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Nova potvrda Liberova kulta iz Salone

A new confirmation of Liber's cult from Salona

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U radu se donosi neobjavljeni ulomak Liberova žrtvenika iz Salone. Učinjen je kratak prikaz spomenika koji se povezuju s Liberovim kultom u Saloni.

Ključne riječi: Salona, žrtvenik, Liber, kult

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The work presents a thus-far unpublished fragment of an altar dedicated to Liber from Salona. The piece is briefly described and linked to the cult of Liber in Salona.

Key words: Salona, altar, Liber, cult

Prije nekoliko mjeseci prigodom raščišćavanja jedne gomile u solinskim Grudinama, u istočnom dijelu grada južno od *via principalis*, a 150 metara zapadno od bazilike *Orientalis*, pronađen je ulomak žrtvenika (sl. 1).¹ Sačuvan je u svojoj izvornoj debljini (13 cm) i širini (15,5 cm). Najveća sačuvana visina je 8 cm. Površina natpisne plohe prilično je istrošena zbog čega su i slova teško prepoznatljiva. Od prvoga retka sačuvani su tek završetci nekoliko slova, sljedeća dva retka cjelovito su očuvana, a od četvrtoga retka vide se tek vrhovi nekoliko slova. Visina slova je 2 cm. Natpis glasi:

[-----]
VS SACTO
LIBERO PA
[-----]

Restitucija natpisa glasi: [-----] / *us sa(n)cto / Libero Pa / [tri---]*

Slova *-us* na početku drugoga retka najvjerojatnije treba protumačiti kao završni dio dedikantova imena. Važnost ovoga ulomka je u njegovu trećem retku, koji otkriva da je žrtvenik bio posvećen Liberu. Štoviše, sačuvana slova *pa-* u nastavku retka upućuju na siguran zaključak da je ovdje bila uklesana riječ *Pater*, koja je najčešći pratitelj Liberova imena na natpisima iz Dalmacije.²

Liber je staro italsko božanstvo koje je zajedno s Liberom štovano kao zaštitnik stvaranja i plodnosti u biljnom i životinjskom svijetu te kod ljudi. Oni bi mogli biti Cererina djeca,³ a prema nekim interpretacijama prikazani su u njezinu naručju na *Ara Pacis*.⁴ Liber se odražavao u muškim elementima, dok su ženski elementi ovisili o Liberi, koja se identificirala s Venerom. Njihov kult u Laciju potvrđen je već od 6. stoljeća prije Krista,⁵ a u Rimu im je 494./3. g. prije Krista posvećen hram koji je postao svjetovno, upravno i religijsko središte puka, kao i mjesto njegova okupljanja.⁶ Pretpostavlja se da je hram bio sjedište plebejskih prvaka (*aediles plebis*) koji su vodili brigu o opskrbi žitom (*cura annonae*) grada Rima.⁷ Početkom carskoga razdoblja Liber nije bio među glavnim božanstvima, ali od 2. stoljeća njegovi spomenici postaju sve brojniji. Poseban poticaj štovanju dala je carska propaganda

Several months ago, an altar fragment (Fig. 1) was found during the clearance of a mound in the eastern, Grudine section of the town of Solin south of *via principalis* and 150 meters west of the *Orientalis* basilica.¹ It has been preserved in its original thickness (13 cm) and width (15.5 cm). The greatest preserved height is 8 cm. The surface of the inscription field is rather worn, so that the letters are difficult to discern. Only the ends of a few letters have been preserved in the first line, while the next two lines are entirely preserved. Only the tops of several letters are visible in the fourth line. The height of the letters is 2 cm. The inscription reads:

[-----]
VS SACTO
LIBERO PA
[-----]

The restoration reads: [-----] / *us sa(n)cto / Libero Pa / [tri---]*

The letters *-us* at the beginning of the second line should probably be interpreted as the suffix of the dedicant's name. This fragment is important thanks to its third line, which reveals that the altar was dedicated to Liber. Moreover, the preserved letters *pa-* at the end of the line point to the certain conclusion that the word *Pater* was engraved here, and this was the most common accompaniment to Liber's name in inscriptions from Dalmatia.²

Liber was an old Italic deity who, together with Libera, was worshipped as the patron of creation and fertility among plants and animals and humans as well. They may have been the children of Ceres,³ and according to some interpretations, they are depicted in her embrace on the *Ara Pacis*.⁴ Liber was personified by male elements, while female traits rested in Libera, who was identified with Venus. The existence of their cult in Latium has been confirmed as early the sixth century BC,⁵ while in Rome a temple which became the secular, administrative and religious hub of the populace and their gathering place was dedicated to them in 494/3 BC.⁶ It is assumed that this temple served as the seat of the plebeian magistrates (*aediles plebis*) who were in charge of the grain supply (*cura annonae*) for the city of Rome.⁷ At the onset of the imperial period, Liber was not among the principal deities, but from the second century onward his monuments

1 Spomenik se čuva u arheološkoj zbirci Marka Matijevića u Solinu.
2 Apozicija *Pater* potvrđena je na 64 % Liberovih natpisa iz Dalmacije, Jadrić 2007, str. 94. Najstariji natpisi donose Liberovo ime bez ikakvih epiteta ili apozicija (*Liber*), a nakon asimilacije s Dionisom uobičajilo ga se nazivati *Liber Pater*, što je zadržano sve do kraja poganskog razdoblja, vidi Jadrić 2007, str. 23.
3 Jadrić 2007, str. 25.
4 Spaeth 1996, str. 44.
5 Jadrić 2007, str. 18-22.
6 Tradicija govori da je diktator A. Postumije 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; v. Jadrić 2007, str. 24-27 (za ostala svetišta Liberova kulta vidi ondje stranice 38-44).
7 Spaeth 1996, str. 40, 85.

1 The piece is held in Marko Matijević's archaeological collection in Solin.
2 The apposition *Pater* was confirmed in 64% of Liber's inscriptions from Dalmatia, Jadrić 2007, p. 94. The oldest inscriptions bear Liber's name without any epithets or appositions (*Liber*), while after assimilation with Dionysus, it was customary to call him *Liber Pater*, which was retained until the end of the pagan era; see Jadrić 2007, p. 23.
3 Jadrić 2007, p. 25.
4 Spaeth 1996, p. 44.
5 Jadrić 2007, pp. 18-22.
6 According to legend, the dictator Postumius, acting on the advice of the Sybilline Books, introduced the cult of the Greek agrarian triad (Demeter, Dionysus and Cora), whose members then acquired the Latin names Ceres, Liber and Libera; see Jadrić 2007, pp. 24-27 (for other shrine of Liber's cult see therein pp 38-44).
7 Spaeth 1996, pp. 40, 85.

Septimija Severa koji je bio porijeklom iz afričke *Leptis Magnae*, čiji su božanski zaštitnici bili Liber i Heraklo. Njegovim dolaskom na vlast Liber je postao jedan od službenih rimskih bogova. Arheološka svjedočanstva pokazuju da je štovan barem do kraja 4. stoljeća.⁸

U provinciji Dalmaciji početkom 1. stoljeća Liberov je kult bio osobito zastupljen u južnim predjelima Liburnije, zatim u Saloni i Naroni te u zapadnoj Hercegovini, sjeverozapadnoj Bosni i Podrinju. Na ovim se prostorima javio već od sredine 1. stoljeća prije Krista, kada su ga u Naronu donijeli italici kolonisti. O kultu u Dalmaciji svjedoči raznolika i brojna arheološka građa: arhitektonski ulomci (pet primjeraka), reljefi (16 primjeraka), monumentalna plastika (pet primjeraka), bronzane figure (tri primjerka), te posebno 42 žrtvenika.⁹ Osim što je štovan zajedno sa svojim ženskim pandanom Liberom, dalmatinski natpisi pokazuju da su Liberu pridruživani Jupiter, Izida sa Serapisom, Termin, *Terra Mater* i Silvan.¹⁰

Liber je bio osobito popularan u Saloni, iz koje je poznato čak 14 njegovih spomenika, što je najviše u odnosu na neki drugi grad u provinciji.¹¹ Nekoliko ih je pronađeno u sklopu gospodarskog imanja koje je prethodilo cemetrijalnoj bazilici na Manastirinama: ulomak arhitektonske grede s natpisom *Liberi patri*,¹² ulomak noge stola s prikazom torza božanstva¹³ te žrtvenik ili baza za kip božanstva s natpisom *Sacrum / Libero*.¹⁴ Ovi nalazi očito su pripadali manjem svetištu koje se nalazilo u okviru vile, a njihova obrada i ornamentika pokazuju da je objekt bio raskošno opremljen.¹⁵ U blizini amfiteatra pronađen je ulomak stupa s natpisom: *L(iberi) P(atrici) s(acrum) / Curia / nus*.¹⁶ Na imanju Jure Katića (kat. č. 3253/1), u istočnom dijelu grada, 150 m zapadno od *Porta Andetria*, na lokalitetu Kuline, uz sjeverni gradski zid, pronađena je ara s natpisom: *[L]iberi Pat(rici) / Aug(usto) sa[c(rum)] / Iulia A(uli) I(iberta) M[a]xima ex [v(iso)] / posuit*.¹⁷

Pod imenom *Deus Magnus Conservator loci* Libera je u Saloni štovalo organizirano udruženje (*convivium*) i podiglo mu svetište. Tako su ga na dvama žrtvenicima oslovili dedikanti Aurelije Valerijan i Aurelije Terencijan i od njega zatražili

became increasingly numerous. This worship was fostered in particular by the imperial propaganda of Septimius Severus, who was from Leptis Magna in Africa, of which Liber and Heracles were the divine patrons. When Severus assumed power, Liber became one of the official Roman gods. Archaeological evidence shows that he was worshipped to the end of the fourth century at a minimum.⁸

In the province of Dalmatia at the beginning of the first century, Liber was particularly well represented in the southern sections of Liburnia, particularly in Salona and Naron, and in western Herzegovina, north-west Bosnia and the wider Drina River valley. It had already appeared in these areas by the mid-first century BC, when Italic colonists brought it to Naron. Numerous and diverse archaeological materials testify to this cult in Dalmatia: architectural fragments (5 examples), relief portrayals (16 examples), monumental sculpture (5 examples), bronze figures (3 examples) and, in particular, 42 altars.⁹ Besides being revered together with his female counterpart, Libera, the Dalmatian inscriptions show that Liber was joined by Jupiter, Isis with Serapis, Terminus, the *Terra Mater* and Silvanus.¹⁰

Liber was especially popular in Salona, where as many as fourteen monuments dedicated to him have been found, which is more than in any other city in the province.¹¹ Several of them were discovered within the context of the farming estate which preceded the cemeterial basilica at Manastirine: a fragment of a building beam bearing the inscription *Liberi patri*;¹² a fragment of a table leg bearing an image of the deity's torso¹³ and an altar or base for a statue of the deity bearing the inscription *Sacrum / Libero*.¹⁴ These finds obviously belonged to a smaller shrine that was a part of the villa, and their rendering and ornamentation indicate that the structure was luxuriously furnished.¹⁵ A column fragment was found next to the amphitheatre bearing the inscription: *L(iberi) P(atrici) s(acrum) / Curia / nus*.¹⁶ An altar was discovered on the property of Jure Katić (cadastral plot no. 3253/1) in the eastern section of the town, 150 m west of the *Porta Andetria* at the Kuline site along the city's northern wall. The inscription on it reads: *[L]iberi Pat(rici) / Aug(usto) sa[c(rum)] / Iulia A(uli) I(iberta) M[a]xima ex [v(iso)] / posuit*.¹⁷

Liber was worshipped in Salona under the name *Deus Magnus Conservator loci* by an organized association (*convivium*), which raised a shrine to him. He was addressed by this name on two altars by the dedicants Aurelius Valerianus and Aurelius Terentianus, who beseeched him for health for themselves and

8 Jadrić 2007, str. 28-32.

9 Jadrić 2007, str. 51; Matijević, Kurilić 2011, str. 160, kat. br. 2.

10 Jadrić 2007, str. 73-77. O božanstvima koja su često pridruživana Liberu v. Matijević, Kurilić 2011, str. 151-155.

11 Jadrić 2007, str. 52, 262; Matijević, Kurilić 2011, str. 160, kat. br. 2.

12 CIL 3, 14672; Jadrić 2007, str. 131, kat. br. 26.

13 Jadrić 2007, str. 132, kat. br. 27.

14 ILJug 673; Jadrić 2007, str. 133, kat. br. 28.

15 Jadrić 2007, str. 60; Jadrić 2008, str. 131.

16 ILJug 2050; Jadrić 2007, str. 134, kat. br. 29.

17 CIL 3, 14673; Bulić 1899, str. 161. Za cjelovitu lekciju natpisa vidi EDH HD061573.

8 Jadrić 2007, pp. 28-32.

9 Jadrić 2007, p. 51; Matijević, Kurilić 2011, p. 160, cat. no. 2.

10 Jadrić 2007, pp. 73-77. On the deities that often joined Liber, see Matijević, Kurilić 2011, pp. 151-155.

11 Jadrić 2007, pp. 52, 262; Matijević, Kurilić 2011, p. 160, cat. no. 2.

12 CIL 3, 14672; Jadrić 2007, p. 131, cat. no. 26.

13 Jadrić 2007, p. 132, cat. no. 27.

14 ILJug 673; Jadrić 2007, p. 133, cat. no. 28.

15 Jadrić 2007, p. 60; Jadrić 2008, p. 131.

16 ILJug 2050; Jadrić 2007, p. 134, cat. no. 29.

17 CIL 3, 14673; Bulić 1899, p. 161. For a complete reading of the inscription see EDH HD061573.



Slika 1.

Figure 1.

zdravlje za sebe i ostale članove.¹⁸ Svetište je najvjerojatnije bilo rezervirano samo za članove konvivija, koji su u njemu održavali svečanosti u čast svome bogu, a analogija za slično štovanje Libera postoji u Rimu.¹⁹ Žrtvenici su pronađeni jedan pored drugoga na zemljištu Ante Grge Barkova (kat. č. 3266),²⁰ u istočnom dijelu Salone, 150 m jugozapadno od kat. č. 3253/1, na lokalitetu Kuline, odakle je i žrtvenik Julije Maksime. Na zemljištu Martina Katića Mornara (kat. č. 3821), 250 m istočno od križne bazilike, pronađen je žrtvenik vrlo malih dimenzija (visina 9 cm, širina 7 cm)²¹ s natpisom *Liberu Patri*.²² Nedavno je na zemljištu 200 m istočno od lokaliteta Pet mostova pronađen mali žrtvenik s posvetom *S(ilvano) V(i) A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto)*.²³

all other members.¹⁸ The shrine was probably reserved only for members of the *convivium*, who held ceremonies in it to honour their god, and by way of analogy there was similar worship of Liber in Rome.¹⁹ The altars were discovered next to one another on land belonging to Ante Grga Barkov (cadastral plot no. 3266)²⁰ in the eastern section of Salona, 150 m south-west of cadastral plot no. 3253/1, at the Kuline site, where the altar of Julia Maxima was also found. On land belonging to Martin Katić Mornar (cadastral plot no. 3821), 250 m east of the cross-shaped basilica, a very small altar was found (height 9 cm, width 7 cm)²¹ bearing the inscription *Liberu Patri*.²² Recently a small altar bearing the inscription *S(ilvano) V(i) A(ugusto) L(ibero) A(ugusto)* was found on a plot of land 200 m east of the 'Five Bridges' site.²³

18 CIL 3, 14242: *Deo Mag(no) / Conservat(ori) / loci (h)uius / pro salute / sua et suorum / et numero convivii) Aurel / i(i) Valerianus / et Terentia / nus v(otum) l(ibentes) s(olverunt)*; CIL 3, 14242.1: *Deo Magno / Conservatori / loci (h)uius et / omnium suo / rum Aur(elius) Teren / tianus votum / libens sol(vit)*. V. i. Jadrić 2007, str. 136-138.

19 Jadrić 2008, str. 60, 61, 131.

20 Bulić 1896a, str. 81.

21 Bulić 1896b, str. 163-164.

22 CIL 3, 14241.1; Jadrić 2007, str. 139, kat. br. 33.

23 Matijević, Kurilić 2011, str. 160, kat. br. 2.

18 CIL 3, 14242: *Deo Mag(no) / Conservat(ori) / loci (h)uius / pro salute / sua et suorum / et numero convivii) Aurel / i(i) Valerianus / et Terentia / nus v(otum) l(ibentes) s(olverunt)*; CIL 3, 14242.1: *Deo Magno / Conservatori / loci (h)uius et / omnium suo / rum Aur(elius) Teren / tianus votum / libens sol(vit)*. See also Jadrić 2007, pp. 136-138.

19 Jadrić 2008, pp. 60, 61, 131.

20 Bulić 1896a, p. 81.

21 Bulić 1896b, pp. 163-164.

22 CIL 3, 14241.1; Jadrić 2007, p. 139, cat. no. 33.

23 Matijević, Kurilić 2011, p. 160, cat. no. 2.

Iz Salone potječu i skulptura boga Libera te reljefna kompozicija Libera i berbe grožđa.²⁴ U Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu postoji još nekoliko spomenika za koje nisu poznata točna mjesta pronalaska iako je sasvim sigurno da su iz salonitanskog agera.²⁵

Na temelju dostupnoga arheološkog materijala teško je nešto više reći o organizaciji Liberovih svetišta u Dalmaciji,²⁶ o čemu je I. Jadrić u svojoj magistarskoj radnji zaključila: "Za vrlo mali broj žrtvenika postoje stratigrafski i drugi relevantni podatci o mjestu, okolnostima nalaza unutar određenih arhitektonskih cjelina, pa se stoga postojanje Liberovih svetišta na mjestima gdje su pronađeni njegovi žrtvenici može samo hipotetički pretpostaviti."²⁷ U Saloni je svetište najvjerojatnije postojalo u blizini mjesta pronalaska dvaju žrtvenika koji spominju konvivij.²⁸ Ostali Liberovi žrtvenici koncentrirani su u istočnom dijelu Salone, između *via principalis* i sjevernih gradskih zidina, a katastarske čestice na kojima su pronađeni međusobno su prilično udaljene. Stoga je te žrtvenike teško, gotovo nemoguće, povezati sa svetištem konvivija ili pretpostaviti njihovo egzistiranje u okviru istog svetišta. Štoviše, moglo bi se pretpostaviti postojanje drugih Liberovih svetišta na mjestima pronalaska ovih žrtvenika.

A sculpture of the god Liber and a relief composition of the grape harvest also originated in Salona.²⁴ There are several more monuments in the Archaeological Museum in Split which whose exact discovery sites are not known, although it is entirely certain that they are from the Salona ager.²⁵

Based on the available archaeological materials, it is difficult to say anything more on the organization of Liber's shrine in Dalmatia,²⁶ about which I. Jadrić concluded in her master's thesis: "Stratigraphic and other relevant data on sites and find contexts inside specific architectural units exist for only a very small number of altars, so the existence of Liber's shrines at the places where his altars were discovered may only be assumed hypothetically."²⁷ In Salona the shrine was most likely located in the vicinity of the discovery site of the two altars which mention the *convivium*.²⁸ The other altars of Liber are concentrated in the eastern section of Salona between the *via principalis* and the northern city walls, while the registered land plots in which they were found are rather distant from each other. Therefore, it is virtually impossible to link these altars to the shrine of this convivium or assume that they existed within the shrine. Furthermore, it is also possible that other shrines dedicated to Liber existed at the sites where these altars were discovered.

24 Za detaljan opis ovih spomenika v. Jadrić 2008, str. 130, 141.

25 Za ove spomenike v. Jadrić 2007, str. 61.

26 Jadrić 2008, str. 133.

27 Jadrić 2007, str. 64.

28 Jadrić 2007, str. 60-61; v. bilješke 18-20.

24 For a detailed description of these monuments, see Jadrić 2008, pp. 130, 141.

25 For these monuments, see Jadrić 2007, p. 61.

26 Jadrić 2008, p. 133.

27 Jadrić 2007, p. 64.

28 Jadrić 2007, pp. 60-61; see notes 18-20.

Kratice / Abbreviations

BASD - Bulletino di archaeologia
e storia dalmata

CIL - Corpus Inscriptionum
Latinarum

EDH - Epigraphische Datenbank
Heidelberg - <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/institute/sonst/adw/edh/index/html.de> (4. 5. 2011.)

HA - Histria Antiqua

ILJug - Anna et Jaro Šašel,
Inscriptiones latinae quae in
Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL
et MCMLX repertae et editae
sunt (Situla, 5, Ljubljana, 1963);
Inscriptiones latinae quae in
Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX
et MCMLXX repertae et editae
sunt (Situla, 19, Ljubljana, 1978);
Inscriptiones latinae quae in
Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et
MCMXL repertae et editae sunt
(Situla, 25, Ljubljana, 1986)

OA - Opuscula archaeologica

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