are unable to discern these details on the photograph.

To the right of the *torques* is the lower part (roughly a quarter) of a slightly larger annular (as far as is visible in the surviving part) circular object, most likely a *corona*.

Maršić 2014; lupa 24268.



a



b

5

Figure 4.5

Lower part of a tombstone from Kistanje near Ivoševci (Croatia), probably AD 9–37, List 2: No. 5; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.5

Spodnji del nagrobnika iz Kistanja pri Ivoševcih (Hrvaška), verjetno med letom 9 in koncem Tiberijeve vladavine, seznam 2: št. 5; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

Kistanje pri Ivoševcih, spodnji del nagrobne stele, poznoavgustejska doba (verjetno po letu 9)–Tiberij (Maršić 2014), Arheološki muzej Zadar, inv. št. A10578; sl. 4.5a, b.

Napis ni ohranjen.

Polje z reliefnim okrasom prikazuje simbole položaja centuriona (golenici in na levi strani *vitis*, ki se nadaljuje na spodnjem, grobo obdelanem delu stele) in vojaška odlikovanja.

Prostor med golenicama zapolnjuje upodobitev seta devetih krožnih faler na vodoravno, navpično in diagonalno povezanem jermenju. Falere so enake velikosti, a se razlikujejo po upodobitvah, ki jih je poglobljeno preučil Maršić (2014). V zgornji vrsti sta ob straneh faleri z doprsnima podobama v profilu (na boljše ohranjeni levi faleri je upodobljen cesar, verjetno Tiberij), na srednji pa je podoba živali (psa ali vepra) v profilu; v srednji vrsti sta ob straneh faleri z geometrijskim okrasom koncentričnih krogov, na srednji pa je upodobljena glava Gorgone; na skrajnih falerah spodaj sta rozeti.

Upodobitvi krožnih predmetov neposredno nad falerami sta slabo ohranjeni. Viden je dvojen obroč (debelejši in tanjši), ni jasno, ali je bil sklenjen, zaključki niso vidni; najverjetneje gre za armili.

Skrajni zgornji del okrasnega polja ni ohranjen. Nad levo golenico vidimo zelo slabo ohranjen spodnji del (malo manj kot polovico) nesklenjega krožnega predmeta, najverjetneje torkvesa; zaključka nista ohranjena. Maršić (2014, 30) omenja s svedrom narajeni luknjici in meni, da predstavljajo oko in nozdrvi levega zaključka v obliki kačje glave; s fotografij te podrobnosti ni mogoče razbrati.

Desno od torkvesa je spodnji del (približno četrtnina) malo večjega, (v ohranjenem delu) sklenjenega krožnega predmeta, najverjetneje venca – enega izmed odlikovanj *corona*.

Maršić 2014; lupa 24268.



6

Sv. Vid, part of a tombstone, Late Tiberian (Maršić 2015, 103–108), now lost; Fig. 4.6.

List 1: No. 54.

Only a photograph of the copy of the tombstone survives.

The centre of the panel below the inscription bears *dona militaria*: a set of thirteen *phalerae* on a harness of horizontal, vertical and diagonal straps flanked on either side by a *torques* (twisted, evenly thick, possibly two-piece, clearly visible loop in the upper part of the

left *torques* probably served for fastening to the *phalera* harness) above and an *armilla* below. The decorations are flanked on either side by a greave. The left greave is clearly visible, with an embossed *gorgoneion* on the knee part. The corresponding right part of the panel is damaged but presumably depicted the right greave.

A vine staff (*vitis*) is shown along the left edge of the inscription and relief panels.

CIL III 8438; Hofmann 1905, 22, 23, Fig. 13; Büttner 1957, No. 1; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, Pl. 12b; Maršić 2015; EDCS-31500392; HD060635.

Figure 4.6

Tombstone from Sv. Vid (Croatia), now lost, Late Tiberian, List 2: No. 6. From Hofmann 1905, Fig. 13.

Slika 4.6

Nagrobnik iz Sv. Vida (Hrvaška), izgubljen, poznotiberijski čas, seznam 2: št. 6. Iz Hofmann 1905, sl. 13.

6

Sv. Vid, del nagrobnega oltarja, poznotiberijski čas (Maršić 2015, 103–108), izgubljen; *sl.* 4.6.

Seznam 1: št. 54.

Ohranjena je le fotografija odtisa nagrobnika.

V sredini polja pod napisom so vojaška odlikovanja: falere (13 krožnih faler na vodoravno, navpično in diametralno povezanem jermenju), ob njih je na vsaki strani po en torkves (tordirana, enakomeno debela, morda iz dveh delov, na zgornji strani levega je dobro vidna zanka – verjetno za pritrditev torkvesa na

jermenje faler) in pod njim po ena armila. Proti robu polja na obeh straneh sledi golenica. Dobro je vidna leva golenica, z reliefno podobo Meduzine glave na zgornjem delu, ki je pokrival koleno, desna stran polja pa je tako poškodovana, da golenico le slutimo.

Ob levem robu napisnega in okrasnega polja je centurionska palica (*vitis*).

CIL III 8438; Hofmann 1905, 22, 23, *sl.* 13; Büttner 1957, št. 1; Maxfield 1981, 216, *pregl. M, t.* 12b; Maršić 2015; *EDCS*-31500392; *HD*060635.

GERMANY

7

Bonn, tombstone for Gaius Marius, cavalryman of *legio I*, Claudian–Neronian (Bauchhenß 1978), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Inv. No. A 1388; Fig. 4.7a, b.

C(aius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) / Luco Augusto eques / leg(ionis) I annor(um) XXX stipen(diorum) / XV(!) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Sex(tus) Sempronius / frater facien(dum) curavit

The shallow niche above the inscription panel holds a depiction of a mounted soldier in a cuirass with a spear in his right and a shield in his left hand. Below him, the bottom-right corner of the niche shows a set of nine embossed *phalerae* on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps, as well as a pair of *armillae* to the left. Above the niche, two pairs of slightly overlapping *torques* are shown in the spandrels. The *torques* are poorly preserved but clearly show a smooth body of even thickness and spherical contiguous terminals.

CIL XIII 8059; Steiner 1906, Pl. 1: 6; Büttner 1957, No. 35; Bauchhenß 1978, No. 16; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, Pl. 10a; *EDCS*-11100281; *HD*078222; *lupa* 15527.



a



Figure 4.7
Tombstone for Gaius Marius
from Bonn (Germany),
Claudian–Neronian, *List 2:*
No. 7; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.7
Nagrobnik Gaja Marija iz
Bonna (Nemčija), klavdijsko-
neronski čas, *seznam 2: št. 7;*
a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

b

NEMČIJA

7

Bonn, nagrobna stela Gaja Marija (*Gaius Marius*), konjenika Prve legije, klavdijsko-neronski čas (Bauchhenß 1978), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. št. A 1388; *sl. 4.7a, b.*

C(aius) Marius L(uci) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) / Luco Augusto eques / leg(ionis) I annor(um) XXX stipen(diorum) / XV(!) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) Sex(tus) Sempronius / frater facien(dum) curavit

V zgornjem delu stele nad napisom je v plitvi niši upodobljen konjenik v oklepu s sulico v desnici in ščitom v levici. V desnem vogalu pod njim je set devetih

krožnih faler na vodoravno in navpično povezanih jermenih; levo ob njih sta dve armili. V zgornjih vogalih stele, zunaj niše, sta upodobljena po dva torkvesa, ki se delno prekrivata. Torkvesi so slabo ohranjeni, a ni dvoma, da so imeli gladke in enakomerno debele obroče ter kroglasto odebeljene zaključke, ki so se stikali.

CIL XIII 8059; Steiner 1906, t. 1: 6; Büttner 1957, št. 35; Bauchhenß 1978, št. 16; Maxfield 1981, 216, pregl. M, t. 10a; EDCS-11100281; HD078222; lupa 15527.

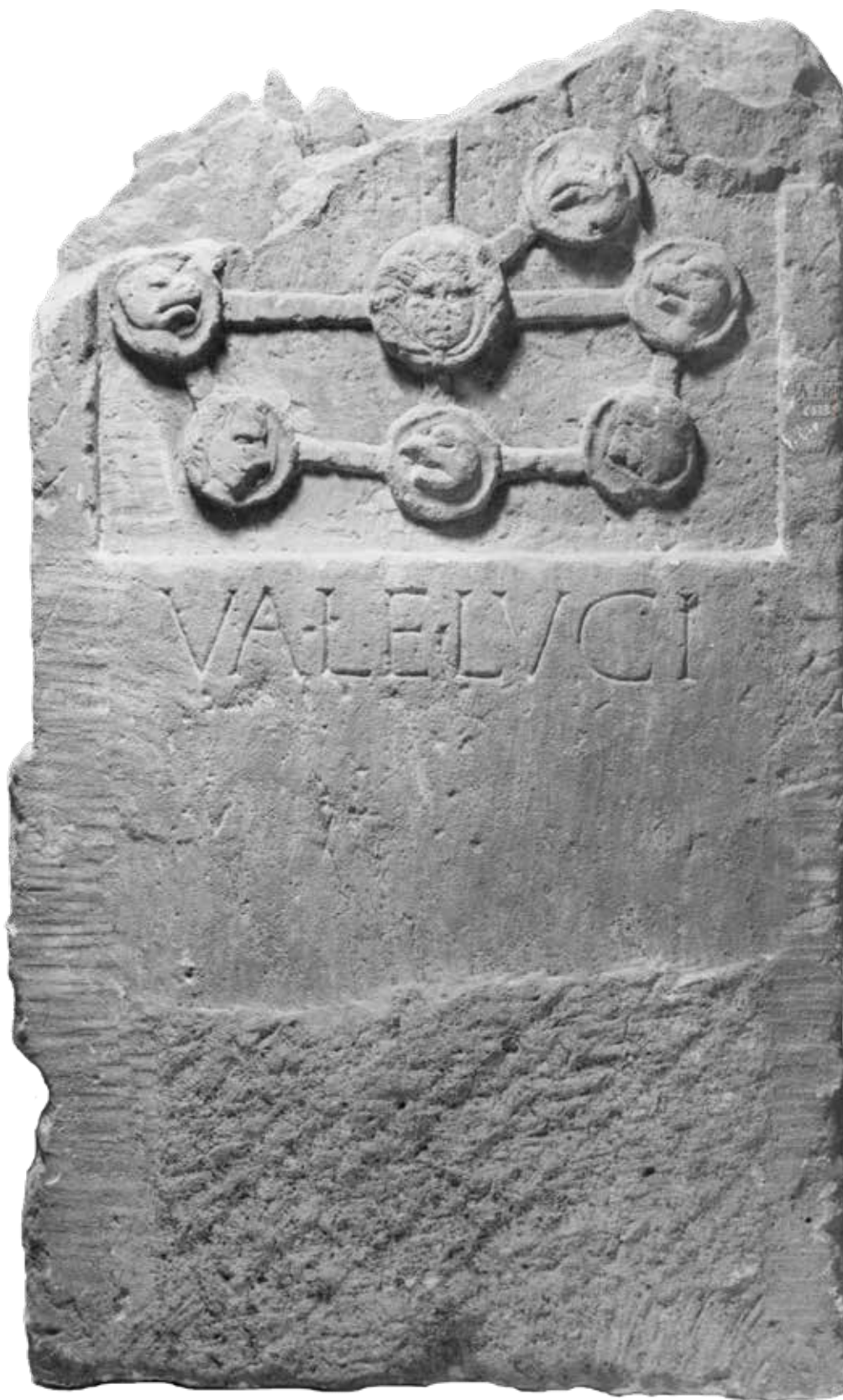


Figure 4.8
Fragment of a tombstone
from Bonn (Germany), first
half of the 1st century AD,
List 2: No. 8.

Slika 4.8
Del nagrobne stele iz Bonna
(Nemčija), prva polovica 1. st.
po Kr., seznam 2: št. 8.

8

Bonn, fragment of a tombstone for Lucius, first half of the 1st century AD (Bauchhenß 1978), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Inv. No. A 1389; *Fig. 4.8.*

----- // *Vale Luci*

Part of the panel with relief decoration survives above the inscription. It shows a set of embossed *phalerae* on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps (seven

of the *phalerae* survive). In the top-right corner of the panel, there is a poorly preserved part of a circular object; its size and position next to *phalerae* suggest it is a *torques*.

CIL XIII 8061; Steiner 1906, Pl. 1: 8; Bauchhenß 1978, No. 56; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, Pl. 11c; EDCS-11100283; HD078273; lupa 15556.

8

Bonn, del nagrobne stele Lucija (*Lucius*), prva polovica 1. st. (Bauchhenß 1978), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. št. A 1389; *sl.* 4.8.

----- // *Vale Luci*

Nad napisom je ohranjen spodnji del polja z reliefnim okrasom, ki kaže set krožnih faler na vodoravno in navpično povezanih jermenih (ohranjenih je sedem

faler). V desnem zgornjem vogalu ohranjenega dela okrasnega polja vidimo slabo ohranjen del krožnega predmeta – po velikosti in legi ob falerah domnevamo, da je to bilo odlikovanje torkves.

CIL XIII 8061; Steiner 1906, t. 1: 8; Bauchhenß 1978, št. 56; Maxfield 1981, 216, pregl. M, t. 11c; *EDCS*-11100283; *HD*078273; *lupa* 15556.



a

9

Boppard, fragment of a tombstone for an unknown centurion of *legio XIV Gemina*, Late Augustan–Tiberian (EDH), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Inv. No. D.74,0-1; Fig. 4.9a, b.

-----] / princeps II leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae) an(norum) LXIII stip(endia) / XLVI milit(aria) XVI cura/toria veteran(orum) III evocativa III

The main panel shows military decorations below the inscription. They consist of a set of nine *phalerae* (harness not discernible) with a moulded decoration of concentric circles and a pair of *torques*, each encircling a *phalera* in the top corners so that they appear,

at first glance, to be larger than others. The *torques* have a smooth body that thickens evenly towards the contiguous terminals. The left *torques* has a groove before the disc terminal of a smaller diameter; both terminals of the left *torques* may have longitudinal grooves (though this may also be the result of damage to the tombstone). The terminals of the right *torques*, although poorly visible, were presumably the same shape as on the left example.

CIL XIII 7556; Steiner 1906, No. 12, Pl. II: 6; Büttner 1957, 169, No. 19; Maxfield 1981, 186, 216, Table M, I, Pl. 14c; EDCS-11001674; HD078716.



b

Figure 4.9

Fragment of a tombstone from Boppard (Germany), Late Augustan–Tiberian, *List 2: No. 9*; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.9

Del nagrobnika iz Bopparda (Nemčija), poznoavgustejsko-tiberijski čas, *seznam 2: št. 9*; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

9

Boppard, del nagrobnika centuriona Štirinajste Dvojne legije, poznoavgustejsko-tiberijski čas (*EDH*), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. št. D.74,0-1; *sl. 4.9a, b*.

-----] / *princeps II leg(ionis) XIII / Gem(inae) an(norum) LXIII stip(endia) / XLVI milit(aria) XVI cura/toria veteran(orum) III evocativa III*

Pod napisom vidimo set devetih krožnih faler (jermenje ni vidno) s koncentričnim okrasom. Okoli obeh zgornjih stranskih faler je upodobljen po en torkves tako, da se na prvi pogled zdi, kot bi bili ti dve faleri večji od preostalih. Torkvesa imata gladek obroč

in se enakomerno debelita proti zaključkoma, ki se stikata. Pri levem torkvesu se obroč na obeh straneh zaključki z žlebom, ki mu sledi ožji del v obliki diska; oba diska sta morda prečno predeljena z žlebom (ni mogoče izključiti, da gre za poškodbo nagrobnika). Zaključka desnega torkvesa sta slabo vidna; domnevamo, da sta bila enaka kot pri levem torkvesu.

CIL XIII 7556; Steiner 1906, št. 12, t. II: 6; Büttner 1957, 169, št. 19; Maxfield 1981, 186, 216, pregl. M, I, t. 14c; *EDCS-11001674*; *HD078716*.



Figure 4.10
Tombstone for Aulus
Volsonius Paulus from
Kierdorf (Germany), Neronian
or perhaps Flavian, List 2:
No. 10; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.10
Nagrobnik Avla Volzonija
Paula iz Kierdorfa (Nemčija),
neronsko(-flavijsko?) obdobje,
seznam 2: št. 10; a) sprednja
stran, b) detajl.

10

Kierdorf, upper part of a tombstone for Aulus Volsonius Paulus, veteran of *legio I*, Neronian(–Flavian?; Bauchhenß 1978), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Inv. No. 1931.1; Fig. 4.10a, b.

A(ulus) Volsonius A(uli) f(ilius) / Cla(udia) Paulus vet(eranus) / ex leg(ione) I / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Vimpa c[oniux(?)] / D[---]

Between the depiction of a garland at the top of the tombstone and the inscription field is a portrait niche,

with the heads of three deceased, flanked on either side by a pair of *torques*. The two *torques* are identical: single-piece with contiguous terminals and a smooth body that thickens evenly towards the spherical terminals separated from the body by a groove. All the depictions on the monument, including the *torques*, are coarsely rendered.

AE 1932, 39; Büttner 1957, No. 34; Bauchhenß 1978, No. 57; Maxfield 1981, 261, Table M, Pl. 9a; *EDCS*-11202269; *HD024609*; *lupa* 15566.



b

10

Kierdorf, zgornji del nagrobne stele Aula Volzonija Paula (*Aulus Volsonius Paulus*), veterana Prve legije, neronsko(-flavijsko?) obdobje (Bauchhenß 1978), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. št. 1931.1; *sl. 4.10a, b*.

A(ulus) Volsonius A(uli) f(ilius) / Cla(udia) Paulus vet(eranus) / ex leg(ione) I / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / Vimpa c[oniux(?)] / D[---]

Med girlando v zgornjem delu stele in napisom v spodnjem je na vsaki strani upodobljen po en torkves,

v poglobljenem polju med njima so prikazane glave treh pokojnikov. Torkvesa na levi in desni strani sta enaka: enodelna, stična, gladek obroč se enakomerno debeli proti zaljučkoma, ki sta od obroča ločena z žlebom in kroglasto odebeljena. Upodobitev je groba.

AE 1932, 39; Büttner 1957, št. 34; Bauchhenß 1978, št. 57; Maxfield 1981, 261, pregl. M, t. 9a; EDCS-11202269; HD024609; lupa 15566.



a

11

Köln (Cologne), fragment of a funerary monument, Claudian (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986), Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, Inv. No. 258; Fig. 4.11a, b.

The inscription is missing.

The surviving part of the relief shows a shield on the left side, behind it a sword (hilt visible above the shield) in its scabbard with decorative mounts, while the central and right parts bear military decorations: two *torques*, a *corona civica*, and probably an *armilla*.

The horizontal ribs in the top central part of the upper *torques* point to a two-piece composition. Its body

is decorated with longitudinally arranged embossed droplets or scales and thickens evenly towards the expanded terminals (animal heads are indicated). The lower *torques* is slightly smaller, probably one-piece, and has a smooth body and expanded terminals (indicated animal heads).

The two *torques* are thus not a pair; it is possible that the relief as a whole showed two pairs of identical *torques*, but only half of them survive.

Maxfield 1981, Pl. 2c; Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 105–107, 193, 194, Cat. No. U 26 (no photograph).

Figure 4.11
Fragment of a funerary monument from Köln (Germany), Claudian, *List 2: No. 11*; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.11
Del nagrobnika iz Kölna (Nemčija), klavdijski čas, seznam 2: št. 11; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.



b

11

Köln, del nagrobnika, Klavdij (Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986), Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, inv. št. 258; sl. 4.11a, b.

Napis ni ohranjen.

Ohranjeni del reliefne upodobitve na levi strani kaže ščit in za njim meč (viden je ročaj) v nožnici z okrasnimi okovi, v sredini in na desni strani pa vojaška odlikovanja: dva torkvesa, hrastov venec (*corona civica*) in desno pod njim verjetno armilo.

Pri zgornjem torkvesu navpični rebri v sredini zgoraj nakazujeta, da je bil dvodelen. Obroč ima okras vzdolžno nanizanih kapljic ali lusk in se enakomerno

debeli proti zaključkoma, ki sta odebeljena (nakazani sta živalski glavici). Spodnji torkves je malo manjši, verjetno enodelen in ima gladek obroč ter odebeljena zaključka (nakazani sta živalski glavici).

Torkvesa torej nista par; morda sta bila na reliefu upodobljena dva para torkvesov in sta bila druga dva torkvesa na neohranjenem desnem delu upodobitve.

Maxfield 1981, t. 2c; Andrikopoulou-Strack 1986, 105–107, 193, 194, kat. št. U 26 (brez slike).

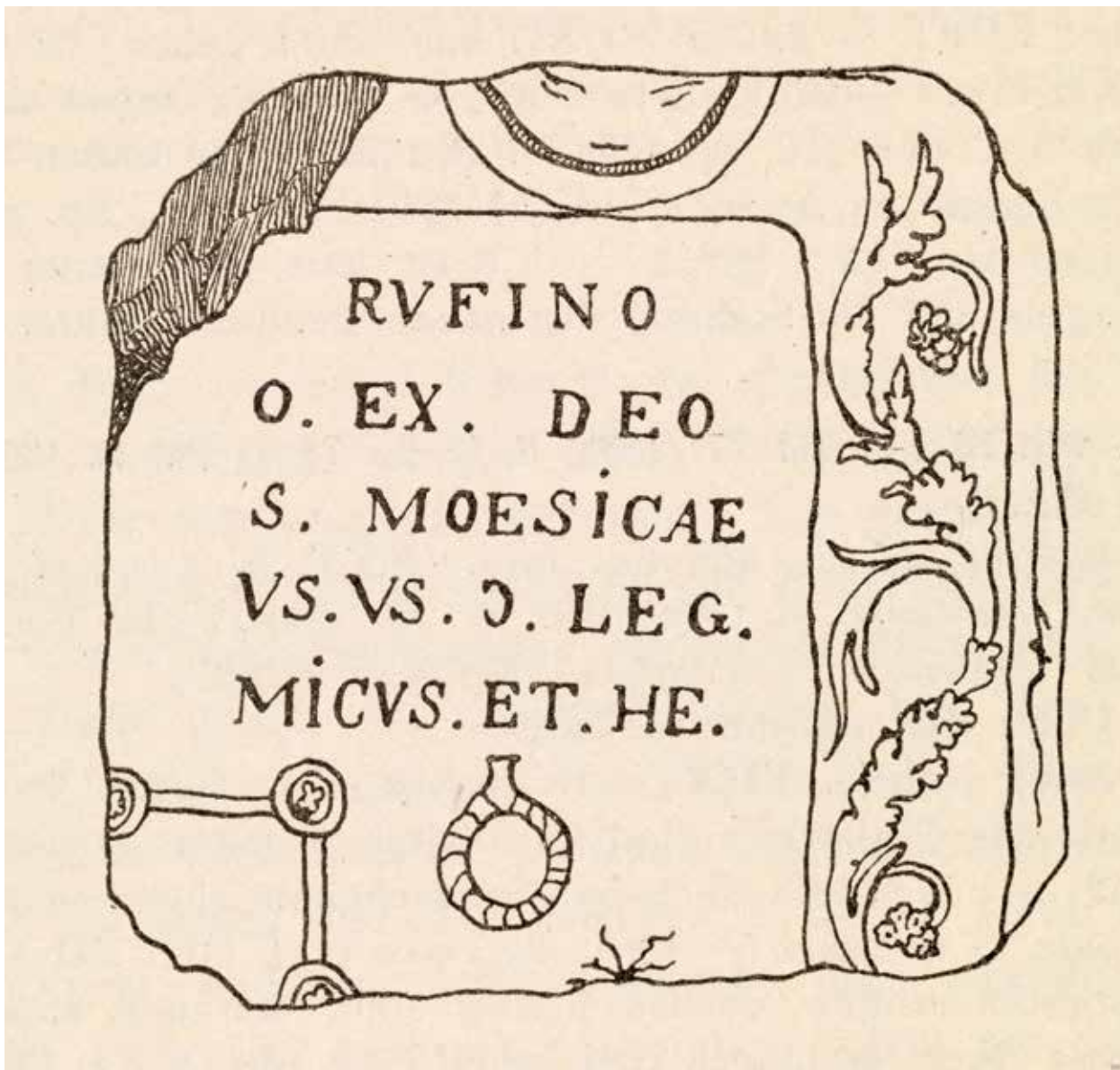


Figure 4.12
Fragment of the funerary monument for [-] Rufinus from Köln (Germany), now lost, Flavian–Trajanic, *List 2: No. 12*. From Klinkenberg 1902, 85, No. 14a.

Slika 4.12
Del nagrobnega spomenika [-] Rufina iz Kölna (Nemčija), izgubljen, flavijsko-trajanski čas, *seznam 2: št. 12*. Iz Klinkenberg 1902, 85, št. 14a.

12

Köln (Cologne), fragment of a funerary monument (probably altar) for veteran Rufinus, Flavian–Trajanic (Alföldy 1968; *EDH*), now lost; *Fig. 4.12*.

[---]o Rufino / [veteran]o ex dec(urione) / [alae? felici?] s Moesi(c)ae / [---]nsus [(centurio) leg(ionis) / [--- a] micus et he/[res f(aciendum) c(uravit)]

The lost funerary monument only survives in a drawing. It shows the right side of the inscribed relief panel with a scrollwork border. Above the inscription is the lower part of a medallion that likely held a portrait bust. Military decorations are shown below the inscription: part of a set of (presumably nine) *phalerae* and a twisted annular object, probably a *torques*. The identification of the short rectangular stub projecting

from the body of the *torques* is unclear; it is presumably the result of a slight misinterpretation of the (poorly preserved?) relief depiction and may represent the straps (for suspension) or, less likely, terminals that would be exceptionally turned upwards in this case. The missing part of the relief probably held the rest of the set of *phalerae* and the other *torques*, possibly also a pair of *armillae*.

CIL XIII 8503; Klinkenberg 1902, 85, No. 14a (drawing); Steiner 1906, 25, Nos 24, 25, Fig. 17; Büttner 1957, No. 28; Alföldy 1968, 180, No. 43; Maxfield 1981, 123, 201, 216, Table M, Fig. 13; Galsterer, Galsterer 2010, 301, No. 361; *EDCS*-01200344; *HD075856*.

12

Köln, del nagrobnika (verjetno nagrobnega oltarja) veterana [-] Rufina (*Rufinus*), flavijsko-trajanski čas (Alföldy 1968; *EDH*), izgubljen; *sl.* 4.12.

[---]o Rufino / [veteran]o ex dec(urione) / [alae? felici?] s Moesi(c)ae / [---]nsus |(centurio) leg(ionis) / [--- a] micus et he/[res f(aciendum) c(uravit)]

Izgubljeni nagrobnik poznamo po risbi. Na njej vidimo desno stran polja z napisom in reliefno okrašen (vitica z rozetami) desni rob stele. Nad napisnim poljem je spodnji del medaljona, v njem je bil verjetno doprsni portret. Odlikovanja so bila prikazana pod napisom: del seta (domnevamo, da devetih) faler in krožen predmet s tordiranim sklenjenim obročem –

verjetno torkves. Kratek pravokoten del, ki moli iz obroča, je težko razložiti, saj je verjetno neposrečena interpretacija (na tem mestu slabo ohranjene?) reliefne podobe. Ugibamo lahko, da gre za vrvice (za pritrditev torkvesa) ali pa zaključka torkvesa, ki bi bil izjemoma obrnjen navzgor. Na manjkajoči sredini in levi strani stele so bile najverjetneje upodobljene preostale falere in drugi torkves ter morda tudi armili.

CIL XIII 8503; Klinkenberg 1902, 85, št. 14a (z risbo); Steiner 1906, 25, št. 24, 25, sl. 17; Büttner 1957, št. 28; Alföldy 1968, 180, št. 43; Maxfield 1981, 123, 201, 216, pregl. M, sl. 13; Galsterer, Galsterer 2010, 301, št. 361; *EDCS*-01200344; *HD*075856.

Mainz, upper part of a tombstone for Quintus Cornelius of *legio XVI*, AD 13–43 (EDCS; EDH; lupa), Stiftung Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden, Collection Nassau, Inv. No. 63 a (371); Fig. 4.13a, b.

Q(uitus) Cornelius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / V(o)lt(inia) mil(es) leg(ionis) XVI / [-----

The main panel has a stylised depiction of a cuirass on a small pedestal above the inscription. The cuirass holds a set of nine *phalerae* (with concentric decoration) on a harness of vertical, horizontal, and diagonal straps. Above the top corner *phalerae* and below the upper end of the cuirass is a pair of *torques* with a smooth body that thickens slightly towards the substantially expanded terminals. Between the body and the terminals of the left *torques* is a rib that is perfectly aligned with the straps of the *phalera* harness; therefore, we believe it is possible that the straps are unskillfully shown to run ‘over’ the *torques* in this part; there is no such rib at the left terminal of the right *torques* and the part at its right terminal is damaged. The poor workmanship and/or poor preservation of the relief makes it unclear whether the terminals had the shape of an animal head; they do not seem to be regularly spherical.

Shown between the pair of *torques* is a smaller ring – possibly an *armilla*.

CIL XIII 6938; Steiner 1906, Pl. 2: 1; Büttner 1957, No. 22; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, Pl. 13b; Boppert 1992, No. 134; EDCS-11000994; HD041118; lupa 7078.



a

Figure 4.13
Tombstone for Quintus
Cornelius from Mainz
(Germany), AD 13–43, *List 2:*
No. 13; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.13
Nagrobnik Kvinta Kornelija
iz Mainza (Nemčija), med
letoma 13 in 43 po Kr.,
seznam 2: št. 13; a) sprednja
stran, b) detajl.



b

13

Mainz, zgornji del nagrobne stele vojaka Šestnajste legije Kvinta Kornelija (*Quintus Cornelius*), med letoma 13–43 (*EDCS; EDH; lupa*), Stiftung Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden, zbirka Nassau, inv. št. 63 a (371); *sl. 4.13a, b*.

*Q(uintus) Cornelius Q(uinti) f(ilius) / V(o)lt(inia)
mil(es) leg(ionis) XVI / [-----*

Med vrhnjim okrasnim poljem in napisom je razmeroma veliko polje, ki v reliefu shematsko (v grobih obrisih) prikazuje oklep na majhnem podstavku. Na oklepu je set devetih krožnih faler (nakazan je koncentričen okras), povezane so z navpično, vodoravno in diagonalno potekajočim jermenjem. Nad falerami je, tik pod vrhom oklepa, na vsaki strani torkves z gladkim obročem, ki se od sredine rahlo debeli proti

izrazito odebeljenima zaključkoma. Pri levem torkvesu je med obročem in odebeljenima zaključkoma rebro, ki pa je točno v liniji diagonalno potekajočega jermenja, zato se nam zdi možno, da je v tem delu jermenje nespretno prikazano »nad« torkvesom. Desni torkves namreč tega rebra na levi strani nima, na desni strani pa je torkves na tem mestu slabo ohranjen. Zaradi grobe izdelave in/ali slabe ohranjenosti ni jasno, ali sta imela zaključka videz živalskih glav; zdi se, da nista bila pravilne kroglaste oblike.

Med torkvesoma je manjši obroč – morda armila.

CIL XIII 6938; Steiner 1906, t. 2: 1; Büttner 1957, št. 22; Maxfield 1981, 216, pregl. M, t. 13b; Boppert 1992, št. 134; EDCS-11000994; HD041118; lupa 7078.

Mainz, tombstone for Cnaeus Musius, *aquilifer* in *legio XIV Gemina*, Tiberian (Boppert 1992; *EDCS*; *lupa*); Landesmuseum Mainz Inv. No. S 182; Fig. 4.14a, b.

Cn(aeus) Musius T(iti) f(ilius) / Gal(eria) Veleias an(norum) / XXXII stip(endiorum) XV / aquilif(er) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / M(arcus) Musius [(centurio) frater posuit

The niche above the inscription panel shows a full-length relief depiction of a soldier. In his right hand, he holds an eagle-tipped staff, and his left hand rests on an oval shield. He wears (two or four) *armillae* on his right wrist. He wears *caligae* and a tunic. Below the waistline, he has a military belt that holds a sword (its hilt is shown) on his right side. The torso is covered by a cuirass that bears a set of nine *phalerae* (with a moulded decoration of concentric circles), above them a pair of penannular *torques* with a smooth body that thickens slightly towards the terminals, most likely lion-headed in shape. The body opposite the terminals has a vertical groove that indicates the *torques* were two-piece.

CIL XIII 6901; Steiner 1906, Pl. 1: 7; Büttner 1957, No. 6; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, Pl. 11a; Boppert 1992, No. 1; *EDCS*-11000956; *HD056117*; *lupa* 15748.



a

Figure 4.14

Tombstone for Cnaeus Musius from Mainz (Germany), Tiberian, *List 2: No. 14*; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.14

Nagrobnik Gneja Muzija iz Mainza (Nemčija), tiberijski čas, *seznam 2: št. 14*; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.



b

14

Mainz, nagrobna stela orlonosca Štirinajste Dvojne legije Gneja Muzija (*Cnaeus Musius*), Tiberij (Boppert 1992; *EDCS*; *lupa*); Landesmuseum Mainz inv. št. S 182; *sl. 4.14a, b*.

Cn(aeus) Musius T(iti) f(ilius) / Gal(eria) Veleias an(norum) / XXXII stip(endiorum) XV / aquilif(er) leg(ionis) XIII Gem(inae) / M(arcus) Musius |(centurio) frater posuit

V niši nad napisnim poljem je celopostavna podoba vojaka. V desnici ima palico z orlom na vrhu, levica je na ovalnem ščitu. Na zapestju desne roke ima (dve ali štiri) armile. Obut je v vojaške čevlje in oblečen

v tuniko. Pod pasom ima vojaški pas z ročajem (verjetno meča) na njegovi desni strani. Njegov trup prekriva oklep. Na spodnjem delu oklepa vidimo set devetih krožnih faler (s koncentričnim geometrijskim okrasom). Nad njimi sta dva nesklenjena torkvesa z gladkim obročem; ta se rahlo debeli od sredine proti zaključkoma, ki sta imela verjetno videz levjih glav. Na obroču nasproti zaključkoma je navpičen žleb, ki nakazuje, da sta bila torkvesa dvodelna.

CIL XIII 6901; Steiner 1906, t. 1: 7; Büttner 1957, št. 6; Maxfield 1981, 216, pregl. M, t. 11a; Boppert 1992, št. 1; *EDCS-11000956*; *HD056117*; *lupa 15748*.



Figure 4.15
Tombstone/cenotaph for Marcus Caelius from Xanten (Germany), AD 9 or shortly after, List 2: No. 15; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.15
Nagrobnik/kenotaf Marka Celija iz Xantna (Nemčija), kmalu po letu 9 po Kr., seznam 2: št. 15; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

a

15

Xanten, tombstone for Marcus Caelius, centurion in *legio XIIIX*, AD 9 or shortly after (Bauchhenß 1978; *EDCS*; *EDH*; *lupa*), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, Inv. No. U 92; Fig. 4.15a, b.

M(arco) Caelio T(iti) f(ilio) Lem(onia) Bon(onia) / [t(riario)] o(rdini) leg(ionis) XIIIX ann(or)um LIII s(emissis) / [ce]cidit bello Variano ossa / [l](ibertorum) [i]nferre licebit P(ublius) Caelius T(iti) f(ilius) / Lem(onia) frater fecit // M(arcus) Caelius / M(arci) l(ibertus) / Privatus // M(arcus) Caelius / M(arci) l(ibertus) / Thiaminus

The niche above the inscription panel holds the hip-length image of Marcus Caelius flanked by the busts of freedmen Marcus Caelius Privatus and Marcus Caelius Thiaminus on their respective pedestals. The deceased is shown with a wreath of oak leaves (*corona civica*) on his head, holding in his right hand a staff (*vitis*) that reaches deep into the inscription panel. He wears a cuirass over a tunic (the latter visible at the neck and below the shoulders) and bracelets (*armillae*) on both wrists. On his chest is a set of probably six *phalerae* (the upper edge of the bottom left *phalera*

is covered by his arm, which completely covers the possible central *phalera* of the bottom row) with figural ornaments (such as a *gorgoneion* on the central *phalera* of the upper row) on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps; the vertical straps on the shoulder indicate they continue on the back.

Below the shoulders, the chest also bears a pair of *torques*. They are hung on a piece of fabric that appears to continue on the back (neck?). The two symmetrical lion heads depicted behind each of the shoulders may be related to the attachment of the *torques*. The cloak partly covers the right *torques*. The body of the *torques* is decorated with regularly (symmetrically?) distributed droplets oriented with the tip toward the centre (i.e. away from the terminals); the bodies thicken evenly from the midpoint toward the contiguous and slightly expanded terminals.

CIL XIII 8648; Steiner 1906, No. 3, Pl. 3; Büttner 1957, No. 5; Bauchhenß 1978, No. 1; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, 186–188, Table I, Pl. 2a; Schalles, Willer 2009, 80–84; *EDCS*-11100742; *HD*019187; *lupa* 15513.



b

15

Xanten, nagrobna stela/kenotaf legijskega centuriona Marka Celija (*Marcus Caelius*), kmalu po letu 9 po Kr. (Bauchhenß 1978; *EDCS*; *EDH*; *lupa*), Rheinisches Landesmuseum Bonn, inv. št. U 92; *sl.* 4.15a, b.

M(arco) Caelio T(iti) f(ilio) Lem(onia) Bon(onia) / [t(riario)] o(rdini) leg(ionis) XIIIX ann(orum) LIII s(emissis) / [ce]cidit bello Variano ossa / [l](ibertorum) [i]nferre licebit P(ublius) Caelius T(iti) f(ilius) / Lem(onia) frater fecit // M(arcus) Caelius / M(arci) l(ibertus) / Privatus // M(arcus) Caelius / M(arci) l(ibertus) / Thiaminus

V niši nad napisom je med podstavkoma z doprsjema osvobodjencev Marka Celija Privata in Marka Celija Tiamina upodobljen Mark Celij do bokov. Na glavi ima venec iz hrastovih listov (*corona civica*), v desnici drži palico (*vitis*), ki sega daleč v napisno polje. Na sebi ima oklep in pod njim tuniko (vidna je pri vratu in pod rameni), na zapestjih obeh rok ima zapestnici (*armillae*). Na prsih ima set verjetno šestih (viden je zgornji rob skrajno leve spodnje falere, ki jo sicer prekriva Markova desna roka; ta povsem zakriva srednjo falero

spodnje vrste) figuralno okrašenih krožnih faler (v srednji zgoraj prepoznamo npr. Meduzo) na vodoravno in navpično potekajočem jermenju; navpična jermena na ramenih kažeta, da se nadaljujeta na hrbtu.

Nad falerami in pod rameni sta torkvesa. Visita na tkanini, za katero je nakazano, da se nadaljuje na Markovi hrbtni strani (na vratu?). Z namestitvijo torkvesov sta morda povezani simetrično na ramenih upodobljeni levji glavi. Desni torkves delno prekriva plašč. Obroča torkvesov sta okrašena z motivom pravilno (simetrično?) razporejenih kapljic, orientiranih vzdolž obroča tako, da so s konico obrnjene k sredini, tj. stran od zaključkov torkvesa; enakomerno se debelita od sredine proti stikajočima se in rahlo odebeljenima zaključkoma.

CIL XIII 8648; Steiner 1906, št. 3, t. 3; Büttner 1957, št. 5; Bauchhenß 1978, št. 1; Maxfield 1981, 216, pregl. M, 186–188, pregl. I, t. 2a; Schalles, Willer 2009, 80–84; *EDCS*-11100742; *HD*019187; *lupa* 15513.



Figure 4.16
Sarcophagus from Dion (Greece), middle of the 2nd century AD, *List 2: No. 16*; a) larger fragment, b) detail of the larger fragment, c) both fragments (p. 108).

Slika 4.16
Sarkofag iz Diona (Grčija), sredina 2. st., *seznam 2: št. 16*; a) veći odlomek, b) detalj većjega odlomka, c) veći in manjši odlomek (str. 108).

GREECE

16

Dion, two fragments of the front side of a sarcophagus commemorating a *signifer* in a praetorian cohort, middle of the 2nd century AD (Šašel Kos 1979; *EDCS*), Archaeological Museum of Dion, Inv. Nos 33 and 8574; *Fig. 4.16a–c*.

[--?]Q F++B[---?] P[---] Piceno sig(nifero) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) / [---] aedil(i) // LE[---] Ilvir(o) / [---]e / [---]VCOS per / [---]ios mul/[---] quam / [---] vixi / [---] debet vita / [---]nt aliqui / [---] opto ne / [---]us nostris / [---]te poena / [---] titulo vade

The right, larger fragment of the sarcophagus front side has been known for some time (*Fig. 4.16a*). Recently, a fragment belonging to the left part of the same sarcophagus has been found. It allows for a rough reconstruction of the front: the inscription began on the upper border and continued in the central inscription panel, flanked on either side by panels with relief decoration (*Fig. 4.16a, c*).

An examination of the larger fragment of the sarcophagus in the museum in Dion revealed that the 12 cm wide upper (bedding) surface has three holes associated with pour channels; they most likely bore iron dowels secured with lead and held the lid of the sarcophagus in place.

The right panel with relief decoration survives almost complete. It shows a saddled horse in profile with his head towards the inscription field. Behind the horse is a man in a tunic and cloak. Above them are the following items, from left to right: 1) penannular *torques* with a smooth body that tapers slightly just before the expanded spherical terminals; the terminals are not identical: the right one is spherical, the left one has a flat end, 2) *corona* (diameter of 8.5 cm; the elongated shape of the leaves speaks in favour of laurel rather than oak leaves, hence *corona aurea*) with a bow on top and ribbons hanging down, 3) oval shield with an oval boss, 4) helmet shown in three-quarter profile



b

GRČIJA

16

Dion, dva dela sprednje stranice sarkofaga signiferja pretorijanske kohorte, sredina 2. st. (Šašel Kos 1979; *EDCS*), Arheološki muzej v Dionu, inv. št. 33 in 8574; *sl. 4.16a–c*.

[- ?] Q F + + B [- - - ?] P [- - -] Piceno sig(nifero) coh(ortis) V pr(aetoriae) / [- - -] aedil(i) // LE [- - -] IIvir(o) / [- - -] e / [- - -] VCOS per / [- - -] ios mul / [- - -] quam / [- - -] vixi / [- - -] debet vita / [- - -] nt aliqui / [- - -] opto ne / [- - -] us nostris / [- - -] te poena / [- - -] titulo vade

Desni, večji del sprednje stranice sarkofaga je že dolgo znan (*sl. 4.16a*). Odlomek levega dela iste stranice sarkofaga, najden nedavno v muzeju v Dionu, kaže, da se je napis začel na zgornjem robu stranice in nadaljeval v jasno omejenem napisnem polju v sredini stranice, levo in desno od njega pa sta bili polji z reliefnimi upodobitvami (*sl. 4.16a, c*).

V muzeju v Dionu smo si ogledali razstavljeni, večji del stranice sarkofaga. Na 12 cm široki zgornji ploskvi

so tri luknje, do njih s stranskega oziroma hrbtnega roba stranice vodijo kanali (najverjetneje sledovi s svincem v stranico zalitih železnih zatičev, ki so služili pritrditvi pokrova sarkofaga).

Desno polje z upodobitvami je skoraj celo ohranjeno. Na njem je v pogledu s strani upodobljen osedlan konj, ki gleda proti sredinskemu polju z napisom. Za njim stoji možki v tuniki z ogrnjnim plaščem. Nad njima si, z leve proti desni, sledijo: 1) razklenjen torkves z gladkim obročem, ki se tik pred kroglasto odebeljenima zaključkoma malo zoži; zaključka nista povsem enaka: desni je kroglaste oblike, levi pa je na koncu približno raven, 2) venec (premer 8,5 cm; podolgovata oblika listov bolj usteza lovorju kot hrastu, zato *corona aurea*) s petljo na vrhu, s katere visita trakova, 3) ovalen ščit z ovalno ščitno grbo, 4) čelada v stranskem pogledu, z ličnim ščitnikom in perjanico na vrhu in 5) gladek sklenjen obroč, ki je približno enake velikosti (10 cm) in podobne oblike kot venec levo od ščita, zato menimo, da gre za slabo ohranjen



c

with a cheek-piece and crest on top, 5) smooth annular ring of roughly the same size (10 cm) and similar shape as the *corona* left of the shield, suggesting the object is a poorly preserved wreath (*corona aurea*),¹³⁰ 6) a pair of greaves. Further to the right is a spear (head poorly visible) that spans the whole height of the panel. To the right of the spear is a set of nine *phalerae* above and a spiral *armilla* with an animal-head terminal below it.¹³¹

Surviving of the left panel with relief decoration is the top-right corner next to the inscription panel. The depictions comprise, from right to left: 1) *torques* very similar to the one on the right panel, only the terminals are shown further apart, 2) a helmet with a cheek-piece and a crest reaching from the top of the helmet to the neckguard; it is similar to the helmet on the right panel, where only the top part of the crest is visible, 3) the upper part of a vertical spear with a clearly discernible head in the shape of a narrow leaf, and 4) oval shield with an elongated boss, very similar to the shield on the right panel. Below the helmet and *torques* is 5) part of the head and neck of a horse in profile, facing the central inscription panel.

AE 1915, 112; Šašel Kos 1979, 82–83, No. 189; Maxfield 1981, 91, 217, Table M, Fig. 10; Papagianni 2018, Fig. 11; EDCS-16202023; HD029460.

¹³⁰ Valerie Maxfield (1981, 217, Table M – last line, AE 1915, 112) believed the object to be a *torques*; this can be inferred from her table M that states two *torques*, nine *phalerae* and a *corona aurea* as decorations depicted on the relief. Marjeta Šašel Kos (1979, 82–83, No. 189) followed Maxfield's identification of the *dona militaria*.

¹³¹ Maxfield (1981, 217, Table M) did not state the *armilla* in her table M, which is clearly visible below the *phalerae*.

venec (*corona aurea*)¹³⁰, ter pod njim 6) dve golenici. Na desni sledi sulica (ost ni dobro vidna), ki zavzema celotno višino okrasnega polja. Desno od nje je zgoraj set devetih krožnih faler in pod njimi spiralno zavita armila z zaključkom v obliki živalske glave.¹³¹

Od levega polja z reliefnim okrasom se je ohranil zgornji del neposredno ob sredinskem napisu. Pod napisom ob zgornjem robu stranice si od sredine proti levemu robu sarkofaga sledijo: 1) torkves, ki je zelo podoben tistemu na desnem okrasnem polju, le zaključka sta bolj razklenjena, 2) čelada z ličnim ščitikom in perjanico, ki je segala od vrha čelade do konca vratnega ščitnika; podobna je čeladi v desnem polju, kjer pa je viden le zgornji del perjanice, 3) zgornji del navpično postavljene sulice z jasno vidno ostjo v obliki ozkega lista in 4) ovalen ščit s podolgovato ščitno grbo, zelo podoben ščitu na desnem okrasnem polju. Pod čelado in torkvesom vidimo 5) del glave in vratu konja v stranskem pogledu (gleda proti sredinskemu polju z napisom).

AE 1915, 112; Šašel Kos 1979, 82–83, št. 189; Maxfield 1981, 91, 217, pregl. M, sl. 10; Papagianni 2018, sl. 11; EDCS-16202023; HD029460.

130 Valerie Maxfield (1981, 217, pregl. M – zadnja vrstica, AE 1915, 112) je menila, da je ta predmet torkves; to namreč izhaja iz pregl. M, kjer piše, da so na spomeniku upodobljena naslednja odlikovanja: dva torkvesa, devet faler in venec (*corona aurea*). Maxfieldovi je glede navedbe odlikovanj sledila Marjeta Šašel Kos (1979, 82–83, št. 189).

131 V. Maxfield (1981, 217, pregl. M) v pregl. M ni vnesla podatka o odlikovanju *armilla*, ki je jasno vidno pod falerami.

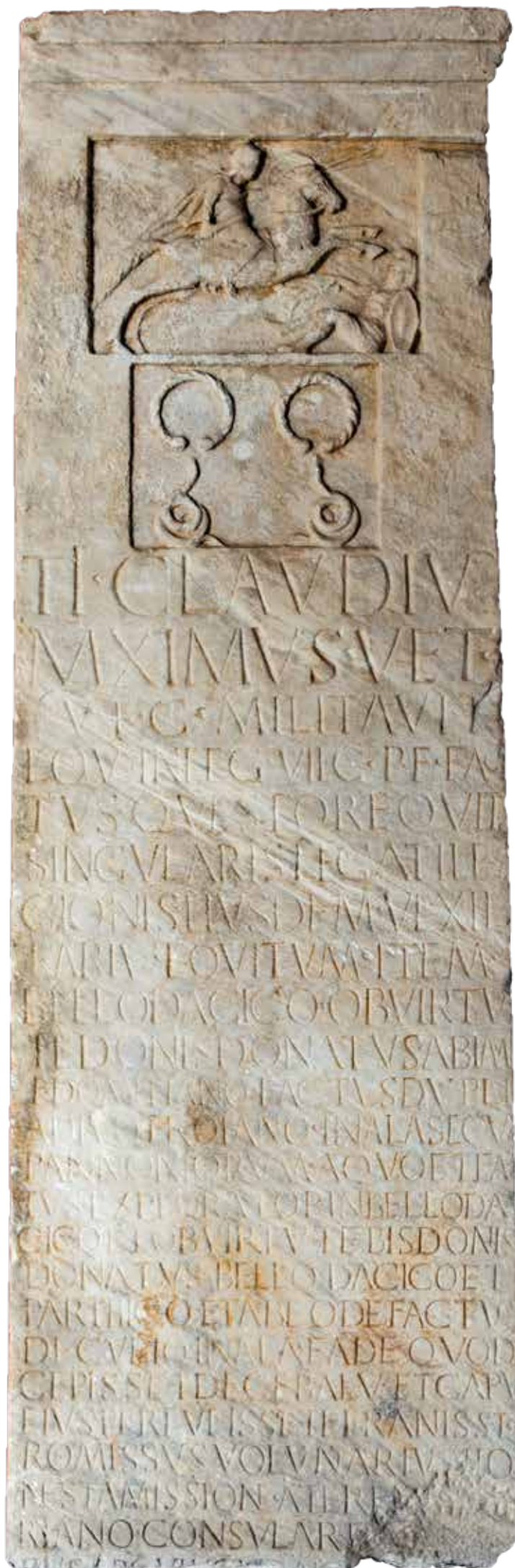
Grammeni, tombstone for veteran Tiberius Claudius Maximus, Hadrianic–period of Antoninus Pius (EDCS; EDH; *lupa*), Archaeological Museum of Drama, Inv. No. L188; Fig. 4.17a, b.

Ti(berius) Claudius / Maximus vet(eranus) / [s(e)]
v(ivo) f(aciendum) c(uravit) militavit / eque(s) in
leg(ione) VII C(laudia) P(ia) F(ideli) fac(tus) qu(a)
estor equit(um) / singularis legati le(gionis) eiusdem
vexil(larius) equitum item / bello Dacico ob virtu-
te(m) donis donatus ab Im(p(eratore) Domitiano factus
dupli(carius) / a divo Traiano in ala secu(n)d(a) /
Pannoniorum a quo et fa(c)tus explorator in bello Da-
cico et ob virtute(m) bis donis / donatus bello Dacico et /
Parthico et ab eode(m) factus / decurio in ala eade(m)
quod / cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput / eius pertulisset
ei Ranisstro(ro) missus voluntarius ho(nesta) missione a
Terent[io Scau]riano consulare [exerci]tus provinciae
nov[ae Mes]/[opotamiae ---]

The tombstone has two sunken panels holding relief depictions above the inscription. The upper panel shows a galloping horse carrying a horseman who holds a pair of spears in his left and a sword in his right hand. Beneath the pair is a fallen enemy with a shield on the left arm and a single-edged sword with a curved blade that he had released from the right hand upon falling.

The lower panel holds a pair of *torques*, with an evenly thick twisted body and expanded spherical terminals and below them a pair of spiral *armillae* with snake-head terminals.

Speidel 1970; AE 1969/1970, 583; AE 1974, 589; Maxfield 1981, 217, Table M, Pl. 8a; Pilhofer 2000, 506, No. 522; Papagianni 2012, Fig. 1; Papagianni 2013, 808, Fig. 12; Brélaz 2014b, No. 94; EDCS-09701197; HD012322; *lupa* 19572.



a

Figure 4.17
Tombstone for Tiberius
Claudius Maximus from
Grammeni (Greece),
Hadrianic-period of
Antoninus Pius, List 2: No. 17;
a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.17
Nagrobnik Tiberija Klavdija
Maksima iz kraja Grammeni
(Grčija), čas Hadrijana ali
Antonina Pija, seznam 2:
št. 17; a) sprednja stran,
b) detajl.



17

Grammeni, nagrobna stela veterana Tiberija Klavdija Maksima (*Tiberius Claudius Maximus*), poveljnika Druge panonske ale (*ala secunda Pannoniorum*), čas Hadrijana ali Antonina Pija (EDCS; EDH; lupa), Arheološki muzej v Drami, inv. št. L188; sl. 4.17a, b.

Ti(berius) Claudius / Maximus vet(eranus) / [s(e)] v(ivo) f(aciendum) c(uravit) militavit / eque(s) in leg(ione) VII C(laudia) P(ia) F(ideli) fac/tus qu(a) estor equit(um) / singularis legati le/gionis eiusdem vexil/larius equitum item / bello Dacico ob virtu/te(m) donis donatus ab Im/p(eratore) Domitiano factus dupli(carius) / a divo Tr`a`iano in ala secu(n)d(a) / Pannoniorum a quo et fa(c)/tus explorator in bello Da/cico et ob virtute(m) bis donis / donatus bello Dacico et / Parthico et ab eode(m) factus / decurio in ala eade(m) quod / cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput / eius pertulisset ei Ranissto/ro missus voluntarius ho/nesta missione a Terent[io Scau]/riano consulare [exerci]/tus provinciae nov[ae Mes]/[opotamiae ---]

Nad napisom sta poglobljeni polji z reliefnimi upodobitvami. V zgornjem vidimo konja v galopu s konjenikom, ta v levici drži sulici in v desnici meč, na tleh spredaj pod konjem je padli sovražnik s ščitom na levisi in enostranskim mečem z zakrivljenim rezilom, ki ga je ob padcu izpustil iz desnice.

V spodnjem polju je zgoraj par torkvesov z enakomerno debelim tordiranim obročem in kroglasto odebeljenima zaključkoma, spodaj pa je par spiralno zavutih zapestnic (*armillae*) z zaključkom v obliki kačje glave.

Speidel 1970; AE 1969/1970, 583; AE 1974, 589; Maxfield 1981, 217, pregl. M, t. 8a; Pilhofer 2000, 506 Nr. 522; Papagianni 2012, sl. 1; Papagianni 2013, 808, sl. 12; EDCS-09701197; Brélaz 2014b, št. 94; HD012322; lupa 19572.



a

18

Thessaloniki, fragment of a funerary monument, probably 1st century AD (Papagianni 2012), Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Inv. No. 6081; Fig. 4.18a, b.

The inscription is missing.

The rectangular relief is broken above and on the right. The surviving part shows a mounted man in profile, with the horse trotting to the right. The man is wearing a tunic and military cloak, probably holding the reins in the left hand, while the right hand has a staff, presumably the centurion's *vitis*. Depicted in

front of him is a pair of *torques* with a smooth body that tapers slightly from the midpoint towards the expanded spherical terminals. Below the *torques* is a set of 12 *phalerae* (four horizontal rows of three *phalerae*), on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps, and greaves at the bottom.

Standing behind the mounted soldier is a man in a tunic and military cloak holding a spear in the right and a shield in the left hand.

Papagianni 2012, 391–393, Fig. 6.

Figure 4.18

Fragment of a funerary monument from Thessaloniki (Greece), probably 1st century AD, *List 2: No. 18*; a) surviving part, b) detail.

Slika 4.18

Del reliefne plošče nagrobnika iz Soluna (Grčija), verjetno 1. st. po Kr., *seznam 2: št. 18*; a) ohranjeni del, b) detajl.



b

18

Solun, del reliefne plošče nagrobnika, verjetno 1. st. po Kr. (Papagianni 2012), Arheološki muzej v Solunu, inv. št. 6081; *sl. 4.18a, b*.

Napis ni ohranjen.

Pravokotna reliefna plošča je odlomljena zgoraj in na desni strani. Na ohranjenem delu je v stranskem pogledu upodobljen moški na konju, ki koraka proti desni. Oblečen je v tuniko in vojaški plašč, v levici je verjetno držal uzdo, v desnici pa ima palico, verjetno centurionov *vitis*. Pred njim sta zgoraj upodobljena torkvesa z gladkim obročem, ki se rahlo tanjša od sredine proti odebeljenima kroglastima zaključkoma. Pod njima je set 12 faler (štiri vodoravne vrste po tri falere) na vodoravno in navpično povezanem jermenju in na dnu golenice.

Za konjenikom stoji moški v tuniki z ogrnjenim vojaškim plaščem ter sulico v desni in pravokotnim ščitom v levi roki.

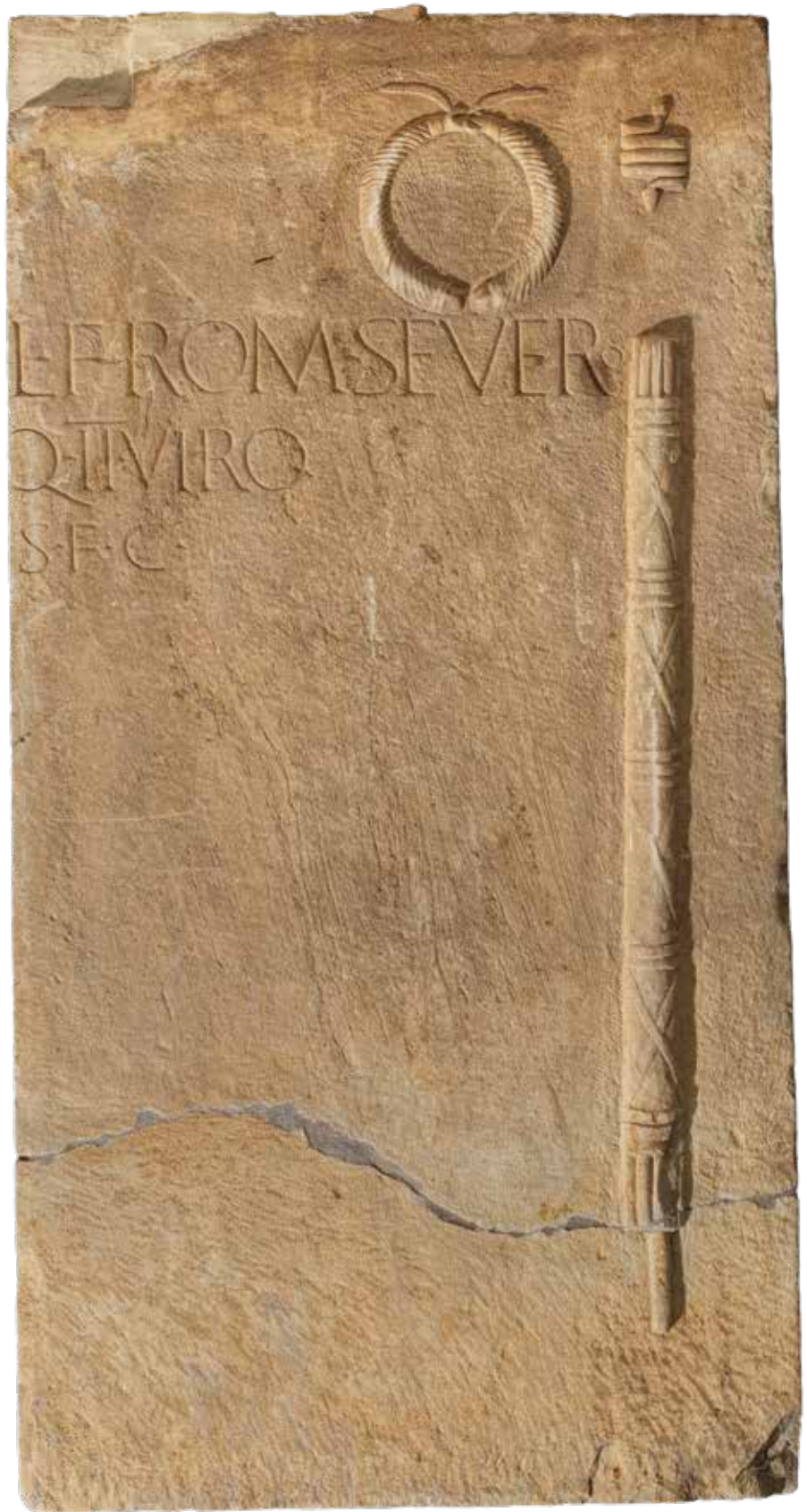
Papagianni 2012, 391–393, sl. 6.

Kassandria, part of a funerary monument for [-] Severus, *quaestor* and *duumvir*, 1st century AD (Šašel Kos 1979; EDCS; EDH), Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Inv. No. 2465; Fig. 4.19a, b.

[---] L(uci) f(ilio) Rom(ilia) Severo / [---] q(uaestori) IIviro / [---] s f(aciundum) c(uravit)

The surviving piece of a funerary monument shows, in addition to a *fasces* (symbol of a magistrate's power and jurisdiction) on the far right, a spiral *armilla* with snake-head terminals and probably a two-piece *torques* with a twisted body that thickens from the midpoint to the roughly hemispherical terminals that are thinner than the body and have a longitudinal groove. The smooth midpoint (opposite the terminals) possibly includes a hinge; tied around it is a ribbon that likely served to suspend the *torques*.

AE 1940, 174; AE 1997, 1336; Šašel Kos 1979, 94–95, No. 223; Papagianni 2012, 394–395, Fig. 8; Papagianni 2013, 811, Fig. 14; EDCS-15100054; HD021063.



a

Figure 4.19

Part of the funerary monument for [-] Severus, *quaestor* and *duumvir*, Kassandria (Greece), 1st century AD, *List 2: No. 19*; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.19

Del nagrobnega spomenika [-] Severa, kvestorja in duovira, Kassandria (Grčija), 1. st. po Kr., seznam 2: št. 19; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.



b

19

Kassandria, del nagrobnega spomenika za [-] Severa ([-] *Severus*), kvestorja in duovira, 1. st. po Kr. (Šašel Kos 1979; *EDCS*; *EDH*), Arheološki muzej v Solunu, inv. št. 2465; sl. 4.19a, b.

[---] *L(uci) f(ilio) Rom(ilia) Severo* / [---] *q(uaestori) Iiviro* / [---] *s f(aciundum) c(uravit)*

Na ohranjenem delu nagrobnega spomenika sta, poleg *fasces* (simbol pokojnikove civilne službe) na skrajni desni strani, upodobljena spiralno zavita armilla z

zaključkoma v obliki kačje glave ter verjetno dvodelen torkves s tordiranim obročem, ki se debeli od sredine proti približno polkrožnima zaključkoma – sta ožja od obroča, vzporedno s podlago pri obeh zaključkih teče žleb. V sredini (nasproti zaključkoma), kjer obroč ni tordiran, slutimo tečaj; okoli njega je zavezana vrstica, ki je verjetno služila pritrditvi torkvesa.

AE 1940, 174; *AE* 1997, 1336; Šašel Kos 1979, 94–95, Nr. 223; Papagianni 2012, 394–395, sl. 8; Papagianni 2013, 811, sl. 14; *EDCS*-15100054; *HD*021063.



a

20

Dion or its surroundings, fragment of a funerary monument for Gaius Pomponius Aquila, probably Tiberian–Claudian,¹³² now lost; Fig. 4.20a, b.

C(aio) Pomponio M(arci) f(ilio) Lem(onia) Aquilae / III(centurioni) leg(ionis) III[I] Scy(thicae) Pomponia C(ai) f(ilia) Aquilina / parenti

The appearance of the lost funerary monument can be inferred from the only surviving photograph (Plassart 1923, Fig. 1), which shows part of the inscription and relief decoration below it. Despite the poor quality of the photograph (or its publication), we can clearly discern a fairly stylised set of nine (three rows of three) *phalerae*, on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps, flanked left and right by *torques*.

The *torques* appear identical. They are made of a single piece, smooth and with an evenly thick body ending in considerably expanded disc terminals that are not contiguous.

To the right of the right-hand *torques* is a spiral (three-coiled) *armilla* with one terminal in the shape of a snake head and the other one shaped like a snake tail. The photograph does not show the left end of the slab; we can presume that this part held another *armilla*, shown symmetrically with regard to the centrally placed *phalerae*.

AE 1915, 115; AE 1917/18, 55; Plassart 1923, 164–165, No. 55, Fig. 1; Šašel Kos 1979, 82, No. 188; EDCS-16202026; HD029469.

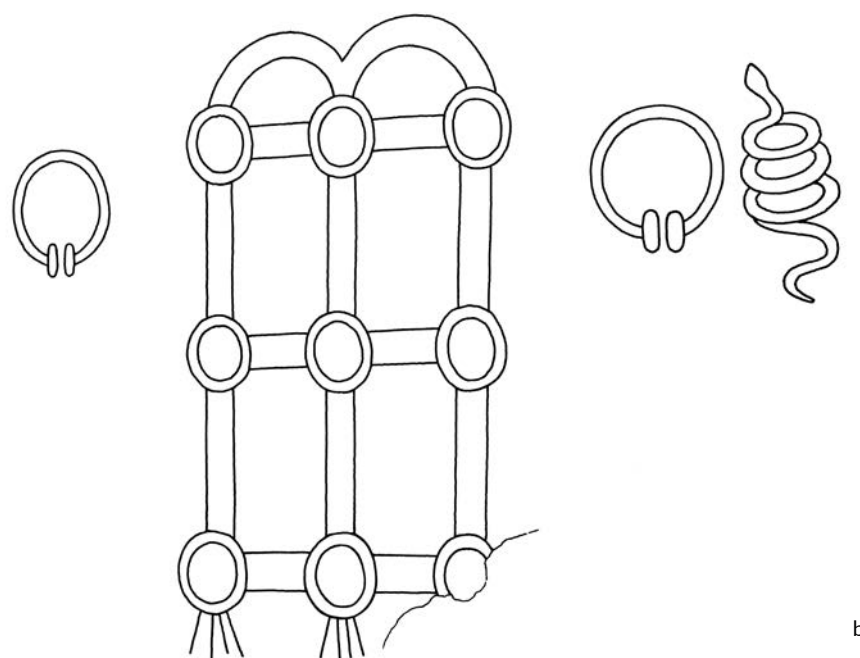
¹³² Ritterling (1925, 1558) presumed that Gaius Pomponius Aquila served in *legio IIII Scythica* under Tiberius or Caligula.

Figure 4.20

Decorations depicted on the now lost funerary monument for Gaius Pomponius Aquila, Dion or vicinity (Greece), probably Tiberian–Claudian, *List 2: No. 20*; a) from Plassart 1923, 164, No. 55, Figure 1; b) drawing of decorations as visible in the greatly enlarged photograph as cited above.

Slika 4.20

Upodobitev odlikovanj na izgubljenem nagrobniku Gaja Pomponija Akvile, Dion ali okolica (Grčija), verjetno čas Tiberija, Kaligule ali Klavdija, *seznam 2: št. 20*; a) iz Plassart 1923, 164, št. 55, Slika 1; b) risba odlikovanj po zelo povečani fotografiji iz navedenega vira.



20

Dion ali njegova okolica, del nagrobnika Gaja Pomponija Akvile (*Gaius Pomponius Aquila*), verjetno čas Tiberija, Kaligule ali Klavdija,¹³² izgubljen; *sl. 4.20a, b*.

C(aio) Pomponio M(arci) f(ilio) Lem(onia) Aquilae / | (centurioni) leg(ionis) III[I] Scy(thicae) Pomponia C(ai) f(ilia) Aquilina / parenti

O videzu izgubljenega nagrobnika lahko sklepamo iz edine ohranjene fotografije (Plassart, sl. 1), ki kaže del napisu in reliefen okras pod njim. Kljub slabi kakovosti fotografije (oziroma njene objave) na njej brez dvomov prepoznamo razmeroma shematsko upodobljen set devetih faler (tri vrste po tri falere) na vodoravno in navpično povezanem jermenju ter levo in desno ob njem po en torkves.

Torkvesa sta si po videzu enaka. Sta enodelna, gladka, imata enakomerno debel obroč in močno diskasto odebeljena zaključka, ki se ne stikata.

Na desni strani spomenika je desno ob torkvesu spiralno zavita (trije zavoji) armila, ki ima en zaključek v obliki kačje glave, drugega pa v obliki kačjega repa. Na fotografiji ni levega dela nagrobnika; domnevamo, da je bila tam – levo od torkvesa in simetrično glede na falere, ki so bile verjetno v sredini nagrobnika – upodobljena druga armila.

AE 1915, 115; AE 1917/18, 55; Plassart 1923, 164–165, št. 55, sl. 1; Šašel Kos 1979, 82, št. 188; EDCS-16202026; HD029469.

¹³² Ritterling (1925, 1558) domneva, da je Gaj Pomponij Akvila pod Tiberijem ali Kaligulo služil v Četrtni skitski legiji.



a



b

21

Philippi, two parts of a funerary monument, 1st century AD, Archaeological Museum of Philippi, Inv. No. L 1553, L 2554; Fig. 4.21a–d.

The base of the slabs is moulded on three sides; the top part is broken off. They are roughly the same size (in cm: 184 × 61.3 × 13; 185 × 62 × 12). Examination revealed that they taper, barely perceptibly on the right and pronouncedly on the left. The rear side is coarsely dressed in the central zone and has a 9 cm wide finely dressed border along all edges.

The front sides of the slabs depict military decorations in relief.

One slab (Fig. 4.21a, b) shows a spear (*hasta pura*) on the right and to the left of it a *corona aurea* (diameter 29.5 cm) with ribbons on top, as well as a pair of identical *torques* vertically aligned below it. The *torques* (body diameter: upper *torques* 17.8–18.0 cm, lower *torques* 17.8 cm) have contiguous expanded disc terminals; the upper *torques* is oriented with the terminals up, the lower one with the terminals down.

Figure 4.21

Two parts of a funerary monument, Philippi (Greece), 1st century AD, *List 2: No. 21*; a) part depicting a pair of *torques*, b) detail, c) part showing an *armilla* (or possibly *torques*), d) detail.

Slika 4.21

Dva dela grobnega spomenika, Filipi (Grčija), 1. st. po Kr., *seznam 2: št. 21*; a) del s prikazom para torkvesov, b) detajl, c) del s prikazom armile (ali morda torkvesa), d) detajl.



c



d

21

Filipi, dva dela grobnega spomenika, 1. st. po Kr., Arheološki muzej v Filipih, inv. št. L 1553, L 2554; *sl. 4.21a–d*.

Spodnji zaključek stel je na treh stranicah profiliran, vrhnji del pa ni ohranjen. Njune mere so približno enake (v cm: 184 × 61,3 × 13; 185 × 62 × 12). Ob ogledu stel smo ugotovili, da je pri obeh desna stranica komaj opazno nagnjena navznoter (proti sredini stele), nagib leve stranice navznoter pa je nedvomno precej izrazitejši. Hrbtne stranice je v srednjem pasu obdelana grobo, okoli 9 cm širok pas ob robovih pa je fino obdelan.

Na sprednji strani stel so v reliefu upodobljena vojaška odlikovanja.

Na prvi steli (*sl. 4.21a, b*) vidimo na desni sulico (*hasta pura*) in ob njej levo zgoraj lovorjev venec (*corona aurea*; premer 29,5 cm) s trakcema na zgornji strani ter spodaj drugega pod drugim par enakih torkvesov (premer obročev: zgornji torkves 17,8–18,0 cm, spodnji torkves 17,8 cm) z diskasto odebeljenima zaključkoma, ki se stikata; zgornji torkves je orientiran tako, da sta zaključka zgoraj, spodnji pa tako, da sta spodaj.

The other slab (Fig. 4.21c, d) depicts a spear (*hasta pura*) along the left edge followed to the right (top to bottom) by a set of 14 *phalerae* arranged in a manner not known elsewhere, a *corona* almost identical to the one on the first slab (diameter 30 cm) and an object of the same appearance as the two *torques* on the first slab, but slightly smaller (Fig. 4.21d; body diameter 17.2 cm), suggesting it represents an *armilla*.¹³³

The slabs are both made of light grey stone and are also similar in shape and size, as well as the shape of the *corona*. This points to a close association of the two slabs that possibly formed part of the same funerary monument. However, the fact that the slabs do not taper symmetrically on the left and right sides suggests they were not placed symmetrically, for example, left and right of the entrance (to a tomb).

The military decorations on both slabs should presumably be read together, as the awards of a single soldier. When decorated first, this individual received a set of *phalerae*, a pair of *torques* and an *armilla* (unless the other one was depicted on the missing upper part of the slab).

The depictions of the decorations here differ from the usual ones in the distribution of the *phalerae*, the orientation of the *coronae* and *torques*, and possibly also the number of *armillae* (one instead of a pair).

The find circumstances suggest that a funerary inscription, dedicated to a military tribune from Philippi, belonged to the same funerary monument; only the cognomen Flaccus survives of his name.¹³⁴

Brélaz 2014a, 1502–1504, Fig. 8, 9; Brélaz 2014b, No. 65.

¹³³ Brélaz (2014a, 1502, 1503) believes that either two *torques* or a *torques* and an *armilla* are shown on the first relief, and a single *torque* on the other relief.

¹³⁴ Brélaz 2014b, No. 65.

Na drugi steli (sl. 4.21c, d) je sulica upodobljena ob levem robu, desno ob njej pa si od zgoraj navzdol sledijo: set 14 faler, ki so razporejene drugače kot na drugih upodobitvah, skoraj enak venec, kot je na prvi steli (premer 30 cm), in predmet, ki je po videzu enak torkvesoma na prvi steli, vendar je malo manjši (sl. 4.21d; premer obroča 17,2 cm), zato domnevamo, da predstavlja zapestnico (*armilla*).¹³³

Steli sta iz enakega svetlosivega kamna, skoraj enaki sta tudi po obliki in merah. Poleg tega sta si upodobitvi venca zelo podobni. Vse to kaže na ozko povezavo med stelama, verjetno sta bili del istega grobnega spomenika. Vendar pa nista mogli stati simetrično, npr. levo in desno ob vhodu (v grobnico), saj proti temu govori dejstvo, da je pri obeh stelah izrazito navznoter nagnjena leva stranica.

Na prvi in drugi steli upodobljena odlikovanja se torej vsebinsko najverjetneje dopolnjujejo in so povezana z odlikovanjem istega vojaka. Ob prvem odlikovanju je prejel set faler, par torkvesov in eno armilo, če druga morda ni bila upodobljena na manjkajočem zgornjem delu stele.

Upodobitve odlikovanj na stelah torej odstopajo od običajih upodobitev po razporeditvi faler, orientaciji vencev in torkvesov ter morda tudi po številu zapestnic (ena zapestnica namesto para).

Najdiščne okoliščine nakazujejo, da je k istemu spomeniku sodil nagrobni napis, posvečen vojaškemu tribunu, ki je bil doma v Filipih; od njegovega imena se je ohranil le kognomen Flaccus.¹³⁴

Brélaz 2014a, 1502–1504, sl. 8, 9; Brélaz 2014b, št. 65.

¹³³ Brélaz (2014a, 1502, 1503) meni, da sta na prvi steli upodobljena dva torkvesa ali torkves in zapestnica, na drugi steli pa en torkves.

¹³⁴ Brélaz 2014b, št. 65.



Figure 4.22
Tombstone for Lucius
Antonius Quadratus from
Brescia (Italy), Tiberian, *List 2*:
No. 22; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.22
Nagrobnik Lucija Antonija
Kvadrata iz Brescie (Italija),
tiberijski čas, *seznam 2*: št. 22;
a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

ITALY

22

Brescia, part of the tombstone for Lucius Antonius Quadratus, Tiberian (Franzoni 1987), *Lapidario di Piazza Loggia, Brescia*, no Inv. No.; *Fig. 4.22a, b*.

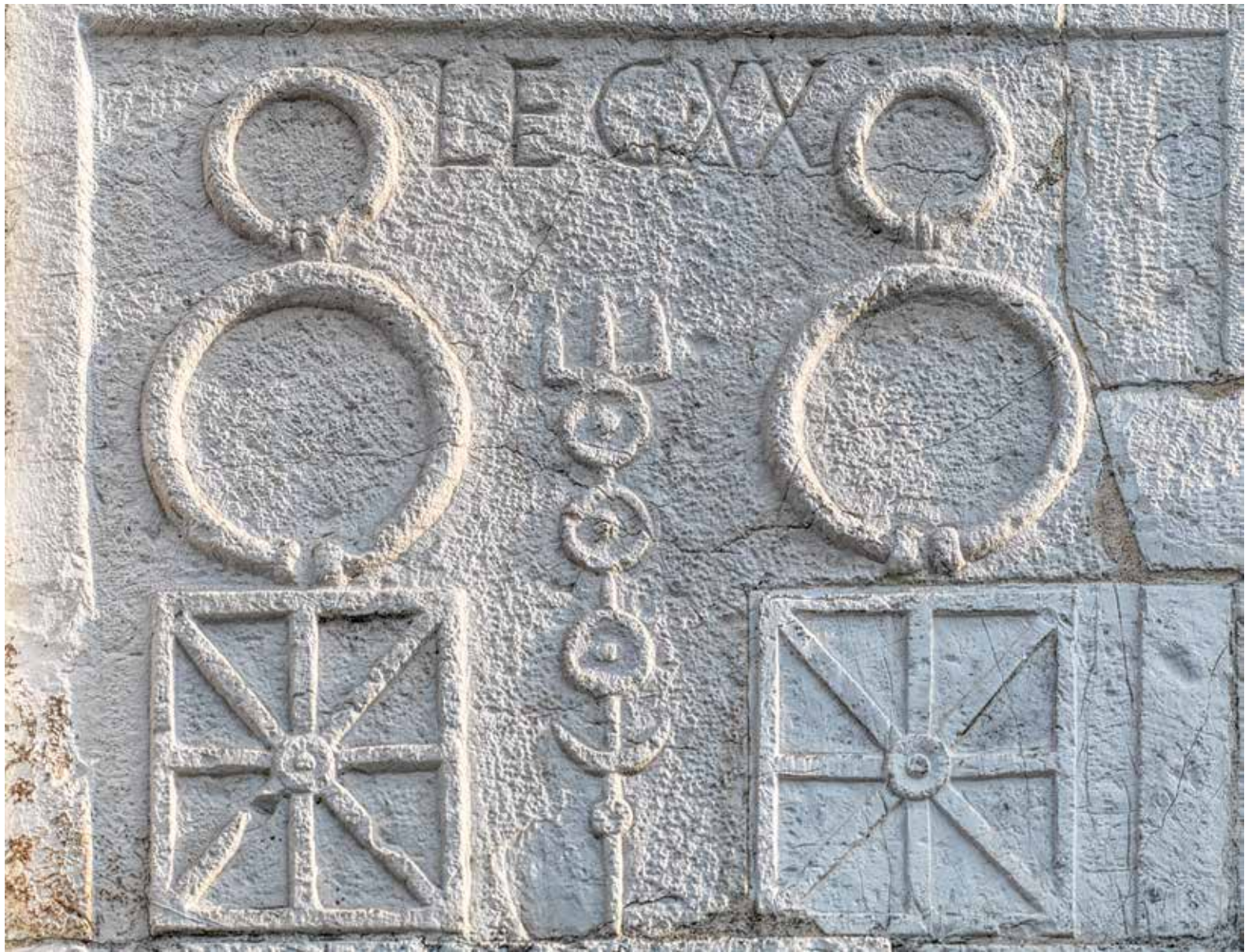
List 1: No. 52.

Only the part with the inscription and relief depictions survives from the tombstone. The sunken panel below the inscription holds the relief of a *signum* in the centre flanked by two, symmetrically placed sets of nine *phalerae* on a harness of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal straps (the right one not surviving in the

original), a pair of penannular *torques* with an evenly thick body and expanded disc terminals, as well as a pair of *armillae* of a shape similar to that of the *torques*.

The depictions correspond with the double decoration stated in the inscription in the two sets of *phalerae* but not in the number of *torques* and *armillae*.

CIL V 4365; Steiner 1906, 28, 48, No. 12, Fig. 19; Büttner 1957, No. 2; Maxfield 1981, 216, Table M, Pl. 14b; Franzoni 1987, 79, No. 54, Pl. 26: 3; *EDCS-04203417*; *EDR090154*.



b

ITALIJA

22

Brescia, del stele Lucija Antonija Kvadrata (*Lucius Antonius Quadratus*), tiberijski čas (Franzoni 1987), Lapidario di Piazza Loggia, Brescia, brez inv. št.; sl. 4.22a, b.

Seznam 1: 52.

Od pravokotne stele s polkrožnim zgornjim delom je ohranjen del z napisom in reliefnimi podobami. Pod napisom je v sredini upodobljen legijski znak (*signum*). Simetrično ob straneh sta shematsko prikazana seta devetih faler (desni ni ohranjen v originalu) na vodoravno, navpično in diagonalno postavljenem jermenju, nad njima pa nesklenjena torkvesa z

enakomerno debelim obročem in odebeljenima zaključkoma v obliki diska.

Nad torkvesoma sta armili, ki sta podobne oblike kot torkvesa.

Z dvakratnim odlikovanjem, ki ga omenja napis, se torej v upodobitvi ujemata dva seta faler, ne pa število torkvesov in armil.

CIL V 4365; Steiner 1906, 28, 48, št. 12, sl. 19; Büttner 1957, št. 2; Maxfield 1981, 216, pregl. M, t. 14b; Franzoni 1987, 79, št. 54, t. 26: 3; *EDCS*-04203417; *EDR*090154.



a **Figure 4.23**
Upper part of the funerary altar for Gaius Purtilius Atinas from Forlì (Italy), AD 31–70, *List 2: No. 23*; a) front and right sides, b) left side, c) right side.

Slika 4.23
Zgornji del nagrobnega oltarja Gaja Purtilija Atinata iz Forlija (Italija), med letoma 31 in 70, seznam 2: št. 23; a) sprednja in desna stran, b) leva stran, c) desna stran.

23

Forlì, upper part of the funerary altar for *primuspilus* Gaius Purtilius Atinas, AD 31–70 (*EDCS*; *EDR*; Susini 1983; Dexheimer 1998), Museo Archeologico “Antonio Santarelli”, Forlì, Inv. No. MFO 645; Fig. 4.23a–c.

Dis Manibus / C(aius) Purtilius C(ai) f(ilius) Stel(lati- / na) Atinas IIII / v(iri) q(uin)q(uenn)alis pr(aefectus) equi- / tum pr(aefectus) fab(rum) pri(mus) pil(us) leg(ionis) / -----

The upper part of the funerary altar survives. It holds the reliefs of *dona militaria* on the left and right sides. On the left side are a pair of *hastae purae* and a pair

of *coronae aureae*. The right side holds a pair of spiral *armillae*, with one terminal in the shape of a snake head, as well as a twisted circular object between them (probably a *torques*) with rosette terminals tied together via a round loop and a hook. We presume that the other of the pair of *torques* was depicted lower down. The relief of the *torques* is well made and well preserved.

CIL XI 624; Steiner 1906, 9, 71, Fig. 4, No. 151; Büttner 1957, No. 30, Pl. 13; Maxfield 1981, 186, Fig. 9, Pl. 7b, Table I; Susini 1983; Dexheimer 1998, 75, No. 11; *EDCS-20402056*; *EDR108300*.



b



c

23

Forlí, zgornji del nagrobnega oltarja Gaja Purtizija Atinata (*Gaius Purtisius Atinas*), ki je bil *primuspilus*, med letom 31 in 70 (EDCS; EDR; Susini 1983; Dexheimer 1998), Museo Archeologico "Antonio Santarelli", Forli, inv. št. MFO 645; sl. 4.23a–c.

Dis Manibus / C(aius) Purtisius C(ai) f(ilius) Stel(latina) Atinas IIII/vir quin(quennalis) pr(aefectus) equi(tum) pr(aefectus) fab(rum) pri(mus) pil(us) leg(ionis) / -----

Ohranjen je zgornji del nagrobnega oltarja. Na stranskih ploskvah so prikazana vojaška odlikovanja. Na levi stranici sta približno simetrično upodobljeni dve

sulici (*hastae purae*) in dva venca (*coronae aureae*), na desni stranici pa par spiralno zavutih zapesnic (*armillae*) z zaključkom v obliki kačje glave in med njima večji tordiran obročast predmet – verjetno torkves – z zaključkoma v obliki rozet, ki sta speta z zanko krožne oblike in kaveljčkom. Domnevamo, da je bil nižje, na neohranjenem delu polja, upodobljen drugi od para torkvesov. Upodobitev torkvesa je zelo kakovostna in dobro ohranjena.

CIL XI 624; Steiner 1906, 9, 71, sl. 4, št. 151; Büttner 1957, št. 30, t. 13; Maxfield 1981, 186, sl. 9, t. 7b, pregl. I; Susini 1983; Dexheimer 1998, 75, št. 11; EDCS-20402056; EDR108300.

The River Illasi near Cellore, tombstone for Quintus Sertorius Festus, *centurio in legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, third quarter of the 1st century AD (Pflug 1989), Museo Maffeiano di Verona, Inv. No. 28160; Fig. 4.24a, b.

Q(uintus) Sertorius / L(uci) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Festus / centur(io) leg(ionis) XI / Claudiae Piae / Fidelis

The niche above the inscription panel holds the full-length image of a soldier (deceased), which is poorly preserved. He wears a tunic, scale armour (*lorica squamata*), and a cloak hanging from his left shoulder. He has a wreath on his head that cannot be clearly identified (*corona civica*?¹³⁵) and decorated greaves on his legs. In his right hand is a *vitis*. Fitted onto the armour is a set of nine *phalerae* with figural decoration on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps. Above them and below the collar bones is a pair of *torques*, poorly preserved. The left *torques* is particularly damaged, while the cloak covers the upper part of the right *torques* (interestingly, there are no terminals discernible in the lower part), the orientation of the *torques* is therefore unclear. The left *torques* has a twisted body of roughly even thickness.

CIL V 3374; Steiner 1906, Pl. 1: 5; Büttner 1957, No. 7; Maxfield 1981, 73, 188, 216, Table M, 186, Table I, Pl. 2b; Pflug 1989, No. 259; *EDCS*-04202420; *EDR*143053; *lupa* 21661.



Figure 4.24

Tombstone for Quintus Sertorius Festus from the River Illasi near Cellore (Italy), third quarter of the 1st century AD, List 2: No. 24; a) front, b) depiction of Q. Sertorius Festus.

Slika 4.24

Nagrobnik Kvinta Sertorija Festa iz reke Illasi pri kraju Cellore (Italija), tretja četrtina 1. st. po Kr., seznam 2: št. 24; a) sprednja stran, b) upodobitev Kvinta Sertorija Festa.

a

¹³⁵ Maxfield 1981, 72, 73.



Reka Illasi pri kraju Cellore, nagrobna stela Kvinta Sertorija Festa (*Quintus Sertorius Festus*), centuriona Enajste legije, tretja četrtina 1. st. (Pflug 1989), Museo Maffeiiano di Verona, inv. št. 28160; sl. 4.24a, b.

Q(uintus) Sertorius / L(uci) f(ilius) Pob(lilia) Festus / centur(io) leg(ionis) XI / Claudiae Piaae / Fidelis

V niši nad napisnim poljem je celopostavna podoba vojaka (pokojnika), ki je slabo ohranjena. Oblečen je v tuniko in oklep iz lusk (*lorica squamata*), z leve rame mu visi plašč; na glavi ima venec, ki ga je težko opredeliti (*corona civica*?¹³⁵), in na nogah okrašeni golenici. V desnici drži palico (*vitis*). Na oklep ima z vodoravnim in navpičnim jermenjem nameščen set devetih krožnih, figuralno okrašenih faler. Nad njimi, pod ključnicama, sta slabo ohranjeni upodobitvi para torkvesov: zgornji in spodnji del levega torkvesa sta zelo slabo ohranjena, pri desnem zgornji del prekriva upodobitev plašča, na spodnjem delu pa ni videti zaključkov. Ni jasno, kako sta bila torkvesa orientirana. Na levem torkvesu se vidi, da je bil njegov obroč tor-diran in približno enakomerne debeline.

CIL V 3374; Steiner 1906, t. 1: 5; Büttner 1957, št. 7; Maxfield 1981, 73, 188, 216, pregl. M, 186, pregl. I, t. 2b; Pflug 1989, št. 259; *EDCS*-04202420; *EDR*143053; *lupa* 21661.

b

¹³⁵ Maxfield 1981, 72, 73.



Figure 4.25
Pedestal of an honorific statue or (funerary or votive) altar for Quintus Sulpicius Celsus from Rome (Italy), Flavian, *List 2: No. 25*; a) front, b) left side, c) right side.

Slika 4.25
Podstavek spomenika ali (votivni/nagrobni) oltar Kvinta Sulpicija Celza iz Rima (Italija), flavijski čas, *seznam 2: št. 25*; a) spredaj, b) leva stran, c) desna stran.

a

25

Rome, base of an honorific statue or honorific/funerary altar¹³⁶ commemorating Quintus Sulpicius Celsus, commander of *cohors VII Lusitanorum*, Flavian (EDCS; EDR), Vespasianic (Boschung 1987), Musei Capitolini – Roma, Inv. No. 1248; Fig. 4.25a–c.¹³⁷

Q(uinto) Sulpicio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Celso / praefecto fabrum / praef(ecto) coh(ort)is VII / Lusitanorum praef(ecto) / [-----] / [---]ia[---]te / -----

The upper, bedding surface of the block has three holes: a rectangular one in the centre and two square ones (with a pour channel and filled with lead) at opposing corners. The central one is a lewis hole, and the two square ones are dowel holes that secured the piece above, either the upper element of an altar¹³⁸ or the plinth of a statue.

¹³⁶ The monument is identified in literature as either an honorific altar (Maxfield 1981, Pl. 5c), base of an honorific statue (Bishop, Coulston 2006, 14) or funerary altar (EDR; Boschung 1987, No. 849).

¹³⁷ New photographs of the monument would cost over €2000; therefore, the old black-and-white photographs, kindly provided by the Arachne database, are used here.

¹³⁸ For funerary altars, cf. e.g. Boschung 1987, Nos 848, 851, 852, 856–858, 860.

The inscription is taking up the whole surviving part of the front.

The right side of the block depicts a torso in a muscle cuirass, across which is a baldric with a sword in its scabbard suspended from it. Above the torso is an inclined staff tipped with a *corona muralis* on the right and a twisted *torques* to the left, with a body that thickens from the midpoint to the terminals that imitate lion heads.

The left side shows a standard (*vexillum*) and next to it a praetorian *signum*,¹³⁹ suggesting that Celsus also served as commander of the praetorian guard, which was probably recorded in the missing part of the inscription.¹⁴⁰

CIL VI 32934; Maxfield 1981, 84, Pl. 5c; Boschung 1987, 30, 31, 108, No. 849, Pl. 45; EDCS-23201536; EDR121476.

¹³⁹ Maxfield 1981, Pl. 5d; De la Bédoyère 2018, 34, Fig. 24. The *phalera* holds the portrait of Vespasian (Boschung 1987, 108, Cat. No. 849).

¹⁴⁰ Legible at the end of the inscription is *praef(ecto)*, but not what follows.



b



c

25

Rim, podstavek kipa ali počastiveni/nagrobni oltar¹³⁶ Kvinta Sulpicija Celza (*Quintus Sulpicius Celsus*), poveljnika Sedme luzitanske kohorte, Flavijci (*EDCS; EDR*) oziroma Vespazijan (Boschung 1987), Kapitolski muzeji, Rim, inv. št. 1248; sl. 4.25a–c.¹³⁷

Q(uinto) Sulpicio Q(uinti) f(ilio) / Quir(ina) Celso / praefecto fabrum / praef(ecto) cohor(tis) VII / Lusitanorum praef(ecto) / [-----] / [---]ia[---]te / -----

Na zgornji ploskvi spomenika so tri vdolbine: ena pravokotna in dve kvadratni, ki sta zaliti s svincem; od roba ploskve do njiju vodi kanal. Pravokotna vdolbina je v sredini ploskve, kvadratni pa ležita tako, da so vse tri vdolbine razporejene diagonalno. Domnevamo, da so bili v vdolbine zaliti železni zatiči, ki so služili pritrditvi kamnitega vrhnjega dela oltarja¹³⁸ ali podstavka kipa.

¹³⁶ Spomenik v literaturi obravnavajo kot počastitveni oltar (Maxfield 1981, t. 5c), počastitveni podstavek kipa (Bishop, Coulston 2006, 14) ali kot nagrobni oltar (*EDR; Boschung 1987, št. 849*).

¹³⁷ Nove fotografije spomenika bi naročnika stale več kot 2000 evrov, zato objavljamo fotografije, ki jih hrani DAI v Rimu.

¹³⁸ Za grobne oltarje prim. npr. Boschung 1987, št. 848, 851, 852, 856–858, 860.

Napis zavzema ves ohranjeni del sprednje strani.

Na desni stranici spomenika je upodobljen torzo z muskulaturnim oklepom in na njem diagonalno z leve proti desni pas, na katerega je obešena nožnica z mečem; nad torzom je diagonalno usmerjena palica z vencem na vrhu (*corona muralis*), levo nad torzom pa torkves s tordiranim obročem, ki se debeli od sredine proti zaključkom z videzom levjih glav.

Na levi stranici je poleg praporja (*vexillum*) upodobljen pretorijanski *signum*,¹³⁹ zato domnevamo, da je bil Kvint Sulpicij Celz med drugim poveljnik pretorijanske straže, kar je verjetno pisalo v neohranjenem delu napisa.¹⁴⁰

CIL VI 32934; Maxfield 1981, 84, t. 5c; Boschung 1987, 30, 31, 108, št. 849, t. 45; EDCS-23201536; EDR121476.

¹³⁹ Maxfield 1981, Pl. Sd; De la Bédoyère 2018, 34, sl. 24. Na faleri je upodobljen Vespazijanov portret (Boschung 1987, 108, kat. št. 849).

¹⁴⁰ Na koncu ohranjenega dela napisa se da prebrati *praef(ecto)*, ne pa nadaljevanja.



Figure 4.26
Funerary monument for Marcus Pompeius Asper from Rome (Italy), Trajanic, List 2: No. 26; a) front, b) detail, c) detail.

Slika 4.26
Nagrobna plošča Marka Pompeja Aspra iz Rima (Italija), čas Trajanove vladavine, seznam 2: št. 26; a) spredaj, b) detajl, c) detajl.

a

26

Rome, funerary monument for Marcus Pompeius Asper, centurion, *primuspilus* and commander of a fortress, Trajanic (Busch 2011), Villa Albani, Rome, no Inv. No.; Fig. 4.26a–c.¹⁴¹

M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Aspro / | (centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) / primo p(ilo) leg(ionis) III Cyren(aicae) praef(ecto) castr(orum) / leg(ionis) XX Victr(icis) / Atimetus lib(ertus) pullarius / fecit et sibi et / M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) / Col(lina) Aspro / filio suo et / M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(lina) / Aspro filio minori / et Cinciae / Saturninae / uxori suae // M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(lina) / Aspro filio minori

Shown on either side of the inscribed slab is an ornate standard. Each of the two standards has a *torques* encircling an eagle just below the top. The *torques* are

smooth and have animal-head terminals facing up; the one on the right standard is more visible.¹⁴²

The lower part of the slab, below the inscription, holds the relief depiction of a stylised cuirass and a set of nine *phalerae* (three rows of three *phalerae*) on a harness of vertical, horizontal and diagonal straps, as well as the straps that were crossed at the back. The cuirass is flanked on both sides by a pair of greaves below, pair of *armillae*, and presumably a pair of *torques* at the top. The *torques* are probably identical, turned with the terminals down and only slightly larger than the *armillae*; the available photographs do not allow more details of their appearance to be observed.

CIL XIV 2523; Steiner 1906, 21, Fig. 16; Büttner 1957, No. 33; Maxfield 1981, 187, 219, Table I, Pl. 12a; Busch 2011, Cat. No. CP 175; EDCS-05800492; EDR161755.

¹⁴¹ We were not able to access the monuments in spite of repeated efforts, neither could we order photographs to be made, hence we publish the photograph from the archives of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Rome.

¹⁴² The piece is only known from photographs; personal examination was not possible.



b c



26

Rim, nagrobna plošča Marka Pompeja Aspra (*Marcus Pompeius Asper*), centurion, *primuspilus*, poveljnik legijskega tabora, Trajanov čas (Busch 2011), Villa Albani, Rim, brez inv. št., sl. 4.26a–c.¹⁴¹

M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Aspro / |(centurioni) leg(ionis) XV Apollinar(is) |(centurioni) coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) / primo p(ilo) leg(ionis) III Cyren(aicae) praef(ecto) castr(orum) / leg(ionis) XX Victr(icis) / Atimetus lib(ertus) pullarius / fecit et sibi et / M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) / Col(lina) Aspro / filio suo et / M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(lina) / Aspro filio minori / et Cinciae / Saturninae / uxori suae // M(arco) Pompeio M(arci) f(ilio) Col(lina) / Aspro filio minori

Ob obeh robovih plošče z napisom sta upodobljena enaka bogato okrašena praporja; tik pod njunim vrhom, okoli orla, vidimo gladek torkves z

zaključkoma v obliki živalske glave; upodobljen je tako, da sta zaključka zgoraj; bolje je viden torkves na desnem praporju.¹⁴²

V spodnjem delu, pod napisom, je na levi polovici plošče (na shematsko prikazanem oklepu) upodobljen set devetih faler (tri vodoravne vrste po tri falere) na navpično, vodoravno in diagonalno povezanem jermenju (vidna sta tudi jermena, ki sta bila prekrížana na hrbtu vojaka). Simetrično ob obeh straneh seta faler sta najnižje prikazani golenici in nad vsako po ena armila. Višje, med setom faler in napisom ter simetrično glede na falere so upodobili verjetno enaka torkvesa. Sta le malo večja od armil in zelo poškodovana, obrnjena sta navzdol; iz fotografij, ki smo jih imeli na voljo, ni mogoče razbrati podrobnosti o njunem videzu.

CIL XIV 2523; Steiner 1906, 21, sl. 16; Büttner 1957, št. 33; Maxfield 1981, 187, 219, pregl. I, t. 12a; Busch 2011, kat. št. CP 175; *EDCS-05800492*; *EDR161755*.

¹⁴¹ Spomenika si kljub številnim poskusom nismo mogli ogledati, niti ni bilo mogoče naročiti fotografije, zato objavljamo fotografijo, ki jo hrani Deutsches Archäologisches Institut v Rimu.

¹⁴² Nagrobnik poznamo le po fotografijah; ogled nagrobnika ni mogoč.



a

Figure 4.27
Relief-decorated attic fragment (part of a monumental entrance) from Trieste (Italy), mid-1st century AD, *List 2: No. 27*; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.27
Reliefno okrašen del atike (del monumentalnega vhoda) iz Trsta (Italija), sredina 1. st. po Kr., *seznam 2: št. 27*; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.

27

Trieste, fragment of a monumental propylon, middle of the 1st century/Claudian (Verzár-Bass 2002), built in the western belfry wall of the San Giusto cathedral; *Fig. 4.27a, b*.

Without inscription.

The relief decoration shows a weapons frieze consisting of a *tropaeum*, weapons (sword in its scabbard, two helmets, several shields and others), and other items related to the Roman army that include a *torques* with a body that thickens from the midpoint (below) towards the animal-head terminals.

Verzár-Bass 2002, 63, 65, Fig. 6.



b

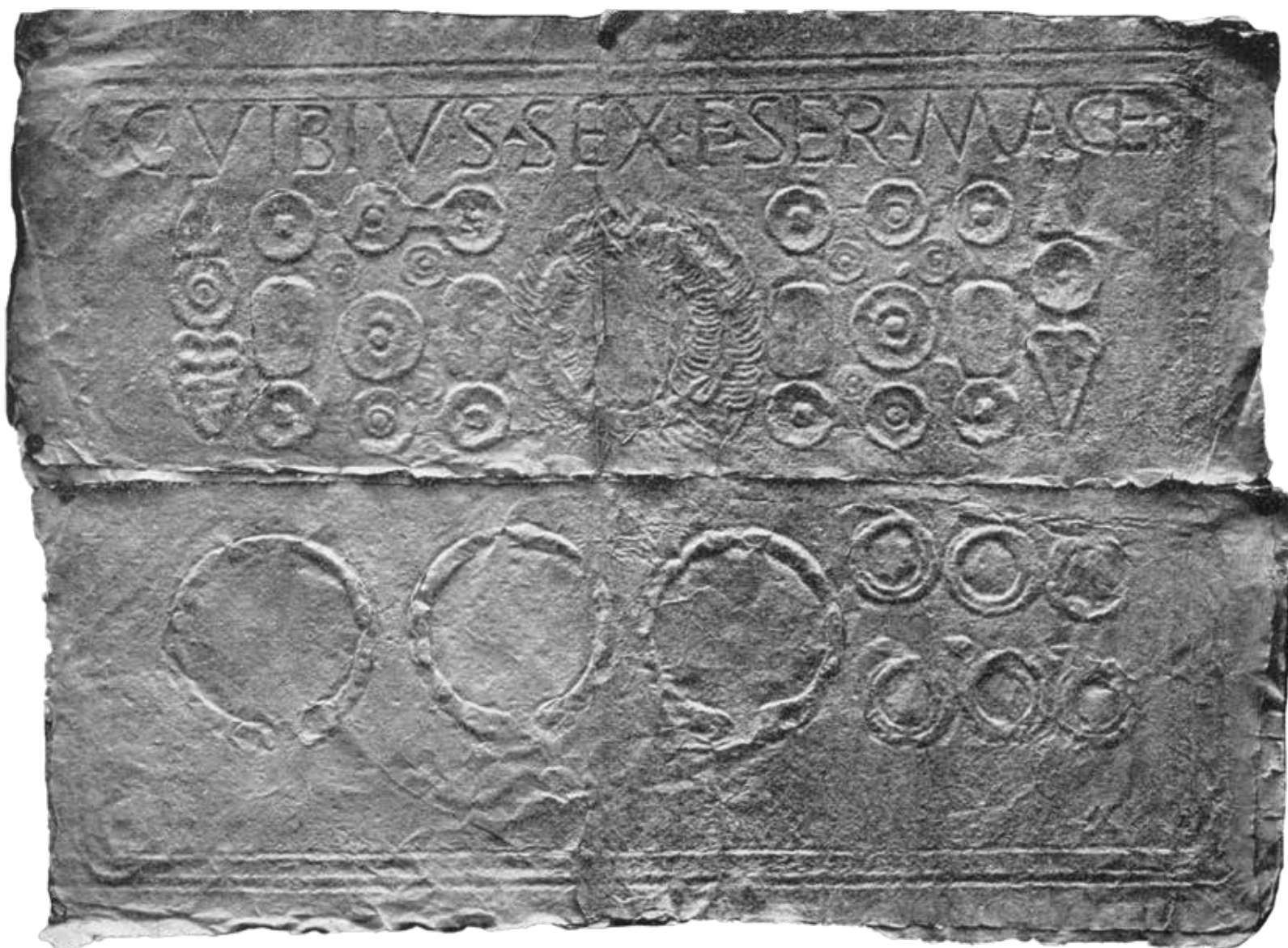
27

Trst, reliefno okrašen del atike, del monumentalnega vhoda, sredina 1. st. (klavdijski čas; Verzár-Bass 2002), vzidan v zahodno stranico zvonika katedrale San Giusto; *sl. 4.27a, b.*

Brez napisa.

Na reliefno okrašeni plošči je poleg tropajona, orožja (meč v nožnici, dve čeladi, več ščitov in drugo) in drugih predmetov, povezanih z rimsko vojsko, upodobljen torkves z obročem, ki se debeli od sredine (spodaj) proti zaključkom v obliki živalske glave.

Verzár-Bass 2002, 63, 65, sl. 6.



Villavallelonga, funerary slab honouring Gaius Vibius Macer, last decades of the Republic (Keppie 1997), Museo civico archeologico di Collelongo (Aquila), without inv. no.; Fig. 4.28.

C(aius) Vibius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Macer

The funerary relief is known from the photograph that Steiner published. Today, only two fragments survive: the upper part with the inscriptions and a small piece showing the upper part of the *torques*.¹⁴³

Below the inscription, the slab depicted a *corona* (probably an unusually rendered *corona aurea* or

perhaps *corona obsidionalis*)¹⁴⁴ flanked on either side by a set of *phalerae* and a *hasta pura* (only the head or upper part is shown). Further down, the bottom row of depictions comprises three *torques* with an evenly thick smooth body and heavily damaged terminals (they appear to be best preserved on the *torques* on the far right, perhaps in the shape of an animal head), as well as six spiral *armillae* with a snake-head terminal.

AE 1891, 15; Steiner 1906, 47, No. 2, Pl. 1: 4; Büttner 1957, 167, No. 13; Maxified 1981, 69, 207, 269, Fig. 5, Table K, Appendix 2; Letta 1989; Keppie 1997, 6, 8, Fig. 4; EDCS-32700073; EDR181821.

Figure 4.28

Funerary slab for Gaius Vibius Macer from Villavallelonga (Italy), final decades of the Republican period, List 2: No. 28. From Steiner 1906, Pl. 1: 4.

Slika 4.28

Nagrobna plošča Gaja Vibija Makra iz Villavallelonge (Italija), zadnja desetletja republikanske dobe, seznam 2: št. 28. Iz Steiner 1906, t. 1: 4.

¹⁴³ We thank Alessandro Delfino (Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo, L'Aquila) for kindly inquiring where the monument is kept and sharing the information with us, and Emanuela Ceccaroni (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio province Aq-Te) to send us a photograph of the present state of the funerary slab.

¹⁴⁴ This would be the only surviving depiction of this type of *corona* and also the latest known case of its bestowal.

Villavallelonga, nagrobna plošča Gaja Vibija Makra (*Gaius Vibius Macer*), zadnja desetletja republikanske dobe (Keppie 1997), Museo civico archeologico di Collelongo (Aquila), brez inv. št.; sl. 4.28.

C(aius) Vibius Sex(ti) f(ilius) Ser(gia) Macer

Nagrobno ploščo poznamo po fotografiji, ki jo je objavil Steiner. Ohranjena sta namreč le še dva odlomka: zgornji del z napisom in manjši del, na katerem vidimo zgornji del torkvesov.¹⁴³

Na plošči so bili, pod napisom, upodobljeni v zgornji vrsti v sredini venec (verjetno neobičajno upodobljena *corona aurea* ali morda *corona obsidionalis*),¹⁴⁴ na obeh straneh ob njem dva seta faler in po ena *hasta pura* (upodobljeni sta le njuni konici oz. zgornja dela), v spodnji vrsti pa trije torkvesi z enakomerno debelim gladkim lokom in precej poškodovanimi zaključki (najbolje se zdijo ohranjeni na skrajno desnem torkvesu: odebeljeni zaključki v obliki živalske glavi-ce?) ter šest spiralno zvitih armil z zaključkom v obliki kačje glave.

AE 1891, 15; Steiner 1906, 47, št. 2, t. 1: 4; Büttner 1957, 167, št. 13; Maxfield 1981, 69, 207, 269, sl. 5, pregl. K, pril. 22; Letta 1989; Keppie 1997, 6, 8, sl. 4; *EDCS-32700073*; *EDR181821*.

¹⁴³ Alessandro Delfino (Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo, L'Aquila) je zelo prijazno raziskal, kje spomenik hranijo, in nam ta podatek posredoval, Emanuela Ceccaroni (Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio province Aq-Te) pa nam je poslala fotografijo današnjega stanja spomenika.

¹⁴⁴ To bi bila edina ohranjena upodobitev tega tipa venca in hkrati najmlajši primer njegove podelitve.

SLOVENIA

29

Videm pri Ptuj, tombstone for Marcus Petronius Classicus, centurion of *legio VIII Augusta*, AD 9–45 (EDCS; EDH; lupa), Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj - Ormož, Inv. No. RL 825; Fig. 4.29a, b.

*M(arcus) Petronius / M(arci) f(ilius) Arn(iensis) Classi-
cus Marrucinus / (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) /
hic est crematus / ossa relata domi / P(ublius) frater et
con/lega posui(t)*

A *corona* is shown in the triangular panel of the pediment. The rectangular panel of the architrave below holds a helmet with cheek-pieces and a transverse crest. The cornice bears a row of three stylised circular objects (*phalerae* according to EHD, *torques* according to lupa) that probably form part of a decorative pattern. The lower part of the main panel with the inscription bears a cuirassed torso with five *phalerae* decorated with moulded concentric circles (additional *phalerae* were in the damaged lower part of the torso) on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps, as well as a pair of *torques* enclosing the upper two *phalerae*. The *torques* have a smooth body that thickens evenly towards the poorly visible, slightly expanded and probably contiguous (spherical?) terminals. The bottom panel shows a pair of graves with the *vitis* in between.

CIL III 4060; CIL III 10869; Steiner 1906, Pl. 2: 2; AIJ 260; Büttner 1957, No. 26; Maxfield 1981, 188–189, 216, Table M, Pl. 10b; EDCS-26600462; HD068550; lupa 3102.



a

Figure 4.29
Tombstone for Marcus Petronius Classicus from Videm pri Ptuju (Slovenia), around AD 9–45, List 2: No. 29; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.29
Nagrobna stela Marka Petronija Klasika iz Vidma pri Ptuju (Slovenija), približno med letoma 9 in 45 po Kr., seznam 2: št. 29; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.



b

SLOVENIJA

29

Videm pri Ptuju, nagrobna stela centuriona Osme Avgustove legije Marka Petronija Klasika (*Marcus Petronius Classicus*), med letoma 9 in 45 po Kr. (EDCS; EDH; lupa), Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj - Ormož, inv. št. RL 825; sl. 4.29a, b.

*M(arcus) Petronius / M(arci) f(ilius) Arn(iensis) Classi-
cus Marrucinus / (centurio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) /
hic est crematus / ossa relata domi / P(ublius) frater et
con/lega posui(t)*

V zgornjem, trikotnem okrasnem polju (zatrepu) je upodobljen venec, pod njim v pravokotnem polju pa čelada z ličnima ščitnikoma in prečno nameščeno perjanico. Na frizu nad poljem z napisom so shematsko prikazani trije zaporedno nanizani obročasti

predmeti (po EHD falere, po lupa torkvesi), ki so verjetno geometrijski okras. V okrasnem polju pod napisom vidimo torzo z oklepom, petimi okrašenimi krožnimi falerami (druge so bile na spodnjem delu, ki je poškodovan) na vodoravno in navpično povezanem jermenju ter dva enaka torkvesa, ki objemata zgornji faleri; imata gladek obroč, ki se enakomerno debeli proti slabo vidnima rahlo odebeljenima (kroglastima?) zaključkoma, ki se verjetno stikata. V spodnjem delu polja vidimo golenici in med njima vitis.

CIL III 4060; CIL III 10869; Steiner 1906, t. 2: 2; AIJ 260; Büttner 1957, št. 26; Maxfield 1981, 188–189, 216, pregl. M, t. 10b; EDCS-26600462; HD068550; lupa 3102.



SPAIN

30

Mérida, inscribed funerary relief commemorating Gaius Voconius and his family, first half of the 1st century AD (Keppie 1997), AD 41–68 (EDCS), Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida, Inv. No. 704; Fig. 4.30.

C(ai) Voconio C(ai) f(ilio) Pap(iria) patri / Caeciliae Anui matri / Voconiae C(ai) f(iliae) Mariae sorori / C(aius) Voconius C(ai) f(ilius) Proculus fecit

Depicted above the inscription in the centre is a set of nine or ten *phalerae* on a harness of horizontal and vertical straps, flanked on either side by a penannular *torques* above and a spiral *armilla* with one terminal in

the shape of a snake head below. The *torques* both have a twisted body but differ in several details. The left one tapers from the midpoint towards the expanded terminals that are poorly preserved, whereas the body of the right *torques* is roughly evenly thick, the terminals are large and poorly preserved, but appear to be disc-shaped (the four knobs perceptible on the left terminal may be the result of the rock structure). The clearly visible ribbons at the midpoint of both *torques* presumably served suspension purposes (for example from the harness bearing the *phalerae*).

Keppie 1997, 7, 8, Fig. 5; Keppie 2003, 44–46, Fig. 12; EDCS-20401572; HD047451.

Figure 4.30
Funerary slab for Gaius Voconius and his family from Mérida (Spain), first or second third of the 1st century AD, List 2: No. 30.

Slika 4.30
Napisna plošča grobnice za Gaja Vokonija in njegovo družino, Mérida (Španija), prva ali druga tretjina 1. st. po Kr., seznam 2: št. 30.

ŠPANIJA

30

Mérida, napisna plošča grobnice za Gaja Vokonija (*Gaius Voconius*) in njegovo družino, prva polovica 1. st. (Keppie 1997) oziroma v letih 41–68 (EDCS), Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida, inv. št. 704; sl. 4.30.

C(aio) Voconio C(ai) f(ilio) Pap(iria) patri / Caeciliae Anui matri / Voconiae C(ai) f(iliae) Mariae sorori / C(aius) Voconius C(ai) f(ilius) Proculus fecit

Nad napisom je v sredini upodobljen set devetih ali desetih majhnih krožnih faler na vodoravno in navpično povezanem jermenju ter na vsaki strani po en neskljenjen torkves in po ena spiralno zavita armila, ki ima

en zaključek oblikovan kot kačja glava. Oba torkvesa imata tordiran obroč, a se v podrobnostih razlikujeta. Levi torkves se tanjša od sredine proti odebeljenima zaključkoma, ki sta slabo ohranjena; obroč desnega torkvesa je približno enakomerno debel, zaključka sta velika, njuna površina je slabo ohranjena – zdi se, da sta imela obliko diska (za štiri odebelitve, ki jih morda lahko vidimo na levem zaključku, domnevamo, da so posledica strukture kamna). Dobro vidni trakovi na vrhnjem delu obroča obeh torkvesov so verjetno služili njihovi pritrditvi (npr. na jermenje, ki je nosilo falere).

Keppie 1997, 7, 8, sl. 5; Keppie 2003, 44–46, sl. 12; EDCS-20401572; HD047451.

SWITZERLAND

31

Windisch, tombstone for Gaius Allius Oriens, centurion in *legio XIII Gemina*, AD 14–45 (Fellmann Brogli et al. 2012; *EDCS*; *EDH*; *lupa*), Vindonissa-Museum, Inv. No. Bru.864.50/0.1; Fig. 4.31a, b.

C(aius) Allius C(ai) f(ilius) / Pom(ptina) Oriens / domo Dert(ona) / |(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae)

The main panel depicts, rather unskilfully and coarsely, military decorations below the inscription. At the top are two equally large *coronae* with ribbons, followed down by a smaller wreath (all three *coronae aureae*) flanked by identical *torques* on either side and a pair of *armillae* further down, while the bottom section is taken up by a highly stylised set of nine *phalerae*. The poorly preserved *torques* appear to have smooth and evenly thick bodies that continue uninterrupted into the expanded terminals in the shape of truncated cones, the flat surfaces of which are contiguous.

CIL XIII 5206; Büttner 1957, No. 23; Maxfield 1981, 207, Table K, Pl. 6a; Fellmann Brogli et al. 2012; *EDCS*-10800611; *HD*067181; *lupa* 10261.



a

Figure 4.31

Tombstone for Gaius Allius Oriens from Windisch (Switzerland), AD 14–45, *List 2: No. 31*; a) front, b) detail.

Slika 4.31

Nagrobna stela Gaja Alija Orienta iz Windischa (Švica), 14–45 po Kr., *seznam 2: št. 31*; a) sprednja stran, b) detajl.



b

ŠVICA

31

Windisch, nagrobna stela centuriona Trinajste Dvojne legije Gaja Alija Orienta (*Gaius Allius Oriens*), 14–45 po Kr. (Fellmann Brogli et al. 2012; *EDCS*; *EDH*; *lupa*), Vindonissa Museum, inv. št. Bru.864.50/0.1; *sl. 4.31a, b*.

C(aius) Allius C(ai) f(ilius) / Pom(ptina) Oriens / domo Dert(ona) / |(centurio) leg(ionis) XIII gem(inae)

Pod napisom so precej nevesče in grobo upodobljena odlikovanja. Zgoraj dva enako velika venca s trakovi, pod njima v sredini manjši venec (vsi trije *corona*

aurea) in simetrično ob straneh dva enaka torkvesa ter še nižje armili. Spodnji del zavzema zelo shematski prikaz devetih krožnih faler. Iz slabo ohranjene podobe torkvesov sklepamo, da sta se njuna gladka in enakomerno debela obroča brez cezure nadaljevala v odebeljena zaključka – njun videz nakazuje, da sta imela obliko prisekanega stožca, da sta se njuni končni ploskvi ravno stikali.

CIL XIII 5206; Büttner 1957, št. 23; Maxfield 1981, 207, pregl. K, t. 6a; Fellmann Brogli et al. 2012; *EDCS-10800611*; *HD067181*; *lupa 10261*.



Figure 4.32
Tombstone for Gaius Gavius Celer from Haydrah (Tunisia), (mid-) 1st century AD, *List 2*: No. 32. From Maxfield 1981, Pl. 6b.

Slika 4.32
Nagrobna stela Gaja Gavija Celerja iz Haydraha (Tunizija), (sredina) 1. st. po Kr., *seznam 2*: št. 32. Iz Maxfield 1981, t. 6b.

TUNISIA

32

Haydrah, tombstone for Gaius Gavius Celer, centurion in *legio III Augusta*, probably middle of the 1st century AD (Maxfield 1981, 189), Musée National du Bardo, inv. no. not established;¹⁴⁵ Fig. 4.32.

C(aius) Gavius C(aii) f(ilius) / Arn(iensis tribu) Celer / [---] |(centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) / vixit ann(os) XLIII / mil(itavit) ann(os) XXIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [---]

Depicted above the sunken inscription panel are the following *dona militaria*: *corona aurea* in the centre flanked by a pair of identical *armillae* above and a pair of annular *torques* below. The twisted *torques* have a body that is either evenly thick or perhaps thickens slightly towards the disc terminals; they are shown with terminals facing up. The upper part of the tombstone is missing.

Maxfield 1981, 186, 189, Table I, Pl. 6b. The inscription is not included in any of the epigraphic databases, nor is it given in any other publication.

¹⁴⁵ Source: Hamden Ben Romdhane, Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunis (e-mail 16. 9. 2021).

TUNIZIJA

32

Haydrah, nagrobna stela centuriona Tretje Avgustove legije Gaja Gavija Celerja (*Gaius Gavius Celer*), pribl. sredina 1. st. (Maxfield 1981, 189), Narodni muzej Bardo, inv. št. ni znana;¹⁴⁵ sl. 4.32.

C(aius) Gavius C(aii) f(ilius) / Arn(iensis tribu) Celer / [---] |(centurio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) / vixit ann(os) XLIII / mil(itavit) ann(os) XXIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / [---]

Nad napisom so upodobljena vojaška odlikovanja: venec (*corona aurea*) v sredini ter simetrično ob straneh dve enaki armili (zgoraj) in dva sklenjena torkvesa s tordiranim obročem, ki je enakomerno debel ali se morda rahlo oži proti gladkima zaključkoma v obliki diska; torkvesa sta upodobljena z zaključkoma navzgor. Zgornji del polja z upodobitvijo odlikovanj ni ohranjen.

Maxfield 1981, 186, 189, pregl. I, t. 6b. Napisa ni v nobeni epigrafski bazi, niti ni omenjen v drugi literaturi.

¹⁴⁵ Vir: Hamden Ben Romdhane, Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunis (e-pošta 16. 9. 2021).



Figure 4.33

Votive aedicula, probably reused as a tombstone, from Naïmine er-Rodoui (Tunisia), now lost, last third of the 2nd or first third of the 3rd century AD, *List 2: No. 33*. From Maxfield 1981, Pl. 9c.

Slika 4.33

Votivni oltar, verjetno prirejen v nagrobnik, iz kraja Naïmine er-Rodoui (Tunizija), izgubljen, zadnja tretjina 2. ali prva tretjina 3. st. po Kr., *seznam 2: št. 33*. Iz Maxfield 1981, t. 9c.

33

Naïmine er-Rodoui, upper part of a votive aedicula, set up by Gaius Titurnius Quartio, last third of the 2nd century or first third of the 3rd century,¹⁴⁶ now lost;¹⁴⁷ *Fig. 4.33*.

List 1: No. 100.

The appearance of the now-lost monument is known from one photograph¹⁴⁸ and a description provided in 1913.¹⁴⁹

The pediment has a sunken *tabula ansata* bearing the inscription in the lower part and above it a large penannular ring (probably a *torques*) flanked by smaller rings that likely represent a pair of *armillae*. The smooth *torques* has an evenly thick body and thinner terminals; its upper part is missing.

AE 1913, 48; Maxfield 1981, 217, Table M, Pl. 9c; Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, 158, 159, No. 397; *EDCS-13100033*; *HDO26973*.

¹⁴⁶ Omar (2017, 181–182) believes that Quartus received the decorations after the Parthian War in AD 165, whereas Benzina Ben Abdallah (1986, 158, 159) believes this more likely occurred after the war waged in AD 197.

¹⁴⁷ Source: Hamden Ben Romdhane, Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunis (e-mail 16. 9. 2021).

¹⁴⁸ Maxfield 1981, pl. 9c. The same photograph, probably taken from Maxfield 1981, is published in Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, No. 397.

¹⁴⁹ Merlin 1913, 27–29.

33

Naïmine er-Rodoui, ovršje (votivne edikule), ki jo je postavil Gaj Titurnij Kvartijo (*Gaius Titurnius Quartio*), zadnja tretjina 2. ali prva tretjina 3. st.,¹⁴⁶ izgubljen,¹⁴⁷ sl. 4.33.

Seznam 1: št. 100.

Videz izgubljenega dela spomenika poznamo po eni fotografiji¹⁴⁸ in opisu iz leta 1913.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁶ Omar (2017, 181–182) meni, da je Gaj Titurnij Kvart prejel odlikovanje po vojni s Parti leta 165, Zeïneb Benzina Ben Abdallah (1986, 158, 159) pa meni, da se je to verjetneje zgodilo po vojni leta 197 po Kr.

¹⁴⁷ Vir: Hamden Ben Romdhane, Institut National du Patrimoine de Tunis (e-pošta 16. 9. 2021).

¹⁴⁸ Maxfield 1981, t. 9c. Ista fotografija, verjetno vzeta iz Maxfield 1981, je objavljena v Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, št. 397.

¹⁴⁹ Merlin 1913, 27–29.

V trikotnem polju nad napisom v poglobljenem polju, ki ima obliko tabule ansate, sta ob straneh upodobljena dva enaka sklenjena obroča – verjetno armili in med njima večji razklenjen obroč – verjetno torkves. Ima gladek obroč enakomerne debeline, zaključka sta rahlo stanjšana; zgornji del upodobitve torkvesa ni ohranjen.

AE 1913, 48; Maxfield 1981, 217, pregl. M, t. 9c; Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, 158, 159, št. 397; *EDCS*-13100033; *HD026973*.

Table 2

Monuments depicting the Roman military decoration of *torques*.

No.	Name of deceased	Military rank/function	Type of monument	Dating	T O R			Q U	E		S	Other <i>dona</i>
					Preservation	Workmanship/execution	Photo		Description	Position		
1	Gaius/ Quintus Vettius	eques leg, quaestor veteranorum	F	first half of 1 st c. AD	5	2-3	5	single-piece, penannular; body smooth and tapering toward expanded animal(snake?)-head terminals	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar
2	Carminius Cupitus	optio leg	F	roughly 100-120	3	2	5	single-piece, markedly penannular; body smooth and evenly thick, terminals very slightly expanded	+	D	2	ph (?)
3	Lucius Mummius	miles leg	F	before AD 42 (1-42)	4	4-5	4-5	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and thickening slightly towards lion-head terminals	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar
4	-	-	F	early 1 st c. AD	3-4	3-4	4	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body twisted and thickening slightly towards animal-head terminals	-	D	2 × 2	1 × ph 4 × ar 2 × cor
5	-	(C leg)	F	Late Augustan	1	5	5	highly damaged, penannular; other details unidentifiable	-	D	1 (2)	1 × ph 2 × ar
6	-	mil leg, C coh	F	Late Tiberian	3 (copy)	4?	1	two-piece(?), penannular; body twisted and evenly thick, terminals poorly visible; loop (for suspension) at midpoint	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar
7	Gaius Marius	eques leg	F	Claudian - Neronian	3-4	3	5	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and evenly thick, terminals spherical and substantially expanded; each spandrel holds one pair of partly overlapping <i>torques</i>	-	D	2 × 2	1 × ph 2 × ar
8	Lucius	-	F	first half of 1 st c. AD	1	3-4	3-4	details unidentifiable	-	?	1 (2)	1 × ph *
9	-	C leg ¹⁵⁰	F	Late Augustan - Tiberian	4	1-2	1	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and evenly thickening toward disc terminals that are thinner than the body	-	D	2	1 × ph *
10	Aulus Volsonius Paulus	veteranus leg	F	Neronian (-Flavian)	3	2	5	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and thickening slightly toward substantially expanded terminals separated from the body by a groove	-	D	2	*
11	-	-	F	Claudian	3	3	4	upper (a): two-piece(?), contiguous terminals; body with embossed decoration thickening evenly toward animal-head terminals lower (b): single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and thickening evenly toward expanded terminals separated from the body by a rib	-	D	2	1 × ar cor civica *
12	[-] Rufinus	veteranus, decalae	F	Flavian - Trajanic	?	?	?	single-piece, body twisted	-	?	1 (2)	1 × ph *
13	Quintus Cornelius	mil leg	F	13-43	3	3	4	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and thickening slightly toward expanded terminals possibly separated from the body by a rib	+	D	2	1 × ph (1 × ar?)
14	Cnaeus Musius	aquifer leg	F	Tiberian	4	4	4	possibly two-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and evenly thickening toward lion-head terminals	+	D	2	1 × ph 2 (4?) × ar
15	Marcus Caelius	(C leg)	F	9-14/20	5	5	5	probably single-piece, contiguous terminals; body with embossed decoration thickening evenly toward expanded spherical terminals	+	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar 1 × cor civica

¹⁵⁰ Zehetner 2016, 9.

Preglednica 2

Kamniti spomeniki z upodobitvijo rimskega vojaškega odlikovanja torkves.

Št.	Pokojnik	Vojaški čin/ položaj	Vrsta spome- nika	Datacija	T O R			K	V	E		S	Druga odlikovanja
					Ohranje- nost	Izde- lava	Foto- grafija			Opis	Leg		
1	Gaius/ Quintus Vettius	eques leg, quaestor veteranorum	G	prva pol. 1. st. po Kr.	5	2-3	5	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; gladek obroč se tanjša od sredine proti odebeljenima zaključkoma v obliki živalskih (kačjih?) glav	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar	
2	Carminius Cupitus	optio leg	G	okoli 100-120	3	2	5	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; gladek in enakomerno debel obroč, zaključka sta komaj opazno odebeljena	+	D	2	ph (?)	
3	Lucius Mummius	miles leg	G	pred letom 42 po Kr. (1-42)	4	4-5	4-5	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; gladek obroč se rahlo debeli proti zaključkoma z videzom levje glave	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar	
4	-	-	G	začetek 1. st. po Kr.	3-4	3-4	4	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; tordiran obroč se rahlo debeli proti zaključkoma v obliki živalskih glav	-	D	2 × 2	1 × ph 4 × ar 2 × cor	
5	-	(C leg)	G	pozno- avgustej- ski	1	5	5	zelo poškodovan, zaključka se ne stikata; drugih podrobnosti ni mogoče razbrati	-	D	1 (2)	1 × ph 2 × ar	
6	-	mil leg, C coh	G	pozno- tiberijski	3 (kopija)	4?	1	dvodelen (?), zaključka se ne stikata; obroč tordiran in enakomerno debel, zaključka slabo vidna; na obroču zgoraj prekinjeno tordiranje in vdeta zanka (za pripetje)	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar	
7	Gaius Marius	eques leg	G	Klavdij- Neron	3-4	3	5	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; obroč enakomerno debel in gladek, zaključka izrazito kroglasto odebeljena; na levi in desni strani sta upodobljena po dva torkvesa, ki se delno prekrivata	-	D	2 × 2	1 × ph 2 × ar	
8	Lucius	-	G	prva polovica 1. st. po Kr.	1	3-4	3-4	podrobnosti ni mogoče razbrati	-	?	1 (2)	1 × ph *	
9	-	C leg ¹⁵⁰	G	pozno- avgustej- sko- tiberijski	4	1-2	1	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; gladek obroč se enakomerno debeli proti zaključkoma, ki sta ožja od obroča in imata obliko diska	-	D	2	1 × ph *	
10	Aulus Volsonius Paulus	veteranus leg	G	neronsko (-flavijski)	3	2	5	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; gladek obroč se rahlo debeli proti zaključkoma, ki sta od obroča ločena z žlebom in izrazito odebeljena	-	D	2	*	
11	-	-	G	Klavdij	3	3	4	zgornji (a): dvodelen (?), zaključka se stikata; obroč ima reliefno okrašeno površino in se enakomerno debeli proti zaključkoma v obliki živalske glave; spodnji (b): enodelen, zaključka se stikata; gladek obroč se enakomerno debeli proti odebeljenima zaključkoma, ki ju od obroča loči prečno rebro.	-	D	2	1 × ar cor civica *	
12	[-] Rufinus	veteranus, dec alae	G	Flavijci- Trajan	?	?	?	enodelen; obroč tordiran	-	?	1 (2)	1 × ph *	
13	Quintus Cornelius	mil leg	G	13-43	3	3	4	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; gladek obroč se rahlo debeli proti odebeljenima zaključkoma, ki sta od obroč morda oddeljena z rebrom	+	D	2	1 × ph (1 × ar?)	
14	Cnaeus Musius	aquilifer leg	G	Tiberij	4	4	4	morda dvodelen, zaključka se stikata; gladek obroč se enakomerno debeli proti zaključkoma, ki sta imela videz levjih glav	+	D	2	1 × ph 2 (4?) × ar	
15	Marcus Caelius	(C leg)	G	9-14/20	5	5	5	verjetno enodelen, zaključka se stikata; obroč z okrašeno površino se enakomerno debeli proti odebeljenima zaključkoma kroglaste oblike	+	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar 1 × cor civica	

No.	Name of deceased	Military rank/function	Type of monument	Dating	T O R			Q U	E		S	Other <i>dona</i>
					Preservation	Workmanship/execution	Photo		Description	Position		
16	-	sign coh. praet	F	mid-2 nd c.	5	3-4	5	a) single-piece, penannular; body smooth and evenly thick, terminals slightly expanded b) like a, but terminals farther apart	-	D	a) 1 b) 1 1	a) 1 × ph 1 × ar 2 × cor aurea b) *
17	Tiberius Claudius Maximus	eques leg, quaestor equitum singularis legati leg, vexillarius equitum, duplicarius alae, explorator alae, decurio alae, veteranus	F	Hadrianic - Antoninus Pius	5	5	5	single-piece, penannular; body twisted and evenly thick, expanded spherical terminals	-	D	2	2 × ar
18	-	(C leg)	F	1 st c. AD	4?	3	3	single-piece, penannular; body smooth and tapering slightly toward expanded spherical terminals	-	D	2	1 × ph*
19	[-] Severus	-	F	1 st c. AD	5	5	3	two-piece, penannular; body twisted and thickening slightly toward smooth and roughly hemispherical terminals thinner than the body	-	D	1 (2)	1 × ar*
20	Gaius Pomponius Aquila	C leg	F	probably Tiberian - Claudian	?	-	1	single-piece, penannular; body smooth and evenly thick, disc terminals	-	D	2	1 × ph likely 2 × ar
21	-	-	F	1 st c. AD	4-5	3	5	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and evenly thick, disc terminals	-	U/D	2	1 × ph 1 × ar* 2 × hasta 2 × cor aurea
22	Lucius Antonius Quadratus	(signifer leg)	F	Tiberian	4	5	5	single-piece, penannular; body smooth and evenly thick, terminals expanded	-	D	2	2 × ph 2 × ar
23	Gaius Purtilius Atinas	praef equitum, praef fabrum, pp leg	F	mid-1 st c. AD	4-5	5	5	single-piece, penannular; body twisted and tapering toward rosette terminals fastened together with a loop and hook	-	D	a) 1 (2)	a) 2 × ar* b) 2 × cor aurea 2 × hast*
24	Quintus Sertorius Festus	C leg	F	50-75	2	5	4	single-piece, body twisted and evenly thick, terminals not visible	+	?	2	1 × ph 1 × cor (civica?)
25	Quintus Sulpicius Celsus	praef fabrum, praef coh, (praefectus coh. praet)	H/V (F)	Flavian (Vespasianic)	5	4	2	single-piece, contiguous terminals; body twisted and thickening toward lion-head terminals	-	U	1	1 × cor muralis
26	Marcus Pompeius Asper	C leg, C coh praet, pp leg, praef castrorum leg	F	Trajanic	1	?	1-2	very poorly preserved, details unidentifiable	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar
27	-	-	PB	Claudian	5	4	3	single-piece, penannular; body smooth and thickening toward expanded (animal-head?) terminals	-	U	1	-*
28	Gaius Vibius Ser. Macer	-	F	final decades of the Republic	1-2	3-4	2	single-piece, penannular; body smooth and evenly thick, terminals expanded (probably animal-head)	-	D	3	2 × ph 2 × 3ar 1 × cor (aurea or perhaps obsidionalis) 2 × hast

Št.	Pokojnik	Vojaški čin/ položaj	Vrsta spome- nika	Datacija	T	O	R	K	V	E		S	Druga odlikovanja
					Ohranje- nost	Izde- lava	Foto- grafija	Opis	Leg	Orien- tacija	N		
16	-	sign coh. praet	G	sredina 2. st.+	5	3-4	5	a) enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; gladek, enakomerno debel obroč, rahlo odebeljena zaključka b) kot a, zaključka sta široko razklenjena	-	D	a) 1 b) 1	a) 1 × ph 1 × ar 2 × cor aurea b) *	
17	Tiberius Claudius Maximus	eques leg, quaestor equitum singularis legati leg, vexilarius equitum, duplicarius alae, explorator alae, decurio alae, veteranus	G	Hadrijan-Antonin Pij	5	5	5	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; obroč tordiran, enakomerno debel, zaključka kroglasto odebeljena	-	D	2	2 × ar	
18	-	(C leg)	G	1. st. po Kr.	4?	3	3	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; gladek obroč se rahlo tanjša od sredine proti odebeljenima kroglastima zaključkoma	-	D	2	1 × ph*	
19	[-] Severus	-	G	1. st. po Kr.	5	5	3	dvodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; tordiran obroč se rahlo debeli od sredine proti gladkima pribl. polkrožnima zaključkoma, ki sta ožja kot obroč	-	D	1 (2)	1 × ar*	
20	Gaius Pomponius Aquila	C leg	G	verjetno Tiberij-Klavdij	?	-	1	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; gladek, enakomerno debel obroč, diskasto odebeljena zaključka	-	D	2	1 × ph verj. 2 × ar	
21	-	-	G	1. st. po Kr.	4-5	3	5	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; gladek, enakomerno debel obroč, diskasto odebeljena zaključka	-	G/D	2	1 × ph 1 × ar* 2 × hasta 2 × cor aurea	
22	Lucius Antonius Quadratus	(signifer leg)	G	Tiberij	4	5	5	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; obroč gladek, enakomerno debel, zaključka odebeljena	-	D	2	2 × ph 2 × ar	
23	Gaius Purpurius Atinas	praef equitum, praef fabrum, pp leg	G	sredina 1. st. po Kr.	4-5	5	5	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; tordiran obroč se rahlo tanjša proti zaključkoma v obliki rozet, ki sta speta s krožno zanko in kaveljčkom	-	D	a) 1 (2)	a) 2 × ar* b) 2 × cor aurea 2 × hast*	
24	Quintus Sertorius Festus	C leg	G	50-75	2	5	4	enodelen, zaključka nista vidna; obroč tordiran, enakomerno debel	+	?	2	1 × ph 1 × cor (civica?)	
25	Quintus Sulpicius Celsus	praef fabrum, praef coh, (praefectus coh. praet)	P/V (G)	Flavijci (Vespazijan)	5	4	2	enodelen, zaključka se stikata; tordiran obroč se debeli proti zaključkoma z videzom levjih glav	-	G	1	1 × cor muralis	
26	Marcus Pompeius Asper	C leg, C coh praet, pp leg, praef castrorum leg	G	Trajan	1	?	1-2	zelo slabo ohranjen, podrobnosti ni mogoče razbrati	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar	
27	-	-	JS	Klavdij	5	4	3	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; gladek obroč se debeli od sredine proti odebeljenima zaključkoma (oblika živalske glave?)	-	G	1	-*	
28	Gaius Vibius Ser. Macer	-	G	zadnja desetletja republike	1-2	3-4	2	enodelen, zaključka se ne stikata; obroč gladek, enakomerno debel, zaključka odebeljena (verjetno oblika živalske glavice)	-	D	3	2 × ph 2 × 3ar 1 × cor (aurea ali morda obsidionalis) 2 × hast	

No.	Name of deceased	Military rank/function	Type of monument	Dating	T O R			Q	U	E		S	Other <i>dona</i>
					Preservation	Workmanship/execution	Photo			Description	Position		
29	Marcus Petronius Classicus	C leg	F	9-45	3-4	3	4		single-piece, penannular; body smooth and evenly thickening toward slightly expanded spherical terminals	+	D	2	1 × ph *
30	Gaius Voconius	-	F	first or second third of 1 st c. AD	4	5	5		Both <i>torques</i> single-piece with contiguous terminals and twisted body; differing details: a) left <i>torques</i> tapers toward expanded and poorly preserved terminals b) body of right <i>torques</i> roughly evenly thick, (disc?) terminals expanded	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar
31	Caius Allius Oriens	C leg	F	14-45	1-2	3	4		single-piece, contiguous terminals; body smooth and evenly thick, not clearly separated from the expanded terminals	-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar 3 × cor aurea
32	Caius Gavius Celer	C leg	F	mid-1 st c. AD	5	5	1		single-piece, contiguous terminals; body twisted and possibly tapering slightly toward disc terminals	-	U	2	2 × ar 1 × cor aurea *
33	Caius Titurnius Quartio	eques leg	V	last third of 2 nd – first third of 3 rd c.	2	2	1-2		single-piece, penannular, upper part missing; body smooth and evenly thick, terminals slightly thinner	-	D	1	2 × ar

Abbreviations

- = no information

No. = successive number in *List 2*

Military rank/function: all ranks are given and in the same sequence as related in the inscription; the function only discernible from the depiction, or a combination of depiction and inscription is given in brackets

C = centurion

coh = *cohors, tis*

coh praet = *cohors praetoria/cohortes praetoriae*

dec = *decurio*

leg = *legio, nis*

mil = *miles*

pp = *primus pilus*

praef = *praefectus*

sign = *signifer*

Type of monument: F (funerary), H (honorific), V (votive), PB (public building)

TORQUES

Preservation = estimated preservation of the depiction at the time of the photo (1-5; 5 signifying best preservation)

Workmanship = estimated quality of the depiction of the *torques* or, in the case that *torques* is poorly preserved, of the relief decoration of the monument (1-5; 5 signifying highest quality)

Photograph = estimated quality of the available photograph (1-5; 5 signifying highest quality)

Description of the *torques*: those depicted on the same monument are usually of the same shape, hence singular is used in the description; if the appearance differs, each *torques* is described separately.

Position = position of the *torques* on a person is or is not visible (+/-)

Orientation = orientation of the *torques* on a monument with the terminal facing up or down (U/D)

N = number of surviving *torques* on a monument; the presumed original number (for the partially surviving reliefs) is given in brackets

Other *dona*:

ar = *armillae*

cor = *corona(e)*

hast = *hasta(e)*

ph = *phalerae* (number of sets)

* marks likely/potential additional decorations on the missing part of the relief

Št.	Pokojnik	Vojaški čin/ položaj	Vrsta spome- nika	Datacija	T O R			K	V	E		S	Druga odlikovanja
					Ohranje- nost	Izde- lava	Foto- grafija			Opis	Leg		
29	Marcus Petronius Classicus	C leg	G	9-45	3-4	3	4			+	D	2	1 × ph *
30	Gaius Voconius	-	G	prva in druga tretjina 1. st. po Kr.	4	5	5			-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar
31	Caius Allius Oriens	C leg	G	14-45	1-2	3	4			-	D	2	1 × ph 2 × ar 3 × cor aurea
32	Caius Gavius Celer	C leg	G	sredina 1. st. po Kr.	5	5	1			-	G	2	2 × ar 1 × cor aurea *
33	Caius Titurnius Quartio	eques leg	V	zadnja tretjina 2.-prva tretjina 3. st.	2	2	1-2			-	D	1	2 × ar

Okrajšave

- = ni podatka

Št. = zaporedna št. na seznamu 2

Vojaški čin/položaj – navedeni so vsi rangi, v enakem zaporedju kot na napisu; funkcija, ki je razvidna le iz upodobitve oziroma iz kombinacije upodobitve in napisa, je v oklepaju:

C = centurion

coh = *cohors, tis* (kohorta)

coh praet = *cohors praetoria/cohortes praetoriae* (pretorijanska garda, cesarjeva osebna straža)

dec = *decurio*

leg = *legio, nis*

mil = *miles*

pp = *primus pilus* (prvi centurion prve kohorte v legiji)

praef = *praefectus* (poveljnik, nadzornik)

sign = *signifer*

Vrsta spomenika: G (nagrobni), P (počastitveni), V (votivni), JS (del javne stavbe)

TORKVESI

Ohranjenost = ocena ohranjenosti upodobitve torkvesa ob nastanku fotografije (1-5; 5 pomeni zelo dobro ohranjenost)

Izdelava = ocena kakovosti izdelave upodobitve torkvesov oziroma – v primeru njihove slabe ohranjenosti – reliefnih okrasov spomenika (1-5; 5 pomeni najvišjo kakovost)

Fotografija = ocena kakovosti fotografije, ki smo jo imeli na voljo (1-5; 5 pomeni najvišjo kakovost)

Opis: običajno so torkvesi na enem spomeniku enake oblike, zato pri opisu uporabljamo ednino; če se videz torkvesov na enem spomeniku razlikuje, je opisan vsak posebej

Leg = lega torkvesov na telesu je/ni vidna (+/-)

Orientacija = orientacija torkvesov na spomeniku, razklenjen del dol/gor (D/G)

N = število ohranjenih torkvesov na spomeniku; v oklepaju domnevno prvotno število (pri delno ohranjenih upodobitvah)

Druga odlikovanja:

ar = *armillae*

cor = *corona(e)*

hast = *hasta(e)*

ph = *phalerae* (navedeno je število setov)

* označuje, da je bilo odlikovanj verjetno/morda več, a jih na ohranjenem delu spomenika ni

5

Archaeological evidence

5.1 Starting points

The observations that Valerie Maxfield published in 1981, on there being very few objects positively identified as Roman military decorations and on the great difficulties in distinguishing between military decorations and personal adornments,¹⁵¹ still holds true after four decades.

The identification of *torques* among the archaeological finds decisively relies on the conclusions drawn from the study of literary and epigraphic evidence,¹⁵² even more so from studying their depictions on funerary reliefs,¹⁵³ all of which are summarised below.

For decorated units, literary and epigraphic evidence does not reveal whether they received actual *torques* and attached it or them to their standards;¹⁵⁴ there are also no known depictions of an auxiliary unit *signum* bearing a *torques*. In contrast, a *torques* is shown on two standards of non-auxiliary units, while there is no evidence of such units decorated with *torques*.¹⁵⁵

For individual soldiers, the comparative analysis of the inscriptions mentioning *torques* and their representations on the associated funerary reliefs shows they were worn in pairs below the collar bones from the Augustan period to the late 2nd century.¹⁵⁶

The depictions on funerary reliefs are also most revealing with regard to the appearance and size of *torques*.¹⁵⁷ They were larger than *armillae*; their internal diameter was insufficient for them to be worn around the neck, and their external diameter was small enough for a pair to be comfortably fitted below the collar bones. Funerary representations, however, cannot reveal the maximum external diameter of a *torques*; we assume

that it may have reached the diameter of torcs worn as jewellery.

For a torc that has the appearance of a Roman military decoration, we believe that the internal diameter of or below 12 cm offers additional support in favour of its interpretation as a *torques*. Such a diameter would not allow an adult man to wear the object around the neck.¹⁵⁸ The size distinction between *torques* and *armillae* is not as straightforward; the boundary appears to have been around 10 cm of internal diameter.

For the material, ancient authors only mention *torques* of gold (Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, Flavius Josephus and Seneca) and silver (Pliny the Elder and Suetonius).¹⁵⁹

Material is also mentioned in two epigraphic monuments; in both cases, it is gold. The first is a funerary monument from the time of Antoninus Pius (*List 1: No. 94 – torquibus et armillis aureis*), and the other is a funerary monument from the 3rd century (*List 1: No. 106*)¹⁶⁰ that refers to a time when the Early Imperial system of military decorations was no longer operational.¹⁶¹

The impression one gets from the written sources, of *torques* (and other military decorations) being made of gold or silver, is in conflict¹⁶² with the well-founded opinion that Roman military decorations were primarily of symbolic significance.¹⁶³ If the *dona* were of precious metals, it is not hard to imagine that their

151 Maxfield 1981, 53, 54.

152 See Chapters 2 and 3.

153 See Chapter 4.

154 See Chapters 2 and 3.1.

155 Maxfield 1974, 44; Maxfield 1981, 219. Cf. *List 2: No. 26*.

156 See Chapters 3.2.4, 4.4 and 4.5.

157 See Chapter 4.6.

158 A circle with the diameter of 12 cm measures 38 cm in circumference, while the diameter of 13 cm gives the circumference of 41 cm, which corresponds with men's shirts in sizes extra small (XS), small (S) and medium (M). Adler (2003, 15) set the boundary at 13 cm of external diameter, which gives the internal diameter of 12 cm or less. For the way *torques* were fitted around the neck, see Farley, Hunter 2015, 41, Fig. 22.

159 See Chapter 2.

160 See Chapter 3.1.

161 See Chapter 3.2.1.

162 Maxfield (1981, 53) and Linderski (2007) did not see this contradiction and believed there was no reason to doubt the gold and silver decorations related in the written sources referred to the actual materials.

163 Maxfield 1981, 56, 57; Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 1,5,6,1–5 (cf. Chapter 2).

5.1 Izhodišča

Ugotovitev Valerie Maxfield, da je zelo malo predmetov, za katere ni dvoma, da so rimska vojaška odlikovanja, in da je težko razlikovati odlikovanja od osebnega okrasa,¹⁵¹ po 40 letih še vedno drži.

Za prepoznanje rimskih vojaških odlikovanj torkves med arheološkimi najdbami so bistveni izsledki preučitve literarnih in epigrafskih virov¹⁵² ter še posebej analize upodobitev na nagrobnikih,¹⁵³ zato jih povzemamo.

V literarnih in epigrafskih virih ni podatkov o tem, ali so s torkvesi odlikovane avksiliarne enote dejansko prejele torkves(e) in ga (jih) morda pritrdile na svoj *signum* (prapor);¹⁵⁴ prav tako ne poznamo upodobitve signuma avksiliarne enote, ki bi prikazoval torkves. Po drugi strani pa vidimo torkves na dveh praporih enote, ki ni bila avksiliarna; za te enote sicer ni podatkov, da bi prejele odlikovanje torkves.¹⁵⁵

Primerjalna analiza napisov, ki omenjajo posameznikom podeljeno vojaško odlikovanje torkves, in upodobitev tega odlikovanja na nagrobnikih kaže, da so jih od avgustejske dobe do konca 2. st. podeljevali v paru in nosili pod ključnicama.¹⁵⁶

O videzu in velikosti odlikovanja torkves sklepamo iz upodobitev na nagrobnikih.¹⁵⁷ Torkvesi so bili večji od armil; njihov notranji premer je bil premajhen za nošenje okoli vratu, zunanji premer pa je bil dovolj majhen, da so brez težav pod ključnicama vzporedno namestili dva torkvesa. Kakšen je bil največji zunanji premer odlikovanja torkves, z nagrobnikov ni mogoče razbrati; domnevamo, da je lahko dosegel premer torgih ovratnic.

¹⁵¹ Maxfield 1981, 53, 54.

¹⁵² Glej pogl. 2 in 3.

¹⁵³ Glej pogl. 4.

¹⁵⁴ Glej pogl. 2 in 3.1.

¹⁵⁵ Maxfield 1974, 44; Maxfield 1981, 219. Prim. *seznam 2: št. 26*.

¹⁵⁶ Glej pogl. 3.2.4, 4.4 in 4.5.

¹⁵⁷ Glej pogl. 4.6.

Menimo torej, da pri predmetih, ki po videzu ustrezajo odlikovanju torkves, notranji premer pod 12 cm govori za rimsko vojaško odlikovanje. Tak predmet namreč najverjetneje ni bil ovratnica odraslega moškega.¹⁵⁸ Mejo med odlikovanji torkves in armila je težje določiti; zdi se, da bi lahko bila pri notranjem premeru okoli 10 cm.

Antični pisci omenjajo le zlata (Plinij starejši, Svetonij, Jožef Flavij in Seneka) in srebrna (Plinij starejši in Svetonij) odlikovanja torkves.¹⁵⁹

Med epigrafskimi spomeniki dva omenjata material torkvesov, v obeh primerih zlato. Prvi je nagrobnik iz časa vladavine Antonina Pija (*seznam 1: št. 94 – torquibus et armillis aureis*), drugi pa nagrobnik iz 3. st., ki navaja en zlat torkves (*seznam 1: št. 106*)¹⁶⁰ in se nanaša na čas, ko zgodnjecarski sistem odlikovanj ni več bil v veljavi.¹⁶¹

Iz pisnih virov izhajajo vtis, da so bili torkvesi (in druga vojaška odlikovanja) iz zlata ali srebra, in utemeljeno mnenje, da so imela rimska vojaška odlikovanja predvsem simbolno vrednost,¹⁶² si nasprotujeta.¹⁶³ Če bi bila odlikovanja iz plemenitih kovin, si namreč ni težko predstavljati, da bi njihova materialna vrednost preseгла simbolno. To še posebej velja za nižja odlikovanja, h katerim so sodili torkvesi. Z njimi so od avgustejske dobe odlikovali vojake na nižjih položajih, od navadnih vojakov do centurijev. Podeljevali so jih skupaj z armilami in falerami,¹⁶⁴ za katere pisni viri prav tako omenjajo le zlato in srebro.¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁸ Krog s premerom 12 cm ima obseg 38 cm, pri premeru 13 cm je obseg 41 cm, kar danes ustreza moškim srajcam velikosti *extra small* (XS), *small* (S) in *medium* (M). Adler (2003, 15) je za mejo postavil zunanji premer 13 cm, kar pomeni notranji premer okoli 12 cm ali manj. Način namestitve torkvesa okoli vratu: Farley, Hunter 2015, 41, sl. 22.

¹⁵⁹ Glej pogl. 2.

¹⁶⁰ Glej pogl. 3.1.

¹⁶¹ Glej pogl. 3.2.1.

¹⁶² Maxfield 1981, 56, 57; Seneca, *De Beneficiis* 1,5,6,1–5 (prim. pogl. 2).

¹⁶³ Valerie Maxfield (1981, 53) in Jerzy Linderski (2007) tega nasprotja nista opazila; po njunem mnenju ne gre dvomiti o tem, da v pisnih virih izpričana zlata in srebrna odlikovanja odražajo dejansko stanje.

¹⁶⁴ Glej pogl. 3.2.5 in 4.7.

¹⁶⁵ Maxfield 1981, 90, 91, 95.

material value would exceed the symbolic one. This is particularly true of the lesser decorations such as *torques*. From the Augustan period onwards, they were awarded to soldiers of lower ranks, from ordinary soldiers to centurions. They were given together with *armillae* and *phalerae*,¹⁶⁴ for which written sources also only mention gold and silver.¹⁶⁵

We should rather presume that the material in literary sources and funerary inscriptions refers to the appearance of the decorations and not to the actual material. For example, tin looks very similar to silver but is considerably cheaper,¹⁶⁶ and the two materials are not readily distinguishable without analysis.¹⁶⁷ The same is true of gold and gilded objects. Suetonius relates the abuse of this similarity in connection with Emperor Vitellius, who ‘was said to have stolen some of the offerings and ornaments from the temples and changed others, substituting tin and brass for gold and silver’ during his proconsulship in Africa (AD 60 or 61).¹⁶⁸

Further support of the opinion that the gold and silver of *torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae* mentioned in Roman written sources refers not to the actual material of the *dona* but rather to their appearance comes from archaeology.

The *phalerae* from Lauersfort (the only surviving military decorations reliably identified as *phalerae*, of the same rank as *torques*) are made of copper alloy and plated with silver.¹⁶⁹ The medallion with the portrait of Emperor Augustus recovered from the River Ljubljana, which is presumed to be the essential part of a *phalera*, is made of a tin-lead alloy, and the front is silver-plated.¹⁷⁰ The possible *phalera* from Dambach is of ‘bronze’.¹⁷¹

Archaeological literature also mentions ‘bronze’ and ‘silver’ *armillae*,¹⁷² but we believe there is insufficient evidence to interpret these items as military decorations.¹⁷³

In our opinion, *torques* (as well as *phalerae* and *armillae*) were not made of gold or silver as mentioned in ancient texts, but rather of cheaper metals that produced the appearance of gold and silver.

The archaeological context may provide very important evidence for identifying an object as a military decoration of *torques*.

The discussion below presents all torcs interpreted as military decorations in archaeological literature and those originating from contexts that speak in favour of such an interpretation.

The interpretation of objects as *torques* takes into account the appearance, archaeological context, material, and size.

5.2 Presumed military decorations *torques*

5.2.1 *Torques* from the River Ljubljana

Found on the bottom of the Ljubljana at Blatna Brezovica (Slovenia) was a 125 mm long and 92 mm wide (internal measurements 115 × 75 mm) penannular torc, weighing 46.71 g, with expanded terminals in the shape of reverted bird heads (*Fig. p. 5; Fig. 5.1; Fig. 5.2: 1*). It was made of a forged metal rod, thicker in the middle and evenly tapering towards the terminals; the rod was twisted and finally curved to form an ellipse. The details on the bird heads were chased.

The PIXE (particle-induced X-ray emission) analyses on the patina-free surface have shown the object to be of an alloy of tin, roughly 2% copper and less than 1% lead.¹⁷⁴

The narrow archaeological context of the object offers no clues as to its dating. The general form and twisting are reminiscent of some La Tène torcs.¹⁷⁵ These, however, include no examples with similar terminals, though the Early La Tène examples from the Champagne region in France include torcs decorated with duck or bird heads. These were cast in moulds, and

164 See Chapters 3.2.5, 4.7.

165 Maxfield 1981, 90, 91, 95.

166 Beagrie 1989, 170, 171, 173, 174.

167 Istenič 2019, 198–201; La Niece 1993, 201.

168 Beagrie 1989, 170.

169 Maxfield 1981, 54, 94, 95, Pls 15–16.

170 Istenič 2019, 11, 118–125, 200–203, 346, 347; Istenič, Šmit 2019, 11, 184–186.

171 Garbsch 1983, Fig. 69: 6. Cf. Chapter 5.2.3.

The metals of the finds mentioned in the text were for the most part not scientifically analysed but described according to their appearance and are given in inverted commas, for example ‘bronze’ (probably a copper alloy) and ‘silver’ (without scientific analyses it is unclear whether the material is tin, lead or silver alloy).

172 Crummy 2005; Crummy 2016; Feugère 1993, 66; Martin-Kilcher 2020, 74, Fig. 65.

173 We believe the arguments that Nina Crummy (2005) put forward in support of the published bracelets being closely related to the

Roman army to be erroneous (such as an exclusive association of Aucissa brooches with the Roman army) or weak, and the part of a ‘silver’ object that she interprets as an *armilla* or *torques* (Crummy 2016, 9–11, Fig. 8) could have formed part of a military belt.

174 Istenič, Šmit 2019, 186, 187, Table I2.

175 E.g. Bretz-Mahler 1971, Pl. 27: 1, 3, Pl. 28: 2–3, 5–6, Pl. 29, Pl. 30, Pl. 31: 3–4, Pl. 33, Pl. 34: 2–3, Pls 37–39, Pl. 41: 1–2, 4, Pl. 44: 4, Pl. 47: 2; Vercingétorix et Alésia 1994, Cat. Nos 171–173.

Domnevamo, da so v literarnih virih in nagrobnih napisih material odlikovanj navedli po videzu, ki so ga dajala odlikovanja, ne glede na dejansko stanje. Na pogled je na primer kositer tako podoben srebru, da ju je brez analiz težko razlikovati,¹⁶⁶ hkrati pa je bistveno cenejši od srebra.¹⁶⁷ Enako velja za zlate in pozlačene predmete. Zlorabo podobnosti pri videzu kovin omenja Svetonij: za cesarja Vitelija pravi, da je, ko je bil prokonzul v Afriki (leta 60 ali 61), v templjih ukradel zlate in srebrne darove ter okrase in jih zamenjal z medeninastimi in kositrnimi.¹⁶⁸

V prid mnenju, da v rimskih pisnih virih omenjena zlata in srebrna odlikovanja torkves, armile in falere ne kaže razumeti kot podatek o dejanskem materialu, ampak o njegovem videzu, govorijo med arheološki mi najdbami ugotovljena odlikovanja.

Falere iz Lauersforta – edino zanesljivo vojaško odlikovanje *phalerae*, ki ga za zdaj poznamo in je istega ranga kot torkvesi – so iz bakrove zlitine in posrebrene.¹⁶⁹ V reki Ljubljanici najden medaljon z reliefno podobo cesarja Avgusta, za katerega domnevamo, da je del odlikovanja *phalerae*, je iz zlitine kositra in svinca, sprednja stran je posrebrna.¹⁷⁰ Falera iz Dambacha, za katero domnevajo, da je bila vojaško odlikovanje, je iz »brona«.¹⁷¹

V arheološki literaturi omenjajo še bronaste in srebrne primerke odlikovanja *armillae*,¹⁷² za katere po našem mnenju ni utemeljenih argumentov za opredelitev med vojaška odlikovanja.¹⁷³

Menimo torej, da torkvesi (ter tudi falere in armile) niso bili iz zlata ali srebra, ampak iz cenejših kovin.

Zelo pomemben argument za opredelitev predmeta kot vojaško odlikovanje torkves so lahko najdiščne okoliščine.

166 Istenič 2019, 198–201; La Niece 1993, 201.

167 Beagrie 1989, 170, 171, 173, 174.

168 Beagrie 1989, 170.

169 Maxfield 1981, 54, 94, 95, t. 15–16.

170 Istenič 2019, II, 118–125, 200–203, 346, 347; Istenič, Šmit 2019, II, 184–186.

171 Garbsch 1983, sl. 69: 6. Prim. pogl. 5.2.3.

Pri gradivu, za katerega so znane zgolj empirične opredelitve kovinskih materialov, te navajam v navednicah, npr. »bron« (daljši, a ustrežnejši izraz bi bil neopredeljena bakrova zlitina) in »srebro« (brez analiz ni jasno, ali gre za kositrovo, svinčevo ali srebrovo zlitino).

172 Crummy 2005; Crummy 2016; Feugère 1993, 66; Martin-Kilcher 2020, 74, sl. 65.

173 Argumenti Nine Crummy (2005) v prid tezi o ozki povezavi objavljenih zapestnic z rimsko vojsko se nam zdijo zmotni (npr. povezovanje fibul tipa Aucissa le z rimsko vojsko) oziroma slabi, del »srebrnega« predmeta, ki ga interpretira kot vojaško odlikovanje *armillae* ali *torques* (Crummy 2016, 9–11, sl. 8), pa bi lahko sodil k vojaškemu pasu.

V poglavje smo vključili predmete, ki jih v literaturi interpretirajo kot rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves, in torkvese iz najdiščnih okoliščin, ki bi lahko govorile za rimsko odlikovanje.

Pri interpretaciji torkvesov smo se oprli na najdiščne okoliščine, videz, material in velikost.

5.2 Verjetna rimska odlikovanja torkves

5.2.1 Torkves iz reke Ljubljanice

Z dna reke Ljubljanice pri Blatni Brezovici izvira 125 mm dolg, 92 mm širok in 46,71 g težak odprt obroč v obliki elipse (notranje mere 115 × 75 mm) z odebeljenima zaključkoma, ki sta oblikovana kot nazaj obrnjeni ptičji glavici (*sl. str. 5; sl. 5.1; sl. 5.2: 1*). Naredili so ga iz v sredini debelejšje in proti koncema približno enakomerno ožeče se kovane kovinske palice, ki so jo tordirali in nato zvili v elipso. Podrobnosti na ptičjih glavicah so naredili s punciranjem.

Analize z metodo protonsko vzbujene rentgenske spektrometrije (PIXE) na površini brez patine so pokazale, da je predmet iz zlitine kositra z okoli 2 % bakra in manj kot 1 % svinca.¹⁷⁴

Ožje najdiščne okoliščine ne ponujajo opore za datacijo torkvesa. Splošna oblika in tordiranje predmeta iz Ljubljanice spominjata na nekatere latenske ovratnice.¹⁷⁵ Med njimi ni torkvesa s podobnima zaključkoma, čeprav zgodnjelatenski torkvesi iz pokrajine Champagne v Franciji vključujejo take z motivom račjih oziroma ptičjih glav; te torkvese so ulili v kalup in pri večini nato videz zaključkov dopolnili s punciranjem.¹⁷⁶ Predmet iz Ljubljanice se od latenskih torkvesov razlikuje po velikosti, saj je manjši, pa tudi po načinu izdelave.

Med rimskimi najdbami podobnih predmetov ne poznamo, vendar pa sta zaključka v obliki ptičjih glav po motivu in načinu izdelave (kovanje in punciranje) precej podobna upodobitvam ptičjih glav na ročajih rimskih bronastih korcev, ki so jih v zadnjih dveh desetletjih pr. Kr. in prvih dveh do treh desetletjih po Kr. izdelovali v Kampanji v Italiji in so bili precej široko geografsko razširjeni.¹⁷⁷ To nakazuje, da

174 Istenič, Šmit 2019, 186, 187, pregl. I2.

175 Npr. Bretz-Mahler 1971, t. 27: 1, 3, t. 28: 2–3, 5–6, t. 29, t. 30, t. 31: 3–4, t. 33, t. 34: 2–3, t. 37–39, t. 41: 1–2, 4, t. 44: 4, t. 47: 2; Vercingétorix et Alésia 1994, kat. št. 171–173.

176 Bretz-Mahler 1971, 34, 35, 51, 52, t. 60–61.

177 Petrovszky 1993, 30–35, 160, 281, 282, t. 1: II,1a, b, II,2, t. 11:

the decoration of the terminals was predominantly finished by punching.¹⁷⁶ The artefact from the Ljubljana thus differs from La Tène torcs in both size (it is smaller) and how it was made.

The *torques* from the Ljubljana has no parallels among Roman finds. The bird-head terminals are very similar in both motif and production manner (forging and chasing) to the bird heads on the Roman bronze cooking pans produced in Campania in the final two decades BC and initial two or three decades AD, which boast a wide distribution.¹⁷⁷ This suggests that the *torque* was a Roman product, perhaps from the Augustan or (Early) Tiberian period, which would correspond with the dating of most of the military equipment recovered from the Ljubljana.¹⁷⁸

Tin is a soft and malleable metal with a low melting point (232°C) and hence suitable for producing forged and cast objects, as well as for plating, filling, and soldering. A polished tin surface has a shiny silvery appearance.¹⁷⁹ The Roman tin statuettes of gods,¹⁸⁰ tin ingots¹⁸¹ and a crucible, found in Xanten/*Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Germany) and dated to the 2nd century, with remains of (nearly) pure tin on the interior surface¹⁸² show that the Romans produced (nearly) pure tin items. The addition of copper (roughly 2% in the object from the Ljubljana¹⁸³) improved the object's hardness.¹⁸⁴

In its twisted form, the *torques* is similar to numerous depictions of the decoration (Figs 4.4, 4.6, 4.12, 4.17, 4.19, 4.23–4.25, 4.30, 4.32); one of these (Fig. 4.30) also shares the greatest thickness in the middle and tapering towards the terminals.

To recapitulate, the appearance, material, and size of the tin artefact from the Ljubljana, as well as a comparison with the depictions of *torques* on funerary monuments, speak in favour of the hypothesis that the artefact is a Roman military decoration. The bird head terminals and the fact that most objects from the Ljubljana related to the Roman army are from the Middle Augustan and Early Tiberian periods suggest that the object is also from this time frame.

176 Bretz-Mahler 1971, 34, 35, 51, 52, Pls 60–61.

177 Petrovsky 1993, 30–35, 160, 281, 282, Pl. 1: II,1a, b, II,2, Pl. 11: C.20.03, C.20.04, Pl. 16: E.03.01, Pl. 22: N.15.01, N.15.03, Pl. 23: P.03.01, Pl. 30: Y.22, Pl. 31: Y.38.

178 Istenič 2019, 208–210, Fig. 123.

179 Istenič 2019, 198–200, with references.

180 Grabherr, Kainrath 2019, 395; Lang et al. 2013, 306, 307, 317–319, Pl. 1: 1–5, 7, 8.

181 Colls et al. 1975, 83, 84, 94; Beagrie 1989, 173.

182 Bridger, Rehren 2002.

183 Istenič, Šmit 2019, 186, 187, Table 12.

184 Cf. Beagrie 1989, 169, 171, 175.



Figure 5.1

Torques from the River Ljubljana (Slovenia).

Slika 5.1

Torkves iz reke Ljubljane.

5.2.2 Torques from Magdalensberg

At Magdalensberg, Austria, a solid torc (Fig. p. 5; Fig. 5.2: 2; Fig. 5.3) was found in the cellar of House OR/20 dated between 40 and 20 BC in a clearly defined layer.¹⁸⁵ Also unearthed in the cellar were several other items more or less closely related to the Roman army: a sword in its scabbard, intaglio, eight simple iron brooches and heavily burnt bronze pieces possibly representing the remains of *armillae*.¹⁸⁶ The torc's publications thus far did not clearly identify it as a Roman military decoration but did mention the possibility or likelihood of its close ties with the Roman army.¹⁸⁷

The *torques* is of pure brass, i.e. alloy of copper, roughly 20% zinc and a maximum of 2% of other elements.¹⁸⁸

It survives in a good condition and is almost complete; it has a grey-green patina that covers a shiny golden-yellow surface visible in several patches. It is annular and measures 124 to 122 mm in external and 110 to 98 mm in internal diameter.

185 Deimel 1987, 67, 68, 220, Pl. 84: 1; Schindler Kaudelka 2002a, Fig. 18. Dr Heimo Dolenz kindly allowed the torc to be examined, drawn, photographed, and analysed using the XRF method.

186 Schindler Kaudelka 2002a, 169, 172, Figs 19, 20; sword in its scabbard: Dolenz 1998, 49–53, Fig. 19, Pl. 1: M1.

187 The reports on the excavations in the cellar of House OR/20 discuss the *torques* in the section on the 'local' products but do emphasise its close ties with the Roman army (Mössler 1963, 73–78, Figs 46, 47). Schindler Kaudelka (2002a; 2002b) and Sedlmayer (1999, 127) also mention the possible association of the *torques* with the Roman army, whereas Martha Deimel (1987, 67, 68) interprets it as a Celtic torc.

188 The highest measured zinc content in Roman pure brass is 28%, the lowest around 14%. It would seem that the Romans were not familiar with producing brass with more than 33% zinc (Craddock, Lambert 1985, 164; Craddock 1995, 296, 298; Jackson, Craddock 1995, 93, 94. Cf. Pollard, Heron 1996, 198–200, 204). Experimental research indicates that the cementation procedure allows the production of brass with around 40% zinc (Bourgarit, Thomas 2015; Rehren, Martínón-Torres 2008, 168, 169).

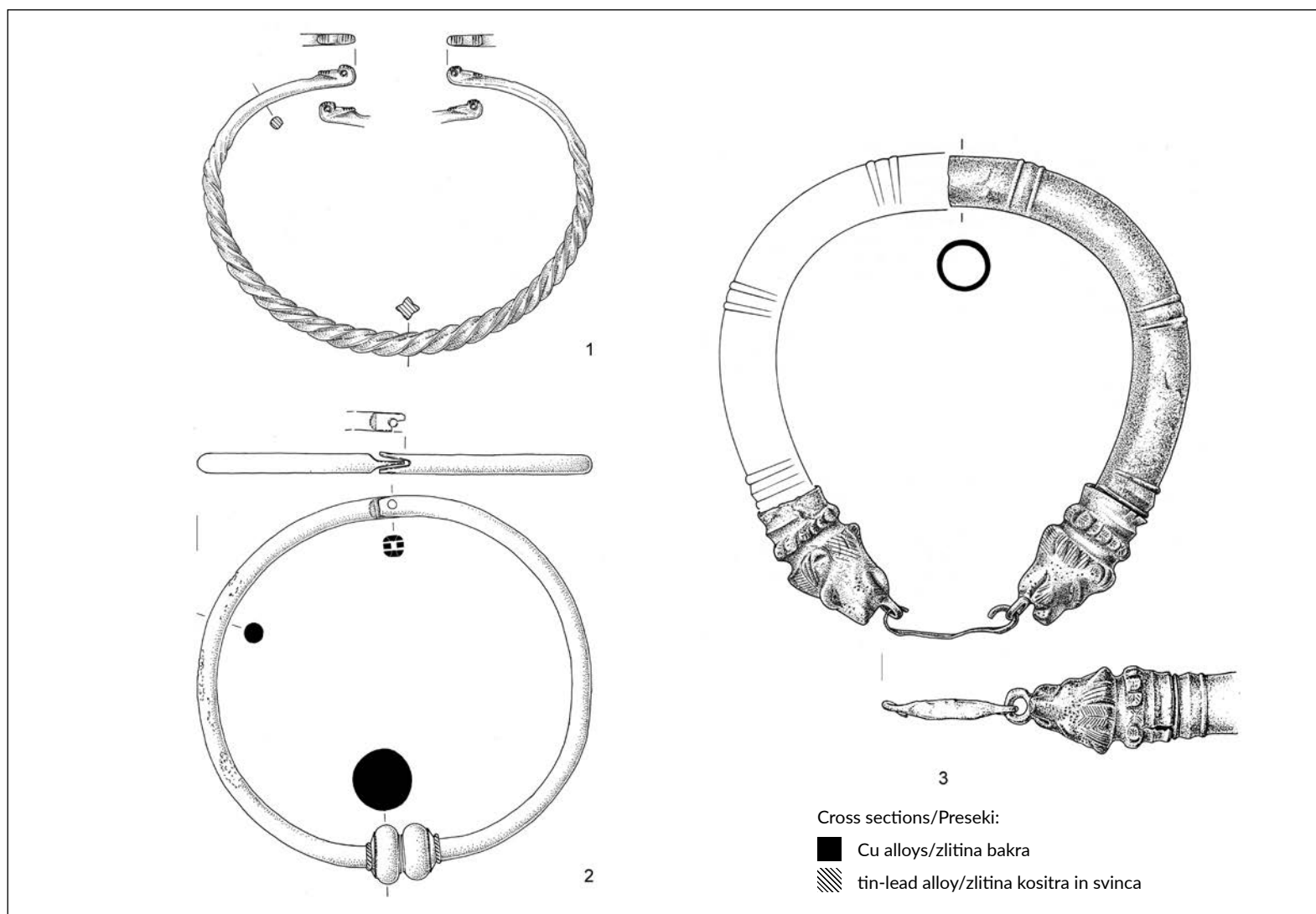


Figure 5.2
Likely Roman military decorations *torques*: 1) River Ljubljana, 2) Magdalensberg, 3) Dambach; from Garbsch 1986, Fig. 2: 1). Scale 1 : 2.

Slika 5.2
Verjetna rimska odlikovanja *torques*: 1) iz reke Ljubljane, 2) s Štalenske gore (Avstrija), 3) iz Dambacha (Nemčija; iz Garbsch 1986, sl. 2: 1). Merilo 1 : 2.

je predmet rimski, morda iz avgustejske ali (zgodnje) tiberijske dobe, kar bi ustrezalo dataciji velike večine vojaške opreme iz reke Ljubljane.¹⁷⁸

Kositer je mehka in plastična kovina z nizkim tališčem (232 °C), zato je primerna za izdelavo kovanih in ulitih predmetov ter za prevleke, zalivke in spajkanje. Spolirana kositrna površina ima sijoč srebrn videz.¹⁷⁹ Rimski kositrni kipci božanstev,¹⁸⁰ kositrni ingoti¹⁸¹ in v Xantnu/*Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Nemčija) najden talilni lonček z ostanki (skoraj) čistega kositra na notranji površini¹⁸² kažejo, da so Rimljani med drugim izdelovali predmete iz (skoraj) čistega kositra. Z dodatkom bakra (okoli 2 % bakra pri predmetu iz Ljubljane¹⁸³) so dosegli večjo trdoto.¹⁸⁴

Po tordiranju je predmet podoben številnim upodobitvam rimskega odlikovanja *torques* (sl. 4.4, 4.6, 4.12,

4.17, 4.19, 4.23–4.25, 4.30, 4.32); z enim *torquesom* na nagrobniku *seznam 2: št. 30* (sl. 4.30) ga družijo tudi to, da sta najdebelejša v sredini in se ožita proti zaključkom.

Povzamemo torej lahko, da videz, material in velikost kositrnega predmeta iz Ljubljane ter primerjava z upodobitvami na nagrobnikih govori v prid domnevi, da gre za posamezniku namenjeno rimsko vojaško odlikovanje *torques*. Datacijo nakazujejo zaključka v obliki ptičjih glav in dejstvo, da je največ z rimsko vojsko povezanih predmetov iz Ljubljane iz srednjeavgustejske do zgodnetiberijske dobe.

5.2.2 *Torque* s Štalenske gore

Na Štalenski gori (Koroška, Avstrija), v kleti stavbe OR/20, ki je datirana v obdobje med letoma 40 in 20 pr. Kr.,¹⁸⁵ so našli masiven *torques* (sl. str. 5; sl. 5.2: 2; sl. 5.3). V istem prostoru so bili številni z rimsko vojsko bolj ali manj ozko povezani predmeti: meč v nožnici,

C.20.03, C.20.04, t. 16: E.03.01, t. 22: N.15.01, N.15.03, t. 23: P.03.01, t. 30: Y.22, t. 31: Y.38.

178 Istenič 2019, 208–210, sl. 123.

179 Istenič 2019, 198–200, z navedeno lit.

180 Grabherr, Kainrath 2019, 395; Lang et al. 2013, 306, 307, 317–319, t. 1: 1–5, 7, 8.

181 Colls et al. 1975, 83, 84, 94; Beagrie 1989, 173.

182 Bridger, Rehren 2002.

183 Istenič, Šmit 2019, 186, 187, pregl. 12.

184 Prim. Beagrie 1989, 169, 171, 175.

185 Deimel 1987, 67, 68, 220, t. 84: 1; Schindler Kaudelka 2002a, sl. 18.

Dr. Heimo Dolenz je prijazno dovolil ogled, risanje in fotografiranje *torquesa* ter izvedbo XRF-analiz.



a



b



c



d



e



f

Figure 5.3

Torques from Magdalensberg: a) full view, b) expanded terminals, side view, c) contiguous surface of one expanded terminal: brass square-sectioned pin secured into a hole (probably with tin), d) contiguous surface of the other expanded terminal – hole filled with tin, e) riveted joint of the two halves of the *torques* – view from the top, f) riveted joint of the two halves of the *torques* – side view.

Slika 5.3

Torkves s Štalenske gore (Avstrija): a) cel, b) odebeljena zaključka, stranski pogled, c) ploskev prvega odebeljenega zaključka, ki je nalegla na ploskev zaključka druge polovice torkvesa: medeninast vtič s kvadratnim presekom so v vdolbino verjetno zalili s kositrom, d) ploskev drugega odebeljenega zaključka: vidna je s kositrom zalita vdolbina v ploskvi, ki je nalegla na zaključek druge polovice torkvesa, e) zakovičen stik dveh polovic: pogled z vrha, f) zakovičen stik dveh polovic: stranski pogled.

gema, osem enostavnih železnih fibul in močno sežgani ostanki bronastih predmetov, ki so morda ostanki vojaškega odlikovanja *armillae*.¹⁸⁶ V dosedanjih objavah torkvesa niso jasno opredelili za rimsko vojaško odlikovanje, omenjajo pa možnost ali verjetnost njegove ozke povezave z rimsko vojsko.¹⁸⁷

Torkves je iz čiste medenine, tj. zlitine bakra z okoli 20 % cinka in največ okoli 2 % drugih elementov.¹⁸⁸

Dobro in skoraj v celoti je ohranjen; ima lepo sivozeleeno patino, ki prekriva na številnih mestih vidno zlato rumeno svetlečo se površino. Njegova oblika je krožna, zunanji premer meri 124 oziroma 122 mm, notranji pa 110 oziroma 98 mm.

Sestavljata ga dve polovici. Na enem koncu se ena polovica (tista z zatičem v odebeljenem zaključku) konča z režo, ki ima presek v obliki črke V, druga pa s pravokotnim? (skrajni končni del ni ohranjen cel) jezičkom, ki se enakomerno tanjša in se približno prilega reži; konca sta bila fiksirana z zakovico, ki ni ohranjena cela (*sl. 5.2: 2*, detajl; *sl. 5.3e*). Zdi se, da gre za zakovanje, in ne tečaj.

Na drugem koncu se polovici zaključita z izrazito elipsasto odebelitvijo (*sl. 5.3b*). Na sredini ploskev, ki sta se dotikali, je na enem zaključku medeninast zatič kvadratnega preseka (širina okoli 2 mm), ki je verjetno (kot pri drugi elipsasti odebelitvi) s kositrom¹⁸⁹ zalit v vdolbino (*sl. 5.3c*), na drugem zaključku pa je pribl. 5 mm široka okrogla poglobitev, ki je delno zalita s kositrom (*sl. 5.3d*). Domnevamo, da sta bila zaključka povezana. Konec medeninastega zatiča je verjetno odlomljen. Lega odebeljenih zaključkov ob optimalnem položaju zakovičenega dela torkvesa nakazuje, da je bil neohranjeni del zatiča zalit v poglobitev nasprotnega zaključka; manj verjetno je, da se je zatič končal s kljukico, ki je objela zanko, zalito v nasprotni zaključek torkvesa.

186 Schindler Kaudelka 2002a, 169, 172, sl. 19, 20; meč v nožnici: Dolenz 1998, 49–53, sl. 19, t. 1: M1.

187 V poročilih o izkopavanjih kleti stavbe OR/20 so torkves obravnavali v prispevku o »domačih« izdelkih, vendar so poudarili njegovo ozko povezanost z rimsko vojsko (Mossler 1963, 73–78, sl. 46, 47). Možnost povezave torkvesa z rimsko vojsko sta omenila še Schindler Kaudelka (2002a; 2002b) in Sedlmayer (1999, 127), Martha Deimel (1987, 67, 68) pa ga je interpretirala kot keltsko ovratnico.

188 Najvišji izmerjeni delež cinka v zanesljivo rimski čisti medenini je 28 %, najnižji pa okoli 14 %. Zdi se, da Rimljani niso znali pridobivati medenine, ki bi vsebovala več kot 33 % cinka (Craddock, Lambert 1985, 164; Craddock 1995, 296, 298; Jackson, Craddock 1995, 93, 94. Prim. Pollard, Heron 1996, 198–200, 204). Eksperimentalne raziskave kažejo, da cementacijski postopek omogoča izdelavo medenine z okoli 40 % cinka (Bourgarit, Thomas 2015; Rehren, Martín-Torres 2008, 168, 169).

189 Glej naslednje poglavje (pogl. 5.2.2.1).

Torkvesov z masivnim gladkim lokom in gladkima masivnima elipsastima zaključkoma med ohranjenimi primerki mlajše železne dobe ne poznamo. Morda jih kažejo upodobitve mlajše železne dobe,¹⁹⁰ iz katerih pa ni mogoče ugotoviti, ali so zaključki masivni ali pa votli, skledičasti, pečatni in podobno.¹⁹¹ Povezavo odebeljenih zaključkov torkvesa s kovinskim zatičem ali s kaveljčkom in zanko pa najdemo med torkvesi mlajše železne dobe.¹⁹²

Torkves s Štalenske gore se od latenskih torkvesov bistveno razlikuje po velikosti, saj je premajhen za nošenje okoli vratu. Za njegovo interpretacijo je zelo pomemben podatek, da je iz čiste medenine.¹⁹³

Medenino so v Evropi uvedli Rimljani okoli leta 60 pr. Kr. in so jo na začetku verjetno največ uporabljali pri izdelavi rimske vojaške opreme.¹⁹⁴ Nerimska ljudstva v Evropi medenine niso pridobivala,¹⁹⁵ znala pa so pretapljati medeninaste predmete.¹⁹⁶ Ob vsakem taljenju medenine se delež cinka v kovini občutno zmanjša.¹⁹⁷ Visok delež (do 18 %) cinka v patini torkvesa s Štalenske gore nakazuje, da so ga naredili iz ingota.

Torkves je torej rimski izdelek. Precej podobni predmeti, le da so enodelni, so upodobljeni na nagrobnikih in so rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves (prim. pogl. 4.6; *sl. 4.7, 4.10, 4.18, 4.20, 4.22, 4.29*).

Iz navedenega sklepamo, da je torkves s Štalenske gore rimsko vojaško odlikovanje.¹⁹⁸

5.2.2.1 Analize elementne sestave torkvesa s Štalenske gore (Eva Menart)

Elementno sestavo torkvesa smo ugotavljali z metodo rentgenske fluorescenčne spektrometrije (XRF). Uporabili smo prenosni instrument Hitachi X-MET 8000, ki ima rentgensko cev z Rh-anodo, in visokoločljivostni SD detektor (*silicon drift detector*, SDD).

190 Adler 2003, 79, 80, 341–345, sl. 11: A1, sl. 17: B23a, B26, B27, B30, B46b.

191 Prim. Adler 2003, 240, sl. 72: 1; Jovanović 2018, 130, 131, sl. 49: 1; Kramer 1985, t. 31: 9, t. 48: 9.

192 Adler 2003, 220, 232, 240, 370, 376, 380, H6, H56, H97, sl. 59, 66, 72. Pri številnih drugih torkvesih se zaključki stikajo, zato brez rentgenskih posnetkov ne more biti jasno, ali so povezani.

193 Glej naslednje poglavje (pogl. 5.2.2.1).

194 Istenič, Šmit 2007.

195 Istenič, Šmit 2007.

196 Npr. medeninasti novci Arvernov, skovani v času rimskega obleganja Alezije leta 52 pr. Kr. (Nieto 2004; Istenič, Šmit 2007, 145, 146), in nožnica meča iz zahodne Ukrajine, verjetno iz tiberijske dobe (prim. Istenič 2019, 34, 35, op. 78).

197 Jackson, Craddock 1995, 93; Ponting 2012, 171, op. 39; Caley (1964, 99, 100) ocenjuje, da se je pri vsakem taljenju rimske čiste medenine vsebnost cinka v njej zmanjšala za približno 10 %.

198 Martha Deimel (1987, 84) je menila, da je bil namenjen nošenju okoli vratu.

It is composed of two halves. One half ends in a V-shaped slot and the other in an originally probably rectangular tongue (tip missing) that evenly tapers to fit into the V-shaped slot; the two ends were fixed together with a rivet, now broken (Fig. 5.2: 2, detail; Fig. 5.3e). It appears to have been a riveted rather than a hinged joint.

At the other end, the two halves end in a substantially expanded ellipsoid terminal (Fig. 5.3b). One of the contiguous surfaces of the terminals has a brass square-sectioned pin (roughly 2 mm in width) in the centre, which is secured into the hole with tin (Fig. 5.3c).¹⁸⁹ The opposing surface has a roughly 5 mm wide round hole partly filled with tin (Fig. 5.3d). We presume the pin (its end is probably broken off) linked the two terminals. The position of the expanded terminals when the riveted joint is in the optimal position suggests that the missing part of the pin was inserted into the hole in the opposite terminal and secured with tin filling or, less likely, that the pin ended in a hook that went into a loop secured with tin filling into the opposite terminal.

The torc with a plain solid body and plain solid ellipsoid terminals is without parallels among the surviving Late Iron Age finds. Parallels may be in the Late Iron Age depictions,¹⁹⁰ though these do not reveal whether the terminals are solid or hollow, cup-shaped, modelled as stamps (*Petschaftend*) or of another form.¹⁹¹ Parallels from the Late Iron Age can be found for the expanded terminals with a pin or a metal hook and loop.¹⁹²

Given that fact, the torc from Magdalensberg substantially differs from La Tène examples in its size, as it is too small to be worn around the neck. Significant with regard to its interpretation is the fact that it is made of pure brass.¹⁹³

It was the Romans who introduced brass to Europe around 60 BC; they initially probably used it mainly in the production of military equipment.¹⁹⁴ Research shows that prehistoric peoples in Europe did not master the procedure of brass making,¹⁹⁵ but they were

familiar with melting brass objects.¹⁹⁶ Each melting considerably reduced the amount of zinc.¹⁹⁷ The high zinc content (up to 18%) in the patina of the torc from Magdalensberg indicates it was made from an ingot.

The torc should therefore be seen as a Roman product. Fairly similar objects, though made in a single piece, are depicted on funerary monuments and represent *donna militaria* (cf. Chapter 4.6; Figs 4.7, 4.10, 4.18, 4.20, 4.22, 4.29).

We can infer from the above that the torc from Magdalensberg was a Roman military decoration.¹⁹⁸

5.2.2.1 Elemental composition analyses of the torc from Magdalensberg (Eva Menart)

X-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF) was performed using the Hitachi X-MET 8000 portable instrument equipped with an Rh X-ray tube and a high-resolution silicon drift detector (SDD).

We analysed the more-or-less patinated surface in eleven spots (Figs 5.4a–5.4c) without in any way preparing the surfaces prior to taking measurements, making the procedure completely non-invasive. Using a small-spot collimator to focus the X-rays, the measured spots were 3 mm in diameter.

The results of the measurements are given in Table 3. The measurement error is around 0.15% for the main elements (Cu and Zn) and up to around 22% for all other elements (the lower the content of an element, the greater the uncertainty of the result).¹⁹⁹ In addition to the elements given in Table 3, measurements also detected silicon (Si), aluminium (Al) and iron (Fe); these are usually present in the patina of archaeological objects and probably originate from the context;²⁰⁰ hence, we did not consider them alloying

189 See Chapter 5.2.2.1 below.

190 Adler 2003, 79, 80, 341–345, Fig. 11: A1, Fig. 17: B23a, B26, B27, B30, B46b.

191 Cf. Adler 2003, 240, Fig. 72: 1; Jovanović 2018, 130, 131, Fig. 49: 1; Kramer 1985, Pl. 31: 9, Pl. 48: 9.

192 Adler 2003, 220, 232, 240, 370, 376, 380, H6, H56, H97, Figs 59, 66, 72. The terminals of many other torcs are contiguous and it is impossible to establish whether they were linked or not without X-ray images.

193 See Chapter 5.2.2.1.

194 Istenič, Šmit 2007.

195 Istenič, Šmit 2007.

196 E.g. brass coins of the Arverni, minted during the Roman siege of Alesia in 52 BC (Nieto 2004; Istenič, Šmit 2007, 145, 146) and a sword scabbard from western Ukraine, probably of a Tiberian date (cf. Istenič 2019, 34, 35, Note 78).

197 Jackson, Craddock 1995, 93; Ponting 2012, 171, Note 39; Caley (1964, 99, 100) estimates that zinc content decreased by about 10% with every melting of Roman pure brass.

198 Martha Deimel (1987, 84) believed it was intended to be worn around the neck.

199 The accuracy of the XRF analyses was estimated using the 31X 7835.8 standard (leaded brass). Comparing the results revealed a good agreement with the declared standard composition. The results of our measurements deviated on average from the reference values by 0.15% for the main components (i.e. components representing at least 10 mass per cent of the alloy), 14% for the elements representing between 1 and 10 mass per cent (double the uncertainty of the declared composition) and 22% for the elements with the content below 1 mass per cent (roughly ten times the uncertainty of the declared composition).

200 Scott 2002, 9, 35; Siatou, Lekatou 2010; Oudbashi et al. 2013.

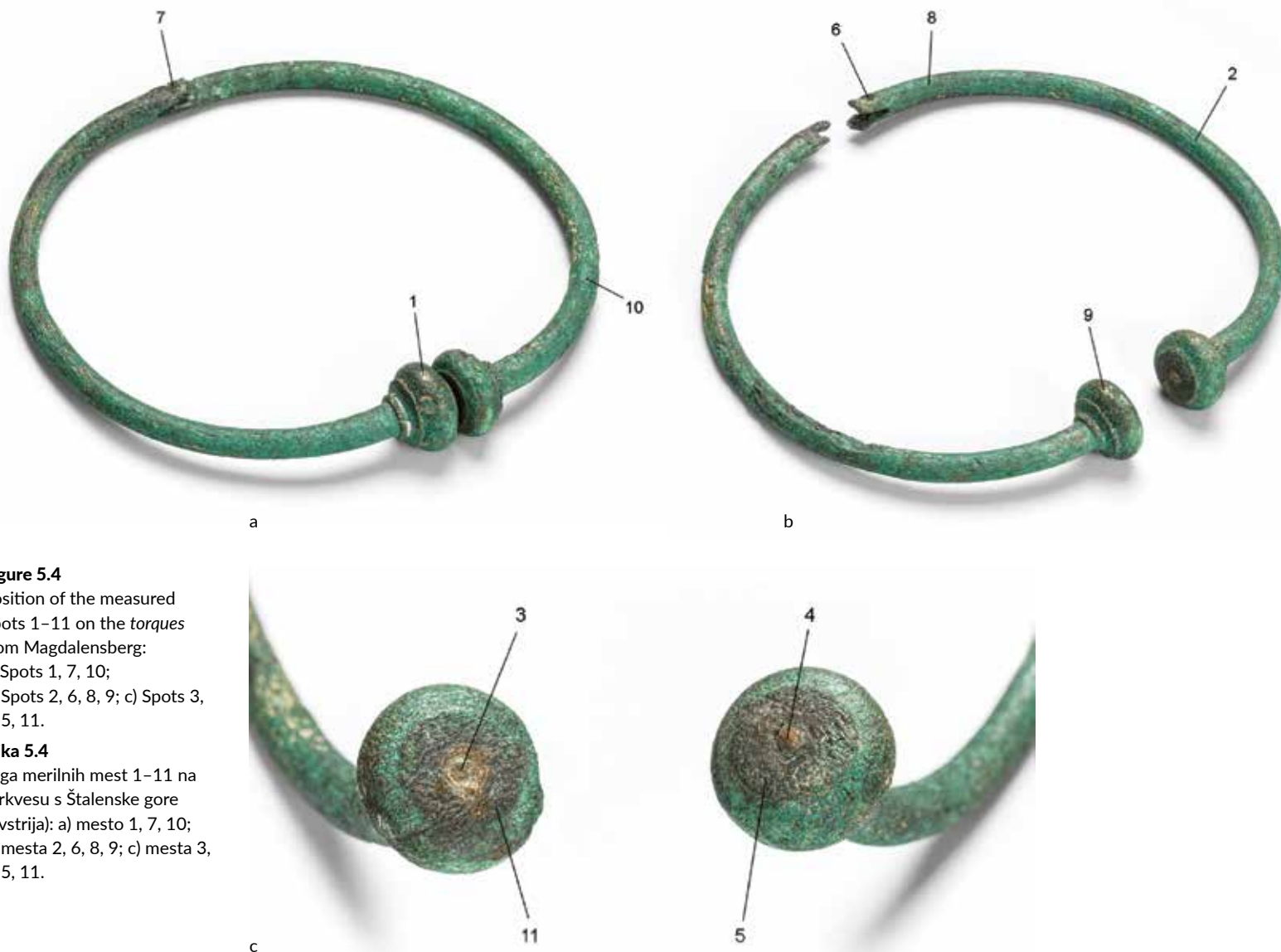


Figure 5.4

Position of the measured Spots 1–11 on the torques from Magdalensberg:

a) Spots 1, 7, 10;

b) Spots 2, 6, 8, 9; c) Spots 3, 4, 5, 11.

Slika 5.4

Lega merilnih mest 1–11 na torkvesu s Štalenske gore

(Avstrija): a) mesto 1, 7, 10;

b) mesta 2, 6, 8, 9; c) mesta 3, 4, 5, 11.

Bolj ali manj patinirano površino predmeta smo analizirali na 11 mestih (sl. 5.4a–5.4c), ne da bi jih pred meritvami kakorkoli pripravili, zato je bil postopek neinvaziven. Premer merilnih mest je bil 3 mm, saj smo uporabili kolimator za fokusiranje rentgenskega žarka.

Rezultati meritev so v *pregl. 3*. Napaka pri meritvah glavnih elementov zlitine (Cu in Zn) je okoli 0,15 %, pri drugih elementih pa največ okoli 22 % (manjša je vsebnost določenega elementa, večja je negotovost rezultata).¹⁹⁹ Poleg elementov, navedenih v *pregl. 3*, so meritve zaznale silicij (Si), aluminij (Al) in železo (Fe). Te običajno najdemo v patini arheoloških predmetov in verjetno izvirajo iz najdiščnega okolja,²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹ Točnost XRF-analiz smo ocenili s standardom 31X 7835.8 (svinčena medenina). Primerjava rezultatov treh meritev je pokazala dobro ujemanje z deklarirano sestavo standarda. Rezultati naših meritev so namreč od referenčnih vrednosti odstopali povprečno 0,15 % pri glavnih komponentah, (tj. komponente, ki v zlitini predstavljajo najmanj 10 masnih % zlitine), 14 % pri elementih, ki predstavljajo med 1 in 10 masnimi % (dvakratnik negotovosti deklarirane sestave), ter 22 % za elemente z vsebnostjo pod 1 masnim % v zlitini (pribl. desetkratnik negotovosti deklarirane sestave).

²⁰⁰ Scott 2002, 9, 35; Siatou, Lekatou 2010; Oudbashi et al. 2013.

zato jih nismo obravnavali kot elemente zlitine in smo predpostavili, da preostali elementi (Cu, Zn, Ag, Sn, Pb) predstavljajo 100 masnih % zlitine.

Meritve ne kažejo, da bi bila površina pokositrena ali da bi bila na njej druga kovinska prevleka.

Iz sestave patine se da sklepati o približni elementni sestavi kovinskega jedra, natančnih deležev elementov v zlitini pa iz analiz patine ni mogoče ugotoviti.

Meritve na loku in odebeljenih zaključkih torkvesa (mesta 1, 2, 8, 9 in 10) so poleg bakra (Cu) pokazale od 14,1 do 18 % cinka (Zn), od 0,70 do 1,3 % kositra (Sn) in od 0,17 do 0,26 % svinca (Pb), kar govori za predmet iz čiste medenine.²⁰¹ Razmeroma visok delež cinka v patini kaže na medenino z več kot 18 % cinka. Na površini medeninastih predmetov, ki so bili dolgo v zemlji, namreč poteka proces decinkifikacije, med katerim se cink (Zn) izlužuje iz površine, zato je njegov delež v patini običajno manjši kot v jedru.²⁰²

²⁰¹ Prim. zgoraj, op. 188.

²⁰² Scott 2002, 27–32; Papadopoulou, Vassiliou 2021; Zhou, Ogle 2018.

elements and rather presumed that the other elements (Cu, Zn, Ag, Sn, Pb) made up the 100 mass per cent of the alloy.

The measurements do not show tin or other metal plating.

The composition of the patina allows us to make inferences on the elemental composition of the metal core but not to establish the exact composition of the alloy.

In addition to copper (Cu), the measurements on the body and the expanded terminals of the torc (Spots 1, 2, 8, 9 and 10) revealed 14.1 to 18% zinc (Zn), 0.70 to 1.3% tin (Sn) and 0.17 to 0.26% lead (Pb), which indicates pure brass.²⁰¹ The relatively high zinc content in the patina points to an alloy with more than 18% of zinc. Here, we should bear in mind the process of dezincification that affects the surface of brass objects buried for extended periods and during which zinc (Zn) is leached from the surface, usually leaving its content in the patina lower than in the core.²⁰²

The measurement of the dark grey patina on the relatively flat surfaces of the expanded terminals (Spots 5, 11) also speaks in favour of pure brass. The same holds true for the pin in one of the terminals (Spots 4/1, 4/2) and the rivet that holds both halves together (Spots 6, 7). The considerably higher tin content (11–12%) measured on the grey surface of the hole in the other terminal (Spots 3/1, 3/2) indicated tin solder.

5.2.3 Torc from Dambach

This partially preserved torc (*Fig. 5.2: 3*) came to light in the vicus next to the fort of auxiliary units at Dambach (Bavaria, Germany), along the Rhaetian limes; Jochen Garbsch interpreted it as a military decoration. He did not find the size of the object problematic, believing that the Romans decorated auxiliary soldiers with single *torques* and that the cavalrymen in *alae* wore this decoration around the neck.²⁰³

The object is not solid and is made of ‘tinned sheet bronze’. Both terminals and half of the body survive, which indicates it was made as a single, roughly circular piece. It is round-sectioned and of an even thickness of around 13 mm thick. The terminals in the shape of a lion’s head were separately made. Each of the terminals has a loop at the end; inserted into the loops were the hooks of a 32 mm long and flat connecting element.²⁰⁴ In reconstruction, the internal size of the torc is roughly 117 × 123 mm, external 147 × 153 mm.²⁰⁵

Upon discovery, the archaeologists investigated the immediate surroundings (2 × 2 m) and found a ‘pit’ (it was Garbsch who used quotation marks) 0.2 m below the surface. The ‘pit’ held seven coins (the last one minted between AD 233 and 235) and many other objects;²⁰⁶ those associated with the army comprise

measuring spot no.	description of the measured spot	Cu	Zn	Ag	Sn	Pb
1	patina and shiny golden surface on a terminal	80.5	18.0	0.15	1.2	0.17
2	patina on the body	83.0	15.6	0.00	1.1	0.26
3/1	grey substance in the hole of a terminal	73.7	13.0	0.14	12.3	0.89
3/2	grey substance in the hole of a terminal	75.1	13.1	0.00	11.1	0.67
4/1	square-sectioned pin	83.5	14.6	0.52	1.1	0.24
4/2	square-sectioned pin	83.2	14.9	0.55	1.1	0.24
5	dark surface next to the pin of a terminal (cf. Spot 11)	84.2	14.3	0.34	1.1	0.17
6	rivet	79.4	19.1	0.00	1.5	0.06
7	rivet	79.7	18.7	0.00	1.5	0.08
8	patina on the body	81.5	17.0	0.00	1.3	0.25
9	patina and shiny golden surface on a terminal	82.3	16.8	0.00	0.70	0.18
10	patina	84.9	14.1	0.00	0.77	0.25
11	dark surface next to the hole of a terminal (cf. Spot 5)	86.7	11.6	0.36	1.1	0.21

Table 3
Results of XRF analyses for select spots on the surface of the torc from Magdalensberg, given in mass per cent. The number of given digits is in accordance with the accuracy of the measurement.

201 Cf. above, Note 188.

202 Scott 2002, 27–32; Papadopoulou, Vassiliou 2021; Zhou, Ogle 2018.

203 Garbsch (1983 and 1986) did not mention the book that Maxfield published in 1981, which suggests he was unfamiliar with it. He also did not state how the object came to be found; we presume it was a stray find.

204 Garbsch 1986, 334–336, Fig. 2: 2, Pl. 15: 1.

205 Garbsch 1983, Fig. 69: 1; Garbsch 1986, 334–336, Fig. 2: 2, Pl. 15: 1.

206 Garbsch 1983, 108, 109. It seems it was not clear whether they were dealing with a pit or with the greater depth of the cultural layer in this spot (*Absenkung der Kulturschicht*).

Preglednica 3

Rezultati meritev na izbranih mestih površine torkvesa s Štalenske gore, izraženi v masnih %. Število podanih mest se ujema z natančnostjo meritve.

mesto meritve	opis mesta meritve	Cu	Zn	Ag	Sn	Pb
1	patina in zlato sijoč del površine na odebeljenem zaključku	80,5	18,0	0,15	1,2	0,17
2	patina na loku	83,0	15,6	0,00	1,1	0,26
3/1	siva snov v vdolbini stične ploskve zaključka torkvesa	73,7	13,0	0,14	12,3	0,89
3/2	siva snov v vdolbini stične ploskve zaključka torkvesa	75,1	13,1	0,00	11,1	0,67
4/1	zatič kvadratnega preseka	83,5	14,6	0,52	1,1	0,24
4/2	zatič kvadratnega preseka	83,2	14,9	0,55	1,1	0,24
5	temna površina na stični ploskvi zaključka torkvesa ob zatiču (prim. mesto 11)	84,2	14,3	0,34	1,1	0,17
6	zakovica	79,4	19,1	0,00	1,5	0,06
7	zakovica	79,7	18,7	0,00	1,5	0,08
8	patina na loku	81,5	17,0	0,00	1,3	0,25
9	patina in zlato sijoč del površine na odebeljenem zaključku	82,3	16,8	0,00	0,70	0,18
10	patina	84,9	14,1	0,00	0,77	0,25
11	temna površina na stični ploskvi zaključka torkvesa ob vdolbini (prim. mesto 5)	86,7	11,6	0,36	1,1	0,21

Meritev temnosive patine na razmeroma ravnih ploskvah odebeljenih zaključkov (mesti 5, 11) prav tako govori za čisto medenino. Enako velja za zatič v odebeljenem zaključku torkvesa (meritvi 4/1, 4/2) in za zakovico, ki spenja polovici torkvesa (mesti 6, 7). Precej višji delež kositra (11–12 %), izmerjen na sivi površini vdolbine ploskve drugega odebeljenega zaključka (meritvi 3/1, 3/2), kaže, da gre verjetno za spajko iz kositra.

5.2.3 Torkves iz Dambacha

V vikusu ob kastelu avksiliarnih enot v Dambachu (Bavarska, Nemčija) ob retijskem limesu so našli delno ohranjen predmet (sl. 5.2: 3); Jochen Garbsch je menil, da je rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves. Pri tem ga ni motila velikost predmeta, saj naj bi po njegovem prepričanju Rimljani avksiliarne vojake odlikovali s po enim torkvesom in konjeniki v alah to odlikovanje nosili okoli vratu.²⁰³

Predmet je iz »pokositrene bronaste« pločevine in votel. Ohranjena sta oba zaključka torkvesa in polovica obroča, ki je bil iz enega kosa ter približno krožne oblike. Je enakomerno debel; premer preseka je okoli 13 mm. Zaključka imata videz levje glave; narejena sta bila posebej in nataknjena na obroč torkvesa. Na koncu zaključkov sta obročka; vanju sta zatakneni zanki 32 mm dolgega ploščatega povezovalnega elementa.²⁰⁴ Njegove rekonstruirane notranje mere so okoli 117 × 123 mm, zunanje pa 147 × 153 mm.²⁰⁵

203 Zdi se, da Garbsch (1983 in 1986) ni poznal monografije Valerie Maxfield 1981, saj je ne omenja. Prav tako ne pojasni, kako so predmet našli – domnevamo, da gre za slučajno najdbo.

204 Garbsch 1986, 334–336, sl. 2: 2, t. 15: 1.

205 Garbsch 1983, sl. 69: 1; Garbsch 1986, 334–336, sl. 2: 2, t. 15: 1.

Po odkritju predmeta so arheologi raziskali neposredno okolico (2 × 2 m) in 0,2 m pod površino ugotovili »jamo« (navednice je uporabil Garbsch). V njej so našli sedem novcev (najmlajšega so skovali med letoma 233 in 235) in številne druge predmete;²⁰⁶ z vojsko je povezan zaključek nožnice meča²⁰⁷ ter morda okrogel predmet z reliefno okrašenim »bronastim« sprednjim delom in železno podlago, ki ga je Garbsch opredelil kot vojaško odlikovanje falera.²⁰⁸ Novci kažejo, da je »jama« nastala po koncu prve tretjine 3. stoletja, kar pa ne določa nujno datacije torkvesa.

Splošen videz in zaključka v obliki živalskih glav predmet povezujejo z upodobitvijo odlikovanja torkves na nagrobnikih sl. 4.3, 4.14, 4.25. Notranji premer predmeta je na zgornji meji, ki jo domnevamo za odlikovanje torkves.²⁰⁹

5.3 »Torkves« iz Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshofa

V vili rustiki Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshof, ki je 8 km oddaljena od kastela ale v Biriciani/Weißenburgu (Nemčija) ob retijskem limesu ter iz časa med poznorajansko-hadrijansko dobo in vpadom Alanov leta 233 po Kr., so našli votel predmet sl. 5.5. Odkrili so ga v glavni stavbi, na stopnicah (ali rampi), ki so vodile k atriju, v plasti, ki je verjetno nastala po uničenju naselja. Domnevajo, da vsebuje predmete, ki

206 Garbsch 1983, 108, 109. Zdi se, da ni bilo jasno, ali gre za vkop (jamo) ali za na tem mestu globljo kulturno plast (»Absenkung der Kulturschicht«).

207 Garbsch 1983, 108 (brez ilustracije).

208 Garbsch 1983, 108, sl. 69: 6. Opredelitev predmeta, ki bi lahko bil npr. okov pohišva, bi zahtevala poglobljeno obravnavo.

209 Speidel 1996, 239, sl. 2.

the chape of a sword scabbard²⁰⁷ and possibly a round object with relief decoration on the 'bronze' front part over an iron backing, which Garbsch believed to be a *phalera*.²⁰⁸ The coins suggest the 'pit' was created after the end of the first third of the 3rd century, though this is not necessarily the dating of the *torques*.

The general appearance and animal head terminals tie the object to the depictions of *torques* on the funerary monuments shown in Figs 4.3, 4.14, 4.25. Its internal diameter is on the upper limit of the size presumed for this military decoration.²⁰⁹

5.3 'Torc' from Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshof

The hollow object in Fig. 5.5 was unearthed in the countryside villa at Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshof, at a distance of 8 km from the fort of *Biriciana*/Weißenburg (Germany), along the Rhaetian limes, which was in use between the Late Trajanic/Hadrianic period and the incursion of the Alamanni in AD 233. The object was found inside the main building of the fort, on the staircase (or ramp) leading to the atrium, in a layer that was probably deposited after the destruction of the settlement. The layer presumably contained objects that slid down from the atrium,²¹⁰ including the rear part of a parade helmet.²¹¹

The torc is made of roughly a millimetre thick sheet of 'gilded bronze' curved so as to taper evenly and markedly from one end, where the roughly 28 mm wide opening is closed off with the insertion of a separately made lion-head terminal, to the other end where the metal sheet is rolled into a roughly 2.8 mm thick wire that is bent down; its end is perhaps broken off. The object is decorated with (probably embossed) droplets arranged in three longitudinal lines. The longitudinal edges of the sheet meet and slightly overlap along the internal curve.²¹²

In the publication, the object is interpreted as a military decoration, i.e. half of a *torques*.²¹³

Indeed, the relief decoration closely resembles that of the *torques* carved on the tombstone of centurion

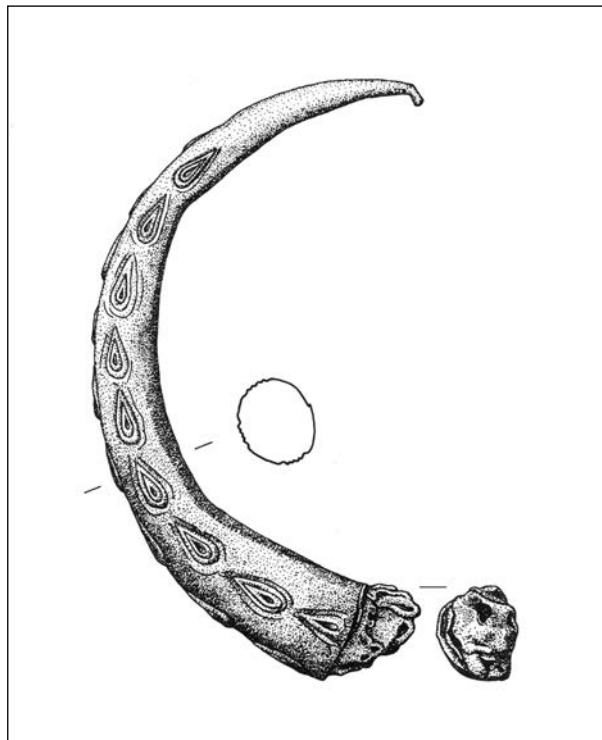


Figure 5.5
'Torc' from Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshof. From Grabert, Koch 1986, Fig. 2. Scale 1 : 2.

Slika 5.5
»Torkves« iz Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshofa (Nemčija). Iz Grabert, Koch 1986, sl. 2. Merilo 1 : 2.

Marcus Caelius (*List 2: No. 15; Fig. 4.15*). However, we find such an interpretation problematic in that the very thin end prevents a reconstruction as a stiff torc. It rather suggests a flexible, two-piece penannular body, which is incompatible with a *torques* as a military decoration. Such an object would not be stiff and, as such, could be worn in pairs below the collar bones (for the latter, it would also likely be too large).²¹⁴

5.4 Celtic torcs

5.4.1 Torc from Chassenard

The cremation burial of a mounted warrior, buried around AD 40 at Chassenard (France) and discovered in 1874, contained goods that include a well-preserved two-piece torc of 'gilded bronze' (*Fig. 5.6: 1*).²¹⁵ It is almost complete, only missing one of the expanded terminals. The two halves of the torc are linked via a hook at one end that catches a bar at the other end; the junction is covered with a round, movable collar. The body is rectangular-sectioned; it is unclear from the publication whether it is solid or hollow. The torc measures 170 mm in external and around 140 mm in internal diameter.²¹⁶

207 Garbsch 1983, 108 (without illustration).

208 Garbsch 1983, 108, Fig. 69: 6. The identification of this object, which could also be a furniture fitting, would require an in-depth discussion.

209 Speidel 1996, 239, Fig. 2.

210 Grabert, Koch 1986, 325, 326, Fig. 1.

211 Grabert, Koch 1986, 330–332, Pl. 14: 1.

212 Grabert, Koch 1986, 323–327, Fig. 2, Pl. 14: 2.

213 Grabert, Koch 1986.

214 The reconstructed internal diameter of such an object would measure around 13 cm, the external roughly 16–18 cm (estimated according to Grabert, Koch 1986, 327, Fig. 2. The scale of the reconstruction in Springer 1993, 266, Fig. 2 is inaccurate (torc is larger).

215 Beck, Chew 1991, 15–18, 24.

216 Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, Cat. No. 33. The details of how the two halves were connected are not clear in the publication.

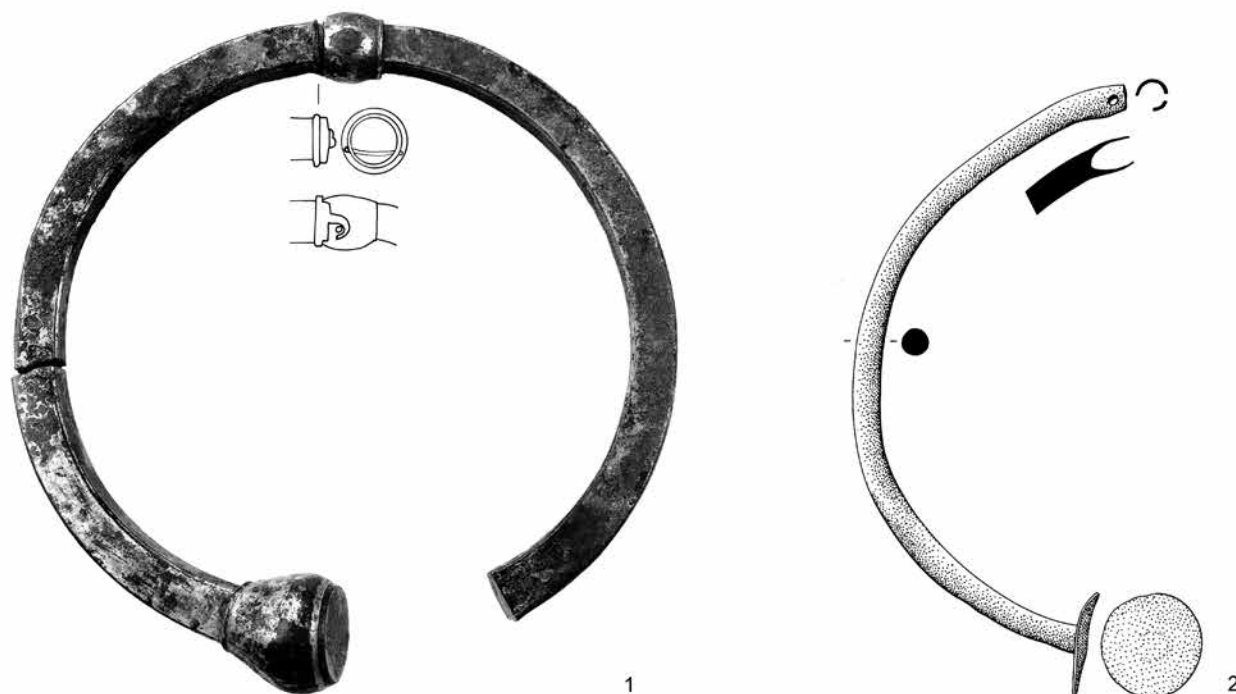


Figure 5.6

Torcs that are likely items of Celtic male jewellery: Chassenard (1), Alesia (2), Basel (3), Benwell (4). From: 1) Beck, Chew 1991, Fig. on pp. 68, 69; 2) Brouquier-Reddé, Deyber 2001, Pl. 93: 75; 3) Ohnsorg 2004, Pl. 11: 2510; 4) Maxfield 1974, Pl. 1.

Slika 5.6

Torkvesi, ki so verjetno keltske moške ovratnice: 1) Chassenard (Francija), 2) Alezija (Francija), 3) Basel (Švica), 4) Benwell (Anglija). Iz: 1) Beck, Chew 1991, sl. na str. 68, 69; 2) Brouquier-Reddé, Deyber 2001, t. 93: 75; 3) Ohnsorg 2004, t. 11: 2510; 4) Maxfield 1974, t. 1.



so zdrseli iz višje ležečega atrija.²¹⁰ Poleg tega predmeta je bil v njej med drugim zadnji del paradne čelade.²¹¹

Predmet je iz okoli milimeter debele »pozlačene bronzaste« pločevine, ki je zvita tako, da se enakomerno in izrazito širi od sredine proti koncu – tam so nastalo odprtino zaprli s posebej narejenim zaključkom v obliki levje glave. Na drugem koncu je pločevina zvita v okoli 2,8 mm debelo žico, ki je zavita navzdol in odlomljena. Pozlačeno površino krasi – verjetno s spodnje strani (oziroma notranje, po zvitju pločevine)

iztolčen – reliefen okras v obliki »kapljic«, nanizanih v treh vzdolžnih vrstah. Podolžni stranici pločevine se stikata in malo prekrivata na notranji krivini.²¹²

Predmet so v objavi razložili kot polovico rimskega vojaškega odlikovanja torkves.²¹³

Čeprav je reliefni okras predmeta po videzu zelo podoben okrasu torkvesov na nagrobniku centuriona Marka Celija (*seznam 2: št. 15; sl. 4.15*), imamo ob taki interpretaciji velik pomislek. Tanek

²¹⁰ Grabert, Koch 1986, 325, 326, sl. 1.

²¹¹ Grabert, Koch 1986, 330–332, t. 14: 1.

²¹² Grabert, Koch 1986, 323–327, sl. 2, t. 14: 2.

²¹³ Grabert, Koch 1986.

Its appearance points to a dating to the final period of Celtic independence in Gaul. The authors of the first publication do not doubt that the horseman wore it around his neck but, at the same time, believe it was a Roman military decoration rather than the jewellery of a Celtic soldier or dignitary. This is based on the premise (for which no convincing arguments are given) that when this type of torc was in use, they were no longer the adornments of Celtic warriors and dignitaries, only of divinities²¹⁷ (cf. Chapter 6.4).

In addition to the torc, the grave also held the face part of an iron cavalry helmet, a Mainz type sword, brass buckle and fittings of a military belt, iron chain-mail, two bronze strigils, at least three coins (one Celtic and two Roman minted in AD 37), four iron dies for producing Roman coins such as were minted in Lyon (one narrowly dated to the reign of Tiberius), bronze vessels and other goods.²¹⁸ All the pieces of military equipment are Roman. The precious grave goods indicate that the deceased held a high rank in the Roman army.²¹⁹

The torc corresponds in both appearance and size with the Celtic torcs that were worn around the neck. In addition, placing weapons in graves is not a Roman custom and rather points to a non-Roman origin of the deceased.²²⁰ This leads to the conclusion that the object in *Fig. 5.6: 1* is the neck jewellery of a soldier of non-Roman origin, likely closely associated with the Roman army.

5.4.2 Torc from Alesia

The two-piece 'bronze' torc from Alesia (Alise-Sainte-Reine, France), of which less than half survives (*Fig. 5.6: 2*), shows that the two pieces were connected directly or via an intermediate piece²²¹ with a mortise-and-tenon fastening. The context does not indicate whether the object was Celtic or Roman, but it most likely dates to the time of the Roman siege of Alesia in 52 BC.

The reconstructed internal diameter of the torc measures around 140 mm. The body is solid, round-sectioned, and around 7 mm thick. The very thin disc

ends (only one survives) probably continued into a decorative terminal attached with soldering.²²²

The size of the torc indicates it was worn around the neck; we presume it was the torc of one of the men who defended the fortified settlement on Alesia.

5.4.3 Torc from Basel

A fragment of a torc came to light in an Early-Middle Augustan pit on Münsterhügel in Basel (Switzerland). It is round-sectioned (measuring 156 mm in reconstructed external and roughly 150 mm in internal diameter), has a mortise-and-tenon joint and is made of 'gilded brass' (*Fig. 5.6: 3*).²²³ The hill of Münsterhügel held a Celtic oppidum, in which a small unit of Roman cavalry was likely stationed at this time.

Similar objects, with a mortise-and-tenon joint, are known from Celtic sites, for example from Manching, where they were interpreted as torcs.²²⁴ A recent publication, however, shows that bronze rings with this kind of fastening served as bridles in the Late Iron Age; they commonly measure around 10 cm in diameter but can be larger and are thus (unless the interpretation is based on context) not reliably distinguishable from torcs.²²⁵

The appearance, diameter and 'gilded brass' of the torc from Basel support the opinion of Deschler-Erb, who sees it as a torc worn (around the neck) by a horseman of non-Roman origin, who served in an auxiliary unit of the Roman army.²²⁶

5.4.4 Torc from Benwell

The 'bronze' two-piece beaded torc (*Fig. 5.6: 4*; internal diameter just over 12 cm) from the Roman fort at Benwell, on Hadrian's Wall, has been interpreted as a Roman military decoration in its first publication.

Speaking against such interpretation is primarily its decoration and method of closing (with a short segment terminating at both ends in a mortise that

217 Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, 106, Cat. No. 33.

218 Beck, Chew 1991, Cat. Nos 1, 9–13, 18, 19, 24, 36–49.

219 Beck, Chew 1991, 105, 106.

220 Istenič 2013, 26. The opinion of Beck and Chew (1991, 105), that the weapons could have been placed into the grave because the relatives of the deceased were unable to sell them, does not seem convincing.

221 Cf. Bretz-Mahler 1971, Pl. 51: 1.

222 Brouquier-Reddé, Deyber 2001, 300, Pl. 93: 75; Vercingétorix et Alésia 1994, Cat. No. 286.

223 Ohnsorg 2004, 64–68, Pl. 11: 2510; Deschler-Erb 2011, 11–13, 240–245, Fig. 273: 33, Fig. 274: 33.

224 Van Endert 1991, 3, Pl. 1.

225 Groppo, Vassallo 2020, 10–16, Fig. 14: B, Table 1: Nos 6, 7, 9–11, 15–22, 24, 25, 29, 35, 37, 41, 42, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 60, 62.

226 Deschler-Erb 2011, 242–245, Fig. 274: 33.

zaključek predmeta namreč ne kaže toge povezave z drugo polovico domnevne celote, ampak si lahko predstavljamo le gibljivo povezavo, ta pa z vojaškim odlikovanjem torkves ni združljiva. Tak predmet bi imel namreč razklenjena odebeljena zaključka in gibljiv stik dveh polovic, zato ne bi bil tog in ne bi bil uporaben kot vojaško odlikovanje, ki so ga v paru nosili pod ključnicama, za to bi bil verjetno tudi prevelik.²¹⁴

5.4 Torkvesi – keltske ovratnice

5.4.1 Torkves v grobu bojnika iz Chassenarda

V leta 1874 odkritem žarnem grobu oboroženega konjenika, pokopanega okoli leta 40 po Kr. pri kraju Chassenard (Francija), so med drugim našli dobro ohranjeno »pozlačeno bronasto« dvodelno ovratnico (*sl. 5.6: 1*).²¹⁵ Manjka ji le odebeljen zaključek na eni strani. Ovratnico sestavljata dve polovici, ki sta speti tako, da zanka (kljukica) na koncu ene polovice objema prečko na drugi polovici, obe pa prekriva »manšeta« krožnega preseka. Presek obroča ovratnice je pravokoten; iz objave ni jasno, ali je masiven ali votel. Zunanji premer ovratnice je 170 mm, notranji pa okoli 140 mm.²¹⁶

Ovratnica po videzu sodi med torkvese iz zaključnega obdobja keltske neodvisnosti v Galiji. Avtorja objave ne dvomita o tem, da je konjenik predmet nosil okoli vratu, vendar se jima zdi verjetneje, da gre za rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves kot pa za nakit keltskega vojščaka ali odličnika. K temu ju je navedla predpostavka (za katero nista navedla prepričljivih argumentov), da od pojava tipa torkvesov, ki mu pripada primerek iz Chassenarda, torkves ni bil več nakit keltskih bojnikov in odličnikov, ampak le še okras božanstev²¹⁷ (prim. pogl. 6.4).

Poleg torkvesa so bili v grobu obrazni del konjeniške železne čelade, meč tipa Mainz, medeninasta spona in okovi vojaškega pasu, železen verižni oklep, dva bronasta strigila, najmanj trije novci (en keltski in dva rimska, skovana leta 37 po Kr.), štirje železni pečatniki za izdelavo rimskih novcev, ki so jih kovali v Lyonu (eden je ožje datiran: Tiberijeva vladavina), bronaste

posode ter drugi predmeti.²¹⁸ Vsa vojaška oprema je rimska. Dragoceni predmeti iz groba nakazujejo visok položaj pokojnika v rimski vojski.²¹⁹

Ovratnica po videzu in velikosti ustreza keltskim torkvesom, ki so jih nosili okoli vratu. Poleg tega daje nje orožja v grobove ni rimski običaj in kaže na nerimski izvor pokojnika.²²⁰ Našteto nas navaja k sklepu, da je predmet *sl. 5.6: 1* ovratnica bojnika nerimskega izvora, ki je bil verjetno tesno povezan z rimsko vojsko.

5.4.2 Torkves iz Alezije

Malo manj kot polovica dvodelnega »bronastega« torkvesa iz Alezije (Alise-Sainte-Reine, Francija; *sl. 5.6: 2*) nakazuje, da jo je z drugo polovico, neposredno ali prek vmesnega dela,²²¹ povezoval vtični stik z zakovico. Iz najdiščnih okoliščin ni mogoče sklepati, ali gre za keltski ali rimski predmet, najverjetneje pa je iz časa rimskega obleganja Alezije leta 52 pr. Kr.

Notranji premer rekonstruiranega torkvesa je okoli 140 mm. Njegov obroč je debel okoli 7 mm in ima poln (masiven) okrogel presek. Na izrazito tanka krožna zaključka (ohranjen je le eden) je bil verjetno prispajkan okras.²²²

Velikost torkvesa kaže na nošenje okoli vratu; domnevamo, da gre za ovratnico enega izmed branilcev utrjenega naselja v Aleziji.

5.4.3 Torkves iz Basla

V zgodnje- do srednjeavgustejski jami na Münsterhüglu v Baslu (Švica) so našli odlomek predmeta (rekonstruiran zunanji premer je 156 mm, notranji pa okoli 150 mm) okroglega preseka z vtičnim stikom iz »pozlačene medenine« (*sl. 5.6: 3*). V tem času je bil na Münsterhüglu keltski opidum, v katerem je bila verjetno nameščena manjša rimska konjeniška vojaška enota.²²³

214 Rekonstruiran notranji premer takega predmeta bi bil okoli 13 cm, zunanji pa okoli 16 do 18 cm. Ocenjeno glede na Grabert, Koch 1986, 327, sl. 2. Merilo v Springer 1993, 266, sl. 2 prikazane rekonstrukcije ni pravilno (torkves je večji).

215 Beck, Chew 1991, 15–18, 24.

216 Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, kat. št. 33. Podrobnosti povezave obeh polovic torkvesa iz objave niso razumljive.

217 Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, 106, kat. št. 33.

218 Beck, Chew 1991, kat. št. 1, 9–13, 18, 19, 24, 36–49.

219 Beck, Chew 1991, 105, 106.

220 Istenič 2013, 26. Mnenje Françoise Beck in Héléne Chew (1991, 105), da je vzrok za orožje v grobu lahko ta, da sorodniki pokojnega vojne opreme niso mogli prodati, se nam ne zdi prepričljivo.

221 Prim. Bretz-Mahler 1971, t. 51: 1.

222 Brouquier-Reddé, Deyber 2001, 300, t. 93: 75; Vercingétorix et Alésia 1994, kat. št. 286.

223 Ohnsorg 2004, 64–68, t. 11: 2510; Deschler-Erb 2011, 11–13, 240–245, sl. 273: 33, sl. 274: 33.

corresponded with the tenons at both ends of the longer segment), which closely correspond with the non-Roman torcs from the wider area of the site dating between the second half of the 1st century and the mid-2nd century.²²⁷ There is also the fact that the Roman soldiers in the fort included few with the status of Roman citizens, as it was normally garrisoned by auxiliary troops.²²⁸ In addition, no similar object can be found among the depictions of *torques*.

The torc found in the Roman fort at Benwell is thus most likely non-Roman neck jewellery that could easily have found its way into a Roman fort as plunder, by trade or as the personal possession of one of the auxiliaries, the bulk of whom would be native Celts.²²⁹

5.5 Pair of gold torcs from Petescia

In 1876, a 'hoard'²³⁰ of finger rings and other valuables from the Late Hellenistic, Late Republican and Early Imperial periods came to light at Petescia, in central Italy, in a poorly known context. The objects include two gold torcs (Fig. 5.7), which are now lost and only survive in photographs and descriptions.²³¹

The published photograph and description reveal that the torcs were hollow and composed of two halves bearing relief decoration. The two halves have a lion-head terminal at one end and evenly taper toward the other end that terminates in a loop. The published torc measured 150 mm in external and an estimated 127 mm × 109 mm in internal diameter.



In relief decoration and in form, which tapers from the animal-head terminals towards the loops, the two objects from Petescia are similar to the depiction of *torques* on the cenotaph of Marcus Caelius (Fig. 4.15). This and the fact that the 'hoard' contained a pair of torcs and two pairs of bracelets (the same in form as the torcs, but much smaller, with an external diameter of 60 mm)²³² speaks in favour of the interpretation of the objects as military decorations, i.e. *torques* and *armillae*.²³³ However, the torcs from Petescia are much slenderer than the *torques* depicted on the cenotaph of Marcus Caelius. Moreover, they are gold and also hollow, hence prone to deformation when not carefully handled. Therefore, we think it more likely that the two torcs are (Hellenistic?) female jewellery, though we cannot offer close parallels for such an adornment.

Figure 5.7
Neck jewellery from the 'hoard' (reportedly found at Petescia, Italy) of gold and other precious items. From Greifenhagen 1970, Pl. 58: 3. Scale 1 : 2.

Slika 5.7
Vratni nakit iz »zaklada« (najdenega pri kraju Petescia? v Italiji) zlatih in drugih dragocenih predmetov. Iz Greifenhagen 1970, t. 58: 3. Merilo 1 : 2.

227 Maxfield 1974, 41–47, Pl. 1: 1. Such a method of closing already occurs on Early La Tène torcs: Bretz-Mahler 1971, Pl. 51: 1.

228 Maxfield 1981, 54.

229 Maxfield 1974; Maxfield 1981, 54.

230 Greifenhagen 1970, 77–83. Figs 65–69, Pl. VII, Pls 57–61. The word 'hoard' is given in quotation marks as we are not certain that the objects inventoried together with the torcs really do represent a hoard.

231 Greifenhagen 1970, 58, Pl. 58: 3.

232 Greifenhagen 1970, 58, Pl. 58: 2; Springer 1993, 269–271, Fig. 4.

233 Springer 1993, 270, 271.

Podobne predmete, vendar z zakovanim vtičnim stikom, poznamo s keltskih najdišč, npr. iz Manchinga, kjer so jih interpretirali kot ovratnice.²²⁴ Nedavna objava kaže, da so bili bronasti obroči z enakim zapiranjem v mlajši železni dobi konjske brzde; njihov premer je običajno okoli 10 cm, a je izjemoma večji, zato jih – če interpretacija ne izhaja iz najdiščnih okoliščin – ni mogoče zanesljivo razlikovati od ovratnic.²²⁵

Pri ovratnici iz Basla videz, premer in »pozlačena medenina« govori v prid mnenju Deschler-Erba, da gre za ovratnico, ki jo je (okoli vratu) nosil konjenik nerimskega izvora iz avksiliarne enote.²²⁶

5.4.4 Torkves iz Benwella

Dvodelen »bronast« torkves (sl. 5.6: 4; notranji premer dobrih 12 cm) iz rimske utrdbe Benwell ob Hadrijanovem zidu so v prvi objavi interpretirali kot rimsko odlikovanje.

Proti mnenju, da je ovratnica iz Benwella rimsko odlikovanje, govori predvsem dejstvo, da njen okras in način zapiranja (vtiča na obeh koncih manjšega dela obroča sta sedla v luknji na obeh koncih večjega dela obroča) dobro ustrezata nerimskim ovratnicam širšega območja najdišča med drugo polovico 1. in sredino 2. st.²²⁷ ter da je bilo med rimskimi vojaki v utrdbi malo takih s statusom rimskega državljana, saj so bile v njej večino časa nastanjene pomožne enote.²²⁸ Poleg tega med upodobitvami rimskih odlikovanj ni podobnega predmeta.

V rimski utrdbi Benwell najdeni torkves je torej verjetno nerimski vratni nakit; v rimski utrdbi se je lahko znašel, ker ga je nosil tam nastanjeni vojak (med njimi so prevladovali domačini) ali pa je bil vojaški plen.²²⁹

5.5 Par zlatih torkvesov iz Petescie

Pri kraju Petescia v srednji Italiji so leta 1876 v slabo poznanih okoliščinah našli »zaklad«²³⁰ prstanov in drugih dragocenih predmetov iz pozne helenistične, s konca republikanske in iz zgodnjecesarke dobe. Med njimi sta bila dva zlata torkvesa (sl. 5.7), ki sta izgubljeni, ohranili pa so se njihovi opisi in fotografije.²³¹

Iz objavljene fotografije in opisa izhaja, da sta bila torkvesa votla, sestavljena iz dveh polovic z reliefno okrašeno površino. Polovici sta bili na enem koncu ozki in sta se zaključili z zanko, proti drugemu koncu sta se enakomerno razširili in se zaključili v obliki levje glave. Zunanji premer objavljenega torkvesa je bil 150 mm, notranji premer pa smo ocenili na 127 × 109 mm.

Po reliefnem okrasu in obliki, ki se debeli proti zaključkom v obliki živalske glave, sta predmeta iz Petescie podobna upodobitvi torkvesov na kenotafu Marka Celija (sl. 4.15). To in pa dejstvo, da so bili v »zakladu« par torkvesov in dva para zapestnic (so enakega videza kot torkvesa, a bistveno manjše – njihov zunanji premer je bil 60 mm),²³² govori v prid mnenju, da gre za vojaška odlikovanja torkves in *armillae*.²³³ Vendar proti taki interpretaciji govori dejstvo, da je presek torkvesov iz Petescie bistveno ožji in da sta nežnejša kot tisti na kenotafu Marka Celija. Poleg tega sta zlata in votla, zato bi se ob nepazljivi uporabi verjetno zlahka deformirala. Zdi se nam torej verjetneje, da je to (helenistični?) ženski nakit, čeprav ne poznamo dobrih primerjav.

224 Van Endert 1991, 3, t. 1.

225 Groppo, Vassallo 2020, 10–16, sl. 14: B, pregl. 1: št. 6, 7, 9–11, 15–22, 24, 25, 29, 35, 37, 41, 42, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 60, 62.

226 Deschler-Erb 2011, 242–245, sl. 274: 33.

227 Maxfield 1974, 41–47, t. 1: 1. Enak način zapiranja imajo že zgodnjelatenski torkvesi: Bretz-Mahler 1971, t. 51: 1.

228 Maxfield 1981, 54.

229 Maxfield 1974; Maxfield 1981, 54.

230 Greifenhagen 1970, 77–83. sl. 65–69, t. VII, t. 57–61. Besedo »zaklad« pišemo v navednicah, ker se nam ne zdi zanesljivo, da gre pri predmetih, ki so jih inventarizirali skupaj s torkvesoma, res za zaklad.

231 Greifenhagen 1970, 58, t. 58: 3.

232 Greifenhagen 1970, 58, t. 58: 2; Springer 1993, 269–271, sl. 4.

233 Springer 1993, 270, 271.

6

Decorating with a single *torques* in the Principate

The fundamental study of the Roman military decorations, which Valerie Maxfield published in 1981, showed that the Romans, during the Principate up to the early 3rd century, as a rule awarded *torques* in pairs and wore them on the chest below the collar bones.²³⁴ In spite of this, the idea that occasionally (but persistently) appears in literature published after 1981 is that awarding a single *torques* worn around the neck was also practised,²³⁵ especially in honouring cavalrymen.²³⁶

This chapter presents the literary, epigraphic, and pictorial evidence that might speak in favour of decorating with a single *torques* but also discusses other arguments that authors put forward to support such practice.

6.1 Literary evidence

During the Principate, decoration with a single *torques* is only mentioned in a single credible literary source. We learn from Tacitus' *Annales* that the Romans awarded a single *torques*, alongside other decorations, to Arminius' brother Flavus.²³⁷

Flavus was Cheruscan by birth. After the Romans had defeated the Cherusicans, he joined the Roman army (likely during Tiberius' first campaign in Germania in AD 4). He was probably a cavalryman (as was his brother Arminius) and became a Roman citizen.²³⁸

Tacitus mentions the number of awarded *torques* in another passage of the *Annales*. He writes that, during Tiberius' reign, an ordinary infantryman, Helvius

Rufus, received *torques* (plural form),²³⁹ i.e. probably a pair of *torques*.²⁴⁰

For the Republican period, literary sources reveal that a cavalry commander was awarded five *torques* in the last years of Caesar's reign.²⁴¹

6.2 Epigraphic evidence

Four inscriptions from *List 1* relate the decoration with a single *torques*. They refer to awards bestowed in 89/88 BC (*No. 43*), between AD 165 and the end of the 2nd century (*No. 100*), between AD 198 and 211 (*No. 105*) and after the change in the decoration system in the early 3rd century (*No. 106*).²⁴² Of these, two (*Nos 100, 105*) date to the period of the established system of military decorations spanning the Imperial period to the early 3rd century.

One is the inscribed upper part of a votive aedicula (*List 1: No. 100; List 2: No. 33*), now lost. It is known from a poor-quality photograph showing the front side (*Fig. 4.33*)²⁴³ and from a description published in 1913.²⁴⁴ The upper part (with all three corners missing) measured 110 cm in length and 45 cm in height.

The inscription is carved in a sunken *tabula ansata*. The first line, which originally probably held the dedication to a divinity, was erased and replaced by the number of years the dedicator spent in military service.

The inscription relates Gaius Titurnius Quartio as the person who fulfilled his vow, cavalryman in *legio III Gallica*. The emperors decorated him with a *torques*

234 Maxfield 1981, 88, 121, 122. Cf. Chapters 4.4, 4.5.

235 E.g. Springer 1993, 265, 266; Adler 2003, 40, 41, 135, 136; Adler 2019, 427, 435.

236 Garbsch 1983, 109; Garbsch 1986, 336; Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, Cat. No. 33.

237 See Chapter 2, Note 45.

238 Maxfield 1983, 145, Note 21; *RE* VI, 2, 2739, 2740 (entry: Flavus); Timpe 1994. Arminius 'attained the dignity of equestrian rank' (C. Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* II, 118, 2).

239 See Chapter 2, Note 46.

240 See Chapter 3.2.4.

241 See Chapter 2, Note 40.

242 See Chapters 3.2.1, 3.2.4.

243 Maxfield 1981, Pl. 9c (the same photograph is published in Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, No. 397).

244 Merlin 1913.

Odlikovanje z enim torkvesom v principatu

Temeljna obravnava rimskih vojaških odlikovanj Valerie Maxfield, objavljena leta 1981, je pokazala, da so Rimljani v principatu do začetka 3. st. torkvese praviloma podeljevali v paru in nosili nad prsmi.²³⁴ Kljub temu se v literaturi po letu 1981 pojavlja mnenje, da so Rimljani v tem času odlikovali tudi s po enim torkvesom, ki so ga nosili okoli vratu;²³⁵ najpogostejše je mišljenje, da so tako odlikovali konjenike.²³⁶

V nadaljevanju bomo povzeli, kaj o morebitnem odlikovanju z enim torkvesom izvemo iz literarnih virov, napisov in upodobitev na kamnitih spomenikih, ter kratko obravnavali druge argumente, ki jih navajajo v prid mnenju o odlikovanju z enim torkvesom.

6.1 Literarni viri

Odlikovanje z enim torkvesom v času principata izpričuje le en verodostojen literarni vir: iz Tacitovih Analov izvemo, da so Rimljani Arminijevega brata Flavusa med drugim odlikovali z enim torkvesom.²³⁷

Flavus je bil po rodu Herusk. Ko so Rimljani premagali Heruske, je (verjetno med prvim Tiberijevim vojaškim pohodom v Germanijo leta 4 po Kr.) vstopil v rimsko vojsko. Verjetno je bil – tako kot njegov brat Arminij – konjenik in je postal rimski državljani.²³⁸

Tacit je še na enem mestu, prav tako v Analih, omenil število podeljenih torkvesov v cesarski dobi. Zapisal je, da je za časa Tiberijeve vladavine navaden pešak Helvij Ruf (*Helvius Rufus*) prejel »torkvese« (množinska oblika),²³⁹ torej verjetno par torkvesov.²⁴⁰

²³⁴ Maxfield 1981, 88, 121, 122. Prim. pogl. 4.4, 4.5.

²³⁵ Npr. Springer 1993, 265, 266; Adler 2003, 40, 41, 135, 136; Adler 2019, 427, 435.

²³⁶ Garbsch 1983, 109; Garbsch 1986, 336; Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, kat. št. 33.

²³⁷ Glej pogl. 2, op. 45.

²³⁸ Maxfield 1983, 145, op. 21; *RE* VI, 2, 2739, 2740 (geslo: Flavus); Timpe 1994. Arminija so sprejeli med viteze (C. Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae Romanae* II, 118, 2).

²³⁹ Glej pogl. 2, op. 46.

²⁴⁰ Glej pogl. 3.2.4.

Za republikansko dobo literarni viri dajo en podatek: s petimi torkvesi so v zadnjih letih Cezarjeve dobe odlikovali konjeniškega poveljnika.²⁴¹

6.2 Epigrafski viri

Štirje napisi s seznama 1 govorijo o odlikovanju z enim torkvesom. Nanašajo se na odlikovanja leta 89/88 pr. Kr. (št. 43), med letom 165 in koncem 2. st po Kr. (št. 100), med letoma 198 in 211 po Kr. (št. 105) ter po spremembi sistema odlikovanj v začetku 3. st. (št. 106).²⁴² Iz obdobja uveljavljenega sistema vojaških odlikovanj v cesarski dobi do začetka 3. st. torej dva epigrafska spomenika (št. 100, 105) govorita o odlikovanju z enim torkvesom.

Ovršje edikule z napisom (seznam 1: št. 100; seznam 2: št. 33) je izgubljeno. Poznamo ga iz slabe fotografije, ki kaže sprednjo stran (sl. 4.33),²⁴³ in iz opisa iz leta 1913.²⁴⁴ Dolžina ovršja, ki je imelo odlomljene vse tri vogale, je merila 110 cm, višina pa 45 cm.

Napis je vklesan v poglobljeno polje, ki ima obliko tabule ansate. Prvo vrstico, v kateri je bilo prvotno verjetno posvetilo božanstvu, so odklesali in napisali število let vojaške službe dedikanta.

Iz napisa izvemo, da je svojo zaobljubo izpolnil konjenik v Tretji galski legiji Gaj Titurnij Kvartij (*Gaius Titurnius Quartio*), ki sta ga cesarja v vojni proti Partom odlikovala s torkvesom in armilama. Odlikovanje je prejel leta 165 ali 198.²⁴⁵ Med napisi na seznamu 1, ki govorijo o odlikovanju posameznikov s torkvesi v cesarski dobi, ta edini izraža odlikovanje na aktiven (*donaverunt*), in ne pasiven način (sl. 3.5).²⁴⁶

²⁴¹ Glej pogl. 2, op. 40.

²⁴² Glej pogl. 3.2.1, 3.2.4.

²⁴³ Maxfield 1981, t. 9c (ista fotografija je objavljena v Benzina Ben Abdallah 1986, št. 397).

²⁴⁴ Merlin 1913.

²⁴⁵ Glej seznam 1, op. 36.

²⁴⁶ Glej pogl. 3.2.3.

and a pair of *armillae* in AD 165 or 198 for his exploits in the war against the Parthians.²⁴⁵ It is the only inscription in *List 1*, mentioning individuals decorated with *torques* in the Imperial period, that expresses the act of bestowing the decoration in the active (*donaverunt*) rather than the passive voice (*Fig. 3.5*).²⁴⁶ The triangular space above the inscription holds a depiction of a *torques* flanked by an *armilla* on either side, as such corresponding with the number and type of decorations related in the inscription.

The honorific (?) inscription *No. 105* refers to a decoration awarded between AD 198 and 211²⁴⁷ and is likely the latest narrowly dated example of a decoration given according to the system in use until the early 3rd century.²⁴⁸ Decorating with a single *torques* (instead of a pair) and the absence of a pair of *armillae* and a set of *phalerae*²⁴⁹ can therefore be seen as a deviation from the established practise in a time just before a new system of military decorations came to be implemented.

It would thus appear that decorating with a single *torques* related in the epigraphic sources is linked either to a time before the practice of awarding a pair of *torques*, pair of *armillae*, and a set of *phalerae* (*No. 43*) was adopted or to a time when this custom was already disappearing (*Nos 100, 105*).

6.3 Pictorial evidence

In addition to the upper part of a votive aedicula (*No. 33*) mentioned above, single *torques* are depicted on three other stone monuments in *List 2*:

- building element without an inscription from the mid-1st century (*List 2: No. 27*),
- pedestal of an honorific statue or (funerary or votive) altar erected for Quintus Sulpicius Celsus from the Flavian (likely Vespasianic) period (*List 2: No. 25*),
- sarcophagus from the mid-2nd century (*List 2: No. 16*).

Monument *No. 27* (*Fig. 4.27*) bears a *torques* depicted with the terminals facing up, i.e. contrary to what is common on funerary monuments.²⁵⁰ It was part of a monumental public building, on which depictions of *torques*, Roman weapons and other pieces of military

equipment carry a meaning different from that on funerary monuments, where they are associated with a single individual. Therefore, the number of *torques* shown on the public building does not necessarily reflect the number of decorations awarded to an individual.

The monument of Quintus Sulpicius Celsus shows, on the right side, a single *torques*, a torso in a muscle cuirass, a sword in its scabbard, and a long staff with a *corona muralis* on top (*List 2: No. 25*). A standard (*vexillum*) and a praetorian *signum* are shown on the left side of the monument, indicating that Celsus, in his long military career from which he went on to become a high-ranking official in the city of Rome, reached the position of a praetorian prefect (*praefectus praetoriae*). The sword with an eagle-head pommel forms part of the outfit worn by army officers.²⁵¹

The monument thus depicts two decorations: a *torques* and a *corona muralis*. It differs from the usual depictions of *dona militaria* not only in the number of *torques* but also in:

1. the orientation of the *torques* – shown with terminals facing up,²⁵²
2. the absence of a pair of *armillae* and a set of *phalerae* that usually accompany a pair of *torques*²⁵³ and were awarded together/in sets,²⁵⁴
3. the combination of a *torques*, the decoration for soldiers of lower ranks (from ordinary soldiers to centurions),²⁵⁵ with a *corona muralis*, which from the early 1st century AD onwards could only be given to commanding officers from the rank of the centurion up,²⁵⁶
4. the disagreement between the decoration of *torques* and the high military positions of Quintus Sulpicius Celsus is stated in the surviving part of the inscription.

In our opinion, the enumerated differences suggest that monument *No. 25* was more likely an honorific than a funerary monument. In this case, it would be viewed similarly as *No. 27*, i.e. that the depictions on it (may) have a different meaning than that on funerary monuments, hence the number of depicted *torques* is not a direct reflection of the number of *torques* bestowed on an individual.

The sarcophagus of a *signifer cohortis praetoriae* born in Picenum, from the middle of the 2nd century

245 See *List 1*, Note 34.

246 See Chapter 3.2.3.

247 See *List 1*.

248 See Chapter 3.2.1.

249 See Chapter 3.2.5.

250 See Chapter 4.5.

251 Speidel 1994, 8, 9.

252 See Chapter 4.5.

253 See Chapter 4.7.

254 See Chapter 3.2.5.

255 See Chapter 3.2.2.

256 Maxfield 1981, 76–79.

V trikotnem prostoru nad napisom upodobljeni torkves in dve zapestnici potrjujejo v napisu sporočene podatke o vrsti in številu odlikovanj.

Počastitveni (?) napis št. 105 je povezan z med letoma 198 in 211 podeljenim odlikovanjem²⁴⁷ ter je verjetno najmlajši ozko datiran primer odlikovanja po sistemu, ki po začetku 3. st. ni bil več v veljavi.²⁴⁸ Odlikovanje z enim torkvesom (namesto para) ter odsotnost para armil in seta faler²⁴⁹ zato povezujemo z odstopanji od uveljavljene prakse v času tik pred prehodom v nov sistem odlikovanj.

Zdi se torej, da je v epigrafskih virih izpričano odlikovanje z enim torkvesom povezano s časom pred uveljavitvijo sistema odlikovanj s parom torkvesov, parom armil in setom faler (št. 43) ter s časom, ko se je ta sistem že razkrajal (št. 100, 105).

6.3 Upodobitve na kamnitih spomenikih

Med spomeniki na seznamu 2 en torkves, poleg ovršja edikule (št. 33), ki smo jo obravnavali v prejšnjem poglavju, kažejo trije primeri:

- gradbeni element brez napisa iz sredine 1. st. (seznam 2: št. 27),
- podstavek s počastitvenim napisom ali oltar (nagrobni ali votivni) za Kvinta Sulpicija Celza, flavijska (verjetno Vespazijanova) doba (seznam 2: št. 25),
- sarkofag iz sredine 2. st. (seznam 2: št. 16).

Torkves na spomeniku št. 27 (sl. 4.27) je upodobljen z zaključkoma zgoraj, torej obratno kot je običajno za upodobitve na nagrobnikih.²⁵⁰ Gre za del monumentalne javne stavbe, zato imajo upodobitev torkvesa, rimskega orožja in druge vojaške opreme na njem drug pomen kot na nagrobnikih, kjer so povezani z eno osebo. Število upodobljenih torkvesov torej v tem primeru ni nujno povezano s številom torkvesov, ki jih je dobil posameznik ob odlikovanju.

En torkves ter poleg njega torzo v muskulaturnem oklepu z mečem v nožnici in dolga palica z vencem (*corona muralis*) na vrhu so upodobljeni na desni strani spomenika Kvinta Sulpicija Celza (seznam 2: št. 25). Leva stran prikazuje prapor (*vexillum*) in pretorijanski *signum*, zato domnevamo, da je Kvint Sulpicij

247 Glej seznam 1.
248 Glej pogl. 3.2.1.
249 Glej pogl. 3.2.5.
250 Glej pogl. 4.5.

Celz v svoji vojaški karieri, ki jo je zaključil, preden je postal visok uradnik v mestu Rimu, dosegel položaj poveljnika pretorijanske straže (*praefectus praetoriae*). Zaključek ročaja meča v obliki orlove glave sodi k noši oficirjev.²⁵¹

Na spomeniku sta torej upodobljeni dve odlikovanji: tokves in *corona muralis*. Od običajnih prikazov odlikovanj se spomenik ne razlikuje le po številu torkvesov, ampak tudi po:

1. orientaciji torkvesa – upodobljen je z zaključkoma navzgor,²⁵²
2. odsotnosti para armil in seta faler, ki so praviloma upodobljeni ob paru torkvesov²⁵³ in so jih podeljevali skupaj oziroma v kompletih,²⁵⁴
3. kombinaciji odlikovanja torkves, s katerim so odlikovali vojake nizkih činov (od navadnih vojakov do vključno centuriona),²⁵⁵ z odlikovanjem *corona muralis*, ki so ga po začetku 1. st. po Kr. lahko prejeli le poveljniki od vključno centuriona navzgor,²⁵⁶
4. neskladju odlikovanja torkves z visokimi vojaškimi položaji Kvinta Sulpicija Celza, ki so navedeni v ohranjenem delu napisa.

Po našem mnenju našeta odstopanja nakazujejo, da spomenik št. 25 ni del nagrobnika, ampak počastitvenega spomenika. V tem primeru bi zanj veljalo podobno kot za spomenik št. 27. Upodobitve na njem imajo (lahko) drug pomen kot na nagrobnikih, zato število upodobljenih torkvesov ni neposredno povezano s številom torkvesov, ki jih je posameznik dobil ob odlikovanju.

Sarkofag v Picenu rojenega signiferja pretorijanske kohorte iz sredine 2. st. (seznam 2: št. 16; sl. 4.16) ima na sprednji stranici dve okrasni polji, levo in desno ob napisnem polju.

Na desnem polju, ki je ohranjeno skoraj celo, poleg torkvesa vidimo druga odlikovanja: dva venca (eden je zanesljivo *corona aurea*), set faler in eno armilo. Ni torej neobičajna kombinacija upodobljenih odlikovanj,²⁵⁷ nenavadno je njihovo število, saj je poleg enega torkvesa upodobljena le ena armila, čeprav so jih praviloma podeljevali in upodabljali v paru.²⁵⁸

251 Speidel 1994, 8, 9.

252 Glej pogl. 4.5.

253 Glej pogl. 4.7.

254 Glej pogl. 3.2.5.

255 Glej pogl. 3.2.2.

256 Maxfield 1981, 76–79.

257 Maxfield 1981, 185, 217, pregl. M.

258 Glej pogl. 3.2.5, 4.7; Maxfield 1981, 89–91.

(List 2: No. 16; Fig. 4.16), has two decorative panels flanking the inscription panel on the front.

The right panel, which survives almost complete, shows other decorations in addition to a *torques*: two *coronae* (one is positively identified as a *corona aurea*), a set of *phalerae*, and one *armilla*. What is unusual is not the combination of depicted decorations²⁵⁷ but their number, as a single *armilla* is shown in addition to a single *torques*, even though *armillae* were usually awarded in pairs.²⁵⁸

The top right corner of the left panel survives, i.e. slightly less than a quarter of the whole. It shows part of the head and neck of a horse in side view and above it a *torques*, helmet, spear, and an oval shield.

The left and right panels are designed as mirror images, though not identical. The horses, shields, and *torques* are the same or very similar in appearance and position within the panel, not so the spears and helmets, which are shown in different positions. The helmet in the left panel has a pronounced neckguard and a clearly visible crest running from the top of the helmet to the end of the neckguard, whereas the helmet in the right panel has a shorter neckguard, and its crest is only visible on the top of the helmet. The two helmets may be of the same shape if shown in different views: the left helmet in profile, perpendicularly to the crest, and the right helmet in a three-quarter view.

Images of saddled horses are very rare on the funerary monuments of praetorians²⁵⁹ but common on those of *equites singulares Augusti* (2nd and 3rd centuries), where they are depicted in side view and with reins held by servants standing behind the horse.²⁶⁰

The man wearing a tunic on monument No. 16 is clad in a *paenula*, which suggests he is not a servant (the servants shown on the funerary reliefs of *equites singulares Augusti* are usually only dressed in tunics and trousers²⁶¹) but rather the deceased. This, however, is incongruous with the position of the man, as the deceased on the Roman funerary monuments of *equites singulares Augusti* are always shown in front of the horse.²⁶²



a

We presume the similarities with the funerary monuments of *equites singulares Augusti* from Rome are not coincidental. A detailed study of this intriguing sarcophagus may bring further insight into the message of the right panel depiction and, in particular, its relation to the depiction in the left panel.²⁶³ Most interesting with regards to the military decorations is why a single *torques* is shown in the left and right panels and why as much can also be surmised for the *armillae* (we assume a single *armilla* was depicted in the left panel). In our opinion, the reason is not in the number of *torques* and *armillae* that the *signifer* was actually awarded.

In support of the view that the Romans decorated individuals with a single *torques* worn around the neck, archaeological publications mention the tombstone for Albanus (Fig. 6.1) and the statue from Vachères (Fig. 6.2).²⁶⁴

The inscription on the tombstone states that Albanus was Ubian by birth and served in the Roman army as a cavalryman in the *ala Asturum* during the time of

257 Maxfield 1981, 185, 217, Table M.

258 See Chapters 3.2.5, 4.7; Maxfield 1981, 89–91.

259 Busch 2011, 121, Fig. 58.

260 Speidel 1994, 6, Nos 80, 83–85, 108, 110–112, 113, 127, 129, 133, 134, 137, 138, 164, 170, 201, 202, 205–208, 265, 363, 368, 396, 400, 404, 497–506, 512–515, 518–523, 528, 542; Busch 2011, 130–137, Figs 72–73.

261 Speidel 1994, 9.

262 Cf. Speidel 1994, Nos 114, 356, 509.

263 Eleni Papagianni is undertaking the study of this sarcophagus.

264 Beck, Chew 1991, 69; Adler 2019, 427, 435.



Figure 6.1
Tombstone for Albanus, Ubian by birth and cavalryman in the *ala Asturum*, found at Châlons-sur-Saône (France), Tiberian; a) from Steiner 1906, Fig. 12; b) photograph of a copy, c) detail.

Slika 6.1
Nagrobna stela Albana, po rodu Ubijca, konjenika asturske ale, ki so jo našli v Châlons-sur-Saône (Francija), tiberijski čas; a) iz Steiner 1906, sl. 12; b) fotografija kopije izvirnika, c) detajl.

Od levega okrasnega polja se je ohranila malo manj kot četrtina, desni zgornji vogal. Na njem vidimo del glave in vratu konja v stranskem pogledu in nad njima torkves, čelado, sulico in ovalen ščit.

Levo in desno okrasno polje sta bili zasnovani zrcalno, vendar nista enaki. Konja, ščita in torkvesa so na obeh poljih po legi znotraj okrasnega polja in videzu enaki ali zelo podobni, drugače pa je pri sulicah in čeladah: upodobljene so namreč na različnih mestih. Poleg tega ima čelada v levem polju izrazit vratni ščitnik in dobro vidno perjanico, ki sega od vrha čelade do konca vratnega ščitnika, pri čeladi v desnem polju je vratni ščitnik krajši, perjanico pa vidimo le na vrhu čelade; morda gre za enaki čeladi, ki pa sta upodobljeni v različnih pogledih: čelada v levem polju v stranskem pogledu pravokotno na potek perjanice, čelada v desnem polju pa med pogledom od spredaj in s strani.

Podoba osedlanega konja je na nagrobnikih pretorijancev zelo redka,²⁵⁹ običajna pa je na nagrobnikih *equites singulares Augusti* 2. in 3. st., kjer jih vidimo

²⁵⁹ Busch 2011, 121, sl. 58.



c

v stranskem pogledu in s povodci, ki jih v roki drži služabnik za konjem.²⁶⁰

Moški v tuniki na spomeniku št. 16 je ogrnjen v *paenulo*, kar morda nakazuje, da ni služabnik (na nagrobnikih *equites singulares Augusti* so služabniki običajno oblečeni le v tuniko in hlače²⁶¹), ampak pokojnik. A s tako razlago se ne ujema njegovo mesto v upodobitvi, saj na rimskih nagrobnikih *equites singulares Augusti* pokojnik vedno stoji pred konjem.²⁶²

Domnevamo, da podobnosti z nagrobniki *equites singulares Augusti* v Rimu niso naključne. Razumevanje sporočila desne upodobitve in še posebej njen odnos do leve upodobitve bo morda prinesla poglobljena obravnava tega zanimivega sarkofaga.²⁶³ V zvezi z vojaškimi odlikovanji nas posebej zanima, zakaj je na levem in desnem polju upodobljen po en torkves in zakaj je bilo verjetno enako z armilama (domnevamo,

²⁶⁰ Speidel 1994, 6, št. 80, 83–85, 108, 110–112, 113, 127, 129, 133, 134, 137, 138, 164, 170, 201, 202, 205–208, 265, 363, 368, 396, 400, 404, 497–506, 512–515, 518–523, 528, 542; Busch 2011, 130–137, sl. 72–73.

²⁶¹ Speidel 1994, 9.

²⁶² Prim. Speidel 1994, št. 114, 356, 509.

²⁶³ Objavo študije o tem sarkofagu pripravlja Eleni Papagianni.

Tiberius. The drawing of the stela found at Châlons sur Saône (southern France)²⁶⁵ shows him mounted on a horse and wearing a torc around the neck (Fig. 6.1a); the torc is very likely also present on the photograph of a copy of the stela (Fig. 6.1b, c).²⁶⁶

The name reveals that Albanus was not a Roman citizen, i.e. not eligible for a Roman military decoration.²⁶⁷ In contrast, there is nothing to contradict the opinion that Albanus wore a torc as part of a non-Roman costume of a warrior.²⁶⁸

The same holds true of the torc around the neck of a soldier immortalised in a stone statue (Fig. 6.2) and found at Vachères, south-eastern France, in the 19th century. He was likely a man of Celtic origin who served in the Roman army, more precisely the cavalry, in the middle or second half of the 1st century BC.²⁶⁹

6.4 Assumption that torcs in the Late La Tène period were not part of the costume of men/warriors, only attributes of gods

Depictions and grave goods clearly show a connection between torcs and the costume of warriors and/or dignitaries towards the end of the Hallstatt and in the Early La Tène period. Archaeological evidence suggests that this connection continued into the Middle and Late La Tène periods, though positive indications are few, probably due to the changes in the funerary rituals.²⁷⁰

The opinion that torcs in the Late La Tène period did not form part of the male costume²⁷¹ thus does not appear to be founded. At the same time, there is no doubt that torcs in this time were attributes of deities.²⁷²

265 CIL XIII 2613; EDCS-10501589; Steiner 1906, 16, Note 1, 17, Fig. 12; Perea Yébenes 2002, 91, Fig. 5. Inscription: *Albanus Excingi f(ilius) eques / ala Asturum natione Ubius / stip(endiorum) XII an(norum) XXXV h(ic) s(itus) es t' Rufus frater et Alba.*

266 For a different opinion, see Adler (2003, 135), who believes that what is depicted around Albanus' neck is not a *torques*, but the neckline of the cuirass.

267 Maxfield 1981, 121–127; for decorating with *torques*, cf. Chapter 3.2.2.

268 Cf. Maxfield 1981, 201. Tacitus, *Germania*, 15 and Annius Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann. DCC* 2,30,16–18 (cf. Chapter 2, Note 29) mention torcs of the Germani in the 1st century AD.

269 Beck, Chew 1991, Cat. Nos 15, 35, 46, Fig. 9; Barruol 1996; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 16, Fig. 16; Cavalier 2008; Pernet 2006, 47–51, 303, Figs 2.13, 2.15; Pernet 2010, 104.

270 Adler 2003, 49–139, 152–154, 155–192; Adler 2019.

271 E.g. Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, Cat. No. 33.

272 Adler 2003, 50–72; Adler 2019. E.g. depictions of the god Cernunnos – *lupa* 19508.



Figure 6.2
Stone statue of a soldier from Vachères (France), 1st century.

Slika 6.2
Kamnit kip vojščaka iz kraja Vachères (Francija), 1. st.

6.5 Young man depicted with a torc around his neck on a Boscoreale cup

Adler cites the relief depiction of a young man with a torc around his neck on the Tiberius cup from the Boscoreale hoard as evidence of a single *torques* awarded as military decoration.²⁷³ The hoard was unearthed in 1895 in the wine cellar of a Roman *villa rustica* near the village of Boscoreale (Italy) on the slopes of Vesuvius.²⁷⁴ The depiction is more precisely that of a young man in a tunic with a wreath on his head and a laurel branch in his left hand, shown walking immediately behind Tiberius' triumphal chariot (Fig. 6.3) and wearing a torc around his neck.²⁷⁵

273 Adler 2003, 61, 135; Adler 2019, 427.

274 Kuttner 1995, 6–9.

275 Kuttner 1995, Pls 10, 24.

da je bila na levem polju upodobljena ena armila). Predvidevamo, da vzrok ni število torkvesov oziroma armil, ki jih je signifer prejel ob odlikovanju.

Med argumenti za rimsko odlikovanje z enim torkvesom, ki bi ga nosili okoli vratu, v literaturi omenjajo nagrobnik Albana (sl. 6.1) in kip iz kraja Vachères (sl. 6.2).²⁶⁴

Albanus je bil po rodu Ubijec in je za časa Tiberija v rimski vojski služil kot konjenik v ali. Na risbi stele, ki so jo našli v Châlons sur Saône (južna Francija),²⁶⁵ ga vidimo na konju in s torkvesom okoli vratu (sl. 6.1a); torkves okoli vratu zelo verjetno kaže tudi fotografija kopije te stele (sl. 6.1b, c).²⁶⁶

Po imenu je jasno, da Albanus ni bil rimski državlján, torej ni bil primeren za rimsko vojaško odlikovanje.²⁶⁷ Nič pa ne govori proti razlagi, da je Albanus torkves nosil kot del nerimske noše bojevnika.²⁶⁸

Enako velja za torkves okoli vratu vojščaka, upodobljenega v kamnitem kipu (sl. 6.2), ki so ga v 19. st. našli v kraju Vachères v jugovzhodni Franciji. Verjetno je bil keltskega izvora in je v sredini ali drugi polovici 1. st. pr. Kr. služil v rimski vojski, natančneje, v rimski konjenici.²⁶⁹

6.4 Mnenje, da v poznem latenu torkves ni bil del noše moških oziroma vojščakov, ampak le atribut bogov

Povezavo med torkvesi (ovratnicami) in nošo bojevnikov in/ali veljakov na zaključku halštatske in v zgodnji latenski dobi jasno kažejo upodobitve in predmeti v grobovih. Arheološki viri nakazujejo, da se je ta povezava ohranila v srednji in pozni latenski dobi, vendar je zanjo, verjetno zaradi spremenjenih pogrebnih običajev, malo pokazateljev.²⁷⁰

264 Beck, Chew 1991, 69; Adler 2019, 427, 435.

265 CIL XIII 2613; EDCS-10501589; Steiner 1906, 16, op. 1, 17, sl. 12; Perea Yébenes 2002, 91, sl. 5. Napis: *Albanus Excingi f(i)lius eques / ala Asturum natione Ubii / stip(endiorum) XII an(norum) XXXV h(ic) s(itus) es t' Rufus frater et Alba.*

266 Drugače Adler (2003, 135), ki meni, da zadeva okoli Albanovega vratu ni torkves, ampak vratni izrez oklepa.

267 Maxfield 1981, 121–127; za odlikovanje s torkvesi prim. pogl. 3.2.2.

268 Prim. Maxfield 1981, 201. Torkvese pri Germanih v 1. st. omenjata Tacitus, *Germania*, 15, in Annius Florus, *Epitome Bell. Omn. Ann. DCC 2,30,16–18* (prim. pogl. 2, op. 29).

269 Beck, Chew 1991, kat. št. 15, 35, 46, sl. 9; Barruol 1996; Bishop, Coulston 2006, 16, sl. 16; Cavalier 2008; Pernet 2006, 47–51, 303, sl. 2.13, 2.15; Pernet 2010, 104.

270 Adler 2003, 49–139, 152–154, 155–192; Adler 2019.

Domneva, da torkves v pozni latenski dobi ni bil del noše moških,²⁷¹ se torej ne zdi utemeljena. Po drugi strani ni dvoma, da je bil torkves v tem času atribut božanstev.²⁷²

6.5 Mladenič s torkvesom okoli vratu na skodelici iz zaklada, odkritega v Boscoreale pri Pompejih

Reliefno upodobitev na t. i. Tiberijevi skodelici iz zaklada, ki so ga leta 1895 našli v vinski kleti rimske podeželske vile pri vasi Boscoreale (Italija) na pobočju Vezuva,²⁷³ Adler navaja kot primer rimskega odlikovanja z enim torkvesom.²⁷⁴ Mladenič v tuniki ter z vencem na glavi in z lovorjevo vejo v levici, ki je prikazan neposredno za Tiberijevim triumfalnim vozom (sl. 6.3), ima namreč okoli vratu torkves.²⁷⁵

Adlerjeva interpretacija mladeniča s torkvesom ne upošteva izsledkov temeljnega dela Ann Kuttner o paru srebrnih skodelic z izredno kakovostnim reliefnim okrasom iz zaklada, to je o t. i. Avgustovi in Tiberijevi skodelici. Ta široka in poglobljena študija je med drugim pokazala, da so skodelici naredili v sredini srednjeavgustejske dobe (natančneje med letoma 8/7 in 6 pr. Kr.), in podrobno razložila upodobitve. Podala je prepričljive argumente za razlago, da je torkves za vratom mladeniča na Tiberijevi skodelici del nerimske noše in pokazatelj etničnega izvora ter da mladenič predstavlja iz Galije izvirajočega poveljnika avksiliarne enote. Taka interpretacija se dobro vklaplja v avgustejsko politično propagando.²⁷⁶

Razlaga upodobitev na skodelicah iz Boscoreale je ozko povezana z upodobitvami na Ari Pacis. O upodobitvi mladeniča s torkvesom na Tiberijevi skodelici je treba omeniti, da je Kuttnerjeva za otroka s torkvesom okoli vratu, ki ju vidimo na severni oziroma južni ograji Are Pacis (sl. 6.4a, b), pokazala, da predstavljata princa iz zahodnega oziroma vzhodnega dela imperija, ki so ju nekdanji voditelji pred kratkim osvojenih območij imperija zaupali Avgustu in sta odraščala na njegovem dvoru; namigujeta na mir, ki ga je vzpostavil Avgust.²⁷⁷

271 Npr. Beck, Chew 1991, 68, 69, kat. št. 33.

272 Adler 2003, 50–72; Adler 2019. Npr. upodobitve boga Cernuna – lupa 19508.

273 Kuttner 1995, 6–9.

274 Adler 2003, 61, 135; Adler 2019, 427.

275 Kuttner 1995, t. 10, 24.

276 Kuttner 1995, 145–147, 202.

277 Kuttner 1995, 100–107, sl. 76–80. Enako meni Rose (2005, 38–40, sl. 13–15), ki je navedel trdne razloge proti mnenju (npr. Adler 2003, 43, 59, 60, 153, sl. 4; Adler 2019, 428), da sta dečka s torkvesoma otroka patricijev, ki sta se udeležila Trojanskih iger (*Iusus Troiae*).



Figure 6.3
Depiction of Tiberius' triumphal procession on the Tiberius cup from the Boscoreale hoard (Italy).

Slika 6.3
Prikaz dela Tiberijevega triumfalnega sprevoda na t. i. Tiberijevi skodelici iz zaklada, ki so ga našli v rimski vili pri kraju Boscoreale pod Vezuvom (Italija).

Adler's interpretation of the young man with a torc, however, does not take into account the findings of Ann Kuttner's broad and in-depth study of the pair of silver cups with high-quality relief decoration from the hoard, i.e. the Augustus and Tiberius cups. She dated them to the middle of the Middle Augustan period (more precisely between 8/7 and 6 BC) and provided a detailed explanation of their imagery. She convincingly argued that the torc around the neck of the young man on the Tiberius cup was part of a non-Roman costume and an indicator of the ethnic origin of the young man, whom she also identified as a commander of an auxiliary unit originating from Gaul. Such an interpretation accords well with Augustan political propaganda.²⁷⁶

The interpretation of the depictions on the Boscoreale Cups is closely related to those on the Ara Pacis. With regards to the young man with a torc on the Tiberius cup, we should mention that Kuttner identified the two children with a torc around their necks shown on the north and south walls of the altar (Fig. 6.4a, b)

as princelings from the western and eastern parts of the Empire, respectively, whom the leaders of the newly conquered tribes handed over to Augustus to be brought up under the emperor's aegis, at the imperial court. The two princelings are thus emblems of the imperial *pax* that Augustus had established and spread through the oecumene.²⁷⁷

6.6 Conclusion

The arguments put forward in archaeological publications in support of the opinion that the Romans in the Principate, prior to the 3rd century, also decorated their soldiers with single *torques* worn around the neck are not convincing.

²⁷⁶ Kuttner 1995, 145–147, 202.

²⁷⁷ Kuttner 1995, 100–107, Figs 76–80. Rose (2005, 38–40, Figs 13–15) shares her opinion, also providing compelling arguments against the opinion (e.g. Adler 2003, 43, 59, 60, 153, Fig. 4; Adler 2019, 428) that the two boys with torcs should be seen as the children of patrician families participating in the Troy Game (*lusus Troiae*).

Figure 6.4
Reliefs showing boys with a *torques* around their necks depicted on the walls of the Ara Pacis in Rome: a) Panel N 3, Figure 35; b) Panel S 6, Figure 31.

Slika 6.4
Reliefni upodobitvi dečkov s torkvesom okoli vratu na obodnem zidu oltarja Ara Pacis v Rimu: a) plošča N 3, figura 35; b) plošča S 6, figura 31.



a



b

6.6 Sklep

Argumenti, ki jih v arheološki literaturi navajajo v prid mnenju, da so Rimljani v principatu pred 3. st. vojake odlikovali tudi s po enim torkvesom, ki so ga nosili okoli vratu, so neutemeljeni.

Napisi in upodobitve na kamnitih spomenikih kažejo, da je bilo v cesarski dobi do začetka 3. st. običajno odlikovanje z enim ali več parov torkvesov.²⁷⁸ Razpoložljivi podatki nakazujejo, da je bilo odlikovanje posameznikov z neparnim številom torkvesov omejeno na zgodnje obdobje rimskih vojaških odlikovanj, ko število podeljenih torkvesov še ni bilo

²⁷⁸ Pogl. 3.2.4, 4.4.

The inscriptions and depictions on stone monuments show that the usual practice in the Imperial period to the beginning of the 3rd century was awarding one or more pairs of *torques*.²⁷⁸ The available evidence suggests that decorating individuals with an odd number of *torques* was limited to the early period of Roman decorations, when the number of awarded *torques* had not yet been standardised, on the one hand, and to the time when the established system of awarding decorations began to be abandoned, on the other.

The decoration of Flavius with a single *torques* in the Late Augustan period should be viewed as the last example of such a decoration in a time when awarding pairs of *torques* in combination with pairs of *armillae* and sets of *phalerae* was already the norm.²⁷⁹ In contrast, the bestowal of a single *torques* towards the end of the 2nd century and between AD 198 in 211 is to be understood as a deviation from the standard practice established in the Early Imperial period.

²⁷⁸ Chapters 3.2.4, 4.4.

²⁷⁹ Chapters 3.2.4, 3.2.5, 4.4, 4.7.

standardizirano, in na čas, ko so uveljavljene standarde začeli opuščati.

Odlikovanje Flavusa z enim torkvesom v pozno-avgustejski dobi torej razumemo kot najpoznejši primer takega odlikovanja v času, ko je že prevladovalo podeljevanje para torkvesov v kombinaciji s pari armil in setom faler,²⁷⁹ podelitev po enega torkvesa na koncu 2. st. in med letoma 198 in 211 pa kot odstopanje od standardov, ki so jih uveljavili na začetku cesarske dobe.

²⁷⁹ Pogl. 3.2.4, 3.2.5, 4.4, 4.7.

7

Conclusion

The origins of *torques* as a Roman military decoration have been linked with the torcs that the Romans seized from the vanquished opponents in the Republican period. This hypothesis is based on the writings of Livy and other ancient authors who relate such practice on the part of the Romans (Chapter 2).

The earliest among the surviving ancient written sources mentioning awarding *torques* to soldiers for their meritorious behaviour relates to an event that took place in 45 BC, when Caesar awarded five gold *torques* to the commander of the allied cavalry. Regarding the beginnings of *torques*, it seems important that Polybius, an author well acquainted with the Roman army of the 2nd century BC, makes no mention of them among the military decorations in his work on Roman history, which dates to the early second half of the 2nd century BC (Chapter 2).

The earliest epigraphic source that tells of military decoration *torques* is a bronze plaque from 89 BC. It lists the names of the soldiers serving in the cavalry unit of Hispanic *socii* whose bravery won them single *torques* and other decorations, as well as Roman citizenship (Chapter 3.2.1; *List 1: No. 43*).

Two funerary monuments from the final decades of the Republic are the earliest epigraphic sources on stone that mention awarding *torques*, most probably in a pair (*List 1: Nos 44, 45*). One of them (*No. 44*) tells of a soldier likely decorated during Caesar's Gallic Wars (58–50 BC) or just slightly before that (Chapters 3.2.1, 3.2.5).

Evidence thus suggests that decorating Roman soldiers with *torques* began in the early 1st century BC at the latest (*List 1: No. 43*) but not before the second half of the 2nd century BC, as Polybius makes no mention of *torques* among military decorations.

The earliest depiction of *torques* on a stone monument (from the final decades of the Republican period) shows three *torques*, two sets of three *armillae*,

and two sets of *phalerae* (Chapter 4; *List 2: No. 28*), whereas the earliest inscriptions relate decorating soldiers with a single *torques* (*List 1: No. 43*) or *torques* in the plural that most likely means a pair (*List 1: Nos 44, 45*; Chapter 3.2.1). This suggests that bestowing a pair of *torques* probably began during Caesar's Gallic Wars at the latest.

Epigraphic and pictorial evidence from funerary and other monuments reveals that the established practice at the beginning of the Principate was decorating (individual) soldiers with a pair of *torques* they wore on their chest (roughly at the collar bones) and usually in combination with a pair of *armillae* and a set of *phalerae* (Chapters 3.2.1, 3.2.4, 3.2.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4, 4.5, 4.7; *Fig. 3.6*; *Table 2*). These decorations were given to soldiers (infantrymen and cavalrymen) who were Roman citizens; most were legionaries, followed by soldiers in *cohortes praetoriae*, *cohortes urbanae*, and *cohortes vigilum* (Chapters 3.2.2, 4.3; *Fig. 3.4*; *Table 2*).

Most inscriptions mentioning *torques* date to the 1st and first half of the 2nd century (*Fig. 3.3*). To and including the reign of Claudius, the predominant phrasing concerning such awards is *donatus* (without *donis*), whereas the formulation most common in the second half of the 1st and the 2nd century is *donis donatus* (Chapter 3.2.3; *Fig. 3.5*). The plural form in the ablative (*torquibus*) that signified a pair of (identical) *torques* was often abbreviated to *tor(q)*; to avoid confusion, the word was written unabbreviated when a single *torques* was meant (Chapter 3.2.4).

The 33 depictions of *torques* include 30 funerary monuments or their parts; almost four fifths of these date to the 1st century AD (Chapter 4.2). Twenty-six of these are associated with the inscription. Interestingly, only three of them mention the military decorations of the deceased; two specify the decoration of *torques* (*donatus torquibus*; *List 2: Nos 6, 22*), one only the fact of being decorated (*donis donatus*; *List 2: No. 17*; Chapter 4.1). One other monument combines *torques* (in this case, a single *torques*) in both

Domneva o povezavi nastanka rimskega vojaškega odlikovanja *torques* z ovratnicami, ki so jih Rimljani v republikanski dobi zasegli premaganim nasprotnikom, je povezana z Livijem in drugimi antičnimi pisci, ki opisujejo, da so Rimljani premaganim nasprotnikom odvzeli torkvese (pogl. 2).

V ohranjenih delih antičnih piscev je najstarejše odlikovanje rimskih vojakov s torkvesi zabeleženo za leto 45 pr. Kr. Takrat je Cezar poveljnika zavezniške konjenice odlikoval s petimi zlatimi torkvesi. Po drugi strani Polibij, velik poznavalec rimske vojske iz 2. st. pr. Kr., v delu o rimski zgodovini do začetka druge polovice 2. st. pr. Kr. torkvesov ne omenja med odlikovanji (pogl. 2).

Najstarejši epigrafski vir, ki govori o odlikovanju s torkvesi, je bronasta plošča iz leta 89 pr. Kr.; poimensko navaja pripadnike konjeniške enote hispanskih zaveznikov, ki so za izkazani pogum prejeli po en torkves in druga odlikovanja ter rimsko državljanstvo (pogl. 3.2.1; *seznam 1: št. 43*).

Nagrobnika iz zadnjih desetletij republike sta najstarejša kamnita epigrafska spomenika, ki omenjata odlikovanje s torkvesi, najverjetneje s parom (*seznam 1: št. 44, 45*); eden med njima (*št. 44*) verjetno izpričuje odlikovanje vojaka med Cezarjevimi galskimi vojnami (58–50 pr. Kr.) ali morda malo pred tem (pogl. 3.2.1, 3.2.5).

Odlikovanje rimskih vojakov s torkvesi se je torej začelo najpozneje na začetku 1. st. pr. Kr. (*seznam 1: št. 43*) in ne pred drugo polovico 2. st. pr. Kr., saj ga Polibij med odlikovanji ne omenja.

Najstarejša upodobitev odlikovanja torkves na kamnitem spomeniku (iz zadnjih desetletij republikanske dobe) prikazuje tri torkvese, dva seta po tri armile in dva seta faler (pogl. 4; *seznam 2: št. 28*). Napis na že omenjeni bronasti plošči iz leta 89 pr. Kr. govori o odlikovanju z enim torkvesom, nagrobnika iz zadnjega desetletja republikanske dobe pa o torkvesih

v množini, kar najverjetneje pomeni par torkvesov (nagrobnika *seznam 1: št. 44, 45*; pogl. 3.2.1). Odlikovanje s parom torkvesov se je torej verjetno začelo najpozneje v času Cezarjevih galskih vojn.

Epigrafski viri in upodobitve na nagrobnikih ter drugih kamnitih spomenikih kažejo, da se je na začetku principata uveljavilo odlikovanje vojakov (posameznikov) s parom torkvesov, ki so jih nosili na prsih (približno v višini ključnic) ter so jih običajno podeljevali hkrati s parom armil in setom faler (pogl. 3.2.1, 3.2.4, 3.2.5, 4.1, 4.2, 4.4, 4.5, 4.7; *sl. 3.6; pregl. 2*). Prejemniki tega odlikovanja so bili vojaki (pešaki in konjeniki), ki so bili rimski državljani; največ je bilo legionarjev, sledijo vojaki v pretorijanskih in mestnih kohortah ter v kohortah nočnih in požarnih čuvajev (*cohortes praetoriae, cohortes urbanae, cohortes vigilum*; pogl. 3.2.2, 4.3; *sl. 3.4; pregl. 2*).

Večina napisov, ki govorijo o odlikovanju s torkvesi, je iz 1. st. in prve polovice 2. st. (*sl. 3.3*). Do vključno Klavdijeve vlade prevladuje izražanje odlikovanosti z *donatus* (brez *donis*), v napisih iz druge polovice 1. in iz 2. st. pa je najpogostejša formulacija *donis donatus* (pogl. 3.2.3; *sl. 3.5*). Množinsko obliko v ablativu *torquibus*, ki je v napisih označevala par torkvesov (tj. dva enaka torkvesa), so pogosto okrajšali v *tor(q)*; kadar so imeli v mislih en torkves, so v izogib nesporezumu izpisali celo besedo (pogl. 3.2.4).

Med 33 upodobitvami odlikovanja torkves je 30 nagrobnikov oziroma delov nagrobnih spomenikov; skoraj štiri petine so iz 1. st. po Kr. (pogl. 4.2). Na 26 nagrobnikih so napisi ohranjeni; zanimivo je, da je le v treh med njimi omenjeno, da je bil pokojnik odlikovan: v dveh primerih je navedeno odlikovanje s torkvesom (*donatus torquibus; seznam 2: št. 6, 22*), v enem primeru pa le odlikovanost (*donis donatus; seznam 2: št. 17; pogl. 4.1*). Še na enem spomeniku je odlikovanje torkves (v tem primeru zgolj en torkves) upodobljeno in navedeno v napisu: na ovršju (votivne) edikule *št. 33* (pogl. 4.1).

depiction and inscription, namely the upper part of a votive aedicula No. 33 (Chapter 4.1).

Funerary reliefs reveal that *torques* were larger than *armillae* and that their internal diameter was too small to be worn around the neck, while the external diameter was small enough to fit a pair of them comfortably below the collar bones. We presume that the internal diameter measured roughly between 10 and 12 cm. Unlike Valerie Maxfield, we believe that *torques* were made of relatively inexpensive metals, as the value of the Roman military decorations in general was primarily in their symbolic significance. Moreover, *torques* were among the decorations awarded to soldiers of lower ranks, from ordinary soldiers to centurions. The gold and silver *torques*, *armillae*, and *phalerae* mentioned in Roman literary sources should, therefore, not be taken in the literal sense as referring to the metal used but rather to their appearance (Chapters 4.5, 5.1).

Among the archaeological finds, not a single object has as yet been clearly identified as a *torques* – a Roman military decoration. We believe the main criteria for such an identification to be the appearance, the material, the size, and the archaeological context of an object (Chapter 5.1). Our research has shown that one item can be relatively reliably identified as a *torques*, namely the one of pure brass found in the Roman settlement at Magdalensberg, in a context indicating a dating roughly between 40 and 20 BC (Chapter 5.2.2). We further presume that the twisted torc of tin alloy recovered from the River Ljubljanica was also a Roman military decoration (Chapter 5.2.1). Both items gave the appearance of being made of gold and silver, respectively. The hollow torc of tinned sheet bronze from Dambach may also have been a military decoration *torques* (Chapter 5.2.3).

As for the other items interpreted in the archaeological publications as military decoration *torques* and items of unclear identification, we believe they were rather torcs of warriors of non-Roman origin (Chapter 5.4), female neck jewellery (from Petescia, Chapter 5.5) or not torcs at all (from Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshof, Chapter 5.3). The torcs of the warriors of non-Roman origin have been associated with a) the military opponents of the Romans (from Alesia, Chapter 5.4.2; possibly from Benwell, Chapter 5.4.4) and b) members of the Roman army (from Chassenard and Basel-Münsterhügel, Chapters 5.4.1, 5.4.3; possibly from Benwell, Chapter 5.4.4).

The arguments given in the archaeological publications to support the opinion that the Romans during

the Principate, before the 3rd century, decorated their soldiers not only with pairs but also with single *torques* worn around the neck are not convincing (Chapter 6).

The available evidence indicates that decorating individual soldiers with odd numbers of *torques* was practised, on the one hand, in the early period of Roman military decorations in the Late Republican period with few examples also from the Augustan period, i.e. before the time when the practice of awarding pairs became established, and, on the other hand, to a time when this practice was no longer strictly followed, i.e. the early 3rd century at the latest (Chapters 3.2.1, 3.2.4, 4.2, 4.4, 6.1–6.3; *List 1: Nos 43, 100, 105; List 2: No. 33*).

Epigraphy is the key source for dating the beginning of a new system of military decorations based on conferring specific benefits (promotion, money, increased food rations) and that included bestowing a single *torques*. The chronologically last recorded decoration with a pair of *torques* is a funerary inscription that refers to a time between 195 and 197 (Chapter 3.2.1; *List 1: No. 98*). Reliable evidence of decoration according to the new system, which involved awarding a single *torques*, comes from epigraphic monuments from the 3rd century (Chapter 3.2.1; *List 1: Nos 101–103, 106*).

Inscriptions reveal that *torques* were awarded not only to individuals but also to entire units. All the decorated units were *auxilia*, more precisely *cohortes peditatae* (infantry), *alae* (cavalry), and *cohortes equitatae* (mixed units of infantry and cavalry). The decoration of a unit is reflected in the title *torquata*. Such decoration began in the Flavian Dynasty and was particularly common under Trajan and Hadrian (Chapter 3.1). The works of ancient authors and depictions on stone monuments do not provide evidence of unit decoration; hence we do not know whether this act included the bestowal of a physical *torques* (Chapters 4, 5.1).

Auxiliary units were usually manned by non-citizens. Therefore, it is interesting that all five cohorts and five of the seven *alae* recorded in the inscriptions as *torquata* also have the title of *civium Romanorum* in their name. This differs from the observation that only around 15% of the known auxiliary units came to bear the honorary title *civium Romanorum* in the Principate.²⁸⁰ The joint titles of *torquata* and *civium Romanorum* rather suggest a correlation between decorating the auxiliary units and (simultaneously) granting them Roman citizenship *en bloc*, to all who served in the unit at the time of the decoration or

²⁸⁰ Data taken from Maxfield 1981, 227.

Upodobitve na nagrobnikih kažejo, da so bili torkvesi večji od armil in da je bil njihov notranji premer premajhen za nošenje okoli vratu, zunanji premer pa je bil dovolj majhen, da so brez težav pod ključnicama vzporedno namestili dva torkvesa. Domnevamo, da je bil notranji premer tega odlikovanja med pribl. 10 in 12 cm. Drugače kot Valerie Maxfield menimo, da so bila rimska odlikovanja torkves iz razmeroma cenениh kovin. Rimska vojaška odlikovanja so imela namreč predvsem simbolno vrednost, poleg tega pa je torkves sodil k odlikovanjem, ki so jih prejeli vojaki na nižjih položajih, od navadnih vojakov do centurionov. V rimskih pisnih virih omenjena zlata in srebrna odlikovanja torkves, armile in falere torej ne kaže razumeti kot podatek o dejanskem materialu, ampak o njegovem videzu (pogl. 4.5, 5.1).

Doslej med arheološkimi najdbami niti en predmet ni bil jasno opredeljen kot rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves. Menimo, da so glavni kriteriji za prepoznavanje tega odlikovanja videz, material in velikost predmeta ter njegove najdiščne okoliščine (pogl. 5.1). Ugotovili smo, da je le en predmet zelo verjetno rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves. Je iz čiste medenine, izvira iz rimskega naselja na Štalenski gori, najdiščne okoliščine pa govorijo za datacijo med okoli 40 in 20 pr. Kr. (pogl. 5.2.2). Domnevamo, da je vojaško odlikovanje tudi tordiran torkves iz kositrove zlitine, ki so ga našli v reki Ljubljanici (pogl. 5.2.1). Predmeta sta dajala vtis, da sta zlata oziroma srebrna. Morda je bil vojaško odlikovanje še votel in iz »pokositrene bronaste« pločevine narejen torkves iz Dambacha (pogl. 5.2.3).

Drugi predmeti, ki so jih v literaturi razlagali kot rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves ali pa njihova interpretacija ni bila jasna, so po našem mnenju ovratnice bojnikov nerimskega izvora (pogl. 5.4), vratni nakit žensk (najdišče Petescia, pogl. 5.5) ali pa morda sploh niso bili torkvesi (najdišče Treuchtlingen-Weinbergshof, pogl. 5.3). Ovratnice bojnikov nerimskega izvora povezujemo z a) vojaškimi nasprotniki Rimljanov (najdišče Alezija, pogl. 5.4.2; morda najdišče Benwell, pogl. 5.4.4) in b) pripadniki rimske vojske (najdišči Chassenard in Basel-Münsterhügel, pogl. 5.4.1, 5.4.3; morda najdišče Benwell, pogl. 5.4.4).

Argumenti, ki jih v arheološki literaturi navajajo v prid mnenju, da so Rimljani v principatu pred 3. st. vojake odlikovali ne le s parom torkvesov, ampak tudi s po enim torkvesom, ki so ga vojaki nosili okoli vratu, niso utemeljeni (pogl. 6).

Razpoložljivi podatki kažejo, da je bilo odlikovanje posameznikov z neparnim številom torkvesov omejeno na zgodnje obdobje rimskih vojaških odlikovanj v poznorepublikanski dobi in s posameznimi primeri še v avgustejski dobi, preden se je ustalilo podeljevanje para torkvesov, in na čas, najpozneje v začetku 3. st., ko se niso več strogo držali običaja podeljevanja torkvesov v paru (pogl. 3.2.1, 3.2.4, 4.2, 4.4, 6.1–6.3; seznam 1: št. 43, 100, 105; seznam 2: št. 33).

Za vprašanje, kdaj se je uveljavil povsem nov sistem nagrajevanja, ki je temeljil na podelitvi konkretnih ugodnosti (napredovanja, denar, povečani obroki hrane) in je vključeval podelitev enega torkvesa, so ključni epigrafski viri. Najpoznejša podelitev para torkvesov je izpričana v napisu (na nagrobniku), ki se nanaša na odlikovanje med letoma 195 in 197 (pogl. 3.2.1; seznam 1: št. 98). O odlikovanju po povsem novem sistemu in s podelitvijo enega torkvesa zanesljivo govorijo epigrafski spomeniki iz 3. st. (pogl. 3.2.1; seznam 1: št. 101–103, 106).

Iz napisov izhaja, da s torkvesi niso odlikovali le posameznikov, ampak tudi celotne enote; to so bile v vseh primerih pomožne enote (*auxilia*), natančneje *cohortes peditatae* (pešaki) in ale (*alae*; konjenica) ter *cohortes equitatae* (mešane enote pešakov in konjenice). Odlikovanost enot sporoča pridevek *torquata*. Nagrajevanje enot s torkvesi se je začelo pod Flavijci ter je bilo izrazito pod Trajanom in Hadrijanom (pogl. 3.1). Dela antičnih piscev in upodobitve na kamnitih spomenikih ne vsebujejo podatkov o odlikovanju celih enot, zato ni jasno, ali je tako odlikovanje enote vključevalo izročitev torkvesa (pogl. 4, 5.1).

V pomožnih enotah so običajno služili vojaki brez rimskega državljanstva. Zato je zanimivo, da ima pet od petih kohort in pet od sedmih al, ki imajo v napisih pridevek *torquata*, obenem tudi naziv (enota) rimskih državljanov (*civium Romanorum*), medtem ko ima ta naziv v principatu sicer le okoli 15 % pomožnih enot.²⁸⁰ Zdi se torej, da hkratno navajanje vzdevkov *torquata* in *civium Romanorum* nakazuje povezavo med odlikovanjem posamezne enote in podelitvijo državljanstva *en bloc* enoti, tj. vojakom, ki so ob odlikovanju enoti pripadali, ali morda le tistim, ki so sodelovali v dejanju (npr. vojaškem pohodu, spopadu), ki je bilo vzrok za odlikovanje (pogl. 3.1).²⁸¹

V knjigi smo torej dopolnili vire o rimskem vojaškem odlikovanju torkves, ki jih je v svojem temeljnem delu o rimskih vojaških odlikovanjih obravnavala Valerie

²⁸⁰ Podatek navaja Valerie Maxfield 1981, 227.

²⁸¹ Možnost povezave odlikovanja celotne enote s torkvesom in podelitve državljanstva je omenila že Valerie Maxfield (1981, 227–232).

possibly only to those who participated in an activity (such as a military campaign or battle) that merited decoration (Chapter 3.1).²⁸¹

The evidence on *torques* as Roman military decorations presented in this book includes several items found or published after Valerie Maxfield had published her fundamental work on *dona militaria*.²⁸² It presents and examines the whole body of evidence (*Lists 1 and 2; Figs 4.1.–4.33*) and provides an analysis. The results support most of Maxfield's findings and advance others. The latter include a detailed study of the archaeological evidence on *torques* in connection with the material they were made of. In contrast with the opinion of Maxfield, we believe that *torques* as military decorations were not made of gold or silver but of cheaper metals that mimicked a gold or silvery appearance. We have been able to show that at least one example of such a decoration is known, namely the *torques* of pure brass found at Magdalensberg, in Austrian Carinthia. Last but not least, we have argued that the opinion on awarding single *torques* to soldiers during the Principate until the early 3rd century is unfounded; albeit rarely voiced, this opinion persists in the archaeological publications despite the fact that it does not correspond with Maxfield's findings on awarding pairs of *torques*.

281 Maxfield (1981, 227–232) mentioned the possibility of entire units being granted both *torques* and Roman citizenship at the same time.

282 Maxfield 1981.

Maxfield,²⁸² in jih pregledno predstavili (*seznama 1 in 2; sl. 4.1.–4.33*) ter analizirali. Naše ugotovitve potrjujejo večino izsledkov Maxfieldove, redke pa dopolnjujejo. Med zadnjimi je poglobljena obravnava arheoloških virov o rimskem vojaškem odlikovanju torkves in utemeljena domneva, da – v nasprotju z mnenjem Maxfieldove – rimsko vojaško odlikovanje torkves ni bilo iz zlata ali srebra, temveč iz cenejših kovin, ki so imele videz zlata in srebra. Uspelo nam je pokazati, da je ohranjen najmanj en primerek tega odlikovanja, to je iz čiste medenine narejen torkves s Štalenske gore na Koroškem v Avstriji. Omeniti je treba še našo ugotovitev, da je mnenje o rimskem odlikovanju rimskih vojakov v času principata do začetka 3. st. z enim torkvesom neutemeljeno. To mnenje so namreč doslej v arheološki literaturi redko, a vztrajno podajali, čeprav se ne ujema z ugotovitvijo Maxfieldove, da so odlikovali s parom torkvesov.

282 Maxfield 1981.

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