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NOVI ANTIČKI NATPISI IZ “PODRUMA” DIOKLECIJANOVE PALAČE

NEW ROMAN-ERA INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE “CELLARS” OF DIOCLETIAN’S PALACE

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Rad obrađuje deset epigrafskih spomenika pronađenih u istraživanjima tzv. podruma Dioklecijanove palače nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata. Devet je natpisa dosad neobjavljeno, a jedan je, za koji se mislilo da je izgubljen, nanovo pronađen. S obzirom na to da se nekoliko njih datira prije gradnje same Palače, ne zna se jesu li doneseni iz Salone ili su na području Splita bili izvorno postavljeni. Zanimljivost ovih natpisa imena su pokojnika koja se jako rijetko ili nikako ne javljaju u Dalmaciji, a poneka od njih na natpisima Rimskoga Carstva potvrđena su prvi put.

Ključne riječi: antika, “podrumi” Dioklecijanove palače, Salone, onomastika, vulgarni latinitet, numeri

This work contains an analysis of ten epigraphic monuments found during research in the so-called cellars of Diocletian’s Palace after the Second World War. Nine of these inscriptions have not been published thus far, and one which was believed lost has been rediscovered. Since several of them pre-date the construction of the Palace itself, it is not known if they were brought in from Salona or if they were originally installed in the Split area. An interesting aspect of these inscriptions is that the names of the deceased in them appear only very rarely in Dalmatia or not at all, and some were found in inscriptions of the Roman Empire for the first time.

Key words: Antiquity, “cellar” of Diocletian’s Palace, Salona, onomastics, Vulgar Latin, numeri

U “podrumima” Dioklecijanove palače pohranjeni su mnogi kameni ulomci pronađeni tijekom njihova istraživanja.¹ Uglavnom je riječ o ulomcima

When the “cellars” of Diocletian’s Palace were being researched, many stone fragments were found stored therein.¹ These are generally fragments of

¹ Sav inventar koji se nalazi u podrumima Dioklecijanove palače pod ingerencijom je Muzeja grada Splita. Ovom prigodom na pruženoj pomoći zahvaljujem kolegama: Elviri Šarić, ravnateljici Muzeja grada Splita, Tajmi Rismondo i Saši Denegriju.

¹ The entire inventory of the cellars of Diocletian’s Palace is under the care of the Split City Museum. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the following colleagues for their assistance: Elvira Šarić, the director of the Split City Museum, and Tajma Rismondo and Saša Denegri.

arhitektonske plastike, a među njima se nalazi i deset ulomaka natpisa iz antičkoga perioda. Moguće je da su kao spoliji bili uzidani u kuće unutar Palače koje su se rušile i renovirale, pa su završili unutar "podrumskih" prostorija kao otpadni materijal. Naime "podrumi" su od ranoga srednjeg vijeka pa sve do sredine 20. st. stanovnicima koji su iznad njih imali svoje nastambe služili kao prostor za odlaganje svega nepotrebnoga. Premda se za te prostorije ustalio naziv "podrumi", zapravo se radi o 50 dvorana koje se nalaze u prizemlju južnoga dijela Palače, a napravljene su da bi nosile carske prostorije i time nivelirale veliku visinsku razliku u odnosu na sjeverni dio. S obzirom na to da su te prostorije dobro sačuvane i da se rasporedom uglavnom podudaraju s gornjim katom, upravo su one polazišna točka za rekonstrukciju izvornog izgleda južnoga dijela Dioklecijanove palače (Marasović 1994: 74–75). Dio "podruma" u srednjem je vijeku služio za stanovanje, a o prenamjeni prostora govori nam i podatak da su u jednoj od dvorana pronađeni dijelovi turnja za proizvodnju ulja i vina. Prvi tko je htio istražiti podrumne bio je britanski arhitekt Robert Adam, no to mu je bilo onemogućeno. Sredinom 19. st. prvi je splitski konzervator, Vicko Andrić, djelomično istražio nekoliko prostorija, no njihovo je istraživanje započelo tek 1946. god., a sustavno istraživanje i uređenje prostorija počinje od 1955. god. (*ibid.* 75). Između 1956. i 1959. god. za javnost je uređeno dvadesetak prostorija zapadnoga dijela prizemlja, a do 1997. god. iskopana je i obnovljena 41 prostorija (sl. 1).



Slika 1. Dio prizemnih dvorana Dioklecijanove palače, tzv. podruma (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 1. Part of ground-level halls of Diocletian's Palace, the so-called cellars (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

architectural sculpture, and among them there are ten fragments of inscriptions dated to Antiquity. It is possible that as spolia they were built into houses inside the Palace which were demolished and rebuilt, and then ended up inside the "cellar" rooms as cast-offs. Namely, from the Early Middle Ages until the mid-twentieth century, the "cellars" were used by the residents who had their homes above them as a space for storing anything they did not need. Even though the term "cellars" became established for these rooms, these are actually fifty halls located in the southern section of the Palace's ground floor, and they were made to bear the imperial chambers and thereby level the great difference in elevation with the northern section. Since these rooms are well-preserved and their layout largely corresponds to that of the floor-space above, they serve as a starting point for a reconstruction of the appearance of the southern section of Diocletian's Palace (Marasović 1994: 74-75). In the Middle Ages, a part of the "cellars" were used as housing, while the reallocation of these facilities is indicated by the fact that parts of a press for making oil and wine were found in one of the halls. The first person who wanted to study the cellars was British architect Robert Adam, but he was prevented from doing so. In the mid-nineteenth century, the first Split conservation specialist, Vicko Andrić, partially examined several rooms, but research only commenced in earnest in 1946, while systematic research and maintenance of the rooms began in 1955 (*ibid.* 75). Between 1956 and

1959, roughly twenty rooms in the western section of the ground floor were renovated for the public, while by 1997, forty-one rooms had been excavated and restored (Fig. 1). During this research, finds older than the original construction of the Palace itself were discovered, as well as finds from the period in which it was a residence and then from the period when the Palace made the transition into a medieval city (Marasović 1997: 32–42). The most re-

cent research was conducted several years ago, and there are rooms which have still not been examined.

U istraživanjima su otkriveni nalazi stariji od gradnje same Palače, nalazi iz vremena života u njoj, kao i oni iz doba kad se Palača transformirala u srednjovjekovni grad (Marasović 1997: 32–42). Zadnja su istraživanja provedena prije nekoliko godina, a postoji i dio koji još nije istraživan.

Natpisi o kojima je ovdje riječ mogu se različito datirati. Podatak koji nas najviše zanima jest da je dio njih nastao prije gradnje same Palače, ali se ne može sa sigurnošću utvrditi jesu li na splitskome poluotoku bili izvorno postavljeni ili su doneseni kao građevni materijal iz natpisima prebogate Salone. S obzirom na to da je mnogim materijalnim ostacima pronađenima na splitskome poluotoku dokazana prisutnost života na rimski način prije nego je Palača bila izgrađena, nije odbaciva ni mogućnost da su i natpisi nekoć stajali na tom području. Valja samo spomenuti da su na mjestu Palače pronađeni ostaci koji se sa sigurnošću datiraju prije njezine gradnje: pri ulazu u zapadni dio podruma, u supstrukcijama kriptoportika Palače, pronađena je građevina koja se datira u helenističko doba (Marović 1963: 119–121), dok su u istočnome dijelu pronađeni komadi vijenca zaobljena tlocrta s polumjerom oko 20 m, ostaci građevine s mozaičkim podom, zatim zid od velikih klesanaca, ulomci arhitektonske plastike i drugi nalazi koji se datiraju od 1. do 3. st. (Marasović 1997: 36). U kakvoj je funkciji ta arhitektura bila, danas ne znamo, no možda se može dovesti u svezu s vrelima, izvorima sumporne vode unutar Palače. Ta su se vrela vjerojatno od predantičkih vremena koristila u liječenju, pa je s vremenom na tom mjestu izgrađena i građevina s kulturnom svrhom. To potvrđuju tri natpisa uklesana u zidove "podruma" koji spominju prinos zavjeta – *huc v(otum) so(l)ve(runt)*, odnosno "ovdje su zavjetovali" (Rismondo 2005: 243–248). O arheološkim nalazima pronađenima na području splitskog poluotoka koji su prethodili gradnji Dioklecijanove palače pisano je na više mjesta, pa smatramo da ih nije potrebno i ovdje donositi.²

Rad obuhvaća ukupno devet neobjavljenih i jedan objavljen, ali dosad zagubljen, epigrafski spomenik. Uglavnom su sačuvani kao ulomci, samo su dva cijela (kat. br. 1 i kat. br. 3). Sedam je nadgrobnih natpisa, jedan je žrtvenik, dok se dvama natpisima kategorija ne može sa sigurnošću utvrditi. Među nadgrobnim su natpisima tri ulomka sarkofaga, jedna stela, jedan titulus, a za ostale se raspravlja kako su mogli izgledati. U katalogu natpisa izneseni su svi podaci za koje smo smatrali da ih treba spomenuti.

The inscriptions covered here can be dated variously. The data most interesting here is that some of them emerged prior to construction of the Palace itself, but there is no way to ascertain whether they were installed on the Split Peninsula originally or whether they were brought as construction material from Salona – otherwise rich in inscriptions. Since many physical remains found on the Split Peninsula indicate the presence of the Roman lifestyle even prior to construction of the Palace, the possibility that these inscriptions did in fact originate in this area cannot be rejected out of hand. It is worthwhile mentioning that remains were found at the Palace's site which certainly pre-date its construction: at the entrance to the western part of the cellars in the substructures of the Palace's cryptoportico, a structure was found which dates to the Hellenistic period (Marović 1963: 119–121), while in the eastern section pieces of a cornice with a rounded layout and radius of approximately 20 m, the remains of a building with a mosaic floor and a wall made of large dressed stones, fragments of architectural sculpture and other items were discovered which were dated from the first to third centuries (Marasović 1997: 36). The function of this architecture is no longer known today, but it may be brought into connection with the water springs and sources of sulphurous water which are located inside the Palace. These springs were probably used for medical treatment since pre-Classical times, so with time a building with a cult purpose was constructed at this site. This is confirmed by three inscriptions carved onto the walls of the "cellars" which mention the pledging of vows – *huc v(otum) so(l)ve(runt)*, or "here they vowed" (Rismondo 2005: 243–248). Much has already been written on the archaeological finds discovered in the territory of the Split Peninsula which preceded construction of Diocletian's Palace, so this author does not consider it necessary to go over them here.²

This work encompasses a total of nine unpublished epigraphic monuments and one that had been published, but subsequently lost. Generally they have been preserved in fragments, and only two are whole (cat. no. 1 and cat. no. 3). Seven are grave inscriptions, one is an altar, while two of the inscriptions cannot be categorized with any certainty. Among the grave inscriptions there are three sarcophagus fragments, one stela, and one titulus, while the appearance of the others is still subject to debate. All data deemed necessary is included in the catalogue

² Uputit ćemo samo na neke od njih: Jelić (1897), Cambi & Rapanić (1979), Oreb, Rismondo & Topić (1999), Rismondo (2002), Cambi (2007), Demicheli (2007).

² I shall cite only a few here: Jelić (1897), Cambi & Rapanić (1979), Oreb, Rismondo & Topić (1999), Rismondo (2002), Cambi (2007), Demicheli (2007).

Osim fizičkog opisa spomenika i predložene restitucije katalog sadržava raspravu za svaku pojedinu jedinicu, u kojoj je natpis, ako je to bilo moguće, obrađen s onomastičkoga, povijesnoga i jezičnoga gledišta.

1. ŽRTVENIK LUCIJA JUNIJA MESORA (SL.2)



Slika 2. Žrtvenik Lucija Junijs Mesora (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 2. Altar of Lucius Junius Messor (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Inventarni broj: nema inventarnog broja

Dimenzije: vis. 49 cm, šir. 19,5–23,5 cm, duž. 15–23,5 cm; veličina slova: 3 cm

Materijal: vapnenac

Sačuvan je veći dio tijela žrtvenika, ali je oštećen na mnogim mjestima. Na kruništu nedostaju dijelovi lijeve i desne prednje strane, a na bazi veći dio s desne i manji s lijeve strane. Na prijelazu kruništa u tijelo žrtvenika vidljivi su tragovi stepenaste profilacije, a slična je bolje sačuvana na prijelazu tijela u bazu žrtvenika. Natpisno je polje dosta hrapavo, a s gornje i donje strane bilo je omeđeno dvostrukim urezom koji je samo mjestimično sačuvan. Na kruništu je

of inscriptions. Besides a physical description and proposed restoration, the catalogue contains a discussion of each individual unit, in which the inscription, to the extent possible, was analyzed from the onomastic, historical and linguistic aspects.

1. ALTAR OF LUCIUS JUNIUS MESSOR (FIG. 2)

Inventory number: no inventory number

Dimensions: height 49 cm, width 19.5–3.5 cm, length 15–23.5 cm; size of letters: 3 cm

Material: limestone

Most of the altar's body has been preserved, but it has sustained damage at many places. Parts of the left and right frontal portion on the crown, and most of the right side of the base, and a smaller part of its left side, are missing. Traces of stair-shaped articulation are visible at the transition of the crown to the altar's body, and the better preserved transition from the body to the altar's base is similar. The inscription field is quite coarse, and it was bordered with a carved double lines at the top and bottom, which were only partially preserved. A circular depression is visible on the crown, which served during ritual libations and burning. The sides and back of the body are well-preserved, while an inscription carved into four lines is visible on the front. The front side of the crown bore the name of the god to whom to monument was dedicated, but it is not legible due to damage. A fragment of the letter O is visible on the central part of the crown, which may be part of the formula *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*. With such a dedication, the inscription would have five lines, and the text would read as follows:

[–] Q [–]
L IVNI
VS M̂ES
SOR EX
5 IVSS P

[I(ovi)] Q(ptimo) [M(aximo)]/L(ucius) Iuni/us M̂es/sor ex/ iuss(u) p(osuit)

Translation: *To Jupiter the best and greatest, Lucius Junius Messor by command placed.*

The letters of the inscription are generally the same size, but they are not distinguished by their beauty and standardized structure. The words are carved at a downward slant. The words are divided by tri-

vidljivo kružno udubljenje koje je služilo pri obredu libacije ili paljenja. Bočne i stražnja strana tijela dobro su očuvane, a na prednjoj je strani vidljiv natpis uklesan u četiri retka. Prednja je strana kruništa nosila ime boga kojemu je spomenik bio posvećen, no zbog oštećenja ime nije čitljivo. Na sačuvanome srednjem dijelu kruništa vidljiv je fragment slova O, što bi moglo biti dio formule *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*. S takvom bi dedikacijom natpis imao pet redaka, a tekst bi glasio:

[-] O [-]
L IVNI
VS M̂ES
SOR EX
5 IVSS P

[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) [M(aximo)]/L(ucius) Iuni/us M̂es/sor ex/ iuss(u) p(osuit)

Prijevod: *Jupiteru najboljem i najvećem, Lucije Junije Mesor po zapovijedi je postavio.*

Slova natpisa veličinom su uglavnom ista, ali ne odlikuju se ljepotom i pravilnim ustrojstvom. Recipikli su ukoso prema dolje. Riječi su odvojene rastavnim znakom u obliku trokuta (*triangulum distinguens*), a u ligaturi stoje slova M i E u trećem retku.

Kako je iz natpisa vidljivo, žrtvenik je po zapovijedi (*ex iussu*) postavio čovjek pod imenom Lucije Junije Mesor. Pretpostavka je da se ta zapovijed mora shvatiti u kontekstu božje zapovijedi (*iussu dei*). Gentilicij *Iunius* svuda je rasprostranjen i razmjerno je čest, a u Dalmaciji ga uglavnom nose italske obitelji s oslobođenima (Alföldy 1969: 90, s. v. *Iunius*). Kognomen *Messor* u Dalmaciji je zabilježen deset puta i to isključivo među autohtonim stanovništvom, odnosno Dalmatima (*ibid.* 247, s. v. *Messor*; OPEL III, s. v. *Messor*). Taj nas kognomen nadalje upućuje da je Lucije Junije Mesor pripadnik prve generacije unutar svoje obitelji koja je zadobila rimsko građansko pravo. Po kvaliteti izrade žrtvenik je djelo lokalnoga majstora, no oblik slova ne govori pobliže o dataciji. Prema svojoj imenskoj shemi Lucije Junije Mesor imao je rimsko građansko pravo, dok njegov kognomen *Messor* odaje domaće podrijetlo, pa bi se žrtvenik možda mogao datirati u 1. ili 2. st.

2. NATPIS LUCIJA STENIJA KRETIKA (SL. 3)

Inventarni broj: NA 4

Dimenzije: vis. 20–23 cm, šir. 39 cm, duž. 16 cm; veličina slova: 4,5 cm

Materijal: vapnenac

angular marks (*triangulum distinguens*), while the letters M and E in the third line are in ligature.

As seen in the inscription, the altar was installed by command (*ex iussu*) by a man named Lucius Junius Messor. It is assumed that this command should be seen as a divine command (*iussu dei*). The gentilician *Iunius* is widespread everywhere and relatively frequent, but in Dalmatia it was generally borne by Italian families with freedmen (Alföldy 1969: 90, s. v. *Iunius*). The cognomen *Messor* has been recorded in Dalmatia ten times, exclusively among the indigenous population, i.e. among the Illyrian Dalmatae (*ibid.* 247, s. v. *Messor*; OPEL III: s. v. *Messor*). This cognomen further indicates that Lucius Junius Messor was a member of the first generation of his family which secured Roman citizenship. Based on the quality of its rendering, the altar was made by a local craftsman, but the shape of the letters does not indicate anything about its dating. Based on this name formula, Lucius Junius Messor possessed Roman citizenship rights, while his cognomen *Messor* reflects domestic origins, so that the altar may possibly be dated to the first or second century.

2. INSCRIPTION OF LUCIUS STHENIUS CRETICUS (FIG. 3)



Slika 3. Spomenik Lucija Stenija Kretika (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 3. Monument to Lucius Sthenius Creticus (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Inventory number: NA 4

Dimensions: height 20–23 cm, width 39 cm, length 16 cm; size of letters: 4.5 cm

Material: limestone

Part of the left side of the grave monument has been preserved. The stone is beaten on the upper, lower and right sides, and also damaged in the lower and upper right corner of the inscription field. Mould-

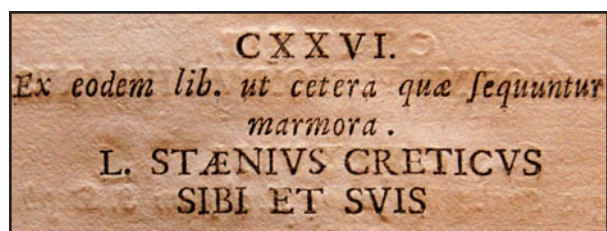
Sačuvan je dio lijeve strane nadgrobno spomenika. Kamen je otučen s gornje, donje i desne strane, a oštećen je i u donjem i gornjem desnom uglu natpisnog polja. Na lijevoj je strani vidljiva profilacija (*cymatium rectum*) i traka koja ju je obrubljivala (*fascia*). Na natpisnome se polju vide tragovi mečičastoga dljeta kojim se površina kamena pripremala za klesanje natpisa. Po natpisnome polju i s otučenih strana kamena vide se tragovi žbuke, što upućuje na to da je natpis u sekundarnoj uporabi bio uzidan, najvjerojatnije u neku kuću unutar Palače. Slova su lijepa i uklesana kvadratnom kapitalom. Sačuvani su ostaci dvaju redaka natpisa, dok je u trećem retku vidljiv samo mali dio. Natpis glasi:

L STHENIVS [----]
 CRETICVS [-----]
 ŠIB[-----]
 [-----]

L(ucius) Sthenius [L(uci?) l(ibertus?)]/ Creticus / šib[i et suis]/[posuit?] [-----]

Prijevod: *Lucije Stenije Kretik, [Lucijev oslobođenik?] sebi i svojima [je postavio]...*

Iz natpisa je jasno vidljivo ime osobe koja se zvala Lucije Stenije Kretik, a postavio ga je sebi i svojoj obitelji. Natpis približno istoga teksta objavljen je u CIL-u (III 2536 = 8643), a prije toga u knjizi o spomenicima na salonitanskome području koju je 1752. god. napisao Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (1752: X, 126). Isto je djelo iduće godine objavljeno kao dodatak drugoga sveska Farlatieve knjige *Illyricum sacrum* (Farlati 1753) – *Marmora Salonitana* (sl. 4). Zaccaria natpis osobno nije vidio, pa ne zna gdje je stajao. Ono što razlikuje natpis nađen u supstrukcijama Palače i onaj koji je objavljen u spomenutoj



Slika 4. Zaccarijino izdanje natpisa Lucija Stenija Kretika (Zaccaria 1752: X, 126)

Figure 4. Zaccaria's rendering of the inscription of Lucius Sthenius Creticus (Zaccaria 1752: X, 126)

literaturi jest dvoje. Prvo, gentilicij koji se na natpisu jasno vidi kao *Sthenius* u Zaccarije i u CIL-u je *Stænius*, a u Alföldyja *Saenius*. Natpis je zasigurno

ing (*cymatium rectum*) and the band (*fascia*) bordering it are visible on the left side. Traces of the bolster chisel used to prepare the stone for carving of the inscription are visible on the inscription field. Traces of plaster are visible along the inscription field and the chipped sides of the stone, which indicates that the inscription was built into a wall in secondary use, probably in a house inside the Palace. The letters are handsome and carved in quadratic capitals. The remains of two lines of the inscription have been preserved, while only a small part of the third line is visible. The inscription reads:

L STHENIVS [----]
 CRETICVS [-----]
 ŠIB[-----]
 [-----]

L(ucius) Sthenius [L(uci?) l(ibertus?)]/ Creticus / šib[i et suis]/[posuit?] [-----]

Translation: *Lucius Sthenius Creticus, [freedman of Lucius?] [placed] to himself and his family...*

The name of a person called Lucius Sthenius Creticus is clearly visible in the inscription, and he dedicated it to himself and his family. An inscription with roughly the same text was published in CIL (III 2536 = 8643), and prior thereto in a book on the monuments of the Salona area written in 1752 by Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (1752: X, 126). The same work was published in the following year as an appendix to the second volume of Farlati's book *Illyricum sacrum* (Farlati 1753) – *Marmora Salonitana* (Fig. 4). Zaccaria did not see the inscription personally, so he did not know where it was located. There are two things that distinguish the inscription found in the Palace's substructures and the one published in the aforementioned literature. First, the gentilician which can clearly be seen as *Sthenius* is cited as *Stænius* by both Zaccaria and in CIL, while it is cited as *Saenius* by Alföldy. The inscription was certainly read incorrectly, and Alföldy then corrected the reading of the gentilician to *Saenius*, which, as opposed to *Stænius*, has been registered in an additional five inscriptions in Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969: 117, s. v. *Saenius*; OPEL IV: 43, s. v. *Saenius*). Furthermore, the inscription in both publications is denoted as being carved in two lines,³ but today it can be clearly seen that the name alone occupies two lines, while the tops of the letters of the phrase

³ CIL III 2536: *L(ucius) Stænius Creticus / sibi et suis*.

krivo pročitano, a Alföldy je ispravio čitanje u gentilicij *Saenius*, koji je, za razliku od *Stenius*, potvrđen na još pet natpisa u Dalmaciji (Alföldy 1969: 117, s. v. *Saenius*; OPEL IV: 43, s. v. *Saenius*). Nadalje, natpis je u objema objavama naznačen kao da je bio uklesan u dva retka,³ a danas se jasno vidi da samo ime zauzima dva retka, dok se u trećem retku vide vrhovi slova sintagme *sibi et suis*. Stoga smatramo da se radi o istome natpisu koji je jednostavno bio krivo prepisan i kao takav tiskan. Nakon više od dva i pol stoljeća imamo priliku uživo vidjeti ovaj natpis koji je završio u podrumima, najvjerojatnije kao otpadni materijal neke od porušenih kuća unutar Dioklecijanove palače. Kako je spomenuto, trećeg retka natpisa danas nema u cjelini, jer je u međuvremenu otklesan ili odlomljen prilikom rušenja.

Lucije Stenije Kretik bio je slobodan građanin, a sudeći po imenu, vrlo je vjerojatno bio oslobođenik. Desni dio koji nedostaje mogao je u prvome sačuvanom retku sadržavati podatak da je bio nečiji oslobođenik. Predime njegova bivšeg gospodara predloženo u nadopuni teksta, *Lucius*, treba uzeti sa zadržkom.

Ime *Sthenius* dolazi od oskičkog predimena *Stenis* (Salomies 1987: 92, s.v. *Stenius*), a u latinskom se jeziku razvilo kao *Stenius*, *Stennius*, odnosno u aspiriranim oblicima *Sthenius* i *Sthennius*. Od te tri varijante na natpisima je najrasprostranjenija *Stenius*, dok je najrjeđe zastupljen aspirirani oblik *Sthenius* (svega jednom, i to kao gentilicij u ženskom obliku *Sthenia*; CIL XI 2415). Aspirirane oblike uglavnom nalazimo u literarnim izvorima, gdje su njegovi nositelji bili povijesne ličnosti. Tako je Samnit *Sthennius Mettius* 285. god. pr. Kr. dvaput opustošio grad Turije (Plin. *HN* XXXIV, 32). Osobu koja se zvala *Sthenius Ninnius Celer* spominje Livije (Liv. *a.U.c.* XXIII, 8), a u glasovitu govoru protiv Vera Ciceron brani stanovitog Stenija (*Sthenius*) iz grada Terma (Cic. *In Ver.* II 2, 83 i dalje). Kod Vergilija je ime jednog ratnika iz naroda Rutula bilo *Sthenius* (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 388).

Aspirirani su oblici mogli nastati pod utjecajem Grka iz južne Italije, iz čijeg su jezika došli preko pridjeva *σθένος* (snažan, jak). Ime *Σθένιος* poznato je i kao jedan od Zeusovih nadimaka (Paus. 2, 32; PWRE 1929: s. v. *Sthenios*), a na grčkim se rimskodobnim natpisima kao gentilno ime javlja *Σθένιος*. U Grčkoj, točnije u Argu, slavila se svetkovina *Σθέν(ε)ία* (Daremberg & Saglio IV: 1509, s. v. *Sthenia*). U slučaju kad se na rimskome natpisu javi gentilicij *Sthenius*, smatra se da je nastao tako da je obitelj Stenijâ

sibi et suis are visible in the third line. Thus, I believe that this is the same inscription which was simply erroneously transcribed and then printed as such. After over two and a half centuries, we have the opportunity to personally see this inscription which ended up in the cellars, probably as material cast off from one of the demolished houses inside Diocletian's Palace. As mentioned, the third line of the inscription is currently no longer whole, for in the meantime it was carved or broken off during demolition.

Lucius Sthenius Creticus was a free citizen, and judging by the name, he was very likely a freedman. The right side which is missing may have in the first preserved line contained information that he was somebody's freedman. The praenomen of his former master proposed in the supplement of the text, *Lucius*, should be taken with some reserve.

The name *Sthenius* is derived from the Oscan praenomen *Stenis* (Salomies 1987: 92, s.v. *Stenius*), and in the Latin language it developed as *Stenius*, *Stennius*, and, in aspirated forms, *Sthenius* and *Sthennius*. Of these three variants, the most widespread in inscriptions is *Stenius*, while the least common is the aspirated form *Sthenius* (only once, just as the gentilitian in the female form *Sthenia*; CIL XI 2415). Aspirated forms can generally be found in literary sources, where its bearers were historical figures. Thus the Samnite *Sthennius Mettius* devastated the city of Thurii twice in 285 BC (Plin. *HN* XXXIV, 32). A person called *Sthenius Ninnius Celer* is mentioned by Livy (Liv. *a.U.c.* XXIII, 8), and in his famed speech against Verres, Cicero defended a certain *Sthenius* from the city of Thermae (Cic. *In Ver.* II 2, 83 and further). In Virgil's writings, the name of a Rutulian warrior was *Sthenius* (Verg. *Aen.* 10. 388).

The aspirated forms may have emerged under the influence of the Greeks in Southern Italy, from whose language they came through the adjective *σθένος* (powerful, strong). The name *Σθένιος* is also known as one of the nicknames of Zeus (Paus. 2, 32; PWRE 1929: s. v. *Sthenios*), and the name *Σθένιος* appears in Greek Roman-era inscriptions as a gentilitian. In Greece, in Argos, the festival of *Σθέν(ε)ία* was celebrated (Daremberg & Saglio IV: 1509, s. v. *Sthenia*). In cases when the gentilitian *Sthenius* appears in a Roman inscription, it is deemed to have emerged when a family named *Stenii* lived in a Greek environment or took its cue from Greek written sources and reformulated its name (Salomies 1987: 92, s. v. *Stenius*). As a gentilitian, *Sten(n)ius* was the most widespread in inscriptions in Southern Italy, although present throughout the Empire, and its bearers in Dalmatia were generally Italic families (Alföldy 1969: 123, s. v. *Stennius*, *Stenius*).

³ CIL III 2536: *L(ucius) Staenius Creticus / sibi et suis*.

(*Stenii*) živjela u grčkom okruženju ili se povela za grčkim pisanim izvorima i prepravila ime (Salomies 1987: 92, s. v. *Stenius*). Kao gentilicij *Sten(n)ius* je na natpisima najviše rasprostranjen u južnoj Italiji, premda ga nalazimo posvuda po Carstvu, a njegovi nositelji u Dalmaciji su uglavnom italske familije (Alföldy 1969: 123, s. v. *Stennius, Stenius*).

U Dalmaciji taj gentilicij u obliku *Stenius/a* postoji na još osam natpisa (CIL III 2351, 2537, 8543 (9171), 8548, 8894, 9720; ILJug 654; Maršić 1999). Svi su s područja Salone, osim jednoga koji je iz Narone. Oblik *Stennia* javlja se na jednome natpisu s područja Benkovca (CIL III 9941). Tri su osobe na spomenutim natpisima sigurno grčkoga podrijetla (*Stenius Hermes* i *Sextus Stenius Strato, Stenia Tychine*), dok se za ostale podrijetlo ne može utvrditi jer se radi o nadimcima koji su vrlo rasprostranjeni. Dva se natpisa mogu datirati u 1. ili početak 2. st., dok se ostali datiraju nakon tog razdoblja. Naš bi natpis po troimenskoj shemi i prema obliku slova trebalo datirati u 1. ili početak 2. st.

Već smo spomenuli da je Lucije Stenije Kretik mogao biti oslobođenik. U tom je slučaju nekoć mogao biti rob podrijetlom s Krete, po kojoj je i dobio svoje robovsko ime *Creticus*. Nakon oslobađanja njegovo dotad jedino ime postalo je kognomen, a pretime i gentilicij preuzeo je od bivšeg vlasnika. Taj je vlasnik mogao imati gentilicij *Sthenius*, no mogao je glasiti i *Stenius*, a oslobođenik ga je, s obzirom na svoje podrijetlo, mogao prepraviti u *Sthenius*. No to i nije moralo biti tako: budući da ne znamo je li ovaj čovjek bio oslobođenik, i to podrijetlom s Krete, moguće je i da je rođen kao slobodan građanin, a nadimak *Creticus* mogao je dobiti na drugi način. Taj je kognomen posvuda rasprostranjen, a ovo je jedina potvrda u Dalmaciji (Alföldy 1969: 183, s. v. *Creticus*). Najpoznatiji nositelj tog imena bio je rimski konzul Kvint Cecilije Metel, koji je pokorivši Kretu dobio počasni kognomen (*cognomen ex virtute*) *Creticus*.

Postoji još jedna mogućnost za gentilicij u grafiji *Sthenius*, a ta je da je klesar umetnuo slovo *h* u gentilicij *Stenius*, koji se u oba slučaja isto izgovarao. Na natpisima iz Dalmacije ima nekoliko primjera za takvu hiperkorektnost, kad *h* dolazi gdje mu nije mjesto (*Heusebio*, CIL III 2315 – Salona; *Haemilio*, CIL III 14629 – Tučepi; *Hiluricum*, CIL III 1854 – Narona).

Nakon ponovnoga pronalaska i korigirana čitanja možemo zaključiti da je nedvojbeno riječ o gentiliciju *Sthenius*, koji je zasad jedini u takvu obliku potvrđen u Dalmaciji, te da unutar Carstva postoji tek još jedan u ženskom obliku (CIL IX 2415).

In Dalmatia this gentilician in the form *Stenius/a* was found in an additional eight inscriptions (CIL III 2351, 2537, 8543 (9171), 8548, 8894, 9720; ILJug 654; Maršić 1999). All are from the Salona area, except for one from Narona. The form *Stennia* appeared in one inscription from the Benkovac area (CIL III 9941). The three persons in the aforementioned inscriptions are certainly of Greek extraction (*Stenius Hermes* and *Sextus Stenius Strato, Stenia Tychine*), while the ethnicity of the others cannot be ascertained because they involve very widespread nicknames. Two inscriptions can be dated to the first or early second century, while the remaining have been dated after this period. The inscription herein examined, based on its trinomial structure and the shape of the letters, should be dated to the first or early second century.

That Lucius Sthenius Creticus may have been a freedman has already been noted. In this case, he may have formerly been a slave originally from Crete, from which he derived his slave name *Creticus*. After he obtained his freedom, his sole name up to that moment became a cognomen, while he assumed his praenomen and gentilician from his former owner. This owner may have had the gentilician *Sthenius*, but it may have also been *Stenius*, while the freedman may have – given his origins – modified it to *Sthenius*. But this need not have been the case: since we do not know whether or not this man was a freed slave, and one from Crete at that, it is possible that he was born as a free citizen, and that he may have obtained the nickname *Creticus* in some other way. This cognomen was widespread everywhere, although this is the only confirmation of its existence in Dalmatia (Alföldy 1969: 183, s. v. *Creticus*). The best known person to have this name was the Roman consul Quintus Caecilius Metellus, who was given the honorary cognomen (*cognomen ex virtute*) *Creticus* after he subjugated Crete.

There is another possibility for the gentilician in the spelling *Sthenius*, and that is that the carver inserted the letter *h* into the gentilician *Stenius*, which was pronounced the same in both cases. There are several examples of such excessive correctness in Dalmatian inscriptions, where the *h* is placed where it does not belong (*Heusebio*, CIL III 2315 – Salona; *Haemilio*, CIL III 14629 – Tučepi; *Hiluricum*, CIL III 1854 – Narona).

After its rediscovery and a corrected reading, we can conclude that it is undoubtedly the gentilician *Sthenius*, which is thus far the only one in such form registered in Dalmatia, while within the Empire there is one other one in the female form (CIL IX 2415).

3. NADGROBNI SPOMENIK DJEVOJČICE FRUKTUOZE (SL. 5)

Inventarni broj: NA 6

Dimenzije: vis. 37,5 cm, šir. 36 cm, duž. 9 cm; veličina slova: 5 cm u prvom retku, 4 cm u zadnjem retku

Materijal: vapnenac

Ta manja kvadratna stela najcjelovitije je sačuvan spomenik iz ove skupine. Nedostaje joj gornji lijevi ugao, malo je oštećena po rubovima, a otkrhnuta je i pri dnu, gdje joj je bio isklesan usadnik. Na svojem gornjem dijelu ukrašena je prikazima vegetabilnih motiva. U samim gornjim uglovima ploče nalazi se početak natpisa s uobičajenom posvetom bogovima Manima. Od svakoga slova vode od gore prema dolje dvostruke zavinate linije koje se opet uzdižu i završavaju čineći svaka krug. Unutar krugova urezane su latice ili listići. Čitav je friz omeđen jednostrukom profilacijom izdvajajući se tako od iste takve profilacije koja omeđuje polje s natpisom. U natpisnom su polju uklesana četiri retka natpisa, pa zajedno s već spomenutom formulom čine cjelovit natpis:

[-] M
FRVCTO
SE DEF AN X
FRVCTLA F
S ILIAE

[*D(is)*] *M(anibus)/ Fruct(u)o/s(a)e def(unctae) an(nis) X/ Fruct(u)la f/iliae*

Prijevod: *Bogovima Manima, Fruktuozi, preminuloj s 10 godina, (majka) Fruktula kćeri (je postavila).*

Spomenik je svojoj desetogodišnjoj kćeri Fruktuozi postavila majka Fruktula. Ime *Fructuosa* u Dalmaciji dosad nije poznato, a kao kognomen pripada u grupu kognomina koja su po svome značenju ona koja su roditelji davali svojoj djeci s nekom željom. Stoga je *Fructuosa* "ona koja je plodna, odnosno obiluje u plodovima" (Kajanto 1965: 73, 285, s. v. *Fruct(u)osus/sa*). Na ovom je natpisu njezino ime skraćeno u *Fructosa* (ovdje u dativu *Fructose*). U tako skraćenu, odnosno sinkopiranu obliku to je ime potvrđeno u još nekoliko slučajeva (*ibid.* 285, s. v. *Fruct(u)osus/sa*). Majčino je ime *Fructula* potvrđeno isključivo u Dalmaciji i to dvaput (CIL III 2052, 2488; OPEL II: 153, s. v. *Fructula*). I ono je po podrijetlu kognomen, pripada grupi izvedenih iz glagolskih pridjeva prošlih (Kajanto 1965: 352, s. v. *Fructulus/la*). Kao i

3. GRAVE MONUMENT TO THE LITTLE GIRL FRUCTUOSA (FIG. 5)



Slika 5. Nadgrobni spomenik djevojčice Fruktuoze (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 5. Grave monument to the girl Fructuosa (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Inventory number: NA 6

Dimensions: height 37.5 cm, width 36 cm, length 9 cm; size of letters: 5 cm in first line, 4 cm in the last line

Material: limestone

This small square-shaped stela is the most complete preserved monument from this group. Its upper left-hand corner is missing, it is slightly damaged at the edges, and its bottom, where a peg was sculpted, has broken off. Its upper portion is decorated with depictions of plant motifs. The beginning of its inscription, with its customary dedication to the Manes-gods, is in the upper corners of the slab itself. Double curved lines run from top to bottom of each letter and then run up again, each thus form a circle. Within the circles flower petals or leaves are carved. The entire frieze is bordered with a single mould, thereby dividing it from the same type of mould which borders the inscription field. Four lines of text are carved in the inscription field, so together with the aforementioned formula they form a complete inscription:

[-] M
FRVCTO
SE DEF AN X
FRVCTLA F
S ILIAE

[*D(is)]] *M(anibus)/Fruct(u)o/s(a)e def(unctae) an(nis) X/ Fruct(u)la f/iliae**

kćerino i majčino ime ima jednu osobitost, a ta je da je napisano sa sinkopom (*Fructla* umjesto *Fructula*). Sinkopa je na natpisima relativno česta pojava, kako među općim imenicama tako i među vlastitim imenima kakva susrećemo na natpisima iz Salone i njezine okolice (*Felicia*, CIL III 2557; *Hercli*, CIL III 3075; *Proclo*, CIL III 13290). Te bismo osobitosti interpretirali kao pojavu vulgarnog latiniteta, odnosno lokalnu inačicu izgovora pojedinih riječi, što je već potvrđeno na splitskome području (*Proclinus*, Cambi & Rapanić 1979: 98; *annuclō*, Demicheli 2007: 43–44).

S obzirom na izgled stele i to što osobe na natpisu imaju samo jedno ime, natpis bi se mogao okvirno datirati u 3. st.

4. ULOMAK NADGROBNOGA NATPISA (SL. 6)

Inventarni broj: NA 2, NA 3

Dimenzije: vis. 45 cm, šir. 33,5 cm, duž. 11,5 cm; veličina slova: 6 cm u 1. i 2. retku, 5,5 cm u 3. retku
Materijal: vapnenac

Dio natpisa sastavljen od tri ulomka. Sačuvan je veći dio desne strane spomenika, dok nedostaju lijeva strana, gornji desni dio i donji dio u svojoj punoj širini. Krajnji desni ulomak ima sasvim ravan okomit lom, pa pretpostavljamo da je na tom mjestu kamen prepiljen, vjerojatno da bi se negdje uzidao. Na prvi pogled ne zna se kako je spomenik izgledao izvorno, ali u pokušaju rekonstrukcije njegovih dimenzija došli smo do zaključka da bi bio preširok za stelu. Prosječna širina monumentalnih stela iz 1. st. bila je između 60 i 70 cm, a kad bismo ovom nepotpunu ulomku desne polovice pribrojili lijevu, tada bi čitava širina spomenika zajedno s profilacijom zasigurno iznosila između 75 i 85 cm. Stoga mislimo da se radi o fragmentu šire nadgrobne ploče, odnosno titula (*titulus*). Na gornjem je ulomku vidljiv ostatak profilacije (*cymatium inversum*) koja je obrubljivala čitav natpis. Donji lijevi ulomak oštećen je po svojoj površini, tako da natpis na tom mjestu nije sasvim čitljiv. Vidljivi su ostaci triju redaka natpisa:

[-] M
[-----]S SOLLEM
[-----]VŞ [-]ŞT
[-----]

[D(is)] M(anibus)/ [-----]s Sollem(nis)/ [-----]hic sit]
uş [e]ş t/[-----]

Translation: *To the Manes, to Fructuosa, deceased at the age of 10, (her mother) Fructula (dedicated it) to her daughter.*

The monument was dedicated to the ten year-old daughter *Fructuosa* by her mother *Fructula*. The name *Fructuosa* was unknown in Dalmatia prior to this, while as a cognomen it belongs to a group which, based on their meaning, were given by parents to their children with some wish in mind. Therefore, *Fructuosa* is "she who is fertile, or who abounds in fruit" (Kajanto 1965: 73, 285, s. v. *Fruct(u)osus/sa*). In this inscription her name is abbreviated to *Fructosa* (here in the dative *Fructose*). In this abbreviated, or syncopal, form, this name has been registered in several other cases (*ibid.* 285, s. v. *Fruct(u)osus/sa*). The mother's name *Fructula* has been registered exclusively in Dalmatia, twice (CIL III 2052, 2488; OPEL II: 153, s. v. *Fructula*). It is also originally a cognomen, belonging to a group derived from past-participial adjectives (Kajanto 1965: 352, s. v. *Fructulus/la*). Like the daughter's name, the mother's name is also notable, in that it was written as a syncope (*Fructla* instead of *Fructula*). The syncope is a relatively common phenomenon in inscriptions, both among general nouns and among the personal names such as those encountered in the inscriptions from Salona and its surroundings (*Felicia*, CIL III 2557; *Hercli*, CIL III 3075; *Proclo*, CIL III 13290). These characteristics can be interpreted as the appearance of Vulgar Latin, meaning the local variant of pronunciation of individual words, which has already been registered in the Split area (*Proclinus*, Cambi & Rapanić 1979: 98; *annuclō*, Demicheli 2007: 43–44).

Given the appearance of the stela and the fact that the persons in the inscription have only a single name, it can be roughly dated to the third century.

4. FRAGMENT OF GRAVE INSCRIPTION (FIG. 6)

Inventory number: NA 2, NA 3

Dimensions: height 45 cm, width 33.5 cm, length 11.5 cm; size of letters: 6 cm in the first and second lines, 5.5 cm in the third line

Material: limestone

This is part of an inscription consisting of three fragments. Most of the right side of the monument has been preserved, while the left side, the upper right-hand part and the lower part in its full width are missing. The extreme right fragment has an entirely straight vertical fracture, so it has been assumed

Prijevod: *Bogovima Manima, [----] Solemno je pokopan ovdje [-----].*

Ako je čitanje dijelova natpisa točno, tada se može reći da je riječ o nadgrobnome natpisu. Na to upućuju ostatak slova M u prvome retku, koje bi moglo biti dio kratice *D(is) M(anibus)*, i ostaci slova u zadnjem sačuvanom retku, koji bi mogli biti dio uobičajene sintagme na nadgrobnim natpisima *hic situs est*. Vjerojatno je bio uklesan još barem jedan redak natpisa, a u njemu je moglo pisati ime komemoratora. Slova su pravilna i klesana su kvadratnom kapitalom. Pokojniku je kognomen vjerojatno glasio *Sollemnis*. To je ime poznato u Dalmaciji samo s jednog natpisa (CIL III 9269), a datira se u vrijeme dominata (Alföldy 1969: 299, s. v. *Sollemnis*). No ako je na natpisu uistinu bila uklesana formula *hic situs est*, prema tome bi se, kao i prema obliku slova, natpis mogao datirati od 1. st. do prve polovice 2. st. Ipak, izraz *Dis Manibus* u izrazito skraćenu obliku (D M) ne javlja se prije 2. st., pa stoga ovaj natpis ne bismo ni datirali prije prve polovice 2. st.

5. ULOMAK SARKOFAGA (SL. 7)

Inventarni broj: UB 28

Dimenzije: vis. 56 cm, šir. 66 cm, duž. 10 cm; veličina slova: svuda 4,5 cm, osim slova V i A na kraju 4. i 5. retka: 2 cm

Materijal: vapnenac

Dio gornje desne strane sarkofaga odlomljen je s lijeve, desne i donje strane. S gornje se strane vidi dio utora na koji je nalijegao poklopac. Vidljiv je dio desne polovice natpisa koji obrubljuju profilacija (*cymatium inversum*) i traka (*fascia*), a vidljiv je i dio ukrasa u obliku drške (*ansa*) unutar koje i oko koje su uklesani vegetabilni motivi. Tako je čitav ukras oko natpisa imao uobičajen oblik ploče s drškama (*tabula ansata*). Ostatak natpisa koji je uklesan u osam redaka glasi:

[-----]AE
 [-----]PVELLAE
 [----] ANN XXIII M IIII
 [---]I VALENTINIANVS
 5 [--] CASSIANILLA FILIAI (SIC!)
 [---]SSIMAI QVAI DEPO (SIC!)
 [---]E III NON MART IN[---]
 [-----]QVE?[-----]



Slika 6. Ulomak nadgrobna natpisa (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 6. Fragment of grave inscription (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

that the stone was cut, probably to be built into a wall somewhere. At first glance, the original appearance of this monument cannot be discerned, but an attempt to reconstruct its dimensions has led to the conclusion that it was too wide to be a stela. The average width of monumental stelae from the first century was between 60 and 70 cm, and if the left fragment were added to this incomplete right half, the entire width of the monument together with the moulding would certainly be between 75 and 85 cm. Thus, I believe that this is a fragment of a wider gravestone, a titulus. On the upper fragment, the remains of moulding (*cymatium inversum*) which bordered the entire inscription is visible. The lower left-hand fragment is damaged over its surface, so that the inscription at this place is not entirely legible. Three lines of the inscription are visible:

[-] M
 [----]S SOLLEM
 [-----]VŞ [-]ŞŦ
 [-----]

[*D(is)*] *M(anibus)*/ [----]*s Sollem(nis)*/ [-----]*hic sit*
 uş [e]şŦ/[-----]

Translation: *To the Manes, [-----] Sollemnis is here buried [-----].*

If the reading of these parts of the inscription is accurate, then this can be said to be a grave inscription. This is indicated by the letter M in the first line, which may be part of the abbreviation *D(is) M(anibus)*, and the remains in the last preserved line, which may have been a part of the customary

[-----]ae/ [-----] puellae/ [quae vi-
xit] ann(os) XXIII m(enses) IIII/ [d(ies)---] I Valen-
tinianus/ ⁵ [et] Cassianilla filiai (sic)/ [pii]ssimai
quai (sic) depo/[sita di]e III non(as) Mart[ias] in/
[-----] oye? [-----].

Prijevod: [-----], djevojci koja je živjela 23
godine, 4 mjeseca i [--] dana, Valentinijan i Kasija-
nila svojoj najpobožnijoj kćeri koja je sahranjena 3.
dana prije martovskih nona [-----].

Ime pokojnice nije se sačuvalo, ali znamo da je pre-
minula s 23 godine i 4 mjeseca, dok je broj dana ne-
poznat. Roditelji su joj se zvali *Valentinianus* i *Cas-
sianilla*. Ime *Valentinianus* potvrđeno je na mno-
gim natpisima u Dalmaciji i dosta je često u Carstvu
općenito, dok ime *Cassianilla* nismo pronašli među
poznatim imenima u Dalmaciji, a ni u ostatku Car-
stva. Njezino je ime izvedenica od kognomena *Ca-
ssianus*, koje je u Dalmaciji potvrđeno isključivo od
kasnog principata nadalje (Alföldy 1969: 172, s. v.
Cassianus). Na natpisu je bio uklesan i podatak o
datumu na koji je djevojka bila sahranjena. Bilo je
to 3. dana prije martovskih nona, koje su padale 7.
u mjesecu, odnosno 5. marta. Moguće je da je u na-
stavku natpisa bio uklesan i podatak o indikciji za
tu godinu, kao i imena konzula za tu godinu, kako
je kod takvih natpisa bilo uobičajeno. Slova natpisa
više-manje su pravilna, ali ne baš lijepa, a svaku ri-
ječ rastavljaju znakovi u obliku točke (*punctum di-
stinguens*). Po jedno slovo iz dvaju redaka majstor
je uklesao na profilaciju (S u 4. retku, I u 5. retku).
Tekst natpisa donosi i nekoliko jezičnih osobitosti
za koje se ne zna pripadaju li među primjere vul-
garnog latiniteta ili klesarove pogreške. To se vidi u
riječima *filiai*, [*pii*]ssimai i *quai* koje su trebale biti
uklesane kao *filiae*, [*pii*]ssimae i *quae*. Ne bi bilo ni-
kakve dvojbe da su sve riječi u dativu ženskoga roda
uklesane s nastavkom *-ai* umjesto *-ae*, međutim u
prva dva retka nastavak *-ae* jasno se vidi u nepot-
punu imenu i u riječi *puellae*. Oblici na *-ai* umjesto
na *-ae* javljaju se u periodu Rimske republike i ne
bismo sugerirali nekakvu kvaziarhaičnost, odnosno
pretjeranu učenost sastavljača natpisa. Smatramo da
se radi o jezičnoj nedosljednosti klesara, pri čemu
je učestale riječi na natpisima uklesao u fonetskom
obliku (gdje se oblici na *-ae* izgovaraju isto kao one
na *-ai*), dok je riječi koje se rjeđe spominju, kao npr.
puellae ili kakvo osobno ime, uklesao u ispravnom
obliku. Za uporabu "arhajskog" oblika dativa na *-ai*
umjesto klasičnoga na *-ae* u Dalmaciji imamo neko-
liko potvrda od ranog do kasnog carstva (*memoriai*,
CIL III 2847; *Surai*, CIL III 14780; *Caicilius*, ILJug
1881; *Caisare*, ILJug 1987).

Iako nema nekih većih pokazatelja za točno vre-
mensko određivanje, smatramo da bi se prema ime-
nima i vrsti slova natpis mogao datirati u 4. st.

phrase in grave inscriptions, *hic situs est*. One more
line of the inscription was probably carved, and the
commemorator's name may have been written in it.
The letters are regular, and carved in quadratic capi-
tals. The cognomen of the deceased was probably
Sollemnis. This name is known in Dalmatia only in
one other inscription (CIL III 9269), and dated to
the period of the Dominate (Alföldy 1969: 299, s. v.
Sollemnis). But if the formula *hic situs est* was truly
carved on the monument, then this, and the shape
of the letters, may mean that the inscription can be
dated from the first century to the first half of the
second century. Nevertheless, the expression *Dis
Manibus* in exceptionally abbreviated form (D M)
did not appear until the second century, so there-
fore this inscription cannot be dated to any time
prior to the first half of the second century.

5. SARCOPHAGUS FRAGMENT (FIG. 7)



Slika 7. Ullomak sarkofaga djevojke (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 7. Fragment of girl's sarcophagus (photograph: D. Demiche-
li, 2008).

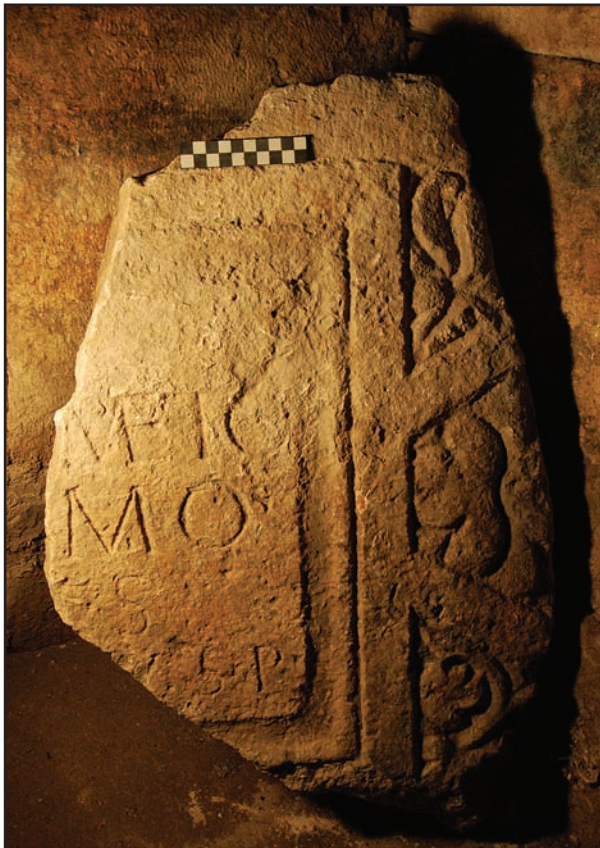
Inventory number: UB 28

Dimensions: height 56 cm, width 66 cm, length 10
cm; size of letters: all 4.5 cm, except the letters V
and A at the end of the fourth and fifth lines: 2 cm

Material: limestone

Part of the upper right side of a sarcophagus broken
off on the left, right and lower sides. A part of the
slot on which the lid was laid can be seen from the
top. Part of the right half of the inscription is vis-
ible, bordered by moulding (*cymatium inversum*)
and a band (*fascia*), while a part of the decoration
in the form of a handle (*ansa*) is also visible, with
vegetable motifs carved inside and around it. Thus
the entire decoration around the inscription has
the customary shape of a slab with handles (*tabula
ansata*). The remainder of the inscription, carved in
eight lines, reads:

6. ULOMAK SARKOFAGA (SL. 8)



Slika 8. Ulomak sarkofaga (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 8. Sarcophagus fragment (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Inventarni broj: UB 12

Dimenzije: vis. 67 cm, šir. 42,5 cm, duž. 12,5 cm;
veličina slova: 1. redak 5 cm, 2. redak 5–5,5 cm, 3.
redak 4 cm, 4. redak 3,8 cm

Materijal: vapnenac

Kao i kod prethodnog ulomka sačuvan je desni dio prednje strane sarkofaga. Na njemu su prisutni isti dekorativni elementi: natpis je obrubljen profilacijom (*cymatium inversum*) i trakom (*fascia*) na koju se s bočnih strana nastavljaju ukrasi u obliku drški (*ansae*). Unutar drški i iznad njih lijepo se vide uklesani listoliki motivi. Na gornjoj se strani vidi utor za stavljanje poklopca sarkofaga. Prvi vidljivi redak natpisa uklesan je dosta ispod profilacije, ali iznad njega vjerojatno je stajala kratica D M, koja je morala biti uklesana pri sredini natpisa koji nije ostao sačuvan. Ostatak natpisa glasi:

[-----]
[-----]M̂ETO
[-----]MO
[-----]VS
5 [-----]VS P

[-----]AE
[-----]PVELLAE
[----] ANN XXIII M IIII
[---]I VALENTINIANVS
5 [--] CASSIANILLA FILIAI (SIC!)
[---]SSIMAI QVAI DEPO (SIC!)
[---]E III NON MART IN[---]
[-----]QVE?[-----]

[-----]ae/[-----] puellae/ [quae vi-
xit] ann(os) XXIII m(enses) IIII/ [d(ies)---]I Valenti-
nianus/ ⁵ [et] Cassianilla filiai (sic)/ [pii]ssimai
quai (sic) depo/[sita di]e III non(as) Mart[ias] in/
[-----] qve?[-----].

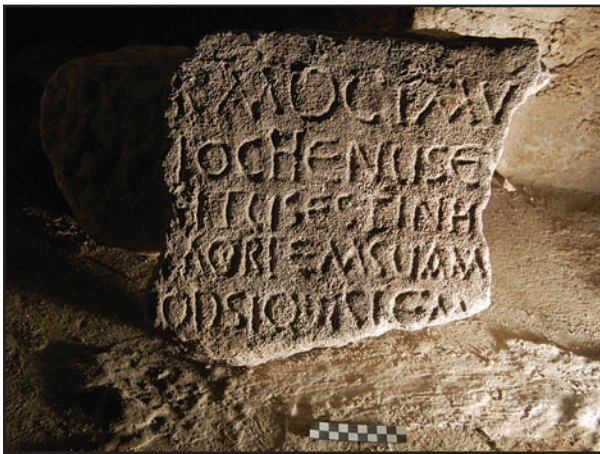
Translation: [-----], a girl who lived 23 years,
4 months [--] days, Valentinianus and Casianilla to
their most pious daughter who was buried three days
before the nones of March [-----].

The name of the deceased has not been preserved, but we know she lived to an age of 23 years, four months, while the number of days is not known. Her parents were named *Valentinianus* and *Cassianilla*. The name *Valentinianus* has been registered in numerous inscriptions in Dalmatia and it was quite frequent throughout the Empire in general, while the name *Cassianilla* has thus far not been found among the known names in Dalmatia, nor elsewhere in the Empire. Her name is derived from the cognomen *Cassianus*, which has been registered in Dalmatia only from the late Principate onward (Alföldy 1969: 172, s. v. *Cassianus*). The date on which the young woman was interred was also carved onto the inscription. This was the third day prior to the nones of March, which was the seventh of the month, i.e. March 5. It is possible that the rest of the inscription also contained indications for this year, as well as the names of the consuls for that year, which was customary for such inscriptions. The letters of the inscription are more or less regular, but not very attractive, and each word is divided by dot-shaped symbols (*punctum distinguens*). The master carver carved one letter each from two lines on the moulding (the S in the fourth line, and the I in the fifth line). The text of the inscription also contains several linguistic particularities for which it is uncertain as to whether they are examples of Vulgar Latin or carver's mistakes. This is seen in words *filiai*, *[pii]ssimai* and *quai* which should have been rendered as *filiae*, *[pii]ssimae* and *quae*. There was no doubt that all of the feminine words in the dative case are carved with the suffix *-ai* instead

[D(is) M(anibus)]/ [-----]m̂eto/[-----]mo/
[-----]us/[-----]us p(osuit)

Slova su, iako nejednake veličine u svim recima, klešana dosta pravilnom kapitalom. U ligaturi stoje M i E u prvome vidljivoj retku. Rastavni je znak uklesan između S i P u zadnjem retku. Nažalost, ostatak natpisa ne pruža nikakvu konkretnu informaciju o osobi (ili osobama) koja je tu bila sahranjena. Pokojniku je ime najvjerojatnije završavalo na *-metus*, a natpis je, ako se držimo pretpostavljene restitucije, postavila muška osoba.

7. ULOMAK MOCIMOVA SARKOFAGA (SL. 9)



Slika 9. Ulomak Mocimova sarkofaga (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 9. Fragment of the sarcophagus of Mocimus (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Inventarni broj: NA 10

Dimenzije: vis. 32–37 cm, šir. 33–39 cm, deb. 10 cm;
veličina slova: 5,5 cm u 1. retku, 4 cm u 5. retku

Materijal: vapnenac

Ulomak prednje strane sarkofaga koja je odlomljena sa svih strana osim s gornje, gdje se vidi prag na koji nalegne poklopac. Po čitavoj je površini natpisa nakupina skrame. Vidljivi su ostaci pet redaka natpisa, ali se čini da ih je natpis imao barem šest. Natpis glasi:

[-----]R MOCIMV[-----]
[-----]IOCHENVVS EX[-----]
[-----]SITVS EST IN H[-----]
[-----]MORTEM SVAM[-----]
5 [-----]OD SI QVIS TEM[-----]
[-----]

of *-ae*, although in the first two lines the suffix *-ae* can clearly be seen in the incomplete name and in the word *puellae*. Forms with *-ai* instead of *-ae* appeared during the Roman Republic period, and no quasi-archaicism is being suggested here, nor any excessive learning on the part of the inscription's carver. I believe it is a case of the carver's linguistic inconsistency, wherein he carved frequent words in inscriptions in phonetic form (where forms with *-ae* were pronounced the same as those with *-ai*), while words mentioned less, such as, for example *puellae* or any personal name, were carved correctly. There are several confirmations of use of the "archaic" form of the dative with *-ai* instead of the classic *-ae* in Dalmatia from the Early and Late Empire (*memoriai*, CIL III 2847; *Surai*, CIL III 14780; *Caicilius*, ILJug 1881; *Caisare*, ILJug 1987).

Although there are no significant indicators for a precise chronological determination, based on the names and type of letters in the inscription it could be dated to the fourth century.

6. SARCOPHAGUS FRAGMENT (FIG. 8)

Inventory number: UB 12

Dimensions: height 67 cm, width 42.5 cm, length 12.5 cm; size of letters: first line 5 cm, second line 5–5.5 cm, third line 4 cm, fourth line 3.8 cm

Material: limestone

As in the previous fragment, the right side of the front of the sarcophagus has been preserved. The same decorative elements are present on it: the inscription is bordered with moulding (*cymatium inversum*) and a band (*fascia*) onto which decorations in the form of handles (*ansae*) continue on the lateral sides. Inside the handles and above them foliate motifs can be nicely seen. A slot for placement of the sarcophagus lid can be seen on top. The first visible line of the inscription is carved at a point considerably below the moulding, while the abbreviation DM was probably above it, which had to be carved in the middle of the inscription which was not preserved. The remainder of the inscription reads:

[-----]
[-----]M̂ETO
[-----]MO
[-----]VS
5 [-----]VS P

[Presbyte?]r Mocimu[s]/ [Ant]iochenus ex [Syria?]/
[depo]situs est in h[oc tumulo]/ [post] mortem suam
[----]/⁵ [qu]od si quis tem[eraverit]/ [dabit ecclesi-
ae? -----]

Prijevod: [Prezbiter?] Mocim Antiohijac iz Sirije po-
ložen je nakon svoje smrti u ovaj grob. Ako ga tko
oskvrne, [dat će crkvi? -----].

Slova natpisa variraju veličinom i dosta su zanimljiva. Tako je slovo E zaobljeno i klesano kao na grčkim natpisima iz ranokršćanskoga perioda, dok je slovo U, koje se na latinskim natpisima gotovo uvijek piše kao V, ovdje klesano i kao V (u imenu *Mocimus*) i kao U (u riječima *Antiochenus*, *depositus* i *suam*). Prvi redak natpisa najvećim slovima spominje osobu koja se zvala *Mocimus*. Ime *Mocimus* semitskoga je podrijetla, pripada palmirskoj onomastici (transkribirano kao *m̄qymw*) i dosta je često na natpisima pronađenima u Siriji (Al As'ad & Gawlikowski 1997: *passim*). Na grčki se jezik transkribira kao *Μόκιμος*, dok je u latinskoj varijanti *Mocimus*. Ime ni u jednoj varijanti na natpisima u Dalmaciji dosad nije potvrđeno, a općenito je rijetko izvan matičnoga prostora. Najbolje potvrde za to ime u grčkom obliku epigrafski su spomenici iz Palmire na kojima se ono javlja (CIG III 4479, 4481, 4490, 4502) i freska na zidu Belova hrama iz sirijskog grada Dura Europos koja spominje svećenika Tema, Mokimova sina (Θέμιης Μοκίμου) (Lee 2000: 21–22, sl. 1/4). Freska se – prema popisu vojnika iz istog grada koji spominje ovu osobu, a uz nju još i Aurelija Mocima (Stoll 2001: 52) – može datirati u 239. god.

Libanije, poznati učitelj govornništva iz Antiohije, koji je inače izvrstan grčki izvor za poznavanje Antiohije u 4. st., spominje u jednome pismu nekog Mocima. Samo se pismo datira u 359/360. god. (Norman 1952: 143). Jedinog Mocima iz razdoblja kršćanstva čije je ime napisano grčkim alfabetom nalazimo u Vindoboni (CIG IV 9887).

Na latinskim se natpisima ovo ime javlja barem dva puta. Jedan je natpis iz Lambeza u Numidiji iz 149. god., koji spominje Mocima, sina Sumonova (CIL VIII 3917). Čini se prikladnim spomenuti da je ta osoba podrijetlom bila upravo iz Palmire (*Mocimus Sumonis filius, Palmyrenus*). Drugi je natpis iz Suse u Kampaniji, datiran između 180. i 192. god., a spominje oslobođenika Mocima (CIL X 4763). Nije sigurno je li riječ o tom imenu, ali je kao takvo restituirano i na natpisu pronađenu u Timgadu (*T. Flavio Mo[ci]mo*) (EphEp III 78).

Iz crkvenih izvora znamo za Mocima biskupa iz Arada u Fenikiji, koji je sudjelovao na koncilu u Konstantinopolu 381. god. (PWRE 1932: s. v. *Mokimos*), a Mocim je i jedan od biskupa na koncilu u Antiohiji 324. god. Uz popise biskupa koji su sudjelovali

[D(is) M(anibus)]/[-----]m̄eto/[-----]mo/
[-----]us/[-----]us p(osuit)

The letters, although unequal in size in all lines, are carved in relatively regular capitals. M and E are in ligature in the first visible line. The dividing symbol is carved between the S and P in the last line. Unfortunately, the remainder of the inscription offers no specific information on the person (or persons) who were buried here. The name of the deceased probably ended in *-metus*, and the inscription, if this assumed restitution is maintained, was probably commissioned by a man.

7. FRAGMENT OF THE SARCOPHAGUS OF MOCIMUS (FIG. 9)

Inventory number: NA 10

Dimensions: height 32–37 cm, width 33–39 cm, length 10 cm; size of letters: 5.5 cm in the first line, 4 cm in the fifth line

Material: limestone

This is a fragment of the front of a sarcophagus which is broken off on all sides except the top, where an edge to lay the lid is visible. An accretion of film is visible over the entire surface of the inscription. The remains of five lines of the inscription are visible, but it would appear that the inscription had a minimum of six lines. The inscription reads:

[-----]R MOCIMV[-----]
[-----]IOCHENV S EX[-----]
[-----]SITVS EST IN H[-----]
[-----]MORTEM SVAM[-----]
5 [-----]JOD SI QVIS TEM[-----]
[-----]

[Presbyte?]r Mocimu[s]/[Ant]iochenus ex [Syria?]/
[depo]situs est in h[oc tumulo]/ [post] mortem suam
[----]/⁵ [qu]od si quis tem[eraverit]/ [dabit ecclesiae? -----]

Translation: [Presbyter?] Mocimus Antioche-
nus from Syria laid in this grave after his death.
Should any defile it, [they shall give to the church? -----].

The letters of the inscription vary in size and they are quite interesting. Thus, the letter E is rounded and carved as in Greek inscriptions from the Early

na koncilu u Antiohiji 324. god. Sara Parvis bilježi i provincije u kojima je ovaj biskup služio. Međutim provincija uz Mocimovo ime na popisu je nepoznata (Parvis 2006: 254, 257)!

Na splitskome se natpisu javlja i ostatak pridjeva koji je restituiran kao *Antiochenus*. Taj bi pridjev mogao stajati i kao osobno ime kakvo ima npr. *Antiochianus*, salonitanski mučenik u Dioklecijanovo doba (CIL III 12839). Međutim prema izrazu *depositus est* jasno je da je riječ o samo jednoj osobi, stoga bismo taj pridjev trebali vezati uz Mocima. Dio natpisa koji slijedi nakon pridjeva *Antiochenus* restituiran je kao *ex Syria*. Iako to možda nije stajalo na natpisu, moguće je da je pokojnik htio naznačiti iz koje je Antiohije došao, s obzirom na velik broj mjesta koja su se tako zvala. To što je Mocim bio podrijetlom iz Antiohije, nije čudno za salonitansko područje, gdje je bilo još ljudi podrijetlom iz tog grada, od kojih je najpoznatiji biskup i mučenik, a danas splitski i solinski zaštitnik, Sv. Duje.

Nadopune teksta napravljene su prema analogijama kakve nalazimo na tekstovima sarkofaga iz kršćanskog perioda. To se odnosi na dio teksta koji spominje zabranu oskvrnjivanja groba, jer će onaj tko to učini morati platiti visoku kaznu crkvi ili gradskoj vlasti. Za restituciju smo predložili da će kazna morati biti plaćena crkvi, upravo zbog salonitanskih spomenika koji počesto spominju izraz *dabit ecclesiae* (npr. CIL III 2666, 12869, 12883, 14912; usp. Caillet 1988: 42).

Iako nema čvrstih dokaza da je Mocim uopće bio kršćanin, a kamoli crkvena osoba, slovo *r* u prvome retku natpisa, prije samog imena, polazište je za pretpostavku da je riječ o tituli prezbitera (*presbyter*), odnosno crkvenoga starješine i pomoćnika biskupa unutar crkvene hijerarhije. Teško bi bilo povjerovati da bi ovaj Mocim mogao biti izjednačen s onim antiohijskim biskupom Mocimom za kojeg se ne zna u kojoj je provinciji služio. Ako bi to tako i bilo, na natpisu je negdje morala biti uklesana biskupska titula, a svaku bi teoriju o prezbiterskoj službi trebalo odbaciti jer nije moguće da osoba koja je jednom bila biskup bude degradirana na rang prezbitera.

Prema eventualnoj tituli prezbitera i formuli o zabrani korištenja groba, smatramo da bi natpis trebalo datirati u 4. ili 5. st.

8. ULOMAK SIVIDIJEVA I KATULINOVA NATPISA (SL. 10)

Inventarni broj: NA 7

Dimenzije: vis. 35 cm, šir. 32 cm, duž. 8 cm; veličina slova: od 3,8 cm u 2. retku do 2,5 cm. u prvom retku

Materijal: vapnenac

Christian period, while the letter U, which in Latin inscriptions is almost always written as V, is here carved as both a V (in the name *Mocimus*) and as U (in the words *Antiochenus*, *depositus* and *suam*). The first line of the inscription with the largest letters mentions a person named *Mocimus*. The name *Mocimus* is of Semitic origin, belonging to Palmyrene onomastics (transcribed as $\mu\theta\psi\mu\omega$) and it is quite frequent in inscriptions found in Syria (Al As'ad & Gawlikowski 1997: *passim*). In Greek, it is transcribed as *Μόκιμος*, while in the Latin variant it is *Mocimus*. The name has not been so far registered in inscriptions in Dalmatia in any of its variants, and it is generally rare outside of the region of its origin. The best confirmations for this name in Greek epigraphy are the monuments from Palmyra on which it appears (CIG III 4479, 4481, 4490, 4502) and the fresco on the wall of the Temple of Bel in the Syrian city of Dura-Europos which mentions the priest Themes, son of Mocimus (*Θέμης Μοκίμου*) (Lee 2000: 21–22, fig. 1/4). The fresco – according to the register of soldiers from the same city which mentions this person, as well as Aurelius Mocimus (Stoll 2001: 52) – can be dated to 239.

Libanius, the renowned rhetoric teacher from Antioch, who is otherwise an excellent Greek source for knowledge of Antioch in the fourth century, mentioned a certain Mocimus in one of his letters. The letter itself is dated to 359/360 (Norman 1952: 143). The only Mocimus from the Christian era whose name is written in Greek script was found in Vindobona (CIG IV 9887).

This name appears at least two times in Latin inscriptions. One is an inscription from Lambaesis in Numidia dated to 149, which mentions Mocimus, son of Sumonis (CIL VIII 3917). It seems appropriate to mention that this person was originally actually from Palmyra (*Mocimus Sumonis filius, Palmyrenus*). The other inscription which mentions the freedman Mocimus is from Suesia in Campania, dated between 180 and 192 (CIL X 4763). It is uncertain as to whether this was the actual name, but this is how it was also restored in an inscription discovered in Timgad (*T. Flavio Mo[ci]mo*) (EphEp III 78).

From church sources, we know of Mocimus, a bishop from Aradus in Phoenicia, who participated in the synod in Constantinople in 381 (PWRE 1932: s. v. *Mokimos*), and Mocimus was one of the bishops at the synod in Antioch in 324. Together with the lists of bishops who participated in the synod in Antioch in 324, Sara Parvis also recorded the provinces in which this bishop served. However, the province accompanying the name of Mocimus on the list is not known (Parvis 2006: 254, 257)!



Slika 10. Ulomak Sividijeve i Katulinova natpisa (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 10. Fragment of inscription of Sividius and Catullinus (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008)

Sačuvan je gornji lijevi dio spomenika od vapnenca otkrhnutog s desne strane i pri dnu. Po kvaliteti izrade izgleda kao privatni natpis, pa bi se mogao okarakterizirati kao nadgrobnni. Na lijevoj strani i pri vrhu vidljiv je izvorni rub, moglo bi se raditi o nekakvoj vrsti stele. Fotografija je zbog sjena slova snimljena pod umjetnim svjetlom, pa se na njoj ne razlikuju jasno ostaci raznih nakupina na kamenu koje otežavaju čitanje, odnosno sugeriraju slova koja nisu uklesana. Natpis je vrlo plitko i nemarno uklesan, a vidljivi su ostaci pet redaka:

SIVIDIVS M[-----]
 CATVLLIN[-----]
 NVMERO P[-----]
 RVM TVT?[-----]
 5 IQ?[-----]
 [-----]

*Sividius m[iles ?]/ Catvllin[us][---- de]/ numero p?
 [-----]/rum tvt?[-----] /⁵ iq?[-----] / [-----]*

Natpis je uklesan nepravilnim, rustičnim slovima koja variraju veličinom. Oštećenja na površini često su sugerirala dio nekog drugog slova od onoga koje je zaista uklesano, stoga nakon detaljna pregledavanja natpisa smatramo da naše čitanje ipak najviše odgovara izvorniku. Na natpisu se spominju barem dva imena: *Sividius* i, vjerojatno, *Catullinus*. Kognomen *Sividius* (poznat i kao *Sibidius*) najbolje je poznat s diptiha Rufija Ahilija Sividija (*Rufius Achilius Sividius*) (CIL XII 133; ILS 1302), konzula 488. god., te s natpisa njegova pretka Acilija Glabriona Sibidija (*Acilius Glabrio Sibidius*) (CIL VI 1678; ILS 1281; PLRE II 1017, s. v. *Rufus Acilius*

The remainder of an adjective restored as *Antiochenus* also appears in the Split inscription. This adjective may also serve as a personal name, for instance *Antiochianus*, the Salona martyr during Diocletian's reign (CIL III 12839). However, based on the expression *depositus est*, it is clearly a matter of a single individual, so this adjective should be linked to Mocimus. Part of the inscription which follows after the adjective *Antiochenus* has been restored as *ex Syria*. Even though this may not have been in the inscription, it is possible that the deceased wanted to indicate which Antioch he came from, given the high number of places with that designation. The fact that Mocimus was originally from Antioch is not unusual for the Salona area, where they were other people originally from that city, of which the best known was the bishop and martyr, and today the patron saint of Split and Solin, St. Domnio (*Duje, Dujam*).

Supplements to the text were made according to the type of analogies found in the texts of sarcophagi from the Christian period. This refers to the part of the text which mentions the ban on defiling graves, for anyone who did so was subject to a fine paid to the church or city authorities. For this restoration, it has been proposed that the fine must be paid to the church, precisely because of Salona monuments which often mention the phrase *dabit ecclesiae* (e.g. CIL III 2666, 12869, 12883, 14912; cf. Caillet 1988: 42).

Even though there is no firm evidence that Mocimus was even a Christian, much less a member of the clergy, the letter *r* in the first line of the inscription, before the name itself, is the basis for the hypothesis that the word here is the title of *presbyter*, meaning a church elder and assistant bishop within the church hierarchy. It would be difficult to believe that this Mocimus could be equated with the Antioch Bishop Mocimus, whose province of service is unknown. For if this were the case, then the bishop's title would have to have been carved somewhere in the inscription, and any theory of presbyter service would have to be rejected, because it would not have been possible for someone who once served as a bishop to be demoted to the rank of presbyter.

Based on the possible title of presbyter and the formula on prohibition of use of the grave, the inscription should be dated to the fourth or fifth century.

8. FRAGMENT OF THE INSCRIPTION OF SIVIDIVS AND CATULLINUS (FIG. 10)

Inventory number: NA 7

Dimensions: height 35 cm, width 32 cm, length 8 cm; size of letters: from 3.8 cm in the second line to 2.5 cm in the first line

Material: limestone

Sividius). Kognomen *Catullinus* poznat je od 1. do 5. st. u čitavu Carstvu, a pogotovo je čest u keltskim provincijama (Alföldy 1969: 173, s. v. *Catullinus*). Nešto prije sredine 4. st. Akonije Katulin (*Aconius Catullinus*) bio je prefekt pretorija Italije, Ilirika i Afrike (PLRE II 188, s. v. *ACO Catullinus*). U Dalmaciji je to ime potvrđeno samo jednom, i to upravo na natpisu pronađenu u Splitu (Bulić 1908: 58, 3890 A). Za padež imena *Catullinus* na natpisu ne možemo biti sigurni je li nominativ ili dativ. Ako je dativ, tekst natpisa mogao je spominjati Sividija koji je Katulinu podigao spomenik. Tada bi se izraz *numero* u trećem retku mogao odnositi na broj godina Katulinova života, jer takvih izraza na nadgrobnim natpisima ima podosta. Izraz *numero* stoji i uz količinski iznos kojim je nešto plaćeno ili darovano, ali tada se radi o počasnim natpisima, pa takav natpis vrlo vjerojatno ne bi trpio ovako neugledna slova. Bilo da je ime *Catullinus* stajalo u nominativu bilo u dativu, imenica se *numerus* u sintagmi *ex numero* ili *de numero* povezuje s vojskom. Naime *numeri* su u rimskoj vojsci još od cara Hadrijana bile manje vojničke jedinice, sastavljene od pomoćnih postrojbi, koje su mogle imati širok spektar različitih namjena, ovisno o provinciji u kojoj su boravile. Uglavnom se radilo o izviđanju granica, a najveća je koncentracija takvih jedinica, koje su imale i svoje utvrde, bila u Britaniji, Gornjoj Germaniji, Daciji i Africi. U njima su uglavnom bili pripadnici iste etničke skupine, koji su zadržavali svoje borbene običaje i obilježja, pa na natpisima nakon oznake *numerus* često susrećemo ime etnika u genitivu plurala (npr. *numerus Palmyrenorum*, *numerus Maurorum*) (Southern 1989: 81–140).

U razdoblju kasne antike *numerus* se mora shvatiti kao termin koji zamjenjuje nekoliko vrsta postrojbi. Tako je mogao stajati umjesto termina *schola*, *vexillatio*, *legio* i *auxilium*, a svaka od tih postrojbi brojila je manje vojnika nego je to bilo u prvim trima stoljećima carstva (Hoffmann 1969: 4–5). U Saloni su dosad pronađena tri natpisa koja spominju takve jedinice u razdoblju kasne antike: *de numero Atta[cottorum]* (CIL III 9538), *[de numero] Maurorum i[uniorum]* (CIL III 9539) i *de numero sagittariorum* (Bulić 1910: 59–60, 4122 A). U djelu *Notitia Dignitatum* (prijelaz 4/5. st.) u popisu jedinica koje su pod vojnim zapovjednikom Ilirika (*magister militum per Illyricum*) spominju se razne vojne formacije (Or. XI). Uz nijednu od njih ne stoji naziv *numerus*, ali to iz navedenih razloga ne treba ni čuditi (npr. već spomenuti *Attacoti* nalaze se među četama kojima je zajednički naziv *Auxilia palatina*) (Occ. XI. 29). U dijelu koji daje popise za zapadni dio Carstva *numeri* su pobrojani kao dijelovi pokretne vojske (*legiones palatinae*, *auxilia palatina*, *legiones*

The upper left part of the limestone monument is broken off on the right side and at the bottom. In terms of quality, it resembles a private inscription, so it may be characterized as a grave inscription. The original edge is visible on the left side at the top; this may be some type of stela. Due to the shadows of the letters, the photograph was taken using artificial light, so the remains of various deposits on the stone which impede reading are not clearly distinguishable, i.e. they suggest letters that are not carved. The inscription is very shallowly carved, and the remains of five lines are visible:

SIVIDIVS M[-----]
 CATVLLIN[-----]
 NVMERO P[-----]
 RVM TVT?[-----]
 5 IQ?[-----]
 [-----]

*Sividius m[iles ?]/ Catvllin[us][---- de]/ numero p?
 [-----]/rum tvt?[-----] /⁵ iq?[-----] / [-----]*

The inscription is carved in irregular, rustic letters which vary in size. The damages to the surface often suggest part of a letter other than the one carved, so after a thorough examination of the inscription, I believe that this reading nonetheless corresponds most to the original. A minimum of two names are mentioned in the inscription: *Sividius* and, probably, *Catullinus*. The cognomen *Sividius* (also known as *Sibidius*) is best known from the diptych of Rufius Achilius *Sividius* (CIL XII 133; ILS 1302), consul in 488, and the inscription of his predecessor Acilius Glabrio *Sibidius* (CIL VI 1678; Dessau 1281; PLRE II 1017, s. v. *Rufus Acilius Sividius*). The cognomen *Catullinus* was known throughout the Empire from the first to fifth centuries, and it was particularly frequent in the Celtic provinces (Alföldy 1969: 173, s. v. *Catullinus*). Somewhat prior to the mid-fourth century, *Aconius Catullinus* was praetorian prefect of Italy, Iliricum and Africa (PLRE II 188, s. v. *ACO Catullinus*). In Dalmatia, this name has been recorded only once, in this inscription discovered in Split (Bulić 1908: 58, 3890 A). It is uncertain as to the grammatical case of the name *Catullinus* in the inscription is nominative or dative. If it is dative, the text of the inscription may mention *Sividius* who raised the monument to *Catullinus*. Then the expression *numero* in the third line may refer to the years of *Catullinus*' life, for there are a consider-

comitatenses i *legiones pseudocomitatenses*) (Occ. VII). U tom se popisu (*distributio numerorum*) nalaze i *numeri* koji su bili raspoređeni unutar Ilirika. Natpis je, nažalost, na ključnim mjestima odlomljen, tako da ne možemo biti sigurni je li uistinu spomenuta vojna postrojba, a čak i ako bismo bili posve sigurni, tada nemamo njezino ime. U prilog tomu da je posrijedi vojnički natpis išlo bi to što se u četvrtome retku vide slova *-rum*, koja bi mogla biti završetak imena postrojbe u genitivu množine.

Po onomastici, izgledu spomenika i slova, ali i po pretpostavci da natpis spominje vojnu postrojbu zvanu *numerus*, kakve su u kasnoj antici u Saloni već potvrđene, smatramo da natpis ne bi trebalo datirati prije 5. st.

9. ULOMAK NADGROBNOGA NATPISA (SL. 11)

Inventarni broj: nepoznat

Dimenzije: vis. 21–23 cm, šir. 29–34 cm, duž. 10 cm; veličina slova: 3 cm

Materijal: vapnenac



Slika 11. Ulomak nadgrobnooga natpisa (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 11. Fragment of grave inscription (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Ulomak nadgrobnooga spomenika (možda sarkofaga) oštećen je sa svih strana i ima vidljive ostatke dvaju redaka natpisa. Čini se da je prvi sačuvani redak ujedno i početni redak natpisa jer je razmak do vrha ulomka dosta veći nego do retka ispod. Površina ulomka ima rupičasta oštećenja koja kao da su posljedica kapanja vode na kamen. Ne može se utvrditi koliki je natpis izvorno bio, a vidljivi dio glasi:

able number of such expressions in grave inscriptions. The expression *numero* also accompanies the quantitative amounts of payments or donations, but then it is matter of honorary inscriptions, so such unattractive letters very likely would not have been deemed suitable for that kind of inscription. Regardless of whether the name *Catullinus* was in the nominative or dative, the noun *numerus* in the phrase *ex numero* or *de numero* is associated with the army. Namely, since Emperor Hadrian, the *numeri* in the Roman army were small military units, consisting of auxiliary formations, which could be used for a broad range of different purposes, depending on the province in which they were stationed. Generally they engaged in scouting of borders, and the highest concentration of such units, who also had their own fortifications, was in Britannia, Germania Superior, Dacia and Africa. Their members generally belonged to the same ethnic group, who generally retained their combat customs and insignia, so in inscriptions the name of the ethnicity in the genitive plural is often found after the designation *numerus* (e.g. *numerus Palmyrenorum*, *numerus Maurorum*) (Southern 1989: 81–140).

In Late Antiquity, *numerus* should be understood as a term which substitutes several types of military formations. It could thus be used instead of the terms *schola*, *vexillatio*, *legio* and *auxilium*, and each of these units had less soldiers than in the first three centuries of the Empire (Hoffmann 1969: 4–5). In Salona, three inscriptions have so far been found which mention such units in Late Antiquity: *de numero Atta[cottorum]* (CIL III 9538), [*de numero*] *Maurorum i[uniorum]* (CIL III 9539) and *de numero sagittariorum* (Bulić 1910: 59–60, 4122 A). In the work *Notitia Dignitatum* (turn of fourth to fifth century), various military formations are mentioned (Or. XI) in the list of units under the military commander of Illyricum (*magister militum per Illyricum*). Not one of them is accompanied by the term *numerus*, but due to the aforementioned reasons this should not be surprising (e.g. the already-mentioned *Attacoti* is among the detachments bearing the common name *Auxilia palatina*) (Occ. XI. 29). In the section which provides lists for the western part of the Empire, *numeri* are counted as parts of the mobile army (*legiones palatinae*, *auxilia palatina*, *legiones comitatenses* and *legiones pseudocomitatenses*) (Occ. VII). This list (*distributio numerorum*) also contains the *numeri* which were stationed within Illyricum.

The inscription is, unfortunately, broken off at key points, so that it is uncertain as to whether a military formation is actually mentioned, and if this were entirely clear, then there is still no indication

[-----]IAE V IDV[-----]
 [-----] XVII ET[-----]
 [-----]

[*Depositio?*][-----]iae V Idu[s----]/[*quae vixit ann(is)*] XVII et [-----]/[-----]

Prijevod: [*Polaganje, odn. sahrana?*] [-----],
 na 5. dan prije [----] Ida, koja je živjela 17 godina i
 [-----].

Natpis je najvjerojatnije bio postavljen ženskoj osobi, ali osim završetka jedne od riječi u ženskome rodu nema drugih dokaza za takvu tvrdnju. Slova natpisa rustična su, ali pravilna. Rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta (*triangulum distinguens*) uklesani su između AE i V te između V i I u prvome retku. Ako je predložena restitucija dijela teksta točna, moguće je da se radi o natpisu iz ranokršćanskoga razdoblja na kojem je ostao i djelomičan podatak o dataciji ukopa: petog dana prije Ida nekog mjeseca, ali ne znamo kojeg. Nakon broja godina slijedi veznik *et*, što upućuje na to da je natpis mogao biti uklesan za još neku osobu. Nadopuna početka teksta riječju *depositio* samo je prijedlog jer mnogi ranokršćanski natpisi na sarkofazima počinju upravo na taj način. Natpis ne pruža mnogo elemenata za poblizu dataciju, ali smatramo da ga ne bi trebalo datirati prije kraja 3. ili početka 4. st.

10. ULOMAK NATPISA (SL. 12)

Inventarni broj: nepoznat

Dimenzije: vis. 23–27 cm, šir. 31,5 cm, duž. 17,5 cm;
 veličina slova: 4,2 cm

Materijal: vapnenac

Sačuvan je gornji lijevi ulomak natpisa kojemu se ne može odrediti kategorija. S lijeve strane spomenika vidljiva je stepenica niža 10 cm od površine natpisnog polja. Ta je razlika nastala otklesivanjem kamena na željeni format kako bi se mogao negdje ugraditi kao spolij. To se vidi prema ostacima žbuke koja se nalazi na stepenici. Grublje klesana široka traka obrubljuje uglačano natpisno polje s gornje i lijeve strane. Vidljiv je početak dvaju redaka natpisa lijepo uklesanih slova:

PER[-----]
 T[-----]
 [-----]

of its name. However, further indication that this may be a military inscription is the fact that in the fourth line the letters *-rum* are visible, which may be the ending of a unit name in the genitive plural.

Given the onomastics, the appearance of the monument and the letters, and also the hypothesis that the inscription mentions a military formation called a *numerus*, which have already been registered in Salona in Late Antiquity, the inscription should not be dated prior to the fifth century.

9. FRAGMENT OF GRAVE INSCRIPTION (FIG. 11)

Inventory number: unknown

Dimensions: height 21–23 cm, width 29–34 cm,
 length 10 cm; size of letters: 3 cm

Material: limestone

This fragment of a grave monument (perhaps a sarcophagus) is damaged on all sides and bears the visible remains of two lines of an inscription. It would appear that the first preserved line is also the beginning of the inscription, because the intervening space to the top of the fragment is much greater than space between the two lines. The surface of the fragment has pock marks on it, which seem to be the consequence of water dripping on the stone. There is no way to determine the extent of the original inscription, but the visible part reads:

[-----]IAE V IDV[-----]
 [-----] XVII ET[-----]
 [-----]

[*Depositio?*][-----]iae V Idu[s----]/[*quae vixit ann(is)*] XVII et [-----]/[-----]

Translation: [*Placement, or interment?*] [-----],
 on the fifth day prior to [----] the Ides, who lived 17
 years and [-----].

The inscription was probably dedicated to a woman, but with the exception of the end of a single word in the feminine form, there is no other evidence for this assertion. The letters of the inscription are rustic, but regular. The triangular dividing marks (*triangulum distinguens*) are carved between the AE and V and between the V and I in the first line. If the proposed restoration of the text is accurate, it is possible that this was an inscription from the Early



Slika 12. Ulomak natpisa (snimio: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Figure 12. Inscription fragment (photograph: D. Demicheli, 2008).

Slova natpisa su tanka, ali lijepa i pravilno ustrojena. Slova u prvome retku vjerojatno predstavljaju početak nečijeg imena koje je počinjalo s *Per-*. Dosad su u Dalmaciji s tim početkom potvrđeni gentiliciji *Percennius* i *Persius*, ali nisu isključeni i neki koji u nas nisu zabilježeni, a takvih je još petnaestak. No iako natpis nema rastavnih znakova, početno bi slovo P moglo stajati i za predime *Publius*. Spomenik ne daje nekakvih čvršćih elemenata za poblizu dataciju, ali smatramo da je mogao biti izrađen u 2. ili 3. st.

ZAKLJUČAK

Iako je u radu obrađeno deset epigrafskih spomenika, sačuvana su imena na njih sedam. Na tih se sedam natpisa spominje deset osoba. Na dvama je natpisima ime napisano u troimenskoj varijanti, dok je kod ostalih vidljiv kognomen, bilo kao jedino ime koje je osoba nosila bilo kao jedino ime koje se na natpisu sačuvalo. Tako ukupno imamo dva predimena (*Lucius*), dva gentilicija (*Iunius* i *Sthenius*) i deset kognomina. Imena daju vrlo specifičnu onomastičku sliku. Naime osim što se općenito radi o

Christian period, on which some partial data on the dating of the burial remain: the fifth day prior to the Ides of a month, although we do not know which. After the year the conjunction *et* follows, which indicates that the inscription may have been carved for another person as well. The expansion of the beginning of the text into the word *depositio* is only a suggestion, because many Early Christian inscriptions on sarcophagi begin just like this. The inscription does not provide many elements for precise dating, but I believe it should be dated prior to the end of the third century or the early fourth century.

10. INSCRIPTION FRAGMENT (FIG. 12)

Inventory number: unknown

Dimensions: height 23–27 cm, width 31.5 cm, length 17.5 cm; size of letters: 4.2 cm

Material: limestone

The upper left-hand fragment of an inscription is preserved, which cannot be categorized. On the left side of the monument, a step 10 cm lower than the surface of the inscription field is visible. This difference emerged due to carving of the stone to the desired size so that it could be installed somewhere as spolia. This is indicated by the remains of plaster found on the step. A more coarsely carved wide band borders the polished inscription field on the upper and left sides. The beginning of two lines of the inscription, with nicely carved letters, is visible:

PER[-----]
T[-----]
[-----]

The letters of the inscription are thin, but nicely and regularly arranged. The letters in the first line probably denote the beginning of a person's name which began with *Per-*. So far the gentilicians *Percennius* and *Persius* have been recorded in Dalmatia, but some which may not yet have been registered here cannot be excluded – and there are fifteen such gentilicians. Even though the inscription lacks dividing marks, the initial letter P may also represent the praenomen *Publius*. The monument does not provide any solid elements for precise dating, but I believe it may have been made in the second or third century.

imenima koja su u epigrafiji relativno rijetka, na uzorku od tako malog broja imena nalaze se četiri imena koja na natpisima Dalmacije susrećemo prvi put (*Fructuosa, Mocimus, Sividius, Cassianilla*), a jedno je ime prvi put uopće spomenuto u epigrafiji (*Cassianilla*). Nadalje, kao i mnogi natpisi Dalmacije, i nekoliko ovih splitskih dalo je dio uvida u vulgarni latinitet na ovome području (kat. br. 3 i kat. br. 5). Osim presjeka onomastičke slike možemo donekle pokušati nazreti i društvenu sliku koju očitavamo s natpisa. Za neke od osoba možemo biti sigurni da su kao stranci došli u ove krajeve: Lucije Stenije Kretik je Grk i vjerojatno je bio oslobođenik, Mocim je Sirijac iz Antiohije i moguće je da je bio prezbiter, a Sividije i Katulin, pretpostavljamo vojnici, vjerojatno su također stranoga podrijetla. Ostale su osobe najvjerojatnije domaćega podrijetla, a za Lucija Junija Mesora to možemo biti sigurni. Moramo spomenuti i pretpostavku da su spomenici pod br. 7, 8 i 9, a možda i 5, najvjerojatnije pripadali kršćanima.

Bilo da su pripadali Aspalatu bilo Saloni, natpisi govore o stanovnicima istoga područja. Međutim Salona je ionako dobro potvrđena svakojakom epigrafskom građom i ovih nekoliko natpisa neznatno upotpunjuje sliku o njezinim stanovnicima. No ako je barem jedan dio njih pripadao Aspalatu, slika se s većim pomakom mijenja nabolje i, premda se to područje naziva *ager Salonitanus*, bilo bi od vrlo velike važnosti rasvijetliti ulogu tog antičkog naselja na splitskome poluotoku kao i njegov odnos prema Saloni.

CONCLUSION

Even though ten epigraphic monuments are analyzed in this work, only seven have preserved names on them. Ten persons are mentioned in these seven inscriptions. In two inscriptions, the name is written in the trinomial variant, while in the rest the cognomen is visible, either as the only name of the person or as the only name in preserved in the inscription. So there are a total of two praenomens (*Lucius*), two gentilicians (*Iunius* and *Sthenius*) and ten cognomina. The names provide a very specific onomastic picture. Namely, besides the fact that these are names which are relatively rare in epigraphy, in this sampling of a relatively small number of names there are four names which have been recorded for the first time in inscriptions from Dalmatia (*Fructuosa, Mocimus, Sividius, Cassianilla*), and one name mentioned in epigraphy for the first time ever (*Cassianilla*). Furthermore, like many inscriptions in Dalmatia, several of these from Split also provide some insight into Vulgar Latin in this region (cat. no. 3 and cat. no. 5). Besides the cross-section of the onomastic picture, the inscriptions can be used to attempt a limited interpretation the social picture. For some individuals, it is certain that they came to this region as foreigners: Lucius Sthenius Creticus was Greek and probably a freedman, Mocimus was a Syrian from Antioch and it is possible that he was a presbyter, while Sividius and Catullinus were, it is assumed, soldiers who were probably also foreign in origin. The remaining persons were probably of local origin, and in the case of Lucius Junius Messor this is certain. Another hypothesis that must be mentioned is that the monuments under no. 7, 8 and 9, and perhaps 5 as well, probably belonged to Christians.

Regardless of whether they come from Asphalatos or Salona, the inscriptions speak of the residents of the same area. However, Salona is already well registered in all manner of epigraphic materials and these several inscriptions only negligibly enhance the picture of its residents. But if at least one of them came from Asphalatos, the picture is greatly enhanced for the better and, although this area was called the *ager Salonitanus*, it would be of great importance to the illumination of the role of this Classical settlement on the Split Peninsula and its relationship with Salona.

INDEX NOMINUM COGNOMINUM VIRORUM ET MULIERUM

<i>Cassianilla</i>	kat. br. 5 / cat. no. 5
<i>Catulli[nus]</i>	kat. br. 8 / cat. no. 8
<i>Fruct(u)la</i>	kat. br. 3 / cat. no. 3
<i>Fruct(u)osa</i>	kat. br. 3 / cat. no. 3
<i>L. Iunius Messor</i>	kat. br. 1 / cat. no. 1
<i>Mocimu[s]</i>	kat. br. 7 / cat. no. 7
<i>Sividius</i>	kat. br. 8 / cat. no. 8
<i>Sollem[nis]</i>	kat. br. 4 / cat. no. 4
<i>L. Sthenius Creticus</i>	kat. br. 2 / cat. no. 2
<i>Valentinianus</i>	kat. br. 5 / cat. no. 5

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KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

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CIG IV	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , vol. IV, Berlin, 1874.
CIL III	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinatum</i> , vol. III, <i>Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Graecarum, Illyrici</i> , Berlin, 1902.
CIL VI	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinatum</i> , vol. VI, <i>Inscriptiones urbis Romae</i> , Berlin, 1882.
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