

Dino Demicheli

*Inscriptiones Spalatenses
ineditae* 1: Stela Julije Viktorine
iz samostana sv. Klare u Splitu

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

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Članak obrađuje rimskodobni spomenik koji je pronađen prilikom adaptacije dijela prostorija nekadašnjega samostana sv. Klare, odnosno crkve sv. Andrije *de fenestris* i palače obitelji Božićević (Natalis), u Etnografski muzej u Splitu. Radi se o steli Julije Viktorine kojoj je najvjerojatnije u prvoj polovici 3. st. spomenik podignuo suprug Aurelije Filon. Ova se stela izgledom ni po čemu posebnom ne izdvaja od sličnih stela iz prve pol. 3. stoljeća, no sam natpis ima nekoliko jezičnih značajki koje se mogu pripisati vulgarnom latinitetu salonitanskog područja. Mogućnost da je natpis nekoć izvorno bio postavljen na području splitskog poluotoka nanovo otvara pitanje o vrsti naselja na ovom području prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače.

Ključne riječi: Split, Salona, Dioklecijanova palača, antika, natpisi, vulgarni latinitet, samostan sv. Klare, crkva sv. Andrije *de fenestris*

*Inscriptiones Spalatenses
ineditae* 1: The stela of Julia
Victorina from the Convent of
St. Clare in Split

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

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The article deals with the Roman-era artefact found during adaptation of a section of the former Convent of St. Clare, specifically the Church of St. Andrew *de fenestris* and the palace of the Božićević (Natalis) family, which is now held in the Ethnographic Museum in Split. This is the stela of Julia Victorina, to whom the monument was most likely placed in the first half of the 3rd century by her spouse, Aurelius Filo. In terms of appearance, this stela does not stand out in any way from similar stelae from the first half of the 3rd century, but the inscription on it has several linguistic features which may be attributed to Vulgar Latinity in the Salona environs. The possibility that the inscription had originally been placed somewhere on the Split peninsula once more opens the question of the type of settlements in this territory prior to construction of Diocletian's Palace.

Key words: Split, Salona, Diocletian's Palace, Antiquity, inscriptions, vulgar Latin, Convent of St. Clare, Church of St. Andrew *de fenestris*

Uvod

Dosadašnja arheološka istraživanja splitskog poluotoka pružila su dovoljno dokaza da je u antici prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače ovaj prostor bio naseljen. O stupnju naseljenosti kao i o mogućem jedinstvenom naselju još se uvijek ne može govoriti, no prema spoznajama proizašlim iz istraživanja splitskog poluotoka ovaj prostor nije bio tek skup ljetnikovaca i gospodarskih objekata imućnijih stanovnika Salone, u čiji je ager pripadalo ovo područje.¹ Iz arheoloških istraživanja i slučajnim pronalascima na splitskom je području dosad zabilježeno nekoliko desetaka epigrafskih spomenika. Za većinu njih pretpostavlja se da su izvorno bili postavljeni u Saloni, budući da su ruševine Salone stoljećima služile kao kamenolom stanovnicima obližnjeg područja. Neki su salonitanski natpisi u Splitu upotrijebljeni kao građevinski materijal² dok su neki prikupljeni kao antikvarna vrijednost tijekom procvata europskog, a potom i hrvatskog humanizma.³ Tako se misao o salonitanskom podrijetlu splitskih natpisa provlači još od doba kad su zabilježeni i objavljeni u glasovitoj zbirci *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.⁴ Danas se za neke spomenike sa sigurnošću zna da su izvorno bili postavljeni na području splitskog poluotoka,⁵ no još uvijek ne postoji arheološki dokaz o natpisima izvorno postavljenima na prostoru buduće Dioklecijanove palače ili njezine neposredne okolice. Naime, mnogi su natpisi već dosta vremena, ponegdje dulje od nekoliko stoljeća, uzidani u građevine po Splitu, ali nisu poznati kontekst i okolnosti u kojima su pronađeni. Naposljetku, iako je većina antičkih natpisa pronađenih u Splitu već

- 1 O antičkim nalazima prije Dioklecijana na području Splita v. raspravu L. Jelića (Jelić 1897, str. 26-41), a o grobljima na splitskom poluotoku u antici v. članak T. Rismondo (Rismondo 2002, str. 257-267). Iz ovih je sumarnih djela dovoljno jasno kako je ovaj prostor bio naseljen prije Dioklecijana, no o karakteru naselja još nije moguće reći ništa više. Možda se radilo o sklopu nekoliko manjih naselja (*vici*), no za to još uvijek nema dokaza. Također, istraženi dio antičke nekropole u Lori sugerira kontinuitet naseljavanja na sjeverozapadnom dijelu splitskog poluotoka od 1. do 3. stoljeća (Buljević 2010, str. 85).
- 2 Npr. tzv. *Tabulae Dolabellae* koje su bile ugrađene u zvonik splitske katedrale sv. Duje (CIL XVII/4, str. 232-234).
- 3 Natpisi zbirke Dmine Papalića koje je zabilježio Marko Marulić. O samoj zbirci v. Lučin 2011.
- 4 Neki su od splitskih natpisa već tada pripisani Saloni, premda je bilo zabilježeno da su pronađeni u Splitu.
- 5 Npr. Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 93-107; Demicheli 2007, str. 31-48.

Introduction

Previous archaeological research on the Split peninsula has yielded sufficient evidence which shows that this territory had been inhabited in Antiquity prior to the construction of Diocletian's Palace. However, nothing can yet be said about the population density nor any consolidated settlement, although the knowledge secured from research into the Split peninsula indicates that this was not just a group of summer houses and *villae rusticae* belonging to the more well-to-do residents of Salona, in whose ager this territory was located.¹ Several dozen epigraphic monuments have been recorded in the Split area as a result of archaeological research and chance discoveries. It is assumed that most of them had originally been placed in Salona, since for centuries the ruins of Salona served as a quarry for the residents of nearby areas. Some Salonitan inscriptions were used as construction material in Split² while some were collected as antiquarian valuables during the bloom of European and then Croatian humanism.³ The notion of the Salonitan origin of the inscriptions in Split has thus persisted since the time they were recorded and published in the famed collection *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*.⁴ Today it is known for certain that some monuments had originally been placed in the territory of the Split peninsula,⁵ although there is still no archaeological evidence of inscriptions originally placed in the area of the future Diocletian's Palace or

- 1 On ancient finds in Split's territory prior to Diocletian, see the discussion by L. Jelić (Jelić 1897, pp. 26-41), while for necropolises on the Split peninsula in Antiquity, see the article by T. Rismondo (Rismondo 2002, pp. 257-267). These summary works make it sufficiently clear that this area was inhabited prior to Diocletian, although it is still impossible to say anything more about this character of this habitation. Perhaps it was a complex of several smaller settlements (*vici*), but there is still no evidence of this. Additionally, the examined portion of the ancient necropolis in Lora suggests the continuity of habitation on the north-west section of the Split peninsula from the 1st to 3rd centuries (Buljević 2010, p. 85).
- 2 For example, the so-called *Tabulae Dolabellae* that were built into the campanile of Split's Cathedral of St. Domnio (CIL XVII/4, pp. 232-234).
- 3 The inscriptions from the collection of Dmine Papalić recorded by Marko Marulić. On the collection itself, see Lučin 2011.
- 4 Some of the Split inscriptions had already been ascribed to Salona at that time, although it was recorded that they were found in Split.
- 5 E.g. Cambi, Rapanić 1979, pp. 93-107; Demicheli 2007, pp. 31-48.

odavno poznata i zabilježena, nisu svi epigrafski obrađeni, a postoje još poneki koji nisu ni objavljeni.

Namjera ovog, a i drugih članaka koji će obrađivati antičku epigrafsku ostavštinu sa splitskog područja, jest ta da se analizom epigrafskih spomenika pomogne reći nešto više o karakteru naselja koje je prethodilo gradnji Dioklecijanove palače.

Zadnjih nekoliko desetljeća, ponajviše zahvaljujući arheološkim istraživanjima pri kojima su pronađene zidane strukture sa sigurnošću datirane prije gradnje Dioklecijanove palače,⁶ sve više dokaza upućuje na to da je splitski poluotok u antici bio poželjno mjesto za život, i to ne samo Rimljanima nego možda i Greima prije njih.⁷ Osim arhitekture i pokretnog arheološkog materijala pronađeni su i natpisi, ali najčešće u kontekstu sekundarne upotrebe. Neki od ovih natpisa iz Palače su i objavljeni,⁸ no njihova ponovna upotreba u kasnijim razdobljima gradskog života Splita ne znači nužno da su za tu svrhu bili doneseni iz Salone, već su mogli biti izvorno postavljeni na ovome području.

Tijekom adaptacije jugoistočnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače godine 1999. pronađena je rimskodobna stela⁹ koja je bila uzidana kao spolij u zidu unutar dijela nekadašnjeg samostanskog kompleksa sv. Klare u jugozapadnom dijelu Dioklecijanove palače.¹⁰ Danas su to prostorije Etnografskog muzeja koji obuhvaća nekadašnji samostan sv. Klare i ranosrednjovjekovnu palaču splitske obitelji Božićević (*Natalis*). Sam je samostan iskoristio prostore crkve sv. Andrije *de Fenestris* koja je u 7. st. nastala adaptacijom jedne od spavaonica (*cubiculum*) carskoga rezidencijalnog

its immediate surroundings. This is because many inscriptions have been installed into structures in Split for a considerable time, longer than several centuries at places, but the context and circumstances in which they were found is not known. Finally, even though most Roman-era inscriptions found in Split have been known and recorded for some time now, not all of them have undergone epigraphic analysis, and there are still some that have not been published.

The purpose of this, as well as other articles that will cover the epigraphic heritage of Antiquity from the Split area, is to help say something more about the character of the settlement that preceded the construction of Diocletian's Palace through an analysis of epigraphic monuments.

Over the past several decades, thanks mostly to archaeological research in which the remains of walled structures were found and certainly dated to the period preceding construction of Diocletian's Palace,⁶ there is increasing evidence to indicate that in Antiquity the Split peninsula was a favoured place to live, and not only by the Romans but also the Greek before them.⁷ Besides architecture and movable archaeological artefacts, inscriptions have also been found, but mostly in the context of secondary use. Some of these inscriptions from the Palace have been published,⁸ but their reuse in the subsequent periods of urban life in Split does not necessarily mean that they were brought from Salona for this purpose, rather they may have been originally placed in this area.

During adaptations to the south-east section of Diocletian's Palace in 1999, a Roman-era stela was found⁹ which was built into a wall as a spoliun inside the former St. Clare convent complex in the south-

6 Marasović 1997, str. 40-41; Marasović *et al.* 2000, str. 178-180.

7 Iako se još uvijek radi o pretpostavkama, na to ukazuju pojedini nalazi koji bi se mogli pripisati grčkome živilju, kao npr. zidana struktura u današnjim Dioklecijanovim "podrumima" (Marović 1963, str. 119-121), paljevinska nekropola s natpisom i mogućim grčkim nalazima na Manušu (Jelić 1897, str. 35) kao i dva epigrafska spomenika na grčkome jeziku s područja Splita (Brunšmid 1998, str. 44, br. 28 i 29).

8 Demicheli 2009, str. 55-80.

9 Pronađena su još dva ulomka natpisa koja nije bilo moguće pouzdano datirati i čije čitanje nije najjasnije, pa su za sada izostavljena iz ove rasprave. Nadzor arheoloških istraživanja i konzervatorske radove obavljao je Konzervatorski odjel Ministarstva kulture u Splitu, te ovom prigodom zahvaljujem dr. sc. Radoslavu Bužančiću koji mi je ukazao na ovaj natpis, a time i potaknuo ovu objavu.

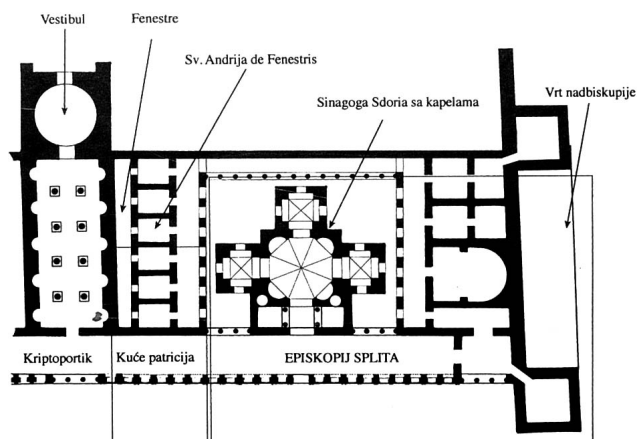
10 Ove mi je informacije pružila kolegica dr. sc. Vanja Kovačić, koja je sudjelovala u istraživanjima, na čemu joj zahvaljujem.

6 Marasović 1997, pp. 40-41; Marasović *et al.* 2000, pp. 178-180.

7 Although still a matter of conjecture, this is indicated by individual finds which could be ascribed to Greek residents, such as, for example, a walled structure in today's Diocletian's "cellars" (Marović 1963, pp. 119-121), an incineration necropolis with an inscription, and possible Greek finds at Manuš (Jelić 1897, p. 35) and two epigraphic monuments in the Greek language from the Split area (Brunšmid 1998, p. 44, no. 28 and 29).

8 Demicheli 2009, pp. 55-80.

9 Two more fragments of inscriptions were found which cannot be reliably dated and their reading is not entirely clear, so they were left out of this discussion for the time being. Oversight of archaeological research and preservation works was done by the Culture Ministry's Conservation Department in Split, and I take this opportunity to thank Radoslav Bužančić, Ph.D. who pointed out this inscription to me, thereby prompting this publication.



Sl. 1. Tlocrt jugoistočnog dijela Dioklecijanove palače (preuzeto iz: Bužančić 2004)

Fig. 1. Ground-plan of the south-east section of Diocletian's Palace (from: Bužančić 2004)

dijela palače (sl. 1).¹¹ Smatra se da je to djelo Severa Velikog, predvodnika izbjeglica iz Salone. Taj jugoistočni dio Palače tijekom stoljeća doživio je mnoge preinake i daleko je od svog izvornog izgleda, no može se rekonstruirati izgled svih faza gradnje.¹² Ranija istraživanja samostana sv. Klare dala su još nekoliko natpisa u sekundarnoj upotrebi,¹³ od kojih je jedan¹⁴ nekoć pripadao zbirci Dmine Papalića koju je opisao naš prvi epigrafičar, Marko Marulić.

Stela Julije Viktorine (sl. 2)

Stela Julije Viktorine danas je izložena u Etnografskom muzeju, u prostorima nekadašnje crve sv. Andrije *de fenestris*. Sačuvan je veći dio spomenika, kojemu nedostaju tek gornji desni ugao i usadnik na dnu koji se ulagao u bazu s perforacijom kako bi stela mogla uspravno stajati. Spomenik je manjih dimenzija (duž. 29,5 cm, vis. 43,5 cm, deb. 9 cm) i svojim se izgledom ni po čemu ne ističe jer je na salonitanskom području poznat popriličan broj ovakvih stela. Radi se o nadgrobnoj ploči koja je bila ukrašena trokutastim zabatom unutar kojeg je uklesana četverolatična rozeta flankirana reljefnim prikazom akantova lista. Veći dio zabata s desne strane nedostaje jer je na tom mjestu stela otkrhnuta. Pseudoakroterij s lijeve strane uklesan je u obliku polupalmete, a takav je isti morao stajati i na desnoj strani. Natpisno je polje omeđeno

west part of Diocletian's Palace.¹⁰ Today this forms the premises of the Ethnographic Museum, which encompasses the former Convent of St. Clare and the early medieval palace of Split's Božičević (*Natalis*) family. The convent itself used the Church of St. Andrew *de fenestris*, which emerged in the 7th century after the adaptation of one of the sleeping chambers (*cubiculum*) in the imperial residential section of the palace (Fig. 1).¹¹ It is believed to be the work of Severus Magnus, the leader of the refugees from Salona. This south-east section of the Palace has undergone many adaptations over the centuries, and it is far from its original appearance, but the appearance of all construction phases can be reconstructed.¹² Earlier research into the Convent of St. Clare has yielded several other inscriptions in secondary use,¹³ of which one¹⁴ was formerly a part of Dmine Papalić's collection and described by the first Croatian epigrapher, Marko Marulić.

The stela of Julia Victorina (Fig. 2)

The stela of Julia Victorina is today exhibited in the Ethnographic Museum, in the space of the former Church of St. Andrew *de fenestris*. Most of the monument has been preserved; all that is missing are the upper right-hand corner and the peg at the bottom which was set into a perforated base so that the stela could stand upright. It has smaller dimensions (lng. 29.5 cm, ht. 43.5 cm, thk. 9 cm) and its appearance is not in any way distinctive, as there were a considerable number of such stelae in the Salonitan area. This is a gravestone that was adorned with a triangular pediment inside which a four-petal rosette was carved, flanked by acanthus leaves done in relief. Most of the right side of the pediment is missing, because the stela is chipped off there. The pseudo-acroterion on the left side is carved in the shape of a semi-palmette, and there must have been an identical one on the right side. The inscription field is bordered by single-grooved moulding, and prior to engraving of the inscription, the surface was prepared with a tooth chisel. The text of the inscription is written in six lines and reads:

11 O samoj adaptaciji više u: Bužančić 2003, str. 195-204; Bužančić 2004, str. 1-6.

12 Marasović *et al.* 2000, str. 175-238.

13 Gabričević 1967, str. 87-102.

14 CIL III 2584. O analizi natpisa v. Demicheli 2015, str. 148-152.

10 This information was provided to me by my colleague Vanja Kovačić Ph.D., who participated in this research and to whom I would like to convey my gratitude.

11 For more on the adaptation itself, see Bužančić 2003, pp. 195-204; Bužančić 2004, pp. 1-6.

12 Marasović *et al.* 2000, pp. 175-238.

13 Gabričević 1967, pp. 87-102.

14 CIL III 2584. For an analysis of the inscription itself, see Demicheli 2015, pp. 148-152.



Sl. 2. Nadgrobni spomenik Julije Viktorine (foto: autor)
 Fig. 2. Graves monument of Julia Victorina (photo: author)

jednostrukom žljebastom profilacijom, a površina je prije klesanja natpisa pripremljena nazubljenim dljetom. Tekst natpisa uklesan je u šest redaka i glasi:

*D(is) M(anibus)
 Aurelius
 Filo q(ui) vib (!)
 us Iuliae
 5 Victorin(a)e
 con(iugi) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*

Prijevod: *Bogovima Manima. Aurelije Filon za života je postavio Juliji Viktorini, vrlo zaslužnoj supruzi.*

Natpis je klesan kvadratnom kapitalom pravilnih slova (veličina slova 3-3,5 cm). U prvom je retku između slova *D* i *M* isklesan reljef ascije, odnosno bradve ili tesle, koja je čest motiv na nadgrobnim stelama Dalmacije u 2. i 3. st.¹⁵ U drugom je retku slovo *S* uočljivo manje od ostalih, što je posljedica klesarove

*D(is) M(anibus)
 Aurelius
 Filo q(ui) vib (!)
 us Iuliae
 5 Victorin(a)e
 con(iugi) b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit)*

Translation: *To the spirits of the departed. Aurelius Philo during his lifetime set this up to Julia Victorina, a well-deserving wife.*

The inscription is carved in standard quadratic capitals (letter size 3-3.5 cm). In the first line, between the letters *D* and *M*, an *ascia*, or an extension or protrusion, was carved in relief, and this was a frequent motif on the grave stelae in Dalmatia in the 2nd and 3rd centuries.¹⁵ In the second line, the letter *S* is noticeably smaller than the rest, which is a result of the sculptor's imprecise estimate of the layout of the letters. The dividing marks in the shape of triangles (*triangula distinguentia*) are carved into the third line between the letters *O* and *Q*, between the *S* and *I* in the fourth line and between the *N* and *B*, *B* and *M* and after the *M* in the fifth line. In linguistic-palaeographic terms, this inscription is interesting for two reasons in particular: the cognomen *Philo* is here rendered as *Filo*, which is an example of phonetic spelling, while the adjective that is normally written as *vivus* was here engraved as *vibus*, which is another confirmation of betacism in the area of the Salonitan ager.¹⁶

The inscription says that during his lifetime, Aurelius Philo placed the monument to his spouse, Julia Victorina. It is somewhat unusual that the inscription does not mention his wife's age nor expressions such as *defunctae*, so that one could think that both spouses were alive when the inscription was commissioned. Nonetheless, we believe that the adjective *vivus* referred only to Aurelius Philo and that this text did not intend to state that the monument was made for both of them. A phrase such as *vivus fecit* (or *posuit*) *sibi et coniugi* is lacking for such an interpretation.

The names of these two people correspond to the time in which the monument is believed to have been made, and this is the 3rd century. The gentilicium Aurelius, thanks to the constitution of Emperor

15 O asciji kao oznaci apotropejskog elementa i vlasničkog prava nad grobom, ali i kao simbolu vezanom uz

15 On the *ascia* as a designation of an apotropaic element and ownership of a grave, as well as a symbol tied to funerary rites and religious concepts of the afterlife, see Gabričević 1959, pp. 299-309.

16 Some examples of betacism (use of the letter *b* instead of *v*) in the Salona area: CIL III 2193 *donabit* instead of *donavit*; 8742, *parabit* instead of *paravit*; 9567, *comparabit* instead of *comparavit*, *iurabit* instead of *iuravit*, *birginiam* instead of *virginiam*; 14292, *vibi* instead of *vivi*; *habe* instead of *ave*.

nedovoljno precizne procjene razmještaja slova. Razdjelni znakovi u obliku trokuta (*triangula distinguentia*) uklesani su u trećem retku između slova *O* i *Q*, u 4. retku između *S* i *I* te u zadnjem retku između *N* i *B*, *B* i *M* te nakon *M*. U petom su retku slova *N* i *E* spojena. Kao jezično-paleografsku zanimljivost ovog natpisa izdvojili bismo dvije stvari: kognomen *Philo* ovdje je uklesan kao *Filo*, što je primjer fonetskog pravopisa, dok je pridjev koji inače glasi *vivus* ovdje uklesan kao *vibus*, što je još jedna potvrda betacizma na području salonitanskog agera.¹⁶

Natpis govori da je Aurelije Filon za svog života postavio spomenik suprugi Juliji Viktorini. Donekle je neobično to što se na natpisu ne spominju godine života njegove supruge niti izraz tipa *defunctae*, pa bi se moglo pomisliti da su oboje supružnika u trenutku naručivanja natpisa bili na životu. Ipak, smatramo da se pridjev *vivus* odnosio samo na Aurelija Filona i da se ovim tekstom nije htjelo reći kako je spomenik napravljen za njih oboje. Za takvu interpretaciju nedostaje izraz kao npr. *vivus fecit* (ili *posuit*) *sibi et coniugi*.

Imena ovih dvoje ljudi sasvim odgovaraju vremenu u kojem držimo da je nastao spomenik, a to je 3. st. Gentilicij *Aurelius* je, zahvaljujući konstituciji cara Karakale iz godine 212. (*constitutio Antoniniana*) postao najrasprostranjenije gentilno ime u Carstvu. Na natpisima se nalazi uglavnom u pokraćenom obliku *AVR*, jer je bilo jasno što ta troslovna kratica označava. Aurelijev kognomen *Filo* u svojoj originalnoj grafiji piše se kao *Philo* i poznat je posvuda u Carstvu.¹⁷ Ime *Philo* (gen. *Philonis*) u Dalmaciji je dosad zabilježeno na jednom natpisu iz Salone.¹⁸ Grčko se slovo Φ u latinično pismo transliterira kao *ph*, što je vidljivo kod grčkih imena i riječi koje su ušle u latinski jezik.¹⁹ Da u Dalmaciji nije bila neobična pretvorba slovne skupine *ph* u *f* kod grčkih imena, svjedoči nekoliko natpisa, pogotovo s područja Salone,²⁰ gdje je

Caracalla of 212 (*constitutio Antoniniana*), became the most widespread gentilicium in the Empire. In inscriptions, it mainly appears in the abbreviated form *AVR*, because it was clear what these three letters signified. The cognomen of Aurelius, Philo, written in its original spelling as *Philo*, was known throughout the Empire.¹⁷ The name *Philo* (gen. *Philonis*) has thus far been recorded in Dalmatia in a single inscription from Salona.¹⁸ The Greek letter Φ was transliterated as *ph* in Latin script, which is apparent in Greek names and words absorbed into the Latin language.¹⁹ That there were no unusual transformations of the digraph *ph* into *f* in Greek names is demonstrated by several inscriptions, particularly from the Salonitan area,²⁰ where the Greek-speaking population was larger than in other parts of Dalmatia.²¹

As noted, the name of Philo's spouse was Julia Victorina. *Iulius* was, like *Aurelius*, an imperial gentilicium, and in Salona and its surroundings it was frequent in the latter half of the 2nd century and in the 3rd century.²² The cognomen *Victorinus/a* was also quite widespread in Dalmatia, where it appeared from the mid-2nd century onward, and it was very common in Africa, Gallia and Pannonia.²³ It is interesting that the cognomen was engraved in the form *Victorine*, and not *Victorinae*, while the gentilicium was correctly engraved as *Iuliae*, so it is uncertain as to whether this was a case of Vulgar Latin or simply imprecision on the stonemason's part. This is because the diphthong *ae*, especially as a suffix in the dative of women's names, moves to *e* in pronunciation, for which the best confirmation can be found in Dalmatia in the inscriptions of the latter half of the 2nd century, and especially in the 3rd, 4th and 5th centuries in Salona.

pogrebne rituale i religijskog koncepta o zagrobnom životu v. Gabričević 1959, str. 299-309.

- 16 Neki od primjera betacizma (korištenja slova *b* umjesto *v*) sa salonitanskog područja: CIL III 2193 *donabit* umjesto *donavit*; 8742, *parabit* umjesto *paravit*; 9567, *comparabit* umjesto *comparavit*, *iurabit* umjesto *iuravit*, *birginiam* umjesto *virginiam*; 14292, *vibi* umjesto *vivi*; *habe* umjesto *ave*.
- 17 Alföldy 1969, str. 263, s. v. *Philo*.
- 18 CIL III 9271, u dativu *Philoni*.
- 19 Npr. *Philippus*, *Pharsalus*, *phalera*, *phalanx*, *graphiarius*.
- 20 Npr. CIL III 2372, *C. Iulius Filocurius* (umjesto *Philocyrius*); CIL III 2612, *Filomele* (umjesto *Philomele*); CIL III 8876 *Atonius Filocalus* (umjesto *Philocalus*);

17 Alföldy 1969, p. 263, s. v. *Philo*.

18 CIL III 9271, dative *Philoni*.

19 E.g. *Philippus*, *Pharsalus*, *phalera*, *phalanx*, *graphiarius*.

20 E.g., CIL III 2372, *C. Iulius Filocurius* (instead of *Philocyrius*); CIL III 2612, *Filomele* (instead of *Philomele*); CIL III 8876 *Atonius Filocalus* (instead of *Philocalus*); CIL III 9237, *Nonia Felete* (instead of *Philete*); ILJug 2778, *Glaucus Fil(o)crenus* (instead of *Philocrenus*).

21 Based on the inscriptions, Greeks in the Salona area can be followed from the 1st cent. BC, and an increase in the number of inscriptions in the Greek language in Salona can be particularly noted in Late Antiquity. A large majority of these was published in *Salona IV*, inscription no. 743-825 and the fragments on pp. 1272-1274.

22 Alföldy 1969, p. 32, s. v. *Iulius*.

23 Alföldy 1969, p. 327, s. v. *Victorinus*.

grekofono stanovništvo bilo zastupljenije negoli u ostalim dijelovima Dalmacije.²¹

Kako je spomenuto, ime Filonove supruge bilo je Julija Viktorina. Gentilicij *Iulius* je carski gentilicij, kao i *Aurelius*, a u Saloni i njezinoj okolici posebno je čest u drugoj pol. 2. st. i u 3. stoljeću.²² Kognomen *Victorinus/a* je također prilično rasprostranjen u Dalmaciji, gdje se javlja od sredine 2. stoljeća, a vrlo je čest u Africi, Galiji i Panoniji.²³ Zanimljivo je što je kognomen uklesan u obliku *Victorine*, a ne *Victorinae*, dok je gentilicij sasvim ispravno uklesan kao *Iuliae*, pa nije sigurno radi li se o vulgarnom latinitetu ili samo o nevjestosti klesara. Naime, diftong *ae*, pogotovo kao nastavak u dativu ženskih imena, u vulgarnolatinskom izgovoru prelazi u *e*, za što u Dalmaciji najbolju potvrdu nalazimo na natpisima od druge pol. 2. stoljeća, a pogotovo u 3. 4. i 5. stoljeću u Saloni.

Kako su supružnici spomenuti na natpisu imali rimsko građansko pravo, može se pretpostaviti da je Aurelije Filon pripadao prvoj ili drugoj generaciji ljudi s civitetom. To se vidi iz njegovog imena koje je kombinacija carskog gentilicija *Aurelius* i grčkog imena *Philo*. To možda ukazuje na bivše ropsko ili peregrinsko podrijetlo, njegovo ili njegovog oca, premda je takvo što vrlo teško dokazivo, ponajviše zbog činjenice što je na prostoru Salone tijekom čitavog razdoblja antike bilo Grka ili Istočnjaka koji su imali kombinacije grčkih i rimskih imena. Iz Salone i njezinog užeg područja poznat je još popriličan broj ljudi koji su imali gentilicij *Aurelius* i kognomen grčkog podrijetla,²⁴ a neki su *Aurelii* u Saloni uistinu i bili došljaci iz grekofonih provincija.²⁵ Prema izgledu ove

Since the spouses mentioned in the inscription had Roman citizenship, it may be assumed that Aurelius Philo was a first or second generation Roman citizen. This is apparent from his name, which is a combination of the imperial gentilicium *Aurelius* and the Greek name *Philo*. This may indicate former slave status or a peregrine origin, either his own or his father's, although something like this is difficult to prove, mostly due to the fact that there were Greeks or Orientals in the Salona's territory during the entire period of Antiquity who had combined Greek and Roman names. A considerable number of people from Salona and its narrower environs are known who bore the gentilicium *Aurelius* and a cognomen of Greek origin,²⁴ and some *Aurelii* in Salona were in fact newcomers from Greek-speaking provinces.²⁵ Based on this stela's appearance, onomastics and formulas, it may be said that the monument was probably made in the first half of the 3rd century.

Conclusion

In the case of inscriptions from Split, for as many as possible it would be worthwhile to attempt to ascertain the context in which they were found, because something more about their provenance could then be said. Thus, for example, it is known that most of the monuments that once belonged to the Papalić collection in the 16th century and then became construction material in the churches and manors of Diocletian's Palace after only a hundred years were originally from Salona.²⁶ However, the era in which they were brought to Split was a time of great interest in Antiquity, in which we may imagine that among members of Split's humanist circle it was popular to seek out and collect ancient items from the area of Salona, whose ruins were then still quite visible. Such gathering and purchasing of monuments in later period has also

CIL III 9237, *Nonia Felete* (umjesto *Philete*); ILJug 2778, *Glaucus Fil(o)crenus* (umjesto *Philocrenus*).

21 Prema natpisnoj građi Grke na salonitanskom području možemo pratiti od 1. st. pr. Krista, a posebno se primjećuje porast natpisa na grčkom jeziku u Saloni u razdoblju kasne antike. Velika većina tih natpisa objavljena je u djelu *Salona IV*, natpisi br. 743-825 i fragmenti na str. 1272-1274.

22 Alföldy 1969, str. 32, s. v. *Iulius*.

23 Alföldy 1969, str. 327, s. v. *Victorinus*.

24 Npr. CIL III 14852, *Agathopus*; 8762, *Agatholes*; 14743, *Aleximachus*; 8932, *Callisto*, *Eutyichis*; ILJug 2126, *Anthigonus*; 14760, *Asterius*, *Dionysius*; ILJug 724, *T. Diadumenus*; 8911 *Epictetus*; 2231, *Eulogia*; 2217, *Glycon*, 8914, *M. Hemeros*, *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)*; 2077, *M. Hermogenes eq(ues) Rom(anus)*, *M. Hermes*, *Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus)*; ILJug 2131, *M. Polyvenes*.

25 Npr. BASD 29 (1906), 8, *Aur. Aeneas, natione Graecus*; CIL III 2006, *Aur. Flavus, natione Surus*; dva natpisa na grčkom jeziku na kojima se spominje jedna osoba iz Berita, Ἀὐρ. Πρῖμος, Βηρῦτιος, FS III, 151, dok je drugi iz idumejskoga grada Fajne, Ἀὐρ. Σιλᾶνος Σολωνος, Φενήσιος, BASD 25 (1902), 165.

24 E.g. CIL III 14852, *Agathopus*; 8762, *Agatholes*; 14743, *Aleximachus*; 8932, *Callisto*, *Eutyichis*; ILJug 2126, *Anthigonus*; 14760, *Asterius*, *Dionysius*; ILJug 724, *T. Diadumenus*; 8911 *Epictetus*; 2231, *Eulogia*; 2217, *Glycon*, 8914, *M. Hemeros*, *Aug(usti) lib(ertus)*; 2077, *M. Hermogenes eq(ues) Rom(anus)*, *M. Hermes*, *Augg(ustorum) lib(ertus)*; ILJug 2131, *M. Polyvenes*.

25 E.g. BASD 29 (1906), 8, *Aur. Aeneas, natione Graecus*; CIL III 2006, *Aur. Flavus, natione Surus*; two inscriptions in the Greek language on which two persons from Berytus are mentioned, Ἀὐρ. Πρῖμος, Βηρῦτιος, FS III, 151, while another is from the Edomite city of Phaena, Ἀὐρ. Σιλᾶνος Σολωνος, Φενήσιος, BASD 25 (1902), 165.

26 For more on this see Demicheli 2009, pp. 55-80; Demicheli 2015, pp. 145-158.

stele, onomastici i formulama, možemo kazati da je spomenik najvjerojatnije nastao u 1. pol. 3. st.

Zaključak

Što se tiče splitskih natpisa, trebalo bi pokušati za što više njih utvrditi kontekst u kojem su pronađeni, jer bi se na taj način moglo reći nešto više o njihovoj provenijenciji. Tako se npr. za većinu spomenika koji su nekoć pripadali Papalićevoj zbirci u 16. stoljeću i koji su već nakon stotinjak godina bili građevinski materijal po crkvama i palačama u Dioklecijanovoj palači, zna da su bili salonitanskog podrijetla.²⁶ Međutim, doba kada su oni doneseni u Split, bilo je doba velikog zanimanja za antiku, te možemo zamisliti da je među pripadnicima splitskoga humanističkog kruga bilo popularno tražiti ili otkupljivati antičke predmete s područja Salone, čiji su ostaci tada bili itekako vidljivi. Ovakvo je prikupljanje i otkupljivanje spomenika potvrđeno i u kasnijim razdobljima,²⁷ no što je s prijašnjim razdobljima? Je li npr. natpis pronađen u srednjovjekovnom popločanju Peristila²⁸ koji se može datirati u 1. st. donesen iz Salone, možda s ostalim spomenicima prilikom gradnje zvonika sv. Duje, ili je došao s neke nekropole antičkog Spalata? Na ta je pitanja sada nemoguće odgovoriti, no nadamo se da će ubuduće biti više dokaza i nalaza koji će potvrditi spalatsko podrijetlo nekih natpisa.

Ovaj spomenik prethodi gradnji Dioklecijanove palače, a osim iz Salone mogao je biti donesen s neke bliže antičke nekropole, kakvih je bilo na ovom području.²⁹ Kao primjer na ovome mjestu navest ćemo pretpostavku da se na području Dobroga u Splitu nalazilo antičko naselje (*vicus*) s nekropolom,³⁰ čemu u prilog idu i ostaci nadgrobni natpisa danas ugrađeni u kuću Geremia-Zlendić. Ondje se nalazi izvor pitke vode, pa je lako zamisliti manje naselje koje je na tom mjestu postojalo.³¹ Natpisi s Dobroga mogu se

been confirmed,²⁷ but what about preceding periods? For example, was the inscription found in the medieval tiling of the Peristyle²⁸ which can be dated to the 1st century, brought from Salona, perhaps with other monuments during construction of the campanile of St. Domnio, or did it come from some necropolis of Roman-era Spalatum? It is now impossible to answer these questions, but we hope that in the future there shall be more evidence and finds that will confirm the Spalatum origins of certain inscriptions.

This monument predates the construction of Diocletian's Palace, and besides Salona, it could have been brought from a more nearby Roman-era necropolis which existed in this area.²⁹ As an example, we can mention the hypothesis that there was a Roman-era settlement (*vicus*) with a necropolis in the area of Dobri in Split,³⁰ which is also backed by the remains of gravestone inscriptions today built into the Geremia-Zlendić house. There is a freshwater spring there, so it is easy to imagine a small settlement existing there as well.³¹ The inscriptions from Dobri can be dated from the end of the 1st to the 3rd centuries, and based on their production qualities, at least two stelae from Dobri may have been made in a period similar to

26 O tome više v. Demicheli 2009, str. 55-80; Demicheli 2015, str. 145-158.

27 Npr. neki spomenici ugrađeni u perivoj Garagnin-Fanfogna onamo su dospjeli prikupljanjem i otkupom spomenika s područja Salone/Solina u 19. st. O tome više v. Sedlar 2013.

28 Marasović *et al.* 2014, sl. 62.

29 Npr. već spomenuta nekropola u Lori (bilj. 1) Možda najslavniji primjer grobne parcele iz razdoblja prije Dioklecijana s područja Splita je onaj sa Smrdečca, na kojoj je *in situ* pronađena nadgrobna ara s natpisom, a koja se može datirati u sredinu 2. st. O tome v. Cambi, Rapanić 1979.

30 Cambi 1990, str. 57-69.

31 Usp. tal. naziv ovog predjela Pozzobon, odn. dobar izvor, odakle i samo ime predjela Dobri. Gledajući

27 E.g. some monuments were built into the Garagnin-Fanfogna gardens, whence they came by means of collection and purchases from the Salona/Solin area in the 19th century. For more on this see Sedlar 2013.

28 Marasović *et al.* 2014, Fig. 62.

29 E.g. the already mentioned necropolis in Lora (note 1). Perhaps the most famous example of a grave plot from the period prior to Diocletian in Split's area is the one in Smrdečac, on which a grave altar with inscription was found *in situ*, and which can be dated to the mid-2nd century. On this see Cambi, Rapanić 1979.

30 Cambi 1990, pp. 57-69.

31 Cf. the Ital. name of this section Pozzobon, or good source, whence the place name Dobri (Cro. *dobro* = good). In general terms, many Roman remains were found on the Split peninsula at places where there is water (besides the already mentioned Dobri, there was also the Radunica section (cf. Old Slavonic *radun*, spring), at which a relief with Nymphs was found, as well as a grave stela. Furthermore, old maps of the Split field show springs in the areas of Trstenik and Pazdigrad, where Roman remains and a grave inscription were also confirmed (for more on this see Demicheli 2007). The already noted toponym Smrdečac, which is in the Blatine section, is also associated with sources of water, albeit not potable. Finally, there were also sulphur springs near the area on which Diocletian's Palace was later built, and at today's fish market in Split there was an Art Nouveau building that contained warm springs. These springs are today blocked and unfortunately no longer functioning.

datirati od kraja 1. do 3. stoljeća, a prema svojoj izradi, barem dvije stele s Dobroga mogle su nastati u sličnom razdoblju kao i stela Julije Viktorine.³² Područje splitskog poluotoka pripadalo je salonitanskom ageru, ali to naravno ne isključuje postojanje naselja koje je moglo biti sastavljeno od više manjih aglomeracija (*vici*) razasutih na širem području. Smatramo da je izgradnja same carske palače, kao i planiranje prostora oko nje, već onda negirala ili prekrila tragove naselja koje je ondje otprije postojalo. Naime, bilo bi u najmanju ruku neobično da je šire područje poluotoka, koje pokazuje kontinuitet naseljavanja barem još od bakrenog doba,³³ bilo slabo naseljeno do kasne antike i da pozicija koju je rimski car odabrao za uživanje u svojim umirovljeničkim danima nije bila privlačna i mnogima prije njega.

that of the stela of Julia Victorina.³² The Split peninsula was a part of the Salonitan ager, but this naturally does not exclude the existence of a settlement which could have consisted of several smaller agglomerations (*vici*) scattered over a wider area. We believe that the construction of the imperial palace itself, as well as the planning of the spaces around it, erased or concealed the traces of the settlements which had existed there previously. For at the very least it would have been odd that the wider area of the peninsula, which shows a continuity of habitation at since the Copper Age at a minimum,³³ was sparsely settled up to Late Antiquity and that the location chosen by the Roman emperor to enjoy his retirement had not been attractive to many more before him.

općenito, na splitskom se poluotoku našlo mnogo rimskih ostataka na predjelima gdje ima vode (osim već spomenutog Dobroga, tu je svakako i predio Radunica (usp. stsl. *radun*, izvor), na kojem je pronađen reljef s nimfama, ali i nadgrobna stela. Nadalje, na starijim kartama splitskog polja vide se izvori na predjelu Trstenika i Pazdigrada, gdje su također potvrđeni rimski ostaci i nadgrobni natpis (o tome više v. Demicheli 2007). I već spomenuti toponim Smrdečac koji je na predjelu Blatine dovodi se u vezu s izvorima vode, dođuše, ne pitke. Naposljetku, vrela sumporne vode bilo je i na području u blizini kojeg je kasnije izgrađena Dioklecijanova palača, a kod današnje splitske ribarnice izgrađena je i secesijska zgrada u kojoj su se nalazile toplice. Ti su izvori danas plombirani i nažalost nisu u funkciji.

- 32 Stela Publija Valerija Zosima (CIL III 2578) i stela Antonija Julija (CIL III 2178).
33 O zlatnim i bakrenim nalazima iz ostave na Gripama v. Marović 1953, str. 124-140.

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- 32 The stela of Publius Valerius Zosimus (CIL III 2578) and the stela of Antonius Julius (CIL III 2178).
33 On the gold and copper finds from a hoard at Gripe, see Marović 1953, pp. 124-140.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| ARR | Arheološki radovi i rasprave, Zagreb |
| BASD | Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata, Spalato |
| CIL | Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin |
| FS II | Forschungen in Salona II, Wien 1928. |
| HAM | Hortus artium medievalium, Zagreb-Motovun |
| ILJug | Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt, Ljubljana |
| Opusc. Archaeol | Opuscula Archaeologica, Zagreb |
| Salona IV | Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, Roma-Split 2010. |
| VAHD | Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split |
| VAPD | Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Split |
| VHAD | Viestnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva, Zagreb |

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T. Rismondo, *Antička groblja na splitskom poluotoku*, *Histria antiqua* 8, Pula 2002, 257-267.

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A. Sedlar, *Salonitanske stele iz Garagninove zbirke u Trogiru*, *Tusculum* 6, Solin 2013, 57-77.