

Dino Demicheli

Rimska nadgrobna stela iz splitskog predjela Pazdigrad Roman Grave Stela from the Pazdigrad Section of Split

Dino Demicheli
HR, 10 000 ZAGREB
Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Odsjek za arheologiju
I. Lučića 3
ddemiche@ffzg.hr

UDK: 726.82 (497.5 Split) "00"
Izvorni znanstveni članak
Priljeno: 12. 2. 2007.
Prihvaćeno: 1. 3. 2007.

Dino Demicheli
Croatia, 10 000 ZAGREB
Faculty of Arts and Letters, University of Zagreb
Archaeology Department
I. Lučića 3
ddemiche@ffzg.hr

UDK: 726.82(497.5Split)"00"
Original scientific paper
Received: 12 February 2007
Accepted: 1 March 2007

U radu se obrađuje nalaz rimskoga nadgrobnoga spomenika pronađenog na splitskom predjelu Pazdigrad. Na mjestu nalaska natpisa u antičko je doba zasigurno bilo nekakvo naselje ili imanje s vlastitom nekropolom, o kojemu danas nema nikakvih dokaza osim pokretnih nalaza koji su nalaženi na širem području Pazdigrada i Žnjana u posljednjih 150 godina. To se naselje nalazilo s južne strane ceste koja je iz Epetija vodila do postaje Ad Dianam, i prema nalazima naseljavano je od 1. stoljeća. Sam natpis pokazuje nekoliko zanimljivih jezičnih detalja za koje se smatra da su potvrda vulgarnog latinитета u 1. stoljeću.

Ključne riječi: splitski poluotok, salonitanski ager, centurijacija, 1. stoljeće, Pazdigrad, onomastika, annuclus, vulgarni latinitet

This work contains an analysis of the discovery of a Roman-era grave stela from the Pazdigrad section in the city of Split. During the Roman era, the site at which the inscription was found was certainly some type of settlement or estate with its own necropolis, of which there is no physical evidence today with the exception of movable artefacts discovered over the wider area of Pazdigrad and Žnjan over the past 150 years. This settlement was located to the south of the road leading from Epetium to the Ad Dianam outpost, and based on finds it was inhabited from the first century onward. The inscription itself exhibits several very interesting linguistic details which may be deemed confirmation of the existence of Vulgar Latin in the first century.

Key words: Split peninsula, Salona ager, centuriation, first century, Pazdigrad, onomastics, annuclus, Vulgar Latin



Slika 1.
Nadgrobni spomenik koji je Gaj
Julije Amplijat podigao svojoj djeci
(Arheološki muzej u Splitu)

Figure 1.
Grave monument raised by Gaius
Julius Ampliatius for his children
(Archaeological Museum in Split)

Godine 2004. u splitski je Arheološki muzej (Inv. br. 38122) kao slučajni nalaz dospjela rimska nadgrobna stela koja je pronađena na splitskom predjelu Pazdigrad (slika 1).¹ Okolnosti pronalaska stele, kao ni točno mjesto nalaska, nisu u potpunosti poznati, ali se zna da je pronađena prilikom kopanja temelja za jedan veći stambeni objekt u Pazdigradskoj ulici.² Uz stelu, u Muzej su istom prilikom dopremljena tri ulomka stranica sarkofaga. Iako u tom dijelu Splita do danas nije obavljano nikakvo sustavno arheološko istraživanje, već su otprije poznate neke vijesti o nalazima iz rimskoga doba na području Pazdigrada i njegove bliže okolice. No, za početak bi trebalo reći nešto o razdoblju koje je prethodilo izgradnji Dioklecijanove palače.

- 1 Na ovom bih mjestu htio zahvaliti višem kustosu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu Damiru Kliškiću, koji se na dojavu založio da se stela donese u Muzej, te koji je potaknuo ovu objavu.
- 2 Usmeni podatak Alena Dukića. Prema tvrdnji iste osobe na tom je mjestu bilo još nekoliko nadgrobni stela, koje su odnesene s nalazišta.

In 2004, the Archaeological Museum in Split (Inv. no. 38122) received, as a chance discovery, a Roman grave stela which was found in the Pazdigrad section of the city of Split (Fig. 1).¹ The circumstances surrounding the discovery of the stela or the exact discovery site are not entirely known; what is known is that it was found during the excavation of foundations for a large residential building on Pazdigrad street.² Besides the stela, on the same occasion the Museum also received three fragments of the sides of a sarcophagus. Although no systematic archaeological research has been conducted so far in this part of Split, even before there was some information on Roman-era artefacts from Pazdigrad and its immediate environs. However, something should first be said about the period that preceded the construction of Diocletian's Palace.

The Roman-era roads that traversed the Split peninsula were certainly built on prehistoric communication routes used by the people who resided here prior to Classical Antiquity. Almost nothing is known about them, but it is certain that this territory has been inhabited since the Bronze Age, to which archaeological finds testify - the most important being those from Gripe.³ The geographic features of this area in Split made it suitable for settlement; such a settlement could have been oriented toward maritime activities and agriculture in prehistory. At the end of the nineteenth century, Bulić, Jelić and Rutar had already recognized the section of the road drawn in the Tabula Peutingeriana.⁴ (Fig. 2) According to this map, a road led from Epetium to Salona (*Epetio-Salona*), while another led to the *Ad Dianam* locale, which was on the south-western side of Marjan Hill. Between Epetium and *Ad Dianam* there is a place on the map designated as *Spalato*, and from here the road branches off and joins the Epetium-Salona road. The Epetium-Salona road was covered in detail elsewhere.⁵

Prior to the arrival of the Romans, there probably was a settlement on the Split peninsula established by Greeks from Issa (Vis) or Pharos (Hvar) in the fourth or third century BC that was called *Aspalathos*.⁶ This settlement was probably located at the site of the contemporary city sections called Manuš and Špalacijuni. The name Špalacijuni or Spalacijuni has the same origin as the name Split; it is a remnant of the original name of the settlement in this area called *Aspalathos*. The Greek presence on the Split peninsula left behind no notable traces. Two Greek inscriptions published by Brunšmid may have been brought to Split from Solin or the island of Vis,⁷ while the tomb inscription from Manuš

- 1 I would like to take this opportunity to thank the senior curator of the Archaeological Museum in Split, Damir Kliškić, who called for the stela to be brought to the Museum immediately after learning of it, and who inspired this paper.
- 2 Verbal account provided by Alen Dukić. According to this same person, there were several other grave stelae at this site, but they were taken away.
- 3 Marović 1953.
- 4 Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894.
- 5 Maršić 1997, pp. 5-29.
- 6 Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, 44; Novak 1928, p. 35; ibidem. 1957, p. 17.
- 7 Brunšmid 1998, p. 44, no. 28, 29.



Slika 2.

Prikaz Salone i okolice na Tabula Peutingeriana (preuzeto iz Oreb-Rismondo-Topić, *Ad basilicas pictas*, str. 9)

Figure 2.

Salona and its environs as shown in the Tabula Peutingeriana (from Oreb-Rismondo-Topić, *Ad basilicas pictas*, p. 9)

Antičke ceste koje su vodile splitskim poluotokom zacijelo su nastale na prapovijesnim komunikacijama kojima su se služili predantički žitelji. O njima se ne zna gotovo ništa, ali se zna da je ovaj prostor bio naseljen još od brončanog doba, o čemu svjedoče nalazi među kojima je najznačajniji onaj s Gripa.³ Zemljopisne osobine splitskog područja bile su povoljne za razvitak naselja, koje je u prapovijesnom razdoblju moglo biti orijentirano na pomorske aktivnosti i poljodjelstvo. Još su Bulić, Jelić i Rutar krajem 19. stoljeća prepoznali dionice ceste ucrtane na Peutingerovu itineraru (slika 2).⁴ Prema toj karti iz Epetija je jedna cesta vodila u Salonu (*Epetio-Salona*), a druga do lokaliteta *Ad Dianam*, koji se nalazio na jugozapadnoj strani Marjana. Između Epetija i *Ad Dianam* nalazi se mjesto koje je na karti ucrtano kao *Spalato*, a otuda se cesta odvaja i priključuje na cestu Epetij-Salona. O cesti Epetij-Salona posebno je pisano na drugome mjestu.⁵

Prije dolaska Rimljana na splitskom je poluotoku vjerojatno bilo naselje koje su osnovali možda isejski ili farski Grci u 4. ili u 3. stoljeću pr. Kr. i zvalo se *Aspalathos*.⁶ To se naselje najvjerojatnije nalazilo na području današnjih predjela Manuša i Špalacijuna. Naziv Špalacijuni ili Spalacijuni istog je postanka kao i ime Split i relik je izvornog naziva naselja na tom području koje se zvalo *Aspalathos*. Grčka prisutnost na splitskom poluotoku nije ostavila značajnijeg traga. Dva grčka natpisa koja donosi Brunšmid, u Split

was found as part of a necropolis that was confirmed by urns from incineration graves.⁸ The necropolis has been dated to the period from the first century BC to the second century AD, while the inscription itself dates to the second century. It is interesting that this inscription was not carved according to the Roman form of grave inscriptions of the time, and Jelić believes that this inscription, as part of the necropolis, stood next to the road.⁹ Two Hellenistic constructions were found in the substructure of the crypto-portico at Diocletian's Palace which were initially believed to be the stair-like superstructure of Hellenistic tombs, but are today interpreted as wells or altar bases.¹⁰ Therefore, the existence of Greek ethnic community in the territory of the Split peninsula can be ascertained as such, but we cannot be entirely certain as to whether the Greeks had a settlement at Manuš.

After the Roman conquest and the organization of the Illyricum province, the situation in this region began to change. The former territory of the pre-Roman communities became state-owned land as part of the Salona ager, and only *Aspalathos* never had municipal administration.¹¹ This land was allocated to Italic settlers and veterans who traded in their years of combat to enjoy the idylls of suburban life. Remains of Roman parcelization that were still visible in the early twentieth century and architectural remains confirm that the area between Split

3 Marović 1953.

4 Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894.

5 Maršić 1997, str. 5-29.

6 Jelić, Bulić, Rutar 1894, 44; Novak 1928, str. 35; idem 1957, str. 17.

8 Jelić 1897, p. 35; T. Rismondo 2002, p. 260.

9 Jelić 1897, p. 35; Buškariol 1984, p. 82.

10 Cf. Marović 1959 (1963), pp. 119-121; Rismondo 2005, p. 244.

11 Suić 1996, p. 312.

su mogli biti dopremljeni iz Solina ili s Visa,⁷ dok je nadgrobnni natpis s Manuša pronađen u sastavu nekropole koja je potvrđena urnama s paljevinskim ukopima.⁸ Nekropola se datira od 1. st. pr. Kr. do 2. st. posl. Kr., dok se sam natpis datira u 2. stoljeće. Zanimljivo je i to da taj natpis nije klesan prema rimskoj formi nadgrobnih natpisa tog doba, a Jelić smatra da je kao dio nekropole stajao uz cestu.⁹ U supstrukciji kriptoportika Dioklecijanove palače sredinom prošlog stoljeća pronađene su dvije helenističke konstrukcije za koje se ispočetka mislilo da su stepenaste nadgradnje helenističkih grobova, tzv. *epitymbia*, a danas se tumače kao bunari ili baza oltara.¹⁰ Stoga, možemo samo ustanoviti postojanje grčkog etnika na području splitskog poluotoka, ali ne možemo biti posve sigurni da su Grci imali naselje upravo na Manušu.

S rimskim osvajanjem i organizacijom provincije Ilirik, situacija na ovom području počela se mijenjati. Nekadašnji teritorij predrimskih zajednica koje su nastavale ovaj prostor, postao je državno zemljište u sklopu salonitanskog agera, a samo naselje *Aspalathos* nije nikada imalo municipalnu samoupravu.¹¹ Ta se zemlja dodjeljivala italskim doseljenicima i veteranima koji su godine ratovanja zamijenili uživanjem u idili prigradskog života. Da se prostor između Splita i Solina, poznatiji kao splitsko polje, obrađivao u antici i da su se unutar njega nalazila gospodarska imanja, potvrđuju ostaci rimske parcelizacije koja je bila vidljiva još početkom 20. st., kao i ostaci arhitekture. Osim toga, postoji nekoliko splitskih predjela koji su dobili ime po imenima vlasnika iz rimskih vremena; radi se o tzv. predijalnim toponimima, no o njima će poslije biti govora. Čitav je salonitanski ager bio podijeljen na pravilne kvadrate (*centuriae*) površine 200 jugera (720 x 720 m).¹² Mreža centurija u ageru strogo je ortogonalna, s ravnim pravcima u oba smjera (u načelu *cardo maximus* sjever-jug, *decumanus maximus* istok-zapad).¹³ Ager se protezao negdje od današnjeg Kaštel Staroga, gdje je graničio s teritorijem Tragurija, pa sve do rijeke Žrnovnice, zahvativši tako današnje kaštelansko, solinsko i splitsko polje. Nešto manje od polovine tog područja bilo je organizirano u centurije (čitavo splitsko i solinsko polje, a u kaštelanskom do Kaštel Kambelovca) (slika 3).¹⁴ Splitsko plodno polje bilo je osnova za gospodarske aktivnosti žitelja Salone, koja je kao kolonija brojala oko 60.000 stanovnika. Osim već spomenutih veterana i Italika, posjede su mogli imati trgovci ili gradski vijećnici kao što je bio Lucije Granije Proklin (*L. Granius Proclinus*), dekurion i flamin u Ekvu i beneficijarij XIV. legije koji je pokopan na salonitanskom ageru, u današnjem splitskom predjelu Blatine-Smrdečac.¹⁵ Ara koja spominje Lucija Granija Proklina bila je,

and Solin, better known as *Splitsko polje*, or the Split Field, was under cultivation even then, and that there were farm estates on it. Besides this, there are several sections of Split named after the owners from the Roman era, so-called sectional toponyms, but these will be discussed later. The entire Salona ager was divided into regular squares (*centuriae*) with surface area of 200 iugeri (720 x 720 m).¹² The network of *centuriae* in the ager was rigidly orthogonal, with straight routes in both directions (in principle: *cardo maximus* north-south, *decumanus maximus* east-west).¹³ The ager extended from around the site of today's Kaštel Stari, where it bordered with the territory of Tragurium, up to the Žrnovnica River, encompassing today's Kaštel, Solin and Split fields. A little less than half of this territory was divided into *centuriae* (all of Split and Solin field, and in Kaštel field up to Kaštel Kambelovac) (Fig. 3).¹⁴ The fertile Split Field was the basis of economic activity of the residents of Salona, which was a colony with a population of 60,000. Besides the already mentioned veterans and Italic settlers, estates could also be held by merchants or city council members such as Lucius Granius Proclinus, a decurion and a flamen in Aequum, and a beneficiary of Legio XIV, who was buried in the Salona ager, in today's Split section called Blatine-Smrdečac.¹⁵ The altar which mentions Lucius Granius Proclinus was, according to Nenad Cambi, the central tombstone in a smaller cemetery found in this part of the ager.¹⁶ The location of this grave and the entire necropolis was in the extreme north-western corner of the tract, which can be determine on the basis of data on field paths that maintain the routes of the former network of roads between the plots of the ager's boundary system.¹⁷ Prior to this find, a torcular and fragments of Roman bricks with seals were found in Blatine, which could indicate the existence of work facilities.¹⁸ Some of the major urban thoroughfares in Split emerged precisely along the routes of the Roman centuriation that divided estates (e.g. today's Vukovarska street and Poljička road in the east-west direction, Zrinsko-Frankopanska in the north-south direction). Since the original appearance of centuriation on the Split peninsula can be shown with great precision, one can see that some of the finds were not located in the direction of centuriation or right next to it, but rather outside of it. This demonstrates that the *centuriae* were separated by routes among themselves (*limites intercisivi* or *subcessivi*) that divided the *centuriae* into four equal parts.¹⁹

In the Roman era, an east-west road passed above the Pazdigrad section that runs from Stobreč to Split, to the outpost (*mansio*) *Ad Dianam*, which acquired its name from the Temple of Diana on the Cape of Marjan located west of it. Pazdigrad is on the

7 Brunšmid 1998, str. 44, br. 28, 29.

8 Jelić 1897, str. 35; Rismondo 2002, str. 260.

9 Jelić 1897, str. 35; Buškariol 1984, str. 82.

10 Usp. Marović 1959 (1963), str. 119-121; Rismondo 2005, str. 244.

11 Suić 1996, str. 312.

12 Marasović, Oreb 1978, str. 78; Suić 2002, str. 162.

13 Suić 2002, str. 162.

14 Suić 1955, str. 17.

15 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 100.

12 Marasović, Oreb 1978, p. 78; Suić 2002, p. 162.

13 Suić 2002, p. 162.

14 Suić 1955, p. 17.

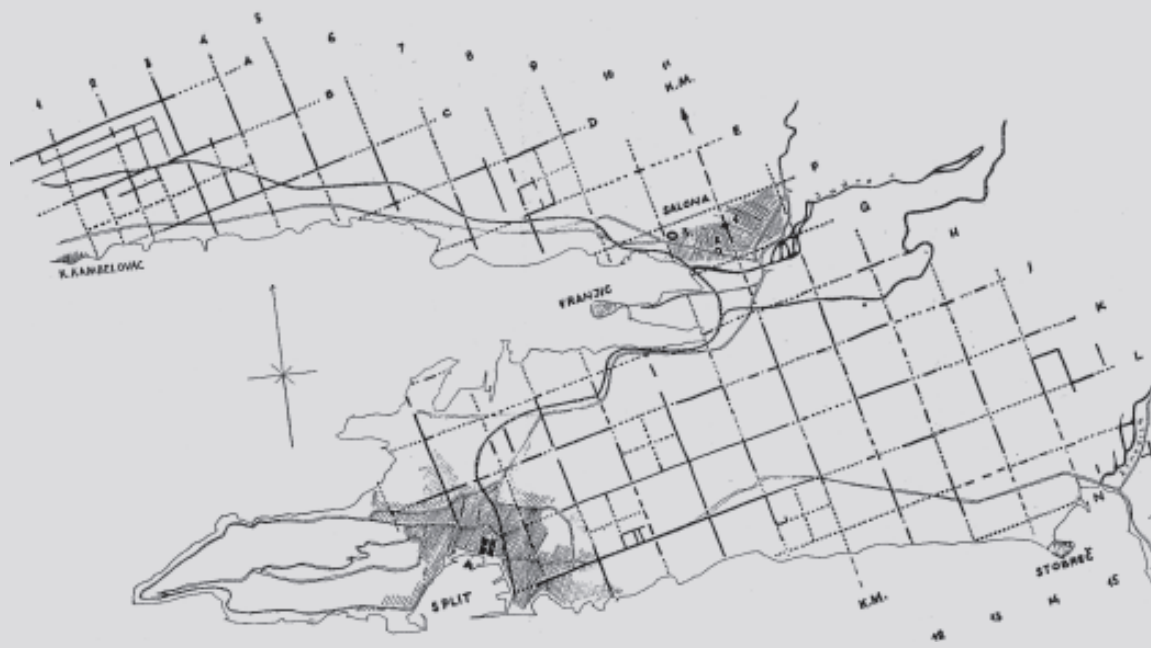
15 Cambi-Rapanić 1979, p. 100.

16 Cambi 1986, p. 102.

17 Cambi 1986, p. 102.

18 Bulić 1920, p. 196; Marasović, Oreb 1978, p. 97.

19 Suić 1955, p. 18.



Slika 3.

Prikaz centurijacije splitskog poluotoka (preuzeto iz M. Suić, *Odabrani radovi iz stare povijesti Hrvatske*)

Figure 3.

Depiction of centuriation on the Split Peninsula (from M. Suić, *Odabrani radovi iz stare povijesti Hrvatske*)

prema Nenadu Cambiju, središnji nadgrobnji spomenik na manjem grobištu koje se nalazilo na ovom predjelu agera.¹⁶ Taj grob i čitava nekropola nalazili su se na krajnjem sjeverozapadnom uglu parcele, što se može odrediti na osnovi podataka poljskih putova koji drže pravac negdašnje mreže cesta među parcelama sustava limitacije agera.¹⁷ Prije tog nalaza na Blatinama su nađeni torkular i fragmenti rimskih opeka s pečatima, što bi moglo ukazivati na postojanje gospodarstvenog objekta.¹⁸ Neke od važnijih gradskih prometnica u Splitu nastale su upravo na smjeru pružanja rimske centurijacije koja je odvajala posjede (npr. današnja Vukovarska ulica i Poljička cesta u smjeru istok-zapad, Zrinsko-Frankopanska u smjeru sjever-jug). Kako se s velikom preciznošću može prikazati izvorni izgled centurijacije na splitskom poluotoku (slika 3), tako se može vidjeti i da se neka od nalazišta ne nalaze na pravcu ili odmah uz pravac centurijacije, nego izvan njega. To pokazuje da su centurije unutar sebe također bile podijeljene pravcima (*limites intercessivi* ili *subcessivi*), koji su centuriju dijelili na četiri jednaka dijela.¹⁹

Iznad predjela Pazdigrad u antici je u smjeru istok-zapad prolazila cesta od Stobreča do Splita, odnosno do postaje (*mansio*) *Ad Dianam*, koja je ime dobila prema Dijaninu hramu na rtu Marjana smještenom zapadnije od te postaje. Pazdigrad se nalazi u prvoj polovini rute, odnosno bliži je Epetiju nego lokalitetu *Ad Dianam*. Sa sjeverne je strane Pazdigrad omeđen modernom cestom koja

first half of the route, closer to Epetium than *Ad Dianam*. To the north, Pazdigrad is bordered by a modern road that emerged on the Roman-era road. This section is the city's south-eastern end, east of the Church of St. Lawrence. This church was constructed in the ninth or tenth century, and it was first mentioned in 1250 as *S. Laurentius Paganus*.²⁰ Jelić, Bulić and Skok associated the term *paganus* with the survival of a pagan population in Late Antiquity, which had its own enclave in the Pazdigrad area.²¹ However, a simple consideration of the geographic location of Pazdigrad, which is only a few kilometres from the Palace, makes this unlikely. Namely, once the Christian era began, it is difficult to believe that an entire pagan community could continue to exist along a main road and later have an entire area named after it.²² The toponym *paganus* is derived from *pagus*, meaning that the Church of St. Lawrence was located in a rural tract (*pagus*), and not in a settlement.²³ Additionally, the area of Pazdigrad, Blatine and Visoka were, according to Cambi and Rapanić, *pagi* to Salona, (A)Spalato and Epetium, and thus they remained even later.²⁴

Over the past 150 years, Roman-era artefacts were discovered all along the Roman-era road that passed through some of today's sections of Split. The tomb altar and the remains of the work building in Blatine have already been mentioned, it would also be

16 Cambi 1986, str. 102.

17 Cambi 1986, str. 102.

18 Bulić 1920, str. 196; Marasović, Oreb 1978, str. 97.

19 Suić 1955, str. 18.

20 Marasović, Oreb 1978, p. 98.

21 Jelić 1897, p. 38; Skok 1952, p. 37.

22 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, p. 96.

23 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, p. 96, 97.

24 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, p. 97.

je nastala upravo nad antičkom. Predio se nalazi na jugoistočnom kraju grada, istočno od crkve sv. Lovre. Ta je crkva sagrađena u 9. ili 10. stoljeću, a prvi put se spominje godine 1250., kao *S. Laurentius Paganus*.²⁰ Jelić, Bulić i Skok su termin *paganus* povezali s prežitkom poganskog stanovništva u kasnoj antici koje je imalo svoju enklavu na području Pazdigrada.²¹ Već na samu pomisao o geografskom smještaju Pazdigrada, koji je samo nekoliko kilometara od Palače, to se čini nemogućim. Naime, u doba kršćanstva bilo je nezamislivo da uz glavne ceste može preostati naselje poganske zajednice po kojem bi se poslije nazvao čitav prostor.²² Toponim *paganus* izveden je od *pagus*, odnosno crkva sv. Lovre nalazila se u polju (*pagus*), a ne u naselju.²³ Osim toga, područja Pazdigrada, Blatina i Visoke u antici su u odnosu na Salonu, (A)Spalato i Epetij, kako misle Cambi i Rapanić, bili *pagi* i takvima su ostali i kasnije.²⁴

Duž antičke ceste koja je prolazila kroz neke od današnjih splitskih predjela u posljednjih su 150 godina povremeno nalaženi antički ostaci. Već smo spomenuli nalaz nadgrobne are i ostatke gospodarskog objekta na Blatinama, a bilo bi dobro spomenuti i neka važnija nalazišta sa sličnim obilježjima u blizini cesta koje su išle splitskim poluotokom.

U 19. stoljeću je na obližnjem Žnjanu, kod Gospine crkve, otkriveno antičko groblje s grobnicama od ulomaka amfora i hidrija datirano u 2. i 3. st.²⁵ Još i prije otkrića groblja bio je poznat pronalazak nadgrobnog natpisa Seksta Atilija Kvartina (*Sex. Atilius Quartinus*) i supruge mu Julije Sekunde (*Iulia Secunda*) iz 2. st.²⁶ Samo ime Žnjan može se objasniti postankom od *lunianum* (*sc. praedium*), jer je na tom mjestu u antici bio posjed nekog Junija.²⁷ U Dragovodama, gdje je bilo raskrižje rimske ceste *Salona-Spalato-Epetio*, nađena je rimska cisterna, dva natpisa, od kojih je jedan iz 1. st.,²⁸ a drugi iz 3. st., potom novac iz 1.-3. st., kip Kibebe, reljef s prikazom Dijane i još mnogo sitnih nalaza.²⁹ Dalje na zapad, na Visokoj, između Dragovoda i Gripa, nađeni su rimski grobovi, jedan nadgrobni natpis³⁰ i žrtvenik posvećen Silvanu i geniju grada Epetija iz 1. st.³¹ Luka Jelić ističe taj natpis kao iznimno značajan, smatrajući kako se iz njega čita da je ovo područje u 1. stoljeću bilo dio epetijskog agera.³² Po njegovu je mišljenju i prostor oko Žnjana i Pazdigrada također pripadao epetijskom, a ne salonitanskom ageru. Nadalje kaže da je i naselje (*pagus*) na prostoru od Špalacjuna do Manuša moglo pripadati Epetiju, jer smatra da je na tom

worthwhile to point out some of the more important discovery sites with similar features near the roads that ran along the Split peninsula.

In nearby Žnjan in the nineteenth century, near the Church of Our Lady, a Roman-era cemetery with graves containing amphora and hydria fragments dated to the second and third centuries.²⁵ Even before this cemetery was found, the tomb inscription of Sextus Atilius Quartinus and his wife Iulia Secunda from the second century were known.²⁶ The very name Žnjan can be explained as deriving from *lunianum* (*sc. praedium*), i.e. the estate of someone named Junius was located at this site in the Roman era.²⁷ In Dragovode, where the Roman-era *Salona-Spalato-Epetio* roads intersected, a cistern, two inscriptions, of which one is from the first,²⁸ and the other from the third century, a statue of Cybelle, a relief portraying Diana and many other artefacts²⁹ were found. Further to the west, at Visoka between Dragovode and Gripe, Roman graves, a tomb inscription³⁰ and altar dedicated to Silvanus and the gens of Epetium from the first century³¹ were found. Luka Jelić stresses this inscription as very important, believing that it indicates that this area was a part of the Epetium ager in the first century.³² According to Jelić, the area around Žnjan and Pazdigrad also belonged to the Epetium rather than Salona ager. He furthermore stated that the settlement (*pagus*) from Špalacjuni to Manuš may have belonged to Epetium, because he believed that a Greek population lived in this area, and that this *pagus* was close to the aforementioned settlements at Dragovode-Visoka, and Žnjan-Pazdigrad.³³ This view is, however, untenable because during the Roman era Epetium came under the Salona ager and had no municipal autonomy, rather it was probably an ager prefecture of Salona,³⁴ while the aforementioned altar may have been brought from somewhere else. At Sućidar in the past century the remains of two Late Antiquity necropolises were found that were also located along the road that led to Epetium.³⁵ The road went on to Gripe, where the remains of burial urn graves, a marble sarcophagus and remains of Roman-era architecture destroyed during construction works³⁶ were found. South of Gripe, the road went along the coast next to the Pojišan section, which was named after a certain *Pansa*.³⁷ He had his estate here during

20 Marasović, Oreb 1978, str. 98.

21 Jelić 1897, str. 38; Skok 1952, str. 37.

22 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 96.

23 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 96, 97.

24 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 97.

25 Jelić 1897, str. 38; Rismondo 2002, str. 261.

26 CIL III, 2194; Jelić 1897, str. 38; Rismondo 2002, str. 261.

27 Skok 1952, str. 25.

28 CIL III, Suppl. 8736; Jelić 1897, str. 33,34; Rismondo 2002, str. 261.

29 Bulić 1923 str. 82; Marasović, Oreb 1978, str. 97, 98.

30 Bulić 1887, str. 193; CIL III, 10183; Jelić 1897, str. 34; Rismondo 2002, str. 261.

31 Bulić 1893, str. 31; Jelić 1897, str. 34.

32 Jelić 1897, str. 34.

25 Jelić 1897, p. 38; Rismondo 2002, p. 261.

26 CIL III, 2194; Jelić 1897, p. 38; Rismondo 2002, p. 261.

27 Skok 1952, p. 25.

28 CIL III, Suppl. 8736; Jelić 1897, p. 33,34; Rismondo 2002, p. 261.

29 Bulić 1923 p. 82; Marasović-Oreb 1978, p. 97, 98.

30 Bulić 1887, p. 193; CIL III, 10183; Jelić 1897, p. 34; Rismondo 2002, p. 261.

31 Bulić 1893, p. 31; Jelić 1897, p. 34.

32 Jelić 1897, p. 34.

33 Jelić 1897, p. 41.

34 Suić 1996, p. 311

35 Oreb, Marin 1980, pp. 55-59; Rismondo 2000, pp. 505-507.

36 Marasović, Oreb 1978, p. 95; Rismondo 2002, p. 259.

37 Skok 1952, p. 23.

području živjelo grčko stanovništvo, a taj se *pagus* nalazio u blizini spomenutih naselja na Dragovodama-Visokoj, odnosno Žnjanu-Pazdigradu.³³ Ta teza, međutim, nije održiva, jer je Epetij u rimskom razdoblju ušao u sastav salonitanskog agera i nije imao nikakve municipalne autonomije, ali je vrlo vjerojatno predstavljao agersku prefekturu Salone,³⁴ spomenuti je žrtvenik mogao i naknadno biti odnekud donesen. Na Sućidru su u prošlom stoljeću nađeni ostaci dviju kasnoantičkih nekropola koje su također bile uz cestu što je vodila prema Epetiju.³⁵ Cesta vodi dalje do Gripa, gdje su otkriveni ostaci grobova u urnama, mramorni sarkofag i ostaci antičke arhitekture koji su uništeni prilikom građevinskih radova.³⁶ Južno od Gripa, na cesti koja je išla uz obalu, u predjelu Pojišan - koji je ime dobio prema nekom Pansi (*Pansa*),³⁷ koji je u rimsko doba ondje imao svoj posjed³⁸ - pronađeni su pri kraju 19. st. rimski grobovi sa svjetiljčicama i balzamarijima i žrtvenik posvećen nimfama.³⁹

U najnovije vrijeme provedena su arheološka istraživanja na lokalitetu *Ad basilicas pictas* na Manušu, koja su donijela zanimljive rezultate. Naime, bazikalni kompleks iz razdoblja 5.-6. stoljeća nastao je na temeljima starije antičke građevine (teatra ili odeona?) datirane Trajanovim novcem u 1.-2. stoljeće.⁴⁰

Zapadno od Palače poznato je nekoliko nalaza koji se datiraju u razdoblje 1.-3. stoljeća. Spomenici uglavnom nadgrobno karaktera na Šperunu, u Varošu i na Dobrome su kao spoliji ugrađeni u stambene objekte.⁴¹ Pretpostavlja se da je na području Dobrog bilo antičko naselje (*vicus*) s nekropolom koja se prostirala na širem području.⁴² U Lori, na sjeverozapadu splitskog poluotoka, prije četrdesetak godina otkrivena je nekropola čiji nalazi pokazuju kontinuitet ukapanja od druge polovine 1. do ranog 3. stoljeća.⁴³ Slično kao i na Dobrome, broj ukopa i širina površine koju je zauzimala nekropola ukazivali bi na to da je to bilo groblje nekog posjeda ili manje aglomeracije.⁴⁴ U tim istraživanjima nisu pronađeni ni natpisi ni tragovi arhitekture, ali u blizini nekropole već je odavno bio pronađen natpis uzidan u južni zid samostanske crkve sv. Marije.⁴⁵ Natpis, koji je zasigurno izvorno bio ugrađen u neki zid, spominje grobnu parcelu unutar koje se nalazila kuća za jelo (*taberna*). U njoj su se održavali obredi u pokojnikovu čast na spomen-dane.⁴⁶

Roman times,³⁸ and toward the end of the nineteenth century, Roman graves with small lanterns and balsam decanters and an altar dedicated to nymphs³⁹ were found here.

The most recent archaeological research was conducted at the *Ad basilicas pictas* site at Manuš, which generated some interesting results. The basilica complex from the fifth/sixth century was erected on the foundations of the older building from Antiquity (a theatre or odeon) dated to the first/second century based on Trajan's coins.⁴⁰

Several finds are known to the west of the Palace that date back to the first to third centuries. Monuments of a generally tombstone character were incorporated into housing buildings as spolia at Šperun, Varoš and Dobri.⁴¹ It is assumed that there was a Roman-era settlement (*vicus*) in the Dobri area with a necropolis that extended over the entire tract.⁴² At Lora, on the north-western Split peninsula, a necropolis was discovered about forty years ago, and the artefacts found there indicate the continuity of interment there from the second half of the first century to the early third century.⁴³ Similar to Dobro, the number of burials and the extent of the surface occupied by the necropolis indicated that this was the cemetery of an estate or a smaller agglomeration.⁴⁴ At that time, no inscriptions near traces of architecture were found, although near this necropolis an inscription built into the southern wall of the monastic Church of St. Mary was known to exist even earlier.⁴⁵ The inscription, which was certainly originally built into a wall, mentions a grave tract within which there was a hut for serving food (*taberna*). Rituals to honour the memorial days of the deceased were held here.⁴⁶

It would be interesting to mention that the Split peninsula is an area rich in sources of water. Even today, some parts of the city have names that testify to Split's abundance of water, so today's section Dobri comes from the term *dobar izvor* (good spring), *dobra voda* (good water), Ital. *Pozzobon*, while the toponym Radunica is derived from the Old Slavonic word *radun*, which indicates a source of water.⁴⁷ Even today there is a spring in Radunica from which potable water constantly flows. There is in fact a house in Radunica with a walled-in relief portraying a nymph and an inscription mentioning the dedicant *Euaristus*,⁴⁸

33 Jelić 1897, str. 41.

34 Suić 1996, str. 311.

35 Oreb, Marin 1980, str. 55-59; Rismondo 2000, str. 505-507.

36 Marasović, Oreb 1978, str. 95; Rismondo 2002, str. 259.

37 Skok 1952, str. 23.

38 U izvorima greškom *in Panisano* umjesto *in Pansiano*. Latinska izvedenica koja je nastala spajanjem kognomena *Pansa* i sufiksa *-ianus*. Dakako, misli se na *praedium* ili *fundus*. Usp. Skok 1952, str. 23.

39 Bulić 1897, str. 36, br. 2267; Jelić 1897, str. 38.

40 Oreb, Rismondo, Topić 1999, str. 15.

41 Rismondo 2002, str. 258.

42 Cambi 1990.

43 Cambi 1986, str. 103.

44 Cambi 1986, str. 103.

45 Cambi 1986, str. 103; CIL III, 2082.

46 Cambi 1986, str. 104.

38 In the sources it erroneously reads *in Panisano* instead of *in Pansiano*, a Latin derivative which emerged by combining the cognomens *Pansa* and the suffix *-ianus*. Certainly, this means *praedium* or *fundus*. Cf. Skok 1952, p. 23.

39 Bulić 1897, p. 36, no. 2267; Jelić 1897, p. 38.

40 Oreb, Rismondo, Topić 1999, p. 15.

41 Rismondo 2002, p. 258.

42 Cambi 1990.

43 Cambi 1986, p. 103.

44 Cambi 1986, p. 103.

45 Cambi 1986, p. 103; CIL III, 2082.

46 Cambi 1986, p. 104.

47 Maršić 1998, p. 108.

48 Bulić 1887, p. 185, no. 193; CIL III, 8520; Maršić 1998, p. 108-110.

Zanimljivo bi bilo spomenuti da je splitski poluotok područje koje je vrlo bogato izvorima vode. Neki dijelovi grada i danas u svojim imenima čuvaju svjedočanstva o vodenom bogatstvu Splita, pa tako ime današnjeg predjela Dobri dolazi od *dobar izvor, dobra voda*, tal. *Pozzobon*, a toponim Radunica izveden je od staroslavenske riječi *radun*, koja označava izvor vode.⁴⁷ I danas postoji izvor u Radunici iz kojeg neprekidno teče pitka voda. Upravo je u jednoj kući u Radunici uzidan reljef s prikazom nimfe i natpisom koji spominje dedikanta Euarista (*Euaristus*),⁴⁸ dok se na Dobrome, među već spomenutim spolijima, nalazi i reljef s nimfom koja na glavi nosi kantar.⁴⁹ Na starijim kartama splitskog polja ucrtani su bunari i potoci od kojih su neki i danas postojeći, pa se tako kroz predjele Trstenik i Pazdigrad dva potoka ulijevaju u more.⁵⁰ Ovdje se još može spomenuti i toponim Smrdećac, koji se u srednjem vijeku nazivao *ad aquas fetidas* i *ad puteum fetidum*, a označavao bi mjesto na kojem se nalazio izvor ili bunar smrdljive, možda sumporne vode.⁵¹ Smrdećac se nalazi na predjelu Blatine, koji se toponim također može vezati uz prisutnost vode. Sumpornih vrela bilo je i na mjestu gdje je poslije izgrađena Dioklecijanova palača i najvjerojatnije su se ona koristila u liječenju.⁵²

Opis stele

Stela je izrađena od kamena vapnenca, pravokutnog je oblika, vis. 111 cm, šir. 51 cm, deb. 12.5 cm. Na gornjem je dijelu otučena pri vrhu zabata, a lom se širi neravno u oba smjera do vrhova palmeta. Nadalje, manja se oštećenja nalaze mjestimično po cijeloj površini profilacije i ruba stele, dok se veća oštećenja nalaze na dnu stele, gdje nedostaje usadnik, te na jednome mjestu desnog ruba. Najvjerojatnije je do tog oštećenja došlo prilikom strojnog iskopa. Spomenik se kompozicijski može podijeliti u tri dijela. Prvi, gornji dio čini dvostruko profiliran uklesani zabat s rozetom od četiri srcolike latice u sredini, a trokutasta polja iznad njega ukrašena su akroterijima u obliku trokutnog postamenta na kojima stoje četverolisne palmete. Svaka od latica ima užlijebljenu liniju koja ih dijeli na dva dijela. Drugi dio čini natpisno polje profilirano na isti način kao i zabat, a treći, donji, dio predstavlja reljefni prikaz dviju ptica, vjerojatno golubica. Ptice su postavljene jedna nasuprot drugoj, a u kljunovima drže girlandu koja se u luku proteže od jednog do drugog kljuna. Girlanda je najuža na krajevima koji završavaju petljom, a najdeblja pri sredini, odnosno na dnu luka. Od prikaza ptica do dna sačuvanog dijela prazan je dio bez profilacije ili prikaza.

47 Maršić 1998, str. 108.

48 Bulić 1887, str. 185, br. 193; CIL III, 8520; Maršić 1998, str. 108-110.

49 Maršić 1998, str. 108, bilj. 10.

50 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 95.

51 Skok 1952, 37; Cambi, Rapanić 1979, str. 94, 95.

52 Rismondo 2005, str. 244-248.

while in Dobri, among the already mentioned spolia there is a relief of a nymph wearing a kantharos on her head.⁴⁹ Older maps of the Split Field have wells and streams drawn in, of which some exist even today, so that two streams flow through Trstenik and Pazdigrad into the sea.⁵⁰ Also worth mentioning here is the toponym Smrdećac, which was called *ad aquas fetidas* and *ad puteum fetidum* in the Middle Ages, and it designated a site at which spring or well of foul-smelling (in Croatian: *smrad* - stench), perhaps sulphurous, water was located.⁵¹ Smrdećac is a part of the Blatine section, which can also be associated with the presence of water (*blato* means mud in Croatian, although earlier the word was also used to refer to a pond or lake). There were probably also sulphurous springs at the site where Diocletian's Palace was later constructed, and they were probably used for medicinal purposes.⁵²

Description of the stela

The stela is made of limestone and rectangular in shape, with the following dimensions: height: 111 cm, length: 51 cm, width: 12.5 cm. On the upper portion there is indentation damage near the top of the pediment, and the fissure extends unevenly in both directions to the tips of the palmettes. Moreover, minor damage can be found at places along the entire surface of the moulding and stela edge, while there is greater damage at the bottom of the stela, where the base is missing, and at one point on the right edge. The damage was most likely incurred during excavation by heavy machinery. The monument can be divided into three parts in terms of composition. The first, upper portion consists of a double-moulded carved pediment with a rosette consisting of four heart-shaped petals in the middle, while the triangular field above it is decorated with acroteria shaped like a triangular pedestal on which four-leaf palmettes rest. Each of the petals contains a grooved line that divides them into two parts. The second portion consists of the inscription field moulded in the same manner as the pediment, while the third, lower portion constitutes a relief portrayal of two birds, probably doves. The birds are placed facing each other, holding a garland in their beaks which forms an arc from one beak to the other. The garland is narrowest at its tips, where it ends in knots, and thickest in the middle, at the bottom of the arc. From the birds to the bottom of the preserved section it is empty, with no moulding or portrayals.

The inscription is engraved in eight lines in the inscription field with dimensions of 38.3 x 57 cm, while the size of the letters varies from 5.5 cm in the first line to 2.1 cm in the penultimate line. The text of the inscription reads:

49 Maršić 1998, p. 108, note. 10.

50 Cambi, Rapanić 1979, p. 95.

51 Skok 1952, 37; Cambi, Rapanić 1979, p. 94, 95.

52 Rismondo 2005, pp. 244-248.

Natpis je urezan u osam redaka u natpisno polje dimenzija 38,3 x 57 cm, a veličina slova varira od 5,5 cm u prvom retku do 2,1 cm u predzadnjem retku. Test natpisa glasi:

C IVLIVS
AMPLIATVS
IVLIAE MOLLATIN
ANN V MENS VII
5 IDEM SERVANDO
ANNVCL MENS V
HSS FILIS SVIS
POSVIT

C(aius) Iulius/ Ampliatus/ Iuliae Mollatinae/ ann(or)um) V mens(ium) VII/ idem Servando/ annuc(u)l(o) mens(ium) V/ h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) fili(i)s suis/ posuit.

Prijevod: Gaj Julije Amplijat postavio je (ovaj spomenik) svojoj ovdje sahranjenoj djeci: Juliji Molatini, od pet godina i sedam mjeseci, i Servandu, od godinu dana i pet mjeseci.

Slova natpisa su lijepa i pravilna, i tipološki bi se mogla definirati kao slova kvadratne kapitale, premda na nekim mjestima i ne pokazuju takva obilježja. U ligaturi stoje slova L i I u drugom retku (slovo L u riječi *Ampliatus* je malo veće od ostalih). Interpunkcija u obliku trokuta (*triangulum distinguens*) uklesana je u prvom retku između kratice predimena i gentilicija, u petom retku između IDEM i SERVANDO, zatim u šestom retku između svake riječi i u sedmom retku između HSS i FILIS. Slovo C je izdignuto u odnosu na slova u prvom retku.

Gaj Julije Amplijat, sudeći prema imenu, vjerojatno je bio autohtoni stanovnik ovog područja koji je dobio rimsko građansko pravo u vrijeme dinastije Julija. Njegov bi kognomen, koji je zapravo particip glagola *amplio 1*, uvećavam, povećavam (*ampliatus*, dosl. uvećan, obilan; širok), mogao biti latinski prijevod nekog autohtonog imena koje nije moguće rekonstruirati. Isti je slučaj i s djevojčicom Julijom Molatinom, čiji se kognomen možda može dovesti u vezu s latinskim pridjevom *mollis*, mekan, nježan, kao i s djetetom čiji je kognomen *Servandus*, što je gerundiv glagola *servo 1*, čuvati. Izostanak imena majke ukazuje možda na to da je u to vrijeme bila pokojna.

Gentilicij *Iulius* ukazuje na zadobiveno rimsko građansko pravo u prvoj polovini 1. st., u doba dinastije Julija. Unatoč tome što je Gaj Julije Amplijat bio rimski građanin, na natpisu se ne navodi tribus u koji je bio upisan, što je čest slučaj kod novijeg građanstva i stranaca.⁵³

Kognomen *Ampliatus* poznat je u cijelom Carstvu u svim razdobljima, a karakterističan je za mnoge robove i oslobođenike.⁵⁴ Na salonitanskom su području otkrije poznata četiri natpisa na

C IVLIVS
AMPLIATVS
IVLIAE MOLLATIN
ANN V MENS VII
5 IDEM SERVANDO
ANNVCL MENS V
HSS FILIS SVIS
POSVIT

C(aius) Iulius/ Ampliatus/ Iuliae Mollatinae/ ann(or)um) V mens(ium) VII/ idem Servando/ annuc(u)l(o) mens(ium) V/ h(ic) s(iti) s(unt) fili(i)s suis/ posuit.

Translation: Gaius Julius Ampliatus has placed (this monument) to his children buried here: Julia Mollatina, aged five years and seven months, and Servandus, aged one year and five months.

The letters in the inscription are fine and regular, and can be typologically defined as quadratic capitals, even though they do not exhibit these features in some places. The letters L and I in the second line are in ligature (the letter L in the word *Ampliatus* is slightly larger than the rest). Punctuation in the form of a triangle (*triangulum distinguens*) is engraved in the first line between the abbreviations of the praenomen and gentilician, in the fifth line between IDEM and SERVANDO, then in the sixth line between each word and in the seventh line between HSS and FILIS. The letter C is elevated in relation to the letters in the first line.

Gaius Julius Ampliatus, judging by the name, was probably an indigenous resident of this area who acquired Roman citizenship during the time of the Julian dynasty. His cognomen, which is essentially a participle of the verb *amplio 1*, 'I enhance, I increase' (*ampliatus*, literally: enhanced, abundant; broad) could be a Latin translation of some indigenous name that cannot be reconstructed. The same applies to the little girl Julia Mollatina, whose cognomen can perhaps be associated with the Latin translation of *mollis*, soft, gentle, just as the child with the cognomen *Servandus*, which is a gerund of the verb *servo 1*, to guard. The absence of the mother's name indicates that at the time she had probably died previously.

The gentilician *Iulius* indicates Roman citizenship acquired in the first half of the first century during the reign of the Julian dynasty. Despite the fact that Gaius Julius Ampliatus was a Roman citizen, the tribus in which he was registered is not cited in the inscription, which was often the case for recent citizens and foreigners.⁵³

The cognomen *Ampliatus* was known throughout the Empire in all periods, and it is characteristic of many slaves and freedmen.⁵⁴ In the Salona area there are four known inscriptions in which this cognomen appears.⁵⁵ The cognomen *Mollatina* is ἀπαξ

53 Calabi, Limentani 1973, str. 162.

54 Kajanto 1965, str. 349; Alföldy 1969, str. 148.

53 Calabi, Limentani 1973, p. 162.

54 Kajanto 1965, p. 349; Alföldy 1969, p. 148.

55 Alföldy 1969, p. 148, s.v. *Ampliatus* and OPEL I, p. 50, s.v. *Ampliatus*.



Slika 4.
Prikaz ptica na steli iz Pazdigrada

Figure 4.
Depiction of birds on the stela from Pazdigrad

kojima se javlja taj kognomen.⁵⁵ Kognomen *Mollatina* je ἄπαξ λεγόμενον, odnosno, još nigdje nije zabilježen u čitavoj latinskoj onomastici, dok kognomen *Servandus* do sada još nije bio potvrđen u Dalmaciji,⁵⁶ ali je poznat drugdje u Carstvu u svim razdobljima.⁵⁷

Smatramo da bi stelu trebalo datirati u drugu polovinu 1. stoljeća. Za to postoji nekoliko elemenata: gentilicij *Iulius* koji su dobivali carski oslobođenici i autohtoni stanovnici u 1. stoljeću; kompozicijsko rješenje stele kakve su se radile u 1. st. i početkom 2. st. te formula HSS, značajka natpisa prvog stoljeća. Naposljetku, vrsta slova natpisa karakteristična je za isto vremensko razdoblje. Za usporedbu dobri bi primjeri bili: nadgrobni spomenik Marka Antonija Sura (*M. Antonius Surus*), veterana *leg. IV. F. F.*, koji je pronađen u Saloni, a datira se u drugu polovinu 1. stoljeća;⁵⁸ stela Gaja Asurija (*C. Asurius*), vojnika *leg. VII*, datirana prije 42. godine;⁵⁹ stela Seksta Atilija (*Sex. Atilius*), veterana *leg. VII.*, također datirana prije 42. godine.⁶⁰

Prema analogijama sa stelama koje su pronađene na području antičke Histrije, ovaj bi oblik odgovarao tipu arhitektonskih stela sa zabatom i uokvirenim natpisnim poljem, koje se datiraju u drugu i

λεγόμενον, meaning that it has not been recorded anywhere in Latin onomastics, while the cognomen *Servandus* has so far not been confirmed in Dalmatia,⁵⁶ although it was known elsewhere in the Empire in all periods.⁵⁷

It is this author's opinion that the stela should be dated to the second half of the first century. There are several elements to validate this: the gentilician *Iulius* that was given to imperial freedmen and indigenous residents in the first century; the compositional design of the stela as they were done in the first century and early second century and the formula HSS, which is characteristic of first-century inscriptions. Finally, the type of letters in the inscription are characteristic of this same period. Good examples for comparison are: the tombstone of Marcus Antonius Surus, a veteran of the 'loyal and faithful' (*F.F.*) Legio IV that was found in Salona, and dates to the second half of the first century;⁵⁸ the stela of Gaius Asurius, a soldier of Legio VII, dated to before 42 AD;⁵⁹ and the stela of Sextus Atilius, a veteran of Legio VII, also dated to before 42 AD.⁶⁰

55 Alföldy 1969, str. 148, s.v. *Ampliatius* i OPEL I, str. 50, s.v. *Ampliatius*.

56 Ovaj kognomen nije zabilježen kod Alföldyja; u OPEL IV, Wien 2002, str. 73, s.v. *Servandus*, navedeni su za Italiju, Hispaniju, Narbonsku, Belgijsku i Lugdunsku Galiju, Panoniju, Norik, Britaniju i Gornju Meziju.

57 Kajanto 1965, str. 360.

58 CIL III, 2004; Patsch 1899, str. 494, 495.

59 CIL III, 8723; Tončinić 2004, str. 25.

60 CIL III, 2913; Tončinić 2004, str. 29.

56 This cognomen was not noted in Alföldy; in OPEL IV, Vienna 2002, p. 73, s.v. *Servandus*, they are cited for Italia, Hispania, Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Belgica and Gallia Lugdunensis, Pannonia, Noricum, Britannia and Upper Moesia.

57 Kajanto 1965, p. 360.

58 CIL III, 2004; Patsch 1899, p. 494, 495.

59 CIL III, 8723; Tončinić 2004, p. 25.

60 CIL III, 2913; Tončinić 2004, p. 29.



Slika 5.
Prikaz ptica koje drže girlandu
s nadgrobnog natpisa Lucija
Mamija Maksima i Lucija Mamija
Severa (preuzeto iz M. Šašel Kos,
*The Roman Inscriptions in the
National museum of Slovenia,*
str. 302)

Figure 5.
Depiction of birds holding a
garland from the grave stela with
the inscription of Lucius Mammius
Maximus and Lucius Mammius
Severus (from M. Šašel Kos, *The
Roman Inscriptions in the National
Museum of Slovenia,* p. 302)

treću četvrtinu 1. stoljeća;⁶¹ to je jedan od važnijih dokaza koji ide u prilog dataciji našeg spomenika u isto ili malo kasnije razdoblje.

Donji dio stele, kako je već spomenuto, ukrašen je plitkim reljefom ptica koje drže girlandu (slika 4). Sličan prikaz dviju ptica koje u kljunu drže girlandu, nalazi se na steli Lucija Mamija Maksima

Based on analogies with stelae found in the territory of ancient Histria, this form would correspond to the architectural stela type with pediment and framed inscription field that date to the second and third quarters of the first century⁶¹ and this is among the most important evidence backing the dating of this monument to the same or slightly later period.

The lower portion of the stela, as already mentioned, is decorated with a shallow relief portraying birds holding a garland (Fig. 4). A similar portrayal of two birds holding a garland in their beaks can be found on the stela of Lucius Mammius Maximus and Lucius Mammius Severus from Begunj at Gorenjsko in Slovenia⁶² (Fig. 5). This stela dates to the end of the first or beginning of the second century.⁶³ The entire lower portion of the stela has no moulding on the sides, and there is a great deal of empty space on the stone below the portrayal of the doves. Stelae on which a large part of the lower half is undecorated were generally found throughout the Empire during the first century. Three monuments from Poetovio can serve for the sake of comparison: the stela of Gaius Servilius⁶⁴, a soldier of Legio XIII *Augusta*, which shows similarities with the stela from Split in its upper portion; the stela of Gaius Cornelius Proculus⁶⁵, a soldier of Legio XIII *Gemina*; the stela of freedman *Vicarius* and freedwoman *Musculeia Sura*⁶⁶; and the stela of the freedman Publius Cadius⁶⁷ from Galižana.

At first glance the inscription is legible, but it contains several interesting linguistic details that merit a little attention. There are many inscriptions that pose similar problems, exhibiting irregularities in relation to Classical Latinity, and too little attention was dedicated to precisely such trivial linguistic deviations during publication, rather they were explained away as “carving errors” or they were simply ignored.

Here it is a matter of a word in the inscription engraved in its abbreviated form as ANNVL. This is an adjective which in its standard form is *anniculus*, one-year. Both *anniculus* and *annuculus* have been confirmed in Roman literature, while only the form *annuc(l)us* has been confirmed in inscriptions from Dalmatia. However, the question arises as to which form was more suitable as far as the language itself is concerned: *anniculus* or *annuculus*? This author believes there is no answer to this question, because in both cases this word was pronounced with some kind of sound between *u* and *i*. As an example of this sound, I here cite the Greek letter upsilon (*υ*) and the German umlaut-*ü* (*ü*). There is confirmation of this pronunciation in Quintilianus, who said that in such words a sound between *u* and *i* can be heard.⁶⁸ In many places in earlier Latin inscriptions the older form

61 Starac 2000, str. 67.

61 Starac 2000, p. 67.

62 AJJ no.219; Šašel Kos 1997, pp. 301, 302, no. 99.

63 Šašel Kos 1997, p. 302, no. 99

64 CIL III, 10879; AJJ no.381.

65 CIL III, 14355²; AJJ no. 372.

66 CIL III, 13414; AJJ no. 410.

67 Starac 2001, no 40-42.

68 Quint. Inst. or, 1, 4, 8: “*medius est quidam u et i litterae sonus*”.

i Lucija Mamija Severa (*L. Mammius Maximus, L. Mammius Severus*) iz Begunja na Gorenjskom u Sloveniji (slika 5).⁶² Ta se stela datira u kraj 1. ili početak 2. stoljeća.⁶³ Cijeli donji dio stele je bez profilacije sa strane, a ispod prikaza golubica ima još podosta praznog prostora na kamenu. Stele kojima je veliki dio donje polovine neukrašen, nalazimo uglavnom u 1. stoljeću na području čitavog Carstva. Za usporedbu će poslužiti tri spomenika iz Petoviona: stela Gaja Servilija⁶⁴ (*C. Servilius*), vojnika *leg. VIII. Aug.*, koja i u gornjem dijelu pokazuje sličnosti sa stelom iz Splita; stela Gaja Kornelija Prokula⁶⁵ (*C. Cornelius Proculus*), vojnika *leg. XIII. Gem*; stela oslobođenika Vikarija (*Vicarius*) i oslobođenice Muskuleje Sure (*Musculeia Sura*);⁶⁶ stela oslobođenika Publija Kacija (*P. Cadius*)⁶⁷ iz Galižane.

Natpis je na prvi pogled čitak, ali sadrži nekoliko zanimljivih jezičnih detalja o kojima bi trebalo ponešto kazati. Mnogo je natpisa sa sličnim problemima ili nepravilnostima u odnosu na klasični latinitet kod kojih prilikom objave nije posvećeno dovoljno pozornosti tim sitnim jezičnim odstupanjima; oni se katkad objašnjavaju tek "klesarskom pogreškom" ili im se uopće ne poklanja pozornost.

Radi se o riječi koja je na natpisu uklesana skraćenim oblikom kao ANNVC. To je pridjev koji u svom standardnom obliku glasi *anniculus*, jednogodišnji. U rimskoj su književnosti potvrđeni i *anniculus* i *annuculus*, dok je na natpisima iz Dalmacije potvrđen samo oblik *annuc(l)us*. Postavlja se pitanje koji bi bio prikladniji oblik, u pogledu samog jezika, *anniculus* ili *annuculus*? Smatramo da na to nema odgovora jer se ta riječ u oba slučaja izgovarala s nekakvim glasom između *u* i *i*. Primjera radi, navest ćemo za takav glas grčki ipilon (*υ*) i njemačko *u* s prijeglasom (*ü*). Za takav izgovor postoji potvrda kod Kvintilijana, koji kaže da se u takvim riječima čuje glas koji je između *u* i *i*.⁶⁸ Na ranijim latinskim natpisima na mnogim je mjestima potvrđen stariji oblik riječi, u kojoj *u* dolazi umjesto *i*, npr. *lovei Optumo Maxumo, decumus*, itd.⁶⁹ U to doba Rimljani zasigurno nisu ni sami bili sigurni kako bi trebalo izgovarati i pisati takve riječi, pa je veći broj primjera takvih "neodlučnosti" na arhajskim natpisima. Nastavak *-umus* u superlativu bio je sasvim normalna pojava na latinskim natpisima republikanskog doba, dok je na kasnijim natpisima taj nastavak vraćen iz težnje za arhaiziranjem.⁷⁰ U rimskoj se književnosti to može vidjeti kod Plauta, Enija ili Terencija, kada je to još bilo dio svakodnevnog govora, ali i kod Salustija. No, u Salustijevo doba (druga četvrtina 1. st. pr. Kr.) latinski je jezik već bio pročišćen i usuglašeno je da se riječi dvojbenog izgovora pišu sa *i*. Stoga Salustijevo pisanje riječi koje imaju *u* umjesto *i*, nije posljedica njegove neodlučnosti kako bi neku riječ napisao, nego je rezultat njegove nakane da se izrazi arhaičnim stilom, jezikom

of words can be found in which *u* is used instead of *i*, e.g. *lovei Optumo Maxumo, decumus*, etc.⁶⁹ At that time, the Romans were themselves certainly unsure about how to pronounce and write such words, so there are many examples of such "indecisiveness". The suffix *-umus* in the superlative was an entirely normal feature in Latin inscriptions of the Republic era, while in later inscriptions this suffix was returned due to the desire to render archaic forms.⁷⁰ In Roman literature, this can be seen in the writings of Plautus, Ennius or Terence, when it was still a part of everyday speech, and in the writings of Salustius. However, in Salustius' time (second quarter of the first century AD), Latin had already been purified and harmonized, so that words with dubious pronunciations were written with an *i*. Thus, the writings of Salustius containing words with *u* instead of *i* are not the result of his uncertainty as to how to write a word, but rather an expression of his archaic style, which had otherwise been abandoned by that time.⁷¹ Since the Romans had no symbol for Latin words for the sound that was identical to the Greek letter *υ* (except *y* for Latinized Greek words), they were themselves uncertain as to how to write such words. This is precisely why in all eras of Latin literacy we can find inscriptions containing both variants of the same word. From the era of Claudius, who at the time attempted to introduce several new letters to the Latin alphabet (the so-called *litterae Claudianae*), there is the inscription of a soldier from the seventh legion from Tilverium, whose tomb epitaph contained words with the letter *y* rather than *i* (*lachrymans*).⁷² It is possible that such writing was the result of the Claudian reforms, even though *y* was not among the letters introduced under this reform (there was a separate letter for this). Throughout the Imperial period, there were other examples of words with the letter *y* at the place where *i* or *u* would otherwise be (e.g. *lachrymis, contybernali, lybens, gybernator*).⁷³

In Dalmatia, there are inscriptions in which the same substitution of *i* with *u* appears: the names *Septumia Ravonia Maxuma*,⁷⁴ *Septumius Secundus*,⁷⁵ the adjectives *optumae*,⁷⁶ *infelicissima*,⁷⁷ *ultuma*,⁷⁸ etc.

This is not the only interesting aspect of this word; besides the stylistic distinction, the word also has a characteristic local pronunciation. It is, namely, written with a syncope, i.e. in the word the vowel *u* between C and L is missing, so that it is read as

62 AIJ br.219; Šašel Kos 1997, str. 301, 302, br. 99.

63 Šašel Kos 1997, str. 302, br. 99.

64 CIL III, 10879; AIJ br.381.

65 CIL III, 14355²; AIJ br. 372.

66 CIL III, 13414; AIJ br. 410.

67 Starac 2001, str 40-42.

68 Quint. Inst. or, 1, 4, 8: "*medius est quidam u et i litterae sonus*".

69 CIL I²/02, 02953; CIL II²/02, 00321; Leumann 1977, str. 88.

70 Skok 1916, str. 14.

69 CIL I²/02, 02953; CIL II²/02, 00321; Leumann 1977, p. 88.

70 Skok 1916, p. 14.

71 The works of Salustius abound in such words. Even after a perfunctory glance at the Latin text, one immediately notices the characteristics of Salustius' style, e.g.: Sall. Bell. Cat; c. 1, *maxume*; c. 2, *plurimum, lubidinem, optumo*; c. 4, *existumo*; c. 5, *lubido*; c. 14, *facillum*, etc.

72 Fadić 1995, p. 170; Tončinić 2004, pp. 75, 76.

73 Leumann 1977, p. 89.

74 ILJug 2884.

75 F. Bulić 1900, p. 111.

76 ILJug 2158.

77 CIL III, 2722.

78 CIL III, 2597.

koji je u to doba već bio napušten.⁷¹ S obzirom na to da Rimljani za latinske riječi u principu nisu imali znak za glas koji bi bio istozvučan grčkome *u* (osim *y* za latinizirane grčke riječi), ni sami nisu bili sigurni kako napisati takvu riječ. Upravo zbog toga u svim razdobljima latinske pismenosti nailazimo na natpise koji imaju i jednu i drugu varijantu iste riječi. Iz doba cara Klaudija, koji je svojedobno htio uvesti nekoliko novih znakova u latinsko pismo (tzv. *litterae Claudianae*), poznat je natpis nadgrobnog epitafa vojnika VII. legije iz Tilurija koji ima riječ uklesanu slovom *y* umjesto *i* (*lachrymans*).⁷² Moguće je da je takvo pisanje posljedica Klaudijeve reforme, iako y nije bilo među znakovima koji su uvedeni njegovom reformom (za to je postojao poseban znak). Tijekom cijeloga razdoblja Carstva poznato je još primjera *s* y na mjestu gdje bi trebali stajali *i* ili *u* (npr. *lachrymis, contybernali, lybens, gybernator*).⁷³

U Dalmaciji su poznati natpisi gdje se javlja ista zamjena *i* sa *u*: imena *Septumia Ravonia Maxuma*,⁷⁴ *Septimius Secundus*,⁷⁵ pridjevi *optumae*,⁷⁶ *infelicissima*,⁷⁷ *ultima*,⁷⁸ itd.

To nije jedina zanimljivost ove riječi; osim što ima stilsku osobitost, riječ ima i značajku lokalnog izgovora. Naime, napisana je sa sinkopom, odnosno u riječi nedostaje vokal *u* između *C* i *L*, tako da se čitala *annuclo*, a ne *annuculo*. Tome u prilog idu natpisi pronađeni na salonitanskom području na kojima se čita *filio Iulio annuclo*,⁷⁹ *pater defuncti annucli*,⁸⁰ i *annuclae*.⁸¹ Spomenuti primjeri istovjetni su onome s našeg natpisa, jer imaju riječ napisanu sinkopom i znakom *u* umjesto *i*. Zanimljivo je i to da nismo naišli na oblik *annicl-*, dok se oblik *annucul-* javlja dosta rijetko.⁸² Primjera za ispadanje vokala *u* između *c* i *l* ima još: *Felicla*,⁸³ *Hercli*,⁸⁴ *Proclo*,⁸⁵ zatim već spomenuti kognomen *Proclinus*,⁸⁶ itd. Ispadanje vokala *u* između *c* i *l* značajka je svih romanskih jezika, a nastala je iz vulgarnog latiniteta.⁸⁷

U sedmom retku natpisa klesar je izostavio slovo *l* u riječi *FILIS*, odnosno, trebalo bi pisati *FILIIS*.

annuclo, and not *annuculo*. This is further backed by inscriptions found in the wider Salona area on which one can read *filio Iulio annuclo*,⁷⁹ *pater defuncti annucli*,⁸⁰ and *annuclae*.⁸¹ These examples are identical to the inscription being examined here, because they contain a word written with a syncope and the vowel *u* instead of *i*. It is interesting that the form *annicl-* was not found, while the form *annucul-* appears quite rarely.⁸² There are more examples of dropping the vowel *u* between *c* and *l*: *Felicla*,⁸³ *Hercli*,⁸⁴ *Proclo*,⁸⁵ and the already mentioned cognomen *Proclinus*,⁸⁶ etc. The missing vowel *u* between *c* and *l* is a characteristic phenomena of all Roman languages, and emerged via Vulgar Latin.⁸⁷

In the seventh line of the inscription, the mason left out a letter *l* in the word *FILIS*, i.e., it should read *FILIIS*.

Finally, this author would like to draw two conclusions from the aforementioned arguments:

1. In the first centuries of the Empire, the Split peninsula was a part of the Salona ager, and it had reached a high level of urbanization prior to the construction of Diocletian's Palace. This is shown by the generally chance discoveries of grave artefacts from several smaller necropolises and the remains of buildings in which some economic activity was conducted. Both belong to a group of finds that could not have been brought from some other site, so they certainly indicate that people lived and worked in this area in the Roman (and probably Greek) fashion long before Diocletian. Some of the epigraphic monuments found in Split were probably brought from Solin as construction materials. This actually generates considerable problems, because there is no doubt of the origin of an inscription today found in Solin, while it is rare that one can say of any inscription found in Split with certainty that it was originally installed there. There certainly were several settlements on the peninsula that had their own necropolises. One of these smaller settlements was located on the southern side of the *Epetio-Ad Dianam* road in the territory of Pazdigrad and Žnjan. In Classical Antiquity, this area had all of the conditions for development of a settlement: fertile soil, sources of water and a bay suitable to berth ships. As already mentioned, the stela discussed here was not the only monument that saw the light of day a few years ago. According to witnesses, several other grave monuments were found here that featured portraits. The fate of these

71 Salustije obiluje takvim riječima. Samo letimičnim pogledom na latinski tekst zamjećuju se značajke Salustijeva stila, npr: Sall. Bell. Cat; c. 1, *maxume*; c. 2, *plurimum, lubidinem, optumo*; c. 4, *existumo*; c. 5, *lubido*; c. 14, *facillumum*, itd.

72 Fadić 1995, str. 170; Tončinić 2004, str. 75, 76.

73 Leumann 1977, str. 89.

74 ILJug 2884.

75 F. Bulić 1900, str. 111.

76 ILJug 2158.

77 CIL III, 2722.

78 CIL III, 2597.

79 Bulić 1910, str. 76; ILJug 2169.

80 CIL III, 2602.

81 CIL III, 2162.

82 *Annuculo*, CIL III 2319.

83 CIL III, 2557.

84 CIL III, 3075.

85 CIL III, 13290.

86 Cambi, Rapanić 1979.

87 Skok 1916, str. 29.

79 Bulić 1910, p. 76; ILJug 2169.

80 CIL III, 2602.

81 CIL III, 2162.

82 *annuculo*, CIL III 2319.

83 CIL III, 2557.

84 CIL III, 3075.

85 CIL III, 13290.

86 Cambi, Rapanić 1979.

87 Skok 1916, p. 29.

Na samome kraju, htjeli bismo iz svega navedenog zaključiti dvije stvari:

1. Prostor splitskoga poluotoka u prvim je stoljećima Carstva bio dio salonitanskog agera i imao je visok stupanj urbanizacije prije nego je podignuta Dioklecijanova palača. O tome svjedoče uglavnom slučajni nalazi pogrebnog inventara s nekoliko manjih nekropola i ostaci gospodarskih objekata. I jedni i drugi pripadaju skupini nalaza koji nisu mogli biti doneseni s nekog drugog nalazišta, pa su tako sigurni pokazatelji da se na tom prostoru živjelo i radilo na rimski (a vjerojatno i grčki) način davno prije Dioklecijana. Neki od epigrafskih spomenika pronađenih u Splitu vjerojatno su kao građevinski materijal doneseni iz Solina. To uvelike otežava situaciju, jer nema dvojbe o tome odakle je neki natpis koji se danas pronađe u Solinu, dok se rijetko za koji natpis pronađen u Splitu sa sigurnošću može reći da je ondje i originalno postavljen. Na području poluotoka zacijelo je postojalo nekoliko naselja i gospodarstava koja su imala vlastite nekropole. Jedno od takvih manjih naselja nalazilo se s južne strane ceste *Epetio-Ad Dianam* na području Pazdigrada i Žnjana. Taj je prostor u antici imao sve preduvjete za razvitak naselja: plodno zemljište, izvore pitke vode i zaljev pogodan za pristajanje brodova. Kako je već spomenuto, stela o kojoj se ovdje raspravljalo, nije bila jedini spomenik koji je ugledao svjetlo dana prije nekoliko godina. Prema izjavi svjedoka, na tom je mjestu nađeno još nekoliko nadgrobnih spomenika, s portretnim prikazima. Ti su spomenici odneseni u nepoznatom pravcu, a ovaj je ostao stajati na gradilištu jer navodno nije bio dovoljno zanimljiv (!), u usporedbi s ostalima, koji su imali portrete. Očito je da je na tom mjestu bila nekropola koja je nažalost uništena prije nego je došlo do stručne intervencije. Da je dojava došla na vrijeme, zasigurno bismo dobili barem donekle potpuniju sliku o ovom prostoru i njegovim stanovnicima. No, da ne bismo bili malodušni, i pronalazak samo jednog natpisa od iznimnog je značenja jer nam je, ako ništa drugo, dao barem potvrde za regionalne značajke izgovora latinskog jezika u 1. stoljeću.
2. Latinski se jezik mora promatrati kao i bilo koji drugi jezik koji je u uporabi na nekom širem području. Jezik je živo tkivo i podložan je svakodnevnom mijenjanju i nadopunjavanju novim izrazima. Isto možemo reći i za latinski jezik, za koji vjerujemo da su odstupanja između književnog jezika i onog u provinciji bila poprilična. Nikako se ne može očekivati da će se u provinciji pisati, a kamoli govoriti jezikom kakav nalazimo npr. kod Cicerona ili Ovidija, to više što danas znamo da su se moderni romanski jezici razvili tako što su se postupno odvajali od zajedničke latinske matice.

Prostor provincije Dalmacije iznimno je bogat epigrafskom ostavštinom. Na njezinom su području djelovale klesarske radionice u kojima su majstori bili pripadnici domaćeg stanovništva i koji često nisu ni znali za bolji latinski od onog koji su govorili. Stoga natpisi, osim činjenica koje se daju rekonstruirati iz samog teksta, nose još jednu vrstu podataka: podatke o načinu na koji su tadašnji

monuments is unknown, while this one remained at the construction site because it was not interesting enough (!) compared to the others bearing portraits. It is apparent that there was a necropolis at this site which was unfortunately destroyed prior to expert intervention. Had it been reported on time, there would now certainly be a more complete picture of this area and its residents. However, putting aside any potential pettiness, one must note that the discovery of even one inscription is of great importance, for it has-if nothing else-given us at the very least a confirmation of the regional characteristics of Latin pronunciation in the first century.

2. Latin must be examined just like any other language in use over a broad territory. Language is a living thing and subject to everyday changes and supplementation with new expressions. The same can be said of Latin, for which we believe that variances between the literary standard and the form used in the provinces were considerable. There is no way to expect that people living in the provinces would write, to say nothing of speak, in the same manner as Cicero or Ovid. We therefore know today that the modern Romance languages developed by gradually moving away from the common Latin matrix.

The territory of the province of Dalmatia has an exceptionally rich epigraphic heritage. Masonry workshops were active in its territory, in which its masters came from among the local population and who often did not know Latin any better than the form that they spoke. Thus the inscriptions, besides the facts that can be reconstructed from the texts themselves, also contain another type of information: data on the manner in which the residents of the time pronounced Latin. This primarily refers to inscriptions by private persons, because nothing other than standard literary Latin would have been tolerated in official inscriptions. It is perhaps true that such facts are more interesting to linguists than archaeologists, but by the same token they should not be avoided simply because they deviate from the textbook examples of Latinity. It becomes even more interesting when such phenomena are observed in inscriptions from the first century BC and the first century AD, because at the time a large portion of the Italic population migrated to the eastern Adriatic coast. These Italic populations, whether they arrived as colonists, merchants or soldiers, brought with them the broad use of Latin to the indigenous inhabitants, who had to adapt to this new language. After becoming familiar with the Latin language and Roman customs, the local population adapted them to suit itself, whether it involved art and architecture or language. In this author's opinion, it is realistic to expect that during this earliest period inscriptions were engraved which did not differ much from those done in Rome and that the appearance of Vulgar Latin was less common than in later periods. This is why I believe that any "irregularity" contained in inscriptions should be taken into consideration as a possible feature of local pronunciation. To be sure, this does not mean that they were obviously engraved in

stanovnici izgovarali latinski jezik. Pritom se ponajprije misli na natpise privatnih osoba jer službeni natpisi ne bi trpjeli odstupanja od književnog latinskog. Jest da takve stvari možda više zanimaju filologe negoli arheologe, ali ih se isto tako ne bi trebalo izbjegavati samo zato što odskaču od školskih primjera latinštine. Još nam je zanimljivije kad se takva pojava uoči na natpisima koji pripadaju 1. st. pr. Kr i 1. st. posl. Kr. jer se tada velik dio italskog stanovništva doselio na istočnu obalu Jadrana. Ti su Italici, bilo da su došli kao kolonisti, trgovci ili vojnici, sa sobom donijeli i široku uporabu latinskog jezika među autohtoni puk, koji se morao naviknuti na novi jezik. Nakon upoznavanja latinskog jezika i rimskih običaja, lokalno stanovništvo te tekovine prilagođuje sebi, kako umjetnost i arhitekturu, tako i jezik. Držimo kako je realno očekivati da se u tom najranijem razdoblju klešu natpisi koji se ne razlikuju mnogo od onih klesanih u Rimu i da je pojava vulgarnog latiniteta rjeđa tada negoli u kasnijem razdoblju. Zato smatramo da bi se svaka "nepravilnost" na natpisima mogla razmatrati kao moguća odlika lokalnog izgovora. Pritom, dakako, ne mislimo na riječi za koje je očito da su pogreškom uklesane na natpisu. Od izdanja knjige Petra Skoka o vulgarnom latinitetu na dalmatinskim natpisima prošlo je više od 90 godina,⁸⁸ a nakon njega ovom se pojavom rijetko tko bavio. Općenito je o pojavi vulgarnog latiniteta i romanskim jezicima proizišlim iz njega pisao Pavao Tekavčić, koji u svojoj knjizi⁸⁹ daje velik broj primjera s natpisa i iz tekstova od 1. do 9. st. kojima ilustrira tu pojavu. Stoga, kada se bude nanovo prikupljala građa iz Dalmacije za novi *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, trebalo bi sve natpise koji pokazuju odstupanja od književnog latinskog jezika, zasebno sagledati i možda izdati novu studiju, o latinskom jeziku kakav se govorio u narodu.

inscriptions by mistake. Over ninety years have elapsed since the publication of Petar Skok's book on Vulgar Latin in Dalmatian inscriptions,⁸⁸ but after him few dealt with this matter. Pavao Tekavčić wrote in general about the emergence of Vulgar Latin and the Romance languages that grew out of it, and in his book⁸⁹ he provides a number of examples of this phenomena from inscriptions and texts from the first to ninth centuries. Therefore, when materials from Dalmatia are once more gathered for a new *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, all inscriptions exhibiting deviations from the Latin literary standard should be examined separately, and then perhaps a new study on Latin as it was spoken by the people should be published.

88 Skok 1916.

89 Tekavčić 1968.

88 Skok 1916.

89 Tekavčić 1968.

Kratice / Abbreviations

AIJ - V. Hoffler & B. Saria, *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien I*, Zagreb, 1938.

BD - *Bulletino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, Split

CIL - *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin

GZMBiH - *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo

HA - *Histria archaeologica*, Pula

ILJug - J. i A. Šašel, *Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Jugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt*, *Situla 25*, Ljubljana 1986.

Kult. bašt. - *Kulturna baština*, Split

OPEL - *Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum vol. IV (Quadrata-Zures)*, Wien 2002.

OA - *Opuscula archaeologica*, Zagreb

RFFZd - *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru*, Zadar

SHP - *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, Split

VAHD - *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Split

VAMZ - *Vjesnik Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, Zagreb

Literatura / References

Alföldy 1969
G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römische Provinz Dalmatia*, Stuttgart 1969.

Brunšmid 1998
J. Brunšmid, *Natpisi i novac grčkih gradova u Dalmaciji*, (priredila i s njemačkog prevela Maja Bonačić Mandinić), Split 1998.

Bulić 1887
F. Bulić, *Inscrizioni inedite*, *BASD X*, Split 1887, 185-187.

Bulić 1893
F. Bulić, *Inscrizioni inedite*, *BASD XVI*, Split 1893, 27-32.

Bulić 1897
F. Bulić, *Inscrizioni inedite*, *BASD XX*, Split 1897, 33-37.

Bulić 1900
F. Bulić, *Inscrizioni inedite*, *BASD XXIII*, Split 1900, 111-119.

Bulić 1910
F. Bulić, *Inscrizioni inedite*, *BASD XXXIII*, Split 1910, 66-82.

Bulić 1920
F. Bulić, *Razne arheološke i historičke vijesti iz prošlosti Dalmacije*, *VAHD XLIII*, Split 1920, 195-206.

Bulić 1923
F. Bulić, *Trovamenti antichi romani nel circondario di Split (Spalato)*, *VAHD XLVI*, Split 1923, 81-84.

Bulić, Jelić, Rutar 1894
F. Bulić, L. Jelić, S. Rutar, *Vodja po Spljetu i Solinu, arheološka karta Solina i okolice*, Zadar 1894.

Buškariol 1984
F. Buškariol, *Prilozi arheološkoj topografiji Manuša*, *Kult. bašt.* 15, Split 1984, 75-86.

Calabi-Limentani 1973
I. Calabi-Limentani, *Epigrafia latina*, Milano 1973.

Cambi, Rapanić 1979
N. Cambi, Ž. Rapanić, *Ara Lucija Granija Proklina*, *VAHD LXXII-LXXIII*, Split 1979, 93-107.

Cambi 1986
N. Cambi, *Salona i njene nekropole*, *RFFZd*, 25(12), Zadar 1986, 61-108.

Cambi 1990
N. Cambi, *Studije o antičkim spomenicima u Splitu i okolici (II), reljef u južnom zidu sv. Duha*, *Kult. bašt.* 20, Split 1990, 57-69.

Fadić 1995
I. Fadić, *Novi natpisi VII. legije iz Tilurija*, *Diadora* 16-17, Zadar 1995, 163-187.

Jelić 1897
L. Jelić, *Crtice o najstarijoj povijesti Splita*, *VHAD*, II s, Zagreb 1896/7, 26-41.

Kajanto 1965
I. Kajanto, *The Latin cognomina*, Helsinki 1965.

Leumann 1977
M. Leumann, *Lateinische Grammatik*, Teil 2, *Lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977.

Marasović, Oreb 1978
T. Marasović-F. Oreb, *Obrada graditeljskog nasljeđa u okviru projekta "Splitski poluotok"*, *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 2-3, 1976-77, Zagreb 1978, 75-108.

Marović 1953
I. Marović, *Bakrene sjekire u prehistorijskoj zbirci Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*, *VAHD LV*, Split 1953, 124-140.

Marović 1959
I. Marović, *Bilježka o jednom nalazu u kriptoportiku Dioklecijanove palače*, *VAHD LXI*, Split 1959 (1963), 119-121.

Maršić 1997
D. Maršić, *Rimska cesta Salona-Epetij u svjetlu novih istraživanja*, *Adrias* 6-7, Split 1995-1997, 5-29.

Maršić 1998
D. Maršić, *Ikonoografski tip nimfa sa školjkama*, *VAMZ*, 3. s, XXX-XXXI, Zagreb 1998, 103-124.

Novak 1928
G. Novak, *Nekoja pitanja iz istorije srednjovjekovnog Splita*, *SHP*, N. S. II, 1-2, Split 1928, 1-36.

Novak 1957
G. Novak, *Povijest Splita I*, Split 1957.

Oreb, Marin 1980
F. Oreb, E. Marin, *Kasnoantičko groblje na Sućidru u Splitu*, *VAHD LXXIV*, Split 1980, 55-59.

Oreb, Rismondo, Topić 1999
F. Oreb, T. Rismondo, M. Topić, *Ad basilicas pictas*, Split 1999.

Patsch 1899
K. Patsch, *Nove tekovine muzeja u Kninu*, *GZMBiH XI*, Sarajevo 1899, 481-536.

Rismondo 2000
T. Rismondo, *Nalaz antičkog groba u ulici Grge Novka u Splitu*, *OA* 23-24, Zagreb 2000, 505-507.

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

Rismondo 2005

T. Rismondo, *HVCVSOVE*
- "this is where sacrifices were
offered"- archaeological finds
in the substructions of the
Diocletian's palace in Split,
u: Akti VIII. međunarodnog
kolokvija o problemima rimskog
provincijalnog umjetničkog
stvaralaštva, Zagreb 2005, 244-
248.

Skok 1916

P. Skok, *Pojave vulgarno-latinskog
jezika na natpisima rimske
provincije Dalmacije*, Zagreb
1916.

Skok 1952

P. Skok, *Postanak Splita*, Anali
historijskog instituta JAZU u
Dubrovniku, Dubrovnik 1952,
19-62.

Starac 2000

A. Starac, *Rimske stele u Istriji*,
HA 31, Pula 2000, 61-132.

Starac 2001

A. Starac, *Kacijeva stela*,
Obavijesti HAD-a 2001/1,
Zagreb 2001, 40-42.

Suić 1955

M. Suić, *Limitacija agera rimskih
kolonija na istočnoj obali Jadrana*,
Zbornik instituta za historijske
nauke u Zadru, Zadar 1956, 1-31.

Suić 1996

M. Suić, *Pravni položaj grčkih
gradova u Manijskom zalivu
za rimske vladavine*, u: M. Suić,
Odabrani radovi iz stare povijesti
Hrvatske, Opera selecta, Zadar
1996.

Suić 2002

M. Suić, *Antički grad na istočnom
Jadranu*, Zagreb 2002.

Šašel-Kos 1997

M. Šašel Kos, *The roman
Inscriptions in the National
museum of Slovenia*, Ljubljana
1997.

Tekavčić 1968

P. Tekavčić, *Uvod u vulgarni
latinitet*, Zagreb 1968.

Tončinić 2004

D. Tončinić, *Spomenici VII. legije
na području rimske provincije
Dalmacije* (neobjavljeni
magistarski rad), Zagreb 2004.