

## Dino Demicheli

### Conventus Liburnorum, conventus Scardonitanus

*Sicut homines, et lapides sua fata habent.*

Dino Demicheli  
Sveučilište u Zagrebu  
Filozofski fakultet  
Odsjek za arheologiju  
Ivana Lučića 3  
HR, 10000 Zagreb  
ddemiche@ffzg.hr

UDK: 904 : 930.271(497.5 Skradin)“00”

Izvorni znanstveni članak

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Članak analizira novi ulomak skradinskog natpisa koji je spominjao konvent u Skardoni. Zanimljiva je činjenica da je ovaj ulomak pronađen u Trogiru, više od 60 km udaljenom od Skradina, prilikom istraživanja ženskoga benediktinskog samostana sv. Nikole. Spajanjem dvaju ulomaka nadopunjuje se dosadašnje čitanje i pretpostavlja ponešto proširena restitucija te se potvrđuje prvi epigrafski spomen juridičkog konventa u Dalmaciji. Interpretacijom tog ključnog mjesta natpisa koje spominje konvent u Skardoni, pretpostavljeno je da je ime ovog konventa glasilo *conventus Liburnorum*. Do takvog se zaključka došlo uzimajući u obzir sve dosadašnje spoznaje o pokrajinskom carskom kultu na području Liburnije, kao i usporedbom s imenima konvenata u hispankim provincijama. Pri analizi prvog ulomka spomenika već je bilo zaključeno da je bitan ponajviše iz aspekta pokrajinskoga carskog kulta na području Liburnije, koji se štovao kod autohtonoga peregrinskog stanovništva i za čiju religijsku praksu otprije postoje epigrafske potvrde u tom kontekstu. Natpis je vrlo vjerojatno stajao na hramu sagrađenom u vrijeme cara Tita, za propagandu kulta flavijske dinastije, koji je ujedno postao i mjestom štovanja pokrajinskoga carskog kulta za liburnske peregrinske zajednice.

*Ključne riječi:* Dalmacija, Liburnija, natpisi, Tragurij, Skardona, juridički konventi, *conventus Liburnorum*, pokrajinski carski kult, Vespazijan

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Dino Demicheli  
University of Zagreb  
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences  
Department of Archaeology  
Ivana Lučića 3  
CROATIA, 10000 Zagreb  
ddemiche@ffzg.hr

UDC: 904 : 930.271(497.5 Skradin)“00”

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The article analyzes a new fragment of an inscription from Skradin which mentions the conventus in Scardona. An interesting fact is that this fragment was found in Trogir, over 60 km from Skradin, during research into the Benedictine Convent of St. Nicholas. The connection of the two fragments helps to supplement the previous reading and allows for something of an expanded restitution, and verifies the first epigraphic mention of a *conventus iuridicus* in Dalmatia. An interpretation of this key place in the inscription which mentions a conventus in Scardona has led to the assumption that its name was *conventus Liburnorum*. This conclusion was reached by taking into consideration the previous knowledge of the regional imperial cult in the territory of Liburnia, as well as a comparison with conventus names in Hispanian provinces. An analysis of the first fragment had already led to the conclusion that it is important primarily from the standpoint of the regional imperial cult in Liburnian territory, which was venerated by the indigenous peregrine population, whose religious practices had already been previously epigraphically confirmed in this context. The inscription was very likely installed in a temple built during the time of Emperor Titus, as propaganda for the Flavian dynasty's cult, which also became a place for worship of the regional imperial cult by the Liburnian peregrine community.

*Key words:* Dalmatia, Liburnia, inscriptions, Tragurium, Scardona, *conventus iuridici*, *conventus Liburnorum*, Hispania, regional imperial cult, Vespasian

## Uvod

U Trogiru je prilikom obnove ženskog benediktinskog samostana i crkve sv. Nikole obavljeno arheološko istraživanje pri kojem je pronađeno mnogo arhitektonskih dokaza o fazama izgradnje tog objekta, ali i dokaza koji su potvrdili kontinuitet građevinske aktivnosti u Trogiru od antičkih dana. Taj je samostan najstariji ženski benediktinski samostan u dalmatinskim gradovima, a nastao je godine 1064., kada je koludricama dodijeljena crkva sv. Dujma kod tzv. Vrata Gospodnjih i obala pred njima.<sup>1</sup> Samostan je, među ostalim, poznat i po svojoj vrijednoj zbirci umjetnina *Kairos*, nazvanoj prema glasovitom helenističkom ulomku reljefa s prikazom boga Kaira. U samostanski dvorišni zid ugrađen je također grčki natpis<sup>2</sup> koji je i dalje jedino epigrafsko svjedočanstvo helenističkog Trogira. U spomenutim su istraživanjima pronađeni ostaci helenističkih i kasnoantičkih obrambenih zidova i južnih gradskih vrata<sup>3</sup>, kao i temelji crkvice sv. Dujma, nad kojom je nastao veći samostan s crkvom.

Istraženo je i popločanje kanalizacijskog odvoda Trogira koji djelomično prolazi kroz samostan sv. Nikole, a postavljeno je tijekom 19. stoljeća, kada su za njegove poklopnice iskorišteni i antički spoliji. Među njima je bilo i dijelova natpisa koji se po svojim značajkama mogu datirati u 1. i 2. stoljeće, a pretpostavka je da su nekoć bili dio nekropole s koje su možda doneseni kako bi se ugradili u kasnoantičke građevine,<sup>4</sup> kako je to na više mjesta potvrđeno u Trogiru.<sup>5</sup> Od antičkih spomenika koji su pokrivali ovaj kanal među najzanimljivijima su ulomak antičkog sarkofaga iz sredine 3. st. s prikazom Ahileja i konja iz scene otкупа Hektorova tijela,<sup>6</sup> jedan nadgrobni natpis iz 1.

## Introduction

Archaeological research was conducted during the renovation of the Benedictine convent and Church of St. Nicholas in Trogir, during which considerable architectural evidence of this structure's construction phases was found, as well as evidence that confirmed the continuity of construction activities in Trogir since Classical Antiquity. This is the oldest convent of the Benedictine sisters in the Dalmatian cities, and it dates back to 1064, when the nuns were given the Church of St. Domnio at the so-called Lord's Gate and the seashore in front of it.<sup>1</sup> The convent is known, among other things, for its valuable art collection called the *Kairos*, named after the renowned Hellenistic fragment of a relief bearing a depiction of the god Kairos. A Greek inscription<sup>2</sup> is also built into the convent's courtyard wall, and this is still the sole epigraphic evidence of Hellenistic Trogir. The remains of Hellenistic and Late Antique defensive walls and the southern city gate<sup>3</sup> were also found in the aforementioned research, as were the foundations of the Church of St. Domnius, upon which the larger convent with its own church were built.

The tiling on Trogir's sewer main, which partially passes through the St. Nicholas Convent, was also examined; it was installed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and Roman-era spolia were also used for its lids. Among them there were parts of an inscription which, by its features, can be dated to the first and second centuries, and it has been assumed that they were once part of a necropolis whence they were perhaps brought in order to construct a Late Antique building,<sup>4</sup> as confirmed at several sites in Trogir.<sup>5</sup> Among the monuments from Antiquity that covered this sewer main, among the most interesting are a fragment of a third-century Attic sarcophagus bearing an image of Achilles and a horse, from the scene of the redemption of Hector's

1 Prilikom 950. obljetnice osnutka ovog samostana publiciran je prigodni zbornik u kojem je, među ostalim vrijednim priložima, podrobno opisana složena arheološka situacija prilikom istraživanja ovog prostora. O tome više kod V. Kovačić 2014, str. 75-81.

2 Brunšmid 1998, str. 43, natpis br. 27.

3 Istraživanja su trajala od 1987. do 2008., s time da su prvih godina istraženi najveći dijelovi samostana. Opis prvih sezona i arheološki kontekst unutar samostanskog kompleksa v. kod V. Kovačić 1994, str. 51-65.

4 Kovačić 1994, str. 60.

5 Upravo kao spolij uzidan u kasnoantički zid bio je otkriven i žrtvenik božice Salacije, Demicheli 2008, str. 69-80.

6 Detaljno o samome spomeniku v. Kovačić 1988, str. 5-19.

1 An anthology was published to mark the 950<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of this convent, and one of the contributions contained a detailed description of the archaeological situation during research into the complex. For more, see V. Kovačić 2014, pp. 75-81.

2 Brunšmid 1998, p. 43, inscription no. 27.

3 Research lasted from 1987 to 2008, although most of the convent were examined in the initial years. For a description of the first seasons and the archaeological context within the monastery complex, see V. Kovačić 1994, pp. 51-65.

4 Kovačić 1994, p. 60.

5 An altar to the goddess Salacia was also discovered as a spolium in a Late Antique wall, Demicheli 2008, pp. 69-80.



Sl. 1. Ulomak trogirskog natpisa sa spomenom konventa (foto: Živko Bačić)

Fig. 1. Fragment of the Trogir inscription mentioning the conventus (photo: Živko Bačić)

stoljeća<sup>7</sup> te jedan ulomak monumentalnoga carskog natpisa,<sup>8</sup> koji je tema ovog rada.

### Natpis sa spomenom konventa u Skardoni

U istraživanjima kanala 1987./88. godine pronađena je ploča od vapnenca s natpisom koji se danas čuva u zbirci *Kairos* ženskoga benediktinskog samostana u Trogiru (sl. 1). Dimenzije spomenika su: vis. 79 cm, šir. 49 cm, deb. 13 cm. Ploča je s natpisne strane

7 Kovačić 1994, str. 61-62: *L(ucius) Bennius / Carpus / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

8 Na postojanje samog ulomka pozornost mi je skrenula kolegica dr. Vanja Kovačić koja me je pobliže upoznala i s dodatnim okolnostima nalaza, na čemu joj se najsrdačnije zahvaljujem. Također, zahvalio bih i č. s. Alojziji Dorvak, voditeljici zbirke "Kairos" na ljubavnosti pri obilasku zbirke, kao i kolegici Ani Demicheli na korisnim sugestijama pri pisanju članka.

body,<sup>6</sup> a gravestone inscription from the 1<sup>st</sup> century<sup>7</sup> and a fragment of a monumental imperial inscription,<sup>8</sup> which is the topic of this work.

### The inscription mentioning a conventus in Scardona

During research in the sewer main in 1987/88, a limestone slab was found bearing an inscription, which is today held in the *Kairos* Collection of the Benedictine convent in Trogir (Fig. 1). The monument's dimensions are: ht. 79 cm, wid. 49 cm, thk. 13 cm. The slab's surface on the inscription side is damaged, with the remnants of limescale on it and in the grooves of individual letters. The surface is corroded, because the slab was installed face downward, so it was in contact with waste- and stormwater. Due to the monument's condition, the reading of the inscription was not entirely clear, so its transcription when published<sup>9</sup> differs somewhat from the transcription presented herein. Damage is visible on the lower half of the slab in the form of furrows that extend vertically along its middle. The appearance of the preserved portion clearly indicates that the slab was part of a large inscription that was sawed apart so that its pieces could be used as construction material. Upon its first publication, it was ascertained that it was part of a monumental object and in its second citation in the relevant literature it was noted that the abbreviation AVG clearly meant that it belonged to an imperial inscription.<sup>10</sup> The inscription with the remains of letters carved in imperial monumental capitals (ht. 11.5 cm in first and second lines, 10 cm in lines 3-5) in five lines reads as follows:

[---]VG E[---]  
[---]PASIA+[---]  
[---]ORITAT[---]  
[---]S DIVI VE[---]  
5 [---]+ENTVVS L[---]

6 For more details on the monument itself, see Kovačić 1988, pp. 5-19.

7 Kovačić 1994, pp. 61-62: *L(ucius) Bennius / Carpus / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*.

8 Dr. Vanja Kovačić drove my attention on the existence of this monument and told me some additional information on the circumstances of this find, for which I extend my gratitude. Furthermore, I would like to thank to a nun Alojzija Dorvak, the curator of the *Kairos* Collection, for the kindness during the Collection visit and also to a colleague Ana Demicheli for the useful suggestions during the writing of this article.

9 Kovačić 1994, p. 63.

10 Kovačić 2014, p. 80.



Sl. 2. Ulomak skradinskog natpisa sa spomenom konventa (fotografija preuzeta iz Brajković 2008)  
Fig. 2. Fragment of the Skradin inscription mentioning the conventus (photograph taken from Brajković 2008)

oštećena po površini, s ostacima kamenca po njoj i u žljebovima pojedinih slova. Površina je nagrizena jer je ploča bila ugrađena s natpisom prema dolje, te je ovaj bio doticaju s otpadnim i oborinskim vodama. Zbog stanja u kojem se spomenik nalazi nije bilo najjasnije čitanje natpisa pa njegov prijepis u objavi<sup>9</sup> ponešto odudara od transkripcije koju donosimo ovdje. U donjoj polovici ploče vidljivo je oštećenje u vidu brazde koja se proteže okomito sredinom spomenika. Iz izgleda sačuvanog dijela jasno je da je ploča bila dio nekog velikog natpisa koji je prepiljen kako bi njegovi dijelovi bili iskorišteni kao građevni materijal. Pri prvoj objavi natpisa ustanovljeno je da je bio dio nekog monumentalnog spomenika, a pri drugom spomenu u literaturi navedeno je da je prema vidljivoj kratlici AVG jasno da je pripadao nekom carskom natpisu.<sup>10</sup> Natpis s ostacima slova koja su klesana carskom monumentalnom kapitalom (vis. 11,5 cm u 1. i 2. retku, 10 cm u 3-5. retku) u pet redaka glasi:

Dividing marks in the form of triangles (*triangula distinguentia*) were carved between G and E in the first line, after the letter S in the fourth and the letter S in the fifth line. A horizontal groove above the first letter A in the second line has been attributed to damage to the monument. At several places on the surface of the stone there are visible changes to the colour, i.e., dark-gray spots.

During an attempt to restore this inscription, it was ascertained that it was the second part of an inscription found in Skradin in 2005, which was dedicated to the deified Emperors Augustus and Vespasian (Fig. 2). That inscription is in far better condition than this one from Trogir, and it is notable upon its publication it was assumed that the *conventus iuridicus* (the assize) in Scardona is mentioned in it.<sup>11</sup> The Skradin fragment (ht. 101 cm, wid. 74 cm, thk. 17.5 cm) only has damage at the beginning of the fourth line, and its surface is also peppered with dark-gray spots. The letters have the same dimensions, and the inscription was carved in six lines which read:

DIVO AV[---]  
DIVO VES[---]  
EX AVCT[---]  
[---]T CAESARI[---]  
5 [---]STI CONV[---]  
SCARDONIS C[---]<sup>12</sup>

According to the restoration of the inscription in its publication at the time, it was assumed that the Skradin fragment was the middle section, meaning that it had other slabs on each of its lateral sides. This is because almost every such monumental inscription was ordered such that the text which mentioned the emperor's name was centred. All lines which follow below from both the left and right sides extended equally from the emperor's name, in balance. We also believe that it could not be the case for such an inscription that the words were broken off in one line and continued in another, so that the word fragment ending in *-sti* in the fifth line suggests that another slab had to exist on the left side.

Connected (Fig. 3), these two inscriptions form a text that yields the restoration proposed below:

9 Kovačić 1994, str. 63.

10 Kovačić 2014, str. 80.

11 Kuntić-Makvić 2009, pp. 26-27.

12 The inscription was then restored as: *Divo Augusto / divo Ves[pasiano] / ex auct[oritate / imp(eratoris)] / T(iti) Caesari[s Ves(asiani)]<sup>s</sup> [Augu]sti conv[entus?---] / Scardonis c[onsecravit?]*.

[---]VGE[---]  
 [---]PASIA+[---]  
 [---]ORITAT[---]  
 [---]S DIVI VE[---]  
 5 [---]+ENTVS L[---]

Rastavni znakovi u obliku trokuta (*triangula distinguentia*) uklesani su između slova *G* i *E* u prvome retku, iza slova *S* u četvrtom i slova *S* u petome retku. Iznad prvog slova *A* u drugome retku stoji vodoravna brazda za koju smatramo da je nastala oštećenjem spomenika. Na nekoliko mjesta po površini kamena vidljiva je promjena boje u obliku tamnosivih mrlja.

Pri pokušaju restitucije ovog natpisa ustanovljeno je da se radi o drugom dijelu natpisa pronađenog godine 2005. u Skradinu koji je bio posvećen diviniziranim carevima Augustu i Vespazijanu (sl. 2). Taj je natpis u puno boljem stanju od ovog trogirskog, a znakovit je po tome što je prilikom njegove objave pretpostavljeno da se na njemu spominje juridički konvent u Skardoni.<sup>11</sup> Skradinski ulomak (vis. 101 cm, šir. 74 cm, deb. 17,5 cm) ima tek jedno oštećenje na početku 4. retka, a površina mu je također prošarana tamnosivim mrljama. Slova su istih dimenzija, a natpis je uklesan u šest redaka i glasi:

DIVO AV[---]  
 DIVO VES[---]  
 EX AVCT[---]  
 [---]T CAESARI[---]  
 5 [---]STI CONV[---]  
 SCARDONIS C[---]<sup>12</sup>

Prema restituciji natpisa u tadašnjoj je objavi bilo pretpostavljeno da je skradinski ulomak bio srednji, odnosno da se s obje bočne strane nalazila po još jedna ploča. Naime, gotovo svaki ovakav monumentalni natpis bio je ordiniran tako da je tekst koji spominje careve centriran. Svi redci koji slijede ispod ovih i s lijeve i s desne strane otprilike su jednako širi od imena careva, u ravnoteži. Također smatramo da kod ovakvog natpisa nije mogao biti slučaj da se dio riječi u jednom retku prekine i nastavi u drugome, pa dio riječi koja završava na *-sti* u petom retku sugerira da je s lijeve strane morala postojati još jedna ploča.

Spojani (sl. 3), ova dva natpisa daju tekst čija je predložena restitucija:



Sl. 3. Spojeni ulomci iz Skradina i Trogira  
 Fig. 3. The fragments from Skradin and Trogir connected

*Divo Aug(usto) e[ti]  
 divo Vespasian[o]  
 ex auctoritat[e]  
 [imp(eratoris)] T(iti) Caesaris divi  
 Vesp[asian]i filii Vesp[asian]i]  
 5 [Augu]sti conventus L[iburnor(um)]  
 Scardonis c[onsecravit?]*

Translation: To the Divine Augustus and the Divine Vespasian, at the command of Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasian, son of the Divine Vespasian, *conventus Liburnorum* in Scardona dedicated (?).

The graphic reconstruction (Fig. 4) contains the assumed arrangement of the text, wherein we believe that the inscription field was broken into four slabs for later construction use. The possible moulding that framed the text cannot be reconstructed, and it was probably cut on separate plates due to its relief character. Given the considerable space beneath the last line of the Skradin fragment, we believe that the inscription had more than six lines. The fourth line of the inscription was reconstructed based on the name of Emperor Titus, who after Vespasian's deification was officially called *Imperator Titus Caesar divi Vespasiani filius Vespasianus*, or Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasian, son of the divine Vespasian. The filiation *Vespasiani* and the cognomen of Titus, *Vespasianus*, are here proposed in their abbreviated form, for in its full form the name would have been too wide and exceeded the inscription's plane. The cognomen *Vespasianus* in abbreviated form has thus far been confirmed at other places generally as *Vesp(asianus)*.<sup>13</sup>

11 Kuntić-Makvić 2009, str. 26-27.

12 Natpis je tada restituiran kao: *Divo Augusto / divo Vesp[asiano] / ex auct[oritate] / imp[eratoris] / T[iti] Caesaris / s Vesp[asian]i] / 5 [Augu]sti conv[entus] / Scardonis c[onsecravit?]*.

13 Such as, e.g., on the inscriptions from the reigns of Vespasian, Titus and Domitian: AE 2003, 810 (Jerusalem); AE 1974, 400 (Puebla de Trives); AE 1974, 401

*Divo Aug(usto) e[t]  
divo Vespasian[o]  
ex auctoritat[e]  
[imp(eratoris)] T(iti) Caesaris divi  
Ve[sp(asiani) f(ili) Vesp(asiani)]  
5 [Augu]sti conventus L[iburnor(um)]  
Scardonis c[onsecravit?]*

Prijevod: Božanskom Augustu i Božanskom Vespazijanu, po zapovijedi cara Tita Cezara Vespazijana, sina Božanskog Vespazijana, konvent Liburna u Skardoni je posvetio(?).

Na grafičkoj je rekonstrukciji (sl. 4) donesen pretpostavljeni razmještaj teksta pri čemu smatramo da je za kasnije građevinske potrebe natpisno polje razdijeljeno na najmanje četiri ploče. Profilaciju koja je uokvirivala tekst nije moguće rekonstruirati, a vjerojatno je bila izrezana na posebnim pločama zbog svoje reljefnosti. S obzirom na dosta prostora ispod zadnjeg retka skradinskog ulomka, smatramo da natpis nije imao više od šest redaka. Četvrti je redak natpisa rekonstruiran prema imenu cara Tita, koji se nakon Vespazijanova primanja među bogove službeno zvao *Imperator Titus Caesar divi Vespasiani filius Vespasianus*, odnosno Imperator Tit Cezar Vespazijan, sin božanskog Vespazijana. Filijacija *Vespasiani* i Titov kognomen *Vespasianus* ovdje su predloženi u skraćenom obliku, jer bi u punoj formi ime bilo preširoko i izlazilo bi iz ravnine natpisa. Kognomen *Vespasianus* u pokraćenom obliku dosad je potvrđen na drugim mjestima uglavnom kao *Vesp(asianus)*.<sup>13</sup> Prijedlog glagola u zadnjem retku natpisa, kojim je trebalo biti opisano što je to bilo napravljeno po zapovijedi cara Tita, preuzet je iz prve interpretacije ovog spomenika. Budući da se radi o posveti božanskim carevima, glagol *consecrare* u značenju posvetiti, čini se kao dobar prijedlog restitucije.

#### Konvent u Skardoni i ostali konventi u Dalmaciji

Skardona se razvila na ušću rijeke Krke (*Titius*) i bila je važna trgovačka luka koja je obalni dio Liburnije povezivala s njezinom unutrašnjosti. Ona je ujedno bila liburnski grad sa snažnim autohtonim elementom, koji se nalazio na granici između liburnskoga i delmatskoga dijela Dalmacije, pa ne čudi da je sjedište konventa bilo upravo u njoj. Spajanjem dvaju ulomaka ovoga spomenika otkriveni su neki novi aspekti natpisa. Pri prvoj je objavi skradinskog ulomka riječ

DIVO · AVG · ET  
DIVO·VESPASIANO  
EX·AVCTORITATE  
IMP·T·CAESARIS·DIVI·VESP·F·VESP  
AVGVSTI· CONVENTVS·LIBVRNOR  
SCARDONIS·CONSECRAVIT

Sl. 4. Prijedlog rekonstrukcije monumentalnog natpisa posvećenog diviniziranim carevima Augustu i Vespazijanu

Fig. 4. Proposed reconstruction of the monumental inscription dedicated to the deified emperors, Augustus and Vespasian

The proposed verb in the final line of the inscription, which should describe what was done at the command of Emperor Titus, was assumed from the first interpretation of this monument. Since this is dedication to the divine emperors, the verb *consecrare*, meaning to dedicate, seems like a sound proposal for restoration.

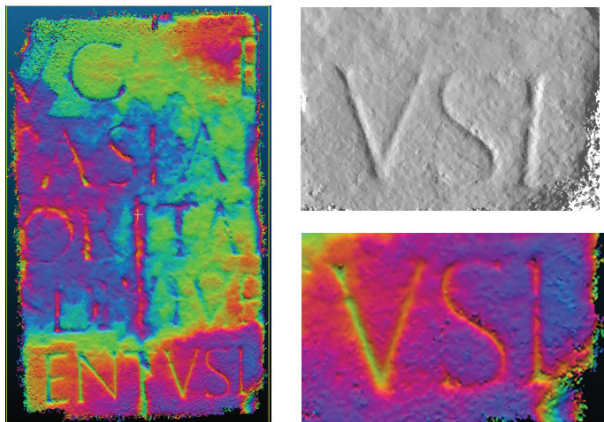
#### The *conventus* in Scardona and the other Dalmatian *conventus*

Scardona grew on the mouth of the Krka (*Titius*) River, and it was a major mercantile port which linked the coastal part of Liburnia with its hinterland. It was also a Liburnian city with a powerful indigenous element, which was situated at the boundary between the Liburnian and Delmataean parts of Dalmatia, so it is not surprising that a *conventus* was in fact seated here. The connection of the two fragments of this monument has revealed certain new aspects of the inscription. When the Skradin fragment was first published, the word *conv[---]* was restored as *conv[entus?]*, probably so because of the then unknown grammatical case of the word *conventus*, but it immediately became clear that this word referred to a juridical *conventus*. This was additionally reinforced by the word *Scardonis*, an ablative for the place name Scardona,<sup>14</sup> thus “some” *conventus* dedicated “something” in Scardona, which is known from Pliny to have been the seat of a *conventus*. Because of this, the usage of the term *conventus Scardonis*, which sometimes

13 Kao npr. na natpisima iz Vespazijanova, Titova i Domicianova doba: AE 2003, 810 (Jerusalem); AE 1974, 400 (Puebla de Trives); AE 1974, 401 (*Aquae Flaviae*); CIL II 4838, 4854 (*Aquae Flaviae*); CIL II 656 (*Mirobriga*); AE 2004, 725 (*Norba*); CIL VI 2725 (*Roma*).

(*Aquae Flaviae*); CIL II 4838, 4854 (*Aquae Flaviae*); CIL II 656 (*Mirobriga*); AE 2004, 725 (*Norba*); CIL VI 2725 (*Roma*).

14 The name of this city was written in the form *Scardonis* on only one other inscription from Skradin, CIL III 2810.



Sl. 5. Fotogrametrijski prikaz donjeg desnog dijela natpisa iz Trogira (izradio: M. Vuković)

Fig. 5. Photogrammetric image of the lower right-hand part of the inscription from Trogir (by M. Vuković)

*conv[---]* restituirana kao *conv[entus?]*, vjerojatno na taj način zbog tada nepoznatog padeža riječi *conventus*, no odmah je bilo jasno da se ova riječ odnosila na juridički konvent. To je dodatno bilo osnaženo riječju *Scardonis*, ablativom mjesta u množini imenice *Scardona*,<sup>14</sup> dakle “neki” konvent je posvetio “nešto” u *Skardoni*, za koju se iz Plinija zna da je bila središte konventa. Zbog toga bi trebalo napustiti upotrebu sintagme *conventus Scardonis* koja se ponegdje koristi u literaturi. Uz to, sada je očito da je između riječi *conventus* i *Scardonis* stajala još jedna riječ, a upravo se ona, prema našem mišljenju, odnosila na ime naroda ili teritorij samog konventa. Za pretpostavku restitucije mogućeg naziva konventa od velike je važnosti zadnje uklesano slovo na trogirskom ulomku. Naime, jasno je raspoznatljiva samo jedna okomita hasta, koja sugerira slova *I*<sup>15</sup> ili *L*, dok boja samog kamena i površinsko oštećenje s desne strane sugeriraju luk slova *P*. Ipak, fotogrametrijskom analizom<sup>16</sup> (sl. 5a-c) pri kojoj je dobiven prikaz natpisa s obzirom na dubinu uklesanih slova, po našoj je interpretaciji, prema vidljivom ostatku donje vodoravne haste, ustanovljeno

14 U obliku *Scardonis* ime ovoga grada uklesano je jedino na još jednom natpisu iz Skradina, CIL III 2810.

15 Ova mogućnost je manje vjerojatna zbog toga što desno od okomite haste ima još relativno dosta prostora, pa smatramo da bi se uz slovo *I* najvjerojatnije vidio početak nekog novog slova. Želimo naglasiti da bi čak i u slučaju potvrde slova *I* trebalo isključiti mogućnost da se radi o sintagmi *conventus i[uridicus]* jer ona, osim što dosad nije epigrafski potvrđena, ne bi imala ni smisla na ovome mjestu.

16 Fotogrametrijsku obradu napravio je kolega Miroslav Vuković, na čemu mu najsrdačnije zahvaljujem.

appears in the relevant literature, should be abandoned. Additionally, it is now apparent that there was another word between the words *conventus* and *Scardonis*, and it was in fact this word that we believe referred to the name of the people or territory of the *conventus* itself. The last letter carved on the Trogir fragment is quite important to the assumed restitution of a possible name for the *conventus*. Only a single vertical bar is legible, which suggests the letter *I*<sup>15</sup> or *L*, while the colour of the stone itself and the surface damage to the right side suggest the arch of the letter *P*. Nonetheless, based on photogrammetry<sup>16</sup> (Fig. 5a-c), whereby an image of the inscription was obtained given the depth of the engraved letters, according to our interpretation, due to the visible remain of the lower horizontal bar it was ascertained that this could only be the letter *L*. The *conventus* name which begins with the letter *L* additionally reinforces the logic of the interpretation of this name connected with the Liburni or Liburnia. Our hypothesis, therefore, is that the name of the *conventus* was *conventus Liburnorum*, or the *conventus* of the Liburni. Before explaining this hypothesis in full, we shall go over some of the facts about the *conventus*-system in Dalmatia.

For the *conventus* it may be said that these were administrative districts, and their seats were visited by the peregrines to resolve legal and administrative affairs. The imperial cult was also particularly promoted in these cities, which additionally simplified the legal jurisdiction of the province.<sup>17</sup> In the administrative sense, the territory of Dalmatia was divided into three *conventus* in the first century, with their seats in Scardona, Salona and Naron.<sup>18</sup> There are theories that the *conventus* with the seat in Scardona corresponded to the territory of the Liburnian and Iapodian prefectures, i.e., the military administration of this territory

15 This possibility is less likely because there is still considerable space to the right of the vertical bar, thus we believe that the beginning of another letter would have been visible if it were the letter *I*. We want to stress that that even if the letter *I* is confirmed, the possibility that it reads *conventus i[uridicus]* should still be excluded, because except from the fact that it has never been epigraphically confirmed, it would make no sense in this particular context.

16 Photogrammetry was done by a colleague Miroslav Vuković, for which I extend my sincerest gratitude.

17 The basic article on *conventus*, see Kornemann 1900. For additional aspects on the purpose of *conventus*, see Dopico Cainzos 2013, pp. 83-100.

18 There is a theory on a fourth *conventus* that would have had its seat in Epidaurum. On this, see Marion 1998, pp. 130-132; this information transmits Šašel Kos 2005, pp. 232-233.

da se može raditi samo o slovu *L*. Ime konventa koje započinje slovom *L* dodatno osnažuje logiku tumačenja njegovog imena povezujući ga s Liburnima ili Liburnijom. Naša je, dakle, pretpostavka da je naziv konventa glasio *conventus Liburnorum*, što bi se moglo prevesti kao konvent Liburna. Prije nego što do kraja objasnimo ovu pretpostavku, osvrnut ćemo se na osnovne činjenice o konventima Dalmacije.

Za konvente općenito možemo reći da su to bili administrativni okruzi u čija su središta dolazili peregrini pripadajućeg područja kako bi rješavali pravne i administrativne poslove, u kojima se posebno promicao carski kult te koji su pojednostavljivali pravnu nadležnost provincije.<sup>17</sup> Područje Dalmacije je u 1. st. u administrativnom smislu bilo podijeljeno na tri konventa, čija su se središta nalazila u Skardoni, Saloni i u Naroni.<sup>18</sup> Postoji mišljenje da konvent sa središtem u Skardoni po svome opsegu odgovara teritoriju liburnske i japodske prefektore, odnosno vojne uprave nad ovim područjem u doba Velikog ustanka 6.-9. godine.<sup>19</sup> Konventi su u Dalmaciji, kako se čini, bili osnovani kako bi se omogućila kontrola nerimskih zajednica i naroda Dalmacije. Jedini antički izvor koji spominje konvente u Dalmaciji je Plinije Stariji, iz čijeg vrlo šturog, ali vrijednog izvješća o našim krajevima saznajemo koji su sve narodi, peregrinske zajednice i njihovi gradovi u Dalmaciji pripadali kojem konventu.<sup>20</sup> Od Plinija saznajemo da narodi i peregrinske zajednice Liburnije unutar sebe nisu bile podijeljene na dekurije, kako je to bio slučaj s narodima i zajednicama u ostalim dvama konventima. Općenito se drži da je podjela na dekurije bila lošija opcija za peregrinsku populaciju, budući da su u toj podijeli vrlo vjerojatno mnoge manje zajednice pripojene većima i na taj su način izgubile svoj etnički i kulturni identitet.<sup>21</sup>

Glavni grad provincije Dalmacije i središte salonitanskog konventa bila je Salona, u kojoj je namjesnik imao svoje sjedište. Njegov je zadatak bio štititi mir u provinciji, ali i imati jurisdikciju nad slučajevima koji su bili previše važni da bi se rješavali na razini manjih pokrajinskih sudišta. Stoga je namjesnik

during the Great Revolt in 6-9 AD.<sup>19</sup> The *conventus* in Dalmatia were, it would appear, established in order to enable control of the non-Roman communities and peoples living there. The sole Roman-era source that mentions the *conventus*-system in Dalmatia is Pliny the Elder, whose very meagre, but valuable report on these territories recounts the *conventus* to which the nations, peregrine communities and their cities in Dalmatia belonged.<sup>20</sup> From Pliny, we learn that the nations and peregrine communities of Liburnia were not sub-divided among themselves into *decuriae*, which was the case with the nations and communities in the other two *conventus*. It is generally believed that the division into *decuriae* was the poorer option for the peregrine population, since many smaller communities were quite likely merged with larger ones in this division, thus losing their ethnic and cultural identity.<sup>21</sup>

The capital city of Dalmatia and the seat of the Salonitan *conventus* was Salona, in which the governor had his seat. His task was to maintain peace in the province, but also to exercise jurisdiction over cases that were too important to be resolved at the level of the provincial tribunals. The governor thus occasionally travelled to the seats of the other *conventus* in order to preside over cases in important litigation. The arrival of the provincial consul in the seat of a *conventus* was not only a significant but also ceremonious occasion that brought considerable financial benefit to the city, because during these days many people from throughout the territory of the *conventus*, consumers of everything the city had to offer, were expected.<sup>22</sup> The seat then presented itself in all of its splendour, which certainly had a certain Roman cultural impact on the peregrine population that happened to reside there.<sup>23</sup> An inscription was found in Scardona which mentions the *praetorium*, the renovation of which at the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century was financed by

17 Osnovni članak o konventima v. Kornemann 1900. Za dodatne aspekte svrhe konvenata vidi u Dopico Caínzos 2013, str. 83-100.

18 Postoji teza o četvrtom konventu, čije je sjedište moglo biti u Epidauru. O tome u Marion 1998, str. 130-132, a informaciju prenosi i Šašel Kos 2005, str. 232-233.

19 Starac 2006, str. 111. O prefekturi Liburnije i Japodije vidi u Suić 1992, str. 55-66.

20 Plin. *Nat. hist.* III, 139-141.

21 O podjeli peregrinskih zajednica salonitanskoga i naronitanskog konventa na dekurije v. Čače 2010, str. 57-81.

19 Starac 2006, p. 111. On the prefecture of Liburnia and the Iapodes, see Suić 1992, pp. 55-66.

20 Plin. *Nat. hist.* III, 139-141.

21 On the division of the peregrine communities of the Salona and Naronia *conventus* into *decuriae*, see Čače 2010, pp. 57-81.

22 Burton 1975, p. 98; Galsterer 2000, p. 347. Dio Chrysostom in fact reported on the situation when the court convened after a one-year pause in the city of Celaenae in Asia (*Disc.* 35.15), describing the colourful multitude which came to the city and all of the benefits to the city as a result.

23 L. Curchin 2004, p. 57 assumed this for the territory of Hispania using the term Romanization, which we would rather omit. This may also be applied to Dalmatia.



svako toliko odlazio u središta ostalih konvenata kako bi predsjedao parnicama u važnijim sporovima. Dolazak namjesnika provincije u središte konventa bio je ne samo značajan i svečan trenutak nego i velika materijalna korist za grad, jer se tih dana očekivalo mnoštvo ljudi s cijelog područja konventa, potrošača svega što je grad nudio.<sup>22</sup> Središte se tada predstavljalo u najboljem izdanju, što je zasigurno ostavilo određeni rimski kulturni utisak na peregrijsko stanovništvo koje bi se ondje zateklo.<sup>23</sup> U Skardoni je pronađen natpis koji spominje pretorij čiju je obnovu u drugoj polovici 2. st. financiralo nekoliko liburnskih peregrijskih zajednica.<sup>24</sup> Ta je zgrada služila namjesniku provincije koji bi došao u Skardonu izricati presude na razini konventa. U središtima konvenata donosile su se i odluke o svim teritorijalnim razgraničenjima između peregrijskih općina, jer su takve odluke bile pod jurisdikcijom namjesnika provincije. To se jasno vidi na nešto više od dvadeset u Dalmaciji pronađenih terminacijskih natpisa,<sup>25</sup> koji se mogu pratiti još od vremena namjesnika Publija Kornelija Dolabele (14.-20. god.).

Zanimljivo je da je tek nekoliko<sup>26</sup> provincija u Rimskom Carstvu bilo administrativno podijeljeno na juridičke konvente; osim Dalmacije još samo tri hispanijske provincije (Ovostrana Hispanija, Luzitanija i Betika) i Azija.<sup>27</sup> U potonjima, osim što ih spominje

several Liburnian peregrine communities.<sup>24</sup> This building served the provincial governor, who came to Scardona to deliver verdicts at the conventual level. Decisions on all territorial demarcations between the peregrine municipalities were also made in the conventual seats, because such decisions were under the jurisdiction of the provincial consul. This is clearly shown by the over twenty boundary inscriptions found in Dalmatia<sup>25</sup> that can be followed since the time of governor Publius Cornelius Dolabella (14-20 AD).

It is interesting that only a few<sup>26</sup> provinces in the Roman Empire were administratively sub-divided into juridical *conventus*: besides Dalmatia, three Hispanian provinces (Hispania Citerior, Lusitania and Baetica) and Asia.<sup>27</sup> Besides being mentioned by Pliny the Elder,<sup>28</sup> epigraphic confirmations were found in Hispania and Asia.<sup>29</sup> In Hispania, the *conventus* is mentioned in several dozen epigraphic sources.<sup>30</sup> In

22 Burton 1975, str. 98; Galsterer 2000, str. 347. Upravo o situaciji kad sud nakon jednogodišnje stanke zasjeda u gradu Celenama u Aziji, izvještava i Dion Hrizostom (*Dio Chrysostom. Disc. 35.15.*), opisujući šaroliko društvo koje dolazi u grad i sve koristi koje grad ima od toga.

23 L. Curchin 2004, str. 57, to pretpostavlja za prostor Hispanije, koristeći pritom pojam "romanizacija", koji radije ovdje izostavljamo. Ista se ova situacija može primijeniti i na Dalmaciju.

24 CIL III 2809.

25 Wilkes 1974, str. 258-274.

26 Nije isključena ni mogućnost da su i druge provincije imale ovakvo uređenje, samo što za njih ne postoji epigrafski dokaz (Haensch 1997, str. 28-33; Goffaux 2011, str. 445). Postojala je pretpostavka da je svaka provincija čiji je namjesnik imao na raspolaganju više od jednog legata bila podijeljena na konvente (u ovom slučaju rabi se riječ *dioeceses*, Kornemann 1905, 716). G. P. Burton je pokušao dokazati da su sve prokonzularne provincije bile podijeljene na konvente (Burton 1975, str. 97, 106).

27 Hispanija je bila podijeljena u 14 konvenata (Alföldy 2001, str. 452-453), dok je broj konvenata u Aziji varirao ovisno o razdoblju. Najviše ih je bilo 13 (Habicht 1975, str. 67, 70).

24 CIL III 2809.

25 Wilkes 1974, pp. 258-274.

26 It is not excluded the possibility that the other provinces had the conventual system, but there is no epigraphic evidence to confirm so (Haensch 1997, pp. 28-33; Goffaux 2011, p. 445). There was an assumption that all the Roman provinces whose governors had more than one legate at their disposition were divided into *conventus* (in this particular case Kornemann used the word *dioeceses*, Kornemann 1905, 716). G. P. Burton tried to prove that all the proconsular provinces were divided into *conventus* (Burton 1975, pp. 97, 106).

27 Hispania was divided into 14 *conventus* (Alföldy 2001, pp. 452-453), while the number of *conventus* in Asia varied depending on the period. At most there were 13 (Habicht 1975, pp. 67, 70).

28 Pliny used the term *conventus* for Hispania and Dalmatia, while for Asia (NH V, 105-106) he used the terms *conventus* and *iurisdictio* as synonyms.

29 Due exclusively to the higher number of epigraphic confirmations of *conventus* in Hispanian provinces and Asia, the level of research into them in these provinces is much better, particularly in Hispania. A comparison between the Hispanian and Asian *conventus* with those of Dalmatia thus has yet to be done. It would be particularly worthwhile to compare the Dalmatian *conventus* with the *conventus* of north-eastern Hispania, as it would appear that they exhibit certain similarities (Oscáriz Gil 2013, p. 565).

30 The literature on the Hispanian *conventus* is virtually endless, but we shall highlight an article which deals with the emergence, chronology and character of the juridical *conventus* (D. Dopico Caínzos 1984). Much has been written thereafter, and we shall point to the list of references carried in the newest edition of the CIL for Hispania (CIL II<sup>2</sup>/14, p. XIII, text by G. Alföldy), as well as the references in the recently published article by D. Oscáriz Gil 2013.

Plinije Stariji,<sup>28</sup> o tome nalazimo i epigrafske potvrde.<sup>29</sup> U Hispaniji postoji nekoliko desetaka epigrafskih spomena konvenata.<sup>30</sup> U Aziji se umjesto termina *conventus* rabi istoznačni termin *διοίκησις*, budući da se radi o provinciji u kojoj je epigrafska baština uglavnom na grčkom jeziku.<sup>31</sup> Iznenađuje da u Dalmaciji, usprkos velikom broju pronađenih natpisa, nije zabilježen epigrafski spomen ni jednog od konvenata do pronalaska ovog natpisa, koji se datira tek u doba cara Tita, odnosno od 79. do 81. godine. Premda se općenito smatra da je Dalmacija bila podijeljena na konvente već nakon Panonsko-dalmatinskog ustanka, odnosno za cara Augusta, za to dosad nema jasnih dokaza. I u španjolskoj je znanstvenoj literaturi bilo prisutno mišljenje da su hispaniski konventi bili ustanovljeni tek za Vespazijana, što je donekle promijenjeno nalazom natpisa datiranog u Augustovu vladavinu, odnosno u 1. godinu.<sup>32</sup> Danas prevladava mišljenje da su hispaniski konventi u Vespazijanovo doba zapravo dobili svoju konačnu organizacijsku formu administrativnog sustava koji je započeo za Augusta.<sup>33</sup> Stoga se

Asia, instead of the term *conventus*, the term *διοίκησις* with the same meaning is used, since this is a province in which the epigraphic heritage generally appears in Greek.<sup>31</sup> It is surprising that in Dalmatia, despite the high number of inscriptions found, not one epigraphic mention of a *conventus* has been found outside of this one, which has been dated to the reign of Titus, from 78 to 81 AD. Although it is generally believed that Dalmatia was divided into *conventus* after the Panonian-Delmataean uprising, i.e., during the reign of Augustus, thus far there is no clear evidence to back this. The view that *conventus* were only established in Hispania during the reign of Vespasian was even present in the Spanish scholarly literature, which was somewhat changed with the discovery of an inscription dated to the reign of August, i.e., to 1 AD.<sup>32</sup> Today the prevailing view is that in Vespasian's era the Hispanian *conventus* obtained their final organizational form of the administrative system which was established during Augustus' reign.<sup>33</sup> As with the Hispanian example, it may thus be possible to apply to Dalmatia the view of G. Alföldy, who said that the absence of evidence does not necessarily signify the absence of such organization.<sup>34</sup>

28 Plinije za Hispaniju i Dalmaciju rabi naziv *conventus*, dok za Aziju (NH V, 105-106) kao sinonime koristi termine *conventus* i *iurisdictio*.

29 Isključivo zbog većeg broja epigrafskih potvrda konvenata u hispankim provincijama i Aziji, stanje njihove istraženosti u njima je puno bolje, pogotovo u Hispaniji. Stoga usporedba hispanskih i azijskih konvenata s dalmatinskima tek predstoji. Posebno bi se trebala razmotriti usporedba dalmatinskih konvenata i konvenata sjeveroistočne Hispanije, koji, kako se čini, pokazuju određene sličnosti (Oscáriz Gil 2013, str. 565).

30 Literatura o hispankim konventima gotovo je nepregledna, no izdvojiti ćemo članak koji se bavi postankom, kronologijom i karakterom juridičkih konvenata (Dopico Caínzos 1984). Nakon toga pisano je dosta, a upućujemo na popis literature donesen u novom izdanju CIL-a za Hispaniju (CIL II2/14, str. XIII, tekst G. Alföldyja), kao i popis literature u nedavno objavljenom članku D. Oscáriz Gil 2013.

31 Popis većine azijskih konvenata donesen je na natpisu iz Efeza. Natpis je detaljno obrađen kod: Habicht 1975, str. 64-91. Ipak, u ranobizantskom razdoblju potvrđen je kod grčkog kroničara Malale (*Malalas, Chronogr.* p. 102.6; p. 438, 23; p. 494, 12) termin *κομβεντίω, κομβέντου, κομβέντον*, ali u značenju skupa, zasjedanja odnosno saziva.

32 Tzv. *tabula Lougeiorum*, AE 1984, 553 (*Lucus Augusti*). Na ovom se natpisu spominje *conventus Arae Augusti*, pa se za Hispaniju uzima da je bila podijeljena na konvente za Augusta. O tome kako ovaj natpis nije sasvim pouzdan pokazatelj o osnutku konvenata u Augustovo doba, v. Canto 1990, str. 267-275.

33 Alföldy 2001, str. 453. O tome i Goffaux 2011, str. 449. Općenito o Vespazijanovu preuređenju Hispanije v. Knox McElderry 1918, str. 53-102.

### Conventus Liburnorum

The Scardonitan monument is primarily considered from the standpoint of the regional imperial cult in Dalmatia, as its veneration in this province has been confirmed at a number of sites. Major studies of the imperial cult in Dalmatia have appeared more recently, with particular emphasis on the regional imperial cult.<sup>35</sup> The territories in which the early

31 A list of most Asian *conventus* was provided in an inscription from Ephesus. The inscription was thoroughly covered in: Habicht 1975, pp. 64-91. Nonetheless, in the Early Byzantine period, the term *κομβεντίω, κομβέντου, κομβέντον* was confirmed in the work of the Greek chronicler Malalas (*Chronogr.* p. 102.6; p. 438, 23; p. 494, 12), but with the meaning of a gathering, session or convocation.

32 The so-called *tabula Lougeiorum*, AE 1984, 553 (*Lucus Augusti*). This inscription mentions the *conventus Arae Augusti*, so the assumption for Hispania is that it was divided into *conventus* during Augustus's reign. On how this inscription is not an entirely reliable indicator of the establishment of *conventus* in the Augustan era, see Canto 1990, pp. 267-275.

33 Alföldy 2001, p. 453; Goffaux 2011, p. 449. For a general outline of Vespasian's reorganization of Hispania, see Knox McElderry 1918, pp. 53-102.

34 Alföldy 2001, p. 453.

35 Jadrić-Miletić 2008; Glavičić-Miletić 2008; Jadrić-Kučan 2012; Jadrić-Kučan 2014.

možda, kao na hispanskom primjeru, i na Dalmaciju može primijeniti mišljenje G. Alföldyja, koji je kazao da nedostatak dokaza nije nužno znak i nedostatka ovakve organizacije.<sup>34</sup>

### *Conventus Liburnorum*

Skardonitanski se spomenik gleda ponajviše iz perspektive pokrajinskoga carskog kulta u Dalmaciji, gdje je na više mjesta u ovoj provinciji potvrđeno njegovo organizirano štovanje. U novije su se vrijeme pojavile značajne studije o carskome kultu u Dalmaciji, s posebnim naglaskom na pokrajinski carski kult.<sup>35</sup> Područja u kojima se može potvrditi rano uvođenje pokrajinskoga carskoga kulta su Hispanija, Galija i Ilirik, odnosno tamo gdje su završne vojne operacije prije konačnog osvajanja ovih provincija imali Cezar i August. Carski je kult uvela sama carska obitelj, kako bi se na taj način moglo kontrolirati stanovništvo u tek osvojenim provincijama.<sup>36</sup> Slomom ustanka u Iliriku godine 9. i podjelom ove provincije, vrlo vjerojatno najprije na Gornji i Donji Ilirik, u Gornjem je Iliriku,<sup>37</sup> odnosno kasnijoj Dalmaciji, uvedena pokrajinska razina carskoga kulta. Ta je razina podrazumijevala štovanje kulta živućeg cara od strane peregrinskih zajednica okupljenih oko jednoga vjerskog središta u svakom od konvenata kako bi se među autohtonim stanovništvom brže provelo prihvaćanje novouspostavljene rimske vlasti.<sup>38</sup> To je još uvijek bilo doba kada carski kult nije na razini same države bio razdijeljen na središnji (rimski), provincijski i municipalni.<sup>39</sup>

Pokrajinski je carski kult u Dalmaciji najbolje posvjedočen na tlu Liburnije, gdje iz natpisne građe saznajemo da se kult prakticirao na žrtveniku Liburna (*ara Augusti Liburnorum*) koji se nalazio u

introduction of the regional imperial cult can be confirmed are Hispania, Gallia and Illyricum, i.e., where the closing military operations prior to final conquest of the provinces were commanded by Julius Caesar and Augustus. The imperial cult was introduced by the imperial family itself in order to control the population in the newly-conquered provinces.<sup>36</sup> After the quelling of the revolt in Illyricum in 9 AD and the division of this province, very likely into Illyricum Superior and Inferior initially, the imperial cult was introduced at the regional level in Illyricum Superior,<sup>37</sup> later Dalmatia. This level implied worship of the cult of a living emperor by the peregrine communities gathered around a single religious hub in each of the *conventus* in order to more rapidly implement acceptance of the newly-established Roman rule among the indigenous population.<sup>38</sup> This was still a time when the imperial cult was not yet divided into the central (Roman), provincial and municipal cults at the state level.<sup>39</sup>

The best testimony to the regional imperial cult in Dalmatia was found on Liburnian soil, where the epigraphic monuments inform us that this cult was practiced on the altar of the Liburni (*ara Augusti Liburnorum*) that was located in Scardona.<sup>40</sup> The terms *sacerdos Liburnorum*,<sup>41</sup> *ara Augusti Liburnorum* and *civitates Liburniae*<sup>42</sup> confirm this. The cult

34 Alföldy 2001, str. 453.

35 Jadrić–Miletić 2008; Glavičić–Miletić 2008; Jadrić–Kučan 2012; Jadrić–Kučan 2014.

36 Fishwick 1993, str. 148.

37 U literaturi nije usuglašen stav kada je došlo do uvođenja službenih naziva provincija Dalmacije i Panonije, odnosno dokad se zadržao naziv Gornji i Donji Ilirik. Iako se o tome raspravlja već desetljećima, u novije je vrijeme M. Šašel Kos iznijela dobro potkrijepljeno mišljenje kako potvrđuje za administrativno uvođenje imena provincije Panonije, pa tako i Dalmacije nema prije cara Vespazijana. Usp. Šašel Kos 2010, str. 123-130. Drugačije, ali također dosta argumentirano mišljenje o podjeli Ilirika na Dalmaciju i Panoniju već u Tiberijevom razdoblju, v. Kovács 2010, str. 243-253.

38 Jadrić–Kučan 2012, str. 43.

39 Jadrić–Miletić 2008, str. 78.

36 Fishwick 1993, p. 148.

37 A consensus has not yet been reached in the relevant literature as to when precisely the official names of the provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia were introduced, i.e., how long the terms Illyricum Superior and Inferior were retained. Even though this has been debated for decades now, in more recent years, M. Šašel Kos put forth the well-argued opinion that there are no confirmations of the administrative introduction of the provincial name of Pannonia – and thus also Dalmatia – prior to Emperor Vespasian. C. Šašel Kos 2010, pp. 123-130. For a different, but also rather well-argued opinion on the division of Illyricum into Dalmatia and Pannonia already during the time of Tiberius, see Kovács 2010, pp. 243-253.

38 Jadrić–Kučan 2012, p. 43.

39 Jadrić–Miletić 2008, p. 78.

40 The inscription under CIL III 2810 (*Scardona*) mentions that Titus Turranius Sedatus, son of Titus, enrolled in *tribus Sergia* in Scardona, was a duovir and decurion and *sacerdos ad aram Augusti Liburnorum*. The inscription is from the latter half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century.

41 CIL III 2931 (*Iader*), M. *Trebius Proculus*, *sacerdos Liburnorum*; ILJug 247 (*Senia*), L. *Gavius Optatus*, *sacerdos Liburnorum*. The inscriptions date to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> or beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.

42 CIL III 9879 (*Scardona*), the dedication to the son of Germanicus, Nero Caesar, has been dated prior to his death in 31 AD.

Skardoni.<sup>40</sup> Sintagme *sacerdos Liburnorum*,<sup>41</sup> *ara Augusti Liburnorum* i *civitates Liburniae*<sup>42</sup> to potvrđuju. Na čelu kulta stajao je vrhovni svećenik (*sacerdos Liburnorum*), koji je bio biran iz sloja lokalne aristokracije koja je uživala rimsko građansko pravo. Prema podacima s njihovih natpisa došlo se tako do zaključka da je Skardona bila ne samo juridičko središte konventa za peregrinske zajednice i gradove Liburnije, kako spominje Plinije,<sup>43</sup> nego i središte pokrajinskoga carskoga kulta.

Za dodatno pojašnjenje restitucije našeg natpisa, osvrnut ćemo se i na imena hispanskih konvenata. Ona su navedena imenicom *conventus*, uz koju uglavnom dolazi pridjevski oblik izveden iz imena grada koji je sjedište konventa.<sup>44</sup> Prema tome, bilo bi očekivano, kako i Plinije navodi,<sup>45</sup> da se ovaj konvent zvao *conventus Scardonitanus*; ovdje, međutim, nije takav slučaj. Ipak, u Hispaniji ima i jedan primjer za naziv konventa prema imenu naroda u genitivu množine, *conventus Asturum*.<sup>46</sup> Zanimljivo je da je on potvrđen i svojim regularnim pridjevskim oblikom *conventus Asturicensis*.<sup>47</sup> Za ime teritorija neke pokrajine uz imenicu *conventus* nema epigrafskih pokazatelja među hispanskim natpisima. Zato smatramo da je u

was headed by the supreme priest (*sacerdos Liburnorum*), who was elected from the ranks of the local aristocracy that enjoyed Roman citizenship. Based on the data from their inscriptions, the conclusion was reached that Scardona was not only the seat of a juridical *conventus* for the peregrine communities and cities of Liburnia, as Pliny noted,<sup>43</sup> but also the seat of the regional imperial cult.

We shall examine the names of the Hispanian *conventus* to provide an additional explanation for the restitution of the inscription under consideration herein. They are cited with the noun *conventus*, generally accompanied by an adjectival form derived from the name of the city that served as the seat of a given *conventus*.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, it would be expected, as Pliny also stated,<sup>45</sup> that this *conventus* was called *conventus Scardonitanus*; here, however, this was not the case. Nonetheless, in Hispania there was also one example of a *conventus* name based on the name of the people in the genitive plural, *conventus Asturum*.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting that it was also confirmed by its regular adjectival form *conventus Asturicensis*.<sup>47</sup> Among the Hispanian inscriptions, there are no epigraphic indicators for the name of the territory of a given province accompanying the noun *conventus*. This is why we believe that the word *conventus* in this inscription was truly followed by the name of the Liburni, the dominant people between the Raša and Krka Rivers. Pliny mentioned that the Liburnian and Iapodian peregrine communities belonged to this *conventus*.<sup>48</sup> The

40 Na natpisu CIL III 2810 (*Scardona*) spominje se da je Tit Turanije Sedat, Titov sin, upisan u *tribus Sergia* u Skardoni bio duovir i dekurion i *sacerdos ad aram Augusti Liburnorum*. Natpis je iz druge pol. 1. st.

41 CIL III 2931 (*Iader*), M. *Trebius Proculus, sacerdos Liburnorum*; ILJug 247 (*Senia*), L. *Gavius Optatus, sacerdos Liburnorum*. Natpisi su s kraja 1. st. ili s početka 2. st.

42 CIL III 9879 (*Scardona*), posveta Germanikovu sinu Neronu Cezaru, datirana prije njegove smrti 31. godine.

43 Plin, *Nat. Hist.* III, 139.

44 Npr. *conventus Tarraconensis, conventus Bracaraugustanus, conventus Carthaginensis, conventus Cluniensis*.

45 Treba uzeti u obzir da Plinije nije bio u ovim krajevima, nego opisuje Dalmaciju kompilirajući podatke ranijih autora, kao npr. Varona, koji je umro jedno stoljeće prije nastanka djela *Naturalis historia*.

46 CIL II 4223; CIL II 6094 (*Tarraco*); CIL VI, 2974 (*Roma*); CIL XII 1855 (*Vienna*). Postoji i restitucija dvaju natpisa kao *ex (conventu) Lucens(ium)* (CIL II 4255, *Tarraco*), odnosno *ex (conventu) Lucens[ium]* (CIL II/14,2 1145, *Tarraco*), što bi podrazumijevalo genitiv množine etnonima *Lucensis*, no kako je riječ pokraćena i oštećena, takvo čitanje nije sasvim sigurno. S druge strane, potvrđena je *cohors Lucensium*, kao i još *coh. Bracaraugustanorum* ili *coh. Asturum*, koje su nazvane prema imenu naroda koji je i konventu dao ime. "Usp. *coh. Liburnorum*, ILJug 208, Nadin (*Nedinum*)."

47 CIL II 4072 (*Tarraco*).

43 Plin, *Nat. Hist.* III, 139.

44 E.g. *conventus Tarraconensis, conventus Bracaraugustanus, conventus Carthaginensis, conventus Cluniensis*.

45 It should be recalled that Pliny had never visited these territories, but rather described Dalmatia by compiling the data from earlier writers, such as, e.g., Varro, who died a century before the appearance of *Naturalis historia*.

46 CIL II 4223; CIL II 6094 (*Tarraco*); CIL VI, 2974 (*Roma*); CIL XII 1855 (*Vienna*). There is also a restoration of the two inscriptions as *ex (conventu) Lucens(ium)* (CIL II 4255, *Tarraco*), or *ex (conventu) Lucens[ium]* (CIL II/14,2 1145, *Tarraco*), which would imply the genitive plural of the ethnonym *Lucensis*, but since the word is abbreviated and damaged, such a reading is not entirely certain. On the other hand, there is confirmation of *cohors Lucensium*, and also *coh. Bracaraugustanorum* or *coh. Asturum*, which were named after the people for whom the *conventus* acquired its name. Cf. *coh. Liburnorum*, ILJug 208, Nadin (*Nedinum*)."

47 CIL II 4072 (*Tarraco*).

48 *Nat. Hist.* III, 139: "*Conventum Scardonitanum petunt Iapudes et Liburnorum civitates XIII...*", or "The

nastavku riječi *conventus* na ovom natpisu uistinu stajalo ime Liburna, dominantnog naroda između Raše i Krke. Plinije spominje kako su ovome konventu pripadale liburnske i japodske peregrinske zajednice.<sup>48</sup> Liburnske je zajednice predstavljalo 14 *civitates*, a zajedno su nastupali pod imenom Liburni;<sup>49</sup> za japodske se zajednice, pak, drži da nisu bile uključene u pokrajinsko carsko štovanje<sup>50</sup> i za njih nema epigrafskih potvrda u tom kontekstu. O korištenju zajedničkog etnonima svjedoče, u kontekstu pokrajinskoga carskoga kulta, već spomenute sintagme *sacerdos Liburnorum* i *ara Augusti Liburnorum*, dok su shvaćanje teritorijalne cjeline kojoj pripadaju peregrinske zajednice iskazale izrazom *civitates Liburniae*. Budući da se radi o reprezentativnom javnom natpisu, on je najvjerojatnije stajao na građevini bitnoj upravo za liburnske peregrinske zajednice, koje su svoja prava ostvarivale u središtu ovog konventa, Skardoni. Uza sve dosad navedeno, odlučili smo se za restituciju ključnog dijela natpisa kao *conventus Liburnorum*, dok bismo sintagme *conventus Liburniae* i *conventus Liburnicus* razmatrali kao manje vjerojatne.

Prema približnoj procjeni veličine držimo da je spomenik bio dužine najmanje 2,3 metra, budući da mu je samo natpisno polje bez ukrasa trebalo iznositi između 1,70 m i 2 m. S obzirom na veličinu, držimo da se ovdje radi o građevinskom natpisu koji je stajao uzidan u građevinu posvećenu ili napravljenu po zapovijedi cara Tita. Kako se čini, u doba flavijskih careva carski je kult bio preuređen,<sup>51</sup> što je razvidno iz posveta carevima ove obitelji u Skardoni i Dokleji,<sup>52</sup> za koje se smatra da su dosegle status municipija upravo u ovom razdoblju.<sup>53</sup> Budući da je posveta božanskim

Liburnian communities constituted 14 *civitates*, and they were jointly known under the name Liburni;<sup>49</sup> it is asserted that the Iapodian communities, however, were not involved in the regional imperial veneration,<sup>50</sup> and there were no epigraphic confirmations of them in this context. The use of the common ethnonym in the context of the regional imperial cult has been demonstrated by the already mentioned phrases *sacerdos Liburnorum* and *ara Augusti Liburnorum*, while the understanding of the territorial unit to which the peregrine communities belonged was expressed by the term *civitates Liburniae*. Since this is a representative public inscription, it was most likely installed on a building vital to the Liburnian peregrine communities that exercised their rights in the seat of this *conventus*, Scardona. Pursuant to all of the aforementioned points, we have chosen to restore the crucial part of the inscription as *conventus Liburnorum*, while we deem the phrases *conventus Liburniae* and *conventus Liburnicus* as less likely.

Based on a rough estimate of its size, we believe that the monument had a length of at least 2.3 meters, since the inscription field alone without ornamentation had to have been between 1.7 and 2 meters long. Given the size, we maintain that this was an architectural inscription which was installed into the wall of a structure dedicated to or made at the command of Emperor Titus. It would appear that during the Flavian era the imperial cult was reorganized,<sup>51</sup> which is clear from the dedications to the emperors of this dynasty in Scardona and Doclea,<sup>52</sup> which are believed to have attained the status of municipium precisely during this period.<sup>53</sup> Since the dedication to the divine emperors

48 *Nat. Hist.* III, 139: “*Conventum Scardonitanum pentunt Iapudes et Liburnorum civitates XIII...*”, odnosno “Skardonitanskom konventu pripadaju Japodi i četrnaest zajednica Liburna”.

49 Prema mišljenju Slobodana Čače, ovih 14 liburnskih zajednica, zajedno s gradovima koji su imali *ius Italicum* i imunitet, ne predstavljaju sve zajednice i gradove koji su se nalazili na području Liburnije, nego samo one koje pripadaju Skardonitanskom konventu. O tome v. Čače 1993, str. 8 i dalje.

50 Starac 2006, str. 112; Jadrić-Kučan 2012, str. 44.

51 Nakon štovanja careva julijejsko-klaudijejske dinastije, Vespazijan je bez sumnje veliku pozornost posvetio carskoj propagandi uvodeći kult kojim bi se štivala nova, flavijejska dinastija, koja je osim cara uključivala i njegove sinove Tita i Domicijana.

52 Jadrić-Kučan 2012, str. 52, 63-64, komentirajući natpis CIL III 13827 iz Dokleje.

53 Natpis CIL III 2808 (Skradin) spominje da je Gaj Petronije Firm nakon što je postao augurom postavio žrtvenik geniju flavijskog municipija Skardone (*Genio municipii Flavii Scardonae*); o tome više kod: Alföldy

Iapydes and fourteen communities of Liburnians belong to the Scardona *conventus*”.

49 According to Slobodan Čače, these 14 Liburnian communities together with the cities which had *ius Italicum* and immunity did not constitute all communities and cities in Liburnia’s territory, rather only those which belonged to the Scardona *conventus*. On this see Čače 1993, pp. 8 ff.

50 Starac 2006, p. 112; Jadrić-Kučan 2012, p. 44.

51 After worship of the emperors in the Julio-Claudian dynasty, Vespasian doubtlessly dedicated considerable attention to imperial propaganda, introducing a cult in which the new, Flavian dynasty would be worshiped; besides the emperor, it included his sons, Titus and Domitian.

52 Jadrić-Kučan 2012, pp. 52, 63-64, commenting on inscription CIL III 13827 from Doclea.

53 Inscription CIL III 2808 (Skradin) mentions that Gaius Petronius Firmus, after becoming an augur, installed an altar to the genius of the Flavian municipium of Scardona (*Genio municipii Flavii Scardonae*); for more on this: Alföldy 1965, p. 201; Zaninović 1998, pp.

carevima izvršena u Skardoni po zapovijedi cara Tita, a pod okriljem konventa, moguće je da se radilo o hramu Božanskog Vespazijana jer su se božanski carevi u pravilu štovali u hramu.<sup>54</sup> O kakvoj god kulturnoj građevini da se radilo, najvjerojatnije je da su peregrinske zajednice Liburnije umjesto nad aroam Liburna sada u njoj prakticirale štovanje carskoga kulta i ranije ustanovljenog pokrajinskoga (liburnskoga) carskoga kulta.<sup>55</sup> I. Jadrić-Kučan, uspoređujući pokrajinsku razinu carskog kulta u Hispaniji u doba Vespazijana, razmatra mogućnost da je taj car, kao i u Hispaniji, još za života bio štovan na pokrajinskoj razini u Liburniji, a da je njegovo štovanje nakon smrti umjesto na oltaru, jednostavno nastavljeno u hramu u Skardoni.<sup>56</sup>

### Zaključak

Očito je da je flavijska reorganizacija religijske i administrativne infrastrukture u Carstvu obuhvatila i prostor provincije Dalmacije, koja je možda tek u to doba službeno tako nazvana.<sup>57</sup> Nekoliko je gradova Dalmacije dobilo status municipija, a građevinska i umjetnička djelatnost doživljavaju procvat.<sup>58</sup> Provincija je upravo u Vespazijanovo doba ušla u mirno razdoblje, što se vidi prema brojnosti vojske, koja se za vladavine flavijskih careva reducira pa Dalmaciju od godine 86. čuvaju samo pomoćne čete. Posljedica pacifikacije bit će ekonomski procvat provincije, koji od ovog razdoblja postaje sve izraženiji. Premda nije poznato na koji je sve način Vespazijan reorganizirao provinciju Dalmaciju, može se pretpostaviti da se već spomenuta administrativno-religijska reforma odnosila i na način organizacije konvenata.<sup>59</sup> Indikativno je to što je spomen konventa u Dalmaciji zasad potvrđen tek u flavijskom razdoblju, i to na monumentalnom natpisu u kontekstu pokrajinskoga carskoga kulta. Skardona se, prema apelativu *municipium*

was made at the behest of Emperor Titus in Scardona, and under the aegis of the *conventus*, it is possible that the building in question was a temple of the Divine Vespasian, because the deified emperors were, as a rule, worshipped in temples.<sup>54</sup> As to the type of cult structure, it is most likely that the peregrine communities of Liburnia, instead of the altar of the Liburnians, now practiced worship of the imperial cult and the earlier established regional (Liburnian) imperial cult.<sup>55</sup> In a comparison with the provincial level of the imperial cult in Hispania during Vespasian's reign, I. Jadrić-Kučan considered the possibility that this emperor was, as in Hispania, already venerated during his lifetime at the regional level in Liburnia, and that after his death such veneration was simply continued in the temple in Scardona instead of on an altar.<sup>56</sup>

### Conclusion

It is obvious that the Flavian reorganization of the Empire's religious and administrative infrastructure also encompassed the territory of the province of Dalmatia, which was perhaps only officially designated by this name at that time.<sup>57</sup> Several cities in Dalmatia acquired the status of municipium, while construction and the arts blossomed.<sup>58</sup> The province actually entered a peaceful period during Vespasian's reign, which was reflected in the size of the local military contingents; during the reign of the Flavian emperors, the military's size was reduced, so only auxiliary units guarded Dalmatia as of 86 AD. A consequence of pacification was an economic boom in the province, which became even more notable from this period onward. Although all of the ways in which Vespasian reorganized the Dalmatian province are not known, it may be assumed that already during the aforementioned administrative-religious reforms this also pertained to the manner in which the *conventus* were

1965, str. 201; Zaninović 1998, str. 121-129; Glavičić 2007, str. 252-253. O mišljenju da je Skardona mogla biti municipij već od Augusta, a da je od Flavija dobila *ius Latium maius*, v. Margetić 1979, str. 301-358.

54 Jadrić-Kučan 2012, str. 52.

55 To sugerira da bi se natpis sa spomenom *ara Augusti Liburnorum* trebao datirati prije cara Tita.

56 Jadrić-Kučan 2012, str. 53-54.

57 O tome više u već spomenutim raspravama M. Šašel Kos i P. Kovácsa.

58 Primjerice, gradnja vojnog amfiteatra u Burnu, hrama u Enoni, obnova vodovoda u Fulfinu, postavljanje Vespazijanovih kipova u Isi i Naroni, a Domicijanovih u Saloni i Isi.

59 O tome da u Vespazijanovo doba podjela na konvente u Hispaniji služi za popisivanje procjene imetka, a ne etničkih zajednica v. Oscáriz Gil 2013, str. 573-574.

121-129; Glavičić 2007, pp. 252-253. For the view that Scardona may have already been a municipium since Augustan times, while gaining *ius Latium maius* from the Flavians, see Margetić 1979, pp. 301-358.

54 Jadrić-Kučan 2012, p. 52.

55 This suggests that the inscription mentioning the *ara Augusti Liburnorum* should be dated prior to Emperor Titus.

56 Jadrić-Kučan 2012, pp. 53-54.

57 More on this in the already cited discussions by M. Šašel Kos and P. Kovács.

58 For example, construction of the military amphitheatre in Burnum, the temple in Aenona, the renovation of the aqueduct in Fulfinum, installation of Vespasian's statues in Issa and Naronia, and Domitian's in Salona and Issa.

*Flavium*, povezuje s nekakvom povlasticom koju je ovaj grad tada uživao, možda od Vespazijana,<sup>60</sup> pa bi se i postavljanje ovog natpisa moglo pripadati takvom ozračju. Za Dalmaciju nas čeka razrješavanje pitanja konvenata, potencijalnog Augustovog osnutka i Vespazijanove reorganizacije, a to je i za Hispaniju još uvijek živa tema. Zasad možemo reći da se važnost ovog spomenika ogleda u prvoj epigrafskoj potvrdi konventa u Dalmaciji, zatim u njegovom imenu *conventus Liburnorum* izvedenom od imena naroda koji je dao naziv pokrajini Liburniji te u dokazu o reorganizaciji pokrajinskoga carskoga kulta u Skardoni, čije su prakticiranje peregrinske zajednice nadogradile najkasnije u Titovom razdoblju.

Spoznaja da je ulomak ovako značajnog natpisa pronađen u sekundarnoj upotrebi u gradu koji je prema *Tabula Peutingeriana* bio udaljen više od 40 rimskih milja od mjesta njegova izvornog postavljanja, otvara pitanje kako je onamo dospio. Povijesne okolnosti katkad uvjetuju rastavljanje čitavih sklopova građevina i odnošenje kamena kako bi se podigla nova naselja i gradovi. Ali ovdje nas iznenađuje činjenica da je Trogir grad kamena i da po kamen kao građevinski materijal nikada nije trebalo daleko odlaziti. Njegovi su obližnji kamenolomi, kao onaj u Segetu Donjem, od antike bili iskorištavani i poznati toliko da čak i Plinije donosi podatak kako je Tragurij poznat po mramoru.<sup>61</sup> Malo je vjerojatno da je u nekom trenutku tradicija kamenoklesarstva u Trogiru jednostavno zamrla pa se u potragu po kamenu gradu odlazilo toliko daleko. U kojem je trenutku i na koji način dospio ulomak ovog važnog natpisa iz Skardone-Skradina, ne znamo. Smatramo da se to moglo dogoditi već od kasne antike, pa ćemo dati samo dvije opservacije kao moguće rješenje. Prema Prokopiju iz Cezareje<sup>62</sup> u turbulentnom razdoblju ratova s Ostrogotima, sredinom 6. stoljeća stradala je Skardona, pa je moguće da je već tada započelo raznošenje ostataka skardonitanskih građevina i njihova sekundarna upotreba. Možda je kakva izvanredna situacija tada nagnala građane Tragurija na obnavljanje razrušenih građevina pri čemu su kao građevinski materijal korišteni natpisi. U dosadašnjim su istraživanjima u Trogiru na nekoliko mjesta pronađeni kasnoantički zidovi u kojima je bilo uzidano mnogo kamene građe iz ranijih razdoblja, pri čemu posebno ističemo spolije koji su

organized.<sup>59</sup> It is indicative that the mention of *conventus* in Dalmatia has thus far only been confirmed for the Flavian period, on a monumental inscription in the context of the imperial cult. Scardona, based on the appellative *municipium Flavium*, was associated with some type of privilege that the city enjoyed at the time, perhaps granted by Vespasian,<sup>60</sup> so the installation of this inscription may have been a part of such an atmosphere. Dalmatia is still awaiting the full resolution of the question of *conventus*, their possible establishment by Augustus and Vespasian's reorganization; this is indeed still a relevant theme for Hispania as well. Thus far, it may be said that the importance of this monument is reflected in the first epigraphic confirmation of a *conventus* in Dalmatia, and then in its name *conventus Liburnorum*, derived from the name of the people which gave its name to the province of Liburnia and in evidence of the reorganization of the regional imperial cult in Scardona, of which the practices were enhanced by the peregrine communities at last during the reign of Titus.

The knowledge that a fragment with such an important inscription was found in secondary use in a city that, according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, was over 40 Roman miles from where it was installed opens the question of how it got there. Historical circumstances sometimes led to the disassembly of entire architectural complexes and the removal of the stone in order to make new settlements and cities. But what is surprising here is that Trogir is a city of stone, where there was never a need to go very far to find the stone as construction material. Its nearby quarries, like the one in Seget Donji, were used since Antiquity and were so well known that even Pliny wrote that Tragurium was known for its marble.<sup>61</sup> It is very unlikely that at some point the tradition of stone-masonry in Trogir had simply halted, necessitating a search for stone materials so far afield. There is no way of knowing when and how a fragment with such an important inscription came to Trogir from Scardona/Skradin. It could have happened from Late Antiquity onwards, so only two observations will be noted as possible solutions. According to Procopius of Caesarea,<sup>62</sup> during the turbulent period of warfare

60 Glavičić 2007, str. 256.

61 NH III, 141, *Tragurium marmore notum*, no jasno je da se radi o jako kvalitetnom vapnencu, a ne o mramoru.

62 Procop. *Bell. Goth.* IV, 23.

59 For the view that the *conventus* in Hispania during Vespasian's reign served for recording assessments of property, and not ethnic communities, see Oscáriz Gil 2013, pp. 573-574.

60 Glavičić 2007, p. 256.

61 NH III, 141, *Tragurium marmore notum*, although it was clearly very high quality limestone and not marble.

62 Procop. *Bell. Goth.* IV, 23.

pronađeni u kasnoantičkim gradskim bedemima.<sup>63</sup> Takva se intervencija primjećuje npr. u Saloni, čiji su bedemi pretrpjeli rušenje i obnavljanje u Justinijano-vo doba, kada se Dalmacija u ratovima između Justinijana i Ostrogota oslobađa ostrogotske uprave. Kao druga mogućnost donošenja ovog ulomka u Trogir nudi se i podatak da je s područja rijeke Krke brodovima preko Skradina u Trogir tijekom srednjega vijeka dopremana sedra, koja je služila pri gradnji, posebice lukova.<sup>64</sup> Moguće je da je zajedno sa sedrom u Trogir donesen i ovaj ulomak spomenika koji je nadalje imao funkciju isključivo kao građevinski materijal sve dok nije pronađen i izložen unutar samostanske zbirke *Kairos*.

with the Ostrogoths in the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, Scardona was devastated, so it is possible that the remains of Scardona's buildings began to be removed after that time for secondary use. Maybe some extraordinary circumstances during these times compelled the residents of Tragurium to renovate the city walls with the monuments as building material. In previous research in Trogir, Late Antique walls were found at several sites in which much stone from different periods was installed, wherein the spolia found in the Late Antique city walls are particularly notable.<sup>63</sup> Such an intervention was, for example, noted in Salona, when its walls underwent demolition and then reconstruction during the time of Justinian, when Dalmatia was freed from Ostrogothic rule after the wars between Justinian and the Ostrogoths. As a second possible scenario one can mention the fact that during the medieval period the tufa from the area of the Krka River was transported to Trogir via Scardona. The tufa was used as a building material, especially for the arches.<sup>64</sup> This monument could have been taken from Skradin and along with the tufa and transferred to Trogir where it was used as a spolium until its discovery when it was exhibited as a part of the *Kairos* Collection.

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63 V. Kovačić pretpostavlja da su spoliji dospjeli u spomenuti kanal upravo iz ostataka kasnoantičkih gradskih zidina kojih su ostaci s još tada vidljivim uzidanim antičkim spolijima pronađeni tijekom istraživanja samostana sv. Nikole. Više o tome u Kovačić 1994, str. 60-64; Kovačić 2014, str. 78-80.

64 Na ovom podatku zahvaljujem prof. dr. Jošku Belamariću.

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63 V. Kovačić assumed that the spolia ended up in this main precisely from the remains of Late Antique city walls, the remains of which were found with the then still visibly installed Roman-era spolia during research into the Monastery of St. Nicholas. For more on this, see Kovačić 1994, pp 60-64; Kovačić 2014, pp. 78-80.

64 For this information I extend my gratitude to Prof. dr. Joško Belamarić.



## KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , Paris
BAR	British archaeological reports, Oxford.
CAH	Cambridge ancient history, Cambridge
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin
CuPAUAM	Cuadernos de prehistoria y arqueología Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, Madrid
ILJug	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt</i> , Ljubljana 1963-1986
JRS	The Journal of Roman studies, London
Opusc. archaeol.	Opuscula archaeologica, Zagreb
PPUD	Prilozi za povijest umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, Split
RE	Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
TLL	<i>Thesaurus linguae Latinae</i> , Berlin
VAHD	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku</i> , Split
VAMZ	Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu
VAPD	<i>Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku</i> , Split

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