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Seviri Augustales u Saloni

The *seviri Augustales* in Salona

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Sažetak

Na primjerima natpisa iz Salone i akvilejskog kruga razgraničena su dva oblika oslobođeničkih kolegijskih: *seviri* i *seviri Augustales*. Posljednji su *cultores*, aktivni sudionici carskog kulta, koji dolaze iz redova salonitanskih plutokratskih obitelji (*Turanii*, *Clodii*, *Vetii*, *Albucii*...). Dokazuje se povezanost augustala s metroačkim kognacijama u kontekstu julijevo-klaudijeve ideologije carske moći. Nakon 12. g. pr. Kr., kada August postaje *pontifex maximus*, ključne osobe u širenju carskog kulta u Italiji i provincijama,

Abstract

Based on examples of inscriptions from Salona and the Aquileian circle, two forms of freedmen associations have been distinguished: *seviri* and *seviri Augustales*. The latter were *cultores*, active participants in the imperial cult who came from the ranks of Salona's plutocratic families (*Turanii*, *Clodii*, *Vetii*, *Albucii*...). The links between the *Augustales* and the Metroac *cognati* in the context of the Julio-Claudian ideology of imperial power are demonstrated. After 12 BC, when Augustus became *pontifex maximus*, the

pa tako i u Saloni, jesu carski amici: *seviri Augustales* podrijetlom iz *familiae Caesaris*, vitezovi carske administracije, a nakon 14. godine 1. st. i senatori u lobističkoj organizaciji *sodales Augustales*.

Ključne riječi: seviri Augustales, Salona, familia Caesaris, libertini, metroački kult

key persons in the dissemination of the imperial cult in Italy and the provinces, and thus in Salona, were the imperial *amici: seviri Augustales* originally from the *familia Caesaris*, knights of the imperial administration, and, after 14 AD, the senators in the lobbying organization known as the *sodales Augustales*.

Key words: seviri Augustales, Salona, familia Caesaris, libertini, Metroac cult

1. *Seviri* i *seviri Augustales* – dva oslobođenička tijela s različitim ulogama

Epigrafička evidencija potvrđuje da u Saloni postoje dva tipa oslobođeničkih kolegija: *seviri* i *seviri Augustales*. U starijoj literaturi odnos između tih različitih tijela bio je zamagljen, na tragu prijedloga Georga Wissowe da su *seviri Augustales* isto što i *seviri et seviri Augustales*, tj. godišnji službenici u kolegiju koji je dio augustalskog reda (*ordo Augustalium*).¹ Na takav stav konstrukciju je nadgradila Lily Ross Taylor, koja je pokušala rekonstruirati kronološki slijed pojave oslobođeničkih asocijacija.² Zaključila je da se najprije javljaju građanski *seviri*, po uzoru na koje nastaju oslobođenički *seviri*, da bi se oni kasnije djelomice stopili sa *sevirima augustalima*. Također nije dobro razgraničila odnos između naziva *Augustales* i *seviri Augustales*, čime su zablude oko razvoja i uloge tih tijela još više pojačane. Stožerna rasprava Ross Taylor snažno je odredila smjerove istraživanja, ali su pojedine njezine pogrešne tvrdnje bitno opteretile daljnje rasprave. R. Duthoy, A. Abramenko i I. Gradel tri su autora kojima je zajedničko da su odbacili njezinu podjelu i uveli novu, s dvije osnovne kategorije oslobođenika: u jednoj su *seviri Augustales*, *Augustales* i *magistri Augustales*, a u drugoj *seviri*.³ U domaćoj literaturi sličan stav prihvatila je S. Bekavac u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji, a utemeljen je na pojavi naziva različitih kategorija oslobođeničkih tijela u kontekstu pojedinačnih natpisa iz Salone, Italije i provincija.⁴ Ista autorica i Ž. Miletić proširili su repertoar problema vezanih uz oslobođenička tijela i na temelju analize korpusa epigrafičkih spomenika raspravili ih u rukopisu *Problemi geneze, strukture i uloge oslobođeničkih tijela sevira i augustala* priređenom za tisak.

Jedan od temeljnih razloga zbog kojeg je došlo do pogrešnog povezivanja sevira sa *sevirima augustalima* vjerojatno je isti broj od šest članova koliko ih je, načelno, u oba tijela. Međutim, epitet *Augustalis* je ključna poveznica za istovrsna tijela koja nalazimo pod nazivima *seviri Augustales*, *magistri Augustales* ili jednostavno *Augustales*, pridjev koji upućuje da su oni *cultores*, involvirani u carski kult, po čemu se bitno razlikuju od "običnih" sevira (bez epiteta *Augustalis*) koji to nisu. Augustovim reformama ustanovljene su obje kategorije oslobođeničkih asocijacija kojima je namjena bila ispuniti prazno polje u afirmaciji oslobođeničke elite u municipalnom životu, ali istodobno

1. *Seviri* and *seviri Augustales* – two freedmen associations with different roles

The epigraphic evidence confirms that in Salona there were two types of *collegia* of freedmen: *seviri* and *seviri Augustales*. In the older literature, the relationship between these two different bodies was obscured, along the lines of Georg Wissowa's suggestion that the *seviri Augustales* were the same as *seviri et seviri Augustales*, i.e., annually-serving officials in a *collegium* that was part of the *Augustales* order (*ordo Augustalium*).¹ This formulation was further elaborated by Lily Ross Taylor, who attempted to reconstruct the chronological sequence of the appearance of freedmen associations.² She concluded that citizen *seviri* appeared first, and the freedmen *seviri* who emerged afterward were based on them, only to be later merged into the *seviri Augustales*. She also did not clearly distinguish the relationship between the designations *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*, whereby the misconceptions surrounding the development and role of these associations were further reinforced. This pivotal study by Ross Taylor exerted substantial influence on the course of research, but her individual erroneous assertions cast a long shadow over further debate. R. Duthoy, A. Abramenko and I. Gradel were three scholars who had in common their rejection of her classification and introduced a new one with two basic categories of freedmen: one consisted of the *seviri Augustales*, *Augustales* and *magistri Augustales*, while the other consisted of *seviri*.³ In the Croatian literature, a similar stance was accepted by S. Bekavac in her doctoral dissertation, based on the appearance of different categories of freedmen associations in the context of individual inscriptions from Salona, Italy and the provinces.⁴ This same scholar and Ž. Miletić expanded the range of problems tied to freedmen associations and based on an analysis of the body of epigraphic monuments, and they discussed them in the manuscript *Problemi geneze, strukture i uloge oslobođeničkih tijela sevira i augustala* [Problems of the Genesis, Structure and Role of the Freedmen Associations of *Seviri* and *Augustales*] prepared for publication.

One of the fundamental reasons for the mistaken connection between the *seviri* and the *Augustales* is probably the identical number of six members that both of these associations had as a rule. However, the

1 Wissowa 1986, col. 2349-2361.

2 Ross Taylor 1914.

3 Duthoy 1978; Abramenko 1993, str. 14; Gradel 2002, str. 229.

4 Bekavac 2015, str. 248-265.

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3 Duthoy 1978; Abramenko 1993, p. 14; Gradel 2002, p. 229.

4 Bekavac 2015, pp. 248-265.

i regulirati prava i obaveze libertina unutar rimskoga pravnog sustava, zamagljene u razdoblju građanskih ratova.⁵ Naronna je jedan od rijetkih gradova u kojima nalazimo epigrafičke potvrde za sevire organizirane još za Augustova života.⁶ Razlog je cezarijanska konstitucija kolonije i stvaranje moćnog oslobođeničkog sloja koji se u tim okolnostima nametnuo u političkom i upravljačkom životu grada.⁷

Salona, kao glavni grad i najjače administrativno i gospodarsko središte provincije Dalmacije, očekivano je imala izrazit društveni sloj libertina organiziranih u obje spomenute kategorije kolegija. Nekoliko desetaka potvrda njihovih kolegija dovoljan su statistički uzorak iz kojeg je vidljivo da ih je manje u sevirima nego u augustalima, što je u skladu sa stanjem u većini važnih gradova Carstva. Gotovo cjelokupna građa o sevirima u Saloni svedena je na spomen te stavke u slijedu časti (*cursus honorum*) pojedinaca na funeralnim natpisima, zbog čega nema saznanja o njihovim aktivnostima. Zahvaljujući bogatoj komparativnoj građi iz Carstva, osobito iz Italije, ali i galskih provincija i drugih sredina, pouzdano znamo da sevire možemo shvatiti kao oslobođeničke magistrature rangirane ispod građanskih tijela koji su se u svojim sredinama željeli iskazati kroz munificijencije, ponajviše građevinske radove, organiziranje spektakala i darivanja (i primanja) sportula u rasponu od podjele hrane i pića do novčanih davanja.

Upravo zbog toga što se na natpisima pripadnici kolegija sevira u Saloni deklariraju kao libertini, možemo s pouzdanošću utvrditi da takav status imaju i Decimo Petronije Dazije i Decimo Petronije Kilon, premda na natpisu CIL 3, 2097a uz njihova imena nema formalnih statusnih oznaka.⁸ Vrijedi i obrnuto: da oni nisu istaknuli pripadnost kolegiju sevira, na temelju onomastičke formule mogli bismo dvojiti je li njihov status građanski ili libertinski.

Svega nekoliko sevirskih natpisa iz Salone omogućuje kontekstualiziranje. Oslobođenik, sevir Marko Satrije bogati je vlasnik goleme grobne parcele u Saloni (*in fronte pedes XV, in agro pedes L*) na kojoj

epithet *Augustalis* is the key link for similar associations which can be found under the designations *seviri Augustales, magistri Augustales* or simply *Augustales*, an adjective which indicates that they were *cultores*, involved in the imperial cult, essentially distinguishing them from the “ordinary” *seviri* (without the epithet *Augustalis*) who were not. Both categories of freedmen associations were set forth by the Augustan reforms, and their purpose was to fill an empty field in the affirmation of the freedmen elite in municipal life, but also regulate the rights and obligations of *libertini* inside the Roman legal system which were obfuscated during the period of civil wars.⁵ Naronna was one of the rare cities in which epigraphic confirmations of *seviri* organized already during the lifetime of Augustus could be found.⁶ The reason is the Caesarean constitution of the colony and the creation of a powerful class of freedmen who imposed themselves in the city’s politics and administration under such circumstances.⁷

Salona, as the capital and the strongest administrative and economic hub of the province of Dalmatia, had – as could be expected – a notable social class of *libertini* organized into both of the aforementioned categories of *collegia*. Several dozen confirmations of their *collegia* serve as a sufficient statistical sampling from which it is apparent that there were fewer of them in the *seviri* than in the *Augustales*, which corresponds to the situation in most major cities in the Empire. Virtually the entirety of the source materials on the *seviri* in Salona is limited to the passages in the sequence of honours (*cursus honorum*) of individuals on funerary inscriptions, which is why there is no insight into their activities. Thanks to the rich comparative materials from the Empire, especially from Italy, but also the Gallic provinces and other areas, we know for certain that the *seviri* may be seen as freedmen magistrates ranked below the civic associations who wanted to distinguish themselves in their communities through munificence, mostly pertaining to construction works, the organization of spectacles and donations (and receiving) of the sportula, ranging

5 Ross Taylor 1914, str. 241-244; Rawson 1987, str. 102; López Barja de Quiroga 1995, str. 326-327; López Barja de Quiroga, *Latins* 1998, str. 139-140; Gardner 2002, str. 23-24, 39-43; Eck 2007, str. 107-108; Mouritsen 2011, str. 85.

6 CIL 3, 1769: *Aug(usto) sacr(um) / C(aius) Iulius Macrini lib(ertus) / Martialis IIIIIvir m(unicipibus) m(unicipii) ob / honor(em) idem ludos scaenic(os) / per trid(uum) d(edit) et canthar(um) ar<g=C>(enteum) p(ondo) |(unciarum septem).*

7 Bekavac, Miletić 2016, str. 241-242.

8 *D(ecimus) Petronius / Dasius IIIIIvir / D(ecimus) Petronius / Cilo IIIIIvir.*

5 Ross Taylor 1914, pp. 241-244; Rawson 1987, p. 102; López Barja de Quiroga 1995, pp. 326-327; López Barja de Quiroga, *Latins* 1998, pp. 139-140; Gardner 2002, pp. 23-24, 39-43; Eck 2007, pp. 107-108; Mouritsen 2011, p. 85.

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7 Bekavac, Miletić 2016, pp. 241-242.

se njegova familija (djeca i oslobođenici) ukapa zajedno s onom Statorija Festa i s prijateljem Kalpurnijem Kalistom.⁹ Satrijeva djeca su građani, kao što su to i djeca sevira Seksta Orbija Paula s natpisa CIL 3, 8797.¹⁰ Njegova kći, građanka Orbija Paula, na temelju *ius testamenti factio* podiže nadgrobni spomenik, ne spomenuvši nijednom muža, nekog Gratija, od kojeg je Paulin sin naslijedio gentilicij. Paulin brat, sin Seksta Orbija, uživao je prednosti bogatstva i ugleda obitelji i izabran je za pontifika kolonije Salone, tj. na ugledan magistratski položaj unutar dekurijskog vijeća. Za razliku od djece oslobođenika Seksta Orbija Paula, djeca Publija Cetenija Agahila s natpisa CIL 3, 2094 = CIL 3, 8582 nemaju civitet, jer nisu *ingenui*, nego su rođeni u ropstvu s cijelom obitelji i zato svi nose isti gentilicij zajedničkog patrona i manumisora Publija Cetenija.¹¹ Sin Venusto stoga nema građansku karijeru, nego je postao sevir. Već smo naveli da seviri nisu organizirani u sustavu carskoga kulta; općenito, veoma je mali broj natpisa iz Carstva na kojima seviri podižu votivne are diviniziranim carevima ili poduzimaju slične aktivnosti. To rade kao privatna lica, a ne kao pripadnici kolegija, pogotovo ne kolektivno.

Za razliku od njih, seviri augustali aktivni su sudionici carskog kulta, što je izvanredno dobro dokumentirano u bogatom epigrafičkom i arheološkom korpusu spomenika; iskopana su njihova sjedišta (*augustea*), brojni votivni spomenici, počasne skulpture, konsekrativni natpisi i munificijencije posvećene carevima, kao i akti vezani uz njihove unutarnje religijsko i financijsko poslovanje.¹² Iz njihove dokumentacije

from the distribution of food and beverages to gifts of money.

Precisely because the members of *seviri* associations in Salona were declared *libertini*, we may assert with certainty that this status applied to Decimus Petronius Dasius and Decimus Petronius Cilo, even though their names are not accompanied by formal status designations in inscription CIL 3, 2097a.⁸ The opposite also applies: if they had not underscored their belonging to the *seviri*, their status as citizens or *libertini* would have been uncertain solely on the basis of their onomastic formulas.

Only a few *seviri* inscriptions from Salona allow for any contextualization. The freedman and *sevir* Marcus Satrius was the wealthy owner of an immense grave plot in Salona (*in fronte pedes XV, in agro pedes L*) on which his family (children and freedmen) were interred together with the families of Statorius Festus and his friend Calpurnius Callistus.⁹ The children of Satrius are citizens, as are the children of the *sevir* Sextus Orbis Paullus from the inscription CIL 3, 8797.¹⁰ His daughter, the citizen Orbia Paulla, pursuant to the *ius testamenti factio*, raised the gravestone without once mentioning her husband, a certain Grattius, from whom Paulla's son inherited his gentilicium. Paulla's brother, the son of Sextus Orbis, took advantage of the family's wealth and reputation and was elected to the pontificate of the Salona colony, i.e., to reputable post in the council of decurions. As opposed to the children of the freedman Sextus Orbis Paullus, the children of Publius Caetennius Agahilus from inscription CIL 3, 2094 = CIL 3, 8582 did not have citizenship, because they were not *ingenui*, but rather born into slavery with their entire family, which is why they bore the gentilicium of their common owner (patron) and manumissor Publius Caetennius.¹¹ The son

9 *M(arcus) Satrius M(arci) l(ibertus) Valens / VIv(ir) f(ecit) sibi et Satriae Eufrosyn(a)e / co(n)iugi pientissimae et Satrio / Floro f(ilio) Satriae Valentinae f(iliae) liber/tis libertab(us)que eor(um) h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur) / commune est una cum Stator(io) Festo / posterisq(ue) eor(um) et Calpurnio Callisto ami(co) / in f(ron)te p(edes) XV in ag(ro) p(edes) L; ILJug 2, 682.*

10 *Orbia S[e]x(ti) f(ilia) Paulla / t(estamento) f(ieri) ius[sit] sibi et / Sex(to) Orbio [Paull]o IIIIIvir(o) patri / Cordiae A[3]fae matri / Sex(to) Orbio Pr[ae]c[on]ino(?) pontif(ici) fratri / P(ublio) Grattio C[am]pano f(ilio).*

11 *P(ublius) Caetennius / Agahilas v(ivus) f(ecit) s(ibi) / et / Caeteniae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) fil(iae) Venus<t=I>ae / et P(ublio) Caetenio / Venus<t=I>o VIv(ir)o / fil(io) eius.*

12 Spomenimo samo mizenatski "Sacello degli Augustali" i natpis AE 1993, 468 (...*in templo Augusti quod est Augustalium*); dva natpisa iz Literna AE 2001, 853 i AE 2001, 854 (*Augustales creati ii qui in cultu domus divinae contulerunt*), kao i navod u Tacita, *Annales* I,73: "...*quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnis domos in modium collegiorum habebantur*").

8 *D(ecimus) Petronius / Dasius IIIIIvir / D(ecimus) Petronius / Cilo IIIIIvir.*

9 *M(arcus) Satrius M(arci) l(ibertus) Valens / VIv(ir) f(ecit) sibi et Satriae Eufrosyn(a)e / co(n)iugi pientissimae et Satrio / Floro f(ilio) Satriae Valentinae f(iliae) liber/tis libertab(us)que eor(um) h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur) / commune est una cum Stator(io) Festo / posterisq(ue) eor(um) et Calpurnio Callisto ami(co) / in f(ron)te p(edes) XV in ag(ro) p(edes) L; ILJug 2, 682.*

10 *Orbia S[e]x(ti) f(ilia) Paulla / t(estamento) f(ieri) ius[sit] sibi et / Sex(to) Orbio [Paull]o IIIIIvir(o) patri / Cordiae A[3]fae matri / Sex(to) Orbio Pr[ae]c[on]ino(?) pontif(ici) fratri / P(ublio) Grattio C[am]pano f(ilio).*

11 *P(ublius) Caetennius / Agahilas v(ivus) f(ecit) s(ibi) / et / Caeteniae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) fil(iae) Venus<t=I>ae / et P(ublio) Caetenio / Venus<t=I>o VIv(ir)o / fil(io) eius.*

i iz odluka dekurionskog vijeća jasno je da su seviri augustali imali veći ugled od sevira u sredinama gdje su usporedo egzistirali. To je dokazivo jer su upravo pojedinci iz kolegija sevira augustala dobivali visoku počast biselija,¹³ stjecali su dekurionska odlikovanja (*ornamenta decurionalia*) i adlegirani su u gradsko vijeće.¹⁴ Također, u brojnim slučajevima davanja *summae* stanovnicima municipija, najviše novca dobivaju dekurioni, nakon njih pojedinci iz augustalskog reda, a tek zatim seviri, članovi profesionalnih kolegija “obični” *municipes*.¹⁵ Do takve je hijerarhije došlo jer je sudjelovanje sevira augustala u carskom kultu bilo poželjno i podobno. Poredak je drugačiji samo u iznimnim situacijama, npr. kada seviri nisu isključivo libertinsko tijelo, nego miješano, sastavljeno i od građana, kako je to slučaj u nekoliko municipaliteta sjeverne i srednje Italije.¹⁶

Epigrafički podaci iz sjevernojadranskog, akvilejskog kruga obilato potvrđuju naš načelno izneseni stav da su to dvije različite dužnosti. Kao primjer donosimo natpis CIL 3, 3836a iz Emona podignut *in memoriam* Tita Velija Onezima, koji je bio magistrat u tri grada: Emoni, Akvileji i Parentiju; u njegovoj karijeri navode se dvije vrste dužnosti, jedna je ona sevira u Emoni i u Akvileji, a druga augustala u Emoni i u Parentiju: *Dianae / Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / in memor(iam) / T(iti) Velli Ones(imi) / IIIIIvir(i) et / Aug(ustalis) Emon(ae) / IIIIIvir(i) Aq(uileiae) / [A]ug(ustalis) Paren(tii) / [---]*. Analogan primjer je na natpisu CIL 5, 827 iz

Venustus thus did not have a civic career, but rather became a *sevir*. We have already stated that the *seviri* were not organized into the imperial cult system; in general, there is a very small number inscriptions from the Empire in which the *seviri* installed votive altars to deified emperors or undertook similar activities. They did so as private individuals rather than as members of *collegia*, particularly not collectively.

As opposed to them, the *seviri Augustales* were active participants in the imperial cult, which is extraordinarily well-documented in the rich body of epigraphic and archaeological monuments; their meeting places (*augustea*) have been excavated, and numerous votive monuments, honorary sculptures, consecrative inscriptions and munificence dedicated to emperors, as well as rules tied to their internal religious and financial operations, have been found.¹² Based on their own documents and the decisions of decurion councils, it is clear that the *seviri Augustales* had a higher reputation than the *seviri* in the communities in which they both simultaneously existed. This can be proven because individuals from the *collegium* of *seviri Augustales* received the high honour of the bisellium,¹³ they earned decurion insignia (*ornamenta decurionalia*) and they were delegated to municipal councils.¹⁴ Also, in many cases of granting *summae* to the residents of a *municipium*, the most money was received by decurions, and after them individuals from the *Augustales* order, and only after them the *seviri*, the members of professional guilds

13 Za primjer vidi natpise *Barium*: AE 2008, 416; *Petelia*: CIL 10, 112; *Ostia*: CIL 14, 431; *Veii*: CIL 11, 3805.

14 Primjere dodjeljivanja dekurionskih ornamenta vidi na natpisima: *Sarmizegetusa*: CIL 3, 1425; *Mediolanum*: CIL 5, 5844; *Lucurgentum*: AE 1962, 337; *Misenum*: AE 2000, 344; *Nemausus*: CIL 12, 3203; CIL 12, 3219; CIL 12, 3191; CIL 12, 3221; CIL 12, 3245; CIL 12, 3249; CIL 12, 4068; *Formiae*: AE 2005, 324; *Senia*: CIL 3, 3016. Primjer dodjeljivanja počasnih edilskih obilježja sevirimu augustalima vidi na natpisima CIL 2-14-1, 796 i CIL 2, 4061 iz Dertose. Mehanizam adlekcije, tj. izravnog postavljanja oslobođeničkih sevira augustala u gradski *ordo* zabilježen je na nekoliko natpisa, primjer su AE 1993, 472 iz Mizena te CIL 2, 2026 iz Singilije Barbe u Betici.

15 Reprezentativni primjeri iz niza natpisa diljem Carstva su CIL 10, 415 iz Volceija u regiji *Bruttium et Lucania*, zatim CIL 14, 2410 (*Castrimoenium*, Regio I) te CIL 3, 1745 iz Epidaura u provinciji Dalmaciji.

16 Građanski seviri javljaju se na natpisima u municipiju *Comum* u Transpadani (*Regio XI*): AE 1996, 733; AE 2003, 752; CIL 5, 5267, zatim u Askulu Picenskom (*Regio V*): AE 1946, 186, Veroni (*Venetia et Histria/Regio X*): CIL 5, 4492, Favenciji (*Aemilia/Regio VIII*): CIL 11, 632, te u Forum Semproniji u Umbriji (*Regio VI*): CIL 11, 6130; CIL 11, 6131; CIL 11, 6134.

12 We shall here specifically mention only the “Sacello degli Augustali” of Miseno, and inscription AE 1993, 468 (...*in templo Augusti quod est Augustalium*); two inscriptions from Liternum, AE 2001, 853 and AE 2001, 854 (*Augustales creati ii qui in cultu domus divinae contulerunt*), and the statement in Tacitus, *Annales* 1,73: “...*quod inter cultores Augusti, qui per omnis domos in modium collegiorum habebantur*”).

13 For an example, see the inscriptions *Barium*: AE 2008, 416; *Petelia*: CIL 10, 112; *Ostia*: CIL 14, 431; *Veii*: CIL 11, 3805.

14 Examples of conferring decurion ornaments can be seen in these inscriptions: *Sarmizegetusa*: CIL 3, 1425; *Mediolanum*: CIL 5, 5844; *Lucurgentum*: AE 1962, 337; *Misenum*: AE 2000, 344; *Nemausus*: CIL 12, 3203; CIL 12, 3219; CIL 12, 3191; CIL 12, 3221; CIL 12, 3245; CIL 12, 3249; CIL 12, 4068; *Formiae*: AE 2005, 324; *Senia*: CIL 3, 3016. An example of conferring honorary aedile insignia to *seviri Augustales* can be seen in inscriptions CIL 2-14-1, 796 i CIL 2, 4061 from Dertosa. The adlection mechanism, i.e., the direct assignment of a freedman sevir Augustalis into the municipal *ordo* has been recorded in several inscriptions, for example in AE 1993, 472 from Miseno and CIL 2, 2026 from Singilia Barba in Baetica.

Akvileje, na kojem je zabilježeno da se odlukom gradskog vijeća vrši posveta Silvanu, *in honorem* Lucija Stacija Onezima, koji je *sevir*, odnosno *in memoriam* Gaja Stacija Primigenija, koji je *augustal*: *Silvano / Aug(usto) sacr(um) / in honor(em) / L(uci) Stati Onesimi / IIIIIvir(i) et / in memor(iam) C(ai) Stat(i) / Primigeni Aug(ustalis) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / L(uci) Stati Hermetis / L(ucius) Stadius Encolpus / IIIIIvir*. Dodatna potvrda razlikovanja te dvije funkcije (*sevir* i *sevir Augustalis*) je i činjenica da se oko čitave akcije pobrinuo *Lucius Stadius Encolpus*, koji je *sevir*. U samoj Akvileji pojedine su osobe tijekom svog života mogle obnašati i dvije dužnosti (*severa* i *augustala*), što su onda često izražavale jednom formulom *sevir et Augustalis*.¹⁷ Razlikovanje *severa* od (*severa*) *augustala* vidljivo je na nadgrobnom natpisu CIL 5, 2523 (Ateste, Regio X) Tita Arcija Apijola, koji je najprije bio *sevir*, a zatim *augustal*: *T(itus) Aretius T(iti) C(ai) L(uci) l(ibertus) / Apiolus IIIIIvir / idem Augustalis / sibi et...* Izravnu i konačnu potvrdu razlikovanja *severa* od *severa augustala* nalazimo na posvetnom natpisu CIL 11, 360 iz Ariminija: *Pantheum sacrum / L(ucius) Viricius Cypaerus sexvir / et sexvir Augustalis*.

U tom smislu treba razgraničiti *severe* od *severa augustala* u Saloni, kao što je vidljivo na sljedećem primjeru: *T(itus) Ancharius Anthus / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) ex HS VI(milibus) sibi / et Petroniae Prothesi uxori et / libert(is) heredibusq(ue) / [F]ortunato Tit(-)? Zosimo VVir(o) Zopyro / [E]paphrodito Substituto Abascanto / [Pet]roniae Iucundae Anchario Iusto et omnib(us) lib(ertis) libertabusque*.¹⁸ Oslobođenik Tit Anharije Anto koji je bio *sevir Augustalis* daje (funeralno mjesto) vlastitim oslobođenici i nasljednicima Fortunatu, Tit(-?), Zosimu, Zopiru, Epafroditu, Substitutu i Abaskantu, ženi Petroniji Protezi i kćeri Petroniji Jukundi (njih dvije oslobodio je isti patron Petronije) i sinu, oslobođeniku Anhariju Justu (čiji je patron Tit Anharije isti kao i očevo). Uz ime oslobođenika (Tita Anharija) Zosima navodi se i njegova dužnost *severa*.

Na isti način prikazuje se razlika između *sevirata* i *augustaliteta* na natpisu CIL 3, 3195b = CIL 3, 8807: *C(aius) Volusius Primi/genius VVir / vivos(!) fecit sibi et / C(aio) Volusio Euhemero / conlibert(o) VVir(o) Aug(ustali) et / C(aio) Volusio Primigenio f(ilio) defunc(to) / annor(um) VIII libertis libertabusq(ue) / suis ossibus inferendis extranior(um) / nequis ossa inferre velit et tu et / tibi / in fr(onte) p(edes) XXX in / agr(o) p(edes) XXX*. Gaj Voluzije Primigenij je *sevir*

and “ordinary” *municipes*.¹⁵ Such a hierarchy was created because the participation of the *seviri Augustales* in the imperial cult was desirable and advantageous. The order was only different in exceptional situations, e.g., when the *seviri* were not in an exclusive association of the *libertini*, but rather a mixed association, consisting of citizens as well, which was the case in several municipalities in northern and central Italy.¹⁶

Epigraphic data from the northern Adriatic, Aquileian circle abundantly confirm our generally formulated assertion that these were two different posts. As an example, we cite inscription CIL 3, 3836a from Emona, installed *in memoriam* for Titus Vellius Onesimus, who was a magistrate in three cities: Emona, Aquileia and Parentium; two types of posts are cited for his career; one is that of *sevir* in Emona and Aquileia, and the other *Augustalis* in Emona and Parentium: *Dianae / Aug(ustae) sac(rum) / in memor(iam) / T(iti) Velli Ones(imi) / IIIIIvir(i) et / Aug(ustalis) Emon(ae) / IIIIIvir(i) Aquileiae) / [A]ug(ustalis) Paren(tii) / [---]*. An analogous example is inscription CIL 5, 827 from Aquileia, which records the decision of the city council to make a dedication to Silvanus, *in honorem* to Lucius Stadius Onesimus, who was a *sevir*, and an *in memoriam* to Gaius Stadius Primigenius, who was an *Augustalis*: *Silvano / Aug(usto) sacr(um) / in honour(em) / L(uci) Stati Onesimi / IIIIIvir(i) et / in memor(iam) C(ai) Stat(i) / Primigeni Aug(ustalis) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / L(uci) Stati Hermetis / L(ucius) Stadius Encolpus / IIIIIvir*. An additional confirmation of the distinction between the two functions (*sevir* and *sevir Augustalis*) is the fact that Lucius Stadius Encolpus, who was a *sevir*, saw to the entire action. In Aquileia itself, individuals could also hold both posts (*sevir* and *Augustalis*) during their lives, which was then often expressed by the formula *sevir et Augustalis*.¹⁷ The distinction between *sevir* and (*sevir*) *Augustalis* is also apparent on

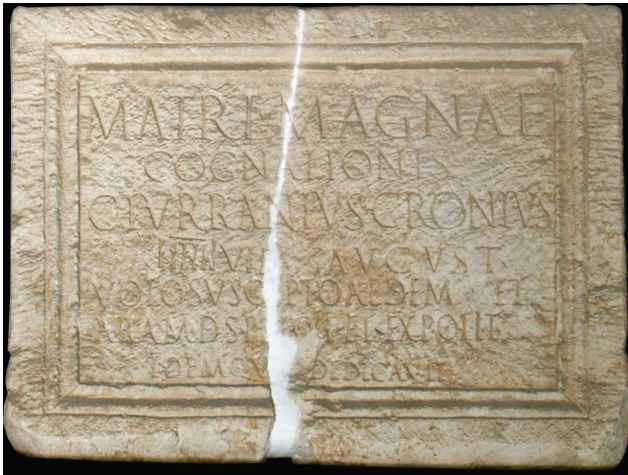
17 Npr. CIL 5, 1004: *Petroniae / C(ai) fil(iae) Bassillae / C(aius) Petronius / Felix IIIIIvir et Aug(ustalis) / et Petronia / [Lao]dicia(?) / [---]*.

18 CIL 3, 2092.

15 More typical examples from a series of inscriptions throughout the Empire are CIL 10, 415 from Volcei in the region of Bruttium et Lucania, then CIL 14, 2410 (*Castrimoenium*, Regio I) and CIL 3, 1745 from Epidaurum in the province of Dalmatia.

16 The municipal *seviri* appeared in inscriptions in the municipium of Comum in Transpadania (Regio XI): AE 1996, 733; AE 2003, 752; CIL 5, 5267, and then in Picenian Asculum (Regio V): AE 1946, 186, Verona (Venetia et Histria/Regio X): CIL 5, 4492, Faventia (Aemilia/Regio VIII): CIL 11, 632, and in Forum Sempromii in Umbria (Regio VI): CIL 11, 6130; CIL 11, 6131; CIL 11, 6134.

17 E.g. CIL 5, 1004: *Petroniae / C(ai) fil(iae) Bassillae / C(aius) Petronius / Felix IIIIIvir et Aug(ustalis) / et Petronia / [Lao]dicia(?) / [---]*.



Sl. 1. Ara oslobođenika Gaja Turanija Kronija, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: Ž. Miletić)
Fig. 1. Altar of the freedman Gaius Turranius Cronius, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: Ž. Miletić)

koji nadgrobni spomenik podiže svom sinu građaninu, te suoslobođeniku Gaju Voluziju Euhemeru koji je *sevir Augustalis*. Nema mjesta nikakvim razmišljanjima o skraćivanju titula radi nedostatka prostora na natpisnom polju.

2. Moćne obitelji i ugledni seviri augustali

Izbor u neku od oslobođeničkih asocijacija umnogome je određen snagom matičnih familija koje su davale ljude u dekurionsko vijeće.

Među uglednima je *Turrania*, indigena obitelj u Skardoni, čiji su pojedinci rano stekli civitet i bogatstvo. Tit Turanije Sedat (CIL 3, 2810) bio je skardonitanski dekurion i duovir te *sacerdos* liburnskoga carskoga kulta.¹⁹ Tit Turanije Ver (CIL 3, 2085) obnašao je funkciju skardonitanskog edila, a zatim se odselio u Salonu, gdje je pokopan. Građanka Arija Maksima podignula je nadgrobni spomenik njemu (svom sinu), sebi i (novom) suprugu te njihovim oslobođenicima.²⁰ Na natpisu se ne spominje da bi Ver imao djece, ali oslobođenici tog ili nekog drugog Turanija šire se i

funerary inscription CIL 5, 2523 (Ateste, Regio X) of Titus Aretius Apiolus, who was first a *sevir*, and then an *Augustalis*: *T(itus) Aretius T(iti) C(ai) L(uci) l(ibertus) / Apiolus IIIIIvir / idem Augustalis / sibi et...* The direct and final confirmation of the distinction between *sevir* and *sevir Augustalis* can be found in dedicatory inscription CIL 11, 360 from Ariminium: *Pantheum sacrum / L(ucius) Viricius Cypaerus sexvir / et sexvir Augustalis*.

In this regard, it is necessary to distinguish between *sevir* and *sevir Augustalis* in Salona, as illustrated in the following example: *T(itus) Ancharius Anthus / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) ex HS VI(milibus) sibi / et Petroniae Prothesi uxori et / libert(is) heredibusq(ue) / [F]ortunato Tit(-)? Zosimo VIvir(o) Zopyro / [E]paphrodito Substituto Abascanto / [Pet]roniae Iucundae Anchario Iusto et omnib(us) lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue)*.¹⁸ The freedman Titus Ancharius Anthus, who was *sevir Augustalis*, granted (a burial plot) to his own freedmen and heirs, Fortunatus, Tit(-?), Zosimus, Zopyrus, Epaphroditus, Substitutus and Abascantus, his wife Petronia Prothesa and daughter Petronia Jucunda (the two of them were freed by the same owner, Petronius) and his son, the freedman Ancharius Justus (whose master Titus Ancharius was the same as his father's). The name of the freedman (Titus Ancharius) Zosimus is accompanied by his post of *sevir*.

The difference between the status of *sevir* and *Augustalis* is also illustrated in inscription CIL 3, 3195b = CIL 3, 8807: *C(aius) Volusius Primi/genius VIvir / vivos(!) fecit sibi et / C(aio) Volusio Euhemero / conlibert(o) VIvir(o) Aug(ustali) et / C(aio) Volusio Primigenio f(ilio) defunc(to) / annor(um) VIII libertis libertabusq(ue) / suis ossibus inferendis extranior(um) / nequis ossa inferre velit et tu et / tibi / in fr(onte) p(edes) XXX in / agr(o) p(edes) XXX*. Gaius Volusius Primigenius was a *sevir* who raised a gravestone to his son, a citizen, and the freedman Gaius Volusius Euhemerus, was a *sevir Augustalis*. There is no room for any speculation as to the abbreviation of titles due to a lack of space in the inscription field.

2. Powerful families and respected seviri Augustales

Election to one of the freedmen associations was largely determined by the power of the core families which sent their men to the decurion councils.

Among the respected families were the *Turrania*, who were of indigenous origin in Scardona and whose individual members acquired citizenship and wealth

19 CIL 3, 2810: *T(ito) Turra[nio] / T(iti) f(ilio) Ser(gia) Seda[to] / decurioni II[viro] / Scardonis sacer[doti] / ad aram Aug(usti) Lib[urn]ia[e] / huic ordo Scardonitan[orum] / statuam decre[vit] / Iulia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Maxima / i<m=N>pensa remi[ssa] / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. Turaniju je skardonitanski *ordo* podigao statu, a troškove je platila supruga Maksima.

20 CIL 3, 2085: *T(ito) Turrano / T(iti) f(ilio) Vero / aedili Scardon(ae) / Arria C(ai) f(ilia) Maxima fil(io) / pientissimo f(ecit) et sibi et / C(aio) Maecio Maximo coniug(i) / libertis libertabusq(ue) suis*. Vidi i Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, str. 79-80.

18 CIL 3, 2092.

granaju po Saloni. Među njima je i istaknuti oslobođenik Gaj Turanije Kronije, sevir augustal o čijem bogatstvu svjedoči akcija izgradnje svetišta Velikoj Majci i posvećenje are koje je dotjerao (*expolit*) u smislu završnog uređenja (sl. 1).²¹ Za ispunjene tog zavjeta potrošio je vlastiti novac, na korist salonitanske metroačke kognacije, vjerskog udruženja okupljenog oko Kibelina kulta, čiji je član i sam vjerojatno bio, sudeći po Kibelinu pokroviteljstvu nad udruženjem. Tijekom principata metroački kult snažno je povezan s carskim, pa ne začuđuje da je jedan *sevir Augustalis* aktivan u metroačkoj sljedbi. Ta veza je “prirodna” jer je za preoblikovanje privatnog gentilnog kulta Julijevaca u javni carski kult važna podloga bila Augustovo isticanje trojanskog podrijetla Julijevaca, odakle je, iz prostora Pergamskog Kraljevstva, dva stoljeća ranije donesena Majka Bogova odlukom Senata.²² Obnova zanimanja za božicu rimske prapostojbine dio je složenog programa uspostave institucije princepsa kao moćnog višestrukog magistrata, pa ne čudi što Ovidije, Vergilije i Livije, pisci s Augustova dvora, aktualiziraju legendu o dolasku Kibebe u Rim.²³ Kada je poslije car Klaudije (čiji je predak bio član senatorske delegacije koja je uvela božicu Kibelu u Rim, a *Claudia Quinta* bila je glavni akter čuvene epizode u uvođenju Božice) pokazao zanimanje za metroački kult, to je neminovno dovelo do njegovog snažnog populariziranja u Carstvu.²⁴ Nositelji tog ideološkog i političkog trenda u municipalitetima su obitelji čije se bogatstvo manifestira i u produkciji uglednih oslobođenika izabiranih među sevire augustale. Primjer su *Clodii* iz Salone. Teško je ustanoviti točne veze između nositelja tog gentilnog imena na nekoliko desetaka natpisa iz Salone na kojima se spominju muškarci i žene, građanski magistrati i oslobođenici (neki su *seviri Augustales*),²⁵ ali njihova brojnost odražava

at an early phase. Titus Turranius Sedatus (CIL 3, 2810) was a Scardonian decurion, *duovir* and *sacerdos* of the Liburnian imperial cult.¹⁹ Titus Turranius Verus (CIL 3, 2085) held the post of Scardonian aedile, and then moved to Salona, where he was buried. The citizen Arria Maxima raised the gravestone for him (her son) and herself and (her new) spouse and their freedmen.²⁰ There is no mention in the inscription as to whether Verus had children, but the freedmen of this or some other Turranius had spread and branched out into Salona. These included the distinguished freedman Gaius Turranius Cronius, a *sevir Augustalis* whose wealth was demonstrated by the campaign to build a temple to the Magna Mater and the dedication of altars which he had ‘polished’ (*expolit*) in the sense of final rendering (Fig. 1).²¹ To fulfil this vow, he spent his own money to the benefit of the Salonitan Metroac *cognatio*, a religious association gathered around the cult of Cybele, of which he was probably a member judging by Cybele’s patronage of the association. During the Principate, the Metroac cult had strong ties to the imperial cult, so there was nothing unusual about a *sevir Augustalis* being active in a Metroac cult. This connection was “natural,” because a significant foundation for the transformation of the private gentile cult of the Julians into a public imperial cult was Augustus’ promotion of the Julians as being of Trojan origin, whence, from the territory of the Kingdom of Pergamon, the Mother of the Gods was brought two centuries earlier by decision of the Senate.²² The renewed interest in the goddess of the Roman primeval homeland was a component of the complex campaign to establish the institution of the *princeps* as a powerful, preeminent magistrate, so it comes as no surprise that Ovid,

21 CIL 3, 8675 = D 4105 = CCCA-6, 165: *Matri Magnae / Cognationis / C(aius) Turranius Cronius / IIIIIvir August(alis) / voto suscepto aedem et / aram d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit et expolit / idemque dedicavit*. O natpisu vidi u Medini 1985, str. 7; Šašel Kos 1999, str. 83.

22 Vermaseren 1977, str. 1-37; Simon 1990, str. 147.

23 Bremmer 1979, str. 9-10; Fletcher 2014, str. 211.

24 Turcan 1996, str. 44-49.

25 CIL 3, 2095 = CIL 3, 8583 = CIL 11, *00642*9 (Salona): *C(aius) Clodius Felix / IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Clodiae Primogenae / filiae / posterisque suis*. Sevir Augustal je i oslobođenik Gaj Cezije Amarant s natpisa CIL 3, 8786, čija je žena Blanda oslobođenica nekog Publija Klodija: *C(aius) Caesius C(ai) l(ibertus) / Amarant(us) IIIIIvir / Aug(ustalis) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Clodiae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) Bland[ae] uxori et / Caesiae Lepidillae / defunctae annor(um) / trium et / C(aio) Caesio C(ai)*

19 CIL 3, 2810: *T(ito) Turra[nio] / T(iti) f(ilio) Ser(gia) Seda[to] / decurioni II[viro] / Scardonis sacer[doti] / ad aram Aug(usti) Lib[urn]i[ae] / huic ordo Scardo[nitan(or)um] / statuum decre[vit] / Iulia Sex(ti) f(ilia) Maxima / i<m=N>pensa remi[ssa] / d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) l(ocus) d(at)us d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. The Scardonian *ordo* raised a statue to Turranius, and the expense was covered by his wife Maxima.

20 CIL 3, 2085: *T(ito) Turrano / T(iti) f(ilio) Vero / aedili Scardon(ae) / Arria C(ai) f(ilia) Maxima fil(io) / pientissimo fec(it) et sibi et / C(aio) Maecio Maximo coniug(i) / libertis libertabusq(ue) suis*. See also Bekavac, Glavaš 2011, pp. 79-80.

21 CIL 3, 8675 = D 4105 = CCCA-6, 165: *Matri Magnae / Cognationis / C(aius) Turranius Cronius / IIIIIvir August(alis) / voto suscepto aedem et / aram d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit et expolit / idemque dedicavit*. On the inscription, see Medini 1985, p. 7; Šašel Kos 1999, p. 83.

22 Vermaseren 1977, pp. 1-37; Simon 1990, p. 147.

i značenje. Obitelj je eponim metroačke kognacije u Saloni (*cognatio Clodiorum*) koja se spominje na natpisu CIL 3, 8687, podignutom prije 42. godine.²⁶ Vjerojatno je ta kognacija spomenuta i na natpisu ILJug 3, 2052, jer je za zamjenu are u svetištu Velikih Majki i njezino proširenje *Publius Safinius Filucinus*, sin (Kibeline?) sacerdote Terencije trebao dopuštenje od Gaja Klodija Gracila.²⁷ Iz obilate evidencije vidljivo je da se Salona postupno razvila u važno metroačko središte, s brojnom populacijom sljedbenika koja je omogućila strukturiranje institucija poput kognacije i arhigalata.²⁸ Znamo li da su oko sredine 1. st. u Saloni izabirani i seviri augustali koji su Klodijevci,²⁹ smijemo pretpostaviti da je u Saloni rano uspostavljena sprega između metroačkoga i carskoga kulta, čime bi glavni grad provincije Dalmacije bio na vrhu vala tog trenda. Takav su razvoj u najvećoj mjeri određivali donositelji takvih ideja: misionari, pripadnici *familiae Caesaris* u Saloni i namjesnici provincije od kojih su mnogi bili u središnjem rimskom tijelu *sodales Augustales*, radi čega im je jedna od temeljnih zadaća

Virgil and Livy, writers of the Augustan era, revitalized the legend of Cybele's arrival in Rome.²³ Later, when Emperor Claudius (whose ancestor was a member of the Senate delegation which introduced the goddess Cybele to Rome, while Claudia Quinta was the main protagonist in a renowned story about the bringing the Goddess to Italy) demonstrated an interest in the Metroac cult, this inevitably led to its great popularization in the Empire.²⁴ The drivers of this ideological and political trend in the municipalities were families whose wealth was reflected, among other things, in the fact that they provided respected freedmen who were elected to the *seviri Augustales*. An example is the Clodii from Salona. It is difficult to ascertain the precise link between the bearers of this gentilicium to the several dozen inscriptions from Salona which mention men and women, municipal magistrates and freedmen (some were *seviri Augustales*),²⁵ but their numbers reflect their significance. This family was the eponym for the Metroac *cognatio* in Salona (*cognatio Clodiorum*) which was mentioned in inscription CIL 3, 8687, installed prior to 42 AD.²⁶ This *cognatio* was

f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Vindici / aed(ili) IIIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) et / Corneliae P(ubli) f(iliae) Clementillae uxori. Natpis je prema epigrafičkim osobinama natpisa i tektonici nadgrobnje are (izduženi kvadar) iz Hadrijanova doba. Cambi 2005, str. 88.

- 26 CIL 3, 8687: *m]iles leg(ionis) VI[I ---] / [---] Veneri don[um] / [no]m(ine) cognation[is] / [Cl]odior(um) CVI[. Rub ulomljenog natpisa dolazi odmah nakon brojčane oznake legije tako da nema mjesta ni za kakav epitet postrojbe. U obzir ne dolazi jedna od dvije šeste legije (*Ferrata* i *Victrix*) jer u doba principata borave u udaljenim provincijama, a ovdje se navodi neimenovani aktivni vojnik. *Legio VIII Augusta*, premda je boravila u Dalmaciji (barem jedno njezino odjeljenje) krajem 1. st. ili na samom početku 2. ne dolazi u obzir jer nema mjesta za njezin epitet *AVG(usta)*. *Legio VII* boravi u Tiluriju negdje od zadnjih godina Augustove vlasti; dala je niz vojnika čiji su spomenici pronađeni u Saloni pa je uvjerljiv kandidat za restituciju, pogotovo jer je epitet *C(laudia) P(ia) F(idelis)* dobila tek 42. godine.*
- 27 ILJug 3, 2052: *Matrib(us) Mag(nis) / sacrum P(ublius) Safinius Filuci/nus Terentiae sacerdotis f(ilius) / aram supstituit(!) idem ampl(iavit) / sibi et cognatio[ni] suae] / permissu C(ai) Clodi Grac[ilis].*
- 28 Medini 1982; Karković Takalić 2012, str. 67; Bekavac 2013, str. 202.
- 29 ILJug 3, 2093: *[---] / signifer(i) / leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / C(aius) Clodius Felix / lib(ertus) / IIIIvir Aug(ustalis)*. Patron oslobođenika Gaja Klodija Feliksa, *sevir Augustalis*, bio je nepoznati signifer sedme legije *CPF*, evidentno neki *Caius Clodius* čije ime nije sačuvano. Stoga treba upozoriti na natpis CIL 3, 8687, na kojem se spominje *cognatio Clodiorum*.

23 Bremmer 1979, pp. 9-10; Fletcher 2014, p. 211.

24 Turcan 1996, pp. 44-49.

25 CIL 3, 2095 = CIL 3, 8583 = CIL 11, *00642*9 (Salona): *C(aius) Clodius Felix / IIIIvir Aug(ustalis) / v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Clodiae Primogenae / filiae / posterisque suis*. The *sevir Augustalis* was the freedman Gaius Caesius Amarantus from inscription CIL 3, 8786, whose wife Blanda was a freedwoman of a certain Publius Clodius: *C(aius) Caesius C(ai) l(ibertus) / Amarant(us) IIIIvir / Aug(ustalis) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Clodiae / P(ubli) l(ibertae) Bland[ae] uxori et / Caesiae Lepidillae / defunctae annor(um) / trium et / C(aio) Caesio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Vindici / aed(ili) IIIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) et / Corneliae P(ubli) f(iliae) Clementillae uxori*. Based on its epigraphic traits and the tectonics of the grave altar (oblong rectangle), the inscription dates to Hadrian's time. Cambi 2005, p. 88.

26 CIL 3, 8687: *m]iles leg(ionis) VI[I ---] / [---] Veneri don[um] / [no]m(ine) cognation[is] / [Cl]odior(um) CVI[. The edge of the broken-off inscription comes immediately after the numerical designation of the legion, so that there was no space for any of the unit's epithets. Neither of the two sixth legions (*Ferrata* and *Victrix*) can be considered, because they were posted in distant provinces during the Principate, and here an unnamed active soldier was mentioned. *Legio VIII Augusta*, although it had been stationed in Dalmatia (or at least one of its contingents) at the end of the 1st c. or the very beginning of the 2nd c., it cannot be considered because there is no space for its epithet *AVG(usta)*. *Legio VII* was stationed in Tilurium sometime in last years of Augustus' reign; it provided a series of soldiers whose monuments were discovered in Salona, so this is a*



Sl. 2. Građevinski natpis sevira augustala Lucija Stalija, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: Ž. Miletić)
Fig. 2. Architectural inscription of the *sevir Augustalis* Lucius Stallius, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: Ž. Miletić)

na dužnosti u provinciji bila popularizacija carskoga kulta.

Na zapadnom rubu salonitanskog agera, na teritoriju Tragurija pronađen je natpis o izgradnji hrama Velike Majke, na što su se zavjetovali supružnici (očito suoslobođenici) *sevir Augustalis* Lucije Stalije i Stalija Kaliroja te njihova djeca (sl. 2).³⁰ Cijeli je pothvat privatnog karaktera i ne opisuje “službeni” odnos između metroačkoga i carskog kulta. Unatoč tome, radi veličine pothvata utemeljenog na ugovornim odnosima sa svijetom bogova, sigurno su organizacije oslobođeničkih augustala i metroačkih vjernika unutar kognacija povezane u jedinstvenu interesnu stranku za potrebu izgradnje hrama.

Član još jedne važne salonitanske obitelji je magistrat Tit Vetije, uglednik kojemu počasni spomenik CIL 3, 2087 podiže salonitanski kolegij fabra. Na istoj bazi, na suprotnoj strani, bio je uklesan i natpis ispod statue Tita Flavija Agrikole (CIL 3, 2026). Konfrontacijom dva natpisa i epigrafičkim analizama zaključeno je da je Vetijev spomenik podignut početkom 2. st., možda u hadrijanovskom razdoblju: *T(ito) Vettio / Augustali / decurioni / colon(iae) Salon(itanae) / quaestori / aedili IIVir(o) / iure dic(undo) praef(ecto)*

30 CIL 3, 2676 = CIL 3, 9707 = CCCA-6, 152 (Tragurium): *L(ucius) Stallius / Secundus se[vir] / Aug(ustalis) et Stallia Callirhoe / uxor cum liberis aedem / Matri Magnae voto / suscepto fecerunt s(ua) p(ecunia).*

probably also mentioned in inscription ILJug 3, 2052, because Publius Safinius Filucinus, the son of a sacerdos (of Cybele?) Terentia, required permission from Gaius Clodius Gracilis to replace an altar in the shrine of the Magna Mater and have it expanded.²⁷ From the abundant evidence it is apparent that Salona gradually grew into an important Metroac centre, with a high number of adherents who facilitated the formation of institutions such as *cognatii* and archigallates.²⁸ Knowing that *seviri Augustales* who were Clodii were also elected at around the mid-1st century,²⁹ then we may assume that a bond between the Metroac and imperial cults had been established in Salona rather early, so that the capital of the province of Dalmatia was at the crest of this trend’s wave. Such a development was largely dictated by those who brought such ideas: missionaries, members of the *familia Caesaris* in Salona and provincial consuls, of whom many were members of the central Roman order, the *sodales Augustales*, so that one of their fundamental tasks was to popularize the imperial cult.

An inscription on the construction of a temple to the Magna Mater was found in the territory of Tragurium in the western periphery of the Salona ager, which was a vow by the spouses (both obviously freed slaves), the *sevir Augustalis* Lucius Stallius and Stallia Callirhoe and their children (Fig. 2).³⁰ The entire undertaking had a private character and did not provide any descriptions of the “official” relationship between the Metroac and imperial cults. Even so, due to the immensity of the task based on obligations to the world of the gods, the organizations of freed *Augustales* and Metroac believers within a *cognatio*

credible candidate for restoration, particularly since it acquired the epithet *C(laudia) P(ia) F(idelis)* only in 42 AD.

27 ILJug 3, 2052: *Matrib(us) Mag(nis) / sacrum P(ublius) Safinius Filucinus Terentiae sacerdotis f(ilius) / aram supstituit(!) idem ampl(iavit) / sibi et cognatio[ni] suae] / permissu C(ai) Clodi Grac[il]is].*

28 Medini 1982; Karković Takalić 2012, p. 67; Bekavac 2013, p. 202.

29 ILJug 3, 2093: *[---] / signifer(i) / leg(ionis) VII C(laudiae) P(iae) F(idelis) / C(aius) Clodius Felix / lib(ertus) / IIIIVir Aug(ustalis)*. The former owner and patron of the freedman Gaius Clodius Felix, a *sevir Augustalis*, was an unidentified signifer of the seventh legion *CPF*, evidently a certain Caius Clodius whose name had not been preserved. Thus, inscription CIL 3, 8687, mentioning the *cognatio Clodiorum*, is noteworthy.

30 CIL 3, 2676 = CIL 3, 9707 = CCCA-6, 152 (Tragurium): *L(ucius) Stallius / Secundus se[vir] / Aug(ustalis) et Stallia Callirhoe / uxor cum liberis aedem / Matri Magnae voto / suscepto fecerunt s(ua) p(ecunia).*



Sl. 3. Natpis sa sarkofaga Gaja Albucija Menipa, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: Ž. Miletić)

Fig. 3. Inscription from the sarcophagus of Gaius Albucius Menippus, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: Ž. Miletić)

/ et patrono coll(egii) / fabr(um) ob merita / eius coll(egium) fabr(um) / ex aere conlato.³¹

U Saloni nema primjera da bi građani bili seviri augustali kao što se to javlja u nekoliko izoliranih točaka u Italiji i Naroni.³² Stoga riječ *Augustalis* treba shvatiti kao Vetijev kognomen, što je potvrđeno činjenicom da ga nose i neki drugi Vetijevci u Saloni.³³ Kognomen je možda nastao jer su Titov otac (ili djed) vršili tu uglednu oslobođeničku dužnost pa bi Augustalov predak teoretski mogao biti Tit Vetije Fortunat, salonitanski augustal zabilježen na nadgrobnom natpisu CIL 3, 2104 = CIL 3, 8588: *T(ito) Vettio / T(iti) l(iberto) Fortunato / Aug(ustali) / Vettia Agape / marito b(ene) m(erenti)*. Sevir augustal bio je i *C. Vettius Eutyches*, očito iz druge loze.³⁴

Nositelj religijskog života bila je i važna *familia Albucia*. *Pater familias Caius Albucius Menippus* zabilježen je, zajedno s dvojicom sinova, ženom i njezinim bratom na sarkofagu iz njihovog grobnog areala na zapadnoj salonitanskoj nekropoli (sl. 3).³⁵ S iste grobne parcele (*hortus*) je i stela dva oslobođenika Albucija.³⁶ Oba spomenika datirana su u trajansko-

were certainly connected into a single interest group for the needs of temple construction.

The member of yet another important Salonitan family was the magistrate Titus Vettius, a dignitary to whom an honorary monument, CIL 3, 2087, was raised by Salona's carpenters' guild, the *collegium fabrum*. On that same base, on the opposite side, an inscription was also carved beneath the statue of Titus Flavius Agricola (CIL 3, 2026). A comparison of the two inscriptions and epigraphic analyses have led to the conclusion that the monument to Vettius was raised at the beginning of the 2nd century, perhaps during the reign of Hadrian: *T(ito) Vettio / Augustali / decurioni / colon(iae) Salon(itanae) / quaestori / aedili IIVir(o) / iure dic(undo) praef(ecto) / et patrono coll(egii) / fabr(um) ob merita / eius coll(egium) fabr(um) / ex aere conlato*.³¹

In Salona there are no examples of citizens as *seviri Augustales*, as appeared in several isolated points in Italy and Naroni.³² So here the word *Augustalis* should be seen as the cognomen of Vettius, which has been confirmed by the fact that it was also borne by other Vettii in Salona.³³ The cognomen may have emerged because Titus' father (or grandfather) had performed

31 Izlaganje Silvije Bekavac o temi *Postolje počasnog spomenika Tita Flavija Agrikole*, sa znanstvenog skupa *Antiquitatis sollemnia antidoron Mate Suić*, održanog 2015. u Zadru, uskoro će biti tiskano u zborniku radova.

32 Građanski seviri augustali javljaju se na natpisima iz Verone (CIL 5, 3272; CIL 5, 3389), Briksije (CIL 5, 4393; CIL 5, 4165), Prenesta (CIL 14, 3014) i Narone (CIL 3, 1851).

33 CIL 3, 2102.

34 CIL 3, 2103.

35 CIL 3, 2074; Cambi 1969, str. 99-100.

36 CIL 3, 2166; Cambi 1969, str. 100-104.

31 The paper delivered by Silvija Bekavac on the topic "Postolje počasnog spomenika Tita Flavija Agrikole" [The pedestal of the honorary monument of Titus Flavius Agricola] from the scholarly seminar *Antiquitatis sollemnia antidoron Mate Suić*, held in Zadar in 2015, will soon be published in the proceedings.

32 Citizen seviri Augustales appeared in inscriptions from Verona (CIL 5, 3272; CIL 5, 3389), Brixia (CIL 5, 4393; CIL 5, 4165), Praeneste (CIL 14, 3014) and Naroni (CIL 3, 1851).

33 CIL 3, 2102.



Sl. 4. Votivna ara Gaja Albucija Restituta, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: Ž. Miletić)

Fig. 4. Votive altar of Gaius Albucius Restitutus, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: Ž. Miletić)

hadrijansko vrijeme.³⁷ Muškarci u obitelji su dekuri-
oni i magistrati u Saloni i Isi. Kako je gentilicij *Albu-*
cius jako čest (masovan u sjevernoj Italiji i Pompeji-
ma, ali se javlja i na širokom prostoru od Akvitanije i
Britanije na zapadu do Pizidije na istoku), na temelju
kognomena *Menippus* praktično je nemoguće odredi-
ti podrijetlo Albucija. Gaj Albucije Publije s natpisa
CIL 3, 2100 je *sevir Augustalis* koji nije ukopan na
spomenutom grobnom arealu, nego na mjestu koje
mu je dao neki *Flavius Sozos*.³⁸ Sudeći po gentilnom
imenu *Flavius* i izrazu *defunctae annorum*, natpis nije
nastao prije sredine drugog stoljeća, što je razdoblje u
kojem se pojam *Augustalis* odnosi na štovanje živućih
careva adoptivnog razdoblja. Na natpisima AE 2014,
1027 (Podvršje) i CIL 3, 1961 (Salona) i onima s horta
Albucija u Saloni, Albuciji se javljaju kao homoni-
mne osobe. Premda repetiranje prenomena *Caius* kod
Albucija može otežati rekonstrukciju međusobnih
odnosa pojedinaca, čini se da je na dvama natpisima
riječ o jednoj te istoj osobi, jer nose isti kognomen, tj.

37 Cambi 1969, str. 101-104.

38 *Dibus Manibus / Tulliae Ianuari(a)e / defu(n)ct(ae) annor(um) XL / C(aius) Albucius Publius sexvir / Augusta[l(lis)] coniugi rarissimae / et sibi posuit / locus datus a Fl(avio) Sozonte.*

some respected service as freedmen, so that theoretic-
ally *Augustalis*' ancestor may have been Titus Vet-
tius Fortunatus, a Salonitan *Augustalis* recorded in
funerary inscription CIL 3, 2104 = CIL 3, 8588: *T(ito) Vettio / T(iti) l(iberto) Fortunato / Aug(ustali) / Vettia Agape / marito b(ene) m(erenti)*. C. Vettius Eutyches, obviously from a different lineage, was also a *sevir Augustalis*.³⁴

The *familia Albucia* was also an important driver of religious life. The *pater familias*, Gaius Albucius Menippus, was recorded, together with his two sons, his wife and her brother, on the sarcophagus from their grave plot in the western necropolis of Salona (Fig. 3).³⁵ The stele of two Albucia freedmen is from the same grave plot (*hortus*).³⁶ Both monuments date to the Trajanic-Hadrianic era.³⁷ The men in the family were decurions and magistrates in Salona and Issa. Since the gentilicium *Albucius* was rather common (it was very widespread in northern Italy and Pompeii, but it also appeared over a wide area from Aquitania and Britannia in the west to Pisidia in the east), and even based on the cognomen *Menippus* it is practically impossible to determine the origin of *Albucius*. Gaius Albucius Publius from inscription CIL 3, 2100 was a *sevir Augustalis* who was not interred in the aforementioned grave area, but rather in a plot given to him by a certain *Flavius Sozos*.³⁸ Judging by the gentilicium *Flavius* and the expression *defunctae annorum*, the inscription did not appear prior to the middle of the 2nd century, which is the period in which the concept of *Augustalis* pertained to reverence for living emperors of the Adoptive era. In inscriptions AE 2014, 1027 (Podvršje) and CIL 3, 1961 (Salona) and those from the *Albucius hortus* in Salona, *Albucii* appear as homonymous individuals. Although repetition of the praenomen *Caius* among the *Albucii* can render the reconstruction of mutual relations between individuals difficult, it would appear that two inscriptions refer to the same person, because they have the same cognomen, i.e., the former slave name *Restitutus*, and the Syrian gods mentioned in an architectural inscription and on a votive altar are a common denominator (Fig. 4).³⁹ Since the *Albucii*, judging by

34 CIL 3, 2103.

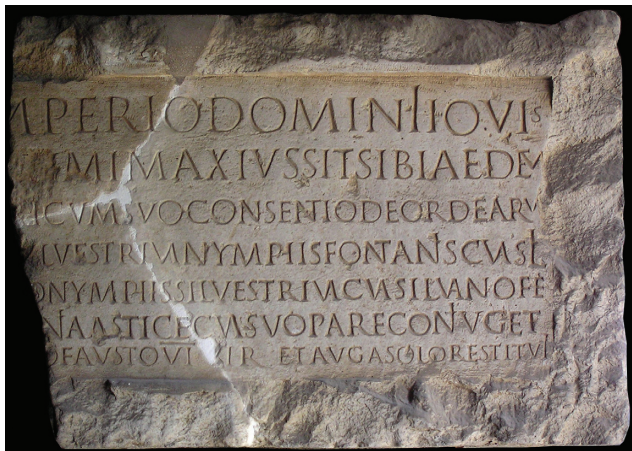
35 CIL 3, 2074; Cambi 1969, pp. 99-100.

36 CIL 3, 2166; Cambi 1969, pp. 100-104.

37 Cambi 1969, pp. 101-104.

38 *Dibus Manibus / Tulliae Ianuari(a)e / defu(n)ct(ae) annor(um) XL / C(aius) Albucius Publius sexvir / Augusta[l(lis)] coniugi rarissimae / et sibi posuit / locus datus a Fl(avio) Sozonte.*

39 AE 2014, 1027 (Podvršje): *C(aius) Albucius C(ai) l(ibertus) Restitutus / IIIIIvir et Flaviialis / dis Syris templum ampliavit et / a solo sua i<m=N>pensa fecit;*



Sl. 5. Natpis Fescenije Astice i Tita Junija Fausta s Klisa, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: Ž. Miletić)
Fig. 5. Inscription of Fescenia Astice and Titus Junius Faustus from Klis, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: Ž. Miletić)

bivše robovsko ime *Restitutus*, a zajednički nazivnik su i sirijski bogovi spomenuti na građevinskom natpisu i votivnoj ari (sl. 4).³⁹ Kako su Albuciji, sudeći po koncentraciji natpisa, obitelj sa sjedištem u Saloni, onda je mjesto nalaza prvog natpisa u selu Podvršju na teritoriju antičke Enone posljedica preseljenja iz glavnoga grada.⁴⁰ Privatna munificijencija proširenja svetišta sirijskih bogova, panteona čiji su tragovi u Dalmaciji iznimno rijetki, ukazuje na misionarsku aktivnost. Na natpisu iz Podvršja *Caius Albucius Restitutus* spominje se kao *sevir et Flavialis*, što držimo navodom dva različita položaja. Jedan je položaj *severa*, a drugi (*severa*) flavijala, koji je analogan onom *severa augustala*, samo vezan uz novu carsku dinastiju. Titule su na ari iz Salone izostale jer ih Albucije tada vjerojatno još nije dobio.

Na natpisu ILJug 3, 2003 nađenom u pastoralnom krajoliku, na padinama ispod Klisa i Markezine grede, navodi se da je *Fescenia Astice* sa svojim suradnikom, mužem Titom [---] Faustom, na temelju Jupiterove imperatorske zapovijedi obnovila vlastitim sredstvima hram tog boga i njegovog skupa šumskih bogova izvorskih nimfi sa Silvanom, kao i šumskih

the concentration of inscriptions, were a family centred in Salona, then the find site of the first inscription in the village of Podvršje, in the territory of Roman-era Enona, is the result of a move from the capital city.⁴⁰ Private munificence to expand the shrines of Syrian deities, a pantheon whose traces in Dalmatia are exceptionally rare, points to missionary activity. On the inscription from Podvršje, *Caius Albucius Restitutus* is described as *sevir et Flavialis*, which we maintain is a reference to two different posts. One was the post of *sevir*, and the other (*sevir*) *Flavialis*, which was analogous to *sevir Augustalis*, only tied to a new imperial dynasty. The titles are absent on the altar from Salona because Albucius probably had not yet acquired them.

In inscription ILJug 3, 2003 found in the pastoral landscape on the slopes beneath Klis and Markezina greda, it states that *Fescenia Astice* with her companion and husband Titus [---] Faustus, in compliance with Jupiter's imperial command restored with her own funds a temple of this god and his company of forest deities of spring nymphs with *Silvanus*, as well as forest nymphs with *Silvanus* (Fig. 5).⁴¹ The formula *consentio deorum* in this context possibly provides some grounds to speculate about a possible Delmataean pantheon which had experienced an *interpretatio romana* (Tacitus, *Germania*, 43).⁴² *Astice*, whose gentilicium *Fescenius* had also been noted by Šašel Kos only in Ostia, was the protagonist of this story, because she had communicated with the god, while her husband, the *sevir* and *sevir Augustalis* *Faustus*, only accompanied her.⁴³

Two inscriptions from Salona in the province of Dalmatia may be tied to the same person, *Publius Anteius Herma*:

CIL 3, 1961 (Salona): *Dis Syris / C(aius) Albucius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Restitutus*.

40 This opinion is shared by Miroslav Glavičić, who referenced the inscription from Podvršje at the scholarly seminar on the archaeology of the Eastern Adriatic held in Zadar in 2013.

41 ILJug 3, 2003 = AE 1994, 1346; Glavičić 2002, cat. no. 199; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, p. 335, cat. no. 118; Bekavac 2011, pp. 161-162; Cambi 2013, pp. 18-21: [*Ex i]mperio domini Iovis / [Opt]imi Max(imi) iussit sibi aedem / [fie]ri cum suo consentio deor(um) dearum/ [q(ue) si]lvestr(i)um Nymphis fontanis cum Sil/[van]o Nymphis silvestrium cum Silvano Fe/[sce]nia Astice cum suo pare coniuge T(ito) / [---]o Fausto VIvir(o) et Aug(ustali) a solo restituit.*

42 The expressions *consentio deorum* and *consessui deorum dearumque* also appear in two inscriptions from Salona, CIL 3, 1935, and CIL 3, 1061.

43 Šašel Kos 1994, p. 207.

39 AE 2014, 1027(Podvršje): *C(aius) Albucius C(ai) l(ibertus) Restitutus / IIIIVir et Flavialis / dis Syris templum ampliavit et / a solo sua i<m=N>pensa fecit*; CIL 3, 1961 (Salona): *Dis Syris / C(aius) Albucius / C(ai) l(ibertus) Restitutus*.

40 Ovakvog je mišljenja i Miroslav Glavičić koji je o natpisu iz Podvršja referirao na znanstvenom skupu "Arheologija istočnog Jadrana" održanom u Zadru 2013. godine.



Sl. 6. Votivni natpis Publija Anteja Herme o izgradnji portika, Arheološki muzej u Splitu (foto: Ž. Miletić)
Fig. 6. Votive inscription of Publius Anteius Herma on the construction of a porticus, Archaeological Museum in Split (photo: Ž. Miletić)

nimfi sa Silvanom (sl. 5).⁴¹ Formula *consentio deorum* u ovom kontekstu eventualno daje osnovu za promišljanje o mogućem delmatskom panteonu koji je doživio *interpretatio romana* (Tacitus, *Germania*, 43).⁴² *Astice*, za čije je gentilno ime *Fescenius* Šašel Kos primijetila da se javlja samo još u Ostiji, glavni je akter priče jer je komunicirala s bogom, a njezin muž *sevir* i *sevir augustal* Faust samo je u tome prati.⁴³

Dva natpisa iz Salone u provinciji Dalmaciji možda se vežu za istu osobu Publija Anteja Herme;

1. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et / divo Claudio Caesar[i] / Aug(usto) German(ico) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIII / P(ublius) Anteius P(ubli) Antei Syntroph(i) l(ibertus) / Herma IIIIIvir et Aug(ustalis) / porticum v(oto) s(oluto) l(ibens) m(erito) loc(o) accep(to) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).*⁴⁴

2. *---] / [...]ma VIvir et A[ug(ustalis)] / [cur]iam faciundam / [c]uravit.*⁴⁵ Natpis je dosta oštećen te su se od imena *sevira* i *augustala* sačuvala samo dva zadnja slova *[Her?]MA*. Priklanjamo se nadopuni

1. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et / divo Claudio Caesar[i] / Aug(usto) German(ico) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XIII / P(ublius) Anteius P(ubli) Antei Syntroph(i) l(ibertus) / Herma IIIIIvir et Aug(ustalis) / porticum v(oto) s(oluto) l(ibens) m(erito) loc(o) accep(to) d(ecurionum) d(ecreto).*⁴⁴

2. *---] / [...]ma VIvir et A[ug(ustalis)] / [cur]iam faciundam / [c]uravit.*⁴⁵ The inscription is rather damaged because only the last two letters of the name of the *sevir* and *Augustalis*, *[Her?]MA*, have been preserved. We shall endeavour to fill in the final line according to which the person saw to the construction of the municipal council hall.

The first inscription has been dated using the fourteenth received tribunal authority of the divine Claudius in 54 AD, immediately after the emperor's death, when Publius Anteius Herma erected a porticus, for which the construction site was approved by decision of the decurion council of Salona (Fig. 6). We can see that there were *seviri* and *Augustales* in Salona in the mid-1st century, and that as such the *Hermae* were involved in state propaganda and the imperial cult in the repertoire of public activities. The date and character of the munificence indicate that Publius Anteius Syntrophus, Herma's patron, was himself a freedman of Senator Publius Anteius Rufus, the provincial legate and supreme imperial exponent in Dalmatia.

The governor's name appeared in inscriptions from Dalmatia dated to the period from 50 to 51/52 AD.⁴⁶ Two of them, partially preserved, were from the military centre at Burnum. Based on the name of Emperor Claudius, the first architectural inscription CIL 3, 14321,16 = CIL 3, 14987,1 = ILJug 3, 2809 has been dated to 51-52 AD,⁴⁷ while the second, ILJug 3, 2810, to 50 AD.⁴⁸ They denoted the completion of major construction financed from the imperial *fiscus*. One of the structures was probably a new *principia* (headquarters building), built atop the older, smaller

41 ILJug 3, 2003 = AE 1994, 1346; Glavičić 2002, kat. br. 199; Jadrić-Kučan 2011, str. 335, kat. br. 118; Bekavac 2011, str. 161-162; Cambi 2013, str. 18-21: *[Ex i]mperio domini Iovis / [Opt]imi Max(imi) iussit sibi aedem / [fie]ri cum suo consentio deor(um) dearum/[q(ue) si]lvestr(i)um Nymphis fontanis cum Sil/[van]o Nymphis silvestrium cum Silvano Fe/[sce]nia Astice cum suo pare coniuge T(ito) / [---]o Fausto VIvir(o) et Aug(ustali) a solo restituit.*

42 Izrazi *consentio deorum* i *consessui deorum dearumque* javljaju se još na natpisima iz Salone CIL 3, 1935, odnosno CIL 3, 1061.

43 Šašel Kos 1994, str. 207.

44 CIL 3, 1947 = CIL 3, 8566; Glavičić 2002, str. 339, kat. br. 197.

45 ILJug 3, 2114; Glavičić 2002, str. 340, kat. br. 198.

44 CIL 3, 1947 = CIL 3, 8566; Glavičić 2002, p. 339, cat. no. 197.

45 ILJug 3, 2114; Glavičić 2002, p. 340, cat. no. 198.

46 Jagenteufel 1958, pp. 34-37; Šašel Kos 1994, p. 207.

47 *[Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi] / f(ilius) Ca[es]ar Aug(ustus) G[erman(icus)] / pont[if]ex maximu[s] tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) XI / imp(erator) XX[3] co(n) s(ul) V censo[r] p(ater) p(atriciae)] / P(ublio) Ant[er]io R[uf]o leg(ato) p[ro] p[ro]p[ri]etate] / [f]aciendum] c[ur]avit.*

48 *[Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi] / f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) German(icus)] / [pontif(ex) maximus tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) X] / [co(n)s(ul) III] imp(erator) XXI p(ater) p(atriciae) c[ensor] / [P(ublio) A]nteio Ru[fo] leg(ato)] / [Aug(usti) pr(o) p]r(aetore) le[g(io) XI C(laudia) P(ia) F(idelis)].*

predzadnjeg retka prema kojem se osoba pobrinula za izgradnju gradske vijećnice.

Prvi natpis datiran je četrnaestim primljenim tribunskim ovlastima božanskog Klaudija u 54. godinu, neposredno nakon careve smrti, kada Publije Antej Herma podiže *porticus*, čije je mjesto izgradnje odobreno odlukom dekurionskog vijeća Salone (sl. 6). Vidimo da sredinom 1. st. u Saloni postoje i seviri i augustali, te da su Hermi kao takvom državna propaganda i carski kult u repertoaru javnih aktivnosti. Datum i karakter munificijencije ukazuju da je Publije Antej Sintrop, Hermin patron, i sam oslobođenik senatora Publija Anteja Rufa, legata provincije i vrhovnog carskog eksponenta u Dalmaciji.

Guvernerovo ime javlja se na natpisima iz Dalmacije datiranim u razdoblju od 50. do 51./52.⁴⁶ Dva od njih, parcijalno sačuvana, su iz vojnog središta Burnum. Na temelju imena cara Klaudija prvi građevinski natpis CIL 3, 14321,16 = CIL 3, 14987,1 = ILJug 3, 2809 datiran je u 51.–52. godinu,⁴⁷ a drugi ILJug 3, 2810 u 50. godinu.⁴⁸ Označavaju završetak važnih izgradnji financiranih iz carskog fiska. Jedna od tih građevina vjerojatno je bio novi principij, nastao iznad starijeg, manjeg principija u legijskom logoru.⁴⁹ U njemu je tada bila stacionirana XI. legija, koja je naziv *Claudia pia fidelis* dobila kao nagradu za pokazanu lojalnost tijekom protucarske urote namjesnika provincije Dalmacije Lucija Aruncija Kamila Skribonijana i skupine zavjerenika iz Rima 42. godine.⁵⁰ Drugi carski građevinski natpis vjerojatno je bio postavljen ili na Klaudijev vojni amfiteatar, koji je kasnije dograđen u doba Vespazijana, što je obilježeno podizanjem carskog natpisa, ili na zgradu vojnog vježbališta (*campus*), čije je vrijeme podizanja ustanovljeno preko nalaza krovnih crjepova s pečatom *LEG XI CPF* i skromnih tragova temelja zidova ispod monumentalnih ostataka kasnije istovrsne građevine s kraja 1. st., zakrovljene tegulama s pečatom *LEG*

principia in the legionary camp.⁴⁹ At that time, Legio XI was stationed in it; it bore the designation *Claudia pia fidelis* as a reward for the loyalty it demonstrated during the anti-imperial conspiracy plotted by the Dalmatian provincial consul Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus and a group of conspirators from Rome in 42 AD.⁵⁰ The other imperial architectural inscription was probably installed either on the military amphitheatre of Claudius, which was later expanded during Vespasian's reign, as recorded by the installation of an imperial inscription, or on the building of the military training ground (*campus*), for which the date of construction was ascertained by means of roof tiles bearing the stamp *LEG XI CPF* and modest traces of the foundations of walls beneath the monumental remains of a subsequent similar building from the end of the 1st century, roofed with tegulae bearing the stamp *LEG VIII AVG*.⁵¹ The third inscription, from Oneum, in the eastern periphery of the immense Salonitan territory, featuring the emperor's name in the ablative case, dates to 51 or 52 AD, and obviously also marks the erection of some structure, with Publius Anteius Rufus seeing to the completion of the entire project.⁵² Since the micro-location of the find was the hamlet of Baučić, near Omiš, at the position of an imperial shrine, then it is logical to assume that this activity was tied to it.⁵³ Why underscore this information on Claudius' legate Publius Anteius Rufus? Because we wish to stress that during his term of office in the province he was focused on major state infrastructure projects. He was close to the imperial circle, a friend of the fourth and final wife of Claudius (since 49 AD) Agrippina the Younger (Agrippina Minor), for which he should have been appointed consul to the more prestigious Syria, but he was outmanoeuvred in political intrigues.⁵⁴ The evidence of officials who served with the consuls in the province of Dalmatia during the 1st century is rather modest, in contrast to the relatively numerous later confirmations. One official was confirmed prior to 42 AD from among

46 Jagenteufel 1958, str. 34-37; Šašel Kos 1994, str. 207.
 47 [Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi] / f(ilius) Ca[es]ar Aug(ustus) G[erman(icus)] / pont[if]ex maximu[s] tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) XI] / imp(erator) XX[3] co(n) s(ul) V censo[r p(ater) p(atriciae)] / P(ublio) Ante[io R] ufo leg(ato) p(ro) p(aetore)] / [f(aciendum)] c(uravit).
 48 [Ti(berius) Claudius Drusi] / [f(ilius) Caesar Aug(ustus) German(icus)] / [pontif(ex) maximus tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) X] / [co(n)s(ul) III] imp(erator) XXI p(ater) p(atriciae) c(ensor) / [P(ublio) Anteio Ru[fo] leg(ato)] / [Aug(usti) p(ro) p(aetore) le[g(io) XI C(laudia) P(ia) F(idelis)].
 49 Reisch 1913, str. 123-128.
 50 Cambi 2009, str. 69.

49 Reisch 1913, pp. 123-128.
 50 Cambi 2009, p. 69.
 51 Cambi et al. 2006; Miletić 2010, pp. 136-137; Glavičić, Miletić 2012, p. 169.
 52 [Ti(berio)] Cla[udio] / [Drusi f(ilio)] Ca<e=I>sa[re Aug(usto)] / [Germ(anico) pon]tifice m[aximo] / [trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XI imp(eratore) XX[III] / [co(n)s(ule) V] censo[r p(atre) p(atriciae)] / [curante P(ublio) Anteio Ru[fo] / [leg(ato) Au]g(usti) [----]].
 53 Cambi 1997, pp. 77-78; Glavičić, Miletić 2008, p. 420.
 54 Tacitus, *Annales*, 13,22: *Syria P. Anteio destinata, set variis mox artibus elusus ad postremum in urbe retentus est*. Jagenteufel 1958, p. 26.

VIII AVG.⁵¹ Treći natpis, iz Oneja, na istočnom rubu velikoga salonitanskog teritorija, s carevim imenom u ablativu iz 51. ili 52. godine, očito također obilježava podizanje neke konstrukcije, a za obavljanje cijele radnje pobrinuo se Publije Antej Ruf.⁵² Kako je mikrolokacija nalaza omiški zaselak Baučić, na položaju carskog svetišta, onda je logično pretpostaviti da je uz njega bila vezana ta aktivnost.⁵³ Zašto navodimo te podatke o Klaudijevom legatu Publiju Anteju Rufu? Želimo naglasiti da je on tijekom svog mandata u provinciji usredotočen na velike državne građevinske zahvate. Blizak je carskom krugu, prijatelj četvrte i posljednje Klaudijeve žene (od. 49. godine) Agripine Mlađe (*Agrippina Minor*), zbog čega je trebao biti i namjesnik prestižne Sirije, ali je izigran u političkim borbama.⁵⁴ Iznenađujuće skromna je evidencija o oficijalima namjesnika provincije Dalmacije tijekom prvoga stoljeća, u diskrepanciji prema relativno brojnim kasnijim potvrđama. Jedan je službenik potvrđen prije 42. godine iz redova XI. legije, a među stotinjak poznatih natpisa VII. legije tijekom boravka u provinciji Dalmaciji do oko godine 56. nema ni jedne potvrde pripadnika te postrojbe u oficiju namjesnika.⁵⁵ Rankov na temelju faktografije u drugim provincijama ističe da su službe frumentarija, spekulatora, beneficijarija i kornikularija morale postojati i u ranocarskom dalmatinskom oficiju.⁵⁶ Pomišljamo da je *officium* provincijskih namjesnika u Dalmaciji uz službenike detaširane iz vojnih postrojbi u sastavu mogao imati i pripadnike *familiae*, klijente i namjesnikove prijatelje, odnosno da je Publije Antej Ruf kao potporu mogao imati veći broj vlastitih oslobođenika, poput Publija Anteja Sintrofa i njegova oslobođenika Herme, bez obzira je li mu sjedište u jednom od dva vojna logora (*Burnum* ili *Tilurium*) ili u Saloni, glavnom gradu provincije. Oslobođenici, pogotovo pripadnici *familiae Caesaris* u Saloni, mogli su biti osoblje i u uredu financijskog prokuratora.⁵⁷

the ranks of Legio XI, while among the roughly one hundred known inscriptions of Legio VII during its stay in the province of Dalmatia up to around 56 AD, there is not a single confirmation of any members of this unit serving in the consul's office.⁵⁵ Based on the facts from other provinces, Rankov stresses that the posts of *frumentarius*, *speculator*, *beneficiarius* and *cornicularius* had to have existed even in the early imperial Dalmatian staff office.⁵⁶ We believe that the *officium* of the provincial consul in Dalmatia, besides officials detached from military units may have also been staffed by members of the consul's *familiae* and his clients and friends, i.e., that Publius Anteius Rufus may have had a considerable number of freedmen as support staff, such as Publius Anteius Syntrophus and his freedman Herma, regardless of whether he was headquartered in one of the two military camps (*Burnum* or *Tilurium*) or in Salona, the provincial capital. Freedmen, particularly members of the *familia Caesaris* in Salona, may have also served as staff members in the financial *procurator's* office.⁵⁷

Membership in a family whose *pater* is an imperial *amicus* explains why the elite freedmen were so well-informed and responded rapidly to important events in their role of mediators between the imperial circle and local municipal officials. Such campaigns led the population of the province to accept certain "facts," such as the emperors as favourites of the gods, as well as Herma and freedmen of his rank as the favourites of the divine emperors, whereby even the Salonitan commoners (*plebs*) were encompassed in this desirable circle. Thus the freedmen were seen as examples of what we today refer to as achieving the "American dream." Care for promotion of the state and its cult and imperial propaganda presented Herma with opportunities for personal advancement and a high rank in Salona's social hierarchy through the posts of *sevir* and *sevir Augustalis*.

3. The network of trusted imperial freedmen based on examples from Salona and Italy

CIL 3, 2097 (p 2135) = CIL 3, 8585 proves the presence of members of *familia Caesaris* in Salona: *C(aius) Iulius Sceptus Admeti Aug(usti) lib(erti) [I] ib(ertus) IIIIIvir Augustal(is) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Iuliae Coetonidi uxori / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Admeto f(ilio) / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Aquilae f(ilio) / L(ucio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Scepto f(ilio) / Iuliae C(ai) f(iliae)*

51 Cambi *et al.* 2006; Miletić 2010, str. 136-137; Glavičić, Miletić 2012, str. 169.

52 [Ti(berio)] Cla[udio] / [Drusi f(ilio)] Ca<e=I>sa[re Aug(usto)] / [Germ(anico) pon]tifice m[aximo] / [trib(unicia) pot(estate)] XI imp(erator) XX[IIII] / [co(n)s(ule) V] censure p(atre) [p(atriciae)] / [curante P(ublio)] Anteio Ru[fo] / [leg(ato) Au]g(usti) [-----].

53 Cambi 1997, str. 77-78; Glavičić, Miletić 2008, str. 420.

54 Tacitus, *Annales*, 13,22: *Syria P. Anteio destinata, set variis mox artibus elusus ad postremum in urbe retentus est.* Jagenteufel 1958, str. 26.

55 Matijević 2015, str. 162.

56 Rankov 1999, str. 17-21.

57 Weaver 1965; Austin, Rankov 1998, str. 148.

55 Matijević 2015, p. 162.

56 Rankov 1999, pp. 17-21.

57 Weaver 1965; Austin, Rankov 1998, p. 148.

Pripadnost familiji čiji je pater carski *amicus* objašnjava informiranost i brzinu reakcije elitnih oslobođenika na važne događaje, u ulozi medijatora između carskoga kruga i lokalnih municipalnih dužnosnika. Takve akcije dovodile su kod stanovništva provincije do prihvaćanja “činjenice” da su, kao što su carevi miljenici bogova, tako i Herma i oslobođenici njegova ranga miljenici božanskih careva, čime je i saloni-tanski puk (*plebs*) postajao dio tog poželjnog kruga. Stoga su oslobođenici shvaćani kao primjer onoga što danas zovemo postizanje “američkog sna”. Hermi je briga za državnu promidžbu, kult i imperijalnu propagandu omogućila osobnu promociju i visoko pozicioniranje u društvenoj piramidi Salone kroz dužnosti sevira i sevira augustala.

3. Mreža carskih oslobođeničkih pouzdanika na primjerima iz Salone i Italije

CIL 3, 2097 (p 2135) = CIL 3, 8585 dokazuje nazočnost pripadnika *familiae Caesaris* u Saloni: *C(aius) Iulius Sceptus Admeti Aug(usti) lib(erti) [l]ib(ertus) IIIIIvir Augustal(is) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Iuliae Coetonidi uxori / C(aio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Admeto f(ilio) / C(aio) I(ulio) C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Aquilae f(ilio) / L(ucio) Iulio C(ai) f(ilio) Tro(mentina) Scepto f(ilio) / Iuliae C(ai) f(iliae) Tro(mentina) Admetidi f(iliae) // C(aio) Iulio |(mulieris) l(iberto) Tr[ui]mphali f(ilio) / Iuliae C(ai) l(ibertae) Ro[m]anae f(iliae) / Iuliae |(mulieris) l(ibertae) S[ce]psidi f(iliae) / Iuliae |(mulieris) l(ibertae) Pr[im]ae uxori / defun[cta]e // Niso Ti(beri) Claudi Aug(usti) ser(vo) genero / defuncto / in h(oc) m(onumentum) veto aliter ossua / deponi quam Primae et Nisi sunt // in fronte p(edes) XX i[n a]gro p(edes) XXX.*

Caius Iulius Sceptus je oslobođenik (Gaja Julija) Admeta, oslobođenika cara Augusta. Scepto je *sexvir Augustalis*, koji je za života sebi i živoj supruzi Juliji Ketonidi podigao spomenik. Weaver smatra da je ona slobodna i građanka, što je i njezin suprug.⁵⁸ Međutim, nije navedena ni njezina filijacija ni libertinski status, a kako joj je gentilicij Julija, isti kao i mužev, to je vjerojatno rezultat oslobađanja od istog manumissor. Njezin muž je oslobođenik jer to izriječno kaže, a u isto vrijeme ne donosi svoj glasački okrug (*tribus*), niti ima drugih naznaka da je kasnije bio adoptiran, čime bi stekao puni građanski status. To slično na brak oslobođenika i oslobođenice. S tom suprugom Scepto ima četvero djece, tj. spomenik podiže: sinu Gaju Juliju Admetu (sinu Gaja, tj. dvaput navodi da mu je

Tro(mentina) Admetidi f(iliae) // C(aio) Iulio |(mulieris) l(iberto) Tr[ui]mphali f(ilio) / Iuliae C(ai) l(ibertae) Ro[m]anae f(iliae) / Iuliae |(mulieris) l(ibertae) S[ce]psidi f(iliae) / Iuliae |(mulieris) l(ibertae) Pr[im]ae uxori / defun[cta]e // Niso Ti(beri) Claudi Aug(usti) ser(vo) genero / defuncto / in h(oc) m(onumentum) veto aliter ossua / deponi quam Primae et Nisi sunt // in fronte p(edes) XX i[n a]gro p(edes) XXX.

Gaius Julius Sceptus was a freedman of (Gaius Julius) Admetus, a freedman of Emperor Augustus. Sceptus was a *sexvir Augustalis*, who during his lifetime raised a monument to himself and his wife Julia Coetonis. Weaver believes she was a freedwoman and citizen, like her husband.⁵⁸ However, neither filiation nor *libertinus* status is not specified, and since her gentilicium, Julia, is the same as her husband's, this was probably the result of being liberated by the same manumissor. Her husband was a freedman because this is explicitly stated, but at the same time her voting district (*tribus*) is not mentioned, nor any other indication that it had been adopted subsequently, thus giving her full citizenship. This resembles the marriage of a freedman and freedwoman. With this spouse, Sceptus had four children, i.e., the monument was raised to: his son Gaius Julius Admetus (son of Gaius, i.e., he stated that he was his son twice, which he did for all of this children) enrolled in *tribus Tromentina*, then his son Gaius Julius Aquilus (son of Gaius) enrolled in *tribus Tromentina*, then his son Lucius Julius Sceptus (son of Gaius) enrolled in the same voting district, and finally his daughter Julia Admetis (daughter of Gaius), about whom he presumptuously stated that she was enrolled in *tribus Tromentina*, even though women did not have suffrage. This is followed by the names of three children whom Weaver describes as the children of an earlier spouse, the deceased Julia Prima, who was *mulieris liberta* (*Caiae liberta* i.e., she was freed by a woman). Weaver says of her that she was not an imperial slave and that she had not been freed by the time all three of her children had been born. This is quite likely; as a slave, she could have had children with her future husband who was then still a slave, Sceptus, and her owner was probably Julia, the wife of the imperial freedman Gaius Julius Admetus, who had also freed Prima's daughter Sceptis and her son Triumphalus at the same time that Admetus had freed Romana, yet another daughter of (Julia) Prima, as well as (Gaius Julius) Sceptus, Prima's future husband. So these children bore the *libertinus* designation (tied either to the *patronus* Admetus or the

58 http://alte-geschichte.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/home/Abteilungen/Alte_Geschichte/Mitarbeiter/Eck/Weaver/02_Iulii.pdf (str. 7-8, br. 7).

58 http://alte-geschichte.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/home/Abteilungen/Alte_Geschichte/Mitarbeiter/Eck/Weaver/02_Iulii.pdf (pp. 7-8, no. 7).

to sin, kao što to radi za svu djecu) upisanom u *tribus Tromentina*, zatim sinu Gaju Juliju Akvili (sinu Gaja) upisanom u *tribus Tromentina*, zatim sinu Luciju Juliju Sceptu (sinu Gaja) upisanom u isti glasački okrug, konačno kćeri Juliji Admeti (kćeri Gaja) za koju preuzetno navodi da je upisana u *tribus Tromentina*, iako žene nemaju pravo glasa. Slijede imena tri djeteta za koje Weaver kaže da su to djeca ranije supruge, pokojne Julije Prime koja je *mulieris liberta* (*Caiae liberta* tj. oslobodila ju je žena). Za nju Weaver kaže da nije bila carska robinja i da nije bila oslobođena u vrijeme kada su joj rođena djeca. To je vrlo vjerojatno; kao ropkinja mogla je imati djecu s budućim mužem, tada još robom Sceptom, i vjerojatno je njezin patron bila *Iulia*, supruga carskog oslobođenika Gaja Julija Admeta, koja je oslobodila i Priminu kćer Sceptidu i sina Trijumfala u isto vrijeme kada je i Admet oslobodio Romanu, još jednu kćer (Julije) Prime, kao i (Gaja Julija) Scepta, Primina budućeg muža. Stoga ta djeca nose libertinsku oznaku (vezanu bilo uz patrona Admeta bilo uz patronu Juliju), svi nose gentilicij Julija, a nemaju oznake glasačkog okruga jer nisu slobodnorodena (kao što su djeca iz drugog braka). Tek će njihova djeca, koji će biti *ingenui*, moći nositi *tribus*.

Na natpisu se spominje i pokojni Nizo, rob Tiberija Klaudija, tj. pripadnik *familiae Caesaris*. Vjerojatno je on i umro dok je vladao njegov patron car Klaudije, jer bi u suprotnome *familia Caesaris* dobila novog patera, cara Nerona, što bi na natpisu bilo istaknuto. Biti carski rob, bitno je za društveni prestiž, zbog čega je Nizo dobio dopuštenje sahrane u Sceptovoj grobnici. Sceptova djeca iz drugog braka su građani, svi upisani u *tribus Tromentina* (čak i kći), očito punoljetni prema rimskom zakonu. Njegova djeca iz prvog braka, svi oslobođenici, još su i stariji, i mislimo da za njih postoji samo teoretska mogućnost da su ih Augustov oslobođenik Admet i njegova žena Julija oslobodili već na samom kraju Klaudijeve vladavine. Stoga je spomenik podignut tijekom Neronove vlasti, a možda se to zbilo i nešto kasnije, u doba Flavijevaca.

Sceptus, sevir Augustalis, nije carski libertin, nego ga je manumitirao carski oslobođenik. Weaver kaže da je služba *sevir augustalis* koja se javlja na natpisu CIL 3, 2097 izuzetna za oslobođenika carskog oslobođenika.⁵⁹ Jednako izuzetna pojava da carski oslobođenici postaju *seviri augustales* proizlazi, prema našem mišljenju, iz istoga glavnog razloga što je *familia Caesaris* epigrafički potvrđena uglavnom u gradu Rimu, u kojem nije organizirana institucija *seviri Augustales*. Međutim, nema nikakve prepreke da

patrona Julia, all bore the gentilicium *Julius*, but they did not bear the designation of a voting district because they were not freeborn (as were the children from the second marriage). Only their children, who would be *ingenui*, could then include the *tribus* attribution.

Also mentioned in the inscription are the deceased Nisus, a slave of Tiberius Claudius, i.e., a member of the *familia Caesaris*. He probably died during the reign of his patron, Emperor Claudius, for otherwise the *familia Caesaris* would have had a new *pater*, Emperor Nero, which would have been noted in the inscription. To be an imperial slave was vital to social prestige, which is why Nisus was granted approval for burial in Sceptus' tomb. Sceptus' children from his second marriage were citizens, all enrolled in *tribus Tromentina* (even the daughter), and evidently legal adults according to Roman law. His children from his first marriage, all freedmen, were even older, and we believe that for them there was only a theoretical possibility that they were freed by Augustus' freedman Admetus and his wife Julia at the very end of Claudius' reign. The monument was thus raised during Nero's reign, and perhaps this occurred even later, in the Flavian era.

Sceptus, *sevir Augustalis*, was not an imperial freedman, rather he was manumitted by an imperial freedman. Weaver says that the post of *sevir Augustalis* which appears on inscription CIL 3, 2097 is exceptional for the freedman of an imperial freedman.⁵⁹ The equally exceptional phenomenon of imperial freedmen becoming *sevir Augustalis* followed, in our opinion, from the same primary reason that the *familia Caesaris* has been epigraphically confirmed mainly in the city of Rome, in which the institution of *seviri Augustales* had not been organized. However, there were no barriers to imperial freedmen (and their own freedmen) elsewhere in Italy and the provinces from becoming so, which has been confirmed in modest body of inscriptions mentioning the freedmen of the *familia Caesaris* outside of Rome.

One example is in the decree from Veii (CIL 11, 3805).⁶⁰ Gaius Julius Gelos, a freedman of Augustus

59 http://alte-geschichte.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/home/Abteilungen/Alte_Geschichte/Mitarbeiter/Eck/Weaver/02_Iulii.pdf (str. 8, br. 7).

59 http://alte-geschichte.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/fileadmin/home/Abteilungen/Alte_Geschichte/Mitarbeiter/Eck/Weaver/02_Iulii.pdf (p. 8, no. 7).

60 *Centumviri municipii Augusti Veientis / Romae in aedem Veneris Genetricis cum convenis/sent placuit universis dum decretum conscriberetur / interim ex auctoritate omnium permitti / C(aio) Iulio divi Augusti l(iberto) Geloti qui omni tempore / municip(ium) Veios non solum consilio et gratia adiuverit / sed etiam i<m=N>pensis suis et per filium suum celebrari / voluerit honorem ei iustissimum decerni ut / Augustalium numero habeatur*

carski oslobođenici (i njihovi oslobođenici) po Italiji i provincijama to ne postanu, što je i potvrđeno u nevelikom korpusu natpisa sa spomenom oslobođenika *familiae Caesaris* izvan Rima.

Jedan primjer je na dekretu iz Veja (CIL 11, 3805).⁶⁰ Gaju Juliju Gelotu, oslobođeniku božanskog Augusta, vejevski centumvir (gradski *ordo*) i zajednica daju počast uvrštenja među augustale, dopušteno mu je na javnim spektaklima municipija sjediti na biseliju među augustalima, da na javnim gozbama bude zajedno s centumvirima (što znači da je stekao *ius honorum* i upisan je u album gradskog vijeća); naposljetku, on i njegova djeca oslobođena su od plaćanja municipalnog vektigala. Natpis je datiran konzulskom godinom (26. g. 1. stoljeća), a odluka je zapisana ispred duovira, kvestora i nekoliko centumvira.⁶¹ Koliko je prestižan status bivšeg Augustova carskog roba, vidi se ne samo iz davanja privilegija nego i iz kićenog stila kojim hvale tog pripadnika vejevskog municipija *Augustum*. Povežemo li njegovu poziciju člana augustalskog reda, s činjenicom da je sjednica održana u hramu Venere Roditeljice (*Venus Genetrix*), božice roda Julija, jasno je da su bivši pripadnici *familiae Caesaris* bili moćni, bez obzira što nisu bili *ingenui*, te da su, zajedno s carskim prijateljima (*amici*) ključne osobe u širenju carskoga kulta. Istaknuti augustali

Divus, was given by the Veii *centumviri* (the municipal *ordo*) and the community the honour of membership among the *Augustales*, he was allowed to sit on the bisellium among the *Augustales* at municipal public spectacles, to be in the company of the *centumviri* at public feasts (which meant that he had acquired *ius honorum* and was enrolled in the album of the municipal council) and finally, he and his children were freed from payment of the municipal *vectigal*. The inscription was dated by the consular year (26 AD), and the decision was recorded before a *duovir*, *quaestor* and several *centumviri*.⁶¹ How much prestige a former imperial slave of Augustus had can be seen not only in the granting of privileges but also in the ornate style in which this member of the Veientine *municipium Augustum* was lauded. If we were to link his position as a member of the *Augustalis* order with the fact that the session was held in the temple of Venus Genetrix, the goddess of the Julian *gens*, it is clear that the former members of the *familia Caesaris* were powerful, regardless of the fact that they were not *ingenui*, and that they, together with the emperor's friends (*amici*), were key individuals in the expansion of the imperial cult. Distinguished *Augustales* were even assigned to the ranks of the *centumviri* of Veii (*municipium Augustum Veiens*).⁶²

What was an imperial freedman doing in Veii? Precisely because of the pro-Julian atmosphere in which the session proceeded, Moreno rejects the possibility that the inscription reflects Livy's literary account (Liv. 5.22.8) of the Trojan origin and fate of the Veientes.⁶³ We posit that Julius Gelos played an important role in

60 *Centumviri municipii Augusti Veientis / Romae in aedem Veneris Genetricis cum convenis/sent placuit universis dum decretum conscriberetur / interim ex auctoritate omnium permitti / C(aio) Iulio divi Augusti l(iberto) Geloti qui omni tempore / municip(ium) Veios non solum consilio et gratia adiuverit / sed etiam i<m=N>pensis suis et per filium suum celebrari / voluerit honorem ei iustissimum decerni ut / Augustalium numero habeatur aequae ac si eo / honore usus sit liceatque ei omnibus spectaculis / municipio nostro bisellio proprio inter Augustales considerare cenisque omnibus publicis / inter centumviros interesse itemque placere / ne quod ab eo liberisque eius vectigal municipii / Augusti Veientis exigeretur / adfuerunt / C(aius) Scaevius Curvatus / Cn(aeus) Octavius Sabinus / Ii(vir)i // L(ucius) Perperna Priscus / Ma(nius) Flavius Rufus q(uaestor) / T(itus) Vettius Rufus q(uaestor) / M(arcus) Tarquinius Saturninus / L(ucius) Maecilius Scrupus / L(ucius) Favonius Lucanus // T(itus) Sempronius Gracchus / P(ublius) Acuvius P(ubli) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) / C(aius) Veianus Maximus / T(itus) Tarquinius Rufus / C(aius) Iulius Merula // actum / Gaetulico et Calvisio Sabino co(n)s(ulibus).*

61 Poslije je dopisan još jedan kratki tekst, datiran konzulskim parom u 44. g. 1. st., u kojem se spominje smrt Gelosova sina.

aeque ac si eo / honore usus sit liceatque ei omnibus spectaculis / municipio nostro bisellio proprio inter Augustales considerare cenisque omnibus publicis / inter centumviros interesse itemque placere / ne quod ab eo liberisque eius vectigal municipii / Augusti Veientis exigeretur / adfuerunt / C(aius) Scaevius Curvatus / Cn(aeus) Octavius Sabinus / Ii(vir)i // L(ucius) Perperna Priscus / Ma(nius) Flavius Rufus q(uaestor) / T(itus) Vettius Rufus q(uaestor) / M(arcus) Tarquinius Saturninus / L(ucius) Maecilius Scrupus / L(ucius) Favonius Lucanus // T(itus) Sempronius Gracchus / P(ublius) Acuvius P(ubli) f(ilius) Tro(mentina) / C(aius) Veianus Maximus / T(itus) Tarquinius Rufus / C(aius) Iulius Merula // actum / Gaetulico et Calvisio Sabino co(n)s(ulibus).

61 Later another brief text was added, dated by the consular pair to 44 AD, in which the death of Gelos' son is mentioned.

62 CIL 11, 3809: *Cn(aeo) Caesio Athicto / adlecto inter Cvir(os) / omnib(us) honorib(us) exornato / Augustales municipii / Aug(usti) Veientis / ex aere conlato h(onoris) c(ausa).*

63 Moreno 2017, pp. 80-81.

čak su bili adlegirani među centumvire Veja (*municipium Augustum Veiens*).⁶²

Što carski oslobođenik radi u Vejima? Upravo zbog projulijevskog ambijenta u kojem se odvija sjednica, Moreno odbija mogućnost da se na natpisu reflektira Livijeva literarna figura (Liv. 5.22.8) o trojanskom podrijetlu i sudbini Vejanaca.⁶³ Nagađamo da je Julije Gelot imao važnu ulogu u osnaživanju imperijalne propagande čiji su nositelji *cultores*, augustali (*seviri Augustales municipii Augusti Veientis*) koji se u Vejima pouzdano spominju na natpisima podignutima još za Augustova života, a iza 12. g. pr. Kr. (CIL 11, 3808, CIL 11, 3809, CIL 11, 3782...). U tom su razdoblju definirani kao jedan od gradskih društvenih slojeva kao što je navedeno na natpisu CIL 11, 3808 (...*centumviri et seviri et Augustales et municipes intramurani*). Vejenski natpisi su važni jer pripadaju najstarijem sloju od Augusta ustanovljenih sevira augustala, te predstavljaju model za njihovo djelovanje i organiziranje unutar municipaliteta. Ujedno pokazuju da su oni različiti od sevira.

Na oštećenom nadgrobnom natpisu CIL 3, 8804 (Salona) spominje se osoba koja je *sevir Augustalis coloniae Salonitanorum*.⁶⁴ Isticanje pripadnosti koloniji iskaz je želje da se naglasi oficijelnost i magistratski karakter tog kolegija. Na sličan način postupaju pripadnici kolegija sevira, još jednog oslobođeničkog tijela u Saloni (dok ponegdje u sjevernoj i srednjoj Italiji seviri mogu biti i miješana oslobođeničko-građanska tijela), koje se razlikuje od augustala jer nisu *cultores*. Publije Elije na nadgrobnom natpisu CIL 3, 6377 = CIL 3, 8657 izjašnjava se kao *sevir Salonitanorum*.⁶⁵ Zaključimo da u Saloni seviri augustali čine godišnje mandatno tijelo, za koje možemo samo nagađati da je bilo jezgra augustalskog reda. Još jedna nepoznanica je vrijeme uspostavljanja augustalskih kolegija u Saloni. Njihova brojnost upućuje na mogućnost da su nastali u prvom valu konstituiranja, još za Augustova života, kao što je to slučaj u Falerijima.

Na natpisu CIL 11, 3083 (*Falerii Novi*) spominju se magistri *Augustales* u Falerijima: *Honori{s} / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris divi f(ili) / Augusti pont(ificis) maxim(i) / patr(is) patriae et municip(ii) / magistri*

the reinforcement of imperial propaganda which was the responsibility of the *cultores*, *Augustales* (*seviri Augustales municipii Augusti Veientis*) who were certainly mentioned in Veii in inscriptions posted already during the lifetime of Augustus, but after 12 BC (CIL 11, 3808, CIL 11, 3809, CIL 11, 3782...). In this period, they were defined as one of the municipal social classes as specified in inscription CIL 11, 3808 (...*centumviri et seviri et Augustales et municipes intramurani*). The Veientine inscriptions are important because they belong to the oldest class of *seviri Augustales* established by Augustus, and they constituted the model for their activity and organization inside a municipality. They also show that they were different from the *seviri*.

The damaged funerary inscription CIL 3, 8804 (Salona) mentions a person who was a *sevir Augustalis coloniae Salonitanorum*.⁶⁴ The stress placed on colonial affiliation reflected the desire to underscore the official and magisterial character of this *collegium*. The same thing was done by members of the *collegium* of *seviri*, another association of freedmen in Salona (while at places in northern and central Italy the *seviri* could be mixed associations of freedmen and citizens), which differed from the *Augustales* because they were not *cultores*. Publius Aelius, in inscription CIL 3, 6377 = CIL 3, 8657, proclaimed himself a *sevir Salonitanorum*.⁶⁵ We conclude that in Salona the *seviri Augustales* constituted an association with an annual term, but we may only speculate as to whether it was the core of the *Augustalis* order. Another variable is when the *collegium* of *Augustales* was established in Salona. Their numbers indicated the possibility that they had emerged in the first wave of formation, during the lifetime of Augustus, as was the case in Falerii.

In inscription CIL 11, 3083 (*Falerii Novi*), there is mention of *Augustales* magistrates in Falerii: *Honori{s} / Imp(eratoris) Caesaris divi f(ili) / Augusti pont(ificis) maxim(i) / patr(is) patriae et municip(ii) / magistri Augustales / C(aius) Egnatius M(arci) l(ibertus) Glyco / C(aius) Egnatius C(ai) l(ibertus) Musicus / C(aius) Iulius Caesar(is) l(ibertus) Isochrysus / Q(uintus) Floronius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Princeps / viam Augustam ab via / Annia extra portam ad / Cereris silice sternendam / curarunt pecunia sua / pro ludis*.

62 CIL 11, 3809: *Cn(aeo) Caesio Athicto / adlecto inter Cvir(os) / omnib(us) honorib(us) exornato / Augustales municipii / Aug(usti) Veientis / ex aere conlato h(onoris) c(ausa)*.

63 Moreno 2017, str. 80-81.

64 ...*cum co]mpare suo / [3 an]nis XXX / [3] Silicius / [3] rtius / [3 IIII]Ivir Aug(ustalis) / [colonia]e Salonita[n]orum*.

65 *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Publius Ael[ius] 3] / sevir Salonit[anorum(?) 3] / se vivo p(osuit) sibi et Claud[ia]e 3] / carissim(a)e <c=QV>on<c=Q>u[binae(?)*.

64 ...*cum co]mpare suo / [3 an]nis XXX / [3] Silicius / [3] rtius / [3 IIII]Ivir Aug(ustalis) / [colonia]e Salonita[n]orum*.

65 *D(is) [M(anibus)] / Publius Ael[ius] 3] / sevir Salonit[anorum(?) 3] / se vivo p(osuit) sibi et Claud[ia]e 3] / carissim(a)e <c=QV>on<c=Q>u[binae(?)*.

Augustales / C(aius) Egnatius M(arci) l(ibertus) Glyco / C(aius) Egnatius C(ai) l(ibertus) Musicus / C(aius) Iulius Caesar(is) l(ibertus) Isochrysus / Q(uintus) Floronius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Princeps / viam Augustam ab via / Annia extra portam ad / Cereris silice sternendam / curarunt pecunia sua / pro ludis.

Među kolegijatima koji su poduzeli akciju popločavanja ulice u čast Augusta i municipija, spominje se *C. Iulius Caesar(is) I. Isochrysus*.⁶⁶ Bakkum u jezgrovitoj raspravi o statusnom odnosu gradova *Falerii Veteres* i *Falerii Novi* smatra kako iz epigrafičkih potvrda prilično sigurno možemo zaključiti da tijekom 1. st. *Falerii Novi* imaju status *municipium sine suffragio*, što se vidi iz natpisa CIL 11, 3083, 3103, 3112, 3116, 3121, 3125, 3127, 3147 i 31551,1. U neodređeno vrijeme kasnije su dobili status kolonije, što se vidi iz natpisa CIL 11, 3089 i 3094 na kojima je car Galijen počašćen kao *redintegrator coloniae Faliscorum*, iz Plinijeva teksta (NH 3.5.51), a spominje ga i *Liber Coloniarum* (217.5).⁶⁷ Dodajmo da Galijenu titulu *redintegrator* možemo prevesti kao onaj koji je potkrijepio (status) Falerija, tj. koji je iznova konstituirao grad. Di Stefano Manzella s pravom ističe da rijetka formula *pater patriae et municipii* u Augustovoj tituli jasno ukazuje na bliskost Augusta s Falerijima,⁶⁸ zbog čega smijemo spekulirati da su Faleriji u to vrijeme iz statusa kolonije (*civium Romanorum* ili *Latinorum*) bili prebačeni u municipalni status. Natpis je datiran između 2. g. pr. Kr., kada je August dobio titulu *pater patriae*,⁶⁹ i 14. g. po. Kr.

Osim na natpisu CIL 11, 3083 institucija magistra (sevira) Augustala zabilježena je u Falerijima na još nekoliko natpisa nastalih za careva života. Od najveće važnosti je CIL 11, 3135, na kojem se spominju *Mag(istri) Augus(tales) anni quarti*, što bi značilo da su bili magistri četvrte godine gradskog kalendara, pa je datum podizanja natpisa EDR160513 u EAGLE bazi određen od 10. g. pr. Kr. do 14. po. Kr.⁷⁰ Ipak, treba korigirati prvu moguću godinu u tom rasponu, jer *magistri (seviri) Augustales* u Italiji nastaju najranije 12. g. pr. Kr., a kako su to jednogodišnji magistrati, to znači da je 9. g. pr. Kr. najraniji mogući datum kada je ovaj natpis nastao, ujedno četvrta godina u gradskom kalendaru. Grad je, znači, konstituiran 12. g. pr. Kr., kada je došla i pobuda za osnivanje sevira augustala

Among the *collegium* members who partook in the campaign to pave the streets in honour of Augustus and the municipium, a certain C. Iulius Caesar(is) I. Isochrysus is mentioned.⁶⁶ In a concise discussion of the status relations between the cities of *Falerii Veteres* and *Falerii Novi*, Bakkum believes that based on epigraphic confirmations we may conclude with considerable certainty that during the 1st century *Falerii Novi* had the status of *municipium sine suffragio*, which may be seen from inscription CIL 11, 3083, 3103, 3112, 3116, 3121, 3125, 3127, 3147 i 31551,1. At some unspecified later point the city obtained the status of colony, which may be seen in inscription CIL 11, 3089 and 3094 in which Emperor Gallienus is honoured as *redintegrator coloniae Faliscorum*, from Pliny's writings (NH 3.5.51), and he is also mentioned by the *Liber Coloniarum* (217.5).⁶⁷ We should add that the Gallienus' title of *redintegrator* may be translated as the one who validated (the status of) *Falerii*, i.e., the one who reconstituted the city. Di Stefano Manzella rightfully stresses that the rare formula *pater patriae et municipii* in Augustus' title clearly indicates the closeness of Augustus to *Falerii*,⁶⁸ which is why we may speculate that at that time *Falerii* moved from colonial status (*civium Romanorum* or *Latinorum*) to municipal status. The inscription was dated between 2 BC, when Augustus acquired the title of *pater patriae*,⁶⁹ and 14 AD.

Besides inscription CIL 11, 3083 the institution of the magistrate (*sevir*) *Augustalis* has been recorded in *Falerii* in several other inscriptions that appeared during the emperor's lifetime. The most important is CIL 11, 3135, in which there is mention of *Mag(istri) Augus(tales) anni quarti*, which would mean that they were magistrates in the fourth year of the city calendar, so the dating of the installation of inscription EDR160513 in the EAGLE database has been set between 10 BC and 14 AD.⁷⁰ Even so, the first possible year in this range should be corrected, because *magistri (seviri) Augustales* in Italy appeared in 12 BC at the earliest, and since these were magistrates with one-year terms, this means that 9 BC is the earliest possible date when the inscription may have appeared, also the fourth year in the city's calendar. This means that the city was constituted in 12 BC, when

66 Paul Weaver, *Repertorium Familiae Caesarum. I. Iulii Augusti liberti*, str. 30, br. 150 (<http://www.uni-koeln.de/philfak/ifa/altg/eck/weaver.htm>).

67 Bakkum 2009, str. 43-44.

68 Di Stefano Manzella 1990, str. 345-347, 362.

69 Kienast 2004, str. 64.

70 http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR160513&partId=1.

66 Paul Weaver, *Repertorium Familiae Caesarum. I. Iulii Augusti liberti*, p. 30, no. 150 (<http://www.uni-koeln.de/philfak/ifa/altg/eck/weaver.htm>).

67 Bakkum 2009, pp. 43-44.

68 Di Stefano Manzella 1990, pp. 345-347, 362.

69 Kienast 2004, p. 64.

70 http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/res_complex_comune.php?do=book&id_nr=EDR160513&partId=1.

od cara Augusta, u godini u kojoj je on postao *pontifex maximus* zadužen za strukturiranje rimske religije.⁷¹

Za usporedbu, *magistri Augustales primi* u Nepetu javljaju se na natpisu CIL 11, 3200 precizno datiranom u 12. g. pr. Kr. na temelju magistratura u tituli cara Augusta: *Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) / Augusto / pontif(ici) maxim(o) co(n)s(uli) XI / tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XI / magistri Augustal(es) prim(i) / Philippus Augusti libert(us) / M(arcus) Aebutius Secundus / M(arcus) Gallius Anchia<l=T>us / P(ublius) Fidustius Antigonus*. Spomenik je evidentno baza za carsku statu, koju su sva četvorica pripadnika novooosnovanoga kolegija podigli da iskažu zahvalnost caru. Na natpisu nije naznačeno da je dekurionsko vijeće sudjelovalo u akciji, očito je riječ o privatnom potihvatu, pa premda u natpisu izostaje riječ *sacrum*, on ima gotovo karakter konsakracije. Zbog navedenog, kao i drugdje u Italiji i provincijama, 12. g. pr. Kr. je najraniji mogući datum osnivanja sevira augustala u provinciji Dalmaciji, odnosno u Saloni.

U Falerijima i Nepetu očita je sveprisutnosti Augusta, u rasponu od njegove pokroviteljske uloge *pater municipii* do nazočnosti njegovih bivših robova koji na terenu provode njegovu političku volju za potrebe mehanizma uvođenja i opravdanja položaja princepsa Augusta kao višestrukoga moćnog magistrata čiji je adoptivni otac Božanski Cezar. Nije riječ o izoliranim slučajevima u pojedinim gradovima, nego o religijskoj politici koja se provodila i u Italiji i u provincijama, pa se novi kult i festivali uz njega vezani uvode u službene feste godišnjega municipalnog ciklusa.⁷² Stoga Salona, glavni grad provincije Dalmacije, sigurno nije bila iznimka, premda zasad izostaju natpisi augustala suvremeni Augustu. Nešto kasniji većinom su sepulkralni i uglavnom daju malu količinu dodatnih informacija osim što taksativno navode taj položaj unutar slijeda časti oslobođenika.

Na natpisu CIL 3, 2093 (p 2260) = CIL 3, 2325 spominje se carski oslobođenik Tit Flavije Baso koji je bio (*sevir*) *Augustalis* u Saloni: *T(ito) Flavio Aug(usti) lib(erto) Basso August(ali) / Claudia T(iti) f(ilia) Thetis marit(o) b(ene) m(erenti) / et T(itus) Flavius Felix [vix(it) ann(os) 3]X pro parte quint(a) / patrono / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur) in f(ronte) p(edes) IX(?) in agr(o) p(edes) XXV*.

Praenomen i *nomen Titus Flavius* nose sva tri cara flavijejske dinastije, što znači da mu je jedan od njih dao slobodu. Time je odmah stekao *ius conubii* i nije bilo prepreke da se oženi građankom Klaudijom Tetidom. Postoji mogućnost da je i njezina

the initiative by Emperor Augustus to establish the *seviri Augustales* came, in the year in which he became *pontifex maximus* charged with the structuring of Roman religion.⁷¹

By way of comparison, *magistri Augustales primi* appeared in Nepete in inscription CIL 11, 3200 dated precisely to 12 BC on the basis of the use of magistrate in the title of Emperor Augustus: *Imp(eratori) Caesari divi f(ilio) / Augusto / pontif(ici) maxim(o) co(n)s(uli) XI / tribunic(ia) potestat(e) XI / magistri Augustal(es) prim(i) / Philippus Augusti libert(us) / M(arcus) Aebutius Secundus / M(arcus) Gallius Anchia<l=T>us / P(ublius) Fidustius Antigonus*. The monument is evidently the base for a statue of the emperor, raised by all four members of the newly-established *collegium* to express their gratitude to the emperor. The inscription does not mention that the decurion council participated in this act, which was obviously a private undertaking, so even though the word *sacrum* is absent from the inscription, it almost has the character of a consecration. Because of this, as elsewhere in Italy and the provinces, 12 BC is the earliest possible date for establishment of the *seviri Augustales* in the province of Dalmatia, and thus in Salona.

The omnipresence of Augustus was quite apparent in Falerii and Nepete, ranging from his sponsorship role as *pater municipii* to the presence of his former slaves who carried out his political will in the field for the needs of the mechanism to introduce and justify his status as *princeps* Augustus, the preeminent powerful magistrate whose adoptive father was Divine Caesar. These were not isolated cases in individual cities, but rather a religious policy which was implemented in Italy and the provinces, so the new cult and festivals tied to him were introduced to the official festivals of the annual municipal cycle.⁷² Thus Salona, the capital city of the province of Dalmatia, was certainly not an exception, although for now inscriptions of *Augustales* contemporary to Augustus are lacking. Somewhat later, they were mostly sepulchral in character and generally provide little additional information besides explicitly mentioning this post within the list of honours of a given freedman.

Inscription CIL 3, 2093 (p 2260) = CIL 3, 2325 mentions the imperial freedman Titus Flavius Bassus, who was a (*sevir*) *Augustalis* in Salona: *T(ito) Flavio Aug(usti) lib(erto) Basso August(ali) / Claudia T(iti) f(ilia) Thetis marit(o) b(ene) m(erenti) / et T(itus) Flavius Felix [vix(it) ann(os) 3]X pro parte quint(a) / patrono / h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem)*

71 Kienast 2004, str. 64.

72 Primjer su Trebulanski fasti CIL 6, 29681=AE 1991 (*Trebula Suffenas*).

71 Kienast 2004, p. 64.

72 An example are the Trebulan festivals, CIL 6, 29681=AE 1991 (*Trebula Suffenas*).

obitelj oslobođeničkog (manje vjerojatno peregrinskog podrijetla).⁷³ Naime, kako njezin otac Tit ne nosi *praenomen* Klaudijevaca, postoji velika šansa da joj je djed (*Tiberius*) *Claudius* carski oslobođenik ili peregrin, koji je nakon otpuštanja iz auksilijarnih postrojba stekao taj, veoma čest carski gentilicij. Bez obzira što je ovakvo razmišljanje spekulativno, natpis održava interesne brakove ravnopravnih čimbenika unutar specifične društvene skupine. Carska *nomina* kronološki su pokazatelji datuma podizanja spomenika, a to je sam kraj 1. ili početak 2. st. Naziv *Augustalis* iz natpisa stoga se odnosi na živuće careve, Trajana ili Hadrijana.

Zaključujemo da *seviri Augustales* u Saloni odgovaraju profilu tog kolegija u rano doba principata. Oni su *cultores*, aktivni sudionici u promidžbi carskoga kulta i imperijalne propagande, zbog čega ih treba razlikovati od municipalnih *sevira*. Moć i ugled *augustala* recipročni su važnosti građanskih obitelji kojima pripadaju, odnosno njihovim patronima manumisiorima. Kao i u Italiji, odlučujuću ulogu u održavanju carskoga kulta u ranijim razvojnim fazama imaju oslobođenici *augustali* iz redova *familiae Caesaris* te iz obitelji u sustavu carske uprave i administracije.

n(on) s(equetur) in f(ron)te p(edes) IX(?) in agr(o) p(edes) XXV.

The praenomen and nomen Titus Flavius were borne by three emperors of the Flavian dynasty, which means that one of them granted him his freedom. He thereby immediately acquired *ius conubii* and there was no obstacle to marrying the citizen Claudia Thetis. There is a possibility that her family may have also been freed (or, less likely, of peregrine origin).⁷³ As her father Titus did not bear the praenomen of the Claudians, there is a good chance that her grandfather (*Tiberius*) *Claudius* was an imperial freedman or peregrine, who after his discharge from an auxiliary unit acquired this, rather common, imperial gentilicium. Regardless of the fact that such reasoning is speculative, the inscription reflects the marriages of interest between equal members of a particular social group. The imperial *nomina* are chronological indicators of the monument's date, and this is the very end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd century. The designation *Augustalis* from the inscription does not, therefore, pertain to the then living emperors, Trajan or Hadrian.

We shall conclude that the *seviri Augustales* in Salona complied with the profile of this *collegium* in the early phase of the Principate. They were *cultores*, active participants in the promotion of the imperial cult and imperial propaganda, so that they should be distinguished from municipal *seviri*. The power and reputation of the *Augustales* reflected the importance of the citizen families to which they belonged, and their patrons/manumissors. As in Italy, the decisive role in the maintenance of the imperial cult in the earlier developmental phases was played by the freedmen of Augustus from the ranks of the *familia Caesaris* and from the families within the system of imperial governance and administration.

73 O republikanskim i carskim formalnim i neformalnim postupcima manumisije vidi kod Dundonald Melville 1915, str. 109-116; Gardner 2002, str. 8-11.

73 On the republican and imperial formal and informal manumission procedures, see Dundonald Melville 1915, pp. 109-116; Gardner 2002, pp. 8-11.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

AE	Anneé épigraphique, Paris
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin
Godišnjak ANUBiH	Godišnjak Centra za balkanološka ispitivanja, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo
ILJug	Anna et Jaro Šašel, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla, 5, Ljubljana, 1963); <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla, 19, Ljubljana, 1978); <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> (Situla, 25, Ljubljana, 1986)
PWRE	Pauly Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart
RFFZd	Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Zadar
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Split
VAPD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i povijest dalmatinsku, Split

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