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O natpisnoj građi rimskih amfiteatara na prostoru istočnojadranske obale

On the inscriptions of Roman amphitheatres in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard

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Na prostoru istočnojadranske obale postoji razmjerno gusta mreža rimskih (indiciranih) amfiteatara, koja svjedoči o civilizacijskoj razini pojedinih rimskih gradova. Međutim, razmjerno malen broj tih rimskih građevina arheološki je istražen; među njima je još manji broj sačuvanih građevina koje baštine natpisnu građu što se neposredno odnosi na rimske amfiteatre.* Stoga će u radu biti zastupljeni samo oni epigrafski spomenici koji su u svojoj dubokoj prošlosti izvještavali o javnoj građevinskoj djelatnosti na primjeru rimskih amfiteatara istočnojadranskog prostora (*inscriptiones publicae*). Taj je epigrafski fond tematski i topografski klasificiran prema pripadajućim arheološkim lokalitetima. Ista je građa od iznimnog značenja i za vremensku atribuciju nekih amfiteatara na području istočnojadranske obale. U radu pak nećemo razmatrati indicirane amfiteatre poput onih u rimskim kolonijama *Iader* i *Aequum*, odnosno u legijskom logoru *Tilurium*, budući da zbog njihove neistraženosti ne postoji čvrsta osnova za detaljniju

There is a rather dense network of Roman (indicated) amphitheatres in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard which testify to the civilizational level of individual Roman cities. However, a relatively small number of these Roman cities have been archeologically researched, and among them there is an even smaller number of preserved structures that inherited these inscriptions, which directly pertains to the aforementioned Roman amphitheatres.* Therefore, this work shall only encompass those epigraphic monuments which testified to public construction in the deep past, based on the example of Eastern Adriatic Roman amphitheatres (*inscriptiones publicae*). This epigraphic material has been thematically and topographically classified according to the relevant archaeological sites. This material will also be of exceptional importance to the chronological attribution of certain amphitheatre in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard. Nevertheless, indicated amphitheatres such as those in the Roman colonies of *Iader* and *Aequum* and the legion camp *Tilurium* will not be considered in this work, since

* O distribuciji rimskih (indiciranih) amfiteatara na području današnje Hrvatske, odnosno rimske Histrije i rimskih provincija Dalmacije i Panonije vidjeti: Buovac 2007, str. 304.

* On the distribution of Roman (indicated) amphitheatres in the territory of present-day Croatia, i.e., Roman Histria and the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia, see: Buovac 2007, p. 304.

dataciju gradnje.** Prema dostupnim nam podacima, zasad na području pulskog amfiteatra nije pronađena natpisna građa iz vremena rimskog vladanja koja bi svjedočila o graditeljskom aspektu te građevine.

Ključne riječi: amfiteatar, javne građevine, epigrafika, munificencija, datacija

there is no entirely firm basis for a precise dating of the structures because they are under-researched.** According to the data available to this author, thus far no inscriptions have been found in the area of the Pola amphitheatre from the era of Roman rule that would speak to the architectural aspect of this structure.

Key words: amphitheatre, public buildings, epigraphy, munificence, dating

** Suić 1981, str. 203, bilj. 73; Babić 2006, str. 132; Buovac 2011, str. 58, 59. Još u 18. stoljeću morali su biti vidljivi ostaci rimskog amfiteatra u mletačkome Zadru, što zaključujemo na temelju skiciranog crteža amfiteatra i korespondencije između Šimuna Ljubavca i Ivana Lučića Trogirana. Mletački providur Antonio Bernardo (1656. - 1660.) prilikom dogradnje goleme utvrde *Forte*, odnosno izgradnje *Mezzalune*, naredio je da se poruše ostaci rimskog amfiteatra. Tom prilikom dao je uklesati prigodni natpis na kojem sa žaljenjem spominje porušeno zdanje amfiteatra, nekoć poprišta čuvenih gladijatorskih igara. Natpis bi se, kakao navodi Mate Suić, trebao nalaziti u Arheološkome muzeju u Zadru. Indicirani amfiteatar rimske kolonije *Aequum* valjalo bi na temelju arhivskog istraživanja i terenske situacije (konture, indikativne formacije i dr.) potražiti izvan obrambenih zidina grada (*extra muros*). Na temelju rezultata istraživanja amfiteatar bi, u sklopu pretpostavljene lokacije, trebao biti naslonjen na istočni perimetar obrambenih zidina rimske kolonije *Aequum*. Usporedi: Reisch 1913, str. 136.

** Suić 1981, p. 203, note 73; Babić 2006, p. 132; Buovac 2011, p. 58, 59. As late as the eighteenth century, the remains of the Roman amphitheatre had to still be visible in Venetian Zadar, which may be concluded on the basis of a sketch of the amphitheatre and correspondence between Šimun Ljubavac and Ivan Lučić of Trogir. The Venetian superintendent Antonio Bernardo (1656-1660), during enlargement of the enormous *Forte* fortification and construction of the *Mezzalune*, ordered the demolition of the remains of the Roman amphitheatre. On this occasion, he commissioned an inscription which mentioned with regret the demolished Roman amphitheatre, once the scene of famed gladiatorial games. According to Mate Suić, this inscription should be in the Archaeological Museum in Zadar. The indicated amphitheatre of the Roman colony of *Aequum* should, based on archival research and the situation in the field (contours, indicative formations, etc.), be sought outside of the defensive walls (*extra muros*). Based on the results of this research, the amphitheatre should be located leaning against the eastern perimeter of the defensive walls of the Roman colony of *Aequum*. Cf: Reisch 1913, p. 136.



Slika 1.

Zračni prikaz rimskog amfiteatra u Burnu (prema Cambi et al. 2006)

Figure 1.

Aerial image of the Roman amphitheatre in Burnum (based on Cambi, et al. 2006)

Rimskodobni *Burnum* kompleksan je arheološki lokalitet iznimno bogate povijesti, koji se nalazi na području današnjeg sela Ivoševci, na desnoj obali rijeke Krke (*flumen Titius*), nedaleko od općine Kistanje, unutar krševitog istočnobukovačkog areala pod okriljem današnjeg sjevernog dijela Nacionalnog parka *Krka*. Na jugozapadnoj periferiji kompleksa rimskoga vojnog logora u Burnu iskopan je na mikrolokaciji *Karlovac* rimski amfiteatar, vrijedan spomenik rimske baštine, u sklopu istraživanja urbanizma, prostorne organizacije i arhitekture vojnih logora i pratećih zdanja te civilnih naselja uz logore (*canabae*).¹

Provedena arheološka istraživanja u Burnu dokazuju kako je amfiteatar sagrađen u dvije građevinske faze. Stratigrafija sitnog arheološkog materijala pronađenog u sloju za nivelaciju terena upućuje na zaključak da je prva izgradnja amfiteatra vremenski atribuirana u vrijeme vladavine cara Klaudija, što se lako može povezati s poznatim događajima vezanim uz Skribonijanovu pobunu.² Po svoj je prilici *legio XI* nagrađena za

Roman-era Burnum constituted a complex archaeological site with an exceptionally rich history, which is located in today's village of Ivoševci, on the right bank of the Krka River (*flumen Titius*) not far from the Kistanje Municipality, inside the karst eastern-Bukovac area in the northern section of Krka National Park. A Roman amphitheatre was excavated at the Karlovac micro-location in the south-west periphery of the Roman military camp complex in Burnum. The amphitheatre is a valuable monument of the Roman heritage and vital to research into the urban planning, physical organization and architecture of military camps and the accompanying buildings, as well as civilian settlements adjacent to camps (*canabae*).¹

Archaeological research conducted in Burnum has proven that this amphitheatre was constructed in two phases. The stratigraphy of the tiny archaeological materials found in the layer for levelling the terrain indicates that the original construction of the amphitheatre was contemporary to the reign of Emperor Claudius, which may be associated with the events surrounding the revolt of Scribonius.² The Eleventh

1 Na ovome mjestu želim najiskrenije zahvaliti svojim profesorima, Nenadu Cambiju, Željku Miletiću i Miroslavu Glavičiću, sa Sveučilišta u Zadru, kao i ravnatelju Gradskog muzeja u Drnišu Jošku Zaninoviću, koji su mi za potrebe ovog članka dopustili objavljivanje građe vezane uz prostor Burna.

2 Cambi et al. 2007, str. 21.

1 I would like to take this opportunity I would like to convey my sincerest gratitude to my professors, Nenad Cambi, Željko Miletić and Miroslav Glavičić from the University of Zadar, and the director of the Town Museum in Drniš, Joško Zaninović, who allowed me to publish the materials here tied to the Burnum area.

2 Cambi et al. 2007, p. 21.

odanost caru Klaudiju godine 42. obnovom logora i izgradnjom prve zidane građevine amfiteatra.³ Sve potrebne predradnje, pripremu i nivelaciju terena te potom gradnju amfiteatra obavili su pripadnici XI. legije, koja od 42. godine nosi počasni naziv *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*. Završnu građevinsku fazu amfiteatra u Burnu potrebno je vremenski atribuirati u vrijeme vladavine cara Vespazijana, koji je i novčano pomogao njezino dovršenje.⁴ Radove koje je financirao Vespazijan izveli su pripadnici IV. legije (*legio IIII Flavia felix*), a mogu se okarakterizirati kao rekonstrukcija ili dogradnja građevine amfiteatra.⁵ Tada su presvođeni prolazi i dodani zidovi lijevaka na ulazima, odnosno povećano je gledalište te je pravilnim klesancima od bijeloga vapnenca obzidana arena. Na ulazu u južni presvođeni prolaz amfiteatra pronađena je, na dubini od šest metara, fragmentirana neukrašena monumentalna natpisna ploča cara Tita Flavija Vespazijana u obliku *tabulae ansatae*, načinjena od znatno kvalitetnijeg vapnenca u odnosu na onaj zgrade amfiteatra.⁶ Skladno urezana slova znalački su raspodijeljena i dimenzionirana na natpisnom polju, gotovo kaligrafski ravnomjerno ispisana u dva retka te veoma pomno obrađena. Pretpostaviti je stoga da je natpisna ploča cara Vespazijana rad vrsnog klesara te da je naručena i isklesana na nekom drugom mjestu, a ne u Burnu. Vidljivo je to i po finoj obradi natpisnog polja, koje je zaglađeno do najvećeg mogućeg stupnja. Natpis je očito stajao na vidljivome mjestu, jer izvješćuje javnost o imenu investitora i donatora.⁷ S obzirom na mjesto nalaza, natpisna je ploča morala biti ugrađena u atiku iznad samog luka južnog ulaza rimskog amfiteatra.⁸ Kamena natpisna ploča nepobitni je dokaz važnosti područja Burna i njegova amfiteatra te ujedno označava i datum dovršetka amfiteatra. Natpis nedvojbeno s određenom sigurnošću omogućuje datiranje lokaliteta, odnosno, vjerojatnije, jedne od faza gradnje amfiteatra. Od jednakog značenja je i očitovanje posebnog zanimanja cara Vespazijana za područje Burna, koje svjedoči kako je car i u provincijama poticao izgradnju javnih građevina u svrhu carske promidžbe.⁹ Natpis u restituciji glasi:

Legion, *legio XI*, was rewarded for its loyalty to Emperor Claudius in 42 with the reconstruction of its camp and the construction of its first stone-built structure, the amphitheatre.³ All of the necessary preliminary works to prepare and level the terrain and then construction of the amphitheatre were done by members of the aforementioned legion, which as of the year 42 bore the honorary designation *legio XI Claudia pia fidelis*. The final construction phase at the amphitheatre in Burnum should be chronologically attributed to the reign of Emperor Vespasian, who also provided financial assistance for its completion.⁴ The works financed by Vespasian were done by the members of the fourth legion (*legio IIII Flavia felix*), and these may be characterized as a renovation or expansion of the amphitheatre building.⁵ At that time, the passages were vaulted and funnel walls were added at the entrances, which meant that the seating area was enlarged, while the arena was lined with regular white dressed limestone. A fragmented, undecorated monumental inscription slab to Emperor Vespasian (Titus Flavius Vespasianus) as a *tabulae ansatae* was found at the entrance in the southern vaulted passage at a depth of six meters. It was made of considerably higher quality limestone than that found on the actual amphitheatre structure.⁶ The uniformly engraved letters were adeptly arranged and proportioned on the inscription field and almost calligraphically written consistently in two lines and very carefully rendered. This indicates that the actual inscription slab dedicated to Emperor Vespasian was the work of a fine craftsman, and that it was commissioned and carved at some other location, and not in Burnum. This is also reflected in the fine dressing of the inscription field, i.e., its maximum possible degree of polish. This inscription was mounted at a visible place, since it relays to the public the name of the investor and benefactor.⁷ Given its find-site, this inscription slab had to have been built into the attic above the actual arch of the Roman amphitheatre's southern entrance.⁸ The discovered stone inscription slab serves as irrefutable evidence of the importance of the amphitheatre to the Burnum area, and it also indicates the date of the amphitheatre's completion. This inscription undoubtedly, with a degree of certainty, enables dating of the site or, probably, one of the amphitheatre's construction phases. Equally significant is the manifestation of Vespasian's special interest in the Burnum area, for it indicates that even in the provinces the emperor encouraged the construction of local public buildings to further the aims of imperial promotion and propaganda.⁹ The restored inscription reads:

3 Miletić 2007, str. 196.

4 Cambi et al. 2006, str. 13; Glavičić, Miletić 2009, str. 78.

5 Cambi 2007, str. 25; Glavičić, Miletić 2008, str. 438; Glavičić, Miletić 2009, str. 81.

6 Cambi et al. 2006, str. 12, 13; Cambi, Zaninović 2006, str. 140, 141. Ploča je bila prelomljena na dva dijela, koji su nađeni na dubini od šest, odnosno osam metara. Dimenzije spomenika iznose 294 cm x 100 cm x 32 cm.

7 Sanader 2004, str. 17.

8 Cambi 2007, str. 25.

9 Izgradnja rimskog amfiteatra i priređivanje gladijatorskih igara u njegovu sklopu može biti od velikog propagandnog značenja za cara ili pak dostojanstvenika željnog političke i društvene karijere. Na ovome mjestu međutim valja još jednom naglasiti kako se u slučaju Burna radi o vojničkom amfiteatru, tako da propagandna politika nema istovjetno značenje kao u civilnim amfiteatrima diljem prostranoga Rimskog Carstva.

3 Miletić 2007, p. 196.

4 Cambi et al. 2006, p. 13; Glavičić, Miletić 2009, p. 78.

5 Cambi 2007, p. 25; Glavičić, Miletić 2008, p. 438; Glavičić, Miletić 2009, p. 81.

6 Cambi et al. 2006, pp. 12, 13; Cambi, Zaninović 2006, pp. 140, 141. The slab was fractured at two places, and its individual pieces were found at depths of six and eight meters. The monument's dimensions are 294 cm x 100 cm x 32 cm.

7 Sanader 2004, p. 17.

8 Cambi 2007, p. 25.

9 Construction of a Roman amphitheatre and organization of gladiatorial games in them could have had great propaganda significance for an individual emperor or a dignitary who wanted a political or social career. However, here it would be worthwhile to once more stress that in Burnum's case it was a military amphitheatre, so that the propaganda policy did not have the same significance as in civilian amphitheatres throughout the expansive Roman Empire.



Slika 2.

Graditeljski natpis cara Vespazijana pohranjen u Gradskom muzeju u Drnišu (prema Cambi et al. 2006)

IMP(erator) CAESAR VE[s]PASIANUS AUG(ustus) PONT(ifex)
MAX(imus) / TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) VII
IMP(erator) XVIII P(ater) P(atriciae)

Iz natpisa možemo restituirati i iščitati službeno Carevo ime u standardiziranoj formi, formalne titulature, funkcije i nomenklature vezane uz carsku osobu. Isto tako možemo saznati da je građevina nedvojbeno carska donacija, budući da je Carevo ime u nominativu.¹⁰ Drugim riječima, formulacija nedvojbeno upozorava da je investitor radova u amfiteatru bio sam Car, a znakovito je da je upravo tada u logoru boravila legija koja nosi počasni naziv Vespazijanova gensa, *Flavia*, koji je jedino Car mogao udijeliti. Car, promicatelj rimskih običaja, među koje su spadali i različiti spektakli u amfiteatru, nije se oglušio o zamolbe "svoje" legije, te je darivanjem jedne takve građevine olakšao

Figure 2.

Construction inscription of Emperor Vespasian held in the Drniš Town Museum (based on Cambi et al. 2006)

IMP(erator) CAESAR VE[s]PASIANUS AUG(ustus) PONT(ifex)
MAX(imus) / TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) VII
IMP(erator) XVIII P(ater) P(atriciae)

Based on the above inscription, the emperor's official name in standardized form, the formal titularies, functions and nomenclature tied to the actual personage of the emperor may be restored and read. Similarly, we learn that this building was undoubtedly an imperial donation, since the emperor's name is in the nominative case.¹⁰ In other words, the formula unambiguously indicates that the investor for the works in the amphitheatre was the emperor himself, and it is notable that precisely at that time the legion stationed in the camp bore the honorary title of Vespasian's gens, *Flavia*, which only the emperor could have bequeathed. The emperor, as the promoter of Roman customs,

10 Cambi et al. 2006, str. 13. Uklesano ime cara Vespazijana i njegove titule, i to u nominativu, upućuje da je upravo Vespazijan donator pregradnji i rekonstrukcije amfiteatra u Burnu, čija je prva faza izgradnje datirana pak u vrijeme vladavine cara Klaudija. U kritičnim okolnostima, poput čuvene Skribonijanove pobune, upravo su VII. i XI. legija stale na stranu cara Klaudija i bile mu vjeran saveznik. Stoga je nakon neuspjelog državnog udara upravo car Klaudije na osobnoj razini nagradio te legije počasnim imenom *Claudia pia fidelis*. Postoji mišljenje da je takav objekt služio isključivo za potrebe vojničke obuke i uvježbavanja, no nedavno pronađen prostor vježbališta (*campus*) u neposrednoj blizini amfiteatra opovrgava takva stajališta. Stoga je itekako moguće da je car Klaudije nagradio VII. i XI. legiju izgradnjom rimskih amfiteatara izvan zidina legijskih logora u Burnu i Tiluriju. Povijesne prilike oko Skribonijanove pobune mogle bi ujedno govoriti u prilog međusobnom prožimanju i vremenskoj korespondenciji amfiteatara u Burnu i Tiluriju. Konačan odgovor, međutim, dat će arheološka istraživanja rimskog amfiteatra u Tiluriju, koja će potvrditi ili pak opovrgnuti ta mišljenja.

10 Cambi et al. 2006, p. 13. The engraved name of Emperor Vespasian and his titles, in the nominative case, indicate that Vespasian was the donor of the renovation and reconstruction of the amphitheatre in Burnum, the first phase of which was dated to the reign of Emperor Claudius. Under the critical circumstances such as the notorious revolt of Scribonius, it was precisely the seventh and eleventh legions that stood on the side of Emperor Claudius as faithful allies. Therefore, after the failed coup d'état, it was precisely Emperor Claudius who awarded these legions by conferring them the honorary name *Claudia pia fidelis*. According to one view, such buildings were used exclusively for the needs of military exercises and training. However, the recently discovered terrain of an exercise ground (*campus*) in the immediate vicinity of the amphitheatre itself refutes this opinion. It is therefore quite possible that Emperor Claudius awarded the aforementioned seventh and eleventh legions by constructing a Roman amphitheatre outside of the walls of the legionary camps in Burnum and Tilurium. The historical circumstances surrounding the revolt of Scribonius may also testify to the mutual intermingling and chronological correspondence between the amphitheatres in Burnum and Tilurium. However, the ultimate answer will only be provided by archaeological research into the Roman amphitheatre in Tilurium, which shall confirm or counter the aforementioned views.



Slika 3.

Natpis na ulazu u amfiteatar u talijanskom gradu Alba Fucens (prema Edmondson 2002)

Figure 3.

Image of the inscription at the entrance of the amphitheatre in the Italian city of Alba Fucens (based on Edmondson 2002)

tešku legionarsku službu u dalmatinskom zaleđu.¹¹ Na temelju navođenja isklicanih pozdravnih svečanosti za imperatora i dodijeljenih tribunskih ovlasti (*tribunicia potestas*), koji su se dodjeljivali carevima pri stupanju na vlast, možemo veoma precizno dovršetak izgradnje amfiteatra vremenski atribuirati u 76. / 77. godinu.¹²

Činjenica da je Vespazijan donator amfiteatra, svjedoči da je Car i u provincijama poticao izgradnju javnih građevina. Poznato je da je u Rimu potaknuo obnovu hrama na Kapitoliju te novog foruma, a za njegove vladavine počinje i izgradnja znamenitog Koloseja.¹³ S druge pak strane, izgradnja amfiteatra ukazuje na napredak rimske provincije Dalmacije, u kojoj je civilno naselje *Burnum* imalo status municipija. Potrebno je napomenuti da su se javne građevine gradile ne samo sredstvima iz državne blagajne nego i privatnim sredstvima. O tome najbolje svjedoče brojni graditeljski natpisi, na kojima se, uz ostale podatke, uvijek navode i imena donatora.¹⁴ Ilustrativan je primjer natpis pronađen

which included various spectacles in the amphitheatre, could not refuse the request of "his" legion, and by donating such a building he eased the arduous legionary service in the Dalmatian hinterland.¹¹ Based on the citation of shouted accolades for the emperor and the accorded authority of tribune (*tribunicia potestas*), conferred to emperors when assuming power, the completion of the amphitheatre's construction may be very precisely dated to the years 76 / 77.¹²

Since Vespasian was the amphitheatre's donor, this shows that the emperor underwrote the construction of public buildings in the provinces as well. It is well known that he initiated renovation of the Capitoline temple in Rome, and then the new forum, and it was during his reign that the construction of the renowned Coliseum.¹³ On the other hand, construction of the amphitheatre demonstrated the prosperity of the Roman province of Dalmatia, in which the settlement of Burnum had the status of a municipium. It is necessary to note that public buildings were constructed not only using funds from the state treasury, but also using private funds. Numerous construction inscriptions best testify to this, for among other

11 Cambi 2007, str. 25.

12 Cambi et al. 2006, str. 13.

13 Devoti 1997, str. 29.

14 Sanader 2004, str. 17.

11 Cambi 2007, p. 25.

12 Cambi et al. 2006, p. 13.

13 Devoti 1997, p. 29.

u amfiteatru na području talijanskoga grada *Alba Fucens*,¹⁵ čiju restituciju donosimo u cijelosti:

Q(uintus) NAEVIVS Q(uinti) F(ilius) Fab(ia tribu) CORDVS
SUTORIUS MACRO PRAEFECTUS VIGILUM PRAEFECTUS
PRAETORII
T(iberii) CAESARIS AUGUSTI TESTAMENTO DEDIT

Izgradnja rimskih amfiteatara spada u najskuplje građevinske projekte nekog grada, o čemu primjerice svjedoči financijska intervencija careva Antonija Pija, Marka Aurelija i Komoda za izgradnje/dogradnje amfiteatara u rimskim gradovima *Porolissum* i *Lambaesis*.¹⁶

Rimska kolonija Salona također je kompleksan arheološki lokalitet iznimno bogate povijesti, u čijem se krajnjem sjeverozapadnom kutu nalazi monumentalna građevina antičkog amfiteatra, inkorporirana u fortifikacijski sustav glavnoga grada rimske provincije Dalmacije. Amfiteatar provincijalnog tipa izgrađen je rukom nepoznatog arhitekta u proširenju tadašnjeg zapadnog podgrađa (tzv. *Urbs occidentalis*). O okolnostima u kojima je sagrađen rimski amfiteatar u Saloni, govori natpis što ga donosi nestor hrvatske arheologije i dugogodišnji istraživač Salone i njezina amfiteatra don Frane Bulić. Na temelju jednog teško oštećenog i fragmentiranog natpisa koji je pronađen ispod počasnih sjedala unutar građevine, Frane Bulić piše da je neki bogati donator, možda podrijetlom i sam Salonitanac, *Sextus Zosimus*, darovao amfiteatar u vidu munificencije koloniji *Salonae; rei publicae dono dedit*, jer je valjda za to primio nekakvu rangiranu gradsku čast, primjerice u dekurijskom vijeću (*ordo decurionum*), jer se taj uklesani natpis nalazio ispod počasnih magistratskih sjedala.¹⁷ Premda je spomenuti natpis nepotpun i razbijen u mnoštvo ulomaka, ipak se pojedini njegovi dijelovi mogu rekonstruirati. Na temelju restitucije sačuvanog dijela natpisa zasad se, međutim, ne može ući u trag spomenutom Sekstu Zosimu, o čemu svjedoči i ilustracija koju donosim u nastavku teksta. Stoga iznesenu problematiku o eventualnoj munificenciji Seksta Zosima u pogledu salonitanskog amfiteatra, valja primiti sa stanovitim oprezom i zadržkom.

Natpis se na temelju stilskih, paleografskih, odnosno epigrafskih značajki vremenski atribuirao u vrijeme vladanja cara Klaudija. S obzirom na povijesne prilike oko Skribonijanove pobune, lako je moguće uspostaviti određene vremenske i druge vrste paralela u pogledu izgradnje rimskih amfiteatara na području istočnojadranske obale. Ne bi trebalo čuditi da su

information, they always specify the donor's name.¹⁴ An illustrative example is the inscription found in the amphitheatre in the Italian city of Alba Fucens,¹⁵ which, restored, reads in its entirety:

Q(uintus) NAEVIVS Q(uinti) F(ilius) Fab(ia tribu) CORDVS
SUTORIUS MACRO PRAEFECTUS VIGILUM PRAEFECTUS PRAETORII
T(iberii) CAESARIS AUGUSTI TESTAMENTO DEDIT

Construction of Roman amphitheatres were among the most costly construction projects of individual cities, as shown by the financial interventions of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in the cases of the construction/enlargement of the amphitheatres in the Roman cities of Porolissum and Lambaesis.¹⁶

The Roman colony of Salona is also a complex archaeological site with an exceptionally rich history that has a monumental Roman-era amphitheatre in its extreme north-west corner, incorporated into the fortification system of the capital city of the Roman province of Dalmatia. The provincial-type amphitheatre building was constructed by an unknown architect in the extension of the western suburb of the time (so-called *Urbs occidentalis*). The circumstances in which the Roman amphitheatre in Salona was built are demonstrated by an inscription that was published by that Nestor of Croatian archaeology and long-time researcher of Salona and its amphitheatre, Frane Bulić. Based on a severely damaged and fragmented inscription, which was found beneath the seating for dignitaries inside the amphitheatre itself, Frane Bulić asserted that a wealthy benefactor, perhaps even a born native of Salona, Sextus Zosimus, donated the amphitheatre as a form of munificence to the municipality of *Salonae; rei publicae dono dedit*, for he may have received some ranked municipal honour for this, e.g. the municipal senate (*ordo decurionum*), because this engraved inscription was situated below the honorary magistrates' seating.¹⁷ Even though this inscription was incomplete and broken into a multitude of pieces, its individual pieces could nonetheless be reconstructed. However, based on the reconstruction of the preserved portion of the inscription, thus far it is impossible to trace the aforementioned Sextus Zosimus, to which the illustration below testifies. Therefore, the debate surrounding the possible munificence of Sextus Zosimus with reference to the Salona amphitheatre should be viewed with some caution and reserve.

This inscription, based on its stylistic, palaeographic and epigraphic features, has been chronologically attributed to the reign of Emperor Claudius. Given the historical circumstances surrounding the revolt of Scribonius, it is easily possible to establish certain chronological and other parallels with regard

15 Alföldy 1997, str. 63, bilj. 20: Da je izgradnja nekog amfiteatra uistinu mogla biti financirana od strane samo jedne privatne osobe, odnosno donatora, pokazuju brojni primjeri amfiteatara u sljedećim rimskim gradovima: *Larinum* (CIL X 731), *Casinum* (CIL X 5183), *Circei* (CIL X 6429), *Lucus Feroniae* (CIL XI 3938), *Interpromium* (CIL IX 3044), *Carnuntum* - civilni amfiteatar (CIL III 14359) i dr.

16 Alföldy 1997, str. 65.

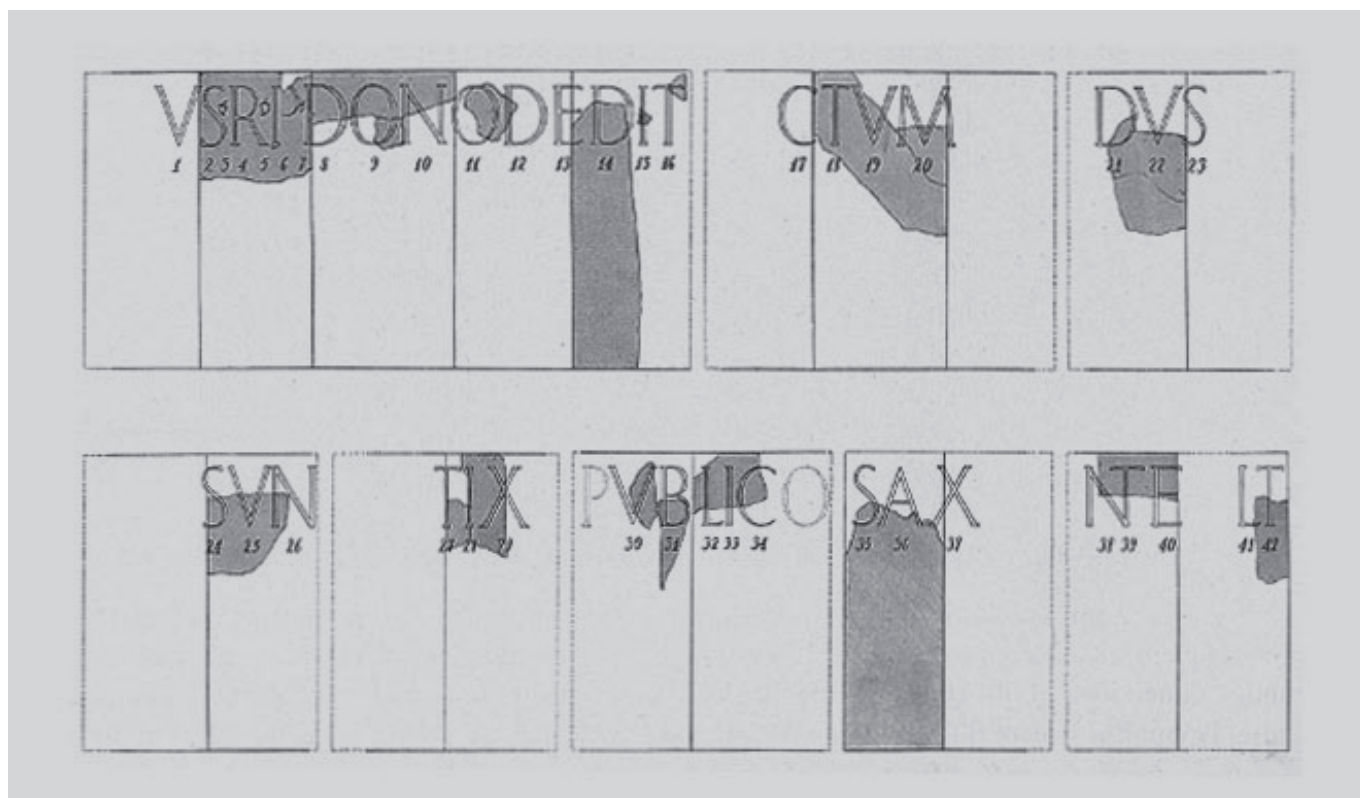
17 Dyggve 1933, str. 79, 80; Bulić 1986, str. 74; Rapanić 1971, str. 23.

14 Sanader 2004, p. 17.

15 Alföldy 1997, p. 63, note 20: Numerous examples of amphitheatres in various Roman cities prove that construction of an amphitheatre could indeed be financed by a single private individual, or benefactor, such as those in the following cities: *Larinum* (CIL X 731), *Casinum* (CIL X 5183), *Circei* (CIL X 6429), *Lucus Feroniae* (CIL XI 3938), *Interpromium* (CIL IX 3044), *Carnuntum* - civilian amphitheatre (CIL III 14359), etc.

16 Alföldy 1997, p. 65.

17 Dyggve 1933, pp. 79, 80; Bulić 1986, p. 74; Rapanić 1971, p. 23.



Slika 4.
Fragmentirani natpis iz salonitanskog amfiteatra (prema Dyggve 1933)

Figure 4.
Fragmentary inscription from the Salona amphitheatre (based on Dyggve 1933)

pojedini majstori i klesari radili na izgradnji pojedinih rimskih amfiteatara ili većeg broja njih na području istočnojadranske obale.

U našoj znanstvenoj literaturi ne postoji suglasje o tome kada je započeta i kada je dovršena gradnja amfiteatra u glavnom gradu rimske provincije Dalmacije. Prije Dyggveovih studija vrijeme gradnje salonitanskog amfiteatra najčešće se stavlja u 1. stoljeće, i to u Augustovo doba.¹⁸ Međutim, izgradnja amfiteatra započela je najranije u prvoj polovici 1. stoljeća, tako da prvu građevinsku fazu možemo po svemu sudeći datirati u vrijeme vladavine cara Klaudija,¹⁹ što potvrđuje i spomenuti fragmentirani natpis. Sama građevina amfiteatra, pak, postupno je, tijekom vremena, nadograđivana.²⁰ Građevinska faza vezana uz izgradnju novih fortifikacija zasigurno pada u vrijeme vladavine cara Marka Aurelija.²¹ Završna građevinska faza vremenski je atribuirana u doba cara Dioklecijana, gdje je umjesto dotadašnje drvene građe na trećem katu salonitanskog amfiteatra sagrađen kameni trijem s odlično isklesanim kapitelima i ukrasnim skulpturama, odnosno hermama.²² U okviru velikih prepravki u amfiteatru u vrijeme cara Dioklecijana sagrađen je i podzemni hodnik, koji omogućuje da se ranjeni

to Roman amphitheatres in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard. Accordingly, it should not be surprising that individual master stone-cutters worked on the construction of individual or even several Roman amphitheatres in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard.

In the Croatian scholarly literature, there is no consensus on when construction of the amphitheatre in the Dalmatian provincial capital began. Prior to Dyggve's studies, the commencement of construction of the Salona amphitheatre was placed in the first century, during the Augustan era.¹⁸ However, construction of the amphitheatre commenced in the first half of the first century at the earliest, so that the initial construction phase may in all likelihood be dated to the time reign of Emperor Claudius.¹⁹ This is also confirmed by the aforementioned fragmentary inscription, while the amphitheatre building itself was gradually, over time, expanded.²⁰ The construction phase tied to the construction of the new fortification also certainly belongs to the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius.²¹ The final construction phase has been chronologically attributed to the era of Emperor Diocletian, when, instead of the lumber used up to that point, a stone portico was built on the third level of the Salona amphitheatre, with superbly rendered capitals and decorative sculptures, or hermae.²² Within

18 Rapanić 1971, str. 23.

19 Abramić 1991, str. 43.

20 Bulić 1986, str. 74; Marin 2002, str. 15.

21 Friedländer 1864, str. 360; Rapanić 1971, str. 23.

22 Wilkes 1969, str. 385; Marin 2002, str. 15; Rapanić 1971, str. 22, 23.

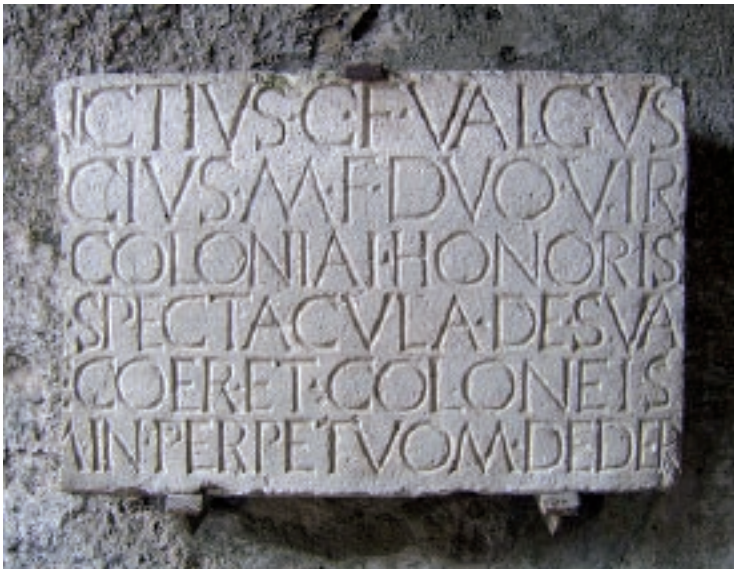
18 Rapanić 1971, p. 23.

19 Abramić 1991, p. 43.

20 Bulić 1986, p. 74; Marin 2002, p. 15.

21 Friedländer 1864, p. 360; Rapanić 1971, p. 23.

22 Wilkes 1969, p. 385; Marin 2002, p. 15; Rapanić 1971, pp. 22, 23.



Slika 5.
Natpis iz amfiteatra
u Pompejima (prema
http://farm1.static.flickr.com/225/551002628_ab5c2f58ae.jpg?v=0)

Figure 5.
Inscription from the
amphitheatre in Pompeii
(from: http://farm1.static.flickr.com/225/551002628_ab5c2f58ae.jpg?v=0)



Slika 6.
Idealna rekonstrukcija
unutrašnjosti salonitanskog
amfiteatra s prikazom natpisa
smještenog na perimetralnom
zidu arene (prema Višić Ljubić
2010)

Figure 6.
Hypothetical reconstruction
of the interior of the Salona
amphitheatre with image of
the inscription situated on the
arena's perimeter wall (based on
Višić Ljubić 2010)

ili ubijeni gladijatori lakše odvezu izvan arene. U isto vrijeme izgrađena je i nova pregrada na stupovima s hermama za potrebe počasne lože.²³

Osim netom spomenutog epigrafskog svjedočanstva nepoznatog donatora, koji se izvorno nalazio na zidu podija amfiteatra, u sklopu građevine salonitanskog amfiteatra bili su postavljeni i drugi natpisi. Nedavnim istraživanjima pronađen je ulomak početka natpisa uokviren jednostavnom profilacijom. Nažalost, sačuvana su samo početna slova prve riječi natpisa AMPHITH[EATRUM...], vjerojatno postavljenoga na jednom od ulaza u građevinu salonitanskog amfiteatra. Slova su visine 8 cm, izdužena oblika. Vrijedi zabilježiti kako među dosadašnjom epigrafskom građom pronađenom u sklopu rimskih amfiteatara zasad nije pronađen ni jedan spomenik koji izravno započinje riječju "amphitheatrum". Prema Jasni Jeličić-Radonić neobična sličnost tipa slova s onima na natpisu cara Vespazijana s glavnih vrata novootkrivenoga vojnog amfiteatra u Burnu, govore bi u prilog pretpostavci da je salonitanski amfiteatar možda sagrađen u vrijeme Flavijevaca.²⁴ Postoje međutim i neka druga tumačenja i valoriziranja spomenutog natpisa, čiji kritički osvrt tek treba uslijediti.

O građevinskim djelatnostima svjedoče dva natpisa pronađena u škripskim kamenolomima, koji potvrđuju da su pojedini spomenici s područja antičke Salone rađeni u tamošnjim radionicama i od tamošnjega kamena, poznatog bijelog vapnenca. Prvi natpis govori o donaciji centuriona Prve belgijske

the framework of modifications to the amphitheatre during the reign of Emperor Diocletian, an underground corridor was built, which made it easier to remove injured or slain gladiators from the arena. It was during this time that a new partition on columns with hermae was constructed for the needs of the dignitaries' box.²³

Besides the aforementioned epigraphic monument of an unknown benefactor that was originally on the wall of the amphitheatre's podium, other inscriptions were also placed within the Salona amphitheatre. A fragment of the beginning of an inscription framed by simple moulding was found during recent research. Unfortunately, only the first letters of the first word in the inscription were preserved, i.e., AMPHITH[EATRUM...], probably placed at one of the entrances to the Salona amphitheatre. The letters are 8 cm high, with an extended form. It is worthwhile noting that among the existing epigraphic materials found within the Roman amphitheatre complex, thus far not one monument has been discovered that directly begins with the formula "amphitheatrum". According to Jasna Jeličić-Radonić, the unusual similarity of the letter type with that in the inscription of Emperor Vespasian from the main entrance of the newly-discovered military amphitheatre in Burnum may perhaps back the theory that the Salona amphitheatre may have been constructed during the Flavian era.²⁴ However, there are also some other interpretations and evaluations of this inscription, which have yet to be critically considered.

23 Cambi 2005, str. 183; Rapanić 1971, str. 22, 23; Marin 1988, str. 17.

24 Jeličić-Radonić 2008, str. 41.

23 Cambi 2005, p. 183; Rapanić 1971, pp. 22, 23; Marin 1988, p. 17.

24 Jeličić-Radonić 2008, p. 41.

kohorte (*coh. I Belgarum*) koji sebe naziva *curagens theat(ri)*, dakle onim koji je zadužen za, kako natpis sugerira, solinski teatar. Drugi je natpis Jupiteru podigao Tit Flavije Pompej, centurion Treće alpinske kohorte, nazvane Antoninijanskom (*coh. III Alpinorum Antoniniana*), koji sebe predstavlja kao *curam agens fabricae amphitheatri*, dakle onoga koji je dugoročno zadužen za skrb o izgradnji i, eventualno, održavanju jedne tako velike javne građevine. Također se smatra da je ujedno bio nadzornik radova u škripskom kamenolomu, kada se vadio kamen za izgradnju amfiteatra u Saloni.²⁵ Spomenuti spomenici stoga naznačuju ulogu rimske vojske u nabavi građe, čuvanju, odnosno izgradnji javnih građevina poput teataru ili amfiteataru. U stanovitom smislu, na temelju intervencije i dužnosti rimske vojske, odnosno dužnosnika iz njezinih redova pri izgradnji javnih građevina, možemo izvesti određene zaključke o izgradnji rimskog amfiteatra u Burnu.

Natpis veličine 69 cm x 39,5 cm x 36,5 cm u restituciji glasi:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
T(itus) Fl(avius) Pompeius
(centurio) coh(ortis) III
Alpinorum
Antoniniana
curam agens
fab(ricae) amp(hitheatri)
men(sor, -es?) et
Vibius Vibianus
protector co(n)s(ularis)

Ovdje obrađivani rimski natpisi prvorazredna su izvorna građa za proučavanje tematske cjeline o povijesnom, društvenom i kulturnom sadržaju rimskih amfiteataru na istočnojadranskoj obali. Iz svega navedenog daje se zaključiti kako su pojedini rimski amfiteatri mogli biti građeni privatnim sredstvima u "zamjenu" za pojedini društveno-politički položaj (*cursus honorum*). Izgradnja rimskog amfiteatra mogla je biti potpomognuta sredstvima carske donacije, što će neminovno rezultirati carevom propagandom. Upravo zbog masovne posjećenosti, gladijatorske borbe postaju uvriježena praksa za ubiranje glasova, propagandu i naklonjenost širokog profila ljudi, odnosno potencijalnih glasača utopljenih u masu gledatelja rimskih spektakala. Stoga ne smijemo zaboraviti kako su se upravo u rimskom amfiteatru ujedno skupljali politički glasovi potrebni za nečiji uspon i ostvarivanje karijere, o čemu nas posredno izvješćuju ovdje obrađivani natpisi i pojedini povijesni izvori.²⁶ Munificencije, odnosno gradnje javnih građevina poput amfiteataru, koju su financirale privatne osobe, carevi ili namjesnici, uvelike pospješuju proces romanizacije istočnojadranske obale.²⁷



Slika 7.
Sačuvani fragment natpisa
iz amfiteatra u Saloni (prema
Jeličić-Radonić 2008)

Figure 7.
Preserved fragment attributed
to the Roman amphitheatre
in Salona (based on Jeličić-
Radonić 2008)

Two inscriptions discovered in the quarries of Škrip also testify to construction activities, as they confirm that individual monuments from the territory of ancient Salona were crafted in local workshops using local stone, the famed white limestone. The first inscription speaks of the donation of a centurion of the First Belgian cohort (*coh. I Belgarum*), which referred to himself as *curagens theat(ri)*, thus charged with - as justifiably assumed - the theatre in Solin. The other inscription was erected to Jupiter by a centurion of the Third Alpine cohort, called Antoninian (*coh. III Alpinorum Antoniniana*), Titus Flavius Pompeius, who described himself as *curam agens fabricae amphitheatri*, which has been interpreted as an officiating individual in an institution who was charged with the construction and, possibly, maintenance of such a large public building over the long term. It is also believed that he was also the works foreman in the Škrip quarry when the stone was extracted for construction of the amphitheatre in Salona.²⁵ These monuments thus tell of the role of the Roman army in the procurement of materials, and maintenance and construction of public buildings such as theatres or amphitheatres. In a certain sense, based on the interventions and duties of the Roman army and certain functionaries from among its ranks in the construction of these types of public buildings, certain parallels may be drawn which also characterize the construction of the Roman amphitheatre in Burnum.

The restored inscription, with dimensions of 69 cm x 39.5 cm x 36.5 cm, reads:

25 Jeličić-Radonić, Sedlar 2009, str. 24; Kirigin 1979, str. 129-134.

26 Apulej 1969, str. 191; Kapitolin 1994, str. 272.

27 Usporedi: Medini 1969, str. 45-74.

25 Jeličić-Radonić, Sedlar 2009, p. 24; Kirigin 1979, pp. 129-134.



Slika 8.
Restitucija natpisa Tita Flavija
Pompeja pronađenog u
škripskom kamenolomu,
Zavičajni muzej otoka Brača
(prema Kirigin 1979)

Figure 8.
Image and restoration of the
inscription of Titus Flavius
Pompeius discovered in the
Škrip quarry, held in the Local
Heritage Museum on the island
of Brač (based on Kirigin 1979)

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)
T(itus) FL(avius) Pompeius
(centurio) coh(ortis) III
Alpinorum
Antoniniana
curam agens
fab(ricae) amp(hitheatri)
men(sor, -es?) et
Vibius Vibianus
protector co(n)s(ularis)

The Roman inscriptions analyzed herein constitute first-class primary sources for the study of thematic units concerning the historical, social and cultural content of Roman amphitheatres in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard. From all of the above-stated facts, one may conclude that individual Roman amphitheatres could have been constructed by private donations in “exchange” for individual socio-political offices (*cursus honorum*). The construction of a Roman amphitheatre could also have been aided by imperial donations, which would unavoidably result in imperial propaganda and promotion. Because they attracted high attendance, gladiatorial competitions became the standard practice for garnering votes, propaganda and favour of broad swaths of the population, i.e., potential voters submerged in the mass of spectators at Roman spectacles. So it should not be forgotten that it was precisely in Roman amphitheatres that the political votes needed for an individual’s ascent and career prospects were also gathered, to which the inscriptions considered herein as well as individual historical sources indirectly testify.²⁶ Munificence, i.e., the construction of certain public buildings such as Roman amphitheatres, financed by private individuals, emperors or consuls, largely pushed forward Romanization in the Eastern Adriatic seaboard.²⁷ A very important aspect of these inscriptions is their stylistic, palaeographic and epigraphic features, which may be used to chronologically date a given Roman amphitheatre with complete certainty. This dating principle seems particularly significant to this author with reference to the dating of the Salona amphitheatre and the resolution of the problems surrounding its individual construction phases. Based on the current level of research, there is no archaeological confirmation as to whether an earlier form of Roman amphitheatre stood at the site of the Salona amphitheatre or if another location was chosen. It is difficult to believe that the capital of the Roman province of Dalmatia, given its historical development, status and prosperity, only obtained its own amphitheatre in the latter half of the second century. It is possible that, due to the metamorphosis of construction layers and the phenomenon of one construction phase overlaying and concealing another, it is difficult to ascertain the order and dating of individual construction phases at the Salona amphitheatre.

Veoma važan aspekt natpisa ujedno su i njihove stilske, paleografske i epigrafske značajke, na temelju kojih pojedini rimski amfiteatar možemo sasvim pouzdano vremenski atribuirati. Takav databilni pristup čini mi se osobito značajnim kod datacije salonitanskog amfiteatra i razrješavanja problematike vezane uz pojedine njegove građevinske faze. Prema sadašnjem stupnju istraženosti zasad nije arheološki utvrđeno je li na mjestu salonitanskog amfiteatra postojao kakav stariji oblik rimskog amfiteatra ili se takva građevina nalazila na nekoj drugoj lokaciji na području prostrane Salone. Naime, teško je povjerovati da glavni grad rimske provincije Dalmacije, s obzirom na svoj povijesni razvoj, status i prosperitet, dobiva vlastiti amfiteatar tek u drugoj polovici II. stoljeća. Moguće je da je zbog metamorfoze građevinskih slojeva, odnosno pojave da jedna građevinska faza destruiira i prekriva drugu, otežana uspostava redoslijeda i datacije pojedinih građevinskih faza salonitanskog amfiteatra.

26 Apulej 1969, p. 191; Kapitolin 1994, p. 272.

27 Cf.: Medini 1969, pp. 45-74.

Kratice / Abbreviations

Radovi - Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio za povijesne znanosti

VAPD - Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku

JÖAI - Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien

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