



---

O P V S C V L A

---

A R C H Æ O L O G I C A

---

IZDAVAČ / PUBLISHER

ARHEOLOŠKI ZAVOD FILOZOFSKOG FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU  
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY, FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES, UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

IZDAVAČKI SAVJET / EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Rajko BRATOŽ (Ljubljana), Andreas LIPPERT (Wien), Juraj PAVUK (Nitra),  
Guido ROSADA (Padova), Elisabeth WALDE (Innsbruck), Nives MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ (Zagreb),  
Petar SELEM (Zagreb), Tihomila TEŽAK-GREGL (Zagreb), Marin ZANINOVIĆ (Zagreb)

GLAVNI I ODGOVORNI UREDNICI / EDITORS

Helena TOMAS i Domagoj TONČINIĆ

UREDNIŠTVO / EDITORIAL BOARD

Helena TOMAS, Domagoj TONČINIĆ, Rajna ŠOŠIĆ, Dino DEMICHELI, Iva KAIĆ  
svi iz Zagreba / all from Zagreb

GRAFIČKO OBLIKOVANJE / GRAPHIC DESIGN

Miljenko GREGL

ADRESA IZDAVAČA / ADDRESS OF THE PUBLISHER

Arheološki zavod Filozofskog fakulteta  
Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
10000 ZAGREB – CROATIA  
I. LUČIĆA 3 – P.O. BOX 171

TISAK / PRINTED BY

AKD d.o.o.

RAČUNALNI PRIJELOM / COMPUTER LAYOUT

Ivana SUDAREVIĆ & Boris BUI for FF-press

LEKTOR / LANGUAGE EDITOR

Ivan MARKOVIĆ

(Tekst Zlatka Đukića lektorirala je Tatjana Pišković)

PRIJEVOD NA ENGLISKI / TRANSLATION TO ENGLISH

Edward BOSNAR, Apostrof d.o.o.

GODIŠNJAK / ANNUAL

NAKLADA / ISSUED

600 primjeraka – 600 copies

Izdavanje časopisa novčano podupiru

MINISTARSTVO ZNANOSTI, OBRAZOVANJA I ŠPORTA REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE i MINISTARSTVO KULTURE REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE

Publishing of the journal financially supported by

MINISTRY OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND SPORTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA and  
MINISTRY OF CULTURE OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Službena kratica ovoga časopisa je *Opusc.archaeol. (Zagreb)* / Official abbreviation of this journal's title is *Opusc.archaeol. (Zagreb)*

URL: [www.ffzg.hr/arheo/opuscula](http://www.ffzg.hr/arheo/opuscula)

Dostupno na / Available at Ebsco Publishing ([www.ebscohost.com](http://www.ebscohost.com))

Tiskano 2011. / Printed in 2011

---

O P V S C V L A

---

ARCHÆOLOGICA

---

2011

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET  
SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU  
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES,  
UNIVERSITY OF ZAGREB

RADOVI ARHEOLOŠKOG ZAVODA  
PAPERS OF THE DEPARTMENT  
O F    A R C H A E O L O G Y

# SADRŽAJ

## CONTENTS

<i>Zlatko PERHOČ &amp; Rainer ALTHERR</i>	LITIČKI NALAZI S OTOKA SUŠCA LITHIC FINDS FROM THE ISLAND OF SUŠAC <i>Izvorni znanstveni članak / Original scientific paper</i> _____	7
<i>Hrvoje KALAFATIĆ</i>	PRILOG POZNAVANJU ODNOSA GRUPE BARICE-GREĐANI, “BEBRINSKOG TIPA HATVANSKE KULTURE”, “BRODSKE KULTURE” I “POSAVSKE KULTURE” A CONTRIBUTION TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BARICE-GREĐANI GROUP, THE “BEBRINA-TYPE HATVAN CULTURE”, THE “BROD CULTURE” AND “POSAVINA CULTURE” <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	41
<i>Zoran ČUČKOVIĆ &amp; Lazo ČUČKOVIĆ</i>	ARHEOLOŠKO ISTRAŽIVANJE NA STAROM GRADU DUBOVCU 2001. GODINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT THE OLD CASTLE OF DUBOVAC IN 2001 <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	65
<i>Ivan MATIJEVIĆ &amp; Anamarija KURILIĆ</i>	DVA NEOBJAVLJENA ŽRTVENIKA IZ SALONE TWO UNPUBLISHED ALTARS FROM SALONA <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	133
<i>Branko MATULIĆ</i>	PODNI MOZAICI IZ TERMI U BLIZINI SALONITANSKE LUKE FLOOR MOSAICS FROM THE BATHS NEAR THE SALONA HARBOUR <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	167
<i>Anita RAPAN PAPEŠA</i>	TOPOGRAFIJA CIBALA U KASNOJ ANTICI TOPOGRAPHY OF CIBALAE IN LATE ANTIQUITY <i>Pregledni članak / Review paper</i> _____	189
<i>Anja BERTOL</i>	NALAZI RIMSKOG NOVCA S LOKALITETA VIROVITICA-KIŠKORIJA JUG I OREŠAC ROMAN COINS FROM THE VIROVITICA-KIŠKORIJA SOUTH AND OREŠAC SITES <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	225
<i>Ana PAVLOVIĆ</i>	NUMIZMATIČKI NALAZI S LOKALITETA ŠEPKOVČICA NUMISMATIC FINDS FROM THE ŠEPKOVČICA SITE <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	263
<i>Zlatko Đukić</i>	ODNOSI SUDIONIKA PLOVIDBENOGA POTHVATA U STAROME VIJEKU LEGAL STATUS OF THE PARTIES TO MARINE VENTURES IN THE ANCIENT WORLD <i>Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper</i> _____	297

*Tajana PLEŠE*

MONASTERIUM DE S. PETRI IN MONTE ZLAT

MONASTERIUM DE S. PETRI IN MONTE ZLAT

*Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper* \_\_\_\_\_ 319

*UREDNICI / EDITORS*

UPUTE ZA SURADNIKE ČASOPISA

*OPUSCULA ARCHAEOLOGICA*

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CONTRIBUTORS TO

THE JOURNAL *OPUSCULA ARCHAEOLOGICA* \_\_\_\_\_ 351

Ivan MATIJEVIĆ & Anamarija KURILIĆ

## DVA NEOBJAVLJENA ŽRTVENIKA IZ SALONE

## TWO UNPUBLISHED ALTARS FROM SALONA

Izvorni znanstveni rad / Original scientific paper

UDK / UDC: 904:292.21](398 Salona)  
930.271:726.82](497.5 Grudine)"652"

Primljeno / Received: 29. 11. 2010.

Prihvaćeno / Accepted: 22. 3. 2011.

Ivan Matijević  
Odsjek za povijest  
Filozofski fakultet u Splitu  
Sinjska 2  
HR-21000 Split  
Ivan.Matijevic@ffst.hr

Anamarija Kurilić  
Odjel za povijest  
Sveučilište u Zadru  
Obala kralja Petra Krešimira IV. 2  
HR-23000 Zadar  
anamarija.kurilic@zd.t-com.hr

*U radu se objavljuju dva fragmentarna žrtvenika slučajno pronađena u solinskim Grudinama. Veći žrtvenik posvećen je Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri. U provinciji Dalmaciji postoje vrlo slabi dokazi o šovanju Cerere i posebice Viktorije, za razliku od vrlo raširena Venerina kulta. Drugi žrtvenik posvećen je Silvanu V() i Liberu. Silvan V() poznat je već s najmanje šest ara iz rimske Dalmacije, dok je sprega Silvana i Libera bila poznata samo s još jednoga dalmatinskog spomenika.*

*Ključne riječi: Salona, latinska epigrafija, rimska religija, ara, Cerera, Viktorija, Venera, Silvan V(), Liber*

*Two fragmentary altars found by chance in Grudine, Solin are published in this work. The larger altar is dedicated to Ceres, Victoria and Venus. Evidence of worship of Ceres and, particularly, Victoria in the province of Dalmatia is very meagre, as opposed to the very widespread cult of Venus. The other altar is dedicated to Silvanus V() and Liber. A minimum of six altars from Roman Dalmatia are dedicated to Silvanus V(), while the connection between Silvanus and Liber is present on only one other Dalmatian monument.*

*Key Words: Salona, Latin Epigraphy, Roman religion, altar (ara), Ceres, Victoria, Venus, Silvanus V(), Liber*

### ŽRTVENIK POSVEĆEN CERERI, VIKTORIJI I VENERI (KAT. BR. 1; SL. 1)

U proljeće 2009. u jednom masliniku u Grudinama, 200 m istočno od lokaliteta Pet mostova, pronađen je gornji dio žrtvenika od vapnenca koji je nosio natpis *Cereri A/ug(ustae) sac(rum) / Vic(toriae) et V[en(eri)] / Aug(ustis) Cn[(aeus?)---] / [-----] / v(otum)? s(olvit)? l(ibens)? m(erito)?].*

### ALTAR DEDICATED TO CERES, VICTORIA AND VENUS (CAT. NO. 1; FIG. 1)

In the spring of 2009, the upper section of a limestone altar was discovered by chance in an olive grove in Grudine, east of the Pet mostova ('Five Bridges') site. The altar has an inscription reading *Cereri A/ug(ustae) sac(rum) / Vic(toriae) et*

Iz sačuvanoga se teksta razabire da je neki Gnej, čije cjelovito ime nije sačuvano jer se nalazilo u izgubljenom donjem dijelu spomenika, žrtvenik posvetio trima božicama: Cereri Augusti te Viktoriji i Veneri Augustama. Na kraju teksta može se očekivati vrlo česta posvetna formula V. S. L. M. (*votum solvit libens merito*), ili neka slična, kako je bilo uobičajeno na toj vrsti latinske epigrafske građe.<sup>1</sup>

Na ovome natpisu dedikant je zbog nekog razloga posebno htio Cererinu naklonost pa je njezino ime stavio na prvo mjesto i dodao mu izraz *sacrum*. Ta se riječ, kako to lijepo objašnjava D. Rendić-Miočević (1992: 70), odnosi na posvetni čin kojim se iskazuju čast i zahvalnost za primljenu milost. Međutim dedikant posvetu nije htio ograničiti samo na Cereru pa joj je dodao još dva božanstva. U trećem retku uklesana je kratica VIC, početak imena božice Viktorije. Na kraju istoga retka, a nakon veznika *et* ("i"), sačuvano je samo početno slovo V (i to sačuvano samo lijevom polovicom) nove kratice. S obzirom na raspoloživi prostor koji je preostao do kraja retka ime tog trećeg božanstva bilo je najvjerojatnije uklesano samo s prva tri slova, jednako kao i ime s njime uparene božice Viktorije. Uz njihova imena dodan je epitet *Augusta*. On se javlja na zavjetnim natpisima od vremena cara Augusta, a osobito je čest tijekom 3. st. Smatra se da se time, između ostaloga, zazivao božji zagovor i za samoga cara i njegovu obitelj, no to ipak ne znači da se štovanje božanstava s tim epitetom može (niti se smije) izjednačavati sa štovanjem carskoga kulta u pravom smislu riječi (Edmondson 2007: 543, 561–563; v. i Clauss 2001: 280 i d.).

Mnogi žrtvenici u rimskome svijetu posvećivani su božanstvima koja u svojim naravima imaju neke bitne srodne osobine i čiji kultovi imaju neke zajedničke i slične elemente. Ta činjenica našla je svoju potvrdu i na ovom salonitanskom žrtveniku koji nosi imena rimskih božanstava Cerere, Viktorije i Venere. U nastavku rada izneseni su dokazi po kojima se vidi u kolikoj je mjeri Venerin kult bio blizak Cereri i Viktoriji, zbog čega upravo i ovdje valja prepoznati Veneru, kojom je trijada ženskih božanstava zaključena. Bliskost Viktorije i Venere dodatno je naglašena njihovim stavljanjem pod zajednički epitet *augustae*.

## KULT CERERE

Cerera je jedno od najstarijih italskih božanstava, što dokazuju neki faliskički natpisi iz kasnog 7.

V[en(eri)] / Aug(ustis) Cn[(aeus?)---] / [----- /<sup>6</sup>  
v(otum)? s(olvit)? l(ibens)? m(erito)?].

From the preserved text it can be discerned that a certain Gnaeus, whose entire name has not been preserved because it was on the lost lower section of the monument, dedicated the altar to three goddesses: Ceres Augusta and Victoria and Venus Augustae. At the end of the text, one may expect the very common dedicatory formula V. S. L. M. (*votum solvit libens merito*), or something similar, which was customary on this type of Latin epigraphic monuments.<sup>1</sup>

For some reason, the dedicant wanted to particularly emphasize Ceres' favour in the inscription, so he placed her name first and added the expression *sacrum* to it. This word, as so nicely explained by D. Rendić-Miočević (1992: 70), pertains to the dedicatory act whereby honour and gratitude were expressed for a received mercy. However, the dedicant did not want to limit the dedication to Ceres alone, so he added two more goddesses. The abbreviation VIC, the beginning of the name Victoria, is engraved at the end of the same line, while after the conjunction *et* ("and"), only the initial letter V (preserved only in its left half) of a new abbreviation has been preserved. Given the available space remaining at the end of the line, the name of this third deity was most likely engraved with only the first three letters, like the name of the goddess Victoria paired therewith. The epithet *Augusta* was added jointly to their names. It has appeared on votive inscriptions since the reign of Emperor Augustus, and it was particularly common in the third century. It was believed that this, among other things, invoked divine intercession for the emperor himself and his family, but nonetheless it did not necessarily mean that worship of a deity with this epithet may (nor should) be equated with worship of the imperial cult in the genuine sense of the word (Edmondson 2007: 543, 561–563; see also Clauss 2001: 280 ff.).

Many altars in the Roman world were dedicated to deities who in their natures had some essentially similar traits and whose cults had some common and similar elements. This fact is also confirmed on this Salona altar which bears the names of the deities Ceres, Victoria and Venus. In the following chapters we shall present the evidence showing the extent to which the cult of Venus was close to that of Ceres and Victoria, which is precisely why it is that Venus should be recognized here, as well, as this would close the triad of female deities. The closeness of Victoria and Venus is additionally underscored by placing them under the common epithet *augustae*.

<sup>1</sup> Za standardne formule na zavjetnim natpisima v. Cagnat 1898: 226–230), Matijašić (2002: 92–94).

<sup>1</sup> For the standard formulas in votive inscriptions, see Cagnat (1898: 226–230), Matijašić (2002: 92–94).



st. pr. Kr. Uz nju se kao božanstvo poljoprivredne plodnosti usko veže *Tellus (Terra Mater)*, a od naj-davnijih vremena zajedno su štovane u svetkovina-ma *Feriae Sementivae* i *Sacrum Cereale*.<sup>2</sup> U Rimu je 494/3. g. pr. Kr. posvećen hram Cereri, Liberu i Liberi.<sup>3</sup> Porijeklo njihova kulta nije potpuno jasno, ali je očito riječ o italskoj kreaciji nastaloj pod utje-cajem grčkih kolonija na jugu Italije; prvi prikazi Cerere potječu iz 3. st. pr. Kr. i u potpunosti odgo-varaju prikazima Demetre (Spaeth 1996: 6–9). Ta plebejska trijada bila je antipod patricijskoj trijadi Jupitera, Junone i Minerve, kojoj je 204. g. pr. Kr. pridružen i kult Magne Mater.<sup>4</sup> U srednjorepubli-kansko doba Cererin je kult poprimio snažna he-lenistička obilježja i postao omiljen među ženama, koje su tada bile jedini dionici njezinih svetkovina. S njezinim štovanjem usko je vezana Demetrina svetkovina *Thesmophoria*, u kojoj je isticana važ-nost uloge žena u očuvanju i održanju plodnosti o kojoj je država ovisila.<sup>5</sup> Mnogi natpisi iz Italije po-tvrđuju da su službu svećenika u njezinu kultu (*sacerdos Cereris* ili *Cerealis*) obnašale isključivo žene (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 422, 426),<sup>6</sup> za razliku od afričkih provincija, u kojima su tu službu obavljali i muškarci (Spaeth 1996: 104, n. 9).<sup>7</sup>

Pisani izvori iz kasne republike i ranoga principata Cereru čvrsto povezuju s poljima, selom i zemljom, žitaricama, njihovim uzgojem i distribucijom te

## THE CULT OF CERES

Ceres was one of the oldest Italic goddesses, which is demonstrated by certain Faliscan inscriptions from the late seventh century BC. As the deity of agricultural fertility, she is closely associated with *Tellus (Terra Mater)*, and from the earliest times they were worshipped together in the religious feasts *Feriae Sementivae* and *Sacrum Cereale*.<sup>2</sup> A temple to Ceres, Liber and Libera was dedicated in Rome in 494/3 BC.<sup>3</sup> The origin of their cult is not entirely clear, but it was obviously an Italic crea-tion that emerged under the influence of the Greek colonies in southern Italy; the first depictions of Ceres originated in the third century BC and they entirely correspond to images of Demeter (Spaeth 1996: 6-9). This plebeian triad was the antipode of the patrician triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, to which the cult of the Magna Mater was added in 204 BC.<sup>4</sup> During the middle Republic, the cult of Ceres acquired strong Hellenistic features and became favoured among women, who were at the time the only participants in her holy feasts. Demeter's feast *Thesmophoria* was closely associ-ated with her; this feast highlighted the importance of the woman's role in preserving and maintain-ing the fertility on which the state was so depend-ent.<sup>5</sup> Many inscriptions from Italy confirm that the priestly functions in her cult (*sacerdos Cereris* or *Cerealis*) were performed exclusively by women (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 422, 426),<sup>6</sup> as opposed to

<sup>2</sup> U drugoj polovici aprila održavane su proslave *Fordicidia*, *Parilia*, *Vinalia*, *Robigalia* i *Ludi Florales*, koje su trebale osigurati plodnost životinja i zemlje (Spaeth 1996: 34–35).

<sup>3</sup> Pretpostavlja se da je hram služio kao stožer za opskrbu žitom i sjedište vodećih plebejaca (*aediles plebis*) koji su vodili brigu o opskrbi žitom (*cura annonae*) grada Rima. Ispred hrama nađeno je mnoštvo natpisa koji svjedoče o imenima rukovoditelja opskrbe žitom (*praefecti annonae*) diljem rimske države (Spaeth 1996: 40, 85). Do njega je stajao Florin hram, čime je jasno naglašena povezanost tih kultova. *Cerialia* je označavala početak, a *Floralia* kraj niza svetkovina usko vezanih uz uspješnost poljoprivrednih ciklusa i plodnosti. Cererin i Florin kult jasno su odvojeni, iako su u pitanjima odnosa prema ženskoj seksualnosti bili međusobni isprepleteni i ovisni (Staples 1998: 84, 91).

<sup>4</sup> O različitostima tih kultova u republikansko doba v. Spaeth (1996: 91–96).

<sup>5</sup> U to doba u Rim su uvedeni novi kultovi, poput Venere Erycina iz Sicilije 215. g. ili Kibebe 204. g. pr. Kr., rasla je popularnost Bakhova kulta, a prije toga odigrala se galska invazija 226. g. i niz Hanibalovih pobjeda 218–211. g. Ti događaji prijetili su tradicionalnoj rimskoj religiji i utjecali na priklanjanje žena novim kultovima (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 421; Spaeth 1996: 11–13).

<sup>6</sup> U obredu *initia Cereris* smjele su sudjelovati isključivo žene. Njime su isticane dvije primarne uloge žene u antičkome društvu: mlada djeвица (Perzeфона) i plodna majka (Cerera). Detaljnije o obredu Spaeth (1996: 59–60, 108–109).

<sup>7</sup> Muškarci su smjeli sudjelovati u Eleuzinskim misterijama, čija je popularnost rasla tijekom principata. U Rim ih je pokušao uvesti Klaudije, ali je u tome uspio tek Hadrijan. Osim njih dvojice u misterije su bili uvedeni i August, Antonin Pije, Lucije Ver, Marko Aurelije, Septimije Sever i Galijen (Spaeth 1996: 60).

<sup>2</sup> The celebrations called *Fordicidia*, *Parilia*, *Vinalia*, *Robigalia* and *Ludi Florales*, which were meant to ensure the fertility of li-vestock and the land, were held in the second half of April (Spaeth 1996: 34-35).

<sup>3</sup> It is assumed that the temple served as a base for supplying grain and as the seat of the leading plebeians (*aediles plebis*) who over-saw the grain supply (*cura annonae*) of the city of Rome. Many inscriptions were found in front of the temple, which testify to the names of the administrators of the grain supply (*praefecti anno-nae*) throughout the Roman state (Spaeth 1996: 40, 85). Next to it was Flora's temple, which clearly underlined the link between the cults. *Cerialia* indicated the beginning, and *Floralia* the end of series of feasts closely tied to the success of the agricultural cycle and fertility. The cults of Ceres and Flora were clearly separate, although in matters concerning women's sexuality they were in-tertwined and interdependent (Staples 1998: 84, 91).

<sup>4</sup> On the differences between these cults in the Republican era, see Spaeth (1996: 91-96).

<sup>5</sup> During this period new cults were introduced to Rome, such as that of Venus Erycina from Sicily in 215 BC or Cybele in 204 BC, the popularity of the cult of Bacchus grew, while this was preceded by the Gaulish invasions of 226 BC and Hannibal's series of victories in 218-211 BC. These events threatened traditional Roman religion and influenced the fact that women turned to new cults (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 421; Spaeth 1996: 11-13).

<sup>6</sup> Only women could participate in the *initia Cereris* rites. These underscored the two primary roles of women in society during Antiquity: the young virgin (Persephone) and the fertile mother (Ceres). For more details on the rite, see Spaeth (1996: 59-60, 108-109).

ljudima koji su dio tih procesa, pa ona često nosi epitete poput *fecunda*, *flava*, *fertilis*, *frugifera*, *genetrix frugum*, *larga*, *potens frugum* (*ibid.* 37). Na gemama, novcu, freskama, reljefima i skulpturi prikazana je sa simbolima plodnosti kao što su mak, šipak, svinje, *kalathos*, pladanj voća i *cornucopia*, a njezini najčešći atributi su *corona spicea* (kruna od žita), snopovi žita, mravi, *modius* i brodski pramac (*ibid.* 61). Cerera je usko povezana i s vjenčanjima, ljudskom plodnošću, djecom i majčinstvom, zbog čega su joj dodavane apozicije *mater* i *genetrix* te epitet *alma*. U rimskoj umjetnosti katkada je prikazana u očajničkoj potrazi za Prozerpinom koju odvodi Had (npr. na jednome sarkofagu iz 220–230. g. Cerera drži dvije baklje i stoji na zaprezi koju vuku dvije zmije, a desno je Had koji drži Prozerpinu i bježi u zaprezi koju vuku četiri konja). Cerera je također prikazivana s muškim djetetom, koje se redovito interpretira kao Triptolem (*ibid.* 42–43, 61 i d.). Cererina uska povezanost s plodnošću iskorištavana je na različite načine u političkoj propagandi još od republikanskog doba (*ibid.* 11–20). Mnoge žene iz carskih obitelji identificirane su s Cererom i njezinom ulogom majke (*ibid.* 169–181), a u Augustovo doba ona je smatrana pokroviteljicom ženskoga svijeta (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 422–423). Augustova žena Livija na gemama je prikazivana s krunom od snopova žita na glavi. Antonija Mlađa, Klaudijeva majka, prikazana je na reversu novca s Cererinom krunom. Kip Faustine Starije, žene Antonina Pija, prikazuje caricu kako nosi baklju, krunu i mak (Spaeth 1996: 47, 169–173, 179–180). Carice su bile majke nasljednika carskoga trona i smatrane su majkama svih ljudi u Carstvu, kao što je car smatran ocem (*pater patriae*) (Spaeth 1996: 47). Ženama iz viših društvenih slojeva Cerera je bila simbol majčinstva i čistoće, simbol idealne žene. Identifikacija žena carske obitelji s Cererom osobita je za svu vrstu medija tijekom principata, što se dobro očituje na državnome novcu od trajanskog do severskog doba (Spaeth 1996: 119). Međutim i neki su carevi rado preuzimali određene Cererine osobine. August je na jednom mramornom portretu prikazan s krunom od žita, čime se poistovjetio s božicom uz čiji je blagoslov carstvu jamčio poljoprivrednu plodnost (Spaeth 1996: 23). Na reversu Klaudijeva dupondija prikazana je božica *velatio capitis* kako drži baklju u jednoj, a snopove žita u drugoj ruci, s legendom *Ceres Augusta*. Epitet *Augusta* naglašava da princeps djeluje s njezinim odobrenjem i potporom (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 424). Na Neronovu i Vitelijevu novcu takvi su prikazi još eksplicitniji. Tako je na Neronovu sesterciju Cerera prikazana kako sjedi s bakljom i snopom

the African provinces, in which these services were also performed by men (Spaeth 1996: 104, n. 9).<sup>7</sup>

Written sources from the late Republic and the early Principate firmly link Ceres to fields, villages and the countryside, grain, its cultivation and distribution and the people who take part in these processes, so that she often bore epithets such as *fecunda*, *flava*, *fertilis*, *frugifera*, *genetrix frugum*, *larga*, *potens frugum* (*Ibid.* 37). On gems, coins, frescoes, relief images and sculpture, she is depicted with fertility symbols such as poppies, rosehips, hogs, a calathus, a fruit platter and cornucopia, while her most common attributes are the *corona spicea* (crown of grain), sheaves of grain, ants, the *modius* and a ship's bow (*Ibid.* 61). Ceres is also closely associated with weddings, human fertility, children and motherhood, which is why the appositions *mater* and *genetrix* and the epithet *alma* are added to her name. In Roman art she is sometimes portrayed in a desperate search for Persephone, who is seized by Hades (e.g. on a sarcophagus from 220–230: Ceres holds two torches and stands on a chariot pulled by two serpents, while to the right Hades holds Persephone and flees in a chariot pulled by four horses). Ceres was also depicted with a male child, who is regularly interpreted as Triptolemus (*Ibid.* 42–43, 61 ff.).

The close tie of Ceres to fertility was exploited in various ways in political propaganda since the Republican era (*Ibid.* 11–20). Many women from the imperial families identified with Ceres and her role as mother (*Ibid.* 169–181), while during the Augustan era she was considered the matron of the world of women (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 422–423). Augustus' wife Livia was depicted on gems with a crown of grain sheaves on her head. Antonia the Younger, the mother of Claudius, was shown on the reverse of coins wearing the crown of Ceres. The statue of Faustina the Elder, the wife of Antoninus Pius, shows the empress carrying a torch, a crown and a poppy (Spaeth 1996: 47, 169–173, 179–180). The empresses were the mothers of the successors to the imperial throne and they were deemed mothers of all people in the Empire, just as the emperor was deemed the father (*pater patriae*) (Spaeth 1996: 47). Ceres was the symbol of motherhood and purity, the symbol of the ideal woman, to the women of higher social classes. The identification of imperial family women with Ceres was noteworthy on types

<sup>7</sup> Men could participate in the Eleusinian Mysteries, the popularity of which grew during the Principate. Claudius tried to introduce it to Rome, but only Hadrian succeeded in this endeavour. Besides the two of them, Augustus, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus and Gallienus were also initiated into the mysteries (Spaeth 1996: 60).

žita u rukama. Ispred nje je Anona, personifikacija opskrbe žitom, koja u lijevoj ruci drži kornukopiju, a između njih je oltar ukrašen girlandom na kojemu je modij. U pozadini je krma broda, a ispod piše *Annona Augusti Ceres* (Bonačić Mandinić 2007: 42). Brod predstavlja prijevoz žita morem, modij njegovu raspodjelu narodu, a Cerera i Anona zaštitnička su božanstva te opskrbe. Na aversu je Neronov portret. Povezivanjem s božanstvima car narodu jamči opskrbu žitom. Takvu simboliku kasnije su u potpunosti preuzeli Domicijan, Nerva i Septimije Sever, a prije njih razradio Vitelije. Na reversu njegova novca umjesto Anone je car u ratnoj opremi, koji jamči opskrbu žitom uz Cererinu pomoć. Takav prikaz sasvim je u skladu s previranjima 69. g. Posljednji primjer takve snažne carske propagande jest medaljon Antonina Pija na kojemu je car prikazan kako sjedi u središtu. Iza njega je Viktorija koja mu na glavu stavlja krunu od lišća i cvijeća, a ispred je Cerera koja mu pruža snop žita. Prikazom se poručuje da car kroz pobjedu u ratu donosi državi poljoprivrednu plodnost (Spaeth 1996: 47–48).

Cerera je, kako kaže Ciceron, božica početaka jer je povezana s prijelazom iz države bezakonja u državu zakona, od društva temeljena na lovu i skupljanju do društva temeljena na agrikulturi, od barbarstva do civilizacije (Cic. *Verr.* II 5, 187). Cerera je redovito povezivana s uspostavljanjem mira nakon rata jer nastupa kao sila koja nakon narušavanja ravnoteže uspostavlja društveni red (Spaeth 1996: 17, 52). Izvori iz Augustova doba i kasnije jasno pokazuju Cererinu bliskost s mirom (*Pax*), što se posebno dobro očituje na reljefima *Arae Pacis* (*ibid.* 68–69).<sup>8</sup> Njihova bliskost jasno se vidi i na ikonografiji carskog novca iz 69. g., kada su Cerera i *Pax* gotovo poistovječeni. Rimljanima je mir došao preko Augusta i njegove obitelji, a mir osigurava plodnost koju personificira Cerera (*ibid.* 68–69). Veza između Cerere i povratka socijalnog mira odražava se na serijama carskog novca gdje su njezini simboli identificirani s personifikacijama *Concordia*, *Fides publica*, *Pax* i *Salus*, koje su sastavni dijelovi tog koncepta (*ibid.* 28). Nakon kasnog 3. st. dokazi o štovanju i popularnosti Cerere obavijeni su tamom. Posljednja članica carske obitelji koja je na carskome novcu s njome poistovječena bila je Julija Domna, žena Septimija Severa. Najkasnija pojava Cerere na carskome novcu bila je u doba Klaudija Gotskog. U 4. st. u Rimu je još uvijek postojao njezin hram (*ibid.* 30).

<sup>8</sup> Spaeth je u božanstvu na stražnjoj ploči *Arae Pacis* prepoznala Cereru. O tome i o njezinoj interpretaciji cjelokupnog programa *Arae Pacis* v. Spaeth (1994; 1996: 141–151). Prema drugim mišljenjima ne radi se o prikazu Cerere, nego božanstva Terra Mater, v. npr. Sanader (1996: 120).

of media during the Principate, which is well illustrated by the state-minted coins from the Trajanic to Severan periods (Spaeth 1996: 119). Even some emperors enthusiastically assumed certain qualities of Ceres. Augustus is depicted on a marble portrait wearing a crown of grain sheaves, identifying with the goddess whose blessings ensured agricultural fertility for the Empire (Spaeth 1996: 23). The reverse of a Claudius dupondius shows the goddess *capite velato* holding a torch in one hand and sheaves of grain in the other, with the legend reading *Ceres Augusta*. The epithet *Augusta* emphasized that the *princeps* was acting with her approval and support (Chirassi Colombo 1981: 424). Such images are even more explicit on the coins of Nero and Vitellius. Thus, on a Nero sesterce, Ceres is depicted sitting with a torch and sheaf of grain in her hands. In front of her stands Annona, the personification of the grain supply, holding a cornucopia in her left hand. Between the two goddesses there is an altar decorated with a garland, with a *modius* on it. Ship's stern is depicted in the background, and below it reads *Annona Augusti Ceres* (Bonačić Mandinić 2007: 42). The ship signifies transport of grain by sea, the *modius* its distribution to the people, and Ceres and Annona are the patron deities of this supply. There is a portrait of Nero on the obverse. By denoting a link to these deities, the emperor guaranteed the grain supply to the people. Such symbolism was later entirely assumed by Domitian, Nerva and Septimius Severus, and it was elaborated before them by Vitellius. Instead of Annona, the reverse of his coins featured the emperor in wartime garb, guaranteeing the grain supply with the aid of Ceres. This portrayal entirely reflected the turmoil of 69 AD. The final example of such forceful imperial propaganda is the medallion of Antoninus Pius on which the emperor is shown sitting between Victoria and Ceres: the former, who is putting a crown of leaves and flowers on his head, is behind him, while the latter is before him, extending him a sheaf of grain. The image conveys the message that through his victory in war the emperor brings agricultural fertility to the state (Spaeth 1996: 47–48). Ceres, as noted by Cicero, was the goddess of beginnings, for she was associated with the transition from a state of anarchy to a state of laws, from a hunter/gatherer society to a society based on agriculture, from barbarianism to civilization (Cic. *Verr.* II 5, 187). Ceres was regularly associated with the establishment of peace after war, after which she appeared as a force which re-instituted social order after the destruction of the balance (Spaeth 1996: 17, 52). Sources from the Augustan era and later clearly demonstrate the close association of Ceres with peace (*Pax*), which is reflected particularly well

Osim u Italiji Cererin je kult posebno bio razvijen u afričkim provincijama. Štovanje Demetre uvedeno je u Kartagu iz Sirakuze u 4. st. pr. Kr. Oživjeli su ga rimski kolonisti u 1. st. pr. Kr.,<sup>9</sup> nakon čega se proširilo po cijeloj rimskoj Africi kao jednoj od najvažnijih carskih žitnica (*ibid.* 16–17, 25). U Dalmaciji je slika o Cererinu kultu puno siromašnija i sačinjavaju je podaci koji se mogu iscrpiti iz dvaju ili možda triju votivnih natpisa. Žrtvenik iz Narone posvetio je *Caius Frisius Marinus*.<sup>10</sup> Dedikantov gentilicij i kognomen nedvosmisleno odaju njegovo italsko porijeklo (Alföldy 1969: 86, 239). Iz Prološca kod Imotskog potječe drugi Cererin žrtvenik, čiji je dedikant *Lucius S(empronius?) Pudens*.<sup>11</sup> Ako je tu zaista riječ o gentiliciju *Sempronius*, tada ne bi trebalo sumnjati u dedikantovo italsko porijeklo, čemu u prilog ide i njegov kognomen (*ibid.* 276–277).<sup>12</sup> Prvi natpis Alföldy smješta u vrijeme ranoga principata, a ovaj iz Prološca, koji je po imenskoj formuli dedikanta sličan prvomu, datira u kasni principat (*ibid.* 86, 239, 277).<sup>13</sup>

Malobrojnim Cererinim natpisima iz rimske Dalmacije u literaturi se pridružuje još jedan fragmentirani iz Splita (CIL 3, 14664: [...]*arc[a](?)...* / [...]*Cereris[...]* / [...]*sine titu[lo]* / [...]*con[sc]ravit*); Bulić 1901: 52–53, br. 2861). Natpis je sa svih strana odlomljen, što stvara nekoliko problema od kojih je glavni određivanje karaktera toga spomenika. Bulić (1901: 53) piše da su u prvome retku tragovi slova koja se mogu protumačiti kao *ARC*, što bi moglo biti ostatak riječi *arca*. Ako je takva rekonstrukcija ispravna, tada bi taj ulomak uz priličnu zadržku trebalo definirati kao nadgrobni, a ime *Ceres* bilo bi

on the *Ara Pacis* relief images (*Ibid.* 68–69).<sup>8</sup> This closeness can also be clearly seen on the iconography of imperial coins of 69 AD, when *Ceres* and *Pax* were also equated. To Romans, peace came through Augustus and his family, and peace was secured by the fertility personified by *Ceres* (*Ibid.* 68–69). The link between *Ceres* and the return of social peace was reflected in the series of imperial coins on which her symbols are identified with personifications of *Concordia*, *Fides publica*, *Pax* and *Salus*, which were integral components of this concept (*Ibid.* 28). After the late third century, evidence of the worship and popularity of *Ceres* was veiled in obscurity. The last female member of an imperial family who was identified with her on imperial coins was Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus. The latest appearance of *Ceres* on imperial coins was during the era of Claudius Gothicus. Her temple still stood in Rome in the fourth century (*Ibid.* 30).

Besides Italy, the cult of *Ceres* was especially well-developed in the African provinces. Worship of *Demeter* was introduced to Carthage from Syracuse in the fourth century BC. It was revived by Roman colonists in the first century BC,<sup>9</sup> whereafter it spread throughout Roman Africa, one of the most important regions that supplied imperial Rome with corn (*Ibid.* 16–17, 25). In Dalmatia, the picture of the *Ceres* cult is much poorer and consists of data deriving solely from two or perhaps three votive inscriptions. An altar from Narona was dedicated by *Gaius Frisius Marinus*.<sup>10</sup> The dedicant's gentilicium and cognomen unambiguously reveal his Italic origin (Alföldy 1969: 86, 239). Another altar to *Ceres* was found in Proložac, near Imotski, and its dedicant was *Lucius S(empronius?) Pudens*.<sup>11</sup> If the letter *S* here truly stands for the gentilicium *Sempronius*, then the dedicant's Italic origin should not be doubted, which is otherwise indicated by his cognomen as well (*Ibid.* 276–277).<sup>12</sup> Name formulas are similar in both inscriptions, but Alföldy dated

<sup>9</sup> Pod imenom *Cereres* štovana je zajedno s Prozerpinom. O značajkama tog kulta u Kartagi v. Spaeth (1994: 96, 98, 100).

<sup>10</sup> CIL 3, 1771: *Ce[r]eri san[ct(ae)]/ C(aius) Frisius Marinus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. O Cererinu kultu u Naroni v. Miletić (2003: 216–217).

<sup>11</sup> CIL 3, 8508; Bulić (1887: 57, br. 60) *L(ucius) S(empronius?) Pudens / Cereri / v(otum) s(olvit) / [...]*.

<sup>12</sup> Nije riječ o klesarskoj grešci jer je ista osoba s jednako uklesanim imenom poznata s još jednoga žrtvenika iz Prološca, v. CIL 3, 8511; Bulić (1888: 10–11).

<sup>13</sup> To ne treba čuditi jer se takvi imenski obrasci javljaju u rimskoj Dalmaciji tijekom cijeloga principata. To je u novije vrijeme dokazano na primjeru Liburnije (za koju je napravljena analiza sustava imenovanja); ondje se takav imenski obrazac ipak nešto češće javlja u ranom (13,46%) nego u kasnom principatu (10,23%); v. Kurilić (1999: 47 i d., Prikaz 15b). Usp. Alföldy (1969: 27), koji ističe da se prenomeni na dalmatinskim natpisima u pravilu gube nakon druge polovice 2. st. Za dataciju tih dvaju žrtvenika usp. i EDH HD056667, EDH HD053375, gdje se nastanak natpisa iz Prološca stavlja u vrijeme prvih triju stoljeća po. Kr., a onoga iz Narone u vrijeme ranoga principata.

<sup>8</sup> Spaeth recognized *Ceres* in the deity on the rear side of the *Ara Pacis*. On this and the interpretation of the entire *Ara Pacis* array, see Spaeth (1994; 1996: 141–151). According to other opinions, this is not an image of *Ceres*, but rather goddess *Terra Mater*, see, e.g., Sanader (1996: 120).

<sup>9</sup> She was worshipped under the name *Cereres* together with *Proserpina*. On the features of this cult in Carthage, see Spaeth (1994: 96, 98, 100).

<sup>10</sup> CIL 3, 1771: *Ce[r]eri san[ct(ae)]/ C(aius) Frisius Marinus / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*. On the cult of *Ceres* in Narona, see Miletić (2003: 216–217).

<sup>11</sup> CIL 3, 8508; Bulić (1887: 57, no. 60) *L(ucius) S(empronius?) Pudens / Cereri / v(otum) s(olvit) / [...]*.

<sup>12</sup> This is not a stonemason's error, because the same person with an identically engraved name is known on one other altar from Proložac, see CIL 3, 8511; Bulić (1888: 10–11).

teoforno osobno ime (Kajanto 1965: 215)<sup>14</sup> i pripadalo bi pokojnici. Ni upotreba glagola *consecrare* u sepulkralnome kontekstu ne bi trebala čuditi jer takvih primjera ima na natpisima diljem Carstva; primjerice, glagol *consecrare* upotrijebljen je na nadgrobnim natpisima iz Rima (CIL 6, 14958; CIL 6, 38833) i Ostije (CIL 14, 1193; CIL 14, 5002). S druge strane, ako je riječ o posvetnom natpisu, otvoreno je pitanje značenja slova u prvome retku i općenito namjene spomenika. Je li ga moguće dovesti u vezu s posvetom hrama, edikule, kipa ili nečega drugog?

Bez obzira na karakter ovoga natpisa i činjenicu da je ara iz Prološca u literaturi često zanemarivana, Cererin je kult na istočnoj obali Jadrana vrlo skromno zastupljen. J. Medini (1976: 192, 201) navodi da su kult u ove krajeve unijeli italici kolonisti tijekom 1. st. pr. Kr.<sup>15</sup> U Dalmaciji u potpunosti nedostaju Cererini skulpturalni i reljefni prikazi, a Cererinu religijskom konceptu najbliža je glava božice s cvjetnim aranžmanom iz Salone, koja međutim prikazuje Floru ili Perzefonu (Cambi 2002: 126). Cererin kult u Istri uopće nije potvrđen, što se objašnjava štovanjem kulta plodnosti preko epihornih božanstava sličnih osobina (Jurkić 1976: 211–212), što bi možda podjednako moglo vrijediti i za Dalmaciju. Dokazi o Cererinu štovanju u panonskome dijelu Hrvatske svode se na dva žrtvenika iz Siska (Sanader 2008: 178), u kojemu je možda postojao Cererin hram (Rendić-Miočević 2005: 245–246). I u ostatku Panonije posvete Cereri vrlo su rijetke (Buzov 2005: 267).

## KULT VENERE

Na salonitanskom ulomku koji se ovdje obrađuje Cerera nije slučajno navedena na prvom mjestu. Dedicant je tako htio steći prvenstveno njezinu naklonost i naglasiti njezin primat u odnosu na Viktoriju i Veneru. Naglašavanje Cererina pokroviteljstva pojačano je dodavanjem njezinu imenu pridjeva *augusta* i *sacrum*. Na taj su način Viktorija i Venera od nje odvojene i međusobno združene stavljanjem pod zajednički pridjev *augustis*. Na koji je način Cereru moguće povezati s tim božanstvima?

<sup>14</sup> U Dalmaciji je za sada poznata samo jedna osoba koja je možda doista nosila ime *Ceres* (AE 1987, 813, Salona). Nažalost, njezin kognomen nije isklesan u cijelosti, tako da ni ta potvrda nije posve pouzdana. U AE se predlaže restitucija *Cere(ra)* (za ime usp. Kajanto 1965: 211), ili alternativno, *Cere(ia?)*, kako stoji u EDH HD012605; za ime usp. OPEL II, str. 51, a moguće su i drugačije restitucije (npr. *Cereus*, v. Kajanto 1965: 343).

<sup>15</sup> Vrlo daleku poveznicu s rimskom Dalmacijom pokazuje zavjet Cereri koji je pored svojega rodnog grada postavio satirični pjesnik Juvenal, s obzirom na to da u svom *cursus honorum* u tom natpisu spominje da je bio i tribun Prve kohorte Delmata (*coh I Delmatarum*); v. ILS 2926.

the former to the early Principate, and the latter to the late Principate (*Ibid.* 86, 239, 277).<sup>13</sup>

According to the scholarly literature, to the few inscriptions from Roman Dalmatia dedicated to Ceres another fragment from Split should be added (CIL 3, 14664: [...]*arc[a(?)...]* / [...]*Cereri[s]...* / [...]*sine titu[lo]* / [...]*cons[ecravit]*; Bulić 1901: 52–53, no. 2861). The inscription is broken off on all sides, which opens several problems, of which the most important is the determination of the character of this monument. Bulić (1901: 53) wrote that the first line contains letters that may be interpreted *ARC*, which may be the remnant of the word *arca*. If this reconstruction is correct, then this fragment should, with some reserve, be defined as part of a gravestone, and the name Ceres would then be a theophorous personal name (Kajanto 1965: 215)<sup>14</sup> and it would have belonged to the deceased woman. The use of the verb *consecrare* in the sepulchral context should also not be surprising, for there are examples of it in inscriptions throughout the Empire; for example, the verb *consecrare* was used in funerary inscriptions from Rome (CIL 6, 14958; CIL 6, 38833) and Ostia (CIL 14, 1193; CIL 14, 5002). On the other hand, if this is a dedicatory inscription, the question of the meaning of the letters in the first line and the general purpose of the monument remain open. Is it possible to associate it with the dedication of a temple, aedicule, statue or something else?

Regardless of the character of this inscription and the fact that the altar from Proložac is often neglected in the scholarly literature, the cult of Ceres on the eastern shores of the Adriatic was very modestly represented. J. Medini (1976: 192, 201) stated that the cult was brought to the region by Italic colonists during the first century BC.<sup>15</sup> Sculptural or relief

<sup>13</sup> This should not be surprising, for such name formulas appeared in Roman Dalmatia throughout the Principate. More recently this has been proven based on the example of Liburnia (for which an analysis of the naming system has been made); there this name formula appeared somewhat more frequently in the early (13.46%) than in the late Principate (10.23%); see Kurilić (1999: 47 ff., Fig. 15b.) Cf. Alföldy (1969: 27), who stressed that praenomina generally disappeared from Dalmatian inscriptions after the latter half of the second century. For the dating of these two altars, cf. also EDH HD056667, EDH HD053375, where the inscription from Proložac was dated to the first three centuries AD, while the one from Narona to the early Principate.

<sup>14</sup> In Dalmatia, there is so far only one person who may have had the name Ceres (AE 1987, 813, Salona). Unfortunately, her cognomen was not carved in its entirety, so not even this confirmation is completely reliable. In AE the restoration *Cere(ra)* was proposed (for the name cf. Kajanto 1965: 211), or alternatively, *Cere(ia?)*, as stated in EDH HD012605; for the name cf. OPEL II, p. 51, and other restorations are also possible (e.g. *Cereus*, see Kajanto 1965: 343).

<sup>15</sup> A very remote link to Roman Dalmatia can be found in a dedication to Ceres set up by the satirical poet Juvenal near his native town, given that in his *cursus honorum* in this inscription he noted that he was also tribune of the First Delmataean cohort (*coh I Delmatarum*); see ILS 2926.

Logično je i prirodno da su u posvetama često združivana božanstva sličnih osobina, što potvrđuju, naprimjer, brojni sačuvani larariji iz Italije i alpskih provincija.<sup>16</sup> Od ovih triju božanstava najizrazitija i najčvršća sprega postoji između Cererina i Venerina kulta, što je epigrafski izravno potvrđeno. Neki natpisi iz južne i srednje Italije spominju postojanje svećenica koje su vodile brigu o Cererinu i Venerinu kultu (Spaeth 1994: 77).<sup>17</sup> Ti su kultovi bili snažno isprepleteni i međusobno povezani, zbog čega nije bilo zapreke da njihove obrede ne predvode iste osobe (Schultz 2006: 70, n. 74–76), a njihov je sinkretizam često uočljiv i u umjetnosti.<sup>18</sup>

Dodiri Rimljana s grčkim svijetom tijekom 4. st. pr. Kr. doveli su do Venerine identifikacije s grčkom Afroditom, božicom ljubavi, čije je atribute i mitologiju preuzela. Najstariji njezin hram u Rimu posvećen je Veneri *Obsequens* (Uslišateljici) 295. g. pr. Kr. (Morford & Lenardon 2003: 632).<sup>19</sup> Nakon rimske katastrofe na Trazimenskom jezeru 217. g. pr. Kr. donesena je odluka o posveti hrama Veneri Erycini (*Venus Eryx*), što je bio značajan korak u konačnom ustoličenju njezina kulta u Rimu (Schilling 1954: 248–266).<sup>20</sup> U tim teškim vremenima za republiku rimsko društvo tražilo je od žena savjesno izvršavanje majčinskih i supružničkih dužnosti kako se ne bi u pitanje doveo opstanak države, zbog čega je, između ostaloga, 1. aprila 114. g. pr. Kr. posvećen hram Veneri Vertikordiji (Schilling 1954: 226–233; Takács 2008: 43–44). Daljnji razvoj Venerina kulta vezan je uz velike ličnosti rimske republike. Vojskovođa Pompej u Rimu je posvetio hram Veneri Pobjednici (*Venus Victrix*), a kasnije su Julijevci tvrdili da svoje božansko porijeklo vuku od Venerina potomka Eneje, pa joj je sukladno tom vjerovanju

images of Ceres in Dalmatia are entirely absent, and the closest to the Ceres religious concept is the head of a goddess with floral arrangement from Salona, which, however, depicts Flora or Persephone (Cambi 2002: 126). The cult of Ceres has not been confirmed at all in Istria, which is explained by worship of the fertility cult through some epichoric deity with similar traits (Jurkić 1976: 211–212), which may equally apply to Dalmatia. Evidence of worship of Ceres in the Pannonian part of Croatia is limited to two altars from Sisak (Sanader 2008: 178), in which there may have been temple to Ceres (Rendić-Miočević 2005: 245–246). Dedications to Ceres were very rare in the remainder of Pannonia as well (Buzov 2005: 267).

## THE CULT OF VENUS

Ceres is not coincidentally cited first on the Salona fragment examined herein. The dedicant thereby wished primarily to obtain her favour and underscore her primacy in relation to Victoria and Venus. The emphasis on Ceres' patronage was enhanced by adding the epithets *augusta* and *sacrum* to her name. Thus, Victoria and Venus were separated from her and joined together under the common epithet *augustis*. In what manner can Ceres possibly be linked to these deities? It is logical and natural that deities with similar traits were often joined together in dedications, which is confirmed, for example, by the numerous preserved *lararia* from Italy and the Alpine provinces.<sup>16</sup> Among these three goddesses, the most prominent and firmest bond existed between the cults of Ceres and Venus, which has been directly confirmed epigraphically. Some inscriptions from southern and central Italy mention the existence of priestesses who administered the cults of Ceres and Venus (Spaeth 1994: 77).<sup>17</sup> These cults were deeply intertwined and mutually linked, so there were no obstacles to their rites being conducted by the same persons (Schultz 2006: 70, n. 74–76), and their syncretism is often apparent in the arts as well.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> U Pompejima su kultu Lara pridruživane različite grupe božanstava: Merkur, Jupiter, Junona, Minerva, zatim Anubis, Izida, pa Venera, Herkul, Prijap, Silen, Eros, i primjerice, Asklepije, Fortuna, Izida, te Neptun, Helij i Faun; v. npr. Bodel (2008: 261). Jedan natpis s Brača (CIL 3, 10109) pokazuje da su skupne posvete podizane božanstvima koja dijele slične osobine ili pripadaju istom religijskom konceptu. Tom natpisu posvećeno je malo više pažnje u nastavku rada.

<sup>17</sup> AE 1891, 113; AE 1954, 166; AE 1990, 237; CIL 9, 3087; Chirassi Colombo (1981: 426). Od svih službenica nekoga rimskog kulta Cererine svećenice epigrafski su najbolje dokumentirane (Lundeen 2006: 52–53, n. 90–92). O svećenicama i njihovim vezama s njihovim obiteljima v. Schultz (2006: 77–78).

<sup>18</sup> Zbog isprepletenosti tih kultova i sličnosti njihove ikonografije neki su autori na jugoistočnoj ploči *Arae Pacis* prepoznavali Veneru, a neki Cereru (Galinsky 1992: 471–472).

<sup>19</sup> Prema pisanim izvorima taj je hram sagrađen od novca prikupljene kažnjavanjem žena zbog preljuba, što s druge strane sasvim dobro pristaje uz Venerin pridjev *Verticordia* (Takács 2008: 43–44). Vrlo se malo zna o kultu Veneri *Obsequens* (Staples 1998: 113).

<sup>20</sup> Eryx se nalazi na zapadnome kraju Sicilije, gdje je bio veliki hram Aštarte, feničke orgijastičke božice plodnosti koja je kasnije identificirana s Afroditom i Venerom (Morford & Lenardon 2003: 632).

<sup>16</sup> In Pompeii, the cult of Lares was joined by different groups of deities: Mercury, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, followed by Anubis, Isis, and then Venus, Hercules, Priapus, Silenus, Eros and, for example, Aesclepius, Fortuna, Isis and Neptune, Helios and Faun; see, e.g., Bodel (2008: 261). One inscription from Brač (CIL 3, 10109) shows that group dedications were raised to deities who shared similar traits or belonged to the same religious concept. This inscription shall be dealt upon in more detail further in the text.

<sup>17</sup> AE 1891, 113; AE 1954, 166; AE 1990, 237; CIL 9, 3087; Chirassi Colombo (1981: 426). Of all officials of a Roman cult, the priestesses of Ceres are the best epigraphically documented (Lundeen 2006: 52–53, n. 90–92). On the priestesses and their ties to their families, see Schultz (2006: 77–78).

<sup>18</sup> Due to the entwinement of these cults and the similarity of their iconography, some scholars in the south-east *Ara Pacis* surface recognized Venus, while others Ceres (Galinsky 1992: 471–472).

Cezar podigao hram na Forumu (*Venus Genetrix*) (Schilling 1954: 296–316).

Venera Uslišateljica bila je čvrsto povezana s važnim društvenim pitanjima poput rata i njegova uspješnog završetka. Brigu oko moralnog života matrona i o njihovoj čestitosti dijelila je s kultom Venere Vertikordije. Slično je bilo i s Erycinom, pod čijom su ingerencijom bili vojno-politička snaga države i neki aspekti života mladih žena (Staples 1998: 113–114). Venerina je uloga u rimskome religijskom svijetu bila mnogo kompleksnija i veća nego što se naizgled čini. Ona je u jedan sustav ujedinjavala različite kategorije (spolne, političke ili društvene) koje su u drugim kultovima bile razdvojene. Venerini kultovi više su pružali inkluzivnost nego ekskluzivnost (*ibid.* 100–101, 159). Od mnogih aspekata njezina kulta plodnosti na posebnom je mjestu bila snaga stvaranja (Takács 2008: 43).

U odnosu prema materijalnim dokazima o Cererinu kultu na istočnoj obali Jadrana situacija s Venerinim kultom mnogo je bolja i njegov se kontinuitet može pratiti još od vremena grčke kolonizacije (Zaninović 2005: 157–165). Epigrafski podaci o štovanju Venere zaista su brojni i potječu s mnogih lokaliteta na našoj obali. Na gotovo svakom natpisu božica nosi drugačiji epitet, a najučestaliji je *Victrix*.<sup>21</sup> Na salonitanskim je natpisima njezino ime spomenuto u različitim kontekstima. Venera Pobjednica spomenuta je na više posvetnih natpisa s područja Salone, njih pet,<sup>22</sup> što nedvosmisleno upućuje na zaključak da je taj aspekt njezina kulta u glavnome gradu provincije bio najpopularniji.<sup>23</sup> U Saloni je tijekom kasnog principata djelovao *collegium fabrum*, koji je prema imenu svoje božanske zaštitnice svojem imenu tijekom 3. st. dodao pridjev *Veneris*. Krajem istoga stoljeća ime tog udruženja reducirano je na oblik *collegium Veneris*, koji je potvrđen na najmanje tri natpisa.<sup>24</sup> O Venerinoj popularnosti i raširenosti njezina kulta u Saloni tijekom carskog vremena svjedoče preslice (Ivčević 2000: 476–479) i sitna brončana plastika (Zaninović 2005: 161–165). Šaroliku sliku spomenika koji se

Contacts between the Romans and the Greek world during the fourth century BC led to the identification of Venus with Aphrodite, the goddess of love, whose attributes and mythology she assumed. Her oldest temple in Rome is dedicated to Venus Obsequens (the Indulgent) in 295 BC (Morford & Lenardon 2003: 632).<sup>19</sup> After the Roman catastrophe on Lake Trasumennus in 217 BC, the decision was made to dedicate a temple to Venus Erycina ('Venus from Eryx'), which was a significant step toward the ultimate installation of her cult in Rome (Schilling 1954: 248-266).<sup>20</sup> In this trying times for the Republic, Roman society sought from women the performance of maternal and spousal duties so that the survival of the state would not be jeopardized, which is why, among other things, a temple was dedicated to Venus Verticordia on 1 April, 114 BC (Schilling 1954: 226-233; Takács 2008: 43-44). The further development of the cult of Venus was tied to major personalities of the Roman Republic. The military commander Pompey dedicated a temple to Venus Victrix (the Victorious) in Rome, while later the Julians claimed that their divine origin was rooted in Aeneas, a descendant of Venus, so in line with this belief Caesar had a temple raised in the Forum dedicated to Venus Genetrix (Schilling 1954: 296-316).

Venus Obsequens was firmly tied to major social matters such as war and its successful conclusion. With the cult of Venus Verticordia she shared in common care for the moral life of matrons and their virtue. Similarly, within the competencies of Erycina were military-political forces of the state and some aspects of the lives of young women (Staples 1998: 113-114). The role of Venus in Roman religious life was much more complex and extensive than it would appear at first glance. She united different categories (sexual, political and social) which were kept apart in other cults. The cults of Venus offered more inclusion than exclusivity (*ibid.* 100-101, 159). Out of the many aspects of her fertility cult, the power of creation held a special position (Takács 2008: 43).

In comparison to the physical evidence of the cult of Ceres on the Eastern Adriatic coast, the situation with the cult of Venus is much better, and its continuity can be followed from the era of Greek colonization (Zaninović 2005: 157-165). The epigraphic data on worship of Venus are truly numerous and

<sup>21</sup> O osobitostima Venerina kulta na istočnoj obali Jadrana v. Medini (1976: 191–192).

<sup>22</sup> CIL 3, 1965; CIL 3, 1964; ILJug 2062; CIL 3, 8676; ILJug 2063. Prvi redak natpisa CIL 3, 8676 moguće je protumačiti i kao *V(tribus) V(alentibus)...* (Medini 1985: 8).

<sup>23</sup> Ostale posvete Veneri s područja Salone jesu tek jedna posveta Veneri Bakhi (*Venus Baccha* – CIL 3, 8688), jedna zajednička Veneri i Junoni (CIL 3, 1962) i jedan vrlo fragmentaran natpis koji se čita *Ven(eri) / [sac(rum?)]* (ILJug 676).

<sup>24</sup> Radi se o natpisima CIL 3, 1981; CIL 3, 2106; CIL 3, 2108; v. još i CIL 3, 8687 (+ str. 1475) te AE 2006, 1019 (= Matijević 2006: 150, br. 3). Na čelu Venerina kolegija u Saloni bila je magistra (Medini 1976: 192); za Venerin kolegij v. i Matijević (2006: 150).

<sup>19</sup> According to written sources, this temple was built using funds collected from the punishment of women for adultery, which on the other hand entirely suited the epithet *Verticordia* for Venus (Takács 2008: 43-44). Very little is known about the cult of Venus Obsequens (Staples 1998: 113).

<sup>20</sup> Eryx is on the western side of Sicily, where there was a large temple of Astarte, a Phoenician orgiastic fertility goddess who was later identified with Aphrodite and Venus (Morford & Lenardon 2003: 632).

vežu uz Veneru nadopunjuju i dva njezina kipa. Jedan iz ranocarskoga doba prikazuje Veneru obnaženu do bokova (Cambi 2002: 118, sl. 3). Drugi je kip mnogo poznatiji. On prikazuje potpuno obnaženu Veneru s erotom do njezinih nogu (*ibid.* 138–139, sl. 102). Kip je postavljen na bazu s natpisom *Venus Victrix* (CIL 3, 1964) i datira se u sredinu 3. st. (Cambi 2002: 138–139).

Medini pretpostavlja da je Venera štovana u Saloni zapravo Afroditu koju su u grad unijeli doseljenici s Istoka, kao što su donijeli i naziv, oblik i strukturu njezina kolegija, vjerskog udruženja kvazisrodničkog karaktera. Osim što je bila božanska zaštitnica nekih kolegija Venera je bila zaštitnica i prve poznate salonitanske kognacije (*cognatio Clodiorum*). Tada se pod orijentalnim utjecajima Venera javlja kao funerarno božanstvo asimilirano s Libitinom, božicom pogreba (Medini 1985: 26–29).<sup>25</sup> Venera je na nadgrobnim spomenicima bila prikazivana i u plastici. U zabatu jedne salonitanske stele iz kasnog 1. st. prikazana je kako izlazi iz mora (Cambi 2005: 83–84, sl. 118). Venerin kult i mitologija imaju cijeli niz sličnosti s Kibelom, koja je kasnije postala najznačajniji patron salonitanskih kognacija (Medini 1985: 26–29).

## KULT VIKTORIJE

Sljedeće i posljednje božanstvo sa salonitanske are jest Viktorija. Njezino je štovanje u rimskom svijetu staro, ali ipak nešto mlađe od štovanja Cerere i Venere. Nakon velike rimske pobjede nad Samničanima 295. g. pr. Kr. u Rimu je posvećen hram Jupiteru Viktoru, a godinu dana poslije podignut je i Viktorijin hram (Weinstock 1958: 2505–2506).<sup>26</sup> Viktorija i *teologija pobjede* izravno su preuzeti iz grčkoga svijeta i usađeni u rimsku državnu propagandu kako bi se opravdala rimska ekspanzija. Na onodobnome rimskom novcu ona je prikazana kao Jupiterova desna ruka; vozi njegovu zapregu i njegovim oružjem udara neprijatelje njegova naroda (Fears 1981: 774–776). Sula i Cezar imali su vrlo važnu ulogu u promicanju njezina kulta (Weinstock 1958: 2513–2517). Oktavijan je inaugurirao Uzvišenu Viktoriju (*Victoria Augusta*), koja je svojim božanskim statusom bila jednaka Jupiteru ili Marsu (Fears 1981: 742). Od Augustova doba Viktorija je bila ključna i nezaobilazna tema carske propagande (Fishwick 1993: 111–119). Zahvaljujući obilatu epigrafskom materijalu iz Italije i ostalih

they were found in many places on the Croatian coast. The goddess bears a different epithet in almost every inscription, but the most common is *Victrix*.<sup>21</sup> Her name is mentioned in various contexts in inscriptions from Salona. Venus Victrix is mentioned in several dedicatory inscriptions from the territory of Salona, five in fact,<sup>22</sup> which unequivocally points to the conclusion that this aspect of her cult in the provincial capital was the most popular.<sup>23</sup> The *collegium fabrum* was active in Salona during the late Principate, and in the third century it added the adjective *Veneris* to its name in honour of its divine patron. At the end of this century, its name was reduced to the form *collegium Veneris*, which has been confirmed in three inscriptions at least.<sup>24</sup> A distaff (Ivčević 2000: 476–479) and tiny bronze sculpted pieces (Zaninović 2005: 161–165) testify to the popularity of Venus and the widespread nature of her cult in Salona during the imperial period. Two of her statues supplement the diverse picture of monuments tied to Venus: one, from the early imperial period, portrays Venus down to her hips (Cambi 2002: 118, Fig. 3), while the other, which is much better known, shows a fully nude Venus down to her feet with Eros (*ibid.* 138–139, Fig. 102). The latter statue was placed on a base with the inscription *Venus Victrix* (CIL 3, 1964) and dated to the mid-third century (Cambi 2002: 138–139).

Medini speculated that the Venus worshipped in Salona was actually Aphrodite, who was introduced to the city by settlers from the East, just as they brought the name, form and structure of her collegium, a religious association of quasi-kin character. Besides being the divine protector of certain collegia, Venus was also the patron of the first known Salona “cognition” (*cognatio Clodiorum*). At the time, under oriental influences, Venus appeared as a funerary deity assimilated with Libitina, a goddess of funerals (Medini 1985: 26–29).<sup>25</sup> Venus was also sculpted on gravestones. She is depicted as emerging from the sea in the pediment of a Salona stele from the late first century (Cambi 2005: 83–84, Fig.

<sup>21</sup> On the particularities of the cult of Venus on the Eastern Adriatic coast, see Medini (1976: 191–192).

<sup>22</sup> CIL 3, 1965; CIL 3, 1964; ILJug 2062; CIL 3, 8676; ILJug 2063. The first line of the inscription CIL 3, 8676 may also be interpreted as *V(iribus) V(alentibus)*... (Medini 1985: 8).

<sup>23</sup> Other dedications to Venus from the territory of Salona are a single dedication to Venus Baccha (CIL 3, 8688), a joint one to Venus and Juno (CIL 3, 1962) and a very fragmentary inscription which reads *Ven(eri) / [sac(rum?)]* (ILJug 676).

<sup>24</sup> These are the inscriptions CIL 3, 1981; CIL 3, 2106; CIL 3, 2108; see also CIL 3, 8687 (+ p. 1475) and AE 2006, 1019 (= Matijević 2006: 150, no. 3). The collegium Veneris in Salona was headed by a magistra (Medini 1976: 192); on the collegium Veneris see also Matijević (2006: 150).

<sup>25</sup> On the phenomenon of dedications to Venus on gravestones, see Speidel (1984: 2231–2232).

<sup>25</sup> O fenomenu posvete Veneri na nadgrobnim spomenicima v. Speidel (1984: 2231–2232).

<sup>26</sup> Detaljnije o podizanju hrama i okolnostima uvođenja kulta v. Clark (2007: 56).



provincija donekle je moguće uvidjeti kolika je bila uloga Viktorije Auguste u religijskome životu ljudi carskoga doba. Posvetne natpise najčešće su podizale privatne osobe različitih društvenih statusa *pro se et suis*. Posvete koje postavljaju vojnici, civili u državnoj službi i gradski službenici nisu toliko zastupljene. Katkada su posvete Viktoriji Augusti naslovljene *pro salute imperatoris*, a u afričkim provincijama natpisi potvrđuju posebne manifestacije kulta posvećena carskim pobjedama, poput *Victoria Britannica Severi filiorumque* i *Victoria Armeniaca Parthica Medica Augustorum* (Fears 1981: 743).<sup>27</sup> Viktorija je shvaćana kao autonomno božanstvo, ali i kao aspekt druge božanske sile, primjerice Jupitera, s kojim je često bila združena (*ibid.* 744).<sup>28</sup> Podijeljena su mišljenja autora oko pitanja jesu li oblici *Victoria Augusta* i *Victoria Augusti* jednaki po svojem značenju. Jedni drže da razlike nema, dok drugi na temelju numizmatičkih dokaza tvrde da razlika ipak postoji (Fears 1981: 743, n. 15).<sup>29</sup>

Arheološki dokazi o zastupljenosti Viktorijina kulta na području rimske Dalmacije izuzetno su škrti. Jedan fragmentirani natpis iz Salone sadrži imena pojedinaca koji su prema odobrenju gradskog vijeća obnovili neku kulturnu građevinu: [*Pro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostris) et totius dom]us Aug(ustae) et / [senatus ampliss(imi) populi]q(ue) R(omani) et sple[n]/[didiss(imae) col(on)iae] Salonitan(ae) F] ab(ius?) Gamba / [...]us Aur(elius) Apo/[Ilinaris ... P]innus Aur(elius) / [... aedem(?) Victo]riae vetu/[state collapsam refece]runt / [...] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) fel(icitate?) (CIL 3, 13904; usp. i Bulić 1894: 101, n. 2031). Raniji istraživači pretpostavljaju*

118). The cult of Venus and her mythology have a series of similarities to Cybele, who later became the most important patron of the Salona cognations (Medini 1985: 26-29).

## THE CULT OF VICTORIA

The next and the final deity from the Salona altar is Victoria. Her worship in the Roman world is old, but nonetheless more recent than worships of Ceres and Venus. After the major Roman victory over the Samnites in 295 BC, a temple to Jupiter Victor was dedicated in Rome, and a year later a temple to Victoria was erected (Weinstock 1958: 2505-2506).<sup>26</sup> Victoria and the *theology of victory* were directly assumed from the Hellenistic world and implanted in Roman state propaganda in order to justify Roman territorial expansion. On the Roman coins of the time, she was depicted as Jupiter's right hand; she drove his chariot and smites the enemies of his people with his weapons (Fears 1981: 774-776). Sulla and Caesar played a very important role in the promotion of her cult (Weinstock 1958: 2513-2517). Octavian inaugurated Victoria Augusta, whose divine status was equal to that of Jupiter or Mars (Fears 1981: 742). As of the Augustan era, Victoria became a crucial and unavoidable theme of imperial propaganda (Fishwick 1993: 111-119). Thanks to the abundant iconographic material from Italy and other provinces, it is possible – to a certain extent – to perceive the scope of Victoria Augusta's role in the religious life of the people during the imperial period. The dedicatory inscriptions were mostly set up by private individuals of differing social status *pro se et suis*. Dedications placed by soldiers, civilians in the public service and city officials were not as common. Sometimes dedications to Victoria Augusta are addressed *pro salute imperatoris*, while in the African provinces the inscriptions confirm the special manifestations of the cult dedicated to imperial victories, such as *Victoria Britannica Severi filiorumque* and *Victoria Armeniaca Parthica Medica Augustorum* (Fears 1981: 743).<sup>27</sup> Victoria has been seen as an autonomous deity, but also as an aspect of other divine powers, such as Jupiter for example, with whom she was often combined

<sup>27</sup> Posebnost Viktorijina kulta u Africi jako dobro ilustriraju brojni natpisi iz doba Severa koje su kao zahvalu za svoj izbor na položaj u gradskoj vlasti posvećivali članovi municipalne aristokracije (Fears 1981: 743). *Parthica, Germanica* i slični pridjevi nisu bili tek provizorno dodavani Viktorijinu imenu. U kultu su prepoznane kao odvojene i konkretne manifestacije određenih Viktorija, a prema tome su i hramovi mogli sadržavati različite Viktorijine statue (Fears 1981a: 932).

<sup>28</sup> Ciceron kaže da su Viktorija, *Ops, Salus* i *Spes* snažne sile preko kojih se očituje vlast bogova (Cic. *Nat. D.* III, 88). Uz njih su u rimskome svijetu bile popularne još neke apstraktne personifikacije kao što su *Fides, Mens, Virtus, Honos, Concordia, Libertas* (Fears 1981: 740, 744-745, 748). O vezi Viktorije s Jupiterom i ostalim božanstvima poput Marsa, Fortune, Tihe, Rome i nekih drugih v. Weinstock (1958: 2535-2537).

<sup>29</sup> Kada je na natpisu upotrijebljen pridjev *Augusti* (u genitivu), tada se najvjerojatnije odnosi na cara osobno, a u slučaju upotrebe oblika *Augustus/a* smisao je širi i odnosi se općenito na carski sustav. Nemoguće je međutim kazati o kojem se obliku radi ako je na spomeniku upisan skraćeni oblik (*Aug.* ili *August.*). Numizmatički izvori pokazuju da se oblik *Augusta* javlja za Augusta i njegovih nasljednika, a oblik *Augusti* za Klaudija. O tom složenom problemu v. Fears (1981a: 887, n. 282-284), Claus (2001: 280 i d.), usp. i Edmondson (2007: 543, 561-563).

<sup>26</sup> For more details on the erection of the temple and the circumstances surrounding introduction of the cult, see (Clark 2007: 56).

<sup>27</sup> The specificity of Victoria's cult in Africa is very well illustrated by the numerous inscriptions from the Severan era that were dedicated by the members of the municipal aristocracy as gratitude for their election to their posts in the city government (Fears 1981: 743). *Parthica, Germanica* and similar epithets were not just casually added to Victoria's name. They were acknowledged in the cult as separate and distinct manifestations of specific Victorias, and thus the temples may have even contained different statues of Victoria (Fears 1981a: 932).

da je riječ o Viktorijinu hramu (Weinstock 1958: 2531; Marin 1969: 161), čiju su obnovu u vrijeme kasnoga principata (Alföldy 1969: 48, 153) proveli članovi kolegija sevira (Wilkes 1969: 234–235). Ako je na temelju tog ulomka opravdano razmišljati o postojanju Viktorijina hrama, tada je čudan izostanak njezinih posvetnih natpisa iz Salone.

Posljednji poznati spomenik iz rimske Dalmacije koji se veže uz štovanje Viktorije potječe iz Splitske na Braču. Radi se o nepotpuno sačuvanu natpisu posvećenu Juliji Domni, ženi Septimija Severa, i još najmanje jednoj osobi iz carske obitelji. Nakon imena Julije Domne spomenuti su još i Jupiter, Junona, vjerojatno Minerva, zatim Mars, Viktorija i Fortuna: ...]ae et Iu[liae Domnae Augustus]/[ta]e matri Augg(ustorum) [et castrorum] / [Io]vi Optimo Max(imo) Iu[noni Reg(inae) Minervae(?)] / [Sa]luti Mar(ti) Patri [...] / [Vic]toriae Aug[g(ustorum)] F[ortun(ae) Red(uci) devic]/[tis] host(is) voto sol[uto dedicavit] / [...] Hermes Gent[iano et Basso] / co(n) [s(ulibus) ...] Cal(endas) M[...] (CIL 3, 10109). Natpis se može precizno datirati u 211. g., a posvetio ga je neki Hermes, možda isti onaj sa salonitanske stele CIL 3, 2077 (Hirschfeld 1885: 25–26).

Ostale epigrafske potvrde Viktorijina imena svode se na dva staklena predmeta s prikazom tog božanstva i urezanim posvetnim natpisom. Iz Nina potječe stakleni balzamarij čije dno optočava natpis s posvetom Viktoriji i prikazom božanstva (CIL 3, 14336.8: *Victoriae Augustor(um) fel(iciter) / v(ota) p(ublica)*; Bersa 1903: 151). U grobovima otkopanima u Oklaju pronađena je staklena vaza na čijoj je stopi natpis sličan onomu iz Nina, ali sadrži krilatu Viktoriju koju flankiraju kruna i palma grana (ILJug 2806: *Victor(iae) Augustor(um) fel(iciter)*; Bulić 1909: 45). Natpisi na tim staklenim predmetima ne nose posvetu nekom caru, kao što je to na brojnim drugim natpisima, nego su posvećeni *Pobjedi careva*,<sup>30</sup> zbog čega se tu ne bi smjelo govoriti o konkretnom božanstvu, nego radije o personifikaciji i veličanju carskih pobjeda. Viktorijini prikazi u punoj plastici u Dalmaciji uopće nisu poznati, a i reljefi su vrlo rijetki i ne mogu se izravno vezati uz njezin kult. Viktorija na bloku luka ulaznih gradskih vrata u Ekvumu očito je imala apotropejsku ulogu, a na jednome salonitanskom reljefu javnoga karaktera Viktorija nije središnja figura, nego samo upotpunjuje veličanje osvajačkih dostignuća nekoga cara (Cambi 2005: 121–122, 143–144). Njezini skulpturalni prikazi

<sup>30</sup> Cezarova, Augustova i Vespazijanova osvajanja i uspješni ratovi bili su konkretizirani promoviranjem novih manifestacija Viktorijina kulta – *Gallia Capta, Aegyptus Capta, Judaea Capta* (Fears 1981: 745).

(*Ibid.* 744).<sup>28</sup> The views of scholars differ over the question as to whether the forms *Victoria Augusta* and *Victoria Augusti* have the same meaning. Some hold that there is no difference, while others, using numismatic evidence, assert that there is indeed a difference (Fears 1981: 743, n. 15).<sup>29</sup>

Archaeological evidence for the presence of the cult of Victoria in the territory of the Roman province of Dalmatia is very scant. One fragmentary inscription from Salona contains the names of individuals who, pursuant to approval from the city council, renovated a cult building: *[Pro sal(ute) d(omini) n(ostri) et totius dom]us Aug(ustae) et / [senatus ampliss(imi) populi]q(ue) R(omani) et sple[n]/[didiss(imae) col(oniae) Salonitan(ae) F]ab(ius?) Gamba / [...]us Aur(elius) Apo/[llinaris ... P]innus Aur(elius) / [... aedem(?) Victo]ri(ae) vetu/[state collapsam refece] runt / [...] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) fel(iciter?) (CIL 3, 13904; cf. also Bulić 1894: 101, n. 2031). Earlier researchers assumed that this was a temple to Victoria (Weinstock 1958: 2531; Marin 1969: 161), whose restoration during the late Principate (Alföldy 1969: 48, 153) was done by members of the collegium of sevirs (Wilkes 1969: 234–235). If it is justified to consider the existence of a temple of Victoria based on this fragment, then the absence of dedicatory inscriptions to her in Salona is peculiar.*

The last known monument from Roman Dalmatia which is associated with worship of Victoria is from Splitska on the island of Brač. This is an incompletely preserved inscription dedicated to Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, and at least one other member of the imperial family. After the name Julia Domna, also mentioned are Jupiter, Juno, probably Minerva, then Mars, Victoria and Fortuna: ...]ae et Iu[liae Domnae Augustus]/[ta]e matri Augg(ustorum) [et castrorum] / [Io]vi Optimo Max(imo) Iu[noni Reg(inae) Minervae(?)] / [Sa]luti Mar(ti) Patri [...] / [Vic]toriae Aug[g(ustorum)] F[ortun(ae) Red(uci) devic]/[tis] host(is) voto sol[uto dedicavit] / [...] Hermes Gent[iano et Basso] / co(n)

<sup>28</sup> Cicero said that Victory, *Ops, Salus* and *Spes* were potent forces through which the power of the gods is manifested (Cic. *Nat. D.* III, 88). Besides these, certain other abstract personifications were also popular in the Roman world, such as *Fides, Mens, Virtus, Honos, Concordia, Libertas* (Fears 1981: 740, 744–745, 748). On the link between Victoria and Jupiter and the remaining deities such as Mars, Fortuna, Tyche, Roma and some others, see Weinstock (1958: 2535–2537).

<sup>29</sup> When the epithet *Augusti* (in the Genitive case) is used in an inscription, this most likely refers to the emperor personally, while when the form *Augustus/a* is used, the sense is broader and pertains to the imperial system in general. It is impossible to determine the form if an abbreviation is used (*Aug.* or *August.*). Numismatic sources show that the form *Augusta* appeared in reigns of Augustus and his successors, while the form *Augusti* was used from the reign of Claudius. On this complex problem, see Fears (1981a: 887, n. 282–284), Clauss (2001: 280 ff.), cf. also Edmondson (2007: 543, 561–563).

u službi su šire propagandne politike u kojoj ona personificira pobjedu. S obzirom na to da stakleni predmeti iz Oklaja i Nina nisu posvećeni Viktoriji, nego *Pobjedi careva*, ni oni ne mogu doprinijeti novim saznanjima o kultu. Jedino uporište za razmišljanja o njezinu štovanju svodi se na fragmen-tirani salonitanski natpis i na brački natpis, gdje je pridružena ostalim božanstvima.

## ZDRUŽENO ŠTOVANJE CERERE, VIKTORIJE I VENERE

Na koji je način moguće povezati Viktoriju s Cererom i Venerom? Čini se da je najlakše prepoznati vezu između Viktorije i Venere, koja je, kako to jasno pokazuju i salonitanski natpisi, često štovana s epitetom *Victrix*. Na salonitanskome natpisu iz Grudina Veneru ne prati taj epitet, već je ona udružena sa samom božicom pobjede, Viktorijom, i njihova je bliskost podcrtana stavljanjem pod zajednički pridjev *augustis*. U kolikoj su mjeri Viktorija i Venera bile bliske, vrlo dobro pokazuju neki natpisi na kojima su *Venus Victrix Parthica* i *Victoria Parthica* izjednačene, sukladno čemu neki autori drže da je *Venus Victrix* isto što i *Victoria*.<sup>31</sup>

Ostvarenje mira u Carstvu ne bi bilo moguće bez Augustovih vojnih i političkih napora čvrsto združenih s Viktorijom kao božanstvom pobjede. Augustova propaganda stalno je povezivala carske osobine *Pax* i *Victoria* jer je bilo nemoguće postići mir i održati ga bez pobjede (Fears 1981: 806, 807, 812). S druge strane, jedna od osobina Venere bila je briga o ratu i njegovu uspješnom ishodu, što je bez Viktorije bilo teško zamislivo. Složnim djelovanjem Viktorije i Venere omogućeno je mirno djelovanje Cerere, koja, kao što je to već pokazano, ima cijeli niz dodirnih točaka s Venerom i bila je vrlo važna u državnoj političkoj propagandi. S obzirom na snažno angažiranje svih triju božica u državnoj promidžbi slično se – u manjoj mjeri – može pretpostaviti i za solinsku aru, u smislu dedikantova traženja njihove pomoći u propagiranju njegove javne djelatnosti, koja bi trebala osiguravati mir i blagostanje salonitanske kolonije.

## DATACIJA SALONITANSKOGA ŽRTVENIKA CERERI, VIKTORIJI I VENERI

Završni problem kojemu je potrebno posvetiti pažnju pitanje je nastanka ovoga žrtvenika. Tekst je isklesan, kako je već rečeno, ujednačenom i prilično

[*s(ulibus) ...] Cal(endas) M[...]* (CIL 3, 10109). The inscription may be precisely dated to 211 AD, and it was dedicated by a certain Hermes, perhaps the same one mentioned on the Salona stele in CIL 3, 2077 (Hirschfeld 1885: 25-26).

The remaining epigraphic confirmations of Victoria's name are limited to two glass items bearing images of this deity and engraved dedicatory inscriptions. A glass balsamarium from Nin has mounted on its base an inscription with a dedication to Victoria and an image of the deity (CIL 3, 14336.8: *Victoriae Augustor(um) fel(iciter) / v(ota) p(ublica)*; Bersa 1903: 151). A glass vase was found in the graves excavated in Oklaj. An inscription similar to the one from Nin is on the vase's foot, but it contains a winged Victoria flanked by a crown and palm frond (ILJug 2806: *Victor(iae) Augustor(um) fel(iciter)*; Bulić 1909: 45). The inscriptions on these glass items do not include a dedication to any emperors, as is the case on numerous other inscriptions, rather they are dedicated to *Victoria Augustorum* ('Victory of the emperors'),<sup>30</sup> which is why this should not be seen as a specific deity, but rather as a personification and exaltation of imperial victories. Full sculptural portrayals of Victoria are entirely unknown in Dalmatia, and even relief images are very rare and cannot be directly linked to her cult. The Victoria on the arch keystone of the city gate in Aequum obviously played an apotropaic role, while on one Salona relief with public character Victoria is not the central figure, rather she simply enhances the glorification of the successful conquests of an emperor (Cambi 2005: 121-122, 143-144). Her sculptural portrayals were in the service of wider propaganda of the policies in which she personified victory. Since the glass items from Oklaj and Nin are not dedicated to Victoria, but rather to *Victoria Augustorum*, they cannot contribute any new knowledge on the cult, either. The only basis for consideration of her worship is limited to the fragmentary Salona inscription and the Brač inscription, where she is joined with other deities.

## UNITED WORSHIP OF CERES, VICTORIA AND VENUS

How can Victoria be associated with Ceres and Venus? It would appear simplest to discern a link between Victoria and Venus, who, as clearly shown by the Salona inscriptions, was often worshipped with the epithet *Victrix*. Venus is not accompanied by

<sup>31</sup> O tom problemu i inačicama kulta Venere Pobjednice v. Speidel (1984: 2232); Fears (1981a: 883).

<sup>30</sup> The conquests and successful wars of Caesar, Augustus and Vespasian were substantiated by the promotion of new manifestations of Victoria's cult: *Gallia Capta, Aegyptus Capta, Judaea Capta* (Fears 1981: 745).

kvalitetnom kapitalom. S obzirom na to da je paleografija vrlo nesiguran i nepouzdan pokazatelj vremena nastanka nekog natpisa, navedena paleografska obilježja mogla bi tek ukazivati na zrelo carsko razdoblje, otprilike od odmaklog 1. st. do u 3. st. Na sličan način ni distribucija teksta na kamenu, tj. grafičko uređenje teksta (*ordinatio*), nije precizan pokazatelj, ali može pomoći ukazati na šire vrijeme nastanka nekog natpisa. Naime učestala je pojava kod ranijih natpisa (onih iz prve polovice 1. st.) da je tekst uredno posložen u redcima, često čak i centriran oko zamišljene središnje osi natpisnog polja, a riječi (ili njihove skraćenice) ne prelaze u sljedeći redak, već su u cijelosti isklesane unutar pripadajućeg retka, dok su ligature rijetke.<sup>32</sup> Otprilike nakon sredine 1. st. počinje se posvećivati manje pažnje ordinaciji teksta,<sup>33</sup> pa se događa da se npr. riječi (ili njihove skraćenice) prelamaju u dva retka, što se upravo dogodilo skraćenici *Aug.* Cererina epiteta s ovog natpisa. Uzevši u obzir i to da na sačuvanome dijelu natpisa nisu uporabljene ligature, on bi se prema paleografskim i stilskim obilježjima okvirno mogao datirati u širi vremenski raspon od druge polovice 1. st. do otprilike prve polovice 3. st. Nažalost, ni imenovanje dedikanta, što obično može pomoći pri datiranju natpisa, ovdje nije od osobite koristi zbog njegove velike fragmentiranosti. Naime, kako je već istaknuto, od pretpostavljena dedikantova imena ostao je samo njegov prenamen (*Cnaeus*), što znači da njegova imenska formula nije doživjela reduciranje na dvoimensku formulu karakterističnu za kasnije carsko doba. Prenomen se u imenovanju muškaraca na dalmatinskim natpisima ipak češće javlja tijekom ranoga principata, iako je u njima i dalje prisutan tijekom cijeloga principata (v. npr. Kurilić 1999: 244–247, 249–250). Također, valja imati na umu i to da u provincijama dedikacije božanstvima uz čije se ime nalazi epitet *Augustus/Augusta* postupno iščezavaju tijekom 3. st. (Tassaux 1997: 82). U tu dataciju uklapaju se i spoznaje o Viktorijinu i Venerinu kultu u Saloni. Venerin je kult u Saloni prisutan tijekom cijeloga principata, a njezina popularnost osnažuje iza sredine 2. st. Stoga

this epithet in the Salona inscription from Grudine, rather she is associated with the actual goddess of victory, Victoria, and their affinity is emphasized by the reference to them under the common epithet *augustus*. The extent to which Victoria and Venus were close is very nicely shown by certain inscriptions in which *Venus Victrix Parthica* and *Victoria Parthica* are equated, so that some scholars maintain that Venus Victrix is the same as Victoria.<sup>31</sup>

The achievement of peace in the Empire would not have been possible without the military and political efforts of Augustus firmly bonded with Victoria as the goddess of victory. The propaganda of Augustus constantly linked the imperial qualities of *Pax* and *Victoria*, for it was impossible to secure and maintain peace without victory (Fears 1981: 806, 807, 812). On the other hand, one of the traits of Venus was her concern for war and its successful outcome, which was difficult to envisage without Victoria. The harmonious action of Victoria and Venus was enabled by the peaceful activity of Ceres who, as already shown, had a series of commonalities with Venus and was very important in state political propaganda. Given the powerful engagement of all three goddesses in state propaganda, something similar – to a smaller extent – may be assumed in the case of the Salona altar, in the sense of the dedicant's request for their aid in the propagation of his public activity which was supposed to ensure the peace and well-being of the Salona colony.

#### DATING OF THE SALONA ALTAR TO CERES, VICTORIA AND VENUS

The final problem which calls for our attention is the question of the period in which the altar was made. The text was engraved, as already noted, in uniform and rather high-quality capitals. Given that palaeography is a very uncertain and unreliable indicator of the time when a given inscription was made, the aforementioned palaeographic features may only indicate the high imperial era, roughly from the late first to within the third centuries. Similarly, the distribution of the text on the stone, i.e., the graphic layout of the text (*ordinatio*), is not a precise indicator, but it may point to the wider time-frame of appearance of a given inscription. For a common phenomenon in earlier inscriptions (those from the first half of the first century) is that the text is duly arranged in lines, often even centred around an ideal central axis in the inscription field, while the words (or abbreviations thereof) do not continue into the subsequent line, rather they are entirely

<sup>32</sup> Dobar su primjer upravo vojnički natpisi iz dalmatinskih legijskih logora u Burnumu i Tiluriju, datirani do 42. g. po. Kr. (v. npr. za *Burnum*: Suić 1970: 94–105, br. 1–6; *Tilurium*: Cambi 1993: 154–156, br. 1 ili Fadić 1995: 166–175).

<sup>33</sup> Od vojničkih natpisa iz Burnuma i Tilurija nemarniju ordinaciju pokazuju oni koji se datiraju nešto kasnije, uglavnom nakon 42. g. po. Kr. (v. npr. za *Burnum*: Suić 1970: 105–106, br. 7; *Tilurium*: Cambi 1993: 158–162, br. 3–4). Ipak, valja upozoriti na to da i neke od ranijih vojničkih stela (npr. *Burnum*: Suić 1970: 106–108, 123, br. 8; *Tilurium*: Cambi 1993: 156–158, br. 2) također mogu imati ponešto nemarniju ordinaciju, što svjedoči o (za sada još uvijek) relativno slaboj pouzdanosti tog kriterija za precizniju dataciju epigrafskih spomenika.

<sup>31</sup> On this problem and the variants of the cult of Venus Victrix, see Speidel (1984: 2232), Fears (1981a: 883).

mislimo da se neće mnogo pogriješiti ako se nastanak žrtvenika stavi okvirno u 2. st., dopuštajući ipak mogućnost da je nastao nešto ranije ili kasnije.

## ŽRTVENIK SILVANU V() I LIBERU (KAT. BR. 2; SL. 2)

Prilikom rastresanja suhozida pored iste gomile u kojoj je nađen žrtvenik posvećen Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri (v. kat. br. 1) pronađen je gornji dio manjega žrtvenika od vapnenca s početkom posvetnog natpisa: *S(ilverano) V() A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto) / Iul(ius vel ia) (hedera) / [---- / ----?]*.

Tekst are započinje, kako se čini, samim siglami, uslijed čega je ponešto otežano ponuditi potpuno sigurnu restituciju natpisa. Nakon njih isklesano je ime dedikanta, što može značiti da početne sigle treba razriješiti ili kao imena božanstva (božanstva) kojemu (kojima) je spomenik posvećen ili kao posvetne formule.

Poznato je da je najčešći redosljed sastavnih dijelova nekog jednostavnog zavjetnog natpisa takav da se najprije navodi ime božanstva, potom ime dedikanta i na kraju posvetne formule (Cagnat 1898: 226–230), a takvu strukturu teksta potvrđuje već i površan pregled strukture zavjetnih natpisa rimske Dalmacije. Vjerujemo da je upravo tako bio koncipiran i ovaj tekst.

Slične sigle početne posvete javljaju se na jednoj skupini ara koje su pronađene u dubljem zaleđu Salone prije više od stotinu godina. To je pet ara iz Velikih Stražina kod Podosoja južno od Vrljke. Četiri počinju posvetom *S . V . S .* (CIL 3, 13202 – CIL 3, 13205), a peta *S . V . S . S . AVG* (CIL 3, 13207),<sup>34</sup> što još uvijek nije dobilo adekvatnu restituciju.<sup>35</sup> U novije vrijeme u Rideru je pronađena još jedna ara posvećena Silvanu V() (Brajković 2008: 70; *Arheološki tragovi kultova* 2008: 201–202, kat. br. 103), čime je ukupan broj njegovih potvrda – računajući i ovu iz Solina – narastao na sedam, ili čak osam, ako ipak uključimo i onu iz Ševača. Tolikom brojnošću to je treća (ako čak ne i druga) najbrojnija skupina Silvanovih epiteta u Dalmaciji (Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 85 i usp. ondje tablicu

engraved in the corresponding line, while ligatures are rare.<sup>32</sup> Roughly after the mid-first century, less attention was accorded to arrangement of the text,<sup>33</sup> so it happened that, for example, words (or their abbreviations) were broken into two lines, which happened with the abbreviated *Aug.*, the epithet for Ceres in this inscription. Taking into consideration that no ligatures were used in the preserved part of the inscription, based on palaeographic and stylistic features it can generally be dated to a broad chronological range from the latter half of the first century to roughly the first half of the third century. Unfortunately, even the naming of the dedicant, which normally helps in dating an inscription, is not of any particular use here due to its fragmentary nature. As already stated, out of the presumed name of the dedicant, only his praenomen (*Cnaeus*) remains, which means that his name formula did not undergo the reduction to the *dua nomina* formula characteristic of the later imperial era. The praenomen in the naming of men in Dalmatian inscriptions nonetheless appeared more frequently during the early Principate, although it remained present in them throughout the Principate (see, e.g. Kurilić 1999: 244–247, 249–250). Also, it should be recalled that in the provinces, dedications to deities whose names are accompanied by the epithet *Augustus/Augusta* gradually disappeared in the course of the third century (Tassaux 1997: 82). Knowledge of the cult of Victoria and Venus in Salona also complements this dating. The cult of Venus in Salona was present throughout the Principate, and her popularity grew after the mid-second century. Thus, we believe that it will not be a major error to place the appearance of this altar within the general framework of the second century, nonetheless allowing for the possibility that it emerged somewhat earlier or later.

## ALTAR TO SILVANUS V() AND LIBER (CAT. NO. 2; FIG. 2)

During the dismantling of the stone dry-wall next to the same mound in which the altar dedicated to

<sup>34</sup> Za okolnosti nalaza ara v. Stanić (1891: 102–105; 1892: 13–16), Patsch (1900: 147–151). S područja sjeverno od Vrljke, iz Ševača nedaleko od izvora Cetine, potječe još jedna ara sa siglami *S . V . S .* (CIL 3, 9815), no kako se one nalaze na kraju teksta, a ne na njegovu početku, kako je to na arama iz Stražina, najvjerojatnije se ne radi o istom sadržaju.

<sup>35</sup> Od novijih radova v. npr. Dorcey (1992: 30), Matijašić & Tassaux (2000: 85–86).

<sup>32</sup> A good example consists of the military inscriptions from the legionary camps in Burnum and Tilverium, dated up to 42 AD (see, e.g., for Burnum: Suić 1970: 94–105, no. 1–6; Tilverium: Cambi 1993: 154–156, no. 1 or Fadić 1995: 166–175).

<sup>33</sup> Somewhat more careless arrangement among the military inscription from Burnum and Tilverium is exhibited by those dated sometime later, generally after 42 AD (see, e.g., for Burnum: Suić 1970: 105–106, no. 7; Tilverium: Cambi 1993: 158–162, no. 3–4). Nonetheless, it is worthwhile pointing out that some of the earlier military stelae (e.g. Burnum: Suić 1970: 106–108, 123, no. 8; Tilverium: Cambi 1993: 156–158, no. 2) may also exhibit more careless arrangement, which is shown by the (for now still) relatively poor reliability of this criteria for more precise dating of epigraphic monuments.

na str. 97–112),<sup>36</sup> pa začuđuje da nije izazvala veću pozornost znanstvenika koji se bave proučavanjem Silvanova kulta u Dalmaciji.

## KULT SILVANA

Silvan je rimsko božanstvo poljoprivrede, lova, šuma i međa. Bio je jedno od najštovanijih rimskih božanstava, osobito među nižim slojevima pučanstva, o čemu slikovito govori sljedeći podatak: od 1 100 Silvanovih posvetnih natpisa u Carstvu samo 3% posveta postavili su senatori, vitezovi i dekurioni (Perinić Muratović 2008: 231). Blisko je povezan s Larima i Penatima, a znao je biti zazivan i zajedno s raznim drugim božanstvima, osobito onima koja su poput njega bila zadužena za plodnost polja, šuma i sl. Za razliku od mnogih drugih rimskih božanstava Silvan nije imao svojih posebnih svetkovina ni službenoga kulta. Unatoč svojoj povezanosti s prirodom bio je omiljen i u gradovima, o čemu zorno svjedoči njegova vrlo velika popularnost u samome gradu Rimu (Dorcey 1989; 1992: *passim*, a osobito 1–6, 24–25, 47–51; usp. i Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 85–86; Brajković 2008: 68–69; Perinić Muratović 2008: 193–200, 318). Silvan je tek od Trajanova doba postao zastupljen u carskoj ikonografiji i novcu (Perinić Muratović 2008: 200–202).

Bio je jedno od najštovanijih božanstava i na području rimske Dalmacije (Maršić 1997: 45; Brajković 2008: 68–72), o čemu dovoljno svjedoči podatak da je pronađeno 76 Silvanovih natpisa i 81 reljef (Perinić Muratović 2008: 240; usp. tablicu kod Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 97–112). Kod Delmata, kod kojih se prikazuje sličnije grčkom Panu nego italskom antropomorfnom Silvanu, on je bio staro domorodačko božanstvo, zaštitnik stada i pastira, koje brine o plodnosti vegetacije i stada te ih štiti od zvijeri i drugih opasnosti. Njegovi likovni prikazi udružuju ga u kultnu zajednicu s Nimfama, Dijanom i drugima (Medini 1984: 14–16; Rendić-Miočević 1989: 512–518; usp. i Dorcey 1992: 68–70; Maršić 1997: 45–46, 57–61; Zaninović 2007: 215–219; Brajković 2008: 69–72; Perinić Muratović 2008: 267–277). Iz Salone potječu samo dva spomenika koja potvrđuju Silvanovo združivanje s drugim božanstvima (Perinić Muratović 2008: 267). Omiljenost Silvana na iliričkome prostoru i njegova osobita ikonografija naveli su neke autore na pomisao da se pod

Ceres, Victoria and Venus (see cat. no. 1) was discovered, the upper portion of a small limestone altar was found which bears the beginning of a dedicatory inscription: *S(ilvano) V() A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto) / Iul(ius vel ia) (hedera) / [--- / ---?]*.

The text begins, it would appear, solely with *siglae*, which makes it somewhat difficult to offer an entirely certain restoration of the inscription. After them the dedicant's name is engraved, which may mean that the initial *siglae* should be resolved either as the name of a deity (or deities) to whom the altar is dedicated or as a dedicatory formula.

The well-known order of the components of a simple votive inscription is that first the name of a deity is invoked, followed by the name of the dedicant and ending with the dedicatory formula (Cagnat 1898: 226–230); such a structure of the text is confirmed by even a perfunctory glance at the structure of the votive inscriptions in Roman Dalmatia. We believe that this text was also formulated in this manner.

Similar *siglae* at the beginning of dedications appear in a group of altars found in the deeper Salona hinterland over a hundred years ago. These are the five altars from Velike Stražine near Podosoj, south of Vrlika. Four begin with the dedication *S. V. S.* (CIL 3, 13202 – CIL 3, 13205), while the fifth begins with *S. V. S. S. AVG* (CIL 3, 13207),<sup>34</sup> which still has not obtained adequate restoration.<sup>35</sup> More recently, another altar dedicated to Silvanus *V()* was discovered in Rider (Brajković 2008: 70; *Arheološki tragovi kultova* 2008: 201–202, cat. no. 103), whereby the total number of references to him – including this one from Salona – has grown to seven, or even eight, if the one from Ševače is also to be included. These numbers make it the third (if not second) most numerous group of epithets of Silvanus in Dalmatia (Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 85 and cf. the table on pp. 97–112),<sup>36</sup> so it is surprising that it has not provoked greater attention by scholars who deal with the study of the cult of Silvanus in Dalmatia.

## THE CULT OF SILVANUS

Silvanus was the Roman god of agriculture, hunting, forests and boundaries. He was one of the most

<sup>36</sup> Točan broj potvrda epiteta *Silvester* nije moguće utvrditi jer se često javlja siglom S, koja se podjednako može protumačiti kao *S(ilvester)* ili *s(anctus)*, kako se Silvan vrlo često naziva.

<sup>34</sup> For the circumstances surrounding the altars' discovery, see Stanić 1891: 102–105; 1892: 13–16), Patsch (1900: 147–151). Another altar with the *siglae S. V. S.* (CIL 3, 9815) was found in the area north of Vrlika, in Ševače, not far from the source of the Cetina River, but since the *siglae* are at the end of the text rather than its beginning, as on the altars from Stražine, they probably do not have the same content.

<sup>35</sup> Among the newer works, see, e.g., Dorcey (1992: 30), Matijašić & Tassaux (2000: 85–86).

<sup>36</sup> The precise number of confirmations of the epithet *Silvester* cannot be established because it often appears with the *sigla S*, which can equally be interpreted as *S(ilvester)* or *s(anctus)*, as Silvanus was often called.

tim imenom krije nekakvo “vrhovno ilirsko božanstvo”,<sup>37</sup> ali ta je ideja uvjerljivo dekonstruirana (Mócsy 1974: 250–251; Dorcey 1992: 7, 68–72).<sup>38</sup> Najčešći epitet na njegovim posvetama u rimskoj Dalmaciji jest *Augustus*, što pokazuje 26 natpisa i 7 reljefnih spomenika s natpisom, od kojih je čak 9 pronađeno na širem području Salone (Perinić Muratović 2008: 236). Osim tóg omiljeni pridjevi njegova imena bili su *Silvester* i *Domesticus* (Perinić Muratović 2008: 242, 244; usp. i ovdje n. 36). Među drugim epitetima koji ga rjeđe, ili čak pojedinačno, prate u Dalmaciji mogu se navesti još i *Communis*, *Cohortalis*, *Conservator*, *Domesticus* i *Mes(s)or* (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 511–514; Dorcey 1992: 30–32; Maršić 1997: 57–59; Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 85–86; Perinić Muratović 2008: 236–246).

Epitet koji počinje slovom V i koji se do sada pojavio na najmanje šest ara (pet iz Velikih Stražina i jedna iz Ridera) različito se tumačio. Prvi istraživači otkrili su ga razriješili kao *V(ilicus)*, i kao takav je ušao u kasniju literaturu (Stanić 1891a: 102–105; 1892: 13–16; Patsch 1900: 147–151).<sup>39</sup> Gotovo cijelo stoljeće nakon objave ara iz Stražina P. F. Dorcey kritički je pristupio pitanju takva tumačenja tog Silvanova epiteta smatrajući da se riječ *vilicus*, koja označava roba, nadglednika imanja, teško može poistovjetiti s jednim bogom, koliko god on bio omiljen među nižim slojevima (Dorcey 1989: 293–295; usp. i Dorcey 1992: 30). Njegovu su se mišljenju priklonili kasniji autori, poput Matijašića i Tassauxa (2000: 85–86). Međutim alternativa nije pronađena. Doduše, nakratko se bila pojavila ideja da bi se to V moglo razriješiti kao *v(otum)*, ali je vrlo brzo bila odbačena jer je

revered Roman deities, particularly among the lower classes of the populace, which is vividly illustrated by the following data: out of the 1,100 dedicatory inscriptions to Silvanus in the Empire, only 3% of the dedications were placed by senators, knights and decurions (Perinić Muratović 2008: 231). He was closely associated with the Lares and Penates, and he was also invoked together with various other deities, particularly those who, like him, were the patrons of the fertility of land, forests, and so forth. As opposed to many other Roman deities, Silvanus did not have his own feast days nor official cult. Despite his connections to nature, he was also favoured in the cities, to which his great popularity in Rome itself apparently testifies (Dorcey 1989; 1992: *passim*, and especially 1–6, 24–25, 47–51; cf. also Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 85–86; Brajković 2008: 68–69; Perinić Muratović 2008: 193–200, 318). Silvanus was only included in the imperial iconography and coinage in the Trajanic era (Perinić Muratović 2008: 200–202).

He was one of the most revered deities in the territory of Roman Dalmatia (Maršić 1997: 45; Brajković 2008: 68–72), to which the seventy-six inscriptions mentioning Silvanus and the eighty-one relief images sufficiently testify (Perinić Muratović 2008: 240; cf. the table in Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 97–112). Among the Delmatae, among whom he was depicted in a manner similar to the Greek god Pan rather than the Italic anthropomorphic Silvanus, he was an old indigenous deity, the patron of herds and shepherds, who ensured the fertility of vegetation and herds and protected them from wild beasts and other threats. His figural depictions place him in a cult community with the Nymphs, Diana and others (Medini 1984: 14–16; Rendić-Miočević 1989: 512–518; cf. also Dorcey 1992: 68–70; Maršić 1997: 45–46, 57–61; Zaninović 2007: 215–219; Brajković 2008: 69–72; Perinić Muratović 2008: 267–277). There are only two monuments from Salona which confirm the association of Silvanus with other deities (Perinić Muratović 2008: 267). The affinity for Silvanus in the Illyrican territories and his specific iconography has led some scholars to conclude that some kind of “supreme Illyrian deity” was concealed under this name,<sup>37</sup> but this idea has been convincingly deconstructed in the sense of his nature as the supreme deity of all the Illyrican peoples (Mócsy 1974: 250–251; Dorcey

<sup>37</sup> Od novijih autora v. npr. Brajković (2008: 68), a za starije v. kod Dorcey (1992: 68–70). Ovdje bismo samo ukazali na to da nije primjereno sve domorodačke stanovnike Ilirika nazivati Ilirima, već ih treba zvati ili njihovim vlastitim etničkim imenima – Delmati, Panoni, Histri, Liburni itd. – ili imenom Iliričani, odnosno pridjevom ilirički, nastalima od imena pokrajine Ilirik. O tome je nedavno A. Kurilić imala priopćenje na znanstvenome skupu (“De gentibus Illyrici”, Međunarodna naučna konferencija “Batonov ustanak 6.–9. godina”, Zenica, 10.–11. decembar 2009.), s kojega se zbornik radova uskoro očekuje.

<sup>38</sup> Mócsy i Dorcey (*ibid.*) iskazuju međutim i sumnje u domorodački karakter Silvana u Dalmaciji i Panoniji, ali – iako on ne nosi epitete koji su izvorno panonski ili delmatski, ili iz jezika nekog drugog domorodačkog naroda – to ni u kojem slučaju ne znači da tamošnji Silvan nije bio staro domorodačko božanstvo koje je poprimilo određena obilježja italčkog Silvana i pod tim se imenom štovalo na latinskim spomenicima (usp. Maršić 1997: 45–46, 60–61).

<sup>39</sup> Za kasnije autore koji su prihvatili takvo razrješenje v. autore navedene kod Dorcey (1989: 293, n. 5); osim njih epitet *Vilicus* prihvaća još npr. i Zaninović (2007: 216); starija tumačenja znaju se još i danas naći u stručnoj literaturi (v. npr. Brajković 2008: 70: “[...] pa je moguće da je V skraćena od *votum* ili *vilicus*”; *Arheološki tragovi kultura* 2008: 201–202, kat. br. 103: “*S(ilvano) V(otum) S(olvit)*”).

<sup>37</sup> Among the more recent scholars, see, e.g., Brajković (2008: 68), while for the older scholars, see Dorcey (1992: 68–70). Here we should point out that it is not appropriate to refer to all indigenous inhabitants of Illyricum as Illyrians, rather they should be called by their own ethnic names – Delmataeans, Pannonians, Histrians, Liburnians, etc. – or by the name Illyricans, or by the adjective Illyrican, derived from the provincial name Illyricum. Recently A. Kurilić released a paper on this at a scholarly seminar (“De gentibus Illyrici”, International Scholarly Conference on “Bato’s Revolt in 6–9 AD”, Zenica, 10–11 December 2009), from which the proceedings are expected soon.

teško bilo zamisliti posvetu koja bi glasila *S(ilvano) v(otum) s(olvit) Aug(usto) ---- v(otum) s(olvit)*.<sup>40</sup> Nije prihvaćen ni prijedlog E. Tótha da bi se i tu uz Silvanovo ime moglo čitati *Viator*, što je njegov epitet koji se nalazi na više natpisa u Panoniji (AE 1977, 626; AE 1982, 787 [= AE 1979, 481 = AE 1980, 709] i AE 1991, 1298).<sup>41</sup> Argumenti za odbacivanje te ideje nisu ni snažni ni uvjerljivi, pa bi se možda ona mogla ponovno vratiti u razmatranje.

Na panonskom je području Silvan na nekoliko načina povezan sa zaštitom putnika, bilo, kako je već spomenuto, epitetom *Viator*, bilo štovanjem *Silvanabus et Quadribis* (CIL 3, 4441 [*Carnuntum*]; usp. Simón 2007: 200–201). Iako takva sprega za sada nije poznata s dalmatinskog područja, valja podsjetiti, s jedne strane, na to da su na nekim reljefima iz Dalmacije uz Silvana prikazivane i nimfe, koje neki autori poistovjećuju sa Silvanama (Dorcey 1992: 44), a s druge strane na to da je u Dalmaciji postojalo štovanje Trivija, zaštitnica (trojnih) raskrižja (CIL 3, 8511 [Imotski], CIL 3, 9869 [*Rider*], CIL 3, 9755 [*Aequum*], ILJug 2824 [= AE 1925, 129; *Varvaria*], ILJug 871 [*Nedinum*], *Arheološki tragovi kultova* 2008: 210, kat. br. 115 [*Scardona*] i CIL 3, 3159 [+ str. 2275; *Iader?*], a jedan njihov posvetni natpis pronađen je i u Saloni [ILJug 2060]).<sup>42</sup> Osim toga Silvan u Dalmaciji na dva natpisa nosi epite- te koji su tipičniji za Panoniju nego za Dalmaciju,<sup>43</sup> tako da ovo ne bi bila usamljena pojava “panonskog” epiteta na dalmatinskom tlu. Međutim ako se ovdje doista smije čitati *Viator*, tada bi broj dalmatinskih potvrda nadmašivao one panonske, pa bi se moralo revidirati mišljenje da je to epitet tipičan za panonski prostor, i radije ga smatrati zajedničkim za oba područja.

Na granici rimske Dalmacije i Panonije, u Topuskom, nađeno je nekoliko ara posvećenih božanskom paru Vidasu i Tani (*Vidasus, Thana*) (AIJ 516; AIJ 517; AIJ 518 [= CIL 3, 3941 = CIL 3, 10819 = CIL 3, 14354.23]). Neki od istraživača smatraju

1992: 7, 68-72).<sup>38</sup> The most frequent epithet in dedications to him in Roman Dalmatia is *Augustus*, which is shown by twenty-six inscriptions and seven relief monuments with inscriptions, of which as many as nine were found in the wider territory of Salona (Perinić Muratović 2008: 236). Additionally, favoured adjectives of his name were *Silvester* and *Domesticus* (Perinić Muratović 2008: 242, 244; cf. also here n. 36). Among the epithets which accompanied his name in Dalmatia more rarely, or even individually, are also *Communis*, *Cohortalis*, *Conservator*, *Domesticus* and *Mes(s)or* (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 511-514; Dorcey 1992: 30-32; Maršić 1997: 57-59; Matijašić & Tassaux 2000: 85-86; Perinić Muratović 2008: 236-246).

The epithet which begins with the letter V and which has thus far appeared on a minimum of six altars (five from Velike Stražine and one from Rider) has been variously interpreted. The first researchers rather hastily resolved this as *V(ilicus)*, and it entered the subsequent literature as such (Stanić 1891a: 102-105; 1892: 13-16; Patsch 1900: 147-151).<sup>39</sup> Almost an entire century after the publication of the altars from Stražine, P. F. Dorcey critically approached the question of interpretation of this epithet of Silvanus, deeming that the word *vilicus*, which denoted a slave who oversaw a landed estate, could hardly be identified with a god, however much he was favoured among the lower classes (Dorcey 1989: 293-295; cf. also Dorcey 1992: 30). His view was accepted by later scholars, such as Matijašić and Tassaux (2000: 85-86). However, no alternative has been found. To be sure, the idea briefly appeared according to which this V could be interpreted as *v(otum)*, but this was very quickly discarded because it is difficult to conceive of a dedication that would have read *S(ilvano) v(otum) s(olvit) Aug(usto) ---- v(otum) s(olvit)*.<sup>40</sup> Also not accepted was E. Tóth's proposal that the word *Viator* could be read next to the name Silvanus, which is an epithet that accompanies him in several inscriptions in Pannonia (AE 1977, 626; AE 1982,

<sup>40</sup> Ideju iznosi Dorcey (1989: 293–295), ali ju već i sam, shvaćajući njezinu neodrživost, vrlo brzo odbacuje (1992: 171) ne ponudivši neko novo rješenje; usp. Matijašić & Tassaux (2000: 85–86).

<sup>41</sup> Za taj Tóthov prijedlog v. Dorcey (1989: 293–294), gdje je navedena i pripadajuća literatura.

<sup>42</sup> Trivije se znaju smatrati keltskim, odnosno keltsko-germanskim božanstvima (v. npr. Simón 2007: 200–201), no upitno je bi li se tako morale i ovdje tumačiti (usp. i Brajković 2008: 65–66, gdje su uvrštene među grčko-rimska božanstva i mitološke likove). Za kult Trivija u Dalmaciji v. i Miličević Bradač (2009: 71–73).

<sup>43</sup> Epitet *Cohortalis* (ako je ispravno tako tumačiti skraćenicu *COR*) u Dalmaciji se javlja samo jednom potvrdom (Glamoč, ILJug 1631). Drugi epitet koji se veže uz panonski prostor, *Domesticus*, odnedavno je na području rimske Dalmacije poznat s tri potvrde: jednom iz Burnuma (CIL 3, 14385), a dvjema iz Ridera (Brajković 2008: 70; Perinić Muratović 2008: 242); v. Matijašić & Tassaux (2000: 85).

<sup>38</sup> Mócsy and Dorcey (*Ibid.*) have, however, expressed doubt as to the indigenous character of Silvanus in Dalmatia and Pannonia, but – even though he did not bear epithets which were originally Pannonian or Delmataean, or from the language of some other indigenous people – this does not in any way mean that the local Silvanus was not an old indigenous deity who acquired certain features of the Italic Silvanus and who was revered under this name on Latin monuments (cf. Maršić 1997: 45-46, 60-61).

<sup>39</sup> For later scholars who accepted this solution, see the scholars cited in Dorcey (1989: 293, n. 5); besides them, the epithet *Vilicus* was also accepted by, e.g., Zaninović (2007: 216); older interpretations can be found in the scholarly literature even today (see, e.g. Brajković 2008: 70: “[...] so it is possible that the V is an abbreviation of *votum* or *vilicus*”; *Arheološki tragovi kultova* 2008: 201-202, cat. no. 103: “*S(ilvano) V(otum) S(olvit)*”).

<sup>40</sup> The idea was put forth by Dorcey (1989: 293-295), but perceiving its unsustainability, he rejected it himself rather quickly (1992: 171) without offering a new solution; cf. Matijašić & Tassaux (2000: 85-86).



da je *Vidasus* upravo domorodačko ime božanstva koje zahvaljujući *interpretatio Romana* poznajemo pod imenom *Silvanus* (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 511–512, 519, n. 7; Kuntić-Makvić 2005: 332 i d.; Perinić Muratović 2008: 283),<sup>44</sup> dok su drugi mnogo oprezniji oko njihova izjednačavanja.<sup>45</sup> Ali, zanimljivo, nitko u raspravu o Vidasu i njegovoj (ne)povezanosti sa Silvanom nije uključio Silvanov enigmatski epitet *V()*. Vjerujemo da to i neće biti moguće sve dok se napokon ne pojavi natpis koji neće tako radikalno kratiti taj omiljeni Silvanov epitet. A u to da je on doista bio omiljen, ne bismo smjeli nimalo dvojiti, jer o tome svjedoči ne samo njegova brojnost – sada već s najmanje sedam potvrda – već i izostanak potrebe pisanja epiteta punom riječju jer je svima bio jako dobro poznat. Smijemo također pretpostaviti i to da je to bio domorodački Silvan, koji je svojim kultom nastavljao stare domorodačke religijske tradicije, samo ih zaogrnuvši novim ruhom rimske uljudbe.

Koji god se epitet skrivao iza skraćenice *V*, čini se vrlo vjerojatnim da je Silvan (vjerojatno upravo *Silvanus V()*) svoje svetište imao na položaju Velike Stražine kod Podosoja kod Vrlike (Wilkes 1969: 396), gdje je upravo i nađena najveća koncentracija njegovih ara: osim pet već spomenutih posveta Silvanu *V()* tu su pronađene još barem tri druge Silvanove are (CIL 3, 9813b, CIL 3, 9814 i CIL 3, 13206) te još najmanje jedna posveta Jupiteru Najboljem i Najvećem (CIL 3, 9811). Ondje su se, na većoj površini, bilježili znatni ostaci rimske arhitekture te razni slučajni nalazi, između ostaloga i epigrafski, što je nagnalo lokalnoga župnika da ondje krajem 19. st. obavi manja arheološka iskopavanja. Tom je prilikom pronašao ostatke arhitekture te uz jedan od zidova još jedan fragmentiran posvetni natpis Silvanu *V()* (Stanić 1892: 13–15; usp. Patsch 1900: 147–151).<sup>46</sup> Ako se tu doista štovao Silvan, i to pretpostavljeni *Silvanus Viator*, onda bi svakako valjalo pretpostaviti i to da je tuda prolazila važna rimska komunikacija čije je putnike on štutio.

## KULT LIBERA

Osim Silvanu manja ara iz Grudina bila je posvećena i Uzvišenom Liberu (*Liberio Augusto*). On je staro italsko božanstvo koje s Liberom i Cererom

787 [= AE 1979, 481 = AE 1980, 709] and AE 1991, 1298).<sup>41</sup> The arguments for rejecting this idea were neither strong nor convincing, so it may be worthwhile to reconsider it.

In Pannonia, *Silvanus* was associated with the protection of travellers in several ways, either, as noted, with the epithet *Viator*, or through reverence for *Silvanabus et Quadribis* (CIL 3, 4441 [*Carnuntum*]; cf. Simón 2007: 200-201). Even though the connection has not thus far been confirmed in Dalmatian territory, it would be worthwhile recalling that on the one hand Nymphs are portrayed together with *Silvanus* on some relief images from Dalmatia, which some scholars have identified as the *Silvanae* (Dorcey 1992: 44), while on the other the *Triviae*, the matrons of (three-way) crossroads, were also worshipped in Dalmatia (CIL 3, 8511 [Imotski], CIL 3, 9869 [*Rider*], CIL 3, 9755 [*Aequum*], ILJug 2824 [= AE 1925, 129; *Varvaria*], ILJug 871 [*Nedinum*], *Arheološki tragovi kultova* 2008: 210, cat. no. 115 [*Scardona*] and CIL 3, 3159 [+ p. 2275; *Iader?*], and one of their dedicatory inscriptions was also found in Salona [ILJug 2060]).<sup>42</sup> Additionally, *Silvanus* also bears epithets in two inscriptions in Dalmatia which were more typical of Pannonia than Dalmatia,<sup>43</sup> so that this should not be deemed a lone appearance of a “Pannonian” epithet on Dalmatian soil. However, if *Viator* can truly be read here, then the number of Dalmatian confirmations would outnumber those from Pannonia, so the view that this epithet was typical of Pannonia would have to be revised, and it would be better deemed common to both territories.

At the border between Roman Dalmatia and Pannonia, in Topusko, several altars dedicated to the divine couple *Vidasus* and *Thana* were discovered (AIJ 516; AIJ 517; AIJ 518 [= CIL 3, 3941 = CIL 3, 10819 = CIL 3, 14354.23]). Some researchers believe that *Vidasus* is in fact the indigenous name of a deity who, thanks to *interpretatio Romana* we know under the name *Silvanus* (Rendić-Miočević 1989: 511-512, 519, n. 7; Kuntić-Makvić 2005: 332 ff.; Perinić Muratović 2008: 283),<sup>44</sup> while others are more

<sup>44</sup> Za ostale zagovornike te ideje usp. kod Dorcey (1992: 72).

<sup>45</sup> Osobito je kritičan Dorcey (1992: 72).

<sup>46</sup> Kako izvještavaju sredstva javnog priopćavanja, sada se ondje planiraju graditi luksuzni hoteli uz golf-igrališta koja bi se uređivala na području Ježević (v. npr. Matić 2009); nadamo se da glad za profitom neće još jednom uništiti arheološke lokalitete pod izlikom napretka i gospodarskog oživljavanja kraja.

<sup>41</sup> For Tóth's proposal see Dorcey (1989: 293-294), where it is cited with the accompanying literature.

<sup>42</sup> The *Triviae* are sometimes deemed Celtic, or Celto-Germanic deities (see, e.g., Simón 2007: 200-201), but there is some question as to whether they should be interpreted thusly here (cf. also Brajković 2008: 65-66, where they were included among the Graeco-Roman deities and mythological figures). For the *Triviae* cult in Dalmatia, see also Miličević Bradač (2009: 71-73).

<sup>43</sup> The epithet *Cohortalis* (if this is the correct interpretation of the abbreviation *COR*) appeared only once in Dalmatia (Glamoč, ILJug 1631). The other epithet associated with Pannonia, *Domesticus*, was until recently known in only three examples from Roman Dalmatia: one from Burnum (CIL 3, 14385), and two from Rider (Brajković 2008: 70; Perinić Muratović 2008: 242); see Matijašić & Tassaux (2000: 85).

<sup>44</sup> For the remaining advocates of this idea, cf. Dorcey (1992: 72).

čini agrarnu trijadu. Liber i Libera štovali su se kao zaštitnici stvaranja i plodnosti u biljnom, životinjskom svijetu i kod ljudi. Liber se odražavao u muškim elementima, dok su ženski elementi ovisili o Liberi, koja se identificirala s Venerom. Zbog toga su se u svetišta Libera i Libere prinosili darovi s prikazom muških i ženskih spolnih organa, a ponekad su obredi dosegali vrlo razuzdane razmjere. Njihovo štovanje u Laciju potvrđeno je već od 6. st. pr. Kr. (Jadrić 2007: 18–22).<sup>47</sup> Postoje međusobne sličnosti između vjerskih obreda štovanja italskoga Libera i onih štovanja grčkoga Dionisa. S vremenom će se Liber asimilirati s Dionisom i postat će bog vinove loze i vina, pa će postati izuzetno omiljen na cijelom Apeninskom poluotoku, osobito među seljacima (Jadrić 2007: 19–29).<sup>48</sup>

Cerera, Liber i Libera štovani su u istome hramu na rimskom Aventinu,<sup>49</sup> a njihovi koncepti plodnosti sasvim su u skladu. Povezanost Cerere sa žitaricama analogna je s povezanošću Libera i vina, što, između ostaloga, spominje i Ciceron: *Fruges Cererem appellamus, vinum autem Liberum* (Cic. *Nat. D.* II, 60). Liberu su žrtvovani prvi grozdovi u vinogradima (*sacrima*), a Cereri prve žitarice na poljima (*praemetium*) (Spaeth 1996: 41).<sup>50</sup> Svečanosti u čast Libera i Libere održavale su se 17. marta, a antički pisci opisuju razne obrede koji su se tada obavljali. Između ostaloga to je bio dan kada su mladići ostavljali svoje dječake toge i prvi put odijevali *toga virilis* (Jadrić 2007: 17).

Na najstarijim natpisima Liberovo ime navedeno je bez ikakvih epiteta (*Liber*), a nakon asimilacije s Dionisom uobičajilo ga se nazivati *Liber Pater*. Najstariji spomenici koji ga tako imenuju datiraju iz 3. ili početka 2. st. pr. Kr. Apozicija *Pater*, koja je bila izraz štovanja i posvećenja božanskih osoba i heroja, zadržala se u njegovu imenovanju sve do kraja poganskog razdoblja (*ibid.* 23).

<sup>47</sup> Tradicija kazuje da je diktator *A. Postumius* po savjetu Sibilinskih knjiga u Rim uveo kult grčke agrarne trijade (Demetra, Dionis i Kora), koja tada dobiva i latinska imena Cerera, Liber i Libera. Uskoro im se, 493. g., gradi i svetište na Aventinu, u kojemu su svećenici bili iz grčkih gradova. To je svetište postalo svjetovnim, upravnim i religijskim središtem puka, mjesto njegova okupljanja, ali i azila te arhiv plebiscita (edili zaduženi za tu arhivsku građu imenuju se upravo po tom svetištu – *aedes Cereris*); v. Jadrić (2007: 24–27; za ostala svetišta Liberova kulta v. ondje str. 38–44); v. i ovdje n. 3.

<sup>48</sup> U najstarija je vremena u Rimu Jupiter, koji je i sam nosio epitet Liber, bio zaštitnik vinove loze, pa nije isključeno da bi Liber Pater mogao biti jedan vid Jupitera Libera, od kojega se potom postupno odvojio i individualizirao; v. Jadrić (2007: 24).

<sup>49</sup> V. ovdje n. 3 i tekst uz koji je bilješka vezana.

<sup>50</sup> Liber i Libera mogli bi, piše Ciceron, biti Cererina djeca (Jadrić 2007: 25, kod koje v. i za točno mjesto kod Cicerona), a prema nekim interpretacijama upravo su oni prikazani u njezinu naručju na Ari pacis (Spaeth 1996: 44).

cautious in making this identification.<sup>45</sup> However, rather interestingly, none of the participants in the debate surrounding Vidasus and his (non-)connection with Silvanus have referred to Silvanus' enigmatic epithet *V()*. We believe that this will not, in fact, be possible until an inscription appears that will not abbreviate this favourite epithet of Silvanus so drastically. And there should be no doubt that this was a favoured epithet, for not only its frequency testifies to this – now with already seven instances – but also the fact that there was no need to write out the full word of the epithet since it was so universally familiar. We are also at liberty to speculate that it was an indigenous Silvanus, in whose cult the old indigenous traditions were continued, only cloaked in the new robe of Roman civility.

Whatever epithet was concealed behind the abbreviation *V*, it would appear likely that Silvanus (probably, in fact, *Silvanus V()*) had a shrine at Velike Stražine, near Podosoj, Vrlika (Wilkes 1969: 396), where the highest concentration of his altars was actually found: besides the five already mentioned dedications to Silvanus *V()*, a minimum of three more altars of Silvanus were discovered here (CIL 3, 9813b, CIL 3, 9814 and CIL 3, 13206) as well as at least one dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus (CIL 3, 9811). There, over a large surface, considerable remains of Roman architecture and various chance finds have been recorded, including, among others, epigraphic finds, which prompted the local pastor at the end of the nineteenth century to conduct a minor archaeological dig. On this occasion he found the remains of architecture and, next to one of the walls, another fragmentary dedicatory inscription to Silvanus *V()* (Stanić 1892: 13–15; cf. Patsch 1900: 147–151).<sup>46</sup> If Silvanus had truly been revered here, and the presumed *Silvanus Viator* at that, then it would be justified to assume that this site was traversed by a major Roman communication route whose travellers he protected.

## THE CULT OF LIBER

In addition to Silvanus, the small altar from Grudine was also dedicated to Liber Augustus (*Libero Augusto*). He was an old Italic deity who formed an agrarian triad together with Libera and Ceres. Liber and Libera were worshipped as patrons of creation and fertility in the plant and animal worlds and

<sup>45</sup> Particularly critical in this regard is Dorcey (1992: 72).

<sup>46</sup> As reported by the media, currently there are plans to construct luxury hotels next to golf courses which should be landscaped in the Ježević area (see, e.g., Matić 2009); we only hope that the hunger for profit will not once more destroy archaeological sites under the guise of progress and local economic recovery.

Početak carskoga razdoblja Liber se nije ubrajao među glavna božanstva. August je započeo obnovu staroga svetišta na Aventinu, možda i zato što je Liber bio zaštitnik slobode, a i sam car volio se takvim prikazivati. Osobito od 2. st. Liberovi spomenici postaju sve brojniji. Poseban poticaj njegovu štovanju dala je carska propaganda Septimija Severa. On je bio porijeklom iz afričke Leptis Magnae, čiji su božanski zaštitnici bili Liber i Heraklo, a njegovim dolaskom na vlast Liber je postao jedan od službenih rimskih bogova. Liber Pater bio je i jedan od bogova zaštitnika cara Galijena. Arheološka svjedočanstva pokazuju da se Liber štovao barem do kraja 4. st. (*ibid.* 28–32).

Liberov kult nije bio jednako zastupljen u svim dijelovima Carstva. Kako se čini, na zapadu je (Galija i Hispanija), za razliku od podunavskih provincija (Dacija i Panonija) i provincije Afrike, bio relativno slabo štovan. U Panoniji i Africi božanski par Liber i Libera zamijenila su domorodačka božanstva sličnih svojstava (*ibid.* 31–37).

U grčkim kolonijama na istočnoj obali Jadrana proizvodilo se vino, od kojih je neko, kao ono isejsko, uživalo vrlo velik ugled. Stoga ne čudi da su grčki kolonisti štovali svoga boga vina, Dionisa. Na područjima njihovih kolonija nalazimo razne potvrde njegova kulta, poput keramičke glave tzv. ktoničnog Dionisa i reljefa menada, Dionisovih pratiteljica, iz Ise ili novca s Dionisovim likom iz Farosa i dr. (*ibid.* 47–51).

Liberov je kult u provinciji Dalmaciji početkom 1. st. posebno bio zastupljen u južnim predjelima Liburnije, zatim u Saloni i Naroni te u zapadnoj Hercegovini, sjeverozapadnoj Bosni i Podrinju. O kultu svjedoči arheološka građa većinu koje čini 41 žrtvenik. Na tim se prostorima javio već od sredine 1. st. pr. Kr., kada su ga u Naronu donijeli italški kolonisti. Štovanje Libera podjednako je bilo zastupljeno tijekom carskoga doba, a od sredine 3. st. opaža se njegovo opadanje (*ibid.* 51).<sup>51</sup>

Iz Salone je poznato čak 13 Liberovih spomenika, što je najviše u odnosu na neki drugi grad u provinciji (*ibid.* 52, 262). Nekoliko ih je pronađeno u sklopu gospodarskog imanja koje je prethodilo cimeterijalnoj bazilici na Manastirinama: ulomak arhitektonske grede s natpisom *Liberi patri*, ulomak noge stola s prikazom torza božanstva i ulomak stupa s Liberovom posvetom koju je učinio neki Kurijan, žrtvenik ili baza za kip božanstva s

among people. Liber reflected the male elements, while the female elements were rooted in Libera, who was identified with Venus. Because of this, offerings showing male and female sexual organs were brought to the shrines of Liber and Libera, and sometimes the rituals assumed a rather licentious character. Worship of them in Latium has been confirmed already in the sixth century BC (Jadrić 2007: 18–22).<sup>47</sup> There were similarities between the religious rituals for worship of the Italic Liber and those for the Greek Dionysus. With time, Liber would be assimilated with Dionysus and become the god of viticulture and wine, thus becoming exceptionally favoured throughout the Apennine Peninsula, particularly among the peasantry (Jadrić 2007: 19–29).<sup>48</sup>

Ceres, Liber and Libera were worshipped in the same temple on Rome's Aventine Hill,<sup>49</sup> and their fertility concepts were entirely harmonious. The bond of Ceres to grain was analogous to Liber's connection to wine, which was mentioned by Cicero as well: *Fruges Cererem appellamus, vinum autem Liberum* (Cic. *Nat. D.* II, 60). The first bunches of grapes in vineyards were sacrificed to Liber (*sacrima*), while the first grain in the fields were offered to Ceres (*praemetium*) (Spaeth 1996: 41).<sup>50</sup> The ceremonies honouring Liber and Libera were held on 17 March, and ancient writers described various rites then conducted. Among other things, this was the day when youths discarded their children's togas and began wearing the *toga virilis* (Jadrić 2007: 17).

In the oldest inscriptions, Liber's name is cited without any epithets (*Liber*), while after his assimilation with Dionysus, it became customary to refer to him as *Liber Pater*. The oldest monuments using this name date to the third or early second century BC. The appositive *Pater*, which was an expression of reverence and dedication to divine personages

<sup>47</sup> According to tradition, the dictator A. Postumius, following the advice of the Sibylline Books, introduced the cult of the Greek agrarian triad (Demeter, Dionysus and Kore), who then acquired the Latin names Ceres, Liber and Libera. Soon, in 493 BC, a shrine to them was built on the Aventine Hill, in which the priests were from Greek cities. This shrine became the secular, administrative and religious seat of the populace, the place where the common people gathered, and it was also an asylum and the archive of the plebiscite (the aediles in charge of this archival material were appointed precisely in the shrine: *aedes Cereris*); see Jadrić (2007: 24–27; for the remaining shrines of Liber's cult, see therein pp. 38–44); see herein also n. 3.

<sup>48</sup> In the oldest times in Rome, Jupiter, who bore the epithet Liber himself, was the patron of grape vines, so one cannot exclude the possibility that Liber Pater may have been an aspect of Jupiter Liber, from whom he was gradually separated and individualized; see Jadrić (2007: 24).

<sup>49</sup> See herein n. 3 and the text to which the note pertains.

<sup>50</sup> Cicero wrote that Liber and Libera may have been Ceres' children (Jadrić 2007: 25, see also for exact citation in Cicero), while according to some interpretations she holds them in her arms on the *Ara pacis* (Spaeth 1996: 44).

<sup>51</sup> Osim žrtvenika o Liberovu kultu u Dalmaciji svjedoče arhitektonski ulomci (5 primjeraka), reljefi (16 primjeraka), monumentalna plastika (5 primjeraka) i brončane figure (3 primjerka), v. Jadrić (2007: 51).

natpisom *Sacrum / Libero* (ILJug 673). Ti nalazi očito su pripadali manjem svetištu koje se nalazilo u okviru vile, a njihova obrada i ornamentika pokazuju da je objekt bio raskošno opremljen (Jadrić 2008: 131). Jednu aru skromnih dimenzija i jednostavna natpisa Liberu Augustu posvetila je Julija Maksima (CIL 3, 14673: *Libero Pat(ri) / Aug(usto) Sa[c(rum)] / Iulia A. l. [Ma]/xima ex[v(iso)?] / posuit.*). Pridjev *Augustus* jedan je od brojnih koji se na žrtvenicima javljaju uz Liberovo ime. Potvrđen je na natpisima iz Oneja, Ekvuma i Narone i karakterističan je za početak carskoga doba (Jadrić 2007: 94–96).

Pod imenom *Deus Magnus Conservator loci* Libera je u Saloni štovalo organizirano udruženje (*convivium*) i podiglo mu svetište. Tako je oslovljen na dvama žrtvenicima (CIL 3, 14242; CIL 3, 14242.1). Dedicanti i zaštitnici udruženja Aurelije Valerijan i Aurelije Terencijan od Libera traže zdravlje za sebe i ostale članove. Svetište je očito bilo rezervirano samo za članove konvivija, koji su ondje održavali svečanosti u čast svomu bogu (Jadrić 2007: 60–61), a analogija za slično štovanje Libera postoji u Rimu (Jadrić 2008: 131). Iz Salone potječu i kipić nagog Libera te reljefna kompozicija Libera i berbe grožđa (*ibid.* 131–132).

Za šire salonitansko područje vinova je loza bila od velika gospodarskog značenja, a time je i Liberov kult bio jako popularan. O njegovoj raširenosti svjedoče neki spomenici za koje se ne znaju točna mjesta pronalaska, ali se pretpostavlja da su pripadali splitskim seoskim imanjima. Riječ je o arhitektonskoj gredi s posvetom *Libero patri sacrum*, pilastru ukrašenom motivom tirsca, reljefnoj ploči s prikazom Libera, Libere i berbom grožđa, skulpturi Libera s panterom te ulomku reljefa s prikazom ruke koja drži tirs (Jadrić 2007: 60–61). Njima valja pribrojiti i jedan vrlo jednostavan žrtvenik (CIL 3, 14241: *Libero / (P)atri.*) te jedan fragmentiran koji je sačuvao i ime dedikanta (Jadrić 2008: 140, kat. br. 34: *Libero / T. Ca(l)purn(ius).*). Svi ti spomenici najvjerojatnije su pripadali Liberovu svetištu (Jadrić 2007: 60–61).

## ZDRUŽENO ŠTOVANJE SILVANA I LIBERA

Zbližavanje različitih kultova posebno se razvija pod dinastijom Antonina, a vrhunac doživljava u seversko doba. Taj proces nije zaobišao ni Liberov kult. Osim što je štovan zajedno sa svojim ženskim pandanom, Liberom, dalmatinski natpisi pokazuju da su mu pridruživani Jupiter, Izida sa Serapisom, Termin, *Terra Mater* i Silvan (Jadrić 2007: 73–77).

Za naš rad od izuzetna su značenja arheološki nalazi koji potvrđuju Liberovo obožavanje u

and heroes, was maintained in his naming under the end of the pagan period (*Ibid.* 23).

At the beginning of the imperial period, Liber was not counted among the primary deities. Augustus initiated the restoration of the old shrine on the Aventine, perhaps because Liber was the patron of liberty, and the emperor preferred to portray himself in this fashion. Liber's monuments became increasingly numerous after the second century. A particular impetus for his worship was provided by the imperial propaganda of Septimius Severus. He was originally from African Leptis Magnae, which counted as its patrons Liber and Heracles, and upon his ascension to the throne, Liber became one of the official Roman deities. Liber Pater was also one of the patron gods of Emperor Gallienus. Archaeological evidence shows that Liber was worshipped to the end of the fourth century at least (*Ibid.* 28–32).

The cult of Liber was not equally represented in all parts of the Empire. It would appear that in the west (Gallia and Hispania), as opposed to the Danubian provinces (Dacia and Pannonia) and the province of Africa, it was relatively modestly worshipped. In Pannonia and Africa, the divine couple Liber and Libera replaced indigenous deities with similar attributes (*Ibid.* 31–37).

Wine was produced in the Greek colonies on the Eastern Adriatic coast, and some of these wines, such as that from Issa, enjoyed a very high reputation. It is therefore unsurprising that the Greek colonists venerated their wine god, Dionysus. Various confirmations of the existence of his cult can be found in the territories of their colonies, such as ceramic heads of the so-called chthonic Dionysus and relief images of his Maenad consorts from Issa, or the coins bearing images of Dionysus from Pharos, etc. (*Ibid.* 47–51).

Liber's cult in the province of Dalmatia at the onset of the first century was particularly widespread in the southern areas of Liburnia, and in Salona and Narona and western Herzegovina, north-west Bosnia and the Drina River zone. Archaeological findings, the majority of which consist of 41 altars, testify to the cult. It had appeared in these territories already in the first century BC, when it was brought to Narona by Italic colonists. Worship of Liber was uniformly present throughout the imperial period, while as of the third century AD its decline became apparent (*Ibid.* 51).<sup>51</sup>

As many as thirteen known monuments of Liber are from Salona, which is the most in comparison to any

<sup>51</sup> Besides altars, architectural fragments (5 examples), relief images (16 examples), monumental sculpture (5 examples) and bronze figures (3 examples) also testify to Liber's cult in Dalmatia, see Jadrić (2007: 51).

zajedništvu sa Silvanom. Jedan od takvih nalaza jest ara iz Jadera koja sadrži prikaze tih božanstava. Na prednjoj strani je Silvan prikazan kao *Aegipan*, a pokraj njega pedum, siringa i pas. Stražnja strana lošije je očuvana, ali je jasno da prikazuje nagog Libera snažna tijela oslonjena na desnu nogu i s tirsom u ruci (*ibid.* 114, kat. br. 12). Drugi reljef potječe iz Ričica i prikazuje agrarnu svečanost u čast Libera i Libere. Zanimljiv je jer je Silvan prikazan dvaput, jednom lijevo, a drugi put desno od Libera (*ibid.* 162, kat. br. 54). Treći reljefni prikaz potječe iz Karakašice kod Sinja, a prikazuje Silvana s nimfama i jednim muškim likom za koji se ne može sigurno tvrditi radi li se o Liberu ili Neptunu (*ibid.* 160, kat. br. 52; Perinić Muratović 2008: 108, 268, 274). Osim tih reljefa postoji i epigrafska potvrda Silvanove i Liberove kultne zajednice koja je postojala u ranocarsko doba. Zabilježena je na jednom žrtveniku iz Galovca pored Zadra na kojemu stoji da je Kvint Septimije Nazon izvršio zavjet Liberu Ocu, Junonama i Silvanu i njihovoj zajedničkoj kultnoj zajednici (*concilium deorum*).<sup>52</sup> Jasno je, dakle, da su naravi rečenih božanstava objedinjene u kultnu zajednicu na temelju zajedničkih osobina plodnosti (Jadrić 2007: 78, 114, 160, 162; Perinić Muratović 2008: 32, 267).

Na sinkretizam tih kultova ukazuju i reljefi iz Salone, Dola na Hvaru i Duvna, na kojima je Silvan prikazan s vinovom lozom i grozdom. Slični tragovi religijskog stapanja uočavaju se kod Delmata i u unutrašnjosti provincije. U delmatskom je primjeru Liberov kult samo nadopunio neke osnovne šumsko-pastirske Silvanove osobine. Na obali je međutim situacija bila drugačija jer je Liberov kult imao čvršću i dugotrajniju osnovu ojačanu snažnim utjecajima s italske obale. Polako je došlo do zbližavanja tih božanstava, od kojih je svako uspješno zadržati svoj doktrinarni i sadržajni identitet u zajedničkoj kultnoj zajednici. U ostalim dijelovima Carstva, a posebno u Italiji, postoje brojni primjeri Liberova i Silvanova zajedničkog štovanja, što ne iznenađuje jer su oni poljodjelna božanstva i zaštitnici voćaka i šuma. Očito je do povezivanja Libera i Silvana u Dalmaciji došlo pod utjecajem iz Italije. Posebno je važno da je Liberov kult bio puno zastupljeniji u obalnome pojasu, i to na srednjem dijelu dalmatinske obale, gdje se vezao na stare korijene Dionisova kulta i kulture vinove loze (Jadrić 2007: 79–80).

other city in the province (*Ibid.* 52, 262). Several of them were found at the landed estate which preceded the cemeterial basilica at Manastirine: a fragment of an architectural beam bearing the inscription *Liberi patri*, a fragment of a table leg with the relief image of a deity's torso and a fragment of a column with a dedication to Liber by a certain Curianus, and an altar or base of a statue of a god with the inscription *Sacrum / Libero* (ILJug 673). These finds obviously belonged to a small shrine inside the villa, and their analysis and ornamentation show that the building was very luxuriously furnished (Jadrić 2008: 131). One altar of modest size and the simple inscription to Liber Augustus was dedicated by Julia Maxima (CIL 3, 14673: *Liberi Pat(ri) / Aug(usto) Sa[c(rum)] / Iulia A. l. [Ma]/xima ex[v(iso)?] / posuit.*). The epithet *Augustus* was one of the many which appeared together with Liber's name on altars. It has also been confirmed in inscriptions from Onaeum, Aequum and Naronia and it is typical of the early imperial period (Jadrić 2007: 94–96).

Under the name *Deus Magnus Conservator loci*, Liber was worshipped in Salona by an organized association (*convivium*) and a shrine was erected in his honour. He is addressed in this manner on two altars (CIL 3, 14242; CIL 3, 14242.1). The dedicants and guardians of the association, Aurelius Valerianus and Aurelius Terentianus, beseeched Liber to bestow health on themselves and their families. The shrine was obviously reserved solely for members of the *convivium*, who conducted ceremonies in honour of their god therein (Jadrić 2007: 60–61). Analogies of similar worship of Liber existed in Rome (Jadrić 2008: 131). A statuette of a nude Liber and a relief composition of Liber and the grape harvest are also from Salona (*Ibid.* 131–132).

In the wider Salona environs, the wine grapes had great economic significance, and Liber's cult was therefore quite popular. Its extent is demonstrated by certain monuments of unknown finding-sites, but which are assumed to have belonged to the rural estates of Split. These include an architectural beam with dedication to *Liberi patri sacrum*, a pilaster ornamented with a thyrsus motif, a relief slab with an image of Liber, Libera and the grape harvest, a sculpture of Liber with a panther and a fragment of a relief showing hands holding a thyrsus (Jadrić 2007: 60–61). A very simple altar (CIL 3, 14241: *Liberi / (P)atri.*) and a fragmentary one with the dedicant's name preserved (Jadrić 2008: 140, cat. no. 34: *Liberi / T. Ca(l)purn(ius).*) should be added to these finds. All of these monuments probably belonged to Liber's shrine (Jadrić 2007: 60–61).

<sup>52</sup> *Q(uintus) Septimius Naso / Libero Patri et / Junonibus et Silvan[o] / concilio deorum / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (Jadrić 2007: 112–113).

## DEDIKANT I DATACIJA ŽRTVENIKA SILVANU V() I LIBERU

Na ulomku are koja se ovdje obrađuje nakon posvete božanstvima stajalo je ime dedikanta. Od njega su ostala samo početna tri slova gentilnog imena *Iulius*, nakon kojega je uklesana hedera. Skraćivanje dobro poznatih (carskih) gentilnih imena nije ništa neuobičajeno (Alföldy 1969: 25), pa bismo mogli pretpostaviti da je tako bilo učinjeno i ovdje. Ispod hedere, a malo iznad crte loma, sačuvan je urez koji je možda ostatak slova *O* ili *S*. Njegov je trag premlen da bi se sa sigurnošću moglo reći je li riječ o tragu klesarskoga dljeta ili udarca jer je upravo taj donji desni kut ulomka pun svježih lomova. Stoga je teško s uvjerenjem kazati je li natpis završavao hederom ili je nakon nje u sljedećem retku stajao dedikantov kognomen. Minimalni sačuvani ostaci imenovanja ne omogućuju nam da ustanovimo je li dedikant bio muškarac ili žena, tako da ne možemo ni pokušati analizirati njegov eventualni imenski obrazac, što sve znatno otežava dataciju ovoga spomenika, pogotovo uzmemo li u obzir činjenicu da se gentilicij *Iulius* u Saloni javlja tijekom cijeloga principata, pa čak i dominata (*ibid.* 31–32). Tek se može zaključiti, slično kao i kod prethodno opisane are posvećene Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri, da bi se ovaj natpis – zahvaljujući istoj opservaciji o prisutnosti epiteta *Augustus* uz imena božanstava (v. gore [Edmondson 2007: 543, 561–563; Tassaux 1997: 82; Clauss 2001: 2008 i d.], a osobito n. 29) – mogao okvirno datirati u razdoblje principata, možda također upravo negdje kroz 2. st.

## ULOMAK SKULPTURE ORLA IZ GRUDINA (KAT. BR. 3; SL. 3)

Na istom mjestu gdje je pronađena ara Silvanu V() i Liberu i nedaleko od prve, posvećene Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri, pronađen je ulomak skulpture orla načinjene od vapnenca. Jesu li ta tri spomenika bila dio istoga kulturnog ambijenta, zaista je teško reći. Međutim ta se pretpostavka ne smije ni otkloniti i njoj bi u prilog mogla ići sljedeća dva zapažanja. Božanstva koja se spominju na tim arama imaju cio niz zajedničkih osobina u svojim teologijama. Pokazano je u kolikoj su mjeri srodni Cerera, Venera i Viktorija te Silvan i Liber. Također je i više nego očito mnoštvo dodirnih točaka između Cererine i Liberove teologije. Zbog toga ne bi trebala postojati prepreka za izravno dovodenje u vezu tih dviju ara, što bi moglo značiti da su one možda pripadale istom kulturnom ambijentu. Tomu u prilog

## UNITED WORSHIP OF SILVANUS AND LIBER

The merger of different cults was particularly evolved under the Antonine dynasty, and peaked during the Severan era. This process did not bypass Liber's cult. Besides being worshipped together with his female counterpart, Libera, Dalmatian inscriptions indicate that he had also been joined by Jupiter, Isis with Serapis, Terminus, Terra Mater and Silvanus (Jadrić 2007: 73–77).

For this work, archaeological finds confirming Liber's worship in tandem with Silvanus are exceptionally important. One of such finds is the altar from Iader which bears images of these deities. On the front, Silvanus is shown as *Aegipan*, with a pedum, syringes and hound next to him. The rear is more poorly preserved, but it is clear that it shows the nude Liber with powerful body pivoted on the right foot and holding a thyrsus in his hand (*Ibid.* 114, cat. no. 12). The other relief is from Ričice and it depicts an agrarian celebration honouring Liber and Libera. It is interesting that there are two depictions of Silvanus, one to the left, and the other to the right of Liber (*Ibid.* 162, cat. no. 54). The third relief image is from Karakašica, near Sinj, and it shows Silvanus with nymphs and a narrow figure which may be either Liber or Neptune (*Ibid.* 160, cat. no. 52; Perinić Muratović 2008: 108, 268, 274). Besides these relief images, there are also epigraphic confirmations of the cult union of Silvanus and Liber which existed in the early imperial period. It has been recorded on an altar from Galovac, next to Zadar, which indicates that Quintus Septimius Naso fulfilled a vow to Liber Pater, Juno and Silvanus and their common cult union (*concilium deorum*).<sup>52</sup> It is therefore clear that the natures of these deities were consolidated in a unified cult based on common fertility traits (Jadrić 2007: 78, 114, 160, 162; Perinić Muratović 2008: 32, 267).

The relief images from Salona, Dol on the island of Hvar and Duvno, in which Silvanus is shown with a grape vine and bunch, also indicate the syncretism of these cults. Similar traces of religious mergers have been observed among the Delmataeans in the provincial interior. In the Delmataean example, Liber's cult was only supplemented with certain basic sylvan/pastoral characteristics of Silvanus. The situation on the coast was different, for Liber's cult had a firmer and longer-lasting foundation reinforced by powerful influences from the Italic coast. Slowly these deities came together, and each managed to maintain their doctrinaire and substantive identity in their common cult. In other parts of the

<sup>52</sup> *Q(uitus) S(eptimius) N(aso) / L(iber) P(atr) et / J(unonibus) et S(ilvan)o / c(on)ci(lio) d(e)or(um) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* (Jadrić 2007: 112–113).

govore i okolnosti u kojima su sva tri spomenika pronađena. Cererin žrtvenik pronađen je u velikoj gomili koja se nalazi u jednom masliniku oko 200 m istočno od Pet mostova. Drugi se žrtvenik, jednako kao i ulomak skulpture orla, nalazio u suhozidu nekoliko metara sjevernije od nje. Suhozidu je kao temelj poslužio antički zid dužine 1,5 m izrađen od nekoliko redova pravilnih klesanaca vezanih obilatim količinom žbuke. Nemoguće je zaključivati o tome kakvoj je građevini mogao pripadati, ali nije isključena njezina veza s ovdje opisanim i analiziranim kulturnim predmetima.

## ZAKLJUČAK

Mnogi žrtvenici u rimskome svijetu posvećivani su božanstvima koja u svojim naravima imaju neke bitne srodne osobine i čiji kultovi imaju neke zajedničke i slične elemente. Tu činjenicu potvrđuju i dva ovdje objavljena te sadržajem i oblikom vrlo jednostavna žrtvenika iz Salone. Pronađeni su sasvim slučajno 2009. g. tijekom pretresanja jedne gomile u masliniku udaljenoj oko 200 m istočno od lokaliteta Pet mostova. Prvi žrtvenik posvetio je neki Gnej trima božicama, Cereri Augusti, Viktoriji i Veneri Augustama: *Cereri A/ug(ustae) sac(rum) / Vic(toriae) et V[en(eri)] / Aug(ustis) Cn[(aeus?)---] / [-----] /<sup>s</sup> v(otum)? s(olvit)? l(ibens)? m(erito)?* (kat. br. 1; sl. 1). Izvanredna je važnost tog nalaza u tome što se radi o prvom Cererinu posvetnom natpisu iz Salone. Natpis ima dodatan značaj ima li se na umu da u cijeloj provinciji postoje još samo jedan Cererin žrtvenik iz Narone i jedan iz Prološca. Potraga za potvrđama o Viktorijinu kultu u Dalmaciji daje još oskudnije rezultate. Jedan teško oštećen natpis iz Salone možda spominje obnovu njezina hrama, a natpis iz Splitske na Braču posvećen je njoj i nekolicini drugih rimskih božanstava. Međutim sasvim je drugačija slika kada se govori o potvrđama Venerina kulta u provinciji i njezinu glavnome gradu. Iz Salone potječu dva kipa, brojni primjerci sitne brončane plastike i preslice te nekoliko natpisa, od kojih je većina posvećena Veneri Pobjednici. Gradski *collegium fabrum* u kasnocarsko doba uzeo je Veneru za svoju božansku zaštitnicu. Dodatna je važnost ovoga žrtvenika u činjenici da on potvrđuje Cererino štovanje u zajedništvu s nekim drugim božanstvima, u ovom primjeru s Viktorijom i Venerom, što do sada u provinciji Dalmaciji uopće nije epigrafički potvrđeno. Iako postoje velike poteškoće u preciznijem datiranju žrtvenika, držimo da se okvirno smije smjestiti u 2. st.

U neposrednoj blizini Cererina žrtvenika pronađen je još jedan žrtvenik manjih dimenzija (kat.

Empire, and especially in Italy, there were numerous examples of joint worship of Liber and Silvanus, which is not surprising, as they were both agrarian deities and patrons of orchards and forests. It is obvious that the combination of Liber and Silvanus in Dalmatia proceeded under influences from Italy. It is particularly important that Liber's cult was much more widespread in the coastal belt, in the central portion of the Dalmatian coast, where it was associated with the cult of Dionysus and viticulture (Jadrić 2007: 79-80).

## DEDICANT AND DATING OF THE ALTAR OF SILVANUS V() AND LIBER

The name of the dedicant came after the dedication to the deities on the altar analyzed herein. Of it, only the first three letters of the nomen gentile Julius (*Iulius*) remain, and after these a hedera is engraved. The abbreviation of well-known (imperial) gentilicia is nothing out of the ordinary (Alföldy 1969: 25), so it may be assumed that this was done here as well. Below the hedera, and slightly above the breakage line, an engraved section has been preserved which may be the remains of the letter O or S. It is too small to state with certainty whether it is the trace of the engraver's chisel or an impact mark, for precisely this lower right-hand corner is full of fresh breaks. Thus it is difficult to state with certainty whether the inscription ended with a hedera or the dedicant's cognomen. The minimally preserved remains of the nomenclature do not allow for the possibility of establishing whether the dedicant was a man or women, so we cannot even attempt to analyze the possible name formula. All of these factors render the dating of this monument even more difficult, particularly if one takes into account that the gentilicium *Iulius* appeared in Salona throughout the Principate, and even during the Dominate (*Ibid.* 31-32). All that may be concluded, similarly to the previously described altar dedicated to Ceres, Victoria and Venus, is that this inscription – thanks to the same observation on the presence of the epithet *Augustus* next to the deity's name (see above [Edmondson 2007: 543, 561-563; Tassaux 1997: 82; Clauss 2001: 2008 ff.], and especially n. 29) – may generally be dated to the Principate, perhaps also sometime in the second century.

## FRAGMENT OF AN EAGLE SCULPTURE FROM GRUDINE (CAT. NO. 3; FIG. 3)

At the same finding place as the altar of Silvanus V() and Liber and not far from the first one, dedicated to Ceres, Victoria and Venus, a fragment of a limestone

br. 2; sl. 2). Njegov natpis započinje sigloma (*S V A L A*), zbog čega je otežano ponuditi potpuno sigurnu restituciju (*S(ilvano) V( ) A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto) / Iul(ius vel ia) (hedera) / [---- / ----?]*). Slične sigle početne posvete javljaju se na pet ara iz Velikih Stražina kod Podosoja južno od Vrlike. Prema tome vjerujemo da se i na ovom natpisu krije *Silvan V()*, što znači da je to njegova osma potvrda u provinciji Dalmaciji. Veliko je pitanje o kojem je Silvanovu epitetu riječ i čini se da nijedno od rješenja ponuđenih u literaturi nije zadovoljavajuće. Osim Silvanu žrtvenik je bio posvećen i Uzvišenom Liberu, čiji je kult u provinciji Dalmaciji bio jako popularan jer ga prate brojni arheološki dokazi. Iz Salone je poznato čak 13 njegovih spomenika, što je najviše u odnosu na neki drugi grad u provinciji. Štoviše, natpisi spominju i postojanje organiziranog udruženja (*convivium*) gdje je božanstvo bilo štovano. Od izuzetna su značenja arheološki nalazi koji potvrđuju Liberovo obožavanje u zajedništvu sa Silvanom jer neizravno potvrđuju ispravnost restitucije ovdje objavljenog ulomka. Takvih potvrda do sada u Saloni nije pronađeno, ali postoje reljefi iz Jadera, Ričica i Karakašice i jedan natpis iz Galovca. Kao i na primjeru prvoga natpisa jasno je da su naravi Silvana i Libera objedinjene u kultnu zajednicu na temelju zajedničkih osobina plodnosti. Upravo na isti način – preko Cerere i Libera, čiji koncepti plodnosti imaju brojne podudarnosti – moguće je povezati oba žrtvenika iz Salone. Od dedikantova imena sačuvana su samo početna tri slova gentilicija *Iulius*, što je nedovoljno za odredbu je li riječ o muškoj ili ženskoj osobi. Zahvaljujući zapažanjima o prisutnosti epiteta *Augustus* uz imena božanstava i taj bi se ulomak mogao datirati u 2. st. S obzirom na blizinu pronalaska i srodnost božanstava moguće je da su oba žrtvenika pripadala istom kulturnom ambijentu, gdje je svoje mjesto mogla imati i skulptura orla (kat. br. 3; sl. 3).

## KATALOG

### 1. Žrtvenik posvećen Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri (kat. br. 1; sl. 1)

U proljeće 2009. nakon uređivanja gomile u jednom masliniku u Grudinama u Solinu, 200 m istočno od lokaliteta Pet mostova, pronađen je gornji dio žrtvenika od vapnenca.

Najveća je sačuvana visina ulomka 26 cm, debljina 8 cm, a najveća širina, ona kruništa, 24 cm. Na jednostavnu, neuokvirenu natpisnom polju širine 17 cm i visine 16 cm smješten je tekst isklesan

eagle sculpture was found. It is truly difficult to say whether these three monuments were part of the same cult ambient. However, this hypothesis should not be discarded, and it may even be supported by the following two observations. The deities mentioned on these altars have a series of common features in their ideologies. The extent to which Ceres, Venus and Victoria, and Silvanus and Liber, are similar has already been demonstrated. The many points in common between the theologies of Ceres and Liber are also more than apparent. Thus, there should be nothing barring the assumption of a link between these two altars, which may mean that they had belonged to the same cult ambient. This is additionally supported by the circumstance in which all three pieces were found. The altar of Ceres was discovered in a large mound that was situated in an olive grove approximately 200 m east of the 'Five Bridges' site. The other altar, like the fragment of the eagle sculpture, was in a stone dry-wall several meters to its north. The stone dry-wall had as its foundation a 1.5 m wide Antique wall made of several rows of regular dressed stones bonded with an abundant quantity of mortar. It is impossible to draw any conclusions on the type of building to which it belonged, but its link to the cult items described and analyzed herein cannot be excluded.

## CONCLUSION

Many altars in the Roman world were dedicated to deities who had certain essentially analogous features and whose cults had some common and similar elements. This fact is confirmed by the two altars from Salona published here, both of which are very simple in their contents and shapes. They were discovered entirely by chance in 2009 during clearance of the mound in the olive grove roughly 200 m east of the Pet mostova ('Five Bridges') site. The first altar was dedicated by a certain Gnaeus to the three goddesses, Ceres Augusta, Victoria and Venus Augustae: *Cereri A/ug(ustae) sac(rum) / Vic(toriae) et V[en(eri)] / Aug(ustis) Cn[(aeus?)---] / [----- /<sup>s</sup> v(otum)? s(olvit)? l(ibens)? m(erito)?]* (cat. no. 1; Fig. 1). The extraordinary importance of this find lies in the fact that it is the first dedicatory inscription to Ceres from Salona. The inscription has additional significance given that the only other altars dedicated to Ceres in the entire province are one from Narona and one from Proložac. The search for confirmations of Victoria's cult in Dalmatia yields even more meagre results. A severely damaged inscription from Salona may mention the renovation of her temple, while the inscription from Splitska on the island of Brač is dedicated to her and a few other Roman deities. However, an entirely different picture



ujednačenom kvalitetnom kapitalom sa slovima čija je veličina u prva tri retka 2,5 cm. Slova veličine 2 cm stajala su u posljednjem sačuvanom retku, koji je u odnosu na prethodne retke najistrošeniji.

Iznad natpisanoga polja je krunište koje sa svih strana, osim sa stražnje, ima jednostavnu "S"-profilaciju (*cyma recta*). Stražnja strana spomenika, za razliku od ostalih triju, samo je zaravnana grubim udarcima klesarskoga dlijeta, odnosno ostavljena je bez finalne obrade finijim klesarskim alatom.

Prvi i drugi redak teksta, kod kojih je posljednje slovo manje ili više odlomljeno u desnoj polovici, sačuvani su gotovo u cijelosti, dok su ostalima odlomljena posljednja dva-tri slova. Od petog retka sačuvani su samo vrhovi slova. Natpis glasi:

CERERI A  
VG SAC  
VIC ET V[---]  
AVG CN[---]

5 [-----]

Restitucija natpisa glasi:

*Cereri A/ug(ustae) sac(rum) / Vic(toriae) et V[en(eri)] / Aug(ustis) Cn[(aeus?)---] / [-----] /  
v(otum)? s(olvit)? l(ibens)? m(erito)?]*

Spomenik se čuva u arheološkoj zbirci Marka Matijevića u Solinu.



Slika 1. Zavjetna ara iz Solina posvećena Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri (snimio: J. Teklić).

Figure 1. Votive altar from Solin dedicated to Ceres, Victoria and Venus (photograph by: J. Teklić).

emerges when considering confirmations of the cult of Venus in the province and its capital. Two statues, numerous examples of tiny bronze sculpted pieces and distaffs and several inscriptions – most of them dedicated to Venus Victrix – were found in Salona. The *collegium fabrum* in the late imperial era took Venus as its divine patroness. The additional importance of this altar lies in the fact that it confirms worship of Ceres in union with certain other deities, in this case Victoria and Venus, which until that point had not been epigraphically confirmed in Dalmatia. Even though there are great difficulties involved in accurately dating the altar, we maintain that it may be generally placed in the second century.

Another small altar (cat. no. 2, Fig. 2) was found in the immediate vicinity of the altar of Ceres. Its inscription begins with *siglae* (*S V A L A*), which renders an entirely certain restoration difficult (*S(ilvano) V()* *A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto) / Iul(ius) vel ia*) (*hedera*) / [---- / ----?]). Similar *siglae* of an initial dedication appear on the five altars from Velike Stražine near Podosoj south of Vrlika. Therefore, we believe that this inscription also conceals the name *Silvanus V()*, which means that this is the eighth confirmation of his name in the province of Dalmatia. Which epithet of *Silvanus* is used on this inscription is a major question, and it would appear that none of the solutions offered in the literature is satisfactory. Besides *Silvanus*, the altar was also dedicated to *Liber Augustus*, whose cult in the province of Dalmatia was extremely popular, as confirmed by numerous archaeological finds. There are as many as thirteen of his monuments from Salona, which is the most in comparison to any other city in the province. Moreover, the inscriptions also mention the existence of an organized association (*convivium*) in which the deity was worshipped. Archaeological finds confirming *Liber's* worship together with *Silvanus* are exceptionally important because they indirectly confirm that restoration of the fragment published herein is correct. Such confirmations had not thus far been found in Salona, but there are relief images from Iader, Ričice and Karakašica and an inscription from Galovac. Like the example of the first inscription, it is clear that the natures of *Silvanus* and *Liber* were consolidated in a unified cult based on their common fertility traits. It is precisely in the same fashion – through *Ceres* and *Liber*, whose fertility concepts have numerous points in common – that both altars from Salona may be connected. Only the first three letters of the dedicant's gentilicium *Iulius* have been preserved, which is not sufficient to determine whether it was a man or woman. Thanks to observations on the presence of the epithet *Augustus* next to the deity's name, this fragment may also be dated to the second century. Given the

## 2. Žrtvenik Silvanu V() i Liberu (kat. br. 2; sl. 2)

Prilikom rastresanja suhozida pored gomile u kojoj je nađen žrtvenik posvećen Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri (v. kat. br. 1) pronađen je gornji dio manjega žrtvenika od vapnenca. Njegova je visina 14 cm, širina 10 cm, a debljina 8 cm.

Na desnoj strani kruništa sačuvan je ostatak jednostavne profilacijske letvice koja se očito protezala prednjom i lijevom stranom. Po sredini kruništa perforacija je veličine 4 × 2 cm i dubine 5 cm, koja je očito služila za uglavljivanje pripadajućeg kultnog kipića.

Površina spomenika fino je uglačana na svim stranama.

Tekst, vrlo kvalitetno klesan lijepom kapitalom, sačuvan je u dva retka od kojih drugi završava hedrom. U jednostavnu neuokvirenu natpisnome polju najveće sačuvane visine 6,5 cm stoje slova veličine 2 cm. Natpis glasi:

SVALA

IVL

[(?)]

Restitucija natpisa glasi:

*S(ilvano) V() A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto) / Iul(ius vel ia) (hedera) / [---- / ----?]*

Spomenik se čuva u arheološkoj zbirci Marka Matijevića u Solinu.



Slika 2. Zavjetna ara iz Solina posvećena Silvanu V() i Liberu (snimio: J. Teklić).

Figure 2. Votive altar from Solin dedicated to Silvanus V() and Liber (photograph by: J. Teklić).

vicinity of their discovery sites and the similarity of the deities, it is possible that both altars belonged to the same cult ambient, where the eagle sculpture (cat. no. 3; Fig. 3) may have also had its original place.

## CATALOGUE

### 1. Altar dedicated to Ceres, Victoria and Venus (cat. no. 1; Fig. 1)

The upper part of a limestone altar was found in the spring of 2009 after the removal of a mound in an olive grove in Grudine, Solin, 200 m east of the Pet mostova ('Five Bridges') site.

The greatest preserved height is 26 cm, the thickness is 8 cm, and the greatest width, of the crown, is 24 cm. The text is situated on a simple, unframed inscription field 17 cm wide and 16 cm high, engraved in high-quality capitals with letters having a height of 2.5 cm in the first three lines. The 2 cm high letters are in the final preserved line, which is the most worn in comparison to the others.

Above the inscription field is the crown which has simple "S" moulding (*cyma recta*) on all sides except the rear. The rear of the monument, as opposed to the other three sides, was simply flattened with coarse blows of the mason's chisel, i.e., no finishing was done with finer carving tools.

The first and second lines of the text, on which the final letters were more or less broken off in the right half, have been almost entirely preserved, while the remaining lines are missing their last two to three letters. Only the tips of the letters have been preserved in the fifth line. The inscription reads:

CERERI A

VG SAC

VIC ET V[---]

AVG CN[---]

5 [-----]

The restoration of the inscription reads:

*Cereri A/ug(ustae) sac(rum) / Vic(toriae) et V[en(eri)] / Aug(ustis) Cn[(aeus?)---] / [-----] /<sup>s</sup> v(otum)? s(olvit)? l(ibens)? m(erito)?*

The altar is held in the archaeological collection of Marko Matijević in Solin.

### 2. Altar dedicated to Silvanus V() and Liber (cat. no. 2; Fig. 2)

During dismantling of the stone dry-wall next to the mound in which the altar dedicated to Ceres, Victoria and Venus (cat. no. 1) was discovered, the upper part of a small limestone altar was also found. Its height is 14 cm, width 10 cm, and thickness 8 cm.

### 3. Ulomak skulpture orla iz Grudina (kat. br. 3; sl. 3)

Na istom mjestu gdje je pronađena ara Silvanu V() i Liberu, a nedaleko od prve, posvećene Cereri, Viktoriji i Veneri, pronađen je ulomak skulpture orla načinjene od vapnenca.

Orao stoji na elipsoidnoj bazi dimenzija 23 × 6 cm. Od ptice su sačuvane kandže i završetak desnoga krila, a uočljiv je i vrh lijevog krila, koje je također dodirivalo bazu. Visina ulomka je 9 cm. Na bazi nema tragova loma, a čini se da je skulptura samostalno stajala u prostoru. To međutim ne znači da nije mogla biti dio nekog kompleksnijeg skulpturalnog prikaza, primjerice pratitelj kipa nekog božanstva ili osobe. Štoviše, njezina poleđina nije detaljno modelirana, što sugerira da nije bila namijenjena promatranju sa svih strana.

Spomenik se čuva u arheološkoj zbirci Marka Matijevića u Solinu.



Slika 3. Donji dio kamene skulpture orla iz Solina (snimio: J. Teklić).

Figure 3. Lower part of a stone eagle sculpture from Solin (photograph by: J. Teklić).

The remainder of a simple moulding band was found on the right side of the crown, and it obviously extended across the front and left side. A perforation with dimensions of 4 × 2 cm and a depth of 5 cm is in the middle of the crown; it obviously served to insert the accompanying cult statuette.

The surface of the monument is finely polished on all sides.

The text, engraved with quality in nice capitals, has been preserved in two lines, of which the second ends with a hedera. The 2 cm high letters stand in a simple unframed inscription field, of a greatest preserved height of 6.5 cm. The inscription reads:

SVALA

IVL

[(?)]

The restoration of the inscription reads:

*S(ilvano) V() A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto) / Iul(ius vel ia) (hedera) / [---- / ----?]*

The altar is held in the archaeological collection of Marko Matijević in Solin.

### 3. Fragment of eagle sculpture from Grudine (cat. no. 3; Fig. 3)

A fragment of a limestone sculpture of an eagle was discovered at the same site as the altar dedicated to Silvanus V() and Liber, and not far from the first, dedicated to Ceres, Victoria and Venus.

The eagle stands on an elliptical base with dimensions of 23 × 6 cm. The bird's talons and tip of the right wing have been preserved, and the tip of the left wing is discernable, as it also touched the base. The height of the fragment is 9 cm. There are no traces of breakage on the base, and it would appear that the sculpture stood independently. This, however, does not mean that it could not be part of some more complex sculptural representation, such as accompaniment to a statue of some deity or person. Moreover, its back was not modelled in detail, which suggests that it was not intended to be viewed from all sides.

The altar is held in the archaeological collection of Marko Matijević in Solin.

## IZVORI / SOURCES

- Ciceron (M. Tullius Cicero)  
*The Verrine Orations*, vol. 1, Harvard University Press, London, 1989.  
*De Natura Deorum*, Harvard University Press, London, 2000.

## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

- AE *Anneé épigraphique*, Paris.  
AIJ V. Hoffiller & B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslawien. 1: Noricum und Pannonia superior*, Zagreb, 1938.  
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin.  
EDH *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*, <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index/html.de> (posjet / last accessed: 20 Jun 2010).  
ILJug Anna et Jaro Šašel, *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1963 (= *Situla* 5); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1978 (= *Situla* 19); *Inscriptiones latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, Ljubljana, 1986 (= *Situla* 25).  
ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, H. Dessau (ed.), Berlin, 1892–1916.  
OPEL *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum*, vols. I–IV, B. Lőrincz & F. Redő (eds.), Budapest – Wien, 1994–2002.

## LITERATURA / BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alföldy 1969 G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatien*, Heidelberg, 1969.  
*Arheološki tragovi kultova* 2008 Skupina autora, *Arheološki tragovi kultova i religija na šibenskom području*, Šibenik, 2008.  
Bersa 1903 G. de Bersa, “Bolli, marche di fabbrica ed iscrizioni su oggetti antichi del Museo di S. Donato in Zara”, *Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata* 26, Split, 1903, 148–151.  
Bodel 2008 J. Bodel, “Cicero’s Minerva, Penates, and the mother of the Lares. An outline of Roman domestic religion”, in: J. Bodel & S. M. Olyan (eds.), *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity – Contextual and Comparative Perspectives*, Oxford, 2008, 248–275.  
Bonačić Mandinić 2007 M. Bonačić Mandinić, *Rimski carski novac u stalnom postavu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu (I. dio)*, Split, 2007.  
Brajković 2008 T. Brajković, “Antika”, in: *Arheološki tragovi kultova i religija na šibenskom području*, Šibenik, 2008, 55–89.  
Bulić 1887 F. Bulić, “Iscrizioni inedite”, *Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata* 10, Split, 1887, 57–59.  
Bulić 1888 F. Bulić, “Iscrizioni inedite”, *Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata* 11, Split, 1888, 8–11.

- Bulić 1894 F. Bulić, "Inscrizioni inedite", *Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata* 17, Split, 1894, 97–101.
- Bulić 1901 F. Bulić, "Inscrizioni inedite", *Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata* 24, Split, 1901, 45–54.
- Bulić 1909 F. Bulić, "Ritrovamenti antichi a Oklaj di Promina (Promona)", *Bullettino di archaeologia e storia dalmata* 32, Split, 1909, 45–48.
- Buzov 2005 M. Buzov, "Rimski kultovi u Sisciji", *Histria Antiqua* 13, Pula, 2005, 263–275.
- Cagnat 1898 R. Cagnat, *Cours d'Épigraphie Latine*, Paris, <sup>3</sup>1898.
- Cambi 1993 N. Cambi, "Stele iz kasnoantičke grobnice u Dugopolju", *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 86, Split, 1993, 147–181.
- Cambi 2002 N. Cambi, "Kiparstvo", in: E. Marin (ed.), *Longae Salonae*, vol. 1, Split, 2002, 115–174.
- Cambi 2005 N. Cambi, *Kiparstvo rimske Dalmacije*, Split, 2005.
- Chirassi Colombo 1981 I. Chirassi Colombo, "Funzioni politiche ed implicazioni culturali nell'ideologia religiosa di Ceres nell'impero romano", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 17. 1, Berlin – New York, 1981, 403–428.
- Clark 2007 A. J. Clark, *Divine Qualities – Cult and Community in Republican Rome*, Oxford, 2007.
- Clauss 2001 M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich*, Leipzig, <sup>2</sup>2001.
- Dorcey 1989 P. F. Dorcey, "Silvanus vilicus?", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 79, Bonn, 1989, 293–295.
- Dorcey 1992 P. F. Dorcey, *The Cult of Silvanus. A Study in Roman Folk Religion*, Leiden, 1992.
- Edmondson 2007 J. Edmondson, "The cult of Mars Augustus and Roman imperial power at Augusta Emerita (Lusitania) in the third century A. D. A new votive dedication", in: T. Nogales & J. González (eds.), *Culto Imperial. Política y poder*, Roma, 2007, 541–575.
- Fadić 1995 I. Fadić, "Novi natpisi VII. legije iz Tilurija", *Diadora* 16–17, Zadar, 1994–1995, 163–187.
- Fears 1981 J. R. Fears, "The theology of Victory at Rome. Approaches and problems", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 17. 2, Berlin – New York, 1981, 736–826.
- Fears 1981a J. R. Fears, "The cult of virtues and Roman imperial ideology", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 17. 2, Berlin – New York, 1981, 827–948.
- Fishwick 1993 D. Fishwick, *The imperial cult in the Latin west. Studies in the ruler cult of the western provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1.1, Leiden – New York – Köln, 1993.
- Galinsky 1992 K. Galinsky, "Venus, polysemy and the Ara Pacis Augustae", *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, Boston, 1992, 457–477.
- Hirschfeld 1885 O. Hirschfeld, "Bericht über eine Reise in Dalmatien", *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen* 9, Wien, 1885, 1–30.
- Ivčević 2000 S. Ivčević, "Koštane preslice s prikazom Afrodite iz Arheološkog muzeja Split", *Opuscula archaeologica* 23–24, Zagreb, 1999–2000, 473–480.
- Jadrić 2007 I. Jadrić, *Liberov kult u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji* (neobjavljen magistarski rad, Sveučilište u Zadru / unpublished MA dissertation, University of Zadar), Zadar, 2007.
- Jadrić 2008 I. Jadrić, "Svečanosti u čast boga Libera u Seniji i Saloni", *Histria Antiqua* 16, Pula, 2008, 127–136.
- Jurkić 1976 V. Jurkić, "Izbor antičke kultne plastike na području Istre", in: Š. Batović (ed.), *IX kongres arheologa Jugoslavije Zadar, 1972 (Materijali XII)*, Zadar, 1976, 209–223.

- Kajanto 1965 I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki, 1965.
- Kuntić-Makvić 2005 B. Kuntić-Makvić, "Borvo et Damona – Vidasus et Thana. Les possibilites de l'analyse comparative", in: M. Sanader (ed.), *Illyrica antiqua. Ob honorem Duje Rendić-Miočević. Radovi s međunarodnog skupa o problemima antičke arheologije, Zagreb, 6.–8. XI. 2003.*, Zagreb, 2005, 329–351.
- Kurilić 1999 A. Kurilić, *Pučanstvo Liburnije od 1. do 3. stoljeća po Kristu. Antroponimija, društveni slojevi, etničke promjene, gospodarske uloge* (neobjavljena doktorska disertacija, Sveučilište u Zadru / unpublished PhD thesis, University of Zadar), Zadar, 1999.
- Lundeen 2006 L. E. Lundeen, "In search of the Etruscan priestess. A re-examination of the hatrencu", in: C. E. Schultz & P. B. Harvey jr. (eds.), *Religion in Republican Italy* (Yale Classical Studies XXXIII), New York, 2006, 34–62.
- Marin 1969 E. Marin, "Neke značajke rimske sakralne arhitekture na istočnom Jadranu", *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 70–71, Split, 1968–1969, 155–173.
- Maršić 1997 D. Maršić, "Tri Silvanova žrtvenika iz Salone", *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru* 36 (23), Zadar, 1997 [1998], 45–67.
- Matić 2009 J. Matić, "Za golf uz Peruču 300 milijuna eura", *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Split, 21. Aug 2009, <http://www.slobodnadalmacija.hr/O-ku%C4%87o-mala/tabid/93/articleType/ArticleView/articleId/66602/Default.aspx>
- Matijašić 2002 R. Matijašić, *Uvod u latinsku epigrafiku*, Pula, 2002.
- Matijašić & Tassaux 2000 R. Matijašić & F. Tassaux, "Liber et Silvanus", in: Ch. Delplace & F. Tassaux (eds.), *Les cultes polythéistes dans l'Adriatique romaine*, Bordeaux, 2000, 65–117.
- Matijević 2006 I. Matijević, "Neobjavljeni natpisi iz Žrnovnice i Salone", *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 99, Split, 2006, 145–152.
- Medini 1976 J. Medini, "Rimska i orijentalne religije na istočnoj obali Jadrana", in: Š. Batović (ed.), *IX kongres arheologa Jugoslavije Zadar, 1972 (Materijali XII)*, Zadar, 1976, 185–207.
- Medini 1984 J. Medini, "Autohtoni kultovi u razvoju antičkih religija u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji", *Dometi* 5, Rijeka, 1984, 7–29.
- Medini 1985 J. Medini, "Cognationes salonitanae", *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* XXIII (21), Sarajevo, 1985, 5–45.
- Miletić 2003 Ž. Miletić, "Religijski život u Naroni", in: E. Marin (ed.), *Arheološka istraživanja u Naroni i dolini Neretve* (Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 22), Zagreb – Metković – Split, 2003, 215–220.
- Milićević Bradač 2009 M. Milićević Bradač, "Spomeni božice Dijane iz kolonije *Claudia Aequum* i logora *Tilurium*", *Opuscula archaeologica* 33, Zagreb, 2009, 51–78.
- Mócsy 1974 A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia*, London – Boston, 1974.
- Morford & Lenardon 2003 M. P. O. Morford & R. J. Lenardon, *Classical mythology*, New York – Oxford, 2003.
- Patsch 1900 C. Patsch, "Archäologisch-epigraphische Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der römischen Provinz Dalmatien, IV", *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina* VII, Wien, 1900, 33–166.
- Perinić Muratović 2008 Lj. Perinić Muratović, *Podrijetlo i narav kulta boga Silvana u rimskim provincijama Dalmaciji i Panoniji* (neobjavljena doktorska disertacija, Sveučilište u Zagrebu / unpublished PhD thesis, University of Zagreb), Zagreb, 2008.
- Rendić-Miočević 2005 A. Rendić-Miočević, "O kultu Jupitera i Junone na području Siska", *Histria Antiqua* 13, Pula, 2005, 241–262.

- Rendić-Miočević 1989 D. Rendić-Miočević, "Neki ikonografski i onomastički aspekti Silvanove kultne zajednice u Panoniji i Iliriku", in: *Iliri i antički svijet*, Split, 1989, 507–522. [Prvi put tiskano u / first time published in: *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser., 12–13, Zagreb, 1979–1980, 105–124.]
- Rendić-Miočević 1992 D. Rendić-Miočević, "O akvajasejskoj epigrafskoj baštini i o posebnostima njenih kulturnih dedikacija", *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, 3. ser., XXIV–XXV, Zagreb, 1991–1992, 67–75.
- Sanader 1996 M. Sanader, "Novi aspekti kulta božice Terra Mater", *Opuscula archaeologica* 20, Zagreb, 1996, 119–130.
- Sanader 2008 M. Sanader, "O antičkim kultovima u Hrvatskoj", *Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku* 101, Split, 2008, 157–186.
- Schilling 1954 R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus*, Paris, 1954.
- Schultz 2006 C. E. Schultz, *Women's religious activity in the Roman Republic*, Chapel Hill, 2006.
- Simón 2007 F. M. Simón, "Within the Confines of the Romano-Celtic World. The Gods of the Roads", in: M. Hainzmann (ed.), *Auf den Spuren keltischer Götterverehrung*, Wien, 2007, 197–206.
- Spaeth 1994 B. S. Spaeth, "Ceres in the Ara Pacis Augustae and the Carthage relief", *American Journal of Archaeology* 98, Boston, 1994, 65–100.
- Spaeth 1996 B. S. Spaeth, *The roman goddess Ceres*, Austin, 1996.
- Speidel 1984 M. Speidel, "Venus Victrix – Roman and Oriental", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 17. 4, Berlin – New York, 1984, 2225–2238.
- Stanić 1891 P. Stanić, "Rimski spomenici Vrličke okolice u Dalmaciji", *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 13, Zagreb, 1891, 68–74.
- Stanić 1891a P. Stanić, "Rimski spomenici Vrličke okolice u Dalmaciji", *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 13, Zagreb, 1891, 99–108.
- Stanić 1892 P. Stanić, "Starinske izkopine u Kotluši i Stražinama pokraj Vrlike u Dalmaciji", *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 14, Zagreb, 1892, 10–16.
- Staples 1998 A. Staples, *From good goddess to vestal virgins – Sex and category in Roman religion*, London – New York, 1998.
- Suić 1970 M. Suić, "Noviji natpisi iz Burnuma", *Diadora* 5, Zadar, 1970, 93–130.
- Takács 2008 S. A. Takács, *Vestal Virgins, Sibyls, and Matrons. Women in Roman Religion*, Austin, 2008.
- Tassaux 1997 F. Tassaux, "Les dieux augustes en Istrie", in: B. Čečuk (ed.), *Arheološka istraživanja u Istri* (Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva 18), Pula, 1997, 77–84.
- Weinstock 1958 S. Weinstock, "Victoria", *Die Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* VIII A, 2, Stuttgart, 1958, 2501–2542.
- Wilkes 1969 J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia*, London, 1969.
- Zaninović 2005 M. Zaninović, "Kult Afrodite i Venere na tadašnjoj hrvatskoj obali", *Histria Antiqua* 13, Pula, 2005, 157–166.
- Zaninović 2007 M. Zaninović, *Ilirsko pleme Delmati*, Šibenik, 2007. [Prvi put tiskano u / first time published in: *Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja* 4, Sarajevo, 1966, 27–92; 5, Sarajevo, 1967, 5–101.]
- Zlatović 1884 S. Zlatović, "O Cetinu gdje se je obavio izbor Habsburgovaca na prijestol hrvatski", *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 6, Zagreb, 1884, 76–79.