

Craft and Cult of an Association in Roman Salona

A small dossier of Latin inscriptions inscribed on various types of support, which seems to record an annual ritual performed on February 1st by an unspecified association (*collegium*), is a peculiar feature of the epigraphic culture of Salona and of the Latin West in late antiquity. By staying grounded in the archaeological and epigraphic record of Salona, this article identifies the association as the association of builders (*collegium fabrum*) and shows that this dossier represents the records of its central cult of Hercules that it kept on inscribing from the first half of the third through the early fourth centuries. The article argues that the Salonitan builders harmonized their cult with the official, imperially-endorsed cult of Hercules celebrated on February 1st in Rome in order to secure themselves a more efficacious divine protection and to show their piety and loyalty toward the emperor. Apart from religion, the association of builders also displayed its loyalty to ruling emperors by honoring them with statues, and through its act of the *damnatio memoriae* of the politically disfavored figure.

The study of voluntary associations, both occupational and religious, has intensified in the past two decades as scholars set out to search for and explore the urban people of middling means. Our understanding of craftsmen associations has thus become more nuanced, and instead of the simplified categorization based on their purported primary function as either professional or social, or even funerary, scholars have postulated and theorized about their multifaceted aspects and functions: they did perform economic functions (although they are hardly trackable in the extant evidence), and they were status-allocating institutions, and they fostered the sociability of their members, and also had religious commitments, and occasionally stepped in to bury their dead members.¹ Still, the documentation and joint exploration of the two main aspects of craftsmen

¹ For the messy taxonomy of voluntary associations, see KLOPPENBORG 1996: 16-30. Extant bylaws of associations are seriously concerned with burial of their members to the extent that Th. Mommsen postulated the category (and coined the phrase) of “funerary associations” (*collegia funeraticia*), which has been dismantled though burial remains a prominent aspect of various types of associations. MOMMSEN 1843: 87-91 (and *passim*); for a historiographic treatment of Mommsen’s scholarship of associations, see PERRY 2006: 23-60. For multidimensional aspects of *collegia*, combining social, religious and economic purposes, see VENTICINQUE 2016; for *collegia* as status-allocating institutions, see VERBOVEN 2009: 159-67; for professional occupations and their economic aspects, see VERBOVEN & LAES 2016; HAWKINS 2016: 66-129.

associations – their cult and craft – “remains a *desideratum*”.² Moreover, the investigation of associations at a local level is contingent upon and limited by the pattern of evidence, and while inscriptions constitute the main type of evidence in the early and high imperial period (to ca. 250 C.E.), the inscriptional evidence for associations nearly disappeared after the mid-third century in Latin West as the epigraphic culture significantly changed – qualitatively and quantitatively – throughout late antiquity.³

A small dossier consisting of the three monuments that bear six distinct inscriptions from the early third (as I will suggest below) through the early fourth centuries (*CIL* 3, 1967a=HD062449; *CIL* 3, 1968a-d=HD062448; *CIL* 3, 14725=HD022448; Appendix; Figures 1-5)⁴ is a curious feature of the epigraphic culture both of Salona, the principal city of Roman Dalmatia, and of the Latin West. The terms *minister* (“assistant”) and *ministro* (“to assist”), the repeated reference to a venue of the event of *ad Tritones* (“at the Tritons”) and the recurrent date of the event of February 1st, tie these six epigraphs together and combined hold the key to figuring out the occasion. Latin words *minister* and *ministro*, technical terms denoting cult personnel assisting in sacrifice,⁵ and the recurrent date of February 1st with certainty point to a religious ritual annually performed on that date. These inscriptions then proceed to list the *ministri*, whose number varies across texts and ranges from eight to 14. Four texts open up with a consular dating that pins them securely down to 302 (1967a), 303 (1968a), 319 (1968b) and 320 (1968c). As for the other two, a consular dating either needs to be reconstructed (14725), hence the supplied dates are tentative, or it was not present at all (1968d), whereby the dating is conjectural and approximate.

Scholars first time took notice of these monuments in the second half of the 19th century and the foundational *CIL* subsequently published them. The way *CIL* edited these inscriptions has been determinative of their later publications both in print and digitally, the most authoritative of which are by Ch. Goddard and

² ARNAOUTOGLU 2012:2 (https://www.academia.edu/2045219/Cult_and_craft_Variations_on_a_neglected_theme; retrieved November 1, 2021).

³ For the overview of the late antique epigraphic culture, see SALWAY 2014: 364-93; BOLLE & MACHADO & WITSCHERL 2017: 15-33.

⁴ I will keep the accustomed referencing system and, when referencing inscriptions for the first time, I will identify them with their *CIL* and *EDH* number (hereafter, abbreviation HD followed by a six-digit number); later on, in order not to burden the text, I will be referencing inscriptions by their specific *CIL* number, such as 1967a, 1968a, 14725, etc. Two more inscriptions (*CIL* 3, 1967b=HD062449; *CIL* 3, 8690=HD062447) might be added to this group, but they are badly damaged and I find them unworkable for the purpose of historical analysis, yet I bring them as well in the Appendix.

⁵ *TLL* Online, s. v. *minister*, -tri, m.; s. v. *ministro*, -āvi, -ātum, -āre (retrieved January 8th, 2019); HORSTER 2007: 331-41; HEMELRIJK 2009: 253-67.

F. Prévot in Salona IV and the EDH respectively.⁶ The two monuments bearing inscriptions 1967a and 1968a-d have come down largely unbroken to the time of their first publications in the second part of the 19th century, and while the former has gone missing in the meantime, the latter is on display in the atrium of the Archaeological Museum – Split. The monument of 14725 has not withstood more than the millennium-and-half-long wear and tear and has reached its first editors in a truncated shape; it served for some time as building material for a private house in Kaštel Sućurac yet was acquired by the Archaeological Museum – Split late in the 19th century, where it is still exhibited in the atrium.



Figure 1: CIL 3, 1968d, first half of the third century?, Archaeological Museum - Split (Photo: Ortolf Harl 2015, with permission of Archaeological Museum - Split)

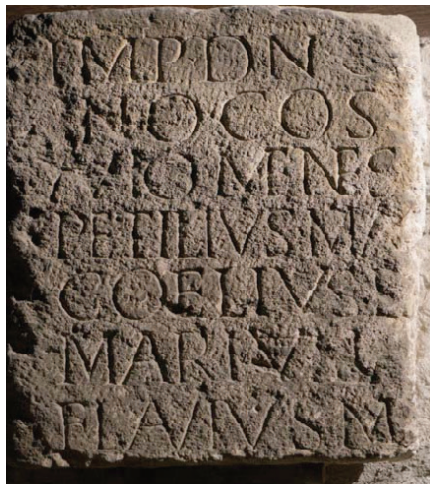


Figure 2: CIL 3, 14725, 264 C.E.?, Archaeological Museum - Split (Photo: Ortolf Harl 2015, with permission of Archaeological Museum - Split)

⁶ GODDARD & PRÉVOT 2010: 165-76 (Nrs. 16, 16A, 17, 18); <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062448> (last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi); <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062449> (last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi); <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022448> (last update: 9 December 2010, Gräf).



Figure 3: CIL 3, 1968a, 303 C.E., Archaeological Museum – Split (Photo: Ortolf Harl 2015, with permission of Archaeological Museum - Split)



Figure 4: CIL 3, 1968b, 319 C.E. Archaeological Museum - Split (Photo: Ortolf Harl 2015, with permission of Archaeological Museum - Split)



Figure 5: CIL 3, 1968c, 320 C.E. Archaeological Museum - Split (Photo: Ortolf Harl 2015, with permission of Archaeological Museum - Split)

In accordance with the then state of the art, the location of their finding was recorded in general and descriptive terms: 1968a-d seems to have been found in the “old town” (*in oppido antiquo*), which stands for the earliest and central core of Salona’s urban development,⁷ while 1967a appears to have been found outside the city walls, “east of the theater yet close to the city walls, on the road that leads to Trogir” (Figure 6). The location of 14725 prior to its reuse as building material is unknown. Altogether, the information is not helpful for getting a clue about the monuments’ possible archaeological context.

There is uncertainty about how to classify even the better-preserved monuments, all produced from local limestone, that is, about how to understand their intended and principal function. The only completely preserved monument of 1968a-d (Figures 1, 3-5) has been variously classified as a honorific statue base or provisionally as an altar (97,2 x 47,5 x 45,5 cm).⁸ The first editor of 1967a of 302, Š. Ljubić, described

⁷ DYGGVE, 1928-33: 11-20; JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ & SEDLAR 2009: 7-32.

⁸ GODDARD & PRÉVOT 2010: 169-75 classify inscriptions as honorary and monument as a statue base. EDH cautiously classifies inscriptions 1968a-d as honorific and monument as an altar (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062448>; last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi).

it as parallelepiped of large dimensions, and later editors have wavered between a statue base and an altar (120 x 52 cm)⁹; fragmentarily preserved monument of 14725 has been tentatively categorized as a statue base (45 x 38 x 18 cm).¹⁰

Puzzling as the inscriptions are to us, attempts to wrestle the meaning out of them led to differing reconstructions. While J.-P. Waltzing included them in his survey of the geographic distribution of *collegia* inscriptions under the heading of *ministri ad Tritones* (expression verbatim taken over from 1968d), he did not include them in his taxonomy of *collegia*, presumably because the group did not specify its identity.¹¹ In his pursuit of the overarching question of why was there “a pagan association” in the early fourth-century Salona, K. Kurz conceived of the *ministri ad Tritones* as the religious association that displayed its loyalty to Diocletian by celebrating a public cult of Hercules on February 1st,¹² and I find K. Kurz to have been on target regarding the identity of cult. J. Kolendo has interpreted the phrase “at the Tritons” (*ad Tritones*) as a reference to the association’s meeting place, whose landmark were the sculptures of Tritons, which in turn pointed to the association’s sea-related activity or to its seat’s location in the proximity of sea.¹³ Most recently, Ch. Goddard and F. Prévot have argued that “the unique association *ad Tritones*” gathered sailors serving on a ship triton, and that inscriptions commemorate their annual religious rituals.¹⁴

It is often glossed over in studies of these epigraphs yet it needs to be put plainly that these individuals did not identify themselves as members of an association (*collegium*) in any of these texts, and we can work that out indirectly from a statement found in a single inscription that they acted “with the permission from Nocturnius Novellus, the patron of the association” (*ex permissu Nocturni Novelli patroni collegi*, 1968d), whereby they left the association unspecified. Therefore, the phrase “association *ad Tritones*”, coined by Ch. Goddard, is incorrect and misleading.¹⁵ In short, besides the standard difficulty with dating of inscriptions,

⁹ GODDARD & PRÉVOT 2010: 165-68 classify it as a statue base and EDH cautiously as an altar (<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062449> (last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi).

¹⁰ GODDARD & PRÉVOT 2010: 175-6; <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062449> (last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi).

¹¹ WALTZING 1899: 95-97.

¹² KURZ 1962: 301-313.

¹³ KOLENDO 1970: 63-70.

¹⁴ PRÉVOT 2010: 74-76; GODDARD 2010: 167. There are methodological problems in Goddard’s reconstruction, which he pieced together from qualitatively disparate, and chronologically and geographically distant types of sources, such as Vergil and Vegetius, and the two funerary inscriptions from Brundisium dated to end of the first century B.C.E. and the beginning of the first century C.E.

¹⁵ GODDARD 2010: 165-76.

scholars are unsure about the type of monuments and texts, and they disagree on the identification of the association, with their only agreed-upon point being that these texts list members of an association who staged their association's annual religious and/or banqueting ritual recurringly taking place on February 1st.

In the course of this article, I first concern myself with the clarification of the chronology, descriptive features and function of this small archive. By taking a close look at these three monuments firmly embedded within their epigraphic and archaeological context of Salona I propose to identify the association in question as the association of builders (*collegium fabrum*) and I attempt to show that the Salonitan association of builders adopted the imperially-endorsed cult of Hercules celebrated in Rome on February 1st as its own central cult in order to secure themselves a more efficacious divine protection and to demonstrate its piety and loyalty to the ruling emperor. By linking the association's craft and cult, this article maps onto the complex subjects of the nature of the imperial office and of the relationship between the imperial government and *collegia*, and it offers a piecemeal evidence that speaks to the centrality of the imperial figure within the religious life of the associations and to the imperial piety as the force that held the Roman social fabric together.¹⁶

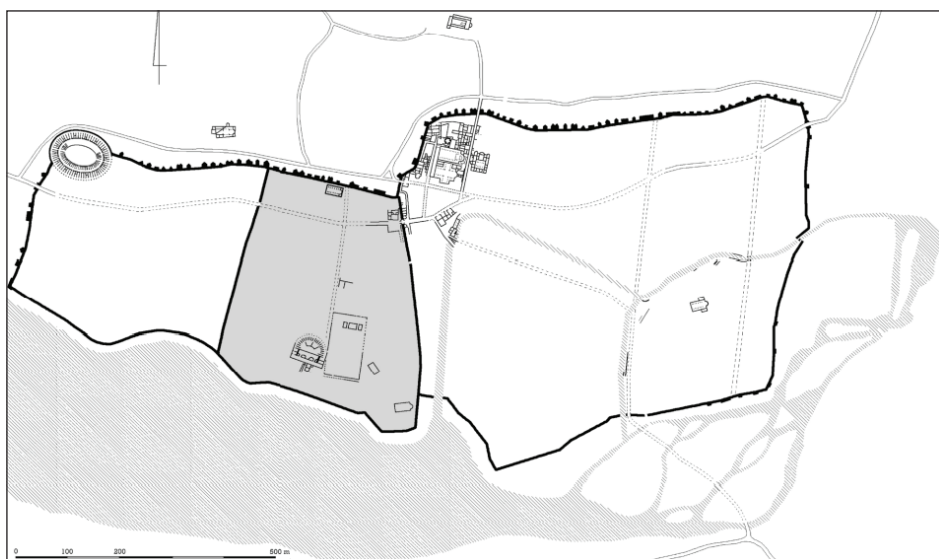


Figure 6: Map of Salona, with the so-called *urbis vetus, orientalis and occidentalis* (map from JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ 2009: 8, Figure 1)

¹⁶ This article works within the framework elaborated by ANDO 2000 in his pursuit of an overarching question of “why did the empire last so long”, whereby his core tenet is that the empire was united through the piety toward the emperor. For the recent overviews of the scholarly debate concerning the relationship between the imperial administration and *collegia*, with further literature, see LIU 2005: 279-310; LIU 2009: 97-124; PERRY 2016: 137-47. For the centrality of the imperial cult within the internal life of associations in Roman Asia, see HARLAND 2003a and 2003b.

Chronology of inscriptions

Two epigraphs either did not contain the dating formula in the first place (1969d, Figure 1, Appendix) or it was not preserved due to the stone damage (14725, Figure 2, Appendix), and in this section I attempt to conjecturally date the former to the first decades of the third century and to offer a revised substitution of the dating formula for the latter fragment.

First I attend to the chronological ordering of the four distinct texts each laid out on a surface of a votive altar (1968a-d; Figures 1, 3-5, Appendix). The three epigraphs are internally dated by the consuls to 303, 319 and 320, and a single one does not contain a dating formula, and beginning with *CIL* (and followed by Salona IV and *EDH*), the texts have been edited in such an order: text a of 303, text b of 319, text c of 320, and the undated text d. That referencing may wrongly suggest that the undated text is the latest, yet I would like to show that the opposite is the case.¹⁷ The surface occupied by the text d (Figure 1) is the only polished side and it was arguably the only side intended and prepared to hold an inscription at a time of its first set-up. The inscription is neatly laid out within the boundaries of its main field on the altar's body, and it seems that the monument size and the inscription field are customized for the planned text d. Moreover, the craftsmanship of the text d is of the significantly higher order. On the contrary, the texts a, b and c are longer and exceed the boundaries of the inscription field so that the lines were inscribed on the molded crown and base of the altar as well.¹⁸ The letter forms got progressively narrower and more elongated across texts a, b and c (303-320) and their lettering displays clear decline in workmanship (Figures 3-5).

The structure of texts and formulae, and linguistic features set the text d apart from all four fourth-century texts (1967a of 302, and 1968a-c of 303, 319 and 320 respectively). The text d opens with the specification of who (*ministri*) and where (*ad Tritones*), followed by a list of the *ministri*, and it concludes with the assurance of their patron's permission and with a farewell formula "prosper!" (*feliciter*) neatly centered on the altar's base. All other inscriptions open up with

¹⁷ GODDARD 2010: 195 considered the inscription d as likely the earliest, yet at the end of his discussion of the monument allowed for the possibility that it was written last on the occasion other than the (religious?) rites performed on February 1st in 303, 319, and 320. ALFÖLDY 1969: 102 (s. v. "Nocturnius"), 254 (s. v. "Novellus") did not make a chronological distinction between these four inscriptions and dated them all to his *Dominatszeit*, and besides, he seems to have considered the text d as dated to 320, together with the text c.

¹⁸ Re-use of monuments could prompt adaptation of surfaces not originally intended to hold inscriptions by polishing them or cutting away crown or base moldings in order to receive a text lengthier than the initial one (for example, as in the statue base of Aetius, 437-45, Rome; LSA-1434=HD021598=HD023129); neither was the case with this altar.

a preamble containing consular dating, the name of the association's current prefect, and the date and place of their ritual, followed by a list of the *ministri*. The text d is impeccable grammatically and spelling-wise, whereas the occurrence of the so-called vulgarisms (*at, set, menestravimus* and *menestrabimus, Foresis, Febrariis, Eraclanus, Euticius*) and the stonecutter errors (*nori[l]issimo, prefeoito, [K]alenois*) progressively increases in the series of the fourth-century epigraphs. All that suggests that the text d is the earliest, which the publication of the monument would need to make clear by re-ordering the texts.

The dating of the monument's first set up is elusive, and here onomastics in combination with monument's typology and lettering is helpful to pin it down with more precision. Besides the fluidity of the name system and name fashion over time, one's socio-legal status and the type and medium of an inscription may be determinative of naming conventions in epigraphy.¹⁹ These texts are association's official records, as it were, and in them we can expect to find what would have been the full name of the *collegiati*, namely of the urban "common" people of middling means at the time.²⁰ To note is that *praenomina* are lacking; while the *praenomina* were falling out of use from the later first century C.E. with different pace among different social groups and in different types of inscriptions, by the mid-third century their usage came to be overwhelmingly reduced to official state contexts and soon they were abolished there as well.²¹ All eight *ministri* are named with the two-name system comprising their *gentilicium* and *cognomen*, and five bear four different imperial *gentilicia* (there are two Aelii), the latest of which is Aurelius. That suggests that the inscription is not earlier than the last quarter of the second century. It is significant that there is a single Aurelius, in marked contrast with the fourth-century *ministri* (1967a, 1968a-c), namely out of 42 *ministri* whose names are sufficiently preserved, 40 individuals bear the *gentilicium* Aurelius as a consequence of Caracalla's grant of Roman citizenship to virtually all free inhabitants of the empire in 212. Therefore, based on onomastics, the text d can be plausibly dated to the first half of the third century (that is, to the Severan period of 193-235 C.E.), possibly even to its first decades.

Physical characteristics of the monument support that dating. The monument is best classified as a votive altar, and with respect to its features, it compares well with several votive altars which are more securely dateable to the third century

¹⁹ For the succinct and useful studies of Roman onomastics, see MORRIS 1963: 34-46; KAJANTO 1977: 421-30; KAJANTO 1997: 103-11; SALWAY 1994: 124-45.

²⁰ For *collegiati* belonging to the urban middle, see PATTERSON 1994: 227-38; VAN NIJF 1997: 18-22. For a cautious remark not to flatten the social background and economic means of the *collegiati*, LIU 2009: 161-71.

²¹ KAJANTO 1997: 103; SALWAY 1994: 30-31.

based on their content.²² Beyond the sphere of votive altars, a monument that in effect provides the best socio-cultural and epigraphic context for 1968d, which I will below argue was set up by the college of builders (*collegium fabrum*), is the honorific statue base awarded by the association of builders and textile producers (*collegium fabrum et centonariorum*) to its prefect T. Flavius Herennius Iaso, of equestrian rank, who also held among the highest municipal and priestly offices (*aedilis* and *pontifex*). This honorific monument, dated to the early third century,²³ and 1968d would have been commissioned by the same institution at approximately the same period, which shows well in their markedly corresponding design and letter shapes, and the level of craftsmanship (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Honorific monument awarded by the association of builders and textile producers to its prefect T. Fl. Herennius Iaso, first half of the third century, Archaeological Museum – Split (ILJUG 0678=HD034119) compared with the 1968d, tentatively dated to the first half of the third century, Archaeological Museum – Split (Photo: Ortof Harl 2015, with permission of Archaeological Museum - Split)

²² Altar dedicated to *Silvanus deus conservator* for the well-being of *Maximus Or[---]* and *Maximus Maximianus*, the first half of the third century (AE 1997, 1230=HD039904). MARŠIĆ 1997: 47-52. Altar dedicated dated to *Fortuna Conservatrix* for the well-being of the governor of Dalmatia M. Aur. Iulius, 280s (CIL 3, 1938+8565=HD053738; Iulius 5, PLRE I, and PIR2, A1540). WILKES 1969. A votive altar dedicated to *Juppiter Aeternus* has not received scholarly treatment, but it may be preliminarily dated to the later second or the first half of the third century based on its appearance and onomastics (its letter forms show remarkable similarity to 1968d; CIL 3, 8667=HD062365).

²³ RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ 1950-51: 226-7 (Nr. 36) dated the monument to around the Flavian period solely by onomastics, while ILJUG 0678 (=HD034119) dated it to the early third century by more comprehensive criteria.

Substitution of the fragmentary text 14725 poses several problems, acknowledged yet not satisfactorily resolved by its latest editors in Salona IV, who have dated the fragment to 306-37 (Figure 2, Appendix).²⁴ I propose a different substitution of the text starting with the identity of the emperor, whose name seems to begin with a G rather than with a C. While the shape of the same letter may somewhat vary within the same epigraph, the shape of the other two Cs in the inscription (l. 2: COS and l. 5: COELIVS) is the same so I assume that its form would be consistent throughout the text. The bottom curve of the letter C is shorter than the top curve and it ends flat, while the top curve is wider, more rounded and ends with a serif. The stone cuts off after the first letter of the emperor's name, yet what is preserved of it does not seem to conform to the shape of C: its bottom curve is wide and rounded (it seems to have been wider than the top curve) and it curves upward likely to meet with a short stroke that makes a curl in G. I therefore suggest that the emperor in question is Gallienus (r. 253-68),²⁵ not Constantine (r. 306-337).

The emperor's title of the IMP(erator) D(ominus) N(oster) may speak in favor of the proposed identification. To begin by eliminating, Constantine's title is *dominus noster* (1968b&c), and that was probably the imperial designation of Diocletian and Maximian in the earlier text on the same monument (1968a). As for the dynasty of Constantine, epigraphic practices of Salona and Dalmatia confirm that this was a regional pattern and their title was invariably *dominus noster*.²⁶ While the emperors Gallienus and Valerian (r. 253-60) were still prevalingly designated with the traditional designation of *imperator Caesar*, both the *imperator dominus noster* and solely *dominus noster* are sufficiently attested: of the seven instances of the *imperator dominus noster* found in inscriptions throughout the empire's provinces, two come from the province of Dalmatia,²⁷ which puts Dalmatian

²⁴ GODDARD & GAUTHIER 2010: 176-7 have in particular addressed the problem of whether the consular dating contained the name of the second consul and his identity; they concluded that the text was dated solely by the consulate of Constantine whereby "the stonemason did not find it necessary to specify it further."

²⁵ PLRE I Gallienus 1.

²⁶ HD061778 (Constantine on a milestone from Asseria, mod. Benkovac, Croatia), HD061779 (Constantine and Constantius II on a milestone from nearby Salona), HD035334 (Constantine and Constans on a milestone from Ad Turres, mod. Čapljina, Bosnia), HD052768 (Constantius II in an honorific inscription from Salona), HD053423 (Constantius II in an honorific inscription likely from Salona), HD064574 (Constans in an honorific inscription likely from Salona), HD064575 (Constantius II in an honorific inscription likely from Salona), HD053425 (Constantius II in an honorific inscription from Rider, mod. Šibenik, Croatia). In addition to these, two other inscriptions commemorate Constantine's dynasty in which imperial titles have not been preserved but are substituted as the D N (HD035374 and HD062425).

²⁷ HD033942 and HD035356 (Gallienus as the *imperator dominus noster* in a votive inscription from Salviae, mod. Glamoč, Bosnia, and in a milestone from Novae, mod. Runovići, Croatia respectively).

evidence into relief and makes it significant for the present case.²⁸ Though the stone damage does not allow for the straightforward reading of the first letter of the emperor's name, its shape differs from the other two Cs, which, combined with the titulature, allows for identifying the emperor as Gallienus.

Next comes the question of the second consul in a dating formula. Given the singular form of the imperial titulature, Gallienus' colleague in consulate cannot be an emperor, his cognomen should end in -inus (though only the upper part of the hasta in I is visible now), and he ought to have been consul only once: hence Saturninus.²⁹ Gallienus and Saturninus were consuls in 264, Gallienus for his sixth time and this Saturninus for his first and the last time. It is unclear whether there was a second S in the abbreviation COS denoting its plural form because the stone breaks off after the first S, but the abbreviation is often found incorrectly inscribed with a single S so that does not pose a problem.³⁰ The proposed reconstruction of the opening formula is:

1. 1: IMP D N GALLIENO VI ET SATURN

1. 2: INO COS[S]

Following the structure of 1968a-b and 1967a, the second line may be envisaged to continue with the name of the annual prefect, whose name would then end in -avius found at the beginning of the third line; the text would furthermore continue with a version of the formula MENES[tri ad Trit(ones)], by analogy with 1968d, or MENES[travimus ad Tritones], by analogy with 1968a-b. The next four lines of the fragment list the names of the *ministri*.

²⁸ That was not an exclusive pattern in the epigraphy of Dalmatia, and Gallienus is attested with titles *imperator Caesar* (HD053181) and *dominus noster* (HD061186). I have surveyed the EDH (for Roman provinces) and EDR (for the city of Rome and Italy). The inscriptions in which Gallienus alone or jointly with Valerian is designated with the IMP CAES: **HD** 000910, 001110, 005759, 008357, 015057, 019838, 022060, 024343, 024346, 028145, 030910, 033236, 036485, 035376, 036413, 027034, 036995, 041556, 041557, 041558, 043155, 044786, 045314, 045439, 046338, 052243, 052648, 053181, 059794, 053975, 054768, 055821, 058127; 072138, 065871, 067232, 067233, 074153, 075727; **EDR** 005672. The inscriptions in which Gallienus (and Valerian) are designated with the IMP DN: 027535, 028148, 033942, 035356, 048963, 061764, 073530; **EDR** 005672; The inscriptions in which Gallienus (and Valerian) are designated with the DN: **HD** 013638, 074548, 016863, 024288, 032413, 032416, 067437, 070155, 066023, 061186.

²⁹ PLRE I Saturninus 2.

³⁰ For example, as in the contemporaneous votive inscription dated by the consulate of Gallienus IIII and Volusianus from Salviae, mod. Glamoč, Bosnia. [[[IMP D N GAL]]]/[[LIENO IIII]] ET/VOLVSIANO/COS KAL APRILIB (HD033942). Also, as in 1968c analyzed in this article and dated by the consulate of Constantine V and the Caesar Licinius Iunior.

Monuments and texts: features and function of the association's acta

These inscriptions were inscribed on various types of support. The only completely preserved stone (1968a-d) has been classified as a honorific statue base or tentatively as an altar (Figures 1, 3-5).³¹ With respect to its formal features – a rectangular shaft of nearly the same width and depth with demarcated crown and base under or around a meter of height (97,2 x 47,5 x 45,5 cm) – it entirely conforms to the roughly contemporaneous private votive altars.³² On the other hand, the approximately contemporaneous statue bases are made of a rectangular block of larger dimensions with the architectural frame of at least the front surface, which may be typified by the already-mentioned monument set up by the college of the builders and textile producers to honor their prefect Herennius Iaso (116 x 70 x 56 cm; Figure 7).³³ It is impossible to ascertain whether the initial set-up of the altar with its text d is the first instance in the altogether series, but it is a plausible assumption, in which case there was integrity between the religious ritual, the monument type and the purpose of the text inscribed.

The college did not keep on using the monument continuously as the inscribing support. Next chronologically is the inscription I have suggested ought to be dated to 264 by the consulate of Gallienus and Saturninus (14725; Figure 2). Compared with the altar texts design (1968a-d), visual style of this fragment appears peculiar (45 x 38 x 18 cm). While its letter shapes in general resemble the lettering of 1968d, they are six to seven cm tall and thus significantly outsize letters of any of the four altar texts, which range from ca. two to maximum four cm. The opening two lines that contain the name of the emperor and his consular colleague are in particular marked by letter monumentality, that is, their letters approximated square capitals and were consistently decorated with serifs. The text was obviously inscribed on a support of larger dimensions, whose typology cannot be ascertained, but which was probably of rectangular form to judge by the text design, whereby every line begun with a *gentilicium* of an individual and contained a single name. Notwithstanding its visual features, the inscription seems to have also been a record of the religious ritual.

As mentioned, the monument of 1967a, by now lost, has been described as parallelepiped of large dimensions.³⁴ The layout of the text on the front surface

³¹ Goddard 2010: 169-75; <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062448> (last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi).

³² *AE* 1997, 1230=HD039904; *CIL* 3, 14242=HD062052; *CIL* 3, 8667=HD 062365; *CIL* 3, 8691=HD 062386.

³³ <https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD034119> (last update: 8 June 2015, Gräf).

³⁴ With respect to the convergence of the support type and inscription type, an interesting point of comparison, yet distant in place and time, are the records of the annual celebration of the Latin festival that were regularly inscribed on parallelepipeds. Moreover, the content of this dossier

was somewhat wider with each line of the list of *ministri* containing the elements of nomenclature of two or three individuals. The text on the monument's right side had been badly damaged when found and I find it unworkable (1967b; the proposed reconstruction of consular dating suggests the year 316).³⁵

Comprising an altar, parallelepiped and a type of rectangular monument, the inscribing support was not typologically coherent. The association moreover continued to reuse monuments by adding new texts to the available surfaces. Inscribed monuments were reused in various ways throughout Roman antiquity, but the practice intensified in late antiquity to the extent that it is considered as one of the defining characteristics of the epigraphic culture of the period.³⁶ Indeed, the Salonitan builders rededicated the honorific statue base to their patron and prefect T. Vettius Augustalis possibly in the early third century, which they had originally awarded to their patron and prefect T. Flavius T. fil. Tro. Agricola probably in the first half of the second century and whose dedicatory inscription they left intact.³⁷ There might be more to it, besides material constraints. The association does not seem to have cared for or given much thought to the systematic use of available inscribing surfaces. After some five decades of its initial set-up, the altar was reused in 303 and then again in 319 and 320. Though uncertain, substituted consular dating of 316 on the parallelepiped's side surface (1967b) warns against explaining the inscribing pattern away by the interruption in either the rhythm of the association's ritual life or record-keeping.³⁸

The motive for inscribing these texts and their function has been understood as primarily honorific.³⁹ The distinction between the inscriptions by original and those by secondary choice, not conceived as such but essentially documents transformed into inscriptions,⁴⁰ is a useful starting point to think about these epigraphs. While these inscriptions did honor the *ministri* – and various types of inscriptions may have

compares best with the Latin festival records to the extent that they both consist solely of the dating formula, a brief reference to the occasion and the list of people present (or in charge) of the ritual (*CIL* 6, 2011=EDR156418; 2012=156467; 2013=156472; 2014=156505; 2015=156506; 2016=156507; 2017=156508; 2018=156509; 2019=156514).

³⁵ GODDARD 2010: 165-68.

³⁶ SALWAY 2014: 368-9; BOLLE & MACHADO & WITSCHERL 2017: 19.

³⁷ *CIL* 3, 2026+2087=HD 054750.

³⁸ Such occasionally haphazard record-keeping is attested elsewhere. For example, the Arval Acta, ranging from 21 B.C.E. to 304 C.E. (though effectively stopping in the mid-third century), tended to be inscribed on marble slabs, yet occasionally on the flanks of stone furniture in their grove, and earlier slabs were re-used for the early third-century texts. For example, the records of 213 C.E. were inscribed below the text of 155 C.E. and those of 219 C.E. below the text of 90 C.E. GORDON 1965: plates A and B; BEARD 1985: 125-6.

³⁹ GODDARD & PRÉVOT 2010: 165-76.

⁴⁰ PANCIERA 2012: 9-10.

overlapping purpose⁴¹ – they seem better understood as the records that testify that the association fulfilled its cultic obligation, and the category of *acta* better captures their essence and function. Besides the earliest text 1968d, all later inscriptions (14725 of 264?, 1967a of 302, and 1967a-c of 303, 319 and 320 respectively), in imitation of official documents and municipal (and state) decrees, open up with an elaborate preamble consisting of the following elements: 1. consular dating; 2. the name of the current annual prefect of the association; 3. the date of their cult; 4. the place of their ritual; 5. their role in the ritual.⁴² They were likely kept in the association's headquarters (*schola* or *domus*) and were in-house records. Their genre and their location explain the absence of certain categories of information, most notably their self-description as the members of a specific association, commonly found in honorific statue bases and funerary inscriptions, whose social context was likely more public.⁴³ That is, it was the type and purpose of epigraphs, and their location and social context that governed its verbal content, and since the social body these *ministri* belonged to was taken for granted and unnecessary given their function and intended audience, it was not specified.

It cannot be known when the given ritual was introduced nor ascertained whether 1968d was the first record taken. I though entertain the idea that 1968d is an early installment in what became a series of records. The texts assumed official and documentary form and tone over time aiming to lent legitimacy and respectability to the association's cult. As suggested, to make a written testimony of the ritual dutifully discharged was perhaps the principal purpose of the texts.⁴⁴

⁴¹ COOLEY 2012: 127-8.

⁴² These phrases in Latin are orthographic ideals each time spelled out differently in epigraphs. In the text 1967a the formula is placed after the name of the prefect and seemingly applies only to him, which was possibly a confusion on the part of a stonecutter (*Qui menest[ra]bi(t) a(t) Tritones*); the text 1968c employs a truncated version of the formula whereby the stonecutter probably failed to carve the verb, and unlike in 1968a-b, the topographical reference precedes the specification of the day and month (*at Triton(es)*).

⁴³ When the association of builders bestows a statue on their prefect and/or patron, the body is consistently specific about its identity, as in the above-mentioned statue base inscription. There the association identifies the honorand as the "prefect of the associations of builders and textile producers" (*praefectus coll(egii) fab(rum) et cent(onariorum)*) and itself as the "above-mentioned association" (*coll(egium) s(upra) s(criptum)*). Yet, to note is that honorific bases with statues that associations bestowed on their presidents, patrons or benefactors were often set up in their headquarters, and not in public space. D'ARMS 2000: 126-44. The precise language tends to be used if an association member is socially located in funerary epigraphy, usually with a formula "from the association of builders" (*ex colle(gio) fabro(rum)*), and the pattern is tracked consistently in cases in which an association member prepares himself a tomb. The builders (*fabri*) in funerary epigraphy of Salona: *AE* 1989, 0606=HD018330; *ILJUG* 2030=HD025720; *CIL* 3, 8824=HD062983; Salona IV.2, Nr. 468=HD064350; *CIL* 3, 8837=HD062990; a *faber et centonarius*: *CIL* 3, 8829=HD062985.).

⁴⁴ M. Beard has argued for the Arval Acta that their monumentalizing of a record was itself an act of ritual. BEARD 1985: 114-61.

Identity of the association and social history of Salona

As stated, we find out only incidentally in 1968d that *ministri* were members of an association (“with the permission from Nocturnius Novellus, the patron of the association”; *ex permissu Nocturni Novelli patroni collegi*). To identify the association, I will stay as grounded as possible in the contemporaneous epigraphic and archaeological record of Salona. I will start off by pursuing a clue outside of this dossier and will connect the *minister* Varius Sabinus, listed in the earliest text 1968d, with the homonymous “Varius Sabinus, a Salonitan, from the association of builders” (*Varius Sabin(u)s Salon(itanus) ex coll(egio) fabro(rum)*), who had his sarcophagus set up during his lifetime (Figure 8).⁴⁵ To begin with, these two monuments are contemporaneous, which allows of making the connection between them. Only part of the front panel of Var. Sabinus’ sarcophagus is preserved. His sarcophagus belongs to the standardized sarcophagus type, “mass” produced from the local limestone in local workshops throughout the third and fourth centuries. The front panel was decorated with an incised tabula ansata that contained an epitaph. The letter forms of 1968d and Var. Sabinus’ epitaph are similar (their lettering in effect has more affinity than 1968d shares with the fourth-century texts on the same monument). The text is decorated with two hederas that are more commonly found in earlier epigraphy, although they are present in the fourth-century funerary texts.⁴⁶ The characteristics of the monument and script permit dating it to around the mid-third century.⁴⁷ Furthermore, consideration of the Salonitan onomastics supports the identification of the two Varii Sabini as one and the same person. These are the only two instances of this combination of the *gentilicium* and *cognomen* in both Salona and Dalmatia throughout the imperial period, and the lower circulation of the name the more plausible is the connection between individuals. The *gentilicium* Varius has gained some currency in Salona with seemingly even distribution over time.⁴⁸ Past the third century, the *gentilicium* Varius is attested only once and it was carried by the *minister* Varius Terentianus listed in the text 1968c of 320 who may have been a descendant of Var. Sabinus.

⁴⁵ *AE* 1989, 0606=HD018330=Salona IV.2: 753-54 (no. 417).

⁴⁶ For example, *CIL* 3, 9507=HD034774, dated to 378 by consular dating, is one of the most skillfully executed funerary inscriptions in the corpus of fourth-century epitaphs from Salona.

⁴⁷ MARIN 2010: 753-4 (no. 417) dates it to the end 3rd or beginning of the 4th C.E.

⁴⁸ Three funerary inscriptions can be brought into connection on account of prosopographic details, and they can be dated to the last decades of the first century (HD034439) and throughout the first half of the second century or so (HD063064 and HD062774); other five inscriptions are dateable only generally to the early through high imperial period (HD039991, 052756, 062519, 062520, 063178, 064151).



Figure 8: Sarcophagus of Varius Sabinus, from the association of builders (*ex coll(egio) fabro(rum)*), third century, Archaeological Museum – Salona (Photo from *SALONA IV.1: 753-4, Nr. 417*)

The cult and its celebration date will be discussed in more detail below, but here suffices it to say that the *Calendar of 354* (also referred to as the *Fasti Filocali*), which lists officially recognized and state-sponsored public cults in Rome, specifies February 1st as the anniversary of the temple dedication of Hercules (*natalis Herculis*).⁴⁹ At the same time, the cult of Hercules is richly attested in Roman quarries on the northern shore of the island of Brač, the main source of stone for Salona, most notably by the rock-cut relief of Hercules at the entrance to the quarry at Rasohe (Figures 9 and 10). In addition to it, two votive altars and two uninscribed portable reliefs of Hercules have been found scattered over the wider quarrying area between Splitska and Škrip (Figures 11-14).⁵⁰ Hercules bears divine epithet of *Augustus* in both votive altars, thereby reorienting the local cult of Hercules toward the imperial cult in Rome.⁵¹ This evidence beyond doubt attests that Hercules was the patron god of those involved in stone-sourcing and building trade,⁵² and lends credence to the suggested identification of the college in question as the association of builders (*collegium fabrum*). Lastly, based on its stylistic features, N. Cambi has tentatively dated the rock-cut relief of Hercules to the Severan period (193-235 C.E.), which both corresponds to and gives strength to the proposed dating of the initial set-up of the altar to the first decades of the third century.

⁴⁹ SALZMAN 1991: 117-18, Table 2.

⁵⁰ For Roman quarries on Brač, see RUSSELL & GLICKSMAN 2015: 223-44; CAMBI 2013: 5-19; KIRIGIN 1979: 135-38; SANADER 1995: 91.

⁵¹ LOTT 2015: 129-58.

⁵² CAMBI 2013: 15-16.



Figure 9: Roman quarrying area at Rasohe, Brač (Photo: author)



Figure 10: Rock-cut relief of Hercules, Roman quarry area at Rasohe, Brač, early third century? (Photo: author)



Figure 11: A votive altar dedicated to Hercules Augustus by Alnius Obultronius (CIL 3, 3092), The island of Brač Museum (Photo from CAMBI 2013: 11)

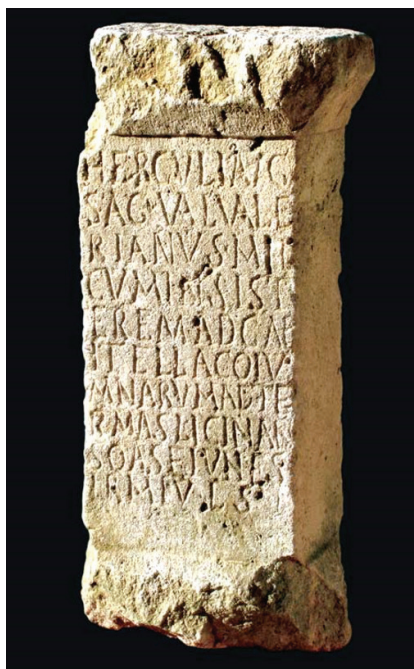


Figure 12: A votive altar dedicated to Hercules Augustus by the soldier Val(erius) Valerianus (CIL 3, 10107), 308-16, Archaeological Museum – Split (Photo from CAMBI 2013: 12)

The association of builders was one of the most prominent and respectable craft-based colleges in the Roman world,⁵³ and to judge by the pattern of epigraphic evidence, it was the most visible association in the cityscape and they were the most prominent *collegiati* in the social fabric of Salona.⁵⁴ The association of builders alone and the association of builders and textile producers (*collegium fabrum et centonariorum*) awarded four honorific statues with bases to their patrons and/or prefects from the late first through the early third centuries,⁵⁵ and one to the Caesar Constans between 333-37,⁵⁶ and some seven *fabri* availed themselves of funerary epigraphy.⁵⁷ The Salonitan college was prominent and respectable to have enjoyed

⁵³ VERBOVEN 2007: 878-80; VERBOVEN 2016: 180.

⁵⁴ A number of other occupational associations are attested in Salona yet only in funerary epigraphy: *collegium tignariorum fabrum* (CIL 3, 8841=HD062994), the *dendrophori* (HD062982=Salona IV.2: 856-8, no. 484), *lapidarii* (HD062993), and *saccarii* (HD025705, HD032682, HD060588).

⁵⁵ CIL 3, 2026+2087=ILJUG 1961=HD054750; ILJUG 2109=HD025108; ILJUG 0678=HD034119.

⁵⁶ CIL 3, 0191=HD000677=LSA-1145.

⁵⁷ HD 018330, 025720, 062983, 062990, 064350, 063059, 063061.



Figure 13: A votive relief of Hercules,
The Island of Brač Museum, Brač
(Photo from CAMBI 2013: 14)



Figure 14: A votive relief of Hercules,
The Island of Brač Museum, Brač (Photo
from CAMBI 2013: 15)

the patronage of the highest members of the municipal elite. M. Ulpius M. fil. Sabinus and T. Fl. Herennius Iaso were of equestrian rank and they held among the highest municipal and priestly offices, the former was the *duovir iure dicundo*,⁵⁸ and the latter the *aedilis* and *pontifex*.⁵⁹ Moreover, the father of Herennius Iaso, Herennius Iaso himself was also of equestrian rank and the patron of Salona. T. Fl. T. fil. Tro. Agricola and T. Vettius Agustalis were both *aediles* and *duoviri iure dicundo*.⁶⁰

It was the only association attested in Salona's epigraphic record in late antiquity, when this dossier was produced. In late antiquity the association included the

⁵⁸ HD 025108.

⁵⁹ HD 034119.

⁶⁰ HD 054750. Their respective honorary inscriptions were inscribed on the same statue base.

name of the goddess Venus in its name, as on the honorific statue base dedicated to the Caesar Constans in between 333 and 337 where it identified itself as the “association of builders and of Venus” (*collegium fabrum Veneris*).⁶¹ That did not become the exclusive name and, as evidenced by other four epitaphs, including the above-discussed Var. Sabinus, all in truncated shape and broadly dateable to the latter third and fourth centuries, the association was still referred to as the association of builders (*collegium fabrum/fabrorum*).⁶² Associations could have more patron gods and it is not entirely clear how they chose them, for the trade of a college and of patron god(s) need not have necessarily corresponded.⁶³ One of the most prominent structures built in the latter half of the third century was the prostyle temple located in Salona’s eastern part. On the basis of its stylistic features, its excavator E. Dyggve has ascribed the temple to the building activity of the emperor Diocletian (r. 284-305),⁶⁴ but he left the temple unidentified. J. Jeličić-Radonić has recently suggested to ascribe the temple to Venus Victrix whose marble statue was found in temple’s vicinity. Several votive altars dedicated to Venus were also found in the same part of the city and indicate the presence of the goddess’ cult there.⁶⁵ Moreover, one of the temples built in the nearby Diocletian’s palace was possibly dedicated to Venus.⁶⁶ Salona’s builders gathered in the association were most likely the significant workforce behind the civic and imperial building projects, and may have thus adopted the name of the goddess whose temple they erected.⁶⁷

Rather than posit the existence of a *collegium* unattested in Salona or elsewhere in the Roman world, I have tried to key it out from the most closely related type of evidence. If the identity is tenable, then the above analysis of the epigraphic

⁶¹ *CIL* 03, 01981=HD000677=LSA-1145. Moreover, the association was named *collegium Veneris* in a small fragment that seems to have been once a non-funerary slab conjecturally dated to the second half of the third century by its editor I. Matijević (*MATIJEVIĆ* 2006: 150 (no. 3), and in two sarcophagi that Aur. Candianus (*CIL* 3, 2108=HD063059) and Aur. Ursacius Salonitanus (*CIL* 3, 2106=HD063061) each self-described as the *ex collegio Veneris*, had prepared for themselves.

⁶² HD018330, HD025720, HD064350, HD062983.

⁶³ For the patron deities of associations and the associations’ practice to include gods’ names in the name of their college, WALTZING 1899: 203-05; LIU 2009: 253-54.

⁶⁴ DYGGVE 1951: 6-8.

⁶⁵ JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ 2011: 305-11.

⁶⁶ MARASOVIĆ 1995: 89-103.

⁶⁷ Scholars today have no reservations to link all *collegia fabrum* with construction industry. DELAINE 2018; BERNARD 2016: 69-73; HAWKINS 2016: 66-129; VERBOVEN 2016: 173-202. A comparable example comes from Rome where the college of cloak producers (*collegium sagariorum*) adopted Hercules, the patron god of the first cohort of the Praetorian Guard, as their own patron god, whereby this college likely supplied the Praetorians with cloaks (*CIL* 6, 339=EDR151213). LIU 2009: 254.

record provides the social and epigraphic context for the association of builders and their cult's records. They were likely the longest-lasting voluntary craft-based association in Salona, they enjoyed the patronage of the top municipal elite and could hence avail themselves of their socio-political and economic networks, and they could also pool considerable resources themselves.⁶⁸ This altogether seems a fitting socio-economic context for this dossier. Before turning to the association's cult, I wish to address its members who assisted in the sacrifice (*ministri*).

Builders seem to have been latecomers to stone funerary epigraphy in Salona, and most epitaphs are so fragmentarily preserved that this small dossier presents the most extensive evidence for the individual *collegiati*, and the evidence boils down to their names. The number of *ministri* progressively increased from eight in the earliest text conjecturally dated to the Severan period (1968d), to ten in 302 (1967a) and 303 (1968a), eleven in 319 (1968b), and 14 in 320 (1968c), which may suggest that the college grew in size or that expenses needed to be shared by more members.⁶⁹ Their name form, consisting of a *gentilicium* and *cognomen*, does not contain a clear piece of evidence concerning their socio-legal standing. The usage of filiation overwhelmingly declined in the cases of freeborn, both elite and general populace, by the early third century so its lack is not significant for the assessment of their social background,⁷⁰ and the most that can be said is that they possessed a degree of Roman citizenship.⁷¹ The two third-century texts list altogether twelve individuals (1968d and 14725): there is no clustering of *gentilicia*, six are imperial, of which only Aelius is borne by the two *ministri* in 1968d. The observed ratio of individuals bearing imperial and non-imperial *gentilicia* (seven to five) is expectable in a provincial context, as freeborn provincials upon enfranchisement obtained the *gentilicium* of the reigning emperor, and by the first half of the third century they became common.⁷² Non-imperial *gentilicia* (Coelius, Marius, Papirius, Petilius, Varius) are among the most common *gentilicia* of Italic provenance.⁷³ Freedmen and freedwomen are attested bearing them in funerary

⁶⁸ VERBOVEN 2009: 159-67.

⁶⁹ FABIANO 2019: 65-87 has argued that various associations of builders got integrated under the collective designation of the *collegium fabrum* between 296 and 312 C.E. in the city of Rome; maybe the same development occurred in Salona (*collegium tignariorum fabrum* in attested with a single inscription seemingly earlier than the fourth century; *CIL* 03, 08841=HD062994)

⁷⁰ The indication of servile status and pseudo-filiation begun to be omitted even earlier. TAYLOR 1961: 119-23.

⁷¹ For Junian Latins (informally freed slaves without full citizenship), see WEAVER 1990: 275-305.

⁷² For example, in Pannonian provinces imperial *gentilicia* represented ca. 45 percent of the total. MÓCSY 1959: 147-8.

⁷³ ALFÖLDY 1969: 76-7 (s.v. Coelius); 98 (s.v. Marius), 107 (s.v. Papirius), 108 (s.v. Petilius), 133-4 (s.v. Varius).

epigraphy of the first and second centuries, but they would be passed on their freeborn descendants for at least a generation or two by the early third century.⁷⁴ Legionary soldiers and veterans with these *gentilicia* are attested, one of whom entered the decurial order and held some municipal offices.⁷⁵ As expected, the largest number pertains to people with no indications of their socio-legal status (the so-called *incerti* and *incertae*).

Although the onomastic method of thinking about people's social status based on their *cognomina* (Greek servile, and more or less respectable Latin *cognomina*) loses its force in the high imperial period, to note is that in 1968d all are Latin and they are commonly found in the epigraphy of the third and fourth centuries in Salona and elsewhere.⁷⁶ This is the only attestation of the *cognomen* Barbianus in Salona and Dalmatia, and a version of the *cognomen* Silvius was attested in an epitaph. Other names are more often attested in the epigraphy of Salona with no clues for their social status (*incerti* and *incertae*). Sabinus is a widespread Latin *cognomen* in Salona (and in the Latin West), commonly referred to as the "respectable" Latin name, and it is attested throughout the city's history. For example, the above-mentioned prefect and patron of the association of builders was M. Ulp. M. fil. Sabinus; there are few freedmen and freedwomen,⁷⁷ yet most of the attested *Sabini* and *Sabinae* are *incerti* and *incertae*. Because we entirely depend on the pattern of the epigraphic evidence and the fluidity of naming conventions contingent upon period, a type of an epigraph and its support type, there is a degree of circularity in reasoning, and the vagueness in describing social groups, yet the *collegiati* listed 1968d and 14725 seem to have belonged to the general populace of Salona with full or a degree of Roman citizenship. Given that there is no clustering of *gentilicia*, it seems that the construction industry in Salona was organized along the lines of small, independently-run building "firms".

Onomastics of all fourth-century texts is markedly different, whereby the *gentilicium* Aurelius dominates the record as a consequence of Caracalla's grant

⁷⁴ Coelia Peregrina P. lib. (*CIL* 3, 2295=HD053698, dated to 131-70); C. Marius C. lib. Hermes, Maria C. lib. Prepusa (*CIL* 3, 2429=HD062743, dated broadly to the early Principate); Papiria Rhome with her children Papiria Cladilla and P. Papirius Proculus (*CIL* 3, 2083=HD055643, dated broadly to the early Principate); L. Petilius L. lib. Privatus (*CIL* 3, 8885=HD062080, dated broadly to the high imperial period). L. Varius L. lib. Ver[---] sevir Augustalis (*CIL* 3, 2101=HD063064).

⁷⁵ C. Petilius Amandus vet. leg. XIII, dec. col. Sal., quaestor, pontifex (*CIL* 3, 2066=HD057518); L. Varius L. fil. Ser. [----] (centurio) leg. VII C. p. f. (*CIL* 3, 2062=HD034439).

⁷⁶ ALFÖLDY 1969: 162 (s.v. Barbianus), 182 (s.v. Crescentianus), 184 (s.v. Dalmatius), 207 (s.v. Fortunius), 285-6 (s.v. Sabinus), 298 (s.v. Silvius), 320-21 (s.v. Valerianus).

⁷⁷ For example, C. Fuficius C. lib. Sabinus (*CIL* 3, 2340=HD057535; the monument is dated to the early Principate); most epitaphs that attest a Sabinus/a of freedman status are fragmentarily preserved.

of Roman citizenship to free inhabitants of the empire.⁷⁸ All *ministri* are Aurelii with a single exception in 1968a of 302 (Volusius),⁷⁹ in 1967a of 303 (Iulius) and in 1967c of 320 (Varius). Iulius and Varius were also attested in 1968d, and they may have been the descendants of the third-century *collegiati*, but since they do not share *cognomina*, that cannot be assumed with more certainty.⁸⁰

For the purpose of assessing relative social standing of the fourth-century *collegiati* within their urban context, two things need to be addressed: how their names correspond to the names of wider social make-up as attested in funerary epigraphy, and whether the *gentilicium* Aurelius is socially significant. My survey of the sufficiently preserved epitaphs dated to from the mid-third to the end of the fourth century yields to following figure: of 116 persons identified with their *gentilicium* and *cognomen*, 58 carried the name Aurelius/a (51 percent).⁸¹ On the one hand, Salona had been a Roman colony since the late first century B.C.E.,⁸² which explains the still high percentage of *gentilicia* other than Aurelius (and Flavius). On the other hand, the turnover indicated by the names of the fourth-century *ministri* is demographically plausible, and several *cognomina* point in that direction. Namely, while the *cognomina* of the *ministri* listed in 1968d were without exception well-attested Latin names, *cognomina* such as Vates, Lapn(i) s? and Sarmatio, some possibly etymologically “Illyrian”, are here attested uniquely in the Roman world,⁸³ and they may represent recently-enfranchized Romans from the surrounding territory whose names did not undergo cultural assimilation.⁸⁴ Yet, with the exception of these and several other rarely attested

⁷⁸ SALWAY 1994: 133-45.

⁷⁹ Volusius was a widespread Italic *gentilicium*. It was borne by freedmen and *seviri* as attested in an early imperial epitaph (the *colliberti* C. Vol. Primigenius sevir and C. Vol. Euhemerus sevir Augustalis, and C. Vol. Primigenius, the son of the former Primigenius who may have been freeborn. *CIL* 3, 8807=HD062951); two other epitaphs with the name Volusius are fragmentarily preserved. ALFÖLDY 1969: 139 (s.v. Volusius).

⁸⁰ Parents tended to give their children the names that were running in the *familia*, namely either an exact or a version of mother’s or father’s name, or possibly patron’s name.

⁸¹ 13 individuals carried *gentilicium* Flavius/-a (11 %), 5 *gentilicia* Iulius/-a and Ulpius/-a respectively, 4 *gentilicium* Valerius, 3 *gentilicium* Aelius/-a, and 2 individuals carried *gentilicia* Domitius, Coelius (=Quelius), Quintius/a, Septimius, and Suellius respectively. Other *gentilicia* are non-imperial each carried by a single person: Aemilia, Antonius, Attigia, Cassia, Considius, Desidiena, Heren(n)ius, Numeria, Octavius, Quadratia, Rusticia, Salonus, Salvia, Suetonius, Varius. The figures correspond to the empire-wide socio-onomastic trends of the later third and fourth centuries. Of the 1738 persons in Kajanto’s “Christian material”, 51 % shared eight nomina, six of which were imperial *gentilicia* of which Aurelius and Flavius were the most frequent with 411 and 149 instances respectively. KAJANTO 1963: 15-18; KAJANTO 1977: 426-27.

⁸² The prevalent opinion now is that Octavian made Salona a colony in between 34/33 and 27 B.C.E. DŽINO 2010: 120 (with n. 12).

⁸³ ALFÖLDY 1969: 287 (s.v. Sarmatio); 322 (s.v. Vates).

⁸⁴ VERBOVEN 2016: 179 on construction industry needing labor supply from the countryside.

cognomina,⁸⁵ most are commonly attested Latin and Roman names found in high- and late-imperial funerary epigraphy of Salona.⁸⁶ That may suggest that, besides social changes, purely onomastic forces were at play as well. Common pre-212 Salonitan citizen, swamped by their newly enfranchised socio-economic peers, possibly adopted the name Aurelius in default of any other.⁸⁷ As for the place of *collegiati* in the city's social fabric, the earlier picture of a kind of general urban populace seems confirmed.

Cult and politics of the association of builders

The most commonly attested occasions for annual religious rituals and banqueting of *collegia* were the birthday of patron god(s), the patron's birthday, the anniversary of the founding of the association, the birthday of the ruling (or past) emperor, and, more rarely, the day of imperial accession (*dies imperii*). Besides that, *collegia* could participate in civic religious festivals and processions, and public banquets provided by, for example, a city council, municipal officials or the city patrons, on a range of occasions.⁸⁸

The public cult of Hercules celebrated on February 1st is attested in a public calendar of Rome for the year 354 C.E. (hence, the *Calendar of 354*). The illustrated manuscript that contained the *Calendar of 354* was produced for Rome's aristocrat Valentinus by the famous calligrapher of the time, Furius Dionysius Filocalus (hence, the *Calendar of Filocalus* or the *Fasti Filocali*), and has been preserved in its medieval copies. From the *Calendar* we know that the public cult of Hercules commemorated a temple dedication (*natalis Herculis*) and that its celebration was accompanied by races in the circus (*circenses*), and that it therefore belonged among the most important and popular public cults of Rome.⁸⁹ People engaged in construction industry are attested elsewhere to have wor-

⁸⁵ Armentius, Fore(n)sis, Lucentius, Maurens, Redditus, and Ursilianus are rarely attested in Salona and the Latin West. ALFÖLDY 1969: 156 (s.v. Armentius), 206 (s.v. Fore(n)sis), 232 (s.v. Lucentius), 241 (s.v. Maurens), 281 (s.v. Redditus), 317 (s.v. Ursilianus).

⁸⁶ ALFÖLDY 1969: 141 (s.v. Adiutor), 146 (s.v. Alexander), 151 (s.v. Antonius); 151 (s.v. Antonianus), 157 (s.v. Asiaticus), 161 (s.v. Balbinus), 190 (s.v. Donatus), 199 (s.v. Eutychieus), 199 (s.v. Exuperius), 204 (s.v. Firminus), 207 (s.v. Fortunius), 213 (s.v. Gregorius), 214 (s.v. Heraclianus), 229 (s.v. Leontius), 232 (s.v. Lucianus), 236 (s.v. Marcellinus), 240 (s.v. Martinus), 246 (s.v. Mercurius), 247 (s.v. Messor), 290 (s.v. Secundinus), 291 (s.v. Secundus, p. 291), 293 (s.v. Senator), 294 (s.v. Severianus), 301 (s.v. Stercorius), 307 (s.v. Terentianus), 316 (s.v. Uranius), 318 (s.v. Ursus), 320 (s.v. Valentinus), 328 (s.v. Vincentius).

⁸⁷ SALWAY 1994: 135.

⁸⁸ ASCOUGH 2008: 33-45; LIU 2009: 247-77; DONAHUE 2017: 92-118; VAN NIJF 1997: 131-209.

⁸⁹ SALZMAN 1991: 3-5, 116-31.

shipped Hercules,⁹⁰ but by synchronising the date of its cult of Hercules with a particular cult of Hercules – public, imperially-endorsed cult celebrated in Rome on February 1st – Salonitan association of builders gave political meaning to its worship of Hercules.

Apart from a single exception, no public calendars of Rome (the so-called marble calendars) are preserved from after the mid-first century C.E. – and this cult of Hercules is not attested in them – so it often cannot be ascertained at what time between the mid-first and the mid-fourth century a festival entered the Roman calendar.⁹¹ That holds true for this cult of Hercules. For a number of second- and early-third-century emperors cultivated and propagated their close relationship with Hercules, namely Trajan (r. 98-117), Hadrian (r. 117-38), Antoninus Pius (r. 138-61), Commodus (r. 176-192), and Septimius Severus (r. 193-211),⁹² and any of them could have made it an official, public festival. Still, two things are to note. S. Dušanić has argued that February 1st was a significant date in Severus' propaganda, and that the emperor intentionally synchronized his first issuing of a military diploma with the *natalis Herculis*.⁹³ Furthermore, Cassius Dio (77.16.3) reports that Severus built a huge temple dedicated to Liber Pater and Hercules. The remains of this temple have not been positively identified in Rome, but scholars plausibly equate with the massive temple on the Quirinal, in which case it would have been one of the largest temples ever built in Rome making a clear statement about the emperor's patron gods.⁹⁴

If the *natalis Herculis* celebrated on February 1st marked the anniversary of Severus' temple dedication, that would provide a contemporaneous and fitting context for the early evidence from Salona, namely the rock-cut relief of Hercules at the quarry at Rasohe and the initial set-up of the votive altar (1968d), both provisionally dated to the Severan period. In any event, we cannot be sure what occasioned builders' adopting of the cult of the emperor's patron god, but it may be in anticipation of or as a consequence of the emperor's legal recognition and grant of privileges, which *collegia* were increasingly obtaining throughout the second and early third centuries.⁹⁵ By worshipping the emperor's tutelary god the builders expressed their piety and loyalty toward the emperor himself and likely hoped to procure for themselves a more powerful divine protection. The fact that

⁹⁰ To bring in a local example: a votive altar dedicated to Hercules has been found in another regional Roman quarry at Kučićeva kava on the slopes of the hill Sutilija nearby Trogir, dated by its editor to the mid-first century C.E. MARŠIĆ 2007: 111-28.

⁹¹ SALZMAN 1991: 5-8, 120 (with n. 13); RÜPKE 2011: 109-46.

⁹² HEKSTER 2005: 203-17; ROWAN 2012: 32-110.

⁹³ DUŠANIĆ 2003: 95-100.

⁹⁴ BEARD & NORTH & PRICE 1998: 255; ROWAN 2012: 67-72.

⁹⁵ LIU 2009: 97-124; VERBOVEN 2016: 184-9;

Hercules was more widely seen as related with the stone-sourcing and building trade and that it had possibly been worshipped by the Salonitan builders from early on facilitated their reorienting of the local cult toward the imperial cult of Hercules.

The religious commitment of the Salonitan builders would have certainly resonated with the conservative religious policy of Diocletian (r. 284-305) and Maximian (as Augustus, r. 286-305), the senior Tetrarchic emperors, whose divine patrons were Juppiter and Hercules, and who adopted the theophoric sobriquets of Jovius and Herculus respectively.⁹⁶ Indeed, the massive imperial construction project from the late third century and shortly afterwards the imperial presence there would have given the impetus to both association's craft and cult (1967a of 302 and 1968a of 303).⁹⁷ Notwithstanding Lactantius' negative assessment of Diocletian's building megalomania, in his thesis-driven pamphlet *On the Deaths of the Persecutors* the polemicist has informed us about the workforce behind the imperial construction projects by saying that Diocletian's "limitless passion for building" led "to an equally limitless scouring of the provinces to raise workers, craftsmen, waggons, and whatever is necessary for building projects."⁹⁸ Finally, if in this case the pattern of the epigraphic evidence can be causally correlated with the religious policy of Diocletian and Tetrarchy, worthy of note is that the two records dated to 302 and 303 (1967a and 1968a) fall in the years when the measures against the "novel cults" were getting harsher and when the empire-wide persecution of Christians was launched.⁹⁹

The last two records are dated to 319 (1968b) and 320 (1968c), under the joint rule of Constantine (r. 306-337) and Licinius (r. 308-24), yet in the aftermath of Constantine's victory in their first war in 316, upon which both shifted their centre of gravity eastward: Licinius transferred his residence from Sirmium to Nicomedia, and Constantine from Trier to Serdica.¹⁰⁰ Scholarly paradigm of the later Roman period and scholarship on Constantine have changed since 1962, when K. Kurz set out to explain why was there a "pagan association" in "Christian Salona",¹⁰¹ so now it can be concluded that builders' continued observance of their central cult of Hercules would have been in line with the emperors' official religious policy and Constantine's public persona, which was by 320 for the most part still fashioned in traditional Roman ways.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ REES 2005: 223-40; VAN DAM 2007: 228-51.

⁹⁷ BELAMARIĆ 2003: 173-85.

⁹⁸ Lact. *Mort. Pers.* 7.8-9; transl. by CREED 1984: 13.

⁹⁹ The purge of the army is dated to 299, the harsh rescript against the Manicheans to 302, and the persecution of Christians in earnest begun in 303. BARNES 1981: 20-24.

¹⁰⁰ BARNES 1981: 65-8;

¹⁰¹ KURZ 1962: 304.

¹⁰² The literature is vast. For the recent, succinct overviews of Constantine's changing propaganda, see VAN DAM 2008: 79-131; LENSKI 2016: 27-67.

While the latest extant record is dated to 320, in or shortly after 326 – after Constantine defeated his eastern imperial colleague Licinius and for good measure eliminated Licinius’ ten year-old namesake son and wife – in their contribution to *damnatio memoriae* of the politically disfavored figure,¹⁰³ the association obliterated the name of Licinius the Younger, which formed part of the consular dating formula in the text 1968b of 319 (Figure 15). Besides the association’s political acuteness, this act attests to the college’s engaged attitude toward its records likely kept on its premises and that inscriptions were not dead letters on the stone.

If there were no events causing major disruptions in the working of the association and in its discharge of various socio-religious obligations and activities rhythmically throughout the year, it is likely that the association performed its central ritual regularly. Little can be said about the organization of the ritual: these *ministri* assisted in sacrifice and subsequent banquet, which would have been presided over by the college’s head, that is, by its annual prefect, whose name was registered in the preamble in all fourth-century records.¹⁰⁴



Figure 15: The *damnatio memoriae* of Licinius the Younger, 1968b, 319, Archaeological Museum – Split (Photo by Ortoľ Harl 2015, with permission of Archaeological Museum – Split)

¹⁰³ LENSKI 2012: 76-7.

¹⁰⁴ For the organizational structure of traditional cults, see SCHEID 2007: 263-71 and SCHEID 2016: 54-73, 105-12. Organizational structure of the *collegia* and titles of their senior magistrate(s) varied across *collegia* and regions. For example, in Italy during the Principate, the senior magistrate’s title was often *magister* or *magister quinquennalis*. ROYDEN 1988: 14 (and *passim*). As for the Salonitan association of builders, the titles of *magister* (CIL 03, 08819=HD062979) and *magister quinquennalis* (ILJug 2018=HD034335) seem to be attested in two badly damaged inscriptions broadly dateable to the first three centuries C.E. Elsewhere, in Pannonia and Dalmatia, the *praefectus* seems to have been the title of the senior magistrate of the association of builders and textile producers. LIU 2009: 156 (with n. 117). Also, for the discussion of the titles of *praefectus fabrum* and *praefectus collegii*, see LIU 2009: 155-59.

The ritual venue of “at the Tritons” (*ad Tritones*) remains unidentified in the archaeological remains of Salona. As attested elsewhere, association’s headquarters could have shrines or temples and dining-halls (*triclinia*), and association could therefore perform its cult there.¹⁰⁵ Otherwise, associations could be granted permission to use city temples or some other public space, such as porticos.¹⁰⁶ The phrase of “at the Tritons” is likely a metonymic shortcut reference to either builders’ seat or a public temple,¹⁰⁷ which would have gotten this colloquial name after its decorative sculpture and reliefs, and as such would have been a recognizable landmark in the cityscape. Such architectural features have not been yet identified.¹⁰⁸

Concluding observations

Besides the family, *collegia* are the most important social groups in the Roman world, and apart from the agriculture, building is the single most important economic activity in the pre-industrial societies. Associations of builders, under its various Latin terms, are consistently among the most visible associations in the epigraphic record across the regions of the Latin West, and that holds true for the Salonitan builders. They are straightforwardly attested by the two types of stone inscriptions, namely epitaphs and honorific inscriptions on statue bases. This peculiar small dossier has been arousing interest of scholars and this article sought to elucidate it in reference with its contemporaneous contexts – its immediate epigraphic and archaeological context of Salona and the wider imperial historical and cultural context. If the suggested identification is tenable, these *acta* testify to the cult of the Salonitan association of builders, which the association kept on inscribing on stone throughout the third and early fourth centuries. On the proposed interpretation, the college adopted the imperially-endorsed cult of Hercules, whose *natalis* marked the anniversary of the temple dedication on February 1st in Rome, as their central patron god. Several pieces of evidence seem to converge and point to Severus as the emperor whose cult of Hercules entered the

¹⁰⁵ For the investigation of associations’ meeting-places in Italy, see BOLLMANN 1998; for Delos, see MCLEAN 1996: 186-225.

¹⁰⁶ For the multiple functions of public temples, see STAMBAUGH 1978: 576-88.

¹⁰⁷ KOLENDO 1970: 63-70 thought the venue was the association’s meeting-place.

¹⁰⁸ J. Jeličić-Radonić has recently tentatively linked the mosaic showing Triton from the *praetorium* with the college *ad Tritones*. JELIČIĆ-RADONIĆ 2019: 320-21. The votive altar with its first inscription (1968d) certainly predates the given mosaic, which belongs to the last phase of the renovation of the *praetorium*. Besides, the *praetorium* floors were decorated with other mosaics too (for example, the Apollo mosaic contemporaneous with the Triton mosaic). In any event, sacrifice would have been performed outdoors at the altar by the temple, and my guess is we need to look for external sculptural decoration.

Roman calendar and was adopted by the Salonitan builders. In any event, while the specific historical circumstances that occasioned adopting of the imperial cult of Hercules remain obscure, Salona offers evidence that the imperial figure occupied the central place in the internal, religious life of a voluntary craftsmen association, and that piety and loyalty toward the emperor displayed by various social groups was the factor of empire-wide social cohesion. Moreover, the builders of Salona were displaying their loyalty to the successful Roman emperors in ways other than religious, as attested by their act of the *damnatio memoriae* of Licinius the Younger once Constantine eliminated his father and became the sole emperor.

Appendix: Inscriptions

(All inscriptions taken over from EDH, unless noted otherwise)

1. CIL 3, 1968a-d

<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062448> (last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi)

CIL 3, 1968a of 303

[DD(ominis) nn(ostris) Dio]cletiano VIII / et Maximiano / VII Augg(ustis) co(n)ss(ulibus) // Aur(elio) Valen(tiniano) v(iro) p(erfectissimo) / bis pr(a)efect/o Kalendis / Febr(uariis) m<i>n<i>s/travimus at(!) / Triton<e>s / Aur(elius) Mercurius / Aur(elius) Secundinus / Aur(elius) Fortunius / Aur(elius) Severianus / Aur(elius) Sarmatio / Aur(elius) Antonius / Aur(elius) Ursus / Iul(ius) Secundus / Aur(elius) Uranius / Aur(elius) Fore(n)sis //

CIL 3, 1968b of 319

DD(ominis) nn(ostris) Consta(antino) Aug(usto) V [et] / [[[Li]cinio]] iuniore Caesare co(n)s(ulibus) / Aur(elio) Xen(o)ne bis // pr(a)efecto Kal(endis) / Febr(u)ari(i)s / m<i>n<i>strabimus(!) / at(!) Tritones / Aur(elius) Lucentius / Aur(elius) [---]ius / A[ur(elius) G]regorius / Aur(elius) [F]irminus / Aur(elius) Ma[rce]llinus / [Au]r(elius) Dalmatius / [---] Valentinus // Aur(elius) Vincentius / Aur(elius) Messor // [---]PECVS // [---]ORVS

CIL 3, 1968c of 320

Dominis nostris C[o]nstantino Augusto / {s}et Constantino noi/[I]is-simo Caesare / pr(a)efe<c>{i}toQuin<t> ili/o Faintil<l>o at(!) Triton(es) / [K]alen<d>is Febr(u)ariis / Aur(elius) Martinus / [A]ur(elius) Donatus / V[ari]us Terent(i)anus / Aur(elius) [S]tercorius / Aur(elius) Exuperius / Aur(elius) Terentianus / Aur(elius) Alexander / Aur(elius) (H)eracl(i)a[nus] / Aur(elius) Reditus // Aur(elius) Maurenu[s] / Aur(elius) Balbinu[s] // Aur(elius) Euticiu[s] // Aur(elius) Leuntiu[s] / Aur(elius) Senat[or] //

CIL 3, 1968d (here dated to the first half of the 3rd C.E.)

Ministri ad Trit(ones) / Ael(ius) Valerianus / Varius Sabinus / Iulius Silvius / Aur(elius) Fortunius / Papirius Crescent(i---) / Claud(ius) Barbian(us) / Dirrut[ius] Crescent(i---) / Aelius Dalmat(ius) / ex permissu Noc/turni Novelli / patroni collegi(i) // fel(iciter)

2. CIL 3, 1967a-b

<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062449> (last update: 16 May 2011, Feraudi)

CIL 3, 1967a of 302

Constantio III[I] / et Maximiano I[III] nob(ilissimis) / Caes(aribus) co(n)
ss(ulibus) pr(a)efec/to Aur(elio) Valentini/ano qui m<i>n<i>st[ra]/bi(t!) a(t!)
Tritones Kal(endis) / Febr(u)ari(i)s Volusi(us) / A(d)iutor Aur(elius) Asiati/cus
Aur(elius) Armenti/us Aur(elius) Vates Aur(elius) Ant[o]/nianus A[ur(elius)]
Ursili/anus Aur(elius) Luc[i]anu[s] / Aur(elius) Lapns(!) Aur(elius) Dal/matius
Aur(elius) Me<r>cu/<r>ius //

CIL 3, 1967b of 316?

Sabin[o et Rufino co(n)s(ulibus)] / IRAN[---]/ NAEC[---] / RIDV[---] / MAE[
--] / IEAF[---] / (H?)adrian[us? -----

3. CIL 3, 14725

(<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD022448> (last update:
9 December 2010, Gräf)

CIL 3, 14725

Imp(eratore) d(omino) n(ostro) C[onstant]/ino co(n)s(ule) [pr(a)ef(ecto) ---]/
avio menes[tr(avinus)! ad Tritones ---] / Petilius Ma[---] / Coelius F[---] / Marius
D[---] / Flavius M[---] / [-----

Here proposed reconstruction of the consular dating of CIL 3, 14725:

IMP(eratore) D(omino) N(ostro) G[allieno VI et Saturn]
INO COS[S---

4. CIL 3, 0869

<https://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD062447> (last update:
6 June 2011, Feraudi)

CIL 3, 0869

-----]ino / [consul?]ibus / [---]MTRON / [---]LENNO / [Kal(endis) Feb]r(u)
ar(i)is m/[inistr]abimus / [ad Tri]tones / [Pet]ronius / [Lo]nginianus / [---?]arianus
/ [-----

List of Abbreviations

CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
EDH	Epigraphic Database Heidelberg
EDR	Epigraphic Database Roma
ILJUG	Anna & Jaro Šašel (eds.). 1963. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> . Ljubljana. _____ .1978. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMLX et MCMLXX repertae et editae sunt</i> . Ljubljana. _____ . 1986. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMII et MCMXL repertae et editae sunt</i> . Ljubljana.
Salona IV	Gauthier, Nancy, Emilio Marin, François Prévot (eds.). 2010. <i>Salona IV: Inscriptions de Salone chrétienne, IVe-VIIe siècles</i> . Rome/Split: École Française de Rome/Arheološki muzej Split.
TLL Online	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Online
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
VAHD	Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku

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Obrt i kult jednog kolegija u rimskoj Saloni

Članak obrađuje omanji arhiv koji broji šest zasebnih natpisa na latinskome uklesanih na trima spomenicima tijekom trećeg i ranoga četvrtog stoljeća u Saloni, glavnome gradu rimske provincije Dalmacije (*CIL* 3, 1967a=HD062449; *CIL* 3, 1968a-d=HD062448; *CIL* 3, 14725=HD022448). Četiri su natpisa datirana konzularnom datacijom u 302. (1967a), 303. (1968a), 319. (1968b) i u 320. (1968c). Nastojat ćemo dokazati da je jedan natpis, koji nije bio interno datiran (1968d), najraniji te da pripada razdoblju Severa (193-235). Konzularna je datacija drugog natpisa oštećena (14725). Dosadašnju ćemo njezinu rekonstrukciju, kojom se natpis datirao u razdoblje cara Konstantina (306-337), revidirati i predložiti novu dataciju u 264. godinu, za konzulata cara Galijena (253-268) i Saturnina. Ti su natpisi rijetki i zagonetni primjerci u epigrafskoj kulturi Salone i latinskoga Zapada, a povezuju ih zajednički elementi koji se opetovano javljaju s manjim varijacijama: tehnički termini „asistent“ (*minister*) i „asistirati“ (*ministro*), naziv mjesta „kod Tritonā“ (*ad Tritones*), datum „prvoga veljače“ (*Kalendis Februariis*) i zatim popis asistenata koji se poimenice navode i čiji broj varira od osam na najranijem (1968d), do četrnaest na najkasnijem natpisu iz 320. (1968c). Ti elementi nedvojbeno upućuju na godišnji vjerski obred pri kojemu su imenovani ministri služili kao asistenti. Čvrsto usađujući navedeni arhiv u njegov neposredni epigrafski i arheološki kontekst Salone trećega i četvrtoga stoljeća i u širi povijesni i kulturni kontekst Carstva toga razdoblja, rad ga prvo kronološki sistematizira i epigrafski obrađuje, te zatim pruža njegovu društvenu i kulturnu interpretaciju. Uz gore navedene redacije dvaju natpisa, jedini posve sačuvani spomenik kategorizira se kao oltar, a natpisi se kategoriziraju kao *acta*. Osnovna im je namjena bila – ako bi trebalo rangirati njihove višestruke funkcije – da budu pisano svjedočanstvo da je vjerski obred uredno izvršen, a sekundarna da se dotične asistente počasti natpisom. Pri tome se zapaža inicijalna podudarnost između prigode (vjerski obred) radi koje je podignut najraniji spomenik (oltar). Njegove su stranice tijekom gotovo čitava stoljeća služile kao površina za *acta* kojima se dokumentira izvršenje obreda. Taj oltar i drugi kameni natpisi po svoj su se prilici čuvali u sjedištu udruženja. *Ministri* se identificiraju kao pripadnici

udruženja građevinskih obrtnika i radnika (*collegium fabrum*) koji su pri vjerskom obredu asistirali predsjedniku svog udruženja (*praefectus*), navedenom u preambuli četiriju natpisa iz četvrtoga stoljeća. *Collegia fabrum* spadaju među najbolje dokumentirana i najrespektabilnija obrtnička udruženja iz carskoga razdoblja – primjerice, carska administracija navodila ih je kao uzorno udruženje od javne koristi – i po svoj su prilici bili glavna radna snaga iza municipalnih i carskih građevinskih projekata. Onomastičkom je metodom pokazano da su salonitanski fabri pripadali „običnome“ gradskome stanovništvu s punim ili djelomičnim rimskim građanskim pravom, a da je građevinska industrija u Saloni bila organizirana po omanjim, samostalnim „poduzećima“. Pozivajući se na tzv. Kalendar 354. i na raznovrsne materijalne dokaze za Herkulov kult u kamenolomima na sjevernoj strani otoka Brača nastoji se pokazati da je salonitanski *collegium fabrum* preuzeo carski kult Herkula. Prema Kalendaru 354. njegova je vjerska svečanost istaknuta kao jedna od najznačajnijih, a u Rimu se obilježavala prvoga veljače sve do sredine četvrtoga stoljeća. Nije moguće pouzdano utvrditi koji je car uveo dotičnu svečanost u Herkulovu čast u kalendar, no nekolicina dokaza upućuje na Septimija Severa (193-211) ili njegove nasljednike. U svakom slučaju, preuzimanjem kulta careva osobnoga zaštitnika *fabri* su istovremeno nastojali sebi osigurati učinkovitiju božansku zaštitu i pomoć te iskazati pobožnost i odanost vladajućem caru i carskoj vlasti. Ako je ta interpretacija održiva, salonitanska kulturna baština još jednom potvrđuje da je figura rimskoga cara uživala središnje mjesto u svjetonazoru raznih društvenih grupa i da je pobožnost prema caru bila ujedinjujući faktor koji je držao Carstvo na okupu.

Ključne riječi: Salona, epigrafska kultura, udruženje građevinskih obrtnika (*collegium fabrum*), Herkulov kult, carska pobožnost, provincijalna odanost

Keywords: Salona, epigraphic culture, association of builders (*collegium fabrum*), cult of Hercules, imperial piety, provincial loyalty

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