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## Nekoliko novih antičkih spomenika iz Skradina

### Several new Antique monuments from Skradin

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Autori u radu opisuju i analiziraju nekoliko novih antičkih spomenika s prostora grada Skradina. Osobito su značajni spomenici koji prvi put dokumentiraju štovanje kulta *Magnae Matris* u antičkoj Skardoni. To su žrtvenik s dedikacijom *Matri Deum Magnae* i mramorna glava božice, koji su pronađeni u selu Skorićima ponad Skradina, gdje je bio deponiran materijal iskopan tijekom gradnje kanalizacijskog sustava u Skradinu. Na istom je odlagalištu pronađen i žrtvenik s posvetom Jupiteru. Navedeni spomenici nalaze se u vlasništvu Ivana Skorića. U Župnom uredu u Skradinu pohranjeni su ulomak liburnskog cipa i manji ulomak nadgrobnog natpisa. U vlasništvu Mile Bedrice nalazi se mramorna figurica *Libera - Dioniza* pronađena u Piramatovcima. U vlasništvu Tome Pulića nalazi se nadgrobni spomenik obitelji *Papinius* iz Salone, koji je godine 1886. dokumentiran u Rupotinama iznad Solina.

Autori u radu opisuju i dijelove zidane operative obale luke antičke Skardone, koju su uočili uz desnu obalu rijeke Krke nizvodno od uvale Rokovače, odnosno proširenja suvremene ACI marine Skradin.

*Ključne riječi: epigrafski spomenici, kulna skulptura, Scardona (Skradin)*

In this paper, its authors describe and analyze several new Antique monuments from the town of Skradin. Particularly significant are those monuments which document for the first time worship of the cult of the *Magna Mater* in ancient Scardona. This includes the altar bearing a dedication to "*Matri Deum Magnae*" and a marble head of the goddess, which were found in the village of Skorići just above Skradin, where materials excavated during construction of Skradin's sewage system were dumped. An altar bearing a dedication to Jupiter was found at the same site. These monuments are owned by Ivan Skorić. A fragment of a Liburnian cippus and a small fragment of a grave inscription are held in the parish rectory in Skradin. A marble figurine of *Liber/Dionysus* found in Piramatovci is currently owned by Mile Bedrica. The gravestone of the *Papinius* family from Salone, documented in Rupotina above Solin in 1886, is currently owned by Tome Pulić.

The authors also describe the parts of the stone quay of ancient Scardona's harbour, which they observed along the right bank of the Krka River downstream from Rokovača Bay, i.e. the extension of the contemporary ACI Skradin Marina.

*Key words: epigraphic monuments, cult sculpture, Scardona (Skradin)*



Slika 1.  
Prostor odlagališta u selu Skorićima ponad Skradina, gdje je deponiran materijal iskopan tijekom gradnje kanalizacijskog sustava grada Skradina

Figure 1.  
Disposal site in the village of Skorići, above Skradin, where the materials excavated during construction of Skradin's sewage system were dumped

U *Šibenskom listu* br. 2304 od 1. ožujka 2008. na str. 3 objavljen je članak autora Ivica Sušića s intrigantnim naslovom "Kulturni spomenici na smeću". U članku je navedeno kako su na jednom od odlagališta materijala iskopanog tijekom gradnje novoga kanalizacijskog sustava u Skradinu, tj. na privatnom posjedu u selu Skorićima ponad Skradina, pronađeni zanimljivi arheološki predmeti, ponajviše ulomci rimske keramike i brončani novac, ali i dijelovi kamene spomeničke arhitekture. Predmete je pronašao gospodin Ivan Skorić. Tekst članka popraćen je i fotografijama na kojima se jasno vidjelo da su pronađeni značajni antički kameni spomenici, a fotografija žrtvenika s posvetom *Matri Deum Magnae* bila je izravan dokaz da se u Skradinu slučajno naišlo na svetište *Magnae Matris*. Potaknuti objavom novih skardonitanskih nalaza pronađenih u neobičnim okolnostima (na deponiju!), odlučili smo ih osobno pogledati. Posjetivši 6. ožujka 2008. gospodina Ivana Skorića, uvjerali smo se da su na odlagalištu u blizini njegove obiteljske kuće u Skorićima ponad Skradina doista pronađeni mramorni arhitektonski ulomci, dijelovi mramornoga kipa *Magnae Matris* (glava i koljeno božice) i žrtvenik od bijelog vapnenca s posvetnim natpisom, koji su pripadali inventaru skardonitanskoga metroona.<sup>1</sup> Obišli smo tada i prostor odlagališta na kojemu je među bademima razasuta golema količina materijala iskopana tijekom gradnje kanalizacijskog sustava u gradu Skradinu (sl. 1). Na pojedinim mjestima jasno se uočavala veća koncentracija građevinske

The 1 March 2008 edition of the local newspaper *Šibenski list* (no. 2304) contains an article on p. 3 by Ivica Sušić with the intriguing headline "Cultural monuments in the dump". In it, Sušić details how some very interesting archaeological pieces, mostly fragments of Roman pottery and bronze coins, as well as components of monumental stone architecture, were found at one of the dump sites for materials excavated during construction of the new sewage system in Skradin, i.e., on private property in the village of Skorići just above Skradin. These items were found by Mr. Ivan Skorić. The article is accompanied by a photographs, which clearly show that some major Antique stone monuments were found, and the photograph of an altar bearing the dedication "*Matri Deum Magnae*" served as direct evidence that a shrine to the *Magna Mater* was discovered entirely by chance in Skradin. Prompted by the publication of new Scardona finds discovered under unusual circumstances (at a construction waste dump!), we decided to examine them personally. Upon our arrival at the property of Mr. Ivan Skorić on 6 March 2008, we confirmed that marble architectural fragments, parts of a marble statue of the *Magna Mater* (head and knee of the goddess) and a white limestone altar with a dedicatory inscription, all belonging to the Scardona Metroon<sup>1</sup> had indeed been discovered at the dump site near his family home in Skorići above Skradin. At the time, we also toured the dump site, at which, strewn about among the almond trees, there was an immense quantity of materials excavated during construction of the sewage system in Skradin (Fig. 1). At specific points, high concentrations of

<sup>1</sup> Posjet su dogovorili Joško Zaninović, ravnatelj Gradskog muzeja u Drnišu, i don Frane Glasnović, župnik i dekan skradinski.

<sup>1</sup> The visit was arranged by Joško Zaninović, the director of the Town Museum in Drniš, and Fr. Frane Glasnović, the Skradin pastor and dean.



šute, koju je činilo obrađeno i poluobrađeno kamenje s tragovima žbuke, što je siguran dokaz da se iskopom ušlo u slojeve s ostacima ranijih građevina. Budući da se u iskopanom materijalu nalaze brojni ulomci amfora i drugih keramičkih posuda, također i ulomci stakla, novac i neki metalni predmeti, ne dvojimo da se tijekom iskopa teškim strojevima duboko ušlo u antički sloj. Prema kazivanju I. Skorića, materijal koji je deponiran na odlagalištu u Skorićima bio je iskopan u Skradinu na lokalitetu Rokovača, tj. na urbanoj periferiji grada Skradina uz istoimenu uvalu, gdje su već ranije dokumentirani vrlo vrijedni ostatci antičkih objekata.

Nakon objave prve novinske vijesti o nalazu arheoloških spomenika pronađenih na odlagalištu u Skorićima, u *Jutarnjem listu* od 13. ožujka 2008. o istoj je temi objavljen drugi članak, autora Stanka Ferića, pod naslovom "Devastirano arheološko područje antičke Skardone".<sup>2</sup> Taj je članak izazvao javnu reakciju Nediljka Duića, skradinskoga gradonačelnika, koji je u *Jutarnjem listu* od 19. ožujka 2008. demantirao da je materijal deponiran na odlagalištu u Skorićima iskopan tijekom gradnje gradskoga kanalizacijskog sustava, odnosno utvrdio je da taj materijal potječe s gradilišta privatnih kuća. Pritom je posebno naglasio da je tijekom građevinskih radova na izgradnji gradskoga kanalizacijskog sustava bio osiguran stalni arheološki nadzor, a devastaciju arheološkog područja pripisao je neodgovornim investitorima, koji su bez valjane građevinske dozvole izbjegli arheološki nadzor. Javno očitovanje nadležnih konzervatorskih i muzejskih institucija o ovom nemilom događaju potpuno je izostalo. Kamene spomenike i druge arheološke predmete koje je pronašao na odlagalištu, Ivan Skorić privremeno je pohranio u svoju obiteljsku kuću. Od samoga je početka jasno obznanio da ih je voljan darovati budućem skradinskom muzeju,<sup>3</sup> međutim to nije spriječilo pojedince da na njega čine grube pritiske s krajnjim ciljem da mu se oduzmu na odlagalištu pronađeni arheološki predmeti, koje je on, navodno, protuzakonito otuđio. Nije na nama da sudimo o tome tko je počinio profesionalnu pogrešku ili barem osjeća moralnu odgovornost zbog počinjene devastacije, ali moramo naglasiti da po našem dubokom uvjerenju u konkretnom slučaju Ivan Skorić nije učinio nikakve nedopuštene radnje zbog kojih bi trebao snositi bilo kakve posljedice. A to što je preko medija, što je u tom trenutku možda bio i jedini mogući način, informirao javnost, dakle i onu arheološku, o pronalasku vrijednih spomenika na deponiju i tako indirektno upozorio na propuste institucija nadležnih za zaštitu kulturne baštine i arheološki nadzor tijekom građevinskih radova na kanalizacijskom sustavu (ili pri gradnji privatnih kuća) u Skradinu, posebna je priča. Tijekom ljetnih mjeseci 2008. na odlagalištu u Skorićima uz nazočnost

construction rubble was observed which consisted of dressed and semi-dressed stone with traces of plaster, and this is certain evidence that the digging encroached upon layers containing the remains of earlier structures. Since numerous fragments of amphorae and other ceramic vessels, as well as pieces of glass, coins and some metallic items, were found among the excavated materials, we have no doubt that the heavy construction machinery cut into an Antique layer. According to Skorić, the material dumped in Skorići was excavated in Skradin at the Rokovača site, i.e. in the urban periphery of Skradin next to the bay of the same name, where very valuable remains of Antique structures had already been documented earlier.

After the first newspaper report on the discovery of archaeological artefacts at the disposal site in Skorići, on 13 March 2008 the national daily *Jutarnji list* carried the second article on this topic, by reporter Stanko Ferić, under the headline "Ancient Scardona archaeological zone devastated".<sup>2</sup> This article provoked a public response by Skradin Mayor Nediljko Duić, who, in the 19 March 2008 edition of *Jutarnji list*, denied that the material dumped in Skorići had been excavated during construction of the town's sewage system, claiming that it had originated at a private home construction site. He underlined that constant archaeological oversight had been in place throughout construction works on the town's sewage system, and he attributed the devastation of archaeological sites to irresponsible investors, who bypassed archaeological oversight by failing to secure valid construction permits. A public response to this unfortunate incident from the relevant conservation and museum institutions has been entirely absent. Ivan Skorić temporarily stored the stone monuments and other archaeological items that he found at the dump site in his family home. From the very beginning he made it clear that he is willing to donate them to a future Skradin museum,<sup>3</sup> although this did not prevent certain individuals from subjecting him to rather unseemly pressure with the ultimate goal of seizing the archaeological items he found at the dump site, claiming that he had taken them illegally. It is not for us to judge who committed a professional error or who should feel some measure of moral culpability for the damage done, but we must emphasize our deep conviction that in this specific case Skorić did not do anything impermissible for which he should bear any consequences. The fact that he turned to the media - at the time perhaps the only option - to inform the public, including the archaeological profession, of the discovery of valuable monuments at a dump site and thus point out the failures of the institutions responsible for safeguarding the cultural heritage and for conducting archaeological oversight of construction works for the sewage system (or the construction of private homes) in Skradin is a story unto itself. During the summer months of 2008, the disposed materials were examined in the



Slika 2.  
Ulomak antičkog sarkofaga s prikazima erota uzidan u zid kuće Formenti u Skradinu

Figure 2.  
Fragment of Antique sarcophagus bearing images of Erotes built into the wall of the Formenti house in Skradin

arheologa obavljeno je pretresanje deponiranog materijala, no o eventualnim nalazima ne znamo ništa. Budući da kiša pomalo ispire površinu, a tijekom vremena dolazi i do slijeganja materijala, nešto kasnije iste godine i na istom odlagalištu Ivan Skorić pronašao je još jedan žrtvenik, ali taj je posvećen Jupiteru.

Čini se kako je ovaj neuobičajeni slučaj pronalaska arheoloških spomenika na odlagalištu u Skorićima potaknuo nekoliko hvale vrijednih projekata na prezentaciji i očuvanju arheološke baštine antičke Skardone. Naime, 25. srpnja 2009. u Skradinu je otvorena izložba *Scardonae lapides. Reljefni i epigrafski spomenici Skardone*. Autor izložbe je Toni Brajković, kustos Arheološkog odjela Muzeja grada Šibenika, koji je u izložbenom prostoru budućega Gradskog muzeja (službeno otvorenom 30. rujna 2009.) izložio skardonitanske antičke spomenike iz fundusa Muzeja grada Šibenika, ali i nekoliko spomenika u vlasništvu privatnih osoba. Na izložbi su bili izloženi i neki u arheološkoj literaturi već poznati spomenici, koji su nakon dugogodišnjeg čamljenja u prostoru Župnog ureda ili višegodišnje izloženosti atmosferilijama u dvorištu skradinske župne crkve konačno adekvatno zbrinuti i dolično prezentirani. Kao posebnu akciju u sklopu pripreme izložbe valja istaknuti vađenje dviju bočnih strana antičkoga sarkofaga s prikazima erota (sl. 2), koji su bili ugrađeni u oronuli kameni

presence of an archaeologist, although we have no information on any possible finds. Since precipitation washed out the surface somewhat, and over time the terrain settled, Skorić was able to find another altar, this one dedicated to Jupiter, a little later in that same year.

It would appear that this unusual case of the discovery of archaeological monuments at the disposal site in Skorići prompted several praiseworthy projects aimed at the preservation and presentation of ancient Scardona's archaeological heritage. For on 25 July 2009, the exhibition "Scardonae lapides. Relief and Epigraphic Monuments of Scardona" opened in Skradin. The exhibition was arranged by Toni Brajković, the curator of the Archaeological Museum of Šibenik, who placed ancient Scardona monuments from the Šibenik Museum's collection as well as several privately-owned pieces on exhibit in the premises of the future Town Museum (formally opened on 30 September 2009). Some monuments already known in the archaeological literature were put on display, which, after languishing for many years in the parish rectory or in the courtyard of the Skradin parish church (where they were exposed to weathering), were finally adequately taken care of and properly presented. A particularly notable activity done in preparation for the exhibition was the extraction of two lateral sides of an Antique sarcophagus bearing images of Erotes (Fig. 2), which were incorporated into the collapsed stone wall of the

2 *Jutarnji list*, 13. ožujka 2008. "Oborine i slijeganje nekoliko desetaka tisuća prostornih metara nasute zemlje na tri golema odlagališta u selima Skorići i Bratiškovci otkrili su da je tijekom višegodišnje gradnje kanalizacije u Skradinu došlo do uništavanja i devastacije arheološkog područja antičkoga grada Skardone golemih razmjera i posljedica."

3 *Jutarnji list*, 13. ožujak 2008.

2 *Jutarnji list*, 13 March 2008. "Precipitation and settling of several dozen thousand cubic meters of earth fill at three enormous dump sites in the villages of Skorići and Bratiškovci have revealed that during construction of the sewage network in Skradin the archaeological zone of the ancient city of Scardona was destroyed to an extensive degree, with devastating consequences."

3 *Jutarnji list*, 13 March 2008.



zid kuće Formenti i izloženi brojnim rizicima uništenja, a nakon konzervacije su rekonstruirani i izloženi. Prethodno je u Muzeju grada Šibenika, 23. prosinca 2008., bila otvorena izložba *Arheološki tragovi kultova i religija na šibenskom području*. Izbor antičkih kulturnih spomenika učinio je Toni Brajković, a među eksponatima izloženo je i nekoliko skardonitanskih spomenika, odnosno i za potrebe ove izložbe Ivan Skorić je spremno ustupio spomenike koje je pronašao na odlagalištu. A u kontekstu utvrđivanja točne lokacije odakle je dovezen materijal deponiran u Skorićima, zanimljivo je da u katalogu izložbe postavljene u Skradinu Toni Brajković piše: "U već spomenutom predjelu Rokovače nađeni su, osim ostataka najvjerojatnije horeuma i ostaci podnice s mozaičkim podom urbane vile. Tijekom kasne antike i ranog kršćanstva neki od prostora lučkog skladišta se prenamjenjuju možda u cemetrijalnu baziliku, budući da je u tom arealu pronađeno 12 grobova te dva kamena sarkofaga koji datiraju u 4. - 5. stoljeće. U blizini se nalazilo svetište Velike majke (*Magnae Mater*), na dubini od oko 5 metara ispod recentnog sloja zemlje. Ono je nažalost uništeno radovima na kolektoru. Ostali su sačuvani samo dijelovi skulpture (glava i koljeno) od finog mramora (kat. br. 18), i žrtvenik njoj posvećen."<sup>4</sup> Dakle, to je izravna potvrda da je u Skradinu utvrđena točna lokacija na kojoj je iskopan materijal u kojemu je Ivan Skorić pronašao kamene spomenike i druge arheološke nalaze, odnosno to je potvrda njegova navoda da je materijal koji je deponiran u Skorićima dovezen s lokaliteta Rokovača.

Držimo da je ovaj za arheološki članak neobičan i opsežan uvod bio prijeko potreban kako bismo navodeći činjenice objasnili neuobičajeni kontekst nalaza arheoloških spomenika na odlagalištu u Skorićima, o kojima namjeravamo dati i svoj osvrt. Isto tako obradit ćemo i nekoliko antičkih spomenika koje smo tijekom naših obilazaka dokumentirali u Župnom uredu u Skradinu, kao i spomenike koji se nalaze u vlasništvu Mile Bedrice u Skradinu i Tome Pulića u Bićinama kod Skradina.<sup>5</sup>

#### Žrtvenik posvećen Velikoj Majci Bogova<sup>6</sup>

Žrtvenik s posvetom Velikoj Majci Bogova pronađen je godine 2008. na deponiji u selu Skorićima, gdje je dovezen materijal iskopan tijekom građevinskih radova na lokalitetu Rokovača u Skradinu. Dimenzije žrtvenika su: visina 30,5 cm, širina 21 cm i debljina 17 cm. Oblikovan je u izduženoj četvrtastoj formi s profiliranom bazom i kruništem, koje trostruke profilacije odjeljuju

Formenti house and exposed to numerous threats of devastation. After restoration, they were reconstructed and put on exhibition. Previously, on 23 December 2008, an exhibition opened in the Šibenik City Museum on "Archaeological Traces of Cults and Religions in Šibenik and its Environs". The Antique cult monuments were selected by Toni Brajković, and among the exponents, several Scardona monuments were put on exhibit - for the needs of this exhibition Ivan Skorić readily ceded several monuments which he had discovered at the dump site. In the context of ascertaining the precise location whence the materials were brought to Skorići, it is interesting that in the catalogue for the exhibition organized in Skradin, Brajković wrote: "In the already mentioned section of Rokovača, besides the remains of what was most likely a *horreum*, the remains of flooring with the mosaic floor of an urban villa were also found. During Late Antiquity and Early Christianity, some of the harbour's warehouse may have been adapted into a cemeterial basilica, since twelve graves and two stone sarcophagi were found in this area which dated to the fourth-fifth centuries. Near it there was a shrine to the *Magna Mater*, at a depth of approximately 5 meters below the recent layer of soil. This was unfortunately destroyed during works on a catch drain. Only parts of a sculpture (a head and knee) made of fine marble (cat. no. 18) and an altar dedicated to her have been preserved."<sup>4</sup> This is therefore a direct confirmation that that exact point in Skradin at which the materials in which Ivan Skorić discovered stone monuments and other archaeological monuments was ascertained, meaning that it confirms his statement that the materials dumped in Skorići had been brought from Rokovača.

We believe that this unusual and rather extensive introduction to an archaeological paper is entirely necessary to explain, by laying out these facts, the odd context of the discovery of these archaeological monuments at the dump site in Skorići, which we intend to analyze ourselves. In the same vein, we shall also cover several Antique monuments which we have documented during our tours of the parish rectory in Skradin, as well as monuments owned by Mile Bedrica in Skradin and Tome Pulić in Bićine, near Skradin.<sup>5</sup>

#### Altar dedicated to the Great Mother of the Gods<sup>6</sup>

An altar dedicated to the Great Mother of the Gods was found at a dump site in the village of Skorići in 2008. The materials dumped there were excavated during construction works at the Rokovača site in Skradin. The altar's dimensions are: height 30.5 cm, width 21 cm and thickness 17 cm. It is shaped in an elongated rectangular form with a moulded base and crown, divided from the central portion by triple



Slika 3.  
Žrtvenik s posvetom *Matri Deum Magnae* (prednja strana)

Figure 3.  
Altar with dedication to *Matri Deum Magnae* (front)

od središnjeg dijela na kojemu je na prednjoj strani uklesan natpis (sl. 3). Bočne strane i stražnja strana oblikovane su na identičan način, bez ukrasa ili natpisa (sl. 4-6). Na vrhu se nalaze dva pulvina, koja su sprijeda i straga bila ukrašena rozetama.<sup>7</sup> Na gornjoj površini žrtvenika prikazana je žrtvena plitica (*patella*) (promjer 14,5 cm), koja je, budući da se ne primjećuje odvodni kanal, vjerojatno služila za prinošenje žrtve paljenice (sl. 7). Žrtvenik je veoma brižljivo izrađen od bijeloga sitnozrnatog vapnenca, a na cijeloj površini uočavaju se tragovi zubače nastali pri završnom oblikovanju spomenika. Gornji lijevi i stražnji desni dio žrtvenika su otučeni, a lomovi su nastali prije pronalaska spomenika.

Središnji dio žrtvenika čini gotovo kvadratno natpisno polje (visina 14,5 cm, širina 15,5 cm)<sup>8</sup> na kojemu je u četiri vodoravna retka uklesan tekst posvete i ime dedikanta (sl. 8). Slova relativno pravilne rimske kapitale su ujednačene visine, odnosno visina slova u prvom retku iznosi 2,2 cm, a od drugog do četvrtog retka 1,8 cm. Natpisna površina je

<sup>7</sup> Zbog oštećenja, danas je dobro vidljiva jedino rozeta na prednjoj strani u gornjem desnom dijelu spomenika.

<sup>8</sup> Dimenzije središnjeg dijela spomenika na bočnim stranama iznose: visina 14,5 cm, širina 12 cm.



Slika 4.  
Žrtvenik s posvetom *Matri Deum Magnae* (desna bočna strana)

Figure 4.  
Altar with dedication to *Matri Deum Magnae* (right lateral side)

articulation. This central portion bears an engraved inscription (Fig. 3). The sides and back are formed identically without ornamentation or inscription (Fig. 4-6). There are two pulvins on top, adorned with rosettes on the front and back.<sup>7</sup> The altar's upper surface has a sacrificial patella (diameter 14.5 cm) which, since no drainage groove is noticeable, was probably used for burnt offerings (Fig. 7). The altar was very carefully crafted from white fine-grain limestone, and traces of work by a tooth chisel during finishing works are visible over the entire surface. The upper left and rear right portion of the altar have impact marks, while the fractures appeared prior to its discovery.

The central portion of the altar has an almost quadratic inscription field (height 14.5 cm, width 15.5 cm)<sup>8</sup> on which there are four horizontal lines of the engraved text of the dedication and the dedicant's name (Fig. 8). The letters are relatively standard Roman capitals of uniform height; specifically, the height of the letters in the first line is 2.2 cm, while in the second to fourth lines it is 1.8 cm. The inscription surface is damaged and at places small and large stains

<sup>7</sup> Due to damage, today only the rosette on the front in the upper right-hand section of the monument is clearly visible.

<sup>8</sup> The lateral dimensions of the central portion of the monument are: height 14.5 cm, width 12 cm.

<sup>4</sup> Brajković 2009, str. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Iako spomenici u vlasništvu Mile Bedrice i Tome Pulića izvorno ne pripadaju fondusu skardonitanskih spomenika, budući da se danas nalaze u Skradinu, držimo da ih kao nove nalaze valja opisati. Kontakt s navedenom gospodom, kojima zahvaljujemo na dopuštenju za objavu spomenika, omogućio nam je Ivan Skorić. Njemu na ovome mjestu iskazujemo i posebnu zahvalu, budući da nam je dopustio prvo objave spomenika koji se nalaze u njegovu vlasništvu i u nekoliko navrata organizirao zajedničke obilaskе uže i šire okolice Skradina.

<sup>6</sup> Podrug et al. 2008, str. 213-214, kat. br. 119; Brajković 2009, str. 19, sl. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Brajković 2009, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Even though the monuments owned by Mile Bedrica and Tome Pulić do not belong to the body of Scardona monuments in terms of their origin, since they are today in Skradin we believe that as new finds they merit description. Contact with these gentlemen, to whom we convey our thanks for allowing publication of the monuments, was facilitated by Ivan Skorić. Here we would also like to express particular gratitude to the latter, since he permitted us to publish the monuments he owns first, while on several occasions he organized joint tours of the wider and narrower surroundings of Skradin.

<sup>6</sup> Podrug et al. 2008, pp. 213, 214, cat. no. 119; Brajković 2009, p. 19, Fig. 14.





Slika 5.  
Žrtvenik s posvetom Matri Deum  
Magnae (lijeva bočna strana)

Figure 5.  
Altar with dedication to Matri  
Deum Magnae (left lateral side)



Slika 6.  
Žrtvenik s posvetom Matri Deum  
Magnae (stražnja strana)

Figure 6.  
Altar with dedication to Matri  
Deum Magnae (rear)



Slika 7.  
Žrtvenik s posvetom Matri Deum  
Magnae (gornja strana)

Figure 7.  
Altar with dedication to Matri  
Deum Magnae (top)



Slika 8.  
Žrtvenik s posvetom Matri Deum  
Magnae (prednja strana)  
(crtež Zoran Bakić)

Figure 8.  
Altar with dedication to Matri  
Deum Magnae (front)  
(sketch by Zoran Bakić)

oštećena i na njoj se mjestimice uočavaju veće i manje mrlje nastale ljuštenjem površine kamena. Te mrlje otežavaju čitanje natpisa od drugoga do četvrtog retka,<sup>9</sup> međutim natpis se može restituirati. U prvom i trećem retku kao razdjelnice između riječi uklesane su trokutaste distinkcije. Ligature su izvedene samo u prvoj riječi na natpisu (*MATRI*), sigurno slova "MA" dok je kod slova "RI" vjerojatna, naime okomita hasta slova *R* ipak je neznatno povišena u odnosu na gornju vodoravnu liniju retka i čini se nešto dublje urezana kako bi se tako bolje vizualiziralo slovo *I*. Zbog oštećenja natpisne površine u drugom retku u riječi *MAGNAE* slovo *G* se ne vidi, a krajnje slovo *E* je nešto slabije vidljivo. U trećem retku, nakon sigle *P* i distinkcije, slijede slova *DO*, pa praznina nastala oštećenjem natpisne površine u kojoj se ne može razaznati ni jedno slovo (prema oblicima i rasporedu slova na natpisu, a s obzirom na raspoloživi prostor, ovdje su mogla biti isklesana tri do četiri slova), da bi se potom ductus slova *V* nazirao ispred krajnjeg *S*, koje je lagano zakošeno udesno. U četvrtom retku u riječi

can be seen on it which were caused by flaking of the stone's surface. These stains render reading of the inscription from the second to fourth lines difficult,<sup>9</sup> although the inscription can be restored. In the first and third lines triangular punctuation were carved into as dividers between words. Ligatures were only rendered in the first word in the inscription (*MATRI*); the letters "MA" certainly, while this probably for the letters "RI", as the vertical bar of the letter *R* is slightly raised in relation to the upper horizontal limit of the line, and it is somewhat more deeply engraved so that the letter *I* may be better visualized. Due to damage to the inscription surface in the second line, the letter *G* in the word *MAGNAE* cannot be seen, while the final letter *E* is somewhat more poorly visible. In the third line, after the sigil *P* and the punctuation, the letters *DO* follow, then a void made by damage to the inscription surface in which no letters can be discerned at all (according to the forms and arrangement of the letters in the inscription, and given the space available, here three to four letters may have been engraved), and then the ductus of the letter *V* can be discerned before the final *S*, which is slightly slanted rightward. In the

*PUBLICOLA* slova *LICO* su slabo vidljiva, drugo slovo *L* se ne vidi, a krajnje slovo *A* se opet nazire. Dakle, na natpisu je ostalo vidljivo ili se nazire:

MATRI DEVM  
MA[ . ]NAE  
P DO[ . . . ]VS  
PVBLIÇOÇ[ . ]A

Natpis započinje posvetom Velikoj Majci Bogova (*Matri Deum Magnae*), koja je ispisana u prva dva retka natpisa. Nakon posvete u trećem retku natpisa navedeni su prenamen i gentilicij dedikanta. Jasno je da sigla *P* označava prenamen *Publius*, međutim zbog oštećenja natpisne površine moguće su dvije restitucije dedikantova gentilicija. Naime, u repertoaru gentilicija dokumentiranih na rimskodobnoj natpisnoj građi na prostoru provincije Dalmacije, a s obzirom na prva dva početna slova (*DO*), nalazimo dva obiteljska imena koja su prikladna za restituciju. To su *DOMATIVS* i *DOMITIVS*.<sup>10</sup> Budući da oba gentilicija imaju osam slova,<sup>11</sup> broj slova koji su mogli biti ispisani

fourth line, in the word *PUBLICOLA* the letters *LICO* are difficult to see, the second *L* cannot be seen, while the final letter *A* is again visible.

Thus, the following letters are visible or discernable in the inscription:  
MATRI DEVM  
MA[ . ]NAE  
P DO[ . . . ]VS  
PVBLIÇOÇ[ . ]A

The inscription begins with a dedication to the Great Mother of the Gods (*Matri Deum Magnae*), which is written out in the inscription's first two lines. After the dedication, the dedicant's praenomen and gentilicium are noted in the third line. It is clear that the sigil *P* indicates the praenomen *Publius*; however, due to damage to the inscription surface, two restorations of the dedicant's gentilicium are possible. For in the array of gentilicia documented in Roman-era inscription materials for the province of Dalmatia, and given the first two letters (*DO*), we came across two familial names suitable for restoration. These are *DOMATIVS* and *DOMITIVS*.<sup>10</sup> Since both gentilicia consist of eight letters,<sup>11</sup> the number of letters that may have been written in the void

<sup>9</sup> Vjerojatno su vlaga i sastav materijala (građevinska žuta) u kojemu je stoljećima spomenik ležao izazvali neku kemijsku reakciju koja je mjestimice oštetila natpisnu površinu.

<sup>9</sup> It is possible that moisture and the composition of the material (construction rubble) in which the monument lay for centuries spurred some chemical reaction that damaged the inscription surface.

<sup>10</sup> Alföldy 1969, str. 82.

<sup>11</sup> Razlika je samo u četvrtom po redu slovu (*A* ili *I*).

<sup>10</sup> Alföldy 1969, p. 82.

<sup>11</sup> The difference is only in the fourth letter (*A* or *I*).



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u praznini do vidljivog završetka gentilicija (*VS*) ne pomaže nam pri odabiru jednoga od njih.<sup>12</sup> Stoga moramo ponuditi oba gentilicija kao moguću nadopunu natpisa, a u nastavku komentara posebno ćemo objasniti razloge zbog kojih držimo da su oba gentilicija prikladna za restituciju. U četvrtom retku natpisa kognomen *Publicola* nije upitan. Dakle, puno imenovanje dedikanta moglo je biti *P. Domatius Publicola* ili *P. Domitius Publicola*, a ovisno o tome za koju se mogućnost odlučimo, natpis u restituciji glasi:

*Matri Deum / Ma[g]nae / P(ublius) Do[mat]us / Publico[]a.* ili

*Matri Deum / Ma[g]nae / P(ublius) Do[mit]us / Publico[]a.* Predloženi gentilicij *Domatius* nije osobito čest, a osim u Rimu dokumentiran je većinom u gradovima središnje i južne Italije.<sup>13</sup> U rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji potvrđen je samo na jednom natpisu u Naroni,<sup>14</sup> gdje je navedena *Domatia Sp(uri) f(ilia) Prima*.<sup>15</sup> Prema paleografskim karakteristikama taj se natpis datira u prvu polovicu 1. st. po. Kr.<sup>16</sup> Budući da je sačuvan samo mali ulomak nadgrobnoga spomenika, koji je kao spolij uzidan u sjeverni zid Erešove kule, osim imena komemoratorice nema nikakvih drugih podataka o obitelji za koju G. Alföldy drži da se u Naronu doselila iz Kampanije,<sup>17</sup> vjerojatno zbog trgovine. Naime, podlogu za takvo razmišljanje nalazimo na dva natpisa na kojima su dokumentirani članovi obitelji *Domatius* koji su se bavili trgovinom i financijskim poslovima. Na nadgrobnom natpisu iz Beneventa spominju se članovi obitelji *Caeselius* i *Domatius*, koji su libertinskog podrijetla i imaju, što nije rijetkost, svoje oslobođenike.<sup>18</sup> Znakovito je da je u obje obitelji po jedan član za kojeg je na natpisu navedeno da je po zanimanju trgovac (*Q. Caesellius Q. I. Surus mercator* i *C. Domatius Ƀ. I. Pylax mercator*),<sup>19</sup> a pritom nije nevažno napomenuti ni to da su, sudeći prema kognomenima, bili orijentalnog podrijetla. To je znakovito, jer drži se da su *mercatores* obično bili trgovci libertinskog podrijetla koji su se bavili jednostavnijim oblicima trgovine, odnosno prodavali su robu kao putujući trgovci ili na štandovima tržnica. U konkretnom slučaju to znači da su

up to the visible end of the gentilicium (*VS*) does not help in selecting either.<sup>12</sup> Thus we can offer both gentilicia as a possible completion of the inscription, while in the remaining comments we shall explain the reasons why we maintain that both gentilicia are suitable for this restoration. There can be no doubt of *Publicola* in the fourth line of the inscription. Thus, the full name of the dedicant may have been P. Domatius Publicola or P. Domitius Publicola, and depending upon which possibility we choose, the restored inscription may read:

*Matri Deum / Ma[g]nae / P(ublius) Do[mat]us / Publico[]a.*

or

*Matri Deum / Ma[g]nae / P(ublius) Do[mit]us / Publico[]a.*

The proposed gentilicium Domatius is not particularly common, and except in Rome, it has been documented in the cities of central and southern Italy.<sup>13</sup> In the Roman province of Dalmatia it has been confirmed in only a single inscription in Narona,<sup>14</sup> in which *Domatia Sp(uri) f(ilia) Prima* is mentioned.<sup>15</sup> Based on its palaeographic characteristics, this inscription has been dated to the first half of the first century BC.<sup>16</sup> Since only a small fragment of a gravestone has been preserved, which was built into the northern wall of the Ereš Tower as a spolium, besides the name of the commemorator there is no other data on the family which according to G. Alföldy had moved to Narona from Campania,<sup>17</sup> probably due to trade. The basis for this view can be found in two inscriptions on which the members of the Domatius family are documented, who were involved in trade and finances. A gravestone inscription from Benevento mentions the members of the Caeselius and Domatius families, who were of libertine origin and they had their own freedmen, which was not rare.<sup>18</sup> It is significant that each family had a member who is mentioned in the inscription as having the occupation of merchant (*Q. Caesellius Q. I. Surus mercator* and *C. Domatius . I. Pylax mercator*),<sup>19</sup> and here it is not insignificant that, judging by their cognomina, they were of Oriental origin. This is important, for it is held that *mercatores* were normally merchants of libertine origin who were involved in simpler forms of trade, i.e. they sold goods as itinerant merchants or in stalls at markets. In this specific case, it means that Surus and Pylax, as freedmen, were in the service of their patrons, who belonged to the

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- ↑ Here we may also count on the ligature of the letters *Tl*, particularly if the gentilicium *Domitius* is chosen.
- ↑ *Roma*: CIL VI, 1813, 7574, 7843 (=33354), 16190, 16911, 16912, 18176, 18801, AE 1989, 113; *Minturnae*: CIL I<sup>2</sup>, 2685; *Beneventum*: CIL IX, 1713; *Stabiae*: CIL X, 778; *Atina*: CIL X, 5121. Also *Cremona*: AE 1975, 449; *Naron*a: CIL III, 1867 (8459); *Scarbantia*: CIL III, 4251, AE 1989, 113.
- ↑ Alföldy 1969, str. 82.
- ↑ CIL III, 1867 (8459); I LJug 1893; Marin et al. 1999, str. 118-119, br. 2.
- ↑ Marin et al. 1999, str. 119.
- ↑ Alföldy 1990, str. 210.
- ↑ *Beneventum*: *Q(uintus) Caesellius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Surus / mercator / Domatia (Gaiae) l(iberta) Fausta / C(aius) Domatius (Gaiae) l(ibertus) Pylax / mercator // Q(uintus) Caesellius (Gaiae) l(ibertus) / Pamphilus patronus / Domatia (Gaiae) l(iberta) Talia / patrona / Albanus delicia // Q(uintus) Caesellius Surus et Domatia Talia / vivi sibi et su[er]is fecerunt* (CIL IX, 1713).
- ↑ Gentilicij *Caesellius* potvrđen je u Traguriju. CIL III, 2686a; Alföldy 1969, str. 68.
- ↑ Here we may also count on the ligature of the letters *Tl*, particularly if the gentilicium *Domitius* is chosen.
- ↑ *Roma*: CIL VI, 1813, 7574, 7843 (=33354), 16190, 16911, 16912, 18176, 18801, AE 1989, 113; *Minturnae*: CIL I<sup>2</sup>, 2685; *Beneventum*: CIL IX, 1713; *Stabiae*: CIL X, 778; *Atina*: CIL X, 5121. Also *Cremona*: AE 1975, 449; *Naron*a: CIL III, 1867 (8459); *Scarbantia*: CIL III, 4251, AE 1989, 113.
- ↑ Alföldy 1969, p. 82.
- ↑ CIL III, 1867 (8459); I LJug 1893; Marin et al. 1999, pp. 118, 119, no. 2.
- ↑ Marin et al. 1999, p. 119.
- ↑ Alföldy 1990, p. 210.
- ↑ *Beneventum*: *Q(uintus) Caesellius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Surus / mercator / Domatia (Gaiae) l(iberta) Fausta / C(aius) Domatius (Gaiae) l(ibertus) Pylax / mercator // Q(uintus) Caesellius (Gaiae) l(ibertus) / Pamphilus patronus / Domatia (Gaiae) l(iberta) Talia / patrona / Albanus delicia // Q(uintus) Caesellius Surus et Domatia Talia / vivi sibi et su[er]is fecerunt* (CIL IX, 1713).
- ↑ The gentilicium Caesellius was confirmed in Tragurium. CIL III, 2686a; Alföldy 1969, p. 68.

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*Surus* i *Pylax* kao oslobođenici bili u službi svojih patrona, koji su pripadali višem staležu trgovaca, bankara i poduzetnika (*negotiatores*). A dokaz da su se članovi obitelji *Domatius*, koji posjeduju puno rimsko građansko pravo, bavili veletrgovinom i različitim novčarskim i poduzetničkim poslovima, nalazimo na natpisu iz Skarbantije u Gornjoj Panoniji (*Pannonia Superior*). *Scarbantia* je bila važno prometno i trgovačko središte na “Jantarnom putu” između klaudivjevske kolonije Savarije i vojnog logora u Karnuntu, gdje su naseljeni veterani i trgovci iz sjeverne Italije već u doba Tiberija činili organiziranu zajednicu koju Plinije naziva *oppidum Iulium Scarbantia*, a koja je uzdignuta na rang municipija u razdoblju Flavijevaca.<sup>20</sup> Ondje su na obiteljskom nadgrobnom spomeniku dokumentirana tri člana obitelji *Domatius*, tj. *P. Domatius P. f. Citio*, njegova žena *Domatia P. I. Vimpia* i sin *P. Domatius Peregrinus*, koji postavlja spomen svojim roditeljima.<sup>21</sup> *P. Domatius P. f. Citius* bio je *negotiator*, tj. poslovni čovjek koji se bavio najrazličitijim novčarskim poslovima i transakcijama te trgovinom, a radi obavljanja svoje djelatnosti i organizacije obiteljskih poslova naselio se u Skarbantiji, gdje je i umro.<sup>22</sup> Analizirajući moguće podrijetlo obitelji, G. Alföldy polazi od kognomena *Citio*, koji dovodi u svezu s gradom Kitijem (*Citium*) i zaključuje da je *P. Domatius P. f. Citio* rođen u tom ciparskom gradu.<sup>23</sup> Zato što na Cipru nije bilo organiziranih rimskih općina, *Citio* nije mogao biti po rođenju upisan u tribus Kitija ili nekog drugog ciparskoga grada, nego je upisan u tribus svojega oca. *Teretina* je tribus u koji su upisani rimski građani rođeni u kampanskim gradovima *Allifae, Atina, Casinum, Interamna, Minturnae* i *Venafrum*. Budući da je u Atini i Minturni dokumentiran gentilicij *Domatius*, G. Alföldy zaključuje da je otac poduzetnika iz Skarabantije, koji se vjerojatno zvao *P. Domatius P. f.*, emigrirao iz jednoga od dva navedena grada i naselio se u Kitij na Cipru, gdje se bavio trgovačkim i novčarskim poslovima.<sup>24</sup> Njegov sin *P. Domatius P. f. Citio* nastavlja obiteljsku tradiciju i širi poduzetničke aktivnosti na nova tržišta. Zato se nastanjuje u Skarbantiji i ondje formira svoju obitelj.<sup>25</sup> G. Alföldy pretpostavlja da su *Citio* i ostali italski trgovci i poduzetnici

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- ↑ Mócsy 1974, str. 173.
- ↑ *Scarbantia*: *P(ublius) Domatius / P(ubli) f(ilius) Ter(etina tribu) Citio / negotiator / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / et Domatiae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) Vimpiae / coniugi eius / P(ublius) Domatius / Peregrinus / parentibus / posuit* (CIL III, 4251).
- ↑ Ondje je dokumentiran i *sacerdos Domatius Ingenus*, koji postavlja dedikaciju Izidi i Ozirisu (AE 2006, 1041), što znači da obitelj nastavlja živjeti u Skarbantiji i u kasnije doba.
- ↑ Alföldy 1990, str. 207-209. Prethodno je dokazao da puno ime trgovca iz Skarbantije glasi *P. Domatius P. f. Ter. Citio*, a ne *P. Domatius P. f. Tergitio*. Naime, prema ranijoj interpretaciji mislilo se da je *Tergitio* kognomen u značenju “trgovac” i dovodio se u svezu s imenom grada *Tergeste*, koje bi značilo “trgovište” (Mayer 1959, str. 114).
- ↑ Alföldy 1990, str. 207-210.
- ↑ Oženio je svoju oslobođenicu Vimpiju (pretpostavlja se da je kognomen *Vimpia* keltskog podrijetla), s kojom je imao sina Peregrina, čiji bi kognomen mogao označavati doseljenika iz veoma udaljenoga dijela Carstva (Alföldy 1990, str. 211).

Nekoliko novih antičkih spomenika iz Skradina
Several new Antique monuments from Skradin

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higher class of merchants, bankers and entrepreneurs (*negotiatores*). And proof that the members of the Domatius family, who had full Roman citizenship, were involved in wholesale trade and various monetary and business dealings can be found in the inscription from Scarbantia in Pannonia Superior. Scarbantia was a vital transit and trade hub on the “Amber Way” between the Claudian colony of Savaria and the military camp in Carnuntum, where veterans and merchants from northern Italy settled already during the Tiberian era were organized into a community which Pliny called “*oppidum Iulium Scarbantia*”; and which was elevated to the level of a municipium in the Flavian era.<sup>20</sup> Three members of the Domatius family have been documented on the familial gravestone, i.e., *P. Domatius P. f. Citio*, his wife *Domatia P. I. Vimpia* and their son *P. Domatius Peregrinus*, who placed it in memory of his parents.<sup>21</sup> P. Domatius P. f. Citius was a *negotiator*, i.e. a businessman who was involved in the most diverse financial dealings and transactions, who in order to engage in his business and organize his family’s transactions moved to Scarbantia, where he eventually died.<sup>22</sup> Analyzing the possible origin of the family, Alföldy set forth from the cognomen Citio, which is associated with the city Citium, and he concluded that P. Domatius P. f. Citio was born in this Cyprian city.<sup>23</sup> Because there were no Roman municipa organized on Cyprus, Citio could not have been registered to the tribus of Citium or some other Cyprian city at his birth, rather he would have been registered in the tribus of his father. Teretina was a tribus to which Roman citizens born in the Campanian cities of Allifae, Atina, Casinum, Interamna, Minturnae and Venafrum were registered. Since the gentilicium Domatius has been documented in Atina and Minturnae, Alföldy concluded that the father of the businessman from Scarbantia, who was probably named P. Domatius P.f., had emigrated from one of the two aforementioned cities to Citium on Cyprus, where he was involved in commerce and financial dealings.<sup>24</sup> His son P. Domatius P. f. Citio continued the family tradition and expanded the business to new markets. This he took up residence in Scarbantia and started his family there.<sup>25</sup> Alföldy assumed that Citio and the remaining Italian merchants and businessmen who lived in Scarbantia hailed from northern Italy, from Aquileia. The

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- ↑ Mócsy 1974, p. 173.
- ↑ *Scarbantia*: *P(ublius) Domatius / P(ubli) f(ilius) Ter(etina tribu) Citio / negotiator / h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / et Domatiae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) Vimpiae / coniugi eius / P(ublius) Domatius / Peregrinus / parentibus / posuit* (CIL III, 4251).
- ↑ *A sacerdos Domatius Ingenus*, who left a dedication for Isis and Osiris, was also documented there (AE 2006, 1041), which means that the family continued to live in Scarbantia even later.
- ↑ Alföldy 1990, pp. 207-209. Previously he had shown that the full name of the merchant from Scarbantia was P. Domatius P. f. Ter. Citio, and not P. Domatius P. f. Tergitio. For according to an earlier interpretation, it was though that Tergitio was a cognomen meaning “merchant” and it was associated with the name of the city Tergeste, which would then mean “market town” (Mayer 1959, p. 114).
- ↑ Alföldy 1990, pp. 207-210.
- ↑ He married his freedwoman Vimpia (it is assumed that this cognomen is of Celtic origin) with whom he had a son, Peregrinus, whose cognomen may designate a settler from a very distant part of the Empire (Alföldy 1990, p. 211).

koji su se naselili u Skarbantiji došli iz sjeverne Italije, točnije iz Akvileje. Termin *negotiator* označava poslovnog čovjeka koji se bavi različitim poduzetničkim i financijskim poslovima pa ne možemo znati čime se konkretno bavio ili trgovao *P. Domatius P. f. Citio*, ali možemo pretpostaviti da su se njegove poslovne aktivnosti u značajnijem opsegu odnosile na opskrbu žitom i drugim potrepštinama vojnog logora u Karnuntu, čija je polazna točka zasigurno bila *Aquileia*. S obzirom na epigrafske i paleografske značajke natpisa, njegova se poduzetnička aktivnost u Skarbantiji može okvirno datirati u razdoblje oko sredine 1. st. poslije Krista.

Iako su do sada poznata samo dva natpisa na kojima su dokumentirani članovi obitelji *Domatius* koji su se bavili trgovačkim, novčarskim i drugim poduzetničkim poslovima, ipak mislimo da nećemo pogriješiti zaključimo li da su *Domatii* kampanska obitelj koja je naširoko razgranala svoje poslovne aktivnosti i čije članove nalazimo, ili možemo očekivati, na svim onim mjestima na kojima mogu dobro ostvariti svoje poslovne interese. U principu, to su značajne luke, koje su već same po sebi mjesta žive trgovine, ali i ishodišta trgovačkih putova prema većim gospodarskim središtima ili trgovištima u unutrašnjosti. Na istočnoj obali Jadrana takve je gospodarske potencijale imalo nekoliko gradova, među njima i Skardona.<sup>26</sup> Stoga u navedenom kontekstu nije neobično da se u Skardoni nasele članovi poduzetničkih obitelji i da ondje kao izravni predstavnici svojih obitelji utemelje brodarsko-trgovačku ili novčarsku podružnicu i vode druge unosne poslove, koji su tijekom 1. st. poslije Krista. najvećim dijelom povezani s opskrbom legijskog logora u Burnu, odnosno organiziraju i financiraju velike trgovačke poslove i dopremu robe morem iz udaljenih dijelova Carstva (opskrba žitom, vinom, maslinovim uljem, luksuznom robom). Dakle, pretpostavimo li da je dedikant Velikoj Majci Bogova u Skardoni imao gentilicij *Domatius*, tada možemo zaključiti da je *P. Domatius Publicola* u prvoj polovici ili oko sredine 1. st. boravio ili se naselio u Skardoni zbog poslovnih interesa svoje obitelji.<sup>27</sup> Iz istih se razloga i zbog istoga posla (*negotiator*) sredinom 1. st. u Skarbantiji u Gornjoj Panoniji naselio *P. Domatius P. f. Citio*, kojega osim gentilicija s Publikolom povezuje i isti prenamen. Budući da su *navicularii* i *negotiatores* imali značajnu ulogu u kultu *Magnae Matris*, razumljivo je i zašto Publikola čini dedikaciju božici.

Drugi pretpostavljeni gentilicij dedikanta Velikoj Majci Bogova u Skardoni jest *Domitius*. U rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji *Domitii* su poznati već u ranom 1. st. po. Kr., a nositelje gentilicija *Domitius* na ovim prostorima najprije treba povezati s vojnicima legijskih postrojba koje su nakon gušenja Batonova ustanka stacionirane u Burnu, Tiluriju i Bigestama, odnosno veteranima VII. i XI. legije koji nakon odsluženja vojne službe dobivaju posjede na kojima

term *negotiator* designated a businessman who engaged in various business and financial transactions, so there is no way of knowing specifically what P. Domatius P. f. Citio did or traded, but we may assume that his business activities largely pertained to supplying grain and other needs to the military camp in Carnuntum, which had Aquileia as their point of departure. Given the inscription's epigraphic and palaeographic features, his business activities in Scarbantia may tentatively be dated to roughly the mid-first century AD.

Even though so far only two inscriptions are known which document the members of the Domatius family who were involved in trade, banking and other business dealings, we nonetheless believe that it would not be a mistake to conclude that the Domatii were a Campanian family that had widely expanded its business activities and whose members could be found - or so one may expect - at all of those places where they could have advanced their business interests well. Generally, this means major ports, which in and of themselves lived from trade and were also the terminals of trade routes to larger economic hubs or market towns in the interior. A number of cities in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard had such potential, and Scardona was among them.<sup>26</sup> Thus, in this context it would not have been unusual for the members of a merchant family to move to Scardona and, once there as its direct representatives, to establish a shipping/ trade or banking branch or conduct other profitable undertakings, which during the first century AD were mostly tied to supplying the legionary camp in Burnum, i.e., the organization and financing of major mercantile transactions and delivery of goods by sea from distant parts of the Empire (supplying grain, wine, olive oil, luxury goods). Therefore, if we assume that the dedicant to the Great Mother of the Gods in Scardona bore the gentilicium Domatius, then we may conclude that P. Domatius Publicola in the first half or approximately in the mid-first century AD had resided or moved to Scardona due to his family's business interests.<sup>27</sup> It was due to the same reasons and the same jobs (*negotiator*) that P. Domatius P. f. Citio moved to Scarbantia in Pannonia Superior in the mid-first century. Besides the same gentilicium, he also shared the same praenomen with Publicola. Since *navicularii* and *negotiatores* played a major role in the cult of the *Magna Mater*, it is understandable that Publicola would make a dedication to this goddess.

The other possible gentilicium of the dedicant to the Great Mother of the Gods in Scardona is Domitius. In the Roman province of Dalmatia, the Domitii were already known in the early first century AD, and the bearers of the gentilicium Domitius on this region should first and foremost be seen as soldiers in the legionary units which, after the Great Illyrian Revolt was quelled, were stationed in Burnum, Tilurium and Bigestae, or as veterans of Legios VII and XI who, after completing their service, were given estates on which to settle.<sup>28</sup> An interesting fact for the topic of this paper is that two

<sup>[1]</sup> term negotiator designated a businessman who engaged in various business and financial transactions, so there is no way of knowing specifically what P

<sup>[2]</sup> 26 Glavičić 2007, p. 252.
<sup>[3]</sup> 27 Although only a Domitia Prima is known from Narona, we maintain that the same business motive was the reason for the Domitius family to settle in Narona.
<sup>[4]</sup> 28 Alföldy 1969, p. 82.

se nastanjuju.<sup>28</sup> Na dva nadgrobna spomenika veterana i vojnika VII. legije nalazimo za našu temu zanimljiv podatak o njihovu frigijskom podrijetlu. Naime, budući da je njihovo imenovanje popraćeno i navođenjem mjesta rođenja, znamo da je veteran *Cn. Domitius Cn. f.* rođen u gradu Pesinuntu (*domo Pessinunte*), a veteran *L. Domitius L. f. Aquila* i njegov brat *C. Domitius L. f. Aquilinus*, koji je bio u aktivnoj službi, u gradu Muliadi (*domo Myliada*) u Frigiji.<sup>29</sup> A Frigija je pradomovina kulta Kibeles ili Velike Majke Bogova (*Magna Mater Deorum*), čiji je sveti kamen godine 205. pr. Kr. iz Pesinunta dopremljen u Rim. Ako bismo, ali samo na razini hipoteze, povezali navedene Domicije, koji su kao vojnici došli u rimsku provinciju Dalmaciju, a rodom su iz Frigije, i pretpostavljenog Publija Domicija Publikolu, mogli bismo zaključiti da ga je na postavljanje dedikacije Velikoj Majci u Skardoni potaknuo poseban senzibilitet koji je imao prema božici svojega zavičaja. Međutim, pri tome nikako ne smijemo zaboraviti činjenicu da vojnici i veterani Domiciji i Publikola nemaju istu filijaciju, kao ni činjenicu da je popularnost kulta *Magnae Matris*, koji je prvi od orijentalnih kultova importiranih u rimsku religiju imao oficijelni karakter, imao veliku popularnost koja nije bila samo i isključivo vezana uz nečije podrijetlo, nego je proizlazila iz dubine vjerovanja njezinih štovatelja.

U Burnu je poznat *M. Domitius M. f. Severus*, koji ondje umire tijekom aktivne vojne službe u XI. legiji, a spomen mu postavlja nasljednik, čije ime nije navedeno.<sup>30</sup> Ako bi najbliža potvrda gentilicija bila kriterij za određivanje moguće povezanosti navedenoga vojnika i Publikole, tada bismo zaključili da je gentilicij dedikanta Velikoj Majci u Skardoni bio *Domitius*. Ali tu moramo naglasiti da se *M. Domitius M. f. Severus* i *P. Domitius Publicola*, kako se možda zvao dedikant, razlikuju u filijaciji, što znači da osim moguće podudarnosti gentilicija nemamo konkretnih podataka da ih izravno povežemo. Isto vrijedi i za dva poznata Domicija iz Aserije, koji ondje postavljaju posvete autohtonoj božici Latri i božanstvu čije ime nije sačuvano, a to su *L. Domitius Rufus* i *T. Domitius Severus*.<sup>31</sup>

U rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji *Domitii* su najbrojniji u Saloni i na njezinu teritoriju.<sup>32</sup> Ondje je poznat duovir *C. Domitius Valens*, koji je godine 137. (*L. Aelio Caesare II P. Coelio Balbino Vibullio Pio cos. VII Idus Octobres*) obavio posvetu Jupiterova hrama.<sup>33</sup> Taj je natpis dokaz da su *Domitii* u 2. st. u Saloni imali visok društveni status, međutim kako o razvoju i značenju obitelji u ranije doba ne znamo ništa, a i zbog veće kronološke razlike u dataciji dvaju spomenika, za sada ne možemo utvrditi poslovne ili neke druge veze Domicija iz Salone sa Skardonom.

<sup>[5]</sup> Several new Antique monuments from Skradin

<sup>[6]</sup> gravestones belonging to veterans and soldiers of Legio VII indicate their Phrygian origin. Since their names are accompanied by their

<sup>[7]</sup> 29 Tilurium: Cn. Domitius Cn. f. (domo) Pessinunte, veteran. ex leg. VII (CIL III, 2710). Bigestae: L. Domitius L. f. Aquila domo Myliada, vet. leg VII i C. Domitius L. f. Aquilinus, mil. leg. VII (CIL III, 8487).

<sup>[8]</sup> 30 Burnum: M. Domitius M. f. Severus (domo) Brix(s)ia, miles leg. XI (CIL III, 14997<sup>2</sup>; ILJug 2813).

<sup>[9]</sup> 31 Asseria: L. Domitius Rufus (CIL III, 15018 + 15019), T. Domitius Severus (ILJug 859).

<sup>[10]</sup> 32 Alföldy 1969, str. 82.

<sup>[11]</sup> 33 CIL III, 1933, str. 1030.

gravestones belonging to veterans and soldiers of Legio VII indicate their Phrygian origin. Since their names are accompanied by their places of birth, we know that the veteran *Cn. Domitius Cn. f.* was born in the city of Pessinunte (*domo Pessinunte*), while the veteran *L. Domitius L. f. Aquila* and his brother *C. Domitius L. f. Aquilinus*, who was in active service, were born in the city of Myliada (*domo Myliada*) in Phrygia.<sup>29</sup> Phrygia was the original homeland of the cult of Cybele or the Great Mother of the Gods (*Magna Mater Deorum*), whose sacred stone was taken from Pessinunte to Rome in 205 BC. If, solely at the hypothetical level, we were to link these Domitii, who came to the Roman province of Dalmatia as soldiers and who were originally from Phrygia, with the assumed Publius Domitius Publicola, we could conclude that he was impelled to place the dedication to the Magna Mater in Scardona by a special sensibility toward the goddess of his homeland. However, the fact that the Domitii soldiers and veterans do not have the same filiation as Publicola should not be overlooked here, nor the fact that the cult of the *Magna Mater*, which was the first of the Oriental cults imported into Roman religion to secure an official character, had great popularity that was not exclusively tied to anybody's origin, rather it ensued from the depth of belief on the part of her worshippers.

There was a M. Domitius M. f. Severus in Burnum who died during active military service in Legio XI, and the memorial was placed by his heir, whose name is not mentioned.<sup>30</sup> If the closest affirmation of the gentilicium was the criterion for determining a possible connection between this soldier and Publicola, then we may conclude that the gentilicium of the dedicant to the Magna Mater in Scardona was Domitius. But we most stress here that M. Domitius M. f. Severus and P. Domitius Publicola, as the dedicant may have been named, differ in terms of filiation, which means that besides the possible common gentilicium there are no concrete data to tie them directly. The same holds for the two known Domitii from Asseria, who placed a dedication there to the indigenous goddess Latra and a deity whose name was not preserved, and these are L. Domitius Rufus and T. Domitius Severus.<sup>31</sup>

In the Roman province of Dalmatia, the Domitii were the most numerous in the city of Salona and in its territory.<sup>32</sup> Known from there is the duovir C. Domitius Valens, who in the year 137 (*L. Aelio Caesare II P. Coelio Balbino Vibullio Pio cos. VII Idus Octobres*) dedicated Jupiter's temple.<sup>33</sup> This inscription is proof that the Domitii had a high social status in Salona during the second century, although since nothing is known of the development and significance of the family in the earlier period, and also due to the greater chronological differences in dating the two monuments, for now nothing can be asserted

<sup>[12]</sup> Several new Antique monuments from Skradin

<sup>[13]</sup> 29 Tilurium: Cn. Domitius Cn. f. (domo) Pessinunte, veteran. ex leg. VII (CIL III, 2710). Bigestae: L. Domitius L. f. Aquila domo Myliada, vet. leg VII i C. Domitius L. f. Aquilinus, mil. leg. VII (CIL III, 8487).

<sup>[14]</sup> 30 Burnum: M. Domitius M. f. Severus (domo) Brix(s)ia, miles leg. XI (CIL III, 14997<sup>2</sup>; ILJug 2813).

<sup>[15]</sup> 31 Asseria: L. Domitius Rufus (CIL III, 15018 + 15019), T. Domitius Severus (ILJug 859).

<sup>[16]</sup> 32 Alföldy 1969, p. 82.

<sup>[17]</sup> 33 CIL III, 1933, p. 1030.



O vezama salonitanskih i skardonitanskih obitelji pisali smo već na drugome mjestu,<sup>34</sup> a ovdje ćemo samo za ilustraciju rečenoga navesti primjer skardonitanske obitelji *Turranius*. Naime, u Saloni je bio sahranjen *T. Turranius T. f. Verus*, koji je bio edil u Skardoni.<sup>35</sup> To je važan podatak, jer dokazuje širenje vodeće skardonitanske obitelji,<sup>36</sup> čiji se članovi vjerojatno iz poslovnih razloga naseljavaju u glavnom gradu provincije. Na natpisu se kolektivno spominju i libertini, što znači da se obitelj dobro razvija i u Saloni, a jedan od njihovih oslobođenika bio je augustalski sevir *C. Turranius Cronius*. On je za ispunjenje preuzetog zavjeta svojim novcem sagradio hram i žrtvenik, ukrasio svetište i učinio posvetu Velikoj Majci.<sup>37</sup> Dakle, ako su članovi vodeće skardonitanske obitelji imali poslovnih interesa u Saloni, logično je pretpostaviti i obrnuto, tj. da se članovi pojedinih salonitanskih obitelji zbog poslovnih interesa naseljavaju u Skardoni. To je možda razlog zbog kojeg ne bismo trebali u potpunosti odbaciti mogućnost da Publikolu iz Skardone eventualno povežemo s Domicijima iz Salone.

Nakon što smo predočili činjenice i izložili pretpostavke o mogućnosti da obiteljsko ime dedikanta Publikole restituiramo kao *Domatius* ili *Domitius*, raspravu zaključujemo mišljenjem da su oba predložena gentilicija prikladna za restituciju. Ali ako bismo se baš morali opredijeliti za jedan od njih, vjerojatno bismo se odlučili za gentilicij *Domatius*, ali ne na temelju argumentacije i hipoteza, nego više prema “osjećaju”. Međutim, to nije znanstveni pristup i bolje je stoga zaključiti da se dedikant Velikoj Majci Bogova u Skardoni zvao *P. Domatius Publicola* ili *P. Domitius Publicola*.

Pravo je iznenađenje dedikantov kognomen *Publicola*, koji, da nije ostao jasan otisak većine slova na oštećenom dijelu natpisne površine, jamačno ne bismo tako restituirali.<sup>38</sup> Naime, taj kognomen do sada nije bio dokumentiran u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji, a i inače je iznimno rijedak. Prema rimskoj tradiciji (Plutarh, Tit Livije) kognomen *Publicola* (ili arhaična inačica *Poplicola*) prvi je puta dodijeljen Publiju Valeriju, aktivnom sudioniku političkih događanja u kojima je svrgnut i prognan posljednji rimski kralj Tarkvinije Oholi i ustanovljena Republika. Godine 509. prije Krista obnašao je zajedno s Lucijem Junijem Brutom prvi konzulat, a tijekom iduća tri mandata (508., 507. i 504. g. pr. Kr.) proveo je niz važnih reformi i zakona koji su štitili građanske slobode. Zbog svojih je dobročinstava postao omiljen u narodu, koji mu je iskazao osobitu počast davši mu nadimak

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- 34 Glavičić, 2007, str. 251-255.
- 35 *Salona: T(ito) Turranio / T(iti) f(ilio) Vero, / aedili Scardon(ae) / Arria C(ai) f(ilia) Maxim(a) fil(io) / pientissimo fec(it) et sibi et / C(aio)Maecio Maximo coniug(i) / libertis libertabusq(ue) suis* (CIL III, 2085).
- 36 *Scardona: T. Turranius T. f. Ser. Sedatus, decurio, Ilvir Scardonis, sacerdos ad aram Augusti Liburnorum* (CIL III, 2810).
- 37 *Salona: Matri Magnae / Cognationis / C(aius) Turranius Cronius / (sex)vir August(alis) / voto suscepto aedem et / aram d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit et expoli(vi)t / idemque dedicavit* (CIL III, 8675).
- 38 Vjerojatno bismo predložili restituciju s kognomenom *Publicius*.

as to business or any other ties between the Domitii of Salona and Scardona. We have already written about the ties between Salona and Scardona families on another occasion,<sup>34</sup> so here we shall only mention the example of the Scardona Turranius family for the sake of illustration. For a certain T. Turranius T.f. Verus, who was an aedile in Scardona, was buried in Salona.<sup>35</sup> This is an important fact, for it proves the spread of the leading Scardona family,<sup>36</sup> whose members probably moved to the provincial capital for the sake of business interests. Libertines are also mentioned collectively in the inscription, which means that the family set down sound roots in Salona, while one of its freedmen was a sevir Augustales: C. Turranius Cronius. In order to fulfil the vow he had undertaken, he used his own money to build a temple and altar, decorating the shrine and making a dedication to the Magna Mater.<sup>37</sup> Thus, if the members of the leading Scardona family had business interests in Salona, it is also logical to assume the opposite, i.e., that the members of individual Salona families had settled in Scardona as well due to business interests. This may be the reason why we should not entirely reject the possibility that Publicola from Scardona had ties with the Domitii from Salona.

After presenting the facts and proposing the possible restoration of the family name of the dedicant Publicola as Domatius or Domitius, we would like to conclude this discussion with the view that both proposed gentilicia are suitable for restoration. However, if we were compelled to opt for one of them, we would probably decide on the gentilicium Domatius, but not based on arguments and hypotheses and more on “intuition”. However, this is not a scientific approach and it would therefore be better to conclude that the dedicant to the Great Mother of the Gods in Scardona was called either P. Domatius Publicola or P. Domitius Publicola.

A true surprise is the dedicant’s kognomen Publicola, which, if a clear imprint of most letters had not remained on the damaged portion of the inscription surface, we certainly would not have restored the name this way.<sup>38</sup> Namely, this kognomen had not until now been documented in the Roman province of Dalmatia, and it is otherwise exceptionally rare. According to Roman tradition (Plutarch, Livy), the kognomen Publicola (or the archaic variant Poplicola) was first assigned to Publius Valerius, an active participant in the political events in which the last Roman king, Tarquinius Superbus, was deposed and exiled, and the Republic was established. In 509 BC, together with Lucius Junius Brutus, he served in the first consulate, while during its subsequent three terms (508, 507 and 504 BC), he implemented a series of vital reforms and laws which protected civic liberties. Because of his good works he became popular among the people, who expressed their

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- 34 Glavičić, 2007, pp. 251-255.
- 35 *Salona: T(ito) Turranio / T(iti) f(ilio) Vero, / aedili Scardon(ae) / Arria C(ai) f(ilia) Maxim(a) fil(io) / pientissimo fec(it) et sibi et / C(aio)Maecio Maximo coniug(i) / libertis libertabusq(ue) suis* (CIL III, 2085).
- 36 *Scardona: T. Turranius T. f. Ser. Sedatus, decurio, Ilvir Scardonis, sacerdos ad aram Augusti Liburnorum* (CIL III, 2810).
- 37 *Salona: Matri Magnae / Cognationis / C(aius) Turranius Cronius / (sex)vir August(alis) / voto suscepto aedem et / aram d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit et expoli(vi)t / idemque dedicavit* (CIL III, 8675).
- 38 We probably would have proposed a restoration with the kognomen Publicius.

Miroslav Glavičić, Željko Miletić

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*Poplicola (Publicola)* - “Prijatelj naroda.”<sup>39</sup> Tako je kognomen *Publicola* postao nasljedan i karakterističan za gens Valerija, odnosno poznat je niz članova obitelji *Valerius* s kognomenom *Publicola* koji su obnašali najviše upravne funkcije u razdoblju Republike i ranoga Carstva.<sup>40</sup> Budući da je dokazana nasljednost kognomena *Publicola* prema predcima iz gena *Valerius* po majčinoj strani, možemo čak pretpostaviti da je majka skradinskog Publikole bila *Valeria*.<sup>41</sup> A gentilicij *Valerius* dokumentiran je u Skardoni, gdje je jednu dedikaciju Jupiteru postavila *Valeria Repentina*, a drugu *Valerius Sotericus*.<sup>42</sup> U kontekstu određivanja mogućih veza skardonitanskih i salonitanskih trgovačkih obitelji mora se navesti da su u Saloni u 1. st. poznati muški članovi oslobođeničke obitelji *Valerius*, čiji je posao bio trgovina vinom (*C Valerius C. I. Restitutus, negotiator vinarius*).<sup>43</sup> Spomen im je postavio *M. Nassius Sotericus*, koji je bio njihov prijatelj i mogući poslovni partner, a pritom možda nije samo koincidencija da ima isti kognomen kao i jedan od Jupiterovih dedikanata iz obitelji *Valerius* u Skardoni.<sup>44</sup>

Ako bismo sudili na temelju kognomena, koji se uobičajilo definirati kao “nadimak” koji označava neku fizičku ili, kao u ovom slučaju, karakternu osobinu pojedinca koji ga nosi, onda je na skradinskom natpisu spomenuti *Publicola* spadao u onu rijetku skupinu ljudi koji su zbog svoje humanosti i

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- 39 Kognomen *Poplicola (Publicola)* izveden je iz imenice *populus, i. m.* (narod) i glagola *colo* 3. *colui, cultum* (ovdje “u rimsko-političkom smislu, svakojakim obzirima steći naklonost i milost u koga, poštovati, častiti”, usp. Divković 1980, str. 204, 808).
- 40 Puno imenovanje prvoga nositelja kognomena *Publicola* glasilo je *P. Valerius Volusi f. Publicola*. Njegov sin *P. Valerius P. f. Volusi n. Publicola* bio je konzul 475. i 460. i *interrex* 462. U idućim razdobljima najviše magistrature obnašaju *P. Valerius Publicola Potitus, L. Valerius Publicola, P. Valerius Potitus Publicola, M. Valerius Publicola, P. Valerius Publicola* i dr. *Q. Pedius Publicola*, rimski senator i istaknuti govornik u 1. st. pr. Kr., budući da mu je majka bila *Valeria*, dobio je kognomen prema svojim predcima po majčinoj strani. Na isti je način, tj. po majčinoj strani, kognomen dobio *L. Vipstanus Poplicola*, konzul godine 48. po. Kr., budući da je njegova mati bila *Valeria*, djed mu je bio senator i konzul *M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus*, a pradjed *M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus*, senator, vojskovođa i mecena iz druge polovice 1. st. pr. Kr., čija je sestra bila majka prethodno spomenutog Kvinta Pedija Publikole.
- 41 To ne znači da se taj kognomen nije smio rabiti i u drugim obiteljima.
- 42 *Scardona: Valeria Repentina* (Pedišić 1994, str. 198; AE 1994, 1365), *Valerius Sotericus* (Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, u tisku). Gentilicij *Valerius* potvrđen je i u Burnu kod vojnika XI. (*Claudia Pia Fidelis*) i VIII. (*Augusta*) legije, u više liburnskih gradova kod italskih doseljenika i romaniziranih autohtonih stanovnika, na teritoriju Delmata, a najbrojniji su u Saloni i na njezinu teritoriju. Alföldy 1969, str. 131.
- 43 *Salona: C(aio) Valerio C(ai) f(ilio) / Restituto fil(io) / C(aio) Valerio C(ai) l(iberto) / Restituto p(atr) / negotiatori vinario / M(arcus) Nassius Sotericus / amico b(ene) m(erenti)* (CIL III, 2131).
- 44 Kao mali prilog raspravi o velikim trgovačkim i poduzetničkim obiteljima koje su u Skardoni, ali i drugim važnijim lukama rimske provincije Dalmacije mogle naći svoj poslovni interes, spomenimo da je u Akvileji poznat *L. Valerius Primus negotiator margaritar(ius) ab Roma* (ILS 7603).

Nekoliko novih antičkih spomenika iz Skradina
Several new Antique monuments from Skradin

favour by according him the nickname ‘Poplicola’ (‘Publicola’) -“Friend of the People.”<sup>39</sup> Thus the kognomen Publicola became inherited and characteristic of the gens Valerius, and there were many members of the Valerius family with the kognomen Publicola who held the highest governing posts during the era of the Roman Republic and the early Empire.<sup>40</sup> Since it has been shown that the kognomen Publicola is hereditary based on ancestors from gens Valerius along the maternal line, we may even speculate that the mother of the Skradin Publicola was Valeria.<sup>41</sup> And the gentilicium Valerius has been documented in Scardona, where one dedication to Jupiter was left behind by Valeria Repentina, and another by Valerius Sotericus.<sup>42</sup> In the context of determining the possible ties between the Scardona and Salona merchant families, it must be stated that male members of the freed family Valerius were known in Salona in the first century, and they were involved in wine trade (*C Valerius C. I. Restitutus, negotiator vinarius*).<sup>43</sup> This memorial was commissioned by M. Nassius Sotericus, who was their friend and possible business partner, and perhaps it is not simply a coincidence that he had the same kognomen as one of Jupiter’s dedicants from the Valerius family in Scardona.<sup>44</sup>

Judging on the basis of the kognomen, which is normally defined as a “nickname” designating a physical or, as in this case,

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- 39 The kognomen Poplicola (Publicola) was derived from the noun *populus, i. m.* (people) and the verb *colo* 3. *colui, cultum* (here “in the Roman political sense, to find by all manner of considerations favour with and affection for someone, to respect, to honour”, cf. Divković 1980, pp. 204, 808).
- 40 The full name of the first person bearing the kognomen Publicola was P. Valerius Volusi f. Publicola. His son P. Valerius P. f. Volusi n. Publicola was consul in 475 and 460 BC and *interrex* in 462 BC. Later the highest magistrature was performed by P. Valerius Publicola Potitus, L. Valerius Publicola, P. Valerius Potitus Publicola, M. Valerius Publicola, P. Valerius Publicola and others. Since his mother was Valeria, Q. Pedius Publicola, a Roman senator and a distinguished orator in the first century BC, received the kognomen on the basis of his ancestors in his maternal line. This kognomen was obtained in the same manner, i.e., along the maternal line, by L. Vipstanus Poplicola, the consul in 48 AD, since his mother was also Valeria, and his grandfather was the senator and consul M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus, and his great-grandfather was M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus, a senator, military commander and philanthropist from the latter half of the first century BC, whose sister was the mother of the previously mentioned Quintus Pedius Publicola.
- 41 This does not mean that this kognomen could not also be used in other families.
- 42 *Scardona: Valeria Repentina* (Pedišić 1994, p. 198; AE 1994, 1365), *Valerius Sotericus* (Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, forthcoming). The gentilicium Valerius has also been confirmed in Burnum for soldiers in Legios XI (*Claudia Pia Fidelis*) and VIII (*Augusta*), in several Liburnian cities among Italic settlers and Romanized natives, in the territory of the Delmatae, and its bearers were the most numerous in Salona and the surrounding area. Alföldy 1969, p. 131.
- 43 *Salona: C(aio) Valerio C(ai) f(ilio) / Restituto fil(io) / C(aio) Valerio C(ai) l(iberto) / Restituto p(atr) / negotiatori vinario / M(arcus) Nassius Sotericus / amico b(ene) m(erenti)* (CIL III, 2131).
- 44 As a small contribution to the discussion on the great merchant and business families which may have found a business interest in Scardona and other major ports of the Roman province of Dalmatia, we should note that a certain *L. Valerius Primus negotiator margaritar(ius) ab Roma* (ILS 7603) was known in Aquileia.



dobronamjernosti uvijek spremni pomoći siromašnima i potrebitima. Zato držimo da je ponosno nosio svoje ime, kao i da je ova dedikacija *Matri Deum Magnae* njegovo osobno dobročinstvo učinjeno zajednici štovatelja kulta *Magnae Matris* u antičkoj Skardoni.

Prema imenovanju, *P. Domatius* (ili *Domitius*) *Publicola* bio je rimski građanin italskoga podrijetla. Nemamo nikakav izravan podatak o njegovu društvenom statusu, ali držimo da ga zbog navedene dedikacije ipak moramo tretirati kao imućnijeg građanina,<sup>45</sup> koji se u antičkoj Skardoni, koja je bila prosperitetni lučki i trgovački grad, mogao baviti nekim profitabilnim trgovačkim ili poduzetničkim poslom (*negotiator*). Dakle, iako postavljanje malog posvetnog žrtvenika nije bila osobito grandiozna munificijencija, ono ipak svjedoči o materijalnom statusu dedikanta, koji je imao dovoljno sredstava da postavljanjem žrtvenika iskaže pripadnost metroatčkoj zajednici Skardone. K tomu je nalaz žrtvenika s posvetom Velikoj Majci Bogova, uključujući i pronađene mramorne dijelove skulpture božice (glava i koljeno) te arhitektonske ulomke koji jamačno pripadaju interijeru svetišta, nepobitan dokaz da je u antičkoj Skardoni uz operativni dio luke postojao metroon. Veoma luksuzno opremljeno svetište *Magnae Matris* pokazuje ekonomsku snagu njezinih štovatelja, ali isto tako, budući da je metroatčki kult bio tretiran kao dio službene rimske religije, pokazuje i respektabilni društveni status njezinih štovatelja. To su, dakle, indicije na temelju kojih držimo da je *P. Domatius* (ili *Domitius*) *Publicola* imao viši društveni status, a eventualne karakterne osobine koje rječito opisuje njegov kognomen, mogle su samo pridonijeti njegovom ugledu među stanovnicima antičke Skardone. Iako je na natpisnoj površini ostalo dovoljno mjesta i za pisanje petog retka, u kojemu se mogao navesti razlog posvete (barem *ex voto*) ili neka od čestih formula koje se nalaze na posvetnim natpisima (*V S L M*), razlog zbog kojeg je *Publicola* učinio posvetu nije naveden. U kontekstu razvoja društvenih, gospodarskih i inih prilika na prostoru rimske provincije Dalmacije, imajući pritom posebno u vidu veliko trgovačko i prometno značenje Skardone kao glavne opskrbe luke legijskoga vojnog logora u Burnu, također i na temelju paleografskih osobitosti natpisa (gotovo okruglo slovo *O* i karakteristična izvedba slova *M*), držimo da Publikolinu dedikaciju Velikoj Majci Bogova u Skardoni možemo datirati u razdoblje oko sredine 1. st. poslije Krista.

#### Glava Velike Majke Bogova<sup>46</sup>

Mramorna glava visine 23 cm, sa sačuvanim komadićem vrata vidljivim ispod lijevog i iza desnog obraza, dio je figure žene isklesane u prirodnoj veličini (sl. 9). Glava je teško oštećena, vjerojatno još u davno doba odlomljen je cijeli potiljak. Nedostaje

45 Pritom ne možemo znati je li mu *Scardona* bila rodni grad ili se u njoj naselio zbog obavljanja trgovačkih ili nekih drugih poduzetničkih poslova.

46 Brajković 2009, str. 42, kat. br. 18.

a character trait of the person who bears it, then the *Publicola* mentioned in the Skradin inscription was among those rare people who, due to their humanity and goodwill, were always prepared to assist the poor and needy. This is why we maintain that he bore this name proudly, and that this dedication to "*Matri Deum Magnae*" was his personal good deed for the community of worshippers of the cult of the Magna Mater in Scardona.

Based on his name, *P. Domatius* (or *Domitius*) *Publicola* was a Roman citizen of Italic origin. We have no direct information on his social status, but we maintain that because of the aforementioned dedication, he should be deemed a wealthier citizen,<sup>45</sup> who may have engaged in some profitable or business activity (*negotiator*) in ancient Scardona, which was a prosperous port and mercantile city. Even though the instalment of a small dedicatory altar was not necessarily an act of grandiose munificence, it nonetheless testifies to the dedicant's financial status, as he had enough money to express his belonging to the Metroon community of Scardona by placing an altar. In this regard, the discovery of an altar bearing a dedication to the Great Mother of the Gods, including marble pieces of a statue of this deity (head and knee) and architectural fragments which certainly belonged to the interior of a shrine certainly serve as evidence that there was a Metroon next to the docks in ancient Scardona. The very luxuriously appointed shrine to the Magna Mater demonstrates the economic strength of her worshippers, but by the same token, since the Metroon cult was treated as a component of official Roman religion, it also indicates the respectable social status of these worshippers. These are the indications which lead to our conclusion that *P. Domatius* (or *Domitius*) *Publicola* had a higher social status, while the possible character traits so eloquently described by his cognomen could only have contributed to his reputation among the residents of ancient Scardona. Even though there was sufficient space on the inscription surface for a fifth line, in which the reason for the dedication (at least *ex voto*) or some common formula found on dedicatory inscriptions (*V S L M*) could have been added, the reason why *Publicola* made this dedication is not stated. In the context of the development of social, economic or other circumstances in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia, keeping in mind also the major mercantile and transit importance of Scardona as the main supply port for the legionary camp in Burnum, and also on the basis of the palaeographic aspects of the inscription (the almost round letter *O* and the typical rendering of the letter *M*), we maintain that *Publicola's* dedication to the Great Mother of the Gods in Scardona may be dated to approximately the mid-first century AD.

#### Head of the Great Mother of the Gods<sup>46</sup>

The marble head, 23 cm high, with a small preserved piece of the neck visible below the left and behind the right cheek, was part of a female figure carved in natural height (Fig. 9). The head is very damaged, and the back of the head had probably been

45 Here we cannot know whether Scardona was the city of his birth or if he had moved there to engage in trade or some other business activities.

46 Brajković 2009, p. 42, cat. no. 18.



Slika 9.  
Mramorna glava *Magnae Matris*

i nos, veći dio donje usnice, vrh brade i lijevo uho. Dio površine prekriven je nataloženim kamencem. Građevinski strojevi oštetili su dijelove frizure i izgredili lijevi obraz. Unatoč oštećenjima vidi se linija blago rastvorenih senzualnih usnica na uglovima kojih su zasvrđlane rupice. Takav odmak od klasičnog akademskog izričaja s natruhama emocionalnog pristupa u skladu je s dojmom koji je ostavljao pogled zasjenjenih očiju, a koji je danas teško predočiti jer je nos gotovo sasvim otučen, kao i arkade s obrvama.

Samo su male površine skulpture neoštećene, sačuvani su dijelovi čela na prijelazu u kosu i dio lijevog obraza (sl. 10). Taj izvorni preostatak dostatan je da se jasno vidi visoka ušlačanost prikazane kože i njezina svjetloća u odnosu na bujnu kosu u kojoj duboko uparane tamne svrdlane linije tvore potpuno drugačiju, dinamičnu teksturu s kontrastom *chiaro-scuro*. Takvo kolorističko suprotstavljanje površina javlja se već u Hadrijanovo doba, a intenzivirano je u doba Antonina Pija.<sup>47</sup> Frizura, premda oštećena, dovoljno je sačuvana da bismo mogli odrediti njezin oblik. Iznad čela u sredini je razdjeljak od kojeg lijevo i desno idu dva visoka voluminozna traka valovite kose koji prekrivaju samo vrhove ušiju. Na nekoliko mjesta vidi se rad svrdla. Uvojak kose spušten je na obraze uz uši. Od frizure na tjemenu

47 Cambi 2000, str. 58, str. 163; Cambi 2005, str. 95.



Slika 10.  
Mramorna glava *Magnae Matris* (lijevi profil)

broken off long before. The nose, most of the lower lip, the tip of the chin and the left ear are all missing. Part of the surface is covered with a limestone concretion. The construction machinery damaged parts of the hair and scratched the left cheek. Despite the damage, the contours of slightly parted sensual lips can be discerned, with holes drilled at the corners. Such a departure from classical academic expression, with indications of an emotional approach, complies with the impression left by the overshadowed eyes, which are now difficult to conceive, because the nose is entirely broken off, like the ocular arches with eyebrows.

Only small surfaces of the sculpture remain undamaged. Parts of the forehead at the transition to the hair and part of the left cheek have been preserved (Fig. 10). This authentic remainder is sufficient to provide a clear picture of the high polish of the depicted skin and its lightness in relation to the bun of hair, in which deeply gouged dark drilled lines form an entirely different, dynamic texture with a *chiaroscuro* contrast. Such a colourist contrast had already appeared in Hadrian's time, and this intensified in the era of Antoninus Pius.<sup>47</sup> The hairstyle,

47 Cambi 2000, p. 58, p. 163; Cambi 2005, p. 95.



Slika 11.  
Mramorna glava Magnae Matris  
(desni profil)

Figure 11.  
Marble head of the Magna Mater  
(right profile)

i potiljku sačuvan je samo mali komadić na desnoj strani glave, dostatan da se zaključi da je taj segment bio znatno niži od čeonih pramenova i da je kosa bila snažnije zategnuta uz lubanju, vjerojatno jer je bila stegnuta u punđu (*crobylos*) od koje ništa nije sačuvano. Unatoč velikim dijelovima koji nedostaju, čini se da je frizuru moguće opisati kao onu koju su nosile žene u vrijeme antoninske dinastije povodeći se za modom koju su diktirale carice. Sudeći po frizuri, glava iz Skardone nastala je sredinom 2. st. po. Kr., u vrijeme Antonina Pija. Karakterističan detalj važan za datiranje su tragovi plitko urezanih šarenica, koji se jasno uočavaju u lijevom oku. Taj detalj na kamenim skulpturama naznačuje se od Hadrijanova doba i potvrđuje nastanak skulpture oko godine 150.-160., što se slaže s datacijom određenom pomoću oblika frizure.<sup>48</sup>

Od kose na samom tjemenu glave nije ništa sačuvano, ali ne stoga što je skulptura slučajno oštećena ili namjerno sekundarno otklesana, nego zato što na tom dijelu frizura nije namjerno izrađena (sl. 11). To se jasno vidi pregleda li se dio frizure sačuvan na desnoj strani glave, čija je površina nekih pola centimetra niža od tjemena, koji na taj način tvori neku vrstu povišenog okruglog poklopca. Zašto je klesar to učinio, jasno je prema dvjema rupama četvrtastog

48 Cambi 2000, str. 55, o početku naznačavanja tih detalja u očima.

although damaged, has been sufficiently preserved to allow for determination of its shape. There is a part down the middle above the forehead, with two high voluminous bands of wavy hair to the left and right which cover only the tips of the ears. Traces of drill work can be seen at several places. A lock of hair descends down the cheek next to the ear. Only a small part of the hair has been preserved on the top and back of the right side of the head, enough to allow for the conclusion that this segment was considerably lower than the forehead locks and that the hair was pulled tightly along the cranium, probably because it was tied into a bun (*crobylos*) of which nothing has been preserved. Despite the large missing parts, it would appear that the hairstyle can be described as the type worn by women during the Antoninian dynasty, following the fashion dictated by the empresses. Judging by the hairstyle, the head from Scardona was made in the mid-second century AD, during the reign of Antoninus Pius. A typical detail vital to dating are the traces of the shallowly engraved irises, which can clearly be seen in the left eye. This detail on stone sculptures has been notable since Hadrian's era, and it confirms its production to the time between 150 and 160 AD, which compile with the dating determined on the basis of the hairstyle.<sup>48</sup>

No hair has been preserved on the crown of the head, but not because the sculpture sustained accidental damage or secondary carving, but rather because the hair was not made here intentionally (Fig. 11). This can clearly be seen by inspecting the part of the hair on the right side of the head, whose surface is about a half-centimetre lower than the pate, thereby forming a sort of raised round lid. Why the sculptor did this is clear from the two holes with rectangular cross-section which were symmetrically bored on the left and right sides of the head's crown. They were obviously used to fasten some article that was worn on the head. So instead of the uneven surface of a hairstyle, which would not have been visible in any case, a surface was left which was formed so that this article could be placed easily on the head. That these holes did not appear subsequently can be seen by the fact that when the back part of the head was broken off to adjust the sculpture for some secondary use as a *spolium*, one of the holes was also cut off. We believe that this detail, together with the shape of the top surface of the head, indicates that a crown, probably made of metal, was formerly fastened to the head. It could have been affixed from the inside, but not with the help of metallic prongs which could have been forged lead, but rather with the help of wooden pegs which the crown concealed. The wooden pegs may explain the rather large dimensions of the holes, while their axes, which were not parallel but rather at a slight angle, reveal that the crown had skewed sides, i.e., its shape was that upturned truncated cone. The holes to fasten the crown, the monument's dimensions and the marble indicate that this was not a private portrayal of some individual,

48 Cambi 2000, p. 55, on the beginning of the crafting of these details in the eyes.

presjeka koje su udubljene simetrično, s lijeve i s desne strane te na tjemenu. One su očito učvršćivale neki predmet koji je nošen na glavi. Umjesto neravne površine kose, koja ionako ne bi bila vidljiva, ostavljena je ploha prikladno oblikovana da taj predmet može dobro sjesti na glavu. Da te rupe nisu nastale naknadno, vidi se po tome što je pri odlamanju stražnjeg dijela glave za potrebe prilagodbe skulpture nekoj sekundarnoj namjeni, kao *spolium*, ujedno presječena jedna rupa. Smatramo da taj detalj, uz oblik plohe tjemena, ukazuje da je na glavi nekad bila pričvršćena kruna, po svoj prilici od metala. Ona se mogla uglavljivati s unutrašnje strane, ali ne pomoću metalnih izdanaka koji su mogli biti zaliveni olovom, nego pomoću drvenih klinova, koje je ploha krune zakrivala. Drvenim klinovima objasnile bi se znatne dimenzije rupa, a njihove osi, koje nisu paralelne, nego međusobno blago nakošene, otkrivaju nam da je i kruna imala zakošene stijenke, odnosno oblik naopako postavljenog krnjog stošca. Rupe za učvršćenje krune, dimenzije spomenika i mramor upućuju nas da se ne radi o privatnom prikazu neke osobe, čak ni o carskom portretu, nego da je riječ o prikazu nekog ženskog božanstva koje je nosilo metalnu krunu. Na brojnim Kibelinim prikazima u terakoti i mramoru te na metalnom posuđu vidimo krunu - *polos* - u obliku gradskih zidina, koja ima geometrijski oblik naopako postavljenog krnjoga stošca. Na kvalitetnim mramornim skulpturama koje su prirodne ili natprirodne veličine vidljiv je niz detalja Kibeline krune, koja može biti veoma krupna u odnosu na glavu, odnosno čiji je gornji promjer jednak ili veći od promjera glave.<sup>49</sup> Primjerak metalne krune koja se stavljala na glavu nekog ženskog božanstva izložen je u Museo civico u Bologni. Iz takvih primjera sasvim je jasno da je i na glavu Kibebe iz Skardone bila naknadno postavljena metalna kruna učvršćena drvenim klinovima postavljenim s unutrašnje strane stijenke.

Atribuciju glave Kibeli dodatno osnažuje nalaz are zavjetovane božici i ulomak noge skulpture nekog ženskog lika. Sva tri spomenika nađena su u istom kontekstu, na već spomenutom deponiju građevinskog materijala, sasvim blizu jedan drugoga. S potpunom sigurnošću nije moguće reći pripadaju li glava i bedro istoj skulpturi i odnosi li se votivna ara na *simulacrum* iz uništenog svetišta. Međutim, kako je građevinski materijal grabljen i zatim nanošen na deponij u slijedu, pronalazak ta tri spomenika na malom prostoru daje nam za pravo pretpostaviti podrijetlo iz istog prostora, iz istog konteksta. Konačan odgovor dat će budući nalazi ulomaka skulpture i dekoracije svetišta. Svakako, *Magna Mater* najčešće se prikazuje u sjedećem položaju na tronu, predstavljena kao *potnia theon*.<sup>50</sup>

Ulomak noge također je rađen od bijelog mramora, u strukturi kojeg se vide plavičaste vene. Sačuvan je dio s bedrom i koljenom prekrivenim draperijom, svijenim pod kutom koji nedvojbeno upućuje da pripada nekoj figuri žene koja sjedi. Kako su dimenzije sačuvanog dijela noge u proporcionalnom odnosu s opisanom glavom, smatramo da pripadaju jednoj te istoj skulpturi Kibebe.

49 CCCA II, str. 143, kat. br. 458, T. CXXXVIII, mramorna glava iz Korinta približno istih dimenzija kao i glava iz Skardone; CCCA IV, str. 78, kat. br. 212, T. LXXXII, torzo Kibebe s golemom krunom, iz Bononije.

50 Vermaseren 1977, str. 72.

nor an imperial portrait; rather it is portrayal of a female deity wearing a metal crown. A crown - *polos* - shaped like fortified city walls with the geometric form of an upturned truncated cone can be seen on numerous portrayals of Cybele in terracotta, marble and on metallic vessels. Many details of Cybele's crown, which may be very large in relation to the head, with an upper diameter the same as or even wider than the head, can be seen on high-quality natural-sized or oversized marble sculptures.<sup>49</sup> An example of a metal crown which was placed on the head of some female deity was exhibited in the Museo civico in Bologna. Such examples clearly show that a metal crown was subsequently placed on the head of the Cybele from Scardona, fastened with wooden pegs inserted on its inside walls.

The attribution of the head to Cybele is reinforced by the find of an altar dedicated to the goddess and the leg fragment from a sculpture of a woman. All three artefacts were found in the same context, at the already mentioned construction waste dump site, very close to one another. One cannot say with complete certainty that the head and thigh belong to the same sculpture and whether the votive altar is associated with the *simulacrum* from the destroyed shrine. However, since the construction material was lifted and then carried to the dump site consecutively, the discovery of all three pieces in a limited area encourages us to suppose that they are from the same place, from the same context. A final answer will be provided by future discoveries of fragments of the sculpture and décor from the shrine. To be sure, the *Magna Mater* was most often depicted sitting on a throne, presented as *potnia theon*.<sup>50</sup>

The fragment of the leg was made of white marble in a structure in which bluish veins can be seen. Part of the thigh and knee covered by drapery, bent at an angle, undoubtedly indicates that it belonged to the figure of a sitting woman. Since the dimensions of the preserved part of the leg are in proportion to the above-described head, we believe that they belong to one and the same sculpture of Cybele. Among the Romans, this goddess was most often depicted wearing a heavy dress sitting on a throne based on the sculpture of her from the central shrine on the Palatine Hill, which was renewed by Augustus,<sup>51</sup> while the sitting pose is characteristic of the iconography of certain other goddesses in imperial period sculpture. In the province of Dalmatia, one sitting sculpture from Senia certainly depicts Cybele on a throne,<sup>52</sup> while this cannot be stated with any certainty for another statue of a woman from the same municipia,

49 CCCA II, p. 143, cat. no. 458, P. CXXXVIII, marble head from Corinth with roughly the same dimensions as the head from Scardona; CCCA IV, p. 78, cat. no. 212, P. LXXXII, torso of Cybele wearing large crown, from Bononia.

50 Vermaseren 1977, p. 72.

51 Vermaseren collected an enormous number of depictions rendered thusly in different materials and in various dimensions in the volumes of CCCA. The *Magna Mater Deorum* in anti-conical form arrived in Rome from Asia Minor, and this meteoric rock was reworked into the head of the Palatine Cybele.

52 Medini 1978, P. CXLIII-CXLIV.



Božica se kod Rimljana najčešće prikazuje u teškim haljinama na tronu po uzoru na njezinu skulpturu iz središnjeg svetišta na Palatinu koji obnavlja August,<sup>51</sup> a sjedeći položaj karakterističan je i za ikonografiju nekih drugih božica u skulpturi carskog razdoblja. U provinciji Dalmaciji jedna sjedeća skulptura iz Senije pouzdano prikazuje Kibelu na tronu,<sup>52</sup> dok to nije moguće sa sigurnošću reći za drugi ženski kip iz istog municipija zbog neobične ikonografije stijene na kojoj božica sjedi.<sup>53</sup> Kibeli je pripisana i skulptura sjedeće božice kojoj nedostaje glava, iz Nezakcija.<sup>54</sup> Takva identifikacija teško je održiva, jer su lavlje protome prikazane kao dio dekoracije trona, a ne kao lavovi - Kibelini ljubimci. Izostanak drugih karakterističnih atributa i prikaz zmije kraj noga činjenice su koje nas upućuju na zaključak da je vjerojatnije riječ o nekoj drugoj božici, koja isto tako može sjediti na prijestolju, npr. Junoni.

Ako se pokaže da su dva opisana ulomka iz Skradina dijelovi iste Kibeline skulpture, njezino postavljane u svetište u doba Antonina Pija odlično se slaže s procesom jačanja metroačkog kulta u cijelom Carstvu pa i u rimskoj Liburniji tog doba, kao posljedice carevih reformi. U isto vrijeme u susjednom Burnu, koji je Skardonu koristio za luku najprije za potrebe legijskoga logora tijekom 1. st., a onda u službi stanovništva municipija konstituiranog početkom 2. st., izgrađene su metroačke edikule uz postojeći kapitolij municipalnog foruma s adjacencijama, prerađen od nekadašnjeg principija logora.<sup>55</sup>

Te građevinske aktivnosti bile su vezane uz djelokrug rada arhigala, čija je nova služba osnovana na razini provincije Dalmacije, sa sjedištem u Saloni, početkom šezdesetih godina 2. st. po. Kr.<sup>56</sup> *L. Barbunteus Demetrius*, možda prvi u nizu salonitanskih arhigala, umro je u koloniji Jader, tijekom poslova vezanih uz organiziranje metroačkog kulta.<sup>57</sup> Postoje teorije utemeljene na korekciji Plinijevih navoda da je služba arhigala uvedena još u vrijeme cara Klaudija, koji je reorganizirao metroački kult. *Gens Claudia* bio je involviran u te procese već od uvođenja Kibebe u Rim krajem 3. st. pr. Kr. Poznata epizoda s Klaudijom Kvintom poslije je evocirana na novcima, votivnim arama i terakotnim reljefima.<sup>58</sup> Klaudije je u kalendar uveo martovsku ceremoniju *arbor intrat*, a pompu je izvodio kolegij dendrofora.<sup>59</sup>

Međutim, niz spomena arhigala javlja se tek u doba Antonina Pija, kada su poduzete velike reforme kulta koje su dale zamah

because of the unusual iconography of the rock on which the goddess is sitting.<sup>53</sup> The sculpture of a sitting goddess from Nesactium with missing head is also attributed to Cybele.<sup>54</sup> Such an identification is difficult to maintain, because the lion protomes are depicted as decorations of the throne, rather than as lions - Cybele’s favoured animals. The absence of other typical attributes and the portrayal of a snake next to the leg are facts which indicate that this is more likely another goddess which also may have sat on a throne, e.g. Juno.

If it is established that the two described fragments from Skradin are pieces of the same sculpture of Cybele, its placement in a shrine during the time of Antoninus Pius complies quite well with the process of strengthening the Metroon cult throughout the Empire, including the Roman Liburnia of that time, as a result of the emperor’s reforms. At the same time, in neighbouring Burnum, which used Scardona as a port primarily for the needs of the legionary camp during the first century, and then to serve the needs of the population of the municipium constituted at the onset of the second century, Metroon aediculae were constructed next to the existing Capitolium of the municipal forum with *adjacentia*, remade from the camp’s former principia.<sup>55</sup>

These construction activities were tied to the jurisdiction of the archigallus, whose new service was established at the level of the province of Dalmatia, seated in Salona, at the beginning of the 260s AD.<sup>56</sup> L. Barbunteus Demetrius, perhaps the first in a series of Salona archigalli, died in the colony of lader during the course of work tied to the organization of the Metroon cult.<sup>57</sup> There are theories based on the correction Pliny’s statements that the service of the archigalli had been introduced as early as the time of Emperor Claudius, who reorganized the Metroon cult. The *gens Claudia* had been involved in these processes already since the introduction of Cybele to Rome at the end of the third century BC. The well-known episode involving Claudius Quintus was later evoked on coins, votive altars and terracotta relief portrayals.<sup>58</sup> Claudius introduced the festival of *arbor intrat* in March, and the pomp was conducted by the *collegium dendrophorum*.<sup>59</sup>

However, a series of references to the archigalli appeared only in the era of Antoninus Pius, when major reforms of the cult were undertaken which spurred its strengthening throughout the Empire.<sup>60</sup> Many scholars have concluded, primarily by analyzing the epigraphic materials, that the Hilaria were introduced to Cybele’s festivities at that


- 53  Medini 1978, P. CXLIX. 1; P. CL-CLl. On the doubts tied to the iconography, cf. Cambi 1993, pp. 35, 36, who then, on pp. 37-43, shows that two heads of some other goddesses from Senj do not belong to these torsos.
- 54  Jurkić-Girardi 2005, p. 212, 213.
- 55  Medini 1989, p. 264; Zabehlicky-Scheffenegger, Kandler 1979, pp. 9-15; Reisch 1913, pp. 131, 132.
- 56  Medini 1982, pp. 18, 19.
- 57  Suić 1965, p. 104; Medini 1982, pp. 24-27.
- 58  Vermaseren 1977, p. 41; Bremmer 1979, pp. 9-22; Simon 1990, pp. 146, 147.
- 59  Turcan 2005, p. 44, 45.
- 60  On the uncertainty over the time of establishment of the first archigallus service, see Turcan 2005, p. 49; Beaujeu 1955, pp. 316, 317, decisively showed that Antoninus Pius, and not Claudius, established the post of archigallus.

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za njegovo jačanje u cijelom Carstvu.<sup>60</sup> Brojni autori, ponajprije analizom epigrafičke građe, zaključili su da se tada u Kibelin festival uvode *Hilaria*, udruženje kanofora počelo je participirati u tim martovskim slavljima, a *taurobolia*, prvi put epigrafički posvjedočena 160. godine po. Kr., vršila se *pro salute imperatoris*, što znači da je metroački kult postao sastavni dio oficijelne religije, bitan za imperijalnu propagandu.<sup>61</sup> Kibelina eshatološka titula *salutaris* na Faustininim novcima dodatan je pokazatelj oficijalizacije kulta.<sup>62</sup> *Orgeones* u privatnom metroačkom svetištu u Pireju izabirali su sve do godine 163.-164. po. Kr. isključivo svećenice, kada im je, u doba Marka Aurelija, prvi put pridružen i državni svećenik, što znači da je kult preuzeo rimski Senat.<sup>63</sup> Dodajmo da se na površini onog dijela deponija gdje je Ivan Skorić pronašao ulomke Kibeline skulpture i njoj posvećene votivne are vide brojni ulomci uglačanih kamenih pločica koje su korištene za oblaganje podova i zidova u tehnici *opus sectile*, kao i mramorni dijelovi arhitektonskih elemenata, uključujući friz s volutama. Sve su to indicije koje nas snažno upućuju na zaključak da je u Skradinu uništeno luksuzno metroačko svetište, u koje je u doba Antonina Pija postavljena mramorna skulptura Kibebe na tronu. Nažalost, time je izgubljena i glavna informacija o kultu koju smo mogli dobiti analizom ostataka *in situ*.

#### Žrtvenik posvećen Jupiteru<sup>64</sup>

Na odlagalištu u selu Skorićima, kamo je dovezen materijal iskopan tijekom građevinskih radova na lokalitetu Rokovača u Skradinu, pronađen je godine 2008. i žrtvenik s posvetom Jupiteru. Žrtvenik izrađen od vapnenca prilično je oštećen, otučeni su baza i veći dio kruništa, čija je gornja površina, čini se, bila zaravnjena (sl. 12). Dimenzije žrtvenika iznose: visina 46 cm, širina 31 cm i debljina 30 cm. Na tijelu žrtvenika s prednje strane isklesan je u tri vodoravna retka posvetni natpis. Visina slova pravilne kapitale u prvom retku iznosi 5,1 cm, u drugom retku 4,5 cm i u trećem retku 3,8 cm. Ligatura i distinkcija nema. Zbog oštećenja natpisne površine prvo slovo u trećem retku [N], koji započinje od lijeve margine, ne vidi se. Na žrtveniku je zapisano:

IOVIOM
SCARDO
[ . ]AE
<b>Natpis u restituciji glasi: <i>lovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Scardo/[n] ae.</i><sup>65</sup></b>
<b>Natpis započinje jednom od uobičajenih inačica posvete Jupiteru, čiji je dativ napisan u punom obliku <i>lovi</i> i popraćen</b>

- 60  O dvojbi oko vremena osnivanja prvih arhigalata kod Turcan 2005, str. 49; Beaujeu 1955, str. 316, 317, odlučno dokazuje da je Antonin Pio, a ne Klaudije, ustanovio arhigalat.
- 61  Beaujeu 1955, str. 312-320; Vermaseren 1977, str. 113-115, str. 179, 180; Medini 1984, str. 114, 115; Medini 1989, str. 265;Turcan 2005, str. 49.
- 62  Beaujeu 1955, str. 313;Turcan 2005, str. 51, 52.
- 63  Vermaseren 1977, str. 35.
- 64  Podrug et al. 2008, str. 198, kat. br. 98; Brajković 2009, str. 31, kat. br. 7.
- 65  Brajković 2008, str. 72.

Nekoliko novih antičkih spomenika iz Skradina

Several new Antique monuments from Skradin

time, while the *collegium canophorum* began to participate in these March festivities, and the *taurobolia*, first mentioned in epigraphs in 160 AD, conducted the *pro salute imperatoris*, which means that the Metroon cult became a component of the official religion, essential to the imperial propaganda.<sup>61</sup> Cybele’s eschatological title *salutaris* on Faustinian coins is an additional indicator that the cult had been made official.<sup>62</sup> The *orgeones* were elected to the private Metroon shrine in Piraeus up to the year 163/164 AD were exclusively priestesses, when, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, they were joined for the first time by a state priest, which means that the Roman Senate had assumed control of the cult.<sup>63</sup>

We should add that at that section of the dump site where Ivan Skorić discovered the pieces of the Cybele sculpture and the votive altar dedicated to her many fragments of polished stone tiles are visible which were otherwise used to line floors and walls in *opus sectile* technique; also visible are marble pieces of architectural elements, including a frieze with volutes. All of these are indications which strongly point to the conclusion that a luxurious Metroon shrine was destroyed in Skradin, a shrine in which a marble sculpture of Cybele seated on a throne was installed during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Unfortunately, with this most of the information on the cult, which could have been obtained by an *in situ* examination of the remains, has been lost.

#### Altar dedicated to Jupiter<sup>64</sup>

In 2008, an altar dedicated to Jupiter was found at the disposal site in the village of Skorići, where materials excavated during construction works at Rokovača in Skradin were dumped. The limestone altar is considerably damaged; the base and most of the crown have sustained impact damage. The upper surface of the crown was, it would appear, flattened (Fig. 12). The altar’s dimensions are: height 46 cm, width 31 cm and thickness 30 cm. The dedicatory inscription is engraved on the front of the altar in three horizontal lines. The height of the regular capitals in the first line is 5.1 cm, 4.5 cm in the second and 3.8 cm in the third. There are neither ligatures nor punctuation. Due to damage to the inscription surface, the first letter in the third line [N], which begins from the left margin, cannot be seen. The following is written on the altar:

IOVIOM
SCARDO
[ . ]AE
<b>The restored inscription reads: <i>lovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) / Scardo/[n] ae.</i><sup>65</sup></b>
<b>The inscription begins with one of the customary variants of the dedication to Jupiter, whose dative is written in the full form <i>lovi</i> and accompanied by the sigils <i>O</i> and <i>M</i>, i.e., the name of the supreme</b>

- 61  Beaujeu 1955, pp. 312-320;Vermaseren 1977, pp. 113-115, p. 179, 180; Medini 1984, p114, 115; Medini 1989, p. 265;Turcan 2005, p. 49.
- 62  Beaujeu 1955, p. 313;Turcan 2005, pp. 51, 52.
- 63  Vermaseren 1977, p. 35.
- 64  Podrug et al. 2008, p. 198, cat. no. 98; Brajković 2009, p. 31, cat. no. 7.
- 65  Brajković 2008, p. 72.



Slika 12.  
Žrtvenik s posvetom Jupiteru

Figure 12.  
Altar with dedication to Jupiter

siglami *O* i *M*, odnosno ime vrhovnoga boga rimskoga panteona popraćeno je superlativima njegovih epiteta (također u dativu *Optimo* i *Maximo*), koji ga označavaju kao kralja bogova i ljudi i vladara svijeta. Posveta *Jupiteru Najboljem i Najvećem* ispisana je u prvom retku natpisa. U drugom retku i s prijelazom u treći redak natpisa naveden je genitiv ojkonima *Scardonae*.<sup>66</sup> To treba napomenuti, jer je pri prvoj objavi T. Brajković napisao: "Treći skradinski žrtvenik koji donosim u ovom tekstu tek je nedavno otkriven i još neobjavljen (kat. br. 98). Zanimljiv je poradi toga što nije napisano ime dedikanta, već je umjesto toga na kraju teksta navedeno ime grada u kojem se postavlja - 'U SKRADINU'."<sup>67</sup> Iako to ništa bitno ne mijenja, ipak moramo reći da takav prijevod nije najprikladniji, odnosno tako bi se prevelo da je na natpisu

66 Može se pomišljati i na dativ, no držimo da bi se u tom slučaju koristio posvojni pridjevski oblik (ksetik).

67 Podrug et al. 2008, str. 72. U kataloškim jedinicama pri prijevodu natpisa autor rabi sljedeću formulaciju: "Jupiteru, Najboljem i Najvećem, u Skardoni". U kataloškim jedinicama za mjesto nalaza autor rabi uopćenu formulaciju "Skradin (slučajni nalaz 2008. godine)", što nije baš po pravilima struke, jer autoru su vrlo dobro bile poznate sve okolnosti nalaza, ali ih valjda zbog "kolegijalnosti" hotimice prešućuje. Usp. Podrug et al. 2008, str. 198, kat. br. 98; Brajković 2009, str. 31, kat. br. 7.

deity of the Roman pantheon accompanied by the superlatives of his epithets (also in the dative *Optimo* and *Maximo*, which designate him as the king of the gods and humankind and the ruler of the world. The dedication to "Jupiter Best and Greatest" is written in the inscription's first line. In its second line and the transition to the third, the genitive of the oikonym, *Scardonae*, is written.<sup>66</sup> This bears mention, for when first published, Brajković wrote: "The third Skradin altar which I present in this text was only recently discovered and has not yet been published (cat. no. 98). It is intriguing because the dedicant's name is not written, instead the name of the city in which it was installed is cited at the end of the text. 'IN SKRADINU'.<sup>67</sup> Although this does not change matters significantly, we nevertheless have to say that this translation is not the most suitable, or rather, it could be translated in that manner if the ablative of the oikonym had been used in the inscription - *Scardona*,<sup>68</sup> but since it is written here in the genitive *Scardonae*,<sup>69</sup> it should be understood with the same meaning as the inscription CIL III, 2802, wherein the dedication to the Genii of the Flavian municipium of Scardona in honour of his election as auger was placed by *C. Petronius Firmus*.<sup>70</sup> In this sense, we agree with the assertions made by Bekavac and Glavaš in their article on the cult of Jupiter in Scardona: "It is precisely this inscription, which links the dedication to Jupiter to the actual municipium, that speaks of the official nature of Jupiter's cult in Scardona, and the high degree of Romanization of its territory. Knowing that the territory of Scardona had a high number of dedications to Jupiter, here the genitive '*Scardonae*' is used to show the existence of a temple in Scardona, and that the dedication was made precisely to the Jupiter from the Scardona temple."<sup>71</sup> Even the circumstances surrounding the discovery of this altar, which was found during construction works in Skradin, reinforce the aforementioned view on the existence of a temple in Scardona, which is only logical given Jupiter's divine significance and reverence for the Capitoline Triad in the city centre. Whether this dedication to Jupiter was somebody's personal dedication or perhaps a joint dedication by Scardona's citizens, placed in their name by an authorized magistrate, is not indicated, even though there sufficient space was left in the inscription area on the altar for additional specific information, particularly the reason for its placement.

66 The dative is also conceivable, although we maintain that in this case the possessive adjectival form was used.

67 Podrug et al. 2008, p. 72. In the catalogue entries, for translation of the inscription the author used the following formulation: "To Jupiter, Best and Greatest, in Scardona". In the catalogue entries for the find-site, the author used the generalized formulation: "Skradin (chance find, 2008)", which does not quite comply with the rules of the profession, for the author was quite familiar with all circumstances surrounding the find, but he probably did not mention them intentionally for the sake of 'camaraderie'. Cf. Podrug et al. 2008, p. 198, cat. no. 98; Brajković 2009, p. 31, cat. no. 7.

68 *Ablativus loci*.

69 *Genitivus possessivus*.

70 *Scardona: Genio municipi(i) / Fl(avi) Scard(onae) / C(aius) Petronius / Firmus ob / honorem aug(uratus) / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (CIL III, 2802).

71 Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, in press.

upotrijebljen ablativ ojkonima *Scardona*,<sup>68</sup> a budući da je ovdje napisan genitiv *Scardonae*,<sup>69</sup> treba ga shvatiti u značenju kao na natpisu CIL III, 2802, gdje posvetu Geniju flavijevskog municipija Skardone u čast izbora za augura postavlja *C. Petronius Firmus*.<sup>70</sup> U tom smislu slažemo se s konstatacijama koje u članku o kultu Jupitera u Skardoni iznose S. Bekavac i I. Glavaš: "Upravo nam ovaj natpis, koji veže posvetu Jupiteru sa samim municipijem, govori o službenosti Jupiterovog kulta u Skardoni, te visokom stupnju romanizacije njenog teritorija. Znajući da na teritoriju Skardone ima veliki broj posveta posvećenih Jupiteru, ovdje je genitiv '*Scardonae*' upotrijebljen da ukaže na postojanje hrama u Skardoni, odnosno da je posveta učinjena baš Jupiteru iz skardonitanskog hrama."<sup>71</sup> A i okolnosti nalaza ovoga žrtvenika, koji je pronađen tijekom građevinskih radova u Skradinu, osnažuju navedeno mišljenje o postojanju hrama u Skardoni, što je i logično s obzirom na Jupiterovo božansko značenje i štovanje Kapitolijske trijade u središtu grada. Je li ova posveta Jupiteru bila nečija osobna ili možda zajednička dedikacija građana Skardone, koju je u njihovo ime postavio netko od ovlaštenih magistrata, nije napisano, iako je na tijelu žrtvenika ostalo dovoljno natpisnog prostora da se navede još poneki konkretan podatak, napose razlog postavljanju.

Do sada je u Skardoni ili na teritoriju municipija pronađeno ukupno osam žrtvenika s posvetom Jupiteru, a budući da je u posljednje vrijeme o njima napisano nekoliko preglednih radova,<sup>72</sup> ovdje nećemo opisivati ostale žrtvenike niti raspravljati o njihovim dedikantima. Opisani žrtvenik s posvetnim natpisom *lovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Scardo[n]ae* ne sadrži epigrafske ili onomastičke elemente na temelju kojih je moguće odrediti precizniju dataciju, a okvirno ga datiramo u razdoblje od kraja 1. do u 3. st.

#### Liburnski cippus iz zbirke lapida skradinskog dekanata

U dvoru skradinskog dekana čuva se neobjavljeni ulomak liburnskog cipa sačuvan u približno jednoj trećini prvotnog volumena (sl. 13). Ne zna se odakle je dospio u zbirku lapida, pa samo možemo pretpostaviti da je iz Skradina ili iz njegove neposredne blizine. Nije ga bilo moguće detaljno pregledati, jer je na teško dostupnome mjestu i zagrađen drugim predmetima. Promjera je 57 cm i sačuvane visine 47 cm (manje od trećine cijelog spomenika). Spomeniku na gornjoj strani nedostaje gotovo cijeli konus i, dolje, približno dvije trećine valjkastog tijela. Oni su odstranjeni u vrijeme kad je *cippus* bio sekundarno korišten

68 *Ablativus loci*.

69 *Genitivus possessivus*.

70 *Scardona: Genio municipi(i) / Fl(avi) Scard(onae) / C(aius) Petronius / Firmus ob / honorem aug(uratus) / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* (CIL III, 2802).

71 Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, u tisku.

72 Pedišić 1994, str. 183-200; Pedišić 2001, str. 44-49; Podrug et al. 2008, str. 71, 72; Brajković 2009, str. 30-34, kat. br. 6-10; Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, u tisku.



Slika 13.  
Ulomak liburnskog cipa

Figure 13.  
Fragment of Liburnian cippus

Thus far, a total of eight altars dedicated to Jupiter have been found in Scardona or in its territory, and since several review articles on them have been written in recent years,<sup>72</sup> here we shall not describe the remaining altars nor discuss their dedicants. The altar described above with the dedicatory inscription *lovi O(ptimo) M(aximo) Scardo[n]ae* does not contain epigraphic nor onomastic elements which would allow for a more precise dating, so we have generally placed its dating to the period from the end of the first to the third century AD.

#### Liburnian cippus from the lapidary collection of the Skradin deaconate

An unpublished fragment of a Liburnian cippus, preserved to roughly one third of its initial volume (Fig. 13), is held in the rectory of the Skradin deacon. Whence it made its way into the lapidary collection is not known, so we may assume that it is from Skradin or its immediate vicinity. It was not possible to examine it thoroughly, for it is at place which is difficult to access and blocked by other items. Its diameter is 57 cm, and its preserved height is 47 cm (less than a third of the entire monument). Almost the entire cone is missing on the upper side, while below almost two-thirds of the cylindrical body is missing. They were removed at the time when the cippus was in secondary use as a spoliun, so its upper section was hollowed out into some form of recipient. Only the lowest part of the conical portion with a row of scales (*squamae*) has been preserved. It transitions into a moulded *torus*, which has impact damage so we do not know if it had been adorned. Only a

72 Pedišić 1994, pp. 183-200; Pedišić 2001, pp. 44-49; Podrug et al. 2008, pp. 71, 72; Brajković 2009, pp. 30-34, cat. no. 6-10; Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, in press.



kao spolij, pa mu je gornji dio izdubljen u neku vrstu recipijenta. Od koničnog dijela sačuvan je samo najniži dio s redom ljuski (*squamae*). On prelazi u profilirani *torus*, koji je otučen pa ne znamo kako je bio ukrašen. Sačuvana je samo pleterna dekoracija najniže profilacije koja *torus* povezuje s valjkastim trupom. Gornja zona cilindra ukrašena je s tri girlande koje su ovješene na čavle zajedno s tri bukranija. Izvedeni su u visokom reljefu koji je prilično izguben i oštećen tako da su detalji zamagljeni.

O liburnskom cipu napisano je više rasprava, od Suićeve pionirske radnje o genezi ovog tipa nadgrobnog spomenika<sup>73</sup> do Fadićevih radova o tektonskim značajkama iz pojedinih radionica koje je pokušao razlučiti.<sup>74</sup> U sublimiranom prikazu problematike oko liburnskih cipa Cambi je izrekao dvije važne napomene: da su srodni tipovi spomenika poznati još od helenističkog doba, kao i da je u njihov dekorativni repertoar prodrila rimska sepulkralna tematika.<sup>75</sup> Dodali bismo da rimska sakralna i sepulkralna arhitektura poznaje kružan oblik građevina s frizom ukrašenim bukranijima s girlandama ili festonima, što je motiv preuzet s metopa dorskih hramova. Na frizu znamenitoga groba Cecilije Metele bukraniji vise na čavličima kojima su učvršćeni i festoni, baš kao kod skradinskog cipa. Na kružnom tzv. Vestinom hramu iz Tibura girlande vise ovješene o rogove bukranija. Stoga treba razmišljati o mogućnosti da je i oblik liburnskog cipa preuzet od iznimno popularnih kružnih grobnica -mauzoleja.

#### Ulomak nadgrobnog natpisa

U depou župnog dvora u Skradinu nalazi se ulomak vjerojatno nadgrobnog spomenika izrađenog od bijelog vapnenca, čije dimenzije iznose: visina 26 cm, širina 29 cm, debljina 15,5 cm (sl. 14). Mjesto i okolnosti nalaza nisu poznati. Pravilna slova ranocarske kapitale, koja su ravnomjerno uklesana u fino zaravnjenu natpisnu površinu, imaju pravilni duktus i završavaju serifima na krajevima. Otprilike po sredini ulomka sačuvana je sigla *F*, koju od kognomena *Sever[us]* ili možebitne inačice *Sever[inus]* dijeli trokutasta distinkcija. Visina slova iznosi 3,5 cm. Isti ili gotovo istovjetan tekst bio je ispisan u retku koji je unatoč frakturi ostao vidljiv pri vrhu ulomka. Naime, ondje se jasno uočavaju ostatci istih slova kognomena: polovica simetrično oblikovanog slova *S*, donja polovica slova *E* i *V*, potom krajnji donji dio slova *E* i samo trag okomite haste slova *R*. Dakle, i ovdje je bio napisan kognomen *Sever[us]* ili inačica *Sever[inus]*. Iako je s lijeve strane zbog loma spomenika natpisna površina oštećena, vjerojatno je i ovdje ispred kognomena bila ispisana sigla *F*.

Po svoj prilici cjelovito imenovanje (prenomen, nomen, filijacija i kognomen) osoba navedenih na natpisu bilo je ispisano u jednom retku, što znači da je sačuvani ulomak pripadao desnoj strani spomenika. Budući da su oba kognomena po okomici gotovo poravnata, zaključujemo da je tekst natpisa bio brižljivo

73 Suić 1996, str. 145-183 (pretisak rada Suić 1952, str. 59-95).

74 Fadić 1989, str. 51-59; Fadić 1990, str. 209-299; Fadić 1991, str. 169-211.

75 Cambi 2002, str. 156.

lattice ornament on the lowest articulation which ties to the *torus* to the cylindrical body has been preserved. The upper zone of the cylinder is adorned with three garlands which hang from a nail together with three bucrania. They are rendered in relief which is considerably scratched and damaged, so the details are obscure.

A number of discussions of the Liburnian cippus have been written, from Suić's pioneering work on the genesis of this type of grave monument<sup>73</sup> to Fadić's works on the tectonic characteristics from individual workshops which he attempted to discern.<sup>74</sup> In a very refined presentation of the problems surrounding the Liburnian cippus, Cambi made two important observations: that similar types of monuments have been known since the Hellenistic era, and that Roman sepulchral themes penetrated their decorative repertoire.<sup>75</sup> We would add that the circular structural form having a frieze adorned with bucrania and garlands and festoons was known in Roman sacral and sepulchral architecture; this motif was taken from the metopes of Doric temples. On the frieze of the well-known tomb of Caecilia Metella, bucrania hang from pegs onto which festoons are also fastened, just as on the Skradin cippus. On the so-called Temple of Vesta in Tibur, garlands hang from the horns of bucrania. Therefore, the possibility should be considered that the form of the Liburnian cippus was assumed from the exceptionally popular circular tombs/mausoleums.

#### Fragment of a gravestone inscription

A fragment of what is probably a gravestone made of white limestone is held in the storage room of the parish rectory in Skradin. Its dimensions are: height 26 cm, width 29 cm, thickness 15.5 cm (Fig. 14). The find site and its circumstances are not known. The standard, early imperial capital letters, which were uniformly engraved onto the finely polished inscription surface have a regular ductus and end in serifs at the tips. Roughly down the middle of the fragment, the sigil *F* is preserved, which is divided from the cognomen *Sever[us]*, or perhaps the variant *Sever[inus]*, by triangular punctuation. The height of the letters is 3.5 cm. The same or almost identical text was written in the line which, despite the fracture, remains visible at the top of the fragment. The remains of the same letters of the cognomen can clearly be seen there: half of the symmetrically formed letter *S*, the lower half of the letters *E* and *V*, then the extreme lower part of the letter *E* and just a trace of the vertical bar of the letter *R*. Therefore, the cognomen *Sever[us]* or the variant *Sever[inus]* may have been written here. Even though the inscription surface is damaged on the left side of the monument due to the fracture, the letter *F* was probably written here before the cognomen as well.

It is likely that the entire name (praenomen, nomen, filiation and cognomen) of the person cited in the inscription was written in a single line, which means that the preserved fragment belonged to the monument's right side. Since both cognomina almost aligned vertically,

73 Suić 1996, pp. 145-183 (reprint of Suić 1952, pp. 59-95).

74 Fadić 1989, pp. 51-59; Fadić 1990, pp. 209-299; Fadić 1991, pp. 169-211.

75 Cambi 2002, p. 156.



Slika 14.

Ulomak nadgrobnog natpisa

i jednoliko raspoređen u odnosu na središnju okomitu os spomenika. Na ulomku je ostalo vidljivo ili se nazire:

SEVER

F SEVER

Jedini podatak koji je siguran jest da su na natpisu bile navedene najmanje dvije osobe s kognomenom *Severus* ili izvedenicom *Severinus*.<sup>76</sup> Pritom se ne može odrediti koja je moguća kombinacija kognomena bila zapisana na spomeniku, iako bi možda neznatno spacionirano pisanje donjega kognomena sugeriralo dužu inačicu *Severinus*. Stoga navodimo samo pretpostavljenu restituciju sačuvanoga teksta s oba kognomena navedena u nominativu:

[ - - *f(i)lius* ] *Sever[us]* / [ - - ] *f(i)lius Sever[inus]*.

S obzirom na paleografske osobitosti, držimo da natpis sa zabilježbama kognomena *Severus* ili *Severinus* iz Skradina treba datirati u razdoblje 1. st. po. Kr.

Na natpisnoj građi rimske provincije Dalmacije kognomen *Severus* i njegova izvedenica *Severinus* imaju brojne potvrde, a generalno se drži da se pojavljuju u imenovanju Italika i doseljenika s keltskih područja.<sup>77</sup> Skardoni najbliža potvrda ovoga kognomena potječe s Roškoga slapa, gdje je žrtvenik

76 Moguće su i ženske inačice *Severa* ili *Severina*.

77 Alföldy 1969, str. 295, 296.

Figure 14.

Fragment of gravestone inscription

we have concluded that the text of the inscription was meticulously and equally arranged in relation to the monument's central vertical axis. The following is visible or discernable on the fragments:

SEVER

F SEVER

The only certain data are that a minimum of two persons with the cognomen *Severus* or its derivative *Severinus* were specified in the inscription.<sup>76</sup> Here the combination of the cognomina written on the monument cannot be ascertained, although perhaps the negligibly wider spaces in the writing of the lower cognomen suggest the longer variant *Severinus*. Therefore we here present only the assumed restoration of the preserved text with both cognomina in the nominative case:

[ - - *f(i)lius* ] *Sever[us]* / [ - - ] *f(i)lius Sever[inus]*.

Given its palaeographic particularities, we maintain that the inscription with notations of the cognomen *Severus* or *Severinus* from Skradin should be dated to the first century AD.

There are numerous confirmations of the cognomen *Severus* and its variant *Severinus* in the body of inscriptions from the Roman province of Dalmatia, and it is generally held that they appeared in the names

76 The feminine variants *Severa* or *Severina* are also possible.



autohtonu božici Latri postavio *C. Turranius C. f. Severus*.<sup>78</sup> On je bio *evocatus Augusti*, tj. pretorijanac koji se nakon časnog otpusta ponovno aktivirao u vojnoj službi i službovao u veteranskoj postrojbi, čiji je zadatak bio osiguranje prijelaza preko rijeke Krke i nadzor prometa na teritoriju legijskog vojnog logora u Burnu. Budući da su *Turrani* bili vodeća skardonitanska obitelj,<sup>79</sup> tu bi se eventualno mogla pronaći određena veza glede kognomena *Severus*, ali to se mora shvatiti samo na razini jedne radne pretpostavke. Kognomen *Severus* zabilježen je u imenovanju dvojice vojnika XI. legije u Burnu. Jedan od njih je već spomenuti. *M. Domitius M. f. Severus*, a drugi je *Sex. Anternius Q. f. Severus*.<sup>80</sup> Oba su umrla tijekom obnašanja svoje vojničke službe i nemaju nikakve izravne veze sa Skardonom, ali ovdje ih navodimo samo kao primjer da je među vojničkom populacijom u Burnu bilo Italika s kognomenom *Severus*, koji su nakon završetka aktivne službe mogli ostati na ovim prostorima, gdje su dobili posjede ili su se nastanili u Skardoni.

#### Figurica Libera - Dioniza s teritorija Varvarije<sup>81</sup>

Tridesetih godina 20. st. Mate Bedrica, veleposjednik iz Skradina, našao je mramornu skulpturu Dioniza na zemljištu u Piramatovcima, na položaju Velim, na pola puta između crkve sv. Bartula i crkve Svih Svetih. Skulptura je danas u vlasništvu njegova nećaka Mile Bedrice iz Skradina, kojemu zahvaljujemo jer nam je ljubazno dopustio uvid i mogućnost objave. Kako je selo Piramatovci udaljeno samo nekoliko kilometara zračne linije od Bribirske glavice, na kojoj je u rimsko doba bila *Varvaria*, kipić potječe s teritorija tog municipija, a ne iz rimske Skardone. Skulptura je isklesana u mramoru žućkaste patine, u visokom reljefu i sa stajaćom podlogom pa možemo zaključiti da je kip stajao samostalno, vjerojatno izložen u nekoj niši (sl. 15). Visine je 33 cm (sama figura Libera - Bakha 27,8 cm), širine 17,4 cm i debljine 8,4 cm. Prikazan je pijani Dioniz s desnom rukom zabačenom iza glave. Takav pokret ruke ima niz usporedbi u dionizijačkim prikazima,<sup>82</sup> od kojih je možda najpoznatiji onaj

of Italic natives and settlers from the Celtic regions.<sup>77</sup> A confirmation of this cognomen closest to Scardona is from Roški slap, where an altar to the indigenous goddess Latra was placed *C. Turranius C. f. Severus*.<sup>78</sup> He was *evocatus Augusti*, i.e., a praetorian who after honourable discharge once more activated his military service and served in a veteran's unit tasked with securing the crossing over the Krka River and overseeing the territory of the legionary military camp in Burnum. Since the *Turrani* were a leading family of Scardona,<sup>79</sup> a possible connection with the cognomen *Severus* may be found here, but this must be seen only at the level of a working hypothesis. The cognomen *Severus* was recorded in the names of two soldiers of Legio XI in Burnum. One of them has already been mentioned, *M. Domitius M. f. Severus*, while the other was *Sex. Anternius Q. f. Severus*.<sup>80</sup> Both died while performing their military duties and they had no direct ties to Scardona, but they are cited here only as an example that among the military population in Burnum there were Italic individuals with the cognomen *Severus*, who after the completion of their service could have stayed in the area, where they were allotted property or to settle in Scardona.

#### Figurine of Liber/Dionysus from the territory of Varvaria<sup>81</sup>

In the 1930s, Mate Bedrica, a major land-owner from Skradin, found a marble sculpture of Dionysus on his property in Piramatovci, at the Velim site, half-way between the Church of St. Bartholomew and the Church of All Saints. The sculpture is today owned by his nephew Mile Bedrica from Skradin, whom we thank for graciously allowing us to view and publish the piece. Since the village of Piramatovci is only a few kilometres in a straight line from Bribirka glavica, which in the Roman era was *Varvaria*, the statuette originated in the territory of that municipium and not Roman Scardona.

The sculpture was carved from marble with a yellowish patina, in high relief and with a standing base, so we may conclude that it stood independently, probably on display in a niche (Fig. 15). Its height 33 cm (only the figurine of Liber/Bacchus 27.8 cm), width 17.4 cm and thickness 8.4 cm. It depicts the intoxicated Dionysus with right hand thrown over his head. There are many comparisons to this motion of the arm in Dionysian portrayals,<sup>82</sup> of which perhaps the best known



Slika 15.  
Figurica Libera - Dioniza iz  
Piramatovaca



Figure 15.  
Figurine of Liber/Dionysus  
from Piramatovci



Slika 17.  
Figurica Libera  
- Dioniza iz  
Piramatovaca  
(desni profil)

Figure 17.  
Figurine  
of Liber/  
Dionysus from  
Piramatovci  
(right profile)

Fauna Barberini.<sup>83</sup> Komos je naglašen rogom za ispijanje koji bog jedva pridržava istom rukom. Na prikazima u dionizijačkim skupinama pijani bog ravnotežu održava tako što se drugom rukom naslanja na neki lik iz njegova tijasa, obično na satira. Kako je ovdje sublimiran prikaz, s reduciranim brojem likova, Dioniz je prikazan kako se naslanja na svoj štap - *thyrsus*. Na tom mjestu reljef je visok pa je tirs, na kojemu počiva odlomljena lijeva šaka, u potpunosti perforacijom odvojen od pozadine (sl. 16). Komatozno stanje naglašeno je prikazom draperije koja je spuznula s tijela. Na Dionizovu lijevom ramenu vidimo vršak himatija, odakle je provučen ispod pazuha i prebačen preko lijeve podlaktice. Stječemo pogrešan dojam da draperija završava između lijeve ruke i torza božanstva. Naprotiv, dio tkanine himatija omotan je oko desnog bedra niz koje će skliznuti (sl. 17). Takav raspored jednog komada draperije u dvije nepovezane cjeline posljedica je nesprenog prikazivanja, jer je klesar očito izostavio prikazati dio himatija koji bi od podlaktice bio provučen iza leđa božanstva odakle

is the Barberini Faun.<sup>83</sup> The Komos is emphasized by the drinking horn which the god scarcely holds in the same hand. In depictions of Dionysian groups, the drunken god maintains his balance by resting his other arm on another figure from his entourage, usually a satyr. Since this is a sublimated portrayal, with a reduced number of figures, Dionysus is shown leaning on his staff - the *thyrsus*. At this place, the relief is high, so the *thyrsus*, on which the broken-off left hand rests, is entirely separated from the background by perforation (Fig. 16). The comatose state is emphasized by the depiction of drapery which is sliding from the body. The tip of a himation can be seen on Dionysus' left shoulder, whence it is pulled below the underarm and thrown over the left forearm. The erroneous impression is created that the drapery ends between the god's left arm and torso. In fact, part of the fabric of the himation is wrapped around the right thigh down which it will slide (Fig. 17). This arrangement of a single piece of drapery in two unconnected wholes is the result of a clumsy portrayal, for the sculptor obviously neglected to show that part of the himation that would be pulled from the forearm behind the deity's back whence

78 Roški slap: *C(aius) Turranius / C(ai) filius Severus / evoc(atus) Aug(usti) / [L] atrae aram / p(osuit)* (CIL III, 2816).

79 Glavičić 2007, str. 253, 254.

80 *Burnum: M(arcus) Domitius / M(arc) filius Fabia Sev(erus) (domo) Brix(s)ia / miles leg(ionis) XI / ann(or)um XXX / stip(endiorum) VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / heres posuit.* (CIL III, 14997<sup>2</sup>; ILJug 2813); *Sex(tus) Antern(ius) / Q(ui)nti filius Sca(ptia tribu) / Severus domo / Flor(entia) ---* (CIL III, 14991).

81 Podrug et al. 2008, str. 208, kat. br. 112.

82 Pochmarski 1990, T. 24. 3 (Hannover, Kestner Museum); T. 24. 4 (Wien), P. 28. 1 (fresko, Villa dei Misteri), P. 53. 2; P. 54. 1, 2 (sarkofazi iz Rima); T. 62. 2 (London, British Museum); T. 64. 1 (brončana grupa iz Hildesheima), T. 64. 2 (brončana grupa iz Münchena), T. 67. 1, 2 (kamene skulpture iz Atene); T. 69. 1 (Rim, Musei Vaticani); T. 69. 2 (Museo Nazionale Romano); T. 70. 2 (Sparta), T. 71. 1 (Atena, NM), T. 72. 1 (Volos), T. 72. 1 (London, Museum of London), T. 76. 1 (Venecija, Museo Archaeologico). LIMC III. 2, str. 320, kat. br. 200 (Korint).

77 Alföldy 1969, pp. 295, 296.

78 Roški slap: *C(aius) Turranius / C(ai) filius Severus / evoc(atus) Aug(usti) / [L] atrae aram / p(osuit)* (CIL III, 2816).

79 Glavičić 2007, pp. 253, 254.

80 *Burnum: M(arcus) Domitius / M(arc) filius Fabia Sev(erus) (domo) Brix(s)ia / miles leg(ionis) XI / ann(or)um XXX / stip(endiorum) VIII h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / heres posuit.* (CIL III, 14997<sup>2</sup>; ILJug 2813); *Sex(tus) Antern(ius) / Q(ui)nti filius Sca(ptia tribu) / Severus domo / Flor(entia) ---* (CIL III, 14991).

81 Podrug et al. 2008, p. 208, cat. no. 112.

82 Pochmarski 1990, P. 24. 3 (Hannover, Kestner Museum); P. 24. 4 (Wien), P. 28. 1 (fresko, Villa dei Misteri), P. 53. 2; P. 54. 1, 2 (sarcophagi from Rome); P. 62. 2 (London, British Museum); P. 64. 1 (bronze group from Hildesheim), P. 64. 2 (bronze group from Munich), P. 67. 1, 2 (stone sculpture from Athens); P. 69. 1 (Rome, Musei Vaticani); P. 69. 2 (Museo Nazionale Romano); P. 70. 2 (Sparta), P. 71. 1 (Athens, NM), P. 72. 1 (Volos), P. 72. 1 (London, Museum of London), P. 76. 1 (Venice, Museo Archaeologico). LIMC III. 2, p. 320, cat. no. 200 (Corinth).

83 Smith 2001, str. 135, sl. 168.

83 Smith 2001, p. 135, Fig. 168.



bi se pružao prema desnom bedru. Bez obzira na neakribičnost skulptora, sasvim jasno možemo kipić svrstati u tip prikaza mladog golog Dioniza - Bakha s himatijem koji pada niz tijelo i još je omotan oko noga.<sup>84</sup> Taj tip često se prikazuje i na novcima od antoninskog i severskog razdoblje, pa sve do sredine 3. st. po. Kr.<sup>85</sup>

Bog je prikazan s ponešto feminiziranim oblinama, osobito je to vidljivo u širokim bokovima i zaobljenim bedrima. To je uobičajeno za mnoge Dionizove prikaze, jer se željelo naglasiti da je njegova muskulatura oslabjela i otromboljena zbog stalnog pijanstva, te je dobila mekše obrise, kao kod žena. Da je na ovoj skulpturi naglašena uloga Libera - Bakha kao boga vina, vidi se također iz bujne kose s pramenovima koji padaju preko ramena. Naime, u frizuru je upleteno lišće vinove loze (možda i bršljana, što je teško odrediti zbog sitnog prikaza i zamagljenosti detalja) i grozdovi grožđa.

Dionizov *thyrsos* nevješto je prikazan i bez detalja, debelog torza jednako zadebljanog na dnu i vrhu. Iz Euripidovih *Bakha* znamo da je ovakav masivni bakhički štap izrađen od stabljike golemog komorača (*Ferula communis*) u antici zvanog *Panax Heraklios*, ili od neke druge krupne vrste iz roda *Ferula* koja raste iz lukovičastog zadebljanja korijena.<sup>86</sup> Zadebljanje na vrhu tirsra uobičajeno prepoznajemo kao zatvorenu borovu šišarku. Analizom detaljnijih i kvalitetnijih prikaza, na kojima *thyrsos* ponekad može imati i formu tankog i elegantnog štapa (*virga, rhabdos*), jasno se vidi da na vrhu nije uvijek borova šišarka, nego i cvat komorača, također rukovet listova bršljana, a za neke primjere usudili bismo se reći da se radi o cvijetu artičoke dok je još zatvoren u pup. Liber se naslonio na tirs i prekrizio je noge, obuvene u čizme.

Djelomice zakriven tirsom, s lijeve strane Liberovih noga leži leopard. Okrenuo mu je leđa, ali glave je usmjerene unatrag, prema gospodaru. Njegov podložan položaj vidi se još u ogrlici oblika vrpce oko vrata. Tijelo životinje prekriveno je zarezima koji sugeriraju mrlje na krznu.

Uzor za skulpturu iz Piramatovaca mogao je nastati sredinom 4. st. pr. Kr. kada niz autora (Praksitel, Brijaksid, Leohar, Timotej) prikazuje upravo mladog nagog Dioniza.<sup>87</sup> Takav stav sa zabačenom rukom ima kip Apolona Likejskog praksitelovskih stilskih odrednica, sačuvan u brojnim kopijama uglavnom iz rimskog vremena.<sup>88</sup> Dionizove helenističke i rimske skulpture preuzele su položaj ruke, a najpoznatiji primjer je skulptura Dioniza sa satirom iz kolekcije Ludovisi. Kako je u rimsko doba načinjen golemi broj replika Dionizovih statua u velikom broju varijacija, one uvijek nisu oponašale točno određeni uzor, nego

it would extend toward the thigh. Regardless of the sculptor’s lack of acuity, we can very clearly classify the statuette as the type which depicts the young, nude Dionysus/Bacchus with himation falling down his body and still wrapped around his leg.<sup>84</sup> This type was also frequently depicted on coins from the Antoninian through Severan periods, to the mid-third century AD.<sup>85</sup>

The god is depicted with somewhat feminized proportions, apparent particularly in the wide hips and rounded thighs. This is customary for many Dionysian portrayals, for the intent was to emphasize a weakened and flaccid musculature due to constant intoxication, so he was given softer contours as were women. That the role of Liber/Bacchus as the god of wine is emphasized in this sculpture can also be seen in the thick hair of the locks which fall over his shoulders. Leaves of grape vines (and perhaps also ivy leaves, which is difficult to ascertain due to the diminutive portrayal and the obscurity of the details) and grape bunches are entangled in his hair.

Dionysus’ *thyrsos* is shown artlessly, without detail, with a thick trunk that is equally thick at the top and bottom. Based on Euripides’ Bacchus, we know that such a massive Bacchanalian staff was made of the stalk of an enormous fennel plant (*Ferula communis*), called the *Panax Heraklios* in Antiquity, or some other large variety of the genus *Ferula* that grows from a thick bulbous root.<sup>86</sup> The knob atop the thyrsus is normally recognized as a closed pine cone. An analysis of more detailed and higher-quality portrayals, on which the *thyrsos* may sometimes take the form of a thin and elegant cane (*virga, rhabdos*), clearly shows that it is not always a pine cone at the top, but also a fennel blossom, as well as a handful of ivy leaves, while on some examples we daresay that it may be an artichoke flower still in bud. Liber is shown leaning on a thyrsus with boot-clad legs crossed.

Partially concealed by the thyrsus, a leopard lies to the left of Liber’s leg. Its back is to him, but its head is turned backward toward its master. Its subject position is also reflected in the ribbon-like collar around its neck. The animal’s body is covered with notches which suggest spots on its pelt.

The model for the sculpture from Piramatovci may have emerged in the mid-fourth century BC, when a number of artists (Praxiteles, Bryaxis, Leochares, Timotheus) depicted precisely the young nude Dionysus.<sup>87</sup> Such a pose with a bent arm held up can be found on the Lycean Apollo with Praxitelean stylistic features, preserved in many copies that generally date to Roman times.<sup>88</sup> The Hellenistic and Roman Dionysian sculptures assumed this position of the arm, while the best known example is the sculpture of Dionysus with a satyr from the Ludovisi Collection. Since an immense number of replicas of Dionysian statues were made during the Roman era in many variations, they did not always follow a specific model, but often combined various

<sup>[1]</sup> Gasparrì, Veneri 1986, p. 436, cat. no. 126-127; Gasparrì 1986, p. 543, cat. no. 8-11; LIMC III. 2, p. 428, cat. no. 8 and 11.

<sup>[2]</sup> Augé, Bellefonds 1986, p. 516, cat. no. 8-10.

<sup>[3]</sup> Bacchae, 114; 711.

<sup>[4]</sup> Gasparrì, Veneri 1986, p. 511.

<sup>[5]</sup> Schröder 1986, p. 167 ff.

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su kompilirale različite elemente.<sup>89</sup> Na prikazu iz Piramatovaca zamjećuje se izduženost Dionizova tijela (unatoč širokim bokovima i neharmoničnom odnosu udova i torza) i elegantan dvostruki S-stav koji je dodatno naglašen položajem ruke. Spomenimo i praksitelovski sfumato, vidljiv osobito na licu, koji je dijelom nastao zbog materijala od kojeg je izrađena skulptura. Upotreba mramora, način proporcioniranja tijela i stav Libera, kao i cjelokupna kompozicija, upućuju nas da je skulptura nastala u 2. st. po. Kr.

Ikonografija Libera iz Piramatovaca je koherentna i prikazuje Dioniza kao boga vegetacije i prirode, a osobito kao zaštitnika vinogradarstva i vina. Znajući da je na prostoru agrarno bogatog južnog dijela rimske Liburnije, koji danas manje-više odgovara plodnim Ravnim kotarima, najveća koncentracija Liberovih spomenika u cijeloj provinciji Dalmaciji (s ovim ih je ukupno 17),<sup>90</sup> ne iznenađuje takav karakter božanstva i kult vezan uz plodnost i vegetaciju, koji je mogao biti orgijastičkog karaktera. Nazivu *Deus laetus* dobro odgovara dionizijačka ikonografija skulpture s varvarinskog teritorija i mjesto gdje je spomenik bio postavljen. To je prostor u kojem sporadični nalazi rimskih grobova, građevinskog materijala, arhitektonskih elemenata termalnih postrojenja i drugo, ukazuju na postojanje rustičnih vila.<sup>91</sup> Možemo stoga pretpostaviti da je Liberov *simulacrum*, sudeći prema dimenzijama skulpture, bio postavljen u privatni sakralni prostor (*templum, fanum*), neke vile unutar manje edikule.

#### Nadgrobní spomenik obitelji Papinius iz Salone

U vlasništvu gospodina Tome Pulića iz Bićina kod Skradina nalazi se nadgrobní spomenik obitelji *Papinius* (sl. 18). Kad smo ga prvi put vidjeli, mislili smo da je to još jedan dosad nepoznati spomenik koji pripada povijesnoj baštini antičke Skardone. Međutim, veoma smo se iznenadili kada smo jednostavnom pretragom stručne literature otkrili da taj spomenik pripada bogatom fundusu epigrafskih spomenika Salone i da ga je već godine 1886. objavio don Frane Bulić. A da se radi o istom spomeniku koji objavljuje Bulić, potvrđuje tada objavljeni shematizirani crtež s tekstem natpisa i opisom ligatura.<sup>92</sup> Spomenik je bio ugrađen u zid kuće Boban u Rupotini iznad Solina (sl. 19), a kako je došao u posjed obitelji Pulić iz Bićina kod Skradina, današnjem vlasniku nije poznato.

Nadgrobní spomenik obitelji *Papinius* iz Salone pripada tipu tzv. profiliranih stela, čijom prednjom stranom dominira veliko natpisno polje uokvireno profilacijom, a iznad je trokutasti zabat upisan u pravokutni završetak (sl. 20). Kao razdjelnica između natpisnog


<sup>[1]</sup> Smith 2001, str. 128.

<sup>[2]</sup> Jadrić 2007, str. 52, T. I.

<sup>[3]</sup> Gunjača 1978, str. 70.

<sup>[4]</sup> Bulić 1886, str. 10, br. 4:“Questa lapide trovasi immurata in una delle case Boban a Rupotina di Salona. La copia ci venne favorita dal signor Giulio Bigoni. Si abbia perciò i nostri ringrazoamenti.”Usp. CIL III, 9250, str. 1569: “Salonis in loco Rupotina muro aedium Boban immisa. Bulić bull. Dalm. 9 p. 10 n. 4 a Bigonio descriptam.”

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Figure 18: Epitaph of the Papinius family from Salone

elements.<sup>89</sup> The elongated quality of the body can be perceived in the portrayal from Piramatovci (despite the wide hips and unharmonious relationship between the limbs and torso), as well as an elegant double S-pose which is additionally emphasized by the position of the arms. Also worth mentioning is the Praxitelean *sfumato* visible on the face in particular, which partially emerged due to the material from which the sculpture was made. The use of marble, the proportions of the body, and the pose of Liber, as well as the entire composition, indicate that this sculpture emerged during the second century AD.

The iconography of Liber from Piramatovci is coherent, and shows Dionysus as the god of vegetation and nature, and particularly as the patron of viticulture and wine. Knowing that the highest concentration of Liber’s monuments (a total of 17 with this one)<sup>90</sup> in all of Dalmatia has been recorded in the rich agrarian southern section of Roman Liburnia, which today more or less corresponds to the fertile Ravni Kotari, the character of the deity and the cult tied to fertility and vegetation, which could have been orgiastic in character, is not surprising. The term *Deus laetus* is well-suited to the Dionysian iconography of the sculpture from the territory of Varvaria and the place where the monument was installed. This is an area in which the sporadic finds of Roman graves, construction materials, architectural elements for thermal installations, etc. indicate the existence of a villa rustica.<sup>91</sup> We may therefore speculate that Liber’s *simulacrum*, judging by the sculpture’s dimensions, was held in a private sacral chamber (*templum, fanum*) inside a small aedicule in a villa.

#### Gravestone of the Papinius family from Salona

The gravestone of the Papinius family (Fig. 18) is currently the property of Mr. Tome Pulić from Bićine, near Skradin. When we first saw it, we thought that it was another as-yet unknown monument belonging to the historical heritage of ancient Scardona. However, we were very surprised when we discovered after a simple review of the relevant literature that this monument belongs to the rich body of epigraphic monuments from Salona, and that it had already been published in 1886 by Fr. Frane Bulić. That this is the same monument published by Bulić has been confirmed by the then published schematic sketch including the text of the inscription and a description of the ligatures.<sup>92</sup> The monument was built into the wall of the Boban house in Rupotina, above Solin (Fig. 19), although how it became the property of the Pulić family from Bićine, Skradin is not known.

The gravestone of the Papinius family from Salona is a so-called articulated stela, with front side dominated by a large inscription field framed by moulding, while above there is a triangular pediment set


<sup>[1]</sup> Smith 2001, p. 128.

<sup>[2]</sup> Jadrić 2007, p. 52, P. I.

<sup>[3]</sup> Gunjača 1978, p. 70.

<sup>[4]</sup> Bulić 1886, p. 10, no. 4:“Questa lapide trovasi immurata in una delle case Boban a Rupotina di Salona. La copia ci venne favorita dal signor Giulio Bigoni. Si abbia perciò i nostri ringrazoamenti.”Cf. CIL III, 9250, p. 1569: “Salonis in loco Rupotina muro aedium Boban immisa. Bulić bull. Dalm. 9 p. 10 n. 4 a Bigonio descriptam.”





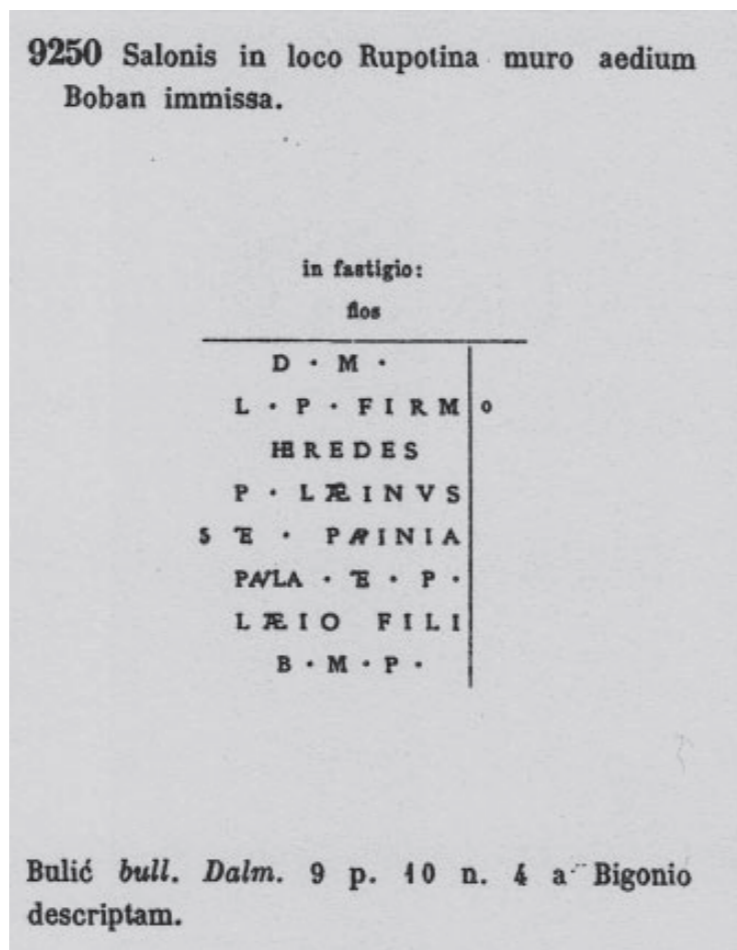
Slika 18.  
Nadgrobní spomenik obitelji  
Papinius iz Salone

Figure 18.  
Gravestone of the Papinius family  
from Salona

polja i zabata, dakle u funkciji arhitrava, izveden je linearni stilizirani ornament sastavljen od lišća i vitica bršljana. U sredini zabata je velika četverolatična rozeta od koje se na obje strane simetrično pruža listoliki ornament. U uglovima su kao pseudoakroteriji izvedene palmete, a prostor prema vrhu spomenika ispunjen je listolikim ornamentom.

Spomenik je izrađen od bijelog vapnenca, pravokutne je forme, a njegove dimenzije iznose: visina 80 cm, širina 47 cm, debljina 8 cm. Spomenik je prelomljen na dva dijela, međutim lom spomenika, koji započinje na njegovoj lijevoj strani otprilike po sredini i spušta se koso dolje izbijajući na desnoj strani, ne narušava bitno vizualnu percepciju spomenika u cjelini.<sup>93</sup> Spomenik predstavlja vrlo dobar i vjerojatno tipizirani zanatski rad lokalne radionice. Izvedba reljefnih ukrasa pravilne geometrijske forme uz poštivanje simetrije vegetabilne ornamentike ujednačene je kvalitete, a dobrom vizualnom dojmu svakako pridonosi i pravilnost oblikovanja teksta natpisa. Naime, natpis je ispisan na cijeloj raspoloživoj površini natpisnog polja (dimenzije 45,8 x 29 cm) u osam vodoravnih redaka, pri čemu je vidljiva tendencija centriranja redaka u odnosu na zamišljenu središnju okomitu os spomenika. Slova kvadratne

93 Rubovi lomova pravilno naliježu jedan na drugi tako da su uočljiva samo manja oštećenja uz rubove na prednjoj strani spomenika.



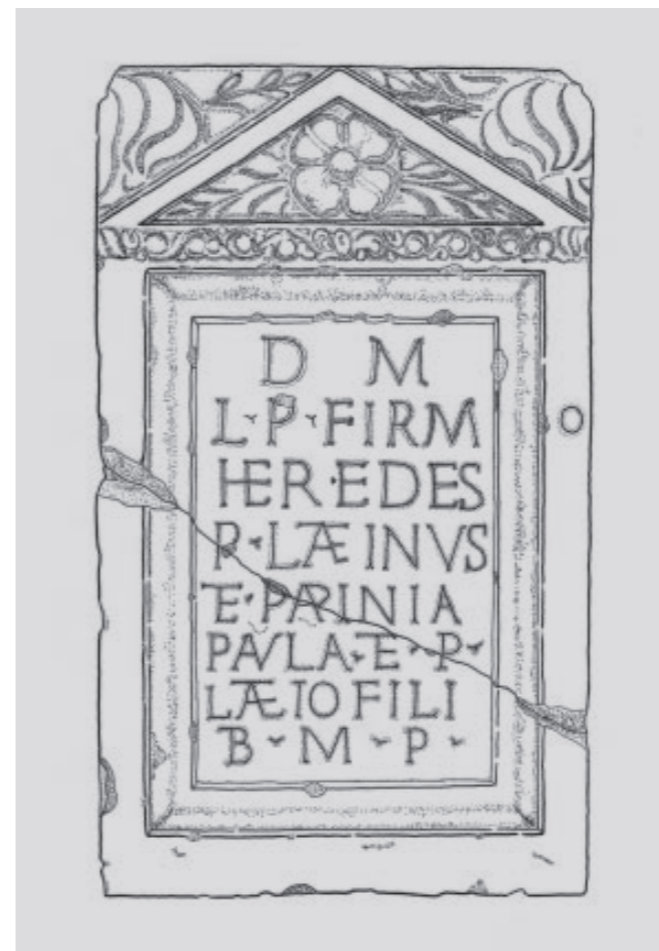
Slika 19.  
Preslika natpisa CIL III, 9250, p.  
1569

Figure 19.  
Copy of inscription CIL III, 9250,  
p. 1569

into a rectangular end (Fig. 20). A stylized linear ornament composed of ivy leaves and tendrils is rendered as the divider between the inscription field and the pediment, functioning as an architrave. There is a large four-petal rosette in the middle of the pediment, with foliate ornaments extending symmetrically from both sides. Palmettes are rendered in the corners as pseudo-acroteria, while the space toward the top is filled with foliate ornaments.

The monument is made of white limestone, its shape is rectangular, and its dimensions are: height 80 cm, width 47 cm, thickness 8 cm. The monument is broken into two pieces. However, the monument's fracture line, which begins on its left side roughly in the middle and descends at an angle, coming out on the right side, does not greatly mar the visual perception of the monument as a whole.<sup>93</sup> The monument is a very good and probably typologized tradesman's product from a local workshop. The rendering of the relief ornaments in regular geometric forms with adherence to the symmetry of the vegetable ornamentation displays uniform quality, while the regularity of the formation of the inscription's text

93 The edges of the fracture can be normally placed together, such that only minor damage is visible along the edges of the front side of the monument.



Slika 20.  
Nadgrobní spomenik obitelji Papinius  
iz Salone (crtež Zoran Bakić)

Figure 20.  
Gravestone of the Papinius family  
from Salona (sketch by Zoran Bakić)

kapitale imaju pravilan duktus, a prije njihova urezivanja redovi natpisa bili su omeđeni po visini s dvije paralelne linije, čiji se tragovi i danas dobro uočavaju. Visina slova od prvog do četvrtog retka iznosi 4,2 cm, od petog do šestog retka 3,6 cm i sedmog do osmog retka 3,4 cm. Slovo O, koje je očito pri oblikovanju predložka natpisa bilo ispušteno u drugom retku natpisa, naknadno je upisano uz desni obrub spomenika. Nepravilnog je kružnog oblika, a njegova visina iznosi 2,5 cm. Kao razdjelnice između sigli i riječi izvedene su trokutaste distinkcije. Izuzetak je prvi redak natpisa, gdje su sigle D i M odijeljene većim razmakom. Na natpisu se nalazi više ligatura. Na početku trećeg retka u ligaturi su slova HE, u četvrtom i sedmom retku slova AET, u petom i šestom retku slova ET, u petom retku slova AP i u šestom retku slova AV. Već je rečeno da je uz desni obrub spomenika u visini drugog retka natpisa ispisan umanjeno slovo O. Na natpisu je zapisano sljedeće:

D M  
L P FIRM o  
HER EDES  
P LÆ INVS  
ÊT PÆ INIA  
PÆVLA ÊT P  
LÆ ÎTIO FILI  
B M P

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certainly contribute to the sound visual impression. Namely, the inscription is written across the entire available surface of the inscription field (dimensions 45.8 x 29 cm) in eight horizontal lines, with a visible tendency to centre the lines in relation to the monument's imaginary central axis. The quadratic capitals have a straight ductus, and prior to their engraving, the height of the inscription's lines were bordered with two parallel lines, traces of which have been well preserved to this day. The height of the letters from the first to fourth lines is 4.2 cm, 3.6 cm in the fifth and sixth lines, and 3.4 cm in the eighth line. The letter O, which was obviously lowered to the second line of the inscription when its draft was being formed, was written in along the monument's right edge subsequently. It has an irregular circular shape, and its height is 2.5 cm. Three triangular punctuation marks are rendered as a divider between the sigils and the words. The exception is the inscription's third line, where the sigils D and M are divided by a larger space. There are a number of ligatures in the inscription. At the beginning of the third line, the letters "HE" are in ligature, in the fourth and seventh lines the letters "AET" are, in the fifth and sixth lines the letters "ET" are, in the fifth line the letters "AP" are and in the sixth line the letters "AV" are. It has already been stated that a reduced letter O is written along the right border of the monument at the height of the second line. The inscription's text reads:

D M  
L P FIRM o  
HER EDES  
P LÆ INVS  
ÊT PÆ INIA  
PÆVLA ÊT P  
LÆ ÎTIO FILI  
B M P

The restored inscription reads: *D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) P(apinio) Firmo / heredes / P(apinius) Laetinus /<sup>5</sup> et Papinia / Paula et P(apinius) / Laetio fili(i) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).*

The interpretation of the text is not problematic; the gravestone was raised to the deceased Firmus by his heirs Laetinus, Paula and Laetio. We point out here as an epigraphic curiosity the abbreviation of the nomen Papinius, which is rendered for the male members of the family with the sigil P. Although not entirely unusual, it was nonetheless rare for family names to be indicated with only a single letter in inscriptions. In this case, it is an additional "misfortune", for the sigil P in most cases would be restored as P(ublius).<sup>94</sup> Here, however, the full nomen Papinia is written for the naming of the daughter Paula, which definitely eliminates any other possibility for restoration. This is also apparent from the inscription's content, since the persons mentioned in the inscription are members of the same family, i.e. the father

94 Thus Bulić proposed this restoration: *Dis Manibus. L(ucio) P(ublio) Firmo heredes P(ublius) Laetinus et Papinia Paula et P(ublius) Laetio fili b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt).* Cf. Bulić 1886, p. 10, no. 4.



Firmus i Laetius, Salona

Natpis u restituciji glasi: *D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) P(apinio) Firmo / heredes / P(apinius) Laetinus /<sup>s</sup> et Papinia / Paula et P(apinius) / Laetio fili(i) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuerunt)*.

Interpretacija teksta natpisa nije problematična, odnosno pokojnome Firmu nadgrobni spomen postavljaju njegova djeca i nasljednici *Laetinus*, *Paula* i *Laetio*. Kao na jednu epigrafsku posebnost ovoga natpisa upozorit ćemo na skraćivanje nomena *Papinius*, koje je kod muških članova obitelji navedeno siglom *P*. Naime, iako nije posve neuobičajeno, ipak je rijetko da se na natpisima obiteljska imena navode samo s početnim slovom. U ovom slučaju dodatna je “nezgoda” jer je korištena sigla *P*, koju bismo u većini slučajeva restituirali kao *P(ublius)*,<sup>94</sup> međutim ovdje je na sreću u imenovanju kćeri Paule napisan puni nomen *Papinia*, što definitivno otklanja bilo kakvu drugu mogućnost restituiranja. To je razvidno i iz sadržaja natpisa, budući da su na natpisu spomenuti članovi iste obitelji, tj. pokojni otac *L. P(apinius) Firmus*, sinovi *P(apinius) Laetinus* i *P(apinius) Laetio* te kćer *Papinia Paula*. Stoga možemo zaključiti da se klesar odlučio za skraćivanje nomena *P(apinius)* zbog pomanjkanja raspoloživog natpisnog prostora i zbog toga što se na natpisu navode imena muških članova iste obitelji.

Prema dosadašnjim potvrdama obiteljskog imena, drži se da su *Papinii* obitelj italškoga podrijetla koja se u Saloni pojavljuje tijekom 2. st. po. Kr.<sup>95</sup> Na sačuvanoj epigrafskoj građi primjetno je da više muških članova obitelji *Papinius* u Saloni ima prenamen *Lucius*,<sup>96</sup> što može značiti da su bili u bližoj rodbinskoj vezi s prethodno spomenutim Lucijem Papinijem Firmom i njegovom obitelji, odnosno da je prenamen *Lucius* karakterističan za jednu od obiteljskih grana koja se tijekom kasnijih razdoblja dobro razvija u Saloni i na njezinu teritoriju. Pritom valja naglasiti da članovi obitelji *Papinius* nisu dokumentirani u višim staležima glavnoga provincijskoga grada.

Opisani nadgrobni spomenik obitelji *Papinius* bio je godine 1886. dokumentiran u zidu kuće Boban u Rupotinama iznad Solina, a danas se nalazi u vlasništvu Tome Pulića u Bićinama kod Skradina. Kako je i na koji način promijenio svoju lokaciju i vlasnika, nije poznato, ali slučajno se dogodilo da smo ga nakon nešto više od stotinu godina od njegove prve objave uočili u Skradinu i ponovno objavili, ali sada s potpunijim opisom i pravilnom restitucijom teksta natpisa, koji, zbog više epigrafskih, onomastičkih pa čak i paleografskih osobitosti, koje se na rimskodobnoj natpisnoj građi s naših prostora javljaju tijekom kasnoga Principata, datiramo u razdoblje od druge polovice 2. st. do u 3. st. po. Kr.

Na desnoj obali rijeke *Titius*, na mjestu do kojega je bila plovna, razvija se *Scardona*, središte predrimске *civitas*, koja nakon Batonova ustanka i utemeljenja provincije Dalmacije postaje središte

Firmus i Laetius, Salona

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Nekoliko novih antičkih spomenika iz Skradina

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Slika 21.  
Skradin - antička Scardona

konkretnijih podataka koji bi svjedočili o postojanju drugih lučkih objekata na ovom lokalitetu.<sup>104</sup> Stoga možemo samo pretpostaviti da su otkriveni građevinski ostatci jedne od brojnih *horrea* u kojima su skladištene žitarice, amfore s vinom i maslinovim uljem, ostali prehrambeni proizvodi i druga roba. O organizaciji antičke luke i izgledu njezine operativne obale u uvali Rokovača nema nikakvih podataka. Vjerojatno je u kasnijim epohama došlo do promjena koje su značajnije negirale izgled antičke luke, a ako je nešto i bilo preostalo otprije, nestalo je pri uređenju suvremene ACI marine Skradin, koja je nedavno proširena i izvan uvale Rokovače. A upravo od tog proširenja ACI marine Skradin nizvodno uz desnu obalu rijeke Krke uočili smo postojanje antičke operativne obale (sl. 22. - označeno strjelicama). Naime, desetak ili nešto više centimetara ispod današnje razine vode jasno se vide veći i pravilni kameni blokovi zidane obale koja se pravolinijski pruža prateći prirodni smjer pružanja desne obale rijeke Krke (sl. 23). Gradnja obale osobito se dobro vidi nizvodno od tzv. Novog banja, gdje se obala rijeke lomi u pravcu juga u dužini od otprilike 400 m uz Skradinski

104 Pronađene prostorije s mozaičnim podovima tumače se kao dijelovi gradske vile (*villa urbana*).

Figure 21.  
Skradin - Roman-era Scardona

were used to store grain, amphorae containing wine and olive oil, other foodstuffs and other goods. There are no data on the organization of the Roman-era harbour and the appearance of its quay in Rokovača. Changes likely occurred in later epochs which considerably superseded the appearance of the harbour in Antiquity, and if anything from before remained, it disappeared during the construction of the modern ACI Skradin marina, which was recently expanded even outside of the Rokovača Bay. And it was precisely this expansion of the ACI marina downstream along the right bank of the Krka River which allowed for observation of the existence of Roman-era quay (Fig. 22. - indicated with arrows). For roughly a dozen centimetres below the present-day water level, the large and regular stone blocks of the stone quay are visible as they extend in a straight line, following the natural orientation of the right bank of the Krka River (Fig. 23). The construction of the quay can be particularly well seen downstream from so-called Novi banj, where the riverbank bends southward at a length of approximately 400 m along the Skradin Channel. The approximate length of the bank from Rokovača Bay to the so-called Novi banj is 300 m. This means that ancient Scardona's harbour quay extended outside of Rokovača Bay approximately



Slika 22.  
Operativna obala luke antičke Skardone uz desnu obalu rijeke Krke

kanal. Približna dužina obale od uvale Rokovače do tzv. Novog banja iznosi 300 m. To znači da se operativna obala luke antičke Skardone prostirala izvan uvale Rokovače oko 700 m nizvodno uz desnu obalu rijeke Krke, što je veoma ilustrativan podatak, koji svjedoči o broju brodova koje se ovdje moglo prihvatiti, intenzitetu trgovine i ukupnim kapacitetima luke. Iako je erozija s obronaka brijega prema rijeci velika, gdje se jasno vidi da je širina operativne obale mogla iznositi i do 8 m, što je i više nego dovoljno za obavljanje manipulativnih poslova (iskrcaj i eventualno ukrcaj robe, opskrba i popravak brodova). Moguće je također pretpostaviti da su na ovom dijelu obale bili privremeno privezani brodovi koji su čekali svoj red za dolazak u luku i iskrcaj tereta ili su možda tu posade na svojim brodovima čekale povoljne vremenske prilike za odlazak na neko novo putovanje. Zbog spomenute velike erozije materijala s obronaka brijega, to ne možemo definitivno tvrditi, ali možemo pretpostaviti da je na kraju operativne obale bio izgrađen i neki lučki (svjetionik) ili hramski objekt. Na obilazak ovog prostora potaknuo nas je gospodin Ivan Skorić, kojemu i ovom prilikom zahvaljujemo na suradnji.

Samo vizualnim pregledom ne mogu se utvrditi konstruktivni elementi njezine gradnje, ali možemo reći da je sačuvani dio antičke operativne obale bio vrlo dobro izgrađen, budući da ju

Figure 22.  
Quay of Roman-era Scardona's harbour along right bank of the Krka River

700 m downstream along the Krka River's right bank, which is a very illustrative fact that testifies to the number of ships which could dock here, the intensity of trade and the harbour's total capacity. Even though erosion of the hillside toward the river has been considerable, at places one can see that the quay may have been as wide as 8 m, which is more than enough for operations (unloading and possible loading of freight, supply and repair of vessels). It is also possible to assume that ships waiting their turn for arrival in the harbour and unloading of their freight were berthed in this part of the quay, or perhaps that crews waited here on their ships for better weather to depart on new voyages. This cannot be stated with any certainty due to the aforementioned erosion from the hillside, but we may assume that a lighthouse or temple building was constructed at the end of the quay. Ivan Skorić encouraged us to tour this area, and we take this opportunity to thank him for his cooperation.

A visual inspection alone cannot establish the elements of its structure, but we may say that the preserved section of the ancient quay was very well constructed, since the river has not taken it away over the millennia. But what nature does not destroy, man does. This is why we sincerely hope that during





Slika 23.  
Dio zidane operativne obale luke antičke Skardone (foto Ivo Glavaš)

tijekom milenija matica rijeke nije odnijela. Ali ono što ne uništi priroda, može čovjek. Zato se iskreno nadamo da se pri nekom novom širenju suvremene marine ili možda zbog nekog drugog "višeg" interesa neće ponoviti situacija kao pri gradnji kolektora te da će zaštićeni i istraženi dio operativne obale antičke Skardone postati prepoznatljivi dio kulturne baštine i turističke ponude suvremenoga grada Skradina.

Figure 23.  
Part of stone quay of ancient Scardona's harbour (photo by Ivo Glavaš)

any new expansion of the modern marina, or perhaps works tied to some "higher" interest will not repeat the situation seen in the construction of the catch drain, and that the protected and researched part of the quay of ancient Scardona will remain a recognizable component of modern Skradin's cultural heritage and tourism product.

### Kratice / Abbreviations

AE - *L'Année épigraphique*: revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine

BASD - *Bulletino di archaeologia e storia dalmata*

CCCA - M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus cultus Cybelae Attidisque*

CIL - *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

ILJug - Anna et Jaro Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 5). *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 19). *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMIII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt* (Situla 25)

ILS - *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*

Izdanja HAD - *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*

LIMC - *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*

VAHD - *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*

ZPE - *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

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